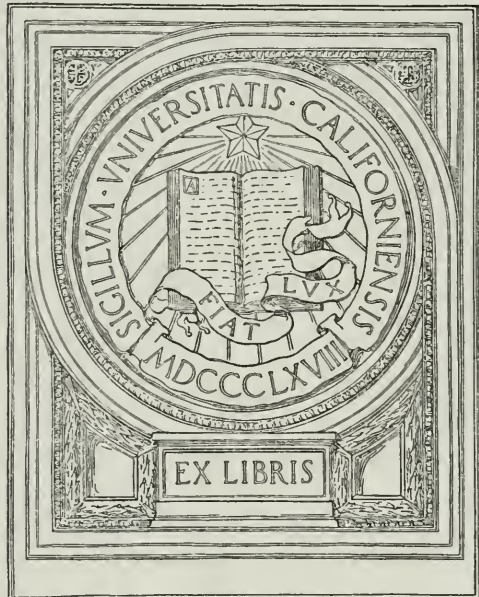


JAVA



RONALD MACLAINE
CAMPBELL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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JAVA: PAST & PRESENT

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, ITS ANCIENT HISTORY, PEOPLE, ANTIQUITIES, AND PRODUCTS * * BY DONALD MACLAINE CAMPBELL

LATE BRITISH VICE-CONSUL OF THAT ISLAND; MEMBER OF THE DUTCH COUNCIL OF SAMARANG (GEWESTELYKE RAAD); MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF SAMARANG * * * * * WITH A MAP AND MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I



LONDON WILLIAM HEINEMANN

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

My husband lived in Java for twenty-three years. In the course of that time, both through his business connections and by virtue of his official position, he had unusual opportunities to become familiar with the country and all classes of its people. For the last five or six years of his residence there this book was something more than the occupation of his leisure hours. He gave a great portion of his time to it, and spared neither labour nor expense in the search for original authorities for the verification of his facts. It had been his intention to divide the book into two parts, the first consisting of a general history and description of Java, and the second devoted to the story of the commerce and industries of the island.

After his return to England in 1912 he set to work with enthusiasm to finish his task. At the time of his death, on June 1, 1913, the first part of the book was written and the revision for the press had been commenced. That is the portion presented in these two volumes. Whether the material which he left for the second part—the commercial section—will be published later in a third volume has yet to be decided. These two volumes make, as will be seen, a complete unit in themselves, and, with some editorial revision, are published as he wrote them. The work of preparing the matter for the press has been done by Mr. G. C. Wheeler.

M. CAMPBELL.

303663

TO

MY FATHER

COLONEL FREDERICK CAMPBELL,

C.B., V.D. (LATE R.A.)

THE FRIEND OF MANY HAPPY MOMENTS,

AS A MARK OF MY HIGH ESTEEM

PREFACE

HAVING decided to write a History of Java, my first task was not only to read all I could, but to collect as large a library of reference books, manuscripts, and papers as was possible. In this I was very successful owing to the indefatigable and generous energy and assistance given me by Mr. J. H. Fricker, of Upper Norwood, an old Dulwich College boy, who somehow or other managed to hunt up and secure a copy of practically every publication I wanted on the subject of Java from the sixteenth up to the nineteenth century.

The chief works, to which very grateful recognition is due, are :—

Sir Stamford Raffles's "History of Java," printed in 1817; "Memoirs of Sir Stamford Raffles," by his wife, printed in 1830; D'Almeida's "Life in Java"; "The Indian Archipelago," by Resident John Crawfurd, F.R.S., printed in 1823; Major Thorn's "Expedition to Java," printed in 1817; Dr. de Haan's "Priangan," four vols., published by G. Kolff & Co., Batavia; "Munten van Nederlandsch Indie," by Netscher and van der Chys; "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography," by Colonel G. E. Gerini, M.R.A.S.; "Encyclopædia of Netherlands India"; "Ledger and Sword," by Beckles Willson (a very excellent book); "The Journal of the Indian Archipelago"; Harris's "Voyages," printed 1744; "Java," by Professor Veth; *Java Government Gazette*; "Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India"; "Report on the Records of the India Office," by Sir George Birdwood; "The Malay Archipelago," by Professor Alfred Russel Wallace; "Further India," by Sir Hugh Clifford; "Marsden's History of Sumatra," printed 1811; "Messiah: the Ancestral Hope of the Ages," by E. A. Gordon; "Lord

Minto in India," 1807—1814; "History of Nepal," by D. Wright; Kaempfer's "History of Japan"; "Notes on the Malay Archipelago," by Groeneveldt, and numerous manuscripts written by the late Dr. Brandes, Mr. van der Chys, and C. M. Pleyte, of Batavia.

Of these and many others of perhaps lesser importance I have made use and now and again drawn freely upon them. Otherwise the history is the result of personal study.

The study of Eastern peoples during my twenty-five years' sojourn in the Far East has always been a peculiarly delightful subject to me, but no Eastern folk have interested and fascinated me more than the Javans of the Dutch East Indies. Their daily tasks, their religion, their amusements, their customs, their feasts, their life, I have quite entered into and lived in thought as one of them. Sorrows they have none, at least not as we know them. The more I knew of them the more excitement was engendered to learn and study them further.

There are a few men in the East who have experienced my feelings, but they have had an advantage which I have not had, namely, that of being able to transcribe to paper, with a full-flowing and vivid pen, the thrilling colour of their Oriental experiences. Take for instance Sir Hugh Clifford: what books of Eastern life are more fascinating than his? I, on the contrary, have unfortunately lacked this quality.

In presenting, therefore, these humble unpretentious volumes to the public I beg to assert that I in no way lay even the smallest claim for any great originality, literary ability, or high standard. On the contrary, I am aware that my collection of notes, pamphlets, and memoranda originally transcribed to paper to give myself a more succinct and more intelligent understanding of the history of Java—but now clubbed together, and dubbed a *history*, for the English public in Java—are full of shortcomings.

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: PAST & PRESENT

Minto in India," 1807—1814; "History of Java," by D. Wright; Kaempfer's "History of Japan and the Malay Archipelago," by Groeneveldt; and other manuscripts written by the late Dr. Brand, Chys, and C. M. Pleyte, of Batavia.

Of these and many others of perhaps less value I have made use and now and again drawn from. Otherwise the history is the result of personal observation.

The study of Eastern peoples during my years' sojourn in the Far East has always been a delightful subject to me, but no Eastern people has so much interested and fascinated me more than the Javans of the Indies. Their daily tasks, their religion, their customs, their feasts, their life, I have known and lived in thought as one of them. I have none, at least not as we know them. Of all of them the more excitement was engendered, the more I study them further.

There are a few men in the East who have had my feelings, but they have had an advantage which I have not had, namely, that of being able to translate their experiences with a full-flowing and vivid pen, the thing which I have not. Take for instance Clifford: what books of Eastern life are more interesting than his? I, on the contrary, have unfortunately not this quality.

In presenting, therefore, these humble volumes to the public I beg to assert that I have no even the smallest claim for any great originality, or high standard. On the contrary, that my collection of notes, pamphlets, and other documents, originally transcribed to paper to give a more succinet and more intelligent understanding of Java—but now clubbed together, and distributed for the English public in Java—are full of such

*Continued
Sp. 100*

JAVA: PAST & PRESENT

A WOMAN IN THE SAHARA.

BY HELEN C. GORDON.

One Volume, crown 8vo, illustrated, 6s. net.

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN.



W. J. Wright.]

THE AUTHOR, DONALD MACLAINE CAMPBELL.

[Upper Norwood.



MRS. DONALD MACLAINE CAMPBELL.

There is still one point I desire to touch on, and that is, that after my long career in the cosmopolitan East, of which I am happy to say the greater portion has been spent in the Dutch East Indies, there is no foreign (to me it is not foreign) nation in the world for which I have a higher and deeper respect, and a greater and profounder admiration and regard, than the Dutch.

I am entitled to speak as having been privileged, I am proud to say, to enjoy an intercourse with merchants, civilians, judges, Army and Navy men, and Government officials from His Excellency the Governor-General downwards.¹

The Dutch have of course their national characteristics, as we have ours, but in honourable methods, always taking into consideration their desire for sureness, even if it necessitates slowness, they have nothing to learn from any nation, and would be able to give, perhaps, a good many points to some. They are a people of very high integrity.

In the past, several hundred years ago, the tyranny and rapacity of some of their colonial officers, it is true, created a widespread feeling of distrust against the nation, but when we take into consideration the wild and rough period in which they lived, the difficulty in dealing with native races they did not understand, and the half-superstitious religions with which their minds were dominated, is it surprising that they dealt with the semi-civilised inhabitants of those Eastern countries, where they were endeavouring to gain a foothold, with severity?

The question is, however, were our records at this period very much better? and were our methods of a nature less repugnant, less reprehensible, and less repressive to the princes and people with whom we dealt? I do not think so.

¹ I have known five Governor-Generals, two very closely. From the last, His Excellency Governor-General Idenburg, I held two special appointments.

Sir Stamford Raffles was Lieutenant-Governor of Java from 1811 to 1816, and placed strictures upon the Dutch which were in many instances severe ; he was undoubtedly one of the most enlightened statesmen England ever sent to the East, and his knowledge of the Dutch Indies at that period was second to none ; he, however, made it distinctly understood that his observations were intended to apply exclusively to the Dutch Colonial Government and its officers, and not to the Dutch Government in Holland, whose instructions to the authorities at Batavia always breathed a spirit of liberality and benevolence ; and it is a fact that the tyranny of certain officers invariably brought down the indignation of the people in Holland.

It was on this past and on what happened in the colonisation period that the Dutch nation has been sometimes judged by those people who have not been in a position to give a fair opinion, and no allowance whatever has ever been made for the distrust and jealousy which existed between the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, especially the two latter, in the East when the great struggle was taking place as to who should become the predominant factor.

The final and significant success with which the Dutch have managed and administered the colonies which fell to them is, however, to the credit of that great nation, with its glorious past in Europe.

Lastly, I beg to thank my accomplished and talented wife, the friend who has given me loyal and valuable support in carrying out a strenuous and difficult task in my position in Java, Mejonkvrouwe Mathilde Marie Isabelle Smissaert, a Dutch lady of high and distinguished family.

I must also acknowledge my grateful thanks for assistance in various ways from Colonel Leith, Mr. John Bonhote, and Mr. Hubert Duck.

I have still only to add that this history has been mainly brought out with the special object of supplying a long-felt

want among my countrymen in Java and Sumatra, who desire some record of what the English have done in these Islands; and in giving them an account with numerous statements containing what I can find regarding the various Englishmen who were in Java up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, together with the reports some of them have left behind, I trust I am conveying something, if not altogether ornamental, in any case useful.

Java has had a great past, but it has a still greater future, and before many years have passed will probably be prominently brought forward in the world, in a manner which, when the time comes, must not be looked upon as unexpected.

I have to draw attention to the perfect photographs of the Royal Families of the Susuhunan of Surakerta (the rightful Emperor of Java) and of the Sultan of Djockjakerta, etc.; these are in so far unique that they have never been made public before, and few excepting the special friends of the Emperor and the Sultan have ever been privileged to see them.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

With regard to the spelling of places in this volume, it must be observed in Netherlands India, as in other Eastern countries, that there is a strange diversity in their rendering, and even official documents are not always consistent. There is the old and ancient spelling, the *quasi*-Dutch rendering, and the full Dutch designation.

With perhaps small divergencies my endeavour has been to spell all names of places in this history as they were spelt at the time of which the particular account is being given. Thus in the ancient portion the names are spelt as they were known at that period, and as rendered in old Hindu-Javan documents, and so on.

DONALD MACLAINE CAMPBELL.

GLENDON, KINGSWOOD ROAD,
UPPER NORWOOD, S.E.

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FIRST PERIOD

Before the Arrival of the Mahometans

CHAPTER I

PART I

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF JAVA

FROM THE EARLIEST TRADITIONS TO THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE HINDU PERIOD, ANNO JAVAN 1 (A.D. 75).

Introduction.—Although not a few of us in these islands have probably heard at some time or other that there is such a place as Java, how many of us have any knowledge of its exact, or even approximate, geographical position, or of its extent, importance, and population? I am prepared to say there are not many. It is true nevertheless that Java is the most important island, not only in the East Indian Archipelago, but in the world.

The Paradise of the World.—Its climate, too, away from the sultry ports, and from a height of 1,500 feet upwards, is quite incomparable; and this, taken with the fascination of its charming folk, has caused many to designate it as the Paradise of the Earth. Certainly, if ever there was a Garden of Delight, the region of Java, in regard to its beauty and climate, may, I think, lay a very good claim to be such a place. The climate is one of perpetual and unending summer, where the wants of man are liberally supplied without stint by an ever bounteous Nature, and where neither covering nor house is required. It strikes the stranger or traveller as a gorgeous and magnificent garden of superlative and unparalleled luxuriance, surpassing Brazil, Jamaica, Formosa, Borneo, or New Zealand, or even, as some say, the whole of these combined.

It is certainly a land in which the forests are adorned with an everlasting green, a land of thousands of lovely

variegated birds, and one whose numberless thousands of bright and strikingly coloured flowers lend to it an overpowering and undying sweetness and perfume.

It is, moreover, a land where the student of Nature can live amidst all that is dear to him. Alone on the mountainsides, under a clear blue sky, he finds his imagination running riot ; he hears the sea wind, gentle but penetrating, rushing through the banana trees and the tops of the lofty palms, and he can hear the thundering and deeply echoing roar of the numberless waterfalls which rush down the great mountains in the interior of the island.

Java, to use a well-worn phrase, is without a doubt the peerless gem in that magnificent empire of Insulinia which twists and winds about the Equator like a chaplet of emeralds.

Many say that it is the ideal of all tropical lands, and that it is the greenest, the most beautiful, the sweetest, and the most exquisite spot to be found anywhere. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise to hear it described as " The Wonderland," " The Fairy Land," " The Paradise of the World." ¹

Java's resources in objects of interest are manifold, and I do not think it would be possible to find the man who cannot come upon something here to his taste or liking. Should he be an admirer or a student of art, delighting in Eastern peoples or ancient civilisations, he can spend months, even years, in exploring the world-famed ruined Hindu temples of Boro Budur,² Prambanau, Tjandi Séwu, and the remains of the ancient holy city in the Dieng mountains. Should he take an interest in the social conditions and

¹ Dr. H. C. Bryant, the Secretary of the American Alpine Club, when speaking of his experiences in Java at a meeting of the Appalachian Mountain Club, said : " It is from the popular point of view a *terra incognita*, but if anyone should ask me as to the most beautiful place in the world I saw in my trip round the earth, I should unhesitatingly name this island." All writers say the same. I have never seen any opinion other than this.

² Bara Budur.



THE ROYAL WARINGIN TREES IN THE ALOON ALOON AT JOCKJAKARTA.

customs of primitive peoples, he will find in Java an almost inexhaustible mine: there are the Javan villages of Mid-Java, the Sunda and Malay campongs of West Java, the Hindu settlement 6,500 feet in the mountains at Tosari, the Arabian villages near Pasoeroean, to say nothing of the numerous and widely spread Chinese communities in every little town and village. Should he desire to study the political problems that invariably result from colonial possessions, he will find in Java in full working perhaps the most wonderful and successful system that human ingenuity has devised, a system invented by the Hindus, whereby the Dutch with their intelligent and tactful Residents govern a subject race of close on thirty-five millions, through the instrumentality of their own Rajahs (called Bopatis or Regents), with seldom a hitch occurring of any kind. Should he be a sportsman, he can have excellent big game shooting, tigers being plentiful in East Java; whilst wild buffaloes (banteng) are to be found in West and South Java. Should he prefer lighter sport, wild deer, wild boar, and other small game are innumerable everywhere. Should he be a geologist, he will at once become enthusiastic over the majestic chain of volcanoes which stretches like a monstrous backbone through the centre of the island from east to west, providing an unrivalled number of craters for the investigation of the scientist. Should he be a botanist, here he has at his feet when he arrives the largest and the most famous botanical garden in the world at Buitenzorg, containing thousands of species of plants and trees of all descriptions. Should he be a lover of Nature, everywhere where he goes in Java he has scenery so grand and of such unsurpassable beauty that no pen can describe it. Finally, the traveller will find in Java a civilised land with considerable luxury, with splendid hotels, excellent railways and tramways, and fine motoring roads throughout the island.

The Island of Java.—The island of Java, which may with justice be considered as the most precious jewel in the diadem of the Dutch, is—with the exception of Sumatra and Borneo—the largest island in the East Indian Archipelago. It is 668 miles long, with an area of 50,798 square miles, and a population of 31,000,000, or 595 inhabitants per square mile.¹ It has a greatest breadth of 124 miles, which diminishes to 37 miles at its narrowest.

Situation.—Java is situated between 6° north and 11° south latitude, and 95° and 141° east longitude. On the south and west its shores are washed by the balmy southern Indian Ocean ; to the north-west lies the island of Sumatra ; slightly east of north is Borneo ; to the north-east lies the island of Celebes, and to the east the island of Bali, from which it is separated by a narrow passage called the Straits of Bali.

Java constitutes with Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes, what is generally called the Sunda group of islands, which are richer in gold, silver, diamonds, and other precious metals than either Mexico or Peru, and are without doubt the “Taprobána” of the ancients, the “Soles of the Gentiles,” and the “Sacred Islands of the Hindus.”

The numerous islands south of the Philippines all belong to the Dutch, forming an estate twelve times the size of England. The inhabitants, the languages, the flora, the fauna, and the geological formation all point to one conclusion, namely, that they are the remaining highlands of a vast and extensive continent uniting Australia to Asia.

It must be concluded that the Australian continent separated long before the islands were formed and separated from the Asiatic portion. This is concluded from the fact that the sea about Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Malay

¹ The whole of Netherlands East India covers an area of 587,370 square miles, and has a population of 40,500,000.

Peninsula, and that between Australia and New Guinea and the other islands to the north-east, are not nearly so deep as the channel which divides these two groups and the sea to the east of the Philippines, Celebes, and Sumbawa. The difference ranges from 50 to 1,000 fathoms, and this may be taken as conclusive enough for the argument ; if, however, further evidence is required, this is immediately given us by the difference existing between the inhabitants of the two divisions, those in the west being Malayan and the others Papuan.¹

The Origin of the Ancient Inhabitants.—A subject that has engaged the attention of many writers and numerous Dutch scholars is the question of the origin of the ancient inhabitants of Java. Some writers have, of course, attempted a solution by studying the Javans of the present day, and conclude from their appearance that they have come from one or another great stock. These conclusions, although they may be right so far as the present Javans are concerned, have nothing to do with the question of the original inhabitants of Java, and are irrelevant to it. Others again with a deeper knowledge have endeavoured to reach a conclusion by inferences drawn from the language, from the customs, and from the facial and general physical characters of the Javan people. These also are beside the point. Sir Stamford Raffles, for instance, a great authority, writes in his "History of Java": "The inhabitants of Java seem to owe their origin to the same stock from which most of the islands lying to the south of the eastern peninsula of Asia appear to have been first peopled. This stock is evidently Tartar." Sir Stamford refers here, of course, to the Javan folk of his day, not to the original inhabitants, and since then much has been discovered.

¹ Edward Clodd writes in "The Story of Creation": "Australia contains only the lowest mammals, a duckbill and kangaroos, witnessing to its severance from Asia during the secondary epoch."

Prehistoric stone implements, hatchets, and spear heads have been from time to time discovered several feet below the surface in the Preanger and other districts in Java, and in the surrounding islands. This indicates a stone age of great antiquity. Then there has been found among fossil remains near Madiven the celebrated "human monkey" or "fossil man," *Pithecanthropus erectus*, said by German anthropologists to be human, or at least the "missing link." This was discovered at a considerable depth, and the age assigned to the remains carries us back to the Pliocene, or at least to the early Pleistocene period. As this being when erect stood, according to Mr. Beddard, 5 feet 6 inches high, and the contents of its cranium were 1,000 cm., that is 400 cm. more than the cranial capacity of any anthropoid ape, and fully as great as or even a trifle greater than the cranial capacity of some female Australians, Veddahs, and *Sémangs*, it may well be, if not, as Professor Haeckel insists on calling it, "the commencement of humanity," in any case the progenitor of the original inhabitants of Java, who would be a low race of men materially and far more primitive than any race that exists to-day.

The original inhabitants may, therefore, have been autochthonous in the East Indies. If the conclusions of Professor Haeckel and the other distinguished men who examined the remains, as set forth in the note at the end of this chapter, are correct, they seem to point to the fact that these autochthonous inhabitants of Java were already in the land when the physical geography of the Australian and Asiatic continents must have been very different from what it is now.

The Aborigines.—From this autochthonous race may, therefore, have descended the people of Java known as *Kalang* (wild devils), called by the first Hindu invaders *Rásaka*. In several parts of India, on the borders of the

forests, the natives of the present day still believe in the power and might of a demon known as the *Raksha* and fear him accordingly ; doubtless this name for the *Kalang* thus originated.¹

These *Kalang* did not become extinct in Java until well into the Hindu period.² They were, of course, as Adolf Bernhard Meyer in " *Die Kalangs auf Java* " shows, negritos, and, like the rest of these scattered oceanic negritos, the mere survivors of a former widespread autochthonous race, which had lived in inaccessible parts, like the present-day negritos of the Philippines, Borneo, New Guinea, and Tasmania (till lately),³ the beddahs of Ceylon, the Andaman

¹ The *Raksha* has been described as a terrible creature with eyes set obliquely in the head, ugly, broad, bulky, misshapen, and with terrible teeth. It haunts only the forests and the tops of hills, and was said to be given to decoying children and solitary women. It had also a terrible cry, which is noteworthy as corresponding with the cry of the ancient Javan, who had a mustering call or shriek in the dense forests of Java. Miss Mary Frere in her book " *Old Deccan Days in Hindu Fairy Tales* " mentions this superstition as still existing in Scinde, where, however, the demon is not known as *Raksha*, but *Djinn*. We learn from Parker's valuable book on " *Ancient Ceylon* " that when the first Aryan invaders entered India they brought with them an exaggerated belief in the existence of various classes of evil beings, among whom those termed *Rakshasa* occupied the leading place. When the Indian epic poem the *Ramayana* was composed, the *Rakshasa* had developed into beings who constantly made their appearance before men. They were first described as wandering malignant demons of the great Vindhya forest, which extended far to the south of India, and in the later portions of that work they were represented as occupying Ceylon. It is clear from all this, therefore, that they were wild men—so wild, that by those others of the human race who had become more civilised they were looked upon as demons, or semi-demons, who only came out by night ; for, as Parker tells us, " these demons were thought to be specially active and powerful during the darkness of the night." The ordinances of Manu confirm the statement that the *Rakshasa* were flesh-eating demons and that night was the special time for their activity. If this wild autochthonous race did not arise in India, it is certain it did so in the East Indies, and the greater probability lies with the latter alternative. Apparently they were originally more monkey than man.

² A few of the *Kalang* existed even later.

³ C. R. Enock, F.R.C.S., says : " The black woolly-haired races were the first inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago, which doubtless has been divided into islands during the human period." The recently extinct Tasmanians

Islanders, and the *Sémangs* of the Malay Peninsula.¹ Their preservation in all these islands is due entirely to their isolation, caused by a subsidence of parts of a former continent; whilst the extinction of this race in Java was due to its early discovery and colonisation by other races who brought a higher culture with them.

The question that now arises is, To which of the great divisions of the human family must this older stock be assigned? This is a difficult problem, but this much may with safety, even with certainty, be asserted: it was not Mongolian or Ethiopic; therefore it must have been Caucasian.

In features they were probably bullet-headed with square faces and exceedingly heavy jaws; the ancestor was probably a man of very low stature with beetling brows. Their nose was very broad at the nostrils, and they had frizzled woolly hair. Their food consisted of wild natural products, that is, fruits and roots of plants, and wild animals of all kinds. They were apparently all fishers and hunters, but they were ignorant of agriculture and cattle-breeding. Their implements and weapons were of stone, and they lived isolated, rude lives, scattered in small groups of probably ten to forty persons. They had no fixed home, but lived in the forests and caverns, wandering about naked from one place to another. There was, of course, no restraint among them or established order, although a certain respect for age took the place of civil obedience. When the crop of wild millet was gathered, the elder decided when and where the horde should next move. Before departing they feasted and offered sacrifices in an open

were of this race—people who, according to Haddon in “The Wanderings of Peoples,” “walked from New Guinea to Tasmania.”

¹ The Malay Peninsula, *i.e.*, the lower part of it, has been held by many to have once been an island. This would be a reason why the *Sémang*, or brothers of the Javan *Kalang*, have been preserved down to the present day.

plain, attracting to the remains of their repast the bird called *úlung-gága*,¹ and the young men would shake a rude musical instrument (still to be heard in the Sunda district and at Garoet, in the Preanger) called the *ángklung*, shouting and dancing to its accompaniment in a wild, ludicrous, and aimless fashion, and becoming at last mad with its sounds.² When the bird would not eat of the meal offered, their departure was delayed and their sacrifices and prayers renewed, but if the bird ate and flew in the direction of their intended journey, a lamb or kid was slain and burnt as a thank-offering to the deity.³ In case of favourable omen⁴ another feast was partaken of, which ended in further violent exhibitions or demonstrations of joy, in which the *ángklung* played a prominent part. When all was ready for the journey, the oldest man of the horde with his wife and children either was placed upon an elephant or was carried in a rough litter, and began to move in the direction he had indicated; the rest moved on foot behind him. Preceding the horde were the young men and boys shaking the *ángklung* and shouting aloud, for the twofold purpose of rendering the necessary homage to their chief

¹ Supposed to have been a crow or raven.

² The manner in which the mountaineers of the Sunda districts still spring and shout to the sound of the *ángklung* corresponds with the above account. On occasions of public rejoicings in the eastern extremities of the island a party of wild men was frequently introduced, who with dishevelled hair and covered with leaves, while shaking the *ángklung*, shouted, sprang, and distorted their limbs in the rudest manner, the object being to exhibit the original inhabitants, in contrast with what they have become through civilisation.

³ The same as the peace offerings of Egypt.

⁴ The Dayaks of Borneo still hold particular kinds of birds holy, and draw omens from their flight. Before they enter on a journey or engage in war, they invite the approach of these birds by screaming songs and scattering rice. If these birds take their flight in the direction they wish to go, it is regarded as a favourable omen, but if they take another direction, they consider it as unfavourable and delay the business until the omens are more suitable to their wishes.—“Transactions of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences,” Vol. VII.

and of frightening away the wild beasts which abounded all over the island in countless multitudes at that period.¹

Their various modes of worship and their beliefs were of a simple nature, although it has been said that these had as their basis considerably higher forms.² Some worshipped the sun (as was common in Egypt in early times), others the moon; some worshipped fire or water, or the trees of the forests. Like all the early races of Egypt and Babylonia, they practised the arts of divination and of astrology. This may, however, have been later, after contact with other people, for at the first beginnings their powers of reason must have been most primitive, in fact not far removed from those of the anthropoid ape, and not much superior to those of the lower animals with whom they shared the forest, the mountains, and dales.

If their ancestors were not autochthonous, where did these come from? For, as already observed, they must have been in the archipelago when the country formed part of the Australian and Asiatic continents. If they did arrive later, then it would have been by water, in which case they would have had a little knowledge, however small, of the art of paddling canoes or rafts. This art, however, they never appear to have had, which is more or less proof that they did not arrive by sea, for they would never have lost this knowledge. There is, as far as I am aware, no evidence of any islanders having degenerated to this extent. Whether in Java itself they were ever in very great numbers it is impossible to say, but that these *Kalang* or *Raksha* existed there is no doubt whatever; in fact,

¹ Even at the present day no native ever thinks of entering a forest before shouting, and his journey is made to the accompaniment of wild yells uttered from time to time.

² C. Reginald Enock, in "The Secret of the Pacific," writes: "A mixture of Proto-Malayans with Indonesians, whom we may well call Proto-Polynesians, drifted into the West Pacific and gave the black woolly-haired natives their language and some elements of higher culture."

until the sixteenth and even the seventeenth centuries they were in fair numbers.¹ After this, however, they gradually died out, although here and there in the island there are still signs in bastard negritos of their previous existence. Civilisation killed them in Java, as in Tasmania and elsewhere it has exterminated the indigenous races. This ancient race of primitive man must have lived alone in the archipelago and the island of Java undisturbed throughout untold centuries until people of another race visited and later on invaded the country. The *Kalang* may, I suppose, also have been related to the original or indigenous race called *Kedda* in Southern India; for, as is well known, long before Hindustan was thickly populated, say anywhere from B.C. 3000 to 2500, whilst the Aryan family or tribe in the north was still in obscurity, the country was already in some parts peopled by a savage race which, while with the rudiments of a religion acknowledging a power above, was more or less given over to barbarism. Some of these aborigines were in Ceylon, which at that time still formed a portion of the Indian continent. Here, it may incidentally be observed, in the course of time they were visited by members of other peoples, some of whom probably remained in the land and partially civilised it. This we know from the ancient Vedas, or Hindu histories, which relate the story of the celebrated *Wijaya*² from Bengal, who landed there in B.C. 543, and found a civilised community which could trace its antiquity for six or seven centuries. Besides this there is every evidence in the *Mahavansa*, or the History of the great Dynasty of Ceylon, to show that there was a pre-Aryan colonisation of this country which was contemporaneous with the colonisation of Southern India about B.C. 2000 to 1500; and minute

¹ See also "De Kalangers," by E. Ketjen.

² *Wijaya* was a Hindu who rose into prominence through marrying the daughter of a powerful Maharaja.

accounts of warfare and life in Ceylon are given as far back as B.C. 1250.

The Origin of the Present Inhabitants.—The present people of Java owe their origin in the main to the same stock from which Sumatra, Borneo, and most of the islands to the south of the Malay Peninsula were at an early date populated. This stock was probably a Tartar one, if we accept the general opinion. Doubtful, however, as this question must remain, one thing is quite certain, namely, that the elements which have tended to modify and alter this original stock are Egyptian, Hindu, Kling, Tartar, Arabian, and Chinese, which there appears to be ample proof were introduced at one time or another into the archipelago.

I must add that it has been suggested by some writers that at an early date a mixed race, originally coming from Ceylon or Southern India, was the first to visit the Eastern Archipelago; but this idea must, I think, be laid aside as erroneous, and will probably be found to have been based upon a misapprehension of facts, and due to a confusion with a migration to Java from these parts at or about the time of the Christian era. It is true that the renowned traveller Kaerupfer writes in his great history of Japan: "Before Christ 1,027 years, upon the eighth day of the fourth month, was born in India the great heathen prophet Siaka. His doctrine was soon spread, and by his disciples, into several parts of the *East Indies*." (The italics are mine.) These East Indies were possibly just certain parts of Ceylon, but they may, of course, also have referred to the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. Several hundreds of years before the Christian era a vast expedition left Hindustan and made its way into Indo-China.¹ Its journey seems, for various reasons, to have been made by sea. Some French writers assert that it was overland; as other countries with sea-coasts which were passed in the journey

¹ This is believed to be about B.C. 500.

apparently escaped this invasion, this opinion must be mentioned, although, as Sir Hugh Clifford rightly observes in his "Further India," "the opinion is one which it is not easy to accept." These emigrants are said to have been the founders of the great Khmer empire in Cambodia, which reached a state of civilisation and power of which this is a little idea. The ruins of the mighty and magnificent temples, with *Angkor* or *Thom* and *Angkor Wat* as the jewels, are triumphant evidence of what this great empire must once have been. The origin of the Khmers is plainly represented in the ancient monuments there, for it is clear from the character of the carvings, the features of the statues, and the cult of Buddha that this people came from Hindustan, and nowhere else. One may, therefore, dismiss Ribadeneyra's statement in his "History of the Islands of the Archipelago," that there is a tradition in Cambodia that the ruins there were constructed by the Romans, or by Alexander the Great.

During the life of this empire, when the population had begun to swell to over-great numbers, emigrants, as has invariably been the custom in all countries and ages, were sent off, who sailed for the nearer countries and islands of the archipelago and there settled. There is a good deal of evidence that this did occur, for, apart from other proofs, it is known that when the entire population of Khmer—for reasons never yet discovered—was suddenly driven out of Cambodia, its numbers had already considerably diminished, while its arts had decayed almost to disappearance. Whether when the first and earliest emigrations took place Java was one of the islands colonised by it cannot be definitely shown; but as the more southern parts of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra were among the countries where settlers made their home, it seems quite possible and reasonable to suppose that this was so. If such a colonisation of Java took place, it must have been some years

before our era, for the records of the Javans do not go further back than A.D. 75, or the year of the first contact with the Hindus from India.

There is another possibility, however, still open for the origin of the present-day Javan, viz., that a race of people who were already established in Indo-China long before the Hindus came, and had been used to a quiet and agricultural life, were suddenly confronted by these aggressive Hindu conquerors, who compelled them to work on their temples, whose astonishing size and Titanic proportions still speak from their ruins of the gigantic efforts they cost.¹ That there was such a race here is told us by Mr. J. Thomson in "Wonders of the World," who states that *Funan* was the name by which the present-day Cambodia was known, and that it was said to have been in existence (and well populated) in the twelfth century B.C. Although it seems that the history of these ruins is lost for ever, one can still realise how the indigenious and humble agricultural folk who had lived there so long before these terrible foreigners arrived groaned under the yoke that was inflicted upon them, grinding the very lives out of them, and killing them in thousands.

What more reasonable to suppose than that at last, unable any longer to bear the strain of living under a race of men who were as pitiless as Pharaoh's overseers, they escaped from their bondage, with their families, seeking a refuge in the isles of the archipelago as far from their brutal taskmasters as possible?

This, then, was probably the origin of the present-day inhabitants, an Indonesian race, impregnated with Tartar or Mongolian strain. This hypothesis is the natural result of every work on this question that might help, and although

¹ According to local native history, the temples were built B.C. 250, and the people who built them also forced the natives to make "great lines of roads equal to those of the Romans."

the views expressed may at first be rejected, they may eventually be accepted as time goes on, and new discoveries are made.

Presumably these must have been the people who brought with them the art of rice-growing, as philological investigations have irrefutably proved that it has been grown in irrigated fields divided into terraces centuries before the Hindus directly from Hindustan arrived in Java. This fact is more or less proved by the circumstance that nearly all the technical terms used in the cultivation are non-Sanscrit, *unlike the case of everything else in Java which the Hindus introduced*.¹ In "The Secret of the Pacific," by C. Reginald Enock, and in "Hawaiki, the Original Home of the Maori," by Smith, one reads that it is generally believed that the parent stock of the Polynesians can be traced to India about B.C. 450, and that a migration took place to Java in B.C. 65. As the date B.C. 450 is almost identical with the date of the Hindu invasion of Indo-China, one cannot help being imbued with the idea that Polynesia, like Java, must have been stocked from India *via* Indo-China, and not from India direct. This Mr. Enock hints at on page 300 of the above interesting work. Here I might also add that Wallace, in "Studies Scientific and Social," Vol. I., maintains that the Khmers—a superior race of undoubted Caucasian type—mingled with others, emigrated as far south as New Zealand, producing the magnificent Maori race, who in turn were the origin of the Incas of Peru and Bolivia.

Name.—To what cause the island owes its present name of Java is a point which has been frequently discussed but never satisfactorily solved.

Among various traditions there is one which relates that the name *Yawa-Dwipa* (*Yava-Dvipa*), or *Land of Barley*, was given by the first Hindus to both Sumatra and

¹ For rice culture in Java, see Chapter XVII.

Java on account of the discovery of this cereal (called in Sanscrit *jáwa-wūt*), which they found growing there wild.

Yawa-Dwipa (*Yava-Dwipa*) does not, however, mean, as has been thoughtlessly stated and repeated, the country of the barley, for a very simple reason, and that is, that barley will not grow there; but it might possibly mean millet, of which there are several varieties indigenous to the island, many of them called by the generic name of *yawa*, or *jáwa*, the Sanscrit name for them. The name of the island is, it is true, spelt *Yava* (*Yava-Dwipa*) in the Sanscrit inscriptions discovered there; but then it equally occurs in the form *Yava* in the *Pagar-ruyung* inscription of A.D. 656 in Central Sumatra. This shows, according to Colonel Gerini in his "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography," the absurdity of making the term in question an exclusive appurtenance of the island of Java, as has been most recklessly done by nearly every writer who has hitherto treated the subject. And there is some evidence in favour of the term having been imported into Java from Sumatra, which island appears to be entitled to the priority in its use.

Javana or *Yavana*, or abridged *Java*, was also the name given not only to Sumatra, but also to portions of Borneo and of the Malay Peninsula (probably Pahang) besides the whole of Indo-China. One of the ancient names of *Lúang P'hrak Bang* was in fact *Java*, or *Chawa*, which name, according to Colonel Gerini, the *Lau* found on their arrival there, and which they pronounce *Sava*.

The term *Java* has, however, all over the archipelago and Indo-China, never been viewed in the light of a place-name proper, but it is understood as a racial name; and even when used in a topographical sense it invariably means country of the Java, or Javan (in Malay **ꦗꦮ**, Java or Javan) race. Far from the range of this term being con-



RUINS OF THE WATER-CASTLE, JOCKJAKARTA.

fined to Java, it would seem that chronologically about the latest place and geographically the furthest limit to which it extended was Java itself.

Ptolemy called the island *Jaba-diu* (see his map), which may be an abbreviation of *Yava-Dvipa*, but is much more likely to mean *Jabadios Insulæ*, from *Jaba* and *dib-*, *div-*, or *dio-*.

Sometimes the island has been called *Nusa Java*, the Sanscrit expression for the island of Java, or rather of the Javan race; but the strange thing is that in the legendary tales of the Javans the term Java applies only to its central or eastern provinces, those portions in fact which were occupied by the Javan race strictly so called, whilst the western part of the island, although there are several Hindu towns here, never seems to have been designated otherwise than as *Tanah Sunda*, that is, the Sunda country. Even the traveller Barbosa, as well as the early Portuguese historians of the East Indies, used to distinguish between Java (the eastern part of the island) and Sunda (the western part), believing them to form two separate and different islands. The travellers and foreign merchants, however, who came after these early Portuguese, called the whole island Java, hence in course of time the poetical fiction.

The important question which now arises is, Seeing that this *Javana*, *Javan*, or *Chava* race was in Indo-China, and perhaps also the Eastern Archipelago, before the advent of the Mongolic type, what was it, and where did it come from?

It came, of course, from *Lúang P'hrah Bang*, in Indo-China.

The name Java was in this case, therefore, a foreign importation, and the people when they came to the country would have been known as Javan. That it arose, therefore, from the barley grown in the island is a myth.

Can it now be that this race had some connection with

the people called Javan so often mentioned in the Old Testament, and reckoned among the sons of Japheth?

The First Visitors from the West.—Among the various traditions as to how Java and the Eastern Islands were originally peopled is one which says that its first inhabitants came in vessels from the Red Sea, *Láut Míra*, and that on their passage they coasted along the shores of Hindustan. This peninsula then formed an unbroken continent with the Indian Archipelago, from which it is now so widely separated, and which, according to the same tradition, has since then been divided into so many islands by some terrific convulsion of Nature.

Now as early as B.C. 4500 the town of *Ur Kasdim*, which was situated about five miles from the Persian Gulf, was a thriving and populous metropolis, a most important manufacturing centre, and a mercantile emporium of no ordinary importance, whose ships traded with India, as is proved by the teak found in its ruins. African products were obtained from *Ezion Géber*, a port of the Red Sea, near the present town of Inakin, and sweet resinous gums essential from Arabia, being brought down by an old trade route to Jiddah, the port of the later-founded Mecca.

By way of the Red Sea and across the Isthmus of Suez the energetic and enterprising merchants of *Ur Kasdim*, who came from the east and west, belonging to the great trading tribes of *Javan*, *Tubal*, and *Meshed*,¹ supplied the inhabitants of Egypt and the islands of Crete and Cyprus with the riches of the Orient, and these were by no means the only outlets for their merchandise.

These hardy merchants returned to *Ur Kasdim* by way of the Red Sea, as they had gone.

This early trade between Europe and Asia, which first commenced with the overland route, and later was borne

¹ China was a great country as early as B.C. 5000, perhaps even earlier; the date is lost in the mists of the ages.

on the sea, was carried on by the Phœnicians, a wonderful race of traders whose origin is wrapped in obscurity. By great military and caravan routes, which existed certainly as early as B.C. 4000 between India, Thibet, Bactria, Persia, Babylonia, and Southern Europe, they carried Eastern arts of pottery, ivory-turning, glass-making, enamelling, and wood-carving, and these were at last carried into the remotest recesses of Germany and Scandinavia, and even further, thus doubtless profoundly influencing the primitive civilisation of those countries.¹ The appearance among the prehistoric remains of Switzerland and Denmark of arms and implements of bronze in succession to spear and arrow heads of flint, generally affirmed to be due to the displacement of the primeval savage tribes of the West by the immigration of new races of a higher civilisation from the East, probably marks the age of the earliest Phœnician intercourse with Europe. Amber beads have also been found in the lowest strata of Lâchish, in Palestine, dating, therefore, from B.C. 3000 ; a votive tablet from Assyrian merchants of the ninth century B.C. thanking God for their safe return from the Far Country where the Little Bear stands at the zenith (that is, Scandinavia), cowries, and an Indian shell discovered in a very ancient Swedish grave ; some porcelain seals from China, found at great depth in various parts of Ireland, and dating back to the third century B.C., prove conclusively the enterprise of the seafarers and caravans, and the immense journeys they undertook in those bygone days, in which the earth is generally pictured as wrapped in deepest slumber.

As time went on the Phœnicians became more venture-some, and lengthier sea journeys were undertaken. Ceylon was no doubt visited, where ivory was procured, and even-

¹ In the reign of *Naram Shin* (son of Sargon the Great, or Agade), B.C. 3700, an excellent postal service connected Canaan with Babylonia ; some of the clay *bullæ* used as stamps for the official correspondence at that period are to-day in the Louvre Museum at Paris.

tually the Malay Peninsula, Malacca, and Sumatra (west coast), from which came the gold for Solomon's temple. Lastly, Java and the Spice Islands would have been reached, and hence the tradition of the vessels from the *Láut Míra* (Red Sea).

The smiling plains of Java—which island was then one with Sumatra—with their wild millet and dry climate, the beautiful forests, with an abundance of the sweetest fruits, the numerous rivers and streams, with a plentiful supply of fish, would all have had their attractions for the rough travellers, and the fame of the beauty of the land would soon have been carried by them to Ceylon and Southern India, places comparatively near.

According to Edward Clodd, in "Human Origins," the seas were covered with the sails of Phœnician or Egyptian ships certainly as early as B.C. 1600. These seamen busied themselves in those regions of the world where tin was known to exist. Their ships were loaded with metal smelted from the tin-bearing gravel of the Malayan Cassitera Island, a name derived from either the Greek *kassiteros* ("tin"), or from the Sanscrit name for this metal.

The Sacred Isles of the Gentiles.—As to the East Indies being the "isles of the Gentiles," the descendants of *Ham* went to Africa, those of *Shem* peopled a portion of Arabia, whilst the descendants of *Japheth* migrated to the south of Europe as far as Italy and to Turkey, Greece, Armenia, Palestine, Afghanistan, Cashmere, India, Ceylon.

The sons (the Biblical term is probably a collective one and signifies a people or tribe) of *Japheth* were seven in number, and became distributed in tribes as follows:—

The first, *Gomer*, became the progenitor of the ancient Cimmerians and Cimbri, from whom the Celtic family descended.

Second, *Magog*, was the progenitor of the Scythians and Tartars.

Third, *Medai*, was progenitor of the ancient Medes.

Fourth, *Javan*, was progenitor of the race that eventually peopled Greece and Syria.

Fifth, *Tubal*, was progenitor of the people around the south of the Black Sea, who spread to Armenia.

Sixth, *Meshed*, mingled with Tubal and Magog, and originated the Russian and Chinese races.

Seventh, *Tiras*, was the progenitor of the Thracians.

That the Hindus and Javans are derived from the descendants of Japheth is evident from their subsequent history, and they fulfil in a very emphatic manner the prophetic declaration in Genesis, chap. ix., verse 27 :—

“ God shall enlarge Japheth.”

Government, science, and art, speaking broadly, are, and have been, Japhetic, and Japhetic only.

This being so, there is every reason for holding the early inhabitants of Java, who, I repeat, must not be confused with the earliest or autochthonous race, to have sprung from the fourth son of Japheth, or to have been of the tribes or peoples called by his name.

This Javan race, besides being in the East Indies, Cambodia, Siam, etc., was also found in Syria and Greece.

That the sons of Javan did live and trade in these Indies is evident, as also is the fact that the islands were known as the “ isles of the Gentiles ”; for does not Genesis, chap. x., verses 4 and 5, read :—

“ And the sons of *Javan*, *Elishah*, and *Tarshish*, Kittim and Dodanim, by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue ” ?¹

From the sons of *Tarshish* the port of Tarshish, which has been identified in recent times as none other than the

¹ At the present day the East Indies are similarly divided.

modern port of Galle, in Ceylon, and which was frequented so much in the days of King Solomon, received its name.

Solomon's ships manned by the Phœnicians, which were built in *Ezion Géber*, on the Red Sea, sailed along the shores of Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and Hindustan. The land for which they were bound was one governed by seven kings,¹ and carrying on an extensive trade.² The voyage to *Ezion Géber* and back, we are told, occupied them three years. This is quite possible when we bear in mind the small size of the vessels then in use, which made them absolutely dependent on the elements. The cargo these hardy travellers brought back to King Solomon was gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. The gold and silver may have come from a mountain in Sumatra known as Mount Ophir, whence it was conveyed to the coast down a river known to-day as the *Kali Mas* (River God), and thence to Malacca, where it was reshipped to Tarshish.

Ivory was always very plentiful in Ceylon, and could be procured also in Sumatra and Java.³

Apes were indigenous to Ceylon and Java. Peacocks swarmed in both countries. Owing to its favourable situation, Galle was from time immemorial the resort of merchants from Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, the Sudan, and Somali on the one side, and China, Sumatra, Java, and the Spice Islands on the other. It was the great Eastern mart frequented by the ships of Tyre and Judæa. Thus, 1 Kings, chap. x., verse 22, reads :—

“ For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram : once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks ” ;

¹ Both Java and Ceylon had several kings at one time.

² This also applies to Java equally with Tarshish and Ceylon.

³ In former days herds of elephants used to come over yearly quite easily from India, by what is known as Adam's Bridge, when certain edible trees were in bloom and the pasture lands in good condition.

and 2 Chronicles, chap. ix., verse 21, reads :—

“ For the king’s ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram : every three years once came the ships of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory,¹ and apes, and peacocks ” ;

further, Jeremiah, chap. x., verse 9, reads :—

“ Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz ”² ;

and Ezekiel, chap. xxvii., verse 19, reads :—

“ Dan also and Javan going to and fro, occupied in thy fairs ; bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market.”

Silver and iron were found in the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, whilst the cassia and calamus came from no other place than the Spice Islands.

Ezekiel, chap. xxvii., verses 3, 12, and 13, reads :—

“ And say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea [Bay of Bengal], which art a merchant of the people for many isles.”

“ Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches ; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.

“ Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants.”

Now tin until, comparatively speaking, recent times was only to be procured in the East Indian islands of Banca and Billiton, the tin mines of Cornwall not having yet been discovered ; while lead was in those days only known to exist in Sumatra. Furthermore, the book of Isaiah contains repeated references to the “ isles of the Gentiles,” and this, taken in conjunction with the invariable mention of gold, bright iron, silver, ivory, apes, peacocks, tin, lead, and spices, which *nowhere else in the world, even at the present day, are found all together but in the East Indies*, leaves no doubt to which islands Isaiah referred.³

¹ See note 3, page 24.

² Mount Ophir, in Sumatra.

³ Bronze was in common use in Egypt and Chaldæa before B.C. 5000, and

Java as the Taprobána of the Ancients.—As the islands of Java and Sumatra appear to have been hardly known to the old Roman and Greek map-makers, *Selan-dib* (Ceylon) has generally been considered the land they referred to as *Taprobána*. This is perhaps due to the obscure and rather contradictory descriptions given by Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, Pomponius, and Mela, an obscurity arising possibly from defective knowledge of the theory of map-making and a total ignorance of geography.

The *Taprobána* of the ancients was said to be a country intersected by the Equator, and from which the Pole Star was all but invisible. This of itself would appear to make it sufficiently obvious that Sumatra, and not Ceylon, is the country, for neither does the Equator intersect Ceylon, nor is the Pole Star practically invisible from it, whilst both are true of Sumatra.

Sir Stamford Raffles, who was very much interested in this question, writes in 1817 as follows¹ :—

“Whether Sumatra, or Java, or any other island of the archipelago, or the whole or several of them collectively may not have formed the *Taprobána* of the ancients is perhaps still an undecided question. Notwithstanding the claims to this distinction which have of late years been rather admitted than proved in favour of Ceylon, the most striking fact detailed in the accounts which have reached us of this country, and one which, from its nature, is least likely to have been disfigured or perverted by the misrepresentations or prejudices of travellers, is that it was bisected in nearly equal portions by the equinoctial line, and to the southward of it the polar star was not visible. How can this

as it is an alloy of copper and tin, the question arises, Where did these metals come from so early as this? As even several thousand years later the East Indies were the only known sources of these metals, it is difficult not to believe that it was from the East Indies that Egypt and Chaldæa had formerly obtained them.

¹ Sir Stamford Raffles says in a letter to the late Earl of Buckingham, dated Buitenzong, August 5th, 1815, and referring to Sumatra and Java, “There, my Lord, are doubtless the real *Taprobána* of the ancients, the Sacred Isles of the Hindus.”

statement be evaded or in any way applied to Ceylon? Major Milford seems inclined to consider *Taprobána* is derived from the Sanscrit words *tapa* (penance) and *bana* (forest or grove), a derivation equally favourable to the claims of the Javans' *tapa*, and *wana* or *wono* having the like signification in their language, and if, as there is reason to believe, an extensive intercourse subsisted in very remote times between Western India and these islands, where was a country that could more invite the retreat of holy men than the evergreen islands which rise in endless clusters in the smooth seas of the Malayan Archipelago, where the elevation and tranquillity of devotion are fostered by all that is majestic and lovely by Nature? "

Modern writers mostly say that Ceylon is *Taprobána*, but, in point of fact, probably both Sumatra and Ceylon are the places referred to.

PART II

THE HINDU PERIOD

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HINDUISM, ANNO JAVAN 1,
TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE EMPIRE OF MENDANG
KAMULAN OR MATAREM, ANNO JAVAN 927 (A.D. 1002).

The Colonisation of Java by the Hindus.—In the ancient Hindu chronicles known as the *Vedas* no trace has been found of a record of the first expedition from Hindustan to Java. The Javans, however, give a more or less lucid account of a certain Hindu called *Aji Sáka*, said by some to have been the Prime Minister of a great Maharaja, who visited Java with a large following; and they reckon the first year of their era from this visit, a date which corresponds with about the seventy-fifth or seventy-eighth year of the Christian era.¹

¹ The era which bears the name of *Aji Sáka* really began with his death, that is, the seventy-eighth year of the Christian era; but the seventy-fifth year is, according to Raffles, undoubtedly that which the Javans adopted, corresponding with the former within about three years. This slight difference may be accounted for by the introduction of the Mahometan mode of reckoning in vogue in Java during the last three centuries. In the date tables the seventy-fifth year has been generally accepted.

This great Maharaja, the ruler of some large kingdom probably in Bengal, had no doubt heard for years of the traditional reports of a land that lay south, a land of honey, teeming with precious and valuable metals, and gold, and fragrant spices. It must have been known more or less over the whole Orient that the Phœnicians—with whom the Egyptians associated later—had secret stores of wealth in these parts, but the cunning of these wily traders, who naturally desired to keep the monopoly of the wealth to themselves, made other centres, such as Malacca and *Selandib* (Ceylon), transshipping ports and to appear as it were the places whence the riches came. They kept the actual source of their supplies a secret ; it was, therefore, known only to the seafarers themselves. This Maharaja, however, with more initiative than his predecessors, was determined to find out the source, and decided to have a search made for the country, at least so report says.

There are, it must be observed, however, conflicting accounts of the real character of *Aji Sáka*. By some he is represented as a powerful prince who established a large colony in Java, which an epidemic of some kind caused him to withdraw. Others describe him as a saint and deity. All, however, agree that to him may be attributed the first introduction of letters, proper government, and religion.

According to Javan historians, a judicial code was already in existence when he arrived, but one of rather an elementary nature. It went under the title of “Sun and Moon.” Under this code a thief was bound to make restitution of the property stolen, and to pay in addition a fine in cattle or produce. If the theft was considerable, he became the slave of the injured party or his relations. Murder was not punished by death, but by a heavy fine and perpetual servitude in the family of the deceased. This code *Aji Sáka* is said to have reformed, and a set of ordinances represented as having been drawn up from his



DWARVES OF HOKKAIDŌ.

instructions is believed to have been in use as late as the time of the empires of *Janggalá* (A.D. 900) and *Majapahit* (A.D. 1300). The language of the new invaders was apparently *Sanscrit*, which, as is known, has left its impress, in the form of the *Kawi* language, all over the East Indies. The religion introduced was Brahminism. Both the language and the religion were gradually adopted by the inhabitants.

The way having once been found, there is no doubt that expedition followed expedition. In fact, a regular movement took place to Java, the "wonderful land," which, through its supreme and unparalleled beauty and grandeur and its abundant provision of the necessaries of life, lent itself well to the object in view, namely, power over colonies believed to be near the source of the Egyptian wealth. The priesthood, too, would have had no objection, and saw in Java a land where the proselytising of the native and the spread of its religion was likely to prosper.

Some say this *Aji Sáka* landed on the north coast near *Tuban*, and there is a legend hereabouts regarding him, unless the Javans have confused the landing of some other Hindu party with that of *Aji Sáka*. Others, however, hold strongly that he must have landed somewhere near the present-day town of Bantam, or else on the south coast, near, or in, the Bay of Tjilatjap.

If *Aji Sáka* came from Cambodia, the north coast was the most probable place of landing, but if from Bengal, the south coast is the more likely.

How long the so-called *Aji Sáka* and his party remained in Java or when he left are alike unknown. It seems, however, reasonable to suppose that when he left, to report to his master, he did so with a full account of Mid-Java, which was the seat of the first Hindu empire of *Mendang Kámúlan* (or *Matárem*), which nominally, therefore, was founded by these adventurers and explorers in Anno Javan 1.

In the chronological table given at the end of this chapter this is taken to be the case, although, as a matter of fact, its foundation is generally placed many years later.

While, as already stated, the Javan chroniclers—usually Buddhist priests—in the main give *Aji Sāka* as the first Hindu who visited Java, another account very plainly states it was the Prince of Rom who was the first comer. Some of these historical records appear sufficiently interesting to give here, although a more thorough knowledge of the history of the country shows that the writers were not always careful in their statements, and drew too freely on their imaginations. In the main, however, and for Oriental, the records were fairly accurate, but they must be looked on as somewhat mythical, and the dates are hopelessly entangled.

“ *Prābu Jáya Báya* was a great and powerful prince of Astina,¹ and the fifth in descent from Arjuna, the son of *Pāndu Déwa Náta*, after whom had reigned successively *Bimányu*, *Parakísit*, *Udayana*, and *Gandra Yana*. His *Penggawa*, or chief minister, being a man of great enterprise and ability, was sent to visit and civilise foreign countries. In the course of his travels he landed on Java, then the abode of a race of *Rasaksa*,² and known by the name of *Núsa Kéndang*. This happened in the first year of the Javan era, and is distinguished in the *Chandra Sangkala* by the words *nir, abu tanpo, jálar*, meaning literally ‘ nothing, dust, not anything (but) man,’ and metaphorically the figures 0001. He here discovered the grain called *jáwa-wut*, at the time the principal subsistence of the inhabitants, and, in consequence of this discovery, he changed the name of the country to *Núsa Jáwa*. In his progress through the island he met with the dead bodies of two *Rasaksa*, each holding a leaf with an inscription on it one in *purwa* [ancient], the other in Siamese characters; these he united and thus formed the Javan alphabet of twenty letters.

“ He had several combats with the *Rasaksa*, particularly with the *Dervata Chengkar*; and, after fixing the date of his different

¹ Hindustan.

² Perhaps *Ra-Sakya*.

discoveries and leaving mementoes of his visit wherever he went, he finally returned to *Astina*, and delivered to his sovereign a written account of all he had seen and done."

From the foregoing it appears that this Prime Minister not only made a journey through the island—probably only a portion of it—but that the aboriginal inhabitants used the Siamese alphabet. If no other people had visited them before, how came they to have this alphabet? It may further be observed that Cambodia and Siam are practically one country, and visitors from the one may well have used the alphabet of the other. Furthermore, the Javan alphabet was certainly not made for the benefit of wild savages, but a race of people who were in a state to benefit by it. The name, too, of the individual that was met with in fight has a Hindu ring about it, although it is possible he may have been mythical.

Another Javan chronology¹ in possession of the *Susuhunan* (called sometimes *Susunan* for short), or Emperor, of *Java* or *Surakarta*, not only describes the arrival of the first Hindus, but the second arrival also. It is here to be noted that *Aji Saka* is mentioned as not having arrived until after the year B.C. 1000.

The Javan historian now enters with more confidence into details, although facts and dates are as confused as ever :—

"What was first known of Java was a range of hills called *Gúnung Kendáng*, which extends along the north and south coasts ; it was then that the island first came into notice, and at that period commenced the Javan era [Anno Javan 1 : A.D. 75 or 78].

"After this the Prince of *Rom* sent twenty thousand families to people Java, but all of them perished except twenty families who returned to *Rom*.

"In this year [A.J. 10 : A.D. 85] twenty thousand families

¹ In this chronology the author describes himself as a sovereign of Kediri. It is ascribed to *Aji Jaya Baya*, A.D. 800, but probably wrongly.

were sent to Java by the Prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied. They continued, however, in an uncivilised state till the year 289 [A.J. 289 : A.D. 360], when the Almighty blessed them with a prince called *Kano*, who reigned for one hundred years [A.J. 300—400 : A.D. 375—475], at the end of which period he was succeeded by *Básu Kéti*. The name of the sovereignty was called *Wiráta*. *Básu Kéti* dying, he was succeeded by his son *Mángsa Páti*.

“ The father and son together reigned three hundred years.

“ Another principality, called *Astina*, sprang up at this time, and was ruled by a prince called *Púla Sara*, who was succeeded by his son *Abiasa*, who was again succeeded by his son *Pándu Déwa Náta*, the reigns of the last three princes together amounting to one hundred years [A.J. 700—800 : A.D. 775—875]. Then succeeded *Jaya Baya* himself, who removed the seat of government from *Astina* to *Kediri*.

“ The kingdom of Kediri being dismembered on the death of its sovereign, there arose out of its ruins two other kingdoms, the one called *Brambánan*, of which the prince was called *Báka*, the other *Peng'ging*, of which the prince's name was *Angling Dría*. These two princes having gone to war with each other [A.J. 900 : A.D. 975], *Báka* was killed in battle by *Dámar Máya*, the son-in-law of *Angling Dría*. On the death of *Báka* the kingdom of *Brambánan* was without a prince, and continued so till, *Angling Dría* dying a natural death, *Dámar Máya* succeeded him and ruled the country.

“ *Dámar Máya* dying and the sovereignty becoming extinct [A.J. 1002 : A.D. 1077], there arrived from a foreign country a person called *Aji Sáka*, who established himself as a Prince of *Méndang Kámúlan* in the room of *Dewata Chengkar*, whom he conquered.

“ In the year A.J. 1018 [A.D. 1093] the *Chandi Sewu* (thousand temples) at *Brambánan* were completed.

“ The empire of *Méndang Kámúlan* and its race of princes becoming extinct, the kingdoms which rose up and succeeded to it were :—

“ (1) *Jang'gala*, of which the prince was *Ami Luhúr* ;

“ (2) *Kediri*, of which the prince was *Lembu Ami Jáya* ;

“ (3) *Ng'arawan*, of which the prince was *Lembu Ami Sésa* ;

“ (4) *Singasari*, of which the prince was *Lembu Ami Lueh*.

“ These kingdoms were afterwards united under *Panji Suria Ami Sésa* [A.J. 1082 : A.D. 1157], the son of *Ami Luhur*.

“ *Panji Suria* dying, he was succeeded by his son *Panji Laléan*, who removed the seat of government from *Jang’gala* to *Pajajaran*. This took place in A.J. 1200 [A.D. 1275].”

From the foregoing it is seen that, compact, defined, and, comparatively speaking, limited as the territory of Java is, it has never been for any length of time under one sovereign. It is true that one or two of the Hindu princes, more ambitious and possibly more enlightened than the others, have at times, by peaceful means or by arms, subjugated their immediate neighbours, and thus temporarily added them to their dominions, but their authority over the whole island was (except in the cases of Mandang Kámúlan and Majapahit) never more than nominal. The life, moreover, of these great States (especially in later days) has always been more or less marked by anarchy and rebellion, murder, poisoning, torture, and treachery everywhere, while the natural tendency of the first inhabitants, submissive in a high degree to the Hindu conquerors, lent itself to a subdivision into smaller States and communities in every period of the history of the island. Thus by the side of the line of princes whose names appear in the lists of sovereigns, many smaller Hindu States, with dynasties and separate interests, existed in Java from the earliest times.

Another cause which no doubt also tended greatly towards this state of affairs was the difficulty and danger attached to travelling and transport throughout the island. Ever since prehistoric times, with the exception of a few barren stretches here and there, the whole island has been overgrown with a tangled and practically impenetrable mantle of trees, bushes, and creepers, so dense as entirely to shut out the light.

These forests, which stretched from the shores to the mountain-tops, were the home of tigers, elephants, buffaloes,

rhinoceros, and leopards, snakes, droves of wild and dangerous swine, troops of monkeys, and other disagreeable and dangerous animals, a state of things, naturalists maintain, which would very soon be the case again if Nature was left to itself for a few years.

It is no doubt due to these reasons also that so many separate and independent kingdoms were able to exist in the island at one and the same time, and that the local historians in each division, owing to the Hindu invasions taking place at more than one point, and overlapping one another, have come to be at variance in the various records and chronologies which they have left behind them.

In some accounts it is stated that the religions and arts of India were first introduced into Java by a Brahmin named *Tritrésta*, who with numerous followers landed on Java, and established the Hindu era, for which reason he is still considered by some Javans to be the same with *Aji Saka*.

The descendants of *Tritrésta* are said to have succeeded to the government of the country, and a list of eighteen princes is adduced to bring the history down to the ninth century, when the empire of *Jang'gala* was established.

The following account of princes beginning with *Tritrésta*, who is said to have established his government at *Giling Wési*, at the foot of the volcano *Se Miru* (Smeroe), together with the dynasties which they severally established and the dates at which they succeeded to the government, is in parts somewhat fabulous, but in the main is probably correct.

The account is taken from a collection of the legends of the country compiled by *Nata Kasuma*, the *Panambaham* of *Sumenap*, in Madura, in 1812, either for himself or Sir Stamford Raffles :—

“ Before there were any inhabitants on Java, *Wisnu* (Vishnu) presided therein ; but having offended *Sang yang Guru*, *Tritrésta*,

son of *Jala Prasi* and grandson of *Bráma* (Brahma), was sent to Java as sovereign of the country. This prince was married at ten years of age to *Bramáni Káli*, of *Kamboja* (Cambodia), and, with eight hundred families from the country of *Kling*, established the seat of his government at the foot of *Gunung Semim*, the capital of which he called *Giling Wési*. He had two sons, *Mánu Manása* and *Mánu Madewa*, and his people increased to 20,000.

“ In the country of *Kling* there was a man named *Watu Gúnung*, son of *Gána*, of *Désa Sangála*, who heard of the fame of *Sinta* and *Lándap*, two beautiful women residing at *Giling Wési*. *Watu Gúnung* went in search of them, and finding them under the protection of *Tritrésta*, attacked and defeated him. *Tritrésta* was slain, and *Watu Gúnung* reigned as sovereign of *Giling Wési* for one hundred and forty years. Under his government the country became very flourishing. He adopted forty sons and as many daughters of the princes of the country, and gave them the names of the deities of *Súruga* (Swerga), for which, and for other acts, he was in the end punished with death by *Wisnu* in the year 240.”

From this it would seem that *Tritrésta* was not the first Hindu to come to Java.

“ After this *Batára Guru* sent *Gutáka* from the mountain *Sawé'a Chá'a*, in *Kling*, to be sovereign of *Giling Wési* [Anno Javan 240 : A.D. 315], where after a reign of fifty years he died, and was succeeded by his son *Raden Sawéla* in the year A.J. 290 [A.D. 365].

“ This last prince reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by *Gutáma*, who removed from *Giling Wési* while yet unmarried, and went to a country, *Astína*,¹ which was possessed by an elephant that desired the princess *Endrádi* in marriage. He fought and killed the elephant, and married the princess, and afterwards proceeded to *Langrestína*.

“ There was a *Pandiá* of *Gunung Jali*, in the country of *Kling*, who had a son called *Rád'n Dasa Wiria*, who when twelve years of age, having obtained leave of his father to go to Java, took up his abode at the foot of the mountain *Lawu* (Lawoe). His son *Dása Báhu*, when ten years of age, determined to make himself independent, and travelled with one hundred followers until

¹ A district in Java not far from the present town of *Pekalngan*, probably called so after the old Hindu province of that name.

they smelt the dead elephant which had been killed by *Gutáma*. There he established himself, calling his capital *Gajahuia* or *Astina Púra*. This was in the year A.J. 310 [A.D. 385]. *Dása Báhu* was succeeded by his son *Suántana*, who had wars with the giant *Púru Sáda*. This prince had a son named *Déwa Bráta*, whose mother died immediately after the birth of the child; and the prince, finding no one from whom the child would take milk, was obliged to carry it about in search of someone to whom it might take a liking. Of the descendants of *Tritrésta* were first *Mánu Manása*, second *Sutápa*, third *Sapútram*, fourth *Sákri*. The last begat *Púla Sara*, who had a son named *Abiása*. It happened that *Abiása* when an infant was borne in the arms of his mother *Ambu Sári* at the time when *Suántana* was in search for a wet-nurse for his son. Upon seeing her the infant *Déwa* immediately cried out, and wanted milk from her, which, however, she would not consent to give, until, after much altercation, *Suántana* agreed to give his country in exchange; so that *Ambu Sári* received the country of *Astina* for her son *Abiása*, who when he arrived at a proper age succeeded as sovereign in the year A.J. 415. *Déwa Bráta* was made Prince of *Kumbína*.

“*Abiása* was married to a woman advanced in years, by whom he had three sons: *Drésta Ráta*, who was blind; *Pándu Déwa Náta*, who was very handsome; and *Ráma Widára*, who was lame. After twelve years he retired and transferred the government to his second son. *Pándu Déwa Náta*, at the age of fourteen, then succeeded as sovereign of *Astina*, and married *Déwi Kúnti*, daughter of *Básu Ketí*, Prince of *Madura*, by whom he had three sons: *Kúnta Déwa*, *Séna*, and *Jináka*. *Déwa Náta* also married *Madrin*, daughter of the Prince of *Mandarága*, and died leaving her pregnant. She was delivered of two sons, and died also, but *Déwi Kúnti* gave the children milk and called the one *Sadewa* and the other *Nakúla*. At that time the children of *Pándu Déwa Náta* were very young; *Drésta Ráta* was, therefore, nominated protector during their minority; but instead of resigning the kingdom to them, he gave it to his own son, *Suyudána*, who becoming sovereign of *Astina*, the five children were sent by *Abiása*, with a thousand families, to establish a new country, to which they gave the name of *Amérta*.¹

“*Suyudána* married the daughter of the Prince of *Mandarága*.

¹ In the present district of Demak.

He had a son, and the country became great, flourishing, and happy. There was none more powerful; and the dependent chiefs were the Princes *Kérna* of *Awáng'ga*,¹ *Bisma* or *Déwa Bráta* of *Kúmbina*, *Jaya Pata* of *Dála Sejána*, *Jákar Sána* of *Madura*, and *Sália* of *Mandarága*.

“ But *Púnta Déwa* and his brothers in the country of *Amérta* were not satisfied; they wished for their father's inheritance, and sent their cousin *Krésna Diarawáti*² to confer with *Suyudána*, and to demand their rightful possessions. For the sake of peace with their cousin, they offered to accept of half, but *Suyudána* rejected their demand, and replied that without the decision of the sword they should have none. Then began the war called *Bráta Yúdba*,³ because it was a contest for their just rights. The war lasted long, and during its continuance the sons and followers of both parties were nearly all killed; at last *Suyudána* himself fell after a reign of fifty years. *Púnta Déwa* then became sovereign of *Astína*, in the year A.J. 491 [A.D. 566], but after two years he transferred the government to *Parikisit*, son of *Abimányu* and grandson of his brother *Jenaka*. After defending the country successfully against the giant *Usi Aji*, of *Surabáya*, whom he slew, he was succeeded by his son *Udáyana*, who died after a reign of twenty-three years.

“ His son *Jáya Déрма* succeeded. This prince had two sons, named *Jáya Misána* and *Angling Déрма*. The former succeeded his father after a reign of twenty-seven years and died at the expiration of five years. During the reign of *Jáya Misána* there was a dreadful pestilence and a violent earthquake, which destroyed the country, and his son removed to *Miláwa*, where he became a *tápa*.

“ To this country *Angling Déрма* had already removed with three thousand families, during the lifetime of his brother, and was ‘acknowledged as sovereign of *Miláwa Páti*,’ where he reigned in prosperity for ten years. At the expiration of this period it is related that his princess burnt herself, in consequence of being refused the knowledge of a certain prayer by which she might understand the languages of all animals. The prince

The present Residency of Djockjakerta.

² The present district of Wirosari.

³ Rendered famous in a beautiful epic poem of that name in the Kawi (Sanskrit) or classic language of Java.

afterwards became insane, wandered about, and was transformed into a white bird.

“The son of *Jáya Misána*, *Jáya Purusá*, begat *Púsapa Jáya*, who begat *Púsapa Wyáya*, who begat *Rasúma Wichutra*, who again begat *Ráden Aji Nirmála*, who reigned for twenty years at *Miláwa Páti*, but in whose days the country was greatly afflicted with pestilence.

“In consequence of this his-son *Bisúru Champáka* departed with his followers, and proceeded to *Méndang Kámúlan*, where he abode as a *Pandíta*. He had, however, a son called *Named Angling Derma*, from whom descended *Aji Jáya Báya*, who became sovereign of the country and gave it the name of *Púrwa Chiríti*; under his government the country greatly increased, he acquired large possessions, and all under his administration was flourishing and happy. It is related of him that he dictated the poem of the *Brata Yúdhá*, by order of *Déwa Batára Guru*, in the year A.J. 701 [A.D. 776].

“He was succeeded by his son *Salápar Wáta* in A.J. 756 [A.D. 831], whose son, named *Kandiáwan*, afterwards came to the government, under the title of *Jáya Lang Kára*. This last-named prince had a sister, called *Chándra Suára*, four sons, *Subráta*, *Pára Yáta*, *Játa Wida*, *Su Wida*, and a daughter named *Pambáyan*.

“His *patéh* was named *Jáya Singára*, and among his dependants were *Gaja Iráwan*, of *Ludáya*, *Lembu Súren Guna*, of *Jang'gala*, *Wira Tikta*, of *Kediri*, and the *Arias*¹ of *Singa Sari* and *Ngarawan*.

“In course of time this prince became very wicked, and married his sister *Chándra Suára*. When his *patéh*, chiefs, and followers heard of it they rose in arms, but feared to attack the prince, as it had been predicted that he could only be killed at the full of the moon. The prince in the meantime, being informed of the conspiracy, immediately attacked the party, and, killing the *patéh*, committed great slaughter among his followers. When the battle was over he assembled his sons, and after telling them they were not ignorant of his deeds, and that it was his intention to burn himself at the full of the moon, he desired that they would thereupon remove from the place, and leave the country of *Méndang Kamúlan* to become a wilderness.² He then divided

¹ A royal name at the present day.

² To-day the district where *Méndang Kamúlan* was situated is still more or less of a wilderness.

his possessions into four parts : to the eldest son, *Subráta*, he gave the country of *Jang'gala*, to his second son, *Pára Yáta*, he gave *Kediri*, to his third son, *Játa Wida*, he gave *Singa Sári*, and to his fourth son, *Su Wida*, he gave *Ngarawan* ; and these princes severally became independent chiefs of those kingdoms. When the full of the moon arrived *Sri Jaya Lang Kára* with his wife and sister, *Chandra Suára*, went to the *Sánggar* of *Deaw Pabayústan*, where they burnt themselves. The families of the *patéh* and the chiefs slain in the late battle also accompanied him, and committed themselves to the flames.

“ *Pembáyum*, his daughter, was not, however, permitted to sacrifice herself, in consequence of which she bore great ill-will to her father, and it is related that she is the same person who afterwards went to *Jang'gala* and abode at *Wána Kapuchárgan*, where she assumed the name of *Kili Suchi*, and went about from place to place, being much beloved : for she was very learned, and made inscriptions upon stones, one of which is called *Kála Kerma*.”

The several and somewhat confusing accounts of the coming of the first Hindus having now been related, it appears desirable to recapitulate a little before proceeding any further ; for, as it has been seen, while some writers assert that *Aji Saka*, “ the chief minister of a Hindu rajah ” and “ a man of great enterprise and ability,” was the first to set foot in Java, others maintain that an expedition of twenty thousand families sent by the Prince of *Rom*, which was followed by another twenty thousand families sent by the Prince of *Kling*, was the first Hindu colonisation. Others again state that the religion and arts of India were first introduced into the island by a Brahmin named *Tritrésta*.

The true facts are probably that *Aji Saka*, or some one corresponding to him, with a number of followers did come to Java at an early date, and was followed later by several large expeditions, any one of which on its arrival in Java may have been the beginning of the Javan era.

At least one of these expeditions came from the coast of Coromandel, the others coming from various parts of India, or from Ceylon. In one of the later expeditionary parties would most likely have been the learned Brahmin *Tritrésta*.

There seems to be very little doubt that one of the earliest expeditions made its centre, or capital, in middle Java, but which one it was we shall probably never know for certain. Some, however, hold that the Sunda district is likely to have been chosen as the site for their first town. The Prince of *Rom*'s forces may therefore have landed somewhere near the present town of Bantam, formerly known as Banten.¹

The Prince of *Kling*'s expedition, of which perhaps *Tritrésta* was the commander, landed probably somewhere in the east of Java, near where the later town of *Jortan* or present village of *Bangil* are found, but anyhow in this neighbourhood.

Tritrésta, of whose abilities and learning there can be no doubt, led his followers into the interior, establishing himself at the foot of the volcano *Sméru*, at a place they called *Giling Wesi*, thereby opening an era and founding a dynasty of which he seems to be the first member. A population soon grew up in this part of Java under his fostering care, and as a result there eventually arose the kingdom of *Jang'gala*, which was established by one of the princes of the empire of *Méndang Kamúlan*.

Contemporaneously with *Jang'gala* sprang up the king-

¹ In the Journal of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, Vol. III., page 186, we find that Mr. Friederich, whilst investigating the antiquities of Java, came to the conclusion that the Hindus at a very early period must have had establishments in *Banten*, and exercised a considerable influence. This influence did not spread into the interior, however, and in later times no Hindu settlements of any importance are known to have existed here. This place agrees with the site of *Langga* or *Langga-Su*, mentioned by the Chinese, which name also disappears soon afterwards.



THE PILE-VILLAGE OF MOETEAN IN THE JAVA INLAND SEA.

doms of *Daha*,¹ *Singa Sari*,² and *Ngarawan*³; all of these kingdoms in course of time fell under the sway of the mighty empire of *Majapahit*.

It is thought that some of the members of the expedition in which was *Tritrستا* at the time of their arrival in Java migrated in a westerly direction as far as *Rembáng* and *Japára*. At the latter place a settlement was made which soon developed into the capital of a kingdom of some importance under the name of *Malawa Pati*, and shows a dynasty of six Hindu kings who ruled there from Anno Javan 588 to Anno Javan 756.

From Chinese records these kings appear to have been designated by Chinese travellers to Japara as the “*Kings of Java*.” Some of the earliest Hindu settlers found their way from here to the plateau on the mountain of Dieng, where a small sanctuary or retreat was established, which eventually grew into a holy city of considerable importance. With this explanation the Javan history may be resumed.

“When *Prábu Jáya Báya*⁴ of *Astina* died [see note] he was succeeded by his son and descendants named *Ami Jáya*, *Jáya Ami Sána Páncha Dría*, and *Kasúma Chitra*. During the reign of the last of these princes the country [in India] changed its name [from *Astina*] to *Gujrat*, and it having been foretold that it would decay and go to ruin altogether, the prince resolved to send his son to *Jawa* [the kingdoms of *Jang’gala*, *Daha Singa Sari*, and *Ngarawan* were all in existence at this time], and possessing the written account of *Aji Sáka* which had been preserved in his family, he gave it to his son, and embarked him with about five thousand followers for that island, among whom

¹ *Daha* was situated between the present towns of *Ponorogo* and *Madioen*.

² *Singa Sari* was near the present town of *Malang*, and its ruins are still to be seen.

³ *Ngarawan* is further east.

⁴ The *Prábu Jáya Báya* here referred to was an Indian sovereign, and must not be confused with one of his descendants, *Aji Jáya Báya*, who ruled in *Kediri* in the year 800 of the Javan era. This *Prábu Jáya Báya* is he who is supposed to have sent *Aji Sáka* out on his travels.

were *jálma-tani* [people skilled in agriculture], *jálma-undagi* [artificers], *jálma-újam-dudukan* [men learned in medicine], *jálma-pangniárik* [able writers], *jálma-prajúrit* [military men].

“ They sailed in six large ships and upwards of a hundred small vessels and after a voyage of some months reached what they conceived to be the island of *Jáwa*, and many landed ; but as it did not accord with the account given by Aji Sáka they re-embarked. In a few months, however, they came in sight of an island, with a long range of mountains, and some of them, with the prince at their head, effected a landing at the western extremity, while a part was driven to the southward.

“ They soon met with the grain *jawa-wut* as described by *Aji Sáka*, and ascertained they had at last reached their destination, then opening the book of *Aji Sáka*, the days of the week and the *panchawára* were named.

“ The prince, however, did not long remain in this part of the island, for on clearing the forest, a lingering sickness appeared among his followers, and many died from drinking the water, so he moved to the south and east, in quest of a more salubrious position, and with *the hope of falling in with their companions*.¹ These they found at a part of the island now known by the name of *Matárem* : when the high priest opened the book of *Aji Sáka*, and referred to the prophecy that *Jáwa* should become an inheritance to the descendants of *Prábu Jáya Báya*, he summoned the whole party together and formally proclaimed the prince sovereign of the country under the title of *Browijáya Sawéla Chála*. The name *Méndang Kamúlan* was then given to the seat of government.”

This was about A.J. 495.

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE OF MÉNDANG KAMÚLAN (MATÁREM),
ANNO JAVAN 495 (A.D. 570).

On the borders of the district of Rembang there is still a small *désah*, or village, which goes by the name of *Méndang Kamúlan*, and a spot is pointed out as the place where the old *kraton*, or palace, is supposed to have stood.² This was not, however, the seat of the capital of the ancient empire, which was situated on a spur of the hill beside the

¹ The italics are not in the original.

² See Méndang Kamúlan a few pages further on.

plain of Brambanan,¹ where the remains of the once famous *kraton*, whose stones and slabs of gigantic proportions still pave the plateau, the moat, and the dwelling-houses of the attendants, and so forth, may still be seen.

The position chosen by *Browijáya* for his palace is, in all likelihood, the site of the earliest Hindu settlement in the island, and was perhaps occupied centuries before his arrival. *Méndang Kamúlan*² was in fact the capital of the first kingdom of *Matárem*, which suddenly disappeared just about the time that the empire of *Majapahit* rose into such importance.

The Hindus on the arrival of *Browijáya* must have been fairly well established in Java ; and doubtless had founded numerous states or kingdoms under more or less independent princes in different parts of the island, which, as time went on and the population increased, all became centres of some importance.

There is every indication that these Hindu rajahs were highly delighted with the country and the ease with which they were able to govern the land. They seem to have surrounded themselves with every luxury, maintained huge retinues of womenfolk to attend to their daily wants, and demanded that every comely young maiden should serve her time in the harem. They also kept up a regal splendour at their courts, probably even greater than that to which they had been accustomed in their own country. Towards their people, although generally speaking they were exacting, they were for Orientals humane, and the demands they made of them or the tasks they set them were never greater than could be borne. This is proved by the rapidity with which the population increased while the Hindus ruled the island.

¹ See "Ruins on the Plain of Brambanan" (chapter on "Antiquities").

² The Regent of Samarang, a highly-bred and aristocratic Javan prince, informed me that the place "*Kamúlan*" was originally spelt with an "o" instead of "u" (*Kamolán*).

The first Hindu sovereigns were undoubtedly men of knowledge, enterprise, and great energy—possibly specially chosen for their fitness, and probably under some control from Hindustan. Before, however, the end of the thirteenth century we are led to suppose that the sovereigns in some way or other were no longer under any sort of control from Hindustan, for they degenerated and quickly grew to be voluptuous persons, whose every thought was centred in the pursuit of pleasure.

Their pleasures no doubt so occupied their time and sapped their vitality that the affairs of the government and the care of the people came to be left to others. Thus in the day of reckoning these princes were found unable to cope with the situation, as their history shows.

The Hindu priests—first Brahmins, later on Buddhists—also found in Java a land which offered to them all that was needed for the tranquillity of both body and soul, and a land which gave them, among the cool mountains, seclusion for those solitary devotions which seem at all times, as at the present day, to have strongly appealed to all true Brahmins, and specially to Buddhists, be they in Java, Japan, China, Siam, Cambodia, or India. But in these early days, while religion breathed a spirit of humility, the priests in reality from their intense desire for power, which generally breeds intrigue and plot, were no better than fanatics.

Where if not in Java had they a country so fitted for practising their tenets?

A mild population, vast forests of beautiful trees, silent groves of shady palms, chains of majestic volcanic mountains, all dedicated to the god *Vishnu*—all these and countless other beauties invested the country with, as it were, the halo of the great Creator, and enabled the priests to declare that the island was sacred.

When one bears in mind that the Hindus who came

hither were from the dusty, dry, and oppressive plains of India with its overburdening heat, where neither tree nor shrub thrived, it seems by no means strange for them to have considered this island, with its wonderful and luxuriant vegetation, to be a country sacred to the gods, nor is it surprising under these circumstances to find that they migrated to Java in astonishing numbers.

The priesthood must soon have assumed and played a more important part in this foreign land than they had hitherto dared to do under the autocratic and despotic eye of the Hindu sovereigns in Hindustan.

After playing upon the superstitious feelings of the people until their control was assured, they probably took on a lofty tone of morality, and ended by having an all-powerful influence over them.

They landed the Hindu rulers, to whom they appeared to have acted as counsellors.

This power they must have maintained for centuries, rearing, fostering, and teaching a race which built stupendous temples, the wonder of all ages, and proving that a state of civilisation existed in Java which is scarcely to be credited nowadays.

All was, however, vain, for everything was eventually to be swept away, as if it had never existed, by an irruption of the Mahometans, whose forces came to Java after the Hejira (A.D. 622).

On *Browijáya* establishing himself at *Méndang Kamúlan*, the earlier Hindu dwellers here removed themselves, it is said, to the *Dieng*, where they completed the building of that extraordinary and wonderful mountain town which was to be the resort of pilgrims for nearly a thousand years.

“ *Browijáya* now found that men alone were wanting to render *Méndang Kamúlan* a great and flourishing state, and he accordingly applied to *Gujrat* for assistance. The ambassadors whom he sent proceeded down the river and embarked at *Grésik*, so

called from *Giri-sik* in consequence of the hills [*giri*] running in this part of the island close to the sea-shore [*sik*], and when they reached *Gujrat*, the father of *Sawéla Chála*, delighted to hear of his success, immediately sent him a reinforcement of two thousand people.

“The kindred and friends of the new colonists were permitted to proceed in great numbers to Java, where they established themselves principally in the southern¹ and eastern² provinces. The Prince *Browijáya* lost no time in improving his capital, which became an extensive city in the year A.J. 525 [A.D. 600]. From this period *Jáva* was known and celebrated as a kingdom : an extensive commerce was carried on with *Gujrat* and other countries, and the bay of *Matárem*, then a safe place for shipping, was filled with adventurers from all parts.

“Nothing, however, is represented to have tended more to the prosperity of this establishment than a supposed union which is said to have taken place between the family of *Browijáya Sawéla Chála* and that of *Aru Bándan* [Aroe and Banda islands named after this family], a prince who had recently arrived from the Moluccas, and established himself in *Balambárgan*.³ Hearing of the arrival of *Sawéla Chála*, this prince with his followers proceeded to *Méndang Kamúlan* and submitted to his authority on condition that the eastern provinces including *Balambárgan* should be confirmed to him and his descendants. According to the tradition of the country, this prince was principally induced to submit, in consequence of the other party being able to explain the inscription and signs of *Aji Sáka*, which he himself could not, and in consequence of production of the writings, in which it was prophesied that the country should become the inheritance of the family of this prince [that is to say of *Prábu Jáya Báya* and his descendants.]

“*Browijáya Sawéla Chála*, after a long and prosperous reign, was succeeded by his son *Ardi Kasúma*, and he again on his death by his son *Ardi Wijáya*.

“During the sovereignty of these princes the country advanced in fame and prosperity, and the city of *Méndang Kamúlan*, since

¹ *Matárem*.

² At *Grésik, Daha, Kediríe, Jang'gala, Singa Sari, Ugarawan*.

³ In Java in the Straits of Bali, once a great kingdom, subject to the Maharajah of *Matárem*. Still in existence when the English and Dutch came to Java.

called *Brambanan* or *Prambanan*, increased in size and splendour. Artists, particularly in stone and metals, arrived from distant countries: the temples, of which the ruins are still extant both at this place and at the *Boro Bodo* in *Kédu*, are stated to have been constructed about this period by artists invited from India,¹ and the remains of the palace, situated in a range of low hills near the site of the thousand temples, still attest the existence of this first capital of Java.

“*Ardi Wijáya* had five sons, besides a numerous illegitimate offspring. The eldest was appointed chief [director] of the class of cultivators, the second of the traders, the third to the charge of the woods and forests, and the fourth chief of the manufacturers of oil, sugar, and spirits, and the fifth, named *Rén Dénang Géndis*, remained as assistant to his father.

“When this prince died his youngest son, *Rén Déndang Géndis*, found himself in charge of the capital and invested with the general administration of the country [empire]; but his brothers having formed independent governments in other parts of the island refused to acknowledge his supremacy. One of them was established at *Bágalen*, another at *Japára*, and a third at *Koripan*.²

“He is said to have died of a broken heart in consequence of these secessions, leaving a numerous progeny who established themselves in different parts of the country.

“The next prince who, according to these accounts, seems to have succeeded to the government of *Méndang Kamúlan* was *Dewa Kasuma*,³ who, being of an ambitious character, is said to have proceeded eastward and established the kingdom of *Jang’gala*,⁴ the capital of which, so called from his attachment to the chase [*jang’gala* signifying a dog in the Javan language], was built in the forest of *Jengawan* a few miles to the eastward of the modern *Surabáya*, where its site with many interesting remains of antiquity is still pointed out.

“This event is supposed to have taken place about the year 846.”

¹ Assisted by the local Javans taught by their Hindu masters.

² Sometimes written *Kohoeripan*, situated on the river Brantas, in the district now called Sourabaya.

³ There must, however, have been several between him and *Ren Déndang Géndis*.

⁴ Spelt also *Djengolo* by H. Hoepermans in “Het Hindoe Ryk van Doho.”

The Hindu princes who ruled over the empire of *Méndang Kamúlan* were men of intelligent and broad views, who exercised a mild and beneficent government. In the other provinces and districts at this time, however, especially those under the rule of petty potentates, there seems to have been a rather severe despotism, and such was the religious importance of the Hindu princes that the Javans were obliged to crouch down in the roads and turn their heads away when their rajah passed by in all his mightiness and holiness on his elephant or in his *pedáti* (a sort of *grobah*) drawn by four oxen. This custom, it may be observed, is still in force in some districts, and is practised when Europeans pass by. *Déwa Kasuma* extended the empire of *Méndang Kamúlan* until the whole of the provinces eastward of the old town of *Jáva* (Japara) submitted to his authority. During his reign he sent his family, consisting of four sons and a daughter, to *Kling* (India) in order that they might there be educated and instructed in the religion of *Bráma*. Whilst in India the eldest son married the daughter of one of the greatest princes of the country, and returned to Java with three large ships laden with long-cloth and other valuable manufactures, and bringing with him able artists of different professions and a thousand specially selected troops presented to him by his father-in-law as a bodyguard.

Déwa Kasuma on the return of his children from India divided all his possessions among them, the three kingdoms going as follows :

To the eldest, *Ami Luhur*, he gave the succession of *Jang'gala*, with a jurisdiction of limited extent ; to *Ami Jáya* he gave the country of *Singa Sari* ; to *Lembu Mengárang Ngarawa*, or *Browerno*, and to *Lembu Ami Lúhur* the country of *Dahá* or *Kedíri*. His daughter, who was the eldest of his children and named *Dewa Kikí Súchi*, remained unmarried and is stated to be the builder of the temples of

Singa Sari, the ruins of which near the town of Malang still remain.

About this period (A.J. 846) the first intercourse with China is said by the natives to have taken place; a large Chinese *wáng kang*, or junk, being wrecked on the north coast of Java. The crew landed, some near *Japara*, at *Semarang*, and at *Tegal*, it is said. The supercargo of the vessel is represented as having brought with him a magical stone, by which he could perform many wonderful miracles, and by means of which he so ingratiated himself with the ruling prince of *Tegal* that he was allowed by him to collect the remainder of the crew, and form a Chinese establishment with many privileges.¹

At no period during the existence of the empire of *Méndang Kamúlan* did its power stand higher than at this time. It was in fact at the zenith of its glory. But its star was going towards its setting. The whole island of Java stood practically under the sway of its ruler, and the renown of its power, wealth, and might reached from *Balambangan* in the east to the new town of *Banten* (Bantam), which had superseded the ancient Hindu city of *Langga* (which lay near it), in the west. It was in *Méndang Kamúlan* (or *Matárem*) that art in Java rose, and it was from here that it took its course through the island, bearing the wisdom and teachings of the rulers of *Matárem*.

It was from *Méndang Kamúlan* also that all the wonders of the island came; for from here the bands of skilled sculptors, artificers, builders, workmen who built the temples of *Boro Budur*, *Brambanan*, *Chandi Mendoet*, and the gigantic mausoleums at *Chandi Serwoe* were drawn.

The plains in the provinces of *Bágalen*, *Kedu*, and *Jogya*

¹ As will be seen in another chapter, these were the first to visit Java, although this establishment may have been one of the first found in the district. *Toebean* and *Lasem* are generally accepted as the places where the first Chinese settled, with *Grésik* later on.

Karta were cultivated with rice in a highly scientific manner for the support of the heavy population.

Each department, so to speak, had its director, responsible to the *maharaya* for its welfare and proper administration.

Judges, with a proper judicial code based on ordinances compiled by *Aji Saka*, and suitable to the country, sat daily to try all cases and keep order in the land. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the empire suffered a sudden and tragic collapse, as many others have done before and since.

This was during the reign of *Kuda* or *Máisa Laléan*, who at a tender age came under the influence of a "crafty and designing minister," who entered into a league with one of the brothers of *Máisa Laléan* to deprive his master of his empire. *Jang'gala* was the first to separate itself and assume independence in the east, declining to acknowledge the supremacy of *Méndang Kamúlan*. *Singa Sari* and *Kediri* soon followed, and acknowledged only the Rajah of *Jang'gala* as their overlord.

Máisa Laléan, after the dismemberment of his eastern kingdom, quitted his capital¹ and proceeded to the west, where he founded a new kingdom at *Blorá*.

Another reason given for his leaving his capital was the breaking out of a dreadful sickness which ravaged at this period in Middle and East Java. This was magnified, as it were, by a tremendous eruption of the volcano of *Klut* (*Kloet*), whose discharges are said to have resembled thunder and the ashes to have involved the country in impenetrable darkness. This and the sickness which continued without abatement created a panic amongst the inhabitants of Middle Java and caused them—so tradition says—to leave everything and suddenly to embark in vessels and sail out to sea, no one ever knowing whither

¹ He was possibly driven from it.

they went, or hearing any more of them.¹ In the district of *Blóra Máisa Laléan* laid the foundation of his new capital under the name of *Méndang Kamúlan*, which was that of a previous empire. His minister *Báka*, however, aspiring to its sovereignty, laid waste the country and burnt the new kraton. This happened about A.J. 927 (A.D. 1002).

Thus came to an end the ancient empire of *Méndang Kamúlan*, the first empire of *Matárem*. At the height of its glory it was perhaps the greatest Java has seen.

The *kris*² was introduced about A.J. 846 and 924 into *Matárem*, and some assert that all countries in which it is now worn once acknowledged the supremacy of the lord of *Méndang Kamúlan*. The *gámelan* or musical instruments of the Javans, and also the various dramatic exhibitions which still form a part of the popular amusements, were all introduced into this kingdom at an early date, and from here to other parts of the country. The rice block also, it is supposed, was beaten at daylight as now, and the system of "kentongans," or tongstongs, was then practised as now, the hours of the night being regularly sounded on this wooden gong.

It all, however, now ceased, and Middle Java became absolutely deserted—a death-like silence fell over all these districts and its temples. Not a priest or a living soul remained.

Some may be in doubt as to the true cause for all this, but at any rate these are the historical facts.

¹ They probably went to Bali and Lombok or Celebes, or all three places.

² The name of the dagger all the Javanese carry.

PART III

THE HINDU-JAVANESE PERIOD

FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE EMPIRE OF MENDANG KAMULAN, A.J. 927 (A.D. 1002), DOWN TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE OF MAJAPAHIT, A.J. 1400 (A.D. 1475)

Troubles with the Chinese in Banyu Mas and Tegal.—Máisa Laléan, after destroying his *kraton* at *Blora* to prevent it falling into the hands of *Báka*, now proceeded to *Bányu Mas* and *Tegal* to assist the chiefs there against the Chinese, who by their extortions and oppressions had even now become troublesome to the people of Java. The Chinese were attacked and their chief killed. From this period the Chinese were allowed to live anywhere in the island, and not, as formerly, in one district only. It was about this time that a brother of *Máisa Laléan*, *Chitra Arung Báya*, also called *Chamára Gading*, finding himself deceived by *Báka*, collected a party together at *Jang'gala* and embarked from the harbour of *Madura* for the island of *Celebes*, where he established himself. He is the first prince of whom the *Búgis* make mention.

The Kingdom of Pajajaran.—*Máisa Laléan* now proceeded with his followers to the west, and finding two brass cannon near *Bogor*, in the vicinity of the modern *Buitenzorg*, considered them an omen and with his followers established himself here, building a small city and *kraton* at *Pakúan*,¹ to which he gave the name of *Pajajaran*, taking for himself the sovereignty of the country, under the title of *Browijaya Máisa Tandráman*. He being duly acknowledged as sovereign in West Java, the new city soon rose to importance and became the capital of a new empire. This was about A.J. 955 (A.D. 1030).

¹ *Pakuán* was where the *desah* of *Batoe Toelis* now stands.

THE EMPIRE OF PAJAJÁRAN (ANNO JAVAN 1084).

Some accounts date the empire of Pajajáran only from Ráden Pánkas, who ruled here in A.J. 1084, having followed his son *Múda Sári*, who was a cousin of the founder of the new dynasty.

This prince had two sons, the elder of whom, not being content at home, engaged himself in foreign commerce, trading to Ceylon, Arabia, and China. The younger son succeeded his father, therefore, in the year A.J. 1112 (A.D. 1187) under the title of *Prábu Múnding Sári*.

He was, however, no sooner seated on his throne (it had taken him seven years before he permanently established his authority) than his brother, who had become a convert to the Mahometan faith and was called *Haji Purwa*, returned to Java accompanied by an Arab. Haji Purwa now tried to convert his brother and his family, but, failing and fearing the common people of Pajajáran, he proceeded to Cheribon, which was then a wild forest, and there established himself. Haji Purwa was thus the first Javan (Hindu) to become a Mahometan.

The next prince of Pajajáran was Múnding Wángi, who took over the government in A.J. 1179 (A.D. 1254).

This Hindu prince had a son by a concubine, but in consequence of the declaration of a convert to Mahometanism whom he had executed that his death would be avenged whenever the prince should have a child so born, he desired to destroy it at once. The child was, however, of exceeding beauty, and not being able to bring himself to kill it with his own hands, he enclosed it in a box and caused it to be thrown by one of his *mántris* into the river *Kráwang*.

The box was carried down the stream and was discovered by a fisherman, who, finding this beautiful child inside, brought it up as his own until it reached twelve years.

Finding him possessed of more than ordinary abilities he took him to *Pajajáran* for instruction, placing him there under the charge of his brother, who had a factory for iron and steel articles.

The boy soon excelled in all kinds of iron and steel work and became chief of the *pandi* or ironsmiths, a body of workmen of great renown. Whilst there he constructed an iron cage which took the fancy of the Prince Múnding Wángi, who was induced to enter it, where he fell asleep. According to some accounts the prince was now burnt alive in the cage; according to others he was thrown, cage and all, into the sea.

The empire of Pajajáran had now become very powerful, stretching through the Preanger Regencies on the one side down to and including *Jacata*¹ on the other.

Since the fourth century of the Christian era *Hinduism*—that is to say, *Sivaism*—had been preached in the Hindu kingdom of the Bantam district. Later from an uncertain date, but possibly from the fifth or sixth century, the same creed was preached at *Bogoh*.

From the scarcity of Hindu deities met with in the *Banten* and *Prayangen* (Preanger) districts, it is clear that neither Brahminism nor Buddhism ever became very popular with the Sundahese inhabitants of West Java. Moreover, it must also be noted that the ruler of *Banten* was of a different creed to the prince of *Pajajáran*, and for a number of years was at war with him until he was at last overpowered.

History has invariably proved that when two sovereigns whose dominions are coterminous with each other have been long on their thrones, one or other of them, either from a desire to increase the size of his kingdom or from jealousy of a power so near, takes aggressive measures or proceeds through intrigue to gain gradually power over the

¹ *Jacatra* (or *Batavia*).

other. Such was the case with the Hindu rulers of *Banten* and *Pajajáran* on the death of *Múnding Wangi*. *Banniak Wedi* was declared sovereign under the title of *Browijaya Chióng Wanára*. His reign, however, was a short one. He was succeeded by *Sri Sang Ratu Devata*, the princely ruler of the Preanger districts, who now came down to *Pakúan*. He had with him one hundred thousand fighting men, and proclaimed himself *Maharajah Sunda*, King of Upper *Sunda*, to distinguish himself from the ruler of *Banten*, or Lower *Sunda*.

The Rajah of *Banten* declining to admit his supremacy, he conquered him and presented his brother *Baroedin* with the throne, placing *Jakarta* under his charge. The empire now grew in wealth and strength, and a portion of *Sumátra* and *Borneo* (called from immemorial ages the Golden Isle) came under the rule of the new prince.

In A.J. 1313 (A.D. 1388) the zenith of *Pajajáran's* glory seems to have been reached. The borders of the empire stretched from *Bánten* to *Tjérebon*, and thence to *Tegal* and *Toegoe* (in the district of *Matáram*), touching at this point the boundaries of the empire of *Majapahit*, which, according to the history of *Pajajáran*, was founded by a prince of this house, who had fled eastwards to escape punishment for some misdemeanour.

It was about this time that the inhabitants in the eastern districts of *Pajajáran* began to show an inclination towards *Islamism*. The prince, hearing of this, determined to put it down immediately, and shipped an army from the coast lying between *Tegal* and *Cheribon*. The army sailed round Java to the bay of *Matáram*, but did not meet with much success. The prince therefore returned, landing at *Wynkoops Bay*, which he called *Palaboean Ratu*, some say in honour of his spouse.

In A.J. 1447 (A.D. 1522) the Portuguese under a lieutenant of *Albuquerque*, *Henriquez Lerne* by name, arrived at

Banten and found the Hindu prince there at war with the Mahometan ruler of Cheribon, *Susuhunan Goenoeng Djati*.

The Prince of *Banten*, foreseeing the inevitable, received the Portuguese with ostentatious and extraordinary signs of civility and friendship, proposing an alliance, offering them one thousand bags of pepper yearly, and requesting them to build a fort immediately. By these means did he hope to overcome the Mahometans, who by bribery, corruption, and intrigue were daily gaining converts to their religion from *Banten*.

The Portuguese accepted all these overtures of the prince and promised to return again as quickly as they could. They were, however, longer away than they had intended, and on their return in A.J. 1452 (A.D. 1527) found that a disciple of the *Susuhunan* of *Cheribon* had been ruling here since A.J. 1451.

The *Lampong* districts had also succumbed to the "scourge" of the East, so that only *Pajajáran* was still to fall to complete the Islamic conquest of Java.¹

Being stronger than its neighbours and situated in the hills, *Pajajáran* was enabled to hold out longer than might have been anticipated.

However, *Pajajáran* was at last seriously attacked with a tremendous army, and the Hindu troops, being beaten, retreated to *Paduán* or *Pakuan* (Batu Tulis). Here they were besieged, and after several months were attacked one night and entirely destroyed.

This happened in A.J. 1495 (A.D. 1570), forty-four years after the fall of *Banten*.

With the fall of *Pajajáran* Hindu rule in Java came finally to an end. For a number of years already no fresh Hindu blood had been introduced into Java and the colonists who remained had gradually become one with the Javans, who in accordance with their apathetic nature

¹ Majapahit had already fallen ; see below.

surrendered themselves to their new Mahometan conquerors as easily as they had previously done to the Hindu rajahs.

Although not to be compared with its predecessor *Méndang Kamúlan* or its successor *Majapahit*, *Pajajaran* was a great Hindu empire, whose influence and power is not to be underrated.

This stone (Batoe Toelis) was inscribed in the year A.J. 1055 (A.D. 1130) to commemorate the founding of the town of Pakuan, which was the capital of the great Hindu empire of Pajajaran.

Translation from the "Kawi" on the Stone.

"The opening of this new era, and registration of the date. Before the country was called Preboe Ratu. Later it was called Preboe Goeroe Dewatw-Vhana. Afterwards it was named Sri Badoega Maharadja, King-Emperor at Pakuan, Pajajaran. His Majesty Sangrat Dewata was it that founded Pakuan. He was the son of Rahyang Dew Niskala, who happily died and was buried in Goena Tiga, a grandson of Rahyang Niskala Wastoe Kantjana, who happily died and was buried on Noesa Larang. Yes, he it was that made a town in the mountain land, and surrounded it with a wall; and that made the holy lake Rena Mahawidjaja. Yes, he it was. In the year five-pandawas-useful origin soil."

THE EMPIRE OF MAJAPAHIT, ANNO JAVAN 600 (A.D. 675).

The empire of *Majapahit* is generally thought to have been founded by Persians and Arabs from the west coast of Sumatra, who formed an insignificant colony in that island. These Arabs and Persians, who were for the most part sea-rovers and adventurers seeking plunder and loot wherever they went, were established in Sumatra certainly as early as the seventh century.

Frequently calling, as they did, at the port of *Grésik* and the harbours of *Madura* to refit and refresh their vessels, it is quite reasonable to suppose that on the establishment of

the kingdoms of *Jáng'gala*, *Daha Ngarawan*, and *Singa Sari* some of them remained in these parts, to take advantage of the profit to be won by trading here. It was merely a colony, however, and a place of small importance until about A.J. 1200 (A.D. 1275),¹ when it suddenly rose into importance under *Jáka Sura*, or *Browijaya*, under the name of *Majapahit*.

In the Javan language *maja* and *pahit* both signify bitter, but the name of the new kingdom was also *Manspahit*, and is very probably derived from *Mans Pati*, the ancient capital of *Arjuna Wijaya*, in whom the Javans believe *Vishnu* to have been incarnate.

*Majapahit*² was situated near to where the present town of Modjokerto stands.

The Prince *Browijaya* built for himself a large town in the forest, and when this was finished he took for himself the title of *Bopati Sang Browijaya*.

The population increased very rapidly. The fame, moreover, of Java soon began to reach the various places in the East, and *Kublai Khan*, the first emperor of the Mongol dynasty, appears to have desired to place this country among his possessions. As soon, therefore, as he was firmly seated upon his throne, he adopted the Chinese tradition of universal dominion, and accordingly sent envoys all over the world, so far as it was known, informing the various princes that a new family had ascended the throne of the world, and asking them to renew their allegiance and present tribute.

Chinese Envoy from Kublai Khan visits Majapahit, A.J. 1215 (A.D. 1290).—The envoy *Meng Chi* and a suite was the representative sent to *Browijaya*. The Prince of *Tumapel*,³ which was on the river *Kali Mas*, in the eastern

¹ According to some accounts the date was A.J. 1158, according to others A.J. 1301; both, however, are probably alike wrong.

² Sometimes also called *Modjopait*.

³ *Tumapel* was an important town in the Sourabaya district, and was probably the old city of *Jang'gala*.

part of the island, whose country was looked on distinctively as Java by the Chinese, because it was in this district that they chiefly traded, received the envoy badly, and cut and branded his face, sending him ignominiously away with a message that he did not recognise the claim of his master.

Kublai Khan was not the man long to brook an insult of this kind and decided to send an expedition to avenge the outrage.

Orders were issued to the Governor of Fukien directing him to send the Generals *Shih-pi*, *Ike Mese*, and *Kan Hsing* with an army of twenty thousand men to Java to subdue it. They were to proceed in one thousand ships, to be equipped with provisions for a year, and to be supplied with forty thousand bars of silver. The emperor further gave ten tiger badges, forty golden badges, and a hundred silver badges, together with a hundred pieces of silk, embroidered with gold, for the purpose of rewarding merit.

When *Ike Mese* and his associates had their last audience, the emperor said to them, "When you arrive at Java you must clearly proclaim to the people there that the imperial Government has already had intercourse with them through envoys sent from both sides and has been in good harmony with them, but that they have lately cut the face of the imperial envoy *Meng Chi* and that you have come to punish them for this."

The fleet sailed from *Chuan Chou*, a town near Amoy, towards the end of A.D. 1292, and did not follow the accustomed course along the coasts of Malacca and Sumatra, but struck out boldly, taking the shortest road to its destination. The wind was strong and the sea very rough,¹ so that the ships rocked heavily and the soldiers could not eat for many days. After passing near *Karimata*, which is sufficiently indicative of the course that was taken, they

¹ The Chinese Sea during the months of November, December, January and February is always rough.

came to the island of Billiton,¹ where they stopped to cut timber to make smaller craft for entering the Java rivers, and also to repair their vessels (junks) before proceeding any further.

During this delay the political agents who accompanied the army were sent to Java, together with General *Ike Mese* with five hundred soldiers and ten ships, to see what could be done by negotiations. The army soon followed, proceeding first to the island *Karimon-Java* and next to a place on the Java coast called *Tuban*, near *Rembang*.

Arrival of Chinese in Java, A.J. 1218 (A.D. 1293).—Here half the army was sent ashore with orders to march to the mouth of the river *Kali Mas*,² whilst the other half proceeded in the fleet to the same destination, passing on its way the river *Sedayu*.

The two divisions of the Chinese army met at the mouth of the river towards the end of April (A.D. 1293). In the meantime information had been obtained that the Prince of *Tumapel*, whom the expedition had come to punish, had been killed by his neighbour *Aji Katang*, Prince of the *Kalang* people, who reigned at *Dáha*.³ See note.

The territory of *Tumapel* had been conquered by *Aji Katang*, and only the son-in-law of the late Prince, *Raden Jaka Sura*, or *Browijaya*, was still in arms against the

¹ In February, A.D. 1293.

² This river the Chinese called Pa-tsieh-kan, which name is found in that of the desah (village) Patjekan of the present day, situated on the right bank of the Kali Mas about nine miles from the sea.

³ The wild Kalangs living in the *Jang'ala* district, and commanding the delta of the rivers there, when Hinduism spread in these parts, no doubt drew together for self-protection, hence the large number of them to be found at *Dáha* (Kediri).

There were still, however, at this time some of the Kalangs in this part of Java, who preferred the wild life of the forests, and roamed in the *Tenger* and *Idjen* mountains in absolute nakedness.

During the reign of Sultan Ageng of Matáram all the Kalangs were forced to reside near towns, and some of them became the slaves of the Javan rulers.

invader (*Aji Katang*) and defending himself at his capital, *Majapahit*.

It is related that *Browijaya* offered to submit to the Mongol generals and sent some trusty followers, who gave the necessary information about the roads, rivers, and resources of the country.

Aji Katang, the Prince of *Dáha*, was master of the delta of *Surabaya* also, and the Mongols found there an army which tried opposing them. These were troops of *Dáha* or others who had submitted to them.

The Mongol generals accepted the assistance of the Prince of *Majapahit*, *Browijaya*, and soon fought their first battle at the mouth of the river *Kali Mas*, where the troops from *Dáha* were easily routed.

These troops, which were not under the command of *Aji Katang* himself, but of one of his ministers, retired into the interior and joined the army of *Aji Katang* before *Majapahit*.

Browijaya at last sent word that he was sorely pressed by his foe, and asked for assistance.

The Mongol army accordingly marched in that direction, and a strong body of troops was sent ahead to encourage their allies.

A battle was fought under the walls of *Majapahit*; the army of *Dáha* was defeated and thrown back into the mountains south of that place.¹

Not satisfied with the success, the victors now marched on *Dáha*, which was attacked and captured, *Aji Katang* being killed.²

All resistance being now at an end, and the Kings of *Tumapel* and *Dáha* being dead, it was now *Raden Browijaya's* turn to pay for the services which the Mongol

¹ The battle lasted from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., and the army of *Dáha* lost five thousand men, very many throwing themselves into the river and perishing there.

² According to a Balinese manuscript, *Aji Katang* was killed by one of the Chinese generals.

army had rendered him. As his opponent, the King of *Dáha*—his great enemy, who had held so much power in these parts—was no more, his force scattered, he did not require their services any more and sought to avoid his obligations. He therefore explained that he must return to *Majapahit* and prepare adequate presents for the emperor by way of the tribute, which Kublai Khan so much desired. He was therefore allowed to return and given an escort of Chinese soldiers. On the way to his capital, however, he threw off the mask, the Chinese escort was treacherously massacred, and with his own troops he at once began hostilities against his former allies.

By this time the Mongol generals had found out how difficult it was to carry on war in these parts, and did not consider it advisable to begin a new struggle, so, taking with them the more important prisoners they had captured from *Dáha*, and whatever treasure they could collect, and their remaining forces, consisting of not more than ten thousand (six thousand having been killed and three thousand having died of the diseases of the country), they embarked in their ships and left the island after a stay of four months, reaching *Chuan Chou* in sixty-eight days.¹

For having lost so many men the emperor ordered the senior general, *Shih-pi*, to receive seventeen lashes and confiscated a third of his property. As his age (86 when he died shortly after), however, was great, his property was eventually restored to him and he was gradually raised to the highest rank.

It is interesting to observe how a Balinese historian describes the affair as follows :—

“*Sri Laksemána*, the King of *Tatar*,² being informed that *Browijaya* had attacked *Kediri*, forthwith sent a letter to him

¹ The Javans commemorated their victory by raising a stone, which is still, I believe, to be seen.

² A Javan misconception for Tartar. Raffles could never make out who the King of Tartar was.

saying that he would co-operate with the *Majapahit* army provided *Browijaya* would be on good terms with him. *Browijaya* on receiving this intelligence was very much delighted, and accordingly returned a letter of approbation to *Laksemána*.

“*Laksemána* and his followers then joined *Browijaya* and fought several battles with *Jáya Kátong*, the King of *Kédiri*, in which a great number of men as well as chiefs were killed on both sides.

“In the heat of the action *Jáya Kátong* and *Laksemána* met, and a fierce encounter took place between these chiefs. *Jáya Kátong* threw his javelin at *Laksemána*, but missed him, and *Laksemána*, in return, struck him on the breast with his poisoned spear and killed him on the spot.

“The *páteh* [of *Kediri*] and the whole force of *Kediri*, perceiving that their king was fallen, immediately surrendered. *Browijaya* then eagerly went into the *Kadátan*¹ and was received by his faithful wife [who was a sister of *Jáya Kátong* and had been abducted by him after her marriage to *Browijaya*].

“They embraced with tears of joy, and *Browijaya* was so enraptured at recovering her that without taking further notice of the *Kadátan* he returned with his wife to *Majapahit*.

“He invited the King of *Tatar* to visit him. On his arrival *Browijaya* received him with every attention and made him a present of a beautiful virgin.

“*Laksemána* remained for some time at *Majapahit*, during which *Browijaya* gave him two or three grand entertainments. He afterwards embarked on board of his own vessel, and returned to his kingdom of *Tatar*.

“*Browijaya* with his *páteh* reigned at *Majapahit* and governed the whole island of *Java*, and his people were very happy.”

Browijaya now assumed the title of *Bitara*,² which gave him power over all *sultans*, *rajahs*, and *maharajahs* in *Java* and the surrounding islands, the chiefs of whom all acknowledged his supremacy, and held their domains by virtue of special authority and warrant from him. Even the proud King of the great Malayan capital in *Sumatra*, *Menang Kaban*, who claimed his descent from the Macedonian hero

¹ The king's palace.

² *Bitara*, or *Batara*, is a contraction of *Avatara*, or “the incarnation.”

Alexander the Great, acknowledged the *Bitára* of *Majapahit* and swore fealty to him, although this was not until A.J. 1268 (A.D. 1343).

The country around *Majapahit* now settled down, and trading adventurers crowded the capital, coming from all parts of the East.

The manufacture of arms of various descriptions was at this time brought to the highest pitch of perfection at *Majapahit*, and the first Damascene *kris*es were made by the *pandi* (smiths), who came here from *Pajajaran*, a kingdom which always was first to make any of the manufactured articles Java produced. These *pandis* became distinguished men at *Majapahit*, and were so highly thought of that they were appointed to the charge of districts each with a thousand *chácha* (*tjatjar*, or family).

The following is a description of *Majapahit* :—

Vessels coming from other parts usually called first at *Tuban*, then at *Grésik*, and lastly at *Surabaya*. The palace of the *bitára* was surrounded by a brick wall more than thirty feet high and a hundred feet long at each side. It had a double gate and was clean and very well kept.

The houses inside *Majapahit* stood thirty to forty feet from the ground ; they had a floor of boards, covered with fine rattan-mats or rush mats of various descriptions, on which the people sat cross-legged in Hindu fashion. The roofs of the houses were made of boards of hard wood, split into pieces like tiles.

The dwellings of the people were covered with straw, and in every house there was a stone-built store-room, three or four feet high, for holding their goods, on which they always sat.¹

The *bitara* went bare-headed or wore a cap with golden leaves and flowers ; he wore no garment on the upper part of his body, but around the lower part he had a flowered

¹ A Hindu custom of the present day is to sit on the tops of their houses.

sarong, tied with a flowered silk gauze or linen around his loins, called a *slendang*; thrust into this was a short dagger, called a *kris*. His feet were always bare. When going out he always sat on an elephant, or in a cart drawn by oxen.

The men of *Majapahit* wore their hair hanging down, but the women wore theirs in a knot; they wore a short jacket and a *sarong* round the lower part of the body. They also carried a *kris* in their girdle, this being the custom of all the males of three years and upwards.

Death seems to have been the only punishment for all offences, great and small. The culprit had his hands tied behind his back with a thin piece of rattan, and was led away a few paces and stabbed with a *kris* between his ribs once or twice until dead. As may be readily imagined in a city with a population counting several hundreds of thousands, not a day passed without one or more death sentences being carried out.

Men and women alike were continually chewing *penang*, with *betel* and lime.

In *Majapahit* there were practically four divisions of people: the Hindu-Javans, who had the command of the place, the Arabs, the Chinese, and the common natives. The latter have been described as ugly and uncouth, who went about with uncombed hair, naked feet, and believed firmly in devils. These people ate snakes, ants and all kinds of insects and worms, dipped only for a moment or so in the fire; and the dogs they kept in their houses ate and slept with them.

There used to be a yearly assembly held at *Majapahit* called the "Meeting of Bamboo Spears." It took place in November, when the *bitara* made his wife or *ratu* ride in a pagoda carriage before him, himself following in an ordinary cart. This pagoda carriage was more than ten feet high with windows on all sides, and was drawn by horses. At the meeting place a square was formed, and every man held

a bamboo spear with an iron point. Each combatant had his wife and concubine with him, armed with a stick three feet long, and stood between them.

At a signal given on a drum, beaten first slowly and then quickly, two men advanced with their lances and began fighting. After three bouts the wives separated them with their sticks, calling out *Larah, larah, larah*,¹ upon which they stopped fighting. If one was killed in the fight the *bitara* ordered the victor to pay a golden coin to the relations of the deceased, whose wife now followed the conqueror, who was obliged to look after her.

For money the better inhabitants used Chinese copper coins of various dynasties, all of which were current here, besides gold and silver brought by the Arabs.

There were daily markets at which fowls, goats, fish, fruit, and vegetables of all kinds were sold, being both plentiful and cheap.

Some of the Javans were very rich, and grew sugar-cane and other produce.

The sugar-cane is described as having a white cover, and being very thick and in length twenty to thirty feet.

Amongst the fruit mentioned at this time were plantains, cocoanuts, sugar-cane, pomegranate, the capsules of lotus, mangostine, and water-melons. We are told that besides rice the country produced sugar, sesamum, and yellow beans, but *no barley or wheat*.

The inhabitants traded in sapan-wood, sulphur, rhinoceros horns, diamonds, white sandal-wood, lignum aloes, nutmegs, long pepper, ordinary pepper, steel, tortoise-shell, prepared and unprepared gold, silver and ivory. Of birds they had at Majapahit red, green, yellow and white parrots, and the *gracula religiosa* (beo), which exactly imitated human speech. There were also cockatcos, green and coloured pigeons, and others.

¹ "Probably the Javan word *larah*, meaning to "pull" or "draw back."

Pigs, goats, cows, fowls, ducks, and horses were reared but no donkeys or geese.¹

Amongst animals they had elephants, tigers, rhinoceros, wild boars, white stags, and white monkeys.

When a man married he went first to the house of the bride to conclude the marriage, and three days afterwards he brought his wife home, on which occasion the relations of the bridegroom beat copper and bamboo drums and copper gongs, blew on cocoanut shells, and fired off guns; whilst a number of men armed with small swords surrounded them.

The bride had her hair hanging down loose, whilst the upper part of her body and feet were naked. Round her waist was fastened a *slendang* of green cloth, and on her head was a string of golden beads; whilst on her wrists she carried bracelets of gold and silver nicely ornamented.

The relations, friends, and neighbours brought penang and betel, whilst they adorned a little ship with garlands of flowers, carrying it along with the newly-married couple as a form of congratulation. Arriving at the house, they beat drums and gongs and made merry for several days, after which they went away.

Their burial rites were peculiar and rather disgusting. When the father or mother of a family was about to die, the children asked them whether after their death they preferred to be eaten by the pariah dogs, to be burnt, or to be thrown into the water; and their wishes were invariably strictly followed out. If it was their wish to be eaten by dogs, the body was carried to the sea-shore or into the forests, where a number of dogs soon collected. If the flesh of the corpse was eaten completely, it was considered very propitious, but if not, the children wept and lamented and the remains were thrown into the water.

When rich people, chiefs or men of rank, died, however,

¹ The Portuguese were the first to introduce geese.

their favourite concubines swore before their master's death that they would go with him. On the day of the burial the corpse was taken out of the house and a high wooden scaffolding was erected, at the foot of which wood was piled up in a large heap, and when the fire burnt fiercely two or three of the concubines, with their heads bedecked with flowers and their body decorated with cloths of various colours, mounted on the scaffold and, weeping and dancing for some little time, jumped into the fire and were burnt with their lord.¹

The people of *Majapahit* imported porcelain, muslin, flowered and plain silk, glass beads, from China, perfumes and essential oils from Arabia, spices from the Moluccas, and diamonds and gold from Borneo. The trade done in these articles was considerable. Of industries there were several, which employed thousands of the inhabitants.

Among the more important, the making of iron and steel articles took a leading place. The *pandi* or workers in these articles were almost considered the supporters of the empire, and the headmen were not only appointed administrators of districts, as already mentioned, but also enjoyed many privileges not granted to the ordinary inhabitants.²

There were also men who painted birds, animals, insects, and men, etc., on paper; the paper was like a scroll, and was fixed between two wooden rollers three feet high. The men who made them sat on the ground and, unrolling the pictures, explained in a loud voice what they represented, the spectators sitting around and attentively listening to the story woven round each picture. These pictures were also a considerable recreation to the poorer people, especially if the teller happened to be an adept in the art of narration.

¹ Until quite lately a like custom was practised on the death of the princes of Bali.

² On the destruction of *Majapahit* the numerous *pandis* were dispersed over the eastern districts of Java, Madura and Bali forming separate establishments under their respective chiefs.

Each listener was supposed to pay copper cash to the painter or owner of the picture before taking his departure.

The people were also engaged in rearing silkworms and making silk ; they wove a thick yellow silk.

From the *kapas* bush¹ they wove a very good cotton cloth, which the tailors made into coats and *sarongs*.

A portion of the population did nothing else but make salt, which was obtained by boiling sea-water.

The musical instruments of the country consisted of the *gamelan*, which was played by men specially instructed and trained, a transversal flute, drums and wooden boards. To this music young girls were taught to dance.

In case of illness the people took no medicine, but prayed to their gods and to Buddha to be made better.

When the moon was at its full and the night was clear the streets of *Majapahit* were frequently filled with music, the native women in parties of twenty or thirty going arm in arm into the moonshine with an old woman at their head. They visited the houses of their relations and of the rich and great people. The headwoman would lead off by singing the first line of some native song, after which all the others joined in. Their reward was copper cash, which in good times was showered upon them.

During the month of June the rich people went in boats on the rivers for longer or shorter periods for recreation, whilst in November they went to the mountains to divert themselves. They were carried there by strong mountain ponies, or else in mountain chairs, each borne by four men with two as a relay.

When the *bitara* went out of his palace in state he wore golden bells, a silk robe and shoes of leather, and rode upon an elephant. He was followed by five to seven hundred soldiers. When the people saw the *bitara* they crouched down and turned their heads away until he had passed.

¹ Cotton bush.

The *bitara* attended daily to the affairs of state, sitting on a square couch and receiving the various officials who called to see him. These officials on leaving his presence saluted him three times. Three of his sons, called *pánggerans*, were viceroys, and with four high functionaries assisted the *bitara* in ruling the empire.

These viceroys and high functionaries received no pay, but were entitled to a proportion of the products of the soil and to free labour for their own lands.

There were three hundred civil functionaries who kept the revenue books at *Majapahit*. There were also one thousand officials who were responsible for looking after the walls of the towns, the moat, the treasury, and the army.

The general of the army received every half-year ten taels of gold, equal to six or between six and seven hundred guilders. There were thirty thousand regular soldiers, who were paid half-yearly according to their rank.

The actual government of the empire was almost wholly in the hands of the three viceroys, who had each his own province to administrate. They, however, divided their provinces up into regencies or residencies (as they are now called), with a *bopati* at the head of each, which were again subdivided into small districts and sections, each under a *raden*, *demang*, or *lura*, and lastly below these came the *kuwuls* and *patinggis*.

The superintendents of trade received one *chien* (Chinese for ounce) of gold for every two piculs of *padi* (rice in ear) they weighed.

Their weights were the *cati*,¹ *picul*,² and *kobang*. The measure of content was a section of bamboo and called a *kulak*, being equal to about one pint.

It is remarkable how well administered in every way was the ancient Javanese Empire.

¹ Roughly one pound.

² One picul (roughly) = 100 catties, or 100 pounds avoirdupois.

The Remains of Majapahit as they are to-day.—The site of *Majapahit* is nowadays surrounded by a wood, and such is the veneration of the natives for all that remains of the capital of their ancestors that they believe the birds sing sweeter here than anywhere else in Java. On a mound stands the ruined gateway of the city walls. The tower on each side, now sunken, was at one time forty feet high. They are built of red brick cemented together, and are about ten feet apart. On a level with the ground may still be seen the sockets in which the pivots of the gate turned, much worn from constant use. The tower on the right had on one side an upper and a lower abutment, the angles being of brick and dovetailed. Below was a niche, in which probably a figure was formerly placed. The wall is continued from this gateway, and is supposed to have been not less than ten miles in circumference, but little of it now remains perfect.¹

The tower on the left hand has been grown over by creepers, and the roots of a tall tree are entrained whose outspread branches cover the gateway like an enormous sunshade. There is also still to be seen the artificial lake and bathing place of the ancient kings and queens of *Majapahit*. The lake was oblong, with a circumference of half a mile. The walls were four feet in thickness and consisted of solid masonry. At the two farthest angles are the ruins of two small stone houses. At the head of the lake is a dilapidated flight of steps. In the labyrinths of the jungle are the pillars of the palace, which must have attained magnificent proportions. In ancient days no one was ever allowed near the lake or its precincts except the bodyguards, and no one was ever allowed to bathe in it except the *bitara* and his wives and concubines.

¹ The surrounding sugar factories in this neighbourhood are said to have helped towards completing the ruin by taking away the bricks and stones for building.

Near by is the old cemetery, covering about three and a half acres, and consisting of four large and two small courts varying from thirty to thirty-five feet square.

Most of these courts are filled with tombs. Each square is surrounded by a brick wall of great thickness with passages and doors leading from one to the other. This is the only really ancient cemetery known of in Java.

Vessels trading with the empire of *Majapahit* sometimes anchored at *Yortan*, which in former times was a trading port at the southern arm of the river *Brantas*, near the present town of *Bangil*, in the residency of *Pasoeroean*. It has been described as a town in a flat country with a fortress built of stone. The trade is said to have been very prosperous, the Chinese owning a number of shops. Some of the houses were handsome and adorned with yellow and green tiles.

Behind *Yortan* the mountains were covered with bamboo forests, and the *melati*¹ grew wild in great quantities. These mountains at the time of *Majapahit* were the home of thousands of the original inhabitants of Java. They went naked, and spent their time hunting wild deer, apes and monkeys, and had great result for their skill. For food they planted beans, and they never came down to the plains.

In these early days *Grésik* (Grisee) was the headquarters of the rich Cantonese, and there were at least one thousand families. The Javans came in large numbers from the whole archipelago to trade here. The principal trade was in golden articles and precious stones from Borneo, and spices from the Molucca Islands.

The Chinese sold all sorts of foreign goods in large quantities, and are said to have become rich very soon after their arrival.

Eastwards, at a distance of seven miles, came the town

¹ A sweet-smelling flower.

of *Surabaya*; here also there were not less than one thousand Chinese families, as well as a number of very rich Javans. *Surabaya* was not, however, such a large town then as *Grésik*.

At the mouth of the river *Brantas* there is an island that was covered then with luxuriant vegetation, where it is said a large number of long-tailed monkeys once lived.

A black old male was their chief, and an old native woman was always at his side. The people prepared rice, fruit and cakes, and gave them to the monkeys, who came down from the trees to eat.

The old monkey ate first, followed by the young ones.¹

Trouble arose A.J. 1221 (A.D. 1296) between the empires of *Pajajaran* and *Majapahit* on account of considerable emigrations of the *pandi* or ironsmiths from the former to the latter.

This was owing to heavy demands made upon them by the *Rajah* of *Pajajaran* and to the much better conditions under which they worked at *Majapahit*.

The climax was reached when eighty *pandi* and their families deserted their country. They were pursued as far as the river *Pamáli*, in *Brebes*, but managed to effect their escape, and were received with open arms at *Majapahit*.

A demand was made for the *pandi* to be delivered up, but, no notice being taken of it, the army of *Pajajaran* moved to *Batang*, whilst the forces of *Majapahit* encamped by the side of the mountain *Ungárang*,² where there was a *desah* of that name. The next move of the *Pajajaran* army was to *Kaliwúngu*, where a large camp was formed.

Eventually an indecisive battle was fought at this spot, after which it was agreed between the two chiefs to make

This story of the monkeys having a chief is true. At the present day these monkeys are found near *Malang*, and on the shores of a small lake called Blue Water, near Pasoeroean.

² Oenarang.

a treaty and draw new lines of demarcation between the two countries.

The kingdom of *Balambangan*¹ became of immense importance at this time, and the *bitara* divided it up into several districts, under the sovereignty of *Majapahit*. The towns of *Besuki* and *Panurukan* also rose into importance under the beneficent rule of the great empire, and soon became centres for trading with a number of Chinese settlers.

The *bitara* having conquered and become master of practically the whole of the eastern archipelago, the chiefs of which had concluded treaties with him and acknowledged his authority, now desired to bring the Malayan peninsula with its capitals of *Singapura* and *Johor* under his control.

There was a large population here, whose princes had grown rich by piracy and whose subjects lived by the same means.

An expedition was therefore prepared and sent there, but failed to achieve the object desired by the *bitara* and returned empty-handed.²

A second expedition far stronger than the first was therefore immediately equipped and with a large number of soldiers despatched with instructions not to return unless successful.

The troops were landed at *Singapura*, and after a severe engagement destroyed the town and put all its inhabitants to the sword, and until the fall of *Majapahit Singapura* remained tributary to it.

The name of *Majapahit* never stood so high among the

¹ This town is no longer found on the map, having been swallowed up by the jungle about A.D. 1700 after war and disease had depopulated it. About A.J. 1240 the districts of Damar Wulan (near Sourabaya), Poerboling (in Banju Mas) and Probolinggo (Probolingo) are mentioned for the first time in the Javan histories.

² In A.D. 1252 Singapura was unsuccessfully attacked by the King of Majapahit or the King of Japara, probably the latter. This, however, drove the Malays to form another kingdom further west at Malacca, a spot long before known to the ancients.

surrounding nations of the East than at this moment, nor was there any time when its authority was more extensively acknowledged or its power more feared. The Rajas of *Makassar, Bali, Goa, Banda, Ende, Timor, Manilá Sulú,* and *Ternat* had learnt what it meant to thwart the *bitara's* will, however slightly. The empire seemed in fact invulnerable.

The dregs of all nations, however, having fled from wars or been obliged to desert their country and attracted by the chances of becoming quickly rich, began to congregate in large numbers at *Majapahit*. Among these were numerous Arabs, who with their peculiar faculty of grasping a situation soon perceived the opportunities that lay to hand from the usurpation of such a country through proselytisation, and the seed was sown whose roots were shortly to enfold the very foundations of this mighty empire and bring it utterly to ruin.

Introduction of the Mahometan Religion, ANNO JAVAN 1300 (A.D. 1375).—This new factor was the introduction of the Mahometan religion.

Javan writers relate the episode as follows :—

“*Mulana Ibrahim*, a celebrated *Pandita* of Arabia, a cousin of the *Raja* of *Chermen* (a country of *Sabrang*¹), had established himself with other Mahometans at *Désah Léran*,² in *Jang'gála*, when the *Raja* of *Chermen* arrived at Java.

“This prince, who was a Mahometan, perceiving with regret that the inhabitants of the large and populous island of Java were still heathens, resolved to attempt the conversion of the *King* of *Majapahit*, *Prabu Angka Wijaya*, and with this view to present him with his maiden daughter in marriage. Embarking with his daughter and all his relatives and followers of every description, he reached *Jang'gála*³ in safety, and, landing at the *Désah Léran*,

¹ Sumatra, where the Mahometans had already been established for at least two hundred years.

² A *desah* near Grésik or Grissee.

³ The districts south and west of *Majapahit* were still known under their ancient name of *Janggala*.

he immediately built a mosque there and in a short time succeeded in obtaining many converts.

“The *Rája* of *Chérmén* deputed his son *Sidek Mahomed* to proceed to *Majapahit* and apprise the king of his intended visit.

“He afterwards set out himself with all his party, among whom were forty holy men, his relations, who had come with him from *Sabrang*.¹

“The *King* of *Majapahit* came forth and met *Raja Chermen* at the confines, where they both remained under a *pasang grahan*² erected for their accommodation.

“*Angka Wijaya* evinced the greatest respect for *Raja Chermen* and treated him with every mark of hospitality.

“The *Raja* of *Chermen* now presented the *King* of *Majapahit* with a pomegranate in a basket, in order that by his acceptance or rejection of it he might ascertain whether or not he would become a convert. The king accepted of the present, but not without wondering how a *raja* from *Tana Sabrang* could think of presenting him with such a fruit, as if it was unknown in *Java*.

“His thoughts, however, he kept to himself, but *Raja Chermen* knew what was working in his mind, and soon after took his leave and returned with his people to *Léran*. His nephew *Mulána Máhsar*, the son of *Mulána Ibrahim*, alone remained with *Angka Wijáya*. Some time after this the king, having contracted a kind of giddiness in the head, opened the pomegranate, when instead of the usual seeds he found it filled with rubies. Surprised at this, he observed to his minister that *Rajá Chérmén* must indeed be a very superior kind of person, and sent *Mulána Málisar* to request the *raja* to return, but the *raja* refused to do so, and proceeded on.”

“When *Raja Chermen* had been four nights at *Léran* his people fell sick and many died. Among them were three cousins who had accompanied him from *Sabrang*, named *Sáyed Jásar*, *Sáyed Kásém*, and *Sáyed Ghart*, whose tombs are known by the name of *Kúbur Panjang*.³

“The princess (the *Raja* of *Chermen*'s daughter) who had been intended for the *Rajah* of *Majapahit* also died.⁴

¹ As already stated, *Sumatra*.

² Open shed built of bamboo and bamboo mattings.

³ These graves are still to be seen at the *Désah Léran*.

⁴ Her tomb is still preserved.

“ *Mulána Ibrahim* having been appointed to look after and take care of the graves, the *Rája* of *Chérmen* with all his people decided to return home.

“ *Angka Wijaya*, desirous of meeting again with *Raja Chérmen*, arrived at *Léran* three days after his departure, and hearing of the death of the princess, observed that he thought the religion of *Raja Chérmen* would have prevented such a calamity as the premature death of the *pútri* [princess], to which *Mulána* replied that such ignorance was only the consequence of worshipping *Déwas* instead of the true God.

“ *Angka Wijaya* became highly enraged at this retort, but, being pacified by his followers, returned to *Majapahit* without taking any further notice of it.

“ *Mulána Ibrahim*, who remained in charge of the tombs of the deceased, afterwards removed from *Léran* to *Grésik*, which, however, had not become a separate State. Here he died twenty-one years after the departure of the *Raja* of *Chermen*, and here his tomb, which is known by the name of *Gapura Wétan*, is still to be seen. He died on Monday, the 12th of *Rabinlawal*, in the Javan year 1334.¹

“ To return to the *Bitara* of *Majapahit*,² it appears that early in his (*Angka Wijaya*'s) reign, hearing from the merchants who resorted to Java of the beauty and accomplishments of a princess of *Chámpa*,³ he sent an embassy to that country to demand her in marriage, and on her arrival at *Gresik* received her there in person with great attention and state. The princess nevertheless for a long time refused to cohabit with him on account of the great number of his concubines, and particularly on account of the powerful hold obtained over his affections by a Chinese of great beauty, who had been sent him as a present from one of the chiefs of China, at the request of the merchants, and with the consent of the emperor, with a view to obtain greater privileges for their trade with Java.”

The next Arab missionary who arrived at *Gresik* was *Mulána Ishak*, the father of the *Susuhunan Giri*. He proceeded to *Ampel* in Middle Java, where many persons embraced the faith. From here he went to *Balambangan*.

¹ That is the 13th March, 1412. See Chapter XIII., “Gressie.”

² The King of *Majapahit*.

³ Cambodia.

The Arab missionaries now increased in Java, and in A.J. 1334 *Sheik Ibu Malána*¹ established himself at *Cheribon* and began the work of converting the western provinces.

As the discontent of the Princess of *Chámpa* in no way abated and could not be overcome, the *bitara*, greatly against his will, was obliged to part with his Chinese consort, whom he gave to *Aria Dámar*, an illegitimate son of his by a *Rasáka* woman. *Aria Dámar* had distinguished himself at an early age by bringing together a collection of all the wild animals of the forest as an amusement for the *bitara* and his family. After this, when in command of the *Majapahit* forces, he broke up the Balinese army, destroying the capital and killing the whole royal family, except one sister of the rajah, who, being very beautiful, was sent to the harem at *Majapahit*.

The *bitara* on presenting *Aria Damar* with the Chinese princess made it a condition that he must not cohabit with her until the child of which she was then pregnant was born. Desiring to present him with some token of his regard for his services to the empire, the *bitara* made him *adipati* or first chief of *Palémbang*, sending him there accompanied by the princess and about three hundred picked troops from *Majapahit*, infantry and cavalry.

The Chinese princess was now delivered of a son, who was called *Ráden Pátah*, and another was born later on to the same princess, who was called *Ráden Húsen*.

