

relinquish his crown, and fly for protection to the sultan of *Jambee*. Thither a number of armed praws were sent, with a requisition to the sultan to deliver up the fugitive. That monarch, on the contrary, declared his intention of supporting the younger brother's claim, and captured the vessels. The king of *Palembang*, apprehensive that this hostile proceeding would be followed by an attack on his country, was, about the year 1777, employed in collecting a large quantity of stones, in order to block up two of the mouths of the river; obliging each of the chiefs to contribute according to the number of their dependants, and fortified the third. This relation I have on the authority of an intelligent Malay.

Jambee.

Jambee was formerly a place of considerable note, and both the English and Dutch Companies had establishments there. The town is situated about sixty miles from the sea, on a large river.* The trade consists in gold dust, pepper and canes, but it is now esteemed of little importance, the gold being mostly drawn to the western coast across the country. There are many other petty *Malay* states, at every large river on that side of the island, but the extent of their respective powers are little known, their ports being seldom frequented except by the *Cing* (*Telinga*) or Moor vessels. Sometimes, but rarely, a private trading ship from *Bengal* endeavors to dispose, at these places, of a few chests of opium, but the captains scarcely ever venture on shore, and deal with such of the Malays as come off, at the sword point; so strong is the idea of their treacherous character. They are generally at war with the inland people, who confine them to the sea coast, and in some parts to the mere rivers. The principal of these are *Indergerce*, *Siak* and *Buttoo Bara*. The river *Racan*, situated between the two latter, and which is considerably the largest in the island, is described to be so rapid, and attended with so great a swell, where it encounters the tide at the mouth, as to be unfit for navigation. The country of *Aru* or *Rou*, often mentioned by the Portuguese historians, borders on its banks.† *Campar*, another kingdom once famous, is fallen into obscurity.

Or

* A Portuguese squadron, in 1629, was twenty two days, employed in getting up this river, in order to destroy some Dutch ships that were sheltered near the town. *Pana y Soufa*, vol. 222.

† I suspect that the modern name of this river, *Racan*, or *Arracan*, as it is spelt in some charts, is an European corruption of the word *Aru*. The former I never heard a native make use of.

Mendez

All the country on the eastern side of this island, from the straits of Sunda to Diamond point or *Tanjong Gooree*, is very low land, with scarcely any mountains visible, and mostly covered with woods. The northern coast, from thence to Acheen, presents a very different appearance, having a gradual slope to the foot of a range of high hills, and the lands well cultivated. *Pasay*, which was once the principal seat of government of this extreme of the island, is situated in a fine bay, called *Telloo Samweer*, where cattle, grain, and all sorts of provisions are in plenty. Timber, which in quality and size, is said to be adapted for masts to the largest ships, and of which abundance is cut on *Sumatra*, to be transported to *Malacca* and *Batavia*, grows close to the shore of this bay. The government and customs of these places are the same with those of all others where the Malay manners and language prevail, with very few and immaterial exceptions.

Mendez Pinto says, that the town of *Aru* stood upon the river *Panetican*, and gives an instance of the extreme rapidity of its current, as well as of its great size. Mention is made, at a subsequent period, of a river *Tecan*.

The country of Batta — Its products — The account of their manners, government, and customs.

Batta.

THE next considerable distinction northward, is the nation of the *Batta*, who differ in the genius of their customs and manners from the island, renders it necessary that some account be paid to their description. Although they have been mentioned by old writers, yet they were not when the English settled at *Natal*, and it was not till the country, that they became known. It is remarkable that their usages, extraordinary in the island, are retained.

Situation of the country.

The country of *Batta* may be said to be situated to the north by that of *Acheen*, and to the south by the independent district of *Rou* or *Rou*, as extending from the great river to the sea coast, and inland, as far as the *Rou* people commence. The bulk of the people reside at a distance from the borders of a great lake; where the use of fire is much more prevalent than in the island, and with woods, that there is scarce a tree which they themselves have planted for use. In the north part, their towns lie, as well on the coast as into the Straits of Malacca, as those on the west coast; but their communication

side; owing to the supplies of salt and other articles, which they are regularly furnished with from the English settlements, and by traders from the continent of India.

The country is divided into a number of districts, of which the following are the principal; *Ancoia*; *Padambola*; *Mandeeling*; *Toba*; *Selendong*; and *Sinkell*. The inhabitants of these are subdivided again into tribes; of which *Ancoia* has five, *Mandeeling* three, and *Toba* five: the others I am not informed of.

Division.

Our settlements in this part of the island, are at *Natal* (*Natar*) and *Tappanoe*. At the former the communication with the *Battas* is indirect; none of them residing on the spot. It is inhabited by persons settled there, for the convenience of trade, from the neighbouring countries of *Acheen*, *Rou* and *Menanggabow*, and is, by their concurrence and traffic, populous and rich. A large quantity of gold is procured from the country, (some of the mines, or pits, lying within ten miles of the factory) and a considerable vent is found for imported goods. Like other Malay towns, it is governed by *Dattoes*, one of whom is styled *Dattoo buffar*, or chief magistrate, and his sway is very great. Although the influence of the English company here is extensive, their authority is by no means so firmly established, as in the pepper provinces, to the southward; owing to the numbers of people, their wealth, and enterprising, independent spirit.* They find the English convenient for their protection

English settle-
ments.

Natal.

* Upon the re-establishment of the factory in 1762, the resident pointed out to the *Dattoo buffar*, 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 *dattoo*: 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, "*camie tradab fressa begasts, orang cayo?*" "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.

from the usurpation, as they term it, of the Dutch; who formerly strong claim to the country, and persisted in their attempts to establish themselves there, till an article of the treaty of Paris, in 1763, put the matter out of dispute. It is therefore unnecessary to enter into any discussion of the respective claims of the two European nations; for what however, I am in possession of the amplest materials. Neither, in fact, have any *right*, but what proceeds from the will and consent of the respective powers.

Tappanooly.

The other settlement is on a small island, called *Punchong cacbee*, the famous bay of *Tappanooly*, which is not surpassed, for natural advantages, in many parts of the world. Navigators say that all navies of Europe might ride there with perfect security, in any weather; and such is the complication of harbours within each of them, as to lead some to assert, that a large ship could be so hid in them, not to be found without a laborious and tedious search. Unfortunately it is but ill situated with respect to the general track of shipping, in point of distance from the seat of our important Indian concerns that little use has hitherto been made of it. This bay stretches to the heart of the *Batta* dominions, and its borders are inhabited by a fierce people, who barter here the produce of their country, for the articles which they stand in need of from abroad. The natives are in general inoffensive, and give little disturbance to our establishments. The *Achinese* long strove to drive us from *Tappanooly*, by force of arms, and we were under a necessity of carrying on a war, for many years, with parties of that nation, in order to secure our tranquillity. They wanted to recover their trade with the country people, which our interference had obstructed and diminished.

Journey made
into the *Batta*
country.

It is said that no European ever penetrated twenty miles into the country which lies at the back of *Natal*. At *Tappanooly*, Mr. Holloway, chief of that place, and Mr. Miller, botanist, by orders from council, performed a journey, in the year 1772, through the *Batta* districts in that quarter, with a view of enquiring into, and giving encouragement to,

S U M A T R A.

to the trade in *Cassia*, which had been some time disconti-

The

this journey is entered in the Company's records. An extract, containing
 rt, is here given. " June 21st. 1772. We set out from *Poole Panchong*, and
 e qualloe of *Penang Sooree* river, which is situated in the bay of *Tappanooly*,
 e miles to the south east of the former. The next morning we went up this
 nd in about six hours, arrived at a few Malay houses, at a place called *qualloe*
 ole of the country, on both sides the river, is low, covered with woods,
 About a quarter of a mile from hence, on the opposite side of the river, is
 (village) situated on the summit of a very beautiful and regular little hill, which
 al form, in the middle of a small meadow. Ju n 23d. We walked through a
 y, to *campong Loomoot*; and next day to *Sa-tarong*. We next proceeded to
 and to *Sa-pefang*. The last is situated on the banks of *Batang Tara* river.
 ourney from the sea; so that our course had been hitherto nearly parallel with
 e coast. July 1st. We left *Sa-pefang*, and directed our course towards the
 early the course of *Batang Tara* river. We travelled all this day through a
 irely uncultivated country. Our guide had proposed to reach to a *Batta cam-*
 es; but missing the road, we were obliged to wade up the river between four
 in the afternoon arrived at a *laddang* (rice plantation) extremely fatigued;
 if the weather obliged us to stop and take up our quarters in an open paddock
 y the river was so much swelled by the heavy rains, that we could not pro-
 ed to pass that day and night in the same uncomfortable situation. July 3d.
 g, and walked through a very irregular, uninhabited country, full of rocks,
 woods. We this day crossed a ridge of very steep and high hills, and in the
 an inhabited and well cultivated country, on the edge of the plains of *Ancola*,
 it in a small open shed, and the next day proceeded to a campong called *Coto*
 h. We went through a more open, and very pleasant country to *Terimbaroo*,
 ng situated on the southern edge of *Ancola*. The country hereabout is entirely
 nd either ploughed, and sown with *faddes* or *jaggong* (Indian corn), or used
 n numerous flocks of buffaloes, kine and horses. July 7th. We left *Terim-*
 on our journey to *Sa-massam*. The country round is full of small hills,
 , and mostly pasture ground. July 10th. We proceeded towards *Batang Onan*,
 the *Malays* used to purchase *cassia* of the *Battas*. After about three hours
 hilly country, we again came into thick woods, in which we were obliged
 The next morning we crossed another ridge of very high hills, covered en-
 In the evening we arrived at *Batang Onan*. This campong is situated in a very
 he banks of a large river which empties itself into the straits of *Malacca*, and is
 for large sloops, to within a day's journey of this place. July 11th. We went to
 rajah of which claims the property of the *cassia* trees; and his people used to cut
 , and carry it to *Batang Onan*. The nearest *cassia* trees are about two hours
keeloot; on a very high ridge of mountains. July 14th. We left *Batang Onan*,

Productions.

The productions of the country are, camphire, gum benjamin, cassia, cotton, and indigo. The domestic animals are horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, hogs, and dogs of the cur kind; with the wild ones that are common to all parts of Sumatra. There is no gold found in the northern parts, nor any brought down to *Tappanooly*. Rice is extremely plenty in some of those districts which lie near the sea; and as scarce in others. At *Natal* this grain is said to yield a produce of seventy or eighty for one; and at a place called *Soofoo*, so much as an hundred. No benjamin is produced to the northward of *Sinkel*, nor to the southward of *Batang-tara*, near the bay. The growth of the camphire tree is also much limited in point of extent; none being found south of the equinoctial.

Ancient building found.

High up on the river called *Battoo-bara*, which, having its source in the *Batta* country, empties itself into the straits of *Malacca*, and is always spoken of as the most navigable in that part of the island, is found a large brick building, concerning the erection of which no tradition is preserved among 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 *Jesses* or idols. The bricks, of which some were brought to *Tappanooly*, are of a smaller size than those used by the English.

Persons of the Battas.

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 from the sea, an element they do not at all frequent.

in order to return, and stopped that night at a campong called *Coto Moran*, and the next evening reached *Sa-massam*; from whence we came by a different road from what we had travelled before, to *Sa-pesang*; where we got sampans and passed down the *Batang Tara* river, to the sea. July 22d. We returned to *Poelo Paubong*." It should be observed, that owing to some difficulties made by the country people, and the dissatisfactory conduct of the principal person who accompanied them as a guide, the object of Mr. Miller's journey was frustrated, and they did not even see the cassia trees. During the course of the journey they were every where treated with great hospitality and respect.

Their

Dress.

Food.

Some mix them together. It is on public occasions alone that

kill cattle for food ; but not being very dainty in their appetites,

al, which they happen to meet with. Their rivers do not abound

and frequent falls :* yet no sea coast teems with greater abundance

purpose feed them with great care, giving them grain, and rubbing

good ones from thence; but not the finest, as these are reserved

Hence,

where, and their houses are all built with frames of wood, and boarded :

They usually consist of one large room, which is entered by a

Towns called
Campo, g.

ad of open building, that serves to fit in, during the day, and for the

There is also to each *campone* a *balli*, (as it is called by the Ma-

Some of the south eastern rivers are an exception. Siak is noted for a trade in silver, and

1395)

lays), or town hall, for the transaction of public business, festivals, and the reception of strangers, whom they entertain with hospitality and frankness. At the end of this building is a place divided off, from whence the women see the public spectacles of fencing and dancing; and below that is a kind of orchestra for the music.

Domestic man-
ners.

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 fireplaces, and cooking utensils, where they dress their victuals separately, and prepare his in turns. How is this domestic state, and the sliminess 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 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.

The condition of the women appears to be little better than that of slaves. 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, drawn by buffaloes, is more used. The men, when not engaged in war, their favorite occupation, lead an idle, inactive life, passing the day in playing on a kind of a flute, crowned with garlands of flowers; among which the *glole-amarambus*, a native of the country, mostly prevails. Their music is somewhat preferable to that of the other Sumatrans.

