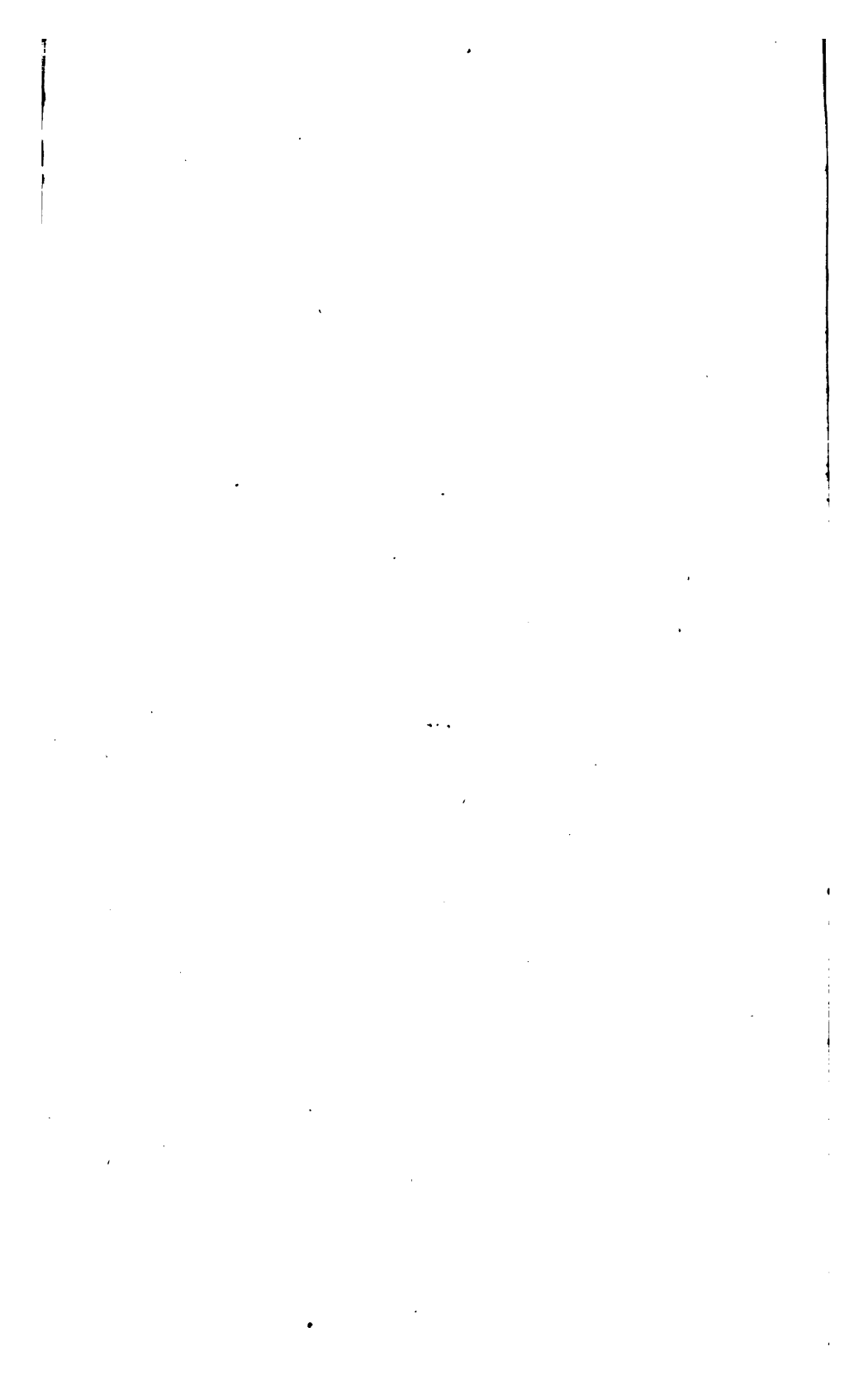


**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**ISLAND OF CELEBES,**

**BY**  
**MR. R. BLOK,**

*Governor of Maccassar.*



**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**ISLAND OF CELEBES,**

BY  
**MR. R. BLOK,**  
*Governor of Maccassar;*  
**WITH AN APPENDIX,**

**CONTAINING**  
**A MEMOIR,**  
DRAWN UP BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
**AND COMPREHENDING SUCH REMARKABLE**  
**EVENTS AS OCCURRED IN THE**  
**ISLAND,**  
FROM THE BEGINNING OF HIS GOVERNMENT  
TO 1808:

TO WHICH HAVE BEEN ADDED  
**A REPORT,**  
CONCERNING THE SLAVE TRADE

OF  
**MACCASSAR,**  
DRAWN UP BY A DUTCH COMMITTEE,  
APPOINTED FOR THAT PURPOSE:  
**AND THE TRIAL AND SENTENCE**

OF  
**COLONEL FILZ,**  
*Late Dutch Commanding Officer*  
AT  
**AMBOINA,**  
WHO, ON THE 19TH FEBRUARY 1810,  
**SURRENDERED FORT VICTORY**  
TO

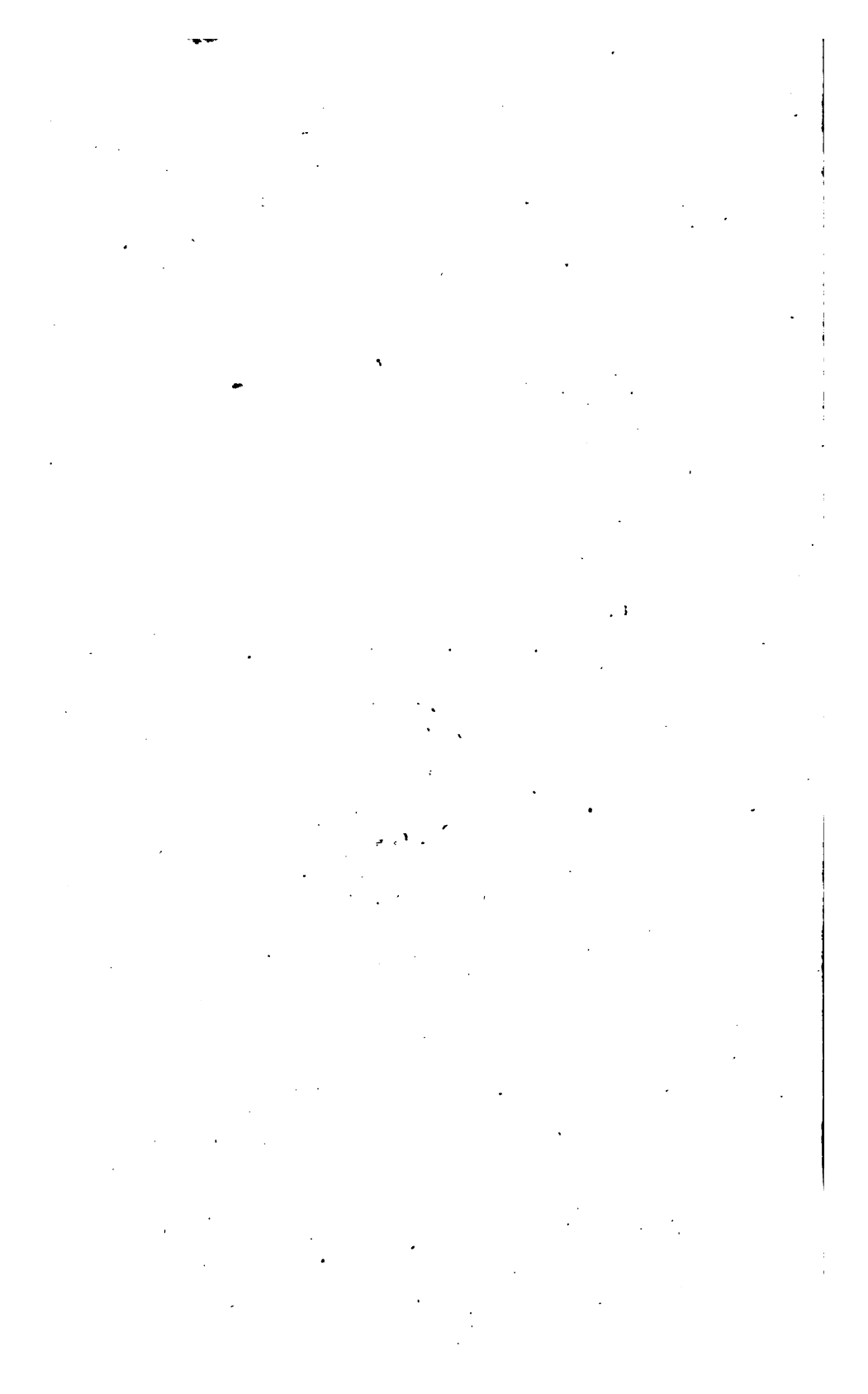
**CAPTAIN EDWARD TUCKER,**  
*Commanding His Majesty's Ship of War DOVER.*

THE WHOLE TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH LANGUAGE AND  
PUBLISHED IN FOUR VOLUMES

BY  
**CAPTAIN J. VON STUBENVOLL.**

**VOLUME I.**

PRINTED AT THE  
**CALCUTTA GAZETTE PRESS,**  
1817.





*TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE  
FRANCIS, MARQUIS OF HASTINGS,  
Knight of the Most Noble Order of the  
Garter, Governor General of the Bri-  
tish Possessions, and Commander in  
Chief of His Majesty's and of the Hono-  
rable Company's Forces serving in In-  
dia, &c. &c. &c.*

MY LORD,

**T**HESE volumes, the work of five years unremitted labour during the leisure hours left me by the duties of a toilsome confidential Office at Maccassar, are, with your gracious permission, humbly dedicated to your Excellency. Elegance and even general propriety of expression are not to be expected from a foreigner like me, who at an advanced age became first familiar with the English language. But I may hope for some share of the attention of the Public from the interest attached to the originals I have translated, since they describe the cus-  
toms,

toms, manners, and laws of a strange People, before the last expedition to the island of Celebes scarcely known to any European, except to a few Dutchmen, who were not at all communicative on the subject, and whose narratives and remarks were destined to remain a secret between their Government and themselves. I have a further chance that my work will derive some recommendation from appearing under the auspices of a Patron, whose extensive and profound knowledge is no less admitted by the enlightened part of the world, than his illustrious birth, and his eminent virtues and talents, as a General, and as a Statesman.

I have the honor to be,

With the most profound respect,

MY LORD,

Of your EXCELLENCY,

The most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

JOHN VON STUBENVOLL.

## PREFACE.

*IN* presenting myself, by a second attempt, to the eye of a liberal and generous public, I cannot refrain from expressing the warmest gratitude for the favorable reception they vouchsafed to give to my former translation of "THE INVISIBLE," in 1807.

I do not now appear before them as the translator of a novel. My present translation, the work of almost five years labour, will occupy their leisure hours with objects of a more serious nature. Having in 1811 been employed by Government as Dutch Interpreter and Translator to the Right Honorable the late Governor General, Lord Minto, on the expedition to Java; after the conquest of that Island, I was, by the Lieutenant Governor, the Honorable Mr. Thomas Raffles, appointed Dutch Interpreter and Translator to the Resident at Maccassar, in the Island of Celebes, the late Captain Richard Phillips, of the Honorable Company's Madras European Regiment. During my stay at that Island, from the 28th of February 1812, to the very moment of its being restored to the Dutch, I had charge of all the voluminous public and secret records; and, as I was constantly obliged to search into those ancient manuscripts, and to translate a great part of them for the information of the Resident, it gave me an opportunity to retain the rough translations of the most important and interesting papers. It is part  
of

*of these which I venture to communicate to the public, not for their amusement only, but I may say for the information of the curious, who wish to become acquainted with the most remote and most unknown Islands, and with the most obscure corners of the world.*

*I had, in earlier times, been an inhabitant of Maccassar, having served there as a Dutch Officer, from the 18th of March 1790, to the 12th of January 1797, when I left that place for Ternate. The laws and manners of the inhabitants of the Island of Celebes were thus in great part familiar to me, when, in 1812, I went there in a civil capacity; and my former experience and knowledge assisted me very much in comprehending the old manuscripts, from which I have now the honor of laying choice extracts before my readers. In my translation I have, to the utmost of my power, and as far as my small abilities could permit, endeavored to do justice to the originals.*

*With a firm conviction of the interest attached to them, not only for the curious information which the two first volumes will afford, but also for the particulars contained in the two last, which outraged humanity requires to be exposed to general view; and for my share in conveying that interest with some reliance on the continued indulgence of a community, whose favor I have already experienced in a very great degree, I commit the present work to the perusal and protection of a generous public.*

THE TRANSLATOR.

## PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

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**T**HE reasons which induced the writer to compile, in a short and regular connected order, the History of the Maccassars kingdoms in the Island of Celebes, are:

First, that *Valentine*, in treating of the native Maccassar affairs, committed many gross errors.

Secondly, that *Mr. Cornelius Speelman*, in some things regarding the ancient History of these nations, does not agree with the manuscripts of the Boneers and Maccassars, the reason of which is, that that gentleman, when he reduced to writing the information he had received, was obliged to trust to his memory; because from his continual change of place, several of his notes were lost.

Thirdly, that the voluminous journals, and other papers, containing the memoirs subsequent to the conquest of Maccassar, occasioned too much difficulty to the enquirer for him to obtain a just idea of affairs.

Fourthly, that the ancient Histories of these countries are found among very few people, and that of Bone with the present King only, who has often declared to me his intention to burn them, if ever the Boneers should dethrone him (which may very easily happen,) for he should then consider his posterity unworthy of being acquainted with the origin of their ancestors. On another hand, the manuscripts of the Maccassars

sars have, since the conquest of their kingdom, been discontinued, and they have no intention to resume them, until their much wished for restoration be realized.

Lastly, that this may serve as an introduction to the memoir, which the writer is obliged to leave to his successor in the management of affairs in this Island of Celebes; and assist that successor in getting quickly an idea of all that has happened between the Honorable East India Company, and the Kings, their allies, so as to enable him to form a proper judgment of the manner in which public affairs ought to be managed for the best advantage of his masters.

The writer, in compiling this, has followed the manuscripts of Bone, and of the Maccassars, respecting the more ancient events, and the notes of Mr. Speelman, in regard to the intermediate History, in such a manner, that, where some contradictions appeared, he selected the most probable account.

Concerning the latter times, he has used the above mentioned manuscripts, and the journals, and memoirs of the successive Governors, lodged in the Secretary's office, and also such creditable information, as he obtained from some aged native Kings and Princes.

R. B L O K.

MACCASSAR, }  
Fort Rotterdam, }  
Dec. 31, 1759. }

**H I S T O R Y**  
OF THE  
*SOUTHERN PART*  
OF  
**CELEBES,**  
INCLUDING THE KINGDOM  
O F  
*MACCASSAR AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.*

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**BOOK I,**

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**T**HE large island of **CELEBES** is said to be one of the three which Ptolemy reckons among the Sindo, or Cannibal islands.

The inhabitants in general have, according to their ancient Histories, lived a long time as a barbarous people. Some of them to this day remain in a very uncivilised state, and preserve a great relish for their ancient food. Murder among them is but a very trifling crime, the punishment of which they may buy off by paying a small fine.

Before Maccassar, or Bone, had so much as a name, Lohoo was the most powerful,\* and the largest kingdom of Celebes: for, in addition to Lohoo proper, most part of Bone, Bolee Bolee, the point

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\* This both the Boneers and Maccassars deny, though the fabulous History of the Boneers themselves make it very clear.

## 4 HISTORY OF CELEBES,

of Lassem, round to Bolecomba, together with all Toadjo or Wadjo, and probably all the country of Torathea, were in subjection to Lohoo. But since Maccassar became known by name, it has increased gradually, and Lohoo declined, especially in the beginning of the 16th century, when Bone joined its power with that of Maccassar, by which means Lohoo became entirely subdued. Yet this victory did not tend to impair the honor, dignity or freedom of the king of Lohoo: for by it, a mutual brotherhood only was established between those three powers, which lasted between the Maccassars and Lohoo till 1666, when the Maccassars were beaten by the Dutch at Bouton. In the mean time however, the Maccassars usurped much land from Lohoo, and thereby extended their authority so far, that the people of Lohoo almost acknowledged the Maccassar dominion.

Having mentioned this, I shall proceed to a brief description of the principal kingdoms allied to the Honorable East India Company, and give the succession of their Princes, as far as it is known, with all the most remarkable events concerning the countries conquered by the Hon'ble East India Company, and their inhabitants.

**MACCASSAR.** This empire, including Tello, and Sandrebony, before it was conquered by the Dutch, extended from Bolee Bolee, in the bay of Bone, to the point of Lassem, and thence to the point of Torathea or Tanakeke: also thence along the west shore to Tanete, or Aganonchee: and inland to the present Bone and Soping, which was then conquered, in which part of the  
country,



country the original Language is also that of the Maccassars.

But when this country has been so named, and what is the meaning of its name, no body knows. It is known only that the several small villages, situated between Samboupo and the river Grisse, from which several grandees derive their titles, had the name of the town of Maccassar, given probably by the Portuguese, and other trading nations, who had established themselves there.

The Kings of Goa and Tello were both called Kings of Maccassar: at other times, their distinct imperial names were Kings of Goa, or of Tello, agreeable to the name of the town where they resided.

The Maccassar manuscript, respecting the succession of their kings, mentions four rulers, before the coming of Tomanoronga, which signifies: "Descended from Heaven." Their names are

Battarra Gooroo, who was succeeded by his brother, which brother is nameless and known only as he who was murdered by Talaly. The third is Ratoo Sapo Marantaya. The fourth is called Careeng Catanka. After the demise of these four rulers, a handsome woman, with a gold chain about her neck, descended from Heaven, and was, according to the above mentioned manuscript, taken by the Maccassars for their Queen, and called Tomanoronga. This Queen married the King of Bonthain, who, upon the report that so handsome a woman had descended from Heaven to Goa, repaired thither for that purpose, thought he had already a wife at Bonthain: For this

double marriage, the Maccassars say, that King was called \* Careeng Bayo. When going to Go'a he was accompanied by his brother Lake Padada, who is mentioned in this place only, because he left to the Maccassars his Criss, called Soodang.

From this marriage was born a son, of whom the mother was pregnant for three years, and who was able to walk and speak immediately after his birth : but he was very ugly, on which account he was called

Toma Salanga Careeng. When this child had grown to manhood, the gold chain, which the mother had brought with her, broke in two. With one half of it, and with her husband and his brother she vanished, leaving the Empire with the other half of the chain to her son.

This half of the gold chain, (of which the Maccassars boast, that at times it is very heavy, and at other times very light, and that it changes according to circumstances from a pale to a dark color,) is the principal of all the imperial ornaments, among which also is the plate called Pata-na Jamaang, which Tomanoronga, on descending from Heaven, brought likewise with her. The above first King, after a long reign, did not die, but disappeared also, leaving behind him a son, who succeeded him in the Government and was called

Ampoong Lomo Lembang. He also left behind him a son for his successor by name

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\* Careeng Bayo, according to the notes of Mr. Speelman, Bayo was one of thirty small Hamlets having their own name : and from this many Princes, among the rest this Careeng took his title.

Toonja Tabanree, who was succeeded by his son

Careeng Poanga-re-Goa. That King also left behind him a son, and did not die but vanished, like all his ancestors. His son was the first mortal Prince, and called

Toonya Taucalopee. He left behind him two sons, Battarra Goa, who succeeded him in Goa, and Careeng Law-re-Seero, who became the first King of Tello. From this division of the country between the two brothers, it is fully known that at that time the Maccassar Empire was not extensive, consisting of ten villages only. After the death of Battarra Goa, who had succeeded Toonya Taucalopee, Tonyawanga-re-Paranglakenna mounted the throne of Goa. He is the first, whose wives are known by their names. By two wives, he left behind him two sons, and one daughter, of whom the eldest son succeeded him in the Government, being called

Tonee-ello-de Pasaukee, others called him Tonya-Tjoka-re-Lankagee. This Prince was succeeded in the Government by his brother Toma-Pare-Sika-Kallonna, in whose time the Maccassars began to keep some records of principal occurrences. This King also established laws and regulations for war, levied taxes, instituted a Privy Council or Tomarelalangs, appointed Glarangs or Chiefs of villages; possibly by the instigation of the Portuguese, who during his reign, immediately after the conquest of Malacca,\* came to Celebes, and obtained directly permission to form a settlement in the island.

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\* The conquest of Malacca happened in 1512.

This King further extended his Empire by conquests over his northern neighbours. He also put Salyer, and Bolecomba under contribution. Several other Princes, amongst whom were those of Bone and Maros, entered into a close alliance with him, by which they acknowledged each other as independent Princes, engaging themselves to live like brothers, without injury to one another, and to support and assist each other in all cases.

A short time afterwards, for reasons not known, the Princes of Maros, Poolembankeeng, and Tello, became dissatisfied and made war against this King, who overcame and put them all to flight. Seven days had scarcely elapsed, when the Prince of Tello sent presents to Goa, and entered into a firm alliance with that Empire, swearing faithfully to observe it, and imprecating eternal damnation on all those, who should endeavour to create discord between Goa and Tello.

Lastly, the Maccassar records say, that that King began to build the walls of Goa. He was succeeded in the Government by his son

Tonee Palanga, who introduced the use of weights and measures, fixed the prices of commodities, and made gun-powder. He also is the first, who mounted cannons on the walls of Goa, and who extended his conquests all over Mandhar, Cayelee, and further to the North-east of Celebes, up to Tontolee. He reduced to slavery the Mandhar nations of Billa, Bouco, Mapillee, Padapoda, and Chiampalagee, and entered into an alliance with the others.

This

This King further, with the assistance of Bone, subdued Lohoo entirely ; but he left to the people their liberty, and made an alliance with them. To please them, he also subdued the Wadjorees, for which the Lohonees made him a present of twenty Catjee, or twenty five pounds of gold.

During this reign, the Malays of Patanee, Pahan, Champa, Chohor, and Manicabo arrived at Maccassar, and obtained not only an abode, but also, among other privileges, that of erecting a Temple, and of publicly performing the Mahometan rites,

Lastly, Palanga became desirous to conquer Bone also. He marched with a large force into the country ; but he gained no advantage over the Boneers, and was in three successive campaigns obliged to retreat with great loss. At last he returned home sick, and died, leaving his brother Tonce Batta in his room as King of Goa.

This Princee followed up his brother's design, and marched into Bone. But he was beaten, and lost his head, having reigned only forty days. He was succeeded in the Government by his son

Tonce Challa, who was present in camp with the army, commanded by the Prime Minister, the then King of Tello, Mappatackangkantana. Peace was immediately concluded with Bone, on the terms of the former treaty. Though it was in the power of the Booners entirely to exterminate the Maccassars ; they on the contrary treated them well, and permitted them safely to return to Goa.

Eleven years afterwards, the King broke again the peace with the Boneers and continued at war with

## 10 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

with them to the end of his reign, but always with loss. During this reign, the King of Ternate, Baab Ullah, came to Maccassar, and concluded with these nations an everlasting friendship, giving them as a pledge of his sincerity the Island of Salyer, conquered by him on his voyage to Maccassar.

It may be possible, as Valentine asserts, that Baab Ullah made the Mahometan Religion agreeable to the Maccassars: for about that time, they first sent messengers, with the help of the Malays, to bring from Mecca a Hadjee, or Priest. They also sent an Embassy to Johor, Pahan, Malacca, Pathana, Palembang, Banjar, and Moluccos.

It is further recorded, that about that time a beginning was made in building Samboupo, Tello, Barombong, and Oodjong Tane: and that in this reign a famine prevailed over the whole country for three successive years.

This King, \* it is said, was of a bad disposition, and very severe towards his people. He was, according to Speelman, in 1588, murdered in his boat by his servant Meenpranabe in the vicinity of Berow. His son and successor was

Toonee-Passo-loo, whose wickedness and tyranny being excessive, he reigned only three years and was dethroned by his prime Minister, the then King of Tello, and other grandees. After this

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\* This must be the same King, of whom Valentine says that, being at sea, he was murdered by one of his courtiers, who had disguised himself, and mixed with the rowers, because there is none, who either before, or after that time, experienced such a fate. Still the period of time differs very much,

He went to Bouton, and died there. His brother, only seven years old, succeeded him in the Empire under the Name of

Sulthaun Alla Oodeen; called after his demise Tooma-menan-ga-re-gaokanna.

In 1603, twelve years after his coming to the throne, the Mahometan faith was received throughout the Empire of Maccassar by the influence of the king of Tello, Careeng Mattonaga, the prime Minister of Goa. After the death of this Prince, he was succeeded by Toma-menanga-re-agamena; the father of the famous Patingaloang, alias Tama Tehene, also Careeng Bohto-Biraceng.

In 1606, the Maccassars, with others, forced Bone to accept likewise the Mahometan faith; which being done, they made peace again in conformity to the old treaty with Toma-Pare-Sikakallona. But it was agreed that Bone should be the Enemy of their Enemies; whilst there would be no obligation for Goa to be the Enemy of the Enemies of Bone. This was the first sinking of the Boneers in the balance of equal greatness.