However, as the people of *Palémbang* disliked her for being Chinese, *Aria Damar* set her aside and took another wife, whose son he promised should be his heir. *Ráden Pátah* and *Ráden Húsen* were sent to *Majapahit*.

Ráden Pátah when he grew up refused to live at *Majapahit*, after the treatment his mother had received from the *bitara*, and went to live with the Arab *Pandita* at *Ampel*, who styled himself *Susuhunan*. *Ráden Húsen* was

¹ Frequently known as *Susuhunan Gunung Jati*.

appointed *bopati*, or regent, of one of the districts of *Majapahit* called *Trong*, and became commander-in-chief of the forces.

Ráden Pátah soon embraced Mahometanism and married a granddaughter of the *Susuhunan* of *Ampel*; when she became pregnant he determined to seek a place and an establishment of his own; this he was directed to fix at a spot where there was a sweet-scented grass called *bintara*.

This he found in the midst of an extensive swamp termed in Javan *Demaklakan* (afterwards shortened to *Demák*), though first called *bintara*.

As soon as news of the new establishment reached *Majapahit*, *Ráden Húsen* was sent with the army to destroy it, but on his arrival there he prevailed on *Ráden Pátah* to come to *Majapahit*, which he did.

The *bitara* recognised his son on account of his Chinese features and permitted him to return to his residence at *Bintára* or *Demák* with the title of *Adipati*.

After his return to *Demák* with his wife the place increased in importance and prosperity. Converts among the inhabitants in the neighbouring provinces now flocked to *Demák*.

The population daily increasing, the building of a great mosque was begun.

By A.J. 1390 (A.D. 1468) there were eight Arabs in Java who had assumed the title of *Súshunan*, viz., the *Susuhunans* of *Tuban*,¹ *Ampel*,² *Kúdu*s,³ *Grésik*,⁴ *Chéribon*, *Tegal*, *Sidayu*.⁵

These all assembled at *Demák* during the construction of the mosque, and in commemoration of the circumstance eight pillars were placed within its sacred precincts. The *Susuhunan* of *Kúdu*s was now appointed commander-in-chief of the Mahometan army of 150,000 proselytes and marched to *Majapahit*, against which *Ráden Pátah*, never

¹ Toeban.

² Near Solo.

³ Koedoes in Japara.

⁴ Grissee.

⁵ Sedayoe near Sourabaya.

forgetting the insult to his mother, the Chinese princess, had openly declared war.

Through the dexterity of *Ráden Húsen*, who still commanded the *Majapahit* forces, the hostile army of the Arabs was kept at bay for four years.

The army of *Majapahit*, however, became discontented with the uncertain state of affairs and loudly called for action.

Owing to the position of affairs, *Húsen* against his will attacked the Mahometan forces near the *Sidayu* river, and contrary to his expectations nearly annihilated them; in fact he could have done so, had he allowed his army to follow up their victory by proceeding to *Demák*. This, it is said, on account of his brotherly friendship for *Ráden Pátah*, he declined to do.

Ráden Pátah was now invited to *Majapahit* in order that amicable arrangements should be made, but to gain time he excused himself on account of illness, and to deceive his father, the *bitara*, paid the usual tribute.

The Mahometan forces were reorganised by *Ráden Pátah*, who made active preparations for a renewal of the fight.

Numerous chiefs sent troops to *Demák*, and a second army was soon assembled.

When ready the army "of the Faithful," now highly elated, marched to *Majapahit* and engaged the army under *Húsen*.

The engagement was long and protracted and lasted seven days, during which the Arabs preached and prayed incessantly.

At last, seeing an opportunity, the whole of the Mahometan forces advanced and swept the army of *Majapahit* before them, throwing them into an utter disorder from which there was no recovery.

Thus fell in the year A.J. 1400¹ (A.D. 1475) the great and

¹ The Portuguese give the date of the destruction of *Majapahit* between A.D. 1516 and 1520, but they are probably mistaken.

magnificent capital of Java, the boast and pride of the East.

In this wise did the sacred Hindu city of *Majapahit*, celebrated amongst all the eastern islands for the splendour of its court, for its excellent government, and the glory of its arms, become a wilderness ; the Javan assertion is true : “ Lost and gone is the pride of the land.”

The regalia, which was a large one, and had in it a splendid crown with huge diamonds, a golden service, and a magnificent *gamelan*,¹ was all removed to *Demák*, as was all property, public or private, of every description, so that in two years the country was utterly laid waste and became wholly deserted. What became of the *bitara* of *Majapahit* is not certain ; some accounts say he fled to *Malang*, others say to *Bali*.

At the former place, or near it, the people of *Majapahit* who had followed him began making bricks and built with these a walled town. They dug a deep moat or ditch around the whole and rendered it a place of considerable strength. This, however, *Ráden Pátah* is said to have destroyed at once, the old *bitara* dying shortly afterwards at the age of 63 years.

Thus was the utter destruction of the empire of *Majapahit* completed, it being brought to its end through the instrumentality of one of its own sons.

Before proceeding further with the history of the country, it will be necessary to go back a little.

¹ Said to be now at Djockjakarta.

SECOND PERIOD

Before the Arrival of the Europeans

CHAPTER II

ARABIAN INTERCOURSE WITH JAVA

FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE FOUNDING OF THE MAHOMETAN KINGDOMS OF DEMÁK (A.D. 1477) AND PAJANG (A.D. 1577).

THE famous voyage of Hippalus to the Far East marks an epoch in the history of navigation. The seamen of western Asia and Europe had never ventured out of sight of land, from the fear they had of losing it ; so that up to this time the length of their voyages had been more or less determined by the convolutions of the coast which they skirted.

This man, the first who had the hardihood to face the terrible open sea, and pass out of the sight of *terra firma*, staking his life upon the accuracy of his crude knowledge of geography, and sailing thus bravely into the unknown, deserves almost to take a higher rank than the world's other great adventurers—Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magelhan—in that he had less accumulated experience than they had by which to profit.

Once the direct sea route to the East had been found, an enormous impetus was of course given to the trade between Alexandria and the East, and Pliny supplies us with a great deal of information regarding the trade carried on by the natives of *Taprobane* with what are supposed to be the *Seres* of northern China.

At this time the island of *Jabadius* is frequently mentioned.

Again, Marinus of Tyre has left us accounts of the sailor Alexander, who is said to have made some wonderful sea voyages to China and Sumatra.

It is in Marinus's works that the land of *Chersonesus Aurea*, or the Golden Chersonese, is spoken of for the first time, which was regarded as the source of the fabulous riches of which the Bible gives us the record.

In Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews," which was written during the first century, therefore at a period earlier than the date of the works of Marinus of Tyre, is to be found the following passage with reference to the pilots furnished to Solomon by Hiram of Tyre :—

"To whom Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called Ophir, but now Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch gold."

The geographical position of Aurea Chersonesus, according to Ptolemy, is south of Further India, and from his map, Chapter I., Part II., it would seem that the land referred to is either the Malay Peninsula, or, what is more likely, Sumatra, or a land just below the Malay Peninsula, where gold abounds to this day.

M. Auguste Pavie, the well-known French writer on Indo-China, contends, however, that Cambodia is the original Ophir, and that Chersonesus Aurea is the name that was applied to all that portion of southern Asia. It is of course true, as already explained, that there was a wonderful civilisation in times far back in Cambodia, and that the Khmer Empire must have been the centre of a great wealth and commerce and have played an important part in eastern Asia; but, as Sir Hugh Clifford in his "Further India" remarks, M. Pavie's arguments, plausible though they often are, fail to carry conviction when he seeks to prove the identity of Cambodia with Ophir.¹

The effect of all these voyages to the golden East cannot but have made itself felt by the inhabitants of Arabia, for it

¹ Sir Hugh Clifford thinks himself that the Malay State of Pahang is the Golden Chersonese.



JAVAN DIGNITARY.

must have frequently been touched at by seamen ; but when the first Arabs visited Java is not known, although it is more or less certain that the Moluccas or Spice Islands were not unknown to them centuries before the Christian era.

Arab and Persian Colony in Sumatra.—Some think a small Arab or Persian colony in Sumatra was established on the west coast of Sumatra between *Padang* and *Benkoelen* not long after the birth of Christ.¹

Trade with Ceylon and Arabia.—Certain it also is that an Arabian influence was felt in Sumatra as early as A.D. 600, and an important trade was kept up with Ceylon and Arabia in pepper, gold, silver and tin.

Commerce with Madagascar.—There is also some evidence of a trade being carried on at an early date between Sumatra and Madagascar in Arabian dhows. It is also commonly supposed that slaves were brought in considerable numbers from the former to the latter country.

John de Barros in his “ *Decades* ” and Flaccourt in his “ *History of Madagascar* ” state that the language spoken by the inhabitants is full of Javan and Malay words. Raempfer in his famous history, discoursing on the language of Madagascar, remarking on the above fact, says it is the surviving evidence of the trade and commerce which these two nations (Sumatra and Java) about 2,500 years ago,² the richest and most powerful in Asia, carried on with Madagascar, where great numbers had settled.

Visit by a Greek from Arabia.—From Grecian records we learn of one Iambulus, who travelled to Arabia and from there proceeded “ in a little vessel, well built, and well equipped with provisions for six months on board which men were put with instructions to steer south in order to arrive at a certain fortunate island inhabited by a kind and

¹ Or earlier.

² He wrote the history about 1690, and this would therefore bring us to about B.C. 310.

hospitable people with whom they might live for the rest of their lives ” ; and that the island was situated in a most excellent climate very near the Equator, and plenty of calamus and maize grew there. The people were learned in astrology, and their island was amongst seven others. Iambulus stayed seven years in the East Indies. He mentions that the religion of the people consisted in worshipping the sun and the heavens, and that their oldest man acted as king.

The writer of Iambulus’s travels seems inclined to believe that the island visited was either Sumatra or one of the Moluccas, preferably the former, as the bark was “ almost too frail ” for such an extended voyage as would be necessary to reach the latter, and, moreover, no account is given by Iambulus of the Straits of Sunda, which in the latter case he would have been obliged to pass. As a matter of fact the Straits of Sunda need not have been passed, as another route could have been taken.

What makes it probable, moreover, that the place was neither the Moluccas nor Sumatra, but was indeed Java, is the fact that maize was discovered there, and early travellers are all at one in reporting its growth in Java, whilst not a single one has ever made mention of its being found in Sumatra. When the famous flight called the *Hejira* took place and Mahomet fled from his enemies at *Medina* with a handful of followers, he began to preach over great tracts of country “ that there was only one Allah, and he was Allah, and that Mahomet was his prophet,” in the hope of raising a sufficient number of zealots to support his tottering cause. In this he was successful, and was able to defeat successively the Jews in 625 and the Christians in 629.

His Arab priests now poured into India and Ceylon, preaching wherever they went. At first little or no progress was made, owing probably to the strong hand kept

on the population by the autocratic Hindu rulers. Eventually, however, Mahometanism won the day. Arab travellers or renegades, and no doubt Arab priests, visited *Grésik* and *Surábaya* at a very early date; in fact, as we know, the foundation of the great empire of Majapahit has been ascribed to them. It would not appear, however, as if any attempt was made thus early to alter the religion of the natives, the Arabs being more intent on commercial gains than on religious propaganda.

At the same time the ground was no doubt being gradually prepared, the seed sown, and the minds of the inhabitants opened to the benefits of Islamism as compared with Buddhism.

The Javans were always a superstitious, pliable folk, easy to be convinced by earnest preachers and overawed by any one claiming a relationship or a connection with unknown gods.

We have, too, among the Arabs the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor in the "Thousand and One Nights," which belong to the ninth century, when the commerce of the Arabs under the caliphs of Baghdad was at its highest development. In his first voyage we are told that Sindbad reaches "the country of the Maharajah," a title given, according to Sir George Birdwood in his old records of the India Office, so far back as the second century to a Hindu king whose vast monarchy is said to have comprised the greater part of India, Further India, and Sumatra and Java in the Indian Archipelago, and whose title continued to be borne afterwards by one of the sovereigns of the later disintegrated empire. In Sindbad's second voyage mention is made of the kingdom of Riha—the Malay Peninsula according to some—and the manner of the preparation of camphor, produced in the mountain forests there, is accurately described.¹ In the third voyage the island of "Selaheth "

¹ This may have been Borneo.

or Malacca is mentioned. In the fourth he was carried to a country where he found men gathering pepper,¹ and from it went to the island of Nacous² and on to *Kela*.³ In the fifth voyage he is shipwrecked on the island of the "Old Man of the Sea."⁴ Thence he crossed to the Maldives and back again to the pepper country of Malabar, and from there over the peninsula of *Comorin* back to Baghdad. In the sixth he visited an island where grew superb "aloes," trees of the kind called *santy*, probably sandal-wood. The island of *Serendib* or Ceylon marked the limit of his seventh and last voyage.

The Abbé Renaudot in his "Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine"⁵ gives the notes of two Arab merchants who apparently visited India and China about the eighth and ninth centuries, and are among the first Western writers to make mention of *tcha* or tea and porcelain. They also mention arrack and rice. Suleiman, the author of the first part of the "Relations," who was a merchant of Bussorah⁶ about 851, seems to have journeyed from *Serendib* to *Al Ramni* (Sumatra), and from thence on to *Zabaj* (Java).

Masudi of Baghdad visited India and China in A.D. 916, and mentions the products of the East Indian Archipelago—nutmegs, cloves, cubebs, camphor, areca nuts, and sandal-wood—which leads us to suppose he visited the various islands where these were produced.

Coming down to mediæval times, an Arab traveller called Ibu Batuta, "the traveller without peer of the whole Arab nation" as he is affectionately called by a holy man of his own faith, was the next to visit Java. He was born in

¹ Malabar.

² The Nicobars.

³ Quedahi.

⁴ Probably on the Concan coast.

⁵ Printed in Paris, 1718.

⁶ Bussorah was founded by Caliph Omar A.D. 635 purposely to encourage the Indian trade by the Persian Gulf.

Tangier on the 24th February, 1304, and set out on his travels in his twenty-first year. He did not return to his native land until 1347, and during this time he covered in all 75,000 miles. He visited India, China, Cambodia, where he was duly impressed with the very rich region, and the King of Champa, who had 326 children. Thereafter he visited Java, possibly settling for a time at Grésik, whence he proceeded to Sumatra. Here he spent a season awaiting the change of the monsoon, eventually leaving the island in a ship belonging to the King of Sumatra.

Ibu Batuta, although by profession a holy man, seems to have regarded all his co-religionists as specially created for his comfort and convenience. Wherever he went he appears to have shamelessly preyed upon them and deemed them sufficiently repaid by the fact that they were being honoured by administering to his needs. Everything was on a scale of unexampled grandeur and magnificence. It can be well imagined, therefore, that on his return to Arabia he spread about reports of the riches and splendour of the East and the greatness of its emperors; this brought a band of Mahometan adventurers from many parts under the cloak of religion to Java, who accepted "handsome presents" for their religious ministrations, and were not above keeping an unusually large number of wives.

Majapahit.—With extravagant airs and haughty tone, numbers under one pretext or another found their way to Majapahit and its neighbourhood and permanently settled in the land, marrying the daughters of the rajahs and regents, by whom they were looked upon as foreign princes in disguise, capable of performing miracles and connected with the spirits of the upper and under-world. They were consequently greatly respected by the common people. In this way did they gradually obtain a control over the whole country, which eventually ended in the whole population of Java throwing down their images and worshipping Allah.

The next step of these Arabs was to lead their proselytes against their own princes and rulers, whom they deposed, destroying their splendid capitals with fire and sword.

They then placed the people under a yoke from which they have never been able to free themselves ; this will be related in the following pages.

In 1375 an Arabian scholar named *Ibu Mulána Málík Ibrahim*,¹ who it is said had already firmly planted Mahometanism in Johore and various places in Sumatra, hearing that the princes of Java had not yet given up their idolatrous and heathen practices, although the people on the north coast from continual intercourse with the merchants from Arabia were ripe for conversion, decided to proceed to this country. Later on his cousin (the Rajah Cliermen) embarked from somewhere in the Straits of Malacca with his daughter, whom he hoped to marry in the cause of religion to the Emperor of *Majapahit*, *Prabu, Augha, Uijaya*. The rajah took with him all his followers, and landing at *Grésik*, established himself at *Desa Leran*, which is about six miles distant from *Grésik*, and was at this time an important trading place. Here he built a mosque, and by his good life and habits began soon to gain converts.

Shortly after the mosque was built many of his followers and relations died and were buried there ; their tombs are still to be seen.

Other high priests now began to arrive in the East Indies, and the city of Palembang was eventually converted by *Raden Rachmat*, the prince of this place, Aria Damár having long practised Islamism (so it is said) in private before his people gave up their " ancient ways."

After Mulana Malik Ibrahim had made many thousands of converts, he sickened and died on Monday, the 13th March, in the year 1412. He was buried with much pomp in the

¹ Not to be confused with Sheik Mulana Ebrahim, who was later on Susuhunan of Cheribon.



VIEW OF THE VOLCANO OF OENARANG, FROM THE WEIR, SAMARANG.

hills behind *Grésik*, and his grave is still venerated as that of a saint.

Raden Rachmat now came to *Grésik*, which had already become an important centre of the new religion. He brought his sister with him, who soon became a member of the Emperor of *Majapahit's* harem. To *Aria Dúmar*, the Prince of Palembang, a son was born by his newly-married Chinese wife, who was given the name of *Raden Patah*. This son when grown up went to reside first at *Ampel* (near Solo) and afterwards at *Demák*, a town he himself founded.¹ Here he became the object of suspicion, his ways being those of a zealous devotee to Islamism. He was, however, induced to appear at the court of *Majapahit*, and the emperor, recognising who he was, not only accepted his homage, but forgave him for his faults of omission and commission, and sent him back laden with presents and honours as *Adipate*. With this new title he established himself at Demak stronger than before and began to intrigue more than ever for the introduction of Islamism among the people; he surrounded himself with all the most celebrated advocates he could find in Java of the new religion. He was shortly after this attacked by the Hindu forces of *Majapahit* near *Sidaya* and beaten with heavy loss, his general being killed.

Disappointed but not discouraged, he set to work to strengthen his forces, collecting an army of 150,000 men. He now openly repudiated the Emperor of *Majapahit*. He thereupon was A.D. 1475 acclaimed sovereign and champion of the new religion.

Believing his strength sufficient, he sent his army under the son of the general that was killed to attack *Majapahit*. Their progress has been described as follows:—

“The army of the Faithful, highly elated and determined

¹ Full particulars of *Raden Patah*, whose real father was the *Bitara* of *Majapahit*, and of his founding the city of *Demak* are given in Part III. of the last chapter.

upon the downfall of paganism, were met by the united forces of *Majapahit*, and a severe and desperate battle took place which lasted for seven successive days. In this protracted engagement the former were at first worsted, but the commander, availing himself of the enchanted box and miraculous weapons, at last succeeded in driving the enemy before him, and the city of *Majapahit*, surrounded on all sides, submitted to the hostile forces, the king and his immediate followers having previously quitted it in disorder and fled to the eastward."

The pride of the land—of the East—was gone, Mahometanism had triumphed, and the army of Javanese converts, under the lead of the Arab adventurers, had destroyed their own capital. Buddhism was now gradually crushed out of existence.

These Arabs were undoubtedly men of sharper intelligence than the Javans. They were, moreover, better educated; they had travelled, and were capable of acting in combination for a great end. They were further actuated by religious zeal, and once they had laid their heavy hand on the population, which on account of climate and other reasons was less actively inclined, and was blessed with a religion that had never greatly appealed to its imagination, it was easily overcome and converted; and when one of its own rulers (*Ráden Pátah*), a prince of the house of *Majapahit* himself changed his religion, the end of Buddhism in Java was inevitable.

Ráden Pátah, who died in 1519 at a great age, was followed at *Demák* by *Pangerang Sabrang Lor* as *Susuhunan*. He was the son of a renowned Javan chief who had embraced Mahometanism.

Another Arab named *Sheikh Noervedin Ibrahim ibu Maulana Israel*, called later the *Susuhunan Goenoeng Djati*,¹ who had come to Java about 1480 and settled on the north coast, formed an alliance with *Ráden Pátah* of *Demák*, and proceeded to *Cheribon* to preach the new

¹ Also *Junung Jati*.

religion and establish a kingdom. He soon conquered and converted the Javanese there, who mention in their annals, which have been handed down, that, unlike the other Susuhunans, he won by the gentle means of persuasion and not by the sword.

History has proved he was the most able and enterprising of all the apostles who came to Java and settled there.

In 1526 the Susuhunan of Cheribon conquered *Banten* (Bantam), which weakened the empire of *Pajajaran*, as related. This was destroyed in 1570, before his death in 1580 at the wonderful age of about 115 or 120, if the dates given, which there is in this case small reason for doubting, are correct. In the later years, especially in the war with *Pajajaran*, the Susuhunan's son *Pangeran Yusuf*, who was now king at Bantam, conducted the operations. His son succeeded him at Cheribon.

To a younger son of the Susuhunan of Cheribon were assigned the lands lying between the *Chitaram* and *Tangaran* rivers, which had formerly formed part of Cheribon and Bantam. The young prince in 1505 assumed the title of *Rajah* of *Jo Karta* or *Jakarta*, fixing his capital near the *Kampung* of that name, where he and his descendants continued to reign until they were expelled by the Dutch in 1619.

At this time the ancient empire of Java was divided into no less than seven separate and independent governments—*Bantam*, *Jakarta*, *Cheribon*, *Pajang Kedu*, *Kediri* and *Madura*¹—the several chiefs of which in general assumed the title of *Kiai Gede*; sometimes they took the more religious title of Sultan or Susuhunan.

One of the descendants of Sheikh Noervedin built for himself a wonderful palace at Cheribon. The façade of this extraordinary building consists of several towers like

¹ Francis Drake mentions there were only five sovereigns of Java when he visited Bantam in 1577.

kiosks surrounded with verandahs, each of which is ascended by a spiral staircase inside. At the back of the palace is an artificial lake, studded with numbers of islands, communicating with each other by means of subterranean passages. This lake, which now unfortunately has more the look of a swamp than of a clear sheet of water, is thickly grown with tall rushes. In the interior of the main position of the building are several apartments connected with each other by small bridges spanning narrow dried-up channels, which were once running rivulets.

The object of the luxury-loving sovereign of Cheribon in erecting a place of this kind seems to have been to enjoy an incessant sound of rushing and falling waters. When the lakes and rivulets were full and the fountains played, this abode must have resembled one of those enchanting palaces so often referred to in the "Arabian Nights."¹ In almost every room there was a fountain. The water, still flowing in many of the upper chambers, rushed in torrents from the tops of the towers and fell down steps into the basins below.

In the courts adjoining are numerous tanks, profusely ornamented with birds, fishes, animals, and serpents in stone. These sculptured figures are placed in all kinds of places, some appearing to glide through artificial brushwood and others being perched on trees. Originally the water must have been thrown forth in glittering streams from every mouth and nostril, but this is not so now.

There is one room apart from the rest of the main buildings which was approached by a bridge. It was called the room of the "ayer clamboo,"² or curtain of water. This is a fairly large apartment, and must have once been gorgeously fitted up. The sovereign used here to enjoy his siesta with

¹ It is believed by Javan scholars the "Arabian Nights" were written in the island of Bali by an Arab who visited the place.

² Malay.

the members of his harem, the curtain that protected his privacy consisting of the cascade, which, like a transparent veil, fell gently before him.

The materials employed in this building are the same as the Chinese use for making their artificial grottoes and rockeries, namely, mortar, clay and cement, profusely studded with shells, flint and pebbles.

This particular palace, which must have surpassed everything of its kind in Java, was the work of two ingenious, hard-working Chinamen, whose patient toil and unwearied labour the cruel and jealous sultan rewarded by depriving them of their eyes, so that none of the neighbouring princes could construct a similar palace.

THE SECOND EMPIRE OF MATAREM.

The empire of Matarem resuscitated by Jaka Tingkir.— Nearly six centuries had passed since the disappearance and extinction of the old Hindu empire of *Méndang Kamúlan* or *Matárem*, when *Jaka*¹ *Tingkir*, a descendant of the last prince of the better-known later Hindu empire of *Majapahit*, was invested by the Arab *Susuhunan* of *Grésik* with the title of *sultan* over the kingdom of *Pajang*² in 1568.³ The new *sultan* now appointed one of his staunch adherents called *Pamanahan* to be *adipati* of a district belonging to *Pajang* called *Matárem*,⁴ from which the newly-appointed prince was called henceforth *Kyahi Ageng Matárem*. At this time *Matárem* was little more than a wilderness and was inhabited by no more than three hundred poor Hindu-Javan families, but after six years of mild and equitable administration this province was converted by its ruler into a fertile and populous country, and the inhabitants of the surround-

¹ *Jaka* means "boy" or "young man."

² *Pajang* was part of the present residency of *Djockjocarta*.

³ It was at this time that the fishponds which are now preserved at *Grissee* for the *Ikan baudeng* were dug.

⁴ Part of the present residencies of *Djockjokarta*, *Soerakarta*.

ing districts voluntarily submitted to his authority. The capital of this kingdom was almost on the same spot as the present town of *Djockjokarta*, and the royal residence was taken up where the present *desa* called *Pasar Gede* stands to-day.

Suta Wijaya, called Senapati.—In 1575 *Pamanahan* died, and he was succeeded by his son *Suta Wijaya*, who took the command of all the troops of the empire under the title of *Kiai Gede Agung Senapati Sugalaga*,¹ commonly distinguished by the single title of *Senapati*. The Sultan of *Pajang*, the overlord, when crowning *Senapati*, enjoined on him to present himself yearly at his court at the feast of *Milut*.

The ambition of the new monarch, however, was unbounded and the court of Matárem was filled with various predictions, dreams, and enchantments in which *Senapati* was promised the assistance of *Kiai Gede Laut Kidul* (the goddess of the Great South Sea or Indian Ocean), who declared herself wedded to him. He was instigated to build a large and extensive *kraton* on the site of the *dalam*² his father had built. Garrisons were placed at the limits of his territory, and he burnt some of the adjacent *desas* and assumed an attitude of complete independence, bringing by degrees many of the neighbouring districts under his subjection.

The Sultan of *Pajang*, feeling uneasy, sent ambassadors to Matárem to demand an explanation. They were in the first instance entirely duped by the flattering manner in which they were received, but afterwards discovering the real state of affairs, they reported to the sultan, who is represented as saying, “The will of Providence rules all events.”

The chiefs of *Tuban* and *Demak*, however, became

¹ *Senapati* is a title like commander-in-chief.

² Enclosure.

apprehensive of the growing power of *Matárem* and induced the Sultan of *Pajang* to send a considerable force against the *Senapati*. This consisted of five thousand picked men, whilst that of the *Senapati* did not exceed eight hundred, the latter fearing an engagement, as his troops were inexperienced and undisciplined, whilst those of the Sultan of *Pajang* were of the highest order, halted at a short distance from *Brambanan*, where the enemy's forces were encamped.

During the night the *Senapati* burned all the *kampung*s in the neighbourhood, and set fire to the long grass at some distance from *Brambanan*, in the rear of the enemy's camp. By this means he persuaded them that the *Matárem* forces had taken their departure, in order to seize the kingdom of *Pajang* by surprise.

During the following night there was a great thunder-storm, and in the morning the mountain *Merbabu* burst with a dreadful explosion, throwing out ashes and large stones; the rivers overflowed their banks and inundated the country, which is low-lying, occasioning considerable confusion and some destruction in the *Pajang* camp. This led the commander, who was the sultan's son, to make a speedy retreat.

Halting at the village *Tumpait*, situated close to *Karbu Sura*, he visited the tomb of the *Pangeran Karbu Sura*, who was descended from *Abdalah*, the eldest son of *Ráden Pátah*. The sultan was here told of a prophecy which foretold the immediate downfall of the kingdom of *Pajang*. The effect of this on him was so great that he fainted and fell from his elephant. The *Senapati* now proceeded to *Pajang* and was pardoned by the sultan for his conduct.

One of the *Senapati's* retinue now proposed to assassinate the sultan, but the former declined to listen to this, but, notwithstanding, he secretly gave the sultan a strong poison from which he died.

The Pajajaran and Majapahit Regalia.—In consequence of

this a succession war broke out, in which the *senapati*, after defeating the sultan's son, seized the regalia, which had descended for the most part from the princes of *Majapahit* or *Pajajaran*, and consisted of the royal saddle called *gataya*, the head-dress called *machang guguh*, and a set of *gamelan* called *Sekar dalima*, besides all the insignia and ornaments of royalty, many of which are still preserved in the regalia of the princes of *Soerakarta* and *Jogyakarta* (Djockjokarta).

From the possession of this regalia a certain right was derived by which the holder was supposed to be the hereditary sovereign of the whole island of Java.

In consequence the *Senapati* lost no time in raising his family to the highest dignities. He assumed for himself the title of *Sultan*, and elevated all his nephews to the rank of *Pangerans*, or princes. His next step was to collect an army together and train it in the use of arms and to regular discipline. When ready it was marched eastwards against the *Adipati* of *Surabaya*, who at this time held supreme authority over the eastern districts as *Widana* to the Sultan of *Pajang*.

The troops of *Surabaya*, together with those of the chiefs of *Pranaraga* and *Madion*, assembled at *Jipang*,¹ where they awaited the arrival of the *Matárem* forces. At the moment when a general engagement was about to take place a letter was delivered to both chiefs from the Arab *Susuhunan* of *Cheribon* requesting them to desist from fighting.

This they agreed to, but the *adipati* soon repented and assembled his army anew to march to *Matárem*. Sultan *Senapati* hearing of this, marched to *Madion*² and seized the *Dalam Kraton*, the chief having previously fled with his son to *Surabaya*, leaving behind him his beautiful daughter whom *Senapati* married. The march was now continued

¹ Near *Blora*.

² *Madioen*.

towards the province of *Pasurnan*, of which Senapati determined to make himself master.

The chief of *Pasurnan* was inclined to surrender, but was dissuaded from doing so by his *pateh*. One day when Senapati, accompanied by only forty men of his bodyguard, was reconnoitring the enemy's camp he met the *pateh*, who had come out with the same intention ; a skirmish took place and the *pateh* was wounded by a lance and fell to the ground.

Sultan Senapati lifted him up, and, placing him on a mare, sent him back to the chief, with a letter tied round his neck. The chief of *Pasurnan* no sooner saw him in this disgraceful predicament than he repented of having taken his advice, and ordering his head to be severed from his body, sent it to Senapati in token of submission.

After this Senapati returned to *Matarem* and appointed the late chief of Madion chief of *Jipang* or *Jipan*.¹ The *Sultan Senapati* carried his empire in the west as far as the rivers *Losari* and *Indramayu*, bringing all the western provinces, which included Cheribon, under his authority.

The continued opposition of the eastern people, however, prevented him from fixing the boundaries to the east, and during his whole reign they were never subject to his authority.

To the provinces, however, of *Matarem*, *Bagelen*, *Banyumas*, *Pajang*, and *Jipang* which descended to him from his father he added those of *Pati*, *Kudus*, *Semarang*, *Kendal* and *Kaliwungu*.

Death of Senapati, the Founder of the Second Empire of Matárem.—In 1600 Sultan Senapati died. As founder of the *Matárem* Empire and of the dynasty which still retains a nominal rule in Java his memory is held by the Javanese in high esteem. He is also respected for the discipline he introduced into the army, and the valour, ability, and high-mindedness which he always displayed. By the

¹ Transformed sometimes by Europeans into "Japan."

Javans he is looked on as another Alexander, and he is the first in their history who is considered to have understood the art of war.

Sultan Jolang.—Before *Senapati's* death he made his eldest son Pangeran Puger governor of the new province of *Demák*, and appointed his younger son Mas Jolang to be his successor. After his death, however, the eldest son naturally disputed the right of his younger brother, but the latter defeated him and was duly acknowledged as *Panembahan* or *Sultan*. Sultan Jolang died in 1613 during another war of conquest in the desa called Krapijak, from which he is mostly named *Panembahan Seda Krapijak*.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, named Panambahan Merta Pura, but this prince not being able to conduct the government on account of ill-health, or more probably being removed by the intrigues of his family, who declared him to be insane, made way for his younger brother *Raden Rangsang*, known as Sultan Ageng. The name Rangsang not suiting him, he altered it to *Chakra Kusuma*.

Sultan Ageng.—This prince began a flourishing reign by a signal victory over the Surabayan and Madurese forces, through which he brought the eastern provinces of *Malang*, *Untung*, *Japan*,¹ *Wirasaba*,² *Pasuruan*, and *Surabaya* under his subjection; following up his successes, he subdued all the eastern provinces as far as *Balambangan* on the Straits of *Bali*, thus once more reuniting under one chief all the eastern provinces that had originally acknowledged the authority of the Rajah of Méndang Kamúlan, in the first empire of *Matárem*.

Dissensions at this period arose between the people of *Bantam* and those of the *Sunda* districts, and the chief of *Sumedang*³ applied to *Matárem* for assistance; being invested

¹ The province of Modjokerts, or old district of *Modjspait*.

² Near Pasuruan.

³ Soemedang.

by the sultan with the chief authority over those districts, he soon induced all the far western chiefs, alarmed at the approach of the Matárem arms, to acknowledge his supremacy.

Some years before this, however, the English and Dutch had established themselves at *Jakarta*, and were already beginning to prove aggressive to their neighbours. First the town of *Jakara* was plundered and laid in ashes, and henceforward *Jakarta* was disconnected from *Matárem*. In 1622 an embassy from the Sultan of *Matárem* was sent to the Governor-General Coen, who returned his compliments to the sultan by an embassy under Dr. de Haan, who acknowledged the Prince of *Matárem* as the Sovereign of Java under the title of *Sultan Ageng Muhammed*, the high title of *Sultan* being properly and officially obtained through an Arab Sheikh at Mecca.

Reign of the Susuhunan Ha Mangku Rat I. begins.—Upon his death in 1645 his eldest son, then 26 years of age, succeeded him as *Susuhunan Ha Mangku Rat*,¹ and during his reign the empire began to decline for the second time in its history. *Ha Mangku Rat* took up his residence at a new *kraton*² which had been built by his father at *Pleret*, a few miles to the south of *Pasar Gede*, where the old *kraton* stood.

The Susuhunan a Monster and Tyrant.—Mangku Rat I. was a most inhuman tyrant, a veritable demon who delighted in slaughter, and his whole reign was marked with misgovernment and almost inconceivable crimes. On coming to his throne he murdered in cold blood more than twenty thousand relations and subjects.

His mother, however, managed at last to stem his anger—he was apparently half mad—and effected peace between him and his uncle the *Pangeran Puger*, with whom he was

¹ Sometimes written Ha Mengku.

² Destroyed in 1826 during the Java war.

hotly at variance. There was therefore a short period of tranquillity at Matárem, during which the court was removed from *Pleret* to *Karta*, less than a mile farther to the south.

In 1659 the cruelty of this atrocious tyrant again showed itself. His own son the hereditary prince having married a *Surabaya* princess, who was being bred up for the harem of his father, was forced to stab his own wife in his father's presence, after which he wreaked his vengeance on the supposed authors of the crime of allowing any one to marry a girl brought up for the royal harem.

The Regent of *Surabaya*, his grandfather, with all his wives, children and grandchildren, was killed. His son was banished.

From this period the Javan historians state that the *Susuhunan* never forgave an offence however trifling, and "when he was unhappy he always put to death those who were the cause of his unhappiness, and on the slightest occasion was subject to the most violent gusts of terrible anger."

Death of one of the Susuhunan's Wives.—In 1667 on the death of one of his favourite wives, *Ratu Pamalang*, he confined one hundred of her attendants in a dungeon below the *kraton* and deprived them of food until they all died, as a befitting manifestation of his sorrow. The injustice and severity of the *Susuhunan* became still greater as he advanced in years. His fits of anger became more frequent, and day and night were employed in barbarous executions. There was no security for life ; every one was upon his guard, and fear reigned among the highest and the lowest.

Terrible Cruelties of the Susuhunan.—Among the numerous atrocities committed by this monster he violated his own daughter *Ratu Brawa*, although she was betrothed to the son of the Sultan of *Cheribon*.

One of his fathers-in-law, the Regent of *Madiyun*, who had ventured to oppose the tyrant, was seemingly pardoned,



GROUP TAKEN ON THE TOP OF THE TEMPLE OF BORO BUDDUR. THE JAVANS ARE THE REGENT-DALEM OF THE CRATON OF SURAKARTA
(“DJOJONEGORO,” THE REGENT’S SON-IN-LAW), AND SERVANTS OF THE EMPEROR.

and received with all honours in the *kraton*, only to be *krissed* (stabbed) before the tyrant's eyes together with all his kith and kin, among them one of the *Susuhunan's* own daughters, the regent's concubine. Their bodies were thrown into the river to be carried out to sea. To crown this act, as it were, a massacre unparalleled in the annals of the country was carried out. At a signal from a cannon fired from the palace all the priests of *Matárem* with their wives and children, to the number of upwards of six thousand souls, were indiscriminately butchered for being opposed to his cruelties. On the following morning when the *Susuhunan* appeared in public, it was observed he was much agitated and remained without saluting his courtiers or uttering a word for the space of an hour.

Punishment of the wicked Susuhunan.—*Ha Mangku Rat*¹ at last met with condign punishment in the war forced on him by *Truna Jaya*, who was a grandson of the Regent of *Madura*, *Chakra Ningrat* (or *Ningkat*).

Truna Jaya seized the *Susuhunan's* *kraton* and the regalia, including the magnificent crown of the ancient empire of *Majapahit* with its enormous diamond. There was a desperate engagement, in which the *Susuhunan's* uncle, the venerable *Pangeran Purbaya*, 80 years of age, summoned all the *Matárem* chiefs around him and went first into the field of battle, performing extraordinary feats of valour, till his horse was shot under him and he was overpowered after a desperate fight on foot. Thirty thousand lives on the two sides were lost in this fight.

Death of Ha Mangku Rat I.—The conquered tyrant, who with his son fled first to *Indragiri* in *Sumatra*,² eventually settled in the *Banyumas* and died at the *desa Wana Jasa* not far from *Ajibarang*.

In conformity to his request his body was carried across

¹ Called also *Ha Mengku Rat*.

² Now known as *Riouw*.

the country towards Tegal in search of a spot where the earth was sweet-scented and buried a few miles inland from the town. There it still lies, the tomb being held in high regard, and it is from this circumstance that the place goes under the appellation of *Tegal Wangi* or *Tegal Arum*. *Wangi* and *Arum* signifying "fragrant" or "sweet smelling."

Hamangku Rat's crimes are to-day forgotten, and nothing but reverence and homage is paid to his remains.

Ancient Majapahit Regalia removed to Kediri.—*Truna Jaya* after his victory hastily removed all the plunder together with the *Susuhunan's* daughters from *Matárem* to Kediri, which was the headquarters of the rebel chiefs who had conspired for the downfall of *Matárem*.

Ha Mangku Rat II.—The son who had followed his dethroned father in his flight was acknowledged as *Susuhunan Hamangku Rat II.* by the representative of the Dutch East India Company, Admiral Speelman, and after a long war against his uncle the *Pangeran Pugar*, who had been acknowledged as prince by part of the population, was recognised by the Javans as the rightful ruler. He was, however, but a weak, unworthy wretch, who cared for nothing but his wives, whom he guarded with brutal jealousy. He sent to Admiral Speelman and asked him to procure him another woman whom he had long desired to possess. She was a princess of *Blitar*, who was the divorced wife of one of his brothers. After the conquest of the *kraton* this young lady had been carried away by *Truna Jaya* and given as a present to the eldest *Sultan of Cheribon*, who in his turn had sent her to the *Sultan of Banten*. Speelman naturally scorned to accede to his request.

The war in the eastern provinces was continued against *Truna Jaya*, the young *Susuhunan* following the Dutch army, who now tried to put an end to a struggle which was very detrimental to the commercial welfare of the country.

Kedin besieged.—Kedin was besieged for nearly three months, and was at last taken by assault, *Truna Jaya* making his escape. Great riches were found in the palace—chests of Spanish dollars, besides ingots of gold and the most valuable part of the ancient regalia.

The *Susuhunan* claimed nothing but the crown of *Majapahit*, leaving the remainder to be distributed among the troops.

The Crown of Majapahit.—When the crown was delivered to him it was seen that its most splendid and beautiful ornament, the enormous centre diamond, was missing. *Susuhunan* immediately set inquiries on foot, but to the great grief of the *Susuhunan* and all the Javan chiefs the jewel was never recovered. A Dutch officer, Captain François Tack by name, is generally thought to have purloined it.

Surrender of Truna Jaya.—At last *Truna Jaya* surrendered on the condition of his life being spared. On arriving at the *kraton* he entered the hall of audience with all his wives, where the *Susuhunan* was seated with Admiral Speelman and numerous Dutch officers.

When he drew near to the *Susuhunan* to show his submission, *Truna Jaya* kissed his knee, but was stabbed by the prince with a *kris* while in the act. The inhuman *Susuhunan* now ordered his assembled people to finish the work he had begun, whereupon they fell on the unfortunate wretch, stabbing him in a thousand places and cutting his body to pieces. They then severed the head from the body, rolled it in the mud, made a mat of it, and at last threw it into a ditch by order of the *Susuhunan*.

The war against the *Madurese* and the people of East Java being now at an end, the *kraton* at *Karta* was re-occupied.

The new Kraton at Karta Sura.—Shortly after, however, a new *kraton* was built at *Wana Kerta*, seven miles to the

west of the present town of *Sura Karta*,¹ which received the name of *Karta Sura*.

The empire of *Matárem* was now left existing, but its independence and grandeur had gone. The power in Java was now in the hands of the Dutch East India Company.

A new character at this period appears on the stage, under the title of *Sura Pati*. This man, whose name was Si Untung, had been the slave of a Dutchman at Batavia of the name of Mohr,² who is represented to have been of low origin, but to have been advanced to the highest dignities, even to a seat in the council, by means of the riches and influence he had acquired through the services of this slave, to whom he became in consequence much attached. Mohr, however, discovering an intimacy between *Untung* and his daughter, chastised him severely and afterwards had him confined in the public stocks.

Untung contrived to effect his escape from them during the night and to release his fellow-prisoners. They then fell upon the guard which mounted at daylight, and taking them unawares, massacred them all. He now decamped towards the *Privangan* lands, and passing through *Jakatra* and *Jasinga*,³ raised two thousand followers, with whom he reached *Kerta Sura*.

Captain François Tack, whom the Company sent to *Kerta Sura* to demand the extradition of the deserter, met with resistance, as the whole force, consisting of four hundred Europeans and six hundred natives, was fiercely attacked in the *alun alun*,⁴ and nearly the whole party was killed, Tack himself being severely wounded.

Fresh campaigns followed, ending in the more complete subjection of *Matárem* and the increase of the Dutch power.

¹ Soera Kertu.

² Presumably one and the same as the rich clergyman of that name.

³ Until lately the property of the *Motman* family, formerly belonging to the Englishman Robert Addison.

⁴ *Aloon aloon* (open space or park).

In the meantime family feuds disturbed the peace of the *kraton*; the hereditary prince, *Pangeran Adipati Hamangku Nagara*, had married the daughter of his cousin *Pangeran Pugar*, but in a month began to disregard her, paying more attention to the other ladies of his harem. She returned, therefore, to her father's protection. One of the distinguished personalities at the court at this time was the son of the prime minister, a young man of agreeable manners and handsome appearance called *Su Kro*.

The hereditary prince, jealous of the universal admiration which he enjoyed, determined to lower him by the infliction of the greatest possible disgrace. Naturally of a fiery disposition, he became excessively enraged at an accident which occurred to him while hunting in the forest of *Randa Wahana*,¹ which occasioned a lameness in his legs. As soon as he returned home he sent for this youth, whom he immediately ordered to be bound and severely flogged with a rattan. He then directed him to be tied to a tree infested with red ants of a peculiarly unpleasant kind that sting fiercely; they soon covered his body—a favourite mode of inflicting tortures. Here the son of the prime minister suffered dreadfully; but his tortures were not yet at an end. He was afterwards again flogged till he nearly died, and then sent to the house of his father, who, although much enraged, was obliged to suppress his resentment.

Determined afterwards to revenge himself, the young man sought out the neglected wife of the hereditary prince, who, as before mentioned, was a daughter of the *Pangeran Pugar*, and had been obliged to leave her husband and fly to her father on account of his brutal character and manners. An attachment between *Su Kro* and the young lady was soon formed, but the criminal connection was discovered through an intercepted letter from the lover to his mistress.

¹ Near where the sugar factory of Randa or Randoe Goenting now stands,

The hereditary prince, *Hamangku Nagara*, now went to his father in a rage and told the story in his own style, blaming the *Pangeran Pugar* for it all.

The old *Susuhunan* was highly incensed at the discovery, and the *Pangeran Pugar*, to avert from himself and his family the effects of his resentment, resolved to take the life of his daughter. He accordingly ordered his seven sons into his presence, and informed them of the necessity of their becoming the instruments for taking the life of their sister in order to avoid the wrath of their uncle and sovereign. They naturally at first refused, but at length yielded on his threats of punishment. The place chosen for the execution was the prince's own garden. The young princes having communicated to their sister the fatal orders with which they were charged, she received them with calmness, merely asking for time to bathe herself. When this was done a veil was thrown over her and the brothers pulled the fatal cord. The lover *Su Kro* was now sought for, his life having been demanded by the *Susuhunan* and *crown prince*. The father of *Su Kro*, however, endeavoured to assuage the anger of the sovereign, who thereupon had him seized, deprived of his *kris*, and confined in a cage of bamboo. *Su Kro* hearing all this, determined to sell his life dearly, and surrounded himself with some desperate and determined Bugis from the island of Celebes, who belonged to the warlike tribe of that name in Sumatra. He was, however, found by some troops of the *Susuhunan*, who secured and disarmed him and immediately dosed him with a poison, whose effect was slow and lingering. During his last agonies the *Susuhunan* kept on pressing for his death, sending repeated messages from the *kraton* inquiring how it was. At last the attendants or those responsible for his despatch seized the unhappy victim by the hair, dragged him on to the ground, and strangled him by stamping upon his neck.

The punishment of the prime minister, who was confined in a cage, was meantime reserved.

Hamangku Rat III. : the Sunan Mas.—Susuhunan Hamangku Rat II. died in the year 1685, and his son Hamangku Nagara, of whom so much has already been related, ascended the throne as Hamangku Rat III., generally called the *Sunan* or *Susuhan Mas*, and sometimes *Hamangku Rat Mas*, or *Mangkurat Mas*. He was a worthy descendant of his vile grandfather, who, as has been related, died in the *Banyumas* district in exile. On his coming to the throne he excited much disapprobation and disgust by his ungrateful neglect of the customary rites due to the body of his dead father and his indecent eagerness to ascend the throne before it had barely been vacated.

The practice or *adat* of the country required him to wash and purify the corpse, but he left this task to the women.

As soon as he was crowned he remembered the father of *Su Kro*, and he ordered him to be put to death with all his relations. Javans of this stamp never forget, although they know well how to dissimulate their vindictiveness. *Mangkurat Mas* was in this respect a true Javan besides being a voluptuous and wanton tyrant. The more pain he could inflict, the more deaths he could cause, the greater satisfaction it gave him, and his appetite in this direction grew worse as he grew older.

During his reign any Javan who had a beautiful wife or anything exciting the desires of the *Susuhunan* had to look to his safety, for he was seized and murdered whilst his wife was honoured with a place in the harem, but only temporarily, as this establishment was continually being replenished by new inmates, the older ones being turned aside. One day whilst sitting in a little stone house in one of the squares of the *kraton* watching his tigers he had a hundred of his women thrown naked into the arena of the

beasts, delighting in seeing them torn to pieces before his eyes. Nothing softened this inhuman monster.

Once while out hunting game in the district of *Pronorogo*, where the inhabitants were not used to court manners, Mangkurat Mas with his bow and arrow killed a deer; the chief of the district of *Pronorogo* seeing the game fall, ran and directed a priest to slaughter the animal according to the Mahometan rites, that it might be legal food. He was, however, unused to the severe punctilio of the Javanese court, which permits of no order, however trivial, being given in the royal presence without the "nod of assent." The brutal Mangkurat Mas was furious and proceeded to the spot to punish this gross breach of etiquette, and before the thousands who were assembled, including the females of his own family, ordered the chief to be emasculated, and gloated on seeing his host faint before him from the intense pain of the operation, which was performed with an ordinary hunting knife. This act was too much for even the forbearance and slavish loyalty of the Javans, and the relations of the chief of *Pronorogo* were just about to retaliate, when the *Susuhunan*, who had received notice of their intentions, eluded their vengeance by a precipitate flight. All the Javans of quality fled from the court, among them two sons of *Pangeran Pugar*, who raised a rebellion with the object of dethroning this cruel monster and making their father *Susuhunan*. *Pangeran Pugar*, who had heard of the sentence of death against himself, fled to *Samarang*, where the Dutch received him and conditionally proclaimed him sovereign of Java.

As soon as the *Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas* was informed of the departure of *Pugar* he applied to the Governor of *Samarang* to have him delivered up, but received for reply an intimation that he was under the protection of the Dutch, and that if the *Susuhunan* wanted him he must come to fetch him himself.

Enraged at this evasion, he ordered that *Raden Suria Kasuma*, the son of the *Pangeran Pugar*, should be put to death. The young prince was accordingly brought into his presence for that purpose, when a great eruption of the *Merapi* suddenly took place, the mountain emitting a sound like thunder and a flame which lit up all *Kerta Sura*. The *Susuhunan* thinking that his end was approaching, sent the young prince back into confinement, when the sounds immediately ceased and the mountain emitted no more flame.

The *Sunan* conceiving now all danger to be at an end, once more ordered the execution of the young prince, but a more violent eruption than the first instantly rent the mountain asunder. The alarm of the *Sunan* was now real, and considering this was a *garo-garo*, or sign that the prince was favoured by the Almighty, he altered his intentions, received his intended victim into favour, and appointed him a *pangeran* with an assignment of one thousand *chachas* of land.

This caused the first Javan succession war, which raged in the central and eastern districts of the island for four years, depopulating the country wholesale.

The Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas banished to Ceylon.—The end was the seizure of *Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas* by the Dutch, who banished him to Ceylon (which was still in their possession). Notwithstanding he did his best to come to some arrangement with them by presenting them with a sum of 70,000 dollars in specie and a promise to comply with every requisition if they would only recognise him as sovereign of Java.

Pangeran Pugar installed as Susuhunan by the Dutch.—The *Pangeran Pugar*, although acknowledged as sovereign since 1703, was not actually publicly installed until the 19th June, 1704, at Semarang. In compensation of the expenses of the Dutch, and with the promise of their direct protection,

Pugar ceded, or rather was forced to cede, to them the provinces of *Demák*, *Japara*, and *Tegal*.

On ascending the throne he assumed with the concurrence of the Dutch the title of *Susuhunan Paku Buwana Senapati, Ingalaga Abdul Rachman Panatagama*, which may be rendered "The Saint who is the Nail of the Universe, the Chief Commander in War, the Slave of God, and Propagator of the True Faith" (see titles, Chapter XIX.).

Death of Paku Buwana I.—*Pugar*, or *Paku Buwana I.*,¹ died in 1719 at the age of 70, and the Dutch East India Company recognised his son *Pangeran Prabu* as his successor. His claim was disputed, however, and another war of succession broke out, at the end of which he remained in the possession of the title of *Susuhunan*, but his subjection to the Company was reconfirmed.

One of the first acts of his reign was the murder of his uncle *Pangeran Aria Mataram* together with his six sons and two sons-in-law. These troublesome rivals were strangled.

The rest of the disaffected princes with their adherents were shipped to Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, but his son *Mangku Nagara*, who had joined the rebels, was pardoned by his relenting father.

Sunan Prabu upon his death in 1727 was succeeded by his son *Paku Buwana II.*, who, being only 16 years old, was placed under the joint guardianship of his mother and the prime minister. The reign of this prince also opened with a murder, his elder brother being suspected of a love affair with one of the prince's concubines. The concubine was strangled, while the brother was sent to the Dutch fort at *Semarang*, whence he was banished to Ceylon. Later on it transpired that the suspicion against him and the concubine was groundless.

In 1733 the prime minister was sent to *Semarang*, where

¹ Sometimes called *Buwana*.



THE KANARIE LANE, SAMARANG.



THE GREAT BUDDHA IN THE CHANDI MENDUT.

he was divested of all his dignities, then relegated to unhealthy prisons at Batavia, and finally deported to Ceylon.

Accounts were now received from Ceylon of the death of the ex-*Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas*, and at the request of the new *Susuhunan* the family of the deceased were permitted to return to *Kerta Sura*. On them distinguished titles were conferred, and considerable grants of land were made to them. To *Mangku Nagara* the *Susuhunan* gave the name of *Wira Mengala* with one thousand chachas of land; to *Mangku Mingrat* he gave the name of *Pangeran Tepa Sana* with nine hundred chachas; and to *Raden Jaya Kasuma* the title of *Pangeran* with three hundred chachas. The fourth son died, but his eldest child received the title of *Pangeran Purbaya* with an assignment of *saiwa*.

The Chinese Rising.—The year 1740 is always remembered as that of a great calamity in which it was clearly manifest that the *Susuhunan* was a wholly untrustworthy vassal. This calamity was the rebellion of the Chinese under the Dutch governor-general Valkenier¹ at Batavia and the subsequent Chinese rebellion over almost the whole north coast.

When the Chinese determined to rebel against the Dutch they clandestinely negotiated with *Paku Buwana*, who was burning to free himself from a highly noxious yoke, and who was in hopes that an opportunity had at last arrived to get rid of the Dutch.

His first act was to seize the Dutch garrison in the fort at *Kerta Sura*, which was taken by surprise, the unfortunate men being offered the alternative between death² and circumcision with conversion.

The Chinese and Javan Forces march to Samarang.—The Chinese and Javan forces were united and marched to

¹ Who died in prison after being there eight years. As governor-general he is said to have made several millions of guilders.

² Those that preferred death were beaten into a jelly with bludgeons.

Samarang, intending to expel the Dutch, but the task was greater than had been anticipated, and the latter, securely entrenched with a strong wall on one side and the sea on the other, were content to act on the defensive, thus stalemating their enemy. The *Susuhunan* was very dissatisfied with the Chinese commanders, and discord was the result. The Dutch profited by this, and endeavoured to sow the seeds for further disagreement between the two races. The *Susuhunan* at the same time began to realise the mistake he had made, and humbly submitted to the East India Company promising amendment, and his submission was accepted.

Chinese proclaim their own Susuhunan at Kerta Sura.—It was now the turn of the Chinese to be dissatisfied, and marching to *Kerta Sura*, they deposed *Paku Buvana* and proclaimed their own *Susuhunan*, a grandson of the late *Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas*, who was only 12 years of age.

The new *Susuhunan's* name was *Mas Garendi*, and he is generally known as the *Sunan Kuning*.

The Chinese soon laid the *kraton* in ashes, *Paku Buvana* barely escaping with his first wife, who was set on a horse. All the princes and attendants captured were instantly put to death in cold blood, whilst the royal princesses and wives of the *Susuhunan* were violated in a shocking and brutal manner. The Chinese in their coarse wantonness even made the unfortunate princesses dance before them.

The dethroned prince of course turned to the Dutch for assistance, promising them much more than he could ever give if they would restore him to the throne.

Towards the end of 1742 the Dutch, with the help of their ally *Chakra Ningrat* of *Sampang* (Madura), retook the burnt *kraton* from the Chinese. *Paku Buvana* was replaced on his throne and the *Sunan Kuning* relegated to Ceylon.¹

The following year *Paku Buvana* signed a new treaty by

¹ A full account of the Chinese rebellion is given in Chapter VI.

which he ceded more provinces to the Dutch (his protectors) and undertook to pay a tremendous war indemnity.

The sum was of course never paid—it was never expected it would be ; the claim, however, to it acted as a means for keeping the *Susuhunan* in check.

Removal of Seat of Government to Sura Kerta.—The burnt *kraton* was not rebuilt, but in conformity with ancient custom the *Sunan* removed the seat of government from *Kerta Sura* to the village of Sala (Solo), about seven miles further east, where a palace was built. The new capital was called *Sura Kerta* (the transposition of the words *Kerta Sura*) *adi ning Rat*, which means “ the most excellent town of heroes in the world.”

Sura Kerta is the present residence of the *susuhunans* or emperors of *Matarem*.

It was here that the governor-general Van Imhoff made his celebrated visit to the *Susuhunan* as soon as the new *kraton* was ready. Although the Chinese were now thoroughly pacified, there was not yet perfect peace in the country. Five of the *Susuhunan's* brothers roamed about everywhere sowing the seeds of mutiny and disaffection.

A son of one of these princes who had been called back from Ceylon, called *Radam Mas Sayid* when a young man, but afterwards honoured with the title of *Pangeran Mangku Nagara*, was associated with them. Another brother, *Pangeran Mangku Bumi*, who had been chief of the provinces of *Sukawati*, also joined the rebels.

This was the beginning of the third Javan war of succession, which brought misery and famine all over the land.

In 1749 *Paku Buvana* was very ill, and the reduced state of his authority and the distracted condition of affairs afforded an opportunity, too favourable to be overlooked by the Dutch, of at once attaining the great object of all their political interference—the sovereignty of the country. A weak prince on his death-bed at war with his brothers

and at variance with his son the crown prince, whom he suspected of too great intimacy with one of his concubines, was easily brought to any terms, in the hope of continuing even the nominal succession in his family.

The Sovereignty of Java transferred to the Dutch East India Company.—He was compelled by a formal official deed “to abdicate for himself and his heirs the sovereignty of the country, conferring the same on the Dutch East India Company, and leaving it to them to dispose of it in future to any person they might think competent to govern it for the benefit of the Company and of Java.” After recommending his children, and especially the heir apparent, to the protection of the Dutch representative Van Hohendorff, the unfortunate monarch expired.

This important if not singular deed was dated the 11th December, 1749.

From this deed is derived the right by which the Dutch Government grant in fee to the native princes the administration, or part administration, of those districts while these continue to be their possession.

Paku Buvana III.—The crown prince was raised to the throne as Paku Buvana III. by the East India Company, although he was only nine years of age. Mangku Bumi at the same time had himself formally proclaimed as the new sovereign and assumed the title of *Sultan* of *Yogyakerta*, or *Susuhunan Hamangku Paku Buvana Senapati Matarem*, on the 15th December, 1745. To strengthen his cause he gave his eldest daughter *Ratu Bendara* in marriage to his cousin *Mangku Nagara*.

A new war now raged, and the Dutch, refusing to recognise the claims of *Mangku Bumi*, were attacked by him first at *Janar*, at *Kampung* in *Baglen*, and then at *Tidar*, a hill in *Kedu*. The Dutch were both times completely routed. Those that escaped the sword in the second fight were drowned in an adjoining marsh, murdered by the countryfolk.

The forces of *Mangku Bumi* were sometimes reduced to a few hundred and at other times swelled to several thousands, the chiefs and people deserting him in his distress and flocking to him in his prosperity. After three victories obtained over the Dutch he fell upon them at *Pakalongan* and plundered the place. *Mangku Bumi* now carried all before him, and was once at the gates of *Solo*, which capital the Javans represent to have been saved from plunder by the superstitious veneration for the cannon called *niai stomi*, which the rebels no sooner descried on the *alun alun* than they sounded a retreat.

An estrangement now arose between *Mangku Bumi* and his son-in-law *Mangku Nagara*, to settle which the latter potentate called the Company in. Van Hohendorff, the Governor of *Samarang*, was willing enough to support the claims of *Mangku Nagara* for a large slice of the kingdom, provided he assisted the Dutch in subduing his father-in-law *Mangku Bumi*, but this did not content the ambitious young man.

In 1754 Governor Hartingh succeeded Van Hohendorff, and after studying the question at issue, which was gradually destroying the principal provinces of Mid-Java, proceeded to *Sura Kerta* in 1755 with a view to persuading the *Susu-hunan*, who was entirely apathetic to what was going on, to consent to the division of the empire of *Matarem* between himself and his uncle *Mangku Bumi*, with whom in the meantime on the 13th of February a treaty of peace had been concluded by the Dutch. At an interview between uncle and nephew at *Jati Sari*, six miles east of *Sura Kerta*, peace was made.

The First Sultan of Yogyakerta or Djocjo Carta.—The treaty with the East India Company above mentioned recognised *Mangku Bumi* as the first Sultan of Yogyakarta, under the title already stated.

The empire, or what remained of it, was divided into two

states, the potentates each receiving one portion under the suzerainty of the East India Company.

Mangku Nagara I.—*Mangku Nagara* also submitted on the 17th March and was given the rank and title of *Pangeran Adipati*, with an assignment of *Paku Buvana's* possessions to the extent of four thousand *chachas* in the districts of *Kadwang Malesa* and the southern mountains.

The *Sultan Mangku Bumi* proved himself to be one of the best princes that ever reigned in Java. His capital he established within a few miles of the site of the ancient capital of *Matárem* or *Méndang Kamúlan* and built a splendid *kraton*, which is the present residence of his successors.

Paku Buvana IV. of Sura Kerta.—*Paku Buvana III.* died at *Sura Kerta* in December, 1788, and was succeeded by one of his sons, *Paku Buvana IV.*, called the *Susuhunan Bagus*.¹

Hamangku Buvana II. of Yogya Kerta.—In 1792 the first *Sultan of Yogyacarta* died at the age of 82, and was followed by his son *Hamangku Buvana II.*, called the *Sultan Sepuh*.

In 1808 General Daendels became governor-general, and being of opinion that the ceremonies which his representatives had to observe at the courts of the native princes were rather humiliating, he abolished them, causing no small discontent thereby. The *sultan* demurring at the new conditions, General Daendels marched to *Yogya Kerta* to bring him to reason, and after a stormy interview in the *Water Castle*, deposed him in the *kraton* on the 20th December, 1810, and appointed the crown prince to reign in his stead. Daendels at the same time sent the two *pangerans*, *Nata Kusumu*² and *Nata Di Ning Rat*, as prisoners to Cheribon with orders to the Dutch resident to make away with them in prison.³

¹ Bagus is the Javan for good.

² Later on one of Sir Stamford Raffles's staunch allies.

³ Daendels was recalled before their execution, and Raffles cancelled the order on his arrival.

The English arrived in Java with a large force in 1811, and the old Sultan of *Yogya Kerta*, who by a singular oversight on the part of Daendels had been allowed to remain at the *kraton*, although not in power, took the opportunity of the discord among the Dutch, French, and English troops to reassert his paternal authority, always held very high among the Javans, and assumed charge of the government as *Sultan of Yogya Kerta*, notifying the new British resident, Captain Robinson, who had just arrived there, accordingly. The *sultan's* first act was to send for the prime minister, and as a reward for his friendship with the Europeans he ordered him to be strangled on the spot.¹

The old sultan becoming tyrannical and overbearing, Sir Stamford Raffles, as is related in another chapter, proceeded to *Yogya Kerta*, with the British troops under General Gillespie, and seizing the *kraton*, deposed him and banished him to *Penang*.

Hamangku Buvana III. of Yogya Kerta.—The crown prince thereupon reassumed, as *Hamangku Buvana III.*, the throne taken away from him by his father. In this affair the British were assisted by *Mangku Nagara II.*

Paku Alam I.—Raffles now created another small kingdom to counterbalance the overpowering influence of the sultan by giving a younger brother a small portion of the sultanate with the title of *Pangeran Adipati Paku Alam*, one of the conditions being that, like his equal in rank at *Sala (Solo)*, *Mangku Nagara*, he should always keep a legion of his own for service under the British Government.

Finally the Captain Chinaman at *Yogya Kerta* after his conversion to Islam was rewarded by the *sultan* for his services by his appointment as regent in *Kedu*, with the

¹ This happened on an *Ari Pahing*, one of the five days of the Javan *pasar* week, which day ever since has been held an evil day for all the members of the princely family. On an *Ari Pahing* no journey may be undertaken, no work may be started, and no fresh medicine taken.

titles and names of *Radem Tumenggung Secha Di Ning Rat*, and received one of the princesses in marriage.¹

Hamangku Buvana IV. of Yogyakarta.—*Hamangku Buvana III.* died in 1814, and his eldest son, *Pangeran Dipa Negara*, whose mother was only a wife of lower rank, was excluded from the throne, which was ascended by his younger brother *Radem Mas Jarot* as *Hamangku Buvana IV.*

The new *sultan*, who was only 13 years of age, was placed under the joint guardianship of his mother, two princes, and the prime minister. Though the people were content, Raffles was not, and he dissolved the body of guardians and made the prince's granduncle, *Paku Alam*, guardian in their stead and regent of the Empire.

Paku Buvana V.—In 1816 Java reverted once more to the Dutch, and in 1820 *Paku Buvana IV.* died at *Sura Kerta*, his successor being his son *Paku Buvana V.* The reign of this monarch was of short duration.

Hamangku Buvana V. of Yogyakarta.—The *Sultan Jarot of Yogya Kerta* died in 1822, leaving two sons by his *Ratu Ageng*. The elder of them, *Raden Mas Menol*, not yet three years old, was his successor as *Hamangku Buvana V.*

The Javanese have a story that his father, the fourth *sultan*, was poisoned by his uncle *Pangeran Mangku Bumi*, who, they say, expected to ascend the throne, or at least to be made regent and guardian of his two young grandnephews. The truth of this, however, was never proved, and the only ground that the Javans bring forward in its support is a rumour that the *sultan* suddenly fell ill and died after partaking of a dish sent him by *Mangku Bumi*.

Paku Buvana VI. of Sura Kerta.—*Paku Buvana V.* died in 1823 in the third year of his reign, without leaving a son born of a *Ratu*, for which reason his son *Raden Mas Saperdan* was raised to the throne as *Paku Buvana VI.*

¹ The Chinese have nowadays several villages in the province of Kedu, in which there is not a single Javan.



THE PANGERAN POERBONEGORO, WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER.

At this time there was a party at the court of *Yugya Kerta* who were very disaffected towards the *Pangeran Mangku Bumi* because he had been bred and brought up by *Paku Alam* in friendship towards the Dutch; at the same time they disapproved of the exaggerated luxury reigning at the court, and complained of the impoverishment of the people. At the head of this party was Menol's (the new sultan) uncle, the *Pangeran Dipa Negara*. It was this prince conjointly with the *Ratus Ageng* and *Kenchana* (mother and grandmother to the young sultan) and *Pangeran Mangku Bumi* (his granduncle) who had been appointed the guardians of the *sultan*, the government being in charge of the prime minister and the great seal given to the resident Jonkheer Anthony Hendrik Smissaert.

This was the unfortunate moment when the Dutch Government endeavoured to introduce its new regulations with regard to the tenure of land by Europeans in the native provinces, and the fire that was smouldering beneath the combustible matter now received a draught of air, as it were, from the Government, the result of which was war. This war, with *Dipa Negara* as the principal leader, raged calamitously in Central Java for five years, no peace being made until in 1830 *Dipa Negara* was led to attend a conference with the Resident of *Magelang* and taken prisoner; he was banished to Celebes, where the brave man died in 1855.

During 1826 the second *sultan*, who lived in exile in *Ambon*, was called back and replaced on the throne, which he had to share with his young grandson. The Dutch hoped hereby to end the war, a hope that was not realised. From this time the two sultans were styled *Sultan Sepuh* and (*Menol*) *Sultan Anom*—that is, the old and the young sultan.

Hamangku Buvana VI. of Yogyakarta.—In 1828 the old *sultan* died, but *Hamangku Buvana V. (Sultan Anom)* lived till 1855. *Sultan Anom's* younger brother, *Pangeran*

Adipati Mangku Bumi, was now made sultan as *Hamangku Buvana VI.*, the former having left no sons.

During the time of the war the *Susuhunan* at *Sura Kerta*, through the great influence of the resident, Henry Mac-Gillavry¹ (and some say of the brothers Dezentje²), remained faithful to the Dutch, although the temptation to join the rebels was great. After the war the Government, to cover some of their expenses, took possession of a considerable part of the native lands. At the same time a proportional part of the *Susuhunan's* territory was seized.

The measure was considered politically a wise one, but the *Susuhunan*, considering his vast services to the Dutch, felt he had been distinctly wronged, and, looking upon it as a poor return for his remaining faithful during a trying time, left *Sura Kerta* for the south coast, where he resolved to live the rest of his life in pious devotions. He was, however, not allowed to remain long in peace, but was taken prisoner and banished to *Ambon*, where he died in 1849.

Paku Buvana VII. of Sura Kerta.—In his stead a brother of the fifth *Susuhunan* (who was a brother to the fourth and born of a *ratu*) and *Pangeran Purnbaya* was crowned as *Paku Buvana VII.*

Paku Buvana VIII. of Sura Kerta.—This *Susuhunan* had a short reign, living only till 1858, when he was succeeded by his eldest half-brother, *Pangeran Ngabehi*, born of a wife of the second rank.

This prince ascended the throne at *Sura Kerta* as *Paku Buvana VIII.*, but in 1861, three years after his elevation, he died at the age of 72 years.

Paku Buvana IX. of Sura Kerta.—His successor was the eldest son born of a *ratu* of the banished sixth *Susuhunan* of the same name, who is known as *Paku Buvana IX.*

Paku Buvana X. of Sura Kerta.—The latter lived until

¹ The son of an Englishman.

² August Jan Casper and Johannes Augustinus Dezentje.

1894 and was succeeded by his eldest son the crown prince as *Paku Buvana X*.

Hamangku Buvana VII. of Jogja Kerta.—*Sultan Hamangku Buvana VI. of Jogja Kerta*, one of the best and kindest of princes, an honest and virtuous man, died in 1877, and was succeeded by his eldest son (who was installed as crown prince in 1872), the present reigning *Sultan Hamangku Buvana VII.*

In 1883 the eldest son of *Ratu Mas, Hamangku Buvana's* second wife (the first bore him no son), was made crown prince as *Pangeran Adipati Hamangku Nagara*; he died, however, in 1891, and his next brother, suffering from attacks of insanity, had to be divested of his rank. The third son of the *ratu* therefore obtained the title which he has held since 1895.

The Princes of Paku Alam.—The first *Paku Alam*, appointed, as already related, in 1812 by Sir Stamford Raffles, died during the Java war in 1829; his son and successor, *Paku Alam II.*, lived to the age of 75 years. *Paku Alam III.*, the latter's son, reigned from 1858 to 1864, and was succeeded by a cousin of his as *Paku Alam IV.* This prince, who died in 1878, left no son worthy of the throne, which was mounted by his uncle, a son of the second prince of that name; he reigned as *Paku Alam V.* until 1901, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, *Pangeran Nata Kasuma*, as *Pangeran Adipati Paku Alam VI.*, who died in 1902. He was followed by his son as *Paku Alam VII.*, who still reigns.¹

The legion which was stipulated for by Raffles was disbanded in 1892. With this the Javan history of the country concludes.

The chronological tables here given show the list of sovereigns—Hindu, Javan, Brahman, Buddhist, and

¹ A highly aristocratic and well-bred man, with the courtly and charming manners of the true Javan.

Mahometan—who have ruled over Java from the earliest traditions until the present day.

Résumé of Ancient Java.—The foregoing account of “Ancient Java,” which we have endeavoured to make as clear and lucid as possible, is based upon a mass of information which is in parts more or less unintelligible owing to the hideous confusion and frequent inaccuracies in the dates of the various chroniclers, no two of whom agree. The story, however, as now told and the dates given may be accepted as practically, if not quite, correct, and, it having been told as consecutively as was possible, an intelligible view can be taken of the whole of the ancient history of Java. Among the principal events which have occurred are:—

Firstly, the arrival of the Hindu *Aji Saka*, with whom a new period began. At this time a race of *Kalangs* or *Rasaksa*, or aborigines, was living in some parts of the island.¹ They had partially emerged from the barbarism and savagery into which, through being cut off from all civilisation for centuries, they had fallen. Their covering of civilisation was beginning to make itself apparent through an admixture of the blood of another race which had more or less recently arrived, and, as stated, was probably called Javan or Javanese.

Secondly, it is clear that on the arrival of the expedition from India the inhabitants were so far advanced as to be in a state to receive and make use of the culture of their Hindu masters, and to begin the construction of the mighty monuments in Middle Java which constitute one of the wonders of the world.

This first Hindu empire was established at *Matárem* and was called *Méndang Kamúlan*. When this was extinguished the kingdoms of *Pajajaran* in the west and *Majapahit* in the east rose into importance.

¹ From remains found at Soekaboerin and near Garvet it is seen that an ancient stone period was once in existence in Java (Preanger district).

After the destruction of the famous city of *Majapahit* by the Mahometans, a court was formed at *Demák* and the Payang, from which eventually arose the second empire of *Matárem*, firstly at *Kerta Sura* and later at *Sura Kerta*. Afterwards the decay which had long before set in owing to the disintegrating influences of the European invasion became more pronounced, and *Matárem* was split into two kingdoms, one with its seat of government at *Sura Kerta* and the other at *Yogya Kerta*.

The power, however, of the monarchs was still further reduced by the establishment of small sultanates in each kingdom under the aristocratic Javan families *Mangka Nagara* and *Paku Alam*.

The result is that to-day the *Susuhunan* of *Sura Kerta* and the *Sultan* of *Yogya Kerta*, the last representatives of a bygone monarchy, are merely political puppets in the hands of their masters the Dutch, for although to the stranger the pomp, show, and glitter with which they are surrounded would indicate power and dominion, it is known very well by the Dutch Government, if not by themselves, that beyond ruling in domestic and social affairs they are to all intents and purposes powerless in the land of their ancestors.

- (A) List showing the Line of Mahometan Sovereigns who have ruled in Java since A.D. 1477 down to the Present Day, also
- (B) Chronological List of some of the Principal Events which have happened from A.D. 75 to A.D. 1570.

(A)

LIST OF MAHOMETAN SOVEREIGNS.

(From old Records.)

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Reign
began
A.D. | |
| | <i>At Demak.</i> |
| 1477. | Raden Patah. |
| 1519. | Pangerang Sabrang Lor. |
| 1533. | Sultan Bintara. |
| | <i>At Pajang.</i> |
| 1577. | Sultan Pajang. |
| 1606. | Adipati Demak. (Subject to the Sultan of Matarem
"Jolang.") |
| | <i>At Matarem.</i> |
| 1568. | Adipati Pamanahan. (Subject to the Sultan of Payang.) |
| 1575. | Panembahan Senapati. (Threw off the supremacy of
Pajang in 1582.) |
| 1601. | Sultan Jolang. |
| 1613. | Raden Rangsang, or Sultan Ageng. |
| 1645. | Susuhunan Ha Mengku Rat I. |
| | <i>At Kerta Sura.</i> |
| 1677. | Susuhunan Ha Mengku Rat II. |
| 1685. | Susuhunan Ha Mengku Rat Mas III. |
| 1703. | Pangeran Puger, or Susuhunan Paku Buvana I. |
| 1719. | Susuhunan Prabu Ha Mengku Rat. |
| 1727. | Susuhunan Paku Buvana II. |
| | <i>At Sura Kerta.</i> |
| 1743. | Susuhunan Paku Buvana II. |
| 1749. | Susuhunan Paku Buvana III. |
| 1755. | The kingdom of Matarem was now divided into two, with
two capitals and sovereigns entirely independent of
each other. |

<i>At Sura Kerta.</i>			<i>At Yogya Kerta.</i>		
Reign began A.D.			Reign began A.D.		
1755.	{ Susuhunan Paku Buvana }	III.	1755.	{ Sultan Ha Meng- ku Buvana ¹ }	I.
1788.	” ”	IV.	1792.	” ”	II.
1820.	” ”	V.	1812.	” ”	III.
1823.	” ”	VI.	1814.	” ”	IV.
1849.	” ”	VII.	1822.	” ”	V.
1858.	” ”	VIII.	1855.	” ”	VI.
1861.	” ”	IX.	1877.	” ”	VII.
1894.	” ”	X.			

(B)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN JAVA.

(From various Javan Sources.)

- A.D.
- 75—77. *Aji Saka*, a Hindu, arrives in Java, probably near Rembang or Tuban.
413. *Fa Hien*, a Chinese priest, wrecked near Rembang.
1160. Singhapura founded by Malays from Palembang. A King of Java invades the new colony repeatedly.
1195. The King of Daha, in East Java, expands his kingdom.
1291. Marco Polo, the Italian, visits Sumatra.
1300. Ibu Batuta, an Arab, settles in East Java.
1335. The Emperor of Java invades Singhapura and drives the Malays away to Malacca.
1359. Sultan Mohammed Shah becomes the second King of Malacca.
1375. The King of Malacca marries a daughter of the Emperor of Java, and is presented with the country of Indragiri, in Sumatra.
1375. Mulana Malik Ibrahim, a celebrated Arabian scholar, arrives in Java to convert the people.
1412. Mulana Ibrahim dies at Grésik.
1477. The first Mahometan sovereign of Java, Ráden Pátah (a son of the Emperor of Majapahit in actuality, although his reputed father was *Aria Damar*, the Prince of Palembang), establishes his court at *Demák*.

¹ Also spelt Pakoe Boewono by the Dutch.

- A.D.
 1477. The Hindu city of Majapahit destroyed by the Islamised Javanese, under the leadership of the Arabs and Ráden Pátah.
 1477. The Mahometan religion established in East Java.
 1526. The city of Bantam succumbs to the intrigues of the Susuhunan of Cheribon, an Arab by birth.
 1570. Final blow to Buddhism. The Hindu-Javan Empire of Pajajaran, which had its capital at Pakuan (Batoe-toelis), near Buitenzorg, destroyed by the Susuhunan of Cheribon.

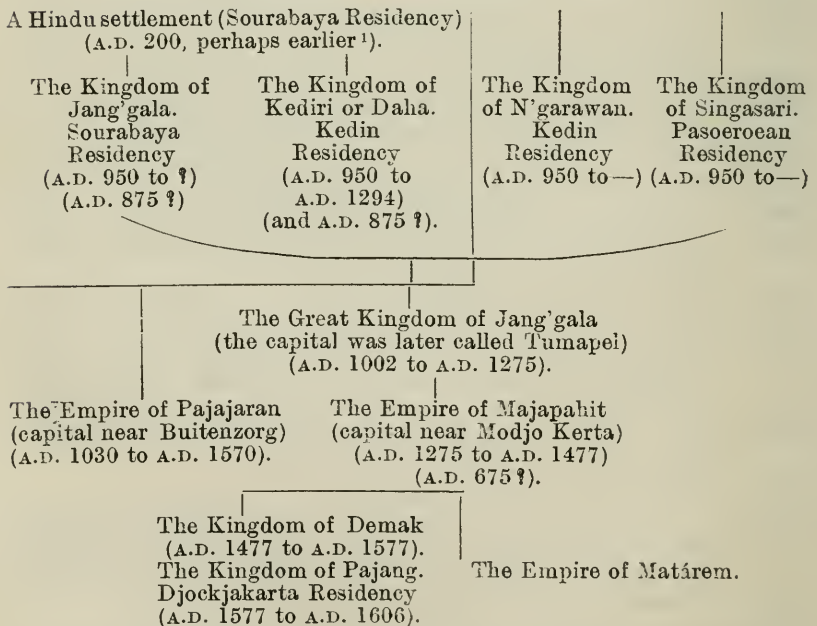
(C)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE SHOWING THE EVOLUTION OF THE DIFFERENT ANCIENT HINDU, JAVAN AND MAHOMETAN EMPIRES OR KINGDOMS IN THE ISLAND OF JAVA DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

THE EMPIRE OF MÉNDANG KAMÚLAN (MATÁREM).

(Djockjakarta Residency.)

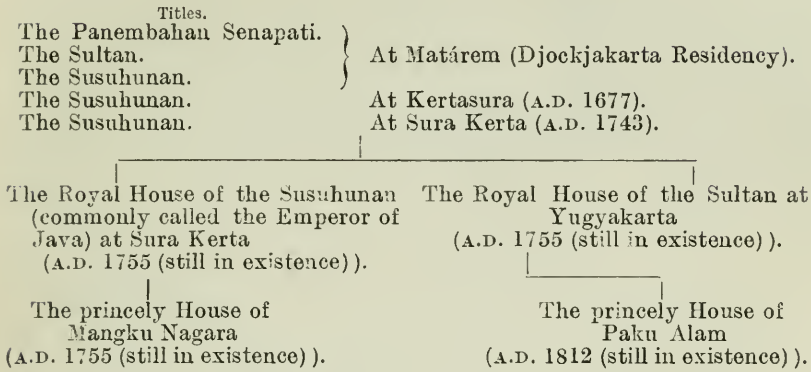
(A.D. 75 to A.D. 1002.)



¹ There is little doubt that there was a large Hindu community in the Sourabaya province as early as A.D. 300, perhaps earlier.

THE EMPIRE OF MATÁREM.¹

(A.D. 1568² (still in existence)).



¹ This empire possibly in its earlier days went under the name of Wirata, which name disappeared for certain in 775, possibly about 568, about when the empire was rechristened Méndang Kamúlan (see Chapter I., Part II.).

² From 1568 to 1582 under the supremacy of the Sultan of Payang, after which Payang became subject to Matárem.

Note.—All ancient Hindu and Javan chroniclers agree on one point, although their dates are at variance, namely, that a time existed when the rajahs of the following ancient Hindu empires or kingdoms ruled practically the whole island :—Méndang Kamúlan, Jang'gala (?), Pajajaran, and Majapahit.

CHAPTER III

CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH JAVA

Early Chinese Knowledge of Java.—It is frequently stated that the Chinese had acquired an intimate knowledge of the East Indian Archipelago some time before the Christian era, but no proof of this, so far as we are aware, has ever been given. At the same time there are good reasons in support of this statement. The Chinese have ever been an astonishingly secretive race, guarding their knowledge with jealous care, a quality apparently intuitively inborn in them. A people who understood the use of the mariner's compass as early as B.C. 2634, had a knowledge of printing and gunpowder, and who had inherited a great store of scientific lore about the continent of Asia for thousands of years, and who are even supposed to have discovered America, must have visited the East Indies and Java before Hippalus made his way across the Indian Ocean. No records, however, exist of any such early voyages, although they must have been made.

During the reign of the Han dynasty (B.C. 116) there is mention made in the Chinese histories of ambassadors being sent to some court in the south, and that since then that country had always paid tribute.

Later on, during the reign of Hsual of the Han dynasty (B.C. 73), the Romans and the Hindu rulers of India sent regular tribute to China.

The Chinese ambassadors presumably travelled to their destination overland; if, as is possible, they went by sea, it seems a natural assumption that they must at some time or another have touched the coast of Sumatra, but no mention is made to this effect.



WAYANG TJINA, OR CHINESE PLAY.

Again, about A.D. 222 two commissioners were despatched from China on an expedition to foreign lands in the south ; but here also the particulars are so vague and scanty that no authoritative assertion can be made that Java or Sumatra was among the numerous lands visited.

For the first authentic statement of a Chinaman visiting Java we have to wait until A.D. 413. In this case there can be no doubt about the matter, as Chinese history is clear and distinct upon this point.

The name of this distinguished visitor is Fa Hien, a Buddhist priest, who, deploring the depths of degradation into which the priests of his religion in China had fallen, decided that a voyage to India in quest of the original copies of the Buddhistic writings would prove more to his colleagues than any number of lectures from him as to their immoral life and the lax way in which they were carrying out the tenets and maxims of a beautiful religion.

He wished, moreover, to prove that their faults and errors were more the result of absolute ignorance than an intentional neglect or indifference on their part. Fa Hien left for India in 400, and spent four years wandering over the land in search of the documents. He finally left India for Ceylon, and there took ship for China. An account of his journey from Ceylon has been left to us. It is as follows :—

Account of Fa Hien's Journey.—“ Fa Hien left Ceylon on board a merchant vessel, which carried about two hundred men. Astern of the great ship a smaller one was fastened as a provision in case of the large vessel being injured or wrecked on the voyage. Having got a fair wind, they sailed eastward for two days, when they encountered a storm and the ship sprang leak. The merchants then wanted to rush into the smaller vessel, but the crew of that ship, fearing that it would become too crowded, cut the towing cable and fell off. The merchants were very much afraid, and their lives stood in the greatest danger. Then, dreading lest the leak should gain upon them, they forthwith took their goods and merchandise and cast them overboard. Fa Hien

also flung overboard his water-pitcher and his washing-basin, as well as other portions of his property. He was only afraid lest the merchants should throw into the sea his sacred books and images. And so with the earnestness of heart he invoked Avâlokitêshwara and paid reverence to the Buddhist saints of China, speaking thus: 'I have wandered so far in search of the law, may you by your spiritual power drive back the water, and cause us to reach some resting place.'

"The gale lasted thirteen days and nights, when they arrived at the shore of an island, and the tide going out, they found the place of the leak; having forthwith stopped it up, they again put to sea, and continued their voyage. In this sea there are many pirates; when one falls in with them, he is lost.

"The sea is boundless in extent—it is impossible to know east or west, and one can only advance by observing the sun, moon, or stars; if it is dark, rainy weather, you have to follow the wind in perfect uncertainty. During the darkness of night one only sees the great waves striking each other, and shining like fire, whilst shoals of sea monsters of every description surround the ship. The merchants were much perplexed, not knowing what course to steer. The sea was so deep that no sounding could be taken, and also there was no place for anchorage.

"At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards. But if during the bad weather they had happened to strike a hidden rock, then there would have been no way to escape alive. Thus they voyaged for about ninety days, when they arrived at a country called Yava-di.¹

"In this country heretics and Brahmans flourish, but the law of Buddha hardly deserves mentioning.²

"After having stopped here for five³ months, Fa Hien again embarked on another merchant vessel, having also a crew of two hundred men or so. They took with them fifty days' provisions and set sail on the 16th day of the fourth month. Whilst Fa Hien was on board of this ship they shaped a course N.E. for the province of Canton in China. After a month and some days, at the stroke of two in the middle watch of the night a black squall suddenly came on, accompanied with pelting rain.

¹ Abbreviation most likely of Yava Dwipa: Java Din of Ptolemy.

² It apparently existed, however.

³ December to May.

“The merchants and passengers were all terrified. Fa Hien at this time also, with great earnestness of mind, again entreated Avalokiteshwara and all the priesthood of China, praying for the assistance of their divine power to carry them through until daylight. When the day broke all the Brahmans, consulting together, said: ‘It is because we have got this Buddhist priest on board with us that we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief; come let us land this monk on the first island we meet with, for it is not proper that we should all perish for the sake of one man.’

“But a man who had taken Fa Hien under his care then said: ‘If you land this monk, you shall also land me with him, and if not you had better kill me, for if you really put this priest on shore, then when we arrive at China, I will go straight to the king and tell him what you have done. And the king of the country is a firm believer in the law of Buddha, and greatly honours the priests and monks.’ The merchantmen on this did not dare to land him. As the weather continued very dark, the pilots looked at each other without knowing what to do. More than seventy days had now elapsed, the food and water were nearly all gone, they had to use salt water for cooking, as they had only two pints of fresh water per head left, so that it was nearly all finished. The merchants now deliberated and said: ‘The ordinary time for the voyage to Canton is fifty days,¹ but now we have exceeded that time by many days already, surely we must have gone wrong.’

“On this day they put the ship on a N.W. course to look for land, and after twelve days’ continuous sailing they arrived at the southern coast of Lan Shan in the prefecture of Chang Kwang.² They here obtained fresh water and vegetables, and from seeing a certain kind of herb, they knew that they were in China, but not seeing men or traces of them they again scarcely knew what to think. Some said that they had not yet arrived at Canton, others maintained they had passed it. In this uncertainty, therefore, they put off in a little boat and entered a creek looking for some one to ask what place it was they had arrived at. Just at this moment two men who had been hunting were returning home. On this the merchants requested Fa Hien to act as

¹ They thus had been often before.

² This is a little to the north of Canton.

interpreter, and it was only then they knew what place they had come to."

The following passage from Fa Hien's account contains an adventure which happened to him whilst visiting a temple at Ceylon :—

" Fa Hien had now been away many years from China ; the people with whom he conversed were all men from foreign countries ; even the mountains and valleys, the plants and trees, which he saw around him, were unlike those of old times. Moreover, his fellow-travellers were separated from him ; some had remained behind, and some were dead ; he had only his own shadow to look at, and so his heart was continually saddened. All at once, as he was standing by the side of this jasper image, he beheld a merchant present to it, as a religious offering, a white fan from China. Involuntarily he gave way to his sorrowful feelings and tears filled his eyes."

From the foregoing extracts it may be gathered that the Hindu colonists in Java kept up an important intercourse with their mother-country and carried on trade with China. It is also quite clear that the population in Java at this time must have been already very considerable, otherwise Fa Hien would hardly have mentioned that the Brahman religion was flourishing there. It is moreover to be noted that he met none of his countrymen in Java,¹ for had he done so he would certainly have said so, seeing he was moved to tears in the Ceylon temple at the sight of a Chinese fan. Fa Hien arrived in Java about December and departed in May, and there is reason for believing that he landed somewhere on the north-east coast, most likely in the neighbourhood of the present district of Rembang.

In the history of the first Sung dynasty it is mentioned that in the year 435 the king of the country, *Djavada*,²

¹ He did not travel in Java, and therefore did not visit Bantam or Grisee, which were the most likely places where Chinese would be found, if there were any.

² Yavidi, Yawadi.

whose name was *Sri Padadoalapamo*,¹ sent an envoy to carry a letter and some gifts to the Emperor of China, which is the first actual confirmation of the kings of Java presenting tribute to the Chinese.

The historical works of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502) enter into more details about Java than any previous accounts. The following is an extract from one such, and refers to old Bantam :—

“The country of *Lang Ga-su*, or *Langga*,² is situated in the Southern Ocean ; its length from east to west is thirty days and from south to north twenty days ; its distance from Canton is 24,000 *li*.³

“The climate and the products of the soil are about the same as in Siam. Lignum aloes in its different qualities and camphor oil are very abundant everywhere. Men and women have the upper part of the body naked ; their hair hangs loosely down and around their lower limbs ; they only use a sarong of cotton. The king and the nobles, moreover, have a thin flowered cloth for covering the upper part of their body [*slendang*] ; they wear a girdle of gold and golden rings in their ears.

“Young girls cover themselves with a cloth of cotton, and wear an embroidered girdle. In this country they have made the city walls of piled-up bricks ; the wall has double gates and watch-towers. When the king goes out he rides on an elephant ; he is surrounded with flags of feathers, banners and drums, and is covered by a white canopy. His military establishment is very complete. The people say that their country was established more than four hundred years ago. In 515 the prince sent an envoy with a letter and presents to the Son of Heaven.”

During the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618) a little more information regarding Java is vouchsafed. Kaling (Kling) is also called Djawa⁴ (Japara) :—

“The people make fortifications of wood, and even the largest

¹ The name is no doubt hypothetical.

² This was in the district of Bantam.

³ A *li* is roughly a mile.

⁴ Djawa, Djapa, or Djapo.

houses are covered with palm leaves. They have couches of ivory, and mats of the outer skin of bamboo.

“The land produces tortoise-shell, gold, silver, rhinoceros horns, and ivory. The country is very rich; there is a cavern from which salt water bubbles up spontaneously. They make wine of the hanging flowers of the cocoa palm; when they drink of it, they become rapidly drunk. They have letters and are acquainted with astronomy.

“The king lives in the town of Djapa,¹ but his ancestor Kiyen had lived more to the east at the town of *Palukasi* [probably Toeban]. On different sides are twenty-eight small countries [districts], all acknowledging the supremacy of Djawa. There are thirty-two high ministers on the mountains of *Lang piva* [Dieng],² where the king frequently goes to look at the sea.

“This country sent envoys to the emperor to bring tribute, together with those of *Dvahala*, *Dvapatan* [Bali]. The emperor favoured them with a reply under the great seal, and as *Dvahala* asked for good horses these were given to them.”

At this time the Chinese were already coming to Java in considerable numbers for trading, and in the east at *Yortan*,³ *Tuban*, and *Grissee* several, and perhaps many, had settled permanently. Consequently when one of the Javan chroniclers⁴ records the wreck of a large junk near *Semarang* in 921, and states that the Chinese in her formed an establishment on the island of Java for the first time, he is making a statement which is not in accordance with probabilities, for there is all likelihood that some had been established in the island three or four centuries before this date.

In Chapter I., Part II., of this history, the account is given of the great Chinese expedition (A.D. 1292) sent to punish the King of *Tumapel*⁵ by the first Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan. The sons of Heaven on this occasion fared badly,

¹ Japara. Japara was subject to the King of Méndang Kamulan, which was in full life and vigour at this time.

² L-ang, Di-ang.

³ Bangil.

⁴ Chapter I., Part II.

⁵ In the Sourabaya district, and corresponding in all probability to the ancient capital of Jang'gala.



OPIMUM SMOKER.

the army returning to China, a mere remnant of what it was on its arrival, as a result of the devastating effects of fighting during the wet monsoon.

The history of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368) furnishes us with further particulars of Java. The tribute at this time appears to have consisted of comely black slaves¹ and various products of the island. For instance, in 1381 three hundred slaves, men and women, were sent, whilst in 1382 one hundred were forwarded, and, as it were, to make up for this small number, 75,000 catties of pepper and eight large pearls were sent as well. The emperor in his graciousness vouchsafed to return some eunuchs to Java with silver seals inlaid with gold, together with costly silks and gauzes embroidered with gold.

In 1432 the Chinese were trading with Pekalongan, and were gradually assuming a monopoly of the trade of the country, so that by the time the Portuguese arrived at Bantam (A.D. 1500) it was almost entirely in the hands of this born race of traders.

One hundred years after this the Chinese histories make special mention of the red-haired barbarians (Dutch and English) establishing a "toko" (office) on the east bank of the Bantam river, whilst the Franks (Danes) had another and were trading on the west bank (A.D. 1600).

When a Chinese ship arrived there at this time a chief came on board to procure information and see what there was on the ship. He was at once presented by the Chinese captain with a basket of oranges and two small umbrellas. The chief then wrote to the king, and on the ship entering the river, the king was presented with fruits and silk.

The king had four Chinese and two native writers to keep his books, and Chinamen who knew the foreign language² acted as his interpreters, one man for every ship. For

¹ From Madagascar and Java.

² Malay and Javanese.

trading purposes the King of Bantam assigned two places outside the town where shops were built by the energetic Chinese. In the morning the trade was carried on, every one going to the market-place; at noon it ceased. The king levied market dues daily, which the Chinese readily paid, such was the profit they made.

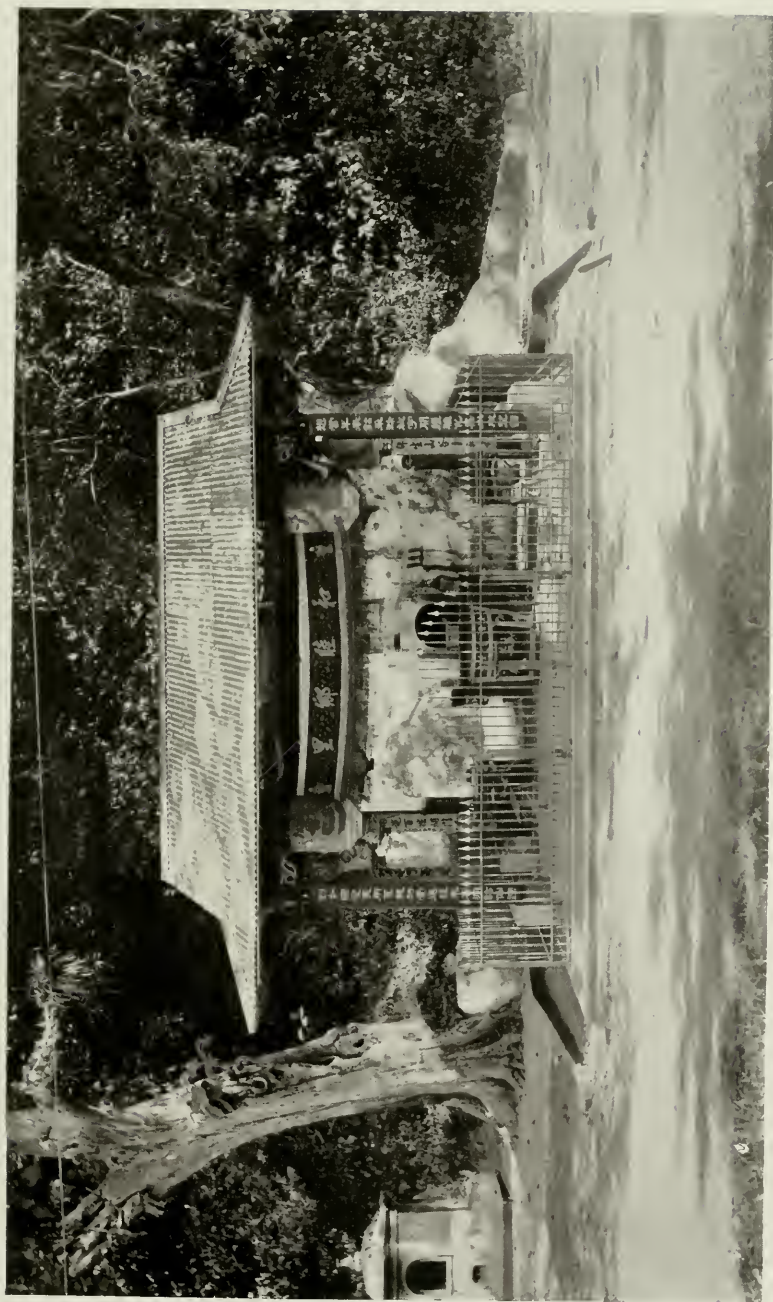
Bantam was during the seventeenth century a most important trading place, and eight or nine large junks full of goods arrived here yearly. The same was the case in East Java at *Yortan* (Bangil) and *Grissee*; when the Dutch were firmly established in the island the Chinese were the mainstay of the trade, besides which they farmed everything they possibly could, whether it was the duties or the taxes.

The shipping of goods or the unloading of cargoes was entirely in their hands; the trade with the neighbouring islands was more or less their monopoly, while there was not a single industry in which they were not the prime movers. The artisans for building houses or ships were Chinese; when contractors were required for the delivery of sugar, rice, or pepper they were Chinese, and what the Dutch owe to this race in Java is incalculable.

There is, of course, a commercial instinct born in every Chinaman which is uppermost in all his thoughts, and for the sake of gain he will stop at nothing. At the same time there is nothing mean about him, and the big merchants are among the best and most honest in the world.

Shortly after Jacatra fell and the city of Batavia was established; the first captain Chinaman was appointed on the 1st July, 1620. This was So Bing Kong, who died in 1631, and whose grave is still to be seen in excellent preservation on the Jacatra road.

He was followed by Bing Am, who in 1650 bought a large piece of forest land outside the fort of Ryswyck in Jacatra, which was later called Tannabang and purchased by the Dutch family of the name of Bik (see note, p. 142).



CHINESE ROADSIDE TEMPLE, SAMARANG DISTRICT.

The next captain Chinaman was Si Kwa, who died in 1663, his duties being performed by his widow until the 29th June, 1678, when by order a captain, lieutenant, and "senior" Chinaman were appointed. The Chinaman Tjop Wanjok, who had lived forty years at Batavia, was the man chosen for captain. He was described as the "most popular and principal of all the Chinese at Batavia." It was expected of him that in all important matters he should consult with the two other officers.

This was the origin of the "Chinese Council of Batavia" (Chineeschen Raad), which was established by a Government Besluit or Order dated the 26th May, 1747.

In 1740 the great Chinese rebellion broke out, but in 1743, when the Chinese all returned to Batavia, they were given many privileges they had never had before, besides being allowed to buy land and estates more freely. This was the origin of an increased trade in sugar and the establishment of more sugar mills in the neighbourhood of Batavia.

The reader may consult a report before a Select Committee in London by John Deans, Scott & Co. (1814—1826). This document will be found a useful addition to this chapter.

List of estates around Jacatra owned by Chinese between 1650 and 1684 :—

Name of Land. Tanah-abang.	Purchaser. Bing Am.
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List of estates as far as Buitenzorg owned by Chinese after Resolution of the East India Company 8th July, 1685 :—

Bought	Name of Estate.	Purchaser.
April 11, 1707 .	On the Tangerang river	Tan Boeko.
May 11, 1707 .	Malanbang	Duc Hoenko.
May 7, 1709 .	At Bekassie	Que Boucqua.
April 1, 1712 .	A piece of ground on river Tjidanie.	Quat Siog.
July 7, 1724 .	A piece of ground at Bekassie	Ni loco.

After the defeat of the Sultan Ageng of Bantam "Tangeran" and "Bogoh" were included by the East India Company in its boundaries.

Note.—Bing Am built a large house for himself on the top of the hill, which therefore received the name of Bing Am's Hill, but later on was called Tanah Bang Hill (perhaps from Tanah Bing). About 1709 G. G. van Riebeeck built himself a house or enlarged the old one on this hill, which still stands (a photo of the original house is given). In 1740 the land and house seem to have been bought by David Johannes Smith, and on his death about 1768 the property was sold for 80,000 ryksdaalders. A small portion of the land was bought or leased by Gillian Maclaine in 1823, who built himself a house there in 1827, which cost nearly £20,000, but in May, 1828, he sold it to William Thompson, of the English house of Thompson, Roberts & Co., who again sold it in 1829 when he returned to Europe.

(Extract from *Java Courant*, 21st May, 1829: "For sale the house at Tanna Bang, at present occupied by Mr. W. Thompson. Apply Thompson, Roberts & Co.")

John Macneill, of Maclaine, Watson & Co., bought this same house in 1840, but on the 8th November, 1843, sold it to John Campbell, the head of the firm of Paterson & Co., which started at Batavia in 1832 and eventually merged in Martin Dyce & Co. in 1842. When G. Maclaine sold the house he had built he went into van Riebeeck's old palace, and the head partners of Maclaine, Watson & Co. lived here for several years, after which they took up their abode at another house in Tanah Bang, near the end of the present Gang de Riemer, a house which apparently had been built in 1816 by John Deans, the head of the well-known Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya house of Deans, Scott & Co.

When the partners of Maclaine, Watson & Co. left van Riebeeck's old house John Campbell went into it. John Campbell, now, came from Argyllshire, and according to Colonel Leith Bonhote (whose father was a partner in Maclaine, Watson & Co.) this house was christened "Argyll Lodge," and was so known for a considerable number of years. (This on inquiring has proved correct.) It has now, however, gone back to its original name "Tanah Bang House"; all this land around Tanah Bang belongs nowadays to the Bik family.

THIRD PERIOD

The Arrival of the Europeans

CHAPTER IV

JAVA'S FIRST EUROPEAN VISITORS

Sighelmus.—We must dismiss as rather improbable the story given us by the Saxon chronicler that in the “glorious reign of King Alfred” (A.D. 883) one of this king’s favourite ecclesiastics, named Sighelmus, was sent to the East Indies “to help the poor distressed Christians there,” though he certainly did make a voyage to some foreign country, for William of Malmesbury states as a fact that he visited the tomb of St. Thomas at Maliapur (Peacock Town) and brought back with him a quantity of jewels and spices.

Marco Polo.—We come then first of all to the travels of Marco Polo, that prince of exaggerators who in 1292 visited Sumatra,¹ and thus has the honour as far as is known of being the first European to visit the East Indies. Most of the tales of this traveller are so filled, however, with intemperate expressions, and as we know are so grossly exaggerated, that considerable caution must be used when reading him. When he tells us of Java that there were “eight kingdoms with as many kings,” that “its people are idolaters,” and “the country contains abundance of riches, spices, lignum aloes, sappran wood, and various kinds of drugs,” we know he is relating true facts which have been given to him by his Chinese friends, who no doubt had travelled in the same junk with him from China.

Odoric di Pordenone.—The next European visitor to Java was Odoric di Pordenone in Friuli, a Minorite friar of the Order of St. Francis. He was born in 1281, and is supposed to have begun his travels in 1318, returning to Europe about

¹ He was there from September to April.

1330 and dying the year following. He visited Constantinople, thence overland to the Persian Gulf and Madras. He tells us he left Madras by sea and in fifty days reached Sumatra, "in which I begin to lose sight of the North Star as the earth intercepted it, and in that country the heat is so excessive that all the folk there, both men and women, go naked, not clothing themselves in anywise." He described the natives here as "an evil and pestilent generation," who had no formal marriage and among whom "all women were common property." Odoric passed down Sumatra, visiting "Resengo" or "Rejang," where the famous gold mines are.

From Sumatra he crossed over to Java, a country which was ruled by a king who had seven other monarchs tributary to him. He evidently visited *Majapahit*, for he was greatly struck by its riches and by the magnificence of the palace in which its sovereign had his dwelling. He observes that Java is the second best island in the world, Sumatra apparently being the best; otherwise when he recounted later his visit to a land which "produced sago, honey, toddy, and a deadly vegetable poison, which was used to smear the blowpipe darts of the natives, who were nearly all rovers," he would undoubtedly have held that this island, which can be no other than Borneo, was the best.

Nicolo Conti.—For over a century after this no further account is given us of any European travellers finding their way to Java, or writing upon it, until we come to a noble Venetian of the name of Nicolo Conti, who travelled in India and the East between 1419 and 1444. He eventually reached Pegu, whence he crossed to Java. He says that:—

"In Further India are two islands towards the extreme confines of the world, both of which are called Java, . . . distinguished by the names of the Greater and Less"—the Java Major and Java Minor of other travellers, usually identified with Java and Bali, but by some with Sumatra

and Java. Conti would seem to be describing Java and Sumbawa. He remained in Java nine months. After fifteen days' sail beyond these islands eastward, two others, he says, are found, "the one called Sandai (Ceram), in which nutmegs and mace grow, and the other is named Bandan (Banda). This is the only island in which cloves grow, which are exported hence to the Java islands."

Ludovico di Varthema.—A Bolognese named Ludovico de Varthema, whose travels have been edited by the Rev. W. George Percy Badger for the Hakluyt Society, travelled in India and the Eastern Seas from 1503 to 1508, and touched Java about 1505. He was accompanied by a Persian and visited the island of Bandan (Banda), "where the nutmegs and mace grow," and then "the island of Bornei (Borneo)," whence they "crossed over to Giava (Java)."

Meantime, however, Marco Polo had arrived home and the accounts of his travels had got abroad; but instead of being lauded as a hero he was considered an astonishing prevaricator of the truth, who had little regard for the wisdom of the people, when he expected them to believe him and his fantastic tales.

The King of Portugal, however, whose mind had early been attracted "by the treasures of the Arabs" and of "rich India," began to think that there was truth in the reports that were being circulated, and called his chief navigators together in order that he might interrogate them upon the matter. He eventually ordered that sailing voyages be taken down the coast of Africa. Cape Nun or Non, *i.e.*, "no further," was the limit of the West Coast of Africa as then known to Europe. Cape Bojador was later on reached, so named from its great compass (it stretches out forty leagues into the Atlantic). Here were met those strong currents running past it that had apparently been the real barrier to the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians from the west, as those

that after the voyage of Da Gama, still to be related, gave their name to Cape Corrientes, north of Delagoa Bay, had prevented the Arabs from circumnavigating the continent from the east.

Before this, however, the Norman navigators of Dieppe are reported to have secretly visited the West Coast of Africa south of Cape Nun and to have established factories there, whence they imported articles of African produce, including ivory, for the manufacture of the carved trinkets for which Dieppe has ever since been known; and in 1402 the Sieur de Bethen Court, a native of Grainville la Teinturiere, in the Pays de Caux, settled a French colony in the Canaries (so called because they abounded with wild dogs), the discovery of which is also claimed by the Spaniards, who became masters of the islands in 1483.¹ It is not unlikely, however, that they were originally discovered by the Phœnicians, and have always been identified with the half-fabulous *Insulæ Fortunatæ* of classical geography.

In 1411 Madeira was discovered (so called from its woods), and was then found to have been previously visited about the year 1344 by a young Englishman named Robert Machin, who ran away to sea with "fair Anne of Dorset" (really a Frenchwoman, Anne d'Arfet), and was fortuitously cast with his young wife on this island, where their romantic grave gives its name to the province of Machico.²

The Azores (so called from the goshawks abounding on them) were discovered in 1448.

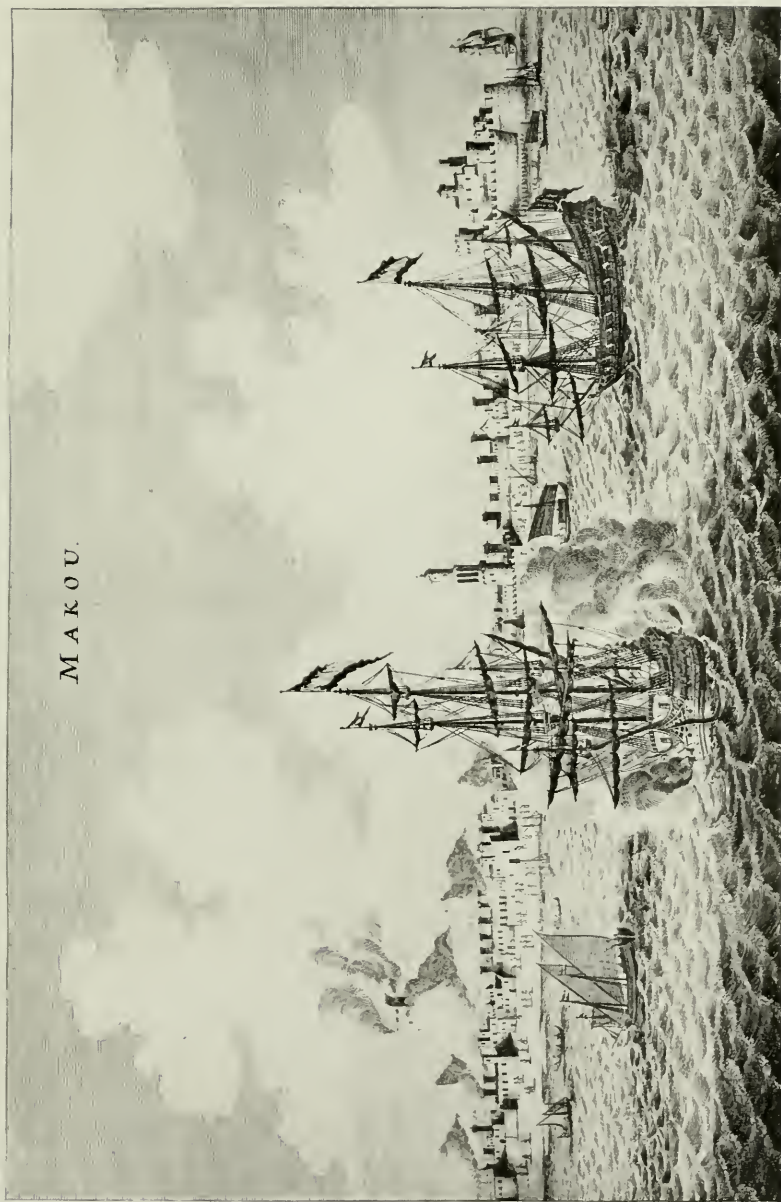
The following year the Cape Verde (Green) Islands were discovered.

Sierra Leone (so called from the nightly roaring on the mountains ranging along it) was reached in 1463, and in

¹ The "canary bird" was first brought to England about this date.

² For all this see "Report on Old Records of the India Office," by Sir George Birdwood.

MAKOU.



MACAO, 1655.

1484 Don Diego Cam made his renowned discovery of the Congo kingdom.

Two years later the King of Portugal, John II.,¹ employed Bartholomew Diaz and sent him off with instructions to try and find some particulars of the East Indies. The journey was a terrible one, the ship being small with only a very diminutive victualling bark for company, which on their sighting the Cape was lost owing to the bad weather. This led the crew of his own vessel to mutiny. Captain Diaz managed, however, to pacify them at last with the assurance that they could put into land and refresh as soon as possible. Bartholomew Diaz put in at the Cape of Good Hope, and called it "*Cabo Tormentoso*" (Cape of Storms). "No," said the King of Portugal on his return to Lisbon, "*Cabo de la Buena Esperanza*"—that is, rather, the "Cape of Good Hope" for finding India.²

Next of all Don Vasco da Gama, "a man of quality," we are told, who possessed all the talents necessary for such an employment, was given instructions to take command of the new squadron fitted out for a journey to the East. He embarked on Saturday, the 8th July, 1497, and sailed down the Tagus.

His flagship was the *Angel Gabriel*, a vessel of 120 tons burden, and he was accompanied by the *Saint Raphael*, the *Pilot*, and a storeship. Vasco da Gama was commissioned Admiral and General, his brother Paul and his friend Nicholas Coello being appointed to commands under him.

About four miles from Lisbon, on the sea-shore, stands the sanctuary of Belem (*i.e.*, Bethlehem), built originally by "The Navigator" for the resort of sailors. Thither the night before his departure Da Gama conducted the com-

¹ A new king; the previous one, called "The Navigator," had died in 1460.

² On the 12th October, 1492, Columbus, seeking to discover India, found America.

panions of his expedition to pray for its success, and there they spent the whole night in heartfelt supplication that their journey might be successful and their ends attained, a prayer which was most certainly answered.¹ The following day, when the adventurers marched once more into their ships, the whole population of Lisbon turned out on to the beach, headed by an unending procession of priests in long robes, bearing banners and singing anthems, the whole crowd singing with them ; and when Da Gama spread his sails to the wind, not knowing to what fate they might bear him, the vast multitudes remained motionless and silent by the sea, until he with his whole fleet had passed out of sight.

This was a great day in the history of the Portuguese nation.

On the 20th November following, at noon, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and steering northward, sailed along the beautiful and richly-wooded coast so accurately described by Camoens.

On Thursday, the 17th May, 1498, the Malabar coast was sighted, and on Sunday, the 20th, they cast anchor before the city of Calicut. Here he was warmly welcomed by a Moor there, who spoke the Portuguese tongue, and with the permission of the zamorin at once established a factory under the superintendence of Diego Diaz, the brother of the first discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope. After some trouble with the Moors, who as soon as they found out the quest of the Portuguese gave them all the trouble they could, Da Gama set sail on his return voyage on the 5th October, carrying a letter with him from the zamorin to the King of Portugal. This letter read as follows : " In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones in great quantities. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet."

¹ " Report on the Old Records of the India Office," by Sir G. Birdwood.

He returned by way of the East Coast of Africa, by which time his crew had so diminished that he was obliged to burn one of his consorts, the *Saint Raphael*, commanded by his brother Paul Gama, taking the men on board his own ship.

On the 1st February, 1499, the Mozambique Channel was reached, and on the 20th March he again doubled the Cape, whence he proceeded to the Azores, arriving at last in the month of September at Lisbon, having lost by sickness more than one hundred men, amongst them his brother.

He was received by the king and his court with every possible favour, being created Count de Vidiguera with the arms of Portugal, and given "rich and lucrative appointments."

Vasco da Gama was a *man* in truth, as was borne witness to by his men and officers who remained faithful to him; and these he did not now forget, as many would have done, but showered gifts on them down to the last man.

When the Portuguese, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, burst into the Indian Ocean "like a pack of hungry wolves upon a well-stocked sheep-walk," they found a peaceful and prosperous commerce that had been elaborated during three thousand years by the Phœnicians and Arabs and was being carried on along all its shores. The great centres of this trade were then at Calicut, Ormuz, Aden, and Malacca. Here were collected the cloves, nutmegs, mace, and ebony of the Moluccas, the sandal-wood of Timor, the costly camphor of Borneo, the benzoin of Sumatra and Java, the aloes-wood of Cochin China, the perfumes, gums, and silks of China, Japan, and Siam, the rubies of Pegu, the fine fabrics of Coromandel, the richer stuffs of Bengal, the pearls of Ceylon, the ginger of Malabar, the musk of Tibet, the civet and ivory of Zanzibar, and the balsam of Berbera, and so forth.¹

The King of Portugal soon saw that it was of vital

¹ "Report on the Old Records of the India Office," by Sir G. Birdwood.

importance for his country to possess the great Arab centres in the Indian Ocean, and the difficulties which presented themselves to Da Gama on his first voyage led the king to send out a second fleet of great strength consisting of thirteen ships, with 1,200 soldiers on board.

This squadron sailed in March, 1500, under the command of Don Pedro Alvarez da Cabral. The sum of his instructions appears to have been "Preach first, but if this does not prove successful, use the sword." Cabral touched Sofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, and Melinda, arriving at Calicut in September. Here he quarrelled with the zamorin, who burnt the Portuguese factory by way of revenge and massacred fifty people in it. Cabral hereupon pillaged the town and then sailed for Cochin, where he built a new factory and made an advantageous treaty with the prince.

On his return voyage he visited Melinda, Mozambique, and Sofala, compelling the chiefs to become tributary to Portugal.

One of his vessels, commanded by Peter Diaz, discovered the port of Magadoxa, south of Cape Guardafui.

Cabral returned with his fleet to Portugal in 1501 and was received by the king with much pomp and ceremony. The king (now King Emanuel) was convinced by him that it would be only possible to secure the splendid fortune that had fallen to him in the East by a great show of power and overwhelming force.

Meantime, however, in March, 1501, before Cabral's return, four ships sailed from Lisbon under Juan Nova, who on Lady Day discovered the island he called Conception.¹ He then visited Cochin and Cananore, from whence he sailed to Calicut, where he sank the fleet the zamorin had prepared to attack the Portuguese when they next came.

¹ It first received the name of Ascension from Albuquerque when rediscovered by him on the 20th May, 1503.

On the return voyage Nova chanced on St. Helena's day to discover the island of St. Helena, which on account of its excellent supply of water proved during the days of the sailing ships of such advantage to all engaged in the India trade.

The great Vasco da Gama was now requested to sail to India for the second time, and a fleet of twenty ships was placed under his command, and he obtained from the Pope Alexander VI. the bull which conferred on him the title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquests and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India."

Factories were established at Sofala and Mozambique and an alliance formed with the Kings of Cananore and Cochin against the Zamorin of Calicut. He bombarded Calicut and severely damaged the town and the zamorin's palace, and after having plundered all the Arab ships in the roads returned to Portugal in December, 1503. Shortly after this, in the same year, a fleet of three ships under Alfonso de Albuquerque, a fleet of three ships under Francisco de Albuquerque, and a fleet of three ships under Antony de Saldanha (who was the first Portuguese to visit Saldanha Bay in 1503) were specially commissioned to block the Red Sea against the overland India trade through Egypt. One of the lieutenants of this squadron, Ruy Lorenzo, discovered the island of Zanzibar, and, with Mombas and Brava, made it tributary to Portugal in 1503.

Francisco de Albuquerque on reaching Cochin found the king besieged by the Zamorin of Calicut, who had made war on him for entering into an alliance with the Portuguese. The zamorin was soon compelled to sue for terms, and gave the Portuguese permission to build a fort at Calicut. Francisco de Albuquerque, after establishing a fort at Quila and another at St. Thomé and leaving a small force for the protection of the allies of Portugal in India, sailed for Portugal, but neither he nor his ships were ever heard of

again. One of the ships under him also discovered on the outward voyage the Curia Muria islands and the island of Socotra, rediscovered in 1504–5 by Diego Fernandez Pereyra.

The Portuguese discovered the island afterwards known as Mauritius in 1505.

In this year the King of Portugal sent out another filibustering fleet—the largest that had so far been sent, consisting of twenty-two ships and 15,000 men—under the command of Francisco de Almeyda, the first Portuguese Governor and Viceroy of India. He built a large fort at Cananore.

The following year another fleet of sixteen ships under Tristan da Cunha, who was the discoverer of the island of that name and of Madagascar, was sent to India, and this was immediately followed by another six ships, again under Alfonso de Albuquerque.

Ceylon was discovered, it is said by accident, in 1507 by a son of the first Viceroy of India, who was apparently sailing upon the ocean looking for pirates (or prizes). Muscat was next rendered tributary and Ormuz taken.

First Portuguese Visit to Sumatra.—Alfonso de Albuquerque now decided to extend the power and dominion of the Portuguese still further eastward, and sent Diogo Lopez de Sequeira in command of a fleet of five ships to Sumatra¹ and Malacca, a town of which he had heard much.

Malacca.—Some hold that from the time of the Phœnicians Malacca, or some centre near it, was an emporium for the spices, tin, and other products of the East Indian Archipelago. At the moment the Portuguese arrived it was a thriving and populous town, doing a large trade with all the neighbouring countries. It was, in short, the key of the navigation and the emporium of the whole of the trade of the East Indian Archipelago, Siam, the Philippines,

¹ Visited for the first time in 1508.

the China Seas, and Japan. The Arabs from Arabia, Persia, and India gathered here; but they had not the monopoly by any means, for Hindus, Pegunese, Siamese, and Chinese were also doing a considerable trade here. The Arabs had settled in Malacca in specially large numbers; but still greater was the number of Javan merchants to be found there, a fact which is noteworthy. No section of the community of Malacca was richer and held more power than the Javans.

The town when the Portuguese arrived stretched along the sea-shore, being divided in two by a small river. Here were a mosque and the houses of the different merchants, who lived together in separate divisions. The two parts of the town were joined by a wooden bridge.

At both ends of the town were to be found the principal quarters of the Javans. In the east the merchants from Tuban, Japara, Soenda Kalapa or Jacatra lived together, in the west those from Palembang. The head of the Javan people was Rajah Uti Muti, which is evidently a mutilated name. He was an old man about 80 years of age.

When Diogo Lopez arrived with his five ships at Malacca he visited the Rajah Uti Muti, who received them with fear and doubt. The Portuguese appear to have behaved at Malacca as they did in most places they visited, and their actions, besides being treasonable, were apparently highly repugnant to the Javans. It was not long, therefore, before trouble arose with this proud and highly-bred race, which nearly ended in Diogo Lopez being killed.

When this reached the ears of Albuquerque he decided to proceed to Malacca himself to punish the rajah for his treatment of his countrymen. As is well known, Albuquerque was a brave, intrepid, and daring navigator, with not a particle of fear, and he fully made up his mind that, cost what number of lives it might, Malacca should belong to Portugal. So shortly after attacking and capturing Goa

on the 17th February, 1510, he sailed for Malacca. He arrived here on the 24th July, 1510, with a strong fleet of nineteen ships, and at once visited the rajah, who, seeing the force against him, decided, partly no doubt from fear, but also because of an enmity against the Sultan of Malacca, to join hands secretly with the Portuguese and seize the town, and agreed to hold six hundred Javans at their disposal.

The sultan received Albuquerque fairly well, and after some persuasion gave him a piece of ground of a size "sufficient to be covered by one buffalo hide only." The hide, however, the wily Albuquerque cut into thin strips, measuring out therewith four sides, within which the Portuguese, who had brought ashore spades, bricks and mortar, built a storehouse of very considerable dimensions, leaving large square openings in the walls for the guns. When the king caused an inquiry to be made as to why these had been left, the Portuguese returned him for answer that these openings were needed by white men for windows, with which reply he was content. After this the Portuguese landed, in the night, cannon, small arms and ammunition, packed in cases, saying their contents were piece goods. Several months afterwards the forts were complete, and by way of apprising the natives of the fact several houses were fired on and destroyed.

The present town of Malaka, so called from the fruit-bearing tree *myrabolanum*, which grew in abundance on the hill behind the town, which gives a natural strength to the situation, was founded in 1252, when the King of Majapahit¹ attacked the town of Singapura.

After the fort was built the Portuguese became more and more aggressive and arrogant towards the natives. The sultan saw too late the mistake he had made in his policy,

¹ Or the King of Japara. Centuries before this it is said there had been a settlement here.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. (THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN TO VISIT JAVA.)

and endeavoured to get rid of them, but finding this impossible, he fled, and the town fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

For his assistance the rajah was made *shahbander*, or post officer, by Albuquerque, a none too high reward, seeing that without the help of the powerful Javan party the Portuguese would have been driven into the sea.

It was not long, however, before Albuquerque found reason to fall out with the rajah also. He disliked the power that he held and mistrusted him, which distrust was not lessened when agents of the rajah accused him of being in league with the son of the sultan. The rajah, his son, his son-in-law, and a nephew were therefore seized and imprisoned. Finally they were tried and punished by death, on the same piece of ground where Sequeira nearly paid the last penalty for his aggressiveness. The wife of Rajah Uti Muti endeavoured with a huge sum of money, and the promise to leave Malacca at once and proceed to Java, to procure the release of her aged husband and son, but the Portuguese would not hear of it. After this Albuquerque sailed for Sumatra on the 24th July, 1511, and then returned to Europe. In the place of Uti Muti another Javan of importance and wealth called Pati Katir was appointed to be *shahbander*, but being later bribed by a sum of money and the present of one of her daughters by the wife of Uti Muti, who wished for revenge, he gave the Portuguese no end of trouble. At last, however, he had to flee. This happened just at the beginning of 1513.

First Portuguese Visit to Java, 1511.—Meantime another of Albuquerque's lieutenants, Antonio de Abreu, had been sent to visit Java, and calls were made at Grésik, which was full of Chinese traders, Tuban, Amboyna, and Banda, where the spices were found.

In 1522, Bantam.—In the next voyage which Albuquerque ordered him to make De Abreu visited Bantam, which was

then under the rule of a Hindu prince. This prince was already beginning to feel the pressure from the Mahometans sent to visit his kingdom and to proselytise his people by the Sultan of Cheribon. He saw, therefore, the opportunity of freeing himself from an objectionable thralldom and possible loss of his kingdom, and he therefore departed from his usual mode of procedure and seclusion by openly welcoming the Portuguese strangers, agreeing to allow them to trade and offering them a site whereon to build a fortress, "banqueting them in a royal fashion." The Portuguese accepted all this, and promised to return again and make use of the king's friendliness. The king hearing this, and fearing that they were not satisfied, offered them as a further mark of his attention and desire for their friendship one thousand bags of pepper annually from the day on which the building of the fort was begun.

Later on Francisco de Sá was despatched to Java with six vessels as a result of the King of Bantam's friendliness.

Joao de Barros in his "Decades" gives the following description of Java¹ at this time:—

"The city, which is in the middle of the opening of the Straits of Sunda, stands in the centre of a large bay, which from point to point may be about three leagues wide, the bottom good, and the depth of water from two to six fathoms. A river, of sufficient depth for junks and galleys, falls into this bay, and divides the town into two parts. On one side of the town is a fort, built of sun-dried bricks; the walls are about seven palms thick, the bulwarks of wood, well furnished with artillery."

Java was then said to have six good seaports—"Chiamo, at the extremity of the island, *Chacatará* (*Jacatra*), *Tangaram*, *Cheginde*, *Pandang*, and *Bintan* (Bantam)—which have a great traffic on account of the trade carried on, not only with Java, but with Malacca and Sumatra. The

¹ Bantam, although it reads more like an account of old Majapahit.

principal city of this kingdom is Daro, situated a little towards the interior, and we are assured this town had 150,000 inhabitants, and that the kingdom had upwards of 100,000 fighting men. The soil is very rich; an inferior gold of six carats is found. There is abundance of butcher's meat, game and provisions, and tamarinds, which serve the natives for vinegar. The inhabitants are not very warlike, much addicted to their idolatries, and hate the Mahometans. The Javans,¹ however, are proud, brave and treacherous, and so vindictive that for any slight offence (and they consider it most unpardonable, the touching of their forehead with your hand) they declare amok to revenge it. They navigate much to every part of the Eastern Archipelago, and say formerly they used to navigate the ocean as far as the island of Madagascar.² At Daro four or five thousand slaves may be purchased, on account of the numerous population and its being lawful for the father to sell the children. The women are handsome and those of the nobles chaste, which is not the case with those of the lower classes. There are monasteries or convents for the women, into which the nobles put their daughters when they cannot match them in marriage according to their wishes. The married women when their husbands die as a point of honour die with them, and if they should be afraid of death they are put into the convents. The kingdom descends from father to son, and not from uncle to nephew (son of the sister), as among the Malabars and other infidels in India. They are fond of rich arms ornamented with gold and inlaid work. Their knives are gilt, and also the points of their lances; many other particulars might be added concerning the productions of this island, in which thirty thousand quintals of pepper are collected annually."

¹ Javans are always spoken of apart, having Hindu blood in them, while the other inhabitants are the Malay and Sunda race.

² This is quite true.

Francisco de Sá was, as already related, despatched to Bantam with six vessels from Portugal by the king as soon as accounts reached him of the success of the first mission there.

These vessels on their way out called at Malacca, but on leaving this port they were overtaken by a storm, and but one of his vessels, that commanded by Dironte Coelho, reached the port of Calapa,¹ where she was driven on shore, all the crew perishing at the hands of the Arabs, who were then masters of the country around, they having a short time before taken the town from the native (Hindu) king who had concluded the treaty with the King of Portugal and given him the site on which to erect the fortress.

Antonio de Britto was now sent off to the Moluccas, where he spent several years roving about.

In August, 1526, on his return from Ternati to Malacca, he " touched at the port of Paneruca " (Panaroekan), where he found a countryman of his, Joao de Moreno, who had twenty Malay junks under his command. From here he proceeded to a town in the neighbourhood² and seized a junk full of cloves.

The Portuguese were now beginning to understand the geography of the East Indies, and sent full accounts home to their king. Don Joao studied all these accounts and particulars for some time, and finally, being a far-seeing man, came to the conclusion that for the Portuguese to be masters of the situation and commanders of the Straits of Sunda and all the pepper of those kingdoms a strong fortress must be immediately built at Bantam; further, that if the Portuguese possessed three fortresses, one on Acheen Head, one on the coast of Pegu, and one at Bantam, the navigation of the East could be controlled and in a manner locked by these keys. The King of Portugal would

¹ This is another name for a point in the Bantam district.

² Probably Yortan (Bangil) or Surabaya.

then be lord of all its riches, and "the English and the Turks (Arabs) could be kept from trading here."

The idea was good, but with the wild characters, partly the riff-raff, of the Portuguese nation who were now going to the East the quality of the colonists became a matter of much greater importance than was imagined, for nothing could be done, or any security assured to the new colonists, without the assistance of the natives of these countries. The priests of the Portuguese religion, who were landed everywhere to preach the Gospel, certainly at first won the hearts of the people, always greedy for novelties, by their meek and lowly manner, and by the example of their modest and at first virtuous life; their charitableness and disinterested assistance moreover to the sick and the poor, as also the pomp and majesty of their divine service, the paraphernalia for which they always carried about with them, enchanted the Oriental races, and the natives of these countries, hearing the wonders which the foreigners carried with them, welcomed their merchants everywhere. It did not take long, however, before their eyes were opened, and they found the strangers were wolves in disguise and the very incarnation of the devil. The spiritual fathers were moreover, as time went on, an utter disappointment to them, and they discovered that they did not aim only at the salvation of their souls, but had an eye to their money, whilst the traders disposed of the goods (frequently seized without any payment) in a most usurious and unscrupulous manner. The priests, moreover, became more puffed up by their successes, and found it beneath their dignity to walk on foot any longer. The day had passed for that, and palanquins embellished with gold now became the style. In fact the natives everywhere were so heartily sick and disgusted with the Portuguese that they were ready to welcome any other race that should come along, if only it would turn these wretched degenerates out. For the next

forty-five years the Portuguese were the masters of the East, and this was the period of their greatest renown. From Firando,¹ in Japan, to the Red Sea, from India to the Cape of Good Hope, they were the sole and absolute lords and dispensers of the riches and treasures of the East, and their positions along West Africa and in Brazil completed their world power. What the Phœnicians had been the Portuguese were now, and more. But the power built up with a poor foundation soon began to decay.

A lack of commercial knowledge, a want of military and political resource, a scarcity of really good men, and an entire want of tact in colonising foreign countries belonging to Oriental races whom they drove to desperation by their cruelties were bound to tell. One has only to read the accounts of the expeditions of Da Gama, Menezes, Suarez, Sequeira, and the other viceroys to perceive that with rulers as cruel as these no nation could succeed ; for if the viceroys were like this towards the natives, what was to be expected from the common, ignorant men who had been nothing in their own country ?

The Portuguese therefore lost all the advantages gained by their splendid maritime discoveries wholly through their own fault, and that they were ousted by the more humane, conciliatory, level-headed, well-balanced and intelligent Dutchmen, a nation of born colonists, is a thing for which all Christians must for ever be thankful. The period of the highest development of the Portuguese commerce was probably from 1590 to 1610, just before their overthrow by the Dutch, when their political administration in the East was at its lowest depth of degradation. At this period a single fleet of Portuguese merchantmen sailing from Goa to Cambay or Surat would number as many as one hundred and fifty or two hundred and fifty vessels. To-day only one ship sails yearly from Lisbon to Goa, so

¹ Nagasaki.

low has fallen a people who once commanded the whole commerce of the Eastern world. The Portuguese empire in the East Indies from its beginnings in 1511, when Albuquerque established himself at Malacca, to the final extinction of their power in 1641, when they were thoroughly routed by the Dutch and Malacca fell, had always rested on rather an unsubstantial foundation, and was only maintained by a ready sword. Although trading in Sumatra and Java, they do not even appear to have had factories here, unless they had one at Bantam or old Jacatra for a short period.¹

In 1527 an Englishman of the name of Robert Thorne, a merchant from London, happened to settle in Seville, and whilst here heard all about the discoveries in the East. He immediately made known his ideas to King Henry VIII., who listened to his accounts with much attention, but nothing was done for fifty years.

First English Expedition to the East Indies.—In 1577 Francis Drake made his memorable voyage round the world with the following squadron:—

The *Golden Hind*, of 100 tons (Francis Drake, Captain-General); the *Elizabeth*, of 80 tons (Captain John Winter); the *Marigold*, of 30 tons (Captain John Thomas); the *Swan*, of 50 tons (Captain John Chester); the *Christopher*, of 15 tons (Captain Thomas Moon).

These ships were manned with 164 men and plentifully furnished with provisions. A great deal of knowledge of

¹ The Portuguese at one time possessed the following places in the Far East:—*In Ceylon*: Point de Galle, Colombo, Jafnapatam, Manar. *East Indies*: Malacca, Pegu, Martaban, Junkceylon, Queddah, Mindanao, the Moluccas, the Banda Islands, Macassar (where they built a fort), Timor (where they built a fort), Bantam. *China*: Macao, Formosa (on which they built five forts, one at Keelung, one at Hobo, two at Tauvanfoo, one at Takow). *Japan*: Firando (an island outside Nagasaki). All these possessions were held in subordination to the supreme Government at Goa, where the viceroy presided over the civil and military and an archbishop over the ecclesiastical affairs of the whole of Portuguese Asia.

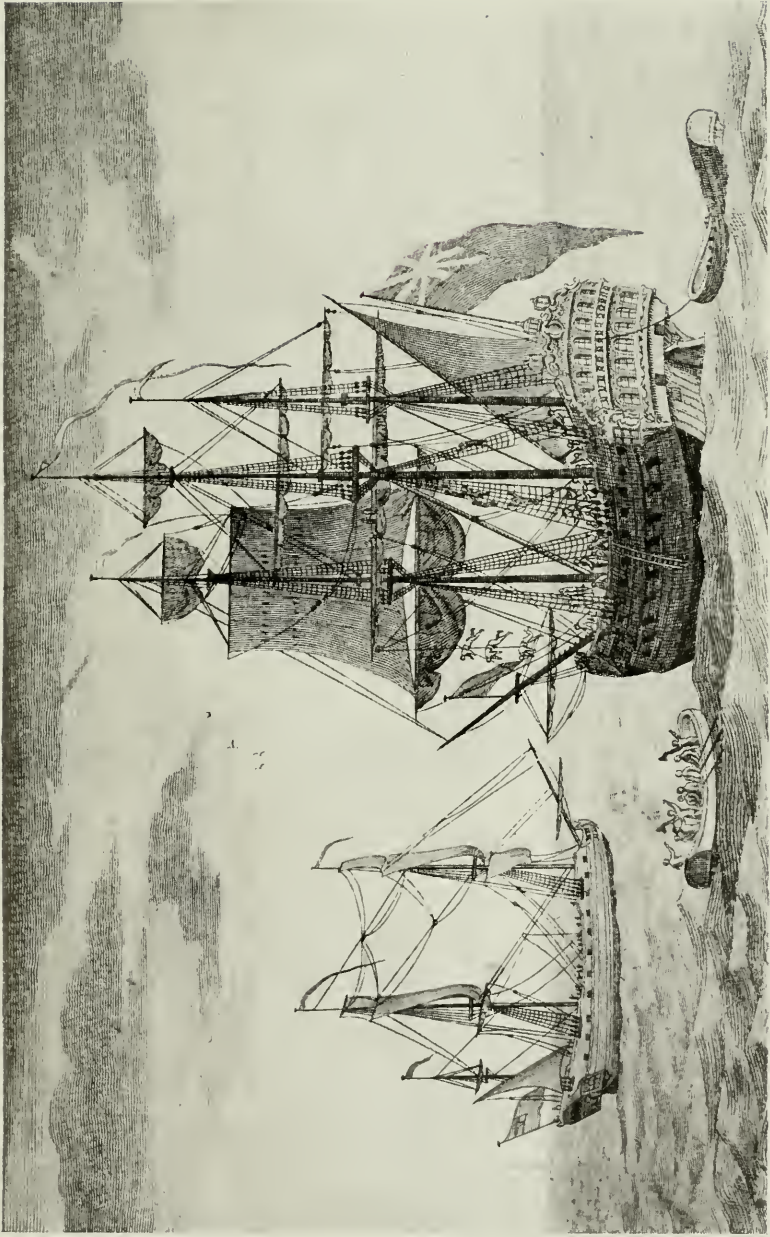
the East, which had to a great extent been a sealed book to the English up to the present, was now obtained, and this was to be further amplified by the return shortly afterwards in 1579 of Thomas Stephens, a Britisher, from Goa, where he had resided for some time.¹

Of the Moluccas Captain Drake did not relate much in his log-book beyond that he was well received and encouraged to remain, as the Kings of Tidore and Ternate were disgusted with the Portuguese. Here he took in three tons of cloves, and the King of Ternate agreed to supply the English with all the cloves the island produced.