They

They are 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. Addicted to gaming. When a man loses more money than he is able to pay, he is confined and sold as a slave; which is almost the only 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.

A favorite diversion with these people is horse-racing. Horse racing. They use no saddle; the bit of the bridle is of iron, and has several joints; the head-stall and reins of rattan: in other parts the reins are of ejoo, and the bit of wood. They are said likewise to hunt the deer on horseback.

They have, as was observed in another place, a language and written character peculiar to themselves; and the Malay has there made less progress than in any part of the island. Language. It is remarkable, that the proportion of the people who know how to read and write, is much greater than of those who do not; an advantage seldom observed in such uncivilized parts of the world, and not always found in the more polished.*

Their crimes against the order of society are not numerous. Crimes. Theft is almost unknown among them; being strictly honest in their dealings with each other. Pilfering, indeed, from strangers, when not restrained by the laws of hospitality,† they are tolerably expert in, and think no

* For specimens of their language, and writing character, see page 168.

† Mr. Miller gives the following instances of their hospitality in the reception of strangers. "The raja of Terimbaroo, being informed of our intentions to come there, sent his son and between thirty and forty men, armed with lances and matchlock guns, to meet us; who escorted us to their camping, 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, and detained us a day. When we proceeded on our journey, he sent his son and a number of armed people with us for our guard. Having made the accustomed presents, we left Terimbaroo, and proceeded to Samaffam; the raja of which place, attended by sixty or seventy men well armed, soon met us, and escorted us to his camping, where he had prepared a house for our reception, and treated us with great hospitality and respect."

Punishments.

moral offence; because they do not perceive that any ill results from it. Adultery, in the men, is punished with death; but the women are only disgraced by having their heads shaved, and are sold for slaves, in which, in fact they were before. The distribution of justice in this country, I think, perfectly singular. It must proceed from their looking upon women as mere passive subjects. "Can you put butter not to melt," say the *Hindoo* sages, and suppose that it will not melt?" They are, however, they regard as possessing the faculties of free agents, who are responsible for their actions, or give way to their passions, as they are well or ill governed. Lives, however, are in all cases redeemable, if the convict, or his relations, have property sufficient; the quantum being in some measure left to the discretion of the injured party.

Extraordinary
custom preva-
lent amongst
them.

But their most extraordinary, though perhaps not the most singular custom, remains yet to be described. Many old writers have filled the world with accounts of *anthropophagi*, or man-eaters, and these relations, true or false, were, in those days, when people were more credulous of the marvellous, universally credited. In the succeeding age, when a more sceptical and scrutinizing spirit prevailed, several of these facts were found, upon subsequent examination, to be false, and even from a bias inherent in our nature, ran into the opposite extreme. It then became established as a philosophical truth, capable of demonstration, that no such race of people ever did, or could exist. But the varieties, inconsistencies, and contradictions of human nature are so numerous and glaring, that it is scarce possible to find a single principle that will apply to all the incongruous races of mankind; or even to conceive an irregularity which some or other of them have not given into. The voyages of our late famous circumnavigators, the authenticity of whose assertions is unimpeachable, have brought us to the world, that human flesh is eaten by the savages of *Sumatra*, and I can, with equal confidence, though not with equal authority, assure the public, that it is also, at this day, eaten by the *Bata* people of *Sumatra* by the *Bata* people; and by them only. While, however, the horrible custom prevailed more extensively, in ancient times, it is now

Eat human
flesh.

not take upon me to ascertain; but the same old historians, who mention it as practised by the *Battas*, 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.*

They do not eat human flesh, as a means of satisfying the cravings of nature, owing to a deficiency of other food; nor is it sought after as a glutinous delicacy, as it would seem among the *New Zealanders*. The *Battas* eat it as a species of ceremony; as a mode of shewing their detestation of crimes, by an ignominious punishment; and has a horrid indication of revenge and insult to their unfortunate enemies. The objects of this barbarous repast, are the prisoners taken in war; and offenders convicted and condemned for capital crimes. Persons of the former description may be ransomed or exchanged, for which they often wait a considerable time; and the latter suffer only when their friends cannot redeem them by the customary *fine* of twenty *beencbangs*, or eighty dollars. These are tried by the people of the tribe where the fact was committed, but cannot be executed till their own particular *raja*, or chief, has been acquainted with the sentence; who, when he acknowledges the justice of the intended punishment, sends a cloth to

Motives for
this custom.

* Mention is made of the *Battas* and their customs, by the following writers. Nicoli di Conti 1449, Ramusio, "The Sumatrans are gentiles. The people of *Batach* eat human flesh, and use the skulls of their enemies instead of money, and he is accounted the greatest man who has the most of these in his house."—Odoardus Barboza. 1519. Ramusio, "In *Auu* (which is contiguous to *Batta*) they eat human flesh."—Mendes Pinto, in 1539, was sent on an embassy to the king of the *Battas*.—Beaulieu, 1622. "Inland people independent, and speak a language different from the Malayan. Idolaters and eat human flesh. Never ransom prisoners, but eat them with pepper and salt. Have no religion, but some polity."—De Bernier, 1658. "The gentiles retreated from the Malays to the interior part of the island. Those who live in that part opposite to Malacca, are called *Battas*. They eat human flesh, and are the most savage and warlike people of the island. Those which inhabit to the south are called *Soruanas* and are more civilized."—Captain Hamilton. "The inhabitants of *Delley* (on a river which runs from the *Batta* country) are said to be cannibals."—Vartomanus, in 1504, writes that the *Javans* were man-eaters, before that traffick was had with them by Chinese which the people said was no more than an hundred years. The same custom has been attributed to the *Guro*, inland of Cambodia, and also to the inhabitants of the *Carnicobar* Islands.

Mode of proceeding.

cover the delinquent's head, together with a large dish of salt and lemons. The unhappy object, whether prisoner of war, or malefactor, is then tied to a stake; the people assembled throw their lances at him from a certain distance, 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 and lemon juice; 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 and resentment) the whole is devoured; and instances have been known, where with barbarity still aggravated, they tear the flesh from the carcase with their mouths. 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 horror 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. I have found a difference of opinion in regard to their eating the bodies of their enemies slain in battle. Some persons long resident there, and acquainted with their proceedings, assert that it is not customary; but as one or two particular instances have been given by other people, it is just to conclude, that it sometimes takes place, though not generally. It was supposed to be with this intent that *raja Neabin* maintained a long conflict for the body of Mr. Nairne, a most respectable gentleman, and valuable servant of the India Company, who fell in an attack upon the campong of that chief, in the year 1775.*

The

* I find that some persons still doubt the reality of the fact, that human flesh is any where eaten by mankind, and think that the proofs hitherto adduced are 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. I can only say, that I thoroughly believe the fact myself, and that my conviction has arisen from the following circumstances, some of less, some of more authority. It is, in the first place, a matter of general

The government of the country is divided into a number of petty chief-ships, the heads of which, styled *rajas*, are seldom dependent upon any superior power; but enter into associations with each other, particularly those of the same tribe, for mutual defence and security against any distant enemy. They are extremely jealous of the increase of each others power, and on the slightest pretext a war breaks out between them. The force, however, of different *campongs* is very unequal, and some *rajas* possess a much more extensive sway than others; and it must needs be so, for every man who can get a dozen followers, and two or three muskets, sets up for independence, and scarcely acknowledges any superior. In the two districts of *Ancola* and *Mandeling*, there appears some exception to this general defect of subordination, as they have each a sovereign *raja* over all the tribes; but their power is nominal merely, the great vassals acknowledging little subjection, but when it suits their inclination, or interest.* Inland of a place called *Sokum*, great respect was paid to a female chief, or *ootoo*, whose jurisdiction comprehended

Government.

Power of the
rajas or chiefs.

and uncontroverted notoriety in the island: I have talked on the subject with natives of the country, who acknowledge the practice, and become ashamed of it when they have resided among more humanized people: It has been my chance to have had no less than three brothers, chiefs of the settlement of *Natal* and *Tappanooly*, where there is daily intercourse with the *Battar*, and who all assure me of the truth of it: The same account I have had from other gentlemen who had equal, or superior opportunities of knowing the customs of the people; and all their relations agree in every material point: A resident of *Tappanooly* (Mr. Bradley) fined a *raja* a few years since, for having a prisoner eaten too close to the company's settlement: Mr. Alexander Hall made a charge in his public accounts of a sum paid to a *raja* in the country, to induce him to spare a man whom Mr. Hall had seen preparing for a victim: Mr. Charles Miller, in the journal before quoted, says "In the *sapprou*, or house where the *raja* receives strangers, we saw a man's skull hanging up, which the *raja* told us was placed there as a trophy, it being the skull of an enemy they had taken prisoner, whose body (according to the custom of the *Battar*) they had eaten about two months before. Thus the experience of later days is found to agree with the uniform testimony of old writers; and though I am aware that each and every of these proofs, separately, may admit of some cavil, yet in the aggregate I think they amount to satisfactory evidence, and such as may induce any person not very incredulous to admit it as a fact, that human flesh is eaten by inhabitants of *Sumatra*, as we have positive authority it is by inhabitants of *New Zealand*.

* The nephew is said to succeed to the place of *Raja*, in preference to the son. I have heard that this unaccountable rule is observed in some other parts of the east.

many tribes. Her grandson, 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 which seemed to threaten materially the peace of the country; but he was told by the *ostee*, that unless he would land his men and guns, and take a decided part in her favor, he had no business there; and he was obliged to reembark 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 has ever been united under the jurisdiction of one monarch.*

Services due
from subjects
to their chiefs.

The more powerful *rajas* assume authority over the lives of their subjects. The dependants, in all the campongs, are bound to attend their chief in his journeys and in his wars, and when an individual refuses, he is expelled from the society, without permission to take his property along with him. The *raja* supplies them with food for their expeditions, and allows a reward of two *beenchang*s† for each person they kill. When he pays his gaming debts, he imposes what arbitrary value he thinks proper on the horses and buffalos (no coin being used in the coun-

* The account given by Mendez Pinto of his embassy to *Angee sry Timor raja*, king of the *Battas*, in the year 1539, may perhaps be thought to contradict this observation; but it is difficult to reconcile many of the circumstances he relates, or to form an idea of the place he went to. After leaving Malacca and doubling Acheen head, he sailed for four days down the coast of the ocean, till he came to a river called *Gaatrangim* (*Atayangin*), which had seven fathom water (quare *Sinkell*). He proceeded eight leagues up this river, when he anchored at *Botterendan*, near *Panaju*, the residence of the king. Returning, he coasted back for twenty six leagues, when he entered the straits of *Minbagaru* and then stood over to *Junkcelon*. The king mentioned his having lost two places called *Jocur* and *Lingau*, by the Achense, who put many of his *Ooloballangs* and *Amborajas* to death, (these are Malay, not *Batta* officers), and that he had sworn by his God *Qyay Hocombinor*, the dispenser of justice, to take revenge. (This name is likewise Malay somewhat corrupted.) The king also paid adoration to a cow's head. He marched to Acheen, which is but twenty three leagues, over land, and attacked the city with fifteen thousand men. He furnished a cargo of Tin and Benjamin for the vessel Pinto came in, and sent a present of gold headed lances, *calambuca* wood, and a tortoiseshell box ornamented with gold, to the governor of Malacca.

† An imaginary valuation, about equal to four Spanish Dollars.

try) which he delivers, and his subjects are obliged to accept them at the rate he tenders them. They are forced to work a certain number of days each, in his rice plantations. There is also a lesser kind of service, for land held of any other person. The tenant is bound to pay the landlord respect wherever he meets him, and to give him entertainment whenever he comes to his house. The people seem to have an absolute and permanent property in their possessions; selling them when they think fitting to each other. If a man plants trees and leaves them, no future occupier can fell them, though he may eat the fruit.

The chief's revenues arise principally from the fines adjudged in judicial proceedings, which he always appropriates to himself; and from the produce of the benjamin and camphire trees throughout his district, which are considered as royal property; but this, in general, is not rigorously insisted on.

Revenues.

Disputes and litigations of any kind, that happen between people belonging to the same *campong*, are settled by a magistrate appointed for that purpose, and from him there is said to be no appeal to the *raja*: when they arise between persons of different campongs, 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, they are accompanied by an officer who takes cognizance of their behavior, and sometimes punishes upon the spot such as are criminal or refractory. This is productive of much order and decency.

Suits.

Notwithstanding the independent spirit of the *Battas*, and their contempt of all power that would effect a superiority over their little societies, they have in general a superstitious veneration for the sultan of *Menangkabow*, and shew a blind submission to his relations and emissaries, real or pretended, when such appear among them: even when insulted and put in fear of their lives, they make no attempt at resistance: they think that their affairs would never prosper; that their paddee would be blighted, and their buffaloes die; that they would remain under a kind of spell, for offending these sacred messengers.