In 1619, this King, by the hands of his Generals, Careeng Jampa and Lombo Mandalle, put under contribution all the nations on the opposite Islands of Beema, Tambora, Dampo, and Sangar. About five years afterwards, he went himself with his prime Minister, and conquered Bouton, Bongay, and Gapee. He made himself master also of the Xulla Islands, and of Sumbawa. He concluded a treaty with Batee, and subdued Barro and Cooté. On his return, he reduced under his dominion Maros, and the greater part of the Northern Provinces; and caused

## 12 HISTORY OF OLEBES.

the first specie of money to be coined, which probably were the maases,\* known in the records as pieces of one and a half Rix Dollar, or sixty Dutch Stivers, but now no longer to be found.

During this reign, the above mentioned fortifications were finished, with the addition of the Fort Panekoka. The Fort Oudjong Pandang received enlargements, having been built on a smaller scale at the same time with Goa. This King of Goa and his prime Minister, the King of Tello Re-agamaena, are both renowned much above all others, who have lived before, or after them.

Under them, the old and close alliance between Goa and Tello was renewed and strengthened, so much so, that it was said of them: Two masters but one people. By that alliance it was also determined, that all taxes and contributions, from the conquered countries &c, should be divided into five parts, of which two should be for Goa, and two for Tello, and the fifth should go to the eldest of the two Princes. They further agreed, that the eldest of them during the minority of the other should be prime Minister of his kingdom; and that they should be both equal in dignity, and both called† Sambouco or Emperor.

At that time, the English, the Dutch, and the Danes, came to and traded with Maccassar.

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\* Of these gold maases, pieces of 24 stivers still exist, and amongst us are called maasen.

† This title the Princes of Bone, Goa, Tello, and Sandrabony have at present; but it is not given to any other Prince in the Island.



In 1636, General Anthony Van Deemen concluded a firm peace with the Maccassars, and entered into a treaty with them, by which trade was made open and free to the Dutch.\* Yet no permanent residence was allowed them.

In 1638, King Re-gaokanna died, leaving his throne to his son Sultbaun Malekee Laid. The successor of this was Tooma-mc-nang-a-re-pa-pang Batoona, who took for his prime Minister, the famous Patingaloang, son of Re-aga-macna.

At that time, the King of Bone, Lamadaramma, called also Oopoon Padokaya, zealously promoted the Mahometan Religion, to the displeasure not only of his Nobles, but also of other Princes, whom he wished to convert by force of arms. They fled to Goa for refuge and assistance; and the King of Goa sent an Embassy to Bone to ask, whether the conduct of Lamadaramma was the result of a charge from the Prophet, or was dictated to him by an old custom, or had no motive but his own satisfaction and pleasure? If he had a charge from heaven, a communication was desired; if he could shew that he acted in obedience to an established custom, Goa would join him; but if what he did was only to please himself, he must desist, because the parties he oppressed were the friends of Goa. These questions the king of Bone left unanswered, and continued his persecution. The Maccassars then being very much offended, made war against Bone in 1640, and defeated several times the troops of that state. The

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\* This is according to Speelman. But I wish not to contradict what Valentine has written concerning our residence here before, as well as after that time.

## 14 HISTORY OF CELEBES,

King of Bone fled in consequence to Latompo in the country of Lohop: when the people of Bone voluntarily put themselves under the dominion of the Maccassars, on condition of retaining their ancient privileges.

The king of Goa appointed then over Bone a Regent called Taballa, or Aroo Perau Tanétic, a name derived from his estate. King Lamadaramma was summoned to appear and obeyed the order. But his nephews Daeeng Pabela and Aroo Coon levied an army and opposed the Maccassars. They were however again subdued, and Daeeng Pabela and Aroo Coon became Prisoners. After this Bone lost all its privileges and dignities; and in 1643 the whole country was put under bondage. King Lamadaramma and his brothers were banished, and the other Princes put in chains, and confined with common prisoners.

By this conquest, the Maccassar greatness was carried to a very high pitch. That King held under his will and pleasure the whole Island of Celebes almost, and had with the Honorable Company in the Eastern provinces many disputes, which in the latter period of his reign and life broke out into open war. He died in 1653, and left behind him a son called Malombassa, whose mother was a Bonese woman of common descent. For that reason, the Glarrangs rose against Malombassa, and wished to elect another ruler; but as neither Careeng Patingaloang, nor the other lawful Princes, shewed any desire to occupy the throne, he was allowed to remain king under the name of—

Sulthau Hassan Oodeen, called, after his demise, Toomamenan-ga Balla-Pangkanna.

In

In 1654, the prime Minister Careeng Patingaloang, the father of Maccassar died, and was succeeded by the malevolent, and base born Garxorong. Mean-while, the King Hassan Oodsea pursued his father's outrageous proceedings throughout the East; and having in person with a great number of vessels gone to sea, conquered in 1655 all Bouton, overpowering the Dutch and Ternatee Garrisons there. The King of Bouton ransomed his liberty for 870 tials of gold.\*

This young Prince, on his return home, prided himself very much on the success of his enterprise, and taking advantage of the terms he made in 1656 with Mr. Vander Beeke, began to rule, with an iron sceptre the nations subjected to him, among whom was that of Bone. With respect to the Company, the peace concluded with them served him as a cover to vex and injure their trade more than he had done before.

Therefore the Right Honorables, in 1660, sent by sea to Maccassar a formidable force commanded by Messrs. John Van Dam and John Troitman, who, after having destroyed six Portuguese ships, conquered and kept possession of Fort Panekoka. Peace then followed, and a treaty was entered into and concluded at Batavia, with Careeng Poppo on the part of the King of Goa, and the Supreme Government of India, by which the Fort Panekoka was restored to the Maccassars.

After the conquest of Panekoka, and whilst the Maccassar Ambassadors were at Batavia, the post

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\* A tial of gold is equal in weight to a Spanish Dollar.

## 16 HISTORY OF CÉLEBES.

of Marisso was erected, and also the long wall, which extended from Benaga Berou, or ditch of the Fort Samboupo, to Oodjong Tana, a distance of exactly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The Maccassars intended also, on the suggestion of Cronrong, to cut off by a ditch the Fort Panekoka from the main land. Their plan was to employ in that work 10,000 Boneers, who were then just at hand; but they all deserted, and having reached their country, prepared for war and selected for their leaders Rajah Palacca, Daceng Pabela, Toballa, and some other Princes.

The Maccassars upon this assembled a very considerable force, marched into Bone, and repeatedly beat the Boneers, and the Sopings who had joined them, in such a manner, that the war was soon finished by the flight of Rajah Palacca and his retinue to Bouton, and by the subjection of all Soping.

In 1665, this King sent a force of 200 vessels to the Xulla Islands, where his troops plundered all the strong places of the King of Ternate, and carried back with them more than 200 natives as slaves. Allured by this success, the following year he sent, in 700 vessels, more than 20,000 men against Bouton. Of the number were the most renowned Princes of Bone and Soping, who were placed at the head of the army for the purpose of turning, after the conquest of Bouton, their forces against the Xulla Islands, and the Moluccas.

In this manner, the power of the Maccassars spread terror through the Eastern provinces, and became not a small object of apprehension to the

United

United Company, whose goods they had in times of peace not only robbed from the wrecks of the ships, the *Whale*, and *Lioness*, but had also most inhumanly murdered the crews.

In their own defence then and for the support of the Allies of the Company in the Moluccas, the Right Honorables, in 1666, sent to Maccassar a considerable force under the command of Mr. Speelman, to bring the King to reason by the offer of a new peace, or to humble him by force of arms. In the expedition was Rajah Pailacca as chief of the emigrated Boneers.

This force appeared before Maccassar in December of the same year, when it was twice recommended to the Maccassars to preserve peace, by giving satisfaction to the Honorable Company and to their Allies, for what had happened at the Xulla Islands, for the plunder of the wrecked ship the *Lioness*; and for the murder of the crew. Nothing was obtained but an offer from the Maccassars of 1057 maases, for the spilling of blood, and 1,425 rix dollars saved from the ship the *Lioness*. War therefore was declared, and directly carried into execution by plundering, and destroying all the countries of Torathea, and Borathain, as much as could be done whilst watering. After which the expedition sailed for Bouton, where fortunately our force obtained a great victory over the Maccassars, which contributed very much to the conquest of their own country.

After this glorious action, Mr. Speelman sailed with the largest part of his fleet towards the Eastern provinces, and there appointed a rendezvous at Bouton, where he arrived, in June 1667, re-inforced

## 18 HISTORY OF CÉLEBES.

re-inforced by the King of Ternate Mandarschia; and a large party of his people, with some troops from Tidor, and Baichean: to which the King of Bouton added further 1,000 men, under the command of very able chiefs. These combined forces left Bouton in the latter end of June, but having lost sight of each other in bad weather, the Company's force only, with the Molucca people, arrived before Bonthain, where the enemy lay encamped in several strong holds with more than 7,000 men, and would not listen to any accommodation, not even when the 7000 men had been cut off, and the fleet had arrived before Samboupo. For they only refunded then 2,906 Spanish Reals, or Dollars, as a part of the plunder of the ship the Lioness, and paid 528 Maases for the spilling of blood. So that our people to obtain further satisfaction, had no other way than force of arms, to which they had immediate recourse.

Mean-while Rajah Palacca arrived by land, with the Boneers, Boutons, and Ternatees, and also with the Europeans, commanded by Captain Poolman; when the whole army being collected, the Maccassars were compelled to come to an agreement on the 18th of November 1657, on the land of Bonzaya at Barombong, conquered by the Company.

That agreement was accepted by the King of Tello and his prime Minister Careeng Linckes, by separate Acts of the 9th and 13th March 1668. But, in the following month of April, both were treacherously broken by the crafty intrigues of the perfidious Cronrong. In consequence of which the Dutch, and their Allies had again recourse

course to arms, and on taking from the Maccassars their last fort Samboupo, on the 24th of June 1669, an end was made both of the war and of their greatness. The particulars of this war are described with tolerable accuracy and truth by Valentine.

Shortly after the conquest of Samboupo, the King Hassan Oodeen gave up the Government, as being too unfortunate, and resigned the Empire to his youngest son

Mappa Somba, whom he had from a second marriage with the daughter of Patingaloang. After his demise, that King was by some called Toomenan-ga-re-alloo, and by others Re-oowoo-Labboona.

Notwithstanding his resignation, the old King still continued to reign in name, but the Government of the Empire remained with Careeng Cronrong. Both these, and all the other principal Maccassar Princes accepted and swore to the late treaty with Tello, concluded on the 15th July 1669.

The above mentioned Cronrong is described as a man given up to every sort of wickedness. At the same time he was the greatest Politician of all Celebes, experienced in war, skilled in all gallant exercises, and in different languages, and effectually master of his masters. He had been on account of his atrocity banished twice by Sulthaun Hassan Oodeen. Yet on account of his political abilities, when, during the war of 1667, the above mentioned King of Goa declared himself unable to retain the direction of affairs; the management of the Empire was for the third

time put into his hands ; and he knew by his artifice how to maintain himself in that situation, though he was, by the rupture of the Boneese treaty, the actual cause of the ruin of Maccassar, and afterwards, from his inveterate hatred to the Dutch, of many troubles, which, subsequent to the conquest of Samboupo, the Company had with the Maccassar Allies, and with Rajah Palacaea himself. In consequence of all that on the suggestion of the President Harthower the Right Honourables, in 1673, ordered, by a letter of the 27th December, the apprehending, or killing of that Prime Minister and his party. But the order was not executed, and to that neglect may be attributed the death of the King Mappa Somba, which happened on the 6th May 1674. In that Prince's room, the Maccassars chose for King of Goa his brother

Mappa Ossong, or Careeng Bessy, called also Daeeng Manguway, and after him Toomamenang-re-Djaccatra, who is called by others Re-Tjerebon.

This King, shortly after his coming to the Throne, swore to the treaties, which had not been done by any of his predecessors.

He is described as a restless and ignorant Prince, by which Cronrong was enabled to continue his wicked machinations with all the dissatisfied and inconstant Allies against the Company, and the Boneese subjects. On that account, and for the detaining at Goa of several Boneers, Sopings, and Torathees, it was, in 1677, resolved by the Council, on the earnest importunity of the Kings of Bone and Soping, to make war with their united forces against the King of Goa ; and,



on the part of the Company, Captain Plain, with a hundred Europeans, was ordered to carry the resolution into execution. This party, with the several Allies, behaved with so much gallantry, that on the 27th July a peace was again concluded with the Maccassars, and the first condition was the deposition of that King. The Company's Ministers and the Allies appointed in his room his eldest brother Careeng Sandrabony, who took the name of

Mappa Doolang, or Abdul Djallil, and was called after his demise Toomamenan-ga ré-La-keong. That Prince immediately received, with the compliments of all the Allies present, the imperial ornaments of Goa. In the following year, his brother the deposed King Careeng Bessy was taken into custody within the fort, and afterwards sent to Batavia, pursuant to the orders of the Right Honorables. He died on his voyage off Cheribon, and was interred at Batavia.