Of Bantam, however, we are given rather a full account :—

“ On leaving the Moluccas we sailed for Java, where we met with a courteous and honourable entertainment. The island is governed by five kings, who live in perfect good understanding with each other. The Javans are a stout and warlike people, go well armed with swords, targets and daggers, all of their own manufacture, which is very curious both as to the fashion and temper of the metal. They wear Turkish turbans on their heads ; the upper part of their body is naked, but from the waist downwards they have a pintado of silk trailing on the ground, of that colour which pleases them best. They manage their women quite after another rate than the Moluccans do, for these latter will hardly let a stranger see them, whereas the former are so far from that nicety that they will very civilly offer a traveller a bedfellow. And as they are thus civil and hospitable to strangers, so they are pleasant and sociable amongst themselves, for in every village they have a public-house, where they will meet and bring

¹ Thomas Stephens was educated at New College, Oxford, and went to Goa in 1579, where he was rector of the Jesuits' College in Salsette. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India. In 1583 three English merchants—Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes—went out to India overland as private merchant adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Demuz, and again at Goa. Later on, however, Newberry settled down at Goa as a shopkeeper, and Leedes entered the service of the Great Mogul, whilst Fitch, after lengthy and protracted journeys in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other places in the East Indies, returned to England through Persia.



THE CEREMONY OF DUCKING UNDER THE TROPICS.

their several shares of provisions, joining all their forces together in one great feast for the keeping up of good fellowship amongst the king's subjects. They have a way peculiar to themselves of boiling rice : they put it in an earthen pot, which is of a conical figure, open at the greater end, and perforated all over. In the meantime they provide another earthen pot full of boiling water, into which they put this perforated vessel with the rice, which swelling and filling the holes of the pot, but a small quantity of water can enter. By this sort of boiling the rice is brought to a very firm consistency, and at last is caked into a sort of bread, of which with butter, oil, sugar and spices they make several very pleasant kinds of food."

The journey across the Indian Ocean was in May and June, and when they arrived at the Cape, Drake says in his log-book that they found with pleasure "how the Portuguese had abused the world in their false representations of the horrors and dangers of it."

In the circumnavigation of the globe he had spent two years and eleven months, leaving Plymouth on the 5th November, 1577, and returning on the 26th September, 1580. On his return he was knighted, and Queen Elizabeth visited his ship at Deptford, where the shore was densely crowded with people anxiously waiting to see it. The Queen was received with befitting honours and sumptuously entertained by the new knight on his hundred-ton vessel.

Drake was thus the first Englishman to open intercourse between England and the East Indies, as well as the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe.

Second English Expedition to the East Indies.—After this it was the constant policy of the Queen to encourage as far as possible the flame of public spirit in men of family and wealth. Among these was Thomas Cavendish (or Candish as he sometimes styled himself), of Tremley in Suffolk, esquire, a gentleman of honourable family and large estate (this latter lying in the neighbourhood of Ipswich, a place then

doing a large trade). He received an early inclination to go to sea, and decided as he came of age to convert part of his lands into money and go out to see the world. He equipped a stout bark called the *Tiger*, of 120 tons burden, in which he accompanied Sir Richard Greenville in his voyage to Virginia in 1585. This voyage gave him an insight into some of the difficulties and dangers of the sea, but instead of damping his ardour it only increased it, and as soon as he returned he decided to fit out a squadron to voyage round the world, and whilst this was getting ready gained all the information he possibly could from men who had travelled with Drake.

He sailed on the 10th July, 1586, from Plymouth, his squadron consisting of the *Desire* (140 tons), the *Content* (60 tons), and the *Hugh Gallant* (40 tons), all supplied at his own expense with provisions for two years, and manned with officers and men, many of whom had served under Drake in his famous voyage and so were men with experience. After a long and eventful voyage they found themselves at last in the Straits of Bantam on the 1st March, 1587. At first no one on shore would communicate with them. After they had been here eleven days, nine or ten of the king's canoes laden with oxen, hogs, hens, geese, eggs, sugar, cocoanuts, plantains, oranges, lemons, wine and aqua vitæ went out to them, and two Portuguese came on board, who gave them a full account of the people and their customs.¹

The king, they learnt, was a very great man, with one hundred wives, and all stood in awe of him. Having paid for these victuals and presenting the king with "three great pieces of ordnance" for his courtesy, Cavendish departed, arriving at Plymouth, in England, in the same quiet way in which he departed, on the 9th September, 1588.

¹ The account is given later in the chapter "Travellers' Tales."

Almost immediately the Spanish Government, through their ambassador, apparently a crafty fellow, complained to Queen Elizabeth that reports had reached them of Drake and Cavendish having infringed their "divine rights" by sailing round the globe. Elizabeth haughtily replied that what it was lawful to Spaniards to do it was lawful also to Englishmen, "since the sea and air are common to all men." Thereupon the Spaniards launched against England the "Invincible Armada."

This Armada was met by the British fleet under Sir Francis Drake, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Thomas Howard, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Frobisher, with what result every schoolboy knows.

They were scattered in all directions. Never was there such a thorough downfall, and its effects were far-reaching. Cavendish was in due course knighted when his report reached the Queen.

At the "White Hart" inn, Plymouth, a collection of burghers, yeomen, fisherfolk, and mariners were drinking and chatting over their ale, jubilant still about the destruction of the Spanish Armada, which gave food for talk for many years, when in came a man, gaunt and weather-beaten, and ordered ale of "mine host" in tones louder than had ever before been heard there. He then demanded, in still louder tones, pen, ink and paper, and, ensconcing himself in a corner, wrote the following despatch to Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain:—

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD HUNSDON, ETC.

"Right Honourable,—As your favour heretofore hath been most greatly extended toward me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof, and though there be no means in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting whensoever it shall please your Honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your Honour to make known unto Her Majesty the desire I have had to do Her Majesty service in the performance of this voyage, and as it hath pleased God to give her the

victory over part of her enemies, so I trust ere long to see her overthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now perfectly discovered, and if it please Her Majesty, with a very small power she may take the spoil of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to circumpass all the whole globe of the world, entering in at the Streight of Magellan and returning by Ye Cap de Buena Esperanca, in which voyage I have either discovered, or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world, that ever were known or discovered by any Christian. I navigated all along ye coast of Chile, Peru, Nuevo Espana, where I made great spoils. I burnt and sunk nineteen sail of ships, small and great. All the towns and villages I ever landed at I burned and spoiled, and had I not been discovered on ye coast I had taken great quantity of treasure. The matter of most profit unto me, was a great ship of the king's which I took at California, which ship came from ye Philippines being one of the richest for merchandise that ever passed those seas, as the king's register, accounts, merchants did show. From ye Cape of California, I navigated to ye islands of Ye Philippines, the riches and stateliness of which country I fear to make report of, lest it be not credited. I sailed along ye islands of Maluccus, where among some of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themselves. From thence I passed by Ye Cape of Buena Esperanca and found out by the way homeward Ye Island of Saint Helena, and from that Island God suffered me to return unto England. All of which services with myself I humbly prostrate at Her Majesty's feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign among us, for at this day she is the most famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the world.

"Thus humbly demanding pardon for my tediousness I leave your Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty.

"Your Honour's most humble to command,

"THOMAS CANDISH.

"Plymouth this 9th of September, 1588."

This done, the wild-looking sailor demanded more ale and "did quaff of same freely." Before long in the inn and its portals, far into the street beyond, men were fighting to hear this weather-beaten stranger, who had arrived in a

mere cockle-shell of a boat, relate stories that made their mouths water, of the gold and riches of the Indies, China, and the Spice Islands. "Why," asked he, "should ten thousand Spanish and Portugal galleons go forth to the Indies laden with Peruvian ingots and return full laden with spices, silks, gold, silver, and jewels? Why should these papists get all and the people of the mightiest sovereign in the world nothing? Let us set forth," said he, "and clear Philip's ruthless and unscrupulous ruffians from the Eastern Seas." The invincible navy was no more. Now, now, was the time, he shouted.

To all ports and harbours in the kingdom his story went forth, down the Thames from London Bridge to Tilbury, from Plymouth to Portsmouth, and from there to Harwich.

Owners of ships were now chafing under the threefold barrier which a mean policy of rapacity on the part of Philip II. of Spain had set up to obstruct the "traffick of England with Eastern lands." Queen Elizabeth must be petitioned to remove this.

Third English Expedition to the East Indies.—Meantime in 1591 certain merchant adventurers of London decided to risk sending a squadron round the Cape to the East Indies, and Captain George Raymond, who had voyaged with Cavendish, was placed in command, the fleet consisting of the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*.

The departure of these vessels created a lively commotion, not only among the mercantile community of London, but throughout five kingdoms. To the Spaniards and Portuguese, who were wildly angry, the business seemed one of offensive effrontery. Evil was predicted from France, and the Dutch thought the venture somewhat bold.

The voyage was unfortunate from the start. At the Cape the *Merchant Royal* was sent back full of sick men

from the three ships, and in a storm after leaving the Cape the *Penelope*, with Captain Raymond on board, was lost ; so that the only ship which reached the East was the *Edward Bonadventure*, under Captain James Lancaster. At Acheen a cargo of pepper was secured, and Lancaster returned home, battling with pirates, scurvy, and hurricanes, and in a continual dread that he might meet any "Portugals." After passing the Cape the ship was swept by tempestuous seas and carried right up to Labrador. At last, after trials unknown, the ship, with gaping timbers and more or less a dismantled wreck, finally reached Plymouth, three years from the day she had left.

The Dutch, with their customary patience and their slow but sure methods, which are a characteristic of this fine and noble nation, had been meantime slowly taking note of all these voyages, and it came home to them that whilst perhaps the Spanish could do what they could not, they themselves could do as much as the English. If the English could make voyages to the East Indies, so could their seamen, and they were right. They first set about getting all the information they could, and if possible securing the services of under-seamen, or pilots, who had served Drake and Cavendish, and the information obtained from these men was such that by degrees the merchants of Amsterdam began to think an Indian expedition practicable, and to be willing to run the hazard of such an undertaking on account of the prospects that opened of prodigious profits. After further mature consideration a company was formed by *Henry Hudden, Reinier, Pauw, Peter Haffelaar, John Jans, Charles de Oude, John Poppen, Henry Buyck, Dirck van Os, Syvert Peirersz Seem* and *Arrenten Grootenhuis*.

At the first meeting it was decided to despatch without delay four vessels to the Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Cornelius Houtman, who had just returned from Portugal, where at the risk of his life he

had been gleaning all the information he could about the East.

First Dutch Expedition to the East Indies.—On the 2nd April, 1595, the shipping at the Texel was all decorated, and to the sound of artillery and the cheering of the Dutch folk four ships sailed out. The *Mauritius* was 400 tons (John Molecate, master, with Cornelius Houtman as agent, or supercargo, on board), and was armed with six large brass cannon and fourteen small pieces and manned with a crew of eighty-four; the *Hollandia* was 400 tons (John Digmums, master), had six large and fourteen small brass cannon, and was manned with a crew of eighty-four; the *Amsterdam* was 200 tons (Schiltinger, master), and armed with six pieces of brass guns and ten other little ones, and manned with a crew of fifty-nine; the *Dufke* was a small ship of 50 tons, armed with “two pieces of brass cannon and six little cannons,” and manned by a crew of twenty-four. They were bound for the East Indies, and this fleet was to lay the foundation of that matchless Eastern empire which to-day is the most precious gem in the Netherlands crown. The manning of the fleet was no difficult matter, and it is a remarkable fact that the crews were made up of a number of rough and disorderly young men, regular “ne'er-do-wells,” sons of respectable, rich parents, wanting less in courage, boldness, and strength of mind than in love of discipline and duty, whose absence from home was apparently more desirable than their presence there.

Cornelius Houtman had a difficult task, and he performed it well, and these young men, once it was thoroughly impressed upon them that the honour of their country was at stake, proved the mainstay of the expedition.

The fleet had now sailed on its momentous voyage, and one of the most glorious chapters in the history of the Dutch had been opened. Sir Thomas Cavendish's words, “Now, now, is the time,” had passed unheeded, and the English

were too late—a state of affairs which reminds one of the old adage, “The more haste, the less speed.”

The Dutch had started long after the Portuguese, and later than the English, to the East, but they had had an advantage which the English had not, namely, that their knowledge of the East was already greater, owing to their early established trade with India, through Lisbon, so that the details of the business, and what was required by the natives, were thoroughly well known to them, and they became not only first in the field for trade, but entirely outstripped the English in their geographical discoveries during the seventeenth century.

Houtman’s voyage was long and weary. Gales and hurricanes pursued them; scurvy decimated the crews. Still they battled on; the name of Holland was at stake, and the grit of the nation was put to the test. Well it came out, too, for although they and the ships were all in a deplorable condition, they hung on like bulldogs.

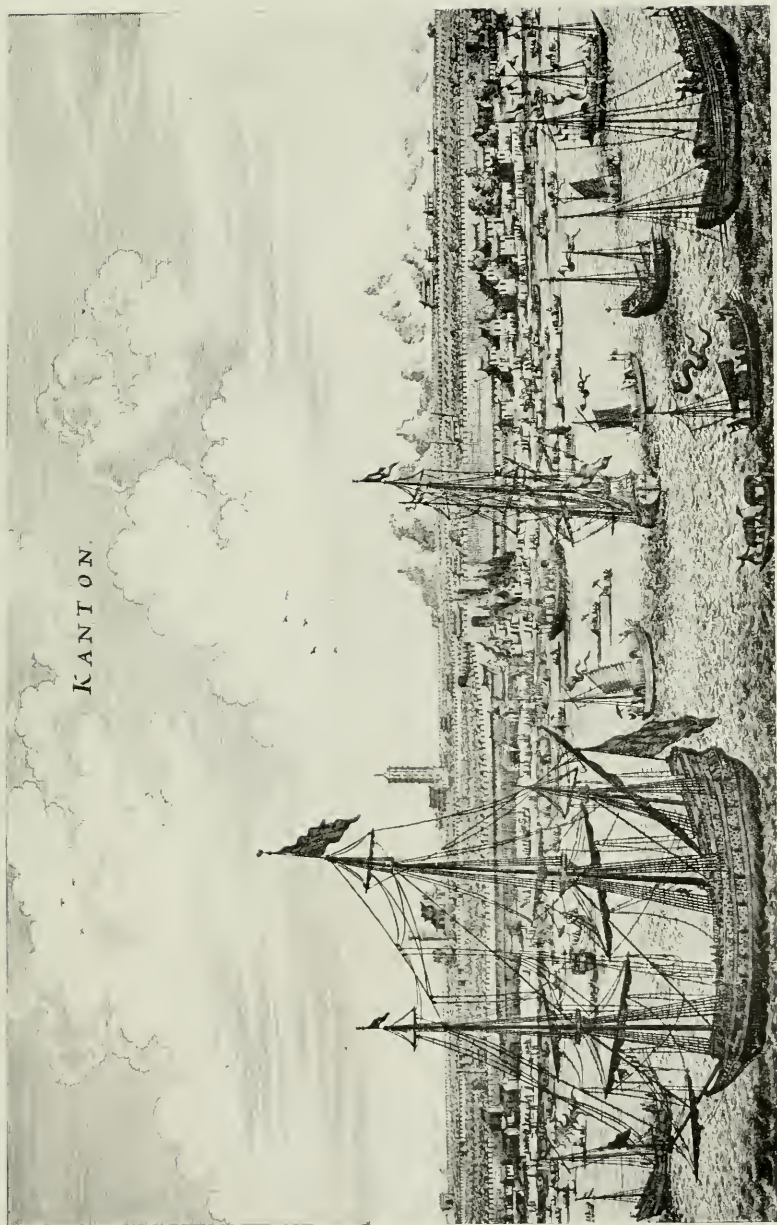
At Madagascar the fleet stopped to recruit, and then sailed for the Maldivé Islands.

On the 1st January, 1596, Sumatra was sighted, and in February they were in the Straits of Sunda. Here they managed to pick up natives who piloted them to Bantam, where they arrived on the 23rd June. The harbour was full of junks and praos,¹ a strange sight to these travellers, who were greatly impressed by it. They felt they had done something unique in reaching the Indies, and their feeling of importance swelled, especially on the arrival in the evening of six Portuguese, who came, they said, at the request of the king to inquire what they wanted.

The Portuguese, finding the Dutch only wished to trade, and not to conquer, became very polite, and gave all the particulars Houtman required. They told him all about Sir Thomas Cavendish’s visit, also about Captain James

¹ Tambangans, small vessels, lighters, wherries or sampans.

KANTON.



KANTON, 1855.

Lancaster's voyage to the Straits of Malacca and the havoc he had wrought amongst the Portuguese shipping with only one crank little ship. Next day the Portuguese sent off cattle, hogs, sheep, hens, onions, garlic, nuts, and all kinds of spices such as cloves, nutmegs and mace, and large stores of frankincense, camphor, diamonds, copper, iron, pewter, sulphur, pepper, and gum benjamin: Houtman was consequently greatly elated.

On the 30th June Cornelius Houtman had the long-boat got ready, and, dressed in his finest, made his official call on the king or governor and touched upon the small matter of a contract. The governor was suave and polite and offered coffee and sweetmeats, but was in no mood to discuss a contract. Houtman returned to the ship disappointed, but not disheartened, and the 1st July again proceeded on shore and called upon the governor, "who sat with his council."

First Commercial Treaty between the King of Bantam and the Dutch.—He was again civilly received, and after a considerable amount of protestation by him as to the innocence of his visit, the king, who had a mind to trade in the velvet and scarlet cloth they had on board—of which, as a sample, a present had already been received by him—eventually allowed Houtman to depart with the contract or treaty in his pocket duly signed and sealed. The governor, in dismissing him, said, "Go now and buy what you will in our market, you have free liberty," and Houtman, chuckling to himself, returned to his ship. The governor now having a mind to see the Dutch ships, sent his *shahbandar* (port officer) on board to prepare the way. This personage explained the greatness of the governor and the honour he was doing the Dutch nation by his visit, it being the first of its kind he had ever performed.

The governor was received by Houtman at the foot of the ladder and shown all over the ship; he admired the cannon,

and especially the green velvet which was shown him, a piece of which he took away. When he left the Dutch gave him a royal salute, which at first frightened him, but afterwards delighted him when he found he had suffered no injury. The airs and graces the visitors now gave themselves were absurd. Houtman styled himself "Captain-Major,"¹ and he went into the town with his men gorgeously apparelled in silk and satin, and with rapiers at their sides. The captain-major, as was the custom with the emperor, had a slave carrying a large Chinese "*payung*" (umbrella) over his head when he walked to the market, in order to shade his head from the sun, and that all might know of his greatness; another slave walked before him with a trumpet and another with a gong, which they were continually sounding. At all this display the king was annoyed, but on the people it had a great effect and assured them of the importance of the Dutch. The Portuguese were, however, incensed at the favour being shown to the Dutch, and while they were pretending to give them their support, proofs were not wanting that they were all the time falsely intriguing against them.

The Portuguese, finding ordinary speech in vain, tempted the king with a bribe of four thousand pieces-of-eight if he would only get his natives to destroy all the Dutchmen and place their ships in the hands of the Portuguese. News, however, reached the Dutch about what was being contemplated, and they took the necessary precautions against an attack. The king, on the advice of the Portuguese, prepared now a large banquet to which Houtman and all his officers were invited. It was to be a feast of great rejoicing, with much music and dancing. The Portuguese were not to be invited. The trap was cleverly laid, but the Dutch were far too wide awake to be caught. They sent a messenger to the king to inform him that they were quite prepared for

¹ Clerks on board styled themselves "Captain."

his attack when he was ready to make it, and advised him not to believe the odious reports circulated by the Portuguese, as they were peaceful traders and unlike the English pirates and marauders.¹ The king was surprised at this message, and at once disclaimed any hostile intentions and renewed his invitation for the feast. The Dutch, however, declined it. The Portuguese still continued to pour all sorts of stories in the king's ears, and these became at last so dreadful that he began to fear for his kingdom. An incident that occurred at this moment, which was naturally by the enemies of the Dutch made the most of, was the little *Dufke* coming into the river and taking soundings. Houtman, moreover, continued his unnecessary braggadocio and show, and in spite of warnings went ashore one day with seven of his seamen. The whole party was immediately arrested. The governor sent a message now to the rest of the Dutchmen to go on trading as no harm would come to them, and a few days later sent one of the imprisoned Dutchmen on board the *Mauritius*, accompanied by an interpreter and nine slaves, to say he would soon free Houtman, who was in prison for having used violent language. The Dutch, however, not trusting the governor, seized the interpreter and the nine slaves and placed them in chains. On hearing this the governor was very angry, and sent a message that if they were not instantly let loose Houtman and the other Dutchmen would be put to death. The interpreter was immediately released.

On the 4th September, Houtman being still in prison, a council was held on the *Mauritius*, and it was decided to send a letter to the governor demanding the prisoners' release, and threatening reprisals. As no reply was received, the following day at noon all the ships moved in close to the town. When they had drawn as near as they could, the

¹ Captain James Lancaster destroyed also some Javan shipping in the Straits of Malacca.

pinnaces were manned and sent out to seize three junks lying there. Two were taken, the Portuguese slaves on board asking for quarter, but the third junk was set on fire by the Portuguese to prevent the Dutch becoming masters of her.

This action nearly cost Houtman and the other Dutchmen their lives, and they sent a message to the *Mauritius* begging them to desist, otherwise they would be killed by "being tied to stakes and shot through with arrows," or else "be blown from the mouths of cannon, neither of which deaths they desired." At last the prisoners were ransomed and peace made with the governor. It did not last long, however, for the Portuguese soon stirred up more trouble, and finally the Dutch were forbidden to trade any longer at Bantam.

They sailed in November for Kakatra, arriving there on the 13th of that month. The king made a visit on board, and went away well satisfied. Afterwards the fleet sailed down the coast in sight of *Tuban* and *Sedayo* until it reached *Joartam*¹; here the natives tried to cut them off. In the fight that took place one hundred and fifty natives were killed and twelve Dutchmen.

The fleet now steered for Madura, where the king came off to pay an official call, but the Dutch not understanding, and fearing an attack, fired and killed the king.

They now considered the question of returning, having abandoned the *Amsterdam*, which was leaking and nearly sinking, and after a visit to Bali, which they reached on the 26th February, 1597, they turned homewards.

On the 10th August the coast of Holland was sighted, and the following day the *Mauritius* sailed to Texel, being followed three days later by the *Amsterdam*. The ships had returned, but the crews were utterly exhausted and were so weak that they could scarcely furl sail.

¹ Yortan.

As soon as it was known that the *Mauritius* and the *Amsterdam*, which had been given up for lost, had returned, the nation rejoiced from end to end, and great was the sensation caused in the mercantile circles of Amsterdam. The shrewd and calculating merchants saw at once that the whole trade of the East Indies was at their disposal, and could no longer be monopolised by the crafty Spaniards and the Portuguese. At once preparations were made by the old Company for following up their successes. Meantime, however, another group of merchants in Amsterdam had decided to equip a fleet for the East, but, like wise men, the two Companies amalgamated. The Dutchmen knew the proverbs that "time was money" and "unity was strength," which their English neighbours had still to learn. The names of the new group of merchants were *Vincent von Broucherst*, *Simon Jansz*, *Covert Dirrickz*, *Cornelius von Campen*, *Jacob Thomasz*, *Elbert Simonz Jencheyn*, and *John Harmansz*.

The inhabitants of Bantam were described by the home-comers as a very cleanly race, washing five or six times a day. The trade was said to be chiefly carried on by the Chinese, who arrived yearly in nine junks with porcelain, silks, damasks, gold thread, and iron pans, returning with pepper, cloves, mace, and other merchandise.

Some of these Chinese remained for a year selling the goods, returning when the next season for the junks to arrive came round. In that case they bought themselves a wife, or two or more, selling them again when leaving. From the account given of Houtman's stay at Bantam, it may be noted that "from Sumatra the natives said the Egyptian King Solomon got his gold wherewith he beautified the Temple and his palace, and in the Bible was called Orphuz, and also his spices were fetched from Banda by his ships."

Sumatra, of course, it is known, has been visited from

time immemorial by strangers in search of gold, silver, and other metals.

“The women of the town at this period were well kept from the men who were Jews. The rich men kept many who lay all day long without anything on chewing a nut called betel, their slaves around them, continually rubbing them.¹ The concubines wait on the married women. The women of the rich especially are very idle and do nothing all the day, except lie down, the slaves doing all the drudgery. The rich men also sit all day long upon mats, and chew betel, having ten or twenty women, according to their purse, about them.”

Jacatra (Old Batavia) when the Dutch visited it would seem to be almost of as much importance as Bantam (it was sometimes called Sunda Calapa). It had about three thousand houses at least, built fairly closely together. These were surrounded by high palisades of bamboo. The city was established on both sides of the great river. It was said of Jacatra when it was described, “Faith, this is ye principal town of traffik in these parts.”

The money that was used at this time in the exchange of Bantam was apparently chiefly copper :—

“Their copper money cometh out of China, and is almost as great and heavy as a quarter of a dollar and somewhat thicker, and in the middle having a square hole. Two thousand of them are worth a rial of eight, but of these there are not over-many. They used to hang them upon strings, and pay them, without telling, for they stand not so narrowly upon the number, for if they want but twenty-five or fifty it is as nothing. There is also leaden money of bad lead and very rough ; it hath in its middle a square hole. They are hanged by two hundred upon a string. They are commonly ten, eleven or twelve thousand to a rial of eight ; of these cometh a great quantity out of China, where they are made, so that there is a plenty or scarcity, and they rise and fall in value.”

Second Dutch Expedition to the East Indies.—The fleet

¹ The native *pijit* or *massage*.

that was despatched by the new Company consisted of six ships and two yachts, manned by five hundred and sixty seamen and commanded by James Cornelis van Neck, of Amsterdam. It sailed from Texel on the 1st May, 1598.

Whilst off the coast of Africa they encountered one of those terrible storms for which the Cape of Good Hope is noted; the ships were consequently dispersed in all directions. They all, however, reached Bantam. A good trade was done at once. Notwithstanding the endeavours of the Portuguese, who continued their sly and underhand practices, no trouble occurred, and the inhabitants began to find they had to do with real merchants, who paid liberally (or seemed to) for all they received and only desired to trade.

Four of the big ships returned to Texel on the 19th June, 1599. The other two and the yachts continued their voyage to the Spice Islands, and underwent many adventures off the island of Madura, when a treacherous attack was made upon them and a whole boat's crew carried off as prisoners. After several unsuccessful attempts to rescue the unfortunate prisoners they were ransomed.

At Amboina they were cordially welcomed, the inhabitants looking upon them as benefactors who would release them from the cruelties and tyranny of the Spaniards and Portuguese.

In August, 1599, they returned to Bantam, where there lay in the road two Portuguese barks.

Arrangements were now made for erecting a factory, although nothing further was done, and after presents to the governor they sailed on the 15th January, 1600, and arrived in Holland safely, with, however, only half their crews, the rest having died of scurvy.

In the meantime other fleets were got ready one after the other, the Dutch merchants being determined to sweep the Portuguese out of the Eastern Seas.

The anger and consternation amongst the Portuguese and Spaniards was considerable, and in January, 1601, the latter, seeing their power gradually slipping away, sent a fleet of thirty men-of-war to cut off some Dutch ships then sailing to the East. They attacked the Dutch squadron of eight ships and were badly beaten, some Portuguese ships richly laden from the East being seized and brought to Holland. The two Latin nations now found they had a foe worthy of their steel which had best be left alone.

The great number of Dutch companies which were now formed created a lot of trouble. Ships were despatched to the same ports, and the Amsterdam merchants found they were frequently competing against themselves; the prices of their own goods were lowered in Eastern ports, whilst the prices of Eastern produce were unnecessarily raised.

The States-General, hearing of this, called a meeting at The Hague of the directors of all the companies, both of Holland and Zealand, and compelled them to unite into one body for future ventures "to which their mightinesses joined their consent and their authority."

The treaty then agreed upon was confirmed by a patent from the sovereign power for twenty-one years, beginning from the 20th March, 1602.

The patent being issued, the Company became very important and made a joint stock of 6,600,000 livres.

With this sum they promised themselves great things, and fitted out a fleet of fourteen large ships which sailed in June. Two of these ships went to China and two to the Moluccas; the rest cruised to various ports. The Dutch were now on the road to success, and richly they deserved it; for with all their slowness, once a matter is decided, immediate action follows. Just so was it in the case of the trade to the East: once they had made up their minds that it could be done, they rushed fleet after fleet to the East without a stop. If to-day they are the masters in the East

Indian Archipelago they have only themselves to thank for it ; and a finer and a more honest body of merchants is to be found nowhere else in the world.

The British, with their usual lethargy, had meanwhile been dozing, but hearing now of the successes of the Dutch, they decided that if they wished any share in the good things of the East they must be up and doing.

Charter of the English East India Company.—The merchants of London applied to Queen Elizabeth for a charter, which was granted them on the 31st December, 1600. By this charter she created them a body corporate, with the style of “Ye Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to ye East Indies,” and “granted” the charter “under common seal.”

It appointed Thomas Smyth, Esquire, Alderman of London, to be their first governor, and established a court of twenty directors to be chosen annually on the 1st July, or within six days thereafter. The Queen likewise granted them authority to make by-laws, allowed them to export goods custom free for four years, and allowed them to export £30,000 in foreign coin, with licence to do the same every voyage provided they brought that sum by their trade out of foreign countries into this kingdom.

This charter was exclusive, and the Queen bound herself not to grant any charter to other merchants for the space of fifteen years ; but with this proviso, that if within this space this charter should appear to be in any respect detrimental to the public, it should upon two years' warning under the Privy Seal become void. If, however, from experience it should appear that this new Corporation was a public benefit, then she promised to renew this charter, with such additional clauses in their favour as should appear requisite. As soon as this charter was signed the Company began to raise a joint stock for carrying the project into execution, and this with such energy that in a very short

space of time they managed to collect £72,000, on the strength of which it was decided to fit out five ships to trade with the East Indies.

The ships were—the *Red Dragon*, 600 tons (flagship); the *Hector*, 300 tons (Captain Christopher Colthurst); the *Susanah*, 200 tons (Captain William Keeling¹); the *Ascension*, 200 tons (Captain Brand Roger Styles, factor); the *Guest*, 130 tons (which acted as store-ship).

The complement of men in these ships was four hundred and eighty, and the expense of equipping them £45,000, while the cargo they carried cost £27,000.

The fleet, which was under the command of Captain James Lancaster, who received the title of Admiral, sailed from Torbay on the 2nd May, 1601, arriving at Acheen in November, 1602. Here they found seventeen ships—Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Indian, and Chinese, from Guzerat, Calicut, Malabar, and Pegu—all on the same mission as themselves. The jealousy that arose was great, and the King of Acheen had to listen to many stories which each nation told of the others. Lancaster, endeavouring to hold himself above all this, called in full naval uniform, with his suite, on the king, by whom he was greeted very cordially. The letter from Queen Elizabeth and the presents were duly handed to him; these comprised a belt, a case of pistols, some plumes, looking-glasses, platters, spoons and glass toys, besides a pair of spectacles and an ewer of silver. The Company had made no mistake when they believed a few presents to be likely to carry far more weight in the counsels of the king than the Queen's letter, for they proved irresistible. The captain was immediately given the privilege he sought for, namely, freedom of trade and immunity from the payment of customs.²

¹ The discoverer of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, in the Indian Ocean.

² Lancaster also established commercial relations with Priaman, in Sumatra, a pepper centre.



THE VOLCANO OF BROMO. T. C. B. 1908

Commercial Treaty between the King of Acheen and the English.—Lancaster, however, was not yet satisfied, and when he returned to his ship, with the assistance of his senior officers he drew up on a double sheet of parchment a portentous treaty, which they afterwards translated into Portuguese and prevailed upon the king to sign. A copy of this instrument is at the India Office, and is the first treaty between a native prince and the East India Company and the earliest document received from any servant of the Company in the East. It reads as follows :—

“ I most mighty King of Acheen and Sumatra, to all persons that shall read this present writing, greeting.

“ In token of our special friendship, and upon many good considerations us moving, and chiefly upon the contemplating of the gracious letters received from the famous Queen of England, we of our especial mere motion do signify and declare to all people that we have entertained into our friendship and holy league our well-beloved Sirinissima Reina de Inglaterra to hold and keep true and faithful league with her according to the commendable course and law of all nations, unto whose subjects we wish much felicity, and therefore doth give and grant by these presents, for us our heirs and successors, as much as in us lieth to the said subjects of the most noble Queen of England our confederate and every one of them these articles, grants and privileges hereafter expressed and declared.”

Lancaster waited here three months without securing any pepper, and, getting at last impatient, he sailed away, leaving two factors, William Starkey and Styles, behind him to collect produce for the Company.

Before his departure the admiral “ went to Court once more,” where he had a long final conference.

“ The king presented him with a ring set with a very fine ruby, and three pieces of rich cloth of gold as a present to Her Majesty

Queen Elizabeth. He likewise presented the admiral with a ruby ring for himself, and when he was about to take his leave, he asked him if the English had the Psalms of David amongst them ; to which the admiral replied that they had and sung them daily. Then said the king, ' I and the nobles will sing a psalm to God for your prosperity,' which being finished, the king asked the admiral and his attendants to sing another psalm, though it were in their own language, and they instantly complied with the request. This being done, the admiral took his leave, and the king at parting said, ' I hope God will bless you all your voyage and conduct you safe to your own country, and if hereafter your ships return to this port, you shall find the same good usage you have hitherto experienced.' "

Lancaster left Acheen on the 9th November, and meeting a Portuguese ship of 900 tons in the Straits of Malacca, battered her to pieces first and then from her bulging hold hauled forth cloves and pepper. The ship was on her way from the Moluccas to the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, near Madraspatam, where the Company had built a fort for the protection of their produce from the Dutch. Lancaster now returned to Acheen, where he found that Styles and Starkey (or Starckey) had collected sufficient cargo to fill one ship ; this was put into the *Ascension*. Lancaster now took leave again of the King of Acheen, receiving from him a letter to his " Cousin Elizabeth, Queen of England, France and Ireland," together with several presents. These were given to Captain Brand, of the *Ascension*, together with letters and reports from the admiral, on receipt of which the *Ascension* sailed for England.¹ A short time afterwards the *Susanah*, also full of produce, was despatched to England.

Island of Pulo Run, in the Moluccas, ceded to the English.—
Meanwhile the *Guest*, which had been sent to the Moluccas, obtained the Island of Pulo Run² Treaty, thus carrying out

¹ Her cargo consisted of 210,000 lbs. of pepper, 1,100 lbs. of cloves, 6,000 lbs. of cinnamon, 4,080 lbs. of gum-lacquer.

² In the Moluccas.

the admiral's instructions to plant the British flag securely in these islands.

As soon as the *Ascension* had sailed, Lancaster, with the *Dragon* and the *Hector*, proceeded to Bantam, where they arrived on the 16th December, 1602, and as they entered the roads "shot off such a thundering peal of ordnance as had never been rung there before."

Lancaster brought the King of Bantam a letter from Queen Elizabeth and many presents, and was received more as the princely ambassador of a great monarch than as the representative of a mercantile trading company.

First Commercial Treaty between the King of Bantam and the English.—After his interview or "audience" he was granted similar conditions to those he had obtained at Acheen, which amounted to permission being given to trade, and this in spite of the protests of the Dutch.

First English Factory opened in Java.—A factory, or "house of trade," was opened at Bantam and the cargo on board the ships landed. By the 10th February, 1603, the ships were all reloaded for the return journey.

When Lancaster left Bantam on the 21st February, 1603, he left behind him a factory under the charge of William Starkey, as head agent, with three factors and eight clerks, as also a pinnace to go backwards and forwards to the Moluccas, under command of Thomas Tudde (or Tudd) with thirteen men.

First Dutch Factory opened in Java.—As a result of this example the Dutch opened a factory at Bantam in October, 1603.¹ The founder was Admiral Wybrand van Warwyck, who had arrived with a fleet on the 19th April, 1603, at Bantam. He placed in charge as factor Frans Wittert, with nine clerks, and gave him a liberal capital to work with. The building was of stone on a piece of ground

¹ J. Hageman, "De Engelschen op Java."

bought by the Dutch, and was situated in the western part of the town.

The natives soon preferred dealing with the English to the Dutch, as the former's methods were generally more liberal. The prices, however, were little enough as a matter of fact, for pepper fetched less than a fortieth of the price given in London.

This was the beginning of commercial competition between the two nations, and of a long story of jealousy and intrigue which was to go on for an interminable period. Added to this, things never went well with the English in Bantam, and there were immense disadvantages to their lucrative trade. For instance, whether from diet or disease, poison or fighting, scarcely a day elapsed without one of the Company's servants dying—a matter of serious consequence among so small a community.

February, 1603.—When Lancaster arrived in London, despite the prevailing depression caused by the plague, which had accounted for at least two of the directors of the East India Company, he received a most flattering and enthusiastic welcome. He was also called to Court and knighted.

The Company had done well, having so far received in all more than a million pounds of spices.

In the East the Dutch and English, who were doing their utmost to displace the Portuguese, who were scarcely ever a match for them, kept a jealous eye on each other. There were continual quarrels and bickerings over petty trading matters, both being desirous of gaining the monopoly of the pepper and spice markets. The English maintained they had a greater right to it than the Dutch, inasmuch as Drake had planted the British flag in the Moluccas in 1578 and in Bantam in 1579, which acts had been confirmed and repeated by Cavendish in 1587. The Dutch, however, from their point of view maintained the greater right was theirs

on account of the fact that in 1596 Cornelius Houtman, with a royal charter in his pocket, not only planted the flag in Bantam, but erected factories in the Moluccas—this being quite a different thing to actions of the half-pirates¹ sailing round the world under the British flag; they also pointed out that Lancaster, who was the first Englishman who actually sailed under a charter from the sovereign, did not erect factories at Acheen and Bantam until 1602–3, or six years after Houtman already had a treaty in his pocket, which would have empowered him to do so had he wished. It can thus be easily seen that the elements were there for strife from the beginning, and at a time when these old sea-dogs led rough lives, amused themselves in a rough manner and died rough deaths, every opportunity was taken by the individual members of the two nations to make it as unpleasant as they possibly could for one another.

This state of things continued until 1611, matters going from bad to worse, until at last the English, getting rather the worst of it, complained to the Foreign Secretary in England, who in turn brought the question over to The Hague, where diplomacy with its devious channels gradually smoothed matters over.

The English were also having trouble in India with the Portuguese, who were doing their utmost to hinder their trade. They were therefore to all intents and purposes at war with the Dutch in the East Indies and with the Portuguese in India.

The work was too great for them—the Company had not the means to undertake it. Their trade was bound in the end to suffer somewhere, and so it did.

In 1611 Captain Thomas Best, in command of the *Dragon*, with three other ships under him, sailed for Surat, where he arrived in six months. Here he built a factory and began to trade. He had hardly, however, settled down before

¹ Drake and Cavendish.

the viceroy at Goa sent a fleet to destroy him. It consisted of four large galleons and twenty-six galleys, in which there were five thousand men and one hundred and thirty cannon. The Portuguese fleet was, however, fortunately beaten off, and the factory with all its valuables saved.

The English now thought that some sort of an arrangement with the Dutch Company would be advisable; but after a lot of parleying nothing very substantial was gained by either side, the English Company not feeling itself justified in accepting the conditions offered by the Dutch, which they characterised as "giving too little, and asking too much."¹ All questions or disputes on both sides were, however, laid bare, and it was confidently asserted and imagined that things could now go on harmoniously between the two nations, and that an end had been put to all the disputes between the two Companies for twenty years at least. It fell out, however, quite otherwise, for shortly after this the Dutch Company's factor in the East Indies, who was now styled Governor-General and lived at Batavia as headquarters, attacked *Lantore* with a large fleet, and, having defeated the natives, fired the town, plundered the English factory which had been established there, taking away the cloth, money, and bullion belonging to the English East India Company, together with 23,000 lbs. of mace and 150,000 lbs. of nutmegs. The English factors that were living there were stripped naked, bound and beaten, thrown over the town wall, and afterwards dragged through the city in chains. The English factory at Pulo Run shared the same fate. The Dutch, of course, had their side of the story when representations were made at The Hague, but the facts remained. Proper satisfaction for this seems never to have been demanded by the British Government.

The foregoing troubles at *Lantore* were, however, as nothing to what was to follow at *Amboyna* in 1622.

¹ This is the origin of the famous phrase.

At Amboyna the English Company had five factories for the collection of cloves ; the chief one was at Amboyna itself, whilst the others were at various points not far away. The governor was a certain George Muschamp,¹ who was later replaced by Gabriel Towerson, who had been factor at Bantam.² He has been described as a good-natured, incautious, but reliable servant, indolent, possibly, and fond of pomp—a thing which seems inseparable from a long residence in the Indies, but was probably accentuated in Towerson's case owing to his marriage with a native, who, he said, had royal blood in her veins. The Dutch had also a factory and a fort here, armed with six large cannon and very strongly built. For two years the Dutch and English bore with each other, and although disputes continually occurred, the governor at Batavia generally smoothed matters over. Affairs, however, at last reached boiling point ; differences not only continued but were daily occurrences, and the governor at Batavia began treating them, possibly from their very tediousness, with more indifference, until on the 11th February, 1622, a Japanese soldier in the castle at Amboyna asked the sentinel what was the strength of the fort and how many Dutchmen there were in it. The Dutch being apprehensive and suspicious of these questions, seized the Japanese as soon as they heard of the matter and tortured him on the rack for three or four days. At the same time an Englishman named Abel Price, the chirurgeon, was lying in the Dutch prison for threatening when drunk to set a Dutchman's house on fire. This man they brought to the Japanese, and stated that he had confessed whilst under torture that the English had intended seizing the castle and had asked his assistance. At the same time they informed Price that unless he likewise confessed he would also be tortured as badly as the Japanese

¹ See Chapter XII., "Batavia."

² See Chapter XII., "Bantam."

had been, if not worse. At first he declined to do so, but under the rack he admitted the truth of the statements of the Japanese. The following day the Dutch sent for Towerson and the rest of the Englishmen, who, they informed them, were accused of being guilty of conspiring to surprise the castle. On their appearing before the governor they were all seized, *Gabriel Towerson* being committed to prison under a strong guard, whilst *Emmanuel Thomson* was placed in a dungeon; the others, *John Beaumont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Timothy Johnson*, *John Fardo*, and *Robert Brown*, were sent on board the Dutch ships lying in the harbour. The same day the governor gave orders for the apprehension of the rest of the Englishmen in the outlying factories — namely, *Samuel Colson*, *John Clark*, and *George Sharrock*, who were at the factory at Hitto; *John Sadler*, from Larica; *John Pocol*, *John Wetheral*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, from Cambello; and *William Griggs* (who was brought in irons), from Lobo.

These Englishmen, a mere handful, were supposed to be planning for the capture of the fortress held by two hundred soldiers and twenty-four guns. Towerson rightly said it was ridiculous.

Timothy Johnson was now the first to be tortured; he acknowledged nothing, because there was nothing to acknowledge. Red-hot irons, however, applied to the soles of his feet did what was needed, and he was then racked for having refused evidence at first; under this torture he acknowledged everything that was suggested to him.

The Dutch governor van Speult, a man of a bad type and weak character, now had the matter conducted from its legal side and in strict conformity with the law. The public prosecutor, or Dutch "fiscal," who made a notarial account of all the proceedings, was an unscrupulous coadjutor to his master, and was as wax in his hands.

Johnson, after having been cruelly burnt and racked,

was followed by Thomson, who was treated likewise, despite his grey hairs. The "fiscal" made minutes of all that the prisoners confessed.

Beaumont was now tortured with the water ordeal, a most diabolical and inhuman proceeding. The victim was made fast and stretched out, a cloth tied round his neck, and jars of water were poured into the cloth, the result being the same as drowning. William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramsey, and Robert Brown were now brought from the ship *Rotterdam*, which lay in the roads, and at the same time Samuel Colson, William Griggs, John Clark, George Sharrock, and John Sadler had to undergo their turn at the rack and water torture. Collins when confronted, seeing his companions yelling in agony, asked the "fiscal," "What would you have me to say? Tell me, and though it be false, yet will I speak."

The "fiscal" was in a rage, and answering, "You mock me," he gave orders to rack him to the utmost. When almost expiring under the torture he acknowledged that Towerson was the ringleader, and gave all the details as to how the plot was to have been carried out; with his eyes bulging out of his head and all reason gone, he was taken away.

The next were tortured first with fire, then with water, and finally racked. They were hoisted up by the hands with a cord on a large door, where they were made fast upon two staples of iron fixed on both sides at the top of the door-posts; their arms and legs, which were two feet from the ground, were stretched to the utmost; the cloth was then bound round their neck and face very tightly and kept filled with water. When they swooned or fainted they were taken down, and after a few minutes to recover they were hoisted up again. After this had been done many times the bodies of some were swollen twice their ordinary size; their cheeks were like bladders, and their eyes bulged out of

their heads. Still the majority stood it without confessing anything, until they burnt the soles of their feet with candles, sometimes doing it several times, and their elbows, the palms of their hands, and their armpits.

At last it came to Towerson's turn, and on oath he declared there was absolutely no truth in the reports as to a plot against the Dutch. Thereupon they brought several of those who had confessed before him, and he charged them as they would answer at the dreadful Day of Judgment to speak nothing but the truth. These rough men fell upon their knees before him, praying for God's sake to be forgiven for whatever they had formerly confessed, which was mostly false and uttered only to avoid further torment. These men were therefore once more tortured, and in the end again admitted that their former statements were correct. When Colson was told to sign what he confessed he inquired of the "fiscal" upon whose head he thought the sin would lie, whether upon him who was forced to confess what was false or upon him who forced it.

Thus far Towerson in virtue of his position had been spared the pain and ignominy of the torture chamber and he had been merely condemned to death.

Van Speult was, however, not satisfied, and he decided he must make a confession; he was taken to the torture chamber, and two large jars of water were seen to follow him; those who saw this shuddered. What Towerson went through and suffered no one will ever know. He was carried out with drawn and livid features, his whole appearance ghastly; but he had confessed. Eight days were occupied in this work of torture, and the whole air reeked with an unbearable smell of burnt flesh. On the ninth day (February 23rd), when human nature could stand no more, a surgeon was allowed to go round and dress the sores. The poor victims were in a dreadful state; some of the wounds were putrefied and had maggots in them, and from Clark



KANDJENG PANGERAÑ ARIO TJOKRO NAGERO. (LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE CAVALRY; OFFICER IN THE ORANGE NASSAU ORDER.)

and one or two of the others it is said "great maggots dropped from them in most noisome and loathsome manner."

On the 28th February, the day of execution, the cruel gaolers allowed lots to be drawn for one life; it fell to Collins. Beaumont was also respited, being a particular friend of the Dutchmen; Sharrock, too, was pardoned.

The execution was duly carried out, "a cloth of black velvet," we are told, by the special consideration of the governor, being prepared for Towerson's body to fall on, but we also learn that this being now "spoiled and unsaleable" was charged to the English Company. With the English one Portuguese, Augustin Perez, and about eleven Japanese also suffered death.

Before the execution it would appear as if all the victims endeavoured to leave some record of their innocence, but only a few succeeded. Colson wrote in the flyleaf of his prayer-book, which was sewed up in a bed:—

"Aboard the *Rotterdam* lying in the roads of Amboyna in irons.

"Understand that I, Samuel Colson, the late factor of Hitto, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracy, and for anything I know must die of it; wherefore having no better means to make my innocence known, have writ this in this book, hoping some good Englishman will see it. I do here swear upon my salvation, as I hope by His death and passion to have redemption for my sinnes, that I am clean of all such conspiracy, neither do I know any Englishman guilty thereof, nor other creature in the world. As this is true, God bless me. SAMUEL COLSON."

He also wrote at the beginning of the Psalms:—

"The Japoners were taken with some villainy, and being most tyrannously tortured, were asked if the English had any hand in the plot, which torture made them say Yes, then was master Thomson and Mr. Johnson, Mr. Collins, John Clark, brought to execution, and were burned under the armpits, and hands, and soles of the feet, with another most miserable torment to drink water, some of them almost tortured to death, and were

forced to confess that which they never knew, by reason of the torment which flesh and blood is unable to endure. Then were the rest of the Englishmen called one by one amongst which I was one, being wished to confess, or else I must go to torment, withal caused Mr. Johnson who was before tormented, to witness against me, or else he should be tortured again, which rather than he should endure, he said what they would have him speak. Then must I confess I never knew, or else go to torment which rather than I would suffer I did confess that which, as I shall be saved before God Almighty is not true, being forced for fear of torment. Then did they make us witness against Captain Towerson, and last made Captain Towerson confess all, being for fear of most cruel torment for which we must all die. As I mean and hope to have pardon for my sins, I know no more than the child unborn of this business written with my own hand. SAM. COLSON."

William Griggs, who had before accused Captain Towerson, wrote the following words in his table-book :—

"We whose names are here specified, JOHN BEAUMONT, WILLIAM GRIGGS, ABEL PRICE, ROBERT BROWN, which do here lie prisoners in the *Rotterdam*, being apprehended for conspiracy for blowing up the castle of Amboyna, we being judged to death, which we through torment were constrained to speak that which we never meant, nor once imagined, the which we take upon our deaths and salvation. They tortured us with that extreme torment of fire and water that flesh and blood could not endure, and this we take upon our deaths that they have put us to death guiltless of our accusation, so therefore that we desire that they shall understand this that our employers may understand these wrongs, and that yourselves would have a care to look to yourselves, for their intent was to have brought you in also, they asked concerning you, which if they had tortured us, we must have confessed you also, and farewell, written in the dark."

By the natives this execution was supposed to be a great triumph for the Dutch over the English, whose standing in the Moluccas was now ruined.

A very long account of these transactions was made by

van Speult and his rascally "fiscal" (who undoubtedly really did think the Englishmen were plotting against them) to his superiors at Batavia, but there does not appear to be any mention of torture in it. Later on it was reluctantly admitted that "torture of a civil sort had been used."

But the rack, the burning with hot irons, the water ordeal, the splitting of the toes, and lancing of the breast, and putting in gunpowder and then firing it, all these can hardly come under a category of "a civil sort," and indeed did not. The official deed was signed by Harman van Speult, Laurence de Maerschalk, Clement Herffeboom, Harman Crayvauger, Peter van Zanten, Leonard Clock.

When the story of this massacre reached London the indignation of the people was great, and the King is supposed to have openly wept. Representations were made at The Hague again and again, but nothing very much was done, and reparation was never given. Some Dutch ships were seized and brought to Portsmouth, but though the King threatened war, the Dutch knew he was in no position to carry out his threats as the public revenue was depressed. Even van Speult, although he was apparently removed, went unpunished, but the arch-villain met a violent death later on, when one of the largest Dutch ships of forty-four guns on which he happened to be ran aground at Mocha, in the Red Sea, and fell into the hands of the Arabs, who showed no mercy. Thus the matter ended.

If it was thought that the Englishmen now, after all these remonstrances, would receive a little more consideration at the hands of the Dutch, a great mistake was made; if possible, matters grew worse. The Company's servants were ill-treated and abused everywhere, and were gradually crushed, so to say, out of existence in China, Japan, Siam, and Cambodia, while the situation of the Company in Java and Sumatra, and even in India, was far from happy.

The truth is that the Dutch were taking matters more

seriously, more earnestly, and more energetically than the English, and moreover were being supported by their Government, which desired the monopoly of the East.

Can we blame them if they made things unpleasant for their competitors ?

The Dutch were in point of fact doing in the East Indies what the English themselves wished to do—that is to say, ousting their neighbours.

It was a life-and-death struggle, in which the Dutch were victorious, and this was entirely due to the Dutch establishment in the East and their fleets at all the principal stations being invariably greater than those of the English.

The breach, of course, between the two nations as time went on became greater, and the weaker merchants had to give way.

THE DUTCH PERIOD

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN THE EAST

NOTWITHSTANDING an attempt on the part of the Sultan of Jacatra¹ to prevent them, the Dutch opened their trading house here in 1610. It was very soon discovered, however, that the natives, who were a mixture of Malays with a strain of Chinese, Arabian, and Hindu blood, were of a treacherous character, so that a fort was built as a place of refuge. This was in 1612, and on the strength of it the factor, Jan Pieterzoon Coen, who saw the strategical advantages of Jacatra, recommended his being granted the high-sounding titular dignity of Director-General.

From this day Jacatra became the real seat of the Dutch Government in the East Indies, although Amboyna was nominally still so, as it had been for many years already. According to old records the English flag was first shown at Jacatra by Sir Henry Middleton in 1604, and again when Captain William Keeling, of Cocos-Keeling Island fame, visited the town on the 8th January and the 20th August, 1609, and sold gunpowder to the king.

In 1610 the English "house of trade," or factory, was opened by Captain David Middleton with a staff from Bantam. Some think it was opened by Captain William Keeling on his second visit to this port in 1609. Be that as it may, it seems fairly certain that it was established at Jacatra before the Dutch built theirs.

The factories of the Dutch and English almost faced each

¹ Jacatra, until the fall of Pajajaran, formed part of that kingdom. Afterwards it came under the influence of the Sultan of Cheribon, and later of Matarem.

other, the former, it is said, being on the east side of the "great river" and the latter on the west side.¹

As might have been expected, servants of the two nations were not long in falling out with each other, and continued trouble was the order of the day. The Dutch seeing it coming, fortified themselves also on the island of Ourust, in the roads of Jacatra, in spite of a protest from the Sultan of Bantam, to whom the island belonged.

On the 22nd October, 1618, the Dutch began the erection of a still stronger and larger fort at Jacatra commanding the water passage, which was completed within a year. The English seeing this, determined not to be left behind, and, despite a protest from Coen, hurriedly built a fort for themselves with the help of natives.

The Dutch fort was no sooner ready than Coen attacked the English with a large force, demolishing their fort and destroying their factory. As a punishment for this a large English squadron which was at Bantam sailed for Jacatra as soon as they heard of the catastrophe and destroyed nearly the entire Dutch squadron lying there. Coen, rather ashamed of himself no doubt, fled in a ship to the Moluccas, leaving Jacatra, over which he had just been appointed governor-general, to look after itself.

When the English ships withdrew and affairs once more resumed their normal aspect, the place was baptised by the Dutch *Batavia* on the 12th March, 1619, and Coen on his return from the Moluccas on the 28th March decided it should be the capital of the Dutch East Indies and the headquarters of the East India Company.

The English were now theoretically under his jurisdiction, although they were left as much alone as was possible.

The first thing Coen now did was to attack the sultan and properly defeat him, after which the foundation of the "gem

¹ Exactly where they stood is described in Chapter XII., "Towns in Java," *Batavia*.



THE ROADS AND TOWN OF BATAVIA, 1655.

of the East " was laid and preparations made for housing a large army and carrying on great trade.

The aim of the Dutch was in the main purely commercial, and it was many years, therefore, before proper law and order reigned in this far-off country. Their power, however, grew rapidly, and the stronger they became the more difficult it grew for the English Company, who finally held a position of mere toleration.

As soon as the Dutch were firmly established and could dispose of large and strong fleets, together with a sufficient proportion of fighting men, they made ready for further conquests in other Eastern lands, with Bantam as the starting point. The methods of the Dutch were always slow but sure, but an abundance of energy and a quite remarkable amount of forethought in all they undertook, besides their readiness and willingness to settle for life in any new colony, made them more than a match for the roving English, whom they apparently outwitted and outnumbered everywhere.

A rapid glance at the history of the Dutch civilisation of the East will perhaps not be altogether out of place before the story of Java is continued.

Dutch Colony of Formosa (1624—1664).—In 1624 the Dutch captured a large part of Formosa, and their first measure was to form a colony here and build defences. A fort was thrown up on a sand-bank at the entrance of the harbour of Tanvan (Tanvanfoo), which was after four years replaced by "Fort Zeelandia," a very large and substantial structure. Besides this they had a stone fort known as "Utrecht" quite close, on a hill commanding Fort Zeelandia. Another fort was built later not far off at the mouth of the Formosa river, which they called "Fort Provintia"; the bricks for these forts were brought from Batavia. The Dutch at once sought for friendly relations with the savage tribes in the neighbourhood, and by their just and fair

treatment, which was different from what these had been accustomed to from the despised Chinese, they were soon enabled to gain their full confidence and affection; the Chinese and Japanese merchants who were there already began, however, to feel the trade which they had monopolised for years anything but secure, and trouble soon ensued, especially when the Dutchmen put an export duty on sugar and rice, the two staple articles even at that early date. The Japanese complained to the court at Yedo, who in turn annoyed the Dutchmen at their factory at Nagasaki. Still the Dutchmen, nothing daunted, rushed along as usual at a pace no other nation could keep up with, intent only on obtaining the maximum of financial gains in the shortest time possible. They exported as much as 80,000 piculs of sugar to Japan in 1627, silk piece-goods, porcelain, and gold to Batavia; and they imported into Formosa paper, spices, amber, tin, lead, and cotton. In addition, Formosa products, such as rice, sugar, rattans, deer-skins, deer horns, and drugs, were exported to China. The trade was fairly considerable, for at this time in one year five cargoes of raw silk valued at 621,855 guilders were sent to Japan, and two cargoes of silk piece-goods valued at 559,493 guilders to Batavia and Holland. The whole Chinese trade amounted to one million gold dollars a year, and generally meant 100 per cent. profit. The expenses of the Dutch colony were 214,000 guilders, and after all these were settled there remained over for the Batavia Government 85,000 guilders. The employees of the Company in Formosa, as elsewhere, were miserably paid, and were accordingly obliged to engage in trade on their own account to recompense themselves.

The Spanish, who were established in North Formosa at Keelung, were exceedingly annoyed to find the Dutch making such progress in the south of the island, but were powerless to do anything. In 1627 the first Dutch missionary, George

Candidius, arrived, and at once set about learning the language, which he soon mastered. Most of the villages round Fort Zeelandia were Christianised, and in each of them schoolmasters were put to instruct both young and old in the Scriptures. In 1629 the Dutch decided that it was no longer desirable that the Spanish should remain in the island, and decided, if possible, to get rid of them by pacific means, only resorting to force if they proved intractable; but Peter Nuits, the Dutch governor at Formosa, received no encouragement from Batavia, where they were much too occupied to spare any more ships at the moment.

In 1641, however, the following despatch was sent by the Dutch governor in the south to the Spanish governor in the north:—

“To Gonsalo Portilis, Governor of the Spanish Fortress, in the Island of Keelung.

“Sir,—I have the honour to communicate to you that I have received the command of a considerable naval and military force with the view to making me master by civil means or otherwise of the fortress Santissima Trinidad in the isle of Keelung, of which your Excellency is the governor.

“In accordance with the usages of Christian nations to make known their intentions before commencing hostilities, I now summon your Excellency to surrender. If your Excellency is disposed to lend an ear to the terms of capitulation which we offer and to make delivery to me of the fortress of Santissima Trinidad, and other citadels, your Excellency and your troops will be treated in good faith according to the usages and customs of war, but if your Excellency feigns to be deaf to this command there will be no other remedy than recourse to arms. I hope that your Excellency will give careful consideration to the contents of this letter and avoid the useless effusion of blood, and I trust that without delay, and in a few words, you will make known to me your intentions.

“May God protect your Excellency many years.

“The friend of your Excellency,

“PAULUS TRADENIUS.

“Fort Zeelandia,

“August 26th, 1641.”

The reply was courteous but formal :—

“ To the Governor of Tanvan.

“ Sir,—I have duly received your communication of August 26th, and in response I have the honour to point out to you, that as becomes a good Christian who respects the oath he has made before his king, I cannot and will not surrender the forts demanded by your Excellency, as I and my garrison have determined to defend them.

“ I am accustomed to find myself before great armies, and I have engaged in numerous battles in Flanders, as well as other countries, and so I beg of you not to take the trouble of writing me further letters of like tenor—may each one defend himself as best he can.

“ We are Spanish Christians, and God in whom we trust is our Protector.

“ May the Lord have mercy on you.

“ Written in our principal fortress, San Salvador, the 6th of September, 1641.

“ GONSALO PORTILIS.”

In anticipation of attack, the Spanish commander asked Manila to send reinforcements, which were the more necessary as just before the Dutch governor's letter was received the authorities had withdrawn three out of the four companies stationed in North Formosa.

The reinforcements arrived, and consisted of eight Spanish soldiers with a little ammunition. This was all that could be spared, as the Spanish were fighting in the Moluccas and required all the men they could. In August, 1642, the Dutch, after a six days' incessant bombardment, captured the Spanish forts, with forty pieces of large artillery, a large quantity of ammunition, 25,000 dollars in silver and goods to the value of more than one million dollars. The Dutch were now complete masters of Formosa, and erected forts at both Tainsin and Keelung in the north. The former still exists and is the office of the British consulate.

Round Keelung, six years later, the Dutch controlled forty-eight villages, and their rule extended everywhere in the island. In 1650 the number of villages controlled had risen to two hundred and ninety.

The East India Company was now making an enormous revenue from taxes alone, and the island was well ruled by it. There were at least five or six thousand Dutchmen now living in the " Beautiful Isle " with their wives and children, and their occupation of the island seemed at this moment likely to be a permanent one, when there appeared a Chinese pirate, Koxinga by name, who in 1662, after a prolonged war, defeated the Dutch and caused Fort Zeelandia to surrender. The Dutch authority in Formosa now ended, for although Keelung was again taken by them in 1664, it was abandoned in 1668.

When the news reached Batavia that Formosa had been lost, and that the garrison with all its stores had capitulated, the Government was somewhat disheartened, and with this ended all thoughts of the conquest of the Portuguese citadel of Macao, which they had firmly made up their minds to reduce and make a Dutch possession.

In the Formosa business they had lost, besides, one thousand two hundred soldiers, seven ships, and property valued at £835,000, which fact caused the Company to take thought before it launched out into further ventures of a speculative kind. It was later on argued to the directors in Europe when explanations were demanded that the acquisitions and successes of the Company in the Moluccas, Malacca, Celebes, and Ceylon more than counterbalanced its loss of Formosa, which, though a blow, did not actually affect its commercial prosperity or its superiority anywhere else; nay, that, in point of fact, it strengthened the Company in holding that which it had now in its possession.

This may have been so to a certain extent, for the enemies of the Dutch, the English, Portuguese, and Spanish, who

had now been driven afield, were looking out to find an opportunity to turn them out of their acquisitions. At the same time there is no doubt that the loss of Formosa was a distinct blunder, for which, as far as one can perceive, there was little or no excuse, for had the newly-appointed governor of Formosa, who was named Coyett, a Swede by birth, taken things firmly in hand, as he was instructed to do by the authorities at Batavia, who sent money and all the ships they could spare, in all likelihood the result would have been very different. As it was, a strong suspicion was aroused as to whether this "outsider" was not a traitor to the Dutch, for although he proceeded to Tainvanfoo, in accordance with his instructions, he made the excuse that, on account of the Chinese pirate Koxinga being rather tightly drawn round Fort Zeelandia, he saw no advantage in landing to take charge; yet he deposited there all the money belonging to the Company, to the extent of £12,000, and other valuables which he had brought with him instead of withdrawing all he could, as he should have done if he thought the citadel must fall. In any case, in allowing in the terms of capitulation all property and money to be handed over to Koxinga, he committed a mistake which nearly cost him his life, for on his return to Batavia he was seized and charged with duplicity and sentenced to imprisonment for life, narrowly escaping death. It would almost seem as if he had richly deserved his punishment.¹

¹ The following is a list of the senior Dutch clergymen who served in Formosa, with the period of their arrival in the island and the date of their departure or death:—

	From	Till
Georgius Candidius . . .	1627	1631
Robertus Junius . . .	1629	1641
Georgius Candidius . . .	1633	1637
Assuerus Hoosgeteyn . . .	1636	1637 (died in Formosa in this year).
Joannes Lindeborn . . .	1637	1639
Gerardus Leeuvins . . .	1637	1639 (died in Formosa in this year).



ROAD TO TJIPANAS GAROET.



THE VOLCANO OF SALAK. (FROM THE HOTEL "BELLE VUE," BUITENZORG.)

Dutch Settlement at Firando, Nagasaki, Japan (1611—1812).—The golden age of the Dutch in the East was between 1640 and 1750. They ruled and colonised everywhere. Ceylon, Java, and Formosa were in their possession; Malacca was taken from the Portuguese in 1641; and they monopolised all the trade, so to say, of Sumatra, the Moluccas, Amoy, Ningpo, Canton, Cambodin, Siam, Tonquin, and Japan, besides controlling the only recruiting station on the voyage to and from the East, the Cape of Good Hope. In India they were doing a large and lucrative trade, and there is no doubt, had there been only a little more energy dis-

List of senior Dutch clergymen—*contd.*

	From	Till	
Joannes Schotanus . . .	1638	1639	..
Joannes Bavius . . .	1640	1647	..
Robertus Junius . . .	1641	1643	..
N. Mirkinius . . .	1641	—	..
Simon van Breen . . .	1643	1647	..
Joannes Happartus . . .	1644	1646	..
Daniel Gravius . . .	1647	1651	..
Jacobus Vertrecht . . .	1647	1651	..
Antonius Hambroek . . .	1648	1661	.. (beheaded by Koxinga).
Gilbertus Happartius . . .	1649	1652	..
Joannes Cruyf . . .	1649	1662	..
Rutger Tesschemaker . . .	1651	..	..
Joannes Ludgens . . .	1651	..	} All died before 1665, or about that time.
Guillelmus Brakel . . .	1652	..	
Gilbertus Happartius . . .	1653	..	
Joannes Bakker . . .	1653	..	
Abrahamus Dapper . . .	1654	..	
Robertus Sassenius . . .	1654	..	..
Marcus Masius . . .	1655	1661	..
Petrus Mus . . .	1655	1662	.. (beheaded by Koxinga).
Joannes Campius . . .	1655	1662	.. (beheaded by Koxinga).
Hermannus Buschof . . .	1655	1657	..
Arnoldus A. Winsem . . .	1655	1662	.. (beheaded by Koxinga).
Joannes de Leonardis . . .	1656	1662	..
Jacobus Ampzingius . . .	1656	1662	.. (beheaded by Koxinga).
Gulielmus Vinderus . . .	1657	1659	.. (died in Formosa this year).

played in this quarter, they would have secured the entire monopoly and, as a sequel, possibly the government as well.

There was no withstanding their competition—it was not spasmodic like the Englishman's, but it was regular, sustained, and thorough.

In 1611 the Dutch sent their first ship to Japan ; they called at the port of Nagasaki, and were well received by the Japanese, who were already tiring of the Portuguese, who had been established there nearly seventy years. Twenty-eight years later the Dutch had entirely replaced them. The reason was plain : they were tactful and more complacent than the Portuguese, for, seeing the great profits which were likely to result to their Company from so advantageous a branch of trade, they decided to maintain themselves in good credit and favour with this nation and blindly and passively obey whatever commands were made upon them, however hard and unreasonable they might appear.

Their first warehouse was built in the island of Firando, at Nagasaki, where they remained until 1641. They were not allowed to move off this island on any plea whatever, unless with the special permission of the governor of Nagasaki and under escort. The first Dutch governor here was one Kockebecker, about 1635, and one of his first acts was to assist the Japanese against the people of Simbara, where there were about forty thousand Japanese who had been Christianised by the Portuguese, and whom the emperor, to show his intense hatred for this latter race, condemned to death. For months they had been besieged, but there were no signs of their giving in, although they were reduced to the most desperate counsels by the many unparalleled cruelties and torments which many thousands of their brethren had already suffered, and which they themselves had till then very narrowly escaped by retiring into their

old fortified place with a firm resolution to defend their lives to the uttermost.

The Dutch ships lying at Firando, acting on the instructions of their governor, sailed for Simbara, and within two weeks' time had battered the town with four hundred and twenty-six cannon balls, both from on board the ships and from a battery raised on shore, and equipped with Dutch cannon. This immediate compliance of the Dutch, and their conduct during the siege, was entirely to the satisfaction of the Japanese, and although the besieged had not yet given in, they were greatly reduced in numbers; their strength was now broken, so that Governor Kockebecker had leave to depart provided he obligingly left his hand battery of six guns, together with a further six from the ships with which to erect another one. Governor Kockebecker was only too delighted to assist his friends the Japanese, although it meant sending his ships to Batavia, which was a long journey, taking months in those days, in an absolutely defenceless condition; for, without cannon to defend itself with, any ship would be at the mercy of the pirates who infested these seas at the time, and even for two hundred years after. The trade on the island of Firando increased in a wonderful way, and the Japanese took it very seriously, so much so that in 1641 they allowed the Dutch to move to Nagasaki itself, and a corporation was founded called "Hollanda-Tsjunsi," or "Dutch Interpreters," which was to consist of one hundred and fifty persons. This was done, not so much with the desire to assist the trade, however, as to avoid the necessity of the Dutch learning Japanese, which the emperor was not specially desirous of their doing, for through it they would learn too much of the inner workings of Japanese life.

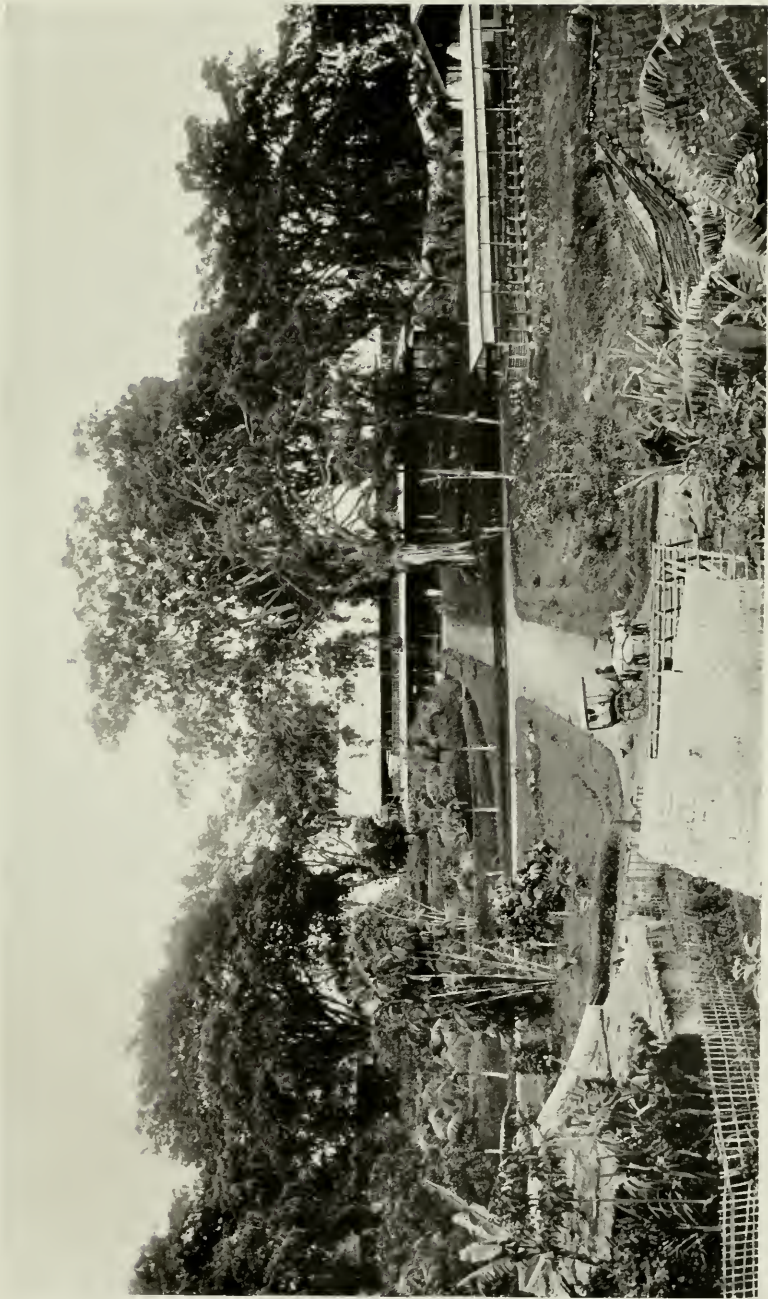
There was another corporation called "Kaimono Tskaai," or, as the Portuguese called it, "Compranakana" ("Compradore" as it to-day is)—in other words, the commissioners

for victualling, not only the Dutch factory, but also the Dutch ships which called there.

There were corporations from which they were to draw their cooks, others from which to draw their servants, etc., etc. Everything was laid down for the Dutch and provided for by by-laws, and thus early did this wonderful Japanese race show the powers of organisation and administration which have since astonished the whole world.

Once a year the Dutch governor travelled to court to pay his respects to the emperor and to make the usual presents.

The loading and discharging of the ships were done by a special corporation who provided the number of men required, the Dutch not being allowed to discharge their own vessels. At that time the following goods were imported by the Dutch :—Raw silk from China, Tonquin, Bengal and Persia ; white gunnies from Coromandel ; woollen stuffs and serges from Europe ; deer hides, ray skins, wax, and buffalo horns from Nain and Cambodia ; tanned hides from Persia, Bengal, and other places ; pepper and sugar from the East Indies ; cloves and nutmegs from Amboyna and Banda ; cinnamon from Timor ; camphire de Baros from Bomso ; quicksilver and saffron from Madras ; lead, saltpetre, borax, and alum from Siam ; musk from Tonquin ; gum-lacquer from Siam ; rosmal or storax liquida from Arabia ; corals and looking-glasses from Europe (the looking-glasses they broke to make spy-glasses, magnifying glasses, and spectacles out of them) ; mangoes and other unripe East Indian fruits pickled with Turkish pepper, garlic, and vinegar ; blacklead and red pencils, files, needles, drinking glasses, and foreign curiosities. These were some of the imports made by the Dutchmen into Japan, and the profits earned were enormous ; for such was the population of the country, that the demand, for which the Dutch had the whole monopoly, was almost unlimited. It is said that for many years during the golden age in Japan



SANATORIUM AT LENDANGLAYA.

they were clearing six millions of guilders, and sometimes much more. When one comes to consider that only twelve guilders are required to make one pound sterling, it was no unwise precaution on the part of the Dutchmen to be on their best behaviour in Japan and do their very utmost to retain the monopoly of the trade they did until 1811, when the English captured Java. The risks they ran were reduced to the danger from frequent wrecks and losses of goods on the coasts of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. But when this occurred it meant merely a temporary shortage of supply which automatically caused an increase of profit, which was scarcely decreased when the supply again met the demand. As the Dutch were doing in Japan, so were they doing in a smaller degree in Siam, China, Cambodia, and Tonquin (the trade in the latter place opened in 1637).

The expenses of the Dutch Japan establishment usually amounted to about £15,000 sterling, but it varied, as will be seen from the following :—

	Expenses in 1686 (Guilders).	Expenses in 1688 (Guilders).
For food and other provisions	23,580	13,166
Boarding	9,791	6,828
Extraordinary expenses	14,097	4,993
Charges for the ships	10,986	7,589
Presents	107,086	100,789
Interest and monthly wages	8,092	7,318
Warehouse rent	19,530	19,530
Total	193,162	160,213

The ships homeward bound were loaded with the following exports :—Copper, camphor (packed in wooden barrels), bales of chinaware (packed in straw), boxes of gold thread, japanned cabinets, boxes, chests of drawers, umbrellas, screens, sacki (an intoxicant liquor brewed from rice), soya (a sort of pickle), pickled fruits in barrels, tobacco, tea, marmalade, and gold. This trade, but with decreased

profits, continued practically unchallenged right down to the nineteenth century.

The following is a copy of the document by virtue of which the trade was prosecuted :—

“Gosju In [that is letters patent under the red imperial seal] granted by the Emperor Gonggingsama [who was in his lifetime called Ongoschio Sama] to Jacob Spex in behalf of the United Company of Dutch merchants trading to the East Indies, and their factory at Firando.

“ALL Dutch ships that come into my Empire of Japan, whatever place or port they put into, we do hereby expressly command all and every one of our subjects not to molest the same in any ways nor to be a hindrance to them, but on the contrary, to show them all manner of help, favour and assistance. Every one shall beware to maintain the friendship, in assurance of which we have been pleased to give our Imperial word to these people, and every one shall take care, that my commands and promises be inviolably kept.

“Dated (stylo-Japoniæ) on the 25th day of the 7th Mane, being the 30th of August, 1611.”

The Japanese never in any way disguised their dislike for the Portuguese even after they had departed, as may be seen from the following official document they handed to the Dutch governor at Firando, containing “strict Imperial commands.”

“GODSOMOKU.

“STRICT IMPERIAL COMMANDS.

“(1) Our Imperial predecessors have ordered concerning you Dutchmen, that you shall have leave to come to Nagasaki on account of the Japan trade, every year. Therefore, as we have commanded you heretofore, you shall have no communication with the Portuguese. If you should have any, and we should come to know it from foreign countries, you shall be prohibited the navigation to Japan. You shall import no Portuguese commodities on board your ships.

“(2) If you intend not to be molested in your navigation and

trade to Japan, you shall notify to us by your ships whatever comes to your knowledge of any endeavours or attempts of the Portuguese against us; we likewise expect to hear from you, if the Portuguese should conquer any new places or countries, or convert them to the Christian sect. Whatever comes to your knowledge in all countries you trade to, we expect that you should notify the same to our Governor at Nagasaki.

“(3) You shall take no Chinese junks bound for Japan.

“(4) In all countries you frequent with your ships, if there be any Portuguese there you shall have no communication with them. If there be any countries frequented by the nations, you shall take down in writing the names of such countries or places, and by the captains of the ships you send to Japan yearly deliver the same to our Governors of Nagasaki.

“(5) The Liquejans being subjects of Japan, you shall take none of their ships or boats.

“So be it”

The following document may also be quoted :—

“JAPANESE REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT.

“(1) Whores only but no other women shall be suffered to enter.

“(2) Ecclesiastics only of the mountain of Koja shall be admitted. All other priests shall stand excluded.

“(3) All persons and all beggars that live upon charity, shall be denied entrance.

“(4) Nobody shall presume with any ship or boat to come within the palisades.

“(5) No Hollander shall be permitted to come out, but for weighty reasons.

“(6) All the above-mentioned orders shall be punctually obeyed.”

Settlement of Ceylon (1638—1796).—It was not until numerous sea-fights had taken place that the Dutch in 1639 were able to drive the Portuguese entirely out of the island of Ceylon.

The Dutch had carried on these aggressions against the Portuguese everywhere, and with such tremendous energy

that the latter's power in the East was at last crippled for good and all.

In 1636 they attacked Goa, the Portuguese capital and centre in the East, with a large fleet. This was the beginning. In 1638 a still more severe action was fought, in which the Dutch lost two of their largest ships. From Goa, however, they turned to Ceylon, and attacked the Portuguese at Batticalao on the 10th May with four ships. They arrived just after the Portuguese had suffered reverses at the hands of the Sinhalese. The Dutch landed three hundred soldiers and some hundred sailors, and sent word to the King of Kandy, with whom they had a treaty of some years' standing. In response to this message Rajah Sinha arrived with an army of fifteen thousand men. The Portuguese fort was then besieged, and after a few hours' fighting the garrison of seven hundred men surrendered. On receipt of the news of this success at Batavia a fleet of eleven vessels with a complement of twelve hundred and fifteen men was despatched at once to Point de Galle, which was taken in 1639. Here the Dutch immediately built a very strong fort and a large church, and opened schools under their missionaries in the country around. There is no doubt that their government as compared with that of the Portuguese was a wise and careful one, and the Sinhalese were at once much benefited by it.

After Point de Galle had been taken the Dutch turned their attention to the important port of Negombo, which they captured after a short but sharp fight. The Dutch were now masters; for although they had later on to settle several more accounts with the remaining Portuguese garrisons, and also to fight some stiff engagements with the Sinhalese, their actual power was never affected, nor was there any doubt as to the eventual result. The last fight of any importance between the Dutch and Portuguese in Ceylon was at Colombo (1656), when the latter were besieged

for several months before they gave in. The accounts given in the Dutch histories show that the sufferings of the garrison must have been intense. Dead bodies were discovered lying about the streets in hundreds, and we are told that the "stench was unbearable."

Jaffnapatam was the last Portuguese stronghold in the island, and this was not long afterwards reduced by the Dutch with the customary cruelty and butchery of the time, most or all of the men being slain, the old women got rid of, and all the young Portuguese maidens taken by the common soldiery as part of the loot.

On learning of the capture of Colombo Rajah Sinha lost no time in urging the Dutch to deliver it into his hands, in accordance with the treaty entered into between them. But the Dutch saw no necessity for doing so, for when dealing with an Eastern monarch all is practically artifice and stratagem. The treaty with the rajah was therefore not ratified, and instead of complying with its conditions they retained all the fortified possessions they had seized, under the plea that they were awaiting the consent of the king in Europe.

Enraged and mortified at such a breach of faith, the like of which he had never known, as the Portuguese—to suit their own convenience, of course—had always kept their word with him, Rajah Sinha commanded his coast subjects to lay waste all the districts in which they dwelt in order to deprive the Dutch of any hope of commercial gains, which he knew was the real reason for their coming there. The Dutch, however, anticipated the order, and before it could be carried out, or even attempted, had taken possession of the districts about their strongholds.

The Sinhalese who lived near the forts do not appear to have objected in the slightest to this measure—in fact, were the truth known, they probably welcomed it.

In 1664, through the machinations of the Dutch, while

the rajah was living at Milambe, in the Matale district, the Sinhalese rose in rebellion against him and proclaimed his infant son as emperor. Their intentions were frustrated, however, first by a refusal of the young prince to accept the throne, then by the sudden appearance of Rajah Sinha himself at the head of an overwhelming force. The end was the annihilation of the rebel forces, the barbarous and cruel murder by torture of several of the nobility, and even of his own son.

Matters became generally quiet again, and the Dutch, in their desire to gain greater commercial intercourse with the island, laid themselves out to do all they could to keep on friendly terms with the natives.

As to Rajah Sinha, they set about working upon what they thought, as with other Eastern kings, was his weakness, a love of flattery, and they despatched numerous embassies to Kandy with rich and magnificent presents. The suspicions, however, of Rajah Sinha had already been awakened by their past conduct, and were not to be entirely lulled by their present apparently submissive demeanour. He received, it is true, their ambassadors with similar assurances, but it was all with the object of gaining time.

In 1672 a new European power attempted to settle in Ceylon. This was France, which had been induced to turn its attention to Ceylon owing to the wealth the Dutch were securing from this island. Major Caron, formerly an officer in the Dutch army, made proposals to the French to lead an attack on Point de Galle, and M. de la Haye, the Governor of Madagascar, sailed with a fleet of fourteen ships and attacked the settlement. Here he was beaten off and proceeded to Trincomalee, where he landed, built a fort, and despatched three ambassadors with presents to Rajah Sinha. One of the ambassadors, De Lanerolle, refusing to submit to the court etiquette, was imprisoned, and the result of the embassy was *nil*. Governor Haye then sailed

for Pondicherry, a French possession, but was met at sea by a Dutch squadron, and four of his vessels were destroyed, while the rest were dispersed in all directions. Shortly after this the French fort and garrison, with all the artillery, were captured by the Dutch, and this ended for good and all France's hope of seizing the island for herself, besides the fact that her prestige was temporarily lowered in the East by her complete failure.

Rajah Sinha, after the disaster of the French endeavours to gain a foothold in the island owing to the strength of the Dutch, began to feel alarmed lest this incubus would eventually oust him too, as he felt that their power, by careful and calculated diplomacy, was increasing day by day. This uneasiness of the rajah was not without grounds, as the territories over which the Dutch ruled were increasing so much in all directions that action was at last necessary to prevent his being entirely hemmed in. In 1680, therefore, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, he attacked the fortress of Malvana, knowing well that if this fell it would encourage his men and enable him to win others. Owing, however, to the treachery of one of his principal generals (who had been privately bribed) who went over to the Dutch with more than half his army, he was badly beaten. This broke the old rajah's heart, and, although he lived for still another seven years, he was never the same man again.¹ Treachery from without he could stand, but, coming from within, it was more than could be borne.

After the rajah's death the Dutch endeavoured with flattering proposals to secure still greater commercial gain, and there is no doubt that by one way and another they did so.

Most of the governors whom the Dutch East India Com-

¹ He was 87 years when he died, having been born in 1600. He reigned fifty years.

pany sent to administer in Ceylon were, for their times, able men. It is, of course, true that one or two, more than the others, were cruel and harsh towards the natives and ruled with a rod of iron ; but in most cases, however harsh they were, it could not have been worse than the rajah's rule, who kept trained elephants to crush the life out of those who offended or tear the limbs off the hapless victim, or who tied them by their heels to gallows and then split them in two.

Van Goens, Peil, and Becker seem all to have been merciful governors, whilst the rule of Rumph seems specially to have been distinguished as much by ability as by humanity. His follower, however, Arnold Moll, was a ruffian, and his exactions caused a serious insurrection at Colombo, and ended in the murder of some of the Hollanders. Then came Petrus Vuyst, who, like so many men in other places, endeavoured with all in his power to make himself an independent sovereign, and with this object had recourse to a curious system of barbarity. All persons who had any influence in Ceylon or possessed wealth were subjected to terrible tortures as a means of preventing their thwarting his schemes. Vuyst was eventually made a prisoner and sent to headquarters at Batavia to the viceroy, where he met with a condign punishment. He was broken alive on the wheel, his body quartered and burnt, and the ashes thrown into the sea.

His successor was Stephanus Versluys, who, not profiting by the example of Vuyst and desiring to make as much gain as he could in the shortest space of time, raised the price of rice to such an extent that a severe famine was the result and hundreds died. On hearing this the viceroy at Batavia decided again to make another change, and sent a Company's ship with a new governor called Domburg on board to replace him. Versluys, knowing what was in store for him, refused to resign, and when the Company's ship hove in sight ordered the forts to fire on her and drive her off. They

easily succeeded in doing this, of course, but he was eventually compelled to submit to a superior force, and was sent a prisoner to Batavia for punishment, which he duly received.

With the arrival of Gustaff, Baron van Imhoff, in 1736, the settlements of the Dutch in Ceylon made a great advance. Hitherto the only article of commerce had been cinnamon, but he introduced coffee, pepper, and cardamoms with very successful results, and enormous sums of money were raised out of these articles. Van Imhoff was succeeded by governors who followed his policy, and Ceylon prospered accordingly.

It was during the time of Golnesse, in 1747, that Kirta Sri Rajah Sinha took up arms against the Dutch. The provinces of the Kandy chief were growing smaller and smaller, and the inroads made on his former absolute sway were almost too much for an independent chief to take unconcernedly. He therefore determined to try once more to expel the Dutch. That he was not successful was a foregone conclusion.

In 1763 the Dutch themselves, however, took up the cudgels, and, encouraged by dissensions among the Kandy chiefs, marched with an army of eight thousand men, seized the capital, Kandy, and occupied it for nine months. Baron van Eck was then the governor, a man of character and determination. The Dutch forces at Kandy were continually harassed by the natives, and as their numbers were being daily thinned by fevers, dysentery, ague, and all those diseases which follow an army all the world over, but in the tropics in particular, it was finally decided to abandon Kandy and retreat into their own country again. The retreat was a disaster, and Governor van Eck, to uphold his prestige, was then obliged to attack the Sinhalese, who numbered probably nearly forty thousand men, in the Kandyan mountains and forests. He defeated them with

heavy loss. He then forced the rajah to make a treaty, and secured the forts of Putlalam and Batticaloa as indemnity.

The Dutch now settled down to a long period of peace and the Rajah of Kandy was left to his own devices. Agriculture now made rapid progress, and good and wise government was the order of the day.

The Dutch held Ceylon without interruption until the 15th February, 1796, when the English, who have remained there ever since, established themselves there in order to prevent the island falling into the hands of the French, when Napoleon was overrunning Europe and the world. Had Holland not given way to the solicitations of France to make common cause with her against Great Britain at the close of the American war, there would have been perhaps no reasonable excuse for the English Government of Madras sending the expedition which put an end to the Dutch rule. The Dutch made no show of resistance—they had really settled in Ceylon as shopkeepers, not as soldiers. Their paid mercenaries were soon tired, although the Malays fought well at Trincomalee. Three days after the British landing at Negombo, the gates of Colombo were opened by the Dutch governor to the British invaders. The British now speedily spread their control over the island, and in 1815 the Sinhalese king was captured and deported. The line of Sinhalese rajahs thus came to an ending. The English therefore succeeded in doing what two European powers had been trying to do for three centuries, namely, conquer the kingdom of Kandy. From this time on there has been no one to dispute the supreme power of the British raj. The King-Emperor's writs run in the farthest corners of the island, and, with the exception of a trivial outbreak in 1834, there has never occurred anything to disturb the tranquillity of the island and its perfect contentment. The prosperity of Ceylon since it became a British colony



JAVAN LADY FROM SOERAKARTA.

has been quite phenomenal. The population has quadrupled itself, for whereas it stood at less than one million when Dutch domination came to an end, to-day it stands at over four millions.

The following is a copy of a despatch from William V., Prince of Orange, to the Dutch governor of Ceylon, in which he agrees to the capitulation of the island :—

Letter from William V., Prince of Orange, to Governor van Angelbeck, 7th February, 1795 (translated from the original preserved in the English Government Archives, Colombo) :—

“ Noble and Most Honoured Confidante, Our Trusty and Well-beloved.

“ We have deemed it necessary to address you this communication, and to require you to admit into Trincomalee and elsewhere in the Colony under your rule, the troops of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, which will proceed there, and also to admit into the harbours, and such other places where ships might safely anchor, the warships, frigates, and armed vessels which will be despatched there on behalf of His Majesty of Britain ; and you are also to consider these as troops and ships belonging to a Power that is in friendship and alliance with their High Mightinesses, and who come to prevent the Colony from being invaded by the French. Wherefore, Noble and Most Honoured Confidante, Our Trusty and Well-beloved, we commit you to God’s holy protection, and remain

“ Your well-wishing friend,

WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

“ Kew, 7th February, 1795.”

The following is the list of Dutch governors of Ceylon, with the dates of their appointments, from the full occupation in March, 1640, until February, 1796 :—

At Galle.

William Jacobson Coster	1640
Jan Thysz	1640
Joan Matsuyker	1646
Jacob van Kittenstein	1650
Adrian van der Meyden	1653

At Colombo.

Adrian van der Meyden	1656
Ryklof van Goens	1660
Jacob Hustaar	1663
Ryklof van Goens	1664
Lourens van Peil	1680
Thomas van Rhee	1693
Paulus de Rhoo	1695
Gerrit de Heer	1697
Cornilis Johannes Simonsz	1703
Hendrick Becker	1707
Ssaak Augustin Rumph	1716
Arnold Moll	1723
Johannes Hertenberg	1724
Jan Paulus Schagen	1725
Petrus Vuyst	1726
Stephanus Versluys	1729
Gualterus Nontersz	1732
Jacob C. Pielaat	1732
Diedrich van Domburg	1734
Jan Maccara	1736
Gustaff W. Baron van Imhoff	1736
William Mauritz Bruinink	1740
Daniel Overkeek	1742
J. v. Stein van Golnesse	1743
Gerard van Vreeland	1751
Jacob de Jong	1751
Ivan Gideon Loten	1752
Jan Schrender	1757
Subhert Jan Baron van Eck	1762
Anthony Moyaart	1765
Imann Willem Falck	1765
Willem Jacob van der Graff	1785
Joan Gerrard van Angelbeck	1796

(under whom Colombo, and with it the entire coast, was surrendered to the British).

Dutch Settlement at Cape of Good Hope (1600—1795).— From 1600 onward the Dutch had more or less looked upon the Cape of Good Hope as belonging to them, and all their ships called “out and home” at Table Bay to water and refresh.

In 1620 Captains Humphrey Fitzherbert and Andrew Shilling arrived there, and, landing, planted the English

flag and took possession in the name of King James. No effective steps were, however, taken to follow this up. In 1652 the Dutch sent a large expedition to the Cape, and took formal possession. A protest was lodged by the English East India Company but disregarded, and the colony remained Dutch until 1796, when the English again took possession of it and have ever since remained there.

Dutch Settlement of Malacca (1541—1796).—When all their strongholds in Ceylon had fallen to the Dutch, the Portuguese at last began to realise that they were no match for their enemy, who had supplanted them everywhere except at Goa and Malacca with a cunning and ingenuity beyond words. It is true that, as far as the former citadel was concerned, the power of the Portuguese had in no way waned, but then the governor-general of the Portuguese East Indies took very good care to keep himself surrounded by a large force of soldiers and a “goodly number of ships.” The outward magnificent style this personage kept up was such as to entirely overawe the natives, who gained an exaggerated opinion of his real importance. He was served with gold plate, and each meal was a banquet. He was waited on by Knights of the Cross, and no Indian was allowed to approach him. Fanfares were sounded and cavalry paraded when he took an airing, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fort each time he left and returned to his palace. Proud and pompous display of wealth attained by illicit means now took the place of that generous virtue and laudable ambition which enabled the ancestors of the Portuguese to lay the foundation of their empire in the East. The clergy, too, following the example of the laity, to whom the lead had been given by the governors, with its consequent ill-effects on all subordinate officers, also began to degenerate, and instead of promoting, as in the beginning, the conversion of the natives, traded

freely and did a large business with their proselytes in diamonds.

It was this degeneration of their officers that lost the Portuguese their colonies in the East.

When the Dutch governor at Batavia decided in 1541 to attack Malacca and make an end to Portuguese rule there, he sent a fleet of twenty ships to capture the place. As soon as the fleet arrived at Malacca the Dutch admiral sent a message to his Excellency the governor informing him politely it was his intention to begin the attack the following day at twelve o'clock, to which letter the Portuguese governor replied that the Dutch admiral could open the attack when he pleased, as they were quite ready. After fighting for two months the Dutch were obliged to give up, returning to Bantam to refresh and feeling rather ashamed of themselves.

A letter was now sent by the Dutch governor-general to the Rajah of Johore, couched in terms of great friendship and conveying the suggestion that they should attack Malacca together. The Rajah of Johore was pleased with this idea, as he had gained the impression that the Dutch were of not so much account as the Portuguese, and therefore, if he could get rid of the latter, the former could easily be disposed of later.

An agreement was therefore entered into between the Rajah of Johore and the Dutch that, as far as Malacca was concerned, they were one. Under this arrangement it was agreed that the Dutch were to attack by sea and the Malays of Johore by land, and in the event of the country surrendering the Dutch were to retain Malacca and all the cannon, while everything else that was found in the town was to be equally divided between the people of Johore and the Dutch—a very fair and equitable arrangement for the Dutch. When the Dutch fleet arrived at Malacca for the second time they found a Portuguese fleet awaiting them, and a very severe struggle began, the Malays attacking on

the land side ; but after fifteen days of more or less incessant attacks and counter-attacks nothing had been achieved, and beyond a large number of slain on both sides the Dutch were not any nearer capturing the forts than they were at the beginning.

The Malays now held a consultation, and began to think that if they fought against the white man according to his own fashion Malacca would not fall for ten years. They therefore decided that fifty men should gain entrance to the fort and run " amok." On the day fixed at five o'clock in the evening fifty Malays entered the fort and ran " amok," and every Portuguese was either put to death or forced to fly into the interior. The Dutch now destroyed the Portuguese fleet, and Malacca was theirs.

This new acquisition by the Dutch ended their ideas of expansion, and they now began to colonise their settlements as only the Dutch know how to do ; each of them became the home for life of those who came there, no thought of return to Europe ever occurring to these colonisers.

The Dutch remained the undisputed masters of Malacca until 1795, when the English took their place, but returned it to them in 1819. In 1824, however, the Dutch exchanged Malacca with England for the residency of Bencoolen, in Sumatra.

Malacca, the oldest and largest of the Straits Settlements, is a triangular piece of territory on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. It covers 659 square miles, has a coast line of fifty miles, and is adjacent to the States of Johore and Negri Sembilan.

List of the Dutch governors of Malacca¹ :—

Johan van Twist (governor and extra-ordinary councillor of India)	. . . . .	1641—1642
Johan van Whet (ditto)	. . . . .	1642—1646
Arnold de Vlaming van Outshoorn (ditto)	. . . . .	1646—1662

¹ As far as has been discovered by the author.

Johan van Rebeek (commander-resident) ¹	1662—1665
Balthasar Bort (ditto)	1665—1679
Jacob Jorrisoon Pits (governor)	1679—1680
Cornelis van Quaalberg (ditto)	1680—1684
Nicolaas Schagen (governor and extra-ordinary councillor of India)	1684—1686
Durk Komans (commander)	1686—1686
Thomas Slicher (governor and extra-ordinary councillor)	1686—1691
Gelmer Vosburg (governor)	1692—1697
Govert van Hoor (ditto)	1697—1700
Bernard Phoonsen (ditto)	1700—1704
Johan Groolenhuis (commander)	
Karel Bolner (governor)	1704—1707
Pieter Rooselaar (ditto)	1707—1709
William Six (ditto)	1709—1711
William Moerman (governor)	1711—1717
Herman van Suchtelen	1717

Superintendents of Peirah ² (established in 1655) :—

Isaak Ryken	1655—1656
Pieter Buytzen	1656—1656
Cornelis van Gunst	
(factory abandoned 1656, re-established 1659).	
Julian Massis	1659—1660
Abraham Schats	1660—1660
Adrian Lucassoon	1660—1661

Superintendents of Ligor :—

Balthasar Bort	1656—1656
Johannes Zacharias	1656—1657
Michiel Curre	1657—1660
Julian Massis	1661
Nicolaas Muller	1667—1669

Superintendents of Oedjong Salang :—

Cornelis van Gunst	1656—1658
Jacob Jorrison Pits	1658—1660
(abandoned in 1660).	

¹ The senior Englishman at this time was William Turner.

² Called Perah, or Perak. All these factories were under Malacca, and the superintendents were styled "onder koopmen," or junior merchants.

Superintendents of Quedah :—

Pieter Buytzen	1654—1656
Arend Classon Dray	1656—1656
(abandoned in 1657, reoccupied 1660).	
Jacob Kerkhoven	1660—1662
Hendrick Pelgrom	1710
Pieter du Quesne	1711

St. Helena.—St. Helena, so named by the Portuguese, who discovered it on St. Helen's Day in 1502, was taken as the English Company's property in 1651, all their ships to and from the East calling there. In 1661 a certain Captain Stringer divided up the island into one hundred and fifty small farms, and let them to settlers at a trifling rate. Slaves were immediately imported and made to work under fear of the lash and torture.

A Dutch Possession 1673.—In 1673 a Dutch fleet arrived and took possession of the island. For years the Dutch had cast eyes on it, finding it a most convenient place for their ships to call to and from Java.

The English, however, were not prepared to allow this, and sent Sir William Munden to retake the island the same year.

This new governor, who was angry with the inhabitants for their treatment of the Dutch, a nation he was apparently very jealous of, proved a tyrant of the worst description. He branded whites and blacks alike with hot irons on the very slightest provocation, and lashings were of daily occurrence. One unfortunate woman, a planter's wife, was ordered twenty-one lashes, and then to be ducked three times, for merely remarking that to incur the Government's displeasure was tantamount to being murdered.

This bloodthirsty governor seemed in perpetual dread that the Dutch would return and that the islanders would assist them, and any one whom he had a suspicion of was promptly punished.

In 1815 the Crown took over the island from the Company and ransomed 614 slaves for £28,062.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

DUTCH POSSESSIONS

In the great wars between 1781 and 1811 Holland, of course, lost all her colonies to England, but in 1814, Holland was returned to the House of Orange, when Java in 1816 and Malacca in 1819 were handed back. The latter, however, was given once more back to England in 1824 in exchange for Bencoolen, or one might say Sumatra.

The Dutch have possessed at one time or another the following settlements or agencies in the East (from an old list compiled by the Dutch Company for the States-General on the 22nd October, 1664) :—

Nominally, the *entire East Indian Archipelago*; *Malacca* (without factories); *Siam*, *Aracan* (an agency for rice and slaves only), *Tonquin Ava*, *Sirian*. In *Coromandel*: Pulicat, Negapatam, Masulipatam. *Bengal*: Hughly, Cossimbazaar, Dacca, Patna, Orixa. The island of *Ceylon*; the island of *Formosa*. In *Malabar*: Cochin, Cranganore, Quilon, Cananore; *Calicut*. In *Guzerat*: Surat, Amedabad, Agra. In *Persia*: Gombroon, Ispahan, Bussorah. In *Arabia*: Mocha. The island of *Mauritius*; the island of *St. Helena*. *The Cape of Good Hope*. In *Japan*: Firando. In *China*: Amoy, Ningpo (?).

CHAPTER VI

THE DUTCH IN JAVA, 1623 TO 1811

The Growth of the Dutch Power in the East.—A certain lust of conquest on the part of her rulers, but mainly the desire for the commercial gain to be won from directly tapping the sources of the fabulous riches of India, were the reasons why Portugal sought a passage by sea to the East.

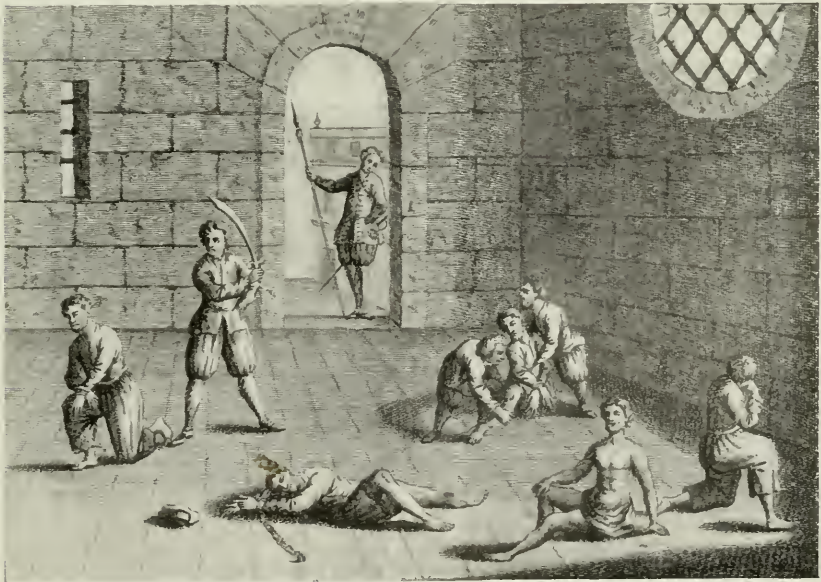
The English, in following this example, although no doubt actuated by their independent spirit and desirous of a direct trade with India in preference to having to import their goods through the medium of a foreign power, not always friendly, were unquestionably more influenced by the opportunity that offered for making profits than by the likelihood or desire of establishing colonies.

The objects of the Dutch, however, were openly shown, and it is quite clear that their one wish was to engross and monopolise the trade of the Spice Islands.

Therefore, however much their political spirit in the East Indies at the present day may be admired, and themselves counted as the only great colonising nation besides ourselves in the world, it has always to be remembered that, as in the case of the English East India Company, the Dutch East India Company was created wholly and solely with the object of commercial profit, though from this arose afterwards, as a natural sequence, the desire for, or, indeed, the necessity of, territorial aggrandisement. The result was therefore that both Companies found themselves, sometimes, perhaps, almost against their wills, getting possession of an ever-increasing Eastern empire, and that from being merely traders they gradually came to be practically ruling powers. At this day the Dutch, except for a strip on the north coast



THE TORMENTS INFLICTED BY THE DUTCH ON THE ENGLISH IN AMBOYNA.



THE CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH IN THE DUNGEON AND THEIR EXECUTION
(AMBOYNA).

of Borneo, are the masters of the whole East Indian Archipelago, and it is possible that, with a less narrow spirit and a more magnanimous, far-seeing, and liberal policy in India, this country also might have been theirs—in any case temporarily. It therefore seems fortunate for the English that, after the troubles at Bantam and Amboyna, when they saw that they had no chance in the East Indies against the Dutch, the East India Company decided to transfer its seat of government from Bantam and the Moluccas to India, where its servants put their shoulders to the wheel to push on the trade and, profiting by previous experience, kept a larger staff at their factories than the Dutch did at theirs. Their previous lessons were therefore perhaps beneficial, and yielded their profit in due season in India.

From this day Dutch power waned in India before that of the English, just as Portuguese power had previously given way on the coming of the Dutch.

On the other hand, the Dutch power in the East Indies, by the removal of the English seat of government, was henceforth assured, and no cloud of any further interference from a European Power rose on the horizon until Napoleon began to turn Europe into a playfield for his armies.

Having in the previous chapter shown how the Dutch conquered their principal possessions in the East, the thread of their successes in Java may be taken up again.

Troubles in the Moluccas.—It seems that after the English had been turned out of Amboyna the Dutch endeavoured to prevent the natives from growing, or in any case from plucking, so many cloves and nutmegs. The natives, who viewed this interference with their only means of livelihood as highly prejudicial to their welfare, revolted, but the rising was temporarily crushed with a heavy hand. This, however, was merely the beginning of a long series of troubles in these islands, which were very naturally to be expected, as the natives for centuries had cultivated nothing else but nutmegs

and cloves, and the wealth of their rajahs was derived solely from this source.

When the Dutch found it was impossible to restrict either the plucking or the clandestine export, they destroyed the spice trees, and in those islands which they did not consider it worth while to protect, or which were possibly too far away from their centres of commerce for control, the trees were cut down wholesale. Under such conditions affairs went from bad to worse, and on two occasions when the position of the Dutch became serious, and even alarming, the governor-general at Batavia proceeded to Amboyna to look into matters for himself. Beyond, however, the settlement of a few minor points and the punishment of the natives, it does not appear that he greatly altered the policy or disapproved of the actions of his lieutenants.

The Dutch secure the Monopoly of the Spice Trade to the Exclusion of the Portuguese and English.—Fights and troubles therefore continued and lasted, in fact, in the Moluccas for the best part of a century. In the end, however, the Dutch appear to have had their own way entirely, and the Portuguese and English were excluded by treaty from trading with the native princes at any port whatsoever. The Dutch, with this monopoly, controlled the supply of spices for the European market, and prices were therefore also regulated by them.

All this does not appear to have been attained, however, without considerable sacrifice of human life.

The Dutch were no sooner firmly established at Batavia than the *Susúhunan* of Matárem with a tremendous army of Javans attacked them. The siege lasted for several months, assaults on the town and fort with elephants and cavalry being followed by the sallies of the besieged. In the end the Dutch imported a number of Japanese soldiers, and with their assistance made a final grand effort and drove their assailants off, who withdrew and reinforced

themselves at Kaliewoengoe. This war, it is said, cost the Javan forces from famine, disease, and death in the field, about 120,000 lives. The losses of the Dutch were also not slight, and the troops must have suffered intensely, especially when obliged to take the field.

However, the progress of the Dutch in Java, notwithstanding great difficulties, was steady, and one cannot help admiring the first brave little body of men who were endeavouring, by all the means at their disposal, to colonise these Eastern lands and thus enrich their country by the trade to be secured therefrom.

Treaties with all the Sovereigns of Java.—By 1646 they had successfully concluded written treaties with all the sovereigns in Java, and on the 24th September, 1646, signed one at Batavia with the susúhúnan, one of its clauses being that the Dutch should send him a yearly ambassador to inform him of the nature of all the curiosities that had arrived from Europe, and further that all priests or other persons whom the susúhúnan might be desirous of sending to foreign countries should be conveyed thither in the Company's ships. It was also agreed at the same time that all persons who should desert to either country for the purpose of avoiding their debts should be given up, and that the Company and the susúhúnan should assist each other against their common enemies; also that the vessels of the susúhúnan's subjects should be allowed to trade to all places under the Company's authority except Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate, and that those bound to Malacca or places northward of that settlement should be obliged to touch at Batavia and to apply to the Dutch for passes.

Trouble with the Sultan of Bantam.—During 1652 the Sultan of Bantam, who for many years had been carrying on a desultory war with the Dutch, attacked Batavia with sixty thousand men. On the road he laid waste, burned, and pillaged all the villages that were friendly to his enemy.

Beyond this, however, nothing much appears to have been effected.

Treaty with the Sultan of Bantam.—On the 10th July, 1659, the Dutch managed to conclude a treaty with the Sultan of Bantam, through the mediation of the ambassadors of the *Pangéran* of *Jambi*, in which it was stipulated that all prisoners of war and deserters should be restored by either side, and that the Dutch should as heretofore have a permanent residence at Bantam, for which purpose the same building was to be given which they had occupied before the war began, and free of rent, and that this building was to be secured by the sultan against any hostile attempt.

Closing of English Factory at Batavia.—On the 19th October, 1677, a new treaty was also made with the *susúhunan*, by which the Dutch secured the monopoly of all the trade in the *Matárem* provinces,¹ to the chagrin of the English, who were now obliged officially to close their factory at Batavia. As, however, it had for a good many years already been merely a nominal affair, not very much can have been lost to the English Company through this.

Trouble again at Bantam.—In the same year (1677) trouble again arose at Bantam. The old sultan, feeling the advance of years, invited his son to share his regal power and help him rule his kingdom. This measure was attended by the inevitable results. Jealousy arose between father and son, which very soon became an open hostility. The policy of the Dutch led them to take an active part in favour of the young sultan, who had inclined most towards their interests and now solicited their aid. In return for this he was willing to give them special advantages. The English, on the other hand, discouraged what they considered open rebellion on the part of the young sultan, but declined to interfere in any other character than as mediators, or to afford military assistance to either party. This neutrality

¹ Batavia was of course among them.

was probably sincere, owing to their extreme weakness, for since 1663, when their factory had been taken by the Dutch and afterwards virtually ceded back to them, the English had been residing at Bantam partly on sufferance and consequently did not dare meddle much in politics.

Murder of English Agent at Bantam.—They nevertheless suffered, for on the 21st May, 1677, the rabble of the young sultan, incensed at the want of sympathy shown by the English, barbarously murdered the agent, Arnold White, with many of his staff. The English Company in *Jambi* immediately reinforced the Bantam factory with every man they could spare, so that the wish of the new sultan and of the Dutch to rid themselves of the English was for the time frustrated.

On the 28th March, 1682, the trouble between the two sultans, which had been smouldering, broke out afresh, and the Dutch decided on landing a considerable force from Batavia, which soon put an end to the war. This done, they placed the young sultan on the throne, delivering his aged father into his custody, and thereby obtained from him the exclusive privilege for all the trade in his territories.¹ This, it is quite apparent, was the main object they had in view.

Closing of English Factory at Bantam in 1682.—This treaty naturally carried with it the extinction of the English factory at Bantam. The factory was taken formal possession of on the 1st April, 1682, by a party of Dutch and native soldiers, and eleven days later the agent, Robert Parker, and his council were forced to embark with their property on vessels provided for the purpose, and were taken to Batavia, whence they were sent to Surat on the 22nd August. The Bantam treaty was a very important one for the

¹ The treaty was not actually signed until the 17th April, 1684. By this treaty the Portuguese, French, and Danes were also driven out.

Dutch, and is one more proof of their slow but sure persevering methods. They have always been earnest in making treaties with the native rulers, each time gaining a little more than they had had before. The loss of Bantam was the final blow to the English East India Company in Java.¹ The Dutchmen had stood up boldly against them and had shown themselves hard to beat down. The English Company, despite, however, all its manifold troubles and vicissitudes, had lasted no less than eighty years in the Island. Bloodshed, death, perpetual disappointment, and continual rows with the Dutch marked the conduct of the past at Bantam and Jacatra. When one reads the records of the time, it seems that the Company's agents and admirals in Java, although men of grit, were no match in commercial dealings with the Dutch, who trusted in themselves and themselves alone. The English, on the other hand, were too much inclined to place reliance in the local native chiefs, who invariably proved very weak reeds, and generally ended in supporting the party which showed the greatest strength and gave the most trouble.

Then, again, the English Company's agents were continually changing, owing to frequent deaths and other reasons. The Dutch agents seem, however, to have been better fitted constitutionally to stand the effects of the rough life, the unwholesome tropical climate, and the infected water of old Bantam.² Still, however, the English did not give in to the Dutch, although they at last fell victims to them in a political struggle.³

There is rather a good insight into what life was like at Bantam at this period to be gained from Edmund Scott's

¹ The factory at Japara lasted until 1677. The remaining English in other parts of Java were finally expelled in 1684.

² There were 100,000 inhabitants in Bantam at this time, at least according to J. Hageman.

³ For list of Company's agents and staff at Bantam and Batavia, see Chapter XII.

journal from 1602 to 1605, and Captain John Saris's account from 1605 to 1609, given in Chapter XII.

The loss of Bantam was a somewhat severe blow, and the English Company experienced the accumulated loss of principal and interest expended on their dead stock at Bantam and its dependencies, the amount of which can only be roughly calculated. When the Bantam agent, Robert Parker, and his council arrived at Surat, they handed over goods and money to the value of 39,000 pieces of eight, which was charged to the Surat account, as were the debts of the factories formerly subordinate to *Bantam*, namely, *Siam*, *Tonquin*, *Taiyuanfoo* (in Formosa), and *Jambi*, amounting to 176,000 pieces of eight. The trade, however, of all these subordinate factories might be termed a failure, the cause of which was the usual one, namely, that Dutch competition proved too strong.

The Macassars in Java.—Several years before the departure of the English from Bantam a Celebes chief, with all the desperadoes he could gather, landed at *Bésuki* and soon collected a following of similar rascals, with whom he committed great depredations.

The Independence of Madura proclaimed by Trúna Jaya.—At the same time *Trúna Jaya*, who was a nephew of the *Adipáte* of Madura, declared the independence of Madura, freeing that country from the hated rule of *Matárem*.

An army sent against the Macassars from *Matárem* was repulsed, and the provinces of *Pasuruan*, *Probolingo*, *Wirasaba* and *Japara* ¹ submitted to the new rule.

The Susúhunan solicits the aid of the Dutch.—In this predicament the *susúhunan*, finding himself unequal to dislodging the Macassar establishment, or to reducing the Madurese to submission, solicited the aid of the Dutch.

A second Javan army was at once prepared and directed to assemble at *Japara* and to procure the assistance of all

¹ Modjokerto.

the white people who had factories there, Dutch, French, English, and Portuguese. The Dutch commandant at Japara, when asked for aid, replied that "this application on the part of the susúhúnan was just what the Dutch had been long anxious for, and that he was ready to obey his orders and sacrifice his life in his service."

Madura attacked by the Dutch.—The Dutch sent four ships and some smaller vessels with soldiers, which were reinforced at Japara by the susúhúnan's troops and vessels. They arrived off the north of Madura at night-time and at once landed the troops in the forest. In the morning they requested the enemy to allow them to take in water which their ships were in need of, promising to depart immediately. This request being granted, the guns were landed in water casks and batteries quickly thrown up. An attack was then made on the enemy's works, and in a few days they were demolished, the enemy dispersed, and numerous prisoners taken.

Trúna Jaya escapes.—Those that escaped joined *Trúna Jaya*; and the latter, feeling himself now strong enough, crossed over to the mainland and took possession of *Surabáyá*.

Dutch again asked for their Aid.—The Dutch were again asked for their assistance, and Admiral Speelman was despatched from Batavia with a strong land and sea force.

Admiral Speelman reduces all Ports from Cheribon to Japara.—On the way to Japara he stopped at Cheribon and reduced to submission this and all the other ports between there and Japara. After a severe fight *Trúna Jaya* was defeated with the loss of a hundred cannon. He now fled with his army to Kediri, and there he was attacked by the combined forces of Admiral Speelman and the susúhúnan.

Trúna Jaya defeated at Kediri.—The siege lasted nearly two months, and the town was at last taken by assault. *Trúna Jaya* escaped, but the enormous accumulations of

riches that fell to the Dutch thoroughly repaid them for their assistance. Chests and chests of Spanish dollars were discovered in the old palace, besides ingots of gold and jewels in profusion. The old crown of *Majapahit* together with the regalia, already spoken of in a previous chapter, was also found. The Dutch could now demand what they wished.

New Treaty with the Susúhunan.—A new treaty was concluded and the district actually under Dutch jurisdiction was extended to the Krawang river, whilst all their goods were to be free everywhere in Java from export and import duty; further, they might build factories or forts anywhere they pleased. The susúhunan had also to find 250,000 dollars and three thousand lasts of rice to be delivered at Batavia, for the expenses of the Dutch in the late war. For their assistance Admiral Speelman gave the French and English at Japara 20,000 dollars apiece as a gift from the susúhunan. He then put them on board two Dutch vessels and told them never to return. They were never again heard of, from which it must be concluded they were captured by pirates.

First War of Succession.—In 1700 the first war of succession began, and the assistance of the Dutch was again asked for by one of the heirs. This was another opportunity for political advantage which the Dutch did not lose sight of, and therefore before granting any aid they explicitly stated their requirements. These were:—

Great Advantages gained by the Dutch.—That all the sea-ports from Krawang to the eastern extremity of the island, and the whole of the revenues of these places, including all the rice, be delivered to the State in diminution of the *susúhunan's* debt.

That the whole of the kingdom of Jacatra be likewise permanently ceded to them.

That the sugar trade of Japara¹ be placed entirely in the

¹ It is said sugar was being made at Kling (Klaling ?), an old Hindu town.

hands of the Dutch, together with the sole management of the town of *Semarang* and the village of *Kaligawi*, with the proviso, however, that the revenues collected were for account of the *susúhunan*. As, however, his Highness was always in debt to the Dutch, the revenues were kept in diminution thereof.

The claimant *Pangéran Púger* (as related in Chapter II.) was publicly installed at *Semarang* on the 19th June, 1704, and he was shortly afterwards required to sign fresh deeds and treaties by which the Dutch were more or less confirmed as the overlords of the island. *Oenarang* and *Salatiga* were unfortified, and the troops of the would-be *susúhunan* were disbanded.

Another Treaty with the Susúhunan.—The district of *Gebáng* and all the territory between the river *Donán* and *Pasúran* was ceded to the Dutch by a treaty of the 5th October, 1705.

They now held at last all the ports of the island in their possession, collecting their revenues and regulating their trade.¹

The English Factory at Pulo Condore.—In 1706 news was brought to the Dutch Company at Batavia that the English garrison at *Pulo Condore*, which had been established by Catchpoole, had been massacred by the Malays. It appears that an insurrection among the native soldiery had occurred as far back as the 2nd March, 1705, the mutineers having first set fire to the Company's warehouse and murdered Governor Catchpoole and most of the English in the island. It was generally believed that this treachery was instigated by the Cochin Chinese, in order to get possession of the Company's treasure.

¹ The dates of the great treaties of the East India Company in Java are as follows :—

With the *Susúhunan* of Solo, 19th October, 1677 ; with the Sultan of Cheribon, 7th January, 1681 ; with the Sultan of Bantan, 5th October, 1705 ; with the *susúhunan* (in regard to Preanger), 1706.

The English Colony at Banjermassin.—The only factor who survived was one Baldwin, who, after many adventures, managed to escape to Banjermassin. Here the English Company, much to the chagrin of the Dutch, had secured a firm footing and had fortified the place as early as 1698. The factory staff consisted of a governor and four members of council, one factor, three writers, one officer, twenty-five English, three Dutch, and ten Macassar soldiers, thirty Japanese carpenters, five Chinese carpenters, two Chinese bricklayers, seventy labourers, thirty slaves, and nine European seamen.

More European artisans were asked for, an indent for a large supply of military stores made, and everything seemed highly promising, when in the following year a catastrophe happened in the shape of a native attack which drove the English out of the place.

Cunningham, one of the Company's servants, stated that the attack was due to the Chinese stirring up the "Banjareens" on account of their jealousy at the English monopolising the pepper trade.

English Factory opened at Anjer.—In 1708 the English established a factory at Anjeram, or Anjer, in the Straits of Sunda.¹

The War continues.—The fighting between the Javan claimants and their adherents meantime still continued, and every now and again broke out into flames. *Panjéran Puger*, whom the Dutch had installed at *Semarang*, not being the rightful heir, the real *Susúhunan* or Emperor of *Matárem* held out resolutely for his rights.

The effects of this civil war being at last severely felt by the Dutch themselves, the country being laid waste, and the crops of rice being short, it was decided to put a large

¹ Here is the tomb of Colonel Cathcart, who died on his voyage out to China as British Ambassador to the Court of Peking, and was buried here in 1788.

force into the field and re-establish tranquillity. On the arrival of this force at Madura it was discovered that the king of that island had made two unsuccessful attacks on the Dutch garrisons of *Pamakasan* and *Sumanep* and been forced at last to leave his capital with his family.

When the king, *Pangéran Chákra Deningrat*, saw there was nothing else to be done, and that his enemies were too strong for him, he decided to throw himself upon the help of the Dutch.

When a Dutch ship arrived at Madura he sent a letter on board, which was forwarded by the captain to the admiral at Surabáya; the captain received in reply a message to take the prince and his family on board and bring them to Surabáya. The captain now informed *Pangéran Chákra* of the admiral's instructions and invited him to come on board. *Pangéran Chákra*, who was unconscious of treachery, accepted the invitation and proceeded immediately with his wife and children on board. When his boat arrived alongside, his ministers with the emblems of State preceded him; after them came the *pangéran*, then his wife, *Ráden Ayu Chakra Divingrat*, and lastly his children.

When the *pangéran* reached the top of the ladder, Captain Curtis came forward, took his hand, and delivered him over to the officer on watch, who led him to his cabin. The captain remained until the *Ráden Ayu* had come up, and as soon as she stepped on deck took her also by the hand and kissed her. Not understanding this custom and believing Captain Curtis wished to insult her, she called for her husband, saying "the captain had evil intentions." The *pangéran*, hearing the cries of his wife, became wild with excitement, rushed on deck, *kris* in hand, and without further to-do stabbed Curtis. The ministers and attendants who had come on board, following the example of their master, raised the cry of *amok* and instantly fell on the crew.

These, however, were too strong for them, and in a few minutes all the Malays, including the chief, were killed.

The rebels both in Eastern Java and Madura were now joined by contingents from the island of Bali. Those, however, in Madura were soon accounted for by the Dutch and obliged to fly; but those on the mainland secured a temporary success, and, moving from *Surabáya* towards *Kertasura*, they carried the provinces of *Japan* (Modjokerto), *Wirasaba*, *Kediri*, and *Mádion Sukawati* with them, and a headquarters station, with a sort of government, was established at the latter place.

The *susúhunan's* position now became more precarious than before, for, added to the worries arising from a long war with a troublesome enemy, his own family began to cause him much annoyance, his two brothers plotting against him. Battles were fought successively at *Kediri*, *Blitar*, and *Malang*. The operations proved once more the superiority of the *susúhunan's* warriors, for they carried the day everywhere. His Highness, however, notwithstanding the joy at his successes, succumbed at last to the worries and fatigues of a campaign carried on under such particularly difficult and trying circumstances.

End of the War.—His death had the effect, however, of ending a long and tedious war.

The Elberfeld Conspiracy.—It was during the year 1722 that the famous conspiracy always known as the "Elberfeld plot" was conceived. For some time there had been a desire among some of the native princes once more to try and get rid of the hated Dutch, and plans were continually made, but ended in nothing. This one, however, was very near being successful, although, of course, it is plain that the success could only have been temporary. The conspirator who stands out most prominently is a man named Pieter Elberfeld, whose skull, thickly plastered over, is to

be seen to this day in the top of a wall in the old city of Jacatra.

The skull has a spear run through it, by which it is permanently transfixed. Below it there is a small tablet on which is written in the Dutch language :—

“ Wik eene verfoeyelyke gedachtenise tegen den gestraften, landverrader Pieter Elbérfeld zal niemand vermogen ter dezer plaats te bouwen, timmeren, metsellem, planten, im of teneourrige dage.”

the translation of which is :—

“ In consequence of the detested memory of Pieter Elberfeld, who was punished for treason, no one shall be permitted to build in wood, or stone, or to plant anything whatsoever, in these grounds, from this time forth for evermore.”

The story is worth relating. The father of Pieter Elberfeld was a native of Westphalia, the “ Land of Hams,” who had come to Java for the purpose of making his fortune, and who, on arriving in the island, had set up in business as a merchant. After some time he formed a connection with a native woman by whom he had six children, all sons, the five elder of whom followed the manners and the European habits of their father ; but Pieter, the youngest, born in the year 1663, with strange pertinacity from childhood clung to native ideas and customs, and this subsequently led him to become an enthusiastic and daring patriot. Hating the Dutch and all connected with them, looking upon everything done by them as an injury to those whom he regarded as his own people, he resolved on the extermination of every foreigner from the soil of Java, and bent all his thoughts to the consideration of the time when, and the means by which, he might best accomplish this great object. Hearing of the disaffection of some of the princes in the interior, he privately communicated his designs to them, endeavouring to gain their support to his bold and dangerous

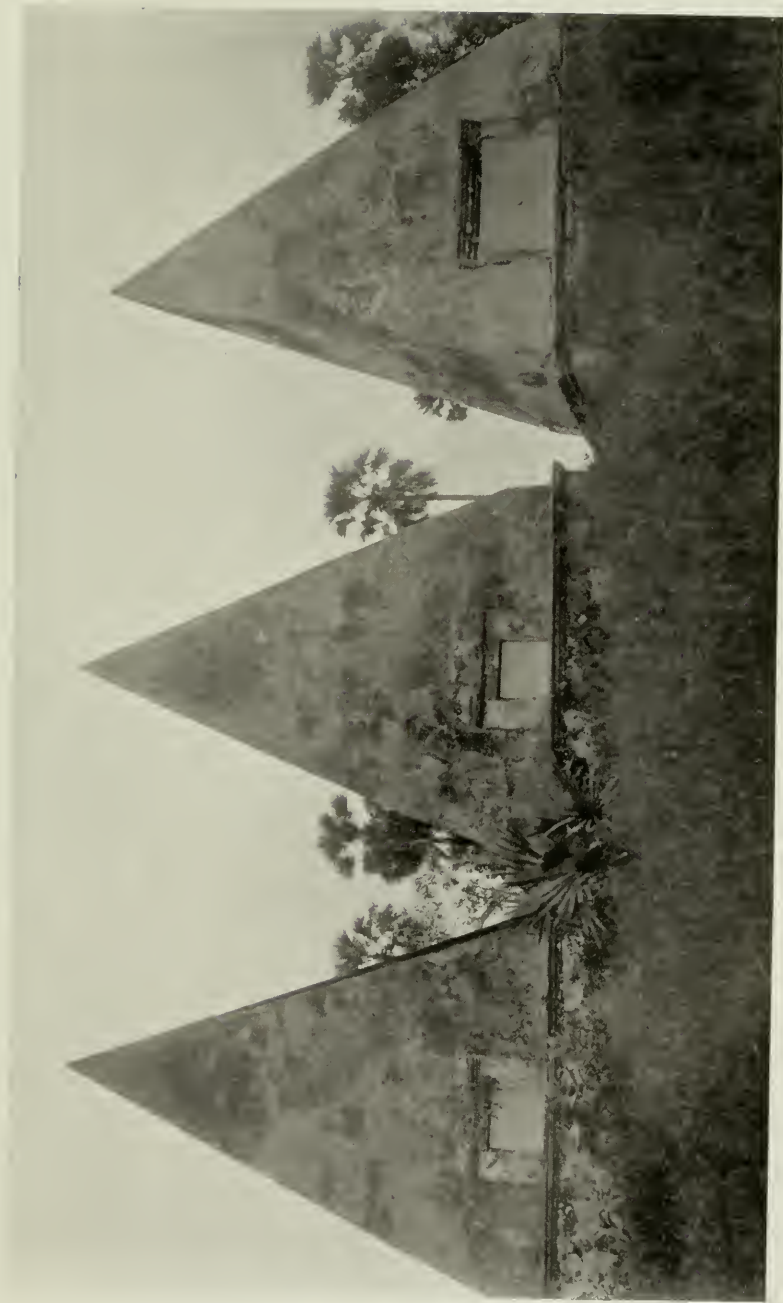
plans ; for, courageous though he was, Elberfeld could not have dreamt of success in carrying out the scheme he had formed without the promise of assistance and co-operation from men of more power and influence than himself. He ultimately succeeded in gaining over to his side the two sons of Paku Buvana and several minor princes. The Susúhúnan Paku Buvana, whose empire of Matárem still comprised about a third of the island, died in the year 1719 and was succeeded by his son, who, but for a fortunate circumstance (to be related below), might only have occupied the throne of his fathers for a very short time. Two of his brothers, the princes alluded to above, growing jealous of his ascendancy and aiming at imperial power, allied themselves with Elberfeld for the express purpose of dethroning him, making this condition, that if their designs succeeded one of them should assume the title of Emperor, and the other that of Sultan of some small independent State. Elberfeld was to be raised to the dignity of Bin Hamid bin Abdul Sheik al Islam, or High Priest of all Java. The plan they adopted was a very bold and daring one, measures being taken by which the different leaders might carry it out simultaneously. Elberfeld, with thirty thousand followers, was to attack and blow up the town and slaughter all the European inhabitants throughout the residency of Batavia ; while the two princes with their adherents were to dethrone their brother, the emperor, take possession of Matárem, and proclaim themselves simultaneously emperor and sultan. Elberfeld's house was situated a short distance from the gate in Jacatra which opened on the road, and here it was determined to hold the nightly meetings of the disaffected chiefs and people, amongst whom were several women. Here adherents were sworn and enrolled and all the proceedings connected with this terrible plot discussed, such caution being used to avoid detection that the conspirators never raised their voices above a whisper, and were

it not for the fortunate circumstance before alluded to, there is not the slightest doubt that some, if not all, of the Dutch inhabitants and the adherents of the reigning native emperor would have fallen at the hands of their midnight foes.

Elberfeld had living with him a young niece, a brother's child, whom at her father's death he had adopted as his own, separating her from her brothers and sisters and educating her as a native. Meeda (this was her name), whose mind and tastes, despite the love she felt for her uncle, inclined her to the European side, was very beautiful, inheriting the fair skin of her grandfather, with the dark eyes and locks of her grandmother, and could not help expressing the disgust she felt for every suitor for her hand whom her uncle approved of. In her walks and drives she had frequently observed a young Dutch officer attentively regarding her, and this circumstance inspiring her with the desire of marrying a European, she ardently hoped the young soldier would pay his addresses to her, little doubting that she would be able to gain her uncle's consent to such a union. The Dutch officer had, indeed, frequently attempted to speak to Meeda, but so closely was she watched by her anxious relative that he saw that his only chance of obtaining her hand lay in openly demanding it of the wealthy uncle. Accordingly he did so, and his surprise exceeded all bounds when he was informed that no child or relative of Elberfeld's should marry a white man, and that, fondly as he loved his niece, he would rather see her dead than the wife of a Dutchman.

At once disappointed and exasperated, the officer left the house, determined on defeating the views of the uncle by some plan, for though the lovers had never interchanged words, their eyes had faithfully interpreted those feelings of the heart by which both were inspired.

Affairs connected with the conspiracy in which he was



OLD PRIVATE BUIAL GROUND AT GERGADJU HILL, SAMARANG.

engaged demanding Elberfeld's utmost attention, and the vigilance with which he watched Meeda being in consequence relaxed, it was not long before the officer found opportunities to meet his *inamorata*, and soon he obtained her consent to a private marriage.

Meeda, however, could not thus set herself in opposition to her uncle without some conflicting feelings. The remembrance of his uniform kindness to her, the thought of the sorrow her desertion would cause him, often banished sleep from her eyes till long after the other inmates of the house, as she thought, had retired to their beds and mats. Still love conquered every other feeling, and one night when she met her lover she was induced to give him her faithful promise in three days to become his bride. The thought of her disobedience to her uncle rendered her that night even more restless than usual, and she was unable to sleep. It was a warm, sultry evening, and the air of the room seemed to stifle her. Opening her window, therefore, she stepped lightly into the small verandah which was attached to her apartment, and here she remained for some time gazing into darkness, for the air was thick and the moon obscured. By-and-by she was startled from her reverie by a gleam of light apparently proceeding from a lower window, which threw its rays across the path, a circumstance which in itself would have seemed trifling had it not been followed by others of a more suspicious nature. Meeda had only just recovered from her momentary alarm, and had settled in her mind that her uncle had business which obliged him to sit up late, when on looking down again she was surprised to see the light on the path frequently obscured, as if by some dark body passing over it, and, this occurring again and again, she discovered to her inexpressible surprise that it arose from the entrance of several men through the window. Meeda, who was a girl of no ordinary courage and strength of mind, at once determined on the course to pursue. Gain-

ing her own room, she proceeded noiselessly across the passage which separated it from Elberfeld's, determined to acquaint him at once with, as she imagined, their danger. To her surprise, however, she found her uncle's room empty ; and by the light of the oil-lamp she perceived that the pillow on the mat which her uncle, true to his native taste, made his sleeping-couch, had never been pressed that night.

Quite perplexed as to what step to take next, the bewildered girl regained her own apartment, and probably would have remained there until daybreak but for a foot-step which she heard cautiously moving along the passage, which caused her again to venture forth to watch unseen the movements of the man whom she had dimly perceived entering the room of Elberfeld.

In a few minutes her vigilance was repaid : the door reopened, and her uncle appeared within a few paces of where she stood, shaded by a projecting wall, with a paper in his hand and a dark, sinister expression on his face. Meeda's first impulse had been to rush up to him and acquaint him with what she had seen, but second thoughts determined her to wait and see what he was about to do, for the expression of his face filled her with an undefined dread. Cautiously he stole along the passage and down the stairs, followed at some distance by his niece, who carefully selected the most shadowy side for her dangerous midnight adventure, fearful lest a false step, or even a loud breath, might betray her. Having followed Elberfeld to that part of the house near which the dining-room was situated, she found all in complete darkness, all the lamps having been purposely extinguished, a circumstance which by no means tended to lessen her apprehension that something was seriously wrong. Her uncle meanwhile had disappeared, and she stood irresolute what next to do, when, her attention being drawn by the sound of a door being opened gently, she perceived

to her astonishment their large dining-room dimly lighted and full of people. Perplexed and alarmed by this unexpected circumstance, she was deliberating whether she should proceed or retire, when the door was again closed and she was left in total darkness. Resolved not to be baffled in the desire to penetrate this mystery, she groped her way to the door, and, determined to ascertain what was the secret object of this numerous assembly at such an hour, she placed her ear to the keyhole. It was some minutes before she could catch any distinct word, but as her ear became accustomed to the whispers in which they spoke it was not long before she became acquainted with the nature of the plot in which they were engaged. It was with inexpressible horror that she heard her uncle himself addressing the assembly and naming the day and hour when every man, woman, and child of purely Dutch parentage was to fall by the sword or by fire. Putting her eye to the keyhole, she then distinctly saw every man in the room place his hand on his *kris*, and, after kissing the hand that had touched the weapon, again perform the same ceremony with the Koran. Horrified at what she had heard and seen, Meeda turned from the door, and in a very few minutes succeeded in finding her way back to the lighted part of the house and thence to her room, where, carefully fastening her door, she sat down to consider what step she ought to take on the morrow. Next morning she contrived to write a letter secretly to her lover informing him of the whole affair, only begging of him if possible to avoid mentioning her uncle's name as one of the conspirators. The young officer on reading this communication of his mistress was equally perplexed and horrified; for he saw no reasons by which he could avoid naming the principal in a plot so daring, more especially as it was at his house that the secret meetings were held. He therefore divulged the whole matter to the authorities, who lost no time in warning the emperor

and their own agents in different towns of the impending danger, at the same time advising them on no account to allow any indications of the fact that the plot had been discovered to become known to the conspirators.

All, therefore, went on as usual till the night preceding the one fixed for the massacre. On that night nearly all the conspirators had met for the last time to concert their final measures. "Be ready an hour before daybreak" were Elberfeld's parting words as he stood by his door ready to close it when the last of his accomplices had gone forth. But already the troops sent out to secure the conspirators had surrounded the house. Before the last man had left their place of meeting a clashing of swords and the loud report of firearms were heard. "We are betrayed," cried Elberfeld. "Escape who can."

This, however, was now too late, for even while Elberfeld and his fellow-conspirators were debating in fancied security, every place of exit had been carefully guarded by soldiers, and a strong body now entered the house, calling on all to lay down their weapons, and mercilessly cutting down every one who showed the slightest sign of resistance. It afterwards appeared there were several females amongst the conspirators, most of whom were presently smothered with pillows, a few only of both sexes being pardoned, one of whom was a woman of high rank from the emperor's court, called *Karta Drya*. The dreadful sentences passed on the perpetrators read as follows :

"Sentence against Pieter Elberfeld and his accomplices pronounced at Batavia, April 8th, 1722.