Respect paid to the Sultan of Menangkabow.

The

War.

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 campong 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 often venture a direct attack upon each others campongs, 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 *ranjows* (sharp stakes) after them, to prevent pursuit. On these occasions a man will subsist upon a potatoe a day, in which they have much the advantage of the *Malays*, (against whom they are often engaged in warfare) who require to be better fed.

Fortifications.

They fortify their campongs 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 camphire timber. Beyond this, is an impenetrable hedge of prickly bamboo, which, when of sufficient growth, acquires a surprizing density, and perfectly conceals all appearance of a town. *Ranjows*, 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 fortrefs, 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 their campongs, and therefore, leaving a few to guard them, usually advance into the plains, and throw up temporary

porary breastworks and entrenchments. They never engage hand to hand, always keeping at a pretty safe distance, seldom nearer than random shot, except in case of sudden surprize.

Their standard in war is a horse's head, from whence flows a long mane, or tail of hair. Their arms are matchlock guns, bamboo lances, and a side weapon like a sword, or large knife. They carry no *creese* like the Malays. Their ammunition boxes are provided with a number of little wooden cases, each containing a charge for the piece, which are just our ancient bandoleers; and in these are carried likewise their match, and smaller *ranjows*, the larger being in a joint of *bamboo*, like a quiver, slung over the shoulder. They have machines curiously carved and adorned, for holding their bullets, and others, of uncommon construction, for a reserve of gunpowder. This article they manufacture themselves, procuring their saltpetre usually from goat's dung. The matchlocks they are supplied with by traders, who bring them from *Menangkabow*, where they are made: their swords are of their own workmanship.

The natives of the sea coast exchange their benjamin and camphire, for iron, steel, brass wire, and salt; of which last, about an hundred thousand bamboos (gallons) are annually taken off in the bay of *Tappanooly*. These they barter again with the more inland inhabitants, in the mode I shall presently describe, for the products and manufactures of the country, particularly their cotton cloths; of which article very little is imported from abroad. Some wear a strip of foreign blue cloth about their heads, in imitation of the Malay *daytar*, and a few have *badjoes* (outer garments) of chintz; but upon the whole, the sale of piece goods in the bay is very inconsiderable.*

R r

Having

* A great trade is carried on from *Natal* to the island of *Nias*, which lies not far distant. The articles received from thence are Rice and Slaves, and of these last not less than four hundred and fifty annually, beside about an hundred and fifty which go to the northern ports. In catching these unfortunate victims of the avarice of the chiefs, it is computed that not fewer than two hundred are killed; which together form a considerable number for such a country

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 benjamin; in transactions among themselves, more commonly by buffalos; sometimes brass wire, and sometimes beads are used as a medium. A *galloon*, 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 *saloop*, weighing about two pounds, is equal to a *sanam* or two pence halfpenny: a *ballee*, another smaller measure, goes for four *keppeng*, or three fifths of a penny.

Fairs held

For the convenience of carrying on trade, there are established, across the country inland of *Tappanooly*, which is their great mart, four stages, at which they successively hold public *fairs* or markets, on every fourth day, regularly throughout the year; each fair 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 and purchase of 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 merchandize for which they have trafficked with the Europeans and Malays. On these occasions all hostilities are suspended. Each man, who possesses one, carries his musquet, 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 fair, discharges the loading into a mound of earth; in

to supply. The people of *Nes* are small in their persons; of a fair complexion, particularly the women, who are mostly sent to *Batavia*; but a great proportion of both sexes are infected with a species of leprosy, that covers their bodies with white scales; and their ears are made to extend in so preposterous a manner as to be often near touching their shoulders; which the purchasers of females sometimes get trimmed to the natural size. They are remarkable for their ingenuity in handicraft works, and as an instance of their skill in the arts, they practice 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. The language and manners of this people have a resemblance to those of the *Bartas*; but yet differ in many material respects. Their principal food is pork, and the chiefs make a practice of ornamenting their houses with the jaws of the hogs, as well as the skulls of the enemies which they kill. They are revengeful in their tempers, and esteemed dangerous as domestic slaves; a defect in their character which philosophers will not hesitate to excuse in an independent people, torn by violence from their country and connexions.

which,

which, before his departure, he searches for his ball. There is but one house at the place where the markets are held, and that is for gaming; regular rows of fruit trees, mostly *doorean*, are planted, which serve for booths; one avenue of which is reserved for the women. People from the extremes of the north and south meet at these fairs, where all their trade is carried on.*

Their religion, like that of all the other original inhabitants of the island, is so difficult to be traced, as scarcely to afford room to say that any exists among them. Yet they have rather more of ceremony, than the people of *Rejang* or *Pasumab*; and there is here an order of persons who may be denominated priests, as they perform the office of burying the dead, and of fortelling lucky and unlucky days, in the observance of which they are extremely superstitious: one of these is employed in each campong. They have some idea of a powerful Being, disposed to benevolence, and of another, the worker of ill to mankind; but they pay no worship to either: nor do they appear to entertain any hopes or apprehension of a future state. It is said that they have a name for the former, which they fear to pronounce, but I have some reason to think it the word "*Daibattah*," which I learned from a different authority; that name corresponding, as before observed, with the general name for the Deity throughout the east. The evil spirit they call *Murgiso*. Their only ceremonies that wear the appearance of religion, are those used on taking an oath; in their prognostications; and at their funeral rites. A person accused of a crime, and who asserts his innocence, is in some cases acquitted by solemnly swearing to it, but is sometimes obliged to go through a kind of ordeal. They have different modes of administering an oath. A cock's throat is usually cut on the occasion; the accused then puts a little rice into his mouth, and wishes that it may become a stone, if he is guilty of the crime with which he stands charged; or holding up a musket bullet, wishes it may be his fate to be shot, in that case. In more important instances, they put a small leaden or tin

Religion.

Oaths.

* These fairs, called *onan* by the Malays, are not confined to the *Batta* country: there are such at *Batang-capas*, and at *Ippoo*, but not attended with the same formalities.

image into the middle of a dish of rice, garnished with musquet balls; and the man, kneeling down, prays that his crop of paddee may fail, his cattle die, and that himself may never take *salt*, (which I presume is regarded as necessary to existence) if he does not declare the truth. These tin images may possibly be looked upon as objects of idolatrous worship; but I could never learn that any species of adoration was paid to them on other occasions. Like the relicks of saints, they are merely employed to render the form of the oath more mysterious, and thereby increase its awfulness. I have seen carved resemblances of a horse's head, which though vulgarly called *Batta* gods, are nothing more than the standards in war before mentioned.

Divinations.

Before they go to war, they kill a buffalo, or a fowl that is perfectly white, and by observing the motion of the intestines, they judge of the good or ill fortune that will attend them. The priest who performs this ceremony had need to be infallible, for if he predicts contrary to the event, he is sometimes put to death, for his want of skill.

Funeral rites and ceremonies

When a *raja*, or person of consequence, dies, the funeral usually takes up several months; that is, the corpse is kept, for so long a space of time, unburied; until the neighbouring and distant rajas, and in common cases, till the relations and creditors of the deceased, can be assembled, in order to celebrate the rites with becoming dignity. Perhaps the season of planting, or of harvest intervenes, and these necessary occupations must be first attended to, before the ceremonies can be concluded. The corpse, in the mean time, is deposited in a sort of coffin, made of the hollowed trunk of the *anou* tree, well covered over with *dammar* or resin. A bamboo tube, however, is inserted in the lower part of the coffin, and passing thence into the ground, serves to carry away the offensive matter; so that in fact the bones alone remain.

When the people assemble, the coffin is brought out, and set down in an open space. Each of the women who arrives, brings a basket of rice, and places it near the corpse: they dance round it, and make merry,
till

till the provision is expended; one or more buffalos, or horses, being killed and feasted on at the same time. The priest then, (whose limbs are *tattooed* in the shape of birds and beasts, and painted of different colors)* takes a piece of buffalo's flesh; swings it about, throwing himself into violent attitudes, and strange contortions; and then eats the morsel in a voracious manner. He afterwards kills a fowl over the dead body, letting the blood run upon the coffin; he then takes a broom, of the coco-nut fibres, and sweeps furiously about him, as if to chase away some evil spirit; when suddenly, four men, appointed for the purpose, lift up the coffin, and run quickly off with it, as if escaping from the fiend; the priest continuing to sweep after it for some distance. It is then put into the ground, at the depth of three or four feet; the earth about the grave is raised; a shed built over it; and the horns of the buffalos killed upon the occasion are nailed to the posts.† The people then depart in peace to their respective homes.

This nation has preserved the original genuineness of its character and manners, more unmixed than any other inhabitants, at least of the northern parts of the island. This may be owing to several causes; as their distance in general from the sea coast, and total unacquaintance with navigation; and to the want of gold in their country (except at the southern extremity) to excite the rapacity of invaders, or avarice of colonists; the vegetable riches of the soil being no object for such, as they are more advantageously obtained in trade, from the unmolested labors of the natives themselves. To this we may add, the divided nature of the government, and confined independence of the petty chiefs, which is un-

Originality
preserved in
this nation.
Causes of this.

* In the *Nassau* islands (called by the Malays the *Peggees*) the inhabitants (*orang Mantaways*) are universally tattooed in this manner, and their skin discolored. This custom appears to have been very general in this part of the east, but an intercourse with other nations causes it to wear off. Beside the *pinados* of the Philippines, it prevails among the people of *Laos*, and has been observed of the *Siamse*. See an *Historical Relation of Expeditions to those islands* by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq.

† Mr. Miller says he was present at killing the hundred and sixth buffalo at the grave of a raja, which ceremony they continue for a year after the interment.

favorable

favorable to the propagation of new opinions and customs, (as the adoption of them by no one raja would serve as authority to others, but the contrary) and which is not the case where the people are united under one head, whom they look up to as the standard of their conduct. This was probably the reason of the complete conversion of the subjects of *Menangkabow* to Mahometanism. And lastly, it may be presumed that the idea maintained of the ferociousness of the people, from their practice of eating their prisoners, might probably damp the ardor, and restrain the zealous attempts of religious innovators.

Kingdom

Kingdom of Acheen—Present state of its Commerce—Air and Soil—Inhabitants—Government—Revenues—Modes of punishing Criminals.

ACHEEN (properly *Aché*)* is the only kingdom of Sumatra, that ever arrived to such a degree of political consequence in the world, 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 expelled from the island, and its princes received embassies from all the great potentates of Europe.

Its situation occupies the North Western extreme of the island. The extent, strictly speaking, reaches no farther, inland, than about forty or fifty miles, to the south east, and now but little farther even on the sea coast; though formerly its king boasted a dominion as far down as *Indrapour*, and possessed a complete jurisdiction at *Ticoo*. A place called *Carty*, not far distant from *Battoo Bara* river forms the boundary on the east coast; the principal intermediate towns being *Pedeer*, *Samerlonga*, and *Pasay*. On the west coast it extends to *Baroos*; between which and *Acheen*, lie *Tappoos*, *Sinkell*, *Tampat Toon*, *Laboon Hadjee*, *Soofoo*, *Nalaboo*, *Arigas*, and *Dyab*. Situation.

The interior inhabitants, from *Acheen* to *Sinkell*, are distinguished into those of *Allas*, *Roeab*, and *Carrow*. The *Achenese* manners prevail among the two former, but the *Carrow* people resemble the *Batras*, from whose country they are divided by a chain of mountains.

On a river which empties itself near the north west point, or *Acheen* head, stands the capital, about two miles from the *quætoe* or mouth, in a wide valley, formed like an amphitheatre, by two lofty ranges of hills. The river is not large, and by emptying itself in several channels, is rendered very shallow at the bar. In the dry monsoon it will not admit boats of any burthen, much less large vessels, which lie without, in the Capital.

* It is said, by the Malays, to have been so named from a species of tree called *Aché*, peculiar to that place.

Present state of
its commerce.

road formed by the islands off the point. Though no longer the great mart of eastern commodities, it still carries on a considerable trade, the natives of that part of the coast of *Indostan* called *Telinga*,* who traffic it with the cotton goods of their country, and receive in return, clove dust, sapan wood, betel-nut, patch-leaf,† a little pepper, sulphur, camphire, and benjamin. The two last are carried thither from the ports of *Sinkell* and *Tappoos*, and the pepper from places more to the south. *Acheen* itself not producing any in these days, nor in much abundance at any former period, though cargoes were often taken in from thence. There are employed in this commerce, from six to ten *Telugus* boats of an hundred and fifty or two hundred tons burthen, which sail usually about August, and sail again in February and March. They are not permitted to touch at any places on the east or west coast, but are under the king of *Acheen*'s jurisdiction, as he would suffer both in the profits of the trade, the port customs, and the presents usually made on the arrival of vessels, which, in that case, his dependants would share with him. The people of *Acheen* themselves carry the cloth to the markets after the duties, and other advantages to the king have been granted, who is, as is usual with the princes in that part of the world, the sole merchant of his capital, and frequently the monopolizer of its trade. There is likewise a ship from *Surat* every year, and sometimes more, the property of native merchants there. The country is supplied with opium, and also with iron, and many other articles of merchandise by the European traders.