In 1684, the King not thinking himself safe at Goa, on account of many enemies he had there, retreated with his Court to Mangelicana, a little to the Northward of Samboupo, where, in former times, the Dutch settlement had stood; that place having been granted to him by the Company's Ministers.

In 1687, the King's daughter Patookangan was married to Lapatao, heir apparent to the Empire of Bone. About that time, the decrepit and wicked Cronrong resigned his place; and retired. In his room was appointed his brother, the less wicked, but more cunning Careeng Bontosongor.

In the latter end of 1694, the Maccassars returned from Mangelicana to reside in Goa, the

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walls of which they again repaired, to the dissatisfaction of the King of Bone, who on that account requested permission of the Ministers here to surround Bontualac with a wall also. But that was not executed.

During the long reign of this King, the Maccassars occasioned to the Company, and to Bone many secret and many open troubles, particularly after the demise of Rajah Palacca, when they incited the people of Bonthain to rebel against their lawful Queen Thallelee, and the Mandhars to break their treaty. They also detained at Goa many Boneese, and Soping Princes. But in 1698, the Ministers of the Company accomplished a reconciliation between the Courts of Bone, and that of Goa.

About that time, the Maccassars, encouraged by the existing circumstances, became so bold, that they sent an Embassy to the Right Honorables at Batavia to demand, that the right of levying their own taxes, as they had done before, should be restored to them. But this was disputed in such a manner by the Ministry here, that, though not convinced, they made no more requests on the subject.

It seems that those, who at that time composed the Ministry here, did not exactly understand from what source the Company derived their right of taxation; since they supposed it to be founded on an usage of thirty years. Others in latter times have adhered to that opinion from want of a sufficient knowledge of the state of affairs. But it is clear that the Maccassars would not have failed to consider a mere usage of thirty years

years as an usurpation, and would not have so easily put up with the loss of a most important right, had they not of themselves found other reasons for submission, which are explained without ambiguity in the correspondence of the King of Tello. In his letter of the 31st August 1699, after having said that his Ambassadors had received no order from him to say any thing to the Right Honorables about taxes, or pretended duties, he thus proceeds :

“ For true it is that formerly my ancestors  
“ were masters of that land and fort, which now  
“ the Company possesses as far as Oodjong Pandang : but the Company has conquered us,  
“ and our land, &c. why then should we demand  
“ back that which the Company possesses as Lord  
“ of the Land ?”

Upon this right of conquest, which obtains especially on this coast of Celebes, the Right Honorables also depended 30 years before, as in giving instructions to the President of Maccassar, Maximilian De Young, they thus expressed themselves :

“ All traders coming from without are by all  
“ means to be made to anchor in front of Fort  
“ Rotterdam, when they must pay duties, to  
“ which we think the Company now entitled,  
“ since the main fort of Samboupo was taken  
“ by storm from the Maccassars and demolished,  
“ and since all the other forts situated on the  
“ sea side, where duties were collected by the  
“ Maccassars, are also to be demolished.”

In 1709, Lapadang Sadjate, or Aroo Palacca, the second son of the King of Bone, withdrew himself from his father's wrath, and went to Goa.

Shortly

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Shortly after, on the 18th of September, the King Mappa Doolang died, and, according to custom, on the same day, and before his interment took place, the grandson of the deceased, or the eldest son of the King of Bone, was elected King of Goa, viz.

Sappuale-E, alias Tosparappa, under the name of Paducca Sease Sukhaun, Shahabadeen Ismaeel, called after his demise Toomamenang-a-re-Samboupo.

He was married to the daughter of the King of Tello Toomamenang-re-Paseren-nganna, and among other children he had a daughter,\* called Hamera, who is the present Aroo Palacca.

Mean-while, the King of Bone, as well as the Company's Ministers, had sent several times to the Court of Goa to request that Aroo Palacca, under promise of a full pardon, should be delivered, either to his father, or to the Governor. But the Court of Goa remained obstinate in their refusal. Wherefore in July 1710, the King of Bone was permitted to urge his claim by force of arms: in which he was supported by the Company; and this short but severe war was put an end to by the delivery of Aroo Palacca to the Governor. At this time, some articles advantageous to the Company were drawn up, and being sworn to by the Maccassars, a peace was concluded with them on the 19th of August 1710.

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\* This Hamera is still alive, and the nearest lawful heiress to the Crown of Bone. She is the Grandmother of the present King of Goa, and the divorced wife of the King of Tello, resides at Goa, and is a lady of great understanding, and very much loved both by the Maccassars, and by the Boneers.

In

In 1712, on the 30th of August, the King Sappuale-E was finally deposed by the nine states of Goa, called Bata Selapangas; and in his room was elected King of Tello

Mappa Orangee, under the name of Paducca Serce Sulthaun Serajoo-deen. After his demise he was called Toomamenanga-re-Pasee; at Tello he was called Toomamaliang-re-gaookanna.

In 1718, the Maccassar Prince, afterwards the famous Rebel Careeng Bontolancas, fled from Goa, because he had killed a daughter of the late King Sappuale-E. Yet, on account of his high birth, the Maccassars permitted him to reside in the Campong Baroo under the protection of the Company's fort. But very shortly after he went clandestinely to Sumbawa; whence in 1721 he returned to Goa and persuaded the Maccassars to beg pardon for him, which was granted on the part of the Company.

In 1723, he went to Sumbawa for the second time, where he assisted in the war between that nation and Batee, in which the King of Sumbawa, Amas Madena was killed. Bontolancas married his daughter the present Queen of Sumbawa; but she was taken from him by her mother, who had been married to the King of Goa Serajoodoen, and after a forced divorce disposed of to the lately deceased King of Sumbawa.

In 1724, the King Seradjooden resigned the throne of Tello to his son Nadja Moodeen; who in 1726, after the death of the Prime Minister Careeng Bontosongo, took to himself the administration of Goa, to the great displeasure of the Chief Princes. Bontolancas was the most dissatisfied, and

and on that account, as well as for the forced divorce from his wife, took the resolution to revenge himself on the King. For that purpose he drew into his interest not only several discontented Maccassar Princes, but also the Boneese Regent Aroo Cayo, who in 1728 had been deposed and had fled to Tello with his Prime Minister, whose sister he married. Bontolancas afterwards entered into a league with the famous pirates Aroo Seenkang, and his Captain Tanassa, in order not only to dethrone the Kings of Bone, and of Goa, but also to expel the Dutch from the whole Island of Celebes. Thus the flame of war began to burst out at Bonthain in 1734, and speedily became general. In the beginning of it the rebel Bontolancas obtained much advantage. By his success, as well as by his secret correspondence at the Court of Goa, Serajoodeen was so disconcerted, that on the 5th of November 1735 he fled to Tello: on which the Maccassars immediately elected for their King his grandson

Malawangao, alias Abdul Hairmansjor, called after his demise Toomamenan-ga-re-Goa: and immediately gave intimation of it to the Company's Ministers. They on the 9th following intimated also the election of Careeng Madcheenang, son of Bontosongo, as Prime Minister.

In 1736, Bontolancas, supported by Aroo Cayo, made himself Master of Maros, and of all the Northern provinces; whilst Aroo Seenkang, who in the meantime had become Matoua of Wadjo, made war against the Boneers in the inland country. But in October of the following year, Maros and all the Northern provinces were re-taken by Governor Smout, and Bontolancas  
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was driven into the interior part of the country. There he collected in his support more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  parts of the Empire of Goa, and strengthened by the force of Wadjo under Aroo Seenkang, and by a good party of Boneers, whom he dragged with him, he in 1739 came again into the Company's Northern provinces, and was proclaimed King of Goa. In his march to the capital he left our post at Maros unmolested, and said as an experienced General: "Let us go to Oodjong Pandang, if we have that, the rest will follow." He suddenly made himself master of Goa, from which place the King, and his Prime Minister, with a considerable number of Maccassars being, or pretending to be well inclined, fled to the fort and put themselves under the protection of the Company.

Shortly after Fort Rotterdam was summoned in the name of the three United Powers, viz. Bone, Goa, and Wadjo; and as the Company's Ministry shewed no inclination to surrender, the whole force of Goa, and Wadjo, appeared immediately on the plain in front of the fort. The garrison marched out to meet them the same day, 16th May 1739, and supported by the Boneers, and by the Company's subjects, attacked, and put them to flight. After this our troops raised a battery of 16 guns, and having left in it a strong party returned to the fort.

The enemies on their side fortified themselves opposite to our battery, and daily skirmishes took place, till on the 14th July the dryness of the ground permitted our troops to march against them with field-pieces: when, after a solemn invocation of God, our garrison sallied from the

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fort,

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fort, and having formed a junction with the Boorneers, and other Allies who had since arrived, and with the Company's subjects, and the emigrated Maccassars, early in the morning of the 17th, pushed on in silence to the enemy; from whom they met such a strong resistance, that they were unable to obtain a complete victory till four o'clock in the afternoon.

That victory was the greater from the circumstance that it frustrated the hopes of those Maccassars, who called themselves well inclined: for they all secretly favoured the rebel, having agreed with him that, if the balance should but a little incline in his favor, they would then turn their arms against our troops, and join his party.

The day after that action, our troops marched to the vicinity of Goa, and encamped on a plain, where they waited for the enemy, who with all his force was willing to take one chance more. For this purpose; his forces broke ground early in the morning of the 20th of July, when our troops, marching up to them in three columns, put them to flight and forced them to leave behind all their dead and wounded. Careeng Bontolancas, being himself severely wounded, retreated with the remains of his force into Goa. Our troops pursued him and arrived before the town in the afternoon at three o'clock. Some batteries were immediately raised, and being ready in the evening of the same day, our guns and mortars played with so much effect, that in the morning at four o'clock it was reported to the Admiral and General Smout, that the enemy had abandoned the town, and had fled towards the mountains. This put an end to the war on this side of Celebes. Search was immediately



diately made for the imperial ornaments, and they were all, together with the Kingdom of Maccassar, delivered to the King Abdul Hairmansjoor, and to his Prime Minister. So that public affairs were restored to the state in which they had been before the commencement of the war. Further the whole, or most part of Bontolancas' party came to humble themselves, and to pray for pardon. Among them was a man more than 100 years old, named\* Careeng Mamanpang, and being a younger brother of Careeng Pomelcean, who in the last century had fled from the place. This man, on delivering his criss, said to the Admiral :

“ This town of Goa, I have seen in her greatest lustre, when she held her sceptre all over the Island of Celebes. I also saw her in her first humiliation, at the time when we were conquered by the Honorable Company, yet she remained, with a diminution of her lustre, still an inhabitable place ; but now she appears to be turned into a heap of rubbish. The first time I delivered my dagger at Samboupo, the second time at Sourabaya, and now for the third time, I deliver it to the conquering arms of the Honorable Company. Now let it rest, that after having obtained my pardon, I may die in peace !” The pardon he requested the Admiral and General most willingly granted him, and

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\* This Careeng Mamanpang, it is more than probable, is the son of Montemaranoo, the field marshal of the Maccassars at the conquest of Bouton, who being summoned by Mr. Speelman fled with the King of Lohoo to Bantam. Afterwards he appears as King of Sandabony, and field marshal of the Maccassars.

returned him his dagger with a compliment fit to the occasion.

Whilst our troops remained still encamped, a report came that Careeng Bontolanças had died of his wound. Our army therefore, all affairs being settled, broke up from before Goa on the 3d of September, and, covered with glory, returned to Fort Rotterdam,

In 1742, on the 27th of July, died the King Abdul Hairmansjoor, aged 17 years. For his successor was chosen his brother.

Mappa Babassa, called after his demise Toomamenanga-re-kalabbirama, who, being but eight years of age when he was elected, was put under the guardianship of the then Prime Minister Careeng Madjennang. This in 1743 was forced to resign the administration, and to put himself under the protection of the Company. In his room was appointed the present King of Tello Limpangan, who married his son, the present King of Goa, to a Beemaneese Princess. From that marriage was born a son, who, on the 21st December 1753, succeeded his deceased father in the Government of Goa, under the name of

Amas Madena, called also Pattee Mathare, and in June 1758 named by the counsellors of the Empire Battarra Goa. The Batisilapangas, or nine votes of the Empire of Maccassar, and the Casselejaay Silapang-a, or nine countries, obtained their names at the same time.

This King is but 10 years of age, and the administration of the Empire remains with his grandfather Careeng Limpangan.