"Forasmuch as Pieter Elberfeld, burgess, born at Batavia of a white father and a black mother, of the age of 58 or 59, and his accomplices Catadia, otherwise called Rahding, Javanese of Kartasura, etc., etc.

"We the Judges having heard and examined the information, etc., etc.

"We hereby order and decree that the criminals shall be

delivered into the hands of the hangman in order to receive the following punishments in the following manner. The two criminals Elberfeld and Catadia shall be extended and bound each of them on a cross where they shall each of them have their right hands cut off, and their arms, legs, and breasts pinched with red-hot pincers, till pieces of the flesh are torn away. They shall then have their bodies ripped up from bottom to top, and their hearts thrown in their faces; after which their heads shall be cut off and fixed upon a post, and their bodies being torn in pieces shall be exposed to the fowls of the air without the city of Jacatra.

“The other [four principal] criminals are each of them to be bound upon a cross, and have their respective right hands cut off, their arms, thighs and breasts pinched, their bodies ripped open, and their hearts thrown in their faces, and their limbs exposed upon a wheel, there to become the prey of birds.

“The [last] three are condemned each of them to be tied to a stake, and there strangled till they are dead. Their bodies shall be then carried like the rest to the common place of execution, and there exposed on wheels, for the nourishment of the birds, etc., etc.

“Done and decreed in the Assembly of the Lords the Counsellors of Justice this Wednesday, the 8th of April, all the Judges, except Mr. Craivanger, being present.”

The sentence was pronounced and executed on Wednesday, the 22nd April, 1722.

Such were the punishments of the eighteenth century. Not content even with this dire revenge, the governor-general gave orders to raze this Eastern Rye House to the ground, the gate was walled up, and the inscription already given was placed there.

The fixing of the ghastly head by a spear to the top of the wall at the spot where the gate had formerly stood, and where Elberfeld had frequently meditated on his dangerous plot, was the last act of vengeance by which their European masters hoped to remind future generations of natives of the fearful punishment with which they had visited treason against their authority.

To this day the natives say that on certain nights ominous sounds are heard at this spot, and even apparitions are said to have been seen. The Emperor of *Matárem*, in his gratitude to the Dutch for the service they had done him, extended their territories.

Commodore Roggewein at Batavia.—Shortly after this occurrence Commodore Roggewein arrived at Batavia with his fleet of three ships, the *Eagle*, with thirty-six cannon and one hundred and eleven men, commanded by Captain Job Coster, on board of which was Roggewein himself; the *Tienhoven*, of twenty-eight cannon and one hundred men, Captain James Bouman; and the *African Galley*, of fourteen cannon and sixty men, Captain Rosenthal.

This fleet sailed from Amsterdam on the 16th July, 1721, under the charter of the West Indian Company, and after battling round the Straits of Magellan arrived at Batavia, only to be confiscated by the East Indian Company, the crews being sent home by their ships. The East Indian Company maintained that only they, and not the West Indian Company, held the charter for trading in the East Indies, and that therefore Roggewein had been guilty of an infringement for which he must pay the penalty.

The Great Chinese Rising.—The city of Batavia was now in the highest state of prosperity, and trade was being carried on by the Dutch with Europe and nearly every port of any importance in the East. The production of the country had reached a magnitude never dreamed of, and luxury and wealth went hand in hand and pervaded all social life. The Dutch officials lived in a style beyond anything ever contemplated in Europe. Slaves they had in abundance to attend to their every want, and their money flowed into numberless channels. The proverb says, "Like master, like man"; and this is often found true, for here the slaves now became arrogant in the extreme, and began

at first bullying, later on outraging, the Chinese, who were the real merchants of Batavia, in fact of Java. At first they caught the luckless Chinese one by one and flogged them; then they tried to kill them. In fact they went from one step to another, until the Chinese could stand it no longer and applied to the Dutch authorities to put an end to these outrages and punish the offenders. They obtained, however, little or no redress, the slaves swearing with one accord that the Chinese were the aggressors, and in the end, seeing they could secure no justice from the Dutch, the Chinese assembled at some sugar mills at *Gandária* to the number of a couple of thousand and held a meeting to protest against their treatment. They then chose a chief, with the determination to oppose the Dutch and thrash the slaves. When this came to the Dutchmen's ears they imported natives from the outside islands to try and secure the Chinese, and managed to catch two hundred of them. These were put on board a ship and ostensibly banished to another country, but when some distance from the land it is said they were all thrown overboard, and most were drowned. One or two, however, managed to reach the shore and sought out their companions at *Gandária*, to whom they related all that had occurred. The Chinese concluded therefrom that the Dutch quite intended to extirpate their race, and notified all their countrymen at Batavia and Jacatra accordingly, suggesting a grand assembly at *Gandária* with all the arms they could collect. The Chinese at Batavia and elsewhere, who had been equally harassed by the slaves, against whom no appeal was granted, as soon as they heard about the Dutch having thrown their countrymen overboard proceeded at once to *Gandária* to the number of more than five thousand. Here they placed themselves under the orders of the chief, *Sipan Jang*.

Another account is that the governor-general, Adriaan Valkenier, was very liberal in his favours to the Chinese,

which enabled them, a race of born traders and shopkeepers,¹ to grow very wealthy. This caused general discontent among the native races, who, from their indolent and lazy nature, remained poor. These latter now sought on every occasion to bring charges in the law courts against the Chinese, against whom the cases were always decided, the evidence of the slaves proving too weighty. The Chinese now congregated together and began pillaging the villages. Just as this began a certain Baron Gustaff Willem van Imhoff, who became later on governor-general, arrived at Jacatra from Ceylon, and when he was told of the Chinese depredations he suggested that as many as possible be deported to Ceylon. A council was held of the " Raad van Indie " (viceroy's council) and the suggestion brought forward, and accepted unanimously, it being agreed that the Government should advance the cost of transporting the Chinese, reimbursing themselves in due course by the collection of the money from the Chinese themselves as soon as they had settled down and were earning money in their new place of abode.

The Chinese captain was now sent for, and told to go and beat his gong and read out the governor-general's proclamation, but naturally no single Chinaman came forward to be deported.

The captain Chinaman was now ordered to arrest his countrymen, all those that were poor to be captured first. This he declined to do. Van Imhoff then inquired how a rich Chinaman might be known from a poor one, and he was told by his clothing, that of the latter being blue-black. The authorities now themselves arrested all those that could be found in blue-black clothes, and many others, among whom were some belonging to highly respectable and wealthy families. Those taken were placed on board ships

¹ John Deans, a merchant of Java, 1810—1826, gives an excellent report on the Chinese as traders.



THE OLD TOWN HALL, BATAVIA. (IT IS NOT MUCH CHANGED SINCE ITS ERECTION
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.)



RIVER AND STOREHOUSES AT PEKALONGAN.

and deported. A short way from the shore they were amoked and thrown into the sea, at least so the Chinese say. One or two reaching the land told their countrymen all that had happened. The Chinese now became roused, and decided to rebel against the Dutch and if possible seize the fort,¹ and assembled at *Gandária* for that purpose. One Chinaman, however, determined to remain on the side of the Dutch, and for a sum of eighty ducats, sundry valuable presents, and the promise of future patronage agreed to spy on his countrymen and report all their movements to the Dutch. He first went to the Chinese camp and sought out the chief, whom he asked if he would submit to the Dutch on the promise of a free pardon ; but *Sipan Jang* refused, saying they would sooner or later revenge themselves on the Chinese, and that therefore the free pardon was worthless. The Dutch then ordered that those who wished to join their countrymen should do so, but that those who desired to follow the Dutch should shave off their moustaches as a sign and deliver up all their arms, even to the last pen-knife, and neither burn a lamp nor make a fire at night.

All the Chinese within the city of Jacatra who still remained decided to follow their instructions. The Dutch troops now shut the gates of the city, hearing that the Chinese from *Gandária* were arriving. These came on in three columns, burning and laying waste on their way, and numbered on arrival at the fort more than ten thousand men. They made a furious assault on the fort, but were unable to make any impression, being repulsed with loss of seventeen hundred and eighty-nine lives. In confusion they retreated to *Génding Mélati*.

Next day the Dutch landed all the sailors from the shipping lying in Batavia roads, and, having confined the Chinese to their houses, gave orders to the Malays to slay all the male Chinese, old and young, who were within the

¹ Oude Castell (Old Castle).

city. There were nine thousand of these, and only one hundred and fifty escaped, who joined their countrymen at *Kampong Melati*. The property of those that were killed was appropriated by their slaughterers, not one of whom was killed, all the weapons of the Chinese having been handed over beforehand to the Dutch. After this massacre the Dutch troops, numbering eight hundred Dutchmen, together with two thousand Malays, marched to *Kampong Melati*¹ and attacked the Chinese, who had entrenched themselves, and drove them with heavy loss out of their position. They retreated now to *Paning Gáran*, where they were also defeated with a loss of eight hundred, the Dutch losing four hundred and fifty.

Whilst this was going on reports reached the Dutch that the Chinese in Mid-Java had revolted and selected a chief called *Sing Seti*. This news was soon confirmed by the Bopátis of *Demák* and *Grobógan*, who advised the *susúhúnan* thereof. The emperor advised the *bopátis* not to interfere with the Chinese and let them fight it out with the Dutch, but if they did take action, rather to assist the Chinese than the Dutch, as he would be glad to be rid of the latter, for they interfered with the land and laid intolerable burdens on the populace. One of the princes now wrote to the Dutch commander at *Samárang*, telling him that he had orders to attack the Chinese at *Grobógan* and requesting a large supply of ammunition. The Dutch were completely deceived, and sent twenty muskets, eight carbines, and eight pistols, together with eight barrels of powder and thirty Dutch soldiers. A sham fight had meantime been arranged and fought, and to give the semblance of truth the Chinese were sent away to assemble elsewhere, and three horses were shot, which the prince informed the Dutch soldiers had been wounded under him when he was leading the troops into battle.

¹ Bidara Tjina, quite near Batavia.

The captain and lieutenant, Chinamen of *Samárang*, having been imprisoned by the Dutch governor, the Chinese here rose and joined their countrymen, who now moved to *Karang Anger* (Karang Anjer), where they were attacked. *Semárang* was now laid siege to by the Chinese under *Sing Seli*, in concert with the Javanese, under the Prince *Mérta Púra*, and the Chinese of *Ambarawa* started to attack the Dutch fort of *Kerta Sura* and marched as far as *Salatiga*, when for some inexplicable reason a certain Javan, *Aria Pringaláya*, caused ten Chinese to be put to death, and sent their heads to *Kerta Sura*—in baskets. At this time the *susúhúnan* discovered that one of his sons was intriguing with the Dutch commander of the fort at *Kerta Sura* and caused him to be instantly bow-stringed.

The Chinese, besides laying siege to *Semárang*, had also taken and destroyed *Rembang*; the Dutch had soon also to abandon *Jawána* (Joana) and *Demák*.

The emperor now decided to destroy the Dutch fort at *Kerta Sura*, which was quite near his palace. Nearly the whole garrison was brutally murdered, those soldiers not killed being distributed with their wives amongst the Javanese, who circumcised the men and forced them to adopt the religion of Mahomet.

The Dutch state that the emperor was impelled to this by acts of oppression and injustice exercised against his subjects and by total disregard of all his representations for redress, also by the harsh and uncivil conduct of the Dutch resident towards the court, which was the more obnoxious on account of his having a Javan mother, and for that reason and the illegitimacy of his birth being much despised by the natives. When news of the disaster at the fort reached the Dutch they began to open their eyes to the seriousness of the affair, and decided on immediate action.

Their first step was to absolve the *Pangéran* of *Madura* of his allegiance to his emperor, making him independent.

The deed was formally signed at *Semarang*, and the *pangéran* returned his wife, a sister of the emperor, to her brother. On his return to *Madúra* he immediately ordered the death of all the Chinese in *Madúra*, and with a force took possession of *Sidáyu*, *Tuban*, *Jipang* (Blera), and *Lamúngan*. At *Grésik* alone four hundred were put to death.

The Chinese, now reinforced by the Javans, spread over the whole country without opposition, and laid siege to all the Company's settlements from *Tegál* to *Pasuruan*, but after many attacks on the fort of *Semarang* and the loss of a number of lives, the united forces of the Chinese and the Javans had to give up. The emperor now perceived the mistake he had made in assisting the Chinese and desired to renew his alliance with the Dutch.

The Dutch, on their part, considering the circumstances, found it advisable to enter into friendly relations, and concluded a peace by which were ceded to them the island of *Madura*, *Surabaya*, the sea coast, with all the districts to the eastward as far as *Balambangan* and *Rembang*, *Japara* and *Semarang*, with all their subordinate ports.¹

It was also secretly arranged that the Chinese were to be kept in ignorance of the treaty concluded, and that the emperor was to assist the Dutch in slaughtering them all.

The Chinese hearing, however, of this, moved off to the eastward and vowed vengeance on the emperor for his duplicity.

They marched to *Kerta Sura* and surprised the emperor, who fled, leaving his court and treasures and family to the Chinese. The empress, his sister, and children on horseback, together with his mother, carried by two Europeans, under the conduct of two Dutch officers, escaped through a back-way, but were pursued and overtaken. The Chinese, now beyond all discipline, outraged the princesses of the royal family.

¹ Without the previous restrictions as to revenues.

The emperor collected his troops together as soon as possible and attacked the Chinese, who were not ready. A pitched battle was fought, and the emperor drove them away to *Brambanan*, taking up his abode again in his desecrated and partially-destroyed and now filthy palace, which had been the scene while the Chinese resided there of dreadful orgies.

At *Brambanan* after two months the Dutch troops defeated the Chinese once again, and compelled them to retire over the southern hills in disorder.

A general amnesty was now proclaimed, and, the Chinese availing themselves of it, the war was terminated.

The Dutch, according to the old "Dagh Register" of the "Oude Kasteel" (the day-book of the old Batavia castle), as soon as the Chinese were conquered, sent a long address to the Emperor of China explaining to him their side of the rising and massacre, and proving to him that the Chinese had really brought all their trouble upon themselves by their own foolish behaviour. It seems they were not particularly easy about the matter, and feared a Chinese invasion.

The reply of the emperor was reassuring, however, as he stated that any countrymen of his who left the fatherland were worthless and unpatriotic renegades, who deserved any punishment that might fall upon them. Such was the gist of the laconic reply.

New Capital of Susúhunan at Sura Kerta.—A new capital was now established called *Sura Kerta*, which is the present residence of the emperors of Java.

On the subsequent succession of Baron van Imhoff to the post of governor-general he was of opinion that, notwithstanding the favourable terms granted by the susúhunan, due atonement had not yet been made to the Dutch nation for the outrage committed against the Christian religion and the barbarous treatment of the garrison of the fort at *Kerta Sura*.

The two ringleaders were therefore demanded, and, to enforce compliance, measures were taken to seize the emperor and his son. But the *susúhunan* complied at last and delivered over two priests to the Dutch.

Further Troubles at Madura (1742).—The *Pangéran* of Madura now gave trouble, and, being of a haughty character, declined to make his yearly submission at court. The emperor therefore applied to the Dutch, who did their best to settle matters, but found it difficult to undo what they had themselves done.

As before stated, the Prince of Madura had taken possession of *Sidayu*, *Tuban*, *Jipang*, and *Lamongáú*, and he now refused to restore them either to the emperor or to the Dutch, to whom they had been ceded, and was determined to keep them, if necessary by force. He therefore hired a number of men from Bali, and fortified the island of *Menári* so as to command the harbour of *Surabaya*. He then opened hostilities himself by attacking a Dutch vessel and putting to death several European seamen.

Two thousand Madurese now entered *Surabaya* and burnt a number of *kampongs* (villages), laying the country waste, and five thousand Balian awaited his orders near *Pamekasan*.

The prince, after being thrice defeated, attacked the Dutch forts at *Sumenap* and *Pamekasan*, gaining a complete victory and killing six thousand Javans under Dutch commanders.

It was not long, however, before the Dutch regained these forts, but they could not dislodge the prince from his stronghold; and he now besieged Rembang with six thousand men. *Lasem*, *Pajang Kungung*, and all the villages as far as *Paradesa* were in his possession. At last the fort at Rembang was taken, together with the building yard established there. The Dutch now attacked him vigorously, but the prince, though he left Madura and fled to *Banjer-*

massin, would not give in. Here he took passage in an English ship bound for *Bencoolen*. Before, however, the ship sailed the Sultan of Banjermassin seized him and one of his sons, and sent them at the request of the Dutch to Batavia, who sent the former to the Cape of Good Hope and the latter to Ceylon.

Prince Mangkubumi now rebels.—It was not long, however, before another rebellion broke out, this time the prime mover being *Pangeran Mangkubumi*, a younger brother of the emperor. During the Chinese war he obtained considerable experience, was distinguished for great boldness of character, and became very friendly with the Dutch. Next to *Mangkubumi* the most prominent character was *Paku Negára*. The former lay with his forces at *Bunáran* (Banaran).¹ Continual fights took place, which were at last interrupted by the death of the emperor himself. *Mangkubumi* had evinced a desire to come to terms, and given assurances of his attachment to the Dutch to the governor at *Yogija Kerta*, but demanded that his son should be proclaimed *Pangeran Adipati Matárem* (heir-apparent), a condition the Dutch would not listen to.

More Political Advantages gained by the Dutch.—The reduced state of the emperor's authority before he died gave the Dutch an opportunity for procuring further political advantages for themselves. A weak prince on his death-bed was under existing circumstances easily brought to any terms, in the hope of continuing even the nominal succession in his family. He was compelled by a formal official deed to abdicate for himself and his heirs the sovereignty of the country, conferring it on the Dutch East India Company, and leaving it to them to dispose of it in future to any person they might think competent to govern it for the benefit of the Company and of Java.

¹ Donald Maclean in 1845, and later Baron C. W. van Heeckeren in 1900 owned a coffee estate of this name here.

After recommending his children, and especially the heir-apparent, to the protection of the governor, the unfortunate monarch died.

This very singular, but none the less important, deed was dated the 11th December, 1749.

Mangkubumi now caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, but a son of the deceased emperor was preferred, a boy nine years old.

Mangkubumi inflicts a Crushing Defeat on the Dutch.—This led to more conflicts, and *Mangkubumi* in the *Baglen* and *Kedu* provinces inflicted a tremendous defeat on the Dutch, and of those that escaped the sword many were drowned in an adjoining marsh and the rest were murdered in great numbers by the country-people. *Mangkubumi* now marched to *Pekalongan*, which he plundered.

He then carried all before him, and encamped on the *alun-alun* at Solo. The Dutch now listened to his proposals, and decided to divide up the kingdom of *Matárem*.

Mangkubumi Sultan of Yogyakarta (1755).—A meeting was arranged at *Gingánti*, a village near Solo, and *Mangkubumi* was recognised as Sultan of *Yogyakarta*, on condition he used his utmost exertions to subdue *Paku Negara*, the other claimant.

After a considerable amount of further fighting in which the new Sultan of *Yogyakarta* and the *susuhúnan* at *Surakarta* joined forces, *Paku Negara* was defeated and surrendered. He, however, received an assignment of land to the extent of four thousand cháchas.

Thus ended a war which had lasted for twelve years in the finest provinces in the island, these being laid waste, thousands slain on both sides, and the independence of the empire being finally extinguished.

The expenses incurred by the Dutch for this war are said to have amounted to 4,286,000 guilders; but as a result they obtained, if not the acknowledged sovereignty of the



VIEW OF THE SALAK.



TJIPANAS GAROET.

whole island, at least an effective control over its administration, which after all was what they wanted.

Peace in Java once more.—By this final settlement of the country the Dutch reserved to themselves the direct administration of all the provinces lying on the northern sea coast from Cheribon to the eastern extremity of the island of *Madúra*, but the inland and southern provinces stretching from the highlands of Cheribon to Malang were restored to the native princes, between whom the lands were divided in nearly equal portions—according to the population and *chachas*¹ (that peculiar usage of the country).

Straits of Sunda.—The Dutch claimed now an absolute sovereignty over the Straits of Sunda, and saw to its being acknowledged by all the other Powers whose ships passed through the straits. Of these they required a salute, and held the right of shutting the passage to all nations, though, rather prudently, they never enforced it. This right they explained and maintained to proceed from the circumstance that the land on both sides of the straits was tributary to the country they now owned. From what has preceded the importance of the island of Java to the East India Company will have become evident. The country had been always fertile in productions, which now became articles of great value. With peace wealth increased by leaps and bounds, and the prosperity of the land, at last pacified and governed with a strong hand, exceeded all bounds. The princes of the country, although sovereigns over their own subjects, were nevertheless vassals of the Dutch, and this so far that their heirs were chosen for them.

The dismemberment of the empire of the *susúhunan* and the possession of the entire sea coast rendered the East India Company secure from that power once so formidable, and from the consequences of such prejudicial engagements and alliances as might be entered into by the native princes

¹ Families.

with European Powers ; for although these princes now bowed with reluctance under the yoke which was imposed upon them, they were clever enough to know that, if they were ever fortunate enough to disengage themselves from their present bondage, their power had been so broken that they would still be obliged to yield to the first foreign nation which should have the inclination or power to establish itself upon the island, and perhaps therefore be reduced to a still worse state of servitude than they at this moment experienced under their mild Dutch taskmasters.

The Dutch East India Company (1790).—If the Dutch, however, had gained the supremacy of the island, and had secured the monopoly of a great trade, it had cost them large sums of money. This naturally had its result on their exchequer, although this might have been borne had its disbursers been honest.

The East India Company, which had been going on now for nearly two centuries and had been the means of raising very high the prestige of the Dutch nation, to say nothing of its years of great commercial prosperity, was at last unfortunately overwhelmed in the deep waters of financial difficulties. Some seek the cause in the strain on the exchequer caused by the expensive wars the Company was obliged to undertake to maintain its political ascendancy, but the main reason, of which there does not seem to be much doubt, was the monstrous and iniquitous peculations of the Company's servants. One hears of governor-generals during a five years' term of office "accumulating out of perquisites" eight or nine lakhs of guilders (£80,000 sterling); of governors of Semarang retiring after three years' service with two million guilders (not far from £200,000) "without having defrauded any one" (the Company was presumably not included); of subordinates with £20,000 and £10,000; and so on right down the scale to the lowest.

The weakness showed itself first as early as 1781, when

the Company was unable to pay the interest due and had to ask for time. Its credit was gone, and more loans could only be raised under State guarantee. The States-General decided, therefore, to send a "commission" to look into the affairs of the Company and appointed six commissioners.

By 1793 the Company was in still deeper difficulties, not having sufficient cash to carry on with, and having a debit of 112,000,000 guilders, which by the 1st March, 1796, had become 120,000,000. The Government therefore appointed a committee to take over the affairs and management of "Netherlands India." The old Company was then wound up, and a new body called the "Council for Asiatic Possessions and Establishments" was appointed on behalf of the State, who took over all the property of the bankrupt Company, together with its debts, in 1798. The new body began its formal functions in 1800.

The dividends of the Dutch East India Company from 1605, as will be shown below, were erratic, and in the last years they were paid out of capital.

Years.	Per cent.	In what manner paid.	Years.	Per cent.	In what manner paid.
1605	.. 15	.. Money	1635	.. 12	.. Cloves
1606	.. 75	.. "	1636	.. 25	.. "
1607	.. 40	.. "	"	.. 12½	.. "
1608	.. 20	.. "	1637	.. 15	.. "
1609	.. 25	.. "	"	.. 25	.. "
1610*	.. 75	.. Mace	1638	.. 19	.. Spices
"	.. 50	.. Pepper	"	.. 25	.. "
"	.. 7½	.. Money	1640	.. 15	.. Cloves
* In this year three dividends.			"	.. 25	.. Money
1612	.. 57½	.. "	1641	.. 15	.. Cloves
1615	.. 42½	.. "	"	.. 25	.. "
1616	.. 62½	.. "	1642	.. 50	.. Money
1620	.. 37½	.. "	1643	.. 15	.. "
1623	.. 25	.. Cloves	1644	.. 25	.. Cloves
1625	.. 20	.. Money	"	.. 20	.. "
1627	.. 12½	.. "	1646	.. 22½	.. "
1629	.. 25	.. "	"	.. 25	.. "
1631	.. 17½	.. "	1648	.. 25	.. Money
1633	.. 20	.. "	1649	.. 30	.. "
1635	.. 20	.. Cloves	1650	.. 20	.. "
"	.. 12½	.. "	1651	.. 15	.. "
			1652	.. 25	.. "
			1653	.. 12½	.. "

Years.	Per cent.	In what manner paid.	Years.	Per cent.	In what manner paid.	
1654	.. 15	.. Money	1711	.. 25	.. Money	
1655	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1712	.. 15	.. "
1656	.. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1713	.. 30	.. "
1658	.. 40	.. "	1714	.. 33 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1659	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1715	.. 40	.. "
1660	.. 40	.. "	1716	.. 40	.. "	
1661	.. 25	.. "	1717	.. 40	.. "	
1663	.. 30	.. "	1718	.. 40	.. "	
1665	.. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1719	.. 40	.. "
1668	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1720	.. 40	.. "
1669	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1721	.. 33 $\frac{1}{3}$.. "	
1670	.. 40	.. "	1722	.. 30	.. "	
1671	.. 45	.. "	1723	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
..	.. 15	.. "	1724	.. 15	.. "	
1672	.. 15	.. "	1725	.. 20	.. "	
1673	.. 33 $\frac{1}{3}$	.. In bonds pay- able by the province of Holland.	1726	.. 25	.. "
1676	.. 25	.. Bonds at 4 per cent.	1727	.. 20	.. "	
1679	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. Bonds on Holland at 4 per cent.	1728	.. 15	.. "
1680	.. 25	} Company's bonds.	1729	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1681	.. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	1730	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1682	.. 33 $\frac{1}{3}$.. "	1731	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1685	.. 40	.. Money	1732	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1686	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1733	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1687	.. 20	.. "	1734	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1688	.. 33 $\frac{1}{3}$	.. "	1735	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1689	.. 33 $\frac{1}{3}$	.. "	1736	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1690	.. 40	} Bonds of the Company at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., pay- able in 1740.	1737	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1691	.. 20		.. "	1738	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1692	.. 25		.. "	1739	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1693	.. 20		.. "	1740	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1694	.. 20		.. "	1741	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1695	.. 25		.. "	1742	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1696	.. 15		.. "	1743	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1697	.. 15		.. "	1744	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
..	.. 15		.. "	1745	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1698	.. 15		.. "	1746	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
..	.. 15	.. "	1747	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1699	.. 20	.. Money	1748	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
..	.. 15	.. "	1749	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1700	.. 25	.. "	1750	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1701	.. 20	.. "	1751	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1702	.. 20	.. "	1752	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1703	.. 25	.. "	1753	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1704	.. 25	.. "	1754	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1705	.. 25	.. "	1755	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1706	.. 25	.. "	1756	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1707	.. 25	.. "	1757	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1708	.. 25	.. "	1758	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1709	.. 25	.. "	1759	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
1710	.. 25	.. "	1760	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
			1761	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
			1762	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
			1763	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
			1764	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
			1765	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	
			1766	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "	

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Years.	Per cent.	In what manner paid.	Years.	Per cent.	In what manner paid.
1767	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. Money	1775	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. Money
1768	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1776	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1769	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1777	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1770	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1778	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1771	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1779	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1772	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1780	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1773	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1781	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "
1774	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. "	1782	.. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.. "

The Old Dutch East India Company.—Thus ended the good old Dutch East India Company, which had served its day, but grown antiquated and unscrupulously dishonest, in so far that its agents had been more intent on making money for themselves than for their employers. The old Company was, in fact, rotten to the core, and had become a monstrous creature of iniquity, bribery, and corruption.

The organisation and framework of the administration, however, seem to have been good. They compare, moreover, in no way unfavourably with those of the English East India Company; and had it not been for the permission for private trade on the part of its servants the Company might have survived long after it did.

Organisation of the Company.—The Company's administration was divided into subordinate governments, who all looked to Batavia for assistance and instructions. The pay of the officials was, however, always poor, notwithstanding the large dividends the shareholders were making in the years of the "golden age." This poor pay was no doubt originally based on the cheapness of the cost of living at Bantam when the Company was first installed there, and no allowance was ever made for the greater expense of living which became more or less necessary for its servants when Batavia was opened, and much splendour kept up, to uphold their status in the eyes of the native races, but also for their own personal comfort. The times no doubt demanded it, and the Company, with more foresight, should have increased their scale of salaries. This, however, was not done,

and, as a result, bribery and corruption to meet daily expenses was the order of the day, and the pockets of the officials were filled at the expense of the Company, their servants having everything to gain and nothing to lose by it.

The divisions for government in 1728 were as follows :—

(1) *Batavia*, with its large castle, capital of the Dutch East Indian empire : a governor-general. All other governors, factors or agents subordinate. Accounts-general kept here. The governor-general had under him at *Batavia* a governor and council ; at *Japan*, an agent ; at *Tonquin*, an agent ; at *Macassar*, a commandant ; at *Bantam*, a factory with a factor ; at *Siam*, an agent ; at *Japara*, a factory with a factor ; at *Jambi*, an agent ; at *Palembang*, an agent ; at *Arrakan*, an agent.

(2) *Amboyna* : a governor and council, responsible, as usual, to *Batavia*. A number of islands, with agents, under this station. A yearly pension was paid to the inhabitants that they should not grow cloves or other spices.

(3) *Banda* : a governor and council. A number of islands subordinate. Pension paid to the inhabitants for them to destroy a portion of their spice-crops.

(4) *Ternate* : a governor and council.

(5) *Malacca* : a governor and council.

(6) *Ceylon* (or *Zelon*) : a governor and council. A number of factories, with agents and factors on the island. All accounts sent to *Colombo*, which was the capital.

(7) *Cochin* : a governor and council. All stations and factories on the *Malabar* coast subordinate to them.

(8) *Policat* (*Calicut*) : a governor and council, under whom all stations and factories on the *Coromandel* and *Pegu* coasts were subordinate.

(9) *Bengal* : a governor (with special high powers) and council, but still subordinate to *Batavia*, whither all accounts were sent. All factories in the *Bay of Bengal* subordinate to them. *Hughly* (or *Hooghly*) was the capital.



KANDJENG PANGARAN ARIO JOEDO
NEGORO. (ADOPTED SON OF THE
SULTAN.)



KANDJENG PANGARAN ARIO ADI NEGORO.
(SON OF THE SULTAN BY A SECON-
DARY WIFE.)



GOESTI PANGARAN ARIO BOEMI NOTO,
(BROTHER TO THE SULTAN.)



GOESTI PANGARAN ADIPATI MANGHOE
BOEMI, (BROTHER TO THE SULTAN,
COLONEL-ADJUTANT TO THE GOVER-
NOR-GENERAL.)

(10) *Surat*: a governor and council, under whom were numerous factories.

(11) *Persia*: a governor and council. The chief residence was at *Gombroon*, but establishments at *Ispahan* and *Bussorah*.

(12) *Cape of Good Hope*: a governor and council, and under them the island of Mauritius (or Prince Maurice).

The lowest step in the ladder of the Company was that of "under-assistant," or "scribe" (writer); this position was filled chiefly by soldiers, generally from the Guards, which latter were supposed to be better educated; their pay was £14 per annum.

Next came the "assistant," who received £20 per annum, and an allowance for subsistence (about £6 per annum).

After the "assistants" came the "upper assistants," "book-keepers," or "secretaries" as they usually were called. They were paid £28 to £36 per annum, and about £6 for subsistence.

Next came the "under-copeman" (or "koopman"), that is, "salesman"; he received £36 to £45 per annum, and about £12 for subsistence.

Then the "copeman," with from £50 to £65 per annum, and about £12 for subsistence.

Next was the "upper copeman" (or "head salesman"), with £80 to £120 per annum, and £18 for subsistence.

At Batavia and in Ceylon, where provisions were exceptionally dear, the "upper copeman" stationed there received a little more per annum for subsistence than in the other places, but as this only amounted to about £1 per annum it was of no importance.

After "upper copeman" came "commandore," with a pay of £150 per annum, and about £40 per annum for subsistence.

Then came "commandant," who was of slightly less

importance than a "commandore." It was a new title for a junior man.

The next title was "director," with £200 salary, and £50 for subsistence.

A "governor," or a member of the governor-general's "council-extraordinary for India," received the same pay.

A "member ordinary" of the council at Batavia received £350 salary, and £150 for subsistence.

These were the men who did all the work.

The "governor-general" of Batavia received £1,200, and about £300 for subsistence. Besides this, every time he called upon the fleet he had £100 as a gratuity. This was supposed to be done when a squadron sailed for Europe.

All persons in the service of the Company, whether merchants, clerics, civil magistrates, soldiers or seamen, were ranked in degrees.

The "governor-general" was allowed wine and all other liquors and provisions from the Company's warehouse to what extent he desired. All the other officials down to the assistants, according to their rank, were allowed a certain quantity of liquor, spices, oil, wood, rice, vinegar, and candles.

The "upper copeman" received monthly a special allowance of Spanish wine and white wine, 24 lbs. of wax for candles, corn for his poultry, and rice for his slaves. This special treatment was due to the fact that the selling of the Company's goods was entirely left to him, and he could accept what price he chose from the Chinese merchants.

A *common soldier*, or private sentinel, received £9 to £14 per annum.

A *sergeant* received the same pay and subsistence allowance as an "assistant," an *ensign* the same as a "copeman," and a *captain* the same as an "upper copeman."

A *major* ranked with a "commandore," and received the same pay and conditions.

There seem to have been only three majors in the East, one at Batavia and the others in Ceylon and Amboyna.

The seamen were also ranked in a very similar way to the soldiers.

The clergymen were also ranked; first came the "preacher" (he received the same pay as an "upper copeman"); then the "dominees," or "visitors to the sick," who received the same pay as an "assistant."

A surgeon's pay was £40 to £50 per annum.

The "assistants" were under contract to remain in their positions five years, which through ill-health could be reduced to three; they might then leave the service or receive promotion (if they had a mark of merit), as they might wish.

The Company found accommodation for all their servants.

Everything seems to have been well and methodically arranged.

At every castle or factory a day register was kept, in which everything of importance was noted, a copy of it being sent with the accounts to Batavia and Amsterdam.

There was a chamber for protecting the interests of the orphans. There was, too, a body to look after the poor.

Money in the "Court of Chancery" was given 9 per cent. interest, and lent by the court, at their own risk, to civilians or others at 12 per cent.

The old papers and documents show that the administration of the country, the welfare of the inhabitants, and the general conduct of all the officials was, speaking broadly, fairly good. Theirs was a great task, and it was, for the times, well performed.

As already stated, the foundations of this organisation were undoubtedly good, but the material for the administra-

tion was generally poor, the riff-raff of Holland often being sent to Java. The Dutch have proved, however, the wisdom of their early measures in the days of the old Company, for many of them are in force to this day.

There may, of course, have been times when the Dutch laid themselves open to severe criticism, like all the nations, but the age was rough and the methods uncouth; great allowances must be made, and actions must not be measured by twentieth century standards.

Marshal Herman Willem Daendels as Governor-General.—Between 1794 and 1797, when the army of the French Republic carried all before it and the conquest of Holland was completed, one Herman Willem Daendels, a Dutchman, who had been obliged to leave Holland for some political offence, waited upon Napoleon and suggested his forming a large French colony in the East and making Java his base for seizing British India. The idea was favourably received, but Napoleon had then no time to carry out large plans for expansion in the East, as his hands were full and the English were beginning to make preparations for worrying him in Europe. He was, however, willing to consider it, and here, for the time, the idea ended.

In 1808, however, Daendels was sent to Java as governor-general by special appointment from Napoleon. He had also "special instructions," for various abuses had again crept into the administration of the East Indies, and the Government wished to remove them. In some ways it could not have chosen a better man than Daendels, for, although his temper was fiery and his character erratic, he had a will of iron, and he saw that his orders were carried out to the very letter, which was what the Government at home needed. On the other hand, like many great men, he went too far, and mistakes were made which led to the recall of Daendels; but whether he or the home Government were to blame is as yet not clear. Probably there were

faults on both sides. He arrived at a difficult time, and was severely handicapped.

A year or so before Daendels' arrival the British Admiral, Pellew, arrived in Java (1806), sought out the Dutch squadrons, and destroyed the main units at Batavia, Sourabaya, and Gressie.

Daendels' first task was to place the defences in order, for instead of the Dutch attacking the English in British India it was the English who might at any moment sweep down on Java and attack him. The French flag was now hoisted by him for the first time at Batavia.

Daendels now became most active and unremitting in his exertions; after the fall of Mauritius he did not doubt Java's turn would be next, and amongst the Dutch colonists in Java there was a kind of reign of terror, for they felt that now Holland was a French department their fate lay between the English and the French, and they did not know which they preferred.

Daendels marshalled the army, which seems to have consisted of about thirty thousand men.

Cavalry (one regiment of five squadrons)	. . . . .	1,200
Infantry (seven regiments of three battalions of five companies each)	. . . . .	21,000
Artillery	. . . . .	3,000
Chasseurs	. . . . .	3,000
Horse artillery	. . . . .	1,000
		<hr/>
Total	. . . . .	29,200

Besides which there were about two thousand natives, armed with pikes, from Timor and Bali. These troops Daendels concentrated for the most part at Weltevreden, outside Batavia.

The fortifications of old Batavia were dismantled, stores, ammunition, and archives being removed; while an endeavour was made to force the inhabitants to desert it

likewise. The seat of the Government was moved to Buitenzorg, a hill station forty miles outside Batavia, situated in what in those days were called the Blue Mountains.

Weltevreden was made a military post of first importance—a fortified camp, so to say—and at Meester Cornelis, on the main road to Buitenzorg, a strong fort was erected, with batteries which commanded the country around.

A fortress was also built at *Marah* Bay, in the west of Bantam, being a likely place for the enemy to land; this, however, was destroyed by the British fleet before it was even completed. It was intended to hold three thousand soldiers, but the spot was such an unhealthy one that it is very doubtful whether any could have lived there. The first thousand Javan workmen from Bantam died off here in a very short time from fever. A demand was therefore sent to the Sultan of Bantam for a second party of a thousand men, but exemption was requested on account of the unhealthiness of the bay. Daendels, however, would not hear of it and threatened to remove the Sultan, whereupon the Bantamese rose, seized the European guard at the Sultan's palace, and stabbed the Dutch resident, Du Pay, to death as he was leaving the Sultan's palace after an extremely violent altercation. Daendels now marched to Bantam with a force and surrounded the palace, planting his artillery so as to command it. He now rode inside alone and ordered the Sultan to come out to receive him, which he did. Daendels' next step was to enter the throne-room with his suite and sit on the Sultan's throne. The palace was now plundered by the Dutch troops, and Bantam was annexed by the Government. It was several years, however, before this residency was pacified.

Fort Ludowyck was next erected to command the Straits of Grissee, and military roads of great length were constructed at a prodigious loss of life.

Daendels next had trouble with the Sultan of Djockjakarta,¹ whither he proceeded in person, and by his energy and personal pluck soon settled the matter. His ways were high-handed, but the results always satisfactory.

Before his term of governor-generalship was over Java was being harassed by British cruisers, who controlled all the main routes and the bulk of the stations on the outside islands. Consequently the trade of the island was restricted and the coasting trade had completely died. Under this paralysing influence the internal trade of Java suffered also, and Daendels has been severely blamed for not having done more to rectify this state of affairs than he did.

Arrival of Governor-General Janssens.—Towards the end of 1810 very adverse reports must have reached Napoleon regarding Daendels, for Jan Willem Janssens was sent out to Java early in 1811, with special orders peremptorily calling on Daendels to resign the Government at twenty-four hours' notice, and instructing him to embark for France immediately, no reasons being given.

Departure of Daendels.—It was scarcely with any feelings of regret that the European inhabitants, civilians and officials alike, saw Daendels depart, for he was hated by all with an intensity difficult to describe, being looked upon, in fact, by some as a monster in disguise. Lord Minto's strictures upon Daendels are plain and unvarnished :—

“ Daendels was a wretch in every imaginable way, one of the monsters which the worst times of the French Revolution engendered, or rather lifted from the mud at the bottom to flounce and figure away their hour upon the surface. He was greedy, corrupt, and rascally in amassing money for himself, and equally unjust and oppressive in procuring public supplies. He was cruel, and regardless of men's lives beyond most of the revolutionary tyrants in the reign of terror. He ordered two Javanese princes, confined by him as state prisoners, to be privately murdered, and became savage from the delay which

¹ Old Javan spelling, Joggakerta.

arose from the scruples of the officer in whose custody they were, a Providential delay, for Janssens arrived in the interval, and passing through the place on his way to Batavia, saved the victims. Daendels was as great a brute as tyrant in his pleasures, and no man's family was safe. In short, none of the worst of the Roman pro-consuls ever vexed and scourged their provinces, too distant for control, with more extortion and cruelty than this villain."

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Daendels arrived at a time when everything was abnormal, and that he had many disadvantages continually to struggle against. On his arrival in Java he apparently foresaw trouble and criticisms, and in a despatch to the home Government he described the situation very vividly as follows :—

"A powerful enemy threatened us by sea, and the Javan princes, acquiring audacity in proportion as they saw proofs of our weakness, thought the moment had arrived for prescribing the law to their former superiors. The very existence of our dominions in Java was thus in the greatest danger. Our internal resources of finance were exhausted, while a stagnation of trade caused by the blockade of our shores cut off all hopes of procuring assistance from without. In the midst of such disastrous circumstances and the failure of so many attempts to introduce reform, and to maintain the dignity of government, *I found it necessary to place myself above the usual formalities, and to disregard every law but that which enjoined the preservation of the colony entrusted to my management.* The verbal order which I received at my departure from Holland had this for its object, and the approbation bestowed upon my ear by attempts to carry it into execution encouraged me in the course of proceedings which I had begun."

Moluccas once more under the Control of the English.—In 1810 the Moluccas came once more under the control of the English, who sent an expedition to Amboyna, which was the capital and seat of government of all the Spice Islands.

The fort here, held by a garrison of six hundred Dutch soldiers, mounted sixty cannon.

The capture of this place by the small squadron under

Captain Edward Tucker, of H.M.S. *Dover*, was a meritorious deed.

The troops employed in this service landed at 2 p.m. on the 16th February, 1810. They consisted of:—

Detachment Madras Artillery, under Lieutenant Stewart	46 men.
Madras European Regiment	130 „
Seamen, Royal Marines of H.M.S. <i>Dover</i>	85 „
„ „ of H.M.S. <i>Cornwallis</i>	105 „
Seamen of H.M. sloop <i>Samarang</i>	38 „
	<hr/>
Total	404

Captain Court, attended by Captains Phillips and Forbes, had previously reconnoitred the enemy's position, and therefore knew where was the best place to land ; and under cover of a tremendous fire from the squadron, which bombarded the fort in line of battle up the harbour, the landing party endeavoured to rush the fort. Next morning a summons was sent to Governor Lavinus Hankurlugt to surrender, and a reply was returned by Colonel Fitz, the military commander-in-chief of the Moluccas,¹ and the fort was surrendered on the 19th February.

Afterwards an interesting scene took place, when the British landing party was drawn up outside the fort to wait for the Dutch force of Europeans and Malay soldiers, with the crews of several vessels, to come out ; the latter marched in order four deep from the fort and outflanked the British by double the length of their line. When this was discovered their vexation and mortification was great, for they had, so to say, been beaten by a handful of men. Execrations were vented, and several of the officers broke their swords in anger, whilst the rank and file wanted to receive their arms back to begin fighting again.

¹ As soon as Colonel Fitz arrived at Batavia he was shot for surrendering this post by Governor-General Daendels.

Ternate taken by the English.—Ternate was taken by Captain Tucker on the 28th August of the same year, with the following force under Captain David Forbes :—

Madras European Regiment of Artillery	. 74 men.
Amboynese Corps	32 „
Royal Marines	36 „
Seamen	32 „
	—
Total	174

The fort Kays Meirah, commanded by the governor, Colonel Mittman, received a summons from H.M.S. *Dover* to surrender, but returned a spirited answer. Next day Captain Forbes, accompanied by Lieutenants Jefferies, Royal Navy, Higginson, Royal Marines, and Forbes and Curshaw, of the Madras Service, placed ladders against the fort, after having crossed the ditch under a heavy grape fire, escalated the walls, and carried it, killing a number of the garrison, and taking the governor and sixty-eight men prisoners.

The British loss was the serjeant-major and two privates killed, and one lieutenant, one serjeant, one seaman, one guide, and twelve privates wounded.

The other forts in the neighbourhood, Kota Baroo and Fort Orange, were then silenced by H.M.S. *Dover* and hoisted a flag of truce.

On the 31st August all the forts and batteries of Ternate surrendered. These works were defended by ninety-two guns of heavy calibre, five hundred regular troops, of which many were Europeans, besides a number of civilians, and a large body of soldiers supplied by the rajahs there.

All the stations dependent on Amboyna naturally followed the same course, and were taken possession of by H.M.S. *Cornwallis*. This ship (on the evening of the 1st March) saw a strange sail under an island called Amblaw, and sent Lieutenant Peachey, Mr. Garland (master), and

Mr. Sanderson (master's mate) to proceed in the yawl and find out to what nation she belonged. On drawing near they found she was the *Margaretta Louisa*, a Dutch man-of-war under Captain G. Ruyter, with eight guns and forty men. Lieutenant Peachey under fire boarded the ship with his men and captured her with a loss of five men wounded, whilst the Dutch lost one officer killed and twenty men wounded.

Ceram taken by the English.—Ceram was also taken, and it was here that Captain Blanckenhagen, of the Bengal Service, lost his life in an unsuccessful attack on a refractory Rajah.

Banda taken.—H.M.S. *Cornwallis*, under the command of Captain Christopher Cole, seized Banda, in spite of considerable difficulties, in August of the same year, and named the fort "Fort Drury" after the British admiral.

These were the few preliminaries to the arrival of the British expedition which Governor-General Janssens and the Dutch inhabitants were daily expecting.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

NOTE I.—LIST OF THE EARLY ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS TO JAVA AND THE EAST INDIES DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S EXISTENCE.

Date of Departure from England.	Voyage of Company's Ships.	Commander.	Name of Ships.	Tons.	Remarks.
1577, Nov. 5	—	Francis Drake ^{1 2}	<i>Hind</i> . . .	100	} Arrived Moluccas, Nov. 8, 1578 } Arrived Bantam, Feb. 8, 1579
			<i>Elizabeth</i> . .	80	
			<i>Marigold</i> . . .	30	
			<i>Swan</i> . . .	50	
			<i>Christopher</i> . .	15	
1586, July 10	—	Thomas Caven- dish ^{1 2}	<i>Desire</i> . . .	140	} Arrived Bantam, March 1, 1587 } Left Bantam, March 16, 1587
			<i>Content</i> . . .	60	
			<i>Hugh Gal- lant</i> . . .	40	
1591	—	George Raymond	<i>Penelope</i> . .	—	} Lost off the Cape with all lives

¹ Afterwards knighted.

² See account of voyage in Chapters IV. and X.

NOTE I.—(continued).

Date of Departure from England.	Voyage of Company's Ships.	Commander.	Name of Ships.	Tons.	Remarks.
1591	—	James Lancaster	<i>Edward</i> . <i>Bonadventure</i> . <i>Merchant Royal</i> .	— — —	Arrived Acheen, 1592 Sent back from Cape with sick
1601	First .	James Lancaster ¹	<i>Red Dragon</i> <i>Hector</i> . <i>Sussanah</i> <i>Ascension</i> <i>Guest</i> .	600 300 200 200 130		Arrived Acheen, Nov. 1602 (arrived Bantam, Dec. 16, 1602) Sent back from Acheen with pepper and despatches Sent to the Moluccas Arrived Bantam, Dec. 20, 1604 Left Bantam, Oct. 4, 1605
1603	Second	Henry Middleton ^{1 2 3}	<i>Red Dragon</i> <i>Hector</i> . <i>Sussanah</i> <i>Ascension</i>	600 300 ?200 ?200	Henry Middleton extended the Company's trade to Banda Arrived Bantam, Oct. 28 1605
1604, Dec. 5	—	Edward Michelborne ^{3 4}	<i>Tiger</i> . <i>Tiger's Whelp</i> . Another ship	246 50 —		Left Bantam, Nov. 1, 1605, for Batavia
1607, April 1	Third .	William Keeling ³	<i>Red Dragon</i>	600	Arrived Bantam, Oct. 4, 1608
		William Hawkins	<i>Hector</i> .	300	Arrived Bantam <i>via</i> Surat
March 12	—	David Middleton ³	<i>Consent</i> .	115	Arrived Bantam, Nov. 14, 1607 Left Bantam, Dec. 6, 1607, for the Moluccas All three ships loaded pepper and returned to England
1608 ?	Fourth .	Sharpey or Sharpeigh ⁵	<i>Ascension</i>	—	Visited Diu, and ship was wrecked here; came in another ship to Bantam

¹ Afterwards knighted.

² There had been no ships for the English factory for two years.

³ See account of voyage in Chapter X.

⁴ Michelborne, when he arrived in the East, instead of trying to find new ports for trade, appears to have followed the pernicious example of the Portuguese in plundering the native traders among the islands of the archipelago. By this means he secured great booty, but brought great disgrace on the British name, and thus hindered the Company's business at Bantam.

⁵ Some give William Keeling as in command of the *Ascension*; even Sir G. Birdwood, on p. 208 of "Report on the Old Records of the India Office," does so. I believe this is incorrect.

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NOTE I.—(continued).

Date of Departure from England.	Voyage of Company's Ships.	Commander.	Name of Ships.	Tons.	Remarks.
	—	Richard Rowles	<i>Union</i>	—	Loaded with pepper at Priaman, on coast of Sumatra, and was lost on her way home off coast
1609, April 24	Fifth	David Middleton ¹	<i>Expedition</i>	—	Took in a cargo at Puloway. Left Nov. 16, 1610, for England
1610	Sixth	Sir Henry Middleton ²	<i>Trades</i>	—	Arrived Bantam, Oct. 9, 1610
			<i>Increase</i>	—	
		Nicholas Daunton or Downton	<i>Peppercorn Darling</i>	—	
1610, Jan. 3	Seventh	Anthony Hippon ¹	<i>Globe</i>	—	Sir Henry Middleton loaded the two ships with pepper and spice and sent them home Arrived Bantam, April 26, 1612, having visited Siam and Malay Peninsula
1611, April 18	Eighth	John Saris ¹	<i>Clove</i>	—	Arrived Bantam, Oct. 24, 1612
			<i>Hector</i>	—	Left Bantam, Jan. 14, 1613, leaving ten men behind
			<i>Thomas</i>	—	Returned to Bantam, Jan. 3, 1614; found only five of his men alive
1612	Ninth	Edmund Marlowe ³	<i>James</i>	—	Arrived Bantam, Dec. 20, 1612 Left Bantam, Feb. 4, 1613
1612	Tenth	Thomas Best	<i>Hoseander</i>	—	Visited India
			<i>Hector</i>	—	
			<i>James</i>	—	
			<i>Solomon</i>	—	
1614	Eleventh	John Milward	<i>Solomon</i>	—	Arrived Bantam, Feb. 14, 1615
			<i>James</i>	—	Left Bantam, March 14, 1615
1615	Twelfth	Christopher Newport	<i>Expedition</i>	—	<i>Globe</i> arrived Jan. 3, 1615; left Feb. 22, 1615 Visited India
					This was the last separate voyage of the Company. After this came "joint stock" voyages

¹ See account of voyage in Chapter X.

² Died at Matsjan, in the Moluccas, in 1615, from broken heart, caused by sorrow at the ill-luck of factories in the Moluccas.

³ Died Bantam, the 5th August, 1615.

NOTE I.—(continued).

Date of Departure from England.	Voyage of Company's Ships.	Commander.	Name of Ships.	Tons.	Remarks.
1616	—	Richard Hunt .	—	—	Attacked Hollanders at Bantam, but was wounded in three places and died July 24, 1617
1617	—	Martin Pring .	Five ships	—	Arrived Bantam, July 19, 1618 Arrived Jacatra, Sept. 2, 1618 Left Jacatra, Oct. 31, 1618
1618	—	Thomas Dale .	Six ships .	—	Arrived Bantam, Nov. 22, 1618 Arrived Jacatra, Dec. 17, 1618 Admiral Dale died Masulipatam, Aug. 19, 1619 Admiral Pring remained at Bantam till July, 1620, and then sailed with two ships to Japan
1619	—	—	Three ships	—	Arrived Bantam
1620	—	—	Six ships .	—	Arrived Bantam At end of 1618, begin 1619, Dale attacked Hollanders at Batavia with eight ships, whilst Pring, with six ships, watched the Straits of Sunda to prevent any new Dutch ships passing to their friends' assistance. Pring had no success, however

NOTE II.—A LIST SHOWING WHERE THE ENGLISH HAVE POSSESSED FACTORIES AT DIFFERENT TIMES IN THE EAST INDIES BEFORE 1811.

Malay Peninsula.—Siam, Cochin China, Pegu, Quedah, Johore, Camodia, Patany, and Ligore.

Island of Sumatra.—Acheen, Jambee, Passaman, Priaman, Sillebar, Ticcoo, Fort York, Bencoolen or Fort Marlborough, Idapur, Tyamong, and Padang.

Island of Java.—Bantam, Japara, Jacatra (later called Batavia), Balambangan, and Aujer.

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Island of Borneo.—Banjarmassin, Succadana, and Sambas.

Island of Celebes.—Macassar and Menado.

Moluccas.—Lantore, or Great Banda, islands of Rosengyu, and Puloway, Island of *Amboyna* and *Pulo Roon* (the East India Company's own Property).

NOTE III.—1811.—MEMBERS OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT JUST BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH.

Herman Willem Daendels, Governor-General.

Nicolaus Engelhard, Governor of the Eastern Districts in Java.

J. A. van Braam, President of the Supreme Council.

W. H. van Ysseldyk, Director-General and Member of Council.

P. T. Chassé, Director-General and Member of Council.

W. van Hoesen,

H. A. Parvé,

W. Wardenaar,

J. C. Romswinckel,

W. A. Senn van Basel,

F. J. Rothenbuhler,

H. W. Muntinghe,

W. V. H. van Riemsdyk,

M. Q. A. Canter Visscher,

J. M. Baljeé,

J. J. Vogelaar,

} Members of Council.

THE BRITISH PERIOD

CHAPTER VII

LIFE OF SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES

It would be inappropriate to proceed further in this history before giving an account of the life of that great statesman, empire maker, administrator, and naturalist, founder of the colony and city of Singapore, and maintainer of British supremacy and honour in the East Indian Archipelago at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.

Thomas Stamford Raffles was born at sea on board the ship *Ann* in the harbour of Port Morant, Jamaica, on the 5th July, 1781. He was the only son of Benjamin Raffles, one of the oldest captains in the East India trade, from the port of London, a man of good birth and education; and his mother was a Dutch lady born in Amsterdam, Miss Lindemann. Raffles' grandfather held a high Government position with an unblemished reputation.

The family came from Beverley, Yorkshire, where the name Raffles frequently occurs in the old registers for upwards of three centuries.

After education at a school at Hammersmith, he secured a position in the year 1795 as an extra clerk in the East India House. He was at the time only fourteen years of age, consequently his education could not have been completed. However, the deficiency was made up by his own exertions in the few leisure hours a close attendance at office permitted.

Stamford Raffles was early remarked for his assiduity and great application to business. He displayed the thoughtfulness and vigour of mind, fertility in resource, punctuality and

devotion to his duties, and several other attributes which distinguished him in after years, and which placed him above all his colleagues.

His mind was a high and noble one, but few understood him or his intense earnestness and desire to achieve a great name and position; and he regarded appreciation and recognition of his services, like all high-minded men, above anything else obtainable.

In 1805 the Court of Directors of the East India Office decided on sending out an establishment to Penang, or, as it was then known, Prince of Wales Island, and one of the departmental chiefs, being aware of the peculiar fitness and talents of Raffles for office, mentioned his name to Sir Hugh Inglis, who from this strong recommendation gave him the appointment of assistant secretary of the new establishment, Mr. Philip Dundas being appointed Governor, Mr. John Oliphant first member of Council, and Mr. Pearson secretary. A number of civilians who desired to open up trade there also went, many of whom succeeded in making fortunes.

Raffles arrived at Penang in September, 1805, in the Company's ship *Ganges*, which was commanded by Captain Harrington, a brother of the late member of Council at Bengal. Before he arrived he was master of the Malay language.

Ten years' practice and experience in the India House gave the assistant secretary many advantages over his fellows in the new Government, and he appears to have immediately made his value felt in the new colony. He was very fond of the Malays, and devoted his spare hours to the study of their manners, customs and character, and among them, for his courteous and amiable demeanour, he soon became esteemed. His house was always open to them, and the natives delighted to visit a man who would condescend to be polite and take an interest in their affairs. Through the advantages derived from this intercourse and



SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES.

his evening labours, Raffles was enabled to distinguish himself when the opportunity, which was not long delayed, presented itself.

The chief secretary, Mr. Pearson, falling ill, Raffles took his place, and his ability became more and more marked, and when the former had to proceed to Europe, Raffles received a seat in the Council.

In the year 1806 Dr. Leyden visited Penang for the benefit of his health and resided with Raffles for some months. Dr. Leyden was delighted with the industry and evident talent of his host, and when he returned to Bengal they continued to correspond.

Raffles gave to his letters the style of essays, and the amiable doctor took every opportunity of bringing them and their author to the notice of his patron, the Earl of Minto, at that time Governor-General of India. After reading the paper on the Malay race¹ his lordship told Dr. Leyden to inform Raffles that he was much pleased, and begged that any further information relating to the Eastern settlements might be forwarded direct to himself.

In 1808 Raffles completely broke down from overwork ; he being never very robust, the fatigue, responsibility, and worry attaching to the office of secretary in the organisation of a new Government, and in a climate which had already proved fatal to many, was too much for him. His seniors, always solicitous for his health and welfare, suggested a long voyage, but Raffles would not hear of it, and his only desire was quickly to recover in order to do his duties ; he, however, proceeded to Malacca for a change of air.

It was here he had the opportunity of mixing with an Oriental population, people from all parts of Asia, Java, Amboyna, Celebes, Borneo, New Guinea, China, and Bengal. With them he enjoyed conversing, and gaining all the

¹ See Lady Raffles' "Life, etc.," p. 15.

information they could impart to him about the surrounding countries.

Whilst he was away at Malacca the Governor wrote to him as follows :—

“ My dear Sir,—A thousand thanks for your kind letters, which I had the pleasure to receive from you. . . .

It is distressing to me, my dear Sir, to be under the necessity of stating in this pointed manner the unavoidable exigence of the case, but such is the case, that we cannot make up any despatches for the Court (in London) without your assistance. This is truly hard on you, under your present delicate state of health, but I trust you will believe that nothing else would induce me to press so hard on you at this time. . . .

“ To Mr. Raffles.”

Within a few years after his arrival Raffles had made a name for himself in the East Indies as second to none in his knowledge of all the surrounding islands and their inhabitants, and his name was repeatedly brought before the Viceroy of India, who placed himself in private correspondence with him, and when the Moluccas were seized by the English in 1810 wished to send him there to govern, such a high opinion had he of his talents. Penang, however, still had need of his services, and it was clear that he was merely being kept by the Government for still greater things.

When Napoleon was carrying out at this period his great schemes for conquering the world, the annexation of Holland to France placed all the valuable and extensive possessions of the Dutch at his mercy. The English, however, not desirous of seeing the French nation become as powerful in the East as it already was in the West, immediately decided upon the occupation of the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon. It now became known that General Daendels was on his way out to make Java the base of operations for obtaining the French political ascendancy by the occupation

and annexation of British India. His opportunity had been given to Raffles when he began his direct correspondence with Lord Minto, and he was prepared to improve it. Towards the end of 1810 he proceeded to Calcutta, where he was received with great kindness, and on his return was appointed to be Governor-General's Agent for the Eastern Seas, and directed to reside at Malacca. The Indian authorities were now occupied in the attempt to drive the French out of these seas, their privateers having done so much damage to English shipping that no exertions were spared to deprive them of any place for refitting their ships. The Dutch had been forced into a European war, and their colonies were in consequence liable to capture. Raffles now furnished the Court of Directors with the fullest information respecting the East generally, and more particularly Java, against which place Lord Minto decided, after a study of Raffles' very full information, to send a force.

After all the preliminary arrangements had been made and Raffles had got into communication with all the chiefs in the Archipelago, the expedition left India in 1811, with Lord Minto in command. The rendezvous was Malacca, where his lordship arrived on the 9th May, having previously landed at Penang on the 18th April. Every possible information had been provided beforehand by Raffles for the purposes of the expedition, even to the deciding on the best route for the ships to sail from Malacca to Batavia.

Lord Minto was astounded at Raffles' forethought and intelligence, for the latter had made use of every one who could give the slightest piece of information regarding Java, which the Dutch had for centuries been jealously guarding, that other nations should never learn its real value. Captain Burn, an Englishman trading at Pontianak, Robert Scott,¹ who had a private dwelling-house at Penang, called "Kelso" (which Lord Minto visited), Captain John Greig, and

¹ See Robert Scott, merchant, in the material to be published later.

Mr. Stewart were all requisitioned in turn by Raffles and closely interrogated by him, being given lists of questions to which to furnish replies.

The route marked out by Raffles Lord Minto decided, against the advice of all the naval officers, to adopt, and the fleet proceeded by the direct way instead of by that way hitherto used along the coast of Borneo.

The fleet was in one long line of ninety sail, with H.M.S. *Modeste*, on board of which were Lord Minto and Raffles, closing up the rear.

What Raffles' feelings must have been when standing beside Lord Minto as the ships one by one dropped anchor in the Bay of Chillinching on the 30th July, without a single mishap, may be better imagined than described.

No doubt he felt that at last his great and well-formed ideas for the aggrandisement of his nation in the East were about to be realised.

The troops disembarked on the 4th August in splendid order, and after a brilliant feat of arms captured Batavia, Governor-General Janssens capitulating the island on the 18th September, 1811.

Raffles was appointed to be Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, not only as a mark of his peculiar fitness for this office but as a special acknowledgment of the valuable services he had rendered ; and thus six years after his arrival in India, without interest or friends, and solely dependent on his own exertions, he was elevated to one of the highest offices in the Empire.

It is not necessary here to enter into an extended examination of Raffles' policy in Java, but, as it turned out, all Englishmen and well-read Dutchmen will agree that no better choice could have been made, and the vigorous energy he displayed during the five years the English ruled Java is a marvel to all those who have had the advantage of closely studying his administration.



FORT TAGGAL (TEGAL). 1811. (BRITISH FLAG IS FLYING.)



FORT CHERIBON, 1811.

He was everywhere and did everything, travelling, when time permitted, from one end of the island to the other to inquire personally whether his orders were being carried out in the spirit he desired, in one tireless effort conscientiously to do his duty to God and man. The Dutch before the arrival of the English had possession only of Sunda and the western part of the island, but under Raffles' government Soerakarta and Djockjokarta were reduced, and, as Raffles in one of his famous despatches stated, "the European power is for the first time paramount in Java." Except in the neighbourhood of Batavia, the native regents had been permitted to govern the country as they pleased, provided they were civil to the European officials and supplied their proper share of grain and labour when called on. The revenues had been derived from a monopoly of the retail sale of opium, spirits, toddy, etc., from gambling and cock-fighting farms, from transit and customs duties, and from the forced delivery of produce at prices below the market value.

Raffles introduced a new system. Availing himself of the acknowledged Asiatic right of sovereignty over the soil, he fixed on an equable and moderate land rent, and abolished the forced deliveries of produce, the right to exact labour, and all tolls and imposts, which had hitherto been a bar to improvement and had impoverished the island, neither the Dutch nor the Javans reaping much benefit therefrom, the only people winning any advantage from these ancient and out-of-date methods being the Chinese, who had already grown inordinately rich all over the island.

Raffles was also very fond of committees, establishing a "Revenue Committee,"¹ a "Commercial Committee,"² a "Committee for the Improvement of the Town Suburbs,"

¹ The Revenue Committee was established on the 13th August, 1813.

² The Commercial Committee was established between the 9th and 17th June, 1813 (see "Engelschen op Java," door J. Hageman).

a chief paymaster with a committee,¹ and so forth. All these bodies had definite duties to perform, and were expected to furnish full particulars on certain prescribed subjects when called upon by the central Government. Before, however, sufficient time had been allowed to test the value of the new system, which was obviously a great improvement on the earlier one, Java was restored to the Dutch. No question in connection with Eastern Asia has ever been canvassed more than the restoration of this island to its former masters, and Raffles at the time, in a bitter letter of reproach to a friend, says "the island has been transferred by the English Government in total ignorance of its value to the Dutch."

It has also been asserted that the national interests were unjustifiably sacrificed; that the real value of the island was unknown; that the Lord Castlereagh was imposed upon by the flattering attention of the allied sovereigns, who were loud in their praise of the generous magnanimity of the great English nation which had fought the battle of Europe on the most disinterested principles; and that he consented to the restoration without having sufficiently considered the matter. It must, however, be recollected that in consequence of the large military force necessary to maintain possession the expenses far exceeded the revenue. The arrangements of Raffles not having had time to produce the expected results in improving the financial condition of the settlement, he was obliged to draw on Bengal at a time when the treasury in that residency was exhausted by the Pindarrie and Ghoorka wars. It was argued, in ignorance of the new financial arrangements and the prosperity expected therefrom, that the island was not worth keeping, and therefore neither the Crown nor the Company exerted themselves to retain it. In the general political view it must also be recollected that it was the object of the Treaty

¹ Called "Account General Office."

of Vienna to re-establish the balance of power, and however much the English Minister was ignorant of the great value of Java, it is not to be supposed that the Dutch neglected any means to obtain restitution of what was their most valuable possession. The nations of Europe have always been jealous of the extraordinary power of the English in India, and the opportunity was not lost for depriving them of the preponderance which the possession of Java would have given them in the East, to the exclusion of another weaker, and, therefore, in the event of future differences, more easily influenced nation.

This decision was also doubtless not uninfluenced by the fact that the English had already deprived the Dutch of all their other valuable colonial possessions—Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, etc.

The Court of Directors disapproved of Raffles' arrangements in Java, and took the opportunity to supersede him when charges of maladministration were made by General Gillespie, the commander-in-chief of the troops. It is scarcely necessary to allude to these charges further than to state that Raffles found no difficulty in answering them, and that they were most probably brought forward through misunderstandings as to the relations between the Crown's and the Company's officers at a time when it was still expected the island would be retained by the Crown. The Crown officers were accustomed to see in the Indian civilian the clerk rather than the administrator of empires. One of the charges, that arising out of the question of "the sale of lands in perpetuity," which has ever since caused trouble to the Dutch Government, was the main ground for attacking Raffles, and out of which his enemies—and he had, like all great men, many of them—made the most. That Raffles himself decided upon the sale of these lands there can be no doubt of, but there was no fault to be found in this; there were precedents, Marshall Daendels having also

sold large tracts of country. During his tenure of office, for instance, the whole of the residencies of Bezoekie and Panaroekan had been sold on the 30th June, 1810, to the Captain Chinaman of Sourabaya, Han Tjan Pit, for 400,000 Spanish matten; and the residency of Probolingo on the 3rd December, 1810, to the Captain Chinaman of Pasoeroean, Han Tik Ho, for 1,000,000 ryks dollars; as also later on lands in Oedjoeng, Krawang, Tjikarang Tjawang Boengien, Tjibarassa, Sumadangan, and Tegal Waroe. Where, however, the mistake lay was in the methods employed by Raffles' lieutenants, Thomas Macquoid and Nicolaas Engelhard, in carrying out the sales, which resulted, after *several postponements*, in large slices of territory being sold for nominal prices. Even this, however, might have survived criticism had Raffles not unfortunately been a member of a syndicate (consisting of Macquoid, Engelhard, and A. de Wilde) which bought the estate of Soekaboemi, reaching from Bandoeng to nearly Buitenzorg, for a ridiculous trifle. It must, however, be taken into account that in those days it was quite a common thing for the Company's servants to buy land as a speculation, so that it was merely a question of the methods employed for securing the estates for privileged persons which raised the storm of indignation among the army officers, who viewed the affair with sanctimonious horror and disgust; and the Court of Directors when they heard of it gave it as their candid opinion that it was a "questionable proceeding." The broad-minded Governor-General of India, Lord Minto, registered, however, as his opinion that the sale of lands was a "wise proceeding during a period of great necessity." Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that Raffles never wholly disproved the charge which lay on his administration that he had been mixed up, directly or indirectly, with his lieutenants in a questionable transaction, although there also can be no doubt that he was in no way implicated in these "doubt-

BRITSCH BESTUUR.

1811 - 1816.



JAVAN COINS UNDER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION (1811-1816).

ful" proceedings, his own share in them being open and honourable.

Mr. Fendall, a member of the Supreme Council, was ordered to relieve Raffles, and took over the administration from him on the 12th March, 1816; but shortly after this the island was restored to the Dutch. The Marquis of Hastings, who succeeded Lord Minto as Governor-General, was one of those who reported unfavourably on the acquisition, and the constant requisitions on the Bengal treasury did not leave room for any hesitation on the Company's part in the desire to be relieved from a useless acquisition. Lord Minto's early death after his return from India precluded Raffles from having the advantage of his support in laying before Parliament and the country the great advantage, from a political point of view, of the possession of Java, and at the same time in explaining the vast agricultural and trading resources of the island, which would soon have had a large surplus revenue and have afforded an extensive market for British manufactures.

It appeared doubtful after the capture of Java whether it would be held by the Royal Government or be made over to the Company, and Lord Minto's thoughtful consideration had secured a retreat for Raffles in the residency of Bencoolen, in Sumatra, in case his services should no longer be required in Java. On his supersession, however, Raffles proceeded home in the ship *Ganges*, broken in health from overwork and worry, broken in spirits, and a disappointed man.¹ His object was to recruit his health and at the same time to set himself right with the Court of Directors and the public, for his public and his private character had been violently and wantonly attacked.

The charges were easily disposed of, and his services in Java were acknowledged by the Prince Regent, who con-

¹ On the way home the *Ganges* called at St. Helena, and Raffles had a long interview with Napoleon.

ferred on him the honour of knighthood, while the Court of Directors, on Raffles addressing them and stating that for ten years he had laboured with unwearied zeal to promote their best interests and so claimed a consideration of his services, was reluctantly forced to notify him in October, 1817, of their appreciation of his services and of their having appointed him the Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, with greater powers than had been held before by the chief of that factory. Their dispatch contained the following words :—

“The Court of Directors, in consideration of the zeal and talents displayed during the period he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Java, confer upon him the title of Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen as a peculiar mark of the favourable sentiments which the Court entertain of his merits and service.”

He was also empowered to attend to the general interests of the English in the archipelago, more particularly in relation to the Dutch.

This is the beginning of the second portion of Sir Stamford Raffles' career in these seas. At an early period of his service at Penang he had made himself acquainted with the conditions and with the earlier history and commercial relations of nearly every native State in the archipelago ; he had traced the connection of the several foreign nations with each State, and had arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary for the welfare of the native population that the English should be the paramount power in the Malay countries, and that the Dutch influence should be weakened.

With Java the Dutch had lost their last hold on the archipelago, their other positions having been previously captured, and Sir Stamford, for the time, saw his fondest hopes realised ; his disappointment on the restoration of these possessions at the peace of 1815 was consequently very great, and he now set himself to work to counteract the Dutch influence in every possible way. This became the

master passion of his life, and is the key to all his after proceedings. He had succeeded in instilling some of his policy into the minds of the Royal and of the Company's Government at home, and he was now entrusted with extensive powers to watch over British interests in the archipelago under the name of Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, an office in itself without these extra powers.

On arriving at Bencoolen on the 22nd March, 1818, Sir Stamford found everything in a state of the most extreme disorder, morally and physically. The roads were impassable, the highways over-run with rank grass, and Government House, which was built of bamboos, was a den of ravenous dogs and pole-cats. It was the most wretched place he had ever beheld; but his buoyant spirits did not, however, give way, and he prayed and hoped God would grant him health to carry out his task. The day before his arrival an earthquake had destroyed the town: while the state of morals among all classes was described as disgraceful to civilisation. In writing to Sir R. H. Inglis under date 12th June, 1819, he says:—

“The state of society, even among the Europeans, was very bad on my arrival. I trust it is improving: an instance has just occurred which will, I hope, impress on the higher authorities the necessity of attending more closely to the religious and moral character of their establishment.”

Bencoolen, although it had been seized by the English as early as 1682 and a factory was erected a few years later, had never prospered. For some unaccountable reason it did not in these days attract the Malays, who called it *tanah mâte*, or “the dead land of their ancestors,” and the Chinese, although offered all sorts of alluring prospects and inducements, steadfastly refused to go there. The reason the English had made an establishment here was that there were pepper gardens in the neighbourhood, but the expenses

of the Government being about £100,000 per annum, no profitable return could be expected from the few tons of pepper exported.

In 1801 the Court of Directors sent orders to reduce the establishment to a resident, four assistants, and four writers, and to withdraw the sub-residencies, which extended from Padany to the south of the island.

Sir Stamford Raffles set himself vigorously to work to improve the place. He found a number of young men in the establishment who had no adequate duties to occupy their attention : these he formed into committees, presided over by members of his own staff, who had accompanied him from Java ; and the promotion of agriculture, education, religion, and general amelioration formed subjects of occupation and amusement where hitherto dissipation had been the only relief from a dull and monotonous existence. The revenues of Bencoolen had been derived from gambling, opium, cock-fighting farms, the almost forced delivery of produce at rates below its marketable value, and from the labour of the Company's African slaves, of whom there were two hundred, all born in the settlement, the children of slaves purchased in the earlier days of the English East India Company. They loaded and unloaded the Company's ships, and a more depraved, dissolute lot it would not be possible to imagine,¹ given over as they were to profligacy and vices of the worst description.

Sir Stamford abolished the gambling and cock-fighting farms and emancipated the slaves. These acts would require no explanation or apology in the present day, but in the year 1819 the policy was too far in advance, and, as no adequate provision was made to supply the deficiency of revenue, the moral considerations were not allowed to weigh against the pecuniary loss. The result of these and other

¹ There were also a few Bengalese slaves sent to Bencoolen in 1797 for life as a punishment for crimes they had committed.

operations about this period was very nearly fatal to their projector's prospects and position in the Indian service.

On the 19th May, 1818, Raffles made one of his celebrated trips to the interior of Sumatra ; he was accompanied by Lady Raffles, Dr. Arnold, and Mr. Presgrave, the British Resident of *Manna* (a station near Bencoolen), six native chiefs, and fifty coolies, carrying the baggage and food. It was on this journey that the gigantic flower now called "*Rafflesia Arnoldi*" was discovered. Raffles writes of his journey :—

"There is nothing more striking in the Malayan forests than the grandeur of the vegetation, and the magnitude of the flowers, creepers, and trees, contrasts strikingly with the stunted, pigmy vegetation of England. Here we have creepers and vines entwining larger trees, and hanging suspended for more than one hundred feet, in girth not less than a man's body, and many much thicker, the trees seldom under one hundred feet, and generally approaching one hundred and sixty to two hundred feet in height."

One tree which Raffles measured was nine yards in circumference.

The account of the journey is most interesting, but too long to relate here. Everywhere Raffles was received by the villagers with acclamation ; his name, which was now revered in the archipelago, had preceded him. At *Tanjung Alem*, a *kampong* (small village) where they stopped for the night, the chiefs insisted on making a treaty by which they placed themselves under the protection of the British Government.¹

In July of the same year Raffles proceeded to Padang, where the chiefs were under some consternation, fearing that he was coming to hand the settlement over to the Dutch. Twenty-five years had elapsed since the Dutch left the place,

¹ This journey was performed for a second time later by Presgrave, Osborn, Church, and Cudlipp.

so that a large proportion of the natives were born during the period of the English occupation, and they feared, with an unholy terror, that if the Dutch returned they would be punished and degraded for their fealty towards the English—a mistaken idea, of course.

The chiefs here explained to Raffles that the Dutch had no right to Padang, and that any treaties that they had made were purely of a commercial nature.

Raffles now began making inquiries about *Menangkabu* (the power of which in ancient times extended over the whole of Sumatra), which he was very anxious to visit.

Menangkabu was famous at the time of the Egyptians, and was known not only as the cradle of the Malayan race, but as a place abounding in gold mines. It is said that it was from *Menangkabu*, and chiefly down the *Siak*, *Sudragiri*, and *Sunda* rivers, that the gold which the traders of Solomon loaded at Malacca was carried. It was to the gold of *Menangkabu* that Malacca probably owed in part its designation as the “Golden Chersonesus,” and navigators, only a century ago, distinguished in their charts two mountains in its neighbourhood, each called Mount Ophir, one on the peninsula of Malacca and one in West Sumatra. Having secured all the information he could, Raffles left on the 14th July for *Menangkabu*, accompanied by his wife and Dr. Horsfield, the great botanist, who presented to the scientific institutions of the world such a vast collection of information regarding Java.

When Raffles arrived on the borders of the Tigablas country the chiefs were so delighted to see him that they desired him to remain with them for three days, a request he was unable to comply with. The country here was highly cultivated; on the slopes of the mountains coffee, indigo, maize, oil-yielding plants, and even sugar-cane were growing, whilst on the plains there were “*sawahs*,” or rice-fields, cultivated on the same principle as in Java.

Raffles also remarks on an abundant fine breed of small cattle, which the inhabitants of the *Menangkabu* country preferred to the water-buffalo introduced into Java from India¹ at a later period. These animals stood about three feet four inches high, and were very beautiful, being mostly of a light fawn colour, with black eyes and lashes. They were sold at about three dollars a head.

Raffles says, "They are without exception the most beautiful little animals of the kind I ever beheld."

In this country the women wore their hair parted over the forehead and combed smooth down the sides, and the children and young girls were frequently seen with their hair plaited down their back. The women had the lobe of their ears distended to an enormous extent, in order to receive an immense ear-ring about two inches in diameter made of wood, silver, or copper. The people of *Menangkabu* were not good looking; whilst in manners ruder and less cultivated than their neighbours, they were superior in the knowledge of agriculture, and generally speaking their economic condition was better.

Their houses were large and well built—in length about sixty feet, with an interior hall and several rooms. In front of each house were the usual two *lombongs* or granaries, on the same principle as in Java, but much longer. The wood-work in the houses was carved.

When Raffles arrived at last at *Menangkabu* he found only the remains of ancient grandeur; everywhere there was the wreck of a once large and populous city, waringin trees in lines marking the ways, fruit trees showing where the orchards had been, and various signs showed where the boundaries had been of this great town. The halls of the palace were covered with grass. This was a large planked house, situated in a beautiful position on the banks of the Golden River, but fast falling into decay. In its day

¹ Some think China.

Menangkabu was the centre of a mighty empire, that was three times sacked by the Persians and Arabs. Here Raffles to his delight found a stone with Kawi (Sanskrit) characters on it, which proved to him the Hindu origin of its early inhabitants. He also found the throne of stone, where the sultan used to sit in state. The royal and ancient burial ground was also discovered in the forest.

While engaged in matters of domestic policy Sir Stamford did not forget the political duties attached to his office. The Dutch, on being reinstated in Java, had again taken over the dependencies in Sumatra, among others the State of Palembang, which, previously only a nominal possession, had been reduced to complete subjection by a force under General Gillespie. Their policy was always somewhat aggressive, and now, having the State of Lampong under their government, they at once came into collision with the English over the boundaries of that State, which marched with Bencoolen. The encroachments of the Dutch were embarrassing, and Sir Stamford conceived the idea of forming a settlement to offer a check to their further advance. He had already declared Bencoolen to be a free port, but its position was unfavourable for trade, being outside the great routes through the Sunda and Malacca Straits. He demanded an anchorage at Simangka Bay, in the Straits of Sunda, in order, as he stated in a letter to Mr. Marsden, dated the 7th April, 1818, "to be able to set up our shop next door to the Dutch." The settlement was a failure, and he then began that policy by which his name and reputation were ultimately established in the Straits. He had already in prospect the idea of a mercantile competition with the Dutch, as the following passage in the letter above referred to will show: "It would not, I think, be many years before my station in the Straits of Sunda [Simangka Bay] would rival Batavia as a commercial *entrepôt*." His position at Bencoolen gave him constant opportunities for

experiencing the aggressive, or so-called aggressive, policy of the Dutch, who aimed, and naturally so, at an exclusive authority in the Malay countries. In order to oppose this design and put a check on their further progress in the Straits, Sir Stamford proposed the formation of one or more trading settlements, which by the more liberal policy of the English would become "depots" for the trade of the Archipelago.

Penang was situated too far to the north, and traders on going to it from the eastward would be obliged to pass Malacca, soon to be restored to the Dutch. What was wanted in his settlement was that it should be a convenient place for the Company's ships to call at for trade or refreshment, for the collection, according to the old-established course of trade, of the produce of the archipelago and the subsequent distribution of English goods in return, and for the exercise of a political influence over the Eastern Seas. In order to carry out this policy it was necessary for Sir Stamford to have the sanction and co-operation of the Supreme Government, and he determined to proceed to Bengal, for the purpose of urging his views on the Governor-General. The Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General, on relieving Lord Minto had taken an unfavourable view of affairs to the eastward, and Sir Stamford had many misgivings as to the success of his undertaking. However, after a few interviews, he succeeded in placing himself on a friendly footing, and laid his information and views before Hastings in such a masterly manner that all objections and difficulties were overruled. He returned to the Straits invested, for the second time, with the authority of Governor-General's Agent in the Eastern Seas, and with powers generally to oppose the Dutch and, if possible, to form an establishment to the south of Malacca.

Previous to the capture of Malacca by the English in 1795 the trade of Penang had been confined to the northern

portions of the peninsula, Sumatra, and the continent of India. The possession of Malacca, on the highway to the entrance to the archipelago, enabled the Dutch to check any attempt on the part of the Bugginese and other Eastern traders to visit Penang. By the Treaty of Vienna the settlement of Malacca was restored to the Dutch, and it was not doubted but that the same policy which had marked their previous occupation would be resumed, and that Penang, which by this time had acquired a very considerable portion of Bugginese, Chinese, and other Eastern trade, would be again deprived of these advantages. Major Farquhar, an officer of the Madras Engineers, who had been a long time at Malacca in a semi-civil capacity, had, after it became known that he was to restore Malacca, in the year 1816 brought this subject to the notice of the Penang Government, and pointed out the Carimon Islands as a fit place for an English settlement.

In the year 1818 he was authorised by the Penang Government to visit the prince of those islands, and he in consequence proceeded to Rhio, then in the hands of the Malays.¹

Major Farquhar found the Rajah Mudah Jaffir to be the only person with whom his negotiations could proceed, and with that prince he concluded a treaty, dated the 19th August, 1818, in the name of Sultan Abdulrahman of Johore.

The Penang Government attempted to form an establishment on the island of *Bentan*; but before their measures were taken the Dutch had forestalled them at Rhio, and they retired as usual from any future attempt, in the conviction that it was impossible for them to effect their object in these Malay countries.

It was under these circumstances that Sir Stamford came

¹ When Malacca was taken in 1795 the small station or dependency of Rhio followed, but after a short time the English abandoned the place, which in consequence fell into the hands of the Malays.



THE CANTONMENTS, TANGSI.



PLASSEN PASSAR, OR MARKET, AT TJILATJAP.

down to the Straits, with, as before stated, the rank of Governor-General's Agent in the Eastern Seas; he was bound for Acheen, where, in conjunction with Major Coombs, agent of the Penang Government, he was appointed to mediate concerning a disputed succession to that throne.

Colonel Farquhar, on the cession of Malacca, was proceeding to England when it occurred to the supreme Government that his local knowledge, the result of fifteen years' duty at Malacca as Resident and Commandant, might prove useful in the formation of the new settlement in the immediate neighbourhood of his former residency. Sir Stamford was furnished with a letter to him, dated the 28th November, 1818, in which the thanks of the Government were conveyed for his able report of his negotiations under the direction of the Penang Government, and a desire was expressed on the part of the Governor-General that the benefit of his further services might be secured to improve the relations already established with the native chiefs. His lordship now requested him to accompany Sir Stamford Raffles in his expedition, and to take charge of the infant settlement under the directions of Sir Stamford, who would be obliged soon to return to his own Government at Bencoolen.

The time had now arrived for the crowning act of Sir Stamford's career, the act that was to make his name famous for ever.

At this moment every man's hand was against him—his success had been too great, and he was surrounded by jealous enemies. The ears of the Court of Directors were filled with the grossest and basest calumnies, and when they found they could not attack him officially they descended to the lowest depths of infamy by doing so personally. The great man bore up well, however, and laid his plans in secret. Every place in the archipelago had been in the possession of the English, in nearly all cases by direct treaty with the rajahs, but the Dutch, with persistent energy, had

induced the Court of Directors to give them all up. Banca and Billiton had been quixotically returned, Padang and Palembang likewise ; Acheen was point-blank refused, and Rhio had slipped through their fingers. On Sir Stamford's arrival at Penang his mind was not yet made up as to where he should plant the British flag, and even on leaving this place he was apparently still cogitating. Sir Stamford was seen during this time in Penang in deep thought on the sea-shore, looking southwards. The Viceroy of India's last words, " Sir Stamford, you may depend on me," were apparently uppermost in his mind, for he was continually heard muttering, " I think I can rely on the marquis." He found later on, when discussions arose regarding the advisability of giving in to the Dutch and letting them have the new settlement, that Hastings was a man of his word.

Sir Stamford left Penang and sailed down the Straits with a small handful of troops under Colonel Farquhar, which had been reluctantly lent by the Governor. Sir Stamford gave instructions to the captain of the ship to sail on past Malacca, as it was to the south of this place that the station was to be fixed. He was himself on deck the whole time scanning the horizon. Siak was quickly given up, whereupon they proceeded to the Carimons, which place had been pointed out by the colonel as a likely site ; but on examination it proved to be inconvenient in its capacity as a harbour, and they went on towards Johore, to which locality Sir Stamford's views were then directed. On passing through the Straits of Singapore Colonel Farquhar suggested that they should land to visit the Tumonggong of Johore, who had lately settled himself on that island, and who was known to the colonel.

On arriving in the harbour the evident advantages of the place struck them both. " This," said Sir Stamford, " is where we shall form a settlement," and the British flag was unfurled.

The date was the 29th January, 1819. Sir Stamford Raffles sent Colonel Farquhar on at once to Rhio to request that the permission which had formerly been given to him by the Rajah Mudah to form a settlement on the Carimons might now be extended to the site of the ancient city of Singapura.

The Dutch, however, ere this had resumed their former position of lords paramount in the Johore archipelago, and had already extracted a treaty from the Rajah Mudah and his creature, Sultan Abdulrahman, restraining these rulers from granting a footing to any European Power in Johore. After some management, however, Colonel Farquhar succeeded in obtaining an implied permission, with which he returned to Singapore, where Sir Stamford concluded a treaty with the Tumonggong, dated February, 1819.

This treaty was to be subject to the approval of Sultan Houssain of Johore. The following day Sir Stamford sailed on his mission to Acheen, leaving the colonel in charge of the newly-formed settlement. After some communication with the Tumonggong as to Sultan Houssain it appeared that there was a difference among the Malays as to their sultan, and that, in consequence of the last sultan's death having taken place unexpectedly before suitable arrangements could be made for the succession, the throne at present was irregularly occupied. Tuanku Abdulrahman was younger brother to Tuanku Houssain, who ought to have been sultan, but was kept out of his rights by the Rajah Mudah Jaffir, who was at enmity with the relatives of his mother, and, finding the weak and complying disposition of Tuanku Abdulrahman suited to his purposes, had patronised the younger prince, in whose name he ruled the country. On inquiring further Colonel Farquhar was informed that the late Sultan Mahamed, before his death, had arranged that Houssain, his eldest son, should succeed, and that Abdulrahman, the younger, who showed a reserved

and timid disposition, should perform the *Haj* with a view to the priesthood. Houssain, as heir presumptive, was sent to Pahang, in order to complete an alliance with the daughter of the Bandahara ; his father, the Sultan, accompanied him part of the way, and soon after, on his return to Lingga, died, not without a suspicion of poison. On his death Jaffir, in order to fulfil one of the requirements of a royal funeral, induced Abdulrahman to allow himself to be installed as sultan. The north monsoon, at that time in full strength, prevented any communication with Houssain at Pahang, and it was not for some months after that he could come down. When he arrived he found the Rajah Mudah too strong for him, and in consequence he was obliged to give way.

With this information, which Colonel Farquhar transmitted to Sir Stamford, it became a question how far it was advisable to inquire further into the matter of the better title of Houssain. As the rights of the English at the new settlement would entirely depend on the question, Sir Stamford, on his return from Acheen in June, determined to recognise Houssain. On that prince being sent for by the Tumonggong he was installed publicly as Sultan, and with the Tumonggong executed a fresh treaty. The treaty provided shortly as follows :—

Firstly. The occupation by the English of a tract of land extending from Tandjong Malang on the west to Tandjong Katong on the east, and inland as far as the range of a cannon shot from the factory. (The jurisdiction within this tract was to belong to the English, excepting the campongs of the Sultan and Tumonggong.)

Secondly. Justice was to be administered jointly by the Sultan and Tumonggong under the English Resident.

Thirdly. Captains and heads of tribes were to attend and report occurrences every Monday morning and to adjudicate in minor matters.

Fourthly. An appeal was allowed from decisions of captains and heads of tribes.

Fifthly. No customs or duties were to be levied, or other important matter to be decided, without the consent of the sultan, Tumonggong, and of the Resident.

Such was the primitive constitution under which Singapore was settled, and under which it rapidly rose to importance.

The question to whom is due the credit of fixing on the site of Singapore for the great emporium has been much discussed, and as it is one of some interest a few remarks may be here allowed.

Sir Stamford's first idea was to have a port in the Sunda Straits, and writing in April, 1818, he says: "To effect the object contemplated some convenient station within the archipelago is necessary; both Bencoolen and Prince of Wales Island are too far removed, and unless I can succeed in obtaining a position in the Straits of Sunda, we have no alternative but to fix it in the most advantageous situation we can find within the archipelago: this would be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bintang." In the same letter he goes on to say, "another station at Rhio, or its vicinity."¹

Writing from Calcutta on the 14th November, 1818, he says: "I have to inform you that it is determined to keep the command of the Straits of Malacca by forming establishments at Acheen and Rhio." Again, writing to Marsden from Sand Heads,² under date the 12th December, 1818, he says: "We are now on our way to the eastward, in the hope of doing something, but I much fear the Dutch have hardly left us an inch of ground to stand upon. My attention is principally turned to Johore, and you must not be surprised if my next letter to you is dated from the site of the ancient

¹ Rhio is a small island separated by a narrow strait from the island of Bintang, or properly "Bentan."

² Mouth of Calcutta river.

city of Singapura." John Crawford¹ states that the Carimons were the original objective of Sir Stamford. Lady Raffles, however, says that the Carimons were only surveyed out of deference to Colonel Farquhar, who had, while at Malacca, fixed on these islands as a fit situation. Finally, it would appear clear, both from native and European authority, that he went into Singapore casually, at Colonel Farquhar's suggestion, to obtain information from Farquhar's friend, the Tumonggong, whom the latter had known while employed at Malacca. There is, however, nothing in this to prevent Sir Stamford, especially in view of his letter to Marsden of the 12th December, 1818 (which was received by him five or six months later), from fully intending to fix on Singapore; but knowing it was the last card the English could play, he purposely kept his secret from every one, and allowed Colonel Farquhar to think they were just calling in at Singapore by chance on his suggestion, whereas he had fully intended to do so all the time as a result of the idea given him by Farquhar. He had seen how Rhio had slipped through their fingers, and this time he was determined not to allow the Dutch to have any inkling of his intentions.

Whatever doubt, however, may arise as to whether the exact locality of Singapore was the fruit of an accident or of a preconceived plan, there can be no hesitation in stating that its advance was entirely due to the energy and influence of Sir Stamford Raffles.

The Penang Government, after the failure of its own endeavour to form a subordinate station to the south, was not very well pleased that one of its servants should be permitted to attempt what it had itself failed in doing and declared to be impossible. It had always watched the proceedings of Sir Stamford with suspicion, and when the principles on which his new settlement was to be administered became known it felt bound to offer every opposition

¹ See his account of the mission to Siam.



OFFICERS' QUARTERS.



THE RIVER OSSO.

in its power, as it quickly foresaw its own decline and ruin from the prosperity of a neighbouring settlement conducted on such opposite principles. Its protests to Bengal and to the Home authorities had the effect of cooling the support with which Sir Stamford's proceedings had been favoured by both these high authorities ; but another and a more formidable adversary had to be met, and in a field where Indian influence had less weight.

The Dutch had seen with indignation and dismay the efforts of the English to encroach on their territories at the south of the peninsula. In former times they had had the exclusive jurisdiction over the whole peninsula from Perak downwards. On Malacca being restored to them in 1818 they considered that all their former rights and immunities accompanied that restoration, and in consequence any attempt by the English or any other European nation on the Malay peninsula to be an infringement of their exclusive rights.

The proceedings of Sir Stamford Raffles, who had already distinguished himself by his opposition to their interests, were looked on as past all bearing, and the strongest remonstrances were made to the Indian Government as well as to the Foreign Office in England.

Dutch Indian affairs had been for some time under the Crown, and the complaint now brought before the British Ministers of the improper conduct of the English Company and its servants in the Indian Archipelago was urged forward against the feeble efforts of the corporation with all the weight and authority of the Dutch ambassador. It is obvious that with the lukewarm and almost powerless authorities at home and in India Sir Stamford Raffles and his Settlement, if not otherwise protected, must have been at once offered up as a peace-offering to the Dutch ; and it is here that the credit is due to Sir Stamford in having carried his project to a successful termination. He had

early foreseen the battle which must be fought at home, and had provided friends to support his settlement. The long struggle from 1819 to 1824, when the question was finally settled, was only kept up by the aid of powerful influences which Sir Stamford had secured by his picture of the incalculable benefits which his settlement, if properly supported, would confer on British trade. To these influences, supplying to the Foreign Secretary a sufficient motive to resist the Dutch demands, must be attributed the long resistance made to those demands in a question to which the Company and the Home and Bengal Governments were indifferent and the Penang Government decidedly hostile.

After remaining a few weeks at Singapore, giving instructions as to laying out the town and forming provisional arrangements for the government of the new Settlement, Sir Stamford returned to Bencoolen, where he occupied himself, as before, in endeavours to improve the condition of the people, as well as to elevate the tone of society at that residency, till the month of October, when the news arrived of the death of Colonel Bannerman, Governor at Penang. In his last visit to Bengal Sir Stamford had proposed to consolidate the Eastern possessions under one governor residing at Singapore, with residents at each of the stations of Bencoolen, Penang, etc. The plan was favourably received, under the influence of the almost expiring interest in Eastern affairs which had guided Lord Minto's policy in that direction. A difficulty, however, existed in the disposal of the Governor of Penang, as, of course, Sir Stamford would himself have been head under the proposed arrangement. This difficulty now overcome, Sir Stamford proceeded to Bengal again to urge his plan on the notice of the supreme Government. By this time, however, other matters of more pressing interest were occupying the Government, and in consequence impediments, one of

the chief of which was the difficulty of breaking up the Penang Government, were allowed to interfere to prevent an arrangement which would most probably have placed British interests in the archipelago and the surrounding countries on a firm footing, and have obviated the disadvantages now felt in the practical suppression of British commerce with three-fourths of the archipelago, which the Dutch had been permitted virtually to monopolise.

Another scheme of Sir Stamford's may be here properly mentioned. He conceived the design of reducing and colonising the whole island of Sumatra. His plan was to re-establish a central authority (himself); to open up all the navigable rivers flowing into the Straits of Malacca; to hold the west coast stations as military posts, commanding the rivers and the interior of the country; to open a great central road through the whole length of Sumatra; to assume the position of protector of the native States;¹ to introduce 20,000 or 30,000 English colonists; and in fact to make a colony as valuable to English trade as all the West India Islands. This magnificent result was to be accomplished at a cost not exceeding the yearly expenditure at Bencoolen.

Disappointed in his hopes arising from the vacancy at Penang, Sir Stamford returned to Bencoolen, there to await the result of the references made to the Dutch and English Home authorities as to Singapore. While thus waiting, his energetic mind found occupation in promoting agriculture at that station.

He early saw that Singapore would draw off the little trade his liberal port regulations were bringing together at Bencoolen, and as the settlement must then depend on its internal resources, he endeavoured to increase agricultural production. The land surrounding his own house, which he

¹ On a former occasion he recommended to Lord Minto to assume the title of "*Bitara*," in imitation of the former Hindu sovereigns of Majapalut.

had built in the country, was planted with a variety of tropical fruits, spices, coffee, etc.; the Government officers were encouraged to plant spice trees; the convicts were employed in agricultural labour; every one was called on to grow sufficient grain for his own consumption; and finally the system of the forced growing of pepper by the natives, under the semblance of a contract, was abolished. This policy had the effect of improving the condition of the people, and added materially to the value of the settlement. The Englishmen engaged in spice planting set the example of enterprise, perseverance, and liberal expenditure of capital, which has always been attended by the happiest results, and the effect of which is the surest proof of the vast benefits which necessarily accompany the residence of the European in these countries. It was an unfortunate circumstance that the result of this official spice planting was not satisfactory to those concerned; nearly all of them were ruined at the subsequent transfer of the settlement to the Dutch, when their properties were sold at almost nominal prices. The English families of Bencoolen—the Anguses, Bogles, Bradleys, Greens, Burnetts, Coles, Days, Gibsons, Grants, Lewises, Leicesters, Mitfords, Palmers, Rogers, Hays, and many others—still lingered on here, however, until well into the sixties, gradually dying out under depressing circumstances, or leaving offspring who for a living had gradually reverted to the campongs.

The nature of Sir Stamford's political duties had brought him much in unfriendly contact with the Dutch. After the foundation of Singapore his connection with that settlement heightened the feeling, already sufficiently bad, and he could see neither justice nor moderation in the actions of his opponents. The recollection of the Cape of Good Hope, North America, Ceylon, South America, the Spice Islands, the West India Islands, Java, Sumatra, all the Dutch colonial possessions successively wrested from this great

nation during a time of affliction and tribulation had no effect to soften his exasperated feelings ; and he would have confined it to the narrowest bounds in these seas wherever it was opposed to British supremacy. His ideas on the subject found vent in a " protest " against Dutch aggression, which protest, with the remarks of the old enemy, the Dutch Ambassador at St. James's, was brought forward in Parliament, when Lord Bathurst, worn out by constant complaints, felt called on to declare that Sir Stamford Raffles had exceeded his authority, that he was, in fact, a " mere pepper-collecting agent of the East India Company," and had no power to interfere in such matters. At the India House Sir Stamford fared no better. His measures were totally disapproved : the Directors censured him for emancipating the Company's slaves, for opening the port of Bencoolen, and for abolishing the gambling and cock-fighting farms.

In a letter from Mr. Grant, one of the Directors, dated the 19th July, 1820, the following ominous passage occurs :—

" You are probably aware of the obstacles which you have opposed to the adoption of your measures, and even threatened your position in the service : your zeal considerably outstripped your prudence, and the first operations of it became known at an unfavourable juncture."

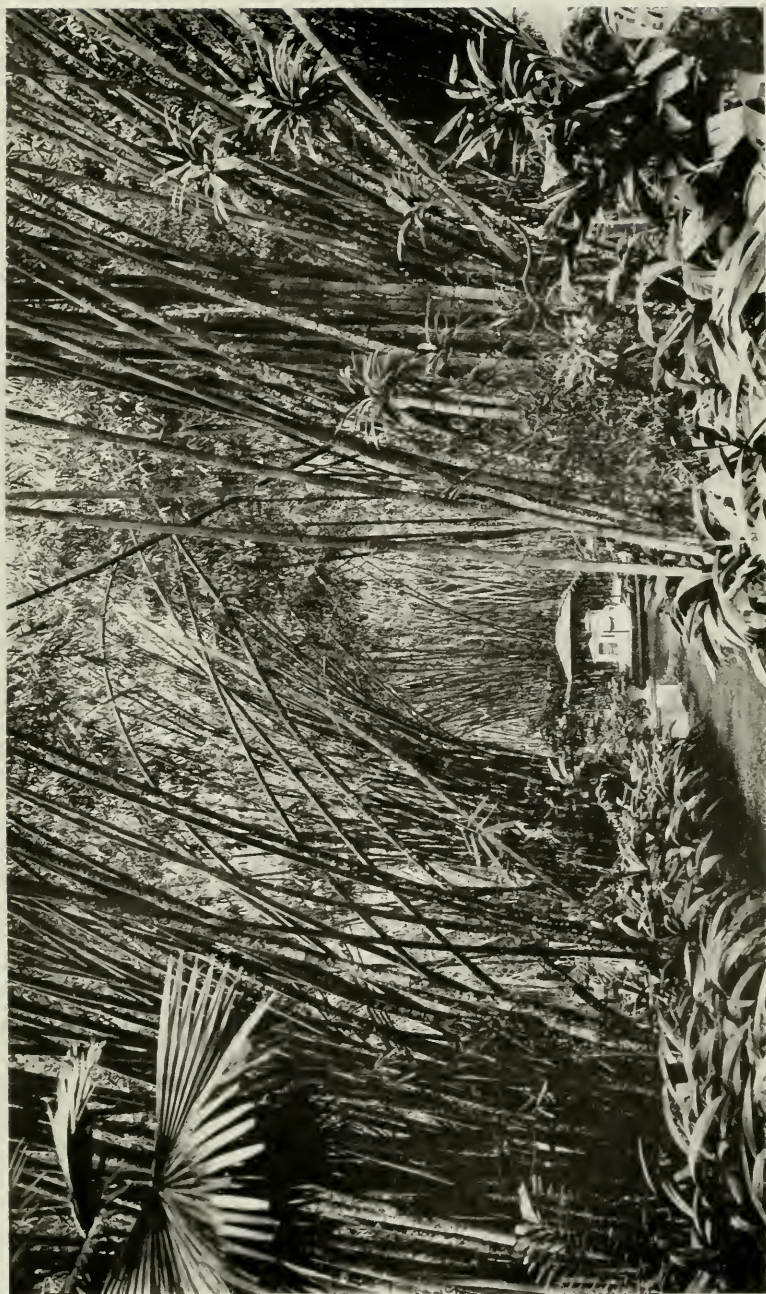
With all the authorities of his own country now against him, with the embittered opposition of the Dutch, influentially voiced as it was at the Foreign Office, Sir Stamford, his new colony and his policy, would inevitably have been overwhelmed had he not succeeded in enlisting a powerful mercantile feeling in his favour. The Indian trade had just been opened, and the public feeling was still excited as to the immense advantages to be derived to the nation from a participation in that trade ; here was an English colony, settled in the centre of the trade of at least thirty centuries,

and that colony flourishing in a manner without parallel in mercantile history. It is most probably to the mercantile interest excited in favour of Singapore that we are indebted for its preservation ; once established and ruled under the statesmanlike liberality of Sir Stamford's regulations its progress was rapid, and although he was thwarted by the insubordination and narrow views of his subordinates in the management of the infant colony, the foundations of his measures were so solid that minor difficulties were overcome. It is not necessary to enter into any examination of the differences which occurred between Sir Stamford and the first Resident of Singapore, Colonel Farquhar. It is doubtful from the records of his rule whether the Resident ever saw in that station more than a mere village, fitted for the accumulation of a small supply of goods, and the temporary residence of traders. Thus, while Sir Stamford was founding a settlement which was to be second to none in Asia, his subordinate confined his views to present requirements and thought not for an instant of its brilliant future.

There can be no doubt that the presence of the Resident and the influence arising among the natives from his long service at Malacca induced many natives to come to Singapore to settle and to supply provisions, stores, etc. ; but it may well be doubted whether the irregularities permitted in a weak administration, peculiarly subject to native influence, and governed by native ideas, did not counter-balance such benefits.

On his last visit to Singapore Sir Stamford had the proud satisfaction to find his colony successful beyond his most sanguine expectations.

When the flag was first hoisted it was merely a fishing village with scarcely 300 inhabitants, men, women, and children, all told ; in three months there were 3,000 ; and now he found a population of 10,000 souls and a trade aggregating £2,000,000. The shipping, too, had already



GRAVES OF LADY RAFFLES AND MADAME ROCHUSSEN IN THE BAMBOO WOOD OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S PARK AT RUFFENZORF.

taken large proportions, every vessel to and from the East calling here for water and supplies.

Sir Stamford now set about preparing a code of laws and establishing more suitable courts of justice, to be worked under the treaty which he concluded with the native chiefs.

He appointed committees to lay out and improve the town, and effected various other arrangements. In all his work he was assisted by a fine body of mercantile men, prominent among whom were A. L. Johnstone, J. A. Maxwell, Hugh Syme, D. A. Fraser, Charles Scott, John Purvis, John Morgan, C. R. Read, A. Guthrie, Alexander Morgan, G. Finlayson, Alexander Hay, W. G. Mackenzie, William Paton, and others.

Whatever may be said of the want of detailed knowledge by Sir Stamford in the matter of law-making, there can be no doubt that his ideas were far-seeing and liberal. He set the example of entrusting the European residents with a degree of power commensurate with their position in the community, as appears in the following passage in a letter to the Supreme Government, dated 29th March, 1823 :—

“ I am satisfied that nothing has tended more to the discomfort and constant jarrings which have hitherto occurred in our remote settlements than the policy which has dictated the exclusion of the European merchants from all share, much less credit, in the domestic regulation of the settlement, of which they are frequently its most important members.”

During this visit Sir Stamford, finding this course necessary to the well-being of the station, suspended the Resident, Colonel Farquhar, and took the management of the whole settlement upon himself till the 4th June, 1823, when John Crawford,¹ of the Bengal Medical Service, and late Resident in Java, now on a mission as ambassador to Siam, arrived. Crawford was appointed Resident by the supreme Govern-

¹ Full particulars of Crawford will be given when the further matter referred to in the Preface is published,

ment, under whose authority the settlement was in future to be directly placed.

On the 6th June, 1823, Sir Stamford Raffles paid his final farewell to Singapore, having now brought it to a state of prosperity with which even he was satisfied. To John Crawford, the new Resident, he gave his final instructions as to the government of the colony, leaving it to him to uphold the honour of the English in the archipelago.

On his departure he received a lengthy address from the merchants of Singapore under Alexander Morgan thanking him for his unwearied zeal and vigilance and for his comprehensive views, which had enabled the settlement to go forward with such unparalleled success.

He now returned to Bencoolen, the ship on which he travelled, the *Hero of Malown*, calling at Batavia to land goods on the 28th June, 1823.

As soon as it was known that Raffles was in the roads the greatest consternation arose amongst the Dutch officials, and the Governor-General, Baron van der Capellen, came down from his country seat at Buitenzorg. To such a height had the animosity of the Dutch authorities at Java against him gone that they would not allow him to land, and only as a special mark of consideration to Lady Raffles, who was suffering badly on a wretched ship, was she, owing to her delicate state of health, permitted to come on shore and remain with the Macquoid family. During the stay of the *Hero of Malown* in the Batavia roads the ship was visited by thousands of natives and by the whole British colony, among whom were John Deans, Captain J. Drury, R.N., Thomas Macquoid, A. L. Forestier, John Davidson, Captain C. W. Allen, John Greig, G. Haswell, John Hay, P. Jessen, J. Milne, O. M. Roberts, James Wilson, G. Maclaine, E. Watson, J. Traill, W. Thompson, Thomas Anderson, Robert Morris, etc. Another instance of the feeling of the Dutch against Sir Stamford Raffles at this

moment was the fact that the usual official circular from him communicating the change of government at Singapore, sent to Batavia in common with the other neighbouring countries, was returned unanswered.

Sir Stamford's mission was now complete ; his health had suffered very much of late, he had lost three of his children,¹ and there appeared to be no further work for him to do in these seas. He therefore set about preparing for his final return to England. He had his immense collection of books, manuscripts, drawings, maps, preserved specimens of natural history, etc., packed into boxes, of which there were such numbers as to require a large proportion of the ship's freight for their accommodation.

There was here collected the fruit of years of patient labour and inquiry into the literature of the Malays, Javans, etc., and the finest and most complete collection of books in those languages ever made.

The materials from which to have drawn up an account of the archipelago, more complete in its various details than any yet given, and to have formed the nucleus of a valuable museum, were lost in the burning of the ship *Fame* on the 3rd February, 1824,² the day after her departure from Bencoolen. Sir Stamford, after seeing the labour of seventeen years thus gone in an hour, set about, after his fortunate escape and return to Bencoolen, bringing together duplicate collections. Again, on the 8th April, Sir Stamford, with his wife and family, embarked on the ship *Mariner* in company with the ship *Lady Flora* (Captain McDonnell), and arrived safely after a perilous and stormy passage at Plymouth on the 22nd August, 1824.

Raffles' health now began to fail him, and when he found

¹ Two to his great grief he buried at Bencoolen.

² The ship was fifty miles from land, when, owing to the carelessness of the steward going with a naked light to draw some brandy from a cask and letting this fall, in a few minutes the ship was in flames from end to end. Fortunately no lives were lost.

that the Company instead of recognising with thanks his labours preferred complaints against him and heaped reproaches upon his head, he got his death-blow. His joy in life was as great as ever, but his ardour was cooled and his hopes had gone. The Directors had done their worst, and on the 5th of July this brave man, one of the finest examples that old England has ever sent forth, noble, just, honest, loyal, and true, answered the summons to the throne of God in his 45th year.

His last and often-expressed hope was that he had experienced sufficient trials to purify his soul, and he humbly trusted that the many and heavy afflictions with which he had been visited were sanctified by the grace of the Almighty God, the Ruler of the Universe, and were made instrumental, through faith in a Saviour, to prepare him for the world where sorrow and sighing are no more.

Thus was Sir Stamford Raffles cut off in his prime at a moment when his friends still expected a long life of labour in the cause of philanthropy.

Looking back after a century on his record in Java, so learned and eminent a Dutch official as Dr. F. de Haan,¹ who has had the means of studying his governorship, is able to state that Sir Stamford was an honest, upright, and straightforward Governor, who had the courage of his convictions, and did his best, regardless of race or creed, for the people placed under his care.

This is a testimony of the highest value, and still more so coming from a Dutchman. This is, however, not the only Dutchman who approved his administration of Java, as will be observed from Chapter IX.

Of one thing all Englishmen can make quite certain, that had it not been for this great and far-seeing statesman England would have no place in the East Indian Archipelago or in the Malay Peninsular to-day.

¹ The keeper of the records at Batavia.

Sir Stamford Raffles was buried in the church at Hendon, but it is regrettable to learn from a very able letter Mr. Arnold Wright sent to *The Times* in March, 1912, that "the exact position of his grave is unknown, although tradition points to a spot close to the third window in the south front of the sacred building as being the site, but there is not a vestige of real evidence."¹

May his soul rest in peace.

¹ Sir Stamford Raffles was twice married—firstly to the widow of W. Fancourt, of Lanark, in 1805, who died at Buitenzorg, in Java, in 1815 (see Chapter XII.); secondly, in 1817, to Sophia Hull, a daughter of I. W. Hull, Esq., of the county of Down, who survived him.

To compose and complete this chapter, Lady Raffles' "Memoirs" and a pamphlet on his life in the old journal of the archipelago have been freely made use of.

A tablet exists in Hendon Church, which reads as follows :—

<p>In memory of SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F.R.S., LL.D., etc. Statesman, Administrator and Naturalist, Founder of the Colony and City of Singapore, January 29th, 1819. Born July 5th, 1781. Died at Highwood, Middlesex, July 5th, 1826, and buried near this tablet. Erected in 1887 by Members of the Family.</p>
--

In Westminster Abbey there is a statue to him, in the choir, north aisle; it was executed by Chantry, and cost the country £2,000.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH EXPEDITION TO JAVA, 1811

AFTER our digression on the life of Raffles we now return to our history.

The expedition for Java being ready, the first division, under the command of Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie, sailed for Malacca *via* Penang from Madras on the 18th April, 1811, under the convoy of Captain Cole, of H.M.S. *Caroline*.

The remainder sailed a week later under Major-General Wetherall.

On the 18th May the expedition arrived at the first rendezvous, Penang Harbour.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, in the frigate *Akbar*, and Lord Minto, in the frigate *Modeste*, had also arrived. On the 1st June it was at Malacca, where the troops from Bengal, under convoy of Captain Edgell, of H.M.S. *Cornelia*, had already arrived, as also the commodore, Broughton.

The first thing Lord Minto did on his arrival was to make a bonfire of the various instruments of torture, such as the rack, the wheel, and so forth, which had been in use by the Dutch.

On the 11th June, the army having been brigaded, the different convoys got under weigh.

The Bengal division sailed first, followed by the first division from Madras, and so on in succession. On the 15th June the Straits of Singapore were entered.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty was now deliberating with his two engineers, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie and Lieutenant Blakiston, who had been entrusted with the occupation plans, where he was to land. The choice was for Batavia,

but it had come to these officers' knowledge that the Dutch division from Sourabaya had been moved up there, which made Sir Samuel think Cheribon would be more advisable for the landing.

On the 30th July the fleet was off the Indramayoe river and proceeded towards Batavia. Colonel Mackenzie had gone ahead to reconnoitre, and returned with the advice that it was better to land at the village of Chillingching, which lay on the coast only about ten miles from Batavia.

Whilst reconnoitring Colonel Mackenzie landed with a few men, but was surprised by the enemy. He himself managed to escape, but an officer and several men of the 69th Regiment were taken prisoners. It appeared, however, afterwards that the enemy learnt nothing from them, as they pretended they were marines.

On the 3rd August the fleet was off Cape Krawang, and the next morning off the Marandi river. At 2 o'clock a portion of the fleet arrived, and at 4 o'clock on Sunday, the 4th, the whole fleet being off Chillingching, the signal was made for the troops to land.

The fleet employed in this expedition consisted of the following ships :—

LINE OF BATTLESHIPS.

- Scipion*, Rear-Admiral Stopford, joined at Batavia.
Illustrious, Commodore Broughton, Captain Festing.
Minden, Captain Hoare.
Lion, Captain Heathcote.

FRIGATES.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <i>Akbar</i> , Captain Drury. | <i>Hussar</i> , Captain Crawford. |
| <i>Doris</i> , Captain Lye. | <i>Drake</i> , Captain Harris. |
| <i>Nisus</i> , Captain Beaver. | <i>Phaeton</i> , Captain Pellew. |
| <i>President</i> , Captain Warren. | <i>Leda</i> , Captain Sayer. |
| <i>Bucephalus</i> , Captain Pelly. | <i>Caroline</i> , Captain Cole. |
| <i>Phoebe</i> , Captain Hillyar. | <i>Cornelia</i> , Captain Edgell. |
| <i>Modeste</i> , Captain George Elliot
(son of Lord Minto). | <i>Pysche</i> , Captain Edgecumbe. |



BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER TJILEWONG AT BATAVIA BETWEEN PEGANSAAN AND MEESTER CORNELIS, WHERE THE GREAT BATTLE WAS FOUGHT BETWEEN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND DUTCH TROOPS ON AUGUST 26TH, 1811.



THE SOURCES OF THE TJILEWONG RIVER.

SLOOPs.

<i>Barracouta</i> , Captain Owen.	<i>Samarang</i> , Captain Drury.
<i>Hesper</i> , Captain Reynolds.	<i>Harpy</i> , Captain Bain.
<i>Hecate</i> , Captain Peachey.	<i>Procris</i> , Captain Mansell.
<i>Dasher</i> , Captain Kelly.	

HONOURABLE COMPANY'S CRUISERS.

<i>Malabar</i> , Captain Hayes and Captain Maxfield.	<i>Vestal</i> , Captain Hall.
<i>Aurora</i> , Captain Watkins.	<i>Ariel</i> , Captain Macdonald.
<i>Mornington</i> , Captain Pearce.	<i>Thetis</i> , Captain-Lieutenant Phillips.
<i>Nautilus</i> , Captain Walker.	<i>Psyche</i>

and fifty-seven transports and several gunboats, amounting in all to one hundred sail, all of which arrived safely at Chillingching, Batavia, on the 4th August, 1811, where the British flag was flown.

The army, it will be seen, was divided into four brigades, one forming the advance, two the line, and one the reserve. The following is the general abstract of the army on the 4th June, 1811, at Malacca :—

	Officers.	Native Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers and Privates.	Total.
European Force	200	—	5,144	5,344
Native Force	124	123	5,530	5,777
	324	123	10,674	11,121
Pioneers, Lascars	—	—	—	839
Grand Total	—	—	—	11,960

Of this number, however, about twelve hundred were sick at Malacca and about fifteen hundred on landing in Java.

The advance under Colonel Gillespie proceeded first, of

course, ashore, and immediately moved forward to gain possession of the road to Meester Cornelis.

The brigades of the line landed next and moved for the road to Batavia.

The landing was excellent and without mishap, the horse artillery, the horses of the cavalry, and the bullocks for the heavy guns being landed immediately after the troops were ashore.

The enemy disappeared.

General Wetherall marched along the canal to the Anjol river, and then on to the Batavia road.

The labours of the first few days were excessive, and many died of sunstroke, for every man who did not carry a musket had to carry a load, and all were on the march.

Tandjong Priok,¹ a small fishing village, was occupied. The Anjol river was crossed in single file by a bridge of boats, rapidly constructed at 10 o'clock at night by Captain Sayer, of the *Leda*, and Captains Reynolds and Mansell, of the *Hesper* and *Procris*. At dawn the next day (the 8th August) the troops were one mile from Batavia, and Captains Tylden and Dickson, A.D.C. to the Commander-in-Chief, rode forward with an escort and summoned the town, returning with the mayor, Hillobrink, who was deputed on behalf of the civilians to beg the protection of the English.

All the private houses and business houses of Batavia were deserted, as all the respectable people had been compelled by Governor-General Janssens to retire into the interior, so that as little intelligence or assistance were given to the enemy as possible.

Two companies of the 59th Regiment under Captain Watts, and accompanied by the brigade-major, Captain Thorn, now advanced into the town, upon which the enemy's scouts galloped off to Weltevreden.²

¹ The harbour had not yet been constructed.

² The Malays were found busy removing the contents of the stores, and the streets were strewed with sugar and coffee.



TUBODAS, WITH THE GEDEH AND PANGERANGO VOLCANOES IN THE DISTANCE.

Occupation of the Town House.—The Town House (called Stadt Huis) was now occupied; the adjutant-general, galloping up, read a proclamation to the few inhabitants left, and the British flag was hoisted. The fleet in the roads now fired a royal salute.

Colonel Gillespie, with nearly the entire advance, arrived in the evening, and drew up in the square in front of the Town House and dismissed his troops to their various quarters round about.

Captain Robison, A.D.C. to Lord Minto, carried a summons to Governor-General Janssens at 10 p.m. to surrender the island, but received a reply from him that as a French officer he could not comply with the request. The last part of Captain Robison's journey was done blindfold and through the French lines; he said the bustle was great, and the artillery was being shifted. French officers were hanging about everywhere.

Fight at Glodok.—At 11 o'clock at night the troops in the Town House square lay down to sleep, but had hardly done so when the picquet at the bridge over the river on the way to Weltevreden¹ was fired upon. Captain Trench, of the 89th Regiment, in command of the picquet, fortunately, however, raised the drawbridge in time and thus prevented the enemy crossing. Colonel Gillespie, hearing the continued fire, rode out at the head of a party and charged the enemy in the flank, which had the desired effect of driving them away.

It appeared afterwards that the enemy did not learn until too late, and after several of this advance party of theirs had been killed, that Colonel Gillespie had already arrived at the Town House. They had also fully expected they would meet with no opposition, as the Chinese and other inhabitants (in conformity no doubt to instructions) pressed a potent but deleterious liquor on the soldiers when asked for water,

¹ This is what is now known as the "Glodok" Plain.

which the enemy anticipated would have the effect of making them all incapable.

Colonel Gillespie's decisive orders counteracted all this.

The troops remained under arms the whole of the first night in front of the Town House, and next day were joined by the horse artillery and a troop of dragoons.

In the Castle and the arsenals at the wharf, near the proper landing-place,¹ a number of guns, mostly brass, and a great quantity of naval and military stores were found.

The following night the town, with every soul in it, was nearly destroyed by a Malay, who was discovered with a firebrand in the act of firing a magazine containing gunpowder. The incendiary was at once hanged.

By the 10th August, a bridge over the Anjol river was ready and the heavy guns were taken over.

Battle of Weltevrede.—Colonel Gillespie now prepared to advance with one thousand European and four hundred and fifty native (Sepoy) troops, moving quietly along the main road to Weltevrede, passing Molenvleet at just after four in the morning.

A little before leaving the headquarters, which were kept by a Frenchman who had previously been a servant of General Daendels, Colonel Gillespie and his staff drank their coffee; but this had been poisoned with some villainous drug, the result of which was that they were all seized with most violent pains and vomitings. The Frenchman was at once taken and a large cup of this mixture was forced down his throat by the British soldiers, producing a very powerful effect on him. He afterwards escaped to America, and no further thought was given to the man.

When the troops arrived near the Koningsplein they were met by the enemy, who were in five times their number. The action lasted two hours, the British troops burning all the villages and clearing the Koningsplein at the point of

¹ That is the old boom, or wharf.



MACLEAN'S GRAVE.

the bayonet. The European houses all around were described as being very superb buildings. They were deserted, but the troops left them unscathed.

The enemy lost all their guns and a large number of killed and wounded, besides prisoners, both Europeans and natives, amongst whom were many French officers of distinction. General Jumel and Brigadier Lutzow bolted when it was getting too hot. The British cavalry, with Colonel Gillespie at the head, drove the fugitive army as far as the fort at Meester Cornelis, only drawing rein when a shower of grape and round shot poured over their heads from the batteries. Before the guns could be depressed, however, the cavalry were again out of sight to the last man.

The arsenals at Weltevreden were now taken and found to contain more than three hundred pieces of ordnance and a quantity of military stores, abandoned in haste by the French when they heard of the approach of the English.

The advanced posts were next seized and the French driven out of their redoubts with a loss of five hundred men and four horse artillery guns.

Weltevreden was now completely in the power of the British, and the enemy were shut up in their forts on the Meester Cornelis road.

Copy of Colonel Gillespie's official Report to Colonel Agnew, Adjutant-General:—

“WELTEVREEDEN, 11th August, 1811.

“Sir,—I have the honour to report to you for the information of H.E. the Commander-in-Chief that in conformity with H.E.'s permission I moved with the advance from Batavia yesterday morning at 4 a.m. with the following corps:—

Horse Artillery (four guns), Captain Noble.

Troops of the 22nd Dragoons, Captain Chadwick.

Right flank battalion, Major Miller.

Left flank battalion, Major Fraser.

Detachment of the 89th Regiment, Major Butler.

Governor-General's bodyguard, Captain Gall.

Detachment of the 22nd Dragoons (dismounted), Lieutenant Dudley.

Detachment of the Bengal Light Infantry, Captain Leys.
Madras Pioneers, Major Smith Wayte.

“ After passing through the cantonment of Weltervreden in two columns, I found the enemy strongly posted beyond it in a difficult country, having a battery of guns on the road to Cornelis behind an abbatiss.

“ The action commenced soon after day dawned. From the disposition made for the advance we succeeded in attacking the enemy in front and both flanks, which enabled us to force their position, and this appears from what we afterwards saw of the ground, and the very great strength of the post they occupied, to have presented a greater effusion of blood on our side.

“ After an action of full two hours we pursued the enemy under their works of Cornelis, and when on the point of advancing the cavalry to attack, a very heavy fire opened from the batteries, which obliged me to recall them under the shelter of the wood.

“ His Excellency had the opportunity of witnessing a part of this business, it is unnecessary therefore to enter into a further detail.

“ The enemy's guns were taken at the point of the bayonet, after a defence of the most determined and obstinate nature. It is reported that the greater part of the European force of Marshall Janssens were at that spot ; and from the number of European officers killed and taken we have every reason to suppose that it was so.

“ In appreciating the heroic conduct of the troops in this sharp service I can hardly find words to express myself. The fatigue they have suffered since they came on shore, and the almost impassable country through which they had to penetrate and push the enemy, will, I hope, be considered by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief as it deserves.

“ Of the conduct of the officers commanding different corps and companies I have to express my admiration, particularly Major Fraser, and the left column under his command, who bore the severest part of the action. In the capture of the guns, Major Butler and Captain French, 89th Foot, Captain Forbes, 78th, and the officers and men comprising these corps, I have particularly to mention.

“ Captain Lindsay, commanding the light company of the 69th Regiment, Captain Cameron, commanding the rifle company

of the 78th Regiment, Captains Oakes, Nunn, Rose, and Ramsay, which last was severely wounded, and Lieutenant Young, 89th Regiment, in fact all the officers and men of this column fought like British soldiers ; and their gallant commander, Major Butler, ably seconded by Captain French, deserves my warmest acknowledgments, as does Captain Forbes of the 78th Regiment, for the same gallantry.

“ I cannot say too much of Captain Noble and the officers and men under his command who so gallantly fought the two guns that drew a most terrible fire from the enemy : indeed, the zeal and ability displayed by Captain Noble throughout the service demand my particular commendation.

“ I must also express my acknowledgments to Major Miller, commanding the right column, to Captain Stanus, of the 14th Light Infantry Company, Captain Watts, of the 59th Regiment, Lieutenant Cochlan, commanding the rifle company of the 14th Regiment, and Lieutenant McPherson, commanding the rifle company of the 59th Regiment, and the officers and men of the different corps, as that column contributed much to the success of the day by turning the enemy’s left flank. I have also to thank Captain Leys, officers, and men of the Bengal Light Infantry Battalion, and Captain Evans and Captain McPherson, the officers and grenadiers under their command of the 5th and 6th Bengal volunteer battalions attached to the flank battalions ; Captain Leys commanded the detachment of Bengal light infantry, in the absence of Captain Fraser, and Major Dalton, whom I found it necessary to leave in command of Batavia.

“ I have also to thank Captain Gall of the bodyguard, Lieutenant Dudley of the dismounted dragoons, 22nd Regiment, and Captains Smith Wayte and McCraith of the Madras Pioneers for their support during the affair.

“ To Captain Taylor of H.M.’s 24th Dragoons, military secretary to the Governor-General, I have to return thanks for his indefatigable assistance during the whole affair, and his very zealous exertions during the whole time since we landed, as also to Captains Dickson and Blakiston, H.E.’s A.D.C., from whom I experienced every assistance, and whose conduct has been most gallant.

“ Captain Mears of the 17th Madras native infantry, who volunteered with me on this service, Lieutenant Hanson of the Quartermaster-General’s department, and Lieutenant Taylor,

25th Dragoons, who have been attached to me since the commencement of the service, I have to thank for their gallantry, activity and persevering conduct.

“To Captain Thorn, of H.M. 25th Dragoons, my brigade major, who I can venture to say has hardly slept since we landed, it is difficult to express my value of his services; they are great, but I am sorry to say he has met with two contusions.

“I should not thus have entered into a detail of the individual services of so many officers, had I not ocular demonstration of their fully deserving notice, and should feel myself remiss were I to remain silent.

“I have the honour to be
(Signed) “R. R. GILLESPIE, Colonel.

“P.S.—Subjoined is a list of killed and wounded.”

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED of the advance commanded by Colonel R. R. Gillespie, in the action of the 10th August, 1811, near Weltevreden :—

	Killed.					Wounded.					Horses.							
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Total.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Total.	Missing, Rank and File, Total—Killed, Wounded, and Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.	
Brigade Staff	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	
Horse Artillery	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	5	5	2	2	-	4	
Detachment 22nd Dragoons .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Bodyguard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Right Flank Batta- lion { Detachment 14th Regt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	
Detachment 59th Regt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	
Grenadier Company 5th V. Bat.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Left Flank Batta- lion { Light Infantry Com- pany 69th Regt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	
Detachment 78th Regt.	-	1	-	-	7	8	1	-	2	13	16	-	24	-	-	-	-	
Grenadier Company 6th V. Bat.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	1	4	-	-	-	-	
Detachment H.M. 89th Regt. Detachment Bengal Light In- fantry Bat.	-	-	-	-	9	9	1	2	2	33	38	-	47	-	-	-	-	
	-	1	-	-	16	17	3	3	1	4	62	73	1	91	3	4	-	7



DEPARTURE OF THE BRITISH EXPEDITION FROM THE HIGH ISLANDS. JULY, 1811.

Officers' Names.

Killed.—Lieutenant Munro, H.M. 78th Regiment.

Wounded.—Captain Thorn, 25th Dragoons, Brigade Major to advance; Lieutenant and Adjutant Driffield, Horse Artillery, died of his wounds; Ensign Nickison, 14th Regiment; Captain Cameron, 78th Regiment; Captain Ramsay, 89th Regiment, severely; Lieutenant French, 89th Regiment; Lieutenant and Adjutant Young, 89th Regiment; Lieutenant Robinson, 69th Regiment.

On the side of the enemy (killed or wounded).

One general officer; one brigadier; several field officers; several subalterns.

Bombardment and Battle of Meester Cornelis, 26th August, 1811.—Preparations were now set on foot for driving the enemy out of their stronghold of Cornelis, defended by a number of redoubts and batteries, the circumference of the fortified lines being nearly five miles, and defended by two hundred and eighty cannon.

Here the whole French force was concentrated under the command of General Janssens, Governor-General, and General Jumel, senior military officer. The force had been augmented by a lot of French troops just arrived from France.

After long consideration, the Commander-in-Chief decided, on account of the season being too far advanced to admit of regular approaches, to carry the forts of Cornelis by assault, and for two days an incessant heavy fire from twenty eighteen-pounders and eight mortars and howitzers was kept up. The execution was great, and soon the nearest batteries were silenced.

Meanwhile there had been two severe skirmishes, in the neighbourhood of Meester Cornelis, on the 22nd and 24th August.

On the first day, when the English were much exposed in

carrying cartridges to the batteries, they lost in killed and wounded : European soldiers, 67 ; native soldiers, 29.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarges, of the 69th Regiment, had advanced against the enemy from the lines at Struiswyck,¹ supported by Colonel Gibb's brigade, which foiled the enemy in their attempt to render the new batteries untenable. As, however, is seen above, the tremendous fire from their redoubts had its effect. The work in the batteries was assisted by Captain Sayer, of H.M.S. *Leda*, coming up at a critical moment with five hundred bluejackets.²

On the 24th August the enemy's batteries, after a day's silence, in which they had been repairing the damage done to the old forts and rapidly constructing new ones, opened with renewed spirit ; but although the enemy was superior to the English in the number of guns it was clearly proved they were inferior in their handling.³

By now Sir Samuel Auchmuty had gained a complete knowledge of the position he was going to attack through the help of an intelligent sergeant, and keeping his plans secret so that the enemy could gain no knowledge of them, he gave instructions for the assault to take place on the 26th August. This is the memorable day on which all the native inhabitants from one end of the island to the other learnt that the British had stormed the formidable lines of

¹ Later called Nordwyck.

² List showing officers killed and wounded on the 22nd August, 1811 :—
 Captain Stopford, R.N., lost his arm ; Lieutenant Farnaby, Bengal Artillery, killed ; Lieutenant Munro, Madras Horse Artillery, lost his arm ; Lieutenant Colebrook, Royal Artillery, wounded ; Lieutenant Shephard, Madras Pioneers, killed ; Lieutenant-Colonel Clarges, 69th Regiment, mortally wounded ; Ensign McLeod, Madras Pioneers, mortally wounded ; Lieutenant Mitchell, 69th Foot, wounded ; Captain Shaw, 6th Battalion N. I. Bengal, wounded (since dead) ; Ensign Pringle, 6th Battalion N. I. Bengal, wounded (since dead).

³ List of casualties which occurred on the 24th August, 1811 :—
 Lieutenant Paston, Royal Artillery, killed ; Captain Richards, Royal Artillery, wounded ; Captain Smith, Engineers, wounded ; Ensign Sim, Madras Engineers, wounded.

Meester Cornelis, defended by the French and Dutch combined, in their eyes a wonderful feat.

The following distribution of the artillery and seamen was ordered for the service of the several batteries, under the superintendance of Lieutenant-Colonel Caldwell, Bengal Artillery :—

Captain Napier, Royal Artillery, Commanding the Batteries.

No. I.	No. III.
Twelve Iron eighteen-pounder Battery.	Eight-inch Howitzer Battery.
Captain Richards.	Captain Faithful, commanding.
Captain Dundas.	Lieutenant Scott.
Lieutenant Colebrook.	Bengal Artillery, 18 men.
Lieutenant Ralfe.	Seamen, 18 men.
Bengal Artillery, 36 men.	Bengal Lascars, 12 men.
Royal Artillery, 36 men.	
Seamen, 96 men.	No. IV.
Madras Lascars, 18 men.	Eight-inch Mortar Battery.
Bengal Lascars, 18 men.	Captain Byers, commanding.
	Lieutenant Paston.
	Royal Artillery, 19 men.
	Seamen, 24 men.
	Madras Lascars, 16 men.
	No. V.
	Two Howitzer Batteries in the
	Rear of the Right-hand Battery to Fire across the River.
	Lieutenant Harris, commanding.
	Bengal Golandanze, 12 men.
	Seamen, 20 men.
	Total men to work the guns,
	479.

Advance column in the following order :—Sharp Shooters, 14th Regiment, Lieutenant Coghlan. Pioneers Madras, Captain Smithwayte. Grenadier company, 78th Regiment, Captain McLeod.

Right Flank Battalion (Major Miller), consisting of Light Company, 14th Regiment, Captain Stanus. Light Company,

59th Regiment, Captain Bowen. Grenadier Company, 5th Volunteer Battalion, Captain Evans. Rifle Company, 59th Regiment, Lieutenant McPherson.

Left Flank Battalion (Captain Forbes, 78th Regiment), consisting of Light Company, 69th Regiment, Captain Lindsay. Light Company, 78th Regiment. Grenadier Company, 6th Volunteer Battalion, Captain McPherson. Rifle Company, 78th Regiment, Captain Cameron. Detachment, 89th Regiment, five companies, Major Butler. Royal Marines, Captain Bunce. Dismounted Dragoons, 22nd Regiment, Lieutenant Dudley. Governor-General's bodyguard dismounted, Captain Gall. Detachment of Volunteers Light infantry Battalion, Captain Frazer. Detachment of 4th Volunteer Battalion, Major Grant.

Colonel Gibbs' Column, consisting of Grenadier Company, 14th Regiment, Captain Kennedy. Grenadier Company, 59th Regiment, Captain Olphert. Grenadier Company, 69th Regiment, Captain Ross. His Majesty's 1st Battalion 59th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel A. McLeod. Detachment of Volunteers Light Infantry Battalion, Major Dalton. Detachment 4th Volunteer Battalion.

Fight at Pegansaan.—The troops, under Colonel Gillespie, moved off soon after midnight on the 26th, and after groping in the dark across cocoanut plantations, sometimes in single file led by Captain Dickson, A.D.C., who had gone over part of the ground in daylight, the column came out of a wood quite close to the enemy's first works near the Cornelis bridge by Pegansaan. Colonel Gillespie now had to wait in awful suspense, within sight of the enemy, for the rear, under Colonel Gibbs, to come up.

The day was fast approaching, and a retrograde movement was impossible; the honour and credit of a whole army was at stake; thousands of lives depended on the success or failure of this battle. Gillespie therefore decided to attack, trusting that Gibbs, whose gallantry and ardour he knew he could rely on, would arrive in time.

The English therefore pressed forward in order to secure



OLD DUTCH CHURCH, SAMARANG.

the redoubt directly facing the bridge, and defended by four horse artillery guns and enfiladed by others. After a short struggle they captured it. Gillespie now turned to the left and attacked a second redoubt; here the English were met with an overwhelming fire, both musketry and grape. It was taken, however, at the point of the bayonet.

These two captured redoubts mounted each twenty eighteen-pounders and several twenty-four-pounders and thirty-two pounders, while the ditches swarmed with musketmen.

Gibbs now came on the field at the head of the 14th, 59th, and 69th Regiments, and was directed by Gillespie to take another redoubt, which he did under the same circumstances and in the same manner as the former had been taken. A dreadful explosion took place in this redoubt when the powder magazine and a number of shells and rockets blew up, killing two French captains, Muller and Osman, who are said to have fired it. A heavy loss of life followed, one thousand at least being buried in the works, mangled bodies and scattered limbs strewing the ground in a horrible manner.

The French brigadier Jauffret was taken prisoner here by Gillespie in person.

All the batteries were stormed and taken in succession, and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander McLeod now coming up with his regiment, an attack was directed on the enemy's park of artillery and their reserve.

The enemy's cavalry then prepared to charge, and the 59th Regiment opened fire on them.

The attack was now carried forward briskly on all sides, under showers of grape and a sharp musketry fire. Major Yule was now with his flying column at Kampong Melayo, while McLeod, of the 69th Regiment, made an assault on redoubt No. 1.