Air.

Acheen is esteemed, comparatively, healthy, being more free from woods and swamps than most other portions of the island; and the fevers and dysenteries to which these are supposed to give occasion, are said to be uncommon. But this must not be too readily credited, from the degree of salubrity attending situations in that climate, from variable causes, is known so frequently to alter, that a person who has

* *Telinga*, or *Telingana*, is properly the country lying between the *Kistna* and *Godavari*, but it would seem that the eastern people apply that name (which they corruptly pronounce *Teling*) to the whole of the coast of *Coromandel*.

† This is the *pacbauhaut* or *costus Indicus*, and called *delum* by the Malays.

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 ascribe the healthiness, as well as other imputed advantages of their own country to their own country.

The soil is light and fertile, and the products, beside those which I have enumerated as articles of export trade, and a variety of fine fruits, chiefly rice and cotton. There is likewise a little raw silk procured in the country, of very inferior quality. Gold dust is collected in the mountains near *Acheen*, but the greatest part is brought from the southern part of *Nalaboo* and *Soosoo*.* The sulphur is gathered from a volcano in the neighbourhood, which supplies their own consumption in the manufacture of gunpowder, and admits of a large exportation.

The *Achenese* differ extremely, in their persons, from the rest of the islanders, being, in general, taller, flouter, and much darker coloured. They are by no means, in their present state, a genuine race, but thought, with great appearance of reason, to be a mixture of *Battas*, *Malays*, and *Moors* from the west of India. In their disposition they are more active and industrious than their neighbours; they have more penetration and sagacity; have more general knowledge; as merchants, they deal upon a more extensive and liberal footing. In this latter respect, I speak rather of the traders at a distance from the capital, and their transactions, than of the conduct observed at *Acheen*, which, according to the temper of the reigning monarch, is often narrow, arbitrary, and oppressive. Their religion is Mahometanism, and they have a great number of mosques and priests, its forms and ceremonies observed with some strictness.

The appearance of the town, and the nature of the buildings, are the same as are found in the generality of Malay towns, excepting

* In the estimate, p. 137, of the quantity of gold exported from the island, I did not include the produce of *Padaeng* by at least one third, not making allowance for traffick, which, though contraband, is very considerable.

† The following description of the appearance of *Acheen*, by a Jesuit missionary who touched at his way to China in 1698, is so picturesque, and at the same time so just, that I must

ing that the superior wealth of this place has occasioned the erection of a greater number of public edifices, but without the remotest pretensions to magnificence. The king's palace, if it deserves the appellation, is a very rude and uncouth piece of architecture, designed to resist the force of an enemy, and surrounded for that purpose with strong walls, but without any regular plan, or view to the modern system of military attack.* The houses in common are built of bamboos and rough timber, and raised some feet from the ground, on account of the place being overflowed in the rainy season.

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 fabrick of a thick species of cotton cloth, and of stuff for the short drawers worn both by Malays and Achenese,

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 écorces, et disposez les de telle manière qu'elles forment tantôt des rues, et tantôt des quartiers séparés: 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 compagnie de plus vint. Tout est négligé 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 infini 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 Edinburoises, Tom. 1.*

* 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 caliber, 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.

is established, and supplies an extensive demand. They weave also very handsome silk pieces, of a particular form, for that part of the dress which is called by the Malays, *cayen sarrong*; but their silk manufacture has much decreased within these twelve years, owing, as they say, to an unavoidable failure in the breed of silkworms; or more probably to the decay of industry amongst themselves.

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 multitude of fishing *sampans* or canoes, which go to sea with the morning breeze, and return in the afternoon, with the sea wind, full laden. Navigation.

Having no convenient coins, though most species of money will be taken there at a valuation, they commonly make their payments in gold dust, and for that purpose are all provided with scales or small steelyards (*datchin*). They carry their gold about them, wrapped up in pieces of bladder, and often purchase to so small an amount, as to make use of grains of paddee, or other seeds for weights. Their principal standard weight is the *buncal*, of one ounce, ten penny weights, and twenty one grains. The *tael*, an imaginary valuation, is one fifth of a *buncal* of gold, and is equal to sixteen *mace*, which are very small gold pieces, of the value of fifteen pence each.

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 at- Government.

S f 2

tachment to their old established customs and habits. The king maintains a guard of an hundred Sepoys (from the *Siwoon* tribe) about his palace, but pays them indifferently.

The grand council of the nation consists of the king, four *Ooloballangs*, and eight of a lower degree, and sixteen *Cajoorangs*, who sit on his feet fits a woman, to whom he makes known what he wishes it is communicated to an Eunuch, who sits next to him, and an officer named *Cajoorang Gondong*, who then presides in the assembly. There are also present two other officers, one of the government of the *Bazar* or market, and the other of the *Shabandar* and carrying into execution the punishment of offenders relative to commerce and the customs of the port. The *Shabandar*, who performs the ceremony of giving the *chap* or license for trade; which is done by lifting a *chap* over the head of the merchant who arrives, and without which he is not to land his goods. Presents, the value of which are regularly ascertained, are then sent to the king and a stranger be in the style of an ambassador, the king sends down to carry him and his letters to the monarch. The first delivered into the hands of an eunuch who carries a dish, covered with rich silk, on the back of the king. The king is provided with a machine (*bouder*) for that purpose. In an hundred yards of an open hall where the king sits, and the ambassador dismounts, and makes his obeisance to the king, and lifting his joined hands to his head. If a European, he is obliged to take off his hat, and make a second obeisance, is seated upon a carpet. A *betel* is brought to him. The throne was formerly covered with tortoiseshell, and when the place was governed by the Dutch, gauze was hung before it, which did not obstruct, but prevented any perfect view. The stranger, after his audience, is then conducted to a separate building where he enjoys the delicacies of the country, by the officers of state.

returns in the manner he came, furrounded by a prodigious number of lights. On high days (*aree ryab*) the king goes in great state mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, to the great mosque, preceded by his *ookooballangs*; who are armed nearly in the European manner.

The country under the immediate jurisdiction of Acheen, is divided into three districts, named *Duo pooloo duo*, *Duo pooloo leemo*, and *Duo pooloo anam*. Each district is governed by a *Pangleemo*, and under him, an *Imaum* and four *Pangeechees* to each mosque. The country is wonderfully populous, but the computations with which I have been furnished, exceed so far all probability, that I do not venture to insert them. The number of mosques in the three districts is said to be, in the first, five hundred, in the second two hundred, and in the third four hundred; which also appears incredible, considering the small extent of territory that the whole includes. Could we suppose the account just, we must allow them to be the most devoted to religion of any people on the face of the earth.

The only regular tax or imposition the country is subject to, for the use of the crown, is a measure of rice, annually, from each proprietor of land, which they carry in person to the court; and this can be looked upon only as a token of homage, for they never fail to receive from the king, an equivalent in return, of tobacco or some other article. His revenues arise solely from the import and export customs, which I am informed, amount to forty catties weight (each being estimated at one pound and a third*) of gold, or about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, yearly. The *Telinga* merchants pay very high duties; in the whole not less than fifteen per cent. The revenues of the nobles arise from taxes on the different countries under their respective jurisdictions. At *Pedeer*, a measure of rice is paid to the feudal lord for every measure

Revenue.

* The weight of the catty differs extremely—In some places, and I believe at Malacca, it is reckoned at 30 oz. 17 dwt. 12 gr. troy.

of *Maddee* town, which is about the twentieth part of the produce of the land. At *Nalaboo* there is a capitation tax of a dollar a year. At various places on the inland roads, there are tolls collected upon provisions and goods which pass.

The kings of *Acheen* possess a grant of territory along the sea coast, as far down as *Bencoolen*, from the sultan of *Menangkabow*, 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.

Administra-
tion of justice.

Punishments.

Acheen 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 *Imaum* or priest, the sacrilege is expiated by burning the criminal alive. A man who is convicted of adultery, is seldom attempted to be screened by his friends, but is delivered up to the friends and relations of the injured husband. These take him to some large plain, and forming themselves in a circle, place him in the middle. A large weapon called a *Gadoobong*, 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 to perform any funeral rites. Would it not be reasonable

conclude, that the Achenese, with so much discouragement to 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

*History of the kingdom of Acheen and the countries adjacent, from the period of their discovery by Europeans.**

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 Indostan, but that they turned their idea 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 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 from thence on the eighth of September 1509, he made sail toward Malacca; but having doubled the extreme promontory of Sumatra (the called Taprobane) he anchored at *Pedeer*,† a principal port of that island

* A regularly connected detail it is impossible to furnish from the imperfect and obscure accounts which have been handed down to us of the transactions of this part of the world; but yet it will not be deemed a labor quite useless and unsatisfactory, thus to collect and arrange, in the order of their dates, the many events, more or less detached, which historians and geographers have recorded in their writings.

† *Pedeer* and *Pasay* were anciently the places of most importance in this part of Sumatra. The power of the former, which had been predominant, was beginning to decline about the period of the Portuguese discovery, and that of *Pasay* to gain the ascendancy. *De Barros*. Mention made of *Pedeer* by *Ludovicus Varthemanus*, who wrote some years previous to this time, and that himself visited it in 1504. The writers whose accounts I chiefly follow in this early part of the history, are *De Barros* and *Oforius*.

which he found vessels from Pegu, Bengal, and other countries. The king of the place, who, like other Mahometan princes, was styled Sultan, sent him a deputation to him, accompanied with refreshments, by which he excused himself, on account of illness, from paying his compliments in person; 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 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 most honourable manner at a place called *Pasay*, lying about twenty leagues farther to the eastward on the same coast, and there also erected a monument in rock. Having procured at each of these ports as much pepper as could be collected in a short time, he hastened to Malacca, where the court of his appearance in those seas had anticipated his arrival. Here he was near falling a sacrifice to the insidious policy of Mahumad the Sultan of Langkat, 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 engagements, and afterwards with rapacious insolence, ruined and enslaved the princes who were weak enough to put a confidence in them, to whom even a footing in their dominions. He escaped the snares laid for him, but lost many of his people, and leaving others in slavery, he returned to Europe, and gave an account of his proceedings.

He went out, in the year 1510, under Diogo Mendez, to strengthen Portuguese interests at Malacca; but Affonso d'Albuquerque, for their affairs in India, thought proper to detain this coast of Malabar, until he could proceed thither himself in force; and accordingly on the second of May 1511, he arrived at Cochin with nineteen ships and fourteen hundred men. He found Pedee, where he found some of his countrymen who had escaped from Malacca in a boat, and sought protection

on the Sumatran shore. They represented, that arriving off Pasay, they had been ill treated by the natives, who killed one of their party, and obliged them to fly to Pedeer, 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 Pasay, whose monarch endeavored 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 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 *Geinal*,* the lawful heir of the kingdom of Pasay; 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 arrived the first of July 1511.

In order to save the lives of the Portuguese prisoners, and if possible to effect their recovery, he negotiated with the king of Malacca before he proceeded to an attack on the place; which conduct of his, *Geinal*

* Or *Zainal* according to Orlanus.

construed into fear, and forsaking his new friend, he passed over in the night to the Malay monarch, whose protection he thought of more consequence to him. When Albuquerque had subdued the place, which made a vigorous resistance, the prince of Pasay, seeing the error 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 Albuquerque 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 connecting his dependants, fled once more from the protection of the Portuguese. He probably was not insensible that the reigning king of Pasay, his adversary, had for some time taken abundant pains to procure the favor of Albuquerque, dreading the effects of his power, and had embraced every opportunity of recommending himself to his friendship. An occasion offered of demonstrating his zeal. Albuquerque, 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 Pasay, where the king treated them with kindness, and sent them to the coast of Coromandel, by a merchant ship. Some years after these events, Geinal was enabled by his friends to carry a force to Pasay, and obtained the ascendancy 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 *Campar*, 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 *Bandara*, 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 Albuquerque 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 superintendence of the natives to a person named *Nina Chetuan*. After some years had elapsed, at the time when Jorge Albuquerque was governor of Malacca, this king (*Abdallah* by name) persisting in his views, paid him a visit, and was honorably received. At his departure, he had assurances given him of liberty to establish himself at Malacca, if he should think proper, and *Nina 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 bandara, was quickly rumored abroad, and coming to the knowledge of 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 *Lacsemanna*, he resolved to prevent his arrival there. For this purpose he leagued himself with the king of Lingen, a neighbouring island, and sent out a fleet of seventy armed boats to block up the port of Campar. By the valor 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 invited to the throne, which he had aspired to. But this sacrifice of himself proved a most unwise measure to him; for although he was as brave as a lion, and as should have given the amplest satisfaction, and appeared as irreproachable in the execution of his duty, the king of Bintang found means to betray his confidence of his fidelity, and jealousy of his power, sentenced to death, without the simplest trial.