BOOK II,

## BOOK II.

**T**HE Kingdom of Tello, at the making of the division with those of Goa, consisted merely of four villages with their dependencies, viz. Saomata, Pannampoo, Montjong Lowe, and Parang-Lowe. The town of Tello, from which that little realm has derived its name, was built for a residence by the first king. It has been successively extended Southward; and its jurisdiction has no fixed limits, before the war in 1667 it reached as far as Fort Rotterdam, and Bontualac, both of which belonged to Tello.

To the North-side it was limited by the Coorvs, two Islands a little Southward of the river of Maros; Sodiang therefore did properly belong to it.

This realm, from the time of the Third King's Reign, has generally pursued the same interests with that of Goa, and has undergone the same fate.

The first King of Tello was a son of the King of Goa Toonya Taucalopee, called

Loore Seero. After his father's demise, he quarrelled with his brother, and went to his own village Seero, from which he had the title as Carreng. Shortly after he went to Java, where he remained for some time. On his return he built the town of Tello, in which he fixed his residence. After his demise he was succeeded by his son.

Toonee-a-Laboo-re-Soorewa. This Prince married a Javanese Princess of Sourabaya, by name Njey Papate. After which he departed  
for

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for\* Malacca. Having returned from that place, he made a voyage to Banda; and from Banda, after a short stay here, he went for Mangary, with the design of conquering that country. But he was murdered by the Prince of Poolembankeeng at a certain Island of Soorewa, not very far from Salyer. His body was thrown into the sea; from which he bears the name of Laboo-re-Soorewa. He was succeeded by his son

Toonya-Passooroo-re-Lello, called also Mangang Berang. This Prince, according to the Maccassar records, was the first Prime Minister of Goa. He married the daughter of the King of Goa Tooma-Pare-Sika kallonna, which Sika-kallonna appears to have been married himself to the sister of Re-Lello:

This King probably is the same, who, with Careeng Maros, and those of Poolembankeeng, made war against Goa; and who humbled himself, after having been defeated, and, as appears under the head of Goa, made a close alliance with his father in law.

From his first marriage, he left a daughter called Careeng Bissooa; and from his second marriage with the daughter of Careeng Lowe-re-maros he left a son, who succeeded him in the Government, and was called

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\* Perhaps it is he, who by Valentine is called Careeng Samerlookan, and is said to have made war at Malacca; for the name of Re-Soorewa was not given him before his demise. Valentine only makes him too early eighty years of age. This writer has committed many such mistakes.

Mappa Tackang kantana, after his demise he got the name of Toomenan ga-re-Makoadjang. This Prince was Prime Minister of Goa for a long time; in which office he was succeeded by his son Mattonaga. His kingdom went to his daughter J-Sambo, called also Careeng Patingaloang. She was afterwards married to the King of Goa Toonee Challa, leaving the kingdom of Tello to her brother Mattonaga, called also Daeeng Manjooree, and after his demise Toomenang ga re-agamaena. This Prince was the father of Careeng Patingaloang, or Tana Tchene, famous in the Maccassar Histories. His achievements and fortunes appear under the subject of Goa, before the time of the King Re-gaocana. He ruled over Tello twenty eight years, after which he resigned his authority, and delivered the realm to his son, Moolaphar, or Mangerangee, who after his demise was called Toomaleang-a-re Timor. This Prince died in 1639, after his return from an expedition to Timor. For his successor was chosen his son

Mapaya, under the name of Haroo Narrachyt, which after his demise was changed to that of Toomenang-a-re-Lampanna. At the time of his election, he was only seven months old. During his minority, he was supported by his father's brother Patingaloang, and after the death of Patingaloang by Careeng Bontosongo. In 1655, this King was with the Maccassars in the expedition against Bouton. He is the same, who with the Maccassars was conquered by and concluded with the Company both the confirmative treaty of the 13th March 1668, and the separate treaty of the 15th July 1669, and who went to Batavia with

Mr.



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Mr. Speelman. He died at Sumbawa in 1673, and was succeeded by his son

Abdul Caree, who after his demise was called Toomenaga-re-Pase-ren-nganna. Of him, nothing particular is related. It is said only that he died in January 1709, and that in his room was chosen his son

Mappa Orangee, or Careeng Candjeelo, who after his demise was called Tomaleang-a-re-gaookanna. In 1712, this Prince was elected King of Goa, and reigned over both Empires till 1724, when he resigned the kingdom of Tello to his son

Manrabia Nadja Moodeen, called after his demise Toomamenang-a-re-Djawayja. The end of that King's reign is no where mentioned as worthy of notice. The Maccassar records say that after his death, his brother succeeded him. Yet it appears by the Company's Journal, that his brother

Mapai-nga or Sapee Oodeen, also Limpangau was elected first after the demise of the father; which happened in 1739, he having in 1735 fled from Goa to Tello. This is the present Careeng of Tello, grandfather and Prime Minister of the King of Goa; a perpetual enemy to the Honorable Company. Though he is the only King, who has been elected exactly according to the contents of the Tellos treaty, and who swore to that engagement, both for himself and for the realm of Goa, he declared without dissimulation that he would have nothing to do with the Company, and that therefore he had withdrawn himself from them.

## B O O K III.

**T**HE Kingdom of Sandrabonee is situated on the West Coast of Celebes, within the Empire of Maccassar, between the Company's Provinces, Galiffong, and Poolembankeeng. It is small, and yet esteemed free, and independent of Goa. The Kings of that realm, in the time of the Maccassar King Tooma-Pare-Sika Kallonna, connected themselves with the Maccassars, without losing any part of their freedom or privileges.

The chief city, or village of that kingdom lays not very near to the sea side, but on the bank of a river. It was built at the same time with Samboupo and Tello, is surrounded by a wall, and has undergone the same fate with Goa, or Maccassar. All the Kings of that realm have mostly descended from the royal house of Goa.

Mappa Doolang, afterwards King of Goa, ruled over this little kingdom at the time when Mr. Speelman came, and made war there. In 1667 and 1669 he, and also his then prime Minister Craing Banjoanjer,\* and the other Nobles, accepted the Treaties and swore to them.

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\* See Appendix.

## BOOK IV.

**T**HE kingdom of Bone extended, during the Peace of Bonaya, along the West-coast of the bay of Bone, from the river Tchenrana to the river Saleneeko, a distance of about 20 miles. On the landside it is bound by Soping, and La-mooroo, Maccassar, and Boole Boole.

This realm was of old free and independent. Its first King, according to History, having descended from Heaven, had no name: yet he was commonly called Matta Selompo-E, which signifies the all-seeing. He married a Princess from the village of Toro, situated near Bone; who was also descended from heaven. By this marriage they had one Son named Laoomassa, and five daughters, Pattarawanoa, Bolongtela, Tanresalogan, Tanreroonrong, and Wearatega, from whom all the following Kings have descended, and of whose posterity being born from royal Princesses, and therefore having rights to the crown, Aroo Palacca, the grand-mother of the present King of Goa, and her children, are the only Survivors.

This first King instituted the laws of the country which are observed to this day; and made a standard, which is called Worong-porong-E. He also appointed the seven\* electors under the name of Matoua Petoos.

After

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\* These electors or Matoua Petoos, called afterwards Aroo Petoos, consist of seven families or houses. Yet it has happened, that two, and some times even three of these Petoos have been of one family or house. The high



After having reigned 40 years, he appointed his son.

Laoomassa in his room, and ascended to Heaven or vanished with his wife.

This Laoomassa, on his demise, left no issue; but his sister Pattarawanopa married Aroo Palao-ca, and had a son, called Lasalewoo, also Carceng Relopa. This Prince, only three days old, Laoomassa appointed King, and resigned the Government to him,

Lasalewoo married one of his Nieces, descended from Matta Selompo-E; and had by her a daughter, who succeeded him in the empire. She was called

Barregao, married Aroo Kayoo, or Tanreba-lee, and had a son, whom she appointed King of Bone, four years previous to her death. That son was

Latanre Sookkre. He was the first who used the royal umbrella, which he had taken from the Lohonees, at the time he drove them out of Bone. He also married one of his Nieces, and begot a son, who succeeded him in the Empire and was called

Laooleo, also Bote-E. This King entered into a close friendship with the King of Goa, Tomas Bare-Sika-Kallonne, by which they agreed not to injure, but to assist, and support each other in e-

high charge devolves to women as well as to men, and all affairs of importance, concerning the Empire, must be decided by them. The election and dethroning of a King concern them in particular, also the making of war and peace.

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very safe. This agreement is sworn to on the royal sword Lateredonning, joined with the Soondang or state criss of Goa.

He assisted the Maccassars in the conquest of Lohoo, and shortly after was murdered by his own brother's son\*, leaving behind him two sons, and two daughters. His eldest son

Tanrerawa, alias Bonkang-E-heen succeeded to the Throne, and after his demise was called † Matenroa-re-gootchena.

He was a valiant, and generous Prince, and during his reign was obliged to make war against the Maccassars; in which he proved always triumphant, having had the whole Empire of Maccassar in hand at the time when the Maccassar King Tonce Batta lost his life in battle. Yet Bonkang-E, at their request, granted them a free passage to Goa.

This King made a treaty, called Lamoon-Patooa-re-Temoorong, with Soping and Wadjo, which to this day has occasioned much dispute. He left no children, in consequence of which succeeded to the Throne, his brother

Laettja, called after his demise Matenroa-re-addenena, that is to say, he who with sticks was beaten to death on his staircase.

This Laettja was of a wicked disposition, and therefore hated by the Boneers. He pursued the

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\* This is according to the notes of Speelman; but the manuscripts of Bone mention nothing of it.

† Matenroa-re-gootchena signifies descended into the pot. In the time of Paganism it was the custom of the country to burn the dead, and their ashes were collected into a pot, and hung up to a tree,

war

war against the Maccassars. But little was done on either side. They were reconciled to each other and made peace, but that peace did not last long.

The nobles of Bone caused this King to be beat to death with sticks by his nearest kindred, in order that no blood should issue from him. After which they elected for his successor Aroo Cayo, called

Lapatawa, and after his demise Matinroa-a-re-Battoa. He was a grandson of the Queen Barregao, and was married to Daceng Palepoona, daughter of the King Bote-E, by a Princess of Mampoo.

This King made war against the Maccassars, the reason of which was not known: yet it came not to a decisive battle, but terminated in a peace according to the old treaty. He died about 1590, leaving the Government to his only daughter Tanretooppoo; after her demise, she was called Matenroa-re-Sedeenreng. She married Latanreroa, Aroo Palacca. Her children are not known.

During this reign, the Boneers in 1606 were forced by the Maccassars to accept the Mahometan religion: after which they obtained peace again, according to the old treaty, but with some diminution of their former dignity. To that Queen after her death succeeded her husband

Latanreroa, who was dethroned after a short reign. In his room was chosen

: Tanrepala, who, after his demise, was called Matinroa-re-Tello. He was a son of the slain King Laettja. He sent the dethroned King into exile,

exile, and lived during his reign in a permanent peace with the Maccassars, cultivating a good friendship with them, with this difference in dignity however that the King of Bone went to visit the King of Goa, but the latter did not return the compliment.

He died at Tello in 1626, leaving behind him a son called Daceng Pabela; who should have been his successor. But as he had got that son from a woman of common origin, a short time before his death, he, with the approbation of the King of Goa, chose for his successor his sister's son.

Lamadaramma, who after the birth of his son Pacokoa, was called Oopoone Pacokoa, and after his demise, Matenroa-re-Bookaka. He was married to a Wadjoreese Princess of Temoorong, whose father was Matoua of Wadjo, in virtue of which Oopoone Pacokoa, in the time of Mr. Speelman, became King of that small Province. His son Pacokoa was born from this Princess.

This King reigned peaceably twelve years; and it is said of him, that he was ambitious, humorous, and a despiser of the nobles, not very courageous, and nevertheless troublesome.

He became particularly restless about promoting the Mahometan religion, not without the great displeasure of his Courtiers; amongst whom his mother was his greatest opposer. But she, not being able any longer to withstand her son's importunity, fled to Goa, to the King Rapapang-Batopna, adopted him for her son and heir, and made him a present of Paito.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding this, the King proceeded in his designs, and endeavoured by force of arms to bring Wadjo and Soping to his system. They applied for assistance to the Maccassars. An embassy was sent to Bone, but without effect. Recourse was then had to arms, and in 1640, the Maccassars marched into Bone and beat the Boneers completely three successive times; in consequence of which the King fled, and all the people of Bone submitted to the Maccassars, on condition of retaining their ancient Laws and Privileges, and receiving for their Regent the Boneese Prince Toballa, or Aroo Pérou Tanette, who ruled the Boneers in the name of the Maccassar King, whilst their own King Lamadaramma was banished to Siang.