The remainder of the army, with the Commander-in-Chief at its head and Major Wetherall and Colonel Wood commanding the reserves and Colonel Adams with the left brigade of the line, now threatened the enemy's front, where the highest artillery was drawn up. Captain Sayer, with his body of bluejackets armed with pikes, joined the main body; and they were soon all mounted at the expense of French officers, and obtained the title of "H.M. Marine Light Dragoons."

The enemy deceived, and thinking a frontal attack was intended, moved their artillery to this point. On receipt of this news Gillespie ordered a general advance and final assault.

Colonel Gillespie was now overcome with fatigue, suffering as he was from a low fever, which was increased by a contusion on the head, and he fainted, after his last instruction, in the arms of Captains Dickson and Thorn.

Recovering, however, he heard the main attack was successful, and the enemy, discovering parties rushing in from all sides, began to flee. The cavalry was now ordered up, and Gillespie, placing himself at the head, led the pursuit.

Lord Minto and Raffles now came on to the field to inquire after the wounded and to see the hospital. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, hearing this, rode up to meet them, reporting his triumph with a radiant countenance.

The enemy was followed up for ten miles, and although they tried now and again to rally, a detachment of horse artillery which followed the dragoons dislodged them and the cavalry then cut them down.

At Kampong Macassar a stand was made behind broken-down carts and thick hedges, supported by four horse artillery guns, which were all they had saved from the wreck of their army; but the cavalry cut through everything,

fearing neither grape nor musketry. The enemy now dispersed.

Arms, caps, accoutrements, and pouches were flung away and marked their course. Six thousand prisoners were taken, and only a handful of men reached the newly-erected batteries at Buitenzorg, so that there was no one to man them.

Two French generals were taken ; General Jurnelle remained in a bog up to his chin for hours and escaped in the dark. Two of General Janssens's A.D.C.'s, the chief of engineers, the French commissary-general, all the heads of departments, five colonels, four majors, twenty-one lieutenant-colonels, seventy captains, one hundred and thirty-four lieutenants, seven Amboynese lieutenants, three native lieutenants, five sub-adjutants, and one cadet were taken prisoners.

Two hundred and eight cannon and several stands of colours were also captured.

The whole of the French and Dutch army was either taken or destroyed, amounting to more than thirteen thousand regular and well-disciplined troops.

Only a very small party on horse under Major Le Blanc managed to get off with General Janssens.

There scarcely ever was such a thorough rout.

The loss on the English side was also severe ; there were more than five hundred men killed and wounded, among whom were forty-eight officers.

The humanity of the English to their wounded prisoners on that day was admirable. No distinction of colour was made. English, Dutch, or Malay were carried to hospital. The Malays and other natives were all in amazement, having been made to believe that the English were savages, who treated their prisoners with unheard-of barbarities.

When the disaster to the French army was learnt two French frigates which were blockaded in Sourabaya Harbour

(*La Nymphe* and *La Medusa*), under the command of Commodore Reval) succeeded in escaping the British cruisers. In these ships several officers, aides-de-camp to General Janssens, with Dibbatz, chef de battalion, Major Godders, Larienty, auditor to the Council of State, and Monsieur Panat went as passengers, carrying home to France the account of the defeat.

When Sir Samuel Auchmuty discovered the flight of Janssens to the east he immediately dispatched a small force to Cheribon, in order to cut off the communications. A squadron of frigates commanded by Captain Beaver, of H.M.S. *Nisus*, and a battalion of Sepoys under Colonel Wood were employed on this service. The frigates left Batavia on the 31st August, and when they appeared off Cheribon the fort surrendered. General Janssens had passed, however, two days previously, but General Jumel arrived shortly after, and, not knowing Cheribon was now in the hands of the English, walked into their hands. It appears that when he arrived at Buitenzorg he assumed command of the Malays, but they mutinied and murdered an officer, which caused him to leave them in haste and follow Janssens.

The fort of Tegal surrendered now to Captain Hillyar, of H.M.S. *Phoebe*, H.M.S. *Sir Francis Drake*, Captain Harris, and H.M.S. *Phaeton*, Captain Fleetwood. Pellew, with marines and a part of the 14th Regiment, captured the fort of Sumenap, Madura. An attempt was made by the natives, under Dutchmen, to recapture the place, but it was unsuccessful.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty with a force left Batavia on the 5th September to capture Janssens, who he supposed had fled to Sourabaya; calling at Cheribon on the way he intercepted letters to Janssens and found he was at Samarang. The fleet under Commodore Broughton was now ordered to that place.



GUNONG SALAK, NEAR BUTENZORG, AND THE RIVER CHIDAMI, 1811.

On his arrival at Samarang, Sir Samuel sent Janssens the following dispatch :—

“ General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and Rear-Admiral Stopford to
General Janssens.

“ Samarang Roads, the 10th September, 1811.

“ Sir,—After the proposals made to your Excellency at Buitenzorg,¹ we might be excused again offering you favourable terms of surrender. But your Excellency was not then perhaps aware that the whole of your efficient force was killed, taken, or dispersed in the action of the 26th.

“ You had not perhaps reflected on the miseries to which the European inhabitants of the colony must be exposed from a protracted warfare.

“ You must be now sensible that the colony is lost to France, and though by intriguing with native Powers its possession may be rendered for some time inquiet, the unfortunate colonists alone will be the sufferers.

“ Enough, Sir, has been sacrificed to reputation ; think now of the interests of those placed under your protection.

“ By submitting to a destiny that cannot be avoided, you immediately arrest the hand of the armed ruffian that now riots in the blood of the colonists.

“ The British troops will then be employed in the grateful office of giving them protection. But if, Sir, you continue deaf to the cries of a distressed people, if blood must necessarily be shed, if the natives must be let loose to plunder and massacre the European inhabitants of Java, we shall hold you, Sir, and those who continue to support you, as answerable for the consequences.

“ It is our earnest intention to prevent these horrors.

“ Your perseverance in a hopeless cause will counteract our efforts.

“ We have directed Captain Agnew, of the Army, and the Hon. Captain Elliott, of the Navy, to wait on you with this letter, and we beg to refer you to them for particulars.

“ We have the honour to be etc., etc.

“ S. AUCHMUTY.

“ P. STOPFORD.”

¹ The Commander-in-Chief asked his surrender, but he declined.

Answer.
(Translation).

“ Samarang, the 10th September, 1811.

“ The Governor-General to his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and Rear-Admiral Stopford, Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty’s Naval Forces.

“ Generals,—Colonel Agnew and the Honourable Captain Elliott have delivered to me the letter your Excellencies did me the honour to address to me.

“ Notwithstanding the losses of the 26th of last month, there yet remain resources in the colony. The faithful vassals of the Government have the same cause to defend with ourselves, and I owe to them the same protection as to the Europeans, the direct subjects of His Majesty the Emperor and King. I am not insensible to the evils which the colony suffers, but it is not I that am the cause of their sufferings.

“ I have the highest opinion of the personal qualities of your Excellencies, not to be persuaded that in the same manner that you combat those who carry arms you will protect the peaceable colonists and natives who inhabit the territory occupied by the troops of His Britannic Majesty and prevent those horrors, which are not the necessary consequences of a state of war.

“ I have the honour to be with perfect consideration,

“ JANSSENS.”

On the night of the 10th September, in view of the unsatisfactory nature of Janssens’s reply, Captain Maxwell, of H.M.S. *Procris*, took charge of the armed boats of the squadron, which proceeded to the shore with a view to cutting off six vessels lying close in and flying the French flag. These were taken possession of, but the crews had abandoned them already, so the guns were taken out to render them useless. Another party of boats had sailed up the river.

On the 12th September preparations were made to land, owing to the formidable works which commanded the

landing having, it was ascertained, been dismantled. When everything was ready it was found the town had been evacuated, on which Colonel Gibbs took quiet possession of it that same evening.

General Janssens had moved outside Samarang beyond the Tjandi Hill, where a large land house stood, to the top of the Djatingaleh (or Big Gombel) Hill. His force of one battalion from Sourabaya had been joined by fifteen hundred natives under one of the Surakerta princes.

The British force, of twelve hundred firelocks and six cannon, marched to attack Janssens at 2 a.m. on the 16th September. The enemy was posted on lofty and rugged hills on the high road to Solo, with thirty pieces of cannon on platforms covering their front on a spit on the right of the road, which had a valley in front twelve hundred yards at least in breadth.¹

The English general sent a detachment with two guns to occupy a hill on the left of the road which somewhat overlooked the enemy, and the other four guns were brought to throw shot at a great elevation across the valley into their position. The infantry now prepared to cross the valley, and, as soon as they had recovered their breath, rushed across on the enemy, who fled, leaving their guns behind them.

Colonel Gibbs now followed on the main road as fast as he could, capturing some European officers and men. The rest of the Dutch force (there were scarcely any French in it), however, owing to its being mounted, escaped.

An advance was now made on Oenarang, after a good rest at Serondol.

¹ Some cannon are still lying there ; whether they are the same as used on this occasion, however, is uncertain, and it appears more likely that they were cannon used in the Java war of 1825, although the natives say otherwise.

Here there was a square fort, constructed in 1786, on the main road to Solo, about twelve miles from Samarang. It was one of those chain of forts the Dutch built to keep open the way to the Javan sultans at Solo and Djockjakarta.

A force had collected here, and on the British army of English and Sepoys advancing the Dutch fired from the fort the moment they were in sight. Seeing, however, that the fort was being gradually surrounded, they evacuated it and fled to the fort at Salatiga. This was General Janssens's final effort, for, finding himself on his arrival at Salatiga practically deserted, he sent the same night a request to the British commander for a cessation of arms and an offer to treat for capitulation.¹ The proposal was the more acceptable as the British commander had no intention of proceeding further for the time.

On the 19th September Gressie was occupied, and on the 22nd Sourabaya surrendered without opposition; and this ended the campaign.

A medal was struck, with a bar for each battle, in remembrance of this short but "brilliant passage of arms" for the British army.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty now returned to India, appointing Colonel Gillespie as Commander-in-Chief of the British army of occupation in Java and its dependencies.

¹ This was the second time Janssens had lost a colony to the English, the first being the loss of the Cape of Good Hope to Sir David Baird.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

NOTE I.

Seamen and Marines Killed and Wounded from the 4th August to the 26th August, on shore.

Killed.		Wounded.	
Seamen . . .	11	Officers . . .	6
Marines . . .	4	Seamen . . .	29
	—	Marines . . .	20
	15		—
			55
Total :—			
	Killed . . .		15
	Wounded . . .		55
	Missing . . .		3
			—
	Grand Total . . .		73

Names of Officers wounded.

Captain Stopford, severely. Lieutenant Noble, H.M.S. *Scipion*, slightly. John D. Worthy (master's mate), slightly. Robert Dunlop (master's mate), slightly. Lieutenant Haswell, marines (already mentioned). Lieutenant Elliott, Marines (already mentioned).

NOTE II.

General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief.

“ HEADQUARTERS, WELTERVREEDEN, 19th August, 1811.

Parole.

Madras.

“ The Commander-in-Chief having received the reports of the officers commanding the several divisions employed in the late attack of the enemy's assembled forces, performs a pleasing part of his duty in expressing to the gallant army he has the honor to command, and to the officers and seamen of the Royal Navy and battalion of Royal Marines, who by the kindness of the Hon. Rear-Admiral Stopford were placed under his orders, his highest approbation and admiration of the ardent zeal and irresistible bravery which marked their conduct during the whole of the recent operations, and particularly in the decisive assault by which on the morning of the 26th inst. the strongly fortified position

of the enemy at Cornelis was carried, and their army completely dispersed, their Commander-in-Chief with a few cavalry saving himself by precipitate flight, while a large proportion of his generals, staff officers, and troops were made prisoners in the action and pursuit.

“Where ardent gallantry was universally displayed, both by the European and native troops, the Commander-in-Chief can only particularise those whose rank and situations of particular trust, in the course of the attack, rendered their conduct pre-eminent.

“To Colonel Gillespie, who commanded the principal attack, and to Colonel Gibbs, who headed the second column under that officer’s orders, it is impossible to say too much, but the Commander-in-Chief will confine himself to the public declaration that those officers fully performed every service which he had expected to derive from their well-known gallantry and conduct, displayed throughout the attack that heroic spirit of enterprise which proved them worthy to command the gallant troops they led.

“To Major-General Wetherall the Commander-in-Chief offers his cordial thanks for the great assistance he has constantly derived from his zealous exertions, as well as on the last attack on the enemy’s position at Cornelis as on the various operations by which it was preceded.

“The full success of the several attacks led by Colonel Wood, of the Bengal Native Infantry, by Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod, of H.M. 69th Regiment, who fell in conducting his column with that distinguished gallantry which had ever marked his long career of active military service, and by Major Yule, of the 20th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, attacks expected only to distract and divide the attention of the enemy, is the best proof of the ability and energy with which those officers conducted the divisions entrusted to their direction.

“The prominent and meritorious exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, H.M. 78th Regiment, commanding the Left Brigade of the Line, of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander McLeod, of H.M. 59th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, of the 14th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the 78th Regiment, Major Miller, of the 14th commanding the Right Flank Battalion, Major Butler, of His Majesty’s 89th ; Major Grant, of the 4th Bengal Volunteer Battalion, Major Dalton, Bengal Light



THE KANARIE LANE AT TJILATJAP.



THE RESIDENT'S HOUSE, PASOEROEAN.

Infantry Volunteer Battalion, Captain Forbes, of His Majesty's 78th Regiment, commanding the Left Flank Battalion, Captain Fraser, commanding detachment Light Infantry Battalion, Lieutenant Dudley, commanding dismounted party 22nd Dragoons, and Captain Gall, the Governor-General's bodyguard, have been reported to the Commander-in-Chief in terms of strong applause, and the conduct of Major Travers, of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons, and Captain Noble, of the Horse Artillery, with the detachments under their command, in their eager and animated pursuit and dispersion of the enemy when the roads were cleared for their advance merits every commendation.

“The Commander-in-Chief thinks it proper to express his satisfaction at the support he has received from all the officers of the Staff, but he deems it particularly incumbent on him to mark his full approbation of the active energy and gallantry of Captain Dickson and Lieutenant Blackiston, his aides-de-camp, whom he permitted to act with Colonel Gillespie on the morning of the attack.

“Colonel Gillespie has also reported the conduct of Captain Taylor, Captain Thorn, and the officers particularly attached to his staff as highly meritorious.

“The Commander-in-Chief requests Captain Sayer, the senior officer of the detachment, and all the officers and seamen of the Royal Navy under his command, to accept his thanks for the able and active assistance rendered by the naval detachment from the moment of their disembarkation to join the army and assist in the batteries. The eager exertions of the corps of seamen, when permitted at their request to leave the batteries and join in the pursuit of the enemy, gave the most satisfactory proof that British sailors, though not acting on the element peculiarly their own, are in every situation ready, able, and happy to oppose with vigour and effect the enemies of their King and country.

“The Commander-in-Chief laments in common with the whole army the many brave men who fell in the late arduous attack, but it is ever a pleasing consolation to the sorrowing friends and relatives of a gallant officer, when he meets that fate which sooner or later is common to all men, in the execution of his noblest duties—dies with honour, as these brave men whom he now laments have done, gloriously supporting the cause of their beloved Sovereign and their country.

“P. AGNEW, Adjutant-General.”

CHAPTER IX

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF JAVA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, 1811 TO 1816

Stamford Raffles appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java.— Lord Minto, now that the campaign was over, appointed Thomas Stamford Raffles as Lieutenant-Governor, a post, indeed, for which he was so fully qualified.

Lord Minto's dispatch to the Court of Directors upon the capture of Java was quietly recorded—in fact so quietly that little actual notice of it appears to have been taken by them. It read as follows :—

“ An Empire which for two centuries has contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected States in Europe has been thus wrested from the short usurpation of the French Government, added to the dominion of the British Crown, and converted from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition into an augmentation of British power and prosperity.”

Raffles at once saw that his charge was of the most extensive, arduous, and responsible nature, comprising thirty residencies, with divisions under powerful and autocratic chiefs desirous of throwing off the European yoke, and with a population of nearly six millions. The rule of the Dutch up to now, on no less authority than Lord Minto's, had not been a good one, and all the grievous and mischievous maxims of a narrow and somewhat harsh policy had until the arrival of the English more or less swayed every department of affairs. This system Raffles declared to be a vicious one and against the interests of Government and people, and one that must be ended.

The collection of the revenues was promptly taken in hand by him as a matter needing immediate reorganisation.

The old method of "farming" to Chinese was not only undesirable but the cause of a heavy loss to the exchequer. The reform meant much preparation, both in making regulations and providing instruments for the proper collection.

Raffles then took up the question of paying duties on exports and imports, appointing special customs authorities, and an organised staff and service under the direct control of higher authorities. Regular custom-houses were soon established at Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya.

Gaming and cock-fighting, which had also been "farmed" out, were abolished as injurious to the interests of the colony.

Plans were formed for the suppression of piracy, which was a regular scourge in the Archipelago.

Raffles was also determined to put an end to the slavery which had existed for nearly three centuries, not because it was particularly grievous to the slaves, whose servitude was purely domestic or menial, but because it was undignified for a great Power to allow such an institution within her colonies, the principle involved being a monstrous one. As a means towards attaining this object Government ceased entirely to purchase slaves, and the importation by private individuals or concerns was thereby immediately checked.

Everything had Raffles' attention; the large public offices in the Waterloo Plain, Batavia, are really due to him¹; likewise the Harmonic Club, the improvements to the large Governor-General's palace at Buitenzorg, and the Resident's palace at Samarang. He took each department in hand by turn and reorganised it in a thorough and highly efficient manner; for, as he and Lord Minto were in agree-

¹ They were conceived, however, by Marshal Daendels.

ment, although it was not yet certain whether the English would remain in Java, still while they were there they meant to do as much good as they could.

There is also no doubt that it was in great measure owing to the five years the English spent in the island that the present great system which rules the colony could be brought into being. Up to the time Raffles arrived the Government had not, as we know, been all that it should, and many scandalous grievances had crept into officialdom. Raffles cleansed all this with a strong hand, enabling the Dutch on their return into possession to open a fresh book and work on new principles, as in fact they did.

These faults of theirs were not exactly the faults of a nation, but the faults of the times, their regeneration not having kept pace with that of the English, whose broader and more humane principles of government had developed more quickly.¹

During Raffles' first six weeks as Lieutenant-Governor of Java Lord Minto remained with him, to give his assistance to his young *protégé*. On every point these two master-minds agreed and resolved that Java must be made an English colony as quickly as possible, with English colonists, English capital, and therefore an English interest. The country was flourishing, but the field for improvement and employment was inexhaustible. It was in point of fact not only *the other India*, but with its dependencies the richest empire in the world, Borneo and Sumatra from the slight scratches made on their surface proving that wealth inexhaustible, to which that of Peru, Chile, and Mexico would be as nothing, was procurable for the asking. The civil service for the administration of the new possessions was also more or less reorganised, Britishers receiving nearly all the principal posts, but the services of many Dutchmen, among

¹ Owing to the great quantity of prize property, chiefly coffee, seized, Raffles appointed a prize court with Colonel Colin Mackenzie as President.



FORT JAPARA, 1811. (BRITISH FLAG IS FLYING.)



FORT SALATIGA, 1811.

whom were such men as Muntinghe, Crausen, N. Engelhard, James Du Puy, and several others, were retained by Raffles, and they were given high posts. The staff when completed was undoubtedly a good and strong one, which well assisted Raffles in his great plans.

It must not, however, be forgotten that the tools, in the shape of this valuable Dutch staff, were in the island on the arrival of the English, and, although the end might have eventually been the same, there can be no doubt that without these capable Dutch officials the difficulties with which Raffles was first faced would have been greatly magnified, and in some cases have proved insurmountable.

We learn that Raffles at this time was buoyant in spirits and firm in courage, and so judiciously had all these changes been introduced that not a single individual, high or low, felt aggrieved by them ; and the native population, chiefs, subordinates, and people, with one accord hailed the new order of things as a boon conferred upon them by British philanthropy, and entered on the enjoyment of its advantages with confidence and improving industry.

Raffles examined closely into the Department for the Interior and found mistakes everywhere. He, however, set to work himself from daylight until well into the night, and drew up every detail and instruction, with all the courage of a pure, honest, and ardent mind, and with that unwearied assiduity which he displayed until the end of his administration when he retired from Java, more or less broken in health and spirits.

His zeal and activity, his exertion and the fatigue he underwent, were astonishing, and only later on was it realised how much application and attention he devoted to his duties and to the welfare of the inhabitants. His Dutch assistants who held high office were altogether unaccustomed to witness such action of mind and body, and were unable to keep pace with him. They held, however, the very deepest

respect and confidence in him, his mild, conciliatory, and unassuming manners entirely captivating them; and when troubles arose with the Government in India and the Court of Directors, in which Raffles' conduct was assailed, they were the first to take up the pen vigorously in his defence.

Although Raffles left Ryswyck for Buitenzorg on Lord Minto's departure, he came down every week to attend the Council, which consisted of Gillespie (commander of the forces), W. H. Muntinghe, Crausen, and Wardenar. At Ryswyck he remained a day or two according to circumstances and dispensed hospitality with a liberal hand, being most attentive to all the members of the former Government, who were constant guests at his table.

As soon as he could, Raffles wrote from Buitenzorg to the Court of Directors regarding the internal arrangements for the government of Java as follows:—

“ In this respect stand foremost the judicial and police arrangements. Previous to the establishment of the British Government in Java there was no distinction known between the police and the judicial administration of justice. At Batavia, however, there existed a Supreme Court of Judicature and a bench or court of aldermen called the College of Schepenen: and at Sourabaya and Samarang inferior Courts of Justice had been established; and in each district a court termed the Landrost, consisting of the Landrost, Regent, and High Priest, exercised both the police and judicial jurisdiction: the only distinction which existed was that all the Company's servants should be amenable to the regular Courts of Justice, or to the Supreme Court of Batavia, while all other persons of every description were under the jurisdiction of the Schepenen. A difference of persons was altogether so strongly against our principles of public justice and public individual right, and the principle on which such distinctions might originally have been founded had so entirely ceased by the abolition of all distinction between the servants of the late Company and all other individuals, that an entire change and separation of the police from the judicial authorities became necessary, and was directed by the instructions left with me by the Governor-General.

“ The copy of the Proclamation published in our first Government Gazette will sufficiently explain the principles on which we proceeded, and I flatter myself with the approbation, not only of the Governor-General, but of the authorities in England, of the measure taken by us of establishing the trial by jury, which I am happy to say has given universal satisfaction here, and although with the other new arrangements giving rise to new difficulties, it is not likely to meet with any serious obstacle.

“ The Courts of Justice and police, as now modelled, are now in full exercise, and I hope this colony may receive all the advantages of British jurisprudence without entailing on it the disadvantages of a judicial establishment from England, of all things the most to be dreaded for the general prosperity and happiness of the population.

“ The British Courts of Justice fit with difficulty our permanent English establishments in India, but here their introduction would lead to anarchy, vexation, and trouble without end.”

The following was Lord Minto's Proclamation before leaving Java for Bengal :—

PROCLAMATION.

“ For the satisfaction of the inhabitants and people of Java, the following provisions are made public in testimony of the sincere disposition of the British Government to promote their prosperity and welfare.

“ The refusal of their late Government to treat for their interests, although disabled by the events of war from affording them any further protection, has rendered the consequent establishment of the British authority unconditional.

“ But an English Government does not require the articles of a capitulation to impose those duties which are prompted by a sense of justice, and a beneficent disposition. The people of Java are exhorted to consider their new connection with England as founded on principles of mutual advantage, and to be conducted in a spirit of kindness and affection.

“ Providence has brought to them a protecting and benevolent Government : they will cheerfully perform the duties of allegiance and attachment.

“ 1. His Majesty's subjects in Java will be entitled to the same general privileges as are enjoyed by the natural born subjects

of Great Britain in India, subject to such regulations as now exist, or may hereafter be provided, respecting residence in any of the Honourable Company's territories.

" 2. They will have the same freedom and privilege of trade to and with all countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and also with His Majesty's European dominions as are possessed by natural born subjects of Great Britain.

" 3. Dutch gentlemen will be eligible to all offices of trust, and will enjoy the confidence of Government according to their respective characters, conduct, and talents, in common with British born subjects.

" 4. The vexatious system of monopoly, which is understood to have hitherto prevailed in some instances to an oppressive and inconvenient extent, will be revised, and a more beneficial and politic principle of administration will be taken into consideration as soon, and to such extent, as full information on the subject can be obtained, as established usage and habit may admit, and as may be consistent with a due regard to the health and morals of the people.

" 5. The Dutch laws will remain provisionally in force, under the modifications which will be hereinafter expressed, until the pleasure of the Supreme Authorities in England shall be known, and it is conceived that no material alteration therein is to be apprehended.

" The modifications to be now adopted are the following :

" *First.* Neither torture nor mutilation shall make part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals.

" *Secondly.* When a British born subject is convicted of any offence, no punishment shall be awarded against him more severe than would be inflicted by the laws of England for the same crime, and in case of doubt concerning the penalty by English law, reference shall be made to the Honourable the Recorder of Prince of Wales' Island, whose report shall be sufficient warrant for awarding the penalty stated by him to be agreeable to the laws of England. No sentence against any British born subject for any crime or misdemeanour shall be carried into execution until a report shall have been made to the Lieutenant-Governor.

" *Thirdly.* No sentence of death against any person whatever shall be carried into execution until report shall have been made to the Lieutenant-Governor.

" *Fourthly.* The Lieutenant-Governor shall have the power of remitting, moderating, or confirming all penalties, excepting

inconsiderable fines, short imprisonment, or slight corporal punishment.

“*Fifthly.* British born subjects shall be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Dutch tribunals and to the Dutch laws, in all cases of civil complaint or demands, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants.

“*Sixthly.* All British born subjects shall be subject to the regulations of police, and to the jurisdiction of the magistrates charged with the execution thereof, and with the maintenance of peace, and with public tranquillity and security.

“*Seventhly.* All persons belonging to or attached to the army, who are by their condition subject to military law, shall for the present be tried for any crimes they may commit only by courts martial, unless sent by the military authorities to civil courts.

“*Eighthly.* It being necessary in all countries that a power should exist of forming regulations in the nature of legislative provisions adapted to change of circumstances, or to meet any emergency that may arise, and the great distance of the British Authorities in Europe rendering it expedient that the said power should for the present reside in some accessible quarter, it is declared that the Lieutenant-Governor shall have full power and authority to pass such legislative regulations as on deliberation, and after due consultation and advice, may appear to him indispensably necessary, and that they shall have the full force of law. But the same shall be immediately reported to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, together with the Lieutenant-Governor’s reasons for passing the said regulations, and any representations that may have been submitted to him against the same, and the regulations so passed will be confirmed or disallowed by the Governor-General in Council with the shortest possible delay. The mode in which the Lieutenant-Governor shall be assisted with advice will hereafter be made known, and such regulations shall hereafter be framed as may be thought more conducive to the prompt, pure, and impartial administration of justice, civil and criminal.

“Regulations respecting the paper currency, as well as the relative value of coins circulating in Java, will be published in a separate paper of this date.

“Done at Molenvliet, the 11th September, 1811, by his Excellency the Governor-General of British India,

“MINTO.”

British Residents were appointed at all the capitals of the various residencies in the island, and at the settlements in the dependencies. In many instances they were officers from the army or navy, several of whom remained on the island in a private capacity for years after the Dutch had returned to Java. A list of these Residents is given at the end of this chapter.

Visit to the Sultan of Djockjakarta.—Raffles had hardly had time to settle all the judicial and administrative questions in Java, when trouble at the native courts of Palembang and Djockjakarta made fresh demands upon his valuable time.

The Sultan of Djockjakarta, a most turbulent and intriguing prince, who naturally retained a rooted animosity against the Europeans in Java, now indulged, like so many of his predecessors, in the hope that the time had arrived for their expulsion.

Daendels had already once had to march an army against him and to go in person to his capital. He fined him 200,000 Spanish dollars. He would have sacked his capital and banished him, had he not feared to do so, as the arrival of the English was expected daily, and the money at that time was greatly needed, besides which Daendels cherished the idea of being able to return another time and carry out his wishes.

Raffles decided to visit the Sultan himself, and find out why the treaty entered into between the British Government and the Sultan had not been kept by the latter. In this treaty the sovereignty of the British over Java was acknowledged by the Sultan, who confirmed to the English East India Company all the privileges, advantages, and prerogatives which had been possessed by the Dutch and French Governments.

To the Company also were transferred the sole regulation of the duties and the collection of tribute within the

dominions of the Sultan, as well as the general administration of justice in cases where British interests were concerned.

In December, 1811, Raffles proceeded to Djockjakarta with only a small escort consisting of a part of the 14th Regiment, a troop of the 22nd Light Dragoons, and the ordinary garrison of Bengal Sepoys in the fort and at the Residency House. This small force was in no condition to enforce terms in any way obnoxious to the Sultan, even if Raffles had been so inclined. In fact the whole retinue at one moment were in imminent danger of being murdered, *kris*s being unsheathed by several of the Sultan's suite in the audience hall where Raffles received that prince, who was accompanied by several thousands of armed followers, whose behaviour expressed such an infuriated spirit of insolence as plainly to indicate that they only waited for the signal to begin the work of slaughter, in which case not a man, owing to the way in which they were surrounded, could have escaped.

The story of the audience is worth telling.

When the Lieutenant-Governor arrived at the boundary of the Residency of Djockjakarta he was met by a large multitude of Javans and a guard of honour, and by Resident Crawford and the Sultan. Carriages with four horses richly caparisoned to drive the illustrious party to the capital were ready, the finest of all being that reserved for the Sultan and standing at the top of the line. After the necessary civilities had passed in the pavilion erected and a salute had been fired, the Lieutenant-Governor proposed to start, and began making his way to the first carriage; the Sultan, seeing his object, pushed ahead, but Raffles' aides-de-camp kept him back, while the Lieutenant-Governor jumped into the first carriage with his officers and forced the coachmen and outriders to move on, surrounded by the British cavalry. The Sultan had nothing else to do than

to take the second carriage, and, in a rage, followed to the capital. The insult to him was great, as he acknowledged thereby to all his people his inferiority to the Lieutenant-Governor. When they arrived at the Residency House there were two grand golden thrones ready, one for the Lieutenant-Governor and one for the Sultan. That for the Lieutenant-Governor stood slightly in front of the other. Raffles took his stool, but the Sultan stood, declining to sit down unless his throne or *dampar* was also pulled forward. Raffles refused to allow this. In a minute all was uproar, and Raffles, getting angry, unsheathed his sword with a glance as if he would run the Sultan through. The Sultan without an instant's hesitation drew his *kris*, and simultaneously several thousand *krisses* were drawn. The scene was a dramatic one; all was confusion, but Raffles, with his brain packed in ice, kept his head, and quietly sheathed his sword again, whilst a few quiet words from the Resident, John Crawford, eased the tension of the situation. The Sultan was at last induced to sit down, and Raffles began to discuss matters with him, gaining every point he had striven for. At the end of the *darbar* Raffles proudly marched out of the audience hall between the sullen and infuriated Javans.

Next day the Sultan awaited the return visit of the Lieutenant-Governor, with his troops, a guard of honour, etc.; but he waited in vain, for the Lieutenant-Governor, to allow him fully to understand how inferior he stood to the power paramount, and as a lesson to him for his behaviour of the previous day, had returned with his staff to Batavia. The Sultan, when John Crawford visited him, was very dejected, but later on vowed vengeance for the insults he imagined he had received from the English in the eyes of his people.

Although no act of treachery had occurred, the Sultan had made up his mind that the expulsion of the English was



THE RESIDENT'S OFFICE AT TAWANG, SAMARANG, DURING THE ENGLISH PERIOD.
(BUILT ABOUT 1775.)



BRITISH OFFICERS' QUARTERS, SAMARANG (IN DISTRICT OF TAWANG), 1811-1816.
(THESE QUARTERS WERE BUILT ABOUT 1775.)

quite feasible and resolved to set about finding the means of accomplishing it. Raffles also was assured that the English would sooner or later come to blows with the Sultan, and began shaping his plans accordingly.

An Arab sets himself up as a Sultan at Indramayoe.—In the meantime, however, Raffles' attention was turned elsewhere. Bagoos Rang In, a noted Arabian rebel, had assembled in the district of Indramayoe a number of deserters and fugitives from the French army after the battle of Cornelis, and now began seizing villages and looting them.

He had been at large for six years, and the Dutch had been unable to capture him, for he had imposed on the credulity of the natives by assuming the title of High Priest and maintaining a position as a Prophet of Allah. Their veneration for him was so great that no temptations or rewards had led to his betrayal.

He now threatened Indramayoe, and the fort had to be closed.

A detachment of Bengal Sepoys under Captain Pool was sent at once by Raffles to strengthen the garrison, and another detachment of Europeans and natives under Captain Ralph, of H.M. 59th Regiment, followed soon after. The rebel was now attacked, and it was found he had two thousand musketeers, who were drawn up behind a bank in an absolutely safe place. The British soldiers waded across sloppy rice fields and charged with the bayonet, which caused the rebels to flee, leaving numbers killed and wounded, the loss to the English being only one rank and file of the 59th Regiment killed, and Captain Jones, of the Bengal Service, and several rank and file wounded.

Bagoos Rang In escaped, though the effect was decisive, and those of his men who escaped nearly all deserted him.

This little affair was scarcely over when serious trouble arose at Palembang, where fearful cruelties had been perpetrated by an unfeeling monster in the massacre of the

Europeans and natives belonging to the Dutch factory, who had been put to death in cold blood.

To punish this act of perfidy on the part of the *Sultan Ratu Achmet Baruddin* (who had been raised to the throne in 1780 by the Dutch) an expedition was immediately fitted out, and sailed from Batavia on the 20th March, 1812, under command of Colonel Gillespie, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Java, to whom Raffles confided the whole management, leaving it to his individual judgment and direction to act as he considered best.

The fleet consisted of :—

H.M.S. <i>Cornelia</i>	. . . .	Captain Owen.
H.M.S. <i>Bucephalus</i>	. . . .	Captain Drury.
H.M. sloop <i>Procris</i>	. . . .	Captain Freeman.
The Hon. Company's cruiser <i>Teignmouth</i> .		Captain Howitson.
The Hon. Company's cruiser <i>Mercury</i>		Captain Conyers.
Gunboats : Schooner <i>Wellington</i>	. . . .	Captain Cromy.
Schooner <i>Young Barra-couta</i> .		Captain Lynch.
Transports : <i>Samdang, Minerva, Matilda, Mary Ann.</i>		

Captain Bowen, of H.M.S. *Phœnix*, met the fleet at sea, and took its command as senior naval officer.

Troops embarked were :—

- Detachment H.M. 59th Regiment, three companies, rifle and flank companies.
- Detachment H.M. 89th Regiment, five companies.
- Detachment Madras Horse Artillery and Hussars dismounted.
- Detachment Bengal Artillery, detail ; and detachment of Sepoys, 5th and 6th Battalions.
- Detachment Amboynese.

A considerable number of guns and military stores intended for the new settlement of Banca were put on board the transports.

On the 3rd April the fleet reached Nangka Island and

impeding the British advance, so that the utmost care was necessary.

There were also the formidable batteries at Borang, which from their favourable situation enabled the enemy to inflict considerable havoc upon the flotilla.

The enemy also possessed fire-rafts, numerous armed prows, and floating batteries, thus being well provided with the means to repel the British.

The Battle Orders were as follows :—

“ When the signal is made to anchor it will be accompanied with a red pendant over. If the Squadron are to anchor in line ahead, with the same pendant under. If a line abreast, or athwart the river, the Division of Light Boats under Lieutenant Monday will always anchor in line abreast, about half a mile ahead of the leader of the line of battle.

“ The other boats will anchor in their stations; the gunboats, flats and launches rather ahead of the leader of the line, and on each bow. The line of battle abreast will be formed by the Division of Light Boats in advance, anchored in a line abreast.

“ The gunboats, flats, and launches; in the next line, *Mercury*, *Wellington*, *Procris*, *Young Barracouta*, and *Teignmouth*. In this order, if it should become necessary to bring the broadsides of the ship to bear up the river, the signal will be made for the boats, first and second line, to retire through the intervals of the third line, and form in the rear, in two lines as before. The light boats are to keep a strict look-out, and have the fire grapplings and logs constantly ready.

“ The look-out boats of the Light Division are never to be more than one mile from the headmost ship or vessel of the Squadron, unless otherwise directed by signal, and no boats whatever except the commander of the Forces be in her to pass ahead of the headmost look-out boat without permission. The boats of the Light Division are never to lose sight of the Squadron, even though the winding of the river should enable them to do so without exceeding their prescribed distance.

“ On the approach of armed boats of the natives, the look-out boats are to retreat in silence and good order to the body of their division, which is also to fall back to the *Procris*, where they will

receive further orders. And no boats are on any account to fire a shot or to attempt a dash, though the circumstances be ever so favourable, nor, in short, commit any act of hostility without orders.

“The Squadron are to observe and obey the signals of the *Barracouta*, where the Commander of the Forces is embarked. The *Barracouta* wears a Union Jack while the Commander of the Forces remains on board.

“Here follow various signals for forming the line of battle, according to circumstances.”

The fleet having taken longer time to get to Palembang than was expected, owing to contrary winds, the Sultan had plenty of time to consider whether he would fight or flee. With a view to the latter possibility, he removed his treasure and his wives into the interior, sending messages of respect to the British commander, hoping thereby to mislead him.

When the batteries of Borang were sighted it was found, as was expected, that they were well armed, and the armed prows had been joined by a large Arab ship. These vessels, with the floating batteries, were moored across the river in echelon, raking with their guns the whole length of the passage; whilst the artillery from the fixed batteries bore across the channel by which the British flotilla had to advance, thus enabling the enemy to bring the fire of their guns to a focus on any point in the line of the advance.

Fire-rafts were ready to cast adrift, to complete the discomfiture.

Messengers still continued to arrive, congratulating Colonel Gillespie on having come safely so far, and saying that the Sultan would be happy to see him, but that he hoped he would visit him without so large a force, as the Sultan feared the appearance of so many armed men would disturb the inhabitants of Palembang. It was easy enough to see the insidiousness and falseness of this proposal, and Colonel Gillespie knew the base and treacherous Sultan far too well to allow himself for one moment to be taken in.

The Sultan had insulted the Government by his offensive want of attention to the British mission sent him during the preceding November, and had added to the insult by sending an ambassador to Batavia with false statements about the iniquitous massacre of the Dutch, and no faith whatever was to be placed in him.

Captain Meares, the Malay interpreter, now demanded the surrender of the Borang batteries : no time was given for consideration ; if they surrendered they would be taken over amicably and without loss of life, if not, they would be reduced to nothing. Gillespie was close at hand with detachments of the 59th and 89th Regiments in light boats, supported by gun-launches and field artillery in flat boats.

Great, indeed, had been the fatigue and discomfort of the soldiers and sailors on the passage up the river. During the day while rowing they were exposed to the rays of a tropical sun and deprived of sleep at night owing to incessant rain-storms. Notwithstanding all, however, their ardour was as great as ever ; and nothing could shake their desire to get at the Sultan's troops, to let them see what stuff British sailors and soldiers were made of.

The enemy, however, knew this, for no sooner had Captain Meares put the question than the garrison, catching a glance of the British coming up, were terrified, and, wholly unmindful of the strict and positive orders of the brutal Sultan to defend the passage here to the very last, fled as fast as they could to the eastern part of Borang Island and the western side of Bintang Island, and here concealed themselves.

The guns taken amounted to one hundred and two, and were already charged and primed.

The large Arab ship was seized, the crew deserting it in the same manner, and was used as quarters for a good portion of the soldiers, the remainder being lodged in huts on shore and on floating batteries which had covers to them.

When the flotilla again sailed on, the fire-rafts, which it was found were filled with combustibles of all kinds, were fired and let loose. They were extremely dangerous owing to the fact that they were all fastened together and stretched right across the river, the current carrying them down.

Captain Owen, with the crews of the light boats, at 8 o'clock in the evening was successful, however, in cutting the rafts asunder before they were thoroughly in flames. The *Cornelia's* guns were moreover now able to reach the enemy, and the parties of Malays who attempted to fire the rafts more thoroughly, so as to make them blaze quicker, were fired into and instantly dispersed.

On the 25th April (the day following) an Arab arrived, who begged his ship back, which was given him. He gave the news that when the Sultan heard of the loss of the defences of Borang, on which it seems he had pinned his faith, he had joined his wives and treasure, knowing there was now nothing to prevent the further progress of the determined British troops. The Arab said that on account of the Sultan's flight the greatest confusion and plunder and assassination prevailed in the fort, the palace, and even the city.

On hearing this Colonel Gillespie did not delay an instant, and hurried with the small boats as fast as he could go to Palembang city, and by his presence prevented the entire massacre of the wealthy Chinese and other inhabitants, whose property was to have become the prize of the assassins.

Gillespie proceeded with the Arab chief in his canoe, and was accompanied by Captain Meares and Mr. Villneruby (a Spaniard), who acted as interpreters.

In this and another small canoe which accompanied them were seven grenadiers of the 59th Regiment, and these were followed by Captain Bowen, R.N., Major Butler, D.A.G., Major Thorn, D.Q.M.G., in the gig of the *Phoenix*, and by ten more grenadiers in the barge of the same ship, with

Lieutenant Monday, R.N., and Lieutenant Forrest, of the 59th Regiment. The remaining troops, under Lieutenant McLeod, had orders to follow with all possible speed.

The distance to be traversed was about twenty miles, and when Gillespie arrived at Old Palembang it was already dark.

The canoes, in one of which was Gillespie, had shot well ahead of the other two boats, which were not even in sight. On a sudden a gun was fired by the enemy, and a dreadful heartrending yelling and shrieking was heard on all sides, and lights and conflagrations suddenly burst out along the banks of the river for about seven miles.

Those in the two boats behind had also heard the uproar, and seeing the lights, exhausted as they were, redoubled their efforts and happily came up in time.

To describe the horrors of the situation is impossible. Romance could not tell anything more hideous ; nor could any invention of the imagination ever be so appalling as that which met this handful of Britishers in the middle of the night, in the interior of a wild, unknown tropical country, and surrounded by a hundred thousand demons of hell let loose. Nor can the brave, plucky, and undaunted act of this small party of Englishmen, who, to revenge the deaths of Dutch fellowmen, took possession of the fort and palace that night, be surpassed. To meet a ferocious foe face to face in daylight is one thing ; to do so under the present circumstances on a pitch-dark night was quite another.

Undismayed, however, by the terrible uproar, and in the face of large bodies of armed Malays, Colonel Gillespie stepped bravely on shore, and, accompanied by the seven grenadiers and the officers already mentioned, and with the Arab chief as guide, marched through a multitude of Arabs and treacherous Malays, whose weapons, steeped in poison, shone by the light of the torches they carried.

Battlements whose appearance in the dark looked massive,

with immense gates leading from one court to the other, met Gillespie, and presented a fearful spectacle of human blood reeking and flowing on the flagstones of the courtyard. Once they were inside the gates closed upon the British party, so that no escape seemed possible from this veritable slaughter-house. A Malay pressed up to Gillespie with a double-edged knife. The night was stormily inclined, and at this moment a flash of lightning showed him the weapon just as the man was drawing it up his sleeve to conceal it. Totally regardless of the crowd around them, they seized the fellow and took his weapon from him.

In the palace reigned devastation and cruelty. Murder and rapine had joined hands, and the place had been plundered from end to end. To add to the dreadfulness of the situation, rain was coming down in torrents, as it only can in the tropics, amid a storm of thunder and lightning. The flames were now getting nearer and nearer to the palace where Gillespie and his brave few were waiting. The crackling of bamboos was like the discharge of muskets—the burning roofs kept falling in; and there was the dreadful knowledge that the palace was surrounded by assassins, into whose hands the approaching fire was going to drive them. Gillespie, however, decided they must sell their lives dearly and endeavour to hold the fort should any attack be made on them before the arrival of the forces under Colonel McLeod. The grenadiers were stationed at the principal entrance, and a strict guard was kept.

At midnight Major Trench with sixty men of the 89th Regiment arrived, and was welcomed with great relief. He had had literally to cut his way through. In the morning McLeod, faithful to his promise, arrived with the entire force; the task had been a hard one, indeed almost an impossible one, with the means at his disposal, but he had done it. The fort, with its two hundred and forty-two guns, was now taken without any struggle.

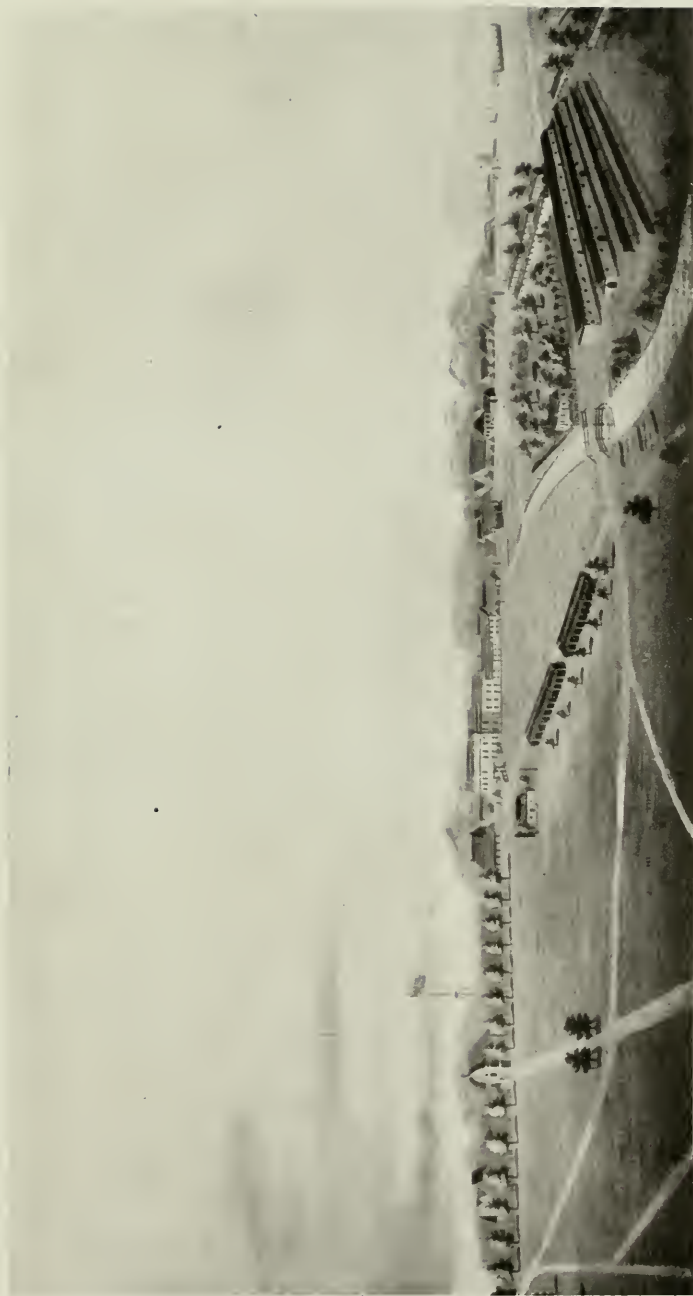
The rapidity of the movement, the arrival in the night of Gillespie, and then Trench, the numbers with whom were greatly magnified by a panic-stricken foe, whose terror was not lessened by the unexpected arrival of McLeod with his large force, paralysed the efforts of the Malays and threw them into utter confusion, as always happens with Asiatic races when the unforeseen arises.

There is no doubt that Gillespie's timely arrival saved the town from absolute destruction and plunder.

An American, who was the supercargo of a large Chinese junk then lying at Palembang, gave Gillespie an account of what would have occurred that very night if he had not arrived, the junk, with all on board, having in fact been marked out as the first object for destruction.

The great body of inhabitants was really pleased at the change of masters, having endured the tyranny of the Sultan and his eldest son, Pangeran Ratu, long enough.

The latter had been particularly notorious in the wanton exercise of every species of oppression, cruelty, criminal immorality, and bestiality. The vile, libidinous habits of this prince indeed, it is said, were the first cause of the terrible massacre of the Dutch; it seems that he paid one of his visits by night to the wife of a native, who resisted his criminal designs on her honour, and yelled for assistance; and this brought out the guard of the Dutch factory, which happened to be near. The guard, not knowing who the culprit was, pursued him to his prow on the river, which was moored a few yards from the shore. Pressed by the Dutch, he was obliged to swim to his boat, but once there his escape was assured. No sooner, therefore, was he on board, than he turned on his pursuers, shouting: "You are ignorant of the power you have defied. I am Pangeran Ratu, and in three days you shall all of you be murdered and your factory made the abode for birds to build their nests in."



SAMARANG FROM THE LAND SIDE. (THE BRITISH FLAG IS FLYING.)

The Sultan, hearing of this insulting treatment of his son, sent a message to the Resident, the commandant, and the principal officers of the garrison to visit him for the object of transacting business of an important nature. When they had left the fort for their visit to the Sultan, armed Malays surreptitiously walked in, and once the Resident's party was within the walls of the palace it was seized and all were murdered. The fort was instantly captured, and the garrison, both Europeans and natives, seized, bound, and hurried with their weeping families on board the prows prepared to carry them down the river to a place called Soosang, where they were slowly put to death. Every cruelty seems to have been practised to prolong the sufferings of the unhappy men ; they were stabbed with *krisses* in tender places, and lacerated in a shocking manner, entirely undescribable here. The prows, with the unhappy men still living, were then set on fire.

There was one Dutchwoman, the wife of an officer, who, not able to bear the thought of a separation from her husband, followed him on board one of the prows, although forbidden to do so ; she carried her infant child with her. Her fate was the fate of the other unhappy ladies, for, after being first polluted by these monsters in a manner impossible to relate, she was murdered and her body thrown overboard.

The Resident's wife, who was pregnant, was thrown into the jungle without food or shelter. The other unfortunate ladies were sent as slaves up-country ; some with their children took refuge in the woods, where they dragged out a miserable existence among the wild beasts, naked, and a helpless prey to hunger and disease. The very few who survived were brought in a most deplorable state of wretchedness to the British headquarters after the capture of Palembang, as the result of a search set on foot by Gillespie.

To detail the various miseries suffered by these poor

women¹ would take too much time and space. For months they lived on betel-nut and the refuse of the dunghill, and there was no refinement of cruelty to which the Sultan and his followers did not subject them. There was no persecution too great, no degradation too humiliating, for these unfortunate women.²

At noon on the 28th April, 1812, the British flag was hoisted, under a royal salute, on the Sultan's bastion.

Pangeran Adipatti, brother of the Sultan, was now invited by the British Commander to a conference. He had a good reputation, and, as it appeared afterwards, had warned his brother of the results of murdering the Dutch and had tried to dissuade him from the act.

The Pangeran at once called on Gillespie (the 29th April). He was received at the landing-place by Captain Meares and all the officers of the general staff. At the door of the public hall Gillespie awaited him and conducted him to where seats were arranged for all the company. On his landing H.M.S. *Mercury* boomed out a salute of nineteen guns, and as he entered the public hall the land artillery gave him another salute; this considerably impressed the natives.

After sitting for a short time, Gillespie and the prince entered a private apartment and conferred alone, through the interpreter, Captain Meares.

In the afternoon the Commander of the Forces returned the visit.

The old Sultan, who had buried his treasure and put to death all those employed in burying it, so that the secret of its hiding-place might be known only to him, now gave up

¹ The following ladies were eventually rescued by the British officers:—

Mrs. Harflegter and two children, widow of the Resident; Miss Adriana Peters, her sister; Mrs. Volkers, widow of one of the writers; Mrs. Johanna Reignwits and Mrs. Catsey Veigser, widows of corporals.

² When found, these ladies were taken under the special care of Gillespie, who personally waited on them and saw their wants were supplied.

all hopes of returning to his throne and withdrew far into the interior.

Gillespie sent a long dispatch to the Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, in which, after detailing the whole situation and the several operations, he concluded as follows :—

“ Palembang, 28th April, 1812.

“ I cannot avoid expressing to you the high sense I entertain of the cordial co-operation and support that has been afforded to me by every branch of the Naval Service during the progress of our voyage ; particularly the arrangements that were made in the first instance by Captain Owen, of H.M.S. *Cornelia*, and conducted subsequently by Captain Bowen, of H.M.S. *Phœnix*, who relieved him in the command. Captain Drury of H.M.S. *Bucephalus*, was necessarily separated from the body of the expedition where he had previously manifested great anxiety to forward the public interest. I cannot refrain from offering my most grateful thanks and acknowledgment to Captain Bowen, and bearing public testimony to the energy, zeal, and exertion displayed by those valuable officers in executing the important duties of their situation.

“ The military reputation and gallantry of Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod, of H.M. 59th Regiment, are already so well established that any panegyric of mine would add little to the fame he has so justly earned. I shall therefore content myself on the present occasion with returning him my very best thanks for the activity, anxiety, and attention he has manifested during the progress of the service.

“ Major Trench and the detachment of the 89th Regiment, Captain Campbell and the detachment of the 59th Regiment, Captain Simond, of the Artillery, are all entitled to my warmest approbation. To Major Butler, D.A.G., Major Thorn, D.Q.M.G., and the Officers composing General, Personal, and Brigade Staff I am much indebted for their assiduity and attention.

“ I am desirous, however, of bringing particularly to your notice the superior qualifications of Captain Meares, who has been acting both as my Aide-de-Camp and Interpreter, and who has displayed an activity, zeal, and acquirement that enable him to discharge the delicate and important duties of his situa-

tion with honour to himself and great advantage to the public service.

“ I have the honour to be, etc., etc.,

“ ROBERT ROLLO GILLESPIE

“ (Colonel Commanding H.M. Troops).”

The day appointed for the coronation having arrived, at 9.30 in the morning Pangeran Adipatti landed at the stairs in front of the palace. Here he was received by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander McLeod, attended by the officers of the staff, and was conducted to the gate of the inner court, where, being met by Colonel Gillespie, he was led by him to the public hall, in which a throne had been erected under a canopy of yellow silk.

Gillespie conducted him first to a couch on the left of the throne, covered with crimson velvet, on which they seated themselves.

The troops lined the way from the landing-place, keeping back a large concourse of natives.

A proclamation was now read in Malay, at which Adipatti was much affected, and wiped his eyes several times.

Gillespie then ordered Captain Meares to ask the crowd “ whether it was their wish to have Pangeran Adipatti as their ruler over them,” to which they gave hearty assent, by loud acclamations.

Gillespie then led the Pangeran Adipatti and seated him on the throne, which was raised three steps above the level of the hall. When he had taken his seat a royal salute was fired, the British colours hauled down, and those of the Sultan hoisted in their stead, and the new monarch received the salute from all the British officers, who passed him in single file, with Gillespie at their head. As each officer passed, the Sultan answered his full salute by taking off his own hat.

The natives then came in their order of precedence ; some kissed the hands, others the knees or the feet of the Sultan.

When this ceremony was over, the natives again seated themselves, and, silence being ordered, the Commander of the Forces, speaking through an interpreter, addressed the Sultan in the following speech :—

“ In the name of His Britannic Majesty and the Honourable East India Company, I have the honour to place you, Pangeran Adipatti, on the throne of your brother Mahmud Badruddin, deposed for atrocious and barbarous murders, and now declare you duly constituted Sultan of Palembang and its Dependencies, under the title of Sultan Ratu Achmen Najmuddin.

“ Long may you live to enjoy the high and exalted rank which the English nation have conferred upon you.

“ May God watch over your actions and direct your councils ; and may the punishment inflicted on the late Sultan (who by listening to evil counsellors and wicked men has drawn on himself the vengeance of a great and powerful people) be a warning to you to avoid similar errors.

“ May your reign be prosperous and happy. May you contribute by your goodness and justice to the happiness and welfare of your subjects, and may they have reason to bless the nation that have placed you on the throne of the City of Safety.”¹

The ceremony was striking and impressive throughout, and had a powerful effect on the prince and all the natives. It was in fact a brilliant display of that great magnanimity for which the British character is celebrated.

The speech of Gillespie being concluded, he took the Sultan by the hand and conducted him to the landing-place, where the royal barge awaited him.

The British officers now stood at attention, saluting as the Sultan left the stairs. At this moment the brigs-of-war and all the sloops in the river, which were gaily decorated for the occasion, as also all the native boats, fired a royal salute. This circumstance immensely excited the admiration of the native population.

¹ Palembang, in the old Malay historical works, is styled “ the City of Safety.”

On the 16th May a State banquet was given by the Sultan, at which Gillespie and all the British officers were present.

The next day the Sultan took possession of the palace and the British troops embarked.

Raffles was at Cheribon when he received the news of the British victory.

General orders were, however, at once issued recapitulating the event, from which the following is a short extract :—

“ Cheribon, May 27th, 1812.

“ The Lieutenant-Governor has the highest satisfaction in communicating to the army, during the absence of the Commander of the Forces, and to the public in general, the full and complete accomplishments of the objects which the British Government had in view in adopting measures of hostility against the Sultan of Palembang, etc., etc.

“ Signed by order of the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor,

“ C. G. BLAGRAVE

“ (Ass. Sec. to Gov.)”

From Cheribon Raffles proceeded to Samarang, so as to be near Djockjakarta and Soerakarta, which were sources of continual trouble and friction. His family followed him. At Samarang Raffles lost no opportunity for gaining local knowledge, as was his invariable custom.

He lived in the new palace¹ just constructed, a beautiful building at the end of the Bodjing road, some distance outside the city walls, and surrounded by the forest on all sides, and with a high hill on its right and a view of the mountains behind it.

He entertained a great deal, the native chiefs being constant guests, and, although society at Samarang was small in comparison with Batavia, sixty to eighty persons were always present on public occasions at Government House, and one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty on ball nights. Raffles was always busy ; and the only recreation

¹ This palace was pulled down in 1908.

he allowed himself was an evening drive to the foot of the Chandi Hills, and sometimes a morning ride to Kaliewongoe. His dinner-hour was 4 o'clock, so that a drive could still be taken afterwards ; but for public banquets 7 o'clock was the hour. He was always affable, animated, agreeable, and attentive to all.

No public servant ever applied himself with more care and zeal to such arduous duties. He allowed himself no relaxation, his motto being, " My country first."

When Gillespie and the troops from Palembang arrived in Java they were ordered on to Samarang.

On his arrival the following general orders were published :

" Samarang, June 6th, 1812.

" The Lieutenant-Governor is happy to congratulate Colonel Gillespie on his return to Java and on the full accomplishment of the objects of the late Expedition.

" The successful termination of these operations in a manner so highly beneficial to the interests of humanity, and to the security and advantage of the British possessions in those seas, must be entirely attributed to the prompt, judicious and politic measures adopted under the personal direction of the Commander of the Forces. And although the applause so justly due on this occasion may rather fall within the province of a higher authority to whom the proceedings will be submitted, it is gratifying to the Lieutenant-Governor that he is not precluded from bearing public testimony to the services which have been rendered, nor of expressing his admiration of the superior talent and character which has been so conspicuous throughout.

" The Lieutenant-Governor requests Colonel Gillespie will accept his best thanks for the zeal, ability, and precision with which the service has been executed ; and in recording his entire approbation and unreserved confirmation of the whole of the arrangements made for the future security and advantage of the British interests, the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that he only anticipates the sentiments of the Supreme Government.

" By Order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor,

" J. ECKFORD

" (Act. Sec.)."

Trouble at Native Court of Djockjakarta.—The Sultan of Djockjakarta was becoming more and more impossible¹; he was bidding practically open defiance to John Crawfurd, the British Resident. When he heard of the British troops being occupied on the Palembang Expedition, not knowing anything about the number employed, but having heard of the great power of the Borang forts, which would need thousands of men to capture them, the Sultan very naturally concluded that the present time was a favourable moment to expel the European power from Java. He formed,

¹ In September, 1811, the ex-Sultan of Java resumed the government at Djockjakarta, putting to death his first minister and the latter's father for opposing his wishes. The following is taken from a despatch by Raffles to the Resident there:—

“The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor T. S. Raffles to Resident John Crawfurd at Djockjakarta.

“You will also inform the Sultan and Regent jointly that the assumption of authority by the former is in direct opposition to his bond or declaration of 31st December, 1810, but this assumption cannot be admitted by the British Government, and that in conformity to the said deed you are now instructed to address the Regent only as holding the chief authority in Djockjakarta. You will in consequence address the Regent in all future communications that you may have with the Court. That after the Sultan and Regent have jointly sent their Ambassadors to pay homage as directed, the Sultan should without delay address to me a letter explaining by the best means in his power the circumstances which led to the assumption of the Government . . . acknowledging his errors and expressing regrets . . . ; further that the Sultan should, as a proof of his sincerity, resign of himself the throne to the Regent, stating in his letter that he had done so in order that the British Government might make such arrangements for Djockjakarta as may be deemed most advisable. On the above conditions I have intimated to Netto Kosomo (Natoe Koesoema) that the Sultan may possibly be again received into favour and restored to the throne. The letter to be signed by the Sultan must be dictated by you, and you will be careful to express it in such terms as may adequately answer the purposes of atonement intended. The letter should contain the best excuse for his conduct that can be adduced. The above will, in my opinion, be sufficient atonement on the part of the Sultan and a justification for my again placing him in power.

“It must be laid down as a principle in all our proceedings with the Native Courts that in no case we must demand what we cannot enforce in case of refusal.

“Samarang, 15th December, 1811.”

therefore, a general confederacy of all the native courts, constituting, so to say, the strength of Java, of which he was the legitimate head. Even the well-known animosity which existed between the Emperor of Solo¹ and the Sultan of Djockjakarta was on this occasion surmounted, and all family feuds were buried, the chiefs combining their forces to effect the destruction of the English, as well as of all the Dutch colonists settled along a coast line of seven hundred miles.

The magnitude of the threatened danger called for prompt and vigorous action. The troops from Palembang, although ordered to Samarang, were obliged to proceed there by way of Banca and Borneo, where stores had to be landed.

Gillespie, however, had arrived, and, matters now coming to a crisis, Raffles decided to move, with such military force as could be collected, to break at once the chain of combination, which if allowed to increase and strengthen would very likely prove the entire ruin of the European settlements in the East.

The Lieutenant-Governor Proceeds to Djockjakarta.—Raffles left Samarang with Gillespie on the 14th June, 1812, arrived at Klatten on the 16th June, and at Djockjakarta on the evening of the 17th. On the 18th the Sultan, who had been busy preparing for active operations, sent out strong bodies of horsemen to cut off the communication in the rear of the English by burning and destroying all the bridges and laying waste the country. Gillespie, on hearing this, proceeded with fifty dragoons to reconnoitre, and after several detours fell in with a large body of the Sultan's horse. As offensive measures had not yet finally been decided upon, Gillespie did not charge them, as he would have wished, but through the Resident, Crawford, tried to induce them to return peaceably to their homes in the *kraton*. To all solicitations they paid no regard, even throwing stones from slings, and at last their

¹ Soerakarta.

spears, by which a sergeant and four dragoons were wounded.

Hostilities between the English and the Sultan of Djockjakarta begin.—They were thus the first to provoke hostilities, which ended in the dragoons cutting their way through the surrounding multitudes and wholly dispersing them. The dragoons only lost one man killed.

The Lieutenant-Governor, still anxious to avoid bloodshed, sent a final communication, amicably couched, by messenger to the Sultan; but it fell on deaf ears, the arrogant chief, feeling secure behind his large force and his strong fortifications, returning the messenger with insults.

The Lieutenant-Governor now saw clearly that the only way to bring the recalcitrant monarch to his senses was by a battle, further delay only increasing his power, and adding to his insolence and the consequent injury to the colony.

The Lieutenant-Governor communicated his views to the Commander of the Forces and requested him to prepare for instant battle.

The troops collected were as follows :—

A Detachment 14th Regiment.
 A Detachment Bengal Light Infantry.
 3rd Volunteer Battalion Bengal Infantry.
 Two troops 22nd Dragoons.
 Artillery.

A further force, with a large supply of ordnance, was expected at any moment, under the orders of Colonel McLeod.

At Djockjakarta the Dutch had already built a fort during a more peaceful time, and it was so constructed that the *kraton*, or palace of the Sultan, was within reach of its guns.

The English Fort now Opens Fire on the Kraton.—The fort



GRAVES OF THE BRITISH KILLED AFTER THE RIOT AT PROBOLINGO, JUNE 18TH, 1813.

now opened fire on the *kraton*, to which the Sultan's batteries there immediately replied.

The *kraton* was three miles in circumference, surrounded by a broad ditch with drawbridges, and a strong rampart, broad and high, with bastions, and defended by one hundred cannon. Inside it were numerous squares and courtyards, enclosed with high walls, all very strong in themselves and highly defensible. At this time the principal square in front had a double row of cannon facing the entrance, besides which it was flanked with newly-erected batteries. Seventeen thousand regular troops manned these works, while an armed population of more than one hundred thousand surrounded the exterior *kampongs* (villages) for miles, and occupied the walls and various fastnesses along the sides of the different roads leading to the *kraton*.

Soon after firing had begun one of the powder magazines of the enemy blew up, and shortly after a similar accident happened on the English side, several officers and artillery soldiers being burned, some severely; amongst these were Lieutenant Young, Brigadier-Major, and Lieutenant Hunter, of the Bengal service; Captain Teesdale of the Royal Navy, who volunteered his services, was wounded by this occurrence. This explosion set fire to one of the fort buildings, but it was soon extinguished, and the bombardment of the *kraton* continued, under cover of which parties began to scour the *kampongs* to the right and left of the palace. This kept the Sultan's troops in play, and prevented their cutting off the rear of the British troops or harassing the detachment of Colonel McLeod, which was hourly expected and anxiously awaited; it had left Salatiga for Djockjakarta by way of Bojolali.

As evening was drawing near the Sultan sent out a flag of truce under an escort of some thousands, to demand the unconditional surrender of the British garrison. He was apparently under the impression, seeing that no progress

had been made, that he was really victorious ; and in an arrogant exultation arising from his immense superiority in numbers, presumed he could now crush his enemy at any moment. No reply was vouchsafed to the Sultan's insult.

Major Dalton, with a part of his Bengal Light Infantry, who occupied part of the Dutch town between the port and the *kraton*, was unsuccessfully attacked four times during the night.

The enemy, hearing of the momentarily expected arrival of reinforcements under McLeod, began destroying all the bridges and preparing obstacles for them.

The dragoons were sent to keep the way open, and in the evening, under Lieutenant Hale, of the 22nd Regiment, were ordered to force their way through to McLeod and ask him to hasten along. The country swarmed with the enemy ; not even a native could pass through unseen or escape being murdered ; in fact McLeod had already sent one with a message to Gillespie, but the message never reached him.

Colonel McLeod, still wishing to communicate, offered a reward to any man who would carry an order to Captain Byers, commanding a detachment of the Royal Artillery, who was a day's march in his rear. John O'Brien, a private in the Madras Horse Artillery, offered to undertake this perilous task.

He galloped as hard as his horse would carry him right through the enemy's camps and returned unscathed. For this he received public thanks and a gold medal.

The party of dragoons from Djockjakarta were soon attacked from all sides, the enemy presenting an impenetrable wall of spears. Lieutenant Hale was wounded, and narrowly escaped being speared to the ground, a fate which happened to six of the dragoons, who were found next day mangled in a most barbarous manner.

On the 19th June the troops under Colonel McLeod reached headquarters, consisting of :—

A detachment of Royal Artillery.

Grenadiers of 59th Regiment.

Flank companies and rifle company of 78th Regiment.

A troop of Hussars.

A detachment of Madras Horse Artillery.

The long forced marches of these troops and their exposure to the sun had completely exhausted them.

The *kampongs* round the *kraton* were now set fire to and the enemy burned out ; meanwhile the guns were pouring shot into the palace itself.

In the evening Gillespie ordered all the troops, both cavalry and infantry, into the fort, with a view to allowing the enemy to think that no serious attack on the *kraton* was contemplated.

The Sultan was now more than ever convinced that he held the English in his hand and that they were afraid of his strength.

The troops remained inside the fort, but the bombardment continued to harass and weary the *kraton*. This went on until 3 o'clock in the morning of the 20th June, when Gillespie ordered the firing to cease. His secret was well kept ; only the leaders knew that the *kraton*, this formidable fortification, defended by men from the neighbouring villages numbering twenty to fifty thousand, some say even one hundred thousand men, was to be assaulted. The task was a heavy one and its aspect appalling. Gillespie was playing his last card, but the stake at issue was the very existence of the British force ; the fate of the whole colony depended on the result.

The Island of Java in a State of Suspense.—At Bantam, Cheribon, Sourabaya, and other places hundreds of thousands were willing to break loose against the colonists at the Sultan's signal, which itself depended on the British garrison at Djockjakarta. The danger was no imaginary one ; the

Sepoys at Sourabaya in their barracks had been fired upon, and a fire of musketry opened from the Malay town into the European quarter.

The Town of Sourabaya saved from being Sacked by the Prompt Action of the English Commanding Officer.—The Dutch inhabitants there shut themselves up in their houses, expecting every moment to be massacred, but the troops stationed at Sourabaya were put immediately under arms and paraded under the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, of the 78th Regiment, through whose vigilance and strong action the trouble was immediately suppressed. The following day, on an inquiry being made into this affair, it appeared that the rebellion could be traced to a priest, who had dreamed of seeing two large eagles, a black and a white, fighting in the sky, and that after a long fight the white one was torn to pieces. The natives understood the allusion, all eyes being then fixed on Djockjakarta, and tried to anticipate events.

Gillespie and Raffles were meanwhile discussing matters in the fort ; they realised the seriousness of affairs, which was enough to daunt the bravest mind. Raffles, however, appeared as calm and collected as ever, with not a shadow on his open countenance ; while Gillespie was concentrating his thoughts on his own comprehensive, clear, and well-laid plans for storming the fort.

The English Attack the Kraton of Djockjakarta.—A column under Lieutenant-Colonel Dewar, with a part of the Bengal Light Infantry, a volunteer battalion, and Prince Prang Wedona's corps, proceeded at 4 o'clock in the morning by a long and circuitous route to dislodge a strong body of natives posted outside, southward of the *kraton*, after which they were to try and force the South Gate, while at the North Gate an attack was to be made under Major Grant.

A column under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, with a part of the 14th Regiment and a part of the Bengal Light

Infantry, with Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod's column of grenadiers of the 59th Regiment, flank companies and the rifle company of the 78th Regiment, composed the main attack.

This column, headed by the brave grenadiers under Captain Johnstone, rushed the ditch under a shower of grape and drove the enemy from their guns. Lieutenant-Colonel Watson now hurried them on to the top of the ramparts, and rushed for the Prince's Gate, while a party of Sepoys crossed the ditch at the angle of the bastion first attacked, which had now been blown up by an explosion of the powder magazine below. Afterwards these passed along to the bottom of the rampart and let down the drawbridge, enabling McLeod's column to cross over.

The Prince's Gate, being very strongly barricaded, was with difficulty blown open, but in the meantime the troops, having cleared the ditch over the drawbridge, climbed upon one another's shoulders through the embrasures and, meeting Watson's column, swept the ramparts clear.

All this time the fort was pouring shot and shell into the centre of the *kraton*.

The fighting became desperate. Lieutenant-Colonel Dewar's column now came up; he had defeated the enemy badly in the suburbs and killed Toomoocong Senoot Dinin-grat, the Sultan's chief adviser, and the instigator of every plot against the English.

The Kraton Captured.—With fixed bayonets the men now swept through fort after fort like a whirlwind, hand-to-hand encounters taking place every minute. Gillespie now secured all the main ways out of the *kraton*, holding them with artillery and cutting off the fugitives, who were slaughtered by the thousand. His principal object was, however, to see the Sultan did not escape.

The Sultan of Djockjakarta Prisoner in the hands of the English.—To this course of action may be attributed the complete success of the operations, for the Sultan, finding escape impossible, gave himself up.

The Crown Prince also Prisoner.—The hereditary prince also threw himself on the mercy of the English.

The enemy, however, were not yet beaten, and the western bastion still held out; but as soon as it was known that the Sultan was a prisoner they lost hope and were driven out of this last stronghold.

The fortifications being now cleared of the enemy, the mosque on the outside of the fort, which was their last refuge, had now to be cleared. A brisk fire was kept up over the walls and through the apertures. Here Gillespie was wounded in the arm by a shot from a blunderbuss. Two horse artillery guns opened fire on the mosque and kept it up for fully three hours before it gave in. This ended the battle.

The loss of the English was one hundred killed and wounded. Thus rather less than one thousand men defeated a hundred times their number; but the men had been thoroughly impressed beforehand that it was a case of death or victory.

Sultan of Djockjakarta Banished.—The old Sultan was banished at once to Penang, the hereditary prince mounting the throne as Paku Bavana III.

The Emperor of Solo, astonished at the result of the fight, now readily acceded to all the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals, to which before he had refused to listen, and his example was followed by all the native princes in the island.

Bagoos Rang In, the Rebel Chieftain, Captured.—Bagoos Rang In, the so-called Sultan of Indramayoe, the well-known rebel chieftain, after having eluded pursuit for a number of years, was captured on the 28th June, together with his



FORT JOANA, 1811.



FORT DAMACK (DEMAK), 1811. (THE BRITISH FLAG IS FLYING.)

nephew, Bagoos Manoch, and his uncle Griessen, otherwise Sidja Djuda ; and on the 25th June a party under the noted Naireen was also defeated. Thus peace and tranquillity were now restored, British supremacy was established on a solid basis throughout the whole island, and Raffles was able to boast in a despatch to the Governor-General, Lord Minto, that at last a European Power for the first time was absolutely paramount in Java.

The population was quite stunned by the result of the short war, while the pangerans, or princes, were astonished and amazed at the turn affairs had taken, one which they had not for one single moment anticipated or even believed possible.¹

The following is the return of killed and wounded of the forces employed in the capture of Djockjakarta by assault, 20th June, 1812 :—

KILLED.

His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons	8 rank and file.
His Majesty's 14th Regiment	8 „ „
His Majesty's 78th Regiment	1 „ „
Light Infantry Battalion	3 „ „
Djang Sekars	3 „ „
	—
Total killed	23 „ „

WOUNDED.

Staff : Colonel Gillespie, Commander of the Forces.

Horse Artillery, 2 rank and file.

¹ In the old British chronological table the following entry appears :—

“ June 20th, 1812.

“ The British march against the Sultan of Java, and declaring war against him storm his fortified palace with less than one thousand men, and take it without difficulty, though defended by more than eight thousand (inside the *craton*).

“ The Sultan is made prisoner and his son placed on the throne by the title of Mangku Buvano the Third.

“ The Susunun and Sultan of Java cede to the British Government the provinces of Kadu,† Blora, Jipang, Japan and Garobogan.”

† The territorial revenue of Kadu (Kedoe) in 1812 was 600,000 rupees.

Bengal Artillery, Major Butler (slightly); 1 drummer, 11 rank and file.

22nd Dragoons, Lieutenant Hale (severely); 12 rank and file.

His Majesty's 14th Regiment, Lieutenant McLean (severely, since dead); 30 rank and file.

His Majesty's 78th Regiment, Lieutenant Robertson (slightly); 3 rank and file.

His Majesty's 89th Regiment, Lieutenant Young, Brigade-Major.

Light Infantry Battalion, Lieutenant J. H. Paul (see note); 7 rank and file.

Third Bengal Volunteer Battalion, 2 rank and file.

Fourth Bengal Volunteer Battalion, Lieutenant Hunter.

Amboynese, 1 havildar.

Royal Navy, Captain Teesdale.

Total wounded . . . 76

Grand total . . . 99

N.B.—Of Prince Prang Wedono's¹ and Prince Nata Koesama's² corps the killed and wounded are not included.³

LIST OF ORDNANCE CAPTURED ON THE FORTIFICATIONS OF
DJOCKJAKARTA, JUNE 20TH, 1812.

Brass.				Brass.								Total.
Pounders.				Pounders.								
Four.	Three.	Two.	Swivels.	Eigh- teen.	Twelve.	Nine.	Six.	Four.	Three.	Two.	One.	
2	3	4	18	8	7	3	15	26	1	3	2	92

With a considerable quantity of powder, ammunition, and shells.

¹ Prince (Pangeran) Prang Wedono was rewarded with lands formerly belonging to the Emperor of Solo.

² Nata Koesama was given lands in the district of Grobogan, formerly belonging to the Sultan of Djockjakarta.

³ Some time before this war broke out the following General Orders were

The following is an extract from the General Orders by the Commander of the Forces :—

“Headquarters, Djockjakarta, June 21st, 1812.

“The Commander of the Forces congratulates the troops he had the honour personally to command upon the late glorious results of the arduous and honourable enterprize.

“Their remarkable steadiness and discipline shall be brought to the notice of higher authority, and it will be the duty of Colonel Gillespie to obtain for this force the approbation they have so justly merited.

“To Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, who commanded the leading column, the Commander of the Forces cannot convey the high sense he entertains of his distinguished bravery, and of the quickness and alacrity with which he conceived and executed the attack.

“The animated style in which Captain Johnston and Lieutenant Hunter crossed the Ditch, and at the Head of the 14th Grenadiers escalated the ramparts, under the fire of the East Bastion, could only be equalled by the order and zeal of their gallant followers.

“Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod for his prompt and decisive movement in forcing the passage to the Prince’s Gate and supporting the leading column was equally daring and meritorious.

“The long detour of Lieutenant-Colonel Dewar towards the Southern Gate, and his well-timed entrance through that passage and spirited assault.

“It is right also to specify Captain Leys and part of the Light issued in the Government Gazette regarding Prince Prang Wedono’s Legion :—

“General Orders of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, Batavia, 13th February, 1812.

The Legion of Prince Prang Wedono to consist of—

Horse Artillery	50 men
Cavalry	200 „
Sharp Shooters of Light Infantry	100 „
Infantry of the Line	800 „
	<hr/>
	1150 „

With two three-pounders Horse Artillery complete.

The Prince Prang Wedono to be Colonel-Commandant, and native officers to be appointed for his family.

Lieutenant J. H. Paul to be Adjutant of the Legion, with a special moiety of one hundred and thirty-two rupees per month.”

Infantry Battalion who covered the Ditch at a fordable part, and climbed to an embrasure on each other's shoulders.¹

“It is also just to mention the conduct of Major Forbes, who attacked the right of the Sultan's square, and detached Lieutenant Douglas with a small party of His Majesty's 78th Regiment to cover the guns that were directed with so much spirit and effect by Lieutenant Cameron, of the Bengal Artillery.

“It would also be wrong not mentioning the spirited conduct of Major Dalton and his battalion, who scoured the ramparts to the left, and admitted Lieutenant-Colonel Dewar at the South Gate after preserving the life of the Crown Prince [or Hereditary Prince].

“It appears that Lieutenant Douglas had the honour of capturing the person of the Sultan.

“Major Butler and the Foot Artillery,

“Captain Byers and the Royal Artillery,

“Captain Rudyerd and the Horse Artillery,

“and Lieutenant Dudley and the Hussars

were all conspicuous for the same bravery.

“Captain Colebrook, of the Royal Artillery, Captain Byers and Lieutenant Black all rendered effectual assistance to Colonel McLeod by blowing open the Prince's Gate with one of the Horse Artillery guns.

“It now remains for the Commander of the Forces to particularize instances of personal bravery and intrepidity ; and amongst these may be classed the conduct of Lieutenant Hill, of His Majesty's 14th Regiment, who reconnoitred the *Kraton*, and ascertained the depth of water in the Ditch, and furnished a most correct report.

“The behaviour of this officer will be brought to the knowledge of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, where just claims to distinction are never disregarded.

“It is also reported to the Commander of Forces that the conduct of Private John O'Brien, of the Horse Artillery, was particularly conspicuous, in having performed an important point of duty under circumstances of great personal hazard.

“The Commander of Forces must also testify to the activity and exertions manifested by Captain Dawes, and the officers and men of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons.

¹ Three Sepoys, after crossing the ditch, passed rapidly along the Berm, and let down the drawbridge at the Prince's Gate for Colonel McLeod's column.

“ Also of Major Grant, of the 4th Volunteer Battalion.

“ The Commander of the Forces also performs a pleasing task in recognising the valuable services of

“ Major Butler, Commanding the Artillery ;

“ Major Butler, Deputy-Adjutant-General ;

“ Major Thorn, Deputy-Quartermaster-General ;

“ Captain Hanson, Military Secretary ;

“ Captains Parsons and Taylor, Aides-de-Camp ;

“ Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, of the Engineers ;

“ Lieutenants Harris and Baker, of the Bengal Army ;

“ Majors Campbell and Johnson ;

“ Captains Jones and Bethune, also the Officers of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor's Staff.

“ The conduct of Lieutenant Hector McLean, of His Majesty's 14th Rifle Company, of Lieutenant Robinson, of His Majesty's 78th Regiment, and of Lieutenant J. H. Paul, of the Bengal Native Infantry, has also been reported zealous and meritorious. They were wounded in the assault [see note], and although the Commander of the Forces cannot help deploring the loss, however small, that we have sustained during the progress of the service, he cannot avoid reverting to the ardour and rapidity of the attack which ensured to the gallant troops a most complete victory, and lessened those bitter feelings of regret which the loss of a brother soldier must always produce.

“ Russa Khan Havildar, of the 4th Volunteer Battalion, and Marvam Sing, Sepoy in the Light Infantry Battalion, are promoted to the rank of Jamidars : and Roop Maran Sing, of the Light Infantry Battalion, is promoted to the rank of Havildar for their distinguished and conspicuous gallantry. These appointments are to be considered as having taken place during the action, and they will also be subject to the confirmation of Government.

“ The exertions and assistance that were afforded by Mr. Crawford, Resident, Mr. Robinson,¹ Mr. Deans,² and Mr. Hardy³

¹ William Robinson. In 1813 made member of Revenue Committee, Batavia ; second commissioner Court of Requests ; sub-treasurer of Paymaster's Department and collector of Customs. At the end of 1813 sent to Palembang temporarily as Resident. He died at Batavia, the 22nd of June, 1815.

² John Deans. Later head of Deans, Scott and Co.

³ John Hardy. Made, in 1813, commissioner of Court of Requests,

shall be brought to the attention of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor.

(Signed) "RICHARD BUTLER
" (Deputy-Adjutant-General)." ¹

The Lieutenant-Governor, happy and delighted with the results of the battle, as well he might be, returned to Samarang with all speed to carry on the government and fulfil his arduous duties.

As showing his indefatigable spirit and energy, the following instance may be mentioned.

The Lieutenant-Governor Returns to Samarang and Batavia.
—Whilst at Samarang Raffles heard one day that a fleet had arrived at Batavia bound for China, and decided to proceed there at once to receive his despatches. He left that day with Charles Assey, the secretary to the Government, and his A.D.C., Captain Travers, in a vessel called the *Hamston*, arriving at Batavia after a very quick passage in seventy-two hours. During this time he drew up a Report of the Capture of Djockjakarta.

He landed at 7 o'clock in the evening, when a grand ball was being given in order to celebrate the anniversary of the Prince Regent's birthday. Supposed to be at Samarang, he attended the ball, and was the life and spirit of the assembly, which was composed of three hundred of the Batavia *élite*.

After remaining a few days at Batavia, Raffles returned to Samarang overland, to superintend the arrangements consequent upon the capture of Djockjakarta. This done,

Samarang, and magistrate of the town of Samarang. Brother of F. E. Hardy, the Resident of Batavia, 1814, and Resident of Rembang, 1826, where he died shortly afterwards.

¹ According to a Dutchman living at Djockjakarta, whose father was present at the battle at Djockjakarta, and taking part in the assault of the *kraton*, Lieutenant Hector McLean was not wounded in the fighting, but on the taking of the palace was seen rushing towards the Sultan's harem, from which he emerged with a ghastly *kris* wound. Whether Lieutenant Robinson's and Lieutenant J. H. Paul's wounds were owing to the same cause was not stated.



GREJSIE.



FORT RAMBANG, 1811.

and after obtaining all the local knowledge possible regarding Samarang and the surrounding country, he returned with his family to Buitenzorg at the end of 1812, where arrears of public business awaited him.

Despatches were received shortly after from Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, approving of all that Raffles had done. The most important reads as follows :—

“ Government House, Calcutta, 15th December, 1812.

“ My dear Sir,—I shall be impatient for the materials which are called for, because I am anxious to deliver without reserve, or qualification, the very high and favourable view I now have of that whole series of measures, beginning with the expedition to Palembang, and ending with the arrangement of the two courts of Solo and Djockjakarta, connected and combined with each other, as those measures were. I consider the result of the latter proceeding as very glorious to your administration, during the short period of which more will have been accomplished for the security of the European power, the tranquillity of the island, and the solid improvement of general prosperity and happiness, than several centuries have been able to perform, when the superiority of European power was exerted, unencumbered by the scruples of justice and good faith.

“ Nothing can be more excellent than all your arrangements in the eastern districts of the island.

“ With regard to Palembang and Banca, your latest reports have enabled us to approve, without reservation, the arrangement formed at Palembang, and the annexation of Banca to the territories of the East India Company, our minds being satisfied upon the two points of justice and expediency.

“ The sovereignty of the Sultan of Palembang in Banca is placed beyond question, and leaves that dependence of Palembang indisputably subject both to the laws of conquest in so just a war and to the effect of cession from the authority under which it is now held.

“ Believe me ever, my dear Sir, most truly and affectionately yours,

“ MINTO.”

Despatch Regarding the Appointment of Pakoe Alam.—The

following is taken from a despatch from the Resident of Jogjakarta, Captain R. G. Garnham, to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor :—

“The intention of Government to appoint Pangeran Pakoe Alam regent to the territories of Mataram during the minority of his Highness the Sultan, I have received with much anxiety and apprehension. This measure, although, I am inclined to consider rather a provisional one, than the result of a selection founded on any positive assurance of his unexceptionable character and conduct.

“The obligation I have to perform requires that I should definitely state for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council the character drawn by my immediate predecessor in office here of Pangeran Pakoe Alam. ‘The Pangeran is a man of ability and acquirement, but devoid of sincerity and principle ; his ambition is great, and if personal timidity did not restrain that passion, he would most assuredly endeavour to give it full scope. His deposed brother (Sultan Sepoeh) he cajoled, flattered, and after every solemn pledge of loyalty and affection most deliberately betrayed and insulted him. His letters to the Resident sounded a desired concurrence that might favour views cherished by him of succeeding his brother on the throne. His nephew the late Sultan (Sultan Radja) he abused and vilified.

“‘The people also report this Pangeran to be avaricious, and that those under his immediate authority must trust to the protection of the Resident to prevent exagitation and unjust practices.’

“Where, then, after every possible limitation such an important trust must devolve into the hands of a Regent, and for such a length of minority, I would most respectfully submit to the immediate notice and consignment of Government whether after the above statement, and founded on such authority, it may be the final order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to place the regency of Mataram in the hands of the Pangeran alluded to.

“Jogjakarta, 24th November, 1814. No. 46.”

The reply contained the following :—

“The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council does

not deem it expedient to alter the arrangement made for the Pangeran Pakoe Alam, for although part of the character given him by the late Resident may no doubt be correct, it is on the other hand to be recollected that this Pangeran has claims on this Government, not only for the fidelity which he showed to our cause at the time of the war against the ex-Sultan of Jogjakarta, but also on account of the promises then held out to him."

Financial State of Java during the English Period.—Raffles had already begun to feel the necessity of having more cash in the colony. Until the revolution in Holland, large sums of silver were annually sent out to pay the establishments and purchase the investments. The importation, in fact, of bullion had been considerable. Specie was sent to British India and procured either a return of silver, or the proceeds, by which opium, cloths, and the principal importations required by Java could be purchased.

During the years of Daendels' and Raffles' administrations these advantages had been entirely lost, the only supply of bullion being that received by the Americans—a great number of whom were during this period in the East Indian Archipelago—to buy coffee, pepper, and other colonial produce. This supply, however, owing to the war with America and the special Orders in Council regarding the exports thereto, was lost to Java; in the importation of bullion for coffee alone nearly two millions of Spanish dollars per annum were lost. The coffee lay in the godowns in Java, awaiting shipment and literally rotting away under the influence of the weevil.

Daendels, to rectify matters, obtained forced and voluntary loans from the inhabitants, in order to raise sufficient money for the extraordinary measures rendered necessary by the defence of the island, and four millions of rix dollars and paper currency were thrown on the market. When Raffles arrived, this same paper had fallen in the market to the rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ rix dollars for 1 Spanish dollar silver. Later

on it fell to 12 and 13 for 1, making a difference of nearly 100 per cent. in its actual current value in the market.

Under these circumstances property was very insecure, and public confidence was shaken.

The Sale of the Private Lands in Java by the English.—Raffles decided, after a full and ripe consideration of the matter, to meet this demand for money by selling lands and withdrawing all the paper money from circulation.

The principle on which this measure was adopted was as follows :—

The paper currency was a colonial debt ; therefore the loss from depreciation would naturally fall upon the colony, and not on the individual holder ; and the selling of a portion of the Crown domains in liquidation, or partial liquidation, of this public debt was a perfectly justifiable and legitimate action.

There was in fact a precedent ; for Marshal Daendels in 1810, to raise ready cash for defence works, had sold various lands, even whole provinces.¹ The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, caused the following advertisement to appear in the Java Government Gazette :—

“ NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN

“ That it is the intention of Government to dispose of a quantity of lands in the Batavia Regency, in Crawang, and in the environs of Samarang and Sourabaya, to individuals.

“ Buitenzorg, 14th Nov., 1812.”

This notice was also printed in Dutch.

The following advertisements in this matter also appeared, so that the proceedings were of a quite public character, although the contrary has sometimes been stated :—

Th. McQuoid.

“ (*Java Government Gazette, 19th December, 1812.*)

“ Public notice is hereby given, that a general description of the boundaries of such lands as the Government intends selling

¹ See a previous chapter.

in the Batavian and Preanger Regencies is now in readiness to be seen at the Office of the Resident of Buitenzorg, and that a more minute description is preparing with a map of the Lots, a copy of which will be left at the Collector's Office in Batavia for inspection ten days before the day of sale, of which due notice will hereafter be given.

“ TH. MCQUOID

“(President of the Committee for Sale of Lands).

“ Buitenzorg, 10th December, 1812.”

“(Java Government Gazette, 16th January, 1813.)

“ In the former notice fixing the sale of lands in Crawang and in the Batavia Regencies for Monday the 16th of January, a mistake was made in the day ; and with a view to aid the intention of purchasers who are desirous of a short delay in the sale of the lands, this sale is now postponed until Monday the 25th instant, on which date the lots which may not have already been sold by private contract, will be disposed of agreeably to the conditions published.

“ A general list and description of the lands may be seen at the Office of the Magistrates and of the Collector.

“ By order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

“ T. MCQUOID

“(Resident, Buitenzorg).

“ Buitenzorg, 7th January, 1813.”

The Lieutenant-Governor sold in 1813 the lands as follows :—

Soekaboemi (which included the districts of Goenweng, Parang, Tjimahi, Tjihenlang, Pagedangan, and Pagasahan).

Tjipoetrie.

Oedjong Bron.

Krawang.¹

Tjasse.¹

Pamanoekan.¹

Kandanghauer.

Indramogoe (West ?).¹

¹ These lands had been hired out to Dutchmen for various periods by the Dutch East India Company ever since 1705.

The lands Soekaboemi and Tjipoetrie were bought by the Lieutenant-Governor; the former Governor of Java's north-east coast (Samarang), Nicolaus Engelhard; the Resident of the Preanger, Thomas McQuoid; and the Government official, A. de Wilde.

Raffles was the owner for one-half, while the three others had each a share to the extent of one-sixth; the price paid was the ridiculous sum of 58,000 Spanish dollars.

The land Oedjong Bron, which lay to the north-east of Bandoeng, was bought by the above-mentioned A. de Wilde for 6,153.56 Spanish dollars; he took it over, so to speak, from the family of the first Dutch owner, Swalue.

The Pamanoekan and Tjassem or Tjiassem lands were bought by Mr. Shrapnell and Mr. Skelton for Sir Charles Forbes, of Bombay, whose relation, Major Forbes, of the 78th Regiment, was now in Java, and no doubt advised him that the sales would take place, or else sent him a copy of the Java Government Gazette. There were also sold one or two other lands in the neighbourhood of Batavia, besides a good many in the neighbourhood of Samarang and Sourabaya; for a full list of these and their purchasers the reader is referred to the end of Chapter XI., "Towns in Java."

With the sale of these lands the immediate pressure on the finances of the country was relieved. Lord Minto, in writing to Raffles on the matter, approved of his measures very highly as "an able expedient to meet a case of great emergency"; and of his ability to form a correct and impartial judgment there can be no doubt. It was, in fact, the only immediate expedient that could have been devised to support the credit of the new Government, especially at a time when it was important to create a favourable impression upon the population of their change of rulers.

Trouble between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Com-

mander of the Forces.—The Commander of the Forces, Colonel Gillespie, and the Court of Directors condemned the expedient, however, in no measured terms ; and when full particulars reached the latter, they qualified the same as “ a very questionable proceeding.” Gillespie’s charges were officially made and officially discussed, and there can be no doubt, coming as they did from an officer whose high military character and services were admired by every one who knew him, that they were honestly made. That they lacked, however, proof in so far as Raffles was concerned must be allowed ; for although it is clear that the intention of Raffles was to become a large landowner in Java (which he was quite entitled under the regulations to be), the means by which he intended to become such, *as far as he was concerned*, were absolutely honest, fair, straightforward, and legitimate.

Gillespie had a long list of offences against Raffles, relating chiefly to the disposal of the lands ; but his principal charge was that he accused Raffles of improper conduct in purchasing Government lands at a lower price than they had been tendered for outside. This charge was found to be entirely false, no higher tenders having ever been made for the lands in question, and Gillespie, one of the most honourable of men, was moved to Calcutta to fill a high staff appointment, General Miles Nightingale being sent to command the troops in Java in his stead.

Raffles wrote a full and complete reply to all Gillespie’s charges ; but although the Viceroy (Lord Minto) and the Government in India approved of his explanations, and nominated him for the Residency of Bencoolen if Java was returned to the Dutch, the Court of Directors only accepted his explanations in silence.

Pathetic Letter from the Lieutenant-Governor to one of the Directors of the East India Company.—Raffles further supplemented his official letters by a private one to Mr.

W. B. Ramsay, one of the Directors in London, an extract from which reads as follows :—

“ Buitenzorg, March 21st, 1814.

“ Without family pretensions, fortune, or powerful friends, it has been my lot to obtain the high station I now fill, and I have not been without my due proportion of envy in consequence. You are aware of the differences which occurred between Major-General Gillespie and myself, and that he in consequence applied to be relieved of the military command. Arriving in Calcutta, after Lord Minto had left it, he found the new Governor-General [and a new Council¹] unacquainted with all that had previously passed, and succeeded to a certain extent in impressing him favourably in his behalf.²

“ He was committed in the course of some of our differences by assertions which he had made, and, finding that he had succeeded in turning the current of public opinion a good deal against me, he has brought regular charges against both my administration and my character.

“ The whole are, I thank God, easily to be repelled, and the closer the investigation, the purer my conduct will appear. Lord Minto is fully aware of the violent faction which has taken up arms against me, and will defend me in England. In India I have a possession, and a clear character to maintain it: let Satan do his worst.

“ My enemies have said much, and written much, but in the end truth and honesty must prevail.”

Death of the Governor-General, Lord Minto.—Before this letter had reached London Lord Minto had breathed his last, on the 21st June, 1814, a few days after his arrival.

This unfortunate occurrence meant the loss to Raffles of the only man who could have relieved the Court of Directors of their false impressions in regard to their Lieutenant-Governor; although they were never able to prove the accusations, in fact they had seen them disproved to an extent which is seldom practicable in a case of defence,

¹ These words are inserted here.

² Gillespie was killed in the war in Nepaul in November, 1814, during an assault on the small fort Kalunga.

they still remained in that sceptical frame of mind which did no credit to such a body of public men.

Even General Nightingale, after careful perusal of the documents laid before him, declared with a full and firm conviction the utter innocence of Raffles of *every* charge brought forward by Gillespie. To the Directors, however, this was of no avail.

Improved System of Internal Management Introduced by the English.—Raffles' last great work was the introduction of an improved system of internal management in Java and the establishment of a land rental, a measure which added lustre to his administration, and which was prepared during a period of great anxiety and trouble.

When he first brought the proposal before the Council and explained it, it was received with a cold and cautious approval.

Some of the members spoke from long experience, and with presumed knowledge of the native mind and character ; and there was not a Hollander in the island who believed the plan could succeed. It was moreover generally thought that any attempt to introduce it would lead to serious consequences.

Raffles, however, with a view to the introduction of this new system, now personally visited each district, and explained it to all the regents and chiefs, well knowing that they trusted him. Sometimes he travelled sixty and seventy miles a day in his exertions to reach some destination within a given time ; and he did not return to Batavia until he had the satisfaction of seeing his new measure introduced all over the island and proving a great success. The old system was a vicious one, and gave no freedom to an industrious population.

Eventually Raffles received the full support of Mr. Muntinghe and Mr. Craussen in the introduction of the land rental system, who made up in every possible way for the

coldness and alarm they had shown when it was first proposed.

The Wife of the Lieutenant-Governor Dies at Buitenzorg (1815).—Misfortune and anxiety clouded Raffles' last eighteen months in Java. In this time he had the sorrow of losing his wife, the friend who had stood by him in all his troubles. She died at Buitenzorg suddenly, and was buried in the Tanah Abang cemetery at Batavia. A tomb was erected to her memory in the beautiful gardens of the Governor-General's palace at Buitenzorg, just outside the lane of kanari trees. When the colony was restored to the Dutch, a clause was inserted in the treaty which made this memorial of Lady Raffles the lasting care of the Dutch Government, an undertaking which they have faithfully kept; for after a century the tomb remains neat, clean, and cared for, lying peacefully under the delicate rich foliage of waving palms and bamboos, and making a touching link with the by-gone English rule.

Java to be Returned by the English to the Dutch.—Just before the loss of his wife Raffles received the news of Lord Minto's death, and, as it were, to crown his sorrows, news was brought that Java in all likelihood would be returned to the Dutch. His buoyant spirit gave way, and for some time he lay seriously ill. When better he removed to "Ciceroa" (Tjisereuh).

Here he rose early, and began business before breakfast, after which he went through the official duties of the day; then till 4 o'clock, when he dined, he occupied himself with a party of intelligent native chiefs who were his guests; after dinner a walk for the sake of his health, and then until he retired he read, translated, or compiled various manuscripts. His mind, however, remained restless, so that his health could not improve.

A new English Lieutenant-Governor, Fendall, Appointed.—It was while here that Raffles heard without any warning

that John Fendall was on his way to relieve him of the government. He proceeded, therefore, to Ryswyck at once to prepare for his reception.

The British governorship of Java was now about ending. This "governorship" was, in fact, "Stamford Raffles"; without him it would have been nothing. When he arrived the revenue was four million rupees; now it was more than forty millions, and the finances of the colony were in such a state as they had never been in before. When it was known that Raffles was leaving Java, Europeans and natives united in expressing their deep regret at his departure, and acknowledged in the warmest terms their gratitude for the benefits which he had conferred upon them during his administration; only the minority, a mean-spirited few, were pleased to lose him.

March 26th (1816).—When he left by the ship *Ganges* on the 26th March, 1816, the scene in the roads of old Batavia was an indescribable one; people of every nation were anxious to pay their respects and tribute to one for whom they entertained the most lively affection. The decks were covered with their offerings of fruit and flowers. With him travelled Lieutenant-Colonel Garnham, Captain Travers (two of his aides-de-camp), and Sir Thomas Sevestre, his medical attendant.

The high Dutch officials of to-day all recognise what Raffles did for Java, and do not hesitate to allow that his policy was a broad and thorough one. Even Mr. van Deventer, not always a favourable critic of Raffles, writes most generously regarding his administration, and grants his wide perception and single-hearted endeavour to sound the depths and reach the core of every measure he advocated. His administration was in short that of a brilliant statesman, and upheld the honour of England in the East Indies to no small degree.

The new Lieutenant-Governor Fendall, who took over

charge from Raffles on the 12th March, 1816, entered upon duties which consisted more or less in handing over the administration of Java and its dependencies to the Dutch, for back to them it was to go, in spite of all Raffles' endeavours to prevent it.

Java Returned to the Dutch ; the British Flag Hauled Down.—Shortly after his arrival Major Nahuys, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Vienna, arrived with three thousand five hundred Dutch troops, which relieved the British garrisons all over the island, and the British flag was hauled down everywhere on the 19th August, 1816.¹

British Forces in Java (1816).—The British forces at this time in the island consisted of the following :—

- His Majesty's 14th Regiment, 800 men.
- His Majesty's 59th Regiment, 800 men.
- His Majesty's 78th Regiment, 800 men.
- Two troops 22nd Dragoons.
- A detachment Royal Artillery.
- Two troops Hussars.
- Five battalions of Sepoys, each 800 men.
- Corps of native cavalry.
- A detachment Bengal Artillery.
- Madras Pioneers.
- Two regiments of Amboynese and Javanese, 3,200 men.
- One Bengal European regiment, 350 men.

There was thus in all a force of about 11,000.

Troubles between the English and Dutch Representatives over the Return of Java.—Of the troubles and difficulties, indignant letters, remonstrances, and protests which arose between the British Governor, Fendall, and the Dutch Commissioners, Baron van der Capellen, Dr. C. T. Elout, and Mr. A. A. Buyskes, appointed to take over the administration of the East Indies, nothing is to be gained by here

¹ When the Dutch Commissioner Nahuys arrived to take over Java, John Fendall was the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Grant Keir Commander in-Chief of the Forces, and Thomas Abraham and Willem Jacob Craussen members of Council.

speaking; the end was that England lost to Holland all the settlements on the outlying islands which she had possessed. The Commissioners were quite right in fighting for them; the fault lay with the English in giving them up.

The Rich Island of Banca Surrendered to the Dutch; as also the Rich Island of Billiton and the Settlement of Banjermassin.—Thus we see the valuable island of Banca given up in exchange for the insignificant town of Cochin in India; the island of Billiton and the settlement of Banjermassin given up for no other reason than that the Dutch Commissioners demanded them. Instead of the difficulties decreasing they increased, and the feelings of the Dutch Commissioners, and of Fendall, the secretary Assey, and the other English assistants ran high.

Sir Stamford Raffles at Bencoolen (1818).—The Dutch believed that the British were intent on depriving them of their territorial rights in the East; whilst the British authorities—who now had Sir Stamford Raffles as their adviser at Bencoolen, he having returned to the East—were convinced that the Dutch intended to establish a monopoly with a view to shutting British trade and influence entirely out of the East.

This latter view, however much it appeared then a likely one from the frantic haste the Dutch showed in taking back their colonies, and the many regrettable incidents and incessant friction consequently arising, cannot be admitted.

The culminating point was reached when Raffles occupied Singapore on the 29th January, 1819.

The Dutch claimed Singapore under a treaty with the Sultan of Johore, but the British pointed out that this treaty had been made with a usurper, whereas the British treaty had been made with the rightful Sultan. After years of struggle the Dutch dropped their claim, for the British, at least here, had taken a stand and meant to keep to it.

The treaty of the 13th August, 1814, from the fact that it was probably hastily drawn up, left the door open for still further misunderstanding between the Dutch and British officials, there being an entire lack of sympathy on either side, the utmost jealousy prevailing—partly for reasons already stated and partly on account of the fact that the principals were ill-suited to each other. These misunderstandings and regrettable incidents continued right down to the end.

The Governments at home, tiring of these incessant quarrels, appointed plenipotentiaries to carry out finally the terms of the treaty.

Final carrying out of the Treaty (Bencoolen Handed over to the Dutch; Malacca returned to the English).—The British representatives were Mr. Canning and Sir Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, with Mr. Valck and Mr. Vagel acting for the Dutch Government. All questions were now settled; Bencoolen was exchanged for Malacca and Chinsurah, and the English agreed not to settle anywhere else in Sumatra or make any treaty with any of the native princes in this island.

English Agree not to make any Treaties with Sumatran Princes or Settle anywhere in that Island.—The British plenipotentiaries withdrew their objections to the Dutch occupation of Billiton; and the Dutch likewise to the British occupation of Singapore. The British Government also agreed not to establish any settlements on the Karimon Islands, or on the islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or any other islands south of Singapore, which they had some right to do.¹ Thus the Dutch became the undisputed masters once more of the entire East Indian Archipelago and England of the Malay Peninsula.

That the Governments on both sides were pleased with the final settlement it is easy to imagine, for they had by

¹ The Moluccas were also to be given up when the spice monopoly was entirely abolished, which happened in 1824.

this time become almost hopeless of reaching an agreement between the two countries.

Governor Fendall¹ left Java in June, 1818, on the ship *Cæsar*, with Sir William Keir, Captain Taylor, and the whole English staff in Java, having already ceased to act as Governor since 1816. The Dutch accorded him all honours on his departure.

With him ended the British occupation of Java, as was later notified in the Java Government Gazette Extraordinary dated Monday, the 19th August, 1818.²

¹ John Fendall, who was born in London on the 9th October, 1762, was in the service of the East India Company, and died at Calcutta on the 10th November, 1825, after having served on the Viceroy's Council from 1824.

² See the Appendix for various records of the British Occupation of Java.

CHAPTER X

JAVA ONCE MORE UNDER DUTCH RULE : 1816 TO THE PRESENT DAY

The Dutch again Rulers in Java.—The Dutch on their return to power in 1816 had a difficult task to perform, for they were no longer the agents of a bankrupt commercial Company, which had wielded supremacy in the East Indies only for the amassing of wealth and the paying of large dividends to grasping shareholders, but they were now the representatives of a sovereign who had a name to make and maintain. It was necessary above all, therefore, that their prestige in the East, which had lasted for more than two centuries, but of late had been severely shaken, should be re-established, and that all trace of the British administration should be wiped out. This policy was not especially due to the fact that the character of this administration had been actually disapproved of by them, but their name had to be rehabilitated at all costs. In many cases there can be no doubt that any half-measures would have been ineffective, but in other cases, through their haste to alter existing privileges without first thoroughly examining into these, they raised hornets' nests about their ears, which took years to quiet down.

Trouble Brewing at Native Courts.—The conditions in Java under the administration of Raffles had entirely altered; more freedom was allowed to the natives; slavery had been more or less suspended; an independent spirit had grown up amongst the princes and regents, to which the young Dutch officials were unaccustomed and which was not what they had been led to expect from a race that their fore-

fathers had managed to keep so thoroughly in hand. These new officials were naturally as full of zeal for their country as it was possible to be, but they lacked experience. When in the execution of their duties in the interior they assumed a high and haughty tone in addressing the princes, and dictated without giving a chance for a discussion of opinion, the latter, who, under the British Government, had become accustomed to a polite and deferential treatment, in accordance with their inherited right as rulers, declined to put up with these methods, or if compelled did so in a sullen and dissatisfied mood which boded no good for the future. It was apparent, therefore, to the merest beginner in politics that such strained relations as at the time existed between the hereditary house of Djockjakarta and Soerckarta and the Dutch must sooner or later lead to a conflagration, once a spark should be thrown on the ready fuel.

Java War 1825 to 1830 Breaks Out.—In an ill-advised moment this spark was supplied through a tactless and unnecessary order given by the authorities at Buitenzorg in regard to the land tenure of Mid Java. The result was a war which lasted five years, and depopulated some of the finest provinces in the island.

The lands in the region mentioned had for a thousand years past, in accordance with the Old Hindu laws, been leased by the sovereigns to the princes, who in their turn leased them to the agriculturists. The trouble arose entirely through these lands having been hired in more recent years by Chinese and Europeans, the latter being a few French, but chiefly Dutch.

The existing regulations, it must be admitted, were far from perfect, and the rightful owners of the soil were in point of fact being fleeced in so far that full value was not being paid for the properties hired. The princes or *pangerans* were, moreover, nevertheless well satisfied with these arrangements, for they were still in receipt of large incomes

drawn from the hirers of these lands, and in an easy and entirely legitimate manner were able to keep up the standard of luxurious living necessary for their positions.

The Dutch officials, however, doubtless had the twofold end in view of clearing out these foreign leeches (possibly not so much the Hollanders as the Chinese), and of regulating once and for all the system. It looked, indeed, as if these princes were lapped in wealth, but here a mistake was made. Orders were sent by the Government at Buitenzorg that all present contracts were to be annulled, or if executed to be restricted by wholly impossible conditions. The Resident at Djockjakarta, Baron de Salis, had been replaced at this time by Jonkheer A. H. Smissaert, a man whose family and personal gifts were under ordinary circumstances such as wholly to warrant his being placed in this very difficult position.¹ The secretary at Djockja was also unfortunately changed, Chevallier taking the place of D'abo. These alterations were at this critical moment a mistake, for Smissaert, not properly grasping the situation, endeavoured, instead of arranging matters by a mutual understanding, to carry out the Government's instructions to the letter; this he did in all their severity with no tact whatever. If to this is added the circumstance that a stupid interpreter translated documents of importance incorrectly, it can be easily seen that the elements were all there for intensifying the trouble. The princes were now told to reimburse the hirers of their lands the sums advanced them, and to take back the former, with the fabricks and houses included, at the Resident's valuation.

The means to pay back such sums advanced were naturally lacking, much more so to take over property which was of no value to them. Moreover, a point which struck these pangerans as entirely indefensible was the forcing of them to cancel contracts which carried the seal of their

See note at end of this chapter.



THE SULTAN OF JOCKJAKARTA GOING IN PROCESSION FROM THE CRATON TO
SITI INGGIL AT THE GAREBEG FESTIVAL.



THE RESIDENT'S HOUSE AT JOCKJAKARTA.

highly revered ancestors—an action to them worse than sacrilege.

The prime mover in the rising was Dipo Negoro, an illegitimate son of a former sultan, who was eventually joined by Prince Mangkn Boemi, of the reigning house. The former was a religious fanatic, and in taking up arms he did so in the name of the Prophet Mahomet, which brought almost the whole population to his standard.

Rumours of the rising were more or less unheeded by the Dutch, and before they knew it they found themselves in the midst of a maelstrom the like of which they could never have foreseen. The military force at their disposal was found to be entirely inadequate, and reinforcements, such as they were, had to be drawn from all the outlying stations in the dependencies, leaving these settlements without proper defences.

The Dutch turned immediately to the Susuhunan of Solo, and tactfully managed to secure his neutrality, which was naturally of immense value. After the first conflicts the Government ostentatiously removed Smissaert from Djockja and replaced him by H. MacGillavry,¹ who was resident at Solo, by an edict dated the 26th September, 1825. It helped, however, in no way.

The edict was signed by General Hendick Merkus de Kock, the Governor of Java, who proved himself to be the strong man that was needed for the occasion.

¹ This Henry MacGillavry was the son of Harry MacGillavry, a Scotchman who went to Holland about 1740. Henry came to Java at the beginning of the nineteenth century and became Resident of Solo in 1825, just before the war began. Being thought by the Government to be making money out of the commissariat supplies—which, however, could not be proved—he was transferred to Sumatra as Governor of the Padang Highlands. His children were a son, who went into the factory; Charles who became assistant Resident; Donald, administrator of a coffee estate in East Java; and Henry, who became owner of the coffee and cacao estate near Djati Roengo and died in 1911; and Robert, administrator of Nobo, whose daughter married Burghard, the manager of the Koloniale Bank, Samarang.

On the 28th July, 1825, Djockja was surrounded, and shortly after the best part of Middle Java was in flames and the population restless throughout the island.

To follow each skirmish and fight would entail volumes¹ and is unnecessary.

In all the first encounters, however, the Dutch found they had an enemy to deal with whose skill in guerilla warfare was of no mean order; they frequently disorganised the Dutch army by attacking them in ambush, or sneaking through the sentries and pouring into their camps on pitch-dark nights to the accompaniment of terrific soul-piercing yells, dealing death with their *klewangs*² on all sides, and only withdrawing into the forest when daylight appeared and their enemy marched out to attack them. They would renew these tactics at every opportunity, and harass the army on the march by attacking them unseen from behind the trees or bushes and cutting off stragglers. Towards the end of August, 1825, even Samarang itself was threatened, where an incident well worthy of mention occurred at the beginning of the operations.

When the war broke out trouble appeared at Demák, and the Samarang "schuttery" (a burger corps) and sixty sailors from the frigate *Javaan*, which was lying in the roads, were sent there, also a corps of mounted volunteers who had placed themselves at the disposition of General de Kock, whom they had ridden out from Samarang to meet, proceeded to the scene of hostilities near Demák. This corps consisted of nineteen³ gentlemen of Samarang or elsewhere, of whom thirteen were Englishmen, and was placed under the command of Lieutenant Diedrich Borneman,⁴ an officer of the Bengal Lancers.

¹ Major Louw's work, "Java Oorlog," is the best record of this war.

² Short, heavy native sabres.

³ According to my calculations there were twenty-two.

⁴ Died at Samarang the 24th July, 1833, and was buried on Gegadjie Hill, in a tomb standing out as a pyramid.

On the 2nd September the force marched to *Dempet* on the road to *Demák*. Here the following day the said little corps of mounted volunteers, seeing the enemy in the distance, without any direct orders and following merely a general one, charged the Javan centre with great spirit and drove the left column back in disorder. The right and centre columns of the enemy now, however, endeavoured to surround them, so that Borneman was obliged to sound the order to collect. This was immediately obeyed, and the party again attacked the other columns. Unfortunately these columns had muskets and kept up a continuous fire, so that the order had to be given to retire. The men in the corps were not sufficiently masters of their horses, and there was also not any advantageous ground to which to retire, so that they were obliged to retreat on the road to Samarang. Here the village folk turned out in thousands, and, when able, picked the men off one by one; of the party of twenty-two fourteen were cut to pieces, of whom seven were British.

A medal was struck and given to those that survived.¹

The Dutch had to eventually retire from *Demák* more or less beaten, and when the news of this defeat reached Samarang the consternation in the town was great, and all the tenants of the houses in the *Bodjong* road left them and retired inside the walls of the town. More troops now arrived, and the safety of the Residency of Samarang was guaranteed by General van Geen, in consequence of which and of a public note from the Resident the Europeans returned to their houses in *Bodjong*. General de Kock was at this moment at *Salatiga* with fifteen hundred men preparing for a new battle; he had also seven eager volunteers.² The result of this was no better than the first fight.

¹ See note at end of this chapter.

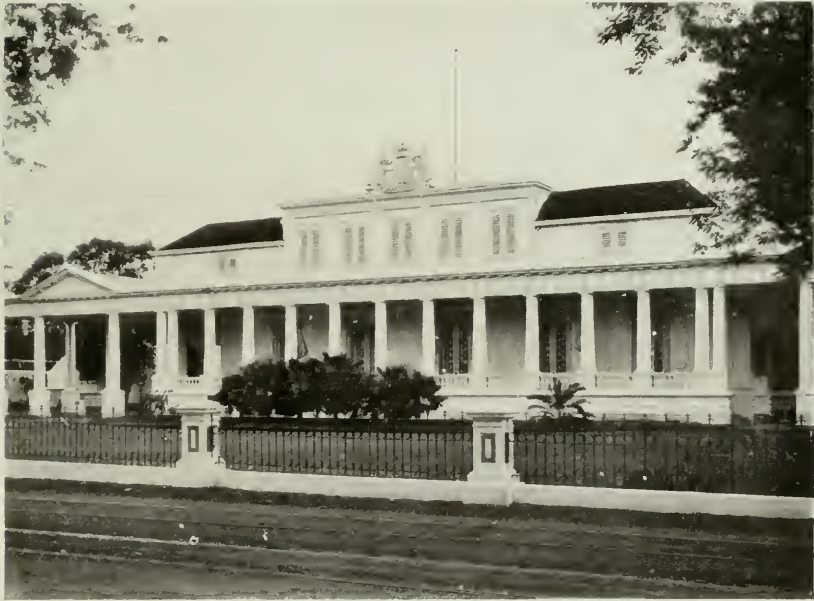
² S. Hamar de la Brethonière, Frenchman, owner of "Assinan" cocoa and nutmeg estate; Medard Louis, Frenchman, administrator and late owner of Melambong coffee estate; William Brown, Englishman at

During the whole of 1825 and 1826 the enemy under Dipo Negoro spread their power through Kedoe Pekalongan, Ledok, Selarong, and Madioen, where a Javan called *Sentot*, a son of a former regent of this place, with a large number of natives joined the standard. The Banjoemas fell also under the influence of the enemy, so that the anxiety and responsibility of the commander-in-chief was very great. Towards July, 1826, the crisis was reached, Dipo Negoro's power was now at its height, and the Dutch had sustained such heavy losses through battle and sickness that they were no longer in a fit state to take the field. There were no more troops from the outlying islands to be called in, and matters looked very dark indeed. New troops were therefore ordered out from Holland, and the army in the field remained partially inactive whilst the reinforcements were arriving. Small fights, however, occurred at Delangoe and Kalitan, in which the Dutch again came off badly.

The new troops from Holland, when they did arrive, proved no use, as they were a raw, undisciplined crowd of youngsters who, after being cooped up for nearly four and a half months on board the ships, when brought on shore at Samarang broke loose and committed all sorts of disgraceful outrages, disgusting and frightening the Dutch and native inhabitants of the place, who shut themselves up in their houses whenever they appeared. They were, however, eventually brought to reason and sent up country, where they very shortly fell victims to the hardships of life in the field, or if by chance they succeeded in withstanding this (which very few did) they died off from dysentery, fevers, and cholera. From a private letter from Gillian Maclaine, the head of the Melambong; John S. Cameron, Englishman, brother of Lewis Cameron, of Deans Scott and Co.; H. Israel, Armenian, owner of Land, Tegal Tappen 1816 (or J. Israel, owner of Land, Karang, Anjer, 1818); A. E. Bromver, Dutchman of Merchant House, Brouwer Nolthenius and Co.; Verwoort, planter, Salatiga.



PALACE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT BUITENZORG.



GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S PALACE, RYSWYK, BATAVIA.

house of Maclaine, Watson & Co., Java, to his brother, dated Samarang the 14th June, 1828, the following extract may be given :—

“ Out of three thousand fine young men who marched through here last season for the interior sixteen hundred have actually died by the official returns made a month back. The number of deaths now amount to eighteen hundred. This sad mortality is not occasioned so much by the climate as by want of care. The Commissariat department is bad, the medical not much better. The soldiers have no change of dress, no tents when in the field ; in short, no comfort. I scarcely think Dipo Negoro’s generals manage matters so badly.”

At one time the Dutch Government actually ran short of guns, and had to ask the help of one of the English houses, Thompson, Roberts & Co., to try and buy a supply for them at Singapore.

In 1827 the Government, fully realising that this hand-to-mouth method of procedure was likely to cost them more in the end, set about improving matters.

The commissariat and transport departments were overhauled and taken in hand, provisions being improved and a proper administrative staff being appointed. The soldiers were to be paid regularly, and not, as heretofore, to have to wait months for their pay, so that the officers were obliged to advance them small sums to purchase absolute necessities. The sick were to be better cared for instead of being left to die in cowsheds, and the field forces were to be properly clothed and housed. Clothes some of them had none, and the bamboo sheds given them now and again to live in were mere “ kraals ” fit for beasts but not for men, being exposed on all sides to wind and weather. Proper doctors in sufficient number were also to be secured. Up till now several had been caring for the wounded with little or no knowledge of medicine or the art of healing. This all tended to there being an unprecedented percentage of

deaths, which was due, not to battle, but to the following four main causes :—

1. Want of clothes.
2. Bad housing or want of housing.
3. Too little and poor food.
4. Bad doctors, and medical assistance.

By the middle of 1827 these improvements had been carried out, and when a system of redoubts, which were erected at intervals in regular order, was completed affairs looked distinctly brighter. Each redoubt had its own complement of men and two cannon which swept all sides, and the officer in charge was responsible for keeping a certain district quiet. As in general the redoubt garrisons were made up of men actually unfit for active service, very few of those available were not in the field attached to the mobile columns ; these de Kock now caused to be ever on the march and thus give no peace or rest to the enemy.

The idea of this redoubt system originated in the mind of Lieutenant A. J. C. Dezentje, who was adjutant to the Emperor of Solo's legion for some years.¹

An Englishman endeavours to secure Peace.—The discomfiture of Dipo Negoro and his generals was soon apparent, and by August, 1827, Mr. William Stavers, an Englishman, and the owner of an estate called Singo Sarie, managed to open negotiations with one of Dipo Negoro's generals, and sent the following correspondence to headquarters² :—

“ Mr Stavers presents his respectful compliments to his Excellency the Commissary-General of Netherlands, India, etc., etc., and has the pleasure of forwarding the copy of a letter being an answer to the letter written by the Pangeran de Patie Poerbaya. After the usual compliments it commences as follows :—

“ ‘ I have received your letter the contents of which I know and understand. What you speak of that is my wish, the raising

¹ An account of this man and his son is given at the end of this chapter.

² This correspondence is to be found in Major Louw's great work, “ The Java War.”

or elevation of the Islam religion on Java, that is to say, that no other religion may be above the religion of Islam, above it if possible, but not the same.'

“ 30 Doelkadji, 1242.”

This letter, says Stavers, was written as Kjahi Madja received the news of the defeat of his army at *Pasar Gede* and was in a very bad humour.

“ Another letter is ready for him, which, if possible, I am to take myself. If I succeed I shall send your Excellency a copy of it. If not, your Excellency shall have a copy of the answer that goes to Dipo Negoro. Trifling as these letters may be, I hope they may be the means of opening a correspondence. I know the Resident MacGillavry has sent a letter with great difficulty to Kjahi Madja by an old woman who has not returned yet. One does suspect she will never return, as I hear the rebels will have nothing to do with him. I am extremely sorry to hear your Excellency has been so indisposed, but hope the fine air of Buitenzorg will soon bring your Excellency sound again.”

On the 13th August Stavers sent the Governor-General two more letters.

The first was an answer to the letter he had said he would send Kjahi Madja as above, and the second was his own answer to this. The most important portion of the first is, according to the translation Stavers gave, as follows :—

“ His Excellency General De Kock and General Van Geen both of them know the reasons why his Highness Dipanegara is grieved, and you wish to know which is his Highness' wish, and which I wish. We ask nothing. His Highness the Sultan Dipanegara wish that he (the G.G.) will make him Radja Islam. All the priests and all my family, and all the people proclaim him Sultan, and ask it of God, and if possible do also ask of God to make clean the religion of Islam on Java. If his Excellency the Commissary-General will agree to his Highness' wish, yes I will meet you both.

“ 15th of Sura ; 8th Aug., 1827.”

Stavers replied as follows :—

“ We have told his Excellency the Governor-General De Kock the contents of your letter. His Excellency will settle about his Highness being proclaimed Sultan Islam, and again about the explanation of the religion of Islam. Yes, he will settle about that also. The reason H.E. cannot give a decisive answer is he must first refer it to his Excellency the Commissioner-General at Batavia. Now we ask permission from his Excellency the Governor-General if you think it good to stop all operations of war that we may the better consult on the present business.

“ His Excellency wishes Mr. Stavers and myself to meet his Highness Dipanegara, and yourself Kjahi Madja, for the above purpose, if his Highness has any doubts of our sincerity we can ask his Excellency for his son, whom we are sure he will send should you wish it. We escort your messengers to Klaten, where we shall wait his Highness' orders, and hope H.H. will send passes for us that we may both meet H.H. and yourself as soon as possible.

“ Mohammed ibn Ali, and Mr. Stavers, to Kjahigoeroe Madja, 13 Aug., 1827.”

Kjahi Madja duly answered this letter as follows :—

“ To Mahomet ibn Ali Kitip and Mr. Stavers.

“ Your letter I have received, and the contents I understand. The Governor-General will consult with the Commissary-General. You speak of an end of war and you wish to meet the Sultan and myself, that you wish a pass, and people to show you the way.

“ About the end of war I have spoken to the Sultan. Yes, he agrees to stop all hostilities, but both parties shall remain quiet at their respective posts.

“ You wish to meet his Highness and myself ; his Highness does not wish to meet you himself, but will send myself and Pangeran Ngabehi Abdul Rachman.

“ Both of you had better consult together, that anything may be more easy ; when you have consulted with the Commissary-General send me word, and I will directly send people to meet you.”

“ Jargo Lamy, Wednesday 22nd of the moon. Mahomad.”

This letter was a somewhat awkward one, having gone a step further than was expected before the Governor was ready. Thus we find Stavers writing to De Kock as follows :—

“ The above letter puts me to my shifts. The only thing I can beg of your Excellency to do is to send a letter to Mahommet ibn Ali and myself, authorising us to parlementair with Kjahi Madja, and Pangeran Ngabehi. Your Excellency will see he wishes to consult with the Commissary-General, but this will lose much time.

“ He is near Klaten now and a few days would be a great loss. His people are still with me. Please to write what your Excellency should wish to show them, also that your Excellency authorises me to meet them in half margin with your Excellency’s seal, and Mahommet ibn Ali will write it in Arab on the other side.”

De Kock gave Stavers the necessary authority to visit the rebel camp, but this visit ended in nothing—Stavers was unable to get Dipo Negoro to alter his conditions, to which the Dutch Government virtually declined to listen. For his valuable services Stavers was appointed in September, 1827, a captain on the general staff and decorated.

Fighting began again, and although the new system was found a very convenient one, it did not, on account of the enemy changing their tactics, immediately answer all that was expected of it, and the question was seriously considered of giving it up.

In December, 1827, trouble broke out in Rembang, and spread over all the whole residency to such a degree as to be called another “ Java war.” The Resident was F. E. Hardy, an Englishman by birth,¹ who was in Java under Raffles, and the worry of this little war caused his death on the 6th February, 1828.

Further new troops were now sent out from Holland, and a force of nearly twenty-five thousand men was put into the

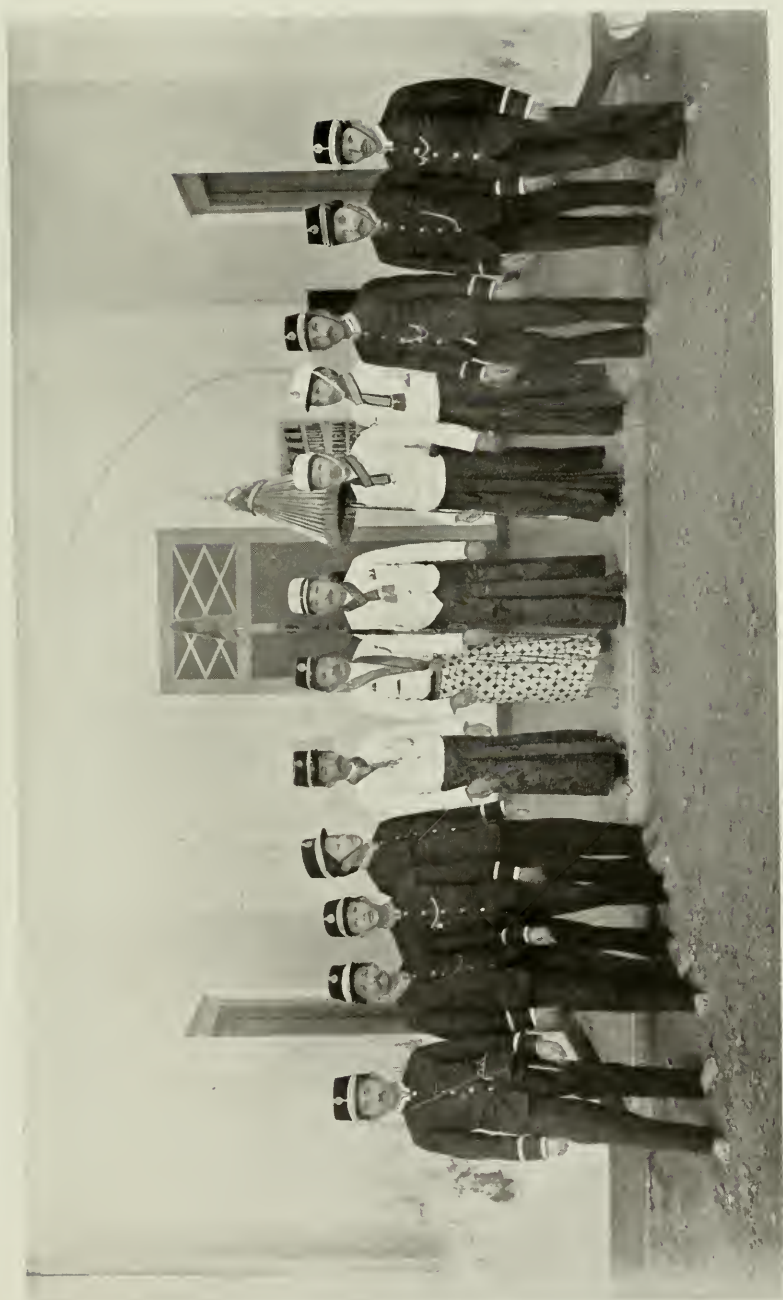
¹ A forefather, I believe, in Java of the well-known Probolingo family of that name.

field by De Kock, who with restless energy at last was able to begin drawing his lines closer and closer on a discomfited enemy. The war was now only a matter of time. The enemy began at last to suffer from want of provisions, and was obliged to loot from the villagers, and who consequently assisted them no longer. On the 6th August, 1829, the family of Prince Mangku Boemi surrendered themselves to the Dutch, followed very shortly afterwards by the prince himself, who saw the day was lost. In October *Sentot* and all his army went over to the Dutch.

Dipo Negoro still held out, however, and evaded the Dutch for still another five months. His family, however, was captured, and at last on the 28th March, 1830, he himself was taken prisoner, but not in a very direct manner. The Dutch offering him terms of peace, he came in with his followers with their *krisses*, and on account of this was taken prisoner in the residency house at Magelango. He would, however, in any case have been captured very shortly, as his troops were being hemmed in between the rivers Bogo Wonto and Progo, the former of which, on account of some old superstition, they dare not cross. Dipo Negoro was at once sent into captivity to Macasoar at Nice, where he died in 1855. Thus ended a war that had lasted five years and cost the Dutch Government at least twenty-five million guilders, besides the loss of about fifteen thousand Europeans and native soldiers.

A number of Dutchmen distinguished themselves in this long war and deserve to be mentioned (see note at end of chapter).

There were also many Frenchmen and several Englishmen attached to the cavalry, who proved themselves men of character. On the slightest occasion these cavalry squadrons, sometimes with, but more frequently without, orders, would charge, with a loss more serious, however, to themselves than to the enemy, the ground being generally



UMBRELLA, LANCE-CARRIERS AND SERVANTS OF THE EMPEROR OF JAVA.

unsuitable for cavalry operations. Thus nearly all the Frenchmen in Java were killed.

Cultuur System (1831—1870).—The war was scarcely over when the new Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch, who took over the seals of office on the 16th January, 1830, introduced his renowned system for raising money and filling the sorely depleted Dutch exchequer, called the “Culture System.” There can be no doubt that this system was the greatest benefit the island ever had, and in the forty years it was in vigorous operation the exports of Java, and no less the population, increased tenfold. The more successful the system became, the more the Dutch nation was abused, the richer it became, the more it was condemned. Invective and condemnation, insults and threats, were showered upon it by the so-called humanitarian sections of English society. Had, however, England substituted this system for the very inefficient “ryot warree” or land system she introduced in India, it would have been better for that country to-day; for as during this time India, with an area sixteen times greater than that of Java and with twelve times the population, only produced a revenue four times as great, it is clear which system was the more efficient.

While the “culture system” was more or less at its height and public opinion regarding its iniquity at boiling point, Mr. J. W. B. Money, a clever Calcutta barrister, visited Java in 1859 and stated openly that he had nothing but praise to bestow on all he saw.

This he declared in a two-volume book, entitled “Java; or, How to Manage a Colony.”

Wallace, the great naturalist, who was in Java between the 18th July and the 31st October, 1861, records his views on the system as follows:—

“This brings us to the culture system which is the source of all the wealth the Dutch derive from Java, and is the subject

of much abuse in this country because it is the reverse of free trade.

“ Natives of tropical climates have few wants, and when these are supplied are disinclined to work for superfluities without some strong incitement. With such a people the introduction of any new or systematic cultivation is almost impossible except by the despotic order of chiefs whom they have been accustomed to obey, as children obey their parents.

“ The full competition of European traders however introduces two powerful inducements to exertion. Spirits or opium is a temptation too strong for most savages to resist, and to obtain these he will sell whatever he has, and will work to get more. Another temptation he cannot resist is goods on credit. The trade offers him gay clothes, knives, gongs, guns and gunpowder to be paid for by some crop perhaps not yet planted, or some product yet in the forest. He has not sufficient forethought to take only a moderate quantity, and not enough energy to work early and late in order to get out of debt, and the consequence is he accumulates debt upon debt, and often remains for years, or for life, a debtor, and almost a slave.

“ This is a state of things which occurs very largely in every part of the world in which men of a superior race freely trade with men of a lower race. It extends trade, no doubt, for a time, but it demoralises, and does not lead to any permanent increase in the wealth of the country; so that the European Government of such a country must be carried on at a loss. The system introduced by the Dutch was to induce the people through their chiefs to give a portion of their time to the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and other valuable products. A fixed rate of wages—low indeed but about equal to that of all places where European competition has not artificially raised it—was paid to the labourers engaged in clearing the ground and forming the plantations under Government superintendence. The produce is sold to the Government at a low fixed price. Out of the net profits a percentage goes to the chiefs, and the remainder is divided among the workmen. This surplus in good years is something considerable. On the whole, the people are well fed and decently clothed, and have acquired habits of steady industry, and the art of scientific cultivation, which must be of service to them in the future. It must be remembered that the Government expended capital for years before any return was obtained,

and if they now derive a large revenue, it is in a way which is far less burthensome, and far more beneficial to the people, than any tax that could be levied. But although the system may be a good one, and as well adapted to the development of arts and industry, in a half civilised people, as it is to the material advantage of the governing country, it is not pretended that in practice it is perfectly carried out. The oppressive and servile relations between chiefs and people, which have continued for perhaps a thousand years, cannot be at once abolished, and some evil must result from those relations till the spread of education and the gradual infusion of European blood causes it naturally and insensibly to disappear. It is said that the Residents desirous of showing a large increase in the products of their districts have sometimes pressed the people to such continued labour on the plantations that their rice crops have been materially diminished, and famine has been the result. If this has happened it is certainly not a common thing, and is to be set down to the abuse of the system by the want of judgment or want of humanity in the Resident.

“A tale has lately been written in Holland and translated into English entitled ‘Max Havelaar, or the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company’ (Nederlandsche Handels Maatschappij, commonly called the ‘Factory’), and with our usual one-sidedness in all relating to the Dutch colonial system, this work has been excessively praised, both for its own merits, and for its supposed crushing exposure of the iniquities of the Dutch government of Java. Greatly to my surprise I found it a very tedious and long-winded story full of rambling digressions, and whose only point is to show that the Dutch Residents and assistant Residents wink at the extortions of the native princes, and that in some districts the natives have to do work without payment and have their goods taken away from them without compensation.

“Every statement of this kind is thickly interspersed with italics and capital letters, but as the names are all fictitious, and neither dates, figures, nor details are even given, it is impossible to verify or answer them. Even if not exaggerated the facts stated are not nearly so bad as those of the oppression by free trade indigo planters, and torturing by native tax gatherers under British rule in India, with which the readers of English newspapers were familiar a few years ago. Such oppression, however, is not fairly to be imputed in either case to the particular

form of government; but it is rather due to the infirmity of human nature, and to the impossibility of at once destroying all trace of ages of despotism on the one side, and of slavish obedience to their chiefs on the other. It must be remembered that the complete establishment of Dutch power in Java is much more recent than that of our rule in India, and that there have been several changes of government, and in the mode of raising revenue. The inhabitants have been so recently under the rule of their native princes that it is not easy at once to destroy the excessive reverence they feel for their old masters, or to diminish the oppressive exactions which the latter have always been accustomed to make.

“There is, however, one grand test of the prosperity, and even of the happiness, of a community which we can apply here, the rate of increase of the population.

“It is universally admitted that when a country increases rapidly in population the people cannot be very greatly oppressed or very badly governed.

“Since the beginning of the century the population has increased from 3,500,000 to in 1865 14,163,416 persons. If, as I believe, this vast population is on the whole contented and happy, the Dutch Government should consider well before abruptly changing a system which has led to such great results. Taking it as a whole, and surveying it from every point of view, Java is probably the very finest and most interesting tropical island in the world.”

It will be seen from these remarks by Wallace, written at the time by such a trustworthy and accurate recorder, that the scathing remarks made against the Dutch nation at this period were wholly undeserved. The system was carried on in full vigour during the Governorships of their Excellencies Jean Chretien Band, Dominique Jacques de Eereus, Carel Girardus Willem, Count van Hogendorp, Pieter Merkus, Jonkheer Joan Cornelis Reynot, and Jan Jacob Rochussen.¹ By this time various abuses had crept into the carrying out of the regulations, but mostly of a local nature, and all in direct contradiction and in defiance of Van den Bosch's

¹ Grand-uncle of the present author.