* This man was not a Mahometan, but a Hindu, who are always distinguished from the Malay, and whether the term *Malayo* is at all applicable to him is a question.

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.

Fernando Perez d'Andrade, in his way to China, touched at Pafay, ^{1516.} 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 merchandize, 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.

Extraordinary accounts having been related of certain islands abounding in gold, which were reported by the general fame of India, to lie ^{1540.} in the eastern part of Sumatra, a ship and small brigantine, under the command of Diego Pacheco, an experienced seaman, were sent in quest of them. Having proceeded as far as the mouth of the river of wind, Pacheco stood on to the islands, and discovered the gold trade, and for gum benjamin, which was much produced. It was much frequented by the neighbouring ports in the island, and was supplied with gold and merchandise, which at the approach of the Portuguese fled precipitately to the shore. The motives of his visit, which he had to give them assurances

assurances of unmoistened 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 merchandize. His chief view was to obtain information respecting the situation and other circumstances of the *ilhas d'Ouro*; but they seemed jealous of imparting it. At length, after giving him a labored 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 southeast of *Baroos*, 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,* they were probably those called the *Ticoos*, to which it is possible that much gold might be brought from the neighbouring country of *Menangcabow*. Pacheco leaving *Baroos*, 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 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 *Baroos*, 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 *Garnispola* (*poala Gomez*) near Acheen head, when the people from Acheen attacked and plundered the crew, killing many, and taking the rest prisoners. A ship also which belonged to Joao de Lima, was plundered in the road, and the Portuguese which belonged to her put to death. These insults, and others committed at *Pasay*, induced the governor of Malacca, Garcia de Sa, to dispatch a vessel under Manuel

* 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.

Pacheco,

Pacheco, to take satisfaction; which he endeavored to effect by blocking up the ports, and depriving the towns of all sources of provision, particularly their fisheries. As he cruised between Acheen high to Pafay, a boat with five men going to take in fresh water at a river near the latter, was near being cut off, had not the people, by wonderful efforts of valor, 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 endeavored 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.

Geinal 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 victories gained over the Portuguese afforded a proper opportunity, and accordingly a fleet was fitted out, with which Geinal sailed for Pafay. 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 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 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

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 Geinal, who, on account of his family's infirmities, had been some time regent, and had deprived him of the succession to the throne, was also king of *Aru (Rou)* a country not far from this, and thus became monarch of both places. The capriciousness of the people, who submitted quietly to his usurpation, rendered them 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 *Pasay*, in revenge for the assassination of their countryman. A fresh monarch was elected by the people, and in his reign it was that Geinal appeared with a force from *Bintang*, who carrying everything 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 chief priest of the city, who was named *Moulana*, and procured a conveyance to the west of India. There they presented 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 on the throne, who would thenceforth consider himself as a vassal of the crown of Portugal. It was urged that Geinal, 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* who traded at *Pasay*. *Sequeira*, partly from compassion, and partly from political motives, resolved to succour the prince and to establish him on the throne, establish a firm interest in the island of *Sumatra*, and accordingly gave orders to *Jorge Albuquerque* with two ships, to proceed with a strong fleet towards *Malacca*, to take the young prince with him, and

* *Moulana* is a word signifying a certain rank of the priesthood, and has been used by

the proper name by the Portuguese writers.

name was *Orfacam*,* and after having expelled Geinal from the sovereignty, to put him in possession of it.

When Geinal 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 creeses, and the alarm running through the city, several of the Portuguese were likewise murdered. The news of this affair reaching Goa, was an additional motive for the resolution taken of deposing Geinal.

Alfonso d'Albuquerque arrived at Pasay 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 son of Geinal†, and now proposed to Albuquerque that they should join in the attack in conjunction, who thought proper to decline it. Geinal, although he well knew the intention of the enemy, yet sent a friendly message to Albuquerque, who in answer required him to relinquish his claim in favor of him whom he styled the lawful prince. He then represented to him the injustice of attempting to force him from the

vidently corrupted, as are most of the country names and titles; which shows that these were not at this period much conversant in the Malay language.

The revolutions at Pasay were so quick, that when an injury was committed against any power, their forces could never take revenge before another prince had ascended the throne.

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: 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, and which was not disturbed by any fault that could in justice be imputed to him. These arguments, like all others that pass between states which harbour inimical designs, had no effect upon Albuquerque, who after reconnoitring the ground, gave orders for the attack. Geinal was now sensible that there was nothing left for him but to conquer or die, and resolved to defend himself to extremity, in an intrenchment he had formed at some distance from the town of Pasay, 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 Geinal'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 on 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 Albuquerque himself.

The next measure was to place the young prince upon the throne, which was performed with much ceremony. Moulana the priest was appointed his governor, and Nina Cunapam, 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

of 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'Azevedo was appointed captain, with a garrison of an hundred soldiers. The materials were mostly timber, which the ruins of Geinal's intrenchment supplied them with. After Albuquerque's departure, the works had nearly fallen into the hands of an enemy named Melique Ladil, who called himself sultan of Pasay, and made several desultory attacks upon them; but he was at length totally routed, and the fortifications were completed without further molestation.

A fleet which sailed from the west of India a short time after that of Albuquerque, under the command of Jorge de Brito, stopt in the road of Achcen, in their way to the Molucca islands. There was at this time at Achcen a man of the name of Joano Borba, who spoke the language of the country, having formerly fled thither from Pasay, at the time Diogo Vaz was assassinated. Being afterwards intrusted with the command of a trading vessel from Goa, which foundered at sea, he again escaped to this place, 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 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 merchandize 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 position, that they refused permission to a ship lately arrived, and which did not belong to their squadron, to join them or participate in the project of their adventure. They prepared to land two hundred men in three boats; a larger, with a more considerable detachment and more 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 led a party of fifty men to facilitate the landing, and advanced to make himself master of the fort, which was readily effected. Here he again intended to make his stand, but by the imprudence of his ensign, who had drawn some of the party into a skirmish with the Achenese, he was forced to quit that post in order to save his colors which were in danger. At this juncture the king appeared at the head of eight hundred of his foot men, and six elephants. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the Portuguese received considerably injury. Brito sent orders for the rest of his force to come up, and endeavored to retreat to the fort, but he found himself so situated, that it could not be executed without great 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 Brito would not consent to, preferring death to flight. Immediately upon this lance pierced his thighs, and he fell to the ground. The Portuguese, rendered desperate, renewed the combat with redoubled vigor, 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 them were not less than fifty persons of family, who had embarked as volunteers. Those who escaped belonged chiefly to the corps de reserve, who did not, as yet, 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 king, they arrived at Pafay, where they found Albuquerque employed in the same

struction of his fortrefs, and went with him to make an attack on Bimbang.

At the time that Malacca fell into the hands of the Portuguese, *Acheen* and *Daya* were provinces subject to *Pedeer*, and governed by two slaves belonging to the sultan of that place, to each of whom he had given a niece in marriage. It must be understood that slaves 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. 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. The nobles, being proud of the service of such dependants, encouraged the practice by treating them with a degree of respect, and in many instances they made them their heirs.* A slave of this description who held the government of *Acheen*, had two sons, the elder of whom was named *Raja Abraham*, 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 him 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 *Pe-*
ter, 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 *Poolo Gomez*, and which he afterwards complied with at the intercession of the *Shaban* of *Pafay*. This conduct manifesting an intention of entirely throwing off his allegiance, his father endeavored to recall him to a sense of his duty, by representing the obligations in which the family were

* The same custom prevails at *Acheen* to this day. These slaves, who are often Moors from the west of India, trade for their masters, and have a certain proportion of the profits, residing in a separate quarter of the city.

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 him; but by means of the plunder of some Portuguese vessels, as before related, and the recent defeat
 2527. of Brito's party, he became so strong in 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 Pedeer, and in the end he obliged the sultan to fly for refuge and assistance to the European fortress at Palay, accompanied by his nephew the chief of Daya, who was also forced from his possessions.

2528. Abraham 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 Pedeer by bribing the principal officers; a mode of warfare that he often found successful, and seldom neglected to attempt. These he made 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 Achenese, 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 Pedeer in the night, but being secretly informed that Abraham was master of the city, and that the demand for succour was a stratagem, they endeavored 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 Abraham's people, who killed Manuel and thirty five of his men.

Henriquez

Henriquez perceiving his situation at Pasay 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, dispatched 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 steadfast 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 Abraham, whom he regarded as a rebellious slave. A supply of stores 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 Pasay had been permitted to erect adjoining to the fortress, d'Azuedo, to avoid coming to an open rupture, departed for Malacca. Abraham having found means to corrupt the honesty of this shabandar, who had received his office from Albuquerque, 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 Pasay was now entirely in subjection to the Achenese, and nothing remained unconquered but the capital; whilst the garrison was distracted with internal divisions.

After the acquisition of Pedeer, Abraham 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 Pasay, 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 Geinal. He fixed his camp within half a league of the city, and gave notice to Abraham 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

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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 who refused to 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 first attack got possession of the town of Pafay, after much slaughter of those who escaped his fury taking shelter in the neighbouring mountains and thick woods. He sent a message to the commander of the fort of Pedeer 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 private concerns, for a soldier, he resolved to relinquish the command to his relation Aires Coelho, and take passage for the West of India.

2523.

He had not advanced farther on his voyage than the point of Pedeer, when he fell in with two Portuguese ships bound to the Moluccas, the captains of which he made acquainted with the situation of the town, and they immediately proceeded to its relief. Arriving in the night, they heard great firing of cannon, and learned next morning that the Acheneze had made a furious assault, in hopes of carrying the town before the ships, which were descried at a distance, could throw shot into it. They had mastered some of the outworks, and the garrison represented that it was impossible for them to support such a violent 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 prevent a passage into the place. Abraham now attempted to draw them from their snare by removing his camp to a distance, and making a show of abandoning his enterprize; but this stratagem proved ineffectual. Refused then with indignation, that his own force consisted of fifteen thousand

that of the Europeans did not exceed three hundred and fifty, 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, that the powder would not burn. As soon as they found themselves admitted, 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 in 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 upon it. Javelins and pikes these enormous beasts made no account of. Upon setting fire to powder under their trunks, they drew back in precipitation, in spite of all the efforts of their drivers; overthrew the men upon people; and flying to the distance of several miles, could not be brought into the lines. The Achenese upon receiving this news 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 the light which it occasioned, the garrison were enabled to point their guns, and did abundant execution.

Don Juan, after beating sometime against a contrary wind, put back to sea, and coming on shore the day after this conflict, resumed his command. A council was soon after held, to determine what measures were to be pursued in the present situation of affairs, and taking into consideration that no further assistance could be expected from the East 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 merchandize, 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 Achenese, 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 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 harbour, 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 Pasay proceeded to Malacca, and the sultan of Pedeer, and chief of Daya took refuge with the king of Aru.

1525.

Raja Narra king of Indergerree, in conjunction with a force from Bintang, attacked the king of a neighbouring island called Lingen, 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 Lingen, in their summons of surrender, that they had lately overcome the king 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 Indergerree's design, sent

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out a small fleet which routed the combined force, before that the king of Lingen 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.^a

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 Acheen, 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 Acheen head, with a ship of that nation just arrived from Mecca, and supposed to be richly laden. As she had on board three hundred Achenese 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 lost their prize; but they wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate crew, as they endeavored to save themselves by swimming, and boast that they did not suffer a man to escape. Opportunities of retaliation soon offered.^b

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 Acheen. 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 that they were come to assist in mooring the ship; but the captain, aware of their hostile design, fired amongst them; when a fierce engagement

^a De Barros, Castanheda.

^b Diogo de Couto.

took place, in which the Achenese were repulsed with great loss, but not until they had destroyed forty of the Portuguese. De Sousa, 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 ahead of this fleet with a signal of peace, and addressed to De Sousa, that the king, as soon as he was made acquainted with the injury that had been committed, had caused the perpetrators to be punished, and now once more requested him to come on shore and do him the honor. This proposal some of the crew were inclined to 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 attempted to make his escape, represented to the Achenese 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 all cut to pieces, and those who survived, being severely 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 his brave commander. He directed them to fix upon one of their companions, who should go in his name to the governor of Malacca, to whom 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 action 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 broken 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 equally the interest of Abraham to prevent this junction, and therefore, though determined to relax nothing from his plans of revenge, he hastened to dispatch Antonio Caldeira, one of the captives, with proposals of alliance

negotiation and alliance, offering to restore not only this vessel, but also the artillery which he had taken at Pasay. These terms appeared to the governor too advantageous to be rejected. Conceiving a favorable idea of the king's intentions, from the confidence which Caldeira, who was moved 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 Abraham's 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 Acheen, 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 Acheen; 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, Abraham dispatched a secret messenger to *Senaita Raja*, Bandara of that city, with whom he held a correspondence; desiring also to be informed of the strength of the garrison. In answer, that the governor newly arrived was inclined to look favorably 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 Acheen, were loaded with favors 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 failed 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 Abraham, who thereupon had the audacity to request that he might be honored with

2529.