Soon after, Daeeng Pabela, and Aroo Coon opposed the Maccassar Government. They were both Boneese Princes, and related to the exiled King. These two Princes raised men and attempted to set Bone at liberty; but they were miserably beaten by the Maccassars; who thereupon took away from them all privileges, and dignities; and in 1643 reduced all Bone to slavery, except Matipo; because it had not mixed in this rebellion.

The overthrow of Bone is said to have been occasioned by mismanagement; since before the great mortality all over Celebes, from 1636, to 1638, that country could furnish more than 70,000 men, capable of bearing arms, and even in the war of 1643, 50,000 men had acted, besides that at that time the Boneese understood the art of war better than the Maccassars.

Meanwhile, the slavery at first fell very hard on the Boneese, for which reason they longed ve-

ry much for an opportunity to set themselves free again, their hopes of which began to enliven, when in 1660 the Dutch conquered the fort Panekoka. At that time, they had already intended to unite themselves with the Dutch. But the sudden peace with the Maccassars prevented it. Soon after, however, being provoked by an order to cut off Panekoka from the main-land by a ditch, they altogether deserted the Maccassars, and going to their own country, elected Rajah Palacca, Daceng Pabela, and Toballa, together with Aroo Tonya, Aroo Maronwangee, Aroo Avo, &c. for their chiefs, and leaders, and took up arms in the hope of recovering their liberty; for which purpose they got assistance from Soping; so that their force was estimated to be exactly 50,000 men. This force they divided amongst their chiefs. Yet the Maccassars, supported by the Malays, and Wadjorees, beat the Boneers and Sopings several times in such a manner, that almost all their chiefs fled from the country in the best way they could. Aroo Cayo was taken prisoner, and all Soping put under bondage.

Afterwards Aroo Cayo was sent into exile to Sumbawa, and in 1669 released by Mr. Speelman. At the same time, the Boneese and Soping Princes arrived safe at Bouton, where they entered into a treaty with the King of that place to live and die together as common enemies to the Maccassars. They sent Aroo Apanna Ankee to the King of Ternate to inform him of it, who fully approved of their proceedings. Aroo Patosche, called otherwise Latomparena, one of the Soping chiefs, wrote a letter from Bouton to the Right Honorables at Batavia, in which he made

made himself known as chief of the emigrated Boneers, requesting the protection of the Honorable Company.

Upon this in 1663, a letter from the Right Honorables to Aroo Patoosche was given in charge to the Commissary Newland, on his voyage to Ternate; with orders that, if Aroo Patoosche should incline to, come to Batavia, he was on his return to take him there, which afterwards took place.

Aroo Patosche had sent his letter to the Right Honorables, unknown to any body; and therefore the other Boneest Princes were much astonished when Commissary Newland delivered the answer to them from Batavia; because Rajah Palacca had by that people been acknowledged as chief. Therefore they requested of the Commissary permission to go with him also, which the Commissary granted. The King of Bouton however opposed it.

Rajah Palacca then, together with Patoosche, sent Aroo Byle, to inform the Right Honorables of the fact, and in the same year departed with his family for Batavia, with an Amboinese Burgher, Laurence Vos, who had in his Shallop touched at Bouton. At the same time Dareng Pabela, and Aroo Marouwangee, with their families, went to Ternate.

In this manner Rajah Palacca resorted to Batavia. But in the interval he had served in the war of 1666 on the West-coast of Sumatra; after which he sailed in company with Admiral Speelman by Maccassar to Bouton; where they completely defeated the Maccassar army; and as they did not know what to do with the great num-

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ber of prisoners, they put 5000 of them on a certain Island; from which, after the departure of the Admiral, the greater part of them were taken off by the Boutons for money.

After this conquest, and after Admiral Speelman had put every thing in good order, he sailed with the Company's ships to Ternate, leaving a Captain Lieutenant Steyger, and Rajah Palacca with two ships at Bouton, and ordering the ships to go with the Boneers and Sopings, who had joined them, and force the rebellious Pantchiana to obedience, also to clear that abode from the robbers called Tiboore; which was completely executed.

When the Maccassars had got certain intelligence of the destruction of their fleet, they recalled the banished King of Bone-Lamadaramma, and restored to him his kingdom, and dignity; according to the terms of the old treaty without any exception.

Such uncommon goodness the Maccassars showed to this King from fear, lest the Boneers might otherwise elect Rajah Palacca for their King, and take his party.

Rajah Palacca on the other hand apprehensive that the King of Bone, on account of this uncommon goodness from the Maccassars, should favor their cause, sent from his own authority a considerable force of Boneers and Sopings with a view principally to allure their countrymen and regain the Empire.

The King of Bone himself joined afterwards that force, and too rashly endeavoured to injure the Maccassars, who, on the report of this, took up arms.



arms again, and beat the people of Bone altogether out of the country. They fled to Lo-hoo, which nation was then of our party.

Meanwhile Admiral Speelman arrived from Amboina at Bouton, where, after having arranged every thing necessary, he concluded a treaty with Bouton, and with the whole fleet set sail towards Maccassar. In this voyage Rajah Palacca was driven by stress of weather into the bay of Bone, where at first he got but few followers. But in consequence of the arrival of Captain Poolman, with thirty Europeans and two field-pieces, the concourse of followers not only increased very much, but also the Maccassar Regent withdrew from Bone. So that, after a few days stay, when his force had increased to 6000 men, Aroo Palacca marched on without impediment from Boole Boole, through the country of Bolecombe, and Bonhain, to near Laaya in the country of Torathea. There he found the pass shut up by a strong force, under the command of Careeng Lineques. He attempted to break through, and succeeded so far as to do much injury to the enemy. But as the junction with Admiral Speelman was of extreme importance, Rajah Palacca and Captain Poolman, after having ravaged the country through which they had penetrated, availed themselves of an opportunity, embarked with their troops in prows, on the 14th and 17th of August, and fortunately arrived before Gallisong, where the fleet then lay.

After this the United forces made war against the Maccassars, in which our party was so fortunate, that the people of Torathea and Poolemban, keeng surrendered to Rajah Palacca a strong bat-

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tery, which had been trusted to them by the Maccassars, and came over to us. This contributed much to the peace concluded at Bonaya on the 18th of November 1667. Our fleet went then to Fort Rotterdam, for a safe anchorage against the violence of the Westerly winds.

How this treaty of Bonaya was treacherously broken, in consequence of which a second war arose against the Maccassars, and how that war was finished by the conquest of all Maccassar, has been already mentioned under the head of that Empire.

In this state of affairs, the King of Bone Lamadaramina came back from Lohoo, and remained King of Bone by name; but he voluntarily resigned the entire administration of the army to Rajah Palacca, who, in company with Admiral Speelman, and several Princes of Maccassar, Bone, and Soping, departed for Batavia; where the Right Honorables presented him with the kingdom of Bonthain, to descend to his male issue, and with a gift of 200 rix dollars per month, and also assigned to him the free manor of Bonmalac for his residence.

Having returned to Maccassar, he reduced the inferior Allies of the Maccassars, that still remained obstinate, and first of all the province Lamooroo, situated farthest to the Eastward of Tanette, and adjacent to Soping, Mareo, and Bengo. The people of that province afterwards elected Rajah Palacca for their hereditary King; which the Right Honorables agreed to, and approved of by a solemn act, presenting him besides with a gold chain and medal, as an everlasting mark of honor.\*

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\* See Appendix.

He went then and entirely subdued the Wadjorces: with whom and Soping, he at that time entered into a certain alliance\* called Tellong Bootje. After this he brought the chief Kings into the fort, where, on the 23d December 1670, a treaty was concluded, and on the 10th January following signed, and sworn to.

Meanwhile, the hereditary Prince of Bone† Pacokoa married the sister of Rajah Palacca, from which marriage Lapataao descended.

In 1672, the King Lamadaramma, who still held his residence in Bone, made a voluntary resignation of his Empire, and dignity; after which the states of Aroo Petoos, without taking notice of the hereditary Prince, elected for King our Rajah Palacca, surnamed ‡ Toonee Sombaya, or the great, who after his demise, was called Matin-roa-re-Bontualac.

He was solemnly installed on the 3d November 1672, exactly at the same hour, that his above mentioned nephew Lapataao was born; whom he nominated for his successor.

In 1673-4, he, with the assistance of the Company, went to Mandhar, and though he did not subdue that nation entirely, he forced them to humble themselves; after which he brought the Princes of the seven rivers to the fort; where they concluded with the Company the treaty of the 10th October 1674, and swore to it. On this

\* About this alliance, and that which is called Lama-na Pattacca, see the head of Wadjo.

† The mother of Prince Pacokoa called Dasalang, was a daughter of Toale, the Maoua of Wadjo.

‡ To nee Sombaya means a King before whom all others must humble themselves.

occasion,

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occasion, Rajah Palacca left behind the Prince of Chiampalagee, probably with a design to keep these people for his slaves, and to employ them as the Maccassars had done in former times. He treated in the same manner the Prince of Letha, a small province situated within Toradchee, who, like the Mandhar people of Chiampalagee, had already resorted to and entered into an alliance with the Company.

In 1675, there was a great variance between the president Harthower and Rajah Palacca, who for that reason kept his residence within the country; from whence he sent a letter to the Right Honorables, requesting, among other things of little importance, that a free trade might be granted to the people of Bone; and to those of Ternate, and Bouton, without the interference of the Company, and without their being obliged to touch at Fort Rotterdam, conformably to the promise made to him by Admiral Speelman in the Maccassar war.

To adjust this as well as other matters, the Right Honorables sent as Commissary, the newly appointed Governor of Banda, Andrew Bogaart, who removed all differences by convincing Rajah Palacca, that the Boneers had engaged to abide respecting navigation and trade by the tenor of the Bonay's treaty, to which the Rajah acquiesced. In 1676, the President Harthower departed for Ternate as Governor.

In 1677, Rajah Palacca, with the consent of the Ministry here, made war against the Maccassars. The reasons which led to that measure, as well as the issue of the contest, are mentioned under the head of Maccassar.

About

About that time, Rajah Palacca grew very proud on account of the greatness and authority he had obtained all over Celebes. He kept all the Allies in awe, and became feared evn by the Company, when, after the conquest of Wadjo, he fortified Thinrana, a place within Bone, in order that it might, if necessary, serve him for a retreat.

Among his extravagancies, that of murdering his own brother-in-law Rajah Tamparang, or Aroo Bacque in 1681, was none of the least. That murder he committed from jealousy, because that Rajah was a firm friend and ally of the Company. The then Ministry made some attempts to save the unfortunate Prince, but it was too late. For when Commissioners had departed, in order to take him into their protection, they received intelligence, that he and his retinue had been already murdered by the soldiers of Rajah Palacca on the Island Saleman.

In 1686, Rajah Palacca sent a message to the President Hartsink, merely to let him know, that he intended to make war against the Toradcheens, because they had omitted to pay him their arrears of 2,050 Buffalows. The President had a mind to oppose the measure by profering his mediation between the parties; but he was afraid lest he should thereby only increase the breach, which had already become considerable between him and the Rajah; for which reason, as well as because the Toradcheens of Baroko did not belong to the Allies of the Company, he suffered the King to take his own way. It appears, however, that in 1688 the debt was still unpaid.

In

In 1687, Rajah Palacca married his nephew and successor Lapataao to the only daughter of the King of Goa, on condition, that the first born son from that marriage should succeed his grand father in the Empire of Goa. This pimping contrivance, says Governor Beerhick in his memoir, was one of the most cunning tricks, which the old Rajah Palacca could ever have invented; in order that, as he had lived himself in full glory, he might also provide for the helm of Government over the Celebes descending from him to the offsprings of his relations, both on the right, and on the left side of the Island.

This marriage became fruitful, according to the wish of the parties; and in consequence of the agreement, the eldest son Sapodale E. was educated in Goa.

In 1689, Rajah Palacca, without the knowledge of the President, sent a considerable force to Mandhar, in order to punish for a trifling offence the Maradia of Parapoutan, one of the seven rivers, an ally to the Company. Against this the Ministry protested, but the Rajah convinced them of the necessity of the measure in such a manner, that his conduct was approved of.

In 1690, the Right Honorables ordered the Ministry here to oppose moderately, and by protest, any infraction of the treaty by the Rajah of Bone, in case he should again undertake any thing against an ally or a subject; which they had very shortly after an opportunity of doing, when he, accompanied by the King of Goa and Tello, marched silently and well armed to Lamaboko, situated in Soping, on purpose to get the  
Regent

Regent of that place, either dead or alive into his hands, in order to take revenge on him for a certain injury which he pretended to have received from him.