PANGERAN PRABOENENGRAT (SURAKARTA), BROTHER TO THE SUSUHUNAN.

provisions. Rochussen, one of the most humane of governors, did all that he could to put these abuses down whilst in Java, and when he became colonial secretary he more or less abolished them. The chief complaint was that too much land was being used for sugar and coffee and too little for food products for the ever-increasing population. In 1870 a scheme of reform was introduced which relieved the natives a great deal and led the way to the system of free cultivation which now exists in the island. When all is said and done, however, the culture system did an immense amount of good for Java.

Trouble with England over the Duties.—In 1834 the Governor-General, Band, introduced a heavy scale of duties which specially affected British goods, and gave a preference to those of Dutch importation, and which was quite contrary to treaty. This led to a very strong protest being lodged with the Dutch Government by Lord Palmerston, who was then Foreign Secretary. Lord Palmerston seems to have only pressed the matter when urged on by a request presented by the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, which was induced to take this step by the house of James Finlay & Co.

Trouble with England over Siak.—Trouble also arose between the two countries over the validity of a treaty which had been made by the English with the Rajah of Siak in 1818. The controversy was continued for a long time, and at one period became almost acute.¹ It was not finally disposed of until 1871, when a new treaty gave the Dutch absolute sway over Sumatra, in exchange for which England assumed some rights which were theirs in West Africa, which rights by some were considered more imaginary than real.

Trouble with England over Sarawak, 1814.—Again trouble arose with England over *Sarawak*, which in 1841 was ruled over by Sir James Brooke as rajah. Brooke was an English-

¹ See McGillian Maclaine's letter of the 1st March and the 1st May, 1833.

man who found his way into the Eastern Seas shortly after the English occupation of Java, and having taken part in an expedition to Burmah in 1825 was so taken with the romantic side of life and the chance for adventure that he left the Royal Indian Army in 1835 and bought his own ship out of a legacy of £30,000 left him by his father. He now began to roam about on his own account, in this small schooner of a hundred and forty-two tons. During these cruises he seems always to have frequented the islands round Borneo, and became firm friends with the Rajah of *Sarawak*, Muda Hassan.

Once when he was there the town was attacked by rebels, and proceeding on shore with his men he assisted the rajah to clear his dominions.

Sir James Brooke becomes Rajah of Sarawak, 1840.—By 1840 he had so entirely gained the affections of Muda Hassan that the latter insisted on Brooke becoming a rajah in his place.

Brooke, nothing loth and loving romance, accepted the proposal, and was duly installed and confirmed in his possession by the lord paramount, the Sultan of Brunei, on the 18th August, 1840, at *Kuching*.

In 1843 Captain Keppel (afterwards admiral of the fleet) visited him with a view to devising plans for destroying the pirates in these seas, which had increased since the last raid made by the English in 1813. The Dutch were not at all satisfied with Sir James Brooke's installation, and kept an eye on him, as despite his duties as Rajah of Sarawak he still found time to visit other islands and ports in the neighbourhood during his occasional cruises.

Sir James Brooke annexes Labuan, 1846.—When Labuan was ceded to Brooke on the 18th December, 1846, their patience gave out, and representations were made to the British Government that this annexation was an infringement of article 12 of the Treaty of 1824. There were

certainly grounds for the protest, but the British Government had ceased to be quixotic over the question of the East Indian possessions, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Aberdeen, declined to accept the Dutch reading of the clause. This was to the effect "that the British Government might not make any establishments on the *Carimon Java Islands*, or the islands of *Battam*, *Bintang*, *Lingin*, or any other islands south of the Straits of Singapore." Lord Aberdeen maintained that Labuan was only for use as a coaling station and not for making an establishment on, and suggested the occupation would help to keep down piracy. The Dutch from force of circumstances were obliged to accept this reply.

In 1857 the Chinese at Sarawak rose in a body and massacred all the Europeans, Sir James Brooke escaping by swimming the river. In due course, however, he returned with his faithful Malays, and thrashed the Chinese, cutting two thousand of them to pieces. In 1868 this remarkable man died, leaving the kingdom to his heirs, who to this day reside and nominally rule there, although Sarawak is no longer an independent State but a part of the English dominions (see note at end of chapter).

In 1877 the Rajahs of Brunei and Solok ceded a portion of their territories to Messrs. Dent¹ and Overbeek, and these rights were handed over to the British North Borneo Company in 1881. Seven years later, on account of the Russians casting eyes on this part of Borneo to find a place for a coaling station, the British Government extended the Sarawak territories and placed Brunei and the British North Borneo Company's lands, together with Sarawak, under the protection of the British Crown, leaving the Brooke family with certain ruling rights in perpetuity. The opportunity was also now taken to appoint a commission to demarcate the boundaries between the Dutch and British territories

¹ Of the great house of Dent & Co., Hong Kong.

of Borneo. The Dutch had no reason to be dissatisfied with the results, as can be seen by a glance at the map, and the boundless wealth of their portion has been proved by the few scratchings on the surface made from time to time. Borneo is one of the countries, together with Sumatra, whose greatness will be in the future, and the riches that lie there buried will place those of Mexico and Peru wholly in the shade. Dutch Borneo, as it was then called, caused the Dutch at first a considerable deal of trouble, the Chinese *kongsees*, or guilds, offering an obstinate resistance to what they considered an aggression on their ancient rights. The grandfathers and great-grandfathers of the Chinese for several generations back had been born in Borneo, and not only did they own the land, but they assisted and encouraged the pirates who practised their nefarious trade in these waters. Several expeditions were sent to Borneo before these were put down. At Banjermassin, especially, there was trouble, and it was years before the Dutch were able completely to put an end to their difficulties here. There had been always a desire on the part of the sultan here, who disliked the Dutch, to cultivate the acquaintance of the English, whose connection with Banjermassin went back as far as the year 1614, and who had opened a factory here in 1703.

In 1846, and again in 1848, expeditions were sent to Bali to bring into subjection the princes there, who were continually giving trouble; in the final fight the stronghold of Djagaraga was taken and Karang Assem occupied. Bali and Lombock were now considered a portion of the Dutch East Indies. This was rightly so, for as far back as 1597, when Cornelis Houtman's fleet was in these waters, they visited Bali. A small account of this is given by Captain W. Cool, a well-known Dutch engineer, in his handy and very pleasant little book entitled "With the Dutch in the East," which also embodies the story of the Lombock expedition of 1894.

The nineteenth century seems one long period of expeditions and strife with the neighbouring princes, on the part of the Dutch ; for no sooner had one expedition returned from one part of the Indies than another had to be sent in the opposite direction. So was it with the Achin war. This arose in quite a simple manner, but lasted more than a quarter of a century. When the Dutch and British made the treaty of November, 1872, by which the former acquired an absolutely free hand in Sumatra, the Sultan of Achin, who under a treaty made by one of his predecessors in 1819 with the Penang Government by the direction of Sir Stamford Raffles claimed that the British and not the Dutch were his overlords, began to make hostile demonstrations against the Dutch, and refused to make any treaty with them recognising their sovereignty. James London—a son of the well-known Englishman, Alexander London, who came to Java with the British Expedition in 1811, and a small account of whom is given elsewhere—was now Governor-General, and had therefore nothing left to do but to launch an invading army against Achin, thrash the Achinese, and appropriate their country. The task had, however, been underestimated, for the Achinese, like the men of the ancient empire of Majapahit, were born fighters, and when they had been aroused to defend their homes fanaticism made them a formidable foe. In the first war in 1873, despite the fact that all the best Dutch generals were at the front (Generals Kohler van Sivieten and Verspyck ¹), the Dutch in the attack on the *kraton* (sultan's palace) and *missigit* (temple) were badly beaten, and only a year later was the *missigit* captured after a defence worthy of the most disciplined troops in the world. The war was, nevertheless, but in its infancy. Later Generals van der Heyden and

¹ The uncle of Mr. Rudolph Verspyck, one of the partners of the firm of Dunlop and Kolf, Samarang. General Verspyck died in 1909, at the age of 84, covered with honours.

Wiggers van Kerchem were sent to the scene of operations, and in 1878 the former began a vigorous policy somewhat like that of General De Kock in the Java war, namely, the continual harassing of the enemy by keeping them ever on the move and allowing them no rest. The coast was blockaded and gradually the enemy's resistance was broken down, so that by 1881 it at last looked as if the country had been pacified, if not conquered. General van der Heyden now left Achin, and a new civil Governor (up till now van der Heyden had held the dual position of civil and military head), Pruys van den Hoeven, took his place. Just before this, in 1880, an unfortunate incident occurred. The British steamship *Nisero*, from Sourabaya with a full cargo of sugar on board, was wrecked on the Achin coast on the 16th November, and eighteen British and six other sailors were made prisoners. The chief of Pangah, a Malay dependant of Toekoe Oemar Muda, Rajah of Tenom, in whose territory the vessel was stranded, refused when requested by the Dutch Government to release the prisoners. A ransom was then offered to the rajah, but with no greater effect, and a threat of warlike proceedings was laughed at. In 1884, under pressure from Earl Granville, the Dutch stormed and took Tenom the 7th January, but the prisoners, several of whom in the meantime had succumbed to their hardships, had been removed to some other stronghold. In May the British Government, tired of procrastination, dispatched H.M.S. *Pegasus* to the scene, and the commander opened communications with the rajah. The tone of the rajah was conciliatory, but what he wanted was to be placed under British sovereignty and his country given free trading rights. This communication was carried back to Singapore and sent to Earl Granville. He returned messages to the rajah, recommending him to put himself on good terms with the Dutch Government and to hand over the prisoners whom he had kept too long. The rajah at last, seeing nothing was to be



HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE MANGKOE NEGERO VI.

gained by further delay, handed over the prisoners, now only eighteen in number, to the commander of H.M.S. *Pegasus*,¹ and an indemnity of 50,000 dollars was paid to him.

Mr. Pruys van den Hoeven had hardly assumed office when the Achinese, thinking the moment opportune, mobilised their forces and descended on the Dutch in full strength, beating them everywhere, and forcing the garrisons of all their outposts to withdraw to the coast. The consternation amongst the Dutch was great; they had quite settled down in the country, and the officers had their wives and families with them in a line of forts and blockhouses reaching from Kota Raja to Olehleh. These all had to make a hurried retreat, fighting a losing battle the whole time, added to which dysentery, cholera, and beri-beri decimated the troops in a shocking manner. The struggle continued for nearly another ten years without intermission, the Dutch army making no headway, and the Achinese remaining practically as independent as they were when the war broke out. The Dutch, however, felt some hope when in 1893 one of the powerful chiefs, Toekoe Oemar, came over to them and assisted them to regain a portion of the country lost. Rewards, honours, and so forth were showered on Toekoe Oemar, but in 1896, becoming disgusted, he returned again to his countrymen, and it was not long before the whole country rose, more determined than ever to free themselves from the Dutch yoke.

General Vetter had now become commander-in-chief, and Jonkheer Carel Herman Aart van den Wyk was Governor-General; the combination was perfect. When the latter (who was one of the best Governor-Generals the Netherlands India has ever had) took anything in hand he always carried it through to success, and he was determined to put an end

¹ There is a book all about this affair called, "The Wreck of the S.S. *Nisero*."

to this state of perpetual warfare which was costing the exchequer so many millions.

General Vetter, an excellent cool-headed and calmly calculating man, received his orders, and proceeding to the scene of action he attacked the enemy with a vigour that even they could not stand, defeating them time after time, and won back the territory of Achin once more. In 1899 Toekoe Oemar died, exhausted by his struggles, and in 1903, the new sultan surrendering to the Dutch, the war was at last at an end. Whilst the Achin war was at its height the Sultan of Lombok, who had been restive for many years, insulted the Governor-General of Netherlands India, Pynacker Hordyk, by refusing to receive a letter from him, and a small force was sent there in 1894 to bring him to a better frame of mind. The troops landed, and marched to Tjakra Negora and Matárem without opposition. Here they stationed themselves whilst the Resident made his demands, which were instantly granted. All suspicions were at rest, when on the night of the 25th August the enemy delivered an attack on the Dutch camp at Tjakra Negora, causing a loss of nearly four hundred killed and wounded, including General van Ham. The story of this fight by the Dutch in the middle of a very dark night with an enemy who had surrounded them is one of the most thrilling ever told. It is a story one can read and read again. Fresh reinforcements were sent forward at once, and the battle of Tjakra Negora was fought, which ended with the surrender of the prince and his family.

Troubles have since occurred in various parts of Sumatra, viz., *Siak* and *Djambi*,¹ but these were never very serious and were soon quelled. The Dutch East Indies, at the present moment under a wise and beneficent administration upon which it would be difficult to improve, are blessed with peace.

¹ The old Jambee, or Jumbi.

One can only hope that this may long so continue. What the future of the Dutch possessions is to be it is difficult to say, but there can be no doubt that envious eyes have already been cast upon them, and that their worth is well known to others.

Looking back into the past, and recalling all the incidents upon which our own great Eastern empire has been built up, of those that have accompanied the rise of the Dutch empire in the East we cannot but acknowledge that the Dutch nation had wholly deserved through their pluck, thoroughness, perseverance and energy all that it to-day possesses, and that the gracious and good sovereign who rules over it has a heritage of which she may well be proud, and one which we cannot but hope she may never lose. May this hope be fulfilled and may the Dutch flag long wave over these lovely Eastern islands.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

NOTE I.—SMISSAERT FAMILY.

The following note deals only with those members of this family who came to the East. In 1530 Johannes Smissaert was raised to the nobility by the Emperor Karl V., who was also Count of Holland. Holland was then a republic, and the count had sovereign powers. The seat of the family in 1500 was Antwerp, but between 1550 and 1600 they moved to Amsterdam, after spending a year or two (about 1576) in France, where at one time they thought of establishing themselves. During the eighteenth century the family was a very important one, and its heads held the highest positions in the land.

The first of this distinguished family to come to Java was *Jonkheer Dirk Willem Hendrik Smissaert*, who was a son of Hendrik and Jonkvrouw Anna Agneta van Brienan. He was born at Rhenan on the 2nd May, 1751; went into the army in 1765; joined the East India Company in 1774; was "onder koopman" until 1775; a member of the court of chancery,

1777. He married Johanna Antonia Dormieux on the 14th April, 1776, at Batavia. Died at Batavia on the 3rd December, 1779.

A brother of the latter's, *Jonkheer Balthasar Smissaert*, was born at Rhenan on the 30th July, 1747. He arrived in Batavia for the East India Company in 1766, where he took up his position as "onder koopman." From this he gradually rose to "boekhonder" in 1772; captain-general, or "opperhoofd," of Killas Ambonia in 1782; administrator at Batavia in 1803; president of the court of chancery ("weeskamer") at Batavia in 1808, in which capacity he served the British Government under Raffles both at Batavia and Somabaya. From the Java Government Gazette of the 2nd May, 1812, it would appear that during April of that year he was temporarily acting as resident, as he gave an official party, the toasts of which were: (1) "God Save the King"; (2) "Prince Regent"; (3) "Lord Minto"; (4) "Sir Samuel Auchmuty"; (5) "Mr. Raffles." He married on the 30th June, 1776, at Batavia, Wilhelmina Johanna Soual. Balthasar died and was buried at Ambonia in 1814, where Raffles had sent him on special service. He was a valuable servant to the British Government.

The next to come to Java was *Jonkheer Marinus Adriaan Perpetuus Smissaert*, a son of Jonkheer Mr. Carel Smissaert and Jonkvrouw Charlotta Balthasarina Godin. He was born at Utrecht on the 11th November, 1773. He went into the army and rose to be colonel (chef de legion). In 1815 he was engaged on service in Java. He was a member of the court of finance, 1st October, 1816; inspector-general of the tin mines in Banca and Billiton, 27th October, 1817; Resident of Banca, 1st June, 1818. He married on the 23rd March, 1799, Marie Feitama. He was murdered at Banca in the night of the 1st November, 1819. He held several orders.

Jonkheer Anthony Hendrik Smissaert, a son of Jonkheer Dirk Willem Hendrik Smissaert, was born at Batavia on the 8th March, 1777. He came to Java as "onder koopman" in 1802; was superintendent of woods and forests, 1808; member of the court of justice, 1809; Resident of Rembang, 1819; Resident of Djockja Karta, 1823, and when war broke out, 1825. He married on the 5th October, 1800, Clara Elisabeth, Baroness von Liebeherr. Died at The Hague on the 25th October, 1832.

Jonkheer Jacob Willem Hendrik Smissaert, a son of M. A. P. Smissaert already noted, was born on the 21st November, 1802.

He came to Java as a midshipman in the Netherlands Imperial Navy, 1816; became clerk to Resident of Rembang (A. H. Smissaert), 31st December, 1818; on special service, island of Ceram, 1822; income tax duties, Magelang, 1823; Resident's office, Magelang, 1826; vendu meester, Magelang, 1826; secretary, Magelang, 1827; public notary, 1828; secretary, Soerakarta, 1830; Resident of Bagelen, 1830; Resident of Cheribon, 1836; Resident of Samarang from 1843 till 1846, when he asked for his pension. The night before he left Samarang the whole town was illuminated and a grand farewell ball given, with a display of fireworks. On his return to Holland he was given high appointments and honours. He married Alida Maria Catharina Klein on the 3rd December, 1835. Died at The Hague on the 13th December, 1874.

Jonkheer Hendrik Ann Constantyn Smissaert, also a son of M. A. P. Smissaert already noted, was born on the 1st January, 1805. He came to Java in 1824, and after being controleur and secretary in Salatiga Banjoemas and Pasoervean became assistant Resident of Probolinggo in 1838. He was to have become President, but took his discharge and bought the sugar fabrick *Besito* from Jonkheer Lawick van Pabst. As mentioned elsewhere (see *Personeelia* of Macquoid, Davidson Co.: John Davidson), he married Emma Davidson, a daughter of John Davidson, on the 12th January, 1818. Died at The Hague on the 13th December, 1874.

Then *Jonkvrouw Henriette Marie Claire Smissaert*, a daughter of A. H. Smissaert already noted, married on the 11th March, 1818, at Rembang, Jonkheer Otto Carel Holmberg de Beckfelt, who was assistant Resident of Kendal in 1822, Resident of Pekalongan, 1825, and Resident of the Preanger Regencies 1828. A son of this marriage married a daughter of the Acting G.G. Prins. The other two daughters of Prins were married as follows: Betsy to G. H. Miergaes, of Maclaine, Watson Co., and Madelon to one Raaders, who was working in Java in the B.O.W. Department.

Jonkheer Jacob Willem Hendrik Smissaert, a son of Jonkheer Joan Carel Smissaert, and his wife, Jonkvrouw Pauline Dorothée van Eys, was born on the 27th March, 1829, came to India in 1847, and joined the Netherlands Trading Company. He died at Sourabaya on the 2nd November, 1855.

Jonkheer Marien John Smissaert, a son of Jonkheer H. A. C.

Smissaert already noted, was born at Pasoeroean on the 2nd February, 1838. He married Mathilde Marie Isabelle Rombout van Mechtelina on the 25th May, 1866, at Probolingo. Of this marriage there were nine children, among whom was *Jacob Willem*, who became notaris, like his father, and married, on the 20th February, 1898, Nelly Eliza Margo van Hasselt, a daughter of the assistant Resident of Banida Neira. There were three daughters—Marie Jeanne, who married H. M. March, a partner in Pitcairn, Syme Co., Batavia; Mathilde Marie Isabelle, who married D. Maclaine Campbell, a partner in Maclaine, Watson and Co. (see personalia of that firm); and Eliza, who married Lambert Hesterman, director and owner of the tea estate Tji Sampora, in the Preanger. This brings us down to the present day.

NOTE II.

The following is the list of the gallant little body of Englishmen and others in the engagement at Dempet:—

John Macmaster, Scotchman, agent from 1822 at Samarang for Messrs. G. Maclaine Co., Batavia. Killed on the way back to Samarang (see G. Maclaine and Co. personalia).

W. Lindesay, Englishman, a son of W. Lindesay, formerly a partner in the house of Scott and Co., Penang, 1796. Came to Java in 1820. In 1823 commanded Captain John Greg's ship *Ennore Transit*, a vessel of 237 tons. In 1824 he came to Samarang, and started a ship chandlery business, which he continued to manage. Killed on the field whilst retreating (sometimes spelt *Lindsey*).

J. C. Goldsmith, Englishman. Arrived in Java 1820. In 1824 commanded Captain Charles Kerr's (of Sourabaya) schooner *Anna*, 174 tons. The vessel was probably at Samarang when the trouble at Demák broke out, as in September, 1825, he was still in command of the vessel. One of the few not killed, brother of R. Goldsmith, assistant secretary's office, Buitenzorg, 1813—1816.

John Macneill,¹ *Scotchman*, agent from 1823 at Sourabaya for Messrs G. Maclaine and Co., Batavia (see Maclaine, Watson and Co. personalia). Not killed.

Peter Jessen, Englishman, the original partner of the firm of Jessen, Trail and Co., Batavia (see Jessen, Trail and Co. personalia).

¹ In Major Louw's "History of the War" John Macneill's name does not appear, but in another it does. His name has therefore been included here.

Happened to be passing through Samarang when the troubles broke out at Demák. Not killed.

J. Bremner, Englishman, agent at Samarang for Thompson, Whiteman and Co., of Batavia, and in 1826 Thompson, Roberts and Co. Not killed, but wounded by a lance.

George Sutton, Englishman. Was in the Batavia house of Addison and Co. and their agent at Samarang. Killed on the way back to Samarang.

Robert Barrows, Englishman. Was in the Batavia house of A. L. Forester and Co., and probably their agent at Samarang. Killed on the way back to Samarang.

Lewis Cameron, Englishman. Was in the Batavia house of Deans and Co., and probably their agent at Samarang. Killed on the field whilst retreating.

Hammond, Englishman. Was in the Batavia house of Miln, Haswell and Co. ; probably was at Samarang on a visit. Killed on the field.

Spencer, Englishman. Was an employee of Macquoid, Davidson and Co. Not killed.

Philip Willis, Englishman. Was employed by John Macmaster (see G. Maclaine and Co. personalia). Killed on the field whilst retreating.

Russell Charles Page, Englishman. Was a partner in the Batavia mercantile house of Stewart, Turing and Co. in 1823, which was the year he came to Java. Whether he was only on a trip to Samarang in 1825, when the war broke out, or whether he had already opened a branch for them is not certain, but as Stewart, Turing and Co. had no interests in Samarang, it is the more likely he was only on a trip. In 1826, when Stewart, Turing and Co. had closed, R. C. Page came to reside at Samarang, but left in 1828 temporarily. " R. C. Page is leaving Java and offers his house and garden in Bodjong near Samarang for sale or to hire with or without furniture " (*Java Comant*, 1st January, 1828). When he returned to Java in 1830 he went to live on a coffee estate near Salatiga, which he had apparently bought. This estate was managed by his son Joseph le Page from 1836 to 1845 ; it was then managed by Philip Terence Lacourt for a couple of years. R. C. Page left Java for good in 1831 ; he must have come to Java a rather elderly man.

C. Chatoir, Armenian working in the merchant's office of Jordan Johannes. Killed on the field.

J. Martherus, Armenian. Came to Java in 1824 and worked in Johannes' office. His brother, G. Martherus, captained and owned a ship in 1825 called the *Ondernemer*, 180 tons, and was afterwards owner of the *Vrouwe Helena*, and later on a merchant at Sourabaya. Killed on the way back to Samarang.

F. A. Brandt, Dutchman. Formerly the partner of Roms-winckel and Brandt, Batavia; afterwards partner in A. E. Soerman and Co., Batavia; was probably on a visit to Samarang to his brother, H. A. Brandt, who was a schoolmaster of the first class there. Killed on the field.

J. Cramer, Dutchman. Employed in the Dutch Government service. Killed on the field.

C. Lorch (L. F. C.), Dutchman. Came to Java in 1816. In 1820 was trading from Pekalongang with his own ship, the *Jacoba Ambrosina*, 128 tons. In 1821 this ship was sent to sea in command of Captain J. A. Lang; Lorch remained himself at Pekalongang and did a merchant's business. In 1822 he removed to Samarang and did a small business there, running the ship on joint account with Lang. In 1823 he took to the sea again, and became owner once more of the ship. He continued at sea until 1825, Samarang being his headquarters. He then settled on shore, again sending his ship to sea in command of A. G. de Kater. Killed on the field.

J. F. Kersting, Dutchmen. Controller in the Binnenlandsche Bestuur, or Dutch Government Service of the Interior. Killed on the field.

There were three other Dutchmen—Van Braak, Henrich, and Paulus—who were also said to have taken part in this fight, and the last two named returned alive; but Controller Van Braak was taken prisoner. The prisoners were usually ground to death in the rice blocks.

NOTE III.—DEZENTJE.

August Jan Casper Dezentje was of French descent, and like many other Frenchmen, finding his way to Batavia, but how is not quite clear, during the East India Company's rule about 1797—8. At first he did a small wine business at Batavia, but about 1800, when recruits for the army were being sought, he joined as a lieutenant, and was sent to Soerakarta to join the garrison there. From all accounts he must have been a very

fine specimen of a man. At Soerakarta he married, it seems, a Javan lady, and shortly afterwards was appointed adjutant to the emperor's "legion." In 1812 he retired from this post to make room for an English officer, and took an estate called Ampel which he had hired from the emperor. Here he built himself a fine house and settled down. When the British army of occupation left Java in 1816 he took his final discharge from the Dutch army, to which he was still nominally attached.

Whilst at Solo a son was born who was called Johannes Augustinus, one of the greatest characters Java has ever seen, and who eventually, owing to the influence of his father, became a greater *persona grata* at the native court than the former was himself. In 1820 "Augustinus," as he was generally called, owned a considerable number of the emperor's estates, and was shortly afterwards drawing an income of £25,000 a year. When the Java war broke out in 1825 the neutrality of the emperor was greatly desired by General de Kock, who personally visited Solo with a view to arranging it. Through the indirect assistance of the Dezentjes he achieved his purpose. At the same time Augustinus raised a corps of fifteen hundred men, which he equipped and kept in the field at his own expense, thereby rendering a service to the commander-in-chief which the Dutch Government never forgot as long as he lived, shutting their eyes afterwards at all his vagaries and extravagances in Mid Java, which led the native population to suppose he was almost an independent prince. From worry or trouble, or more likely exposure in the field, August Jan died at Ampel on the 2nd December, 1825. The Java war continuing and the whole of Mid Java being in a state of uproar, Augustinus built a fort at Ampel round his dwelling-houses in 1826, and to protect his little army borrowed two cannon from the Dutch army. When hard pressed in the field his men retired to the fort behind these guns, which the enemy had a considerable respect for. When the war was over Augustinus was rewarded for his services by the order of the Netherlands Lion; he then settled down to attend once more to his estates, which had been more or less ruined during the war, in consequence of which he thought fit to enter a claim on one or more of the princes of the Solo court for 22,000 guilders. The claim was of course never paid, but Dezentje's complaisance in waiving it gave him—if it were possible—still more power at court, which perhaps after all was

his only reason for entering it. His style and mode of living at this moment was almost equal in magnificence to the emperor's, and he dispensed hospitality with a royal and lavish hand. If there is any doubt of this a perusal of Gilliam Maclaine's account of his visit to Dezentje (given later on) will dispel it. He entertained the princes, even the emperor himself, with whom he was at last on such close terms of intimacy that he took his sister in marriage. The wedding was celebrated at the *kraton* in Solo with great magnificence—lacs, it is said, being expended on the feasts. After his wedding neither he nor his princess ever left Ampel without a cavalcade of men on horseback and several dozens of slaves following. His sentries called the guard out to salute as he passed in or out of the fort. Ampel was in fact a small royal residence, whilst the power that was wielded here was only second to the emperor's (at least so some said). From 1822, when Augustinus had coffee to dispose of from his estates, Gilliam Maclaine had acted as agent for him, the two having struck up a friendship when the latter was managing the coffee estate of *Melamboug*, which was near. The coffee was received at Samarang on behalf of Dezentje by John Macmaster at first, and when he was killed, by John Macneill. He was allowed almost an unlimited credit, but was nevertheless always in difficulties, and more than once did G. Maclaine proceed to Ampel to assist him to straighten out his affairs.

The last time G. Maclaine went there at Dezentje's request was with his wife, and he was promised and received a royal welcome. Until the fifties did the connection of the Dezentjes with G. Maclaine's firm continue.

The Dezentjes have still many descendants living in Java near the native court. Some have held high positions, but none have risen like their distinguished grandfather.

The estate of Ampel, with its still existing old residence and fort, has reverted once more to the native court, but each successive emperor makes it a *sine quâ non* that it shall be administered by a Dezentje, and it is considered as an hereditary position by their family.

IV.—NOTES ON CERTAIN PERSONS WHO TOOK PART IN THE JAVA WAR, ENDING IN 1830.

HENDRIK MERKUS DE KOCK, born at Hensden	. 1779
In French service as 2nd lieutenant of General	
Daendel's staff	. . . . . 1794

HENDRIK MERKUS DE KOCK—*continued*.

In Dutch civil service	1800
1st lieutenant by the fleet	1800
Chief of staff in squadron under Admiral Verheull	1804
East India	1806
Adjutant-general to Governor-General Wiese	1807
Colonel commandant East Java	1808
Brigadier to army and commandant Samarang	
division	1809
Chief of the general staff	1811
Taken prisoner	1811
Campaign against French in Europe	1813—1815
Colonel of 8th Battalion infantry	1814
Commandant of Fort Hertogenbosch	1814
Major-general	1815
Returns to East Indies	1817
Governor of Moluccas	1818
Commandant of troops	1819
Commander-in-chief of Palembang expedition	1821
Lieutenant-Governor of East Indian possessions	1822
Commander-in-chief of the forces in Mid	
Java	1825—1830
Acting Governor-General	1826
Lieutenant Governor-General	1826
Resigned	1830
Returned to Holland	1830
Commander-in-chief in Zealand	1831
Created baron	1835
Minister of Interior	1836
Resigned	1841
Died at St. Gravenhage	1842

Order of Unie, 1807 ; Commander of that order, 1808.
 Commander de Réunion, 1813. Two orders, M.W.O.,
 1813 and 1821. Grand Cross, 1830. Metal Cross, 1832.
 Grand Cross, Netherlands Lion, 1841.

Governor-General de Kock's portrait is to be seen at Weltwreden in the building of the Masonic lodge, of which institution he was Grand Master.

FRANS DAVID COCHIUS, born at Valkenburg	1787
Entered Engineers corps	1804
Lieutenant	1809
Lieutenant on staff in French service	1810
2nd captain	1811
1st captain	1812
In French service ; took part in capture	
of Leipzig and Lutzen and subsequent	
operations	1813—1814

FRANS DAVID COCHIUS—*continued.*

In Dutch service	1814
Intends to proceed East Indies	1814
Quatre Bras	1815
Arrives Java	1816
Major, Engineers	1817
Lieutenant-colonel, Engineers	1821
Palembang	1821
Adjunct director of fortifications	1822
Colonel, Engineers	1825
Java war	1825—1830
Pensioned	1829
Again in activity with army in field	1830
Commander-in-chief of army in the field	1830
Commandant observation corps	1831
Major-general	1832
Commander-in-chief of Army	1835
Commissaris of Government, west coast Sumatra	1837
Capture of Bondjol	1837
Lieutenant-general	1843
Pensioned and thanked by Government for his lengthy and valuable services	1847
Order M.W., 1822. Honourably mentioned in des- patches, 22nd November, 1828. Java medal, 1831. Commander M.W.O., 1838. Adjutant to King, 26th February, 1841.	

Uncle of Frederic Cochius, employee of Messrs. Macneill Co., Samarang, Java, 1889—1902, and later Head of Messrs. Dunlop and Kolff, Batavia, Java, 1902—1909.

ALBERT HENDRIK WENDELIN DE KOCK, born at

Sourabaya, 20th March	1808
2nd lieutenant and adjutant commander-in-chief	1824
1st lieutenant	1828
Adjutant of Governor-General	1830
Java war	1825—1830
Captain	1832
Sumatra west coast	1833
To Holland	1836
Returns to Java	1838
Chief of staff, Sumatra west coast	1838
Major by staff	1838
Lieutenant-Colonel and military commandant of Palembang whilst acting Resident	1841
Resident of Bezoekie and Commissioner for Bali	1848
Second expedition, Bali	1848

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ALBERT HENDRIK WENDELIN DE KOCK—*continued.*

Resident of Jogjakarta 1848
 Java medal, 1831. Orders M.W.O., 1834.
 Netherlands Lion, 1847. Star of "Eikenkroon," 1856.

ETIENNE JOSEPH WAGENER, born at Luxemburg 1790
 Soldier by 108th Regiment infantry 1808
 Corporal 1809
 Fourier 1809
 Sergeant 1810
 2nd lieutenant 1812
 1st lieutenant 1813
 Wounded at Waterloo in left arm 1815
 Transferred to army in Java 1818
 Arrived Batavia 1818
 Expedition to Palembang 1821
 Died at Buitenzorg 1828

JOHAN GEORG OTTO STUART VON SCHMIDT AUF ALTEN-
 STADT, born Siut Oedenrode, 5th May 1806

Military School, Samarang 1820
 2nd lieutenant 1823
 Java war 1825—1830
 1st lieutenant 1829
 Adjutant to Governor-General 1832
 Acting assistant Resident of Keboemen 1833
 Definitely appointed Resident of Keboemen 1837
 Resident of Bagelen 1842—1849
 Java medal.

LEONARD PETRUS JOSEPH DU BUS DE GISIGNIES, born

1st March in Castle Dottignies in East Flanders 1780
 Major of Doorink, by forced appointment from
 Napoleon 1813
 Member of Second House of Parliament 1819—1820
 Governor of Antwerp 1820
 Governor of South Brabant 1823
 King William I. sent him as commissary-general
 to *Java*, where he remained during whole war,
 being strongly against redoubt system 1825

In the front porch of the Roman Catholic cathedral at Weltwreden a memorial stone has been placed in memoriam to van du Bus as the man who established the first poor house at Batavia.

The following is the reading on the stone :—

D. O. M.

Et Piae Memoriae.

Praenobilis viri LEONARDI PETRI JOSEPHI VICECOMITIS
DU BUS, Domini De Gisignies D in Belleghem, Heyl-
Broeck, Oostmalle, Sawangen, etc.

In Patriis Finibus Statuum Generalium, secundae
camarae Legati Deinde Praesidio Provinciae Ant-
verpiae exinde Brabantiae meridionalis Guber-
natoris.

Qui Anno M. Dccc. XXV.

Domi quinque per annos Summam administrarat
Rerum. Has suis sub auspiciis per annos exstrui
Christo Deo Curavit Aedes, Memorque ut esset
Gratae Hoc in imperio commemorationis.

Fundum sawangan Javanen sem in Praedia sua merito
adscriptset Post navatam Feliciter Rempublicam

In Patria Redux.

Maximo ordinis Leonis Begici insigni ornatus supremum
obiit diem anno M. Dccc. XLIX. die XXXI M. A. 11.

Dominio suo in Oostmalle prope Antverpnam requiescit.

GEORGE GARDNER, born in London, 5th December .	1790
2nd lieutenant, Paris, 9th August	1814
2nd lieutenant dragoons, 5th April	1815
1st lieutenant, 18th April	1820
Attached East Indies Cavalry, 25th May	1824
Embarked, 7th October	1824
Died at Mergaloejoe, 1st July	1827
Fought in Germany	1813
Fought in France	1814
Fought at Waterloo	1815

Order M.W.O.

JOHANNES NICOLAAS DE GROOT, born at Amsterdam, 26th October	1796
Soldier, 27th August	1817
Arrived at Batavia, 28th August	1818
21st Battalion infantry, 1st September	1818



PANGERAN HARIO POERSANAGORO. (COLONEL-COMMANDANT OF THE
ARMY OF THE SUSUHUNAN OF SOLO.)

JOHANNES NICOLAAS DE GROOT—*continued.*

Corporal, 11th April	1819
Fourier, 6th April	1823
Sergeant-major, 11th October	1827
2nd lieutenant, 8th August	1828
Pensioned, 18th April	1836
Fought at Cheribon	1818—1820
Fought at Banca	1821—1822
Fought in Java	1828—1830

Java medal.

A great number of de Groots still reside in Java, many being in Government employ.

JOHAN ALPHONSE VICTOR DE STURLER, born at Thiel,

15th September	1804
2nd lieutenant hussars, 19th April	1826
1st lieutenant, 4th December	1830
Adjutant to Governor-General, 14th May	1833
Captain, 31st July	1833
Died at Buitenzorg, 5th July	1836

Java medal.

BENJAMIN BISCHOFF, born at 's Gravenhage, 22nd

September	1787
Cadet marines, 3rd October	1801
2nd lieutenant army, 26th March	1805
1st lieutenant on General Daendel's staff, 17th February	1807
Captain of dragoons, Java, 16th May	1808
Lieutenant-Colonel, 24th June	1809
Arrived in Java, March	1816
Colonel 5th Regiment, 1st January	1817
Inspector of army, East India, 20th July	1818
Governor of Macassar, 14th December	1824
Major-general and commander-in-chief of army, 11th September	1828
Arrived at Batavia, 13th May	1829
Died at Tanjore, 7th July	1829

At the Cape of Good Hope, 1802 to 1806, when taken by the English, he returned to Holland. He fought here against the English in General Janssen's corps.

THOMAS JACKSON, born at Geldersheim, 20th

September	1797
Cadet, 6th June	1814
Corporal, 21st July	1815

THOMAS JACKSON—*continued.*

2nd lieutenant, 16th August	1817
Transferred to East Indies; arrived there in March	1829
Placed by 18th Division, 11th April	1829
1st lieutenant, 28th August	1829
Captain, 26th January	1834
Major, 5th October	1839
Pensioned in Java, 8th March	1842
Fought in France	1815
Java war	1829—1830

JONKHEER JAN HERMAN VAN DER WYCK, born at

Zutphen, 1st February	1797
Cadet, 1st February	1814
2nd lieutenant with engineers, 7th May	1814
Adjutant to commandant in field, H. J. van der Wyck, 4th May	1815
Arrived Batavia, 14th May	1816
Captain, 17th December	1817
At Storming of Palembang, June	1819
At Banca affair	1820
At Palembang	1821
Major, 9th January	1825
At Boni affair	1825
Java war	1825—1830
Lieutenant-colonel, 17th July	1828
Colonel, 29th January	1834
Major-general, 29th June	1842
Commander-in-chief of Indian army, 17th Decem- ber	1847
Commanded at expedition to Bali	1848
Resigned, 2nd February	1849
Thanked by H.M. the King for valuable services. Orders, M.W.O., Netherlands Lion. Adjutant to H.M. the King. Java Medal. Frequently mentioned in despatches.	

His sons, who all distinguished themselves, were Jonkheers Carel Herman Aart van der Wyck, Governor-General of Netherlands India, 1893—1899; Otto van der Wyck, Vice-President of Council; Ivan der Wyck, commander-in-chief Netherlands Indian Army; H. L. van der Wyck, the well-known sugar planter.

The son of the Governor-General is H. C. van der Wyck, and lives in Jogjokarta. He was born at Solo whilst his father was Resident there. He began life in Government service in Holland,

but left this to become superintendent of the numerous tobacco and sugar estates the family own in Java, viz., Klattensche Culture Company, Wedi Birit Company, Lanvoe Company, Delangoe Sugar Company, Japara Sugar Company, and Poendoeng sugar estate.

There was also Jonkheer J. C. W. D. A. van der Wyck, at Tasik Malaja, 1810.

JAN BAPTIST CLEERENS, born at Antwerp, 27th August	1785
Employed with army in Spain, administration department, 8th November	1808
Returned to Holland	1814
Placed in service at Brussels with mobile army .	1815
Waterloo	1815
Employed at headquarters under Marshal Blücher in charge of commissariat of Prussian army .	1815
Arrived at Batavia, 30th August	1817
Lieutenant-Colonel, A.D.C. to Governor-General, 26th April	1821
Commandant at Buitenzorg, 20th June	1821
Java war	1825—1830
Chief of the staff	1831
Returned to Holland	1831
Formed a corps called "Jagers van Cleerens," 18th November	1831
Returned to Java	1835
Commandant of Sumatra west coast, 26th February	1836
Pensioned, 31st October	1837
Chamberlain to H.M. the King, 1815. Orders, M.W.O., 1828, Netherlands Lion, 1831, Java medal, Metal cross.	

DIEDRICH BORNEMAN, born in Hanover, 25th June .	1794
Hanover Hussars, 3rd April	1813
Cornet, 8th September	1813
1st lieutenant, 12th December	1813
Field operations in Germany, Brabant, and France	1813—1814
Arrived at Batavia, 26th April	1816
With cavalry	[blank]
With Bengal Lancers at Cheribon, 1st April, and mentioned in despatches	1818
Commandant of corps of Mounted Infantry Volunteers of Englishmen formed at Samarang, 27th August	1825

DIEDRICH BORNEMAN—*continued.*

Sounded retreat for Englishmen to retire at Demák, but seven of them killed, 4th September	1823
Java war	1825—1830
Died at Samarang and buried on Gregardji Hill, 24th July	1833
Order M.W.O.	

ANDREAS VICTOR MICHIELS, born at Maastricht, 30th

April	1797
2nd lieutenant in French service	1814
2nd lieutenant in Dutch service	1814
Field operations, France	1814
1st lieutenant, 22nd May	1815
Waterloo	1815
Arrived at Batavia, 3rd July	1817
Captain, 19th August	1818
Cheribon affair, van Palimanan	1818
Major, 8th May	1827
Java war	1825—1830
Sumatra west coast	1831—1832
Lieutenant-colonel, 17th May	1832
Expedition to Krawang	1832
Expedition to Djambi	1833
Commandant, Sumatra west coast	1837
Promoted colonel for capture of Bondjol, 3rd October	1837
Civil and military governor, Sumatra west coast, 29th October	1837
Major-General, 14th September	1843
Field operations, Sumatra west coast	1844—1845
Commander-in-chief of army of Netherlands India till arrival of Lieutenant-General the Duke Bernhard van Saksen Weimar Eisenach, 20th February	1849
Died from wounds in leg, received at Kasoemba Bali, 25th May	1849
Orders: M.W.O., 1828; Netherlands Lion, 1832.	
Adjutant G.G. Honourably mentioned in despatches for Sumatra, 8th May, 1832, and Padang, 1841. Java medal. Adjutant to H.M. the King.	

LIST OF OFFICERS WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES NOT OTHERWISE MENTIONED (1825—1830).

P. la Bordes	J. A. Hoorn	H. M. de Kock
H. E. A. Carteret	A. F. Kilian	G. A. van Leeuwen

LIST OF OFFICERS—*continued.*

A. V. Michiels	J. A. van der Spek	F. A. L. Jackson
J. W. J. Mossel	J. Moreau	J. Vermeer
J. A. Phitzinger	— Wolf	A. V. Michiels
B. Sollewyn	H. J. J. Engelbert	H. M. Lange
J. B. Theunissen	Van Beevervoode	L. N. Blondeau
C. F. Willich	K. Rietveld	— Collard
J. P. de Montaign	H. de Bruin	— Engelberts
J. J. A de Brabant	J. Wentzel	C. F. Heine
P. H. Barends	P. van Dyk	T. de Jager
J. T. A. van der Busch	S. P. du Moulin	T. Lucassen
H. V. van Ingen	J. P. Keyser	F. C. Nauman
W. Meulenhoff	J. de Gelder	K. C. Severyn
L. van Meyer	A. Paardekoper	Taetsoon Amerangan
C. de Munck	F. Martin	— Vogel
F. Beaufort	J. A. Rombout	Van der Tak
F. C. J. van Swieten	J. W. Muller	Van der Veen
	— Zaalberg	J. Le Bronde Vexela

NOTE.—These lists were compiled from Major Louw's "History of the Java War."

NOTE V.—SARAWAK.

James Brooke was born at Benares on the 29th April, 1803, where his father was a servant of the English East India Company. In 1815 he was sent to England for his education, but was back in India in 1819 as lieutenant in the army, and took part in the Burmah war of 1825, when he was wounded. In 1835 on his father's death he began his cruises in the Eastern Archipelago.

The area of Sarawak is about 50,000 square miles, with a seaboard of about 400 miles, and a population of some half a million. Sago is its staple product. Pepper, gambier, tea and coffee are also grown. The soil seems to be particularly adapted to rubber. Land is almost free to the natives, so they are continually increasing the area under cultivation. Pineapples and other fruits flourish exceedingly, and gold, silver, antimony and coal are worked successfully and exported in fair quantities. Sarawak is a great country for woods, some of them being durable and hard. Oil is being obtained daily, and is available for shipping.

The population, like all the trading centres in these seas, is a mixed one. Its industries are many. It makes its own clothes and weapons, the latter being often inlaid and of beautiful design. The natives build their own boats, which can carry

crews of up to eighty men. They rarely if ever suffer for want of food. They grow rice, maize, and other crops, and work jungle products, such as gutta. Cultivation and trade have increased. The revenue and trade reports are steadily progressing.

In 1890 the revenue was \$413,113 ; in 1911 it was \$420,420.

In 1890 the expenditure was \$362,779 ; in 1911 it was \$1,341,761.

In 1896 the imports were £227,000 ; in 1911 they were over £1,000,000.

In 1896 the exports were £242,000 ; in 1911 they were over £1,300,000.

There is no public debt.

Sarawak and British North Borneo have an immense future before them. A larger permanent, or semi-permanent, European population, as in Java, is, however, still required. The importation of the natives in considerable numbers into the latter country should be a matter for consideration by the Council.

CHAPTER XI

THE TOWNS IN JAVA AND THE NEIGHBOURING LANDS, WITH A NOTE ON THE BATAVIA AND PREANGER LANDS

BATAVIA—BEFORE THE COMING OF THE DUTCH CALLED JACATRA.

The first English at Batavia.—The Englishman Sir Henry Middleton paid a flying visit to Jacatra in 1604, which was followed by a more formal call by William Keeling, of Cocos Keeling fame, on the 8th January, 1609. This, according to J. Hageman in his “*De Engelschen of Java*,” was the first time the English flag was shown here. Keeling appears to have been well received by the Sultan, to whom he sold some gunpowder, after which he left on the 10th January. A year later David Middleton, the second of the three fearless brothers who spent their lives in Eastern Seas on behalf of the Company, visited Jacatra. A factory was now established here in order that a trade might be opened with the inhabitants. It was quite a humble building, being built of bamboo, with a thatched roof.¹

The Dutch came to Jacatra the year following, and also built a factory and their first small fort.²

There was a long struggle for supremacy at Jacatra between the English and the Dutch, and as at Bantam, so here, continual quarrels, everlasting bickerings, much jealousy, and even bloody fights occurred. The English, however, managed to hold their own, although with some

¹ I have seen it said that it was situated near where the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank now stands near the bridge of Passer Pisang.

² It is said that this was built on the plain where now stands the premises at present occupied by the British firm of John Pryce & Co.

difficulty, until 1616, when the Dutch burnt their factory. This, of course, ruined the English prestige in the eyes of the natives, and, owing to their inability to punish this act by reprisals, their position was never hereafter the same and the factory gradually languished.

In 1619 the Dutch called their fort "Batavia," and herewith opened a new era.

In 1677, by one of those famous treaties of theirs with the Emperor of Java, they secured the monopoly for all trade at Jacatra, and this gave the English Company their death-blow.¹

In the chapter on "Travellers' Tales" (XII.) mention is made from time to time of Batavia; and the descriptions given by Commodore Roggewein in 1722 and Captain Cook in 1770 are so very complete that we may pass to the nineteenth century, to Batavia as it was found by Lord Minto on his arrival here with Raffles in 1811. We learn from this account a great deal about the Chinese, who were enormously rich, and owned nearly the whole of the western suburbs of Batavia. Every house was a shop; the streets were invariably crowded, exhibiting a constant scene of noise and bustle. When it was known that Java had been captured by the English, the Chinese increased their numbers immediately by five thousand adventurers, who arrived in junks. The Chinese inhabitants gave great feasts now and then, and many Europeans took part in these festivities, enjoying the sumptuous tables, which were filled with every luxury procurable. We are told that the Dutch girls were fair, but had a sickly languor about their countenances, and that at home they dressed in a sarong and a loose, flowing gown called a "cabaya," their black hair being plastered back and ornamented with diamond pins, combs, and strong-scented flowers.

After the arrival, however, of the English officers these

¹ See the Chronological Tables at the end of this section.



PANGERAN ADIPATI SOERIODILOGO PRINS PAKOE-ALIM VII.

same young ladies mixed much in their society, adopting the fashionable habiliment of the English officers' wives.

The state of society has been described as very different to what it was in Europe and British India. At a Dutch party, for instance, it was the custom for the men to assemble in one room and there to smoke and drink, whilst the lady of the house entertained her female friends in another room with betel, spices, and coffee. The gentlemen also assembled at a meeting place called the "Society," where they smoked, drank, and played cards or billiards every evening from 7 till 9 o'clock, when they returned home for a hot dinner. For the use of the "Society" an elegant building was completed in the time of Raffles at the corner of Ryswick, which was inscribed over the front entrance with the large letters "DE HARMONIE." Convivial parties were frequently given amongst the higher classes, the guests being entertained with "sprightly dances and elegant suppers." Balls at "De Harmonie" and Government House were also given now and again. Lord Minto describes one of them at the latter as follows:—

"Of the ball at Batavia Government House, it is impossible to give you anything like an adequate notion of the total absence of beauty in so crowded a hall. There never is a dozen of women assembled in Europe without a few attractions amongst them. Here there was no difference, except in some varieties of ugliness or ordinariness of dress and manners. The Dutch did not encourage nor indeed allow freely European women to go out to their colonies. The consequence has been that the men lived with native women, whose daughters, gradually borrowing something from the father's side, are now the wives and ladies of rank in Java. The young ladies have learnt the European fashions of dress, and their carriage and manners are something like our own of an ordinary class.

"In dancing, the young beauties seemed lame in English country dances, but in their own dance, which was to a very slow valse tune, the figure much the same as ours with a valse embrace instead of an allemande, they were at home, and not

without grace, while our English damsels and cavaliers were all abroad. Mrs. Bunbury, the wife of an officer, a young pretty Englishwoman, stood up in the dance, but seeing when the first couple reached her the Dutch gentleman take his arms and hug her, it appeared to her as a bear does her prey, she fairly took to her heels and could not be brought back again by any means to see or share such horror."

In 1811 there were no places of public amusement in Batavia, not even a single theatre of any kind.

The houses were mostly of brick, run up in a light, airy manner with large windows. In style they were palatial, and almost all built on one plan by Chinese. A description of one is as follows. On entering the door there was a narrow passage, and on one side a parlour; then you came into a large, long room, lighted from an inner court. This was called the "gallery," and was the place where the family ate. The floors were of large, square, dark red stones; the walls were plastered and whitewashed. The furniture consisted of armchairs, two or three *bale-bales* (sofas), and many looking-glasses. Several chandeliers for candles and some small lamps for cocoanut oil along the length of the gallery, and a few bric-a-brac from China, almost completed the inventory. The crockery was all kept in the dining gallery in cupboards especially made for the purpose. The colour of the furniture was all black.

There were stairs leading to the upper rooms. Six or seven stairs up was a room which stood over the storeroom, or cellar, where the stock of wine, beer, butter, etc., was kept. The bedrooms were poorly furnished, and contained only absolute necessities.¹ At the backs of the houses were long corridors of small rooms running down each side of the compound; in these were the kitchens, bathrooms, stables for horses, and the quarter for the slaves. Some of the windows in the houses were closed with lattice work of rattans, instead of being glazed, for the sake of air.

¹ The less there was, the less trouble there was with mosquitoes.

The city of Batavia or Jacatra, and especially that portion now called "Kali Besar," was in 1811 practically deserted, most of the business houses having their offices in Molenoliet or in Ryswick; before, however, the British left most of the firms had hired or bought the old dwelling-houses round about "Kali Besar" and turned them into offices, finding it more convenient to be nearer the wharves. Thus we see the old Governor-General's palace, which in the seventeenth century was used as a country house, being nowadays used as offices by the Borneo Company, Messrs. Burt, Myrtle & Co., Messrs. Campbell, Macoll & Co., and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, besides one or two Dutch firms. The official palace at the time this fine building was used as a country house was down at the end of the "Oude Boom" (Old Wharf), a little to the right of where now stands a small earthen fort, used as a powder magazine. The fortifications round about the "Oude Boom" and the great wall, which surrounded the old town, were mostly pulled down, just before the arrival of the British, by General Daendels, which improved the health of the old city very much owing to the freer circulation of air.

Churches Old and New.—The great church of Batavia, described by Cook, and built in 1760, to the west of the present town house, as also two other very old churches, were likewise pulled down at this time owing to their foundations giving way. There was still a Lutheran church¹ near the old castle, where the Protestant community attended divine service. The old Portuguese church which still stands at the corner of the Jacatra road, built in 1695, was, however, also frequented by Portuguese Christians; and to this day some of the old Portuguese descendants, with sadly mingled blood and scarcely recognisable as Europeans at all, attend here in long black coats on Sunday. Before the arrival of the Dutch and English at the beginning

¹ Pulled down about 1830.

of the seventeenth century another church stood where this one now is, and the Portuguese pastor preached in Malay, while trying in his spare time to drum into the Javan "Christians" (or such as he so called) a mixture of bastard Portuguese which was thought suitable to them; and there can be no doubt, from the number of Portuguese words for articles and things of general employ in daily use by the Malay servants, that the Javans were very apt pupils. The first very old church was, however, burnt down in 1628, and the Dutch preacher Dr. Molineus, who preached in Portuguese once in fourteen days, was then obliged to do this in a bamboo shed. In 1652 the Dutch pastor had thirteen teachers under him preaching the religion of Christ to the natives, who proved willing proselytes. These teachers in time, if they could pass their examinations, became preachers in the church to the Europeans, and one of these thirteen above mentioned became a local celebrity at that time, despite the fact that he did not pass his examinations. This was the Bandanees Cornelis Seenen, who, buying a piece of ground covered with forest on the river Tji Li Woeng, cleared it and made a garden round the house he built. This he called "Meester Cornelis garden," and the long road cut up to it was called "Seenen"; here the natives later held a weekly *pasar* or market.¹ Where the old Java Bank was built in 1828 stood in 1695 a large hospital, and near by appears to have been another small church for the sick, called the Hospital Church. When this church was pulled down there is nothing to show, but it probably occurred between 1812 and 1825. At the opening of the Portuguese church in 1695 the Governor-General and his lady, with his council and their wives, attended the service, and the Dominie Jacobus preached in Portuguese, taking as his text Psalm lxxxiv., verses 2 and 3. The church, we

¹ In 1706 there was a buffalo market with a few stalls at Cornelis. In 1735 Pasar Senen and Tanah-bang were official market places.

learn, was full. When the first organ was placed in the church is not clear, but the present one was presented by the daughter of the then well-known Portuguese preacher, Johan Maurits Mohr, in 1782, "as the old organ had given out." Up till the year 1800 all Europeans of note were buried round this church, but after that date at Tanah-bang cemetery. Governor-General Swardecroon was buried here on the 16th August, 1728.¹ In 1713 there were four thousand Portuguese who "on and off" attended the services, whilst in 1749 the numbers reached five thousand. After this, however, they fell off, until in 1766 there were not more than sixty-two.

The present-day Europeans of the upper class attend the cathedral which stands on the King's Plain at Weltevreden; but the English have a small church at Parapattau, where an English service is held every Sunday. This church was built about 1845.² The first chaplain to the British community was Mr. Drummond, a man who was highly esteemed by both the Dutch and English, being highly gifted. In those days half the expenses of the church and chaplain were borne by the British Government, but when Mr. Gladstone brought in his great retrenchment bill this payment ceased, and the British community, a comparatively small one, had to look after itself.

Castle of Batavia.—The old Castle of Batavia in 1811 is described as spacious; it contained a number of buildings and extensive warehouses, in the construction of which prodigious labour and expense must have been incurred. Some of these warehouses still exist.

Old Hospital.—The hospital between Newport and Diestpoort, and nearly all the public buildings of old Batavia, in the towns, in Great River Street (Kali Besar), as also on the

¹ His fine tombstone may still be seen.

² John Leith Bonhote and Donald Maclaine had a great deal to do with its erection.

Jacatra wharf (not to be confused with Oude Boom, or Old Wharf, on the Great River), not being required by the British Government, they were sold, being built up mostly by merchants. It is thus that the business houses of the present generation happen to be the buildings formerly occupied as dwelling-houses by the Dutch in the days of old Batavia.

Environs of Batavia, 1811.—In the early days of the nineteenth century there were two principal roads leading to the environs and Weltevreden; the one on the east was and still is called the Jacatra road,¹ and the other to the west through Molenoliet was called “Milldrain,” because part of the water of the Great or Jacatra river was diverted into a channel along this road for the purpose of turning a powder-mill. This road led on to Ryswick, and from there to Tanah-bang. The Jacatra road eventually led into a district called Goenoeng Sari. On it is still to be seen the grave of the first captain Chinaman at Batavia, So Bing Kong, who was buried in 1631, and near it are several other Chinese graves certainly as old, if not older. It is at Goenoeng Sari where the old fort of Jacatra stood. Every evening in 1811, between 5 and 7 o'clock, these main roads were filled with carriages and riders.

The printing office was at Molenoliet, and a Masonic lodge within the precincts of Jacatra, so also the old “Harmonie Society” in Newpoort Street.

Governor-General's Palace.—Just before the present Governor's palace in Noordwyck was built his Excellency's residency was in Molenoliet (the tram passes it daily), and before this it was at Goenoeng Sari. In the vestibule of the palace at Molenoliet there were busts of all the Governor-Generals, including even Lord Minto's. Raffles, however, sent all these to grace the Government House at Calcutta.

Barracks.—At Ryswick there were good barracks, as also on the road to Cornelis at Pasar Senen.

¹ The Jacatra road must be nearly 300 years old.

Present-day Batavia.—Batavia at the present day is a magnificently built city, comparing more than well with any town in the East. Its dwelling-houses, its macadamised roads, its institutions and its clubs (“*Harmonie*” and “*Concordia*” are the two principal) are second to none; while its theatres, shops, public gardens, and social recreation clubs are equal to those found anywhere in the East. The present principal theatre was built about 1875.¹

There is a Race Club, started by the English in 1812, a Society of Arts and Sciences, a museum, and a tram service (electric and steam) all over the town and its environs.

The Dutch are to strangers an agreeable people, with none of the faults so frequently and unjustly attributed to them in Europe; and it is the fact that all the Englishmen in these countries marry into the high Dutch families instead of marrying their own countrywomen.

The first Resident here during the British period was Thomas Macquoid, of whom more will be related in the “*Commercial*” chapter. His chief assistant was a Dutchman, van Heerdt.²

As a relic of the English period, there is, just behind the Dutch post office at Weltevreden, the grave-stone of a distinguished officer who fell at the battle of Meester Cornelis in 1811. The inscription reads:—

Here lie the remains of

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM CAMPBELL

of His Britannic Majesty’s 78th Regiment

who died on the

28th August, 1811

of wounds received on the 26th of the month, while bravely leading on his Regiment to attack the strongly fortified Lines of Cornelis defended by a gallant enemy.

To him who living was beloved by all for his

¹ W. T. Fraser was chiefly responsible for its erection.

² Reference should be made to the lists of British Residents in Java from 1812 to 1816 (see Appendix).

gentle manners, and his many virtues—who in Death received the applause of his country. To him the Companion of many happy years and the father of her children, this frail memorial of imperishable regard is erected by his afflicted widow.

Another relic is found on a window above one of the back doors of the Borneo Company's office at Batavia (which, as said, was once the Governor-General's country palace in the days of the old East India Company). An inscription here reads :—

GEO. CUNNINGHAM
 May 4, 1798
 was robbed of the *Oreon*
 of Boston.

From this it would appear that George Cunningham, the master of a ship called the *Oreon*, of Boston, and on the 4th May a prisoner, had for some reason or another had his ship taken away from him by the Dutch East India Company and been punished by imprisonment in the Governor-General's palace.

List of the presidents of the English East India Company's factory at Jacatra, or Batavia, as far as can be elicited from old records :—

- 1604. Sir Henry Middleton.
- 1609. William Keeling.
- 1610. David Middleton (Hill, salesman).
- 1615—1619. John Jordan, or Jordayne¹ (president).
- 1619. John Powell, President (Ufflet, salesman).
- 1620—1625. Thomas Brockedon,^{2,3} president (Henry Hawley, John Goning, Joseph Cockram, members of council; Richard Haselwood, secretary; George Bray Hill, Hanson, Heyns, salesmen).

¹ Left Jacatra for Bantam, 26th January, 1619.

² Left Batavia for Bantam *en route* for Europe, 10th February, 1625.

³ In July, 1622, the ship *Abigail*, belonging to the English East India Company, sailed from London for Bantam and Jacatra. On board was an invoice marked "Contents of a Chest of Chirurgery for Jacatra House laden upon the *Abigail*." Of this, Sir G. Birdwood says, "A very interesting list of *Materia Medica*." The English had always their own chirurgeon, not trusting the Dutch one, who, however, was probably the cleverer of the two.

1625—1628. Henry Hawley^{1 2 3} president (Joseph Cockram, Richard Bicks, George Muschamps,⁴ members of council ; Thomas Robinson, secretary ; Richard Steele, John Short, John Cartwright, salesmen).

1628—1630. George Muschamps, president (Richard Bicks, Richard Steele, members of council ; Thomas Robinson, secretary).

1630—1632. Thomas Burt,⁵ president (Barnaby,⁶ Richard Steele, members of council ; Christopher Fleming,⁶ secretary and salesman).

¹ Took over charge on Monday, the 10th February, 1625.

² Shortly after his appointment as president, Henry Hawley addressed the following letter to the Dutch Governor-General :—

“ To the Right Worshipful, my muche respected and worthie vriend Pieter de Carpentier Generall.

“ These derected :

“ Sir—If yew wilbe pleased to accept this small remembrance (as from a honourable imploiers) it shal be the acknowledgment of your kind relievinge us at Lagundy receivinge us in Batavia, at all times to oblige us in the lyke bandes of cortesies, not to fayle God Willinge.

“ Youre vere loving friend,

“ Batavia, the 11th June.

“ HENRY HAWLEY.

“ Anno 1625.”

³ The English presidents as early as 1625 waited upon the Dutch Governor-General over every incident and trifle, as is incontrovertibly proved by the records, thus showing that they acknowledged the Dutch sovereignty over the country, which the latter claimed in 1619. The Dutch Governor-General appears to have treated them with “businesslike” courtesy and civility.

⁴ For some time governor at the English factory at Amboyna.

⁵ From 1632 until 1677 it would appear that although the English East India Company had a factory at Batavia, it was under the control of the Company’s factory at Batavia and no longer independent. This factory at Batavia was looked after by one or two English salesmen, the senior of whom held the title amongst themselves of agent. This agent had goods sent to him from time to time as required from Batavia, but owing to the competition from the Dutch, their monopolies, and the “gentle pressure” of sovereignty, well veiled, which they exerted, his indents grew less and less, so that it was really no great loss to the Company when it was forced to close its doors here in 1677.

There do not appear to have been any presidents after T. Burt, only salesmen from Bantam. A certain Englishman called Captain Gairman established himself at Bantam (after having failed to do so at Batavia) as a merchant in 1648. Later he moved, however, again to Batavia and sold goods for the English East India Company. At this time another Englishman, Thomas Pinston, settled at Macassar and took charge of the English factory there.

⁶ These two men were sent in 1634 to the English factory at

SOURABAYA.

Sourabaya was peopled by a few families of Javans at a very early date, although the principal places at this end of the island were until, comparatively speaking, a recent date Grissee and Yortan.¹

By Europeans the place was never apparently thought much of, and in consequence it was not until late in the eighteenth century that they went to live there. There was never a Dutch governor here, as at Samarang, nor ever a president, until quite late, but the chief man in the place held the rank of "senior merchant" (opper koopman), and the title of commander of the eastern district. In these days the only export was rice.

No Englishmen were residing at Sourabaya before 1811, when one of the British regiments was stationed there. English vessels, however, under English commanders now and again during the eighteenth century called in for water. In 1796 a fairly strong military force was kept here, which was commanded by Major Carol von Franquemont, a German who arrived in Java in 1796, and a member of one of those foreign families who became a few years later quite a factor in Java, owning estates and business houses, and even assisting the British Government in various offices. Mention will be specially made of this family later on. The troops under von Franquemont were one hundred Europeans and a company of the old Wurtemberg Regiment, besides six companies of Maduran infantry and two of Maduran artillery, under the command of European officers or of Europeans born in Sourabaya. There was a military hospital for one hundred and fifty sick, but "Surabaye," as Jamby, Fleming becoming president there before the year was out. In 1632 whilst at Batavia Fleming complained to the Dutch Governor-General of having been beaten and hurt by Barnaby. The latter, when questioned, promised to comport himself better in future, so he was let off with a caution.

¹ Yortan was the Chinese name for a town on the river Brantas, near where Bangil now is.

it was then called, was a "very healthy spot, with a dry climate, so that the hospital was never full."

The town was, and still is, cut in two by the river Caliemas (Kali Mas, or River of Gold). The banks were full of villages, inhabited two-thirds by Malays and the remainder by Chinese. The soldiers were quartered in a brick fort containing a small arsenal,¹ and there were batteries at the mouth of the river, which was generally full of coasters, vessels drawing ten to twelve feet and carrying rice. English and Spanish vessels from Europe, bound for Canton and the Philippines, during the west monsoon invariably called here in those days to refresh, procuring all they required except vegetables, which had to be got from "Passourouang." The native products included candlesticks, plates and goblets, made from a hard stone procurable in the mountains; combs and brushes of buffalo's horn were also made.

Three and a half miles from Sourabaya, on the left bank of the river, was a saltpetre house, owned by a Chinaman and built at a cost of 15,000 rix dollars; the Government, however, made him close it, and he sold it for 600. The godowns or warehouses of this establishment were the refuge of hundreds of thousands of bats, whose manure realised a good sum yearly to the purchaser. The Europeans used to keep large barges or houseboats, splendidly fitted up, and in these made frequent trips to Grissee and Madura. An account of one such boat is as follows:—

"A cabin occupied the whole length, except that at either end, where space was left for the master and some rowers, and a small sail to hoist when the weather permitted. The cabin was very well furnished; the seats, which went all round, were covered with good cushions; a table up the middle, with small lockers for provisions; and, lastly, latticed casements with silk curtains

¹ It still exists.

completed the floating saloon. From Sourabaya to Grisee the journey was easily performed in five hours."

When the English arrived here in 1811 we learn that the fort at the mouth of the river was called "Fort Calamaas" and mounted forty guns, and that the barracks in the town of Sourabaya, built of bamboo, plastered over and white-washed, were capable of accommodating eight hundred men. Not far away there was a powerful fort on the island of Madura, called "Lodewyck," and Daendels seriously thought at one time of making a bamboo bridge or a way across. The town when Daendels came made considerable headway. Vessels were built and equipped; an arsenal and other extensive works were soon turning out guns and carriages, and a mint issued a new silver and copper coinage.

Daendels started building a Government House here on the same model as at Weltevreden, but owing to the foundations of the front giving way the building was abandoned; but that part which stood firm was turned by the English into warehouses.

The Europeans were on one side of the river, the Chinese and natives on the other. A bridge with draw-chains to raise it for the passage of vessels connected the two quarters. The European houses were very good and roomy, and some in the suburbs—the country seats of private individuals—quite handsome. The house at Simpang, where the first British Resident, Colonel Gibbs, of His Majesty's 78th Regiment, resided, was a rather fine building. It was situated on the banks of the river.¹ Near to it, also on the banks of the river, was the general hospital, built on a very liberal plan. At this time there was no hospital in Java more commodious than this one, and, seeing it is still in use, the true foresight is seen of building well once for all.

The roads and avenues round about Sourabaya, as

¹ It is still in use as the Resident's house.

described by one of the English officers, were at this time delightful, being shaded by trees on both sides; and mention is made that the De Noyo cantonment was the quarters of the military in the eastern division. In 1812 the land rental of Sourabaya exceeded that of any of the other districts, for without reckoning the valuation of lands provisionally assigned to native chiefs, which roughly amounted to 73,302 rupees, the landed revenue under the British Government was stated to be 667,178 rupees; while salt brought in 50,000 rupees, opium 100,000 rupees, and town customs 50,000 rupees—making a grand total of 867,178 rupees.

It was not, however, until 1813 that the export and mercantile business of the place took such proportions as to attract English merchants. The first to come here were two Englishmen, who at the beginning merely kept small stores. This will, however, all be related in the “Commercial” chapter. The first cemetery at Sourabaya was at a place called Krambangan, but since 1848 at Penellay (Peneleli).

Opposite to the British Resident's house was the old village of Tagassan, within a few yards of which place was a huge figure called Djaka Dolok¹, seated cross-legged. One is naturally led at once to believe it to represent some Buddhist deity, although the natives to this day insist that it is the effigy of a Chinaman who suffered death for offending one of the first Dutch commandants. This, however, must be wrong, for a close examination proves its Hindu origin.

It was placed where it now is in A.D. 1289, and is the life-like effigy of the Hindu ruler of this district at that date, called Kerta Nagara.

The tale of cruelty alluded to by the natives is of more recent date; it is worth relating.

The road from early days running before the Resident's

¹ Still there.

house was called Cobang (now Goebeng), and that which branches off it went by the name of Simpang. All this country and land around once belonged to a very rich Chinaman, who resided in the middle of his park with his family, in a house luxuriously fitted up in Chinese style. The Dutch commandant at this time was a man called Chojius.¹ Deciding that this park would be the most desirable place for a residency and hospital, he sent word to the Chinaman that he was prepared to make a considerable offer for the land as the Government wanted it. The Chinaman, however, replied that as he intended to live there during his lifetime, and after his death to leave it to his children, he would not part with it for any money.

Chojius now sent for the Chinaman and, explaining the situation, warned him of the consequences. The Chinaman, however, proved obdurate, and Chojius, at last becoming irritated, drew from his pocket two cents and threw them on the table, saying, "There! as you will not take what I have offered you and refuse to name a price, in the name of the Dutch Government I give you a coban [*goebeng*] and I will simpang [*simpang*, the Malay word which means keep] your estates." Mortified and overwhelmed, the Chinaman withdrew. It was the custom in those days when the "senior merchant" or commandant went out for a ride or drive that the native population sat down on the side of the road (this was an old Hindu custom when the emperor passed); the day when Chojius was passing the Chinaman whose estates had been taken away from him refused to bend down, saying, quivering with rage when told to do so, that the commandant would have to kill him first before he would do it. "Very well," said Chojius when he heard this, and ordering the man to be seized, he had him beheaded next morning. Such is the tale of how the sunbunds of

¹ I have not been able to find this name, but it may have been what he was called by the Chinese.

Simpang and Goebeng came by their name. At a very early date the hotel, or "heeren logement" as the Dutch called it, was that which is now known as the Hôtel des Indes. It was considered a spacious building at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Sourabaya is now the most thriving town in Java, being one of the centres of the sugar trade, and its export and import trade has reached huge figures, as a reference to the statistics will show. The restaurants, shops, and emporiums vie with those of the capital; one of the principal shops is an English one known as "Hendersons."

There is also a splendid new club, which has replaced the old one called the Simpang Club.

There is an old theatre that was built in 1851.¹ A town clock, erected by the British, headed by their vice-consul, Mr. Warren, to commemorate the Queen of Holland's coronation, stands as a prominent monument in the middle of the town. A tramway runs through the town. There are tennis, golf, cricket and football clubs, which are well patronised by both the Dutch and English; and for social gaiety there is no town in Java equal to it.

Sourabaya is still expanding, and will go on expanding for a long time yet to come.

In the old cemetery at Krambangan there is a stone to the memory of Captain Edward Masquerier, of the "Country Service," who died during the English period on the 30th April, 1814, at the age of 42.

EUROPEAN SENIORS, CAPTAINS OR RESIDENTS OF SOURABAYA, 1660—1912.

1. DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PERIOD.

1660. Willem Bastinck, senior merchant.²

1680. Johannes van Mechelen, senior merchant, appointed 19th January.

¹ Donald McLachlan and Thomas Bonhote were chiefly interested in its erection.

² Before this the Resident of Sourabaya lived at Japara. On the 9th

1683. Abraham Holscher, junior merchants, appointed 7th September; discharged in 1685 by Jeremias van Vliet when he inspected the Sourabaya Settlement.

1685. On the 19th October the "Raad of India" considered the question of transferring the headquarters of the Company from Sourabaya to Grissee.

1686. Joan Struis.

1687. Jan Barvelt, captain-lieutenant.

1690. Joan de Moor, captain.

1691. Jan Barvelt, captain.

1692. Michiel Ram, captain; went 27th March, 1693, to Japara.

1698. Anthony Zas, captain-lieutenant, appointed 26th August.

1700. Pieter Hogerlinde, captain, appointed 12th November; until he arrived Lieutenant Oelof Christiaanz was acting there.

1704. William Sergeant, captain, appointed 30th September.

1709. W. Boreel, captain, appointed 6th September.

1710. Jan van Westrenen, captain head of Sourabaya, appointed 14th October.

1716. Stephanus van der Lely, lieutenant, appointed captain 25th February, 1716; captain-lieutenant of Sourabaya, 30th July, 1717; captain of Sourabaya, 22nd February, 1718.

1719. Philip Vogel, captain, appointed 28th April. In 1721 Van Alsem took over charge of the civil and commercial departments, which were now for the first time separated from the military.

1721. Thomas van Alsem, merchant, appointed 22nd July, 1721, for the prevention of the Company's interests receding (under the military captain in rank).

1725. Jan Sautijn, appointed 6th March.

1728. Rykloff Duyvens, merchant, appointed 27th February.

1732. Jacob Roman, appointed 8th July.

1733. Cornelis Anthony Lons, merchant, appointed 10th July.

1735. Bartholemeus Visscher, merchant, appointed 4th October.

1739. Benjamin Blom, merchant, appointed 28th July.

1741. Vincent van Wingerden, merchant, appointed 14th July; died at Sourabaya.

1742. Reynier de Klerck, under merchant (provisional resident), appointed 30th July; on 11th November, 1743, by a treaty, the Soesvehoenan ceded Sourabaya to the East India Company under the article regarding "reconciliation," "peace," "friendship," and "alliance."

1743. Gillis Keyser, upper head, appointed 1st August; promoted 7th August to merchant.

June, 1705, the garrison at Sourabaya consisted of one hundred men. They lived in a fort.

1746. Reynier de Klerck, senior merchant, upper head of east coast, appointed 1st June, 1746; second of Java, 24th March, 1747; promoted Governor of Banda, 30th December, 1748.

1748. Dirk Willem van der Bruggen, merchant with the rank of senior merchant, upper head of Sourabaya, appointed 31st December, 1748.

1751. Meester Petrus Schik, upper head, appointed 29th June, 1751.

1754. Christiaan Benjamin Rhener, major, later senior merchant, captain of Sourabaya, appointed 13th September.

1755. Abraham Christoffel Coertz, upper head, appointed 27th June, 1755; received the title of "Senior merchant, captain of the east coast," 2nd September, 1756.

1763. Hendrik Breton, captain of the east coast and Second of the Government of Java's north-east coast, appointed 1st February.

1765. Meester Johan Everhard Coop a Groen, senior merchant, captain of the east coast, appointed 30th July.

1769. Meester Pieter Lusac, upper head of Sourabaya, captain of the east coast, appointed 15th September.

1775. Rudolph Florentinus van der Niepoort, senior merchant, captain of the east coast, appointed 15th December; discharged at his own request, 20th April, 1784.

1784. Barend Willem Fockens, captain of Java's north-east coast, appointed 20th April; died at Sourabaya.

1784. Anthony Barkey, senior merchant, captain of the east coast, appointed 18th June.

1794. Dirk van Hogendorp, senior merchant, captain of the east coast, appointed 12th February.

1798. Wonter Hendrik van Ysseldyk, commissioner over Java east coast, appointed 1st January.

2. JAVA A CROWN COLONY OF HOLLAND.

1799. Frederik Jacob Rothen-buhler, senior merchant, captain of the east coast, appointed 6th September.

1809. Ridder J. A. van Middelkoop, captain, later prefect and landrost of Java east coast, appointed 18th April.

1810. Petrus Adrianus Goldbach, landrost, appointed — September.

3. ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF JAVA.

1811. Colonel Gibbs, Resident.

1812. Colonel Alexander Adams, His Majesty's 78th Regiment, appointed Resident 25th July.

1814. John Crawford,¹ Resident of Sourabaya and Bangkalan, appointed 27th October.

1815. William Ainslie,² Resident of Sourabaya and Bangkalan, appointed 19th August.

4. JAVA AGAIN A CROWN COLONY OF HOLLAND.

1816. Pieter Overbeeck and Carel Rauws, appointed commissioners to take over the Government of Sourabaya from the English.

1816. Philip Herbert, Baron van Lawick van Pabst, acting Resident.

1817. Jonkheer Adriaan Maurits Theodorus, Baron de Salis, Resident, appointed 12th November.

1822. P. van der Poel, Resident, appointed in March.

1824. Meester Bernard Hendrik Alexander Besier, Resident, appointed in January.

1827(?). Henry MacGillavry, Resident.

1827. B. W. Pinket van Hask, Resident, appointed in September.

1830. Jonkheer Adriaan Maurits Theodorus, Baron de Salis, acting President, appointed 8th April.

1831. Hendrik Jacob Domis, Resident, appointed 5th March.

1834. Carel Jan Riesz, major-general, acting Resident, appointed January.

1839. Meester Daniel Francois Willem Pietermaart,³ Resident, appointed 9th March, 1839 ; died at Sourabaya, 30th November, 1848.

1848. Pierre Jean Baptiste de Perez, Resident, appointed 8th December.

1852(?). H. F. Buschkens, acting Resident.

1853. Gerardus Cornelis Schonck, acting Resident, appointed 5th January.

1853. Pieter Vreede Bik, Resident, appointed 4th April.

1857. Jean Jacques Modderman, acting Resident, appointed 1st December, 23rd March, 1858.

1858. Jonkheer Meester Herman Constantyn van der Wyck, Resident, appointed 4th February.

1860. Otto van Rees, Resident, appointed 14th May.

1864. Carel Philip Conrad Steinmetz, Resident, appointed 18th March.

1865. Henri Maximiliaan Andree Wiltens, Resident, appointed 28th December.

¹ Formerly Resident of Djockja Karta, later Governor of Singapore.

² Brother of Dr. Ainslie, Resident of Djockja Karta, 1815.

³ Grandfather of A. K. W. Prins, a partner of Maclaime, Watson & Co., and later head of the firm of Prins & Co., brokers, Samarang.

1868. Salomon van Deventer, Resident, appointed 20th April.
1873. Philip Willem Abraham van Spall, Resident, appointed 3rd August.

1876. Frederick Beyerinck, Resident, appointed 11th December.

1884. Jonkheer Carel Herman Aart van der Wyck, Resident, appointed 29th May.

1888. Johan Cornelis Theodorus Kroesen, Resident, appointed 18th May.

1896. Hendrik Willem van Ravenswaay, Resident, appointed 20th July.

1901. L. C. A. F. Lange, Resident, appointed 16th September.

1905. R. H. Ebbinck, Resident, appointed 11th August.

1908—1912. J. Einthoven, Resident, appointed 29th May.

SAMARANG.

By an act or deed dated the 15th January, 1678, between the Sultan of Mataram and the Dutch Admiral Speelman the town of Samarang, together with all its neighbouring villages and land, became the property of the East India Company. From 1743 until the end of the Company's rule this was the capital of Java's north coast, and from 1754 the seat of a Governor. The first Governor was that splendid statesman Nicolaas Hartingh, and the last was Nicolaas Engelhard, who was such friends with the English and who was later on the " Raad van Indië " (Viceroy's Council), and still later owner of the estate " Poudok Gedeh." In 1816 Samarang was reduced to a Residency, after having already been lowered in importance a few years before the great Daendels.

Formerly the town of Japara was the capital of this part of the island—a town which was inhabited in all probability by Hindus two thousand years ago. The earliest mention we have of Samarang is in 1719, when it appears to have consisted of a small fort with a very insignificant number of Europeans in it, and, outside, a few Chinese dealers.

Of this fort and its garrison all we know is that the former had five sides, whilst the latter probably did not consist of

above thirty or forty men. In 1741, however, Samarang had risen in importance, and when the war of 1746, known as the third Java War of Succession, broke out it had done so still more. Nicolaas Hartingh was known as the " Director and Governor of Java's North Coast," with headquarters at Samarang ; he came and arranged matters when the war was ended and split (1754) the empire of Mataram in two, thus weakening it to the advantage of the Dutch.

In these days Samarang was considered the most lucrative port for the Company's servants, and the Governor, Nicolaas Hartingh, in 1754, although " he never did any business outside what he was entitled to ! " left to his children more than £100,000 sterling, one third of which he had made while in Samarang.¹ It was one of Hartingh's successors that kept up such tremendous style at Bodjong in 1787 and onwards.

By this time a wall had been built round Samarang, and all the Europeans lived inside ; only the Governor lived outside in a large house, which was built in Boeijang about 1770 or earlier. Boeijang, we are told, was more than half an hour from the town ; here a company of dragoons was stationed which turned out in full dress spick and span every morning at 7 a.m., and stood at attention in the blazing sun until his Excellency had the goodness to come out in his pyjamas and thank the officer in command and give his orders for the day. If the Governor visited Samarang the dragoons followed him as a " life guard," and on entering the town he was received with a salute of twenty-one guns, a similar honour being paid him when departing. His sumptuous dinners and balls to the " fifty qualified rank and fashion " of Samarang in those days are worthy of a book to themselves. Everything this gentleman did was carried out in a style far exceeding that ever assumed by any European emperor or king ; a good deal of this show, however, was required by the East India Company on

¹ See Chapter XX., " The Commercial History of Java."

account of the Governor's relations with the important Javan princes, upon whom it was very necessary to impress the great dignity of the Governor. In these early days the chief export was rice and cotton-yarn. The principal village then was Torabaya.

The old wall, bits of which can be still seen here and there, began at Tawang, where the Government warehouses still stand. Taking these all in and sweeping with a curve up to Comedy Street (Comedie Straat), it ran down this in a line from where the town hospital (Stadsverband) and theatre are now situated, opposite a long line of very old buildings still standing, which were the quarters of the British officers and their wives in 1811. The wall continued in a straight line, cutting through the place occupied by the Samarang-Joana Steam Tram Company for a godown. Here another sweep was taken to the right, and it continued in a straight line until it came to the river, then turning again sharp off to the right until it reached the warehouses at Tawang, thus completing the square. There were four openings of portways—one was at Tawang (this would lead down to the sea), one at each end of the Heeren Straat, and one at the end of the Kerk Straat (Church Street). The part facing the sea was destroyed in 1809, the other three parts in 1824.

Where the old church stood is not quite clear; it has been described, however, as "a small but fine church." At the end of the eighteenth century the fashionable meeting-place seems to have been Paradeplein. An old cemetery was near where the office of Messrs. Mirandolle, Vonte & Co. now stands, and one still older near the Weduwen Straat. The centre of the town in early days was round about the Paradeplein, and the breath of air to be here found must have been welcome to the English officers in their cramped houses with a high wall immediately opposite them preventing any circulation of air.

Where now the Hotel Jansen stands¹ are some old walled-in military buildings carrying the date 1775. Here there formerly stood a special gallows for the soldiers, who appear to have been of a particularly low class, as executions and strangulations were of almost daily occurrence in those days. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the "society" or club was in a building occupied now by Barendse, who uses it for a "garage" and a shop in which to keep motor cars.

In 1811, when the English took possession of Samarang, Captain Robert Garnham, the first British Resident, took up his abode in the magnificent palace which was immediately built in the place of the old one at the very end of Bodjong. The first old Government house, formerly the residence of the Governor, from about 1720 was near to and faced the river. It was planted with shady trees and railed round ; inside were several fine apartments, furnished in European style. It must have stood where the gasworks now are. We are told that the town had a neat appearance, with a number of good houses ; it has also a fine, large church, built in 1794, a new town house (in Paradeplein), and a variety of other buildings, both elegant and commodious, not only within, but also without the city. There was also a military school.² The English found that the "Dutch here showed a pleasing sociability of disposition and hilarity of behaviour which compared favourably with the gloomy indolence of the Batavian families." The principal families lived in Tawang, but in the environs (that is Bodjong way) there were numerous villas.

The Chinese and native population was already considerable. Under the new system of ground rental brought into use by Raffles the territorial revenue for Samarang in 1814 was 508,830 rupees, exclusive of land assessments provi-

¹ One of the best hotels in Mid Java.

² I believe the building which is now used as the hospital.

sionally assigned to native chiefs. The salt revenue was 200,000, opium 24,080, and the town duties 200,000, making a total of 1,032,910 rupees.

At the present day Samarang is a thriving town with an increasing European population of eight thousand and nearly twenty thousand Chinese, Arabs, and other varieties. The present Government offices were built in 1854, the building in use previously to this having been burnt down—it is said on purpose—by some clerk to hide a deficiency in the cash. On the hill below Djomblang some old Armenian graves are to be seen, and in the Gegadjie Hills is the old private cemetery of the families of Cranmer and Bornemann, who were buried here early in the eighteenth century. There are five pyramids ; one is to Lieutenant C. G. H. Bornemann, the hero of the Demak fight in 1825, related in the last chapter. On the road leading to Kendal is the private graveyard of the Johannes family, an American family of high standing, who came to Java at the time of the English and did a large merchant's business at Samarang.

There is a very good club at Samarang called the "Harmonie," built in 1909, some excellent shops (Meyer Hillerstrom, Zikel Spiegel, etc.), and a restaurant or two (Sambers Hoogvelt, etc.). There are two large churches, Protestant and Roman Catholic, a handsome club or canteen for non-commissioned officers, two or three good hotels, the principal being called "Jansen's" and "Pavilion," and a Protestant orphanage. This about completes the list of important buildings. A tramway service runs through the town into the suburbs, and the town is served, like every other town in Java of any importance, with a local telephone, as also a long land line communicating with Sourabaya, Batavia, and other ports in Java. There is a race club here, originally formed in 1826, but after a number of years of inactivity re-formed and reconstituted in 1908.

All the British community, and some of the principal

Dutch families, live at a place called Tjandi, a hill 300 feet above Samarang. Here are some excellent golf, cricket, hockey, and football clubs; there is also a social club here called the Tjandi Club.

The town of Samarang is increasing in importance.

On the Resident's staff at Samarang in 1813 were Lieutenant Cotes, who later on, in 1821, became a part owner of the estate of "Getas" with Gillian Maclaine, of Maclaine, Watson & Co.; there was also a J. A. Doormick, detached to Japara and Joana for the collection of customs, whose name is still known to the present day in Middle Java.

Later on Alexander London,¹ of the frigate *Huzzar*, worked in the custom house at Samarang as a senior clerk, and eventually became collector.

A relic of the part is the old fort called "Prince Orange," still existing at Pontjol, near the race-course.

In the old cemetery at Samarang on the Padaplein there were formerly the following grave-stones of well-known Englishmen who died during the English period:—

Lieutenant J. H. Aspinwall, quartermaster of the 4th Bengal Battalion; died on the 11th July, 1814.

Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, His Majesty's Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Forces of Java; died on the 7th March, 1815.

Of later date there is one to James Crawford,² a partner in Deans, Scott & Co. (and brother to John Crawford, the Resident of Djockjakarta and elsewhere, and later Governor of Singapore), who died on the 22nd July, 1820. The grave-stones have now all been removed.³

The register containing these deaths was burnt in the fire at the Resident's office in 1850. There are also graves as follows:—

Very old grave, English style; name indelible: Javans say an Englishman buried here.

¹ See material to be hereafter published.

² His history will be given in material to be published later.

³ No one knows where they are!

Very old grave, English style ; name indelible : Javans say an Englishman buried here.

Grabschryft
 Hier ruhed in Gott
 CLARA LOUISIA HOFF
 Geborne om Friede,
 aus Vagingen an der
 Ens geburthig.
 Gebohrenden 19 Jany., 1764.
 Gestorbernden 26 July, 1817
 hi der Ehe gelebt
 28 Jahren.

Grabschrift
 Hier ruhet in
 Gote Den Heer
 JOHANN JACOB HOFF
 im leben Chirugien
 Major von het Regiment
 von Wurtemberg Stads
 docter und Geburtshelper
 auf Samarang Gebohren zie.
 Gelnhaussen au der Kuntz
 anno 1762 den 28 April.
 Gestooben den 15 Mei 1831.

Hier Rust
 Onze geliefde Vaden
 C. G. REMEUS.
 Geboren 6 October 1830.
 Overleden 10 Januari 1877.

Hier Rust
 LAURENS NAGEL
 geboren 22 October 1883.
 Overleden 10 September 1904.
 Ambtenaar N. I. S.

(Old cemetery at Seteran, in Samarang ; in use in the time of the English occupation of Java.)

Hier Rust
 AUGUSTINA ELISABETH CRAMER
 Weduwe van Wylen
 C. G. H. D. Bornemann :
 geb. 1 Mei 1802.
 Overleden 18 July 1856.

Hier Rust
 CARL FRIEDRICH CRAMER :
 geboren den 28 October 1769 ;
 gestowen den 23 January 1824.
 Denkt aan hem, met
 een aan U.

Hier Rust
 ANNA RUISENAAR
 weduwe van Wylen
 Carl Friedrich Cramer :
 geb 10 April 1784.
 Overleden 25 Mei 1856.

Gewyd
 aan den nagedachtenis
 van myn geliejden broeder
 H. P. Ch. HUYGEN DE RAAT :
 geb te 's Gravenhage 19 Mei 1822 ;
 overleden to Samarang 9 Januari 1843.

Hier Rust
 JOHAN FRIEDRICH BORNEMANN :
 geb te Hanover 27 October 1804 ;
 overleden to Samarang 25 Mei 1856.

Old private burial ground at Gegadjie Hill, Samarang.
 The tombs are in the form of pyramids.

Hier Rust
 JOHANNA PETRONELLA
 VAN SON :
 oude ruim 4 jaren ;
 gestorven Mei 1836.

(Old grave of a daughter of Resident van Son behind
 Sir Stamford Raffles's old palace at Bodjong,
 Samarang.)

ENGLISH GRAVE-STONES IN THE SAMARANG CEMETERY.

Grave-stone of the English Time still Standing.

1. Sacred to the memory of GEORGE HOFLAND, Esqr., Captain
 of the Country Service ; departed this life 2nd December, 1818,
 aged 54 years.

Grave-stones since the English Time.

2. Sacred to the memory of JOSEPH BREMNER, who departed
 this life on the 14th May, 1830.

3. A la mémoire du capitaine d'artillerie JEAN JOSEPH ESSERS,
 né à Raadheim Limbourg le 2 Février, 1794 ; décède à Oenarang
 le 19 Avril, 1855. Sa femme et ses enfants, reconnaissants.

4. Sacred to the memory of JAMES CRAWFORD GRAY, born
 Sept. 6th, 1835 ; died Nov. 27th, 1865.

5. In memory of ELIZA SYMONS, born in London 25th January,
 1803 ; died at Samarang 17th December, 1872. " O thou my
 God save the servant, that trusted in thee."

6. Sacred to the memory of MARY ANNIE, infant daughter
 of GEORGE and ANNIE HENDERSON, who departed this life
 May 23rd, 1874.

7. Sacred to the memory of ROBERT, the beloved son of JAMES
 B. and MARY T. CLARK, born at Batavia on the 17th January,
 1875 ; died at Samarang on the 23rd August, 1876.

8. RICHARD HUTCHINSON, born January 3rd, 1842 ; died
 January 10th, 1876.

9. Sacred to the memory of CAPTAIN SALOMON NICKERSON, of
 bark " Olustee," born September, 1813 ; died November 21st,
 1877 ; native of Chatham, Mass., U.S. America.

10. Sacred to the memory of HENRY CHARLES DOWNIE, born
 9th Feb., 1847 ; died 25th Jan., 1886.

11. Sacred to the memory of JANE YOUNG SMAIL, aged 28 years,
 beloved wife of CAPTAIN WILLIAM SMITH, of the British ship

“Firth of Clyde,” who departed this life 13th August, 1887, on the passage between Batavia and Samarang. Deeply regretted.

12. In loving memory of WILLIAM BARLOW, died 12th August, 1893, at Samarang, aged 65 years. Not lost but gone before.

13. In loving memory of JAMES MUNRO RYRRELL, R.N.R., Commander B. I. S. N. Co., who died on board his steamer, the “Satara,” at Samarang, September 29th, 1908, aged 44 years. Deeply regretted. Erected by his brother and sisters.

14. In memory of ERNEST CRAWFORD SMITH, late third engineer A. S. N. Co. s.s. “Pasha”; died September 6th, 1910, aged 24 years. Erected by his brother officers.

EUROPEAN SENIORS, CAPTAINS, RESIDENTS, OR GOVERNORS OF SAMARANG, 1708—1911.

I. DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PERIOD.

- 1708. Willem Drost, merchant.
- 1709. Pieter Metz, senior merchant.
- 1714. Kornelis Jongbloed, senior merchant.
- 1715. Georg Frederik Beilivits, senior merchant.
- 1715. Gaspar de Hartog, senior merchant.
- 1717¹—1721. Johan Frederik Gobius, captain-general.
- 1717—1719. Pieter Wybers, merchant.
- 1722. Jacob Willem Dubbeldekop, captain-general.
- 1725—1726. Pieter Gysbert Noodt, captain-general.
- 1726. Willem Tersmitten, captain.
- 1730. Frederik Julius Coyett, captain-general.
- 1733. Ryklof Duyvensz, captain-general.
- 1737. Nicolras Crul, captain-general.
- 1739. Bartholomeus Vissner, captain-general.
- 1741. Abraham Roos.
- 1741—1744. Hugo Veryssel, commissioner.
- 1742—1744. Joan Herman Theling, captain-general.
- 1744. Elso Sterrenberg, captain-general.
- 1747. Joan Andries Baron von Hohendorff, Governor (captain-general, 1747; Governor and Director, 1748).
- 1754. Nicolaas Hartingh, Governor.
- 1761. Willem Hendrik van Offenberch, Governor.
- 1765. Johannes Vos, Governor.
- 1771. Johannes Robbert van der Burgh, Governor.
- 1780. Johannes Siberg, Governor.
- 1787. Jan Greeve, Governor.
- 1791. Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten, Governor.
- 1796. Johan Fredrik, Baron van Reede tot de Parkeler, Governor.

¹ This year until 1719 the power was divided.

2. JAVA A CROWN COLONY OF HOLLAND.

- 1803. Nicolaas Engelhard, Governor.
- 1809. Veekens, acting Resident.
- 1810. P. A. Goldbach, Resident.
- 1811. J. H. Middel Koop, Resident.

3. ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF JAVA.

- 1812. Captain R. C. Garnham, Resident.
- 1813. Colonel John Eales, Resident.
- 1814. William Ainslie, Resident and Magistrate.
- 1815. John Crawford, Resident and Magistrate.

4. JAVA AGAIN A CROWN COLONY OF HOLLAND.

- 1816. H. A. Parve, Appointed Commissioner to take over the Government of Samarang from the English.
- 1816. J. de Bruin, Resident.
- 1819. M. N. Servatius, Resident.
- 1822. H. J. Dormis, Resident.
- 1826. P. H. Lawick van Pabst, Resident.
- 1830. P. le Clercq, Resident.
- 1834. H. J. van Son, Resident.
- 1838. G. L. Band, Resident.
- 1842. Mr. J. F. M. van Nes, Resident.
- 1842. Jonkheer J. W. H. Smissaert, Resident.
- 1846. A. A. Buylkes, Resident.
- 1850. H. D. Potter, Resident.
- 1857. Mr. D. C. A. Graaf van Hogendorp, Resident.
- 1862. Jonkheer Ch. van Capellen, Resident.
- 1864. A. A. M. N. Keuchenius, Resident.
- 1868. J. C. de Kock van Leeuwen, Resident.
- 1868. F. H. A. van de Poel, Resident.
- 1873. N. D. Lammers van Toorenborg, Resident.
- 1875. G. M. N. van der Kaa, Resident.
- 1877. N. H. van der Hell, Resident.
- 1881. P. F. Wegener, Resident.
- 1884. T. M. van Vloten, Resident.
- 1885. P. F. Wegener, Resident.
- 1897. P. F. Sythoff, Resident.
- 1905. H. C. A. G. de Vogel, Resident.

KENDAL.

Kendal is the so-called capital or head place of the western division of the Residency of Samarang.

Round here are no less than three sugar fabricks and fifty-

two coffee, kina cocoa, or kopak estates,¹ while there are also rice, polowidjo, tobacco, and tea estates near.

In ancient days the Hindus had an establishment not far from here, and during the old East India Company's time it was always a place of fair importance, being on the main road.

Marshal Daendels seems to have owned land in this part of Java in 1810, which his family retained down to 1840.

CHERIBON.

This port only came to be known after Demak had become Mahometanised in 1477, and a "Sultan" of Cheribon, a representative of the Sultan of Demak, came and settled here. It is of course quite possible, and even probable, that there was a small *kampong* or village here before this dating from the Hindu period, as Cheribon was always on the way from the Preanger to the Samarang and Japara districts, which we know were peopled at a very early date. Under the standard and protection of the sultan, however, the place made headway and the population increased rapidly.

The Dutch settled here in 1676 and built a fort. This the English seized in 1811. Cheribon had by this time become quite an important place, exporting rice, sugar, coffee, pepper, cotton-yarn, edible birds' nests, etc. The splendour, however, of its former sovereigns had already vanished. It is true a sultan still ruled as a sort of honorary distinction, but the Dutch had deprived him of all power and taken away all his possessions, merely giving him a pension.

The English after their conquest concluded an arrangement with the sultan, who consented to the internal administration of the country being exercised by the British Government in consideration of his being secured in possession of

¹ Nearly all of which at one time belonged wholly or partly to the English firm of McNeill & Co.

certain tracts of land belonging to his ancestors, with a continuation of the annual pension in money which he had previously enjoyed. Accordingly the capitation tax was abolished and a land rent introduced, calculated according to the produce of the soil in lieu of all arbitrary contributions formerly delivered to Government.

The feudal services of the inhabitants were now abolished, and the British Government agreed to pay an equitable price for the produce of the land or the labours of the people when they were required for public service.

Under this arrangement the territorial revenues of Cheribon, including the duties on salt, opium and the town customs, are given for 1814 as being 255,306 rupees, exclusive of the lands provisionally assigned to native chiefs, the value of which amounted to 34,270 rupees. As a matter of fact, when the English arrived there were four Arab-Javans at Cheribon calling themselves "sultan," whose ancestors at one time they said held all the country to the east as far as Samarang and far into the interior to the south and west to Bandoeng. Their claims even included Buitenzorg (the seat of the old empire of Pajajaran).

At the present day the town is of considerable importance, doing a large business in sugar, which is shipped off for the most part by Van Putten & Co., which firm does a large business at Tegal and Pekalongan; also Burt, Myrtle & Co. have an agency here under their own name, but with this exception all the merchant houses here are Dutch.

The ancient mosque and mausoleum erected to Sheik Melana still exists, although it is sadly decayed.¹

Cheribon, Tegal, and Pekalongan are joined, not only to one another, but also to Samarang by rail.

From Cheribon to Samarang is eleven hours.

During the British occupation the first Resident here was Lieutenant-Colonel W. Raban.

¹ An account of it is given elsewhere.

COPY OF DEED OF ASSIGNMENT ISSUED BY SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES
TO THE SULTAN OF CHERIBON.

“Deed of Assignment to Sultan ^{Anom} Suppoo Moohummed
Kummorood Deen and his heirs.
Shemsood

“Whereas by an agreement between Sultan ^{Anom} Suppoo of Cheribon and the Government of Java in the month of July, 1813 His Highness the said Sultan did voluntarily transfer the immediate management of the Revenue and Judicial Administration of that country (as recorded in the Proceedings of Government in the Separate and Revenue Departments in July 1813 Copy of which is deposited in the office of the Resident of Cheribon) for and in consideration of an annual fixed payment in money and the assignment of certain Lands of which the said Sultan should enjoy the Revenues. This is to certify that the said Sultan ^{Anom} Suppoo and his heirs are duly entitled to receive on this account the annual sum of eight thousand rupees payable from the Revenues of the said District of Cheribon and further to enjoy the Revenues of the land assigned to him (as per Schedule here-unto annexed) so long as the arrangement then and therein agreed to shall continue to be maintained by the Government of Java.

“THOS. RAFFLES.

“M. NIGHTINGALE.

“W. J. CRANSEN.

“By order of the Honble.
Lieutenant-Governor in
Council.

“C. ASSEY (Sec. to Govt.)

“Council Chamber, Batavia, the 21st April, 1815.

“Assessed value of Lands per annum as per schedule

Rs. $\frac{10096-29}{9710-14}$

“THOS. RAFFLES.”

LEGAL.

When the English arrived this town, which went under the name of “Taggal,” was of little importance. There was a Resident and a few of the old Company’s servants, who received into the Company’s warehouse the produce delivered

under forced contract with the local *pangeran* or prince. There were no military. A big *kampong* had, however, risen at the foot of the mountain there, and a considerable number of Chinamen, as elsewhere, had established themselves here. Even, however, in those days there was a small church, and, although there were no military, a fort, which still stands, was there to retreat to in case of any rising by the natives.

The town was described as of neat appearance, the Resident's house being a handsome building and very commodious.¹ Tegal was always a very fertile land, and was looked upon as the granary for Batavia and the eastern islands.

The net land rental when the new arrangement made by Raffles came into force is given for the year 1814 as 245,653 rupees.

Since those days Tegal has grown, and the town is to-day a busy and thriving one, the sugar shipped off reaching large figures.

In 1811 the first British Resident was Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Keasberry, the forerunner in Java of a well-known family which later on had a great deal of influence in Pasoeroean.²

There is at Tegal a stone to the memory of this Resident, who died whilst in office on the 29th April, 1814.

PEKALONGAN.

Pekalongan, or as it was called at the time of the English "Paccalongang," is 282 miles from Batavia and of comparatively recent growth.

In 1810 there was a Dutch Resident here, and a numerous native and Chinese population, but not many Dutch families. In earlier days Pekalongan was governed by a

¹ It still stands just outside the fort.

² A descendant is at this day in the firm of Fraser, Eaton & Co., Sourabaya.



KANDJENG PANGARAN HARIO ADI SOERIO.
(SON OF THE SULTAN BY A SECONDARY WIFE.)



GOESTI PANGARAN HARIO TEDJO KOE-
SOEMO. (SON OF THE SULTAN AND
THE RATU.)



KANDJENG PANGARAN ARIO SOERIO DI
NIGRAT. (SON OF THE SULTAN.)



KANDJENG PANGARAN PAHOE NINGRAT.
(SON OF THE SULTAN BY A SECONDARY WIFE.)

“ junior merchant ” (onder koopman), and produced rice and sugar. The great military road constructed by Daendels with forced labour ran through Cheribon, Tegal and Pekalongan, and near Batang. In the last-named province a large number of natives are said to have perished whilst making the road through the wild marshy forest. Daendels insisted on its being carried through in a given time, and is even said to have proceeded to the spot to hang the regent if it was not ready.

Near Kendal is the river Bodri, which Daendels was able to cross in his carriage, there not being much water in it ; he, however, sent for the regent and threatened him with dire consequences if there was not a bridge for him to cross over on his return journey. The story goes that the regent, being unable to carry this out, ordered several hundred natives into the river when Daendels returned, and on their heads placed broad and long planks, exhibiting a large even surface of woodwork ; across this in his carriage and four Daendels is said to have driven. The revenue in 1814 was 346,176 rupees. To-day Pekalongan is a fair-sized town, with a large sugar export.

The first British Resident in 1811 was Mr. J. C. Lawrence.

JAPARA.

Japara is a place of great antiquity, having been inhabited about two thousand years ago. It was the principal outlet for the first and earliest empire of Mataram.¹ It was also one of the first Dutch and English establishments in the Eastern Seas.

At the time of Raffles the town and the fort were on the west side of the peninsula ; and there was an old Moorish stone temple with some beautiful sculptures of images and shrubs at least four hundred years old. The Chinese

¹ Mendang Kamulan.

inhabitants here in 1811 were numerous, but the town has declined, being to-day of no importance whatever.

Governor Hartingh visited this place about 1790, sending his dragoons (mentioned under the heading of "Samarang") ahead of him to cheer him on his arrival. He left Samarang at midnight, the forts saluting him with one hundred and one guns and all the musketeers letting off their muskets as he embarked. Something, however, occurred to prevent his sailing, so he returned to his palace at Bodjong next morning, again to a salute of one hundred and one guns and musket fire, and attended by all the high authorities and qualified ladies and gentlemen, etc. The following day he found he could go after all, and once more re-embarked after much hand-shaking from the said high authorities, etc., and the same salute of one hundred and one guns and musket fire.

SRONDOL (SERONDEL).

At the present day a small village between Samarang and Oenarang goes by the name of Sron dol. When the English were in the island, however, Serondel was a rather important place, being the headquarters of the 78th Regiment under Major D. Forbes. As there were eight hundred men in this regiment it seemed that the camp, which was defended with seven cannon, must have been a considerable one.

There are seven guns lying at Serondel on the right-hand side of the main road, a very little distance past the village, which some say are the same.

The house in which Major Forbes, who was "commandant of Serondel," lived is also still standing, but is in a dilapidated condition. It is on the left-hand side of the main road when travelling from Samarang, and until recently was used as a country house by a merchant and shopkeeper of Samarang called Akoewan.

The country was described by an English officer who had

been at Serondel as "delightful, populous and well cultivated, yielding provisions, vegetables and supplies of all kind, cheap and in great abundance."

OENARANG.

- [This is merely a small inland town with a fort built in 1746, and called "De Outmoeting" because it was the meeting place of the Governor-General van Imluff and the Emperor Paku Buvana II. It is on the main road to the native capitals of Soeracarta and Djockjacarta¹; a company of the 78th Regiment was stationed there in the English time. The country all round is pleasing and very healthy, the town having been in fact chosen as a suitable spot for a military hospital. It is also a spot chosen by several wealthy brokers from Samarang (which is only about fifteen miles distant) in which to build country villas; these are called villas by courtesy—in actual size and form they are elegant and large pavilions.²]

There is a stone here to the memory of Captain Norman McLeod, of the 78th Regiment, who died on the 17th February, 1814, aged 27 years, while his regiment was stationed at Serondel.³

SALATIGA.

- [Salatiga⁴ was the place chosen for the next fort after Oenarang on the main road from Samarang to the courts of

¹ The fort was rebuilt and strengthened in 1786.

² Among them those of Messrs. A. K. W. Prins, Monod de Froideville, and B. Companyen are conspicuous.

³ Since writing the above I visited Serondel for the express purpose of inspecting this stone. This I found to my regret had been stolen. The place, however, where it stood was pointed out to me. It was in the garden of the family Butin Bik. When this family came to the house a year or so ago (1911) a mound was pointed out to them as the grave of an "English general." There were bones sticking out of it. These the family collected together, put into a box, and reverently sank deep into the ground, making the ground flat. They know the place, however.

⁴ A name derived from the Malay words *sallah* (a fault or crime) and

the native princes ; this fort was built in 1746. There is a fairly large Dutch garrison here nowadays, consisting of cavalry and artillery in the main. Being 1,600 feet high, the town is one of the health resorts of Middle Java ; a military hospital has therefore been erected here.] The place is known as that from which Governor-General Janssens sent his dispatch to General Samuel Auchmuty capitulating the island to the English in 1811. [The population, excluding the military force, consists of about 100 Europeans, 7,500 Javans, 1,500 Chinese, and about 50 Arabs and other Asiatics.]

In 1811 the British had stationed here the Java Light Cavalry and the Horse Artillery, the commandant being Major L. R. O'Brien.

[In 1812 the British started the Salatiga Racing Club.]

BOJOLALI.

Bojolali, or as the English called it in 1811 " Boyolallie," is another small inland town which rose into significance in 1746 when the present fort called " De Veldwachter " was built. It is on the main road to the native courts and situated in a beautiful and fertile country. Not far off is the volcano Merapi, which now and again casts forth lava. On some old lava is still to be seen the imprint of a human foot and hand, probably of some unfortunate native who was caught in a torrent during an eruption. The view from the top of this mountain is sublime, and well repays the fatigue of a troublesome journey. From here can be seen the country for many miles around, and no one who has not seen such a sight can imagine the beauty of the scene—

tiga (the numeral " three "), consequently meaning " third fault." This pretty spot came by its name from three large stones outside the village Tadjoech on a side of the mountain Merbaboe, which lie in a small river. The dates marked on these stones are 1360 and 1363 (probably the dates are of the old Java chronology), and there is a legend wherein occurs a curse by a high priest attached to them, too long, however, to relate here.

forests, villages, the towns of Soeracarta and Djockjacarta, even the solitary mountains of Cheribon and Tegal, unrolling themselves one after the other to the naked eye as it scans the landscape to the horizon.

Since 1878 this place, from a military point of view, has become of no importance whatever.

It is now connected with Soeracarta by rail, but as late as 1908 the connection was only by a disgracefully dirty and dilapidated and antiquated horse tram.

There is a good Dutch school here, and an apology for an hotel.

DEMAK.

Demak is a large and populous town, having been the capital of a kingdom that once existed of that name. There is a canal running from Samarang to this place, navigable for small vessels. It runs alongside the road, which is thus sandwiched the whole way from Samarang, between the river on the one side and the tramway on the other.

Since the time that the Prince of Demak turned Mahometan in 1477 this place has been looked upon by the natives as being more or less of a sacred city, and to visit at a certain time of the year the celebrated Missigit or temple built in 1478 by Raden Patah and rebuilt in 1845 is the desire of all the people of mid Java, and to do this seven times is supposed to be equal to a visit to Mecca.

Near the Missigit are the graves of the three well-known princes of Demak—Panembahan Djimboen, Pangeran Sabrang Lor, and Pangeran Trenggono. Of the original palace there is nothing more to be seen. Demak is connected by road with Japara on the one side and Serondel and Oenarang on the other. This road, which runs from Japara to Djockjacarta, is the oldest in the island, having existed long before the Europeans appeared.¹

¹ See below.

The road to the east passes through Koedoes and Pati, both fairly large towns. At the former very fine wood-work is cut by the natives, equal to anything to be found in British India.

JOANA.

Joana is on the same road as Demak, this being in point of fact the great military road which General Daendels was mainly instrumental in constructing in 1808.

Joana is quite a pleasant little spot, and fairly healthy. It is the shipping port of one or two sugar factories, but is otherwise of no importance, having in fact only one business house. There is a little fort here, which, however, is no longer occupied. The river on the banks of which the town has been built is here a very fine one, and fairly large vessels, once they are over the bar, can sail up it for some distance.

It is spanned by a floating bridge fixed on boats, and is sometimes very dangerous when in flood. There is a small hotel, and, as is found everywhere else in Java where there are one or two Europeans, there is a "society" or club.

During the time the English were in Java the territorial revenue of Japara and Joana was 342,902 rupees.

In the eighteenth century Joana was under the control of a "junior merchant," who looked after the export of rice, timber, indigo, and cotton-yarn which this district supplied. In these days (1750) Joana consisted of two rows of houses, built along the river. The junior merchant first lived inside the fort, but a special house was later on built for him by a man called Haack, who was sent to Joana to rebuild the fort, which was not considered strong enough. The description of this house in an old account is as follows.

The building consisted of two blocks opposite to each other connected by a lofty dome fully 25 feet in diameter, supported by four columns of the "Tuscan" order. Both

these blocks were of one storey only, and were 60 feet long and 25 feet broad within the walls. One of them formed a single hall of these dimensions, but the other was divided into three apartments: the middle one, which was 25 feet in depth and about 16 feet in breadth, was opposite to the door of the "great hall" and to the "great dome," and was fitted up as a chapel; the entrance to it was through a "handsome arch" or portico; on each side of it was a large chamber of the same size. The walls of these apartments were "beautifully stuccoed, adorned with sumptuous gilt cornices, and the roofs were concave, wainscotted, and curiously adorned with carved imagery."

Behind this pile stood a building of wood containing three "handsome rooms," and above this was "one large apartment for the unmarried female slaves, and which might therefore be called the seraglio."

In front of this building stood a large saloon built close to the river-side, with a balcony projecting towards the river; and we are told that the only inconvenience there was in sitting here was the swarms of mosquitoes which infested the place every evening.

The junior merchant used to make about 16,000 rix dollars yearly in perquisites, say £3,500. This came from over-weight in rice delivered by the native regents to the Company and from the cheap rate at which this article was purchased, not to mention what he bought up himself and resold to the natives at 100 per cent. profit. Shipbuilding was also very profitable for the junior merchant or the Resident, for the wood and labour cost him practically nothing. In 1774 a vessel was built here on the model of some Dutch vessel and was sold with a profit of 18,000 rix dollars. But a chance like this was exceptional.

There were also profits attached to the farming of the duties which accrued nominally to the farmer, a Chinaman, but these the Resident in olden days would seem to have

appropriated for himself. It was all quite legitimate and regular, as the Company's servants were expected to make all they could while "at it." A few days before the new year the regents and patéhs, and also all those who had any connection with the Company, came to make presents to the Resident, consisting of poultry, eggs, sugar, fruit, etc. The Chinese captain brought rolls of valuable silks.

On the 1st January, 1775, the usual salute of twenty-one guns was fired at sunrise from some small cannon stationed before the junior merchant's house. On this occasion a European, a strong and corpulent man, who acted as gunner, "met with a terrible accident." Just as he was passing before the muzzle of one of the guns, the priming of which had flashed without discharging the piece, it went off, and blew him six feet into the air. The loading, it appeared, had fortunately, however, been rammed down without a wad, "so that he was picked up still very much alive, and beyond being badly burnt on his arms and leg was otherwise all right."

On the 3rd January the Resident would return the call on the regent, spending the evening there in eating and drinking and watching the dancing girls.

The account of this return visit on the 3rd January, 1775, may be interesting.

The Resident, in making his visit, did so in state and was received in state to the music of the gamelans and other instruments. The regent's favourite wife, his mother, and his son joined the party and drank tea with them. In the evening after supper, the dancing girls being introduced, the regent's sons "tandacked"¹ with them. The regent's wives were not present at this, but as soon as the dancing girls had disappeared they came in.

At the present day these old customs are still adhered to in Java.

¹ Cut extravagant figures.

REMBANG.

Rembang is situated on the eastern part of the bay formed by the Japara promontory. In former days the Dutch built their principal vessels and gunboats here and maintained a fairly considerable garrison. The old fort, built originally about 1650, still exists in form, but a portion of it was demolished when the house for the Resident was built.

In olden days the sea washed the walls of the fort, but since then it has receded, the fort being now some little distance from the sea even at high tide. There is no doubt from its general appearance and the fine houses which still exist, although empty, that Rembang has seen better and greater days. Even as late as the English time, when John Davidson¹ was the first Resident, it is described as large and populous and with very good houses. It was also considered then socially a cheerful and pleasant place to live in. To-day it is one of the most miserable and doleful places in Java. Formerly it was considered very healthy; to-day it is just the reverse. The result is that everything seems out of place, the fine Resident's house and the large club appearing incongruous in what is a veritable forgotten hole.² The old church here is about two hundred years old. In 1811 a considerable quantity of sea salt was manufactured here, and the territorial revenue was 256,092 rupees. From here there is a direct road to Solo.

Rembang is one of the oldest places in Java, and is where the first Chinaman who visited Java (A.D. 413), F. A. Hien by name, landed.³

¹ See material to be hereafter published. A relation, another John Davidson, was the founder of this firm.

² Rembang has also seen two Residents who belonged to the well-known Smissaert family, Jonkheer A. H. and J. W. H.; and at the present time there is Jonkheer J. W. H. Smissaert, who is a public notary there.

³ An account of F. A. Hien is given in Chapter III.

LASSEM.

Nine miles from Rembang and 419 from Batavia we come to Lassem, which is on the main road. For fifteen hundred years Chinese have been residing in the stretch of coast land reaching from Rembang to Gressie, and to-day the population of Lassem is almost wholly Chinese. Formerly, that is to say at the beginning of the nineteenth century, small vessels from fifty to two hundred tons used to be constructed here, wood being always procurable in any quantities from the neighbouring teak forests, which then, as now, are very extensive.

Until quite recently a number of the Chinese here used to go to Sourabaya, where plenty of work was always obtainable from the Chinese furniture-makers there. Of recent years, however, they have ceased to do so, a good many of them going in for local wood-work of a particularly fine kind.

TOEBAN.

The Hindu town of Tuban, or as now it is called Toeban (called in the English time "Toubang"), is a large and populous town with an ancient mosque. Chinese have been residing here quite as long as at Lassem, but the place has never become an important one. Extensive teak forests stretch over these rocky and hilly tracts right up to Sedayoe, which is situated at the entrance of the Sourabaya harbour. Shipbuilding used formerly to be undertaken here.

Not far from Sedayoe is the Solo river, which was crossed by a ferry in the days of Raffles and the passage defended by a strong battery. This river, the largest in Java, is not only very broad, but very deep, and in the rainy season, once the bar is crossed, it is navigable for fairly large ships right up to the town of Soeracarta. The Englishman Captain Colebrooke, of the Royal Artillery, made a survey of the river in 1813, and was of opinion that the impediments

which obstructed the passage in the dry season could without much labour or expense be removed. The Dutch, however, have never much cared about improving the navigation of this river.

Toeban has been known from time immemorial as the "place of sweet waters"; and it is quite true that there are several fountains with water of a flavour not to be found anywhere else. Special mention is made of them in a Chinese work dated A.D. 1416.

GRESSIE (OR GRESIK).

Gressie during the period contemporaneous with the empire of Majapahit was already a very important place, having a large Chinese population, who sold the goods which arrived yearly from China in nine junks. When the Portuguese arrived the head of the place was a Chinaman. A want of good water and the general unhealthiness of the place may be taken to be in a great measure the chief causes of its decline; but in proportion as Gressie fell into decay so the comparatively new town of Sourabaya rose rapidly in population and prosperity. It was at Gressie that the founder of the Mahometan religion in Java (Sheik den Islam Maulana Malik Ibrahim) landed, preached, and died. His tomb is still to be seen, and is situated on the hills behind Gressie.

The first and only Resident here during the British occupation was C. van Naerssen (a Dutchman)—this was in 1814; before then he had only carried the title of "collector" under the Resident of Sourabaya.

The families of de Graaf and Lotti had considerable influence here towards the end of the eighteenth century, and on reference to the list of Dutch Residents in 1818 it will be seen that they were fairly numerous then.

In a translation of the Chinese book of Tung Hsi Yang

K'an of the year 1618 by W. Groeneveldt, the following extract regarding Gressie is interesting :—

“ Sukitan is a dependency of Java, and has many different settlements, of which Grisse is the chief place. At Grisse there is a king¹ more than a hundred years old and can predict future events. The people of this country go to Yortan² in order to trade with the Chinese. The anchorage of the Chinese ships is at Yortan, which is a flat country with a fortress built of stones. When the chief of this place goes out, he rides in a carriage drawn by four or eight horses or by oxen, and is accompanied by more than a hundred attendants, with arms and insignia of his dignity. When the natives see their king they conceal themselves; only the women fold their hands, and squat down at the side of the road; for the rest their customs are similar to those of Ha Kang [Bantam]. The neighbouring countries are Sourabaya and Yuban. In Tuban there are many robbers, and therefore the Chinese will not live there. They have there the second son of the king, whose body weighed some hundreds of catties when he was only about ten years old; he was once stolen by robbers, but they could not lift him, and now he has been made a Datu.³ Behind Yortan are the mountains Kim Ho [Tengger], which are covered with Bamboo forests and where the melati grows without cultivation. The inhabitants all go naked, and only wear a piece of paper to cover the lower part of their body; they plant beans for food, and the able-bodied amongst them are good hunters, chasing bucks, deer, apes, monkeys, which they eat, after slightly roasting them; when thirsty they drink the blood, to which they take wine made from a tree. They never come down from their mountains.

“ Grisse is subject to Java, but rules over Yortan, Sourabaya, and other countries. When our vessels [Chinese] arrive in these parts, the different dependent places all come to Yortan to trade with the Chinese, and though it is an out of the way place it still is very prosperous. Formerly the transactions were made on board the ships, but lately the number of traders having increased, they have gradually made shops on shore.”

¹ An Arab.

² A trading port on the river Brantas, near the present town of Bangil.

Ratu.

PASOEROEAN.

Pasoeroean, or as it was formerly spelt "Passarouang," is an old town dating probably back to A.D. 1294. In the Chapter (XII.) on travellers' accounts of Java we read the description given by the Portuguese traveller Mendez Pinto of the Prince of Demak attacking this town with the assistance of the Sultan of Bantam. He also tells us of the strength of the city then and the number of the population. It was, however, only in 1707 that the Dutch East India Company sent a representative here, De Wilde by name, who immediately built a fort. Even, however, in the time of the English the European population was very small, and what there was of it were mostly pensioners and half-caste families.

An English officer described Pasoeroean as a delightful place with a very healthy climate; and this is true.

The Resident's house and several other buildings were described in 1811 as quite handsome.

The Protestant church was rebuilt in 1857, and a Roman Catholic one was erected in 1895.

In the fifties and sixties the principal hotel here was "Booth's Hotel," which was kept by an Englishman and his wife, Captain and Mrs. Booth.¹

PROBOLINGO.²

Twenty-four miles from Pasoeroean is Probolingo, which was the old capital of the whole of these two Residencies and of Bezoeki. In 1812 it was administered by the British Resident Dr. David Hopkins, in 1813 by Captain R. C.

¹ Captain Booth arrived in Java in the fifties in a sailing ship, and found land employment with the well-known Etty family of Probolingo (his father had probably been in their service), but falling out with one of them he set up a hotel. He died in the nineties at a great age.

The first British Resident here was Lieutenant Henry George Jourdan in 1814; before this he had carried the title of "collector," and was under the Resident of Probolingo.

² Sometimes spelt Probolinggo.

Garnham, and in 1814 by M. D. Ainslie, when the latter went to Djockjacarta to replace Crawford. In 1815 the Resident was Mr. John Davidson, a daughter of whose married Jonkheer Smissaert, a son of M. A. P. Smissaert, who was Resident at Palembang after the departure of the English and later on at Probolingo. In 1790 the whole of the Residencies of Probolingo and Panoeroekau, under which were Pasoeroean, and Bezoekie as well, were hired to a Chinaman, who held sovereign rights of every kind over the country. In 1808, however, when Daendels arrived, he required more money, and amongst the lands he sold were the above-named to the same Chinaman for ten millions of rix dollars payable by instalments. In 1813, however, after the trouble at Probolingo, Raffles bought back all these lands; when the Chinaman, who now received the title of "major," took over the lands they were wild forests, but so hard did he turn the natives on to the soil that in ten years he cleared the purchase price and made this one of the richest provinces in Java; while such was the equity and justness of his rule in the beginning that it became also one of the most populous. Later on his lieutenants ruled more or less for him, and their conduct was altogether different.

The major Chinaman was living in great splendour when the English arrived, with a staff, pomp, and retinue fit for any Eastern emperor, and being waited upon by the highest natives with cringing servility. This person was almost as sacred as that of the Emperor of Solo. With every enjoyment that riches could afford, and with a sway over millions, the clemency, restraint, and fairness of this Chinaman was quite marvellous. He was unfortunately cut off in the prime of his life, whilst on duty in his province. The story, seeing that two valuable English officers lost their lives at the same time, is a tragical one and is worth repeating. On the 18th May, 1813, a small party consisting of Lieutenant-



KANDJENG PANGARAN HARIO SOERIO
WIDJOJO. (SON OF THE SULTAN
BY A SECONDARY WIFE.)



KANDJENG PANGARAN HARIO SOERIO
BRONTO. (SON OF THE SULTAN BY
A SECONDARY WIFE.)



GOESTI PANGARAN ARIO POEGER.
(BROTHER TO THE SULTAN. MAJOR
ON THE GENERAL STAFF.)



GOESTI PANGARAN ARIO MANGKOE
KOESOMO. (SON OF THE SULTAN.)

Colonel and Mrs. Fraser, Captains McPherson and Cameron, and Lieutenants Robertson and Cameron, of the 78th Regiment, had gone down to Probolinggo for a change of air and scene, and whilst there received a report that a band of brigands had come down from the mountains and intended robbing the town. Colonel Fraser went to the major Chinaman and proceeded with him to the scene of the trouble accompanied by all the officers above named, thinking it was merely a gang of robbers, who on a little display of force would decamp. In this, however, he was mistaken, for the ruffians, seeing the Englishmen coming on horseback, hid themselves in ambush, rushing out and surrounding them when they came up. The English officers fought desperately, firing off their pistols, and those that had them their fowling-pieces. Exhausted with fatigue, Colonel Fraser endeavoured to step into his carriage, but fell down, and Captain McPherson, being also in a weak state of health, was easily overtaken and seized and bound by the robbers. The major Chinaman was also seized, and all of them were basely murdered. The other officers succeeded in regaining the major Chinaman's quarters, and roused the inmates to defend the house (which had a large wall round it) and make a stand, but during the night the place was gradually deserted.

Mrs. Fraser was in an agonised state of mind, and, getting into a boat lying on the sea-shore with the remaining officers, stood out to sea as soon as it was daylight. They had hardly left the shore when the insurgents appeared in sight, rending the air with their shouts. The disconsolate Mrs. Fraser lay exposed to the burning sun in the open boat until they reached Pasoeroean.

As soon as the news of this catastrophe reached Sourabaya Major Forbes, with a party of the 78th Regiment, set off for Probolinggo, with his men mounted on any horses he could borrow in the town, and was joined whilst passing Pasoeroean

by Captain Cameron and the other officers. On the 21st June they fell in with the insurgents, who were marching to Pasoeroean to destroy it, the small band having now been swollen to thousands and being equipped with guns. They flew a yellow flag, which was the standard of the Emperor of Solo.

Major Forbes forced their advanced position, and then drew up his men so as to bring a cross-fire into the main body of the rebels ; while in the rear he placed a body of Diyang Secars (provincial horsemen), who were armed with swords and pistols, and a small party of irregulars (volunteers) from Pasoeroean. He now awaited an attack, and when the enemy was a few yards distant gave the orders to fire. The fire being well directed, numbers fell, which threw the enemy into confusion ; but the chief, furiously irritated and at the head of a desperate party, rushed on through the lines to the rear, where, wounded in four places, he was secured, but very shortly afterwards breathed his last. Of the robbers one hundred and fifty were killed, the rest being dispersed and the guns taken. It was a very meritorious little affair, and great credit was due to Major Forbes for his management of it.

The bodies of Colonel Fraser and Captain McPherson were found tied up in sacks, that of the latter much mangled and pierced through and through with a number of wounds. Their remains were buried with all honours in the Probolingo cemetery, where the monuments erected to their memory are still to be seen in a good state of preservation, being kept up by the thoughtful Dutch Government.

Besides the chief who fell several others were discovered, and steps were taken by the British authorities to find out the cause of this rebellion. Probolingo, it was now found, had been sacked by the insurgents.

The chief who was killed had proclaimed himself a representative of Mahomet, who was ordained to make conquests

in his name (it is always the same old story) ; the band was therefore merely one of religious fanatics.

The Chinese lieutenants here had, in consequence of their exactions as their chief grew older, always been hated by the Javans, and a new settlement of the land revenue was therefore applied to suit this particular case. The family of the deceased received compensation, while the Javans were relieved of their accumulations of debt to the Chinese, which it had always been the custom to hold over them as an incentive to work harder for the benefit of the "major."

Naturally this system led to a perpetual oppression and abuse of the Javans by the Chinese underlings, who had not the same liberal and humane qualities as the "major." The principle of his administration was a fairly good one, but the methods employed in carrying it out were undoubtedly abominable. This the English put an end to, and the Javans from being veritable slaves were once more free men.

The newly regulated province, which included Pasoeroean, Probolingo, Panoeroekau, Bezoekie, and Banjoewangie, gave a revenue in 1814 of 1,246,000 rupees. The major Chinaman out of his district alone probably made nearly ten times this amount. To-day Pasoeroean and Probolingo are the centre of about twenty-five sugar fabricks, and the exports are considerable from both places.

With the town of Probolingo has been closely bound up the Etty family, whose progenitor was a Captain Charles Etty, an Englishman, who was cruising about in the English time in a small sailing ship of his own trading from one island to the other. In 1818 he settled on shore at Sourabaya, but shortly after found his way to Probolingo, and began growing sugar and manufacturing it in the native way with buffalos moving the crusher. From this small beginning great things came, which will be related when certain further material is published. About 1750 or a little later an

English traveller passed through Pasoeroean, and the following is his account :—

“The escort reached Passarouang at noon and was well received by the Dutch commandant Hesselaar, a captain of foot. He was many years a lieutenant in the European cavalry which acts as guard of honour to the Emperor of Solo, and the appointment of Passarouang was given to him to retire to. He has with him two officers, some subalterns and European soldiers, and some companies of Malays to guard a small fort of masonry, rather intended against the natives in case of revolt than against an external foe. He also has the management of several considerable plantations of coffee and pepper belonging to the Company, and which are in the environs; likewise the direction of a yard for building the coasting vessels necessary for the transport of those productions. The hill and a mountain two leagues inland are cultivated almost to the summit with all kinds of European garden stuff, which never degenerate, whether from the situation or from the soil in which they grow, and which supply a great part of the civil and military administrations of Sourabaya, whose environs produce little produce in this way.

“This appointment is very lucrative to Mr. Hesselaar, being estimated to bring in 15,000 rix dollars a year. His household consists of thirty Malay slaves from Baly and Macassar, ten of whom are musicians. A Chinese belonging to the chief has taught them music, having learnt it himself from a German in the Company's service who lived many years at Passarouang. He has also four elegantly gilt carriages, and a one-horse chaise, with twenty-five horses richly caparisoned. His wife is a native, by whom he has several children.

“He always keeps a most splendid table. He introduced us to the prince, with whom we took tea, smoked and ate some preserved fruits. The prince afterwards showed us in one of his yards two immense tigers, in an enclosure of thick palisades. Three had been taken in traps by several of his subjects. They are very common in Passourouang. We also visited the Chinese company, and their chief set before us pipes and tea.

“Passourouang is crossed by a river which is navigable many leagues. A fine wooden bridge communicates from one side to the other. The commandant's house backs the fort on the

right bank facing the bridge. This is a very extensive and commodious residence with many offices.

“Monsieur Gauffe, the surgeon-major, was there, but had gone to Bangell¹ to propagate a vaccination among the natives. The Prince of Bangell is 70 years old, and he abstains from wine. The old prince is the elder brother of the Prince of Besouki, and consequently originally from China. He speaks all the Oriental languages, and has some knowledge of geography. His eldest son, a fine man, is almost white, and speaks Dutch fluently, and is well acquainted with civil architecture.”

INSCRIPTIONS ON ENGLISH TOMBSTONES IN THE PROBOLINGO CEMETERY.

Sacred
to the memory of

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES FRASER and CAPTAIN
JAMES McPHERSON, of his Majesty's 78th
Highland Regiment, who were barbarously
murdered by a band of insurgents near
Probolinga on the night of the 18th of
May, 1813. This monument is erected over
their remains by their brother officers as
a mark of the high esteem in which they
held their worth and virtues.

M. S.

DAVID HOPKINS, Medici Qui Aberstnithae in
comitatu Cardegariensi natus 1770
Obiit Probolinga Decembris 29 1813 vir doctus
sincerus acri judicio praeditus ob praeclara
officia ia his Insulis
Orientalibus praestita
A praefectis merito landatus cum sui commodi
omnino immemor nimio Labore vires comellarat
Animam ad altiora aspirantem placide
Efflavit
anno aetat 44
Hoc marmor in consobrini gratam
Memoriam
Et in Mocroris Testimonium ponere
curavit
T. WILLIAMS.

¹ Bangil.

The following names appear on the four sides of the tomb of the English family Grant :—

GRANT.

A. E. Grant.
 T. ETTY.
 T. Grant.
 E. ETTY.
 M. B. ETTY.
 A. ETTY.
 G. Hardey.
 E. Hardey.

Underneath rest the remains of
 RICHARD SYMONS,
 born at St. Austell's
 in the county of Cornwall, England
 on the twelfth of June 1797 ;
 died at Probolingo
 on the twenty-fifth of April 1859.
 This stone is erected by his sister
 Eliza Symons
 in affectionate remembrance.
 " After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well."

Here rests
 the remains of
 CHARLES ETTY, ESQUIRE,
 born at York, England,
 on the 1st of May 1793 ;
 died at Probolingo
 on the 4th of December 1856 :
 A kind husband
 affectionate father
 and a
 faithful friend.
 May he rest in peace.
 This tablet
 is erected to his memory
 by his family.

To the memory of
 ANNA MARIA ETTY
 wife of Charles ETTY Junior.
 Born at Dassoon 15th November 1824 ;
 died at Wonolangan 4th May 1867.

Also ELIZABETH ETTY
relict of Charles Etty Senior
and mother of the above.

Born in Calcutta 31st December 1782 ;
died at Wonolangan 8th September 1868.

Also MATTHEW WALTER ETTY
Son of the above Elizabeth Etty.
Born in Calcutta 31st August 1815 ;
died on board the steamer Rangoon
in the Red Sea 11th July 1870
and was buried at sea. In the midst
of life we are in death.

BANJOEWANGIE.

The Old East India Company had a station here early in the seventeenth century, and about 1750 when an Englishman (the visitor to Pasoeroean just mentioned) visited the place he found a fort called " Utrecht " with a little garrison here. His account is interesting :—

" At the fort at Bagnouwangie an invalid introduced himself ; he was a Frenchman from Amiens originally, was 65 years of age, and had been thirty years in the Company's service. We now examined the fort. The sergeant commandant is 85 years old, though he did not seem 60, and the youngest of the detachment is 55. The fort is unimportant ; it is square built with palisades and planks which are falling down from age, mounts four two pounders, and is surrounded by a wide ditch full of water. It has two entrances with a good drawbridge ; the principal entrance fronts the coast. It stands on a marshy plain three quarters of a mile from the coast. The Dutch flag is planted opposite the fort. Within is a small barrack house, the rooms of which are tolerably comfortable. The sergeant's apartments are at the entrance and isolated ; they consist of three compartments and a kitchen on the side of the guardhouse. These old soldiers, although their pay is but moderate, live tolerably well, and make no complaints, as provisions are cheap, and their food consists of fish, poultry and rice, with which the vicinity abounds."

During the English period we learn that Banjoewangie had a numerous population of natives, and a few Dutch

half-caste families. Balambouang Bay, further south, was visited by David Middleton early in the seventeenth century.

Formerly there was an establishment here of the East India Company for the convenience of ships calling there, but it had to be abandoned on account of its unhealthiness, six European commandants dying here one after the other from dropsy, owing to bad water.

Bound up with the early history of Banjoewangie are the Trouerbach and Voll families, and a reference to the list of Dutch residents of Banjoewangie in 1818 will show they were still fairly numerous then.

This place is the station of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, which used to be worked in its first days by Mr. Pownall. On his retirement from this company he opened his own business house here.

The British Resident in 1812 and 1813 was Lieutenant Davies, and from 1814 to 1816 Lieutenant A. McLeod.

SUMENAP.

From Banjowangie to Sumenap is about a hundred-mile sea journey. In the English time it is described as a large and populous town and the residence of a prince. There were very few European and Dutch settlers here in those days. The bay was very much frequented by the merchant vessels trading to the Eastern Archipelago and China. In 1811 the old Dutch fort was greatly out of repair. On the other hand, the British Resident's house and a few others have been described as "fine buildings." The British Resident in 1814, 1815, and 1816 was Captain J. Clarke.

When the English arrived at Sumenap they found the old panembahan worn out with age, and they made him hand over the reins of his government to his son Nata Koesoema, a young man with as mild a character as his father's was harsh. The heinous character and ferocious

temper of this old scoundrel was well known, and could be read by a glance at his countenance.

The magnificent graves are still to be seen here of the panembahans of Sumenap, also of this Nata Koesoema, who assisted the English later on so materially at the battle of Djockjacarta in 1812. This is the man that Raffles described "as not only distinguished among the Javans for his eminent erudition and information, but who from the superior endowments of his mind could command a high degree of respect among the more civilised people of Europe."

BANGKALAN.

Proceeding from Sumenap and taking a direct course straight across the island of Madura through Pamekasan, we came to Bangkalan. These towns of Madura used in olden days to be much frequented by Arabs. The town at quite an early date, therefore, was fairly well populated. There is an old Dutch fort here; the country is very pretty, and the road which runs along the beach west of the town and opposite the famous fort Ludowyk (built by Daendels with forced labour at a cost, it is said, of fifteen thousand lives) is a good one.

The inhabitants of Madura are an untrustworthy, revengeful race. In the time of the English the Resident at Sourabaya had Bangkalan under his jurisdiction. In these days he used to cross the straits in the sultan's barge in two hours.

BANJERMASSIN (*Borneo*).