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. 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 Acheen, 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 Abraham 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 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 Abraham's 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 Acheen, the correspondence of Senaia, and

and the scheme that was laid for rising on the Portuguese when they should be at church, murdering them, and seizing the fortrefs. 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 Acheen.^c

These appear to be the last transactions of Abraham's reign, of which any mention is made by historians. The time of his death is not satisfactorily ascertained, but it is said that he was dispatched with poison given him by his wife, who was sister to the chief of Daya, in revenge for the injuries her brother had sustained at his hand.*

He was succeeded by one who styled himself *Siry Sultan Alradin*,† king of Acheen, Baroos, Pedeer, Pafay, Daya, and Batta, prince of the land of the two seas, and of the mines of Menanggabow. Nothing is recorded of his 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 of the Portuguese, 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 the Achense were again constrained to retire.^d

^c Castanbeda. Diogo do Couto.

^{*} De Barros places his death in 1528, but the accounts of the transactions of the following year contradict that date. Probably the event took place in 1529 or 1530.

[†] *Radin* is a name often found among the Malays, to which the Arabic particle is here prefixed.

^d De Barros.

#539.

In the 1539 we find Alradin engaged in a war with his neighbour, king of *Batta*, named *Angee Siry Timor raja*. The cause of their quarrel was the latter's refusing to become a Mahometan at the requisition of the former. A battle was fought in which the Achenese monarch was worsted, and peace was concluded on the condition of his paying a certain sum of gold to the victor; but a supply of three hundred troops, with a quantity of stores, arriving at this time, he did not hesitate to break the treaty; and falling upon some towns belonging to the *Batta* king, he put to death three of his sons and a number of his principal warriors. Irritated by this treachery, *Timor raja* made a vow not to taste fruit or salt, till he should have revenge. He raised an army of fifteen thousand men, seven thousand of which were auxiliaries from the countries of *Menanggabow*, *Indergerce*, *Jambee*, *Lidon*, and *Borneo*, and sent a request to the governor of *Malacca* for assistance, who furnished him with arms and ammunition, as against a common enemy. With this force, and forty elephants, he marched towards *Acheen*, and not far from that place encountered his adversary, when a bloody engagement ensued, in the event of which Alradin was obliged to retreat, losing fifteen hundred of his men, among whom were said to be an hundred and sixty Turks, with two hundred Saracens, Malabars, and Abyssinians. The *Batta* king pursued him to the city, which he continued to besiege during three and twenty days; but losing many of his people, and hearing that a fleet was off the port, in which was an army of *Acheen* returning from an expedition against the king of *Siam*, he thought it prudent to make a hasty retreat to his own country, where he arrived on the fifth day.^d

In the latter end of the same year a messenger arrived at *Malacca* from the king of *Aru*, to solicit succours against the king of *Acheen*. He was preparing a powerful force to invade his dominions, in order to be by possessing this kingdom, which lay opposite to *Malacca*, he might more conveniently prosecute his designs against that city, which was

^d Mendez Pinto.

his chief object. Owing to the divided state of the Portuguese government at that juncture, the messenger returned with an unsatisfactory answer, but a sense of their interest induced them afterwards to send a vessel laden with stores to proceed to the relief of Aru, where the Acheen fleet soon appeared, consisting of an hundred and sixty sail, of which fifteen were large vessels. In these were embarked seventeen thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were military, and among them four thousand foreigners. The whole was commanded by Heredimomet, who had married the king's sister, and was his governor of the place. Whilst these entered the river Panetican, the king of Aru was employed in fortifying himself on shore, with six thousand of his subjects.

For six days the enemy battered the town from their vessels, and landed with twelve large pieces of artillery. Having demolished the outer forts, they gave a general assault; but the besieged sustained it with so much resolution, and exerted themselves so effectually, that they repulsed the assailants, and killed the leader, an Abyssinian, who had arrived from Judda but a month before, to confirm a league made by the Bassa of Cairo, on behalf of the Grand Signior, with the king of Acheen. But in the end the place was taken, and the brave king of Aru was killed, owing to the treachery of one of his own captains, whom the Acheenese had corrupted. The commander, from being governor, was made sultan of Baroos for this eminent service.

The Seence, the queen of the deceased monarch, having retired to the woods before the siege, now infested the Acheenese garrison with irregular attacks, but at length, upon the setting in of the rains, was necessitated to quit the country, and embarking her people in boats as she could procure, passed over to Malacca, in order to seek aid to recover her husband's kingdom. Here she attended in vain several months, and then departed, to implore of the king of Oujong (formerly of Bintang) that assistance which the Portuguese denied her. This prince had compassion for her situation, and in order to furnish a pretext for demanding the restitution of Aru, he took her to himself. After a letter had passed between him and the king of Acheen,

in which the latter told him he could perceive he had written from the table of his nuptials, amidst drunken counsellors, he fitted out a fleet under the command of the great Lacsemanna,* which retook Aru, and put the garrison, which consisted of fourteen hundred men, to the sword. This was no sooner effected than a powerful fleet arrived from Achcen to succour the town, commanded by Heredin Mahomet, whom his master thought invincible. A desperate engagement took place in the river. The advantage was a long time doubtful, until Heredin fell by a cannon shot. His captains, disconcerted by this accident, endeavored to shelter the ships, by getting round a neighbouring point of land, but the violence of the current forced them out to sea, and entirely dispersed them, by which means all but a few fell into the hands of Lacsemanna.

1541. Fourteen vessels that escaped carried the news of this defeat to the king of Achcen, who ordered that the heads of the captains should be struck off, and that the soldiers should ever afterwards be dressed in women's

1547. apparel.^c In the year 1547 he 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 valor of the combatants, as by a revelation which was opportunely made from heaven to the 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;^f

1564. Aru continued in the possession of the king of Ojong-tana until the year 1564, when it was re-taken by the Achcense, who fell upon it by

* This famous warrior, whose renown still lives in tradition amongst the Malays, fought the Portuguese during a period of forty years, and though often defeated still shewed himself superior to his fortune. He died in battle in the year 1550.

^c Mendez Pinto.

^f Diego do Couto.

surprize, and committed great slaughter, putting the king and all his family to death. The eldest son of the king of Acheen was placed in the government, who fell, as we shall presently see, at the siege of Malacca.

The western powers of India having formed a league for the purpose of extirpating the Portuguese, the king of Acheen 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 creese, 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 Grand Signior and king of Acheen, to poison the principal officers of the place, and to set 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 Oojong-tana, 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 dishonorable sieges the Portuguese experienced in India, their whole force consisting of but fifteen hundred men, of whom no more than a hundred were Europeans.^a

1568. In the following year a vessel from Acheen bound to Java, with two ambassadors on board to the queen of Japara, in whom the king intended 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 quarter to an enemy, whether resisting or submitting. In 1569 a Portuguese ship, commanded by Lopez Carraasco, passing near Acheen, fell in with a fleet coming out of that port, consisting of twenty large galleys, and an hundred and eighty other vessels, commanded by the king of Acheen, and supposed to be designed against Malacca. The situation of the Portuguese was desperate. They could not expect to escape, and they were resolved to die like men. During three days they sustained a continual attack, when, after having by incredible exertions destroyed many 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 from the harbour with his shattered forces.

1573. It is difficult to determine which of the two is the more admirable, either the vigorous stand made by such an handful of men as the whole garrison of Malacca consisted of; or the prodigious resources and power of the Achenese Monarch. In 1573, after forming an alliance with the queen of Japara, the object of which was the destruction of the European power, he appeared again before Malacca with nine galleys, and twenty five of them large galleys, 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 taking effect. He then resolved on a different mode of war.

^a Diogo do Couto. Faria y Sousa.

to starve the place to a surrender, by blocking up the harbour, cutting off all supplies of provisions. The Portuguese to prevent the consequences of this measure, collected those few vessels which they were masters of, and a merchant ship of some force arriving opportunely, put to sea, attacked the enemies fleet, killed the principal captain, obtained a complete victory. In the year following, Malacca was 1574. visited by an armada from the queen of Japara, of three hundred sail, many 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 scarcely more than five thousand men, of whom that embarked on the expedition.

Scarcely was the Javanese force departed, when the king of Acheen once 1575. appeared with a fleet that is described as covering the straits. He ordered an attack upon three Portuguese frigates that were in the road bringing 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 now above an hundred and fifty men, and of those a great part non-combatants. 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 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 silence, which he construed into a preparation for some dangerous attempt, was seized with a panick, and suddenly raising the siege, retired with the utmost precipitation; unexpectedly relieving the garrison from the ruin that hung over them, and which seemed inevitable in the ordinary course of events.^h

In 1582 we find the king appearing again before Malacca with an 1582. armada of fifty sail of vessels. After some skirmishes with the Portu-

^h Diogo do Couto. Taria y Souza.

guese ships, in which the success was nearly equal on both sides, the Achenese 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 galleys, defeated the rest, and obliged them to fly to Acheen.

1586. About four years after this misfortune, the king prepared a fleet of no less than three hundred sail, and was ready to set out once more upon his favorite enterprize, when his general, named Moratiza, who had long since designed to usurp the crown, murdered him, his queen, and the principal nobility.^k

About this time the consequence of the kingdom of Acheen had arrived at a great height. Its friendship was courted by the most considerable eastern potentates; no city in India possessed a more flourishing trade; the customs of the port being moderate, it was crowded with merchants from all parts, and [though the Portuguese and their ships were continually plundered, yet those belonging to every native power from Mecca in the west, to Japan in the east, appear to have enjoyed perfect security in the business of their commerce. With respect to the government, the nobles, or *orang kayas* as they are called, formed a powerful counterpoise to the authority of the king. They were rich; had numerous followers, and cannon planted at the gates of their houses; and thus feeling themselves independent, often gave a licentious range to their proud and impatient tempers. Although the generality of Portuguese historians have indirectly attributed the transactions of the last fifty or sixty years to a single reign, yet we have some authority, beside the evident probability of the matter, for saying that during that space of time there were many revolutions in the court, brought about by the intrigues of the nobles, until at length the ancient royal line became extinct.^l

^j Faria y Sousa

^k Faria y Sousa.

^l Beaulieu.

The usurper mounted the throne, by the title of sultan *Aladin*,* at an advanced period of life. He was originally a fisherman, and afterwards served in the wars against Malacca, where he 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. The monarch's only child, a daughter, was married to the king of Johor,† by whom she had a son. The infant was sent to Acheen to be educated under his grandfather, whose heir he was designed to be. Upon the death of the king, Aladin at first assumed the protection of the child, but soon after dispatched him also, and then declared himself sovereign in the right of his wife.‡ Having the royal force in his hands, he curbed the power of the rest of the nobles, who attempted to make resistance against this step, and put numbers of them

* This name, which the hero of the *Crusades* rendered famous in the east, is common among the Malays, who pronounce it, *Ladeen*.

† The king of Acheen sent on this occasion, to Johor, a piece of ordnance, such as for greatness, length, and workmanship 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. *Linschoten*.

‡ Commodore Beaulieu relates the circumstances of this revolution in a very different manner. The nobles, he says, upon the extinction of the royal line, setting up each their respective pretensions to the crown, were proceeding to decide the matter by force, when they were prevailed on by the chief priest to prevent bloodshed, and at the same time preserve their claims, by raising to the throne an old nobleman of much wisdom and experience, and who was descended from one of the first families of the kingdom, but had not affected any pretensions to the dignity. That after many refusals to quit his retired life, he was at length forced to acquiescence, on the condition of their regarding him as a father. But no sooner was he in possession of the sovereign power, than he shewed a different face, and the first step after his accession, was to invite all the nobles of the realm to an entertainment, where, as they were introduced one by one to an inner court of the palace, he had them murdered. This story, allowing for the difference of situation and manners, bears a strong resemblance to the election of Sixtus the fifth to the Papacy. The Commodore had great opportunity of information, and was a sensible man, but he appears in this case to have been amused with a plausible tale by the grandson of this monarch, whom probably he had it from. John Davis, an intelligent English navigator, whose account I follow, was more likely to hear the truth; and he was at Acheen during Aladin's reign, whereas the Commodore did not arrive till twenty years after. Besides, a Dutch Admiral, who was at Acheen about three years after Davis, confirms the report of Aladin's having been originally a fisherman. But both the Commodore and Davis place the event of his accession about five years earlier than the Spanish historian.

to death, raising his own adherents, from the lower class of the first dignities of the state.^m To ensure the future submission of nobility, he seized their cannon and arms, demolished their houses, and prohibited their rebuilding with any substance. Of those among the people who presumed to express any disapprobation of his conduct, he made great slaughter, and was supposed to have caused not less than twenty thousand persons to be executed in the first year of his reign.