In the month of June 1691, the Honorable Derik De Haas arrived here as Commissary, and did away all the dissatisfaction, which the conduct of the President Hartsink had given to the Rajah Palacca. He at the same time, adjusted several pretensions of the Allies, and subjects; and having convened all the Allies, asked them whether they had any grievances concerning the Bonay's treaty, or any other which they wished to make known to him? But every one of them declared separately, that there was nothing which they disliked, and that they fully acquiesced in every thing.

In 1694-5, the differences between the Company's Ministers, and Rajah Palacca had again risen to the greatest height in consequence of the Rajah's mismanagement in the affair of the King of Beema, the presumptive murderer of the Queen of Dampo. The Rajah on that account considered himself injured in his honor, and dignity; for which he removed into the interior of the country. He went so far, that being at Thinra-na Bone, he called before him the King of Goa, and the Prime Minister Bontosongo, and renewed with them the old treaty, entered into at the time of the King Bote-E; and resolved to take by force the King of Beema out of Fort Rotterdam, if not willingly surrendered by the Company's Ministers. But the indisposition of the Rajah, the death of the President Prins, the sending away of the Shabandhar Junius, to whom the Ra-  
jah

jah bore a mortal hatred, and the management of the Governor Van Thye, who, authorised by a wise prescript from the Right Honorables, pronounced sentence on the King of Beemta, all these prevented a further rupture, and satisfied Rajah Palacca, who became again well inclined to the Company, and kept his residence at Bon-tualac; where he died on the 6th of April 1696.

Laying on his death bed, he desired his successor to take revenge on To-E-Sang, Prince of Soping, for having deposed his sister the Queen of Soping Wesang-E, the divorced wife of himself Rajah Palacca, and for having intruded himself as Datoua of that province.

This Prince, and King of Bone, Rajah Palacca, notwithstanding all the abovementioned troubles and occasional mismanagement of affairs, has indisputably deserved the praise, that, by the awe in which he kept all Celebes, he firmly established the Company in their conquest.

He was interred within the town of Goa, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory, according to his desire, and to his agreement with the King and the Prime Minister of Goa, at the time, when, at Thinrana Bone, he secretly renewed the old treaty with them. He was succeeded by his nephew, the son of Pacokoas, called

Lapatsoo, and after his death Matinroa-re-nagawoolang. This Prince was married twice, first to Opoo Laroompo, a Royal Princess of Lohoo, by whom he had a daughter, called Batarra Todjo; the second time, he married the only daughter of the King of Goa, Mappa Doolangi  
by



by whom he had a daughter, called Janne-banna Dapaloſa, and three ſons, called Sappuale-E, alias Toaparappa, Lapadang Sadjate, alias Toapamara, and Lapanaoogee, alias Topawawoi, or Careeng Beſſei. Beſides the above mentioned children, this King left behind him five other ſons by different mothers of inferior birth, but legitimated by a marriage, according to the cuſtom of the country. They were called Lamapaſore or Aroo Apala, Lamazoszong-ré-Djalal Oodeén, Lawatta-E-ang, or Aroo Bacque, Lamaddée, and Latongang or Aroo Pandjeeſee. The fourth of theſe latter children was murdered in his youth on the Iſland Sakooal, laying off Sage-ree; of the remaining four mention will be made in the continuation of this work.

Shortly after Lapataoo had taken the reins of affairs, he marched, without informing the Governor, to Soping; where he executed the order of his uncle, expelled To-E-Sang, and ſeveral other Soping Princes, and reſtated the Queen Weſang-E in her kingdom.

Concerning this transaction, he afterwards vindicated himſelf to the entire ſatisfaction of the Right Honorables. After which they, in 1698, approved of his being elected, on condition, that he ſhould ſwear to, and confirm the Bonay's treaty formed to ſuit the preſent time, or altered into another act. This being done, he was called Ederées; and, on the 23d Auguſt of the ſame year, ſolemnly inſtalled, as the lawfully elected King of Bone, by Governor Van Thye.

This Governor guided the young King with great judgment; by which the differences alrea-

av risen very high between this court and that of Goa were adjusted, and a reconciliation accomplished.

Here I cannot omit to remark, in vindication of the above mentioned Governor, contrary to Valentine, that to this very day nothing has ever been ceded to the King of Bone, either from Maros or from the Northern provinces, and that the giving away half of Sodian was done on the favorable representation of the Honorable Commissary De Haas. That extent of ground, although pretty large, has but few inhabitants, and produces but seldom two lasts of rice to the Company. It was taken back after the war of 1710. The principal benefit in retaining it is that without it the nine states of the Macassar Empire are incomplete.

In the beginning of 1700, the murder committed by Aroo Teko on Daeeng Mabane happened; which together with its consequences is described at length by Valentine.

In 1708, this Prince, on the demise of the Queen, was elected King of Soping; which he accepted, but immediately after ordered the Sopings to receive, and acknowledge the Prince To-E-Sang for their King; which they did with much pleasure. After this, he departed again for Thinrana Bone.

In 1710, he made war against the Macassars, with the privity and assistance of the Company, because they remained obstinate in refusing to deliver his son Lapadang Aroo Palacca to the Company. He was severely wounded in a skirmish with the enemy, but was soon cured and finally

nally triumphed in the manner briefly mentioned under the head of the Maccassars, and enlarged upon with perfect truth by Valentine.

The just mentioned writer, however, has in treating of this committed a great fault, where he says, that there had been one King of Bone called Lateredonning, and another of Goa named Soodang, whereas these are the denominations of the sword of Bone, and of the criss of Goa, both of them imperial ornaments. It was on these that, at the time of the King of Bone Bote-E, the treaty with the Maccassars was sworn to, and the oath renewed by the old Rajah Palacca at Thirrana Bone.

In 1713, this Prince retired to Thirrana Bone, being displeased with his son Aroo Palacca, because he would not come to him, but remained in the fort under the protection of the Company. At Thirrana, his beloved Lomo, or Concubine, Rokea died, for which he was so much afflicted that he resolved to resign the Government, and to go to Mecca. This was prevented by the persuasions of the several Kings, who had come to condole with him, amongst whom was the King of Goa, and also the aged Prime Minister Bonto-Songo.

At this time he renewed with the King of Goa the old alliance between Bone and Goa, which had been broken by the war in 1710. By this he gave some apprehension of troubles to the Company; the more so, because shortly after he made war against the Toradcheens without the knowledge of the Company, and deposed in the same manner the Matoua of Wadjo, appointing another in his room.

In

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In 1714, on the 13th September, being very ill with a burning fever, he returned from Thinrana to Bontualac; where he died suddenly on the 17th following, at two o'clock in the morning. Thus the Company got rid of a dangerous King, and troublesome person.

On the notification of his death, given by a Committee of Boneese Grandees, the Governor and Council were informed, that the deceased King, when still at Thinrana, had with the consent of the Aroo Petoos or seven states, together with that of all the Boneese Nobles, nominated for his successor his eldest daughter

Battarra Todja, or Aroo Temoorang, called after her demise, Matinroa-re Tippooloo-E. On the day following, after the late King had been interred at Thinrana, she was brought with great pomp to the large house there, called Lantimoodjong, and publicly proclaimed Queen of Bone. But in 1715, on the 13th of August, she resigned her Empire and dignity to her half brother, the recently elected King of Soping,

Lapadang Sadjate, alias Toapawara, Aroo Palacca, called after his death Matinroa-re Beoqla.

His sister, known, after her resignation of the Empire, by the Title of Datoua-re-Tchitta, followed the Court to Bontualac in company with her husband Aroo Djale-Eeng. When at Bontualac, an affair happened, on the 19th of October 1719, which was the original cause of many disasters that in process of time befel Bone. The King had given his youngest Son to Datoua-re-Tchitta to be educated by her. While at her house, the child was seized with a severe illness, which she concealed from the King, until all hopes

hopes of recovery were gone ; so that when the father came to his sister's house to see his son, he found him dead, and being much amazed asked his sister, why she had not earlier informed him of the state of the child. Making then from despair a lamentable cry, he was taken hold of by Aroo Djale-Eeng, who called aloud : " Amok, Amok ! the King will kill himself " ! But the King having disengaged himself, said to the bystanders, " look, here is my criss ; I have no intention to make Amok ; " and giving his criss to one of his trusty people, returned to his house.

This occurrence gave much occasion to rumors among the people ; and the King, not thinking very favorably of it, sent some days afterwards to demand his criss from Aroo Djale-Eeng, and to ask his sister, whether she bore any part in the plot of her husband ? Upon which she merely replied that she was a subject of Bone, and begged her husband might not be injured, because he had not sinned ; adding that now she first experienced, that the imprecation of parents was not made in vain : " for," said she, " my father, on nominating me his successor, declared that he, who should put the crown on the head of Lapadang, which I have done with so much affection, should be cursed." But the King's anger being still more provoked by these upbraidings, he caused Datoua Tchitta, and her husband to be plundered, and declared all their hereditary estates to be forfeited. She was also deprived of the Regentship of Lahoo ; and he sent them both to Bone, which turned to his own fall and ruin.

These measures of the King were all executed without

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without form of process, and therefore detested by all the grandees : who being moved with compassion for the Princess, resolved the overthrow of the King. The result was that he having, shortly after that event, departed for Thinrana Bone, was not only, on the 20th January 1720, finally deposed, but also with his wife's father the Pon-gawa put into prison. After this, the Boneera restored the Government of the Empire to Datoua-re-Tchitta, which she immediately resigned to her eldest half brother, the dethroned King of Goa.

Sappuale-E, alias Toaparappoo, called at that time Madandrang, also\* Daceng Bonto, and after his demise Matinroa-re-Samboupo. He was not installed till the 8th of October in the same year, by which time his brother, the dethroned King, had already fled from his prison, and on the 15th following arrived with more than 800 men in Compong Baroo under the fort, and requested the protection of the Company. The answer he received was that endeavours would be made to bring about a reconciliation between him, and his brother the King of Bone.

The new elected King, after the flight of the other, hastened hither so much, that with his whole family he arrived at Bontualac on the 18th of the same month, of which on the 20th following he gave information by a committee. After which, these two brothers, through the influence of Governor Sipman, were completely reconciled to each other on the 13th of January 1721.

\* Daceng Bonto, after having been dethroned for the second time, went to the King of Goa, from whom he obtained the title of Careeng Anamontchong. It is said that he died of poison, which his sister, or rather her husband had prepared for him. Meanwhile

Meanwhile, the Boneers very soon took a dislike to that King, because he suffered himself to be governed by his favorites, who had before made him abandon the seat of Goa; and because nothing was done at his court, but playing, fishing, hunting, &c. This caused Arbo Palacca to withdraw himself to Rapan, to which place several Boneese nobles followed him. At the same time, the King's brother, Aroo Mampô, went to Bone, where, in the latter end of 1721, he learned that all designed people had given information, that he, Aroo Mampô, wished to dethrone his King. Upon this, in April 1723, he came down with 3,000 men, on purpose to request satisfaction of the King, his brother, on his accusers. But this step so much terrified the King, that he fled from Bontualac to Compong Baroo on the 29th of the same month, and immediately requested the protection of the Company; which was promised him. But the Queen, who had remained at Bontualac, prevailed so much upon the states, and upon the King of Goa, that on the next day the fugitive King returned to Bontualac. On his arrival there, the King of Goa, being present, drove all the Boneers from the house, saying: "away, away, Boneers! let the Maccassars come up. I shall protect the King as long as one man remains faithful to him." Upon this all the Boneers, except the King's brother, being panic struck, renewed their oath of allegiance to the King of Bone. After the Boneers, however, had recovered from the fear, which the words of the King of Goa had occasioned, the hidden fire broke out into a bright flame, so much so that in January of the following year 1724, that King

was finally dethroned, and in his room was elected his youngest brother

Topawawoi, or Aroo Mampo, afterwards called\* Careeng Bessai. This Prince got no name after his demise. He did not continue long in that high station. On the 13th of June, four days only after his installation at Thinrana, he was hurled from his throne, because he had, said the Boneers, mounted it by force. They immediately elected in his room, for the third time, Queen

Batara Todja, after her demise called Matin-roa-re-Tippooloo-E, who, at the same time, became Queen of Lohoo, and soon after, by causing her brother Lapadang Sadjate to be killed, also Queen of Soping. Her husband Aroo Djale-Eeng was immediately appointed joint Regent of the Empire; but he died in 1725. After the demise of her husband, this Princess, in 1726, for the fourth time, entered into marriage with Aroo Cayo, a son of the famous exile Aroo Teko. He also was, very shortly after his marriage, appointed Regent of the Empire.