Banjermassin, in Borneo, was a place that the English East India Company traded with as early as 1614. The trade, however, was fitful, and it was not until 1703 that they built a factory here, appointing Mr. Allen Catchpole as the agent. In 1706 a fort was built to protect it. Banjer-

massin was at this time subject to the King of Cochin China, and it is probable he objected to the English being here¹; in any case the Chinese rose in 1707, and Catchpole barely escaped with his life. This put an end temporarily to the English Company's trade here. It was, however, started again in 1737, and English ships called in here now and then for a cargo of pepper. From 1733 to 1809 the Dutch had a factory and a fort here called "Fort Tatar," but after a great deal of trouble with the sultan and Chinese, who found their ancient trade being interfered with and consequently caused the Dutch all the annoyance they could, the factory was sold to the sultan for 50,000 rupees.² The Chinese had been doing business at Banjermassin certainly as early as 1368, if not in 618 during the Tang dynasty, for their history of the latter date speaks of the coast of Borneo. It is not, however, until the former date, which was during the Ming dynasty, that the town of Banjermassin is actually mentioned. A long account given by the Chinese chronicle in 1368 of this place is as follows:—

"At Banjermassin they have a city with walls of wood, one side of which lies against the mountain. The chief of this country keeps several hundreds of finely dressed girls, and when he goes out he rides on an elephant and is followed by these girls carrying his clothes, shoes, knives, sword, and betel tray; if he goes in a boat, he sits cross-legged on a couch, and these girls sit on both sides with their faces turned towards him, or are employed in poling the boat: his state is always very great.

"Many of the people make rafts of trees bound together, and build houses on the water in which they live, just as is done at Palembang. Men and women use a piece of cloth with many colours for wrapping round their head; their back and breast are generally bare, but sometimes they have a jacket with short sleeves, which they put on over their heads. The lower part of their body is surrounded with a piece of cloth. Formerly they used plantain leaves as plates, but since they trade with the

¹ See chronological tables.

² It is said the Chinese gave the sultan the money to pay this.

Chinese they have gradually begun to use earthenware. They also like very much earthen jars with dragons outside ; when they die they are put into such a jar, and buried in this way.

“Far in the interior there is a village called Wu-lung-li-tan, where the people all have tails ; when they see other men, they cover their face with their hands and run away : their country is rich in gold dust, and when merchants carry goods there to trade with them, they give a sign by beating a small copper gong,¹ lay their goods down upon the ground, and step back about ten feet. These people then come forward, and when they see something which suits their fancy they put some gold at the side of it : if the owner tells them from his distance that he is prepared to sell it at that price they take up the article and go away, if not, they collect their gold again, and go home, without talking any further with each other.

“The products of the country are rhinoceros horn, peacocks, parrots, gold dust, crane nests, wax, rattan mats, chillies, dragon’s blood, nutmegs, deer hides and so on. In the neighbourhood are the Beadjoos,² who are of a ferocious disposition, and go out in the middle of the night to cut off people’s heads, which they carry away and adorn with gold ; therefore the traders fear them very much, and at night carefully mount guard to await them. The last King of Banjermassin was a good man who treated the merchants very favourably ; he had thirty-one sons, and fearing that they might molest the merchant vessels he did not allow them to go out. His wife was a daughter of a Beadjoo chieftain, and a son of hers succeeded his father. This man listened to the words of his mother’s relatives, began to oppress the trade, and owed much money to the traders, which he did never pay ; after this the number of those who visited the country gradually diminished. The women of this country come in small sampans to the ships in order to sell articles of food, but the trade is carried on by the men.”

When the English took Java in 1811 Raffles sent Alexander Hare, a man known for his great eccentricities, to Banjermassin as Resident. The country was then noted for its gold, which is still to be found there in great quantities if

¹ This is perhaps the origin of a gong being beaten at auctions in Java.

² Dyaks.

only capital could be found for working the concessions. Pearls were also discovered, while diamonds, it seems, in those days abounded. The country round this part of Borneo is still rich beyond the dreams of avarice, though practically nothing is being done to develop it.

SOERAKARTA (or SOLO).

If reference is made to Chapter I. it will be seen that whilst the present Emperor of Java or Solo is the scion of the old and ancient family of Matarem, whose genealogical table, although broken here and there, can be more or less traced for two thousand years, it is a question how far the present Emperor is not a parvenu, the princely rank of the family being of a far more recent date. However old he may be in his ancestry, the court at Soerakarta only counts back to 1743, which is the date when the *susuhunan* was obliged to find a new spot for his *kraton*, owing to the Chinese destroying and sacking that at *Kartasoera*, particulars of which event were given in a former chapter.

The present *kraton* is spacious and contains a number of buildings within its walls, packed, so to say, full with the fifteen thousand souls that are living there, of which number two-thirds are women. The *kraton* has quite a feudal aspect with its moat, thick high walls, battlements, and old cannon; two of the latter have the following inscription on them: "Conraet Antoniz me fecit Hacoë 1599." Above the trunnions are two eagles and a castle, and below these figures the words "Middleburg" and "Jacob Beurel, Burgomeister."

Despite all this outward show, however, the inward appearance of the Solo court gives one the idea of a gaudy, noisy, and rather cheap vulgarity, which the jewelled garments, golden ornaments, and richly gilded furniture increase rather than lessen. The court is, to modern ideas,

a sordid one, with a monarch unfortunately trained in Europe instead of in his own country. He entertains, however, liberally and royally, giving parties at his *kraton*, to which several hundreds of Europeans usually come. On these occasions he introduces the *srimpis*, or court ballet-girls, who go through a series of extravagant figures which are highly interesting. When the Emperor drives out on an official visit to the Resident, who by a wise provision of the Dutch Government is his "eldest brother," he sits in a gold-painted coach, highly decorated with a European coachman in a gaudy suit of livery. He is attended on these occasions by a large body of native horsemen, likewise by his Dutch lifeguards, who watch him night and day.

The magnificent crown jewels and various heirlooms handed down from the ancient court of Majapalut are also sometimes taken.

The Emperor of Solo is allowed to have a small military force of his own numbering some six hundred men, subject more or less to a discipline and equipment like that of the Dutch army and with Dutch as well as native officers attached.

The fort was begun in 1746, and completed in 1765, by Frans Haack, and received the name of "De Groot moedigheid." It had a British garrison in it in 1811, and is quite near the Resident's house and the *kraton*.

The country around is rich and healthy, being in fact one huge plain unrivalled even in Java.

During the whole of the British occupation of Java Major J. M. Johnson was the British Resident here.

DJOEJAKERTA.

Jogyakerta, to give the early spelling of its name, is the seat of the most ancient empire in Java, namely, that of *Mataram* or *Matarem*: for when it was founded the reader

is referred to Chapter I. Here one can see the real aristocracy of Java, and the difference to the educated observer between the real Javans and the Malays is evident.

The present *kraton* is a fine building built within massive and high walls ; the inside seems a honeycomb of passages running intricately between walls of great thickness. Citadel after citadel is passed before the actual holy of holies is reached. The name of Djoejakerta will ever remain in the minds of Englishmen associated with that brave little band who, when the diplomacy of Raffles and his Resident John Crawfurd had failed, attacked the *kraton* with the utmost heroism and took it despite its strong line of fortifications bristling with cannon, seizing the sultan and crown prince, and overcoming the eight thousand men in the *kraton* itself and nearly one hundred thousand in the suburbs outside.

It was here that Lieutenant McLean, of His Majesty's 14th Rifle Company, whilst bravely leading his men in the assault was so severely wounded, subsequently dying amidst the shouts of the victorious British troops returning to camp at the end of the day.

His tombstone lies in the *kraton* cemetery to-day, and has been well cared for by the Dutch authorities. The inscription is as follows :—

IN MEMORY

of LIEUTENANT HECTOR MACLEAN of His M.'s 14th
Regt. of foot, this column has been erected.

It is a votive emblem of esteem to military
ardour and early worth by officers who served
with him. He commanded the Rifle Company of
his corps in the successful assault of the
Cratton on the 20th June 1812 : toward the close
of that conflict he received a wound which
proved mortal. In his twentieth year thus
fell a youth. His memory survives in that
of his brother officers.

This *kraton*, like that at Solo, harbours fifteen thousand

souls, and the show and gaudy paraphernalia from a great past is allowed to the Sultan by the Dutch. The Sultan of Djoekjakerta looks down on his neighbour at Solo with considerable contempt, counting him as a parvenu of doubtful extraction.¹ The result is that there is a considerable amount of petty jealousy and animosity between the two sovereigns.

The Dutch, from a political point of view, do, of course, nothing to alleviate the tension between the two monarchs. It must, however, be admitted that the general impression one gets in the *kraton* at Djoekjakerta is quite different to that which one has in the *susuhunan's* palace at Soera Kerta.

There does not seem to be at the former the gaudy, noisy, and vulgar show of a rich parvenu, but there is everything suggestive of an ancient court with a highly educated and aristocratic monarch, whose breeding and bearing is of a higher kind, and whose personality is that of the man of culture; and this has undoubtedly a far-reaching effect on his whole court.

The etiquette, moreover, at the *kraton* at Djoekjakerta is stricter than at Soera Kerta, and it is clear to all that it is not a thing of mushroom growth. The features of all the *pengarans* or princes at Djoekja are clear, well cut, and aristocratic-looking, and their gait and carriage, as also those of their *ratus* or wives, is graceful and courtly; these are all marks of their common ancient ancestry and their high-bred aristocratic stock. At Soera Kerta, although the etiquette is rigid, there is a laxness in its use, while the class of *pengarans* seems not to be so well bred, nor do their appearance and gait seem to betoken such high birth. The reason for all this, perhaps, is not far to seek; it lies to a certain degree in the personalities of the sovereigns. The

¹ The compliment is, however, fully reciprocated by the Susuhunan of Solo.

one at Djoekjakerta loathes and detests everything Western, while his colleague or superior at Soera Kerta is just the opposite, and has his palace filled with Western as well as Eastern articles of furniture and so forth, and introduces European ways which clash with the Javan. Furthermore, the Sultan of Djoekjakerta has never been out of the country and is a pure Javan, while the *susuhunan* was taken away young from his unmanageable and brutal father and sent to Europe by the Dutch Government, which has somewhat spoiled him. In addition to this it is said he is not a pure Javan but has Chinese blood in him, which there seems little doubt is the case, even were it not for the fact that his features show a strong Mongolian cast.

Of the fifteen thousand mentioned as living in the *kraton* fully ten thousand are women. Their days are spent for the greater part in idleness and pleasure. They are the hereditary retainers and hangers-on of the court. Some attend to the kitchen department, others attend to the royal apartments, others to the training of the dancing girls, who are all princesses; others are players on the lute, others again act as pipe, betel-box, foot-stool, fan or heirloom bearers, and so on. Each has her hereditary duties to perform, however trifling these may appear to be. It is all part of the patriarchal system of an ancient monarchy. As it now is at the court of Djoekjakerta, so it was in the days of "Majapahit," and so it was probably at the court of *Matarem* (Mendang Kamulan) before Majapahit was ever thought of.

The etiquette of this system is very respectful. It is an etiquette of absolute politeness for one's seniors or superiors in rank.¹ There is, however, in it a good deal suggestive of heartlessness, and a slight tinge of barbarity, in the cringing servility which is shown to a monarch whose ancestors, and

¹ See Miscellaneous Chapter ("Ceremonies of the Court").

that not so far back, were absolute despots—one might even go further and say despotic and ferocious monsters—who visited a slight dereliction of duty or a trivial neglect in the observance of some custom with the direst and cruellest of punishments.

The sultan keeps up a great state, and when he goes out is accompanied by cavalry both native and Dutch. The *payung* or umbrella is a token of superiority, and is always carried. These are of different colours—yellow, green, blue, white, red, pink, black, purple, etc. Some have a little gold, increasing in amount according to the importance or rank of the person. The *payung* shows immediately the status of a person. The sultan's head is protected with a *payung* that is all gold, the queen's with a yellow one, and the crown prince's with a *payung* ornamented with a thick gold border¹; the sultan's children have their heads protected with a white *payung*, and so on. There is thus a complete system of heraldry.²

The *mendopo* or throne-room in the *kraton* is decorated entirely with gilt; attached hereto is the dining-hall, capable of accommodating one thousand guests. There is a yellow house, the residence of the sultan; opposite this stand the house of his first lawful wife, the house of the Resident when he lives inside the *kraton*,³ the dwellings of the concubines and of the bodyguard, and the stables of the elephants and horses, which buildings completely fill the grounds.

There is, it is said, a block of stone in the *kraton* which was formerly the throne. It is credited with the age of several hundreds of years, and there is a story connected with it that it once belonged to one of the Hindu kings of India. Two very old waringen trees, always a sign of

¹ A later innovation.

² See Miscellaneous Chapter ("Titles and Rank").

³ On the death of a sultan.

majesty, stand in the big plain before the *kraton*, with their drooping branches and colossal trunks.

Part of the regalia¹ from Majapahit is here, including the ancient *gamelan*,² which is said to be as old as the stone throne.

At the wedding of the crown prince in 1908 the author had the opportunity of hearing it, when the hereditary players played it for all they were worth, at a command from the sultan, who was doing his best to show all honour to the Dutch Resident. Once having heard such a performance, and on such a *gamelan*, one remembers it for a lifetime. The performance, to a lover of music, was majestic and perfect, but the beauty and symmetry of it all is neither to be imagined nor described. In Java one can, of course, hear the *gamelan* played daily if one will, but not such a *gamelan* as this, and never one played as this was on such an occasion. It was in fact a full band, with the finest hereditary performers.

The old *kraton* used to be at *Parsar Gede*, some little distance away. Little now remains of this famous old palace except the walls and the *kobooran*, or royal cemetery, which consists of several courts surrounded by turreted walls. The gateways leading to each of these courts still bear some of their old carvings. In the third court is a large house where most of the *kraton* princes have been interred. From this the passage leads to a smaller court, where one sees tombs rising on terraces like a series of steps. Descending from these you reach a square tank of crystal clear water containing the sacred fish,³ which have a venomous sting,

¹ See Miscellaneous Chapter ("Regalia").

² Set of native instruments.

³ One cannot help observing in Djoejakerta and in various customs and habits of the Javans a touch of old Babylon. For instance, the sacred fish. Professor Pinches, in his work entitled "The Old Testament in a new Light," on page 192 writes: "Pocock in his description of the East states that it is the universal opinion of the Jews that Orfa, or Edessa, was the ancient Ur of the Chaldees," and this is supported by local tradition, the chief place

and a sacred white turtle, for which the natives have a wonderful veneration. There are about three hundred royal personages interred here, and their faces are all turned towards Mecca.

Under the shade of one of the large waringen trees, planted four hundred and fifty years ago near where the old *kraton* stood, is a slab of black stone, raised about a foot from the ground and about a yard and a half long by one broad. It has a faint inscription in European letters on it. The natives say that a European sailor who was shipwrecked on the south coast several hundred years ago was chained to this stone by order of the then Sultan of Pajang.

The reasons given for this poor man's punishments are numerous; but from the curious inscription in several languages it would appear he was a linguist, and, therefore, possibly some missionary whose religious zeal had excited the hostility and suspicion of the higher Javan authorities. From the impression on the slab, the European, whoever he was, must have found a sedentary position the most comfortable—or possibly this was the only one possible, as the length of chain allowed him, according to all appearance, must have been very short. Some of the stories related by the natives about this victim, although vague and uncertain, are worth repeating. One is to the effect that when the sailor was brought before the sultan he refused to humble himself by bending his knees and paying homage to him, an act which so incensed the tyrannical monarch that he at once ordered him to leave his presence and afterwards condemned him to be chained for life to this stone. Another account is that three hundred and fifty years ago a vessel was wrecked off the coast of Djoekjakerta, and that the whole crew except this one man, who was picked up by some fisherman half-

of worship there being called the "Mosque of Abraham," and the pond in which the sacred fish are is called Bahr Ibrahim-el-Halil, the Lake of Abraham the Beloved.

dead, were drowned. The fisherman restored him to life, and the story soon reached Mataram that a white man had appeared, and the curiosity of the natives was aroused. The sultan, however, being of a very suspicious nature, with despotic and cruel ideas, and fearing the influence of the stranger, had him hurried before him, and no sooner had he seen him than he ordered him to be chained to the black stone for life, giving out that he was a sea spirit of ill omen, who had come to deceive them in the form of a white man. The story says he was soon resigned to his fate, and that after a long time, through the help of a native woman, he managed to escape and reach Bantam, where the sultan allowed him to live peaceably. Another record, however, says he died on the very slab in question, which is probably the truer tale of the two, if, indeed, any credence can be given to the tale at all. The Dutch professor Dr. J. Groneman, whose knowledge of Djoekjakerta is second to none, seems to believe that the European in question, although possibly a shipwrecked sailor, was never actually chained to the stone, but enjoyed the hospitality of the Javans and spent his leisure time sitting on it.

Near the *kraton* is the "Water Kasteel," or Taman Sarie. It was formerly a veritable garden of paradise, but now it is scarcely worth a visit. The spacious grounds, however, containing the ruins of a large palace with swimming baths, orchards, pleasure grounds, flower gardens, and fountains, give one some idea of what it was like in 1758 when it was built. The whole stood formerly in the middle of a lake, and the only entrance to this building was by an underwater passage, of which nothing was seen above water except the tops of some detached turrets with windows, by means of which light was communicated to the vaults below. Here the old Sultan Hamangku Buvano and his harem were whiling away their hours when Daendels with his army was thundering outside.

The story, which is undoubtedly true, is that Daendels, who had come to Djoekja (as has been related in another chapter) to bring the sultan to reason, was kept waiting in an outer court an hour beyond the time appointed for the interview. Hearing the *gamelan* playing, and knowing that the sounds which reverberated through the galleries betokened merriment, and weary of waiting, he pushed through the retainers to the mouth of the tunnel and appeared before the sultan in the Water Castle without being announced or any further ceremony. He seized the sultan unceremoniously by the arm and carried him back to the Dutch headquarters, where the interview took place. The earthquake of 1867 made the castle uninhabitable.

At the present day the chief interest of Djoekjakerta is that it is a centre from which the Buddhist temples of Mendoet and Boro Boedoer¹ and the superb Brahminical ruins of the Brambanan temples can be visited. Near the Resident's house is a collection of old and ancient Hindu carvings of great interest to the archæologist.

Djoekja is a very healthy place, with a temperate climate, broad roads, a fine club, and two or three good hotels—"Mataram," "Toegoe," and the new one, the "Grand Hotel."

The British Resident at Djoekjakerta in 1811 was for a short time Captain Robinson, but he was merely a *locum tenens* with the Dutch Resident Pieter Engelhard until the arrival of John Crawford² on the 15th November, 1811. Crawford was replaced by Captain R. C. Garnham in 1814, who was in turn replaced by Dr. Ainslie, who remained at this post until the evacuation.

TJILATJAP.

Tjilatjap is the largest port on the south coast, both from a commercial and a military point of view. During the

¹ Dutch spelling.

² John Crawford was the first civil Governor of Singapore in 1822.

Hindu period there was a settlement here, and a few remains are still visible. Until, however, late in the nineteenth century it remained, for Europeans, a port of small importance. One of the first assistant Residents at Tjilatjap conceived great ideas of the place, which it is very likely will still be realised. He laid out the town in a very symmetrical manner, with wide and shady avenues. Unfortunately the climate and the soil are both bad, and when Europeans first went there the place became a graveyard.

Tjilatjap is laid on a partially dried-up swamp and the coast is covered with rotting coral—all unhealthy elements. Besides this, however, an unhealthy and poisonous exhalation is conveyed across the Java inland sea (called Kinder Zee) from the swamps behind it, which breed a deadly malaria. The curious aspect of this malaria is that its worst effects are only felt after the person leaves the place, but the former resident's constitution having been undermined (although he has not known it), he soon succumbs to his enemy when it attacks him openly.

The houses are built in the ordinary Java style, and there is an excellent club here.

The harbour is fairly large and capacious, and the wharf, alongside which the railway runs, can berth five or six steamers at a time, and it is very seldom empty.

There are three very good hotels here, the "Belle Vue" being about the best.

BUITENZORG.

[While Batoetoelis (Batu Tulis), which is near to the present town of Buitenzorg, was the capital of the empire of Pajajaran, which went on existing after Majapahit had fallen, Buitenzorg itself only came into existence in 1745, when the Governor-General, van Imhoff, purchased the whole of *Bogoh* for a song and built a house here which was called the "Heerenhuis of Bogoh." This seat was passed



POST OFFICE, SAMARANG.



on from one Governor-General to the other, and the building from being modest in style developed as time went on into a palace, which Raffles made into the beautiful structure that now stands.

Daendels, who had to fill a depleted treasury, is responsible for having divided Bogoh up into lots and put them up to auction, selling them with great profit.

Buitenzorg (the Dutch for "outside care") stands about 700 feet high at the foot of the mountain Salak, and is connected by rail with Batavia, only thirty-six miles away. The climate is very healthy and cool, but it rains almost every day. In the English time Raffles lived here perpetually, and even in his time there was a large *passar* here, and a number of well-built European houses; while barracks for the soldiers and numerous batteries built by the French were visible everywhere.

Buitenzorg is a beautiful spot—more so now probably than formerly, owing to the buildings lying hidden beneath a mass of dark foliage—with broad avenues and great waringen trees planted everywhere fifty or sixty years ago. There is a Protestant church here, a club, a race-course, and an entrancing bathing retreat at Soekadingin.

The jewel, however, of Buitenzorg is of course the Botanical Gardens, which are world-renowned. They were begun in quite a humble way in 1754, when special care was taken of the gardens immediately surrounding the "Heerenhuis." The gardens, however, were never taken properly in hand until 1817,] when Reinwardt raised them from — ordinary gardens into scientific horticultural gardens of the first order. The Dutch, as is well known, are the best horticulturists the world has ever seen, and the late superintendent of these gardens, Professor Treub, a man of extraordinary energy combined with exceptional ability, brought the gardens to a state which makes them the wonder of all horticultural scientists. A tropical sun,

daily showers, a century's hard work, clever professors, and an interested Government have not only made these gardens the first in the world, but have made the efforts of the English at Hongkong, Singapore, Calcutta, and in the West Indies, as also those of the French at Saigon, to sink into insignificance beside them. There is a herbarium, museum and library, and botanical, zoological, agricultural, chemical and pharmacological laboratories, also the museum of the Forest Department and the photozincographical studio, all of which can be visited.

The plants are, as a rule, arranged according to the natural system; every species is represented by two specimens, one of which bears a label. Entering the gardens through the old stone gate by the Chinese passar, one comes to the celebrated canary-tree avenue, which was laid out by the well-known horticulturist Teysmann eighty years ago. To the right behind the porter's house is the largest of all the lianas represented in the gardens (*entada monostachya*).

In this section is to be seen the monument erected to the wife of Sir Stamford Raffles, who died at Buitenzorg on the 26th November, 1814, and was buried at Tanahbang.

The record of her death made at the time reads as follows :

“ *At Buitenzorg on the 26th November (1814) Olivia Marianne, the Lady of the Honourable Thomas Stamford Raffles, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor of this Colony. The numerous assemblage of persons of both sexes to assist at the mournful ceremony of paying the last duties and honours to the deceased, and the general and marked expression of grief which was there evinced, is the best proof of the respect and regard which her benevolence and manners had acquired among all classes of society in Java : and her more immediate friends will justly say that possessed in life of a heart glowing with the most generous affections, and of a mind guided by the purest principles of friendship and kindness, she lived beloved by all who knew her, and carries to the grave the certainty of being ever remembered by them with a fond, devoted and faithful attachment. Her remains were interred at Batavia by the side of the late Dr. Leyden.*”

There is also the grave here of Madame Rochussen, *née* Vincent, wife of the Governor-General of that name and grand-aunt of the author.

Against the trunks of the canary trees are all sorts of climbing plants, grown chiefly from the aroideal genus, and their branches are covered with epiphytic plants. There is also here that gigantic orchid *Grammatophyllum speciosum*, which sometimes bears as many as three thousand flowers at one time, and the *Monstera deliciosa*, with its perforated leaves. Then you have the *Amherstia nobilis*, with its red branches of blossom, and the *Saracca*, with its yellow bouquet of flowers. There are also the yellow flowers of the towering *Pithecolobium*; and plants of the shade tree (*Schizolobium excelsum*). Then there is the *Xanthophyllum vitellinum*, of the genus of the *Polygaleæ*, to which in temperate zones only herbs and plants belong. The *Plumiera acutifolia* of the Javanese churchyard is also to be seen here; it is peculiar for its finger-shaped fantastic branches and the fact that there are very few leaves. It is continually in bloom. On another side of the Djalan Besar (great way) is the collection of palms—the lofty *Oncosperma filamentosa*, the red pinang (*Cyrtostachys rendali*), the upright emperor palm (*Oreodoxa*), indigenous to Brazil, different species of phœnix, among which are the date palm (*Phidactylifera*), a number of varieties of the coconut-palm (*Cocos nucifera*), the oil-palm (*Elæis Guinensis*) from New Guinea, the sago-palm (*Metroxylon*), and finally the cocoa de mer (*Lodoicea Seychellarum*), with its enormous and apparently double fruit and its large fan-shaped leaves, the stems of which are as hard as iron. To the left of the palm section, which is so representative, one passes the resinous-smelling section of the *Gymnospermæ*, in which araucarias and damonars grow luxuriantly. Near here the botanist can also study the *Rhizophoræ*, or mangroves, which cover the mudbanks of the waste everywhere in the archipelago. Here also is the

Sonneratia acida, a giant tree from the marshes ; and, if one will, one can search out the *Cyperus papyrus*, the plant from which the Egyptians collected papyrus.

There are strange ant plants (*Myrmecodia*), whose swollen, spongy, perforated stems swarm with ants. A botanist, however, has discovered that these plants are not designedly so made, although the ants take advantage of the opportunity Nature gives them for a comfortable abode. Crotons (*Codiaeum*), sweet cassava (*Manihot utilissima*), and the Ceara rubber tree, iron-wood trees, the *Sterculiaceæ*, with its orange-red fruit leaves and velvet-black seeds, grow wildly in a corner. Further on in the gardens, in another department, flourish species of *Elæcarpus*, the Para nut-yielding *bertholletia excelsa*, elegant blooming *barringtonias*, and the *Melania*, producing the famous *kajonpoetih* oil, the cure for cold and relief for influenzas. There are also the *zuurzak*, *boea nonna*, and *sirikaya*, all well-known fruit trees in Java of the family *Anonaceæ* ; there is also in this patch the *Magnoliaceæ*.

The sweet-smelling *Myristica Horsfieldii* (Dr. Horsfield was the English botanist here in Raffles's time, 1811 to 1816) shows its presence by casting its odour far abroad. The *Stelechocarpus burahol* finds also a place, bearing fruit and flowers on its trunk. Mention must also be made of the ebony, kaki fruit, styrax, benzoin and getah pertsja trees, belonging to the *Diospyros* species. In a portion of the gardens reserved for the Governor-General, which, however, his Excellency is always willing to give permission to important visitors to look at, is to be found the *Victoria regia* floating on the small lake, also the *Urostigma rumphii* and *Kigelia pinnata*, with its sausage-shaped fruit.

Past here, between the *Sapindaceæ* and *Sapindus rarak*, from which soap can be made with the help of water in a minute or two, we perceive the *Filicium decipiens*, which is

indigenous to Ceylon. Here is also the *Ficus elastica*, which, according to the Dutch, is the best rubber tree for Java.¹ Then there is a pond with its *Nymphæa* species; the family of the *Meliaceæ*, to which belongs the mahogany-tree, the coca-yielding *Erythroxylon coca*. In another division chalice-bearing plants climb the trees, and here stands the *Parmentiera cerifera*, with its fruit like wax candles.

Along by the lotus at the end of the large lake are the fan-shaped banana trees, called the "traveller's tree" (*Ravenala madagascariensis*), the ginger tree, cardamom, and curcuma. There is a rose garden in which is a monument to Teysmann. The poisonous upas tree too is here, of which more later on. The orchid house must also be seen, as well as the conservatory, with *Passiflora*, *Fuchsonia*, *Maranta*, *Calathea*, the *Bromeliaceæ*, growing on coral, and a group of *Anthurium* and *Diffenbachia*.

From this cursory description it can be readily perceived that the gardens are of a highly scientific order. However, to give a full description needs greater knowledge than mine.

At Batoetoelis is the stone which commemorates the founding of the empire of *Pajajaran*.

Near here are still a few Hindu remains. There are two hotels at Buitenzorg, the "Chemin de Fer" and "Hotel Belle Vue." From the mountain rooms in the latter a magnificent view is obtainable over the face of the volcano Salak and the valley beneath. Two hundred feet below runs the river, through groves of palms, here and there broken by the toy houses of the Javans, who seem to spend their day gambolling in the running water.²

Thomas Macquoid was the British Resident of the "Buitenzorg and Batavia Regencies," as the district was

¹ The author does not agree. *Hevea* is probably the best.

² The "Guide to the Dutch East Indies," in English, by J. F. van Bemmelen and G. B. Hooyer, should be procured.

called in 1812, and remained as such until 1814, when the title became "Buitenzorg and Batavia-Preanger Regencies."

In 1815 F. E. Hardy was Resident of Buitenzorg and van Doorninck assistant Resident, Macquoid being Resident of the "Preanger Regencies."

These positions were retained until the Dutch reassumed charge of the country again.

SOEKABOEMI.

The name Soekaboemi, which really sprang into existence for Europeans during Raffles' time, means "the desire of the world." The place lies in the district known as the Preanger. It is on the railway and two hours beyond Buitenzorg. Lying 1,600 feet high, it has an equable temperature of 75 degrees Fahrenheit, and thus has a delightful climate, and is one of the best places in Java in which permanently to reside. An excellent club and some first-rate hotels make it a place worth visiting in order to get a glimpse of the surrounding country, which is beautiful in the extreme. The hotels "Victoria," "Selabatoe," and "Ploem" are the best. From here visits can be made to Selabintana, or to some of the well-known tea estates near here—Goalpara and Perbawatie, etc.

From one of the latter the *Telaga Warna*, or "the unfathomable lake," inside an old volcano, can be reached.

Soekaboemi was the land bought by Sir Stamford Raffles, Thomas Macquoid (the old Governor of Java's east coast), Nicolaus Engelhard, and A. de Wilde, a purchase which caused such wide-spread dissatisfaction, the price having been only 58,000 Spanish dollars. Long after Raffles had left Java the land was sold for 800,000 rupees. To-day the same land would fetch millions.

BANDOENG.

Bandoeng was founded by Sultan Agoeng of Cheribon in 1641, when he sent three hundred *tjatjahs* (families) here.

His successor increased this number to one thousand. It is now the fourth largest town in Java, and is still growing ; it is in the Preanger district, in the centre of a plain fifty miles each way and surrounded by mountains. During the morning there is generally a mist, but by 7 o'clock this has entirely disappeared, and the mountain air blows over the place the whole day. There is a large *missigit* here, a park around the Resident's house, and a race-course. Beautiful drives can be obtained in every direction. Near here are many well-known tea estates, and not far off are Tjiwangie, formerly managed by the well-known Preanger Englishman Noel Bingley,¹ and Goenoeng Malang, until recently managed by a Dutchman named Halewyn.

There is a well-known bathing place near Bandoeng called Tjiampelas *Snidanglya*, where there is a well-known sanatorium 5,000 feet up, and Soemedang may also be reached from here. Then there is the waterfall Penganten, the crater of the Patoeha, the Telaga Patengah, 5,550 feet high, and surrounded by Peruvian bark plantations. The volcano Tangkoeban Prahoe near is a wonderful sight and is easily visited.

Nowadays Bandoeng has nothing to complain of in the way of hotels, the "Preanger" and "Homann's" being quite first class, while the "Hotel Phœnix" is also well patronised.

Near to Bandoeng is the military station of Mid Java called "Tjimahi." This is the place also where all the sick soldiers of West Java are sent to recuperate.

GAROET.

Garoet is an ideal health resort, peaceful and quiet, clean and pretty, amidst lofty mountains, whose cool breezes soon restore the invalid seeking a renewal of health and

¹ This gentleman married Mejonkvrouwe Roell, a daughter of the distinguished Dutch admiral of that name.

strength. There are several interesting places near to visit. There is Tjipanas, where there are five warm springs, each of a different temperature, in which for a few cents a bath can be taken. The Papandayan, a volcanic mountain 5,000 feet high, can be approached to the mouth and a peep taken into the seething, snorting bottom of the crater, which every now and then, as it were, shakes itself. A guide is here to steer you through the mud springs, the sulphur pillars, the deafening noise of the self-building sulphur columns, the hot vapours, and the water-spouting mud eruptions. From the top of the Papandayan an unparalleled view is procurable over the Preanger. Near also is Tjisoeroepan (where there is an hotel), lying in a cup facing three mountain tops.

At Garoet three first-class hotels provide for visitors ; the " Van Horck," the " Villa Dolce," and the " Hotel Rupert " are all equally good.

BANTAM.

Bantam was the first European capital of Java.

We have already told of Drake's visit here in 1579, of Robert Cavendish's in 1587, and of the first Dutchman's (Cornelius Houtman) arrival in 1596. We saw also how the English were worried by the Dutch East India Company, at first mildly and latterly more severely, from 1635 until the seizure of their factory in 1663. We also know that by 1682 Bantam was entirely under the control of the Dutch. There is no use pondering on the " might have been " if the English had only kept a larger force here from the beginning, when Lancaster, who followed up Drake and Cavendish with Queen Elizabeth's charter in his pocket, established a factory here in 1602, placing a man named Starkie or Starckey in charge as governor or factor. The Dutch slowly but gradually increased their power here, until in 1767 they had the right to appoint a successor to the deceased sultan. In 1776 their establishment consisted of

20 civil servants, 1 clergyman, 5 surgeons and assistants, 17 of the artillery, 30 seamen, 199 soldiers, and 10 mechanics—in all 282 Europeans. Its population was considerable, but the composition was bad; madmen, slaves, criminal deserters, Chinese bankrupts of low degree, and even murderers took refuge here. The capital was built wholly of bamboo near the sea-shore, at the mouth of the large river which empties itself into the bay. The sultan resided in a palace built in European style, within a ruinous old fort containing eighty cannon of various descriptions. The Dutch had a very powerful fort at this time which commanded that of the sultan. The sultan assumed European costume on great public days; otherwise he was dressed as a Malay. His seraglio contained about four hundred women. The kingdom of Bantam at the end of the eighteenth century exported immense quantities of pepper and rice, besides tin.

From being, however, a town of very great importance it has to-day sunk into comparative insignificance.

During the English period Major Yule was the British Resident. In 1814, on account of his meritorious services, he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel.

It was at Bantam that the Resident Dupuy was wantonly killed after a visit to the sultan, a deed necessitating Daendels' proceeding there in person and deposing the sultan.

The following old descriptions of Java and Bantam may here be given :

“AN ACCOUNT OF JAVA AND THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE ENGLISH AT BANTAM. WITH A JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES THERE; PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO WHAT PASSED BETWEEN THEM AND THE DUTCH, AS WELL AS THE NATIVES, FROM 1602 TO 1605, INCLUSIVELY.” (From the Journal Department, by EDMUND SCOT, Governor of the English Factory at Bantam from 1602 to 1605.)

“Extent and Soil of Java. Chief Places of Trade. Bantam Described. Chinese Town. King's Authority. Manners of the

Javans : Their Arms ; Dress ; Religion ; have no Genius for Industry ; or Government. Chinese : Their Religion ; Sacrifices ; extreme Perfuming ; fond of Plays and Singing ; their Soothsayers ; Habits.

“ **EXTENT AND SOIL.** Java Major is an island, the middle part of which lies in the ninth degree of latitude. It is about an hundred and forty-six leagues long, from east to west ; and ninety broad, from south to north. The middle part is mostly all mountains ; which are not so steep, but that the natives ascend them, both on horseback and on foot. Some people dwell upon the hills which are next to the sea. But the very middle of the land so far as ever the Author could learn is inhabited by nothing but wild beasts. They are of divers sorts ; and often descending into the valleys near the shore, devour many people. The land towards the sea, for the most part, is low marshy ground ; and there stand their principal towns of trade ; these lie on the north and north east side of the Island as Chiringin, Bantam, Jakkatra and Jortan or Greesy.

“ **CHIEF PLACES OF TRADE.** These low lands are very unhealthy, breeding many diseases (especially among strangers) and yielding no merchandize worth speaking of, but pepper ; which formerly was brought from all parts of the Island, to Bantam as being the chief mart of the country. It was likewise imported from divers other countries ; but of late years that custom has ceased, the Dutch having bought it up everywhere.

“ **BANTAM DESCRIBED.** BANTAM for trade far exceeds Achin or any port in those parts. It is about three English miles in length and very populous. There are three markets kept every day, one in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, where the throng is as great, especially to the first, as at fairs in England. Yet Mr. Scot never saw any kind of cattle to sell, by reason there are very few tame in the country. Their food is rice, with some hens, and a little fish. The houses of the Javans are all made of great canes, and some small timber, being slight buildings ; yet in many of the principal men’s houses, good workmanship is seen, as carving etc. Some have a square brick room for the sole use of securing their furniture in case of fire. Many small streams run through the town, which hath also a good road for ships, so that if they were people who had any genius, it might be made a very handsome city. It is surrounded with a brick wall, and

well fortified with flankers and towers, scouring the country every way. The Author was told, that it was first built by the Chinese, but in many places it is fallen to decay for want of repairing.

“CHINESE TOWN. At one end of this city is the Chinese town, a narrow river parting them, which runs from thence to the King’s palace, and so through the great town, to the middle of which at high water, both galleys and junks, of great burthen, may sail up. This Chinese town is for the most part built with brick. The houses are square, and flat at top; some of them having boards and small pieces of timber, or split canes laid across, on which are placed bricks and sand, to defend them from fire. Over these brick warehouses there is a shed, raised with great canes, and thatched. Some are built with small timber but the greatest number with canes only. Since the English came hither many of the richer sort have built their houses to the top, all fireproof, whereas before there was none of that sort to be met with, except the SHAH BANDAR’S and the rich China Merchant’s house; which nevertheless by means of their windows and the sheds that surround them, have been consumed. In this town the English and Dutch have their houses, which are built in the same manner only they are a great deal bigger, and higher than ordinary houses. The Dutch have lately at great expense and trouble built one of their houses of brick up to the top, proof as they suppose against fire.

“KING’S AUTHORITY. The king of this place is absolute; and since the deposing and death of the late Emperor of DAMAK, is held the principal king of all that Island. He punisheth offenders always according to martial law. If any private man’s wife be convicted of adultery, she is presently put to death, as well as the gallant. They may execute their slaves for any small fault. The Javans are limited to three wives, and for every wife a free-man marries, he is obliged to keep ten women slaves, and some purchase forty or more, whom they make use of at will.

“MANNERS OF THE JAVANS. The Javans are generally exceeding proud, although extremely poor, by reason that not one in a hundred will work. The gentlemen are reduced by the number of slaves they keep, who eat faster than their pepper or rice grows. The Chinese both plant dress and gather pepper and also sow their rice, living as slaves under them, but they gain by their masters laziness; draining in effect all the wealth

of the land to themselves. A Javan is so proud that he will not endure an equal to sit an inch higher than himself. They are a very blood-thirsty revengeful people, yet when they have a quarrel against any one, either of their own, or another nation, seldom decide it by fair fighting but murder the party cowardly, although they are for the most part large-bodied men. Their law for murder is to pay a fine to the king, which is but small, so that the friends of the deceased will be sure to revenge his death on the murderer, or his kindred ; while the King's revenue increases the more assassinations there are committed.

Their Arms. Their ordinary weapon is called a crise and about two feet in length, the blade is scalloped (like a flaming sword) and withal exceeding sharp. The metal of most of them, is poisoned in the tempering ; so that not one in five hundred, who is wounded with them, escapeth with his life. The handles of these weapons, are either of horn, or wood curiously carved in the likeness of a devil, which many of them worship. In their wars they fight with pikes, darts and targets. Of late a few of them have learned to use muskets, but they handle them very awkwardly.

Their Dress. The apparel of the better sort, is a turban on their heads and about their loins, a fine piece of calico, all the rest of their body is naked. Now-and-then on extraordinary occasions only they wear a close coat, somewhat like a cassock of velvet or other kind of silk. The common sort wear on their head, a flat cap of velvet taffata or calico consisting of many pieces neatly sewed together to make them fit tight. A piece of two colours is tied about their waist, in manner of a girdle, but at least one yard broad. This is a kind of calico, made at Clyn, from whence come many sorts ; which they dye, paint and gild according to the fashion of that country. They likewise may have a kind of striped stuff made of either cotton or rinds of trees, but they are so lazy, that there is very little of it worn. Most of the men have very thick curled hair, in which they take great pride, often going bareheaded to show it. The women also go with their heads and their hair tied up, like the tails of horses in England. About their middles they wear the same covering as the men ; always having a fair girdle, or pintado of their country fashion, thrown over their shoulders which hangeth down loose behind.

Religion. The principal men among them are most religious,

but they seldom go to church. They acknowledge Christ for a Prophet, whom they call Nabi Ifa, and some of them keep Mohamedan priests in their houses, but the common people have very little notion of any religion only they say there is a God, who made heaven and earth, and them also, that he is good and will not hurt them, but that there is a devil who being of a malevolent disposition, is inclined to afflict them, wherefore, many pray to him, merely for fear. Both sexes are very lasciviously given. All those who are in authority are guilty of taking bribes, and the Javans in general are bad paymasters, notwithstanding their laws for debt are so strict, that the creditor may take his debtor, his wives, children, slaves and all that he hath, and sell them for his debt.

“*No Genius for Industry.* They are also much addicted to stealing from the highest to the lowest, and without doubt formerly they were man eaters, before the Chinese traded with them, which as the Author was told, was not above one hundred years thence. They delight much in ease and musick, and for the most part, spend the day sitting cross-legged like a taylor, whittling a stick, whereby many of them become very good carvers, and indeed all the work that most of them covet to do is to carve the handle of their crise. They are very great eaters, but the gentlemen allow their slaves nothing but rice boiled in water, with some roots and herbs. Among the latter is one called bettaile, which they usually have carried with them in boxes or wrapped up in a cloth, like a sugar loaf, also a nut called pinango, these are both of a very hot quality and they eat them continually to warm their stomachs and keep them from the flux. They likewise are great takers of tobacco and opium.

“*Or Government.* The Javans having no genius for government or managing affairs of state, many of those who come from the country of Clyn, to settle there, grow very rich and rise to great offices and dignity amongst them, such as that of Shar Bandar, Laytamougon, etc. But most of all the Chinese, who like Jews live crouching under them, yet fleece them of their wealth and send it to China.

“*CHINESE:—Their Religion.* The Chinese are very crafty in trading, using all kinds of couzening, and tricks that can be devised. They have no pride in them nor will refuse any labour, except they turn Javans (as many of them do, when they have committed a murder or some other villainy) and then they become

every whit as proud, and as lazy. For their religion they are of divers sects, but most of them are Atheists. Many of them believe, that when they die, if they were good livers, they shall be born again to great riches, and be made governors ; but if wicked men, they shall be turned into some vile animal, as a frog or a toad. They burn sacrifices every new moon, mumbling prayers over them with a kind of singing voice, and as they sing they tinkle a little bell which at the end of every prayer they ring out as loud as they can. This ceremony they also observe when any amongst them of any account lie a dying. The manner of their sacrifice is this ; they furnish their altars with goats, hens, ducks, and divers sorts of fruits, which flesh is sometimes ready dressed for eating and sometimes raw, but is afterwards dressed and eaten. All that they burn is only papers painted, and cut out in figures which are valued by them at a certain price. The Author many times asked them, to whom they burned their sacrifice ? and they answered to God ; but the Guzerats, and Turks, who are there, said they burned it to the Devil ; if they do so they are ashamed to confess it.

“ Many of them are well skilled in astronomy, and keep an exact account of time. They observe no Sabbath, nor one day more than other, except when they lay the foundation of a house, or begin some other great work ; which day they ever after keep as a holiday. When any of the wealthy sort die in Bantam, their bodies are burnt and the ashes carried in jars close stopped up, to their friends in China. When some of them have lain a dying, Mr. Scot hath observed them to burn seven perfumes, four of them being large and casting great light, were set upon a cane, which rested upon two supports about six feet from the ground, and the other three which were very small and burnt dim, were placed on the ground directly under them. He often enquired the meaning of this ceremony but could never get any other answer than that it was the fashion of China, which is all the grounds they have for many other customs.

“ *Fond of Plays and Singing.* They delight much in plays and singing but have the worst voices in the world. These plays or interludes are performed as service to their Gods, and often introduced with a burnt sacrifice, the priests kneeling down frequently and kissing the ground three times successively. These plays are acted commonly when they think their junks or shipping are set out from China, likewise when they arrive

at Bantam, and set out from thence towards China. They sometimes begin at noon and do not end till next morning, being for the general exhibited in the open street on stages set up for the purpose.

“*Their Soothsayers.* These people have their soothsayers who sometimes run raging up and down the streets like madmen, with drawn swords in their hands, tearing their hair and throwing themselves against the ground. They affirm that when they are in these frantic fits, they can tell what shall come to pass. Many Chinese believe this, and when they send a junk to sea, apply to them, to know whether they shall speed well or not, and by their report, things have fallen out just as the diviner had predicted.

“*Their Habit.* The Chinese wear long gowns with cassocks under them, hanging something lower. Mr. Scot was persuaded they were the most effeminate and cowardly people in the world. On their heads they wear a caul, some made of silk and others of hair. The hair of their heads is very long which they bind up in a knot, just over the crown. Their nobility and governors wear hoods of sundry fashions, some of them are of an odd make, one half being like a hat, and the other like a french hood, others again are of net-work with a high crown and no brims. These people are tall and strong with very small black eyes, and generally without any hair on their faces. They will steal and do any kind of villainy to get wealth. Their manner at Bantam is to buy women slaves (for they bring no women out of China), by whom they have many children, and when they go back to their own country with an intention to return no more to Bantam, they sell their women but carry their children with them. As for their goods, they leave an order for some to be sent after them with every fleet that sails, for if they die in Bantam, all the effects they have there belong to the King, and if once they cut their hair, they must never return to China, however their children may, provided they do not cut their hair.

“FACTORY AT BANTAM. When the general departed from Bantam the twenty-first of February 1602, he left nine persons to reside there, over whom he appointed Mr. William Starkey to be chief commander, he likewise left his pinnace with thirteen more to go for Banda, under the command of Thomas Tudde, merchant, and for master one Thomas Keith. As his orders were that the pinnace should be sent away with all speed, she

was forthwith laden with fifty six chests and packs of goods, and on the sixth of March, at night set sail, but by reason of contrary winds she was forced to return, after she had spent near two months, beating up and down at sea. The general left the English two houses full of goods (besides some which lay in the house of the Dutch) but their number was too few to manage one well.

“**QUARREL WITH THE JAVANS.** Before the ships departed, a quarrel arose betwixt the English and the Javans who fought by all means they could to be revenged, in so much that presently after the pinnace set sail, they attempted to fire their principal house with darts and arrows in the night, and if in the day, they brought out any goods to air, they were sure to have the town fired not far to windward. Had not those fire-arrows been discovered by some of them, in all probability both house and goods had been consumed, as plainly appeared by the top, when they went to repair it. This malice of the rascally sort of people continued for the space of two years before it was quashed.

“So soon as the pinnace was dispatched they began to lay the foundation of their house, which was seventy-two foot long and thirty-six broad, but just at that time a new protector (of the king) happening to be chosen, they were put to some trouble and cost, before they could be permitted to go through with it. They likewise aired their prize goods, and Mr. Starkey caused the leathers of most of the packs to be stripped off, after which these goods did not keep their colours any-thing so well as the rest.

“**THE TOWN FIRED.** The twenty first of March, the town was set on fire by a gun shot off by the Chinese captain, which consumed many houses full of merchandize. Amongst others the Dutch house was burnt to the ground where the English had sixty five bales of goods besides some pepper. They had also some pepper lying at a Chinese house, which for the most part was burned and spoiled, so that they lost one hundred and ninety sacks, besides the damage the rest received. Their loss by this fire was great but it was well it proved no greater considering how near the flame came to both their houses then in no condition to withstand it, especially one of them which the fire approached within three yards, insomuch that the jams of the windows were so hot, that a man could hardly suffer his hand to touch them,

and yet the old and dry thatch took no fire to the great surprise of people of several nations.

“ENGLISH FACTORY IN DANGER. All the villains in the country were gathered about this house, so that the English durst take no rest that night, for fear they should throw some firebrands upon it. In the evening as some of them stood at the door there came Javans whom they knew to be notorious thieves and asked what number of them lay in that house? They were asked again, what business was that of theirs? And told, that if they would know they should come at midnight and see. At this answer they went away very much disgruntled, but they were so very bold, that in the day time they would come and before the faces of the English look to see how their doors were hung, and what fastening they had within. They were often informed by some, who wished them well, that if they did not keep good watch there was a crew who designed to break in suddenly upon them, and cut their throats, insomuch that there being but four in that house (of whom the author was one) what with overwatching and what with the flux, which reigneth much in that country they were grown so very weak, that two of them never recovered it.

“VAN WARWICK ARRIVES. The nineteenth of April 1603, there came into the road nine sail of Hollanders under the command of Wyborne van Warwick who shortly after sent two of them for China and two for the Molukkos, two landed at Bantam, and one went to Jortan. He likewise dispatched a pinnace to Achen to order certain ships (that went from thence by Captain Spilberg's directions to Zeilon to take a small fort from the Portugueze) to come to Bantam, he waiting there with one ship for their arrival. The English were very much beholden to this general, for wine and bread besides many other necessaries and courtesies received at his hands. He would often tell them how Sir Richard Luson relieved him at sea when he was likely to perish, and that for the same reason he was bound to be kind to the Englishmen, wherever he met with them. To speak the truth says Mr. Scot, there was not anything in his ships for the relief of the sick men, but they might have commanded it as freely as if it had been their own. He likewise expressed himself with great respect always of the queen, but there were some of the baser sort of his fleet who spoke very unbecoming things of her in discourse with the Javans.

“THE ENGLISH DISTURBED BY THE COURT. The twenty fifth of April Thomas Morgan their second factor died, who had been sickly a long time, Mr. Starkey also began to grow very weak. The twenty eighth the pinnace returned from Banda having lost one of her factors William Chase, and the rest were but weak and sickly. About this time some of the king's officers came to forbid them to go forward with their house, probably because the new protector had not as yet received a present. The Shah Bandar and he being at that time at variance they complained to Kay Tomongone Gobay, the admiral; who indeed was the father of all strangers in that place. He presently made a great feast and inviting all the principal persons of the court took an opportunity to talk of this affair to the English, telling them what a shame it was, that the king and they should not keep their words to the general and merchants, and that rather than he would break his word, he would go and dwell in a small cottage himself, and let them have his house. After much ado he brought them to consent, that they should go forward with their house, which in a short time after, was finished.

“Their principal merchant fearing pepper would be dear, by reason of the Flemish ships that were there or daily expected, bought up as much as he could, and because the house was not yet ready he dispursed his money before the goods were weighed. Now the Flemmings not being curious about their pepper when the English came to take theirs, they were forced to receive it as the others did or else they should have had neither money nor pepper so that they had in that parcel much sour and bad pepper.

“On the last of June Mr. Starkey ended his days whose burial General Warwick caused to be honoured with a company of shot and pikes the colours being trailed according to the order of soldiers' burial.

“THE TOWN FIRED TWICE. The fourth of July, the great market on the east side of the river was set on fire by villainy of certain Javans, in order to get some spoil out of the Chinese effects. By this also the English were losers, some Chinese who were indebted to them having lost all that they were worth in the world. The seventeenth, Thomas Dobson one of the factors for Banda, died; the twenty seventh, the town was burnt again on the east side of the river.

“THE PROTECTOR'S THREATS. The fifth of August, at ten o'clock at night, there came to the English house, Captain Spil-

berg, Captain John Powlson, and some other Dutch captains, who told them they had been that day with the protector about some business and that he asked them, if they would take the parts of the English, in case he should do them any violence ? to which they answered that the English and they were near neighbours, and therefore they could not see them wronged ; but yet had he strictly charged them not to be offended with him, or aid them, whatsoever way he proceeded with them. Hereupon Mr. Scot went presently to the protector and gave him a small present and also thanks for his men, whom, four or five days before, he had sent to help the English in their building. He received the present but his countenance showed he was angry ; he told Scot that he was then going about business to the king, but would send for him next morning ; for that he wanted to speak to him. The same day the admiral sent his son to him, to know what his meaning was to use such threatening speeches against the English, but he denied them.

“ Next morning he sent for Scot, and asked him who had informed him, that he designed to hurt the English ? Upon his answering the Hollanders, he asked whether they were slaves or captains ? And being told they were captains, he bad Scot shew his Scrivano those captains. He added that if any Javans or Chinese had done it, he would have sent for him, and cut his throat before the English. Then he began to find fault with them, because they did not come to him when they had any suit to make, but went to the Shah Bandar or the admiral. Mr. Scot by way of apology, answered that he was but newly come into this place and that the English as yet were not acquainted with him, but that for the future he would apply to his honour ; then he promised to befriend them all in his power, but it was pure dissimulation only to borrow money from them. About this time the Flemmings spread a rumour through their own fleet, that the king would force the English to lend him five thousand rials of eight, or cause their house to be plucked down again, but that report was false, for neither the king nor the protector had at that time sent to them for any, nor did in four months after.

“ DANGER FROM FIRE. The seventeenth of August, Captain Spilberg having sold all his commodities (which he shared in the English prize) and laden his ships and pinnace with pepper, departed thence with two ships more of Warwick's fleet in his

company. The nineteenth of August, having brought out certain packs of goods to air, a Javan who was a slave to one of the principals of the country, threw some fire-works upon a thatched house, a little to windward of the factory ; the English espying it, pursued, took him and carried him before Kay Tomongone the admiral who put him in irons. Within an hour after, there came several of his comrades who would have taken him away by force ; hereupon the admiral's men and they fell together by the ears, and many were hurt on both sides. The admiral, so soon as his men had beaten the others off, sent him to the king, but because his master was one of the king's favourites, he was not put to death, although by the law of the country he should have died, nor did the English greatly seek it, because his master was their friend also. It may farther be observed that the Javans are so wicked and bloody a people that although they commit crimes, they take the punishment as injuries never to be put up, but by the death of their masters ; so that if any slave offend, he is either quite forgiven, or else put to death. But then they are very obedient and seldom offend their masters, because they are for the most part as wicked as themselves.

“INSULTS FROM THE JAVANS. The twenty second of August at night certain Javans having gotten into a great yard hard by the English quarters, while they were singing a psalm (which was their custom when they set their watch) threw stones at the windows as if they would have beaten down the house, some of which coming in, very narrowly missed them. However they took some of the rogues whom yet upon submission they spared.

“DISORDERS OF THE DUTCH. About this time a quarrel arising between the Flemmings and the Chinese, some were hurt and slain on both sides. This was owing to the misbehaviour of the Flemmings ; who in that place carry themselves very rude and disorderly, to such a degree that they are a scandal to the name of Christians. This is to be understood only of the vulgar sort over whom when they are ashore and in drink their officers have no command. They came off with the worst however at last ; not that they were chastised by the Chinese, or vanquished by the manhood of the Javans, but some who were slaves to certain turncoat Chinese, would steal behind the Flemmings in the evening and stab them unawares.

“THEY COME OFF WITH THE WORST. One day being very clamourous about one of their men, who was slain, the protector



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asked them whether when they came to any country to trade, they brought laws with them or whether they were governed by the laws of the country they were in ? To which they answered that when they were aboard their ships, they were governed by their own laws, but when they were ashore they were subject to the laws of the country they were in. ' Well,' said the protector, ' I will tell you the law of the country which is this. If one kill a slave, they must pay twenty rials of eight, if a freeman, fifty, and if a gentleman, a hundred.' The Flemmings requested to have that under his own hand, which was granted, and this was all the amends they had for their man being killed, yet if they would have taken fifty rials of eight they might have had it.

" LAMPONS ASSASSINS. About the fifth of September there arrived a junk full of men from the island of Lampon, in the straits of Sunda ; the natives are sworn enemies to all who inhabit Bantam, as well as the Javans, from whom however they are not to be distinguished, many Javans likewise associate with them. These Lampons being in all respects, so like the Javans, would boldly come into the town not only in the evenings and nights, but even at noon day, and entering peoples houses, cut off their heads ; so that for a month the English could take little rest for the lamentations of the people. One day while they were sitting at dinner these villains came and took a woman who lived in the next house to theirs ; and mussling her so with a sack, that she could not cry out, carried her into a tuft of bushes in the backside belonging to the factory, and there cut her throat but had no time to cut off her head, for her husband missing her, looked out and seeing them carry her away cried aloud. The English hearing the noise, rose from dinner and pursued them ; but it was too late to save her life.

" NOT EASILY TAKEN. They were so swift, that there was no coming up with them and for any thing the people of the factory knew, they might be amongst those, who gathered on the occasion, for it was thought by some, that they lay hid in the bushes till the Javans came up, and then stealing out mixed with them. There were some Java women, who cut off their husband's heads in the night, and sold them to the Lampons. They hankered much about the house, and Mr. Scot believes that if they had not kept good watch, they would have attempted to cut their throats if not for their heads, yet for their goods. But after awhile many of them being known, were taken and executed. They

were men of very goodly stature. Their reason for undertaking these desperate adventures is, that the King gives them a woman for every stranger's head they bring him, wherefore they would often dig up such as were new buried, and so impose upon their king.

“DESIGNS OF THE JAVANS DEFEATED. At this time some persons of note, who wished well to the English, of whom the admiral was one, advised them to be constantly on their guard ; for that some of the principal men of the land for birth, though not for wealth or office, who had many slaves, and but little to maintain them, had laid a plot to murder them in the night, in order to plunder their goods (which they took to be ten times more than they were) and after to have given out, that the Lampons had done it. Whereupon they were forced to keep lights burning all night round their house for otherwise being so black, they might have come upon them in the dark before they were aware ; for all the upper work of their houses, by reason of the heat was open. They were also built with canes ; the fence round them being of the same materials, was but a weak building, which might have been easily beaten down. The conspirators came two or three times, thinking to have executed their bloody design ; but as soon as they came within sight of their lights, and heard the drum beat at the end of every watch, their hearts failed them ; concluding the English were prepared to receive them with their muskets and blunderbusses, as in reality they were.

“THE PLUNDER OF CHINESE. Having thus long waited for an opportunity without ever finding one, they at length fell out among themselves and so were dispersed. Divers others made bold attempts, but miscarrying likewise, they next fell to work with the Chinese ; whose houses at this time were full of English goods, which they had bought from the factors ; insomuch that every night, for a long time, they heard grievous outcries, and expected every hour to have been assaulted, so that they durst not sleep. Many of their Chinese neighbours were slain, and many more would have suffered if they had not defended them with their shot, but the whizzing of a bullet is as terrible to a Javan, as the cry of hounds is to a hare ; for they cannot stand the report of a gun. These continual alarms, and grievous outcries of men, women, and children, had such an effect at last upon the English, that they would often dream of pursuing the

Javans ; and suddenly leaping out of their beds, lay hold of their weapons ; one man hearing the noise his next fellow made, would start up likewise ; and thus scuffling together in their sleep, have wounded one another, before those on the watch could come to part them. This mischief might have been in good measure prevented, by laying their arms farther from them, but then they would not have been ready in case of an attack, which they looked for every moment. Their number being but few Mr. Scot took his turn to watch like the rest, in which post he often stood more in fear of his own men, than the Javans, and whenever he heard them bustling together, he used to catch up a target, for fear they should fall upon him.

“ON THE AUTHOR. But all their fear on this account was nothing in comparison of that which arose from the apprehension of fire. O this word Fire ! (says the Author) had it been spoken near me, either in English, Mallayan, Javanese or Chinese ; although I had been found asleep, yet I should have leaped out of my bed, as I have sometimes done, when our men on the watch have but whispered one to another of fire ; insomuch that I was forced to warn them, not to mention fire in the night, except they had extraordinary occasion.

“AND THE OTHER FACTORS. Not only Mr. Scot himself but the other factors, Thomas Tudd, and Gabriel Towerson, after their watches had been out, and they were fallen so fast asleep that the beating of a drum at their chamber doors could not awaken them ; yet presently after, when they have but whispered the word fire, they have all started up, and ran out of their rooms. These panics however may be excused when it is considered that then they were strangers ; but in two or three years, they got several friends there, and the people were become more orderly, and the government growing better, as the young king advanced in age. In three months space, the town on the east side of the river was burnt five times, but the wind always favoured the English, and although the Javans often fired it on their side, yet as there blew but little wind the flames were quenched before they reached them.

“DUTCH PASS FOR ENGLISH. About the same juncture, great disputes arose between the natives and the Flemmings on account of the rude behaviour of the latter many of whom were stabbed in the evenings. At that time the common people knew not the English from the others, for both went by the name of English-

men, the Dutch having assumed it at their first coming thither to trade, much to the injury of the true owners, for as they passed along the street, they could hear the people in the market exclaiming against the English, although they meant the Hollanders ; wherefore fearing some of their men might be slain instead of them, they began to think how to make themselves distinguished from the Flemmings.

“METHOD TAKEN. The seventeenth of November drawing near which they kept as coronation-day (for neither then nor the year following they knew nothing to the contrary) they put on new suits of silks and wore scarfs of white and red taffata ; they also made a flag with a red cross in the middle ; and because the merchants would be known from their servants they edged their scarfs with deep gold fringe. The day being come, they set up the banner of St. George on the top of their house ; and marched up and down within their own ground with drums and muskets. Being but fourteen in number they could march but single one after another and so shot off their pieces casting themselves in rings and esses. The Shah Bandar and several other prime officers hearing the fire, came to see and to enquire into the cause of their rejoicing ; they were told that being the day on which their Queen was crowned seven and forty years before, all Englishmen in what country soever they were, observed it with marks of honour. The Shah Bandar greatly commended them for having their prince in remembrance at such a distance.

“UNDECEIVE THE JAVANS. Many asked them why the Englishmen at the other house did not express the same zeal ? Being answered that they were not Englishmen but Hollanders ; and their country was not governed by a king ; some replied that they called themselves Englishmen at first, and therefore they took them to be such. Those of the factory told them, that they were of another country near England, and spake another language ; and that if they talked with them, they should find they were of a different nation. The multitude admired to see so many discharges made by such a small number of men for the Javans and Chinese are no good shot. In the afternoon Mr. Scot caused his men to walk about the town and the market for the people to take notice of them. On this occasion their red and white scarfs and hatbands made such a shew, that the inhabitants of those parts had never seen the like before, so that ever after they were known from the Hollanders, and often the children

in the streets would run after them, crying 'Oran Engrees bagh, oran Hollanda jahad,' that is, the Englishmen are good, the Hollanders are naught. General Warwick went for Patania, and from thence to China.

"CARAK TAKEN BY THE DUTCH. The sixth of December, there came in two ships which six months before he had sent thither. At the island of Makau they found a Carak at anchor, laden with raw silks, musk and divers other rich wares, ready to depart. Most of her men happening to be on shore, they took her with little or no resistance. Having laden their two ships, they set the rest on fire, so that by their own report, twice as much was burnt as they brought away. On their voyage back they met with a great junk of Siam which they fought with and took, killing three score and four men. Some of their own also were slain and hurt, but when they found she belonged to Siam, they let her go again; because they either had sent, or shortly intended to send factors there. The captain of the junk was slain, who when hailed (as they alledged) would not tell them whence he was, and when they bad him strike, answered that he would not do it for any ship that ever sailed the ocean. The Flemmings not knowing what musk was, sold a great quantity of it to certain Japanese, whom they met with at sea, for little or nothing.

"ADVENTURE OF A DUTCH SHIP. They stayed about forty days in Bantam, in which time the sailors had squandered all their pillage, which was very great. On the seventeenth of January they departed, with two more in company. One had landed at Bantam, the other came from China two months before, and had been four years from home; of which time they had spent fourteen months in Cochinchina, where at their arrival, they were betrayed. Their captains being taken prisoners, were made to kneel on their knees four and twenty hours, with their necks bare, and one standing over them with a sword ready to strike off their heads, when the order should be given. The Cochinchina would not believe but they were spies, and men of war, instead of merchants. These Dutchmen happening to be papists, the Portugueze friers at length saved their lives; and afterwards they were kindly used, but their ransom cost them dear.

"THE PROTECTOR SENDS TO BORROW MONEY. About this time the protector sent to the Author several times to lend him two thousand pieces of eight, and if he could not spare so much, one thousand; but Mr. Scot put him off, telling him they were

left there with goods, but no money, that the inhabitants owed them much, which they could not get in ; and that as yet they had bought but little pepper, towards the stock that was to be provided against the arrival of their ships. The Flemming who came in so rich from Makau, had so bribed him, that now he began to hearken to his notion for building a handsome house.

“EFFECTS OF PEPPER. The sixth of February the lost Robert Wallis, and many more of the men were sick and lame ; which was owing to the heat of the pepper in milling and shooting it, so that for the future they were forced to hire Chinese to do that work, under the inspection of their servants. The sixteenth there came in a great ship of Zeilan from Pattany. Five or six days before her arrival, she sent in a small sloop or pinnace ; ordering their factors to buy up all the pepper they could, which made the English imagine, that General Warwick with his whole fleet was coming to land there ; they bought up all that they found to be good and merchantable, for the Chinese spoiled abundance, by mixing water and dirt with it, because the Flemmings refused none. This is certain, that the Chinese bought one of another and sold to the Flemmings again, at the same price they bought, and yet gained ten rials of eight in a hundred sacks, by increasing as above mentioned ; for was it ever so bad they knew their chapmen, and let the wind blow which way it would, they had shipping to come thither either from the East or from the West, insomuch that one would have thought they intended to carry away the pepper growing on the trees, mountains and all. The Javans hearing, that the country inhabited by the English was cold, asked them if they beat the pepper in a mortar with which they plaistered the walls of their houses, to make them warm. This ship had taken a great deal of rich plunder, but they swore to the English they had with them, and charged them, on pain of losing their wages, not to discover anything, which their countrymen took very unkindly.

“The Flemmings at this time had three houses on account of different merchants and each bought up as much pepper as could be gotten. The fifth of March, the protector sent, in the king’s name, to borrow a thousand rials of eight of Mr. Scot, who to prevent their falling out with him, which the Flemmings would have been glad, lent them five hundred.

“About this time there came in a junk from Jore, aboard which were certain Flemmings, who stole away with their goods ;

because Jore had been for a long time very straitly besieged by the Portugueze of Malakka, who (as they said) offered the king peace, on condition he would deliver up or kill the Flemmings who were in the city ; to which he answered that he would sooner lose his kingdom. The beginning of this month there were two great fires on the other side of the water, which did much mischief ; but the wind still favoured the English.

“DUTCH OFFICER SLAIN. The year 1604 affords little else to speak of but murder, theft, wars, fire and treason. To begin with a tragedy. The English had in their house a Mulatto of Pegu, brought by their ships from Achin, and in the great ship that came lately from Pattania there was one of his countrymen, who on Sunday the eighth of April having gotten a bottle of wine, brought it ashore to make merry with the other. Walking abroad in the afternoon, they met with the provost of the ship, who bid the Mulatto get him aboard. The fellow answered he would not go yet ; whereupon the provost struck him. The companion seeing his countryman misused, and being somewhat elevated with a liquor which he seldom used to drink, resolved to revenge his quarrel. He presently returned home, and as soon as it was evening took a rapier and a target, and with his krisse at his back, went forth. There being at that time much dissension between the Javans and Flemmings, Mr. Scot had charged his men, that whenever they went out in the evening about any business, they should take their weapons with them, for fear any Javans, who did not know them, should do them a mischief in the dark. The rest thinking the cook had sent the peguan to market for herbs, or the like, mistrusted nothing. There went out with him also a slave of the Shah Bandar who was born and brought up among the Spaniards at the Manillas. In short, meeting the provost and the other Mulatto together, he began a quarrel and presently drawing his krisse stabbed him. Then fearing his countryman would discover the murder, stabbed him also, and would even have slain the slave who went with him, had he not got away, by running through a ditch. After this meeting with a poor Javan, he stabbed him likewise.

“MURDERER EXECUTED. When a Javan of any account is put to death, although there be a common executioner, yet the nearest of kin does the office ; and this is held the greatest favour they can do them. The protector would have twenty rials of eight for the Javan who was slain and the Hollanders the life

of the murderer. Accordingly they came with a guard of shot the sixteenth of April to see his execution ; which was performed with the quickest dispatch.

“DEATHS OF ENGLISHMEN. The same evening their vice admiral with another ship in company, set sail for Holland. The fourteenth Thomas Tudd, before-mentioned who had been long sick, departed this life ; so that of seven factors left for this place and Banda, there were now but two living. The English had lost in all since the departure of their ships, eight men, besides the Mulatto who was executed ; there remaining now but ten men and one boy. The twentieth, died Jasper Gensberg who was admiral of the two ships that were betrayed at Cochinchina.

“STATE OF TRADE. The two and twentieth of April, there arrived a great junk from China, which was thought to be cast away, because she stayed so late, for they usually come in February and March ; but her coming made cashis very cheap all the years. This was a great hinderance to the English, in the sale of their price goods ; for when cashis were cheap, and rials dear, they could not sell a piece of stuff for half the value they could at first ; besides the Chinese had sent all the rials they could procure for China ; so that the factory was forced to give them credit or else must have lost the principal time of the year for their sales. As for pepper the Flemmings had left none, but what was in the hands of Mr. Scot, and the Shah Bandar who would not sell for any reasonable price. Moreover, their goods began to grow old, and the colours to fade ; for the warehouses in that place are so hot and moist, that how much soever pains is taken in airing and turning the wares, yet they will spoil any sort of cloth that lies long in them.

“ATTEMPTS OF THE CHINESE. A Chinese who turned Javan, was next neighbour to the factory. He kept a victualling house, and brewed arrack (a kind of hot liquor used in most of these parts of the world instead of wine) ; he had two outhouses where his guests used to sit, in one of them which joined to the pales on the south side of the factory, he used to brew. But now he set up another trade and became an engineer, having gotten eight firebrands of Hell more, to assist him only in the work of setting the English house on fire. These nine dug a well in one of the victualler's houses from the bottom of which they carried a mine quite under the foundation of the factory. But before they could make this mine, they were forced to dig a very deep well

in their yard to drain off the water and to prevent suspicion planted tobacco, and other herbs, near the well which they watered every day. The English could hear them boiling of water daily but because they were brewers and had many tubs to wash and to fill, they had no mistrust.

“**TO ROB THE FACTORY.** When they came to the planks of the warehouse, they durst not cut them, for some of the factory were continually walking over them both night and day. After they had waited two months, without finding an opportunity to cut the boards, they began to contrive some other method of breaking through them ; but they went the wrong way to work, for if they had continued their mine till they had gotten but cross the warehouse, they had found thirty thousand rials of eight, buried in jars, for fear of fire. Besides that room was not boarded at all ; so that they might have come into the warehouse without any difficulty and had what they sought for. Well, one of these wicked instruments being a smith, and brought up always to work with fire, told his associates, that he would take out the planks so that the English should neither hear nor see him. Accordingly on the twenty eighth of May, about ten at night they put a candle, and burnt a round hole through the boards. So soon as the fire had vent, it caught hold of the mats that covered the packs and presently spread.

“**THEY SET FIRE TO IT.** All this while the English had no suspicion nor could perceive anything, by reason of the closeness of the warehouse, for all the windows were plaistered up, for fear of the fire overhead. The first watch being out, on which Mr. Scot himself was, and the second set, they smelt a strong funk of fire, which was by that time much increased ; but could not find where it was, although they searched every room and corner. At length one remembered a rat hole behind his trunk ; where going to examine he could plainly perceive the smoke issuing out. Upon this discovery, he hastened into Mr. Scot's chamber and called out, that the cloth warehouse was on fire. That piercing word, fire, was enough to awaken the factor, although he was fast asleep. He presently started up, slipped on his cloaths in a trice and running down, opened the doors, out of which there rushed such a violent smoak, that it had almost choked them. For want of vent it was so thick, that they could not perceive where the fire came from ; and at that time there were two great jars of powder in the warehouse, which put them

in great fear of being blown up ; yet setting fear aside, they plucked the things off the jars which felt very hot, and removed them into the yard.

“IT IS STOPPED WITH DIFFICULTY. After this they went boldly to search for the fire ; the thickness of the smoke having put out their candles, they tied twelve great wax tapers together which kept lighted. Then they plucked out packs as fast as they could ; but being almost stifled with the heat and smoke, and so few, they could do but little good, therefore they let in the Chinese to help them ; with whom those who had done the mischief came, hoping to get some plunder. When Mr. Scot saw, that these damned Chinois (as he calls them) did them rather harm than good, he was almost in despair, and having had in his chest above stairs, a thousand pound in gold, which he received of General Hymskerke, for pepper, he ran up with a design to throw it into a pond behind the house, but when he was at the chamber door his mind changed and he went down again to try once more what might be done. As he passed through the hall, he chanced to cast his eye into the dining room, which was right over the place where the fire was ; and there he perceived Chinois (among whom their unkind neighbour, the principal actor was one) who had removed the table and were breaking up the bricks of the ceiling. He bad them give over, and get down. But they would do neither till he was forced to drive them down before him. He then desired some merchants they dealt with, who were standing by, to urge the rest of the Chinese to help out packs, whereof sixteen were in a flame. Thus by their help the fire was quenched, which they perceiving, would work no more. Next day they were paid for their labour, besides what they stole.

“A DISCOVERY MADE. The English wondered much how this fire should happen suspecting the Portugueze had hired Malayes to kindle it ; but in the morning a Chinese bricklayer, who wrought at the Dutch house, told a Flemming that some of his own nation were the authors, and that they were since fled ; but that if the room was well searched, it might be discovered in what manner the thing was done. The Dutchman told an English surgeon what he had heard, and desired him to go and tell the factors, saying, that as he could speak the language he would go himself and inquire after the fugitives. The surgeon coming to Mr. Scot and desiring he might see the room where

the fire was, the other called for a candle and shewed him. Going to one corner, he found a little round hole, which was burned through the floor. Down the author thrust a long stick, but could feel no ground. Then calling for an axe, they wrenched up the planks as softly as they could and underneath found a passage large enough to hold the greatest pack or chest in the house. Upon this discovery, Mr. Scot called three of his men, and went with them armed, as secretly as he could, to the house from whence the mine came; leaving one at the door, with a charge to let none go out. He went in himself with the other two, where in one room he found three men and in another two more, who forthwith fled out at the back door, which he knew not of before. Those three they brought away after giving them two or three knocks. One was a lodger in the house, but the other two they could prove nothing against. Mr. Scot having laid them fast in irons, sent Mr. Towrson to the protector to inform him how the case stood, and desire that the offenders might be sought for, and having justice done upon them, which he promised should be done, but was very slack in performance.

“ONE CONFESSES THE FACT. The Dutch merchants hearing they had taken some, and apprehending the Chinese would rise against them, came very kindly with their weapons and swore they would live and die in their quarrel. After they had laid out those goods, which had received some water, to air, they examined the party who dwelt in the next house; he told them the names of six, who were fled; but said, he knew not where, and would not own that he was concerned with them, he likewise said the other two were innocent. But threatening him with a hot iron, he confessed the whole, and that he was an accomplice; he said those two out-houses were built for that very purpose although they put them to other use, to take off suspicion; and that the mine had been made two months before; in which time they had been often very busy in it, striving to get into the house but could not. After this they tortured him, because as soon as they had laid down the iron, he denied all again; but being tortured made a second confession. Next morning Scot sent him to execution. As he went out of the factory, the Javans (who rejoice when they see a Chinese go to suffer, as the Chinese do, when it is the Javans case) reviled him; but he would reply, the English were rich and the Chinese poor; therefore, why should not they steal from them if they could.

“**PRODIGIOUS CRUEL.** Next day the admiral took another of the gang, and sent him to the factor. He was found hidden in a privy ; and this was he who fired the house. He was a goldsmith by trade, and confessed to the admiral, that he had clipped many ryals and also coined others. Some things he confessed to him, concerning what he was charged with, although not much, but he would tell the English nothing. Because of his sullenness and that he was a principal offender, Scot ordered sharp hot irons to be thrust under the nails of his thumbs, fingers and toes, and the nails wrenched off ; yet he never flinched all the while, which made them think that his hands and legs were numbed with tying, wherefore they burned him in the hands, arms, shoulders and neck ; but it was all the same with him. Then they burned him quite through the hands, and with iron rasps tore out the flesh and sinews. After that (says the Author) I caused them to knock the edges of his shinbones with hot searing irons, then I caused cold iron screws to be screwed into the bones of his arms, and suddenly snatched off ; after that all the bones of his fingers and toes to be broken with pincers ; yet for all this he never so much as shed a tear, nor once turned his head aside, or stirred either hand or foot ; but when we demanded any question, he would put his tongue between his teeth and strike his chin upon his knees to bite it off.

“**ANOTHER EXECUTION.** When all the cruelty that could be used was to no purpose the factor caused him to be put in irons again ; where the emmets or ants which greatly abound there, got into his wounds, and tormented him worse than the English had done, as might be discovered by his creature. The king’s officers desired of Scot, that he might be shot, he told them that was too good a death for such a villain, adding that in his country none but a gentleman, or soldier who committed a capital crime, was shot, and then was befriended, but in Java it is looked upon to be the most cruel and ignominious death that is. However they being very importunate, in the evening those of the factory led him into the fields, and binding him to a stake, the first ball carried away a piece of his arm, bone and all ; they next struck him through the breast up near the shoulder, then holding down his head, he looked upon the wound. The third shot was made with a bullet cut in three parts, which hitting him on the breast triangle wise, he fell down as low as the stake would permit. After which between them and the Flemmings he was shot

almost to pieces before they left him. On this occasion the admiral and Shah Bandar sent them a guard of men every night for fear the Chinese should rise against them, but although they were in no fear, yet they kept four of their men to be witnesses, that in case of such a rising they should do nothing but what was purely in their own defence.

“NAMES OF THE INCENDIARIES. By a bribe Scot got hold of Boyboy, another of them who confessed his associates, viz., Uniete the chief; Sawman his partner (who dwelt in the house with him); Hinting, Omigpayo, Hewsamkow, Utee (who was shortly after crised for lying with a woman), Irrow and Sakkow; these were fled to Jakkatra the two last of which he had never heard of before. He used all the means in his power to get them into his hands, but could not succeed, without being at excessive charges. There were others also, who taking shelter in the houses of some considerable Javans, could not be come at. However some were offered to sale by their patrons, and the English beat the price as one would do about an ox or a calf; but they held them so dear, that Scot durst not deal with them. He proffered as much for each as would purchase another slave in his room, and put something in their purses besides; but the criminals were such fit instruments for their purposes as being practised in all kinds of villany that they would not part with them under a great sum. For (the Author says) all the Javans and Chinese from the highest to the lowest, are great villains and have not one spark of virtue in them; and that if it was not for the Shah Bandar the admiral and one or two more, who were natives of Clyn, there would have been no living for a Christian amongst them, without a fort, or very strong houses of brick or stone. Boyboy above mentioned they tortured not, because of his confession, but crised (or stabbed) him.

“MANDELIKKO'S MALICE. Sometime after a relation of the king's called Pangran man Delike, a mere limb of the devil, who kept one of those nine villains in his house, coming to the factory to buy cloth, they desired he would deliver the fellow into their hands, telling him, their general should give him thanks; and representing how much it would conduce to the good of the country, to root out such villains. His answer was that they should tell those so, who had the good of the country at heart, for that he had not. Three or four days after, he came again, and was very earnest with Scot, to give him credit for six or seven

hundred ryals of eight in cloth ; but because he was not to be trusted, the factor excused the matter : under pretence of expecting the ships every day, and that he could deliver no goods, without pepper for loading. When he saw he could not prevail, he went out very angry and at the gate, looking back upon the house, said it was pity but it should be burnt again.

“ **DISCOVERED BY A CHINESE.** This same person tampered with a Chinese who had some dealings with the English, to help him to some of his nation, dwelling near the factory, to undertake firing it again ; but having been generally hated for all his cruelties, the Chinese told them what he said. Scot upon this, would have presently gone to court to complain of him, but many advised him against it, saying that he was a desperate villain and cared neither for king nor protector ; so that if they exposed him, he would do them a mischief, whatsoever came of it ; Scot was sensible of this ; for though both the king and governor had sent to him often, to deliver to the English the fellow he harboured, yet he never regarded them. Shortly after, many attempts were made to burn their house ; for the town was fired in three places at the same time, in one night, a little to windward of it, and twice another night.

“ **A MERRY ACCIDENT.** Now to season these melancholy stories with a diverting one. During this interval it happened that a Chinese who dwelt close to the factory, stole away the wife of another ; and being hardly pursued by her husband, knew not how to conceal her, but by lifting her over the pales : the English having newly shot much pepper into their warehouses it was at that time so extremely hot, that they were forced to keep the door open continually day and night. This being a fit place for her to hide in, she got within the door as far as she could for the heat, and there was no danger of her husband coming there to look for her. After the watch was set one of the company returning from the yard, which they often visited both day and night, saw the woman (it being a little starlight) standing at the pepper-house door, she having come forth to take breath ; for she had better have been in a hot bath so long. He presently cried out, a woman, upon which Scot running down in haste, caused her to be searched and examined. Her defence was, that her husband would have beaten her ; and that therefore she was forced to climb over their pales, to hide herself. It is usual for the Chinese to beat their wives, especially if they be of another

country, and this woman was a Cochin Chinese, who had no friends in Bantam; for the Javans will rarely suffer them to beat their women. Wherefore Mr. Scot having searched and secured every place, concluded this matter would prove some such jest. Accordingly next morning her husband came and falling down on his marrow-bones, desired he would be good to him; for having so lately tortured some Chinese (says Scot) he imagined I would torture him also, but on my conscience he needed no more plague or punishment than such a wife, wherefore I presently dismissed them both.

“THEY ENLARGE THEIR FACTORY. The ninth of September the protector sent out a proclamation that no Chinese should weigh any pepper to the strangers, meaning the English and the Hollanders; which last had procured it. The same day they dined with the English and told them, that the protector owed them ten thousand sacks of pepper; Scot replied that was not so, for they would never be such fools to trust him so much. Next morning he went to the old woman who commands the protector and all the rest; and indeed is called the queen of the land, by the Shah Bandar, and divers others; although she is not of the royal blood; but on account of her wisdom, is held in such esteem by people of all ranks, that she rules as if she were absolute queen of the country. As soon as the English had acquainted her with the grievance, she sent for the protector desiring them to talk with him before her. When he came, Scot asked, for what reason he had forbidden them to trade? His answer was that he must buy ten thousand sacks of pepper for the king; the factor replied, that the Flemmings themselves had told him, that the pepper was for them, and that he owed them so many sacks. The statesman had recourse to several evasions, but the queen their constant friend, said she should not hurt them. For the Hollanders when they saw they could not get the people to trade for pepper, bribed the protector to act as he did, and if the English had but been masters of ten thousand ryals of eight, more than they were, the Flemmings should have procured little pepper that year in Bantam.

“THEIR EARLY POWER BY SEA. It is most certain, they are much hated there; and whatever is done in their favour is for fear of their shipping, which is very numerous all over those parts. The twelfth of September, the protector sent ryals up and down in the king's name, amongst the dealers in pepper

requiring some to furnish an hundred sacks, some fifty, some ten, some five, as if he was begging ; and indeed he took it up at the king's price, which was half a ryal in a sack less than the English paid. The Chinese, with much grudging, served him. A while after he set a tax upon them, to serve him with so much more. Upon this they railed both at him, and the Hollanders. Many of them would not receive their money, but the officers would throw it down in their houses, and take their names.

“THE FACTORY FIRED AGAIN. The fifteenth of September by means of an old trot who was making candles, the town was set on fire ; by which all the upper work of the three houses of the English was burned and the whole greatly endangered. The Shah Bandar came to them in the tumult, and the admiral (who had charge of the court, in the absence of king or governors, then on a progress) sent them a great train of his principal men. One of the king's uncles and the rich Chinese came to them likewise with a great number. All these came to see that no body offered them any violence ; knowing that they had enemies of great power, on account of their goods, and now lay exposed to them all ; for their fence was almost burned to the ground, so that they had not a place to dress their victuals in. Yet by good luck they had a little shed in the middle of their yard, which was their court of guard that escaped where they encamped by night. The Dutch house escaped though but narrowly ; wherefore the English borrowed some of their men. For it is to be noted that though they were mortal enemies in point of trade, yet in all other matters they were friends, and would have lived and died one for the other. Also the admiral and Shah Bandar sent them men every night, so that with their drum, shot and pikes, they lived a soldiers' life, till their fence was made up, and afterwards too ; for they looked every hour when it should be burnt down again, or beat down by those who wanted to have the cutting of their throats.

“MANDELIKKO'S RAPINE. The Pangran Mandelikko, before mentioned, in the end of September fell to robbing junks, one of which was of Jore, laden with rice, men and women. Being assisted with a great crew of villains, his slaves he seized on the junk in the night, and carried away all the rice, with the men and women, as his prisoners. This was the sure way to starve the town, by banishing the junks, which used to furnish it with provisions, the country not being able to supply one quarter of

the inhabitants. The king and his protector, sent to command him to deliver the people and goods which he had taken ; but he refused, and presently fortified himself. He was supported by the rest of the Pangrans, who were the king's relations as well as his ; yet being all traitors the king's officers durst not meddle with him. The protector Shah Bandar, and admiral, sent to them to be upon their guard. The rebels grew every day stronger, so that both Javans and strangers began to be in great fear. Scot borrowed some small ordnance of the Chinese merchants his friends and fortified the factory with chains and bushes. He caused also a great quantity of chain, langral and crossbar shot to be made. A stop was put to all trade at this time, nobody minding either to buy or sell anything. Every day the spies of the rebels would come into the yard of the English factory and be very inquisitive to know, what the men were so hard at work upon. They plainly told them that they looked every night for such a man's coming, and therefore made provision for his entertainment.

“**KING OF JAKATRA'S QUARREL.** About the twentieth of October, the King of Jakkatra came into Bantam, with fifteen hundred fighting men, besides stragglers, and had a thousand more following him. He challenged both the rebels and Pangrans to fight ; but the former would not venture out of their fortifications. He had indeed a great quarrel against them all ; for but a little while before, they sought to drive him out of his kingdom.

“ The six and twentieth, the King of Jakkatra, and the admiral, sent for the English, to know if means could not be found to fire them at a distance out of the reach of their bases, of which they had a great number. Scot told them if there had been a ship in the road, it might easily have been done ; but that for their parts, they wanted some of the most necessary materials such as camphire, saltpetre and brimstone. The admiral said he would help them to these things ; and had a long bow, and arrows fit for such a purpose ; although a musket had been better.

“**MANDELIKKO BANISHED.** The English intended to have had the king's ordnance planted to advantage, and shot red hot bullets, which would have made terrible havock among them and their cane fortifications. The principal rebel had endeavoured all he could to fire them ; now they resolved to see if they could

not fire him. But whether it was for fear of the King of Jakkatra or that they were apprised of the factor's design, the Pangrans and rebels came to an agreement within two days after ; which was this, that the principal rebel should within six days, depart out of the King of Bantam's dominions, taking with him only thirty of his domestics, which he accordingly did. For ten days together the English expected every hour both night and day that the king's forces and the Pangrans would come to a battle ; for they were drawn up on both sides ; but the Javans are very loth to fight if they can avoid it ; the reason it is said, is that if their slaves be killed, wherein all their wealth lies, they will be beggared.

“The seventeenth of November, which was the coronation day, they invited the Flemmings to dinner ; in the middle of which they drank the Queen's health and shot off all their ordnance which had lain loaded ever since the late trouble.

“ENGLISH ADMIRER. There resort to Bantam people of various nations, several of which have factories there. These foreigners having heard of the English in times past long before they ever saw any of them, were very curious to observe their carriage and behaviour. It was the subject of their admiration that being so few, they should yet render themselves so considerable ; never putting up the least injury that was offered by either the Javans or Chinese but always righting themselves ; and when the protector wronged them, it was well known they did not spare to tell him of it roundly, and to such purpose that he fell short of having his will. It was no less notorious that when at the first arrival of their ships, the Javans purloined their goods ; so many as they took were either slain, wounded or soundly beaten by them. They thought the English durst not do so, when their ships were gone, and so made it their practice to steal from them both by day and night ; but they found it all the same, which they wondered at. And I have heard, says the Author, many strangers declare, who happened to be present, when we have been beating some Javans, that they never knew or heard of any nation, who were liegers there, but ours, that durst once strike a Javan in Bantam ; and it was a common talk among strangers as well as the natives, how we stood at defiance with those who hated us for our goods, and how little we cared for them. Likewise how we never offered any wrong to the meanest in the town, and were generally beloved by all the better sort, they would



LOOKING DOWN BOBOLONG ROAD, SAMARANG, FROM RESIDENT'S OFFICES (ON LEFT).

say it was not so with the Flemmings, nor with any other nation. All the while I was there (continues he) I never heard that ever the Flemmings gave a Javan so much as a box on the ear ; but many times have fallen foul on the Chinese, who will very seldom make any resistance ; yet for all this it is certain, that they are mortally hated, as well by all sorts of Javans as the Chinese.

“ENGLISH LOVED, DUTCH HATED. Now every day the Hollanders looked for their shipping, and yet had but little pepper, nor knew where to buy any ; for the Chinese would sell them none, so long as the English would give as much as they. More than that, when they had laid out all their ryals, some of those merchants sold them pepper, to be paid when their ships came, although they could not tell themselves when they would arrive. If they would have gone to the Flemmings, they might have had ready money, and great thanks. The Dutch therefore bought what they could by retail in the markets, sending it to a Chinese house by boat in the evening ; but the charge consumed the gain.

“About this time the Emperor of Damak, who not many years before, for tyranny had been deposed by the kings thereabouts, going by sea from Bantam to another town upon the coast, was stabbed in bed by one of his sons, when he was asleep.

“CHINESE FRAUD. The Chinese would usually mix their pepper in the night if it was left with them ; or else put in dust or may be remove to another place. If the English disliked the spice which they saw at one man’s house to-day they would be sure to find the same in another house a good distance off to-morrow ; and the night after at a third house, that they might pass for different parcels, and the warehouse where it lay first should be shut, or a quantity of better pepper lodged in room of the bad.

“In November and the beginning of December, the English were busied not only in building but also in getting in, and cleaning pepper. The fourteenth of December, they were informed by a Dutch pinnace which arrived, that the Queen was dead and that a great plague and sickness had afflicted all Christendom (which more sensibly shocked them, than all their former troubles), that the King of Scots was crowned and that England was in peace within itself, and likely to be so with Spain in a little time. But they could give them no account of their ships, nor of any letters

brought by the fleet. Wherefore Mr. Scot hasted aboard the Dutch admiral and found there were letters in the vice admiral.

“**THE CHIEF INCENDIARY TAKEN.** The twenty second by means of some of the friends of the English, Uniete, the chief of the incendiaries who had undermined their house, was discovered and taken. He had been long in the mountains and for want of food, was forced to repair to certain houses near the town, from whence he was brought to the rich Chinese house. So soon as Scot heard of him, he sent Mr. Towrson to the protector to inform him of it ; and withal to let him know, that the English intended shortly to execute him ; for since the time that this mischief happened, he never went out of sight of the house but once, till the Company’s ships arrived ; and then his fear was so great, that he thought all would be burnt before he got back again. Besides three times every week he used to search all the Chinese houses round about, for fear of more undermining.

“**GENERAL MIDDLETON ARRIVES.** The same day, towards evening the English descried their ships coming into the road ; but their joy was allayed when they saw the weak condition they were in ; especially as Bantam was not the place to recover men that are sick, but rather to kill men that come thither in health. Mr. Scot, at his first going aboard the admiral found the General Captain Henry Middleton, very sickly and weak ; to whom he gave a brief account of the past troubles, letting him know nevertheless that he had lading ready for two ships, which was some pleasure to him, in his grief for the men. There were scarce fifty sound in the four ships. Of the sick men a number died ; and many of those who arrived in health, never went out of the road.

“**THE INCENDIARY EXECUTED.** The twenty fourth the Vice Admiral Captain COULTHURST came ashore with some other merchants. The same day they executed the villain lately taken. This was the fourth principal who had been put to death, besides him who was killed for stealing a woman. At Scot’s coming away, there remained four alive, of which two were at Jakkatra, another with Mandelikko the traitor and a third with Kay Sanapatly Dama whom they could not as then come at. The same day the vice admiral accompanied with those of the factory, and also some of the new-come merchants, went to court to acquaint the king, that the general had letters from the King of England with a present for him ; and that as soon as he was a little refreshed,

being weary after his long voyage, he would come himself to wait on him, and deliver the letters and present.

“Sunday the twenty third a counsel was held, wherein (for reasons needless to mention) it was thought fittest to send the *Dragon* and the *Ascension* to the Molukkos ; and that the *Hector* and *Susan* should lade pepper and be dispatched home. The remainder of the week was employed in getting fresh victuals, herbs, fruits and flowers for the recovering their men, who were most grievously afflicted with the scurvy.

“THE GENERAL GOES TO COURT. On Christmas-day those of the factory dined on board the general, who the thirty first went on shore ; and being accompanied with all the merchants who were in health, and divers others repaired to court and delivered the King’s letter and present, which were one beautiful bason and ewre, two standing cups, all parcellgilt ; a gilt spoon and six muskets, with their furniture ; these were kindly received. The next day or two, the general spent in visiting the chief friends of the English, as the Shah Bandar, the admiral and the rich Chinese, and also made them presents, which were received very thankfully. After this, they fell to work both ashore and aboard, to pack up and take in goods for the Molukkos ; but as soon as the men were a little recovered of the scurvy, they were seized with the flux ; insomuch that being still weak in mariners, it seemed impossible with so few hands, to be able to accomplish their business at least in time. The seventh of January, the Dutch fleet being nine tall ships, besides pinnaces and sloops set sail for Amboyna and the Molukkos so that the English were a long time doubtful, whether their ships (which could not go away sooner, for the reason just mentioned) should get any lading in those parts that year.

“The tenth, the ships that were bound homewards began to take in pepper, but were so oppressed with sickness, that they could make no dispatch. The eighteenth, those designed for the islands of Banda, having taken in all their loading, set sail, their men for the most part extreme weak and sick ; how they spent their time, till their return to Bantam, the Author refers to their own account. Presently after their departure the protector sent to agree about custom, which they thought had been settled when their first shipping returned. But he asked many new duties ; and because Mr. Scot would not pay them, he commanded the porters that they should carry no pepper. Wherefore to

prevent this being farther hindrance to them in loading their ships, he was forced to agree to pay down according to the rate the ships paid before, and leave the rest unsettled, till the return of the general ; in which the protector would have them believe, he did them a great favour.

“ **DEATH OF OFFICERS AND MEN.** The two homeward bound ships, which they were then lading, lost their masters, Samuel Spencer of the *Hector*, and Habbakuk Pery of the *Susan* ; also William Smith, chief master's mate of the *Hector*, and soon after Captain Styles, with many other of their principal men, as well as of their ordinary sailors, died ; so that the factors were constrained not only to hire men to help them there but likewise as many Guzerats and Chinese as they could get to bring home the ships, which was exceeding chargeable. With much fatigue they had them laden by the fifteenth of February but it was the fourth of March before they could be gotten in readiness to sail. They departed that day for England ; the *Hector* had on board sixty three persons of all sorts, but many of her own men were sick ; her master was William Crane. The *Susan* (whose master was Richard Hacknesse) had forty seven, many of her Englishmen being likewise sick.

“ **DUTCH SHIPS ARRIVE.** The sixth of May there arrived a ship from Holland which on the coast of Goa, along which she came, met with two more, bound for Kambaya. These three had taken four Portugueze ships, wherein they found great riches, only one which was laden with horses, they set on fire, and consumed both ship and cargo. This ship left Holland in June 1604, but they brought no farther news than the English ships had done. Their captain Cornelis Syverson, was a very proud Boor, and had neither wit, manners, honesty nor humanity. Presently after his arrival, the Flemmings withdrew that familiarity, which before they held with the English ; as they judged by General Warwick's orders.

“ **GREAT CARNIVAL.** The author comes now to speak somewhat of the manner of the King of Bantam's being circumcised ; and of the public rejoicings for the space of a month and more, before his going to church. In preparing for this all the better sort of that country had been busied from the time of the arrival of the China junks, which is in February and March till the twenty fourth of June 1605. On this occasion a great pageant was erected on a green before the court-gate, and railed about.

On the front of it was a huge figure of a devil, and on it were set three chairs of state ; the middlemost which was for the king was placed highest by two feet ; the other two were for the sons of Pangran Goban, who was to succeed in case the king died without issue.

“ It is a custom here for all people of ability to make every new king a present on the day, either of his accession or circumcision. This must be done in public, with the greatest shew they are able to make ; and those who cannot afford singly to do it, join a company of them together, strangers as well as natives. These shews began about the twenty fifth of June, and continued all that month and the next except on certain rainy days. The protector began the ceremony ; the rest both gentle and simple performed their parts daily one after another ; not according to their ranks or dignity but as each was in readiness, and sometimes two or three companies in a day. Because the Javans are not good at fire-arms, the protector borrowed shot both of the English and Flemmings between whom a strife arose, which party should go foremost they contemning the fewness of the English, and the English their dirtiness. The English were neatly dressed with scarfs and coloured hatbands ; the Flemmings went in greasy thrumbed caps and tarred coats, with their shirts hanging betwixt their legs. The former therefore marched in the rear, refusing to go next after such nasty fellows.

“ JAVAN DISCIPLINE. Every morning the king’s guard consisting both of shot and pikes were placed without the rails round the pageant. They were commonly about three hundred, but on principal days, there were upwards of six hundred drawn up in files, according to the English discipline. But in their march they differ ; for instead of going three, five, seven or nine, in a breast, they always go one by one following one another as close as they can, with their pikes upright. As for fire-arms they have not been used to them. Their drums are huge pans of a metal called tambaga, which make a most hellish sound. They have their colours and companies like the English but their standards and ancients differ much ; their ancient staff is very tall, and bends at the top like the end of a bow, from whence the colours which are hardly a yard in breadth, hang down with a long pendant.

“ ENGLISH AND DUTCH QUARREL. The first day⁷ on which the shew was greatest, certain forts made of canes, and other trash, were

set up before the pageant. These were defended by some Javans against other companies, which assaulted and often fired them ; but while the Javans were at it in jest with their pikes, the English and Flemmings were at it in earnest with their muskets. The protector perceiving it, sent to desire them to be quiet whereupon they were quiet for that day. In the evening Mr. Scot asked one of their merchants if he thought Holland was then able to wage war with England, that there should be such strife between their men and his about precedence ? He likewise put them in mind that if it had not been for the English they must have been the most contemptible nation in Europe. Their answer was that times and seasons change ; and without doubt most of them here think themselves able to withstand any nation in the world ; but I can say nothing (says Scot) to the opinion of their states and the wiser sort at home.

“ **ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.** Every day the king was brought out of his palace upon a man’s shoulder bestriding his neck and the man held his legs before him. Many rich umbrellas were carried over and about him. His principal guard who marched before him, were placed within the rails, round the pageant. The king was followed by a number of the principal men of the country, who in their turns daily gave their attendance at court. A while after the king was seated the shews came in the following order : first a company of musketeers, led by some gentleman slave ; next came the pikes, with their colours and music in the midst of them. The music consisted of ten or twelve tombaga pans, carried upon a coulstaff between two ; each was a note higher than another, and two attended to play by striking on them with sticks. They had also an inferior kind of music, which went both before and after. After the pikes, followed a body of targetteers with darts, then were brought in many sorts of trees, with their fruit. These were succeeded by variety of beasts and fowls both alive and artificial ; the latter were so curiously made, that at a distance they were not to be distinguished from the natural.

“ **THE PLAYERS AND PRESENTS.** After these came several men and women attired like players who danced, vaulted, and tumbled before the king, performing many surprising feats of agility ; then followed two or three hundred women carrying presents, with an old matron to every ten to keep them in order. These presents were of rice and cashes, they were laid in voiders

made of split canes, curiously set out for shew with painted and gilded papers, but the present itself commonly was not worth above twelve pence. Next came the rich presents which were commonly a fair tuban and some fairer cloth of their own manufacture curiously wrought and gilded or imbroidered with gold for the king's own use ; these also were carried by women, having two pikes borne upright before them, and every royal present had a rich umbrella borne over it. The procession was closed by the heirs to the parties who sent the presents which are their youngest sons if they have any. They are very richly attired and adorned with jewels of gold, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones about their arms and middles, they have also rich umbrellas held over them, and a number of men and women attending them. After they have made their obeisance to the king, they sit down on mats laid upon the ground. The presents are all carried into the court, where officers are appointed to receive them.

“ JAVANS GOOD PIKEMEN. After all are past by one with the pageant speaks out of the devil's mouth, and commands silence in the king's name. Then the revels begin and the music strikes up ; and now and then a volley of shot is fired off. The pikemen and targetteers with darts shew all their feats of arms ; these are very expert at their weapons although their musketeers be bad. When they charge their enemy, they always advance dancing that he might not take aim to throw his dart, or make a thrust. Amongst some of the shews there were junks laden with cashes and rice, which sailed by clock-work. There were likewise historical representations of matters that had past in former times taken both from the Old Testament and the chronicles of Java. All the inventions above mentioned, at least the major part of them, were taught long ago by the Chinese and some they learned from the Guzurat, Turks, and other nations, which come thither to trade ; for they are but blockheads themselves.

“ ENGLISH SHEW AND PRESENT. The English brought a very fair pomegranate tree full of fruit, both ripe and half ripe, some young and others in bud. They had set it in a frame (made of ratans, or carrick rushes) somewhat like a bird's cage, but very wide, with earth about the root, and upon the green turfs so that it stood as if it had been still growing. Upon the turfs they put three white rabbits which the vice admiral gave the Author

and with thread tied to the boughs several little birds which were continually chirping. They had likewise four furious serpents, which the Chinese make very artificially. Upon these they hung five pieces of cloth, curiously wrought and gilded after their fashion which were for the king's use ; besides some other pieces of stuff for him to bestow upon his followers. To these was added a fine petronel and a case of pistols, all demasked each in a beautiful case with silk strings and tassels of gold. As they had no women to carry these things, they borrowed thirty of the prettiest boys they could get and two tall Javans to bear pikes before them. Mr. Towrson had a very pretty Chinese boy, whose father a little before was slain by thieves. This youth dressed as fine as the king himself, they sent to present the things and make a speech to his majesty ; importing that if their number had been equal to their wishes their shew would have made a far better figure.

“The king and those about him took great delight in the conies as well as in beholding some fire-works they carried, which were matters of great curiosity to the young king, and his play-fellows ; but the women cried out for fear the palace should be set on fire.

“**DUTCH PRESENT INSIGNIFICANT.** The Flemmings boasted of their present, being accustomed to brag of small matters. They boasted exceedingly of their king, meaning Grave Maurice, whom they upon all occasions stile Raia Hollanda. Great strife arose betwixt the English and them ; the Flemmings still beginning the quarrel in their drink ; and after all their gostering usually coming off with the worst. But Mr. Scot considering the great charge of goods which lay upon him, and that the English who were but thirteen in a straw house, had no chance in case the Dutch who were an hundred in all, on shore and a ship-board, should fall upon them, made it his business to restrain his men, though with much ado he effected it.

“**KING OF JAKKATRA ARRIVES.** The eighteenth of July, the King of Jakkatra came to exhibit his shew, and make his present ; and at the same time do his homage, which was performed the twenty-third, in this manner. In the morning early, the King of Bantam's guard (which was on this day a more than ordinary number) were placed in files, their pikes sat upright in the ground, their muskets lying in order, and every man sitting by his arms, clothed in red coats. About eight o'clock Mr. Scot with others

of the factory went to see this shew, and taking up their standing near the king's pageant, the officers of the guard would often bid them sit down. The English would answer they must first bring them a form ; for indeed the people of no nation is suffered to stand in the presence either of the king, or any great man, if near them. The Dutch were as stiff as the English, but for other nations, the guard would strike them, if they refused, although the ground and place where they should sit, were never so dirty. But the Javans, who cannot endure that any body should stand over them, would remove a good distance from them ; many of the guard themselves forsook their weapons, and went and sat elsewhere. Neither can these people bear, that one should lay his hand on their head, which is not through any point of religion, as some affirm, but merely out of pride. Many times when Mr. Scot has gone into a Chinese house, where Javans have sat on the floor, and sat down on a chest, as their manner was, they have all started up and ran out of doors ; the Chinese would tell them, that if any other nation should do so, but their or the Hollanders, the Javans would stab them.

“ ATTENDS THE CEREMONY. But to return. About nine o'clock the king was brought out in the manner before mentioned ; two hours after the King of Jakkatra came with a guard of about two hundred. So soon as he appeared in sight, the king's guards all rose up, and proved their weapons, which the English had never observed at any former shew. This was done not for fear of any violence being offered by the King of Jakkatra, but to be ready to defend him ; in case the other petty kings, who had great troops of men, and were his mortal enemies, should rise against him. When he came near the inmost file of the king's guard, he found he could not pass to the pageant, without going through a rank of these petty kings ; wherefore fearing the cowardly stab, which is used among that nation, he began to look aghast, and much confounded although he was as brave a man as any in all those parts ; pass them he would not, but sat down upon a leather laid upon the ground, which every gentleman hath carried after him for that purpose. So soon as he was seated he sent to the king, to know if it were his pleasure he should come to him, whereupon the king sent two of his principal noblemen to conduct him to his presence ; the King of Jakkatra having made his obeisance, the young king embraced him, and welcomes him ; after this, the former sat down in a place

appointed for him. During this interval, some other petty shews were presented.

“**HIS PAGEANTS AND PRESENTS.** About twelve o'clock came the King of Jakkatra's shew and presents. After the three hundred soldiers, came the like number of women with cashes, and strange fowl, both alive and artificial; also many strange beasts; amongst these was one furious animal, called by them a Machan. This creature is somewhat bigger than a lion, and has a stately gait when at liberty; his skin is full of white and red spots, intermixed with black streaks, which run down from the back quite under his belly. Mr. Scot saw one of them leap more than eighteen feet at a single bound, after his prey. They destroy many people near Bantam; and often the king attended by all the country goes out to hunt them; sometimes in the night as well as the day. This beast was inclosed in a great wooden cage, which being placed upon trucks of old carriages, and drawn by buffalos, lay like a traitor upon a hurdle. In the same manner was brought up the figure of a giant thirty feet high; and another of a devil.

“**BEAUTIFUL GARDEN.** These were followed by a garden, full of herbs and flowers, and in the middle was a fish-pond, with divers sorts of small fishes; besides this all sorts of fishes which are known in those parts, were brought in either alive or made by art. While these pageants were in procession they were entertained by players, vaulters and tumblers, all dressed after a very odd and extravagant manner. There was drawn in likewise, a very beautiful bedstead, and quilted bed; also eleven boulders and pillows of silk, embroidered with gold at the ends. The posts of the bedstead were very curiously carved and gilded; with a fair canopy overhead, wrought with gold. A number of other petty toys were brought and presented. Last of all came the king's youngest son, riding in a chariot drawn by buffalos, which the Author thought very unseemly. He allows however that they have but few horses, which are small nags; and that he never saw any of them put to draw, or employed otherwise than to ride on, and run at tilt, after the Barbary fashion; as he heard some Barbary merchants say. This exercise they use at Bantam every Saturday towards evening; except in their time of Lent, which is a little before ours.

“**THE KING CIRCUMCISED.** Two days after this carnival was over, being Friday and their Sabbath, the king was carried on

his pageant to church, where he was circumcised. It was borne up by a great number of men, but the Author could not think there were four hundred, as the king's nurse told him ; because in his opinion so many could not stand under it.

“ THE GENERAL RETURNS FROM TERNATA. The twenty fourth of July the *Dragon* returned from Ternata. Mr. Scot immediately took a prau and going aboard, the general gave him an account of the dangers they had run, and the unkind dealings of the Hollanders, although he saved some of their lives. Nevertheless he had (though with great difficulty and fatigue) gotten a great quantity of cloves towards his lading. The twenty eighth the great *Encusen* of Holland arrived from Ternata ; and the King of Jakkatra came to see the general.

“ A FRAY WITH THE DUTCH. The first of August, in the afternoon, the general and merchants being very busy in the warehouse, taking an inventory of the remainder of prize and other goods, two of the men came bleeding in, having been wounded by the Flemmings. Hereupon the general commanded every man to take his weapons and to lay them over the pates soundly, which was presently performed ; finding no better arms ready, he came into the street only with a small cudgel. The Flemmings were drubbed home to their very gates. One was run quite through the body, yet some said he did not die of it, two more lost their arms. The Flemish merchants applied to the general, but finding that their men began the fray, they said they had but their deserts, and having drank a cup of wine, kindly took leave of him and the merchants.

“ WHO COME OFF WORST. News being presently carried to court, how the Dutch and English had quarrelled, and that two were slain, some about the king asked of which party ? and being told they were Flemmings, they said it was no matter if they were all slain. In this broil none of the English were hurt, but the two who were wounded before the complaint came, and that but slightly ; one having a slash over the hand, the other a stab under the side with a knife. This was the first time they came to blows ; but it was not long before they were at it pell-mell again ; when the Flemmings sped no better then they did then.

“ SHIP NEWS. The eleventh of August two ships arrived from Kambaya, which had taken much rich plunder from the Portuguese. The same day came in one ship from Ternata, and on

the sixteenth the *Ascension* from Banda. The eighth of September the Dutch merchants invited the general and all the English merchants and masters, to a feast ; where there was great cheer, and much friendship passed between them. The fifteenth two Dutch ships set sail for Holland, one a small vessel, which had laden pepper at Bantam, the other was freighted with some cloves taken in at Ternata, and prize goods out of the ships from Kambaya. The twenty first, the Dutch Admiral from Banda arrived ; and next day the general sent some of his merchants to the Dutch house to bid him welcome. The same morning a drunken Flemming caused a new fray, with the surgeon of the factory ; and more joining them on each side, some of the Dutch were wounded.

“ NEW BROILS BY THE DUTCH. Again about one o'clock as the general sat on a bench at the gate, talking with a Portugueze, there came one of their drunken swads, and sat down between them. The general offended at the rudeness of the fellow, gave him a box on the ear, and thrust him away. Presently several of his consorts came about the gate, vapouring with their knives and sabres. The English with sticks and the butt ends of their pikes, drove them into a rack-house ; the door being shut against them they broke it open and knocked some of the swaggerers down, bringing them away as prisoners to the general. So many of the Flemmings as came by peaceably, the general caused to go into the yard, where they were in safety ; and those who would not turn in, were well drubbed about the head and shoulders. So soon as this party was defeated, there came another to take their parts. From sparring words they came to blows, which the English laid on so heavy, that the Dutch were forced to take to their heels. Some of them were knocked down in the streets, and many had their heads pitifully broken ; others were glad to run through a broad filthy ditch to get away, being chased into their houses.

“ ORDERED TO KILL THE ENGLISH. The master of their admiral had occasioned this fray, having gone from ship to ship, to bid the men go armed on shore, and kill what English they met with. Likewise when some of the latter were going aboard the Dutch ships about business, certain Englishmen belonging to their fleet, with weeping eyes called to them, to keep off ; for that strict order was given to kill them, either aboard or on shore ; and desired them to acquaint the general thereof. The Flemmings

therefore, instead of having cause to complain, as they alleged, had reason to think they were dealt kindly with since the English might that day have slain a great number of them ; and would have done so, if the general had but given the word. It was a matter of wonder to the people of all nations at Bantam, that they should dare to come to blows with the Flemmings, they having seven very large ships in the road and the English but two. Not one of them received any hurt, excepting Mr. Sarys, a merchant who had a cut on the fore-finger with a sabre.

“ A RECONCILIATION MADE. At the end of this fray, the Dutch general came to the English house, with a large train of captains, merchants and others ; whom Captain Middleton in like manner accompanied, met in the street and conducted in. After the matter had been talked of a little the Dutch admiral approved of what the English had done ; and some of the captains saying, we complained but their men bore away the blows, the admiral answered it was no matter, for he saw plainly the fault was in their men, and therefore would take care for the future, that so many of them should not be on shore at a time. After much discourse they were treated with sweetmeats and then took leave in a very friendly manner, both parties shaking hands together.

“ TWO JAVAN THIEVES TAKEN. Certain Javans, who belonged to two of the principal men of that land, next the king, having stolen nine muskets and callivers out of the gunner of the *Ascension's* room, shortly after two of them came to steal more, and were taken in the fact. Mr. Scot was sent aboard by the general to examine and bring them ashore. The first told him they belonged to great men, who were very good friend of the English, but he suspected, bid them confess the truth, and they should find some favour ; then they told whose slaves they were, and said the pieces were forthcoming. Being brought ashore, the general sent to acquaint the king and protector with this matter and desired he might have his fire-arms again. The protector sent them to the masters of the slaves, who setting more value on the guns than their men, said they had none, but what they bought. Yet they sent to desire the general to defer their execution for a day or two, which was granted, but because their masters were somewhat disaffected, the protector in the king's name sent the executioner with a guard of pikes, to put them to death.

“AND EXECUTED. When they came to the place of execution the general taking pity of them, would have given them their lives; but the hangman said their lives were not in his power but the king’s, who having ordered him to execute them he would do his office. The two thieves very patiently suffered, as the people of Java always do; for they reckon it the greatest glory imaginable to die resolutely, without any shew of fear; and the Author, who had seen several both men and women put to death, assures us, that they go to execution in as careless or unconcerned a manner as it is possible for flesh and blood to do. One would think from hence, that these men should be good soldiers; but it is quite otherwise, this valour appearing in them only when there is no remedy.

“DUTCH FACTORY FIRED. The twenty sixth of September by a Javan shooting off a gun the town was set on fire. Many of the English seamen happening at that time to be ashore their house was preserved; but the Dutch settlement being to leeward, could not escape although they should have had ever so much help. The upper work of one of their principal houses, contiguous to the great one, was burnt with all their outhouses and the goods that were in them; as cables, hawsers, pickled pork and divers other things; whereby they sustained great damage. Some who had served there five years, lost all that they had acquired in that time. Not long after the town was twice fired in the night by the Javans, on the side the English were of; which put them to great trouble in moving their goods backwards and forwards; but by help of their seamen and the Chinese it was quenched. The third of October, the general made a feast, which was for his farewell, inviting the Dutch admiral and captains, with the masters and merchants, where the whole passed with mirth and great friendship.

“THE GENERAL RETURNS HOMEWARDS. The fourth of October the general accompanied by several merchants and others went to court to take his leave of the king and his nobles. The sixth, about ten o’clock he went aboard calling by the way at the Dutch house to take his leave of the admiral and merchants. Besides those who were to return for England (among whom the Author, Mr. Scot, was one) there went aboard with him Mr. Towrson (who was to stay for agent there) and other merchants; some of whom after dinner went ashore; the rest stayed till next day. About three o’clock they weighed anchor,

and with some ordnance bid the town and Dutch ships farewell. About eleven or twelve at night, they came to anchor under an island, where next day, they took in wood which the general had sent men before-hand to cut down. The seventh towards evening they set sail again and then Mr. Towrson with some others of the merchants taking their leave, went ashore and the ships continued their course directly for England."

" OCCURENCES AT BANTAM AND OTHER PARTS OF THE EAST INDIES FROM OCTOBER, 1605, TILL OCTOBER, 1609 : WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTS AND COMMODITIES OF THOSE PARTS." (From the Journal kept by CAPTAIN JOHN SARIS, Deputy-Governor and Governor of the English Factory at Bantam from 1605 until 1609.)

" The seventh of October, 1605, the General Henry Middleton and Captain Christopher Coulthurst departed from Bantam road for England. The eighth they killed one of the Keygus Varows slaves, who attempted to fire their house.

" JUNK TAKEN BY MICHELBORNE. The twenty third here arrived a junk of the Flemmings from Priaman, by who they had intelligence of Sir Edward Michelborne and Captain Davis, being upon the coast, and that they had taken a Guzerat junk in the streights of Sunda, bound from Bantam to Priaman.

" SARIS EXAMINED THEREUPON. The twenty fifth upon a report which the Flemmings had made of Sir Edward, they were sent for to court where it was demanded whether they knew him ? And why he should offer violence to the king's friends who had done him no wrong ? It was answered that they knew a knight so called, but that whether he was upon the coast or that the Guzerat ship was taken, they knew not but by report of the Flemmings, which they deemed to be false, and that upon farther inquiry it might prove rather to be one of the Flemming's ships which set sail two days before the departure of the said Guzerat from Bantam, whereupon they were dismissed till farther proof could be made.

" The twenty sixth Admiral van Hangen of Utrecht departed for Holland with two ships more, by whom the English advised the company of all matters at large. The twenty ninth Sir Edward Michelborne arriving at Bantam. Mr. Towrson and the author went aboard him. There he mentioned the taking

of the Guzerat, whereupon they begged him not to meddle with any more of the Chinese junks, and he promised he would not. The second of November he set sail for the streights of Pallingban.

“The thirteenth there arrived a small ship of the Flemmings from the Molukkas called the *Little Sun*.

“DUTCH DISCOVER NEW GUINEA. The eighteenth a small pinnace of the Flemmings departed for the discovery of the island called Nova Guinea, which was said to yield great plenty of gold. And the twenty fourth Vansoult set sail for Koromandel.

“The second of December three junks arrived from Pattanny which brought news of the great loss the Flemmings had sustained by fire there.

“The seventeenth General Warwick arrived from Pattanny where he had taken a very rich carak bound from Makau, the greatest part of her lading raw silk.

“The second of January, 1606, a junk of this town set sail for Timor, freighted by the Chinese for that island with broad plates of silver, beaten very thin, of a hand's breadth, English iron, coarse porcelain, taffaties, china pans and bells.

“The twentieth there came in a Chinese junk, which Sir Edward Michelborne had rifled and restitution was demanded of the factory, the governor and principal courtiers being very much offended, but they were pacified by the admiral and the Shah Bandar. The Nakhada alledged that many rich parcels were taken out of her.

“The twenty third of May, a small frigate of the Flemmings arrived from Ternata and brought away their merchants who had been left there by Bastianson. The Spaniards stripped them of all their effects but gave the men their liberty. They carried the King of Ternata for the Manillas and (as it was reported) intended to send him for Spain. About ten leagues from Jakkatra this Flemmish frigate chanced to meet with the King of Bantam's fleet, which pillaged them of all they had saved from the Spaniards. The Flemmings endeavoured to get restitution, but could obtain none of the Javans.

“The twenty ninth the king's fleet returned having done very little against their enemies the Pallingbans. The fifteenth of June here arrived Nakhada Tingall, a Ching-man from Banda in a Javan junk, laden with mace and nutmegs which he sold here to the Guzerats for an hundred and fifty ryals of eight the Bahar of Bantam, which is four hundred and fifty kattis. He

told the Author that the Flemmings' pinnace, which went upon discovery for Nova Guinea, was returned to Banda, having found the island, but sending their men ashore to desire trade, nine of them were killed by the natives, who are heathens and men-eaters, so that they were constrained to return without doing anything.

“ECLIPSE OF THE MOON. The sixth of August the moon was eclipsed about eight o'clock in the evening for two hours, the Chinese and Javanese beating mortars and pans all the while, and crying out the moon was dead, which made a most hideous noise. The fourth of October, the China quarter was all burnt down, but that of the English was saved. The same night the carak of the Flemmings set sail for Holland, laden with fifteen thousand sacks of pepper, some raw silk, and a great quantity of China sugar. The fifth the *West Frisland* arrived from Ternata, whence she was driven by the Spaniards; she was not above half laden with mace, cloves and cotton yarn.

“The ninth here arrived a small frigate from Sukadanna, the merchant Claes Simonson; his lading was wax, Kaulakka and great store of diamonds. The thirteenth about midnight they had an earthquake which continued not long, but for the time was very dreadful.

“The thirteenth of December two junks of the Flemmings arrived from Jor, by whom they understood that there was a Flemish fleet of eleven ships before Malakka. The *Orangia*, admiral, commanded by Matteeze the younger, *Amsterdam*, vice admiral, the *Middleburgh*, *Mauritius*, *Erasmus*, *Great Sun*, *Little Sun*, *Nassow*, *Provincies*, *White Lion* and the *Black Lion*.

“DUTCH ATTACK MALAKKA. May the twenty second they cast anchor before Malakka with nine ships only, for their admiral had sent the *Provincies* and the *Erasmus* to Achen. The fifth of June they landed their men, but a little before the Portuguese set fire to one carak and four junks that were in the road. In July the *Provincies* and *Erasmus* joined the rest of the fleet. The twenty fifth of August, the vice roy, with great sixteen ships, was discovered by the *Little Sun*, that was appointed to keep watch at an island, called Cape Rochado, which immediately came, and the captain gave notice of it to the admiral, who was very much unprepared, his ordnance and men being ashore, but the Portuguese calling a council, gave the Flemmings twenty four hours time to get his men and guns aboard and prepare himself before he came to them. The Flemmings weighed as soon as

they were ready, and stood out of the harbour to them, where began a brisk engagement, which held two nights and one day. The *Middleburg*, the *Nassow* and three Portugueze ships were burnt. The *Orangia* having sprung a great leak, was obliged to put into Jor (that king being their great friend and assistant), the fleet following him. There he remained a month, and then set sail for Malakka again, where he met with six ships of the Portugueze, of which the Flemmings burnt three, and the Portugueze themselves the three others. From thence they departed for the Nikubars, where they found the vice roy, with seven ships, but so close hauled ashore, that they durst not meddle with them. The twentieth the admiral arrived at Bantam with six ships and the twenty ninth departed for the Molukkas.

“The fourteenth of May, 1607, a Malayan junk came in from Grese, by whom they were informed that one Julius a Flemming and five more, who left Bantam road the thirteenth of November, 1606, for Sukadanna, were put to death at Bemermassin, and all their goods seized by the king of that place, for having uttered certain contumelious speeches of the king, which coming to his knowledge he sent for the merchant and master to come before him, and gave orders to kill them by the way.

“The seventeenth of August here arrived the *Great Sun* from Koromandel, the captain Peter Isaacson, who informed them, that upon the island of Seylan they took a great Portugueze ship bound for Malakka, out of which they had eighty packs of several sorts of cloth and eight hundred bades of sugar, likewise that in the road of Masulipatan where their factory lies, they took another Portugueze ship very richly laden with all sorts of commodities fit for that coast, which made it more valuable as they were ignorant what commodities were most in request there. Her lading was cloves, mace, nutmegs, China taffaties, velvets and damasks of the brightest colours, but no white China porcelain fine and coarse, of which your great basons with brims are the best. Lastly that the Flemmings had factories in three several towns upon that coast but not far asunder, viz., at Masulipatan, Pettapoli, and Balligat. Masulipatan lieth in the latitude of seventeen degrees. It is a place of great plenty of provisions, thirty two hens being sold for a ryal, two sheep for a ryal and an ox for a ryal, but in May when the wind is at west it is so extreme hot there, that the breeze is ready to make one faint away, yet you cannot sweat by any

means till the sun be down, and then you shall sweat very much, wherefore in this month they go not abroad in day-time but in the night, for many have been suffocated by the heat.

“LUCIA ISLAND. The seventh there arrived a small pinnace from an island called St. Lucia, in the latitude of twenty four degrees and a half south about a mile from the island of Madagaskar, where they were forced in on account of the carak which departed from hence the fourth of October, 1606, which having sprung a leak they were obliged to throw over board three thousand sacks of pepper, besides other commodities to a great value. They told the English that St. Lucia was a very good place to refresh in, that the people have no knowledge of money, that they bought a fat ox for a tin spoon and a sheep for a small piece of brass, that it is hard ground, and very good riding in seven and eight fathom.

“The fourteenth of November Captain David Middleton arrived here in the *Consent* of London.

“AFFAIRS OF THE DUTCH. The seventeenth the Flemmish admiral Mateleeze arrived here from the coast of China, where he hoped to have gotten trade but could not ; he offered them at Kanton an hundred thousand ryals of eight for a gift only, but they would not accept it. He was in great danger of being taken there by six caraks which came out of Makau on purpose ; they made him cast off his pinnace which the Portugueze took. He touched at Kamboya and Pabang but bought nothing besides victuals.

“The seventeenth of December arrived the *Gelderland* from Holland. They came between St. Laurence and the coast of Africa. Their first place of refreshment was at Maoytta, one of the islands of Komora, where they set up a fine pinnace. It is a good harbour but there are few cattle. From thence sailing to Kalekut in their way, they took a small boat of Mekka laden with rice, having passengers in her of divers nations. The town of Kalekut lies by the sea-side, and is thought to be five English miles long. The Sambarin, which is their king, came down to them, very richly clad ; he had a crown of gold over his turban and a naked sword in his hand, which is their manner. He gave the Flemmings good words, offering to let them leave a factory there, but they durst not trust him, the Portugueze being so much in his favour.

“The twenty seventh Admiral Paulus van Carle arrived at

Bantam, with seven very good ships, and one Portugueze frigate. They refreshed at Cape de Lope Consaluo upon the coast of Guinea, where they found very good water and fish. They stayed here six weeks, having the wind at south east by east, and from hence sailed to an island called Annabon upon the same coast.

“**THEY ATTACK MOSAMBIK.** A brief account of their voyage according to their own report is as follows:—The thirteenth of March they came to an anchor in the road of Mosambik, in eighteen fathoms, the castle firing very hotly at them, but instead of answering them for the present, they made haste to board two great Guzerat ships and a frigate which rid hard by them, laden with calicos, coarse blue cloth with white spots, and some with red, the greatest part of which they carried off, and set the great ships on fire, but the frigate they kept. Having mustered their men, next day they found them nine hundred and ninety five, in perfect health. Hereupon the first of April they landed seven hundred men and seven pieces of artillery, viz., eight demi-cannons of brass, and two demi-culverins of iron, and battered the castle, but with little success, wherefore they brought their trenches so near the enemy’s that they could heave stones into them, and the same night began to work upon their mine, but there fell so much rain, that they were constrained to give it over. The besieged also threw firepots from the walls upon the Flemmings, which annoyed them exceedingly, and making use of this advantage sallied out and did much execution. Thus after six weeks leaguer the Flemmings having lost forty men, and many more being sick and wounded, retired with their ordnance aboard, and set sail out of the road, the castle firing very hotly upon them all the while, so that they sunk the sternmost of the fleet, which was a very tall ship, the gunner an Englishman and other of the ships, had thirty shot through their sails and hull.

“From hence they went for Mayotta, one of the islands of Komora, to refresh. Here they bought six hundred and twenty oxen and thirty five sheep and goats with which the men were greatly recruited. These people are acquainted with money, and would deal with them for no commodity but ryals. The king made a decree that no man should sell them any cattle till his own were all sold, which he would not part with under three ryals of eight the piece, whereas they bought an ox of his people

for a ryal of eight and goats cheaper. After they had been here six weeks, they mustered their men again and found them nine hundred and forty strong. Wherefore it was determined to return to Mosambik and attack the castle once more ; but going to enter the road they found three caraks riding there newly come from Portugal, upon which it was held best, to keep back and ply off and on to see if the caraks would come out, but being disappointed they stood away along the shore, about thirty leagues off Goa, where at a town called Seperdown they landed all the Guzerats which they had out of the ships at Mosambik. At this place there is good refreshing and cheap, twenty hens for a ryal, a hundred and fifty eggs for a shilling, and as much fresh fish as would serve all the ship's company a day, for a ryal of eight. It lies in eighteen degrees north and is not far from Chaul ; they ride in seven fathoms, clay ground. The people are Moors and great enemies to the Portugueze. It affords no merchandize but a little pepper.

“ From hence hard by the islands of Kommodo seven leagues to the north of Goa they took a carak bound from Lisbon. Most of her lading was ryals of eight, all which they took out, and set her on fire, but carried Jeronymus Telbalditto along with them. At Goa they stayed a month in hopes of meeting with the caraks, which they had seen at Mosambik, but to no purpose, wherefore they set sail and went for Kalekut, purposing to have spoken with the Sambarin, but by reason of ten galleys which were come from Goa, and lay there, they went not ashore for fear of some treachery. However, they made him a present, which was two piece of brass, sending their cask at the same time for water, in which they were disappointed finding none they durst drink. From hence they shaped their course for Cape Komorin, to look for some, and meeting with none there, directed their course for the Streights of Malakka, but the winds and currents proving contrary they made directly for Bantam, having been out of Holland twenty one months and an half.

“ The thirty first of December Admiral van Carle departed this road, with seven ships and one frigat, to spend some time in the Streights of Malakka in hopes of meeting with the Makau ships, but without success. And the fourth of January, 1608, returned to Bantam leaving his ships at Pulo Tindu. The fifth he departed for the Molukkas.

“ The eighteenth Matcleese the Younger sailed for Holland ;

his lading was twelve thousand sacks of pepper, four hundred sacks of nutmegs, sugar, ebony-wood and some raw silk.

“ This year 1608, there arrived many junks from China and other places. The nineteenth of August a Flemmish ship called the *Erasmus* came from Amboyna having in her seven hundred bahars of cloves, which she laded at Hitto. The first of September a small pinnace of the Flemmings arrived from Machian, which brought them advice that the *China* and the *Dove* were cast away riding at anchor before that place with very little wind at west, which wind makes such a sea there, that it is not possible for ships to ride, the ground being foul and the water seventy and eighty fathoms deep, also that they had taken Machain and Taffasal without the loss of a man, and had left in each place a hundred and twenty Flemmings, and that in like manner they had strengthened the castle at Malayo.

“ The tenth a pinnace of the Flemmings departed for Sukadanna to fetch away the merchants, who they heard were very sickly and could get in no part of their debts, left there by Claes Simonson.

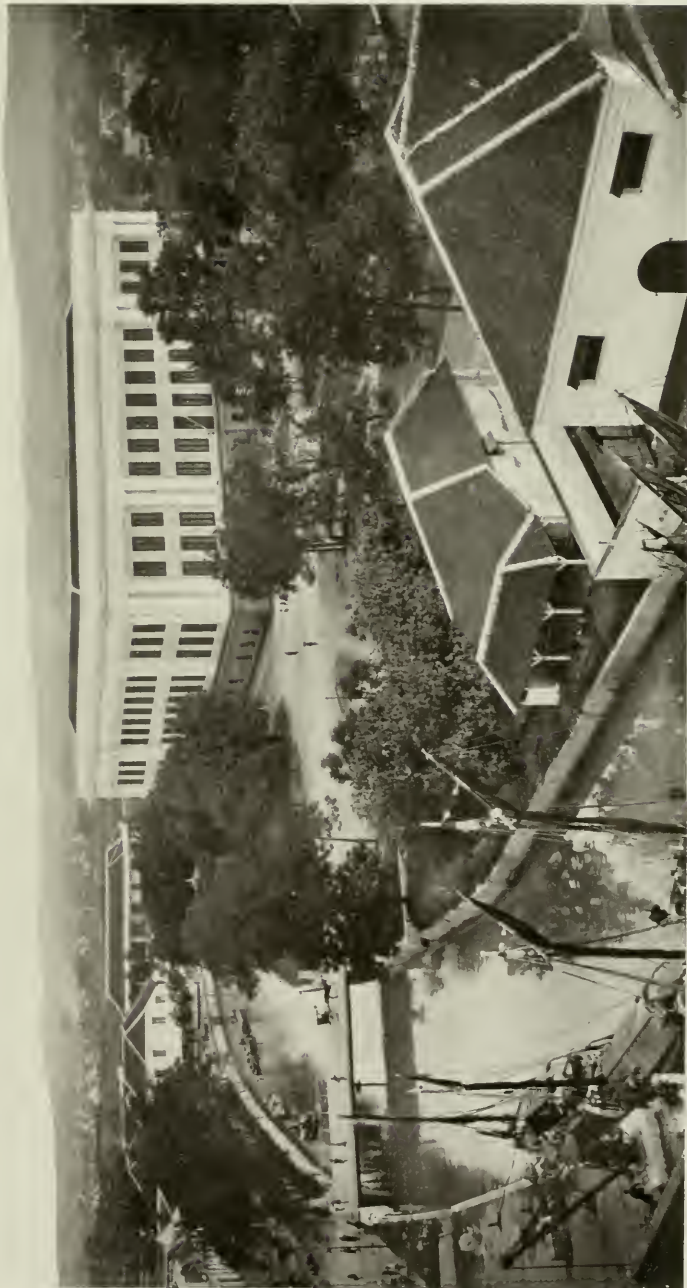
“ The twenty third the *Zeland* arrived from Banda, half laden with mace and nutmegs, her burthen an hundred and fifty lasts. The twenty fifth arrived the *Hay* from Koromandel, her lading was divers of Mallayo cloth, and cloth Cheara Java.

“ The second of October the *Dragon* came in from Priaman, William Keeling, general, who on the seventh went up to court and delivered the King of England's letter, with a present which was five pieces of ordnance, a bason and ewer and a barrel of powder.

“ The thirteenth in the morning very early the governor and his Jerotoolies were killed by the Pungavas, the Shah Bandar, the Admiral Key Depatti, Utennagarra, etc., who all assembled over night at Keymas Patties house, and beset the court, first securing the king and his mother. Then they ran into the governor's court, thinking to have caught him in bed, but he had just time enough to get behind it, where they found him. Having wounded him on the head he fled to the priest called Key Finkkey, who came forth and entreated them for his life, but in vain, for they forced in and dispatched him.

“ The eighteenth the Flemmings' pinnace from Sukadanna, arrived with their merchants brought from thence, leaving the country much indebted to them.

“ VAN CARLE RETURNS HOME. The sixth of November, the



RESIDENT'S OFFICES, SAMARANG.

vice admiral of Paulus van Carle set sail for Holland, with five ships laden with cloves, mace, nutmegs, pepper and diamonds. The eighth there arrived a small pinnace of the Flemmings from Malakka, by which they had advice of thirteen sail of ships riding there, which in their voyage had taken two caraks. The ninth Samuel Plummer departed for Sukadanna to remain there.

“The fourth of December in the afternoon General Keeling set sail for England in the *Dragon*, but the sixth was forced back by foul weather and westerly winds. The tenth he departed from the west point, and the thirteenth returned again, having met with the *Hector* in the Streights of Sonda, most of whose men were infected with scurvy. The Portugueze of Daman had seized their boats at Surat, taken nineteen of their men and nine thousand ryals in cloth as it cost there. In their way from Bantam, they met with a small frigate from Kollumba, out of which they took eleven packs of cloth containing in all eighty three cloths, thirteen pieces poulings which were sent for the islands of Banda.

“The sixteenth of December a small ship arrived from Holland which met with two ships a little to the north of the Cape of Good Hope; they took them to be English ships, the lesser of them bearing the flag in the main-top. This ship had been on her voyage eight months and ten days. They refreshed at Pulo Lamone, one of the islands of Komora, where they had great store of beeves and goats for old knives and tin spoons.

“The twenty second she set sail for Malakka, to their fleet which lay there, with orders to them to break up the siege.

“The twenty third the *Dragon* departed for England, Gabriel Towrson, captain. The first of January, 1609, their general William Keeling set sail in the *Hector* for the islands of Banda.

“The seventh arrived two ships, and a pinnace of the Flemmings from Koromandel laden with cloth, some part of which they had taken and the rest bought. They had also taken five prizes, one a carak at Mozambik.

“The fifteenth of January, 1609, departed the *Great Sun* and the two ships which came from Koromandel.

“The third of February arrived Admiral Williamson Verhoofe with twelve sail of good ships from Malakka, and the fourteenth departed with seven ships for the Molukkos.

“ARTIFICE OF THE DUTCH. The ninth of March the Flemmings procured a meeting at court of all the Pungavas, acquainting them, that having received letters from their king, the King of

Holland, which made mention of a peace concluded between them and the Portugueze, they thought it fit to inform them thereof, because thenceforward if the Portugueze, under colour of trading with them, should come and invade their country, they could no longer take the part of the Javans, as they had hitherto done. The Pungavas having heard this speech burst into a loud laughter, perceiving their drift was, by this method, to raise fears and jealousies in them of the Portugueze, in order to prevent their granting them licence to trade, which might prejudice the Flemmings. The governor gave no other answer but this, that they might take their course. The twentieth a Chinese house next to the English warehouse, took fire and was burnt down, but theirs luckily escaped.

“SARIS CALLED TO ACCOUNT. The twenty first Mr. Saris being sent for to court by Pangran Areaumgalla the then governor, went and carried with him a present, viz., a piece of Mallee Goobear, another of Morey, a piece of Mallayo Pintado, one Bandaleer and a roll of Match, which was accepted very kindly. The governor told him, he had sent for him, hearing that there were two men in chains in their house for debt, and he wanted to know by whose order they were kept there. Saris told him he had the king’s order for taking them up, and hoped that he would not discharge them, before he had received satisfaction, at least for some part, shewing him their bills to prove the debt. He said he supposed they were indebted, but that for the king giving the English licence, to chain them up, he knew to the contrary, and therefore insisted on having them released. At last with much entreaty Saris got leave to keep them till Tanyomges, who owed four hundred twenty ryals and a half, should pay one hundred, and Bungune, whose debt was five hundred ryals, and a hundred sacks of pepper, should pay twenty bags of pepper and one hundred ryals in money, for which he had given his note. Accordingly the governor sent one of his slaves home with Saris, to let the prisoners know on what conditions they were to be freed.