As the Portuguese writers make scarcely any mention of this king's actions, we have reason to conclude that he did not prove so formidable an enemy to Malacca as his predecessor had been; and it appears that ambassadors from that city resided, at different periods, in his court. Some expeditions, however, he fitted out against it, in which a general of his, named *Raja Matoota*, had opportunities of signalizing his valor.ⁿ He had long and frequent wars with the king of Johor.

1600. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Hollanders began to navigate the Indian seas, and in the year 1600 some of their ships arrived at Acheen, where they had no cause to boast of the hospitality of their treatment. An attempt was made, and probably not without the orders, or connivance of the king, to cut off two of their vessels, and several of the crews were murdered; but after a desperate conflict, the assassins were overcome and driven into the water; "and it was some pleasure (says John Davis, who was the principal pilot of the ships) to see how the base Indians did fly, how they were terrified, and how they were drowned." This treacherous action was accounted to the disgrace of the Portuguese. A second party of ships, which were employed to trade there a short time afterwards, met with a similar fate, and were obliged to hasten out of the road, leaving a few men to chandize on shore.*

1601.

^m John Davis.ⁿ Queen Elizabeth's letter to

* It is somewhat remarkable that the Hollanders, not only about this time always called English by the natives, notwithstanding pretended, to establish a just idea of the distinction between the voyages which contributed to the establishment of the Netherlands.

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 surpass that of every other European state, visited Acheen in the year 1602. Lancaster, who commanded it, was received by the king with the most splendid 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 Acheen. 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 armed with two creeses. 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 which enabled him to take a rich prize in the straits of Malacca, with which he returned to Acheen, and having loaded what remained of his treasure, took his departure. On this occasion it was observed by the king, that it was his officers would favor him by the most exact reception of David, which was performed with great

and he had appointed the younger of whom he made king of Pedeer, and the other of Pedeer, in order to succeed him in the throne.

In the year 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.^p 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.^q He was then ninety-five years of age,^r 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 honored. He was passionately addicted to women, gaming, and to drink, his favorite beverage being arrack. By the severity of his punishments he kept his subjects in extreme awe of him; and the merchants who traded to his ports were obliged to submit to more exactions and oppressions than were felt under the government of his predecessors.

The new king 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 chace, and the affairs of state were neglected; insomuch that murders, robberies, oppression, and an infinity of disorders took place in the kingdom, for want of a regular and strict administration of justice.^s A son of the daughter of Aladin had been a great favorite of his grandfather, at the time of whose death

^p Collection of Dutch voyages.

^q John Davis.

^r 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.

^s Dutch voyages. Beaulieu.

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 Acheen, having given him a rebuke on some occasion, he left his palace abruptly, and fled to the king of Pedeer, 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 Pedeer, and for some time maintained the advantage, but these at length, seeing themselves much inferior in numbers to those of Acheen, refused to march, and the king was obliged to give him up, when he was conveyed to Acheen, and put in close confinement.⁵

Not long afterwards a Portuguese squadron, under Martin Alfonso, going to the relief of Malacca, then besieged by the Dutch, anchored in Acheen 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 Acheneſe: 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 Caffres (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

* Beaulieu.

† Faria y Sousa.

* The Acheneſe warriors were said to assume as a favorite title, that of "Drinkers of the blood of miserable Caffres"—calling them accursed dogs who were come from the end of the world to usurp the property of others. Mendez Pinto.

fruitless attempt. The reputation of the prince was raised by this to a high pitch amongst the people of Achcen. 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 gratuities amongst the principal orang cayos. At the same time he endeavored 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. The king 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 valor. The king of Pedeer 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 favors 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 was avarice; and instead of being affable, he was proud and inexorable."

1807. This king assumed the title of Sultan of Achcen, and of the countries of Ar and Pera, on the one side, and Baro and Priaman, upon the other. Some of his subjects were

others he inherited. He shewed much friendship to the Hollanders in the early part of his reign; and in the year 1613 gave 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 *Daeng pootee*, and entertained him with the fighting of elephants, buffaloes, and tigers. In his answer to king James, which is couched in the most friendly terms, he styles himself king of all Sumatra, a name and idea, which, if they exist in the original,* he must have learned from his European connexions. 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. 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 endeavors to ruin their trade. He became jealous of their growing power, and particularly by reason of the intelligence which 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 Acheen. Peducka carried his arms thither, and boasted of having obtained some victories. In 1613 he subdued Siak, in its neighbourhood, and in the same year ravaged the kingdom of Johor, and was the conqueror of these two princes, who were brothers, brought captives to Acheen; but released them on their consenting to become his tributaries. The king of Johor, who had so often engaged the Portuguese, succeeded him by the title of *Eeang*, king of Siak, and the third, *Raja Bon*, was the first. He it was who assisted the king of Malacca, and corresponded with prince of Java, who was married to their sister, but this did

* The letters written to Queen Elizabeth are to be found in Purchas

not

not prevent a long and cruel war between them.^{u*} A Dutch factory at Johor was involved in the consequences of this war, and several of that nation were amongst the prisoners.^v

1615. In 1615 the king of Acheen sailed to the attack of Malacca in a fleet which he had been four years employed in preparing.^w It consisted of above five hundred sail, of which an hundred were large galleys, 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.^x These galleys the orang cayos 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.^y 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 an 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 Achenese gave way, after losing fifty sail of different sizes, and twenty thousand men. They retired to Bencalis, on the eastern coast of Sumatra, and shortly afterwards sailed for Acheen, 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 civilization between the two powers.^z

^u Collection of Dutch voyages.

^{*} The *Isle of Esang de Patooan* is common amongst the Malays, and is the same with that which in a former note, p. 274, is corruptly spelt *Jeanderpatooan*. The chief of Borneo-proper is always so styled.

^C Best

^v Fairis y Soufa.

^x Beaulieu.

^y Fairis y Soufa.

^z Beaulieu.

^z Fairis y Soufa.

Three years afterwards the king made a conquest of the city of Queda, ^{1613.} on the Malayan coast, and also of a place called Delhy on 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 on for six weeks, ere it fell.* In the same year the king of Jorcan* fled for refuge to Malacca, with eighty sail of boats, having been expelled his dominions, by the king of Acheen. The Portuguese were not in a condition to afford him relief, being themselves surrounded with enemies, and fearful of an attack from the Achenese 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.^b

The French being desirous of participating in the commerce of Acheen, which all the European nations had formed great ideas of, and all found themselves disappointed in, sent out a fleet commanded by Beaulieu, which arrived in 1621. ^{1621.} He brought magnificent presents to the king, but which 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 endeavors to procure a loading of pepper, of which Acheen 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 lest their produce might tempt the Europeans to serve him, as they had served the kings of Jacatra and Bantam. From this apprehension, he had lately been induced to expel

a Beaulieu.

* I am uncertain what place is designed by this name: perhaps a country on the banks of the Rakan or Ircan. The time of the event would lead us to conclude that the king of Jorcan was this prince who defended Delhy.

b Faria y Sousa.

the

the English and Dutch from their settlements at Priaman and where the principal quantity of pepper was procured, and in places he changed the governor every third year, to prevent nexions dangerous to his authority, from being formed. He wisely driven the Dutch from a factory they were attempting to Padang; which place appears to be the most remote that ever the Acheneſe attempted to exerciſe dominion over, on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland.^c

1628.

Still retaining a ſtrong deſire to poſſeſs himſelf of Malacca, ſo many years the grand object of Acheneſe ambition, he imprifoned the ambafador then at his court, and made extraordinary preparations for the ſiege, which he deſigned to undertake in perſon.* Laſſemanna his general (the ſecond great man of that name or title, and 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 ſoon ſucceeded. The gueſts were obliged to abandon ſeveral of their ſhips, and after a defence of fifty days, was levelled with the ground. The ſtrong works were raiſed by Laſſemanna. The city was ſituated in a poſt advantageouſly ſituated. From their

c. Lieuſant.

* Faria y ſouza mentions an engagement in 1628, three thouſand men, and eight hundred pieces of cannon.

communication, and the boats on the river were stationed in such a manner that the place was completely invested. Matters were in this state when a force of two thousand men came to the assistance of the Acheneſe, from the king of Paham, and likewise five ſail of Portuguese ſhips from the coaſt of Coromandel; but all was inſufficient to ſubdue 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 Acheneſe in a river about three miles from the town. This intirely 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. Maharaja being ſummoned to ſurrender, returned a civil, but reſolute answer. In the night, endeavoring to make his eſcape with the ſmaller veſſels, through the miſt of the Portuguese, he was repulſed and wounded. Next day the whole force of the Acheneſe dropped down the ſtream, with a deſire to fight their way, but after an engagement of two hours, their principal galley, named the "Terror 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. Lacſemanna 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 Maharaja was killed, and that the king of Paham ſent ſixty ſail of veſſels to reinforce them. Still the Acheneſe, which ſeemed to render the final propoſals, deſiring only to be ſaved, carried away four thouſand men from the town. It was answered, that if they would ſurrender, which Lacſemanna hesitating to do, he ordered water and land upon the gallies all effectually deſtroyed or eſcaping. Lacſemanna in the laſt

last extremity fled to the woods, but was seized ere long by the king of Paham's scouts. Being brought before the governor, he said to him, with an undaunted countenance, "Behold here Lacsamana, 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.^d

This signal defeat proved so important a blow to the power of Acheen, that we read of no further attempts to renew the war, until the year 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, the Dutch with twelve men of war, and the king of Acheen with twenty five gallies, appeared before that harrassed and devoted city; ~~which~~ ^{which} 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 Sultan Peducka Siri, at the age of sixty, after a reign of thirty five years.^e Thus he lived to see his hereditary foe subdued; and as if the opposition of the Portuguese power, which first occasioned the rise of that of Acheen, was also necessary to its existence, the splendor 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 who was for some time at his court, and had opportu-

^d Faria y Sousa.

^e Here Faria y Sousa's history of Portuguese Asia concludes.

^f Vies de Gouverneur Hollandois.

ties 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 Malay 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 many 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 Acheen 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 *ooloo'allang*, and the inferior, *ambraja*, who were entirely devoted to his service, and resembled the janizaries of Constantinople.* Two hundred horsemen lightly patrolled the ground 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, 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 principle nobles, whom he caused to be executed. He murdered his nephew, the king of Johor's son, whose favor with his mother he was jealous of. He also put to death a son of the king of Bantam, and another of the king of Paham,

* Braulieu.

† Braulieu.

* The *ooloo'allang* now appear as officers of state, and are few in number; but in the old wars—read of seven hundred falling in one action.

† Braulieu.

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who

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 educated in the court, and was thought to owe his continuance to his surpassing his father, if possible, in cruelty, and to all ranks of people. He was at one time made king of Achéen, but recalled on account of his excesses, confined in prison,^h and tortured by his father, whom he did not outlive. The kingdom of Achéen was almost depopulated by wars, executions, and the like. The king endeavored to repopulate the country by bringing in strangers. Having ravaged the kingdoms of Johor, Paham, Quédou, and Delhy, he transported the inhabitants from those places to Achéen, the number of twenty two thousand persons. But this barbarous measure did not produce the effect he hoped; for the unhappy captives brought naked to his dominions, and allowed not any kindness on their arrival, died of hunger in the streets.ⁱ In his military enterprises, he was generally guided by the designs of his neighbors, whom he ever lay in wait to make a prey of; and preparatory measures were taken with such secrecy, that the execution was unravelled them. Infidious political craft, and wanton delight in blood, united in him to complete the character of a tyrant.

Leaving no male heirs, he was peaceably succeeded in the throne by his queen;^k and this presents a new era in the history of the kingdom, as the succession continued for many years in the female line, the nobles finding their power less restrained, and their confidence more felt, under an administration of this kind, than when ruled by a king. They supported these pageants whom they governed as they thought fit, thereby virtually changed the constitution into an aristocracy. The finances of the state was managed by twelve orang cayos,

^h Beaulieu.

ⁱ Beaulieu. Collection of Dutch voyages.

^k Vie

^{*} It has been a common error, repeated in many books of Geography, to suppose that Elizabeth corresponded with a queen, and not a king, of Achéen. But the fact commences till forty years after Elizabeth's death.

haraja, or governor of the kingdom, as it became usual from that time to call him, was considered as the chief. It does not appear 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.¹

In proportion as the political importance of the kingdom declined, its history becomes obscure. There are no accounts to be met with of the transactions of this reign, and it is probable that Acheen took no active part in the affairs of the neighbouring powers, but suffered the Dutch to remain in quiet possession of Malacca. Even the period of its duration is not marked. In 1688 a queen of Acheen died,^m but as she is described by the English gentlemen who went there on an embassy from Madras in 1684, to be then about forty years of age, she must have had a successor, and perhaps not the immediate one, of Peducka's widow. These persons declare their suspicions, which were suggested to them by a doubt prevailing amongst the inhabitants, that this sovereign is not a real queen, but an eunuch dressed up in female apparel, and imposed on the public by the artifices of the orang cayos.ⁿ 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 surprizingly strong, but not manly.*

1684.

The

¹ India Company's records.

^m Dampier's voyages. *Vies des Gouverneurs.*

ⁿ India Company's records.