“DUTCH UNDERMINE THE ENGLISH. The twenty fourth the Author being summoned again to court, when the governor demanded of the Flemmings, who had also been sent for, whether it was their country manner to take up a man for debt, without acquainting the king? They answered No! Whereupon he gave order presently to have them let out. Saris reminded him

of his promise but three days before, but it availed nothing, for he sent one of the king's slaves and took them out of the house. This was done as the Author supposed at the instance of the Flemmings, instigated thereto by Lak-Moy, in order to undeceive the English, since they, finding no justice to be had, would hardly venture to trust the Chinese, who therefore must necessarily come to him, by which means he should get all the trade to himself, and this equally served the purpose of the Flemmings, who furnished him with all sorts of commodities.

“The twenty third of April, 1609, here arrived a small pinnace of the Flemmings, from Sukadanna and Ternata, by whom they understood, that Paulus van Kerle was taken at Ternata.

“**DESIGN TO DISCOVER BORNEO.** The twenty first of May a pinnace of the Flemmings set sail for Bemermassin pursuant to a resolution they came to among themselves, to search out every creek and corner of the island, since they were told it abounded with gold, and bezoars that might be traded for with beads and other haberdashery ware.

“The twenty sixth of August Captain Keeling arrived from Banda, with twelve thousand four hundred and eighty four kattis, one half quarter of mace, and fifty nine thousand eight hundred and forty six kattis of nutmegs, which stood him in nine, ten, and eleven ryals, the bahar, the katti there, weighing thirteen and a half English ounces. The small bahar of mace is ten kattis or a hundred of nutmegs, and the great bahar is a hundred kattis mace, or a thousand nutmegs, so that if a man be indebted to you ten kattis mace, and will give you a hundred kattis of nutmegs, you cannot refuse them.

“The fourth of October Captain Keeling having taken in the rest of his lading, which was four thousand nine hundred bags, and three kattis of pepper, set sail from Bantam in the *Hector*, the Author coming for England in the same ship, having been in Java four years, nine months and eleven days.

“**LIGNUM ALOES.** A wood so called by the English is named by the Malloyans Garru. The best sort comes from Malakka, Siam and Kamboya. Choose that which is in large round sticks, and very massy, being black marbled with ash coloured veins, somewhat bitter in taste, and is likewise of an odoriferous scent, and that burns like pitch in bubbles, a splinter being laid upon a fire-coal, for if it be good, it will not leave frying, till it be quite consumed, yielding a most grateful odour.

“**BENJAMIN** is a gum called by the Mallayans minnion. The best sort comes from Siam, which is very pure, clear and white, with little streaks of amber colour. Another sort which is not altogether so white, though very good, is brought from Sumatra. A third sort which comes from Priaman and Burrowse is very coarse, like horse bread and not saleable in England, but well esteemed in Bantam.

“**CIVET**. The best is of a deep yellow colour somewhat like gold, not whitish, for that is usually adulterated with grease, yet it is naturally whitish when fresh taken, and will in time become yellow.

“**MUSK**. There are three sorts, black, brown and yellow, the first is bad, the second good, and the last best. This ought to be of a deep amber colour, like the best spikenard, and inclosed with a single, not a double skin, as it often is, nor should it be over-moist which makes it heavy, but in a medium. It ought to have some hairs like bristles, but not very many, to be clear of stones, lead or other trash, and of a strong and fragrant smell, which to many is offensive. Being tasted, the scent pierceth the brain. It ought neither to melt too soon in the mouth, nor yet to remain very long undissolved in the hand. It must not be kept near any sort of spice, lest it will lose the scent.

“**BEZOAR**. There are hereof two kinds, one comes from the West, the other from the East Indies, which last is worth double the price of the other. The stones of each sort have different shapes ; some are round, others long, like date-stones, others like pigeons' eggs, some like the kidneys of a young goat, and others in form of a chestnut, but all for the most part are blunt at the ends, not piked ; their colour is no less various, for some are of a light red, others the colour of honey, many of a dark ash colour, like the civet-cat, but for the most part of a very pale-green.

“The East India bezoars consist of many peelings or coats like an onion bright and resplendent, as if polished by art. One coat being peeled off, the next is more resplendent, or brighter than the former. These peelings are some thin, some thick, according to the largeness of the stones, and the larger the stone is, the better for sale. This is a certain way to make trial of bezoars :—take the exact weight of the stone, then put it into water, and let it stand four hours. Then see if it be not cracked wipe it dry and weight it again, if it weigh never so small a matter more than it did at first, depend upon it, it is not good. In this

manner the Author found several turn to chalk, with a little stick in the middle, that hath weighed a Tael Java, or two ounces. Most of the counterfeits come from Sukadanna in Borneo, they are to be had at Pattanney, Bemermassin, Sukadanna, Makkassar and Insula das Vacas, which is at the entrance of Kambaya.

“AMBER. This is of several colours, as black, white, brown and grey. The black is usually the basest and the grey the best, of which choose what is clearest of filth and dross, pure of itself, inclining to white, and of an ash colour, intermixed with veins, some ash colour, others whitish. It ought to float above the surface of water, which though some, that is sophisticated, may do, yet this is certain, that none, which is pure, will sink in water. The greatest quantity comes from Mosambik and Sofala.

“BANTAM: A GREAT MART. Bantam, a town situate in the island of Java Major, stands in six degrees south, and hath three degrees, variation west. This place is the great mart of divers nations for sundry kinds of commodities, but itself affordeth little besides victuals, cotton, wool and pepper, whereof the quantity at harvest (which is in October) may be thirty or thirty-two thousand sacks, each sack containing forty nine kattis and an half china, at twenty one ryals and an half English the katti. A sack is called a timbang, and two timbangs is one pikul, three pikuls is a small bahar, and four and a half a great bahar, which is four hundred and forty five kattis and an half. Likewise there is a kulak, by which the Javans most commonly deal because they are not very perfect in the use of the beam. It contains seven kattis and a quarter, and seven kulaks make a timbang (liquid measure) which is a katti, and a quarter more than the beam. There should indeed be no difference between them, but the weigher, who is always a Chinese, gives his countrymen an advantage, for he can fit them with a great or small measure at his pleasure.

“There came in December and January to this place many junks and praws laden with pepper from Cherringin and Jauby, so that in the end of January there is always pepper sufficient to lade three good ships. The king hath no money but what cometh from China which is called kashes, and made of the dross of lead. These pieces are round and thin, with holes to string them on. A thousand kashes thus stringed are called a peku, which is of divers values, according as kashes rise or fall, whereof they know how to make their advantage. Ten pekus make a

laxsau, ten laxsaus a katti, ten kattis an uta and ten utas a bahar.

“There are two ways of stringing kashes, the one called Chucbuck China, the other Chucbuck Java, of which the Java is the best, for there should be two hundred kashes upon a tack, but for the China tacks, you shall find but an hundred and sixty or an hundred and seventy. Five tacks should make a peku, so that you lose two hundred kasbes or an hundred and fifty upon every peku, which will rise to a great sum, if you deal largely, but by the law of the country there must be a thousand kasbes upon a string, or else basse, that is allowance given. When the junks are about to depart, you shall buy thirty four and thirty five pekus for a ryal, which before the next year you may sell for twenty two and twenty the ryal, so that there is great profit to be made, but the danger of fire is also great.

“WEIGHTS. The weight for bezoar, civet and gold is called a tael, which is two ryals of eight and a quarter or two ounces English. A Mallayan tael is one ryal of eight and an half or an ounce and a third English. A Chinese tael is one ryal of eight and seven twentieths, or an ounce and a fifth English, so that ten taels of China are precisely six taels of Java.

“GOODS FOR IMPORTING. The English commodities vendible here are—

Iron, long and thin bars, six ryals the pikul.

Lead in small pigs, for twenty five or twenty six pieces, five ryals and an half the pikul.

Powder, fine round corned, twenty five ryals a barrel.

Pieces, square sanguined, the piece, ten ryals of six foot long.

Pieces, square damasked all over, fifteen ryals of six feet long and an half.

Broad cloth, of ten pound the piece of a Venice red, three ryals of eight the casse, which is three quarters of a yard.

Opium mesri, which is the best, eight ryals the katti.

Amber, in great beads, a wang and an half tael of Mallaya, six ryals of eight.

Coral, in large branches, five and six ryals the Mallaya tael.

Ryals of eight are the best commodity you can carry.

Saris. In February and March three or four junks came from China very richly laden with silks raw and wrought, China kashes, porcelain, cotton-cloth of divers sorts and prices, viz. raw silk of Nanking, which is the best, an hundred and ninety

ryals the pikul, that of Kanton, which is coarser, eighty ryals the pikul.

Tafata in boult, an hundred and twelve yards the piece, forty six ryals of eight the gorj, or twenty pieces.

Velvets of all colours twelve ryals the piece, of thirteen yards.

Damask of all colours, twelve yards six ryals the piece.

White sattins, twelve yards the piece, eight ryals.

Burgones, ten yards the piece, forty five ryals the gorj.

Sleeve silk, the best, made colours, three ryals the katti.

Musk, the best, twenty two ryals the katti.

Gold thread, the best fifteen knots every knot thirty strings, one ryal.

Velvet hangings embroidered with gold eighteen ryals, upon sattins fourteen ryals.

White curtain stuffs, nine yards the piece, fifty ryals the gorj.

White damask, flat, nine yards the piece, four ryals.

White sugar, the pikul, three ryals and an half very dry.

Sugar candy, very dry, five ryals the pikul.

Porcelain basons two ryals a piece, very broad and fine.

Calico, coarse, white and brown, fifteen ryals the gorj.

The junks bring likewise coarse porcelain, drugs, and divers other commodities, but because they are not for the English trade, the Author omits them.

Drugs. Benjamin, very good and white, thirty five and thirty ryals the pikul.

Lignum aloes, the pikul eighty ryals.

Allum from China as good as the English two ryals and an half the pikul.

“KOROMANDEL. Cloth is a principal commodity here; the most saleable sorts are called Gubars, pintados of four or five covets, fine tappies of St. Thomas, ballachos, Java girdles, otherwise caine-goolong, calico lawns, book-calicos, and calicos made up in rowls, white. A gubar is double, and containeth twelve yards, or six hastas single, ballachos, coarse and fine, contain thirty two and thirty four hastas, but the finest are always longest. The fine tappies of St. Thomas six hastas. Muris is a fine sort of cloth, but not very much used here, for it is dear and short, containing sixteen hastas at two ryals and a quarter. Book calicoes if they be not corded are thirty two hastas. All sorts of Mallayan cloth are generally eight hastas long, wherefore it is called cherra mallaya, and generally all

sorts of cotton cloth, which is broad and of good length, is in good request here. Calico lawns white and red are thirty two hastas. A hasta is half a yard, measured from your elbow to the top of your middle finger.

“THE KING’S CUSTOMS. The king’s customs here are as followeth:—the custom called chukey is eight bags upon the hundred bags, rating pepper at four ryals of eight the sack, what price soever it bears. Billa-Billian is this:—if any ship arrive in the road, laden with cloth and such like, the king is to be acquainted with the sorts, quantity and price thereof, before you can land any part, then sending his officers for such sorts as he likes, he will have them at half price, or little more as you can agree, for if you price your cloth at twenty ryals a gorj, he will give you but fifteen or sixteen. The Flemmings’ way hath been to give him seven or eight hundred ryals at a time for a ship’s lading to clear them of the duty and trouble, but by the custom of the country this duty is six hundred and sixty five ryals upon six thousand sacks of pepper, if you lade therewith, otherwise you are to take so many thousand sacks of the king at half or three quarters of a ryal upon a sack more than the market price. If you have provided before-hand sufficient lading to dispatch your ships, yet you are to pay for this duty as aforesaid, or else they will not permit you to lade.

“RUBA-RUBA is a duty for anchorage and is upon six thousand sacks, five hundred ryals of eight. The Shah Bandar’s duty is upon the same quantity two hundred and fifty ryals, that of the weighers is one ryal upon an hundred sacks. Jerotulis likewise or weighers belonging to the custom-house have a duty of one ryal for an hundred sacks.

“JORTAN lies to the eastwards of Jakatra; it is called Serebaya, affording victuals, great store of cotton, wool and spun yarn. Many junks come from Fauby, laden with pepper; the town likewise send some small praws to Banda, so that a few nuts and mace is to be had there.

“MAKKASSAR is an island not far from the Celebes. It affordeth great store of benzoar stones, which may be had reasonable, also rice and other victuals in great plenty. Junks trade from thence to Banda so that a small quantity of mace and nuts is likewise there to be had.

“BALI is an island to the eastwards of Makkassar in eight degrees and an half south. It yields great store of rice, cotton

yarn, slaves, and coarse white cloth, which is in good request at Bantam. The commodities for this place are the smallest sort of blue and white beads, iron and coarse porcelain.

“TIMOR lies to the eastward of Bali, in the latitude of ten degrees forty minutes south. This island affordeth abundance of chindanna, called by the English white sanders, the greatest logs are accounted best. It is worth at Bantam (when the junks come in) twenty ryals of eight the pikul, also wax in great cakes worth at Bantam eighteen, nineteen, twenty and thirty ryals of eight the pikul as the time serves. As there is great deceit in this commodity, you must be wary in choosing it and break it to see whether it be mixed or not. The goods carried thither are chopping knives, small bugles, porcelain coloured taffatas, but none black, China frying pans, china bells and plates of silver beaten flat, and as thin as a wafer, of the breadth of a hand. This is a very advantageous trade, for the Chinese have given the English, who went with them thither, at the rate of four hundred per cent. profit.

“BANDA, in the latitude of five degrees south, affords great plenty of mace and nutmegs, with oil of both sorts. It hath no king, but is governed by a Shah Bandar, who is in league with the Shah Bandar of Nero, Lentor, Puloway, Pulorin and Labatakka, islands near adjoining, which formerly were under the government of the King of Ternata, but at present have their own governor. In these islands they have three harvests in the year, viz., in July, October and February, but that in July, called the Monsoon Areputi, is the greatest. The manner of dealing is as followeth :—a small bahar is ten kattis of mace, and an hundred of nuts, and a great bahar is an hundred kattis mace and a thousand kattis nuts, a katti being five pounds thirteen ounces and an half English, the prices variable.

“The commodities fit for these islands are Choromandel cloth, cheremallow, viz., sarrasses, pintados of five covets, fine ballachos, black girdles, chellis, white calicos, broad cloth stammel, gold in coin, viz., rose nobles of England, and the low countries, ryals of eight, but you shall have that there for seventy ryals in gold, which will cost you ninety in ryals of eight. China basons, fine and large without brims, damasks of light colours, taffatas, velvets, china boxes or counters, gilt-gold chains, plate cups gilt, head pieces bright and damasked, muskets, but not many sword-blades, brand and backed to the point. Kambaya cloth,

calicos black and red, calico lawns etc. Rice is likewise a very good commodity for these islands.

“THE MOLUKKO ISLANDS. The islands of the Molukkos are five, viz., Molukko, Ternata, Tydor, Gelolo and Machian. They are all under the equinoctial line; they afford great store of cloves, not every year, but every third year. The katti there is three pound five ounces English, the bahar two hundred kattis, also nineteen kattis of Ternata make fifty of Bantam.

“The commodities vendible for these places are Choromandel cloth, cheremallow, but fine, and Siam girdles, salolos; fine ballachos and chellis are most in request, also china, taffata, velvets, damask, great basons, varnished counters, crimson broad cloth, opium and benjamin etc.

“SIAM KINGDOM. Siam lieth in the latitude of fourteen degrees and an half south. It affords great store of very good benjamin, and many rich stones, which are brought thither from Pegu. A tael here is two ryals of eight and a quarter. Here is much silver in bullion, which comes from Japan, but ryals of eight are more in request, for two and a quarter in coin, will yield two and an half bullion. Broad cloth stammel colour, iron and fair looking glasses are in good esteem. All manner of china commodities are cheaper here than at Bantam. The Guzerat junks come to Siam in the months of June and July, touching first at the Maldives, and then at Tenassere, where there is always five and an half and six fathom water, from whence they may go over land to Siam in twenty days.

“THE ISLAND BORNEO. Borneo lies in the latitude of three degrees south. It affordeth great store of gold, bezoar stones, wax rotans, kayulakka and sanguis draconis, the principal trade for which is at the town of Bemermassin. The commodities requested here are as followeth:—Choromandel cloth of all sorts, china silks, damasks, taffatas, velvets, all colours but black, broad-cloth stammel, and ryals of eight. Bezoar stones are there bought for five or six ryals the tael, which is the weight of a ryal and an half of eight, or an ounce and one third English.

“SUKADANNA is another town of Borneo in one degree and an half south and north east from Bantam an hundred and sixty leagues. In the entrance of the harbour five fathoms, and at low water three fathoms, a falcon shot off the shore, oozy ground.



VIEW OF GUNONG GIDI AND THE RIVER CHILAWANG FROM THE GARDEN AT BUTENZORG, 1811.

“BEST DIAMONDS. A great trade is carried on by the junks and praws at this place for diamonds, which it affords in abundance and are accounted the best in the world. There is plenty at all times, especially in January, April, July, and October, but the greatest quantity is to be met with in the first two months, at which time they are brought in praws down the river Lave, where they are found by diving, as they do for pearls. The reason why there are not so many gotten in July and October, is because that being their rainy season, the river rises to nine fathoms with such a stream that they can hardly dive, whereas in the other months, the depth is but four or four and an half fathom, which is reckoned best for the purpose.

“IMPORTS. Commodities vendible and in request here are, Malakka pintados, very fine sarrassa, gubares, poulings, chara java, calico lawns, China silk, light colours, gold, sleeve silk, broad cloth stammel, all sorts of small bugles, blue bugles, which are made in Bantam, shaped like a tun, but about the size of a bean ; you have at Bantam four hundred for a ryal of eight, and here an hundred for a mas, which is three quarters of a ryal of eight, China kashes ryals of eight, but principally gold, without which you can do little, for you shall have a stone for one ryal in gold, which you cannot get for a ryal and an half, or a ryal and three quarters in silver.

“When you are bound for this place, the best way is to go for Bemermassin first, where you may barter the commodities aforesaid for gold, which you shall have for three kattis kashes the Malakka tael, which was worth then nine ryals of eight, as the Author had been credibly informed, and you shall barter it here for diamonds, at four kattis kashes the tael, which is one ryal three quarters and an half in weight, so that you shall gain three quarters of a ryal of eight upon a tael, but the chief gains arise from diamonds, whereof there are four kinds, distinguished by their water, which is called Verna, viz., Verna Ambou, Verna Loud, Verna Sakkar, Verna Bessi, that is white, green, yellow and a colour between green and yellow, but the white water is the best.

“WEIGHTS IN USE. Their weights are called sa mas, sa kupang, sa busuk, sa pead. Four hupang is a mas, two busuks one kupang, and one pead and an half is a busuk. There is likewise a pahaw, which is four mas, and sixteen mas make one tael ; by this weight they weigh both diamonds and gold.

“THE COMMODITIES OF CHINA are :—

Raw silk ; the best is made at Nan-King and is called how-sa, worth there eighty ryals the pikul.

Taffata, called tue ; the best made at a small town called Hok-chu, worth thirty ryals the gorj.

Damask, called towne, the best made at Kanton, worth fifty ryals the gorj.

Sewing silk, called kou-swa, worth one hundred ryals the pikul.

Embroidered hangings, called poey, the best ten ryals the piece.

Sewing gold, called kim-swa, is sold by the chip-pau, which is bundle, each chip-pau containing ten papers and each paper five knots, sold for three pa-wes two ryals of eight, and the best hath thirty six threads in a knot.

Sattins, called lin, the best one ryal the piece.

Great basons, call cho-pau, three for a ryal.

White sugar, called pe-tong, the best one half ryal the pikul.

Porcelain of the same sorts, called poa, the best one ryal the katti.

Pearl boxes, called cha-nab, the best five ryals each.

Velvets, called tan-go jounks, of nine yards long, five ryals the piece.

Sleeve silk, called jounks, the best an hundred and fifty ryals the pikul.

Musk, called sa-hu, seven ryals the katti.

Kashes, sixty pekus the ryal.

Broad cloth, called to-lo-ney, sa-soke, which is three quarters of a yard, worth seven ryals of eight.

Looking glass, very large, called kea, worth ten ryals the piece.

Tin, called sea, worth there fifteen ryals the pikul.

Wax, called la, fifteen ryals the pikul.

Muskets, called kau-ching, the barrel twenty ryals.

Japan sables, called samto, worth eight ryals the piece.

Elephants' teeth, the biggest and best, two hundred ryals the pikul. The small (or screuelias) a hundred ryals the pikul, called ga.

White sanders, called twa-whi, the best in great logs, forty ryals the pikul.

“CUSTOMS. The custom of pepper inwards is one tael upon

a pikul and nothing outwards. Strict care is taken to hinder the exportation of ammunition of all sorts. In the month of March, the junks that are bound for the Manillas depart from Chau-chu in companies. There go no fewer than forty in a year, sometimes four, five, ten or more together, as they are ready. Their lading is raw and wrought silks, but far better than those which they carry to Bantam. Between Kanton and the Manillas is ten days sail. In the beginning of June they return, laden with ryals of eight. They are of no force, so that you may take them with your ship's boat.

“In 1608 pepper was worth in China, six tades and an half the pikul, and at the same time, sold in Bantam for two and an half ryals the Timbang.”

List of the governors, presidents, residents and agents of the English East India Company's factory at Bantam, compiled from old records :—

1602—1603. Master William Starkey,^{1,2} governor (Master Edmund Scott, chief factor; Thomas Morgan,³ Thomas Tudd, and eight English clerks).

1603—1605. Master Edmund Scott,⁴ governor (Thomas Tudd,⁵ Gabriel Towerson, nine English clerks, and a chirurgion).

1605—1609. John Saris,⁶ governor (Gabriel Towerson,⁷ deputy governor; John Herne,⁸ Richard Savage; Brown and Sidall, factors; nine clerks).

¹ The first factors of the English factory at Adreen in November, 1602, were William Starkie, or Starkey or Starcey, and Roger Styles.

² Died at Bantam, 30th June, 1603. Burial honoured by the Dutch general Wyborne van Warwyck “with a company of shot and pikes, the colours being trailed.”

³ Died at Bantam, 27th April, 1603.

⁴ E. Scott left Bantam for England on the 4th October, 1605.

⁵ Died at Bantam, 14th April, 1604.

⁶ Handed over charge of factory on the 30th September and sailed on the 4th October, 1609, on the ship *Hector* (Captain William Keeling in command), having been four years, nine months, and eleven days in Java. The sultan promised Saris and Keeling to protect the English factory.

⁷ Left Bantam on the 23rd December, 1608, for England on ship *Dragon*, which he commanded himself. He returned in 1614 to Bantam, shortly afterwards going to Amboyna as governor of the English factory there. Here he and his staff were tortured and executed by the Dutch for alleged conspiracy.

⁸ Returned to England.

1609. Augustine Spalding,^{1 2} governor (Francis Kelly, surgeon; John Parsons, Robert Neal, Augustine Adwell, Ethelred Lampre, William Lamwell, William Driver, William Wilson, Philp Badnedg (Bandanese), Francisco Domingo, Juan Seraon, Adrian (Mr. Tower-son's boy)).

1609—1610. Henworth, governor (Edward Neetles).

1610. Edward Neetles,³ governor.

1610—1614. Richard Woodies,⁴ governor.

1614—1615. John Jordan,⁴ governor.

1615—1617. Barclay,⁵ governor.

1617. Ball,⁴ governor.

1617—1619. John Jackson,^{5 6} president.

1619. John Powell,^{4 6} president.

1619—1622. Gabriel Towerson,⁷ president.

1624—1636 (2nd August). George Willoughby,⁸ president (George Christian, Frederick Power; Thomas Robertson, salesman).

1636—1639. (2nd August). Robert Coulson, president.

1639—1641. Aaron Backer,⁹ president (Thomas Ivie, vice-president and member of council; Richard Whotton, salesman and member of council; M. Montfort, salesman).

¹ The pay of the factory staff was as follows :—Augustine Spalding, £50 sterling per annum; Francis Kelly, 45s. per month; John Parsons, 30s. per month; Robert Neal, 29s. per month; Augustine Adwell, 24s. per month; Ethelred Lampre, 20s. per month; William Driver, 20s. per month; William Wilson, 22s. per month; William Lamwell, 15s. per month; Philp Badnedg, 15s. per month; Francisco Domingo, 12s. per month; Juan Seraon, 10s. per month, and Adrian (Mr. Towerson's boy).

² When David Middleton arrived at Bantam on the 7th December, 1609, he decided, on hearing the news there of Dutch activity, to sail for the Moluccas, and took Augustine Spalding with him as an expert, leaving Henworth in charge with Neetles to assist him, with three others of his Company, besides, of course, the staff there.

³ When David Middleton returned to Bantam on the 9th October, 1610, he found that both Henworth and Neetles had died in the meanwhile and that the business of the factory stood still.

⁴ Sailed for England.

⁵ Died at Bantam.

⁶ First Admiral Thomas Dale and then, when he died, Admiral Martin Pring were in supreme command of the English factory during 1619.

⁷ Went to Amboyna, where, as related in the note above, he was executed.

⁸ From 1624—1632 there was a Willoughby at Bantam as president, and from 1632 to 1636 a George Willoughby; whether they are one and the same person is not certain, but presumably they are.

⁹ There was great friendship between the Dutch Governor-General at

1641—1646. Ralph Cartwright, president (Thomas Ivie, vice-president and member of council; Christopher Willoughby, salesman and member of council; Thomas Winter, salesman; John Carter, Bouman).

1646—1649. Aaron Backer, president (Thomas Ivie, vice-president and member of council; Henry Greenhil, member of council; — Noel, salesman: died 18th December, 1647, at Bantam).

1649¹—1658. Frederick Skinner,² resident (John Rawlins, James Bostock, members of council; John Edwards, Robert Cock, Thomas Skinner³; Captain Robert Skinner,³ captain of company's ship attached to station).

1658⁴—1661 (25th July). John Edwards,⁵ resident (Henry Page, Robert Streeter, William Mainstone, members of council; William Bastingh, Thomas Clough, Peter Cooke,⁶ Richard Mohnne, Henry Pearle, William Gifford,⁶ Thomas Leaver, and Thomas Street⁶).

Batavia and the English president, Aaron Backer, of Bantam, so much so that on the 4th April, 1641, when the former knew the latter was leaving, he sent to the president by the galley *de Brac* to Bantam, under the care of the Dutch "onder koopman" (under salesman) Pieter Sowry, a dispatch worded in friendly terms, besides a vat of French wine, a cask of butter, some cheese and dried fish (stockvis), for which the president was "verre muche obliged."

¹ On the 24th July, 1657, Dr. Abraham, an Englishman and town doctor, died at Batavia.

In 1657 an English captain called Roger Andrews, in command of a ship called the *Marigold*, was trading in the East Indies with Bantam as headquarters. Other Englishmen in the East Indian waters at this time in command of the English East India Company's vessels were Jons Dettrick, Samuel Staunton, Jacob Beerblock, Robert May (captain of ship *Advice*), John Hayward, John Jeffrey, Julius Wildey, Richard Kein, William Beauchamp, John Hemmerton, Henry Dacres, Alexander Preswit (both latter were styled admirals), Robert Graves, John Russell, Sam Wright, William Stevens, Roland Dimsdale, Richard Seaward, Thomas Broockes, and Thomas Morley.

² Went later with his two brothers to Jamby.

³ Brothers of Frederick Skinner, the resident.

⁴ In May, 1659, at Jamby, the English factory was managed by Thomas Leaver, Robert Street, Howelke Middleton, Sowelke Middleton, Fowelke Middleton (possibly sons of David Middleton, the first governor of the East English Company's factory at Batavia), William Aspinall, Thomas Street, Thomas Skinner, Charles Seller, Nicholas Baddiford (who commanded the ship *Dragon*, belonging to the Company, and was born at Reddriff, in Surrey) and Josiah Derby.

⁵ Died at Bantam, 25th July, 1661.

⁶ Died or left Bantam before 1659.

1661 (July 9th to October 20th). Henry Page,¹ acting resident.

1661—1664. Captain John Hunter,² resident (Henry Page, John Dutton, Humphrey Weston, Thomas Stevenson, members of council; Francis Foster, Peter Cooke, Josias Shute, John Rawlins, Joseph Sayer, William Turner, John Knott, William Mainstone, William Broadbent, Vincent Retty, Thomas Mead, Richard Mohnne, John Benn, Fowelke Middleton, William Clough, Henry Pearle, Israel Emerson, Robert Hopper, Ezra Sherley, Hammond Gibbon, Israel Markland, Thomas Hunter,³ George Smallwood, John Hunter, jun.,³ Robert Jennings, and James Bale⁴).

1664 (June)—1665 (October 25th). Charles Browne,⁵ agent (Philip Trevors, Thomas Stevenson, William Turner, Thomas Harrison, members of council; Humphrey Weston, Robert Rawlins, Lieutenant Willoughby, James Browne, and Robert Hopper⁶).

1665—1669 (October 25th). William Turner,⁷ agent (Thomas Stevenson, James Browne, Robert Hopper, Thomas Harrington, (members of council; Lawrence Chambers, William Mainstone,⁸ Roger Lorimer, Hammon Gibbon, and John Scott⁹).

1669 (February 20th to October 19th). Lawrence Chambers, acting agent.

¹ John Edwards, the resident, was ill in bed with a violent fever from July 9th until July 25th, 1661, when he died.

² Captain John Hunter was 64 years of age.

³ Sons of the resident.

⁴ Many of these, no doubt, were doing service in the factories under Bantam.

⁵ He arrived at Bantam from Jamby with his English wife and three other unmarried English ladies. The following year he died at his post on the 25th October, 1665.

⁶ David Luton, of English parentage, who had been book-keeper in the Dutch Company at Batavia since 1660, was sent in 1661 to Bantam as resident in the place of van Meerwyck, but he asked to be relieved in less than a year, as he complained of being affronted.

⁷ Died at Batavia, February 22nd, 1669, where he had gone, very ill, for doctor's assistance; his body was sent back to Bantam by the ship *Hilversum* to be buried there by his colleagues.

⁸ After being some years at Jamby, returned to Bantam on the 15th February, 1669. On the 17th March, 1664, the English agent at Jamby was this very William Mainstone, but the Pangeran of Jamby wrote the English resident of Bantam begging him to appoint someone else in his place, as he could not get on with him and they were always quarrelling. Mainstone declined to leave or resign unless made agent at Bantam. He was therefore suspended and a successor appointed.

⁹ There was a man called John Scott established at Japara from 1662 to 1667. He originally came from Banda.

1669 (October 19th)—1676 (September 13th). Henry Dacres,¹ agent (William Mainstone, Richard Hale and Joseph Ward,² members of council; Albinus Willoughby, Robert Marshall, William Limberry, John English, and Abel Payne).

1676 (September 13th)—1677 (May 21st). Arnold White,³ agent (Albinus Willoughby⁴; Abel Payne, Francis Bowyear, Ralph Cooke, members of council; Robert Marshall,⁵ Captain John Dacres,⁶ William Hodges, and Captain William Wildy⁷).

1677 (May 21st)—1678 (June 8th). Abel Payne, acting agent.

1678 (June 8th)—1682 (April 1st). Robert Parker,⁸ agent (Francis Bowyear; Ralf Cooke and Abel Payne, members of council; Christopher Browne, Samuel Tartan, and William Murray).

SAMBAS (Borneo).

In 1610 Captain David Middleton visited Sambas and erected a factory here for the English Company, but owing to trouble with the Chinese this had to be given up four years later, the agent only escaping with his life; the other

¹ Left Bantam by the ship *Lancaster* on the 19th December, 1676.

² Cousin of Henry Dacres.

³ Arrived at Bantam by the ship *Lancaster* from England on the 8th August, and took over from Henry Dacres on the 13th September, 1676. He was murdered at Bantam by the Javans, with eight of his council and staff, on the 21st May, 1677.

⁴ Died at Rembang on the 16th June, 1677. His widow married on the 7th February, 1678, the Danish agent at Bantam, John Joachim Pauly.

⁵ Visited Batavia on the 23rd January, 1675, with his wife, for a few days.

⁶ Commander of a Company's ship.

⁷ Was cruising in East Indian waters from 1670 to 1680.

⁸ Arrived by the ship *Phoenix*. After, as usual, informing the Dutch Governor-General of his arrival, he received a cordial letter "as usual" in reply, and van Goens presented his wife with one lacquer Chinese box, one Tonkinese tea-box, one pair Japanese screens, and two rare and curious Masulipatam tables.

On the 1st April, 1682, the English East India Company were ignominiously driven out of Bantam by the Dutch Governor-General. Owing to the loss of Bantam the Company were obliged to abandon its factories dependent on it in Siam, Tonkin and at Amoy, and other places in the farthest Indies.

members of the factory were killed by the natives, described as a wild and turbulent lot.

The Sambas river has a very broad entrance, and the town is forty miles up on the south branch. In 1811 the houses were built of timber and bamboos raised on wooden stakes or piles on low swampy morasses. The sultan was a powerful prince, but when the English captured the place in 1812 he retired into the interior.

The cause of an expedition being sent is not far to seek, for Sambas had been a piratical stronghold for two hundred years and more. In the creeks and mouths of rivers or rivulets armed prows full of wild natives were daily on watch to dart with remorseless swiftness upon unprepared and defenceless merchant ships, seizing them, and putting to death the Europeans on board under circumstances of horrible barbarity. The native crews were spared, but only to drag out an aimless existence as slaves to their cruel captors.

Early in 1812 a large Portuguese ship with a particularly valuable cargo happened to pass within sight of Sambas on her way to Macao. The ship was seized and the crew murdered. This was too much, and Raffles determined to put a stop to such doings. He sent an expedition to the spot under command of Captain Bowen, of H.M.S. *Phoenix*, in October, 1812, which was followed up by another under command of Colonel Watson. The following official statement gives an interesting account of the facts :—

“ To the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, etc., etc.

“ Honourable Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that I arrived off the Sambas river on the 22nd ulto. with the force under my command, after touching at Pontiana¹ to procure boats, etc. On my arrival I found Captain Sayer commanding a squadron

¹ Pontianak.

of His Majesty's ships, and the following morning we commenced getting the ordnance and stores into the boats, and on the 25th the troops entered the river. Previous to our advance a letter signed by Captain Sayer and myself was despatched to the Sultan by Lieutenant Bayley, of the Madras Native Infantry, requiring him to surrender the defences of Sambas, also the Pangerang Anam and his piratical adherents.

“ This letter it appears was received by the Pangerang, the Sultan having previously withdrawn to the interior, but no answer was returned. We then moved up the river and anchored on the night of the 26th off the branch leading to Sambas. From all the information I could obtain the access to the batteries was so difficult that I determined to employ our whole force divided into different attacks, one of which I hoped at least would be able to penetrate to the batteries. I accordingly sent a detachment of His Majesty's 14th Regiment with Captain Morris's party to land from the main river and penetrate in that direction, which Captain Morris was confident was practicable. This officer was obliged however by severe illness to relinquish the command to Lieutenant Bolton, the next senior officer. Another party composed of the Royal Marines from His Majesty's ships with one hundred sepoy of the 3rd Volunteer Battalion under the command of Captain Brookes of the 3rd Bengal Volunteer Battalion had to pass through a cut higher up, leading into the Sambas river, down which they were to come in rear of the town. This party, if not in time for the attack, I hoped might intercept the retreat of the enemy. Each of these divisions was also accompanied by a party of armed seamen to assist in carrying ladders and making a way through the jungle.

“ With the remainder of the force, I proceeded up the Sambas river, and anchored on the night of the 27th instant, out of reach of gunshot from the batteries. As a little ahead of our anchorage the ground appeared rather firm from the report of Captain Bayley whom I sent to reconnoitre the place, I determined on landing there another party consisting of one hundred of His Majesty's 14th Regiment, eighty Sepoys of the third Bengal Volunteer Battalion and a detachment of artillery with a party of the seamen.

“ This column was commanded by Captain Watson of His Majesty's 14th Regiment. Captain Watson immediately commenced the attack, and in a little more than half an hour carried

by assault the two principal batteries and three redoubts in their rear ; although resolutely defended a battery and five redoubts on the opposite side of the river were then evacuated by the enemy.

“ On the commencement of the firing I pushed up the river with a party as a reserve, in men of war’s boats, to second whichever column began the attack. The front battery fired as the boats advancing, although Captain Watson was at that time in its rear, endeavouring to force an entrance. It is difficult to ascertain the loss of the enemy, as many were killed endeavouring to escape in boats and across the boom. From the best information I can obtain, it amounts to about one hundred and fifty men, including a brother of the Sultan’s, the eldest son of Pangerang Anam and twelve others. Pangerang Anam made his escape in a small quick sailing boat.

“ Captain Brookes found the cut through which he had to pass much smaller than had been represented and rendered impassable by trees felled across it. A little beyond this cut he found a boom across the main river defended by two forts which opened on a reconnoitering party and killed the boatswain of H.M.S. *Leda*. Being late in the evening Captain Brookes determined to attack them early the following morning : when as he was moving for this purpose, a canoe brought a letter from the chief, the purport of it was : ‘ That his batteries had fired by mistake, that he was the friend of the Europeans.’ At this moment arrived H.M.S. *Procris*, which had been sent up the Main River. Captain Norton sent to inform the chief that he wished to anchor off the battery, and desired the boom might be opened. This request not being complied with, a party of seamen were sent to cut it. Just as they had succeeded the batteries commenced firing, which was returned by the *Procris*. Captain Brookes then landed this party to attack them ; but the enemy immediately evacuated their forts, and fled into the jungle. In this affair two Sepoys were killed and a ship Lascar wounded.

“ Lieutenant Bolton’s party, it appears, took a wrong direction at first, and from the difficulties they had to encounter, did not arrive in time for the attack.

“ I have the honour to transmit a return of our killed and wounded during the operations ; also of the ordnance found in the enemy’s works. Considering the number and difficulty of access to the batteries which prevented the possibility

of exactly timing a combined attack, or of moving a large force in any one direction, our loss is perhaps less than might be expected.

“It is with much regret I have further to relate the death of Captain Morris on the 1st instant. This zealous officer, although very ill, persisted in accompanying me. He fell a victim to his unbounded zeal for the service.

“The pleasing part of my duty now remains to bear testimony to the general good conduct of the whole of the troops, and to the cordial co-operation of Captain Sayer, commanding His Majesty’s squadron, who placed under my orders the Marines and also a body of disposable seamen.

“From the Honourable Captain Elliot, with whom Captain Sayer entrusted the immediate arrangement and command of the armed boats of the squadron, I experienced every assistance and readiness in complying with any of my suggestions. My thanks are due to the whole of the officers, seamen and marines, that landed from His Majesty’s ships to second our operations, particularly to Captain Leslie, and the party under his orders, which accompanied Captain Watson’s column. To Captain Watson and his division every praise is due; the result of their attack fully corroborates the report made by him, that nothing could exceed the coolness and intrepidity of the men comprising it.

“I am much indebted to Lieutenant Bayley of the Madras Native Infantry for his assistance. This officer landed with Captain Watson’s column, which he volunteered to lead; and after much perseverance, succeeded in cutting a passage through the jungle.

“From Captain Dyson, His Majesty’s 14th Regiment, major of brigade, and Lieutenant Gunn of the Bengal Light Infantry volunteer battalion, quartermaster of the troops, I also derived every assistance in the previous arrangements, and during the operations of the Service.

“I have the honour to be, Honourable Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“JAMES WATSON

“(Lieutenant Colonel of the 14th Regiment Commanding the Troops).

“Sambas, July 3, 1813.”

Return of Killed and Wounded during the operations against

Sambas, including that of Captain Brookes' detachment up the Main River, July 3rd, 1813 :—

Regiment or Corps and Ships' Names.	Killed and Wounded.	Officers.			Uncommissioned Officers and Rank and File.			Seamen on Shore.			Grand Total.	
		Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Gun Lascars.	Boatswains.	Seamen.	Officers.	Uncommissioned Officers, Rank and File, and Seamen.
His Majesty's 14th Regiment.	Killed	—	—	—	—	—	3					
ditto ditto	Wounded	1	1	—	—	—	20					
3rd Bengal Volunteer Battalion.	Killed	—	—	—	—	—	3					
ditto ditto	Wounded	—	1	—	1	—	13					
Bengal Artillery .	Killed	—	—	—	—	—	—	1		Killed.		
ditto ditto	Wounded	—	—	—	—	—	—	6		Wounded.		
H.M.S. <i>Leda</i> . . .	Killed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1			
H.M.S. <i>Hussar</i> . . .	Wounded	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	16		
										0	4	7
												55

Names of officers corresponding :—

Captain Watson, His Majesty's 14th Regiment, slightly.

Lieutenant Jennings, His Majesty's 14th Regiment, slightly.

Lieutenant Trist, 3rd Bengal Volunteer Battalion, wounded severely and dangerously.

Lieutenant Hoghton, H.M.S. *Hussar*, severely.

J. DYSON (Major of Brigade).

Return of Ordnance Stores captured in the different Batteries at Sambas :—

GUNS.

	Pounders	32	24	18	12	8	6	4	3	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	Total.
Brass Ordnance .	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	20	7	30
Iron ditto .	1	6	2	8	—	2	4	3	10	—	—	—	36
Total . . .	1	6	2	8	1	2	4	3	12	20	7	—	66

Round Shot, different sizes 6,000

Bar ditto ditto 30

Gunpowder barrels 26

A. CAMERON

(Lieut. Com. Detach. Bengal Artillery).

A True Copy,

J. DYSON (Major of Brigade).

MACASSAR (Celebes).

Macassar town, or Fort Rotterdam as it was formerly called, dates from far back. The English were here in 1615, trading under a treaty made with the king. Their factory, however, was seized a year or two later by the Dutch, whose superiority in numbers in those days was always as ten to one. In 1667 the Dutch made an exclusive treaty with the king, which ended any trading here by other nations; and, indeed, the Dutch cannot be blamed for taking all the steps necessary to consolidate their trade. In those days the old fort was impregnable. Towards the sea was a strong battery; ships could anchor under the walls. Two hundred years after their first coming—that is to say, in 1811—the English returned once more to Macassar, and a British garrison of regulars and some colonial troops was stationed in the Dutch fort, still called “Fort Rotterdam.” The town was then surrounded by a stone wall sufficiently low to admit a defence from the houses, and yet high enough to prevent a sudden surprise from a night escalade or a surprise attack.

The conquest of this country after they had finally disposed of the Portuguese had cost the Dutch much blood and treasure. It was a fine race of fighting men that peopled the island; so strong were they that in 1420 their king sailed in command of a fleet of two hundred ships to reduce Malacca, the so-called ancient capital of the East. The inhabitants of Celebes are Buginese, a race trained from childhood to martial exercises. The British Residents here were, in 1811—1813 Captain R. Phillips, in 1814 Captain W. H. Wood, and in 1815 Major Dalton.

Bonthain, situated to the south-east of Macassar, as also a small settlement further eastward (in 1811 called Booloecomba), were subject to the Resident of Macassar.

The fort of Booloecomba was attacked and taken on the

12th January, 1810, by a party of one hundred men landed from H.M.S. *Cornwallis*, and commanded by Captain Montague, with Captain Forbes and Lieutenant Duncan Stewart of the Madras Service. This small party, after capturing the fort from the Dutch, seems to have had to sustain on the day following a furious attack from the natives. It repulsed them, however, owing to the bravery of Captain Montague, well supported by his men. A special instance of bravery occurred this day, when Lieutenant Stewart, at imminent risk of his own life, stepped out of the lines to help a soldier of the Madras European Regiment, who had received a shot through his leg and been disabled. The enemy were nearly upon him when Lieutenant Stewart threw him on his back and carried him to the rear in safety.

Boni also gave the English trouble during their occupation of Java, and in April, 1814, Major-General Nightingale received orders from Raffles to prepare an expeditionary force, as Raffles could no longer bear with the rajah's conduct, which he described as "equally hostile and insulting." The force arrived on the 7th June at Macassar, and as the rajah declined to offer the reparation demanded of him, or to surrender the "somidang" or regalia of Goa, which he had forcibly seized, Lieutenant McLeod carried the town of Boni by assault within an hour from the commencement of the attack. The rajah escaped, but his palace, a large quantity of gunpowder, as well as five cannons, several stands of colours, and arms of all descriptions fell into the hands of the English. The English commander set fire to the palace as a lesson to the rajah. The enemy lost about one thousand, but the English loss was also severe.

As a relic of the British occupation of Macassar there is a stone in the cemetery there to the memory of the first British Resident, Captain Phillips, who died in December, 1814.

BENCOOLEN, Sumatra (FORT MARLBOROUGH).

When the English factory was turned out of Bantam in 1682 some of the members went to Bencoolen to try and secure a foothold here for the Company, and on the 25th June, 1685, erected a factory, the first governor being Ralph Ord, one of the East India Company's "trusted servants." The following year branches were opened at Indrapoera and Marijuta, and a fair amount of pepper, the chief export, was brought in by the natives. The following year a disaster happened, the governor being poisoned; some said, but apparently without proof, that it was at the instigation of the Dutch. As other troubles and much sickness also occurred among the Company's servants, it was half-decided to withdraw from Bencoolen; but the Governor-General in Bengal would not hear of it, and in 1690 Fort York was built by a certain Benjamin Bloom, who had come from Bantam. In 1693 further troubles occurred, and heavy fever broke out among the Englishmen on account of the town having been built on a malarial morass, the result being that the new governor and his whole council, besides nearly all the staff, died.

By 1694 the affairs of the new settlement began to improve once more, and a considerable and increasing trade was done in pepper. A new station was shortly after established at Silleber, the rajah there having granted a concession to the English, hoping thereby effectually to keep out his enemies the Dutch. Between 1697 and 1700 continual tribal wars, into which the Company were unfortunately drawn, were occurring in Sumatra, which disturbed the peace of the settlement and interfered with its prosperity, and the garrison of soldiers in Fort York had to be brought up to two hundred men. Another epidemic of fever broke out in 1705, and the governor, three civil servants, and forty-one slaves died. In this year, on account of a con-

tinuance of the native wars and other reasons, all the men on the outlying stations were called in. Jeremiah Harrison (one of the seniors of the Company's servants at Fort St. George, Madras) visited Bencoolen in 1708 and was very much impressed by the unprosperous state of affairs which he found, and, putting this down to the fact that in 1703 this settlement had been made independent of Fort St. George, recommended its inclusion once more under the control of this Government, an advice which was followed in 1710. Eventually, after much parleying and the expending of somewhat large sums of money by the Company, peace was once more established in 1721. The settlement now once more revived and trade began to make headway again. In 1760 a French fleet visited the east coast of Sumatra under Admiral Count D'Estang and bombarded and destroyed all the English settlements. As soon, however, as the fleet had disappeared, the English, with spirits undaunted, now set about repairing matters and restoring their trade by rebuilding the factories. Three years later Bencoolen, being considered strong enough and being in a more or less flourishing condition, was again by decree made an independent presidency. After this, however, the settlement went back and gradually sank into insignificance. It is to be seen from the "Court of Directors'" letter dated the 18th April, 1805, to the Government of Penang that Bencoolen from a political and commercial point of view had become of no importance whatever, and that pepper, the only produce exported, was an unprofitable concern. It remained for Sir Stamford Raffles, who arrived here on the 22nd March, 1818, as Lieutenant-Governor, to revive the place and to try and bring order out of chaos; this he succeeded in doing. The place had become a den of iniquity.

At this time only five hundred piculs of pepper were being exported, while the expenses of the establishment amounted

to no less than £100,000 per annum. In the chapter on the Life of Raffles in the present work, and also in the Memoirs of his life by Lady Raffles, it is seen how Raffles, with his great nervous energy and his keen interest in his work, cleaned the Augean stable—how he furthered his country's interests here and consolidated her power. Raffles sailed for England on the 1st March, 1824, when Bencoolen (Padang, Nias, and all the other stations had already been returned in 1819) was given back to the Dutch. During Raffles' time trade at Bencoolen had received a great impetus, and had made such strides that very good profits were earned, which caused capital to flow more freely into the country. Coffee now was also grown, and experiments were successfully made with small fields of sugar cane and nutmegs.

Among the principal English or American families whose names constantly appear between 1820 and 1835 and until Bencoolen ceased to exist were those of Lewis, Palmer, Leicester, Green, Barrett, Watson, Bond, Wyatt, Bogle, and Gibson. In these days the settlement was a British colony full of life. The reasons why Bencoolen never could have succeeded are many; but firstly it needed a man like Raffles to nurse it to prosperity, and to encourage it with broad views and ideas, and secondly it needed a better climate. Both these needs being wanting, and moreover there being no apparent desire on the part of the Dutch to assist the English merchants there, but rather a determination to concentrate trade as much as possible on the east coast of Sumatra at Padang, the entire trade of Bencoolen was gradually transferred to the latter place, and where later we have continual glimpses of such English-speaking families as the Maidmans, Purvises, Stewarts, Boyles, Townsends and Wards. The one English churchyard there contains many of their graves, and this is all that now remains of them. At the present day not one English

family exists in these parts, always excepting those working in the gold mines near.

LIST OF ENGLISH GRAVE-STONES AT THE OLD ENGLISH COLONY
OF BENCOOLEN.

Grave-stones in the Churchyard.

(1)

Here Lie the Remains
of the Late
MAJR. CHAS. PORTEOUS,
2nd Bn. Regt. Bl. N. I.
Who departed this life
the 8th April 1816
Aged 39 Years.

This Monument is erected as a Small
Tribute of respect to his Memory
By the officers of his Corps.

(2)

Here Lie Interred
The Remains of
ALEXANDER MONTEATH
Surgeon
In the Honourable Company's
Civil Service
Who died 9th July 1798.
Sincerely Regretted.

(3)

Sacred
To the Memorij
of
ROBERT BOGLE, ESQUIRE
Who departed this life on the 26th of
September, in the ijear of our Lord
one thousand eight hundred and fourtijeight
deeplij regretted bij his afflicted daughter
Susan Zaharah Romswinckel.
No sculptur'd marble here nor pompous laij,
No storied urn, nor animated bust !
This simple stone directs a danghter's waij
To pour her sorrows o'er her father's dust.

(4)

Sacred
to the Memory
of
J. V. L. BOGLE Esqr.
Who departed this life
on the 9th Dec. 1814.
Sincerely regretted.

(5)

Sacred
To The Memory of
AGNES HARRIET,
The beloved wife of CHARLES HAY, Esqr.
and eldest daughter of
ROBERT BOGLE, Esqre. of this Place
(And of Her Infant).
She was Born 16th April 1810.
And Departed this Life 27th Dec. 1836.
Aged 26 Years and 8 Months :
Sincerely and Deservedly Regretted.
This Monument is erected by
Her afflicted Husband,
As a tribute to her many virtues.
Called not away when time had loosed each hold,
On the fond heart and each desire grew cold,
But when to all that knit Us to our kind,
She felt fast bound as love alone can bind.

(6)

Here lie the Remains of
CHARLES RICHARD RAMUS
Who departed this Life
March 14th Anno Domini 1808
Aged one Year, eleven Months,
and seven Days.

(7)

Sacred
to the Memory
of
EDWARD ARKINS Esqre.
Who died on the 28th of March 1812,
Aged 46 Years.

JAVA

(8)

Sacred
 To the Memory of
 Mr. THOMAS WHITTENBERRY
 Who departed this Life
 The 28th of August 1802.
 Aged 18 Years.

(9)

Sacred to the Memory of
 WILLIAM HOLLOWAY,
 Who having served in the Civil Service
 of the Hon^{ble} United English East India Company,
 On the Island of Sumatra
 With Honor, Zeal and Integrity.
 After twenty two Years service
 Departed this Life
 At the Age of forty.

The Moral qualities that graced his Mind
 Proved him an ornament to Human kind,
 Society his manners so adorned.
 He lived respected died sincerely mourned
 Oh pass not by, stop youthful pilgrim here
 Read this, and O'er his ashes drop a tear.
 In memory of those Virtues Mankind praise
 This Tombstone did his Sorrowing Brother raise.

(10)

Sacred
 to the Memory of
 HENRY J. WATSON
 Lieut^t of the Fort Marlbro Local Corps
 and formerly Lieut^t H.M. 87th Regt.
 Who departed this life at Bencoolen
 on the 1st of February 1824
 Aged 35 Years.

(11)

To the Memory
 of
 STOKEHAM DONSTON Esqr.
 Who departed this
 Life at Marlbro,
 the 2nd April 1775
 Aged 41.

(12)

Beneath this tomb
are deposited the remains
of

EDWARD CRISP,
Writer in the service
of the
East India Company
Who died the 24th day of December
1796
Aged . . Years.

(13)

Here Lies
Miss FRANCES MACLANE
Who departed this Life
on the 18 October 1858.
Aged 58 Years.

(14)

Sacred
To the Memory of
CAPTAIN THOMAS TAPSO
Obiit 15th July, 1816.
Aged 51 Years 11th Mths.
This humble Monument
Was erected to his Memory
By his much afflicted friend
Nonah Jessmina.

(15)

Sacred
To the Memory
of
JANE wife of P. DEVINE
Subconductor of Ordnance
Who departed this Life
at Fort Marlbro on the
9th March 1825
Aged 33 Years.
She was possessed of those Virtues
Which adorn the sex, and whose
Loss will ever be lamented by an
Affectionate Husband.

JAVA

(16)

To the Memory
of

MARY ANNE

The wife of

W. R. JENNINGS Esqr.

Who departed this life

The 22nd Day of April

1818.

Aged 28.

This Monument
Is erected to her memory
By her affectionate
Husband.

(17)

(a)

Sacred

To the Memory of

WILLIAM BAILLIE

Who departed this life

The 31st August 1810

Aged 10 days.

(b)

Sacred

To the Memory of

JANE LEWIS

Obit 19th Feb. Y 1823.

Æ. 22.

Farewell, my best belov'd, whose heavenly mind
Genius and virtue, strength with softness join'd ;
Unblam'd unequall'd in each sphere of Life,
The tenderest daughter, Sister, Parent, Wife.
Could I express but ah ! can words my loss declare
Or paint the extremes of transport and despair ?
O, thou beyond what verse or speech can tell,
My Guide my friend, my best belov'd, farewell.

W. T. L.

(c)

Sacred
 To the Memory of
 JOHN LANCASTER
 Assistant Surgeon
 of the Bengal Establishment
 Aged 33,
 Who departed this life
 16th Sept. 1821.

(d)

Sacred
 to the Memory
 of
 Mrs. E. M. BAILLIE
 Who departed this Life
 on the 23rd May 1815
 Aged 25 Years and Months.
 As a small mark of their
 Unimpaired affection
 and an humble memorial
 of her many Virtues,
 This Monument is erected
 by her afflicted Brothers
 H. R. and W. T. Lewis.

(18)

Sacred
 To the Memory of
 CAPTAIN ROBERT HM. . . .
 of the Bengal Service
 Who departed this life
 At Fort Marlborough
 In the year
 1820
 Aged 30 Years.

JAVA

(19)

(a)

Sacred
to the Memory
of

FRANCIS INGLIS Esqr.

of the Civil Service

At Fort Marlborough

Who died on the 17th June 1814

Aged 39 Years.

Beloved and Lamented by a numerous
Family and many Friends.

(b)

In
Memory of

ANN HERRIES JOHNSTONE

Christened April 17th 1790

and

Departed this Life

on the

9th June

1795.

(c)

Sacred

To the Memory of

WILLIAM COX

Born 10th December 1802 ;

Died on the 9th October 1804.

(d)

Sacred

To the memory of

PHILLIP COX

Born

27th May 1804

Died

16th Juli 1804.

On the monument of Parr :—

(20)

RICHARD WATTS Esqr.

Some time of Council for the
R^t. Hon^{ble}. Comp. affairs
in Fort S^t. George
and in the Year 1699 came
over Deputy Govern^r
of this Place
and in ab^t three Years after
made by Commission from
the Company the First
President of this Coast
In w^{ch} Station he departed
this life Decemb^r 17 1705 and
in the 44th Year of his age.

(21)

Underneath this obelisk are interred
the Remains of

CAPTAIN ROBERT HAMILTON

Who died on the 15th of Dec^r 1793
at the Age of 38 Years
in the command of the Troops
and
Second Member of the Government.

Grave-stone in Fort Marlborough.

(22)

Here

Are deposited the Remains of

CHARLES MURRAY Esqr.

Assistent to the Residency (?) of Fort Marlborough.

His a Progress
of the Band of Assassins
on the Night of the . . . December 1807
when Thomas Parr Esq^r
Resident at Beneoolen . . .
Representative of Government
fell by their misguided Duty (?).

JAVA

His humane care preserved the Life of
 The widow of . . . his . . . nd
 Wounded in com her husband
 from the Daggers of the Assassins

Dis . . . induced by anxious and unceasing Execution
 in the zealous Discharge of his public Duty
 (dimine) a Season of Danger and Alarm
 removed (?) this Life
 on the 7th of January 1808
 Aged 21 Years.

In Memory
 of his brave and humane Conduct
 and of his public Services
 The Right Honourable Lord Minto
 Governor General in Council
 caused this Monument to be erected.

To the Memory of
 CHARLES MURRAY Esquire.

(23)

Here are Deposited
 The Remains
 of

THOMAS PARR Esquire

in life
 the representative
 assassins
 in*the night of December.

.

 and advantage to

His Employers
 The Right Honourable Gilbert Lord Minto
 Governor General in Council
 has ordered
 that this marble be erected
 to his Memory.

Lindeman, Sct.

This Stone
 Is added ad . . . the
 The of
 THOMAS PARR Esquire

 Widow
 Will
 Time shall be no more.

Lindeman, Sct.

NOTES.

- (1) This list was prepared from the grave-stones by W. Bakker in 1912.
- (2) According to the Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir T. S. Raffles by his widow, page 298, Vol. II., nearly all the stones came from Calcutta.
- (3) Grave-stone No. 3 was probably not cut by an Englishman, as U in the word "daughter" is each time given as N.
- (4) On grave-stone No. 18 it is not clear whether Hull or Hall is intended. From page 16, Vol. I., of the Memoir the name appears, however, to be Hull.
- (5) Grave-stone No. 19 is really a four-sided tomb, as commonly in vogue a century ago for distinguished persons.
- (6) No. 20 is a grave-stone placed incorrectly on the monument of Parr.
- (7) In Fort Marlborough there are other English graves, but the inscriptions on two of them are apparently illegible.
- (8) For grave-stone No. 9 see page 332 of Memoir.
- (9) The names in the corners of the stones seem to be those of the sculptors.

SINGAPORE (Malay Peninsula).

As the history of Java in the nineteenth century has been a good deal bound up with the name of Raffles, it seems scarcely appropriate in giving this small account of the different places of importance in the Dutch East Indies to leave out the neighbouring British settlement of Singapore, the acquisition of which was due to Raffles, and was indeed

the greatest achievement of his life. A few notes are therefore here given.

The population of Singapore in 1819, when the British flag was first hoisted, consisted of only 300 Malays. In a few years it had grown to 20,000, made up as follows :—

Classes.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Europeans	91	28	119
Indo-Britons	56	40	96
Native Christians	167	133	300
Armenians	27	8	35
Jews	2	—	2
Arabs	96	—	96
Chinese	7,650	867	8,517
Malays	3,673	3,368	7,131
Natives of Coromandel and Malabar coasts .	1,762	57	1,819
Bengalis	389	11	400
Natives of Celebes, Bugis and Balinese .	794	932	1,726
Javanese	361	234	595
Siamese	5	2	7
Negroes	23	14	37

The names of most of the principal Englishmen living here in 1822 are given at the end of this section.¹

In 1824 there were twelve mercantile houses, all connected with Batavia or Calcutta. In 1832 there were twenty European mercantile houses in Singapore, namely, seventeen British, one Portuguese, one German, and one American ; while there were also three large Armenian mercantile establishments. Of all these houses only that of Guthrie & Co., which opened in 1821, exists to-day.

When a European merchant in those days wished to make a shipment of produce to England he visited the bazaar and purchased the articles he required from the Chinese in exchange for others that had been consigned to him. In 1832 there were no Government buildings of any importance except the gaol, a square white building erected in a swamp

¹ Also some other interesting particulars of a later date, and some notes on Penang and Malacca.

at the back of the town, and a small stone hospital situated near the Circular Road. The court-house was built as a dwelling by an English merchant, from whom it was rented by the Government. Government House was on a hill at the back of the town and was built by Raffles in a fortnight, and was therefore not very substantial. At this period Malay pirates swarmed in the neighbourhood of Singapore.

The numerous islands around, the intersecting channels of which were known only to themselves, afforded them a safe retreat, whence they could pounce down upon the defenceless trading craft and drag them into their lairs to plunder at their leisure. Their organisation was highly perfected, more so even than that which formerly obtained among the buccaneers of America. Some petty chief of one of the Malay states who had either been ruined by gambling or was desirous of improving his fortunes would collect under his banner as many restless spirits as he could and sail for one of the most retired islands near Singapore. Here he erected a village as a depôt for slaves and plunder, and then lay in wait with his armed praams near frequented waters for the native trader passing to and fro from Singapore. If the chief was successful his village soon became a town, while his fleet of praams became so numerous as to be subdivided into squadrons which took long cruises. They sailed in fleets of from three to twenty, which were armed with guns, large and small, and each praam carried fifteen to forty men. The vessels that were captured were brought to their settlement, plundered and burnt, the goods being taken to Singapore for sale. The unfortunate natives who were captured were carried to Lingen and sold to the Malays to cultivate the Sumatra pepper plantations. A glance at the old Singapore papers will show to what an extent the system prevailed, and for every case recorded probably there were ten unrecorded, as it rarely happened that

anyone returned to tell the tale. These pirates existed until Admiral Keppel cleared them out. One of the cases that created a great sensation at the time occurred off Indramayoc, Java, when an English merchant named Stephen Timewell was killed while he was leaving Pama-noekan for Batavia in August, 1828, with a large sum of money for the purchase of sundry produce and articles. The news of the passage of this money had reached a famous piratical chief, Rajah Raga, who with a sufficient number of praams, cruised about in the neighbourhood of Indramayoc several days beforehand on the look-out for the small brig owned by Timewell. The crew of this vessel consisted of two Englishmen, the captain and the chief officer, and about thirty Javan seamen, who together with the owner defended the vessel for some time until all their ammunition was exhausted. Towards the evening, however, Timewell was killed by a spear fired from a musket, and the pirates, taking advantage of the resulting confusion, immediately boarded the brig. The two remaining Englishmen, knowing full well that certain death awaited them, threw themselves overboard, and succeeded in reaching a bamboo fishing buoy, a number of which are always moored near this spot. The pirates, too busily employed plundering their prize to think of anything else, did not perceive their place of refuge, and the vessels soon drifted out of sight. The two men had now an opportunity of considering their position, which was now very little better. They were immersed to their necks, and dreaded every moment the attack of sharks, which swarm on the coasts of Java; nor had either of them during the whole night the comfort of knowing whether his companion was still alive. Shortly after daylight appeared fishermen were perceived, but instead of rescuing them immediately the Javans first consulted together and then demanded who they were. Finding they were Englishmen whose vessel had been attacked by pirates and captured, they were taken



MARKET AT TJILATJAH.



STREET IN SAMARANG, SHOWING CHURCH.

on board and kindly treated, being eventually brought by the fishermen to Indramayoc.

As a reminiscence of this we find in the Java Government Gazette of the 8th March, 1830, the following notice :—

“ The undersigned trustees of the estate of Stephen Timewell, who was captured by pirates on his passage from Pamanoeakan to Batavia in the month of August, 1828, request that all persons having claims upon his estate may make immediate application towards liquidating the same.

“ ALEXANDER LONDON.

“ WM. BAXTER.

“ Batavia, 8th March, 1830.”

This Rajah Raga was looked for for years by English men-of-war, and on one occasion while cruising with three large praams he was attacked by one, two of the praams being destroyed with their crews ; but the third escaped, and on this was the rajah. On another occasion his own praam, which carried upwards of one hundred and fifty men and mounted several very large guns, was quietly sailing near Macassar in charge of his favourite *panglima*, or captain, when a ship was sighted, which was fired upon, and the panglima prepared, as customary, to come to close quarters, since no ship could withstand such a large praam. To the panglima's surprise and dismay, however, a long line of ports opened in the side of the vessel, and he found himself under the rows of guns of a British man-of-war.

The panglima hailed the man-of-war and endeavoured to make it appear that he had acted under a misapprehension and in self-defence, but a subterfuge was useless ; the British man-of-war knew the praam and was after her, and a broadside sank her in one minute, with her whole crew except two men, who clung to a piece of wreck and were picked up by a native praam.

Shortly after the introduction of steam in 1827 a well-armed steam vessel plying between Singapore and Batavia

was attacked by a large armed praaam, the pirates fancying she was a brig on fire. They soon found out their mistake and were to their astonishment pursued and sunk.

Singapore to-day is one of the centres of the commercial world, with huge docks worth about four million pounds sterling and affording wharfage for a large number of vessels at one time; there are commodious godowns and coal-sheds along the wharf, the latter with a capacity for storing 50,000 tons of coal. There are two graving docks—the Victoria Dock, 450 feet long and 65 feet broad at the entrance, and the Albert Dock, 485 feet long and 60 feet broad at the entrance. There is a population, still growing, of 2,000,000. The port, if reckoned by its tonnage, is now the seventh in the world. In the last thirty years the trade has grown from 5,000,000 dollars to 20,000,000 dollars. There are a number of churches of all creeds and denominations, many clubs, and several scientific institutions. In fact, the place has proved Sir Stamford Raffles' wonderful foresight and his excellent choice of a position.

1. LIST OF BRITISH RESIDENTS IN SINGAPORE ABOUT 1822.

Robert Morrison, D.D.

Alexander Laurie Johnstone, founder of the house of A. L. Johnstone & Co. in 1820.¹

Hugh Syme, founder of Syme & Co., of Singapore, 1822, Pitcairn Syme & Co., Java, 1825, but doing business in Java as early as 1822 with an army officer, Captain Campbell, his agent, a partner, who died there in 1822.

D. S. Napier, of the firm of Napier and Scott.

John Argyle Maxwell, agent for G. Maclaine & Co., Java, from 1822 to 1828.

Nathaniel Wallich.

Lieutenant-Colonel McInnes.

Captain Flint,² R.N., Sir T. S. Raffles' aide-de-camp.

Captain Davies, *Rev. R. Morrison*, *Rev. J. Humphreys*, *Rev. D. Collie*, *Rev. R. S. Hutchings*, *Rev. G. H. Thompson*, *Rev. J. Milton*.

William Montgomery, M.D.

¹ This house failed in 1890, thus lasting seventy years.

² Formerly of Java, buyer of the land Serondol.

G. Finlayson.

Samuel Roberts, printer.

Hon. E. Phillips, member of Council (brother of the former Resident of Macassar, 1811).

Hon. J. Erskine, member of Council.

Rev. G. Burder.

W. A. Hankey.

C. W. Crommelin.

G. A. Bonham, son of Governor of Penang.

Lieutenant L. N. Hull.

Lieutenant P. Jackson.

David Alexander Fraser, formerly partner in Skelton & Co., of Batavia, which ceased on the 31st December, 1821; afterwards partner in Macquoid, Davidson & Co., Batavia, and now managing partner for that firm here.

G. Mackenzie.

Thomas Howard.

F. J. Bernard.

Charles Scott, of Napier and Scott, probably a relative of Robert Scott, of Deans, Scott & Co.

G. Gordon.

John Morgan, brother of A. Morgan, both partners in Paton, Morgan & Co., Batavia, 1822—1828.

C. R. Read, partner in A. L. Johnstone & Co.

John Purvis (brother of W. Purvis, captain of a ship trading in the archipelago).

A. Guthrie, founder of Guthrie & Co., 1819.

Alexander Morgan, merchant of Sourabaya, 1819, and a brother of John Morgan (founder of Paton, Morgan & Co., 1822—1828, and Morgan, King & Co., Batavia, 1829, and Morgan, Melbourne & Co., Batavia, 1833—1884).

Alexander Hay, brother of Colin Mackenzie Hay, partner in the house of Maclaine & Co., Batavia, 1822.

2. FROM THE DAY-BOOK, SINGAPORE.

1819, May 29th. In laying out the town six building lots were reserved by Raffles—one for Carnegy & Co., Penang, one for F. Ferrao, one for Thomas Macquoid, one for Captain Flint, and two to be disposed of by Raffles himself.

3. LIST OF OCCUPIERS OF LANDS, SINGAPORE, JULY, 1821.

Claude Querros.

J. Carnegy.

Scott and Napier.

Christie.

A. L. Johnstone.

J. Morgan.

A. Guthrie.

G. Mackenzie.

LIST OF OCCUPIERS OF LAND, SINGAPORE—(continued).

Williamson.	John Dalton.
Lackersteen.	A. Guthrie.
Hay Mackenzie.	Hugh Syme.
F. Ferrao.	Graham Mackenzie.
J. Almeida.	J. A. Maxwell.
Baron Jamearie.	A. L. Johnstone.
F. J. Bernard.	John Connolly.
Dunn.	William Spottiswoode.
Captain Flint.	H. F. Hansen.
Lieutenant Crossley.	T. H. Bell.
Captain Methven.	Francis Cox.
Lieutenant Davis.	Daniel Hawthorn.
Colonel Farquhar.	H. Gilbert.
George Armstrong.	R. Macquire.
Thomas Owen Crane.	

4. LIST OF MAGISTRATES OF SINGAPORE, 1st FEBRUARY, 1823.

Alexander L. Johnstone.	D. Clark.
James Argyle Maxwell.	John Morgan.
David S. Napier. ¹	Alexander Hay.
A. Read. ¹	A. Guthrie.
Claude Queiros.	A. Farquhar.
Charles Scott.	J. King.
John Purvis.	G. Mackenzie.
Alexander Morgan.	

IN 1823.

C. R. Read ; Hon. Company : James Lumsdaine, Nathaniel Wallich, and Captain Francis Salmond.

5. LIST OF MERCHANTS OF SINGAPORE, 1824.

Alexander Laurie Johnstone & Co. (for self and J. Crawford).	Charles Scott (for self and D. S. Napier).
C. Thomas.	Guthrie and Clarke.
G. Mackenzie.	John A. Maxwell.
Hugh Syme.	Morgan, Hunter & Co.
Isaiah Zacheriah.	Andrew Farquhar.
Spottiswoode and Conolly.	

¹ In 1819 a writer in the Company's service, Bencoolen.

6. OWNERS OF LAND IN SINGAPORE, JANUARY, 1824.

John Palmer, of Calcutta. ¹	John Morgan. ³
G. D. H. Larpent, of Calcutta. ¹	Hon. J. J. Erskine, member of
Captain Murray, commanding	Council, Penang. ²
officer. ²	J. A. Maxwell. ³
A. Hay. ³	Pearl. ³
Colonel Farquhar. ²	Carnegy, of Penang. ¹
A. Farquhar. ³	Baretto & Co., of Calcutta. ¹
F. J. Bernard. ²	T. King. ³
Captain Davies. ²	C. R. Read. ³
Captain Flint. ²	Captain Howard. ³
Lieutenant P. Jackson. ²	Captain Methven. ²
S. G. Bonham. ²	Captain Salmond, of Ben-
Asst. Surgeon Montgomery. ²	coolen. ²
Queiros. ³	Captain Harrington. ³
Mackenzie. ³	J. Clark. ³
Napier. ³	F. G. Maclaine. ³
Hay. ³	Fletcher. ³
Scott. ³	Ryan. ²
A. Guthrie. ³	Rev. Morrison. ⁴
J. Purvis. ³	Rev. Milton. ⁴
A. L. Johnston. ³	Rev. Thomsen. ⁴
Captain Almeida. ³	

7. PRINCIPAL MERCHANTS OF SINGAPORE, 1826.

Charles Chester.	John Argyle Maxwell.
Thomas Davis.	William Paton.
James Innes.	William Scott.
Alexander Laurie Johnston.	John Spottiswoode.
Alexander Kyd Lindsay.	Hugh Syme.
William Gordon Mackenzie.	William Vincent.

(All commissioners of the peace.)

8. LIST OF PUBLIC SERVANTS AND EUROPEAN INHABITANTS
RESIDING AT SINGAPORE, March, 1827.

Honourable John Prince, Esq., Resident Councillor.
 Edward Presgrave, Esq., deputy Resident.
 S. G. Bonham, Esq., assistant Resident.
 Rev. R. Burn, chaplain.
 Captain W. Flint, R.N., master attendant and port-master.

¹ Non-resident merchant.² Government officer.³ Resident merchant.⁴ Missionaries.

Captain C. E. Davis, garrison staff.
 Lieutenant P. Jackson, executive officer.
 W. Montgomerie, M.D., residing assistant surgeon.
 Extra covenanted servant for Bencoolen : R. G. Perreau.
 Assistants attached to Resident's and Secretary's office :
 J. F. Burrows, W. Herwetson, J. D. Remedios.
 Accountant's and pay office : R. Winter, T. H. Bell.
 Police office and Convict Department : W. Campbell, J. Salmon, W. Holloway, Henry Gilbert (constable), Francis Cox (constable), Robert Macquire (constable), Hilton (overseer of convicts).
 Master attendant's office : Edward Coles, John Leyden Siamee.
 Post Office : Edward Coles.
 Commissioner's Court of Requests : Edward Presgrave and S. G. Bonham (commissioners), W. Holloway (clerk), Francis Cox (bailiff).

9. MERCHANTS AND HOUSES OF AGENCY AT SINGAPORE, 1827.

Almeida & Co.	Maxwell & Co.
Armstrong, Crane & Co.	Morgans, Hunter & Co.
J. Dalton.	Napier, Scott & Co.
A. Farquhar.	J. Purvis.
Guthrie and Clark.	Spottiswoode, Connolly & Co.
A. L. Johnstone & Co.	Syme & Co.
Mackenzie & Co.	Thomas & Co.

10. ARMENIAN MERCHANTS AND ARMENIANS IN THEIR EMPLOY, 1827.

Isaiah Zechariah.	Sarkis Aratoon Sarkis.
Satoor and Stephen.	Seth Avieth Seth, Andrew
Aristakus Sarkis and J.	Zechariah, and C. P. Zechariah
Manook.	(in the employ of Isaiah
Carapit Phanoos.	Zechariah).
Johannes Simon.	

11. EUROPEAN INHABITANTS, 1827.

F. J. Bernard (agent to Lloyd's and notary public), J. Brown (employ of Messrs. Mackenzie & Co.), Jas. R. Bruce (employ of Messrs. Armstrong & Co.), George D. Coleman (civil architect), W. Dunman, Martinus de Silva (employ of Lieutenant Jackson), P. F. Douwe, John Ellis (employ of Johnstone & Co.), J. Francis (tavern-keeper), Frederick Freeze, James Fraser (employ of Maxwell & Co.), James Gordon, W. R. George (employ of Thomas & Co.), John Gummer, H. F. Hansen, D. Hawthorn (ship's

carpenter), A. Hay (of the firm of Johnston & Co.), Stephen Hallpike, C. Holloway, Robert Hunter (of Morgans, Hunter & Co.), Thomas Lardner (in Mr. Temperton's employ), Thomas Laby (punch-house keeper), James Loch (editor of the *Singapore Chronicle*), J. Macintosh (employ of Connolly & Co.), W. Merryweather (employ of Syme & Co.), F. de Silva Pinto Maia (Roman Catholic priest), Miguel Matti (watchmaker), S. Milton (missionary), William Macdonald (employ of Morgans, Hunter & Co.), A. Martin (surgeon), R. Moore (employ of Maxwell & Co.), W. Napier, R. Napier, W. Page (employ of Morgans, Hunter & Co.), W. P. Paton (of the firm of Morgans, Hunter & Co.), R. E. Pelling (employ of Guthrie and Clark), Claud Queiros (agent for Palmer & Co.), C. R. Read (of the firm of Johnston & Co.), C. Ryan (employ of Napier, Scott & Co.), W. D. Shaw (of the firm of Mackenzie & Co.), S. Sweeting (employ of Syme & Co.), Swinton (shipwright), W. Steward (employ of Thomas & Co.), G. Solomon (employ of Johnston & Co.), W. Temperton (shipwright), Charles Thomas, C. S. Thomas, Josiah Thomas, C. H. Thomsen (missionary), Westerborgh (punch-house keeper), John Wright.

12. THE SINGAPORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE : RULES, 1837, AND COPY OF THE FIRST CHAIRMAN'S CIRCULAR LETTER.

“ Singapore, 10th March, 1837.

“ The Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, which has been recently established at this place under the designation of the ‘ SINGAPORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,’ beg to wait upon you with the annexed copy of the Rules of the Institution. While tendering you their services in this quarter, in whatever department they are likely to be useful, the Committee solicit at the same time, the communication of any intelligence of a mercantile nature which it may be in your power to afford, whether bearing upon the general interests of commerce, or calculated in particular to affect those of this Settlement; as well as your assistance in promoting in any other way the object of the Chamber. The Committee will be gratified also by the receipt of any printed statements of Trade, or official documents of the like description, which may be published for general information, or are procurable, in your quarter, and which it may be in your power to transmit.

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

“ ALEX. L. JOHNSTON,

“ Chairman.”

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SINGAPORE
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

“ At a Meeting of the Merchants, Agents, and others interested in the trade of Singapore, convened by circular, and held at the Reading-Room on Wednesday the 8th February, 1837, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of establishing a CHAMBER OF COMMERCE at this Settlement,

“ A. L. JOHNSTON, Esqre., in the Chair,

“ It was proposed by Ellis James Gilman, Esqre., seconded by R. C. Healey, Esqre., and Unanimously Resolved,—

“ 1st. That an Association be formed under the designation of ‘ The Singapore Chamber of Commerce,’ for the purpose of watching over the commercial interests of the Settlement.

“ Proposed by Edward Boustead, Esqre., seconded by W. S. Lorrain, Esqre., and Unanimously Resolved,—

“ 2nd. That all Merchants, Agents, Ship-owners, and others interested in the trade of the place, be eligible to become Members of this Association.

“ Proposed by Thos. Scott, Esqre., seconded by J. S. Clark, Esqre., and Unanimously Resolved,—

“ 3rd. That a Provisional Committee be now appointed to draw up Rules and Regulations for the government of the Chamber, and to report thereon to a general Meeting to be convened as soon as the same are prepared.

“ Proposed by W. S. Duncan, Esqre., seconded by Lewis Fraser, Esqre., and Unanimously Resolved,—

“ 4th. That the said Provisional Committee consist of the following five gentlemen :—

Edward Boustead, Esqre.

Thomas McMicking, Esqre.

Alexander Guthrie, Esqre.

Ellis James Gilman, Esqre.

William Renshaw George, Esqre.

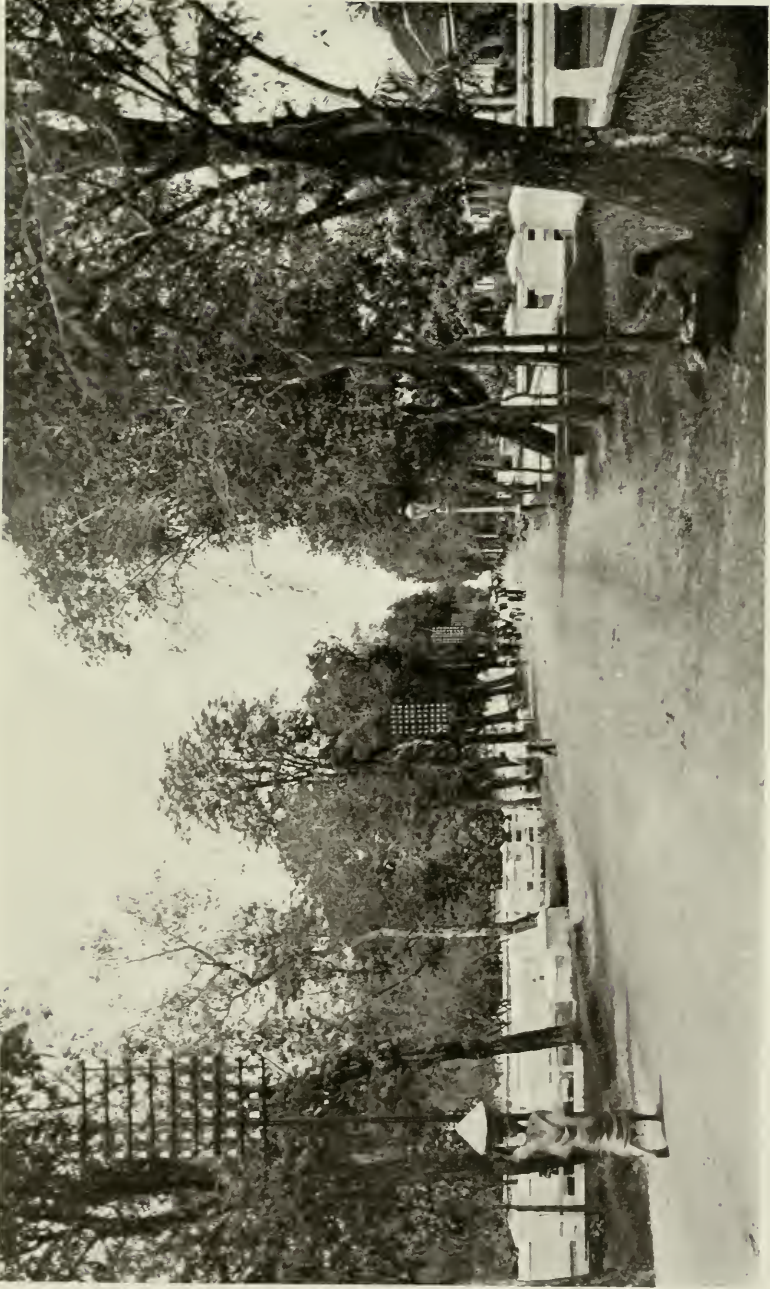
“ (Signed) A. L. JOHNSTON,

“ Chairman.

“ (Signed) E. J. GILMAN,

“ (Secy. *pro tem.*).”

“ At a General Meeting of the Commercial Community of



PENDRIAN, SAMARANG.

Singapore, convened by public Advertisement, and held at the Reading-Room, this day, 20th February, 1837,

“ A. L. JOHNSTON, Esqre., in the Chair,

“ The following Regulations for the government of the Chamber of Commerce of Singapore, prepared by the Provisional Committee, appointed on the 8th instant, were unanimously adopted :—

“ I. That the Singapore Chamber of Commerce is formed for the protection of the general interests of the Trade of the Settlement, for collecting and classifying mercantile information, for establishing a Court of Arbitration to adjust commercial differences which may be referred to it, and for communicating with the public authorities on all subjects affecting the common good.

“ II. That all Merchants, Agents, Traders, Ship-owners, Commanders of Vessels, and others interested in the Trade of Singapore, be eligible to become members.

“ Candidates (subsequent to the general meeting) to be admitted on being proposed by one member of the Committee and seconded by another.

“ III. That the entrance Fee shall be—

For each firm Sp. Drs. 15

For each individual „ „ 10

and that the annual subscription (payable in advance) shall be—

For each firm Sp. Drs. 12

For each individual „ „ 9

“ IV. That all visitors to Singapore interested in trade, may become honorary members for 3 months, on being proposed by one of the committee and seconded by another; honorary members to have no vote.

“ V. That the affairs of the Chamber be managed by a Committee of 11 members, six of whom shall form a quorum—that all questions before the Committee shall be decided by a majority, the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, or President (where the votes are equal) having a casting vote: that no two members of the same firm shall belong to the Committee.

“ VI. That the members of the Committee be chosen by ballot at the first general meeting to be holden the first Wednesday in February; each firm to have two votes, and each individual one vote on this and all other matters submitted to a General Meeting; five members to go out annually by lot, but to be eligible to be re-elected. A Chairman and Deputy Chairman

shall be chosen by ballot by the Committee from amongst their own number, and in the absence of the Chairman or Deputy Chairman, a President for that meeting shall be chosen from among the members present.

“ VII. That members shall not be allowed to vote by proxy ; nor if their subscriptions, fines, etc. are in arrear.

“ VIII. That it shall be imperative on parties elected to serve on the Committee under a penalty of Sp. Drs. 50 in case of refusal.

“ IX. That the affairs and funds of the Chamber be under the direction of the General Committee, which shall meet at 11 o'clock a.m. on the first and third Tuesday of every month, and at such other times as occasion may require. The Chairman or Deputy shall have the power of calling a meeting of the Committee, and it shall be imperative on him to do so, on a requisition being made by any two members of the Committee, who shall intimate in writing three days previously (except in cases of emergency) the business to be brought before the meeting.

“ X. That all orders for payments out of the Chamber be countersigned by the Chairman or Deputy, or by three members of the Committee, and that all accounts shall be audited and submitted to the inspection of the members of the Chamber.

“ XI. That the Committee be authorised to provide a convenient place for the meetings of the Chamber, appoint a Secretary and determine the amount of his salary ; appoint a Treasurer, pay all the expenses of the establishment, and control the management generally of the Chamber.

“ XII. That it shall be imperative on the members of the Committee in rotation to meet (or provide a substitute) in order to constitute a quorum, under a penalty of Sp. Drs. 5 for each case of non-attendance.

“ XIII. That on all occasions a minority on a division in Committee shall have the right to state their reason of dissent in the records of the day's proceedings, provided the same be done within 48 hours of the closing of the meeting, and a certified copy of the proceedings of such meeting shall be granted the dissentients if required.

“ XIV. That in case of vacancy in the Committee it shall be filled up *pro tempore* by the Committee until the next general meeting, and that they have the power to appoint a sub-Committee from their own number for any purpose whatever.

“ XV. That the office be opened daily from 11 to 1 o'clock,

where the Secretary or his clerk shall attend ; that he keep a Journal of all proceedings, and be ready to communicate with any member requiring information or access to the records of the office ; and that he attend to such other duties as may be required by the Committee.

“ XVI. That other commercial associations, together with the houses of business at places where no associations are established, be invited to correspond with, and communicate information to the Chamber.

“ XVII. That the Chairman or Deputy, or any three members of the Committee, or any six members of the Chamber, shall be empowered to convene a General Meeting, on notifying in writing to the Secretary the purpose for which such meeting is called, three days previously.

“ XVIII. That the Committee appoint by ballot monthly, three from their own number, to decide on all cases submitted for the arbitration of the Chamber ; that their power shall continue so long as any business brought before them during their period of service is undecided. They shall not proceed in any case until an Arbitration Bond has been signed by both parties, binding themselves to abide by and fulfil their decision.

“ XIX. That Funds to provide a suitable establishment, and to defray requisite expenses shall be raised in the following manner :—

“ By entrance fees and subscriptions ; by fees on arbitrations and references as the Committee may hereafter determine ; by voluntary gifts and contributions either in money, maps, books, or anything which may be useful to the Institution, and by fees for certified copies of the records and other documents of the Chamber, granted by the Secretary.

“ XX. That in special cases the Chamber reserves to itself the power of expelling any of its members, by a majority of two-thirds at any General Meeting convened for the purpose, fourteen days previous notice being given by the Secretary of the object of the meeting.

“ XXI. That the General Committee shall make such bye-laws and rules as they may deem expedient.

“ XXII. That these Regulations may be altered by a majority of two-thirds at any General Meeting convened for the purpose, fourteen days previous notice being given by the Secretary of the alteration intended to be proposed.

“ XXIII. That in the event of any question arising as to the

construction or application of the foregoing Regulations, the Committee shall be empowered to decide the same."

"The General Committee for the ensuing year was then chosen, consisting of the following Gentlemen, who were ballotted for separately :—

A. L. JOHNSTON, Chairman.	T. MACMICKING,
A. GUTHRIE, Deputy Chairman.	J. BALESTIER,
R. C. HEALEY,	SEYD ABUBAKER,
E. J. GILMAN,	KINGWAN, and
I. ZECHAREAH,	GWANCHUAN.
E. BOUSTEAD,	

"The objects of the Meeting having been carried into effect, thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the Meeting closed.

"A. L. JOHNSTON,
"Chairman.

"E. J. GILMAN,
"Secy. (*pro tem.*).

"Singapore, 20th Feby., 1837.

"PRINTED AT THE SINGAPORE FREE PRESS OFFICE."

PRICES CURRENT AT SINGAPORE, 11TH APRIL, 1833.

"The currency in which commercial transactions are circulated is the Spanish dollar divided into cents. The common weight is the picul, of 133½ lbs. avoirdupoise, divided into 100 catties. Salt and rice are commonly sold by the koyan, of 40 piculs; Java tobacco by the corge, of 40 baskets; and gold dust by the bunkal, which weighs two dollars, or is equal to about 832 grains troy. Bengal rice, wheat, and dholl are sold by the bag, containing two Bengal maunds, and Indian piece goods by the corge, of 20 pieces.

"Owing to the deficiency of the circulating medium, very few cash transactions take place in this market, and it being therefore impossible to give the cash price of almost any article, it must be observed that the quotations in this Price Current are made on the principle that sales are effected on a credit of two or three months, for payment in produce. Opium is generally sold for payment in gold dust and tin; Indian piece goods for gold dust, tin and pepper, in two or three months; and European piece goods for coffee, sugar, tin, tortoiseshell, etc., etc., in three or four months, but occasionally in immediate barter.

PRICES CURRENT AT SINGAPORE—*continued.*

Eastern Articles.	Per.	Price.	Remarks.
EASTERN ARTICLES.			
Bees' Wax	Picul	28 30	
Beche de Mer :			
Isle of France	"	40 50	
1st sort	"	20 25	
Inferior	"	6 10	
Benjamin	"	10 50	
Betel-nut	"	1½ 2	
Birds' Nests :			
White	Catty	30 45	
Black.	Picul	30 200	
Camphor :			
Barus	Catty	10 30	
China.	Picul	30 35	
Canvas, Bengal	Bolt	4 6	
Cassia Lignea	Picul	12 14	
Coffee :			
Java	"	9 10	
Sumatra	"	9 9½	
Other Descriptions	"	9 9¾	
Copper :			
Japan	"	28 30	
Peruvian	"	23 25	
Cordage, Coir	"	4½ 5	
Cotton	Bale	20 25	
Dammar, Raw	Picul	1 1¼	
Dholl	Bag	2¾ 3	
Dragon's blood :			
1st sort	Picul	— —	
inferior	"	10 30	
Ebony :			
Isle of France	Picul	3 3½	
Of other parts	"	2 2½	
Elephants' Teeth :			
1st sort	"	100 120	
2nd "	"	90 100	
3rd "	"	60 80	
Gambier :			
Rhio and Singapore	"	3½ 4	
Siack	"	6 —	
Gamboge	"	20 50	
Ghee :			
Cow	"	14 16	
Buffaloe	"	12 14	
Grain :			
Rice : White	Koyan	80 85	
Cargo—1st sort	"	70 75	
Inferior	"	60 65	
Bengal	Bag	2½ 2¾	
Wheat	"	3¼ 3½	
Gram	"	60 62	
Gold Dust of Pahang and Siack	Bunkal	30 30½	

PRICES CURRENT AT SINGAPORE—*continued.*

Eastern Articles.	Per.	Price.		Remarks.
		Spanish Dollars.		
Gold Dust of other parts	Bunkal	26	29	
Gunnies	Hundred	8	10	
Mother of Pearl Shells	Picul	20	22	
Nankeens :				
Long Junk	100 ps.	35	40	
Short „	Corge	—	—	
Oil, Coconut	Picul	5½	6	
Opium :				
Patna	Chest	720	730	
Benares	„	720	730	
Malwa	„	600	—	
Pepper :				
Black	Picul	5½	5¾	
White	„	7	8	
Long	„	—	—	
PIECE GOODS :				
Bengal Sannaahs	Corge	37	38	
Mahmoodies	„	30	33	
Gurrahs :				
Large	„	22	24	
Small	„	14	15	
Bengal Baftas	„	—	—	
Chintzes of 12 cubits	„	16	18	
of 10 cubits	„	—	—	
Kurwahs	„	—	—	
Madras Moorries :				
White	„	—	—	
Blue	„	—	—	
„ Salempores :				
Blue	„	40	60	
Brown	„	30	80	
„ Handkerchiefs	„	—	—	
„ Kolamkories	„	—	—	
„ Kambayas	„	—	—	
Bugis Sarungs	„	14	24	
Bali Cloths	„	6	8	
Battick Handkfs.	„	6	16	
Rattans, Banjanmading	Picul	2½	3	
Sago, Pearl, in cases	„	2¾	3	
Salt :				
Siam	Coyan	20	24	
Cochin China	„	18	20	
Saltpetre	Picul	9	—	
Sapan Wood :				
Manila	„	—	—	
Siam	„	1½	2	
Silk :				
Raw, China Junk	72 Ctys.	—	—	
Canton No. 3	100 „	310	320	
Macao	95 „	300	—	

PRICES CURRENT AT SINGAPORE—*continued.*

Eastern Articles.	Per.	Price.		Remarks.
		Spanish Dollars.		
Spices :				
Nutmeg, 1st & 2nd	Picul	75	90	
Cloves	"	20	25	
Mace	"	125	130	
Stick Lac	"	12	13	
Segars, Manila	1,000	5½	6	
Sugar :				
Java	Picul	5	5½	
Siam, 1st sort	"	5¾	6	
Manila	"	5	5½	
Cochin China	"	3	4	
Sugar-Candy	"	—	—	
Tin : Banca	"	14½	15	
Straits	"	14	14½	
Tobacco :				
Java	40Baskets	150	200	
China	Picul	—	—	
Tortoiseshell	"	1,000	1,400	
Turmeric :				
Java	"	—	—	
China	"	—	—	
EUROPEAN ARTICLES.				
Ale : Allsop's	Hhd.	38	40	
Bass's	"	38	40	
Hodgson's	"	35	40	
Barclay's	"	25	30	
Anchor's	Picul	11	12	
Bottles, English	100	4	4½	
Canvas	Bolt	10½	12	
Copper, Nails and Sheathing	Picul	38	40	
Cordage	"	10	14	
Cotton Twist :				
No. 16 to 36	"	40	45	
„ 38 „ 70	"	50	60	
„ 40 „ 80	"	60	65	
Earthenware	—	—	—	
Glassware	—	—	—	
Gunpowder	{ Canister (100 lbs.) }	20	60	
Grapnels	Gal.	—	—	
Flints	Picul	—	—	
Hardware, Assorted	—	—	—	
Iron :				
Swedish Bar	Picul	5	5½	
English Bar	"	2½	2¾	
Nail-rod	"	2¾	3	
Lead : Pig	"	5	6	
Sheet	"	6	7	
Oilman's Stores	—	—	—	
Patent Shot	Bag	—	—	
Paints : White	Cwt.	—	—	

PRICES CURRENT AT SINGAPORE—*continued.*

European Articles.	Per.	Price.	Remarks.
Paints: Black	Cwt.	Spanish Dollars.	
Green	"	— —	
Paint Oil	Gallon	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ 2	
Provisions:			
American Beef	Barrel	— —	
do. Pork	"	— —	
English Beef	"	— —	
do. Pork	"	— —	
Biscuits	"	— —	
Flour	"	— —	
Rosin	"	— —	
Spelter	"	— —	
Steel: Swedish	Picul	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5	
English	Tub	6 7	
Tar: Stockholm	Picul	— —	
Coal	Barrel	6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	"	6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
PIECE GOODS:			
Madapolams, 25 yds. by 32 ins.	Piece	1 2	
Imitation Irishes, 25 yds. by 36 ins.	"	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ 2	
Long Cloths:			
Yards. Inches.			
38 a 40 by 36 to 37.	"	4 6	
" " 38 " 40	"	6 8	
" " 44.	"	7 9	
" " 50 }	"	8 10	
" " 54 }	"	8 10	
" " 60	"	10 12	
Prints:			
7—8 Lt. Grounds, single colours	"	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ 3	
9—8 do. do.	"	3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
7—8 Dark do.	"	3 —	
9—8 do. do.	"	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4	
7—8 & 9—8, 2 clrs.	"	4 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
9—8 Turkey-red gd., 24 yds.	"	10 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
7—8 Furniture, 28 yds.	"	4 8	
9—8 do. 24 yds.	"	6 10	
Cambrics:			
12 yds. 42 a 44 ins.	"	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2	
12 yds. 45 do.	"	2 —	
Jaconets, 20 do. by 44 a 46 do.	"	2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Lappets, 10 do. by 40 a 44 do.	"	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2	
Handkerchiefs:			
Imitation Battick	Corge	4 10	
Pulicat	"	— —	
WOOLLENS:			
Long Ells, all Scarlet	Piece	12 14	
Camblets do.	"	30 32	
Striped Lists, 17 a 18 yds. by 60 inches, all Scarlet.	Yds.	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	

PRICES CURRENT AT SINGAPORE—*continued.*

European Articles.	Per.	Price.		Remarks.
		Spanish Dollars.		
WINES AND SPIRITS :				
Sherry	Dozen	6	8	
Madeira (unsaleable)		—	—	
Port	„	7	9	
Claret : French	„	4	6	
English	„	8	10	
Arrack :				
1st sort, Batavia	Gallon	—	—	
2nd sort, Batavia	„	14	16	
Brandy, Cognac	„	1	4½	
Rum	„	—	—	
Gin	Case	5	5½	

FREIGHTS.

To London, Sugar	£3 to £3 10s. per 20 Cwt.
„ Tin	£1 7s. to £1 10s. per 20 Cwt.
„ Coffee	£4 to £4 10s. per 18 Cwt.
„ Pepper	£4 10s. to £5 per 16 Cwt.
„ Measurement goods	£4 to £6 per 50 cubic feet.
„ Treasure	1¼ per cent.
To Calcutta	Rs. ½ to 1 per Picul.
To Batavia	Guilders per Picul.
To China	Sp. Drs. ¾ to 1 per Picul.

“ From Your Most Obedient Servant,
“ EDWARD BOUSTEAD.”

STATEMENT OF NUTMEG PLANTATIONS AT SINGAPORE, SHOWING
TOTAL NUMBER OF TREES IN 1848.

Proprietors.	Districts.	Total Number of Trees.
A. Guthrie ¹	Tanjong Pagar	2,250
W. Montgomerie	do.	1,800
Joaq Almeida	do.	700
Government	Claymore	765
D. T. Oxley	do.	4,050
C. R. Prinsep	do.	6,700
T. Hewetson	do.	1,515
C. Carnie	do.	3,500
W. Cuppage	do.	1,250

¹ Founder of Guthrie & Co.

STATEMENT OF NUTMEG PLANTATIONS AT SINGAPORE—*continued.*

Proprietors.	Districts.	Total Number of Trees.
W. Scott	Claymore	5,200
C. Carnie	do.	870
Jose Almeida	do.	1,023
D. M. J. Martin	do.	1,530
W. W. Willans	Tangling	1,600
E. B. Leicester ¹	do.	800
E. Leicester ¹	do.	400
W. Leicester ¹	do.	250
W. Montgomerie	Kalang	510
F. Sorabjee	Rochor	12
Syed Allie	do.	600
Sir J. d'Almeida	Sirangong	4,000
T. Dunman	do.	1,000
J. I. Woodford	Burkit Timor	600
Chinese	—	7,000
C. Nicol	—	8,000
	Total .	55,925

Singapore, 24th July, 1848.

13. LIST SHOWING THE NUMBER OF SPICE PLANTS IMPORTED IN PENANG FROM THE MOLUCCAS DURING 1800—1801.

Date.	Ships.	Com- manders (all English- men).	Cloves.				Nutmegs.		
			Large.	Small.	Seeds.	Total.	Large.	Small.	Total.
1800.									
March 30	—	George	—	—	3,647	3,647	—	—	—
May .	<i>Thomas</i>	Young	1,286	7,265	—	8,851	—	3,587	3,587
June 18.	<i>Bangalore</i>	Lynch	1,108	—	—	1,108	—	3,497	3,497
Aug. 23.	<i>Unicorn</i>	Langland	826	1,253	—	2,079	421	2,623	3,044
	<i>Ruby</i>	Sinclair	163	364	—	527	100	—	100
1801.									
July 11 .	<i>Bangalore</i>	Lynch	—	—	—	—	504	—	504
Sept. 1 .	<i>Expedition</i>	Peterson	46	—	—	46	305	13,783	14,088
			3,429	8,882	3,647	15,958	1,330	23,490	24,820
								Nutmegs .	24,820
								Cloves .	15,958
								Grand Total . . .	40,778

¹ Came from Bencoolen.

14. LISTS OF CIVIL SERVANTS AT PENANG IN 1805.

	Pay.
Philip Dundas (Government House) (rent \$4,000)	\$ 32,000
John Hope Oliphant (second in Council)	18,000
Alexander Gray (third in Council)	18,000
Colonel Norman Macalister (4th in Council)	18,000
Rev. Atwill Lake (chaplain)	6,400
Henry Shepherd Pearson (secretary)	8,000
Thomas Stamford Raffles (assistant secretary)	6,000
James Phillip Hobson (accountant)	8,000
William Robinson (assistant : accompanied Raffles to Java)	6,000
Quinton Dick Thomson (warehouse keeper)	6,000
W. E. Phillips (collector of customs and revenue)	6,000
John Erskine (assistant to the superintendent)	6,000
W. William Dick (surgeon)	10,720
Henry Waring (assistant surgeon)	3,000
James Derrot (assistant surgeon)	3,000
Nine writers at :—	1,440
Arthur Tegart, William Bennet, John Curson Lawrence, Robert Ibbetson, John Thomas le Mesurier Sherwood, William Clubley, John Lyon Phipps, John McAlister, Alexander Ballantyne Dick. Thomas Cullum (schoolmaster)	900

15. LIST OF SOME OF THE MERCHANTS AT PENANG, 1806.

W. E. Phillips.	James Carnegie.
James Scott.	George Seton.
J. P. Hobson.	John Scott.

16. COINAGE OF POELO PINANG, OR PENANG.

Very soon after the occupation of Penang by the English, special money was coined in Bengal in silver and copper for the island. In a letter from Captain Light dated the 20th June, 1788, to the Governor-General of Bengal a report was made of the arrival of the silver money for Poelo Pinang, and Light remarks at the same time that silver money of from ten dollars to one is the most practical.

It is not certain when the first copper was sent to Penang, but it was somewhere about the same date as the silver. The first

official mention, however, is on the 10th May, 1800,¹ when the Governor of Penang, George Leith, mentions that the Resident of Bencoolen had sent him copper money to the value of 500 Spanish Dollars.

17. COINAGE OF MALACCA.

The earliest introduction of European money into the East Indies was in the sixteenth century, and was termed the coinage of Tanah Malaloe.

In the "Malayan Peninsula"² it is noted of Albuquerque that "He also introduced a coinage which he declared current by proclamation, and scattered a few handfuls amongst the crowd in order to reconcile them to the change of dynasty."

COCOS KEELING ISLANDS.

This group of islands, consisting of thirty-three (Lieutenant van der Jagt, of the Dutch navy, in his memoir to the Netherlands India Government dated December, 1829, says only thirty-two), and lying in the Indian Ocean some 700 miles west of Sumatra and 525 from Christmas Island (their nearest neighbour), was discovered, it is generally thought, in 1689 by Captain Keeling.

This can hardly be the Captain William Keeling who came to the East first as a boy with Captain William Hawkins, and later in command of the *Consent*, a vessel of 105 tons, to Bantam in 1607. On one of the said Keeling's voyages in Java waters he came across these islands which bear his name, but later were called by the natives Cocos Islands on account of the great supply of cocoanuts always to be procured here.

In 1769, in an old record from Stockdale's "Java," we read of "the Klapper or Coco Islands, which lie on the south coast of Java near the Straits of Sunda, are uninhabited, and are only occasionally resorted to for the sake of the edible nests which are found there; but they are said

¹ See "Journal Indian Archipelago," Vol. V., page 161.
Page 35.

to be greatly infested with enormous snakes." This, however, I fancy refers to some islands at the mouth of the Straits of Sunda called Cocos Islands, and not Cocos Keeling Islands.

Before the English occupation of Java two brothers, Lieutenant John Ross¹ and Captain George Ross, both officers in the English East India Company's marine service, were roaming about the archipelago. George, who commanded the ship *Malacca*, was cut off by pirates in 1811 near the island of Banca, who murdered him and all his crew. John, however, came to Java with the English and carried dispatches and troops to the dependencies. In 1816 he built himself a ship, it has been said, at Tandjing Priok, but it was really at Rembang. He worked night and day at it to get it finished before the Dutch returned. In one of his early cruises he had discovered the Cocos or Keeling Islands in the Indian Ocean. It seems he had heard from some Malays of their existence. When the English left Java he refused to return to Calcutta and threw up the service. One day he arrived at Benkoelen and demanded of Raffles some back pay. This Raffles could not give him as his exchequer was empty, but he gave him employment, and Ross made Benkoelen his headquarters for a year or two.

In 1817, however, he left Benkoelen with a number of Malays, men and women, after a dispute with Raffles, and sailed for the Cocos Keeling Islands. His intention was to colonise the islands and proclaim himself king. On his arrival, however, he found Alexander Hare, the late British Resident of Banjermassin, in possession of one of the islands, called Rice Island, where he had quite a little colony of Malays. Ross therefore took up his abode on Poeloe Tikoes Island, a harbour by Port Albion. Hare, after a dispute with Ross, left for Padang in his ship called the *Johanna*

¹ John appears to have assumed the name Clunis about 1830; at this time there happened to be a Joseph Clunis living at Batavia.

Maria Wilhelmina, but the latter remained, and was succeeded by his son, and so the islands have descended in the family.

John Ross returned frequently to Java and undertook numerous cruises for Gillian Maclaine, always returning at the end to his islands, having used his earned money in buying all the necessaries he required there.

In this way he got to know Gillian Maclaine, and offered to take his ship the *Regina* home in 1840 when Maclaine was leaving Java for good.

This ship was never heard of again.

It is interesting to learn that soon after John Ross had settled down in the Cocos Islands in 1817, the Dutch Government, hearing of it, sent two men-of-war to lay claim to them. After cruising about for a fortnight, it is said, they returned with the news that the islands did not exist, or if they did were too small to be of any importance.

In 1832 the settlement was reported as highly prosperous, and had been the means of saving many lives and much valuable property several times, having afforded refuge to vessels in distress. British men-of-war passing between New South Wales and India generally touched there for refreshment.

In April, 1857, Captain Granville Freemantle annexed these islands to the British Crown. To-day they are of considerable importance, the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company having a cable station here, and ships calling regularly for the shipment of oil, which is exported in large quantities to Singapore for transhipment to England. The islands have been always known for providing the most delicious bananas in the Indies.

The grandson of the original John Clunie Ross, by name George,¹ died on the 7th July, 1910, and is now

¹ George Clunie Ross married a Javan lady, whom he called, or who was called, Ayesha; by her he had nine children—John Sydney, Wilfred,

succeeded by his son, who rules the islands as Governor or "king."¹

Currency.

There is no currency in the island except parchment notes issued by Mr. Ross: these notes are issued for sums of a quarter, half, and one, two, and five rupees (the rupee being equivalent to 1s. 8d.).

The following is a specimen of one of these notes, which are all alike in size:—

KEELING	COCOS
1	Y E 1823
ISLANDS	
₹ 14	₹ 14
Exchange for the sum of One Rupee Keeling Cocos Islands Currency	
1897. G. Clunies Ross.	

As the natives cannot read the quarter rupee has the four corners cut, the half rupee two corners, and the one rupee one corner; the two and five rupees are uncut. On the 7th April there were notes to the value of 1,500 rupees in circulation.

The so-called cheques which have been referred to in previous reports are in the following form:—

No.....

KEELING	COCOS
ISLANDS	
.....	
For working.....	Days @..... cents
per.....	
C	.....190..

Edwin Roland, George Dymoke, Adelaide, Mildred, Florence, Mabel Kempthorne, and Gertrude Blom.

¹ I have a more or less complete history of the Ross family, and especially of the sons, that came to the East Indies, but there is no space for it here.

These cheques or vouchers are kept by the labourers until the amount for which they are available has been debited against them for goods obtained from the stores.

BATAVIA AND PREANGER LANDS.

Apart entirely from the estates bought from the Sultan of Djoejakerta and the Emperor of Soerakarta, there are 434 estates in Java held in absolute free ownership. The history of some of these freehold estates is worth relating.

When the Dutch came first to Jacatra in 1596 they immediately perceived the advantages that would accrue through strengthening themselves at this place, and when the English appeared in 1604 under Sir Henry Middleton, in his ship the *Red Dragon*, the Dutch accordingly strengthened themselves here with an additional force.

When Captain David Middleton, a brother of Sir Henry, built the factory here in 1610, the Dutch garrison had taken such proportions that the Emperor of Java was fighting a losing battle, despite the thousands of men he sent to Jacatra to maintain his hold on the place. After the final taking of Jacatra in 1619, and when the Dutch power had become paramount, part of the neighbouring country which had become deserted by the natives before an implacable foe was given out, first under lease, but later in freehold, to genuine colonists whose presence and improvements it was intended should ensure the safety of the new settlement which Jan Pieterzoon Coen declared was to be called Batavia in future.¹

This action of the Government did not, however, prevent outlaws of all descriptions terrorising the country outside the gates of Batavia, and it was really not until the dawn of the eighteenth century that it was safe for the owners to live on their estates.

¹ The first act of ownership is dated the 8th April, 1639.

The estate of Cornelis Seenen, so called after the Bandanese to whom it was sold in 1652, was one of the earliest sold. In those days it was far out in the country and was looked upon as quite a long day's journey away, there being at first no road there and thick forests intervening; the easiest way was by water up the Tjilewong river. The first sale on a large scale, however, did not take place until 1705, when Depok and Seringsing were bought by Chastelein, one of the "raads" of India,¹ who eventually transferred all his property to his emancipated slaves on the condition of their embracing Christianity. We see here the reason why so many of the natives of Depok are said to be Christians.

On the 10th August, 1745, the large estate of Bogoli was bought *ex officio* by the Governor-General van Imhoff for a mere nothing. The estate of Kampoeng Malayo, which is immediately beyond Meester Cornelis (Batavia), was in 1777 owned by W. A. Alting. It is described as a large estate (grootte landgoed Kampoeng Malajo) one and a half hour's journey from the house of the Cornelis estate. Alting, who died in 1800, was also owner in 1797 of the estate of Goenoeng Sari,² which had been bought by Chinese in 1762 at the Governor-General Mossel's auction after his death. The old land-house of Goenoeng Sari is still to be seen, and is well worth a visit. Governor-General van Imhoff is supposed to have resided here for some time. In 1772 Slingerland, near Tandjing Priok, was owned by Willem Vincent Helvetius van Riemsdyk, who was an upper merchant ("opper koopman") and Government representative for native affairs ("gewezen Gecommitteerden tot en over de Zaken van den Inlander"). The remains of his old house are still visible.³

¹ Member of Viceroy's Council.

² Now part of Batavia.

³ Long before this, about 1625 perhaps, the family van Slingerlandt owned it.

The well-known lands of Poudok Gedeh and Tjisereuh (in old charts called "Tjiseroewa" and by Raffles "Cice-roewa") were owned in 1775 by the Governor-General Jeremias van Riemsdyk, whose family owned estates shortly after this on a great scale. This was due to the forethought and generosity of their worthy senior and Governor-General. Acts were duly made up for these lands by the public notary Blomhert at Batavia.

When Daendels arrived he no longer sold estates of a few thousands of acres, but sold when he could whole Provinces or Residencies; it was thus that Probolingo and Besoeki were handed over to Chinese. We know, however, that owing to constant troubles Raffles was obliged to buy these Residencies back again, but he disposed of a number of estates to English and Dutch colonists to help an empty treasury. Since 1816¹ no more freehold estates have been sold, although in 1849 such sales were again strongly advocated. These freehold estates are designated as "particuliere landerijen"² by the Dutch Government.

The following notes were made about different estates during the British occupation; the date is 1811:—

"After proceeding about thirty miles through jungle and crossing numerous ravines and the two considerable rivers Oonderandy and Tjicandee, you come to the better cultivated country of Tjisingha [Jasinga]. Here is a very fine Dutch farm belonging to Mr. Reintz³ [Reynst]. It is agreeably situated on the river Tjidorean, which in the rains is very rapid and scarcely passable."

Another portion of the account goes on to say:—

"At a distance of about ten miles the road turns last to Sading, another Dutch farm belonging to Mr. Motman,⁴ which is situated

¹ There is an exception to this in the estates of Tjikandie. They were really sold before 1816, but the conditions could not be settled.

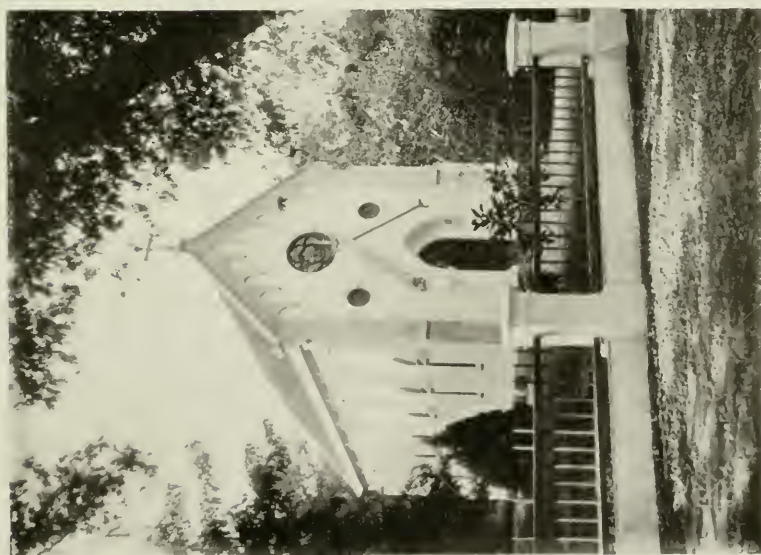
² Private lands.

³ P. Reynst.

⁴ W. G. C. van Motman.



PROTESTANT CHURCH, PASOBEROAN



ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, PASOBEROAN.

on a fine river, and nearly surrounded by hills, some of which produce the edible birds' nests. Continuing on to Tjiampion, about seven miles further, we had to cross the rivers Tjikanakee and Tjiantan and passed through a country high and more open with better cultivation. Here is another Dutch farm the property of Mr. Rymsdyck¹ with a large bazaar [passer or market] and several hills belonging to it containing also the edible birds' nests. It is astonishing what an immense revenue is produced by a single rock, the caverns of which are frequented by the little grey swallows, for the nests in some of them clear from twenty to forty thousand Spanish dollars annually.

“The Dutch farmers who possess rocks of this kind on their estates are therefore very careful of them, and watch them closely to prevent the Chinese or others from privately stealing the nests.”

At Tjimangies there was also a Dutch “farm.” This estate was sold early in the eighteenth century. The account, which is that of an English traveller, goes on to say :—

“Leaving Tjimangies the road passes by Tjibinong, which is another of Mr. Rymsdyck's farms, and by Tjiloar, distant thirty miles from Batavia. This last is a very pretty place, and was for some time the country residence of Major-General Gillespie. It was built by the late Mr. Tantzie,² who had another very pleasant villa and farm at Soucarajah [Soekaradja]. Tjiloar had a large sized brig full rigged and mounting guns, sailing on an elevated tank, or lake made by Mr. Tantzie, and being seen a long way off the traveller is very agreeably surprised on first beholding this vessel under sail apparently moving through the surrounding rice fields. The house at Soucourajah, which is situated in the midst of a large tank on stone pillars, is a very beautiful place; on the north side is the entrance, over a long passage of pillars with a draw-bridge, and on the south side a beautiful avenue is presented laved by a crystal stream, which, covering the whole breadth of the avenue like a mirror, glides gently down on the banks of the tanks, and flows into the lake close to the house. Half-way

¹ J. J. H. van Riemsdyk—see list of inhabitants.

² Tan Sie, a Chinaman.

between Tjiloar and Buitenzorg the road leads over the great river. A bamboo raft is used for crossing the carriage and horses over, without the necessity of quitting the carriage or taking out the horses, the float being fastened to the sides of the river by a strong bamboo twist, one man, by pulling towards the one or the other end, easily moves it across, and the carriage and horses pass on without delay or trouble.

“From Buitenzorg the road passes through hilly but finely cultivated country, and passes several very agreeable country residences and farms. At Pondok Gede is one, beautifully situated, belonging to Mr. Egelhardt,¹ formerly Governor of Samarang, and opposite to it is another farm of Mr. Rymsdyck. Close to this, on the top of a high hill, is a new farm of the late Mr. Tantzje, which overlooks the entire plain of the kingdom of Jacatra. At Tjiceroa, the last of Mr. Rymsdyck’s farms, a steep ascent of the road commences.”

The land of “Kampong Mangis,” beyond Meester Cornelis at Batavia, was bought about 1813 by Alexander Hare, the English Resident of Banjermassin (see chapter on Industries : Tea, paragraph on Meester Cornelis).

The land was managed by Alexander Hare’s son, also called Alexander, until he died at Batavia.

Below are given accounts of the original owners of the lands sold by the British Government from 1812 to 1815, also the Dutch and foreign owners of estates in the native provinces before 1825.

From this latter it will be seen that the only Englishmen who held lands were Stavers (formerly an Ensign of Hussars 1813 in Java, mentioned honourably in Java War, 1825), who owned Singosarie, and Gillian Maclaine, John Argyle Maxwell, and William Cotes (late Lieutenant in the English Army of occupation 1811—1816), who owned Getas next to the estate of Melambong, which is now owned by Mr. C. W. Baron van Heeckeren and Mr. Enger.²

¹ Nicolaus Engelhard.

² Melambong, which was owned in 1820 by Medard Louis, a well-known Frenchman, was sold by him on the 22nd March, 1821, to Gillian Maclaine.

OWNERS OF ESTATES OF PAMANOEKAN AND TJIASSEM, 1812—1817.

Sir Charles Forbes, ¹	Colonel John Skelton.
Messrs. Forbes & Co., Bombay.	James Young.
Messrs. Shrapnell & Co., Batavia.	Thomas Fox.
Philip Skelton.	

Notes.

(1) Most of the shares were held by Sir Charles Forbes and Forbes & Co., Bombay, who had an interest also in Shrapnell & Co., 1812; Shrapnell, Skelton & Co., 1814; and Skelton & Co., 1815 to 1821, which firms acted as directors in Java under instructions from Bombay.

(2) In the *Batavia Courant* of the 28th September, 1816, appears the following advertisement:—

“For sale the Estates of ‘Pamanoekan’ and Tjiassem,’ lying in the district of Crawang; for particulars enquire of Messrs. Skelton & Co.”

In the *Batavia Courant* of the 24th May, 1817, the estates were again advertised for sale as follows:—

“Advertisement.—On or about the 20th June the Estates of Pamanoekan and Tjiassem, in the district of Crawang, will be sold at Public Auction. The exact day of the auction will be made public later on. Batavia, 23rd May, 1817. Skelton & Co.”

The new shareholders were, as far as can be traced—

Sir Charles Forbes.	Philip Skelton.
Messrs. Forbes & Co., Bombay.	Thomas Miln.
Messrs. Skelton & Co., Batavia.	Thomas Fox.
Messrs Inglis, Forbes & Co., London. ²	James Young.
General John Skelton.	Thomas Macquoid.

William Menzies (of the firm of Menzies and Anderson), and the above William Cotes.

Medard Louis remained, as administrator, responsible, although Gillian Maclaine was the leading spirit until April, 1822, when he left the interior for Batavia to found the firm of Maclaine, Watson & Co. Getas was eventually sold by Gillian Maclaine to J. A. Dezentje, of Ampel.

¹ The head of Forbes & Co.

² Inglis, Forbes & Co. (later on Smith Inglis) were the financial agents in London. In 1820 George Haswell probably also became interested in the estate for a small share. In August, 1822, Messrs. Stewart Turing & Co. opened at Batavia and became managing directors of the estates at the end of the year.

From want of local knowledge and of general experience, and from a

ESTATE OF JASINGA.

(formerly belonging to the owner of Buitenzorg).

1812. Sir Charles Forbes, James Shrapnell, Philip Skelton.

1822. Sir Charles Forbes, David Alexander Fraser, Simon Fraser.

1831. Robert Addison.

1853. Jonathan Rigg.

Note.

James Newland, the English administrator, who had previously been at Tjikandie Slier, died at Jasinga on the 10th May, 1844. He arrived in Java in 1829, and was immediately engaged by Gillian Maclaime. He had probably come from Benkoelen or Padang. His father was a lieutenant in the Royal Indian Navy.

ESTATE OF SOEKABOEMI.¹

1812—1814. Sir Stamford Raffles, three sixths; Thomas Macquoid, one sixth; Andries de Wilde (see note) one sixth; Nicolaus Engelhard, one sixth.

1814. Andries de Wilde, two sixths; Nicolaus Engelhard, three sixths; Thomas Macquoid, one sixth.

1814—1823. Andries de Wilde, five sixths; Thomas Macquoid, one sixth.

desire to make money too quickly and reckless speculations, Stewart Turing & Co. failed disastrously in 1825, leaving the affairs of the estates in a hopeless muddle, and with heavy loss.

James Young and Thomas Fox returned to Java bankrupt. The former had just lost his wife before sailing. At this juncture the affairs of the estate were placed in the hands of Alexander London, who became administrator. In 1828 Miln, Haswell & Co. became directors. London remained at the estate until the end of August, 1828. John Pitcairn was employed here 1824—1827, and Edward Campbell (late lieutenant R.N.) 1825—1828.

In 1826 there was again a shuffle in the shares, but in 1831 Sir Charles Forbes was still the largest shareholder, and probably remained so till 1841, when T. B. Hofland bought them. In 1838 Wilson, Smith & Co. were financial agents at Batavia, probably also directors, until their failure. Both had been in the British Government's service.

According to a prospectus dated London the 18th April, 1910, the estates were bought by the Anglo-Dutch Plantation of Java Company for eighteen million guilders.

¹ The original price for which this land was bought in at auction was 58,000 Spanish matten. It was bought back by the Dutch Government in 1823 for £800,000.

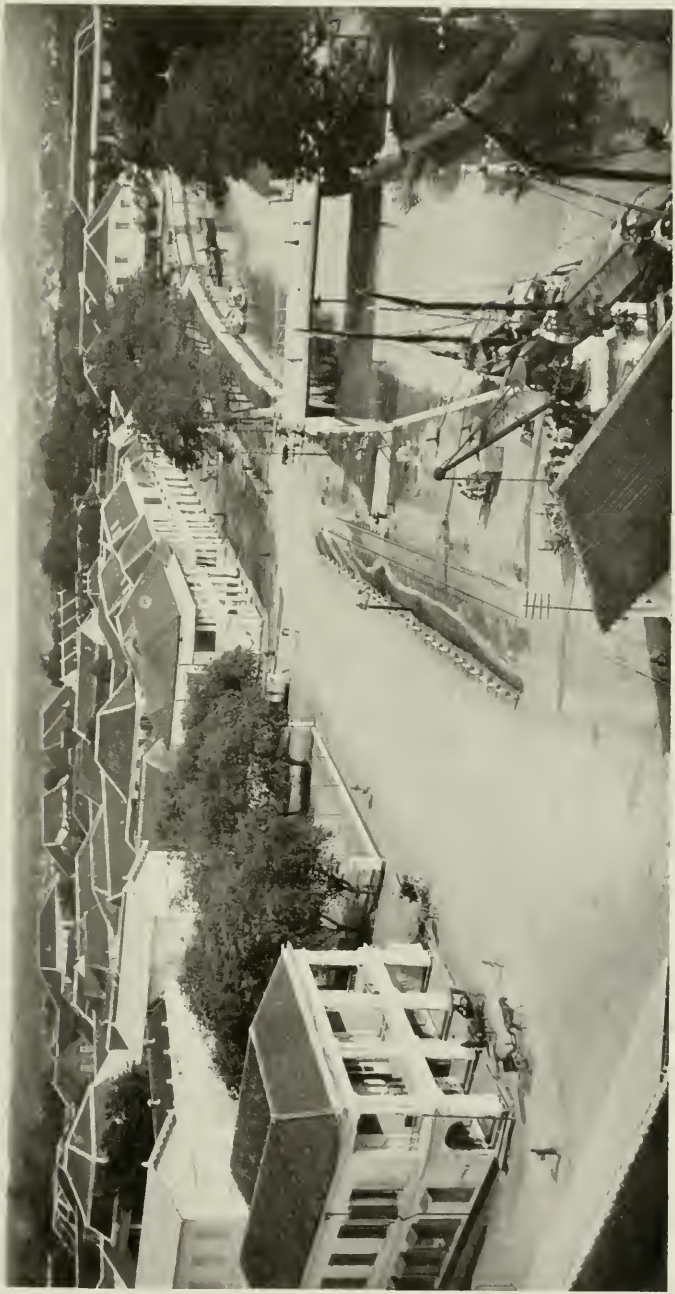
Note on Andries de Wilde.

Andries de Wilde was born at Amsterdam on the 21st November, 1781, a son of Cornelis de Wilde and Marretje Harsnis. He began life on the sea, and was present at the battle of Camperdown on the 11th October, 1797, and captured by the English fleet on board the flagship of Admiral de Winter. He had a bad time as prisoner in England, but he learnt good English, which was to be very useful to him later on. De Wilde came to Java about 1800 to his stepfather Steitz, a doctor, who, after practising at Buitenzorg in 1804, went to Soerabaya in 1805, where he died on the 13th February, 1810. In 1811 de Wilde joined the Government service, and under Raffles was appointed "opziener," first (on the 28th March, 1812) at Trogong, and again by a proclamation of the 2nd April. By a proclamation of the 10th August, 1812, he was appointed assistant to the Resident at Bandoeng on a salary of 100 Spanish matten. This appointment was again confirmed by a proclamation of the 28th May, 1813. On the 10th March, 1814, Resident Thomas Macquoid informed the Government that de Wilde had asked for his discharge "as my assistant coffee overseer of Bandong." In a letter dated the 12th May, 1814 (to be found in a proclamation of the 30th May, 1814), Macquoid speaks of "his late resignation of these situations." By a letter from Raffles, which by a proclamation of the 13th May, 1815, was confirmed, de Wilde was appointed "superintendent of vaccination" in the Preanger. In this capacity he did well, and boasts of once having vaccinated 40,000 children in the Cheribon district with success, but this probably is an exaggeration.

The exact extent of the district, however, which he had to control is not certain, owing to the carelessness of the young Englishman responsible for the keeping of the books at the time. In any case, Macquoid speaks full of praise of him, and in a letter dated the 12th May, 1814, says: "I am happy to avail myself of this opportunity of bearing my testimony to the uniform zeal, activity and good conduct of Mr. de Wilde as a Government servant, and I feel very sensibly the loss I have sustained;" while Raffles in his proclamation of the 13th May, 1815, makes a great deal of his "extensive local knowledge" of the Preanger.

With regard to de Wilde's position as a landowner, in a letter to Macquoid (which Raffles made use of when defending himself

against Gillespie's charges) he says : " During the administration of H. E. General Daendels I applied for the purchase of the estate in Bandung which is now my property. H. E. did actually promise to grant my request [Dr. de Haan, the author of "Priangan," hereon remarks "zeer zonderling; primo omdat Daendels in zyn Staat p. 111 zegt dat 'in de Bataviasche Regentschappen het verkoopen van landerijen geen plaats kon hebben zonder aan de koffy cultuur onherstelbaar nadeel toe te brengen' secundo omdat hy een dood vijand van uitstellen was"] and animated me to cultivate the land and appropriate a portion of it for the improvement of the breed of cattle. A short time after, on the arrival of H. E. General Janssens, I repeated my application and received the same assurance." Later on he made the same request to the English Government, but receiving no reply, he called on Gillespie and asked his help. The latter, he says, "encouraged me to go on meanwhile with the improvements already began. I laid out the whole of my capital in consequence, so far that the expenses incurred for clearing the ground, purchasing cattle, etc., exceeded the sum of 6,000 Sp. dollars before I was the proprietor of the soil. This considerable outlay rendered me naturally anxious to see my request admitted, as the contrary would have occasioned my total ruin, and the promises of Major-General Gillespie and afterwards those of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor induced me to persevere in my application until the lands were finally sold to me." The proof that de Wilde did persevere in the direction indicated in his above letter is given by his request, published in the form of an ordinance, dated the 25th November, 1811, in which he desires a piece of ground in the wilds near Bandung to the extent of one thousand morgens (acres). This request was placed in the hands of a "commission," of which a Government employee called Bauer was apparently the president. On the 31st December, 1811, the commission advised that the estate should be hired for a period of twenty-five years, although Tency, a member of the commission, was for selling it for 6,000 Spanish matten, the sum asked for the hire only. This brought forth a second request from de Wilde in October, 1812, in which he says : "I had since long ago the desire of being owner of an estate, the more having succeeded in the time of two years remarkably well by a stud and in the cultivation of European grains, and it is only from want of land I have not given to the latter cultivation that extent to which it



PART OF SAMARANG, 1900.

can be brought. The regency of Bandung having several pieces of land which never have been cultivated, nor never will be by the natives, from which Government has no revenue whatever, I should choose to be owner of such a piece of land. Being placed at Bandung as overseer of the coffee plantations, I could at the same time administer my estate, from which Government has always a right to call for the first of its produce." He asks, therefore, for another estate not clearly indicated, "promising to cultivate it as far as lays in my power and that I shall take no assistance from the regent for the stud of horses, bullocks, and buffalos, which I mean to erect there, and that I shall cultivate my estate by my own slaves or hired natives." In a letter dated the 22nd December, 1812, to the secretary to the Government about the sale of this estate to de Wilde, Macquoid says: "I conceive he has every title to consideration and encouragement in consequence of having already cleared away and cultivated a considerable part of the lot he now proposes to purchase, and having embarked a large sum in improving the breed of horses and other cattle upon it." Raffles seems to have been of the same opinion, for he says: "Mr. de Wilde was then informed in reply to his repeated solicitations, that when the sale of lands took place generally he might offer a fair and reasonable sum for the lot he required." At last de Wilde, as a result of his continual perseverance, eventually secured the estate of "Oedjoeng Broeng" for 40,000 ryksdaalders, calculated at six and a half to the Spanish matten (the ordinance is dated the 22nd January, 1813. Dr. de Haan remarks, just before the public auctions).

For most people, however, the particulars of the purchase of Soekaboemi, in which Raffles, de Wilde, N. Engelhard, and Thomas Macquoid all shared, is even more interesting. From east to west this enormous estate included the lots Goenoeng Parang, Tjimahi, Tjiheulang, and Tjitjoeroeg. The purchase price of these lots in the same order was 30,500, 15,200, 6,100, and 6,200 Spanish matten, or altogether 58,000, for land that stretched from the Tjikoepa in the east to the Tjimandiri in the south, to the present boundaries of Batavia and Bantam, and to those of Wynkoops Bay. There were undoubtedly irregularities in this sale, but whether the fault was de Wilde's, Macquoid's and Engelhard's (all members of the "board of commission" for the auctions), or Macquoid's only will never be cleared up; but this much is certain, that it was Raffles' intention

to become a large landowner in Java, and his choice fell on the best country in the island; and had it not been for Gillespie's poisoned complaints to the Indian Viceroy, Raffles would never have sold his half-share in the estate, and Singapore, as Dr. de Haan remarks, might never have fallen under the British flag. Raffles when Java was returned to the Dutch would have remained in the island to manage the huge tract of country of which he was the owner with sovereign rights. The sale of Soekaboemi took place on the 25th January, 1813. De Wilde became the administrator of the country, and went to live at Tjicolle (the present town) as soon as Raffles and Engelhard sold their shares in a hurry to him. He then changed the name to Soekaboemi. This appears from his letter to Engelhard dated the 13th January, 1815: "Ik mag U. E. G. Aechtbare niet onkundig laten dat ik opverzoek van de Inlandsche Hoofden den naam van Tjicolle in die van Soeka Boemi veranderd heb." He built himself a fine house, which is said to have stood where the late Hotel Ploem was. There was a billiard table in it; he had a party of slave minstrels; and kept, according to the custom of those times, a harem of twenty-five concubines. For various reasons the country was sold back again to the Government for £800,000 on the 12th January, 1823. Andries died at 84 years of age in April, 1865, at Utrecht, in Holland.

ESTATE OF GETAS.

1820—1822. Gillian Maclaine, John Argyle Maxwell, William Cotes.

1823. Johannes Augustinus Dezentje.

ESTATE OF MELAMBONG (near Salatiga).

1821 (22nd March). Gillian Maclaine, William Menzies, Firm of Menzies and Anderson, William Cotes¹ (each for a quarter).

1822—1824. Maclaine & Co., Macquoid, Davidson & Co., Gillian Maclaine, William Cotes (each for a quarter).

1825—1828. Maclaine & Co., G. Maclaine, W. Cotes, H. Burnaby (each for a quarter).

1828—1830. G. Maclaine, P. MacLachlan, D. MacIntyre, John Argyle Maxwell (first for one sixth, second and third for two sixths, fourth for one sixth).

1831. G. Maclaine, D. MacIntyre (each for one half).

¹ Cotes secured this estate for Menzies and Anderson under the influence of J. A. Dezentje.

Notes.

(1) Medard Louis was administrator from 1821 to 1823; he was followed by William Browne, the brother of an unsuccessful Samarang merchant.

(2) Gillian Maclaine sold his half-share in 1831 for £3,500 (45,000 florins).

(3) During 1825 Macquoid, Davidson & Co. liquidated.

(4) H. Burnaby left Java, 1828.

(5) After 1831 the estate still remained for several years in connection with Maclaine, Watson & Co.'s agent at Samarang, J. Macneill.

ESTATE OF KOERIPAN

(on the main road between Batavia and Buitenzorg).

1822—1824. Gillian Maclaine, William Menzies,¹ William Thompson.²

1824—1825. G. Maclaine & Co., Addison & Co., Thompson, Whiteman & Co., Macquoid, Davidson & Co. (each for one quarter).

1826—1828. G. Maclaine, J. A. Maxwell, P. McLachlan, D. McIntyre, D. McLachlan (first two for four twenty-fourths, third and fourth for seven twenty-fourths, last for two twenty-fourths).

1829—1833. G. Maclaine, E. Watson, D. McIntyre (each for one-third).

Notes.

(1) In 1821 Government lent G. Maclaine 40,000 florins to work this estate.

(2) In 1825 G. Maclaine bought Addison & Co.'s share.

(3) In 1833 the estate was sold to William Menzies and W. Coates, an old sea captain, who arrived at Batavia in command of the brig *Virginia* for Madras, on the 28th March, 1814, and stayed in the archipelago, his first ship being *Admiral Drury* in 1814.

(4) Menzies and Thompson continued to have a share in Gillian Maclaine's share from 1826 to 1829 or 1833.

(5) From the Dutch Government's financial report, 1833 (see *Javasche Courant* of the 31st August, 1833), it is to be seen that the estate was worked on the contract system, Government supplying the capital.

¹ Firm of Menzies and Anderson.

² Firm of Thompson, Whiteman & Co.; later Thompson, Roberts & Co.

(6) Gillian Maclaine, who seems always to have been prompt with his obligations to Government, gained an exceptionally good character with the Dutch officials, who placed him above all the other British, and quite in a class by himself.

DEDEKKAN LANDS.

1827. Gillian Maclaine.¹

ESTATES OWNED BY ENGLISHMEN IN JAVA, 1830.

Pamanoekan and Tjiassem (1,200 square miles): Sir Charles Forbes and others.

Tjikandie Iher (130 square miles): John Palmer (Palmer & Co., Calcutta) and Cockerell; managing directors in Java, Maclaine, Watson & Co.

Tjikandie Oedik (90 square miles): Trail and Young.

Jasinga (80 square miles): Robert Addison.

Bolan (90 square miles): J. Drury.

Koeripan (70 square miles): Gillian Maclaine, William Menzies, and Thompson.

(*Note*.—Gillian Maclaine had an interest in this land in 1821, having bought it from the Hollander Tency. It had been a rice land for nearly a hundred years, and was bought originally by a Dutch colonist).

Tegal Waroe (100 square miles): D. A. Fraser (late of Skelton & Co.) and others.

Bekassie (60 square miles): J. Trail and James Young (coffee).
Singosarie: William Stavers.

This is a "*piagem*" or deed of contract given by the Susuhanan or Emperor of Soerakarta, Paku Buvana Senopati Ingabaga Ngabdoer Rachman Sayidin Panatagama, to Johannes Augustinus Dezentje on behalf of Pierre Hamar de la Brethoniere for the estate of "Assinan," consisting of 24 *tjatjas*, or six *djoongs*, on the 31st December, 1827.

¹ By contract with the Sultan of Djojakarta G. Maclaine bought the ownership for thirteen years at 1,000 florins (gilders or rupees) per annum; this was later increased to 1,400 florins a year for nineteen years.

END OF VOL. I.

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