* 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 Perriwigs, and what was the consequence of them; to all which we returned satisfactory answers. After this, her majesty desired

The purport of the embassy was to obtain liberty to erect a fortification in her territory, which she peremptorily refused, being contrary to 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 cayos 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 Acheen had suffered considerably of late years, by reason of a general license 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 the ground. It likewise appeared, that through the weakness of its government, and the encroachments of the Dutch, the extent of its ancient dominion was much reduced, and no absolute jurisdiction was claimed more distant than Pedee. 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.²²

The

of Mr. Ord, if it were no affront to him, that he would take off his perwig, that she might see how he appeared without it; which accordingly 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.

o India Company's records

* The design of settling a factory at this period, in the dominions of Acheen, was occasioned by the recent loss of our establishment at Banta, which had been originally fixed by Sir James Lancaster in 1603. The circumstances of this event were as follows. The old Sultan had thought it 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 favor 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 with-

out

The people of Achcen being now accustomed and reconciled to female rule, which they found more lenient than that of their kings, acquiesced

out 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 favors 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 Achcen, and a deputation, consisting of two gentlemen, of the names of Ord and Cawley, 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 Achcen 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 grounds for a fort, and the exclusive purchase of their Pepper. They consented to embark for Madras, where an agreement was entered into 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 *Bencoolen* (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 intrusted 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. Bloome in charge of the place, he sailed for the purpose of establishing the other settlements. He stopped first at *Indrapour*, 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 *Indrapour*. A settlement was then formed at *Mandata*, and another attempted at *Batang Capas*, in 1686; but here the Dutch, assisted by a party among 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

1655. quiesced in general in the continuance of the established mode of government, and a queen accordingly succeeded in 1688. But the

neighbourhood of them, and endeavored to obstruct the country people from carrying on their trade with them, or supplying them with provisions either by sea or land. Our interests here prevailed, and Bencoolen in particular, to which the other places were rendered tributary, began to acquire some degree of vigor and respectability. In 1689 an order was given to Chinese colonists to settle there, whose number has been continually increasing since that time. In 1691 the Dutch felt the loss of their influence at Silebar and other countries, where they attempted to exert authority in the name of the sultan. The produce of these places was delivered to the English. This revolution in the works with which about this time our factory was strengthened. In 1693 a fort was made at *Triamong*, and two years after at *Cattoon* and *Sablat*. The first, in the year 1695, 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 Bougey* to the north, and from *Tallo* on the eastern side, and the people from the countries south of *Tallo*, near *Peolo Pefang* and *Croes*, in 1715.

of the inconvenience attending the shipping off goods from Bencoolen river, which was not practicable from the surfs, a warehouse was built, in 1701, at a place they called the *Point of Land*. The idea of removing the settlement to the point of land which forms the head of the river. The inconvenience of the old situation was thought to render this an expedient, 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 possesses considerable advantages; many of which, however, are counterbalanced by its proximity to a river; so necessary for the ready and plentiful supply of provisions. It had been made in the erection of this fort, when an accident happened, that had nearly frustrated the Company's views. The country people incensed at ill treatment received from the English, 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 fears rendered them precipitate, to seek refuge on board their ships. They began to give alarms lest the Dutch should take advantage of the absence of the English, and some persons from the northern factories to resettle the place; and supplies arriving from the north, things returned to their former course, and the fort was completed. The Company's posts on this coast remained in tranquillity for a number of years. The important settlement of *Tappanooly* was established in 1752, and that of *Tappanooly* a short time afterwards, which increased the English in fresh disputes with the Dutch, who set up a claim to the country in which it was 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 confirmed by the treaty of Paris in 1763. Fort Marlborough, which had been hitherto a peculiar dependency 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 Pa-

to take place without a strong opposition from a faction amongst the young cayos who wanted to set up a king, and a civil war actually commenced. The two parties drew up on contrary sides of the river, and for two or three nights continued to fire at each other, but in the day they followed their ordinary occupations. These opportunities of intercourse made them sensible of their mutual folly. They agreed to throw down their arms; and the crown remained in possession of the new elected king.^p It was said to have been esteemed essential, that she should be a woman, 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 Acheen: in the interval, however, some private traders of this nation, had always resided on the spot. These continually endeavored to persuade the state, that they represented the India Company, and sometimes acquired great influence, which they 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 country, 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 assert their ancient privileges in that kingdom, and a deputation was sent

to recover Dutch factories, in consequence of the war with that nation. In 1782 the powder of Fort Marlborough, in which were four hundred barrels of powder, was fired by accident, and blew up; but providentially it only destroyed their stores, with the loss of a few men. The return of peace affords an opportunity, which it is hoped will not be neglected, of re-establishing the factory and rendering it beneficial to the Company. The history of the trade of Acheen, which is an entire monopoly, can neither be generally interesting nor useful. Suffice it to say, that the quantity of pepper produced in all the Company's districts on Sumatra, is, annually, twelve hundred tons; of which the greater part comes to Europe, and the remainder is sent to China.

Lockyer's voyages.

One of the most distinguished of these independent factors, was one of the name of Francis Delton, who acted as supercargo of a ship to Siam, from whence he made several voyages to China, and settled at Acheen in 1688. The Company's establishment in 1695 was soon reduced to nothing, as Delton's trade flourished in 1704, when Lockyer was there.

B b b

from

1695. from the presidency of Madras, in the year 1695, for that purpose, with letters addressed to her illustrious majesty the queen of Acheen, desiring permission to settle, on the terms her predecessors had granted to them : which was readily complied with, and a factory, but on a very limited scale, was established accordingly. At this time the Achense 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.

1700. The queen died in the year 1700, and with her the female monarchy expired. A priest found means, by his intrigues, to acquire the sovereignty. He attempted to impose some duties on the merchandize imported by the English, who had long been indulged with an exemption from all charges, except the complimentary presents on their arrival. This innovation the masters of ships then in the port determined to oppose, and in a very unwarrantable manner proceeded to immediate hostilities ; firing upon the villages situated near the mouth of the river, and cutting off from the city all supplies of provision by sea. The inhabitants feeling severely the effects of this proceeding, grew clamorous against the government, which was soon obliged to restore to these insolent traders the privileges contended for. Advantage was taken of the public discontents to raise an insurrection in favor of the late queen's nephew, who succeeding in his views, was in possession of the throne in 1704.—And here the clue of our history, which has not been traced without considerable difficulty, breaks off ; and we are totally in the dark with respect to the transactions of the subsequent reigns. It is, however, brought down to a modern date, within the compass of authentic tradition ; and I do not despair of being enabled hereafter to continue the account, unimportant though it be, to the days of the prince now upon the throne, whose reign has proved long, and attended with many reverses of fortune, which more than once have obliged him to fly from his kingdom.

1 India Company's records.

2 Hamilton's voyage.

3 Lockyer.

Conclusion.

HAVING thus brought to a close, the digest of such materials for an Account of the island of Sumatra, as I had been induced, from curiosity and love of science, to collect together during my residence there, and have had opportunity of acquiring since my return; and having endeavored to render my labors as fitting as my talents would allow, to meet the eye of the public, I now submit them chearfully, but not confidently, to their inspection. I am sensible of the awfulness of the tribunal before which I am going to appear; but I also know the indulgence it is ever ready to shew, in a particular manner, to those whose writings tend to establish facts, rather than systems, and humbly to describe things as they exist, rather than to display the powers of a creative imagination.

To those, who may object that my description of the island is in some respects incomplete, and in many points unscientific, I am ready to avow its manifest deficiencies, of which I feel the strongest conviction. I can only state in justification, that I was encouraged by persons of the first consideration in the world of science, and in some measure against my own feelings, to prepare for publication whatever materials I did possess for the Natural history of the country; as laying thereby a foundation-stone, in a new building, upon which others hereafter might raise a more perfect superstructure. Many will doubtless observe, that the detail of manners and customs of an uncivilized people descends often to circumstances so trivial, as neither to interest nor to amuse the reader who has been accustomed to peruse volumes that treat of more important topics. To these I reply, that every man is inclined to suppose his own favorite object of pursuit to be the most generally interesting; but candor should induce them to reflect, that what to them appear insignificant minutiae, by others may be regarded as matter worthy of philosophical curiosity. Such details, in fact, often prove the most acceptable parts of a work, from their greater chance of originality. All the races of man-

kind bear to each other so strong a resemblance, in the general nature and complexion of their sentiments and actions, and more especially in those which are usually termed important, that to exhibit such a picture would mark no distinction. The most prominent features, in the delineation of any subject, are not found the most characteristic. The spirit of ambition in men who aim at sovereign power, or of political jealousy in those who already possess it, are observed to have produced the same effects, in all countries, and in all ages; and consequently afford no criterion of the genius and manners of a particular people. This must be sought for rather in the less obvious occurrences of public and domestic life; and will better appear in the social customs of a obscure village, than in the splendid ceremonies and arbitrary institutions of a powerful court. The former are the settled result of long prevalent ideas and habitual prejudices; the latter have their origin in temporary existence, in the caprice of individuals, who, if arrogant, headstrong, and flagitious, make the most respected customs of their people, the sport of a momentary passion; or if wise and benevolently inclined, borrow their maxims of government and civil rights from the most enlightened amongst other nations, and thus, while they improve the condition of their subjects, destroy the peculiarities and singularity of their character.

I would by no means be understood to contend that the history of such transactions is without its propriety and use. Man must be considered in every point of view; and in every light we behold it, the subject will be interesting. But I would suggest, that when he is found in his least sophisticated state, even though that should be in the midst of an uncultivated nature, the picture of his manners does not then claim an inferior degree of attention.

I have vainly wished that my performance could be rendered acceptable to all descriptions of readers; but as that is chimerical, I shall deem myself happy if I meet the approbation, or even the notice of the *liberal*, whom I would persuade myself are not the few, the inane, and a rigid adherence to truth, so far as it has been possible

short-sighted mortal to distinguish between that and error, are what I chiefly to arrogate to myself, and on these I rest my claim to public favor. If any more experienced and better informed traveller will point out to me where I have been deceived, in those matters to which I had an opportunity of being an eye witness, or misled, where I was obliged to depend upon the testimony of others, I shall be more forward to correct my mistakes, than I am now, unintentionally, to obtrude them on the world.

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ERRATA.

E R R A T A.

P.	vi.	l.	1.	for <i>biberto</i>	read <i>biberto</i> .
	56.		16.	<i>oibres</i>	read <i>others</i> .
	67.		23.	<i>five</i>	read <i>five</i> .
	73.		5.	<i>Amboinienfis</i>	read <i>Amboinienfis</i> .
	94.		21.	<i>its</i>	read <i>is</i> .
	95.		9.	<i>protuberance</i>	read <i>protubrance</i> .
	98.		16.	<i>cooyoo</i>	read <i>pooyoo</i> .
	102.		10.	<i>different</i>	read <i>different</i> .
	120.		12.	<i>tolerable</i>	read <i>tolerably</i> .
	131.		4.	after <i>horse</i> should be an asterisk.	
	137.		22.	for <i>betle</i>	read <i>betel</i> .
	138.		27.	<i>clift</i>	read <i>cleft</i> .
	141.	m. n.		<i>Masfactures</i>	read <i>Manufactures</i> .
	144.	28.	29.	<i>performing</i>	read <i>performed</i> .
	147.	m. n.		<i>freight</i>	read <i>frigbten</i> .
	148.		11.	<i>supprizing</i>	read <i>surprizing</i> .
			26.	<i>fascinating</i>	read <i>fascinating</i> .
			28.	<i>crocodile</i>	read <i>crocodile</i> .
	152.		8.	<i>practi.e</i>	read <i>practise</i> .
	155.		9.	<i>f</i>	read <i>of</i> .
	170.		3.	<i>his</i>	read <i>this</i> .
			ult.	<i>momentary</i>	read <i>m.mentary</i> .
	183.		8.	<i>cyere</i>	read <i>cybere</i> .
	202.		8.	<i>Soogey</i>	read <i>Soongey</i> .
	210.	20.	21.	<i>several</i>	read <i>several</i> .
	248.		19.	<i>sixth</i>	read <i>sixth</i> .
	264.		5.	<i>dressin</i>	read <i>dressing</i> .
	268.	n.	7.	<i>ilha</i>	read <i>ilha</i> .
	269.	n.	ult.	<i>hum</i>	read <i>hum</i> .
	293.	n.	9.	<i>Jun</i>	read <i>June</i> .
	299.		8.	<i>glutinous</i>	read <i>glutinous</i> .
			10.	<i>bas</i>	read <i>as</i> .
	306.	n.	6.	<i>practice</i>	read <i>practise</i> .
	309.		8.	<i>chace</i>	read <i>chase</i> .
	312.	n.	2.	<i>corruply</i>	read <i>corruptly</i> .
	314.	n.	5.	<i>grand</i>	read <i>grande</i> .
			9.	<i>rassamble</i>	read <i>rassamble</i> .



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