This marriage very soon produced ill consequences. For the Prince, not being very favorably disposed towards the Dutch, felt himself hurt on account of a certain tumult, which, in October of the same year, had arisen in Campong

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\* Careeng Bessai. This title was given to him by the King of Goa, to whom he had fled after he was dethroned. He died at Goa, some years afterwards. His son, the present Aroo Mampo, is a brave and valiant Prince, and greatly esteemed by the Company, as well as by the King of Bone.

Bogesa



Bogees. He then gave way to his revenge, and first secretly attempted to sound the Maccassars, and to ascertain whether they were inclined to assist him. Finding them unwilling, he turned himself to the Boneese Princes, among whom were the sons of Lapataoo by mothers of inferior birth. But these also peremptorily refused their assistance. Seeing no chance of undertaking any thing against the Company, he turned his rage against the above mentioned Princes, one of whom was the second Pongawa, or field-marshal. This Prince was unjustly accused of adultery with the daughter of the Madanrang, or first field-marshal; and being pursued on that account, he, by the advice of the Queen herself, retired to Siang. After he had been there for a short time, all his arms were demanded from him, by order of the Queen. Wherefore he, and his brothers, went to Soping to his half brother, the King Lapadang Sadjate. The Queen, being informed of this, thought that the King of Soping, with the assistance of those Princes, might very likely endeavour to turn her out of the Empire, and to make himself King of Bone again. She therefore prepared herself for a war against Soping. As soon as Lapadang Sadjate heard of her dispositions, he advised his brothers to go to Bouton, and leaving that place by the first opportunity of the approaching East-monsoon, to resort to Fort Rotterdam, and seek the protection of the Company, which, he said, he also intended to do.

According to this agreement, the four brothers departed for Bouton; and King Lapadang went first to Thinrana Bone; which made him more suspected by the Queen, who immediately caused

him to be persecuted. He fled by land to Tanette, in order to put himself under the protection of the Company ; but he and his whole family were over-taken, and apprehended by the Boneers according to the orders of the Queen. After this, they were sent to Toradja, and in the village of Wiloolang, not far from Lohoo, murdered in a most cruel manner, and buried together in a common hole.

When the brothers at Bouton heard of this violent act, they requested protection from the King of Bouton, who granted it to them ; in consequence of which they were demanded in vain by the Queen, who had sent them a string of silk. The eldest brother Argo Apala left Bouton, and went to sea. He afterwards landed at Malacca, and after a stay of some years, on his return hither, died on the Island of Lubook or Bahiang, where he was buried.

Respecting the murdered King Lapadang Sadjat, and his children, something remarkable happened in the time of Governor Smout. Two persons appeared here at the fort, pretending to be the sons of that King, and calling themselves Ande Ande and Mappa Sonre ; and they were at first acknowledged as such, not only by several Boneers, but also by their father's brother, the present King of Bone. They related that their father and brothers were still alive, and kept their residence on the hills of Mandhar. Although their story appeared to be believed, particularly by the Governor, it proved shortly afterwards to be a mere imposition by two common men of Adche Tamparang or Sedeenreng, who having made

made themselves beloved among the Toradacheens, were incited by them to give themselves out for the sons of the above said King, and taught what to say, and to do.

The youngest of the two still contrived for some time to maintain himself at Siang as the son of the King; he was however afterwards obliged to fly; and the eldest was sold as a slave to an European.

After the above mentioned murder of the King of Soping had been perpetrated, the Queen, being displeased with Governor Gohira, departed for Thirana Bone, her usual retreat. There she was proclaimed Queen of Soping and remained till her election and marriage were approved of by the Right Honorables. Having received that approbation, she and her consort accepted, and swore to the treaties.

By this, the Regent Agoa Cayo imagined, that he was installed King: and shortly after, he designed to supplant his Queen, and to take to him again his beloved but abandoned wife, Careeng Bontomadchene. But the plot was discovered, in October 1728, and he was in consequence immediately declared unworthy of being Regent any longer. It was resolved, at the same time, that he should lose his life; so that he was obliged to fly in the night to Tello, where he obtained protection. He afterwards engaged himself with Careeng Bontolancas, but came to his end during the disturbance caused by that rebel.

In 1739, the three sons of Lapataoa, of whom mention has been made above, arrived from Bouton, and put themselves under the protection  
of

of the Company; and resided in Campong Baroo.

Meanwhile, the Queen dissatisfied with the Company, because they had taken from her the province of Bonthain, remained still at Thinraña Bone; where the Madanrang, or first field-marshal, and the first Tomarilalang, or privy counsellor, directed every thing according to their own pleasure, in the same manner as the Prime Minister did at Bontualac. It is more than probable, that they sided with Aroo Seenkang, and the rebel Bontolancas, the enemies of their country, who arrived at that time; by which the way was paved for the total ruin of the Boneese Empire: the commencement and progress of which I shall describe as briefly as possible.

Aroo Seenkang, a discontented Prince of Wadjo, had with his Captain Lawt, or sea Captain Touassa, for some years become a pirate; and conquered Passeér, and Cootée, plundered Tontole Bwool; and even attacked the Company's vessels. In 1735-6, they came off Mamdhar, and Cajelee, there to exercise their rapacity, and were fruitlessly attacked by our cruisers. In the beginning of 1736, they came in sight of this fort, ravaged all the Company's Islands opposite, and put fire to all the houses on them. Upon this, the then Ministers immediately fitted out some vessels, which, being well commanded, were fully able to overpower the enemy. They came to action with them, which lasted till the evening. During the night the enemy eluded the vigilance of our little fleet, and escaped with very little damage by steering to Wadjo. This was

was the spring of all succeeding mischief to the realm of Bone, because the Queen, by the earnest recommendation of the Company's Ministers, demanded the robbers from Wadjo. Not very long before, She had of herself persecuted Bontolancas, merely because he had become an enemy to the Company, saying to her grandees: "the Company's enemies are also the enemies of Bone."

The Wadjorees refused to deliver up Aroo Seenkang; wherefore Bone made war against them, which was attended immediately with unfortunate consequences, and in the end proved still more fatal; because the field-marshal and privy counsellor sided with the enemy.

The Queen perceiving, although too late, that all was not right, invited the brothers of the Princes, who had come from Bouton, and had put themselves under the protection of the Company; and gave to the Pongawa, the eldest of the three, the command of her army, with the title of Datoua Paringang.

But Aroo Seenkang having before been appointed Matoua of Wadjo, affairs had in consequence already taken such a bad turn, that there was no remedy; which caused our Captain of the mines, Steynmets, who had been sent to the assistance of the Queen, to leave Bone, and return hither.

The Queen seeing that every thing took a wrong course, sent, in June 1737, the Prince Pongawa to this fort, with full power to represent her person. On this occasion, she presented him, as a mark of his dignity, with a gold chain and.

and medal, which the Right Honorable had given to the old Rajah Palacca. But pressed by necessity, she made shortly after peace with Wadjo.

Just before, or in the month of May, the Company's Ministers, on the request of the grandees of Soping, had permitted Aroo Taneete, called the Mad Duke, to go to Soping, for the purpose of protecting that country against the Wadjorees. This Prince troubled himself very little with the Wadjorees, but he first caused the Sopings to dethrone the Queen, and to elect him for their Datona or King, and then importuned the Boniers so long, that they made him King of Bone also. The Wadjorees, however, nominated a Queen in opposition to him, by name Dahgreya, an infant daughter of the present Aroo Palacca.

The Mad Duke, who was otherwise a soldier famous for his courage, instead of freeing Bone and Soping, from the predominant power of the Wadjorees, and restoring these Kingdoms to their former lustre, came down to this fort, and made his elevation known to the Ministers of the Company. But this, contrary to his expectation, was not accepted as a communication, because it was not made by the grandees, according to usage. He kept however his residence at Bon-tualac till February 1738, when learning with certainty that the Queen had fled from Bone and was on her way to come hither, he, on the 5th of the same month, secretly fled from Bon-tualac to Taneete, making room for the Queen, who, on the 21st following, arrived safe, and very prudently pardoned all the grandees. She moreover nominated

minated the Prince Bongawa, or Datoua Baringan, vice King or Regent, and successor to Bone and Soping, leaving from that time the management of affairs entirely into his hands, and retaining to herself the direction over the women only. This prudent conduct of the Queen improved much the interest of the company, which at that time had by no means an advantageous prospect. In the mean time, the kingdom of Bone, being abandoned, became very much disquieted. Aroo Taneete, after his flight, went first to Lohoo, and then marched with some force into Bone and furiously attacked the Wadjorees; but they totally beat him, and demanded from him the payment of the expences of the war, for which he was obliged to employ all the gold, and silver of the Queen, and all the state ornaments of Bone kept at Thinrana, and further to abandon the Empire, which at that time was left to the discretion of the Wadjorees, who acknowledged for their Queen the before mentioned Princess Dangreya, as they had accepted the Rebel Bontolanças as King of Goa. In this manner they, as three united powers, declared themselves enemies to the company.

In April 1739, they came down, took possession of Goa, and summoned fort Rotterdam. But with what success is noticed already under the head of Maccassar.

After the company was saved, re-established, and again confirmed in its Government, Bone was also to be restored. For that purpose the Company's forces, strengthened with all the well inclined Allies, under the high command of the Admiral and field-marshal Smout, on the 3d December 1740, went with the young King by

sea to Wadjo, where they fought the enemy two successive times, and remained victors. In consequence of this affairs stood so favorably, that we had nothing else to do, but to march to Tosso-ra, the capital town of Wadjo, in order to be complete masters of the whole province.

Why it was not done, cannot well be perceived. This only is certain, that Bone was only half saved, and the Wadjorees, who did not like to renew the treaty with the Company, were left to rove about according to their own pleasure.

In April 1741, Admiral Smout with the Company's combined forces returned to the fort, where he soon was made sensible of the just displeasure of the Queen, who, with the young King and grandees, retrieved her affairs in the best way she could; whilst the differences between Wadjo, and the Company and Bone, are not to this day adjusted.

Under pretence of preserving the general tranquillity, the Queen was prevented from advancing her right, and lawful claim on Aroo Tance-te or the Mad Duke; and to augment her grief still more, the power of vassalage over the province of Bonthain, which the Right Honorables had given to that Princess, as well as to her ancestors, by way of acknowledgement for former services, was withheld from her.

In 1749, in the month of April, after a stay of eleven years at Bontualac, she departed for Thin-rana Bone, signifying however to the then Governor Loten, her sincere faithfulness to the Company, and her esteem for the Governor's person. There on the 2d of November in the same year,  
that



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that Princess died. In her room was elected the  
Regent or young King, her half brother

Lamaszozong, under the surname of Abdul  
Radschab Djalal Oodeen.

2  
BOOK V.

## BOOK V.

**T**HE kingdom of Soping, of ancient times, one of the most powerful Empires in Celebes, lays in the centre of the country, extending from the Western-shore upon, and along mountains, and Valleys, to the West-shore of the Bay of Bone. To the North, it has its great Lake or Tamparang Labaya. To the South it borders on Lamooroo; which in ancient times belonged to Soping, together with many other very fine provinces or petty kingdoms, all of which, from time to time, have either become independent or submitted to Bone.

Soping produces nothing else than Paddy. After the flight of Rajah Palacca, in 1661, it became subject to the Maccassars, and in 1667, it was again made independent by the Company.

The Kings of that realm have been of old by intermarriage always related to Bone. The first King was called

Latama-many. Of him, the Sopings say, that he was descended from Heaven. To him succeeded his son Laman-ra-thina, who was followed by his son

Laballa. After him came his daughter Wate-ke Wanouang; and after her, her son Lakaralla; who was followed by his son Lapawee Seang; who was succeeded by his son Sonrompalee-E, after whom came his son Lawanoosa. Of him records say, that he was very virtuous, and that in his time the country was very fertile. To him succeeded his son

Lande-E. This King was conquered by the Maccassar King Tonce Palanga; but afterwards he



## BOOK V.

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he became an ally to the Maccassara. After his death reigned his son

Lasekatty; from whom Rajah Palacca derived his origin, as descended from Soping. After him came to the throne his younger brother

Lamatasso, called by Mr. Speelman Lapato-  
lange. He was succeeded by his grand-son

Beo-E. This prince was the first Mahometan King. He was succeeded by a son of his sister Witinrigella, which Witinrigella Mr. Speelman reckons also among the Kings of Soping. He was called

Labooa. Mr. Speelman calls him Latanriba. After his demise he received the name of Mantinroa-re-Datouna. During the reign, and life of that King, not only Bone in 1643, but eighteen years afterwards Soping also became subject to the Maccassara. He was then sent into exile, and roved about until the arrival of Mr. Speelman, and the conquest of Maccassar, when he was restored to his ruined kingdom, To him succeeded his daughter\* Wesang-E. called after her demise Matinroa-re-Madallo. She was married to Rajah Palacca; but shortly after separated from him. Her brother To-E-Sang, in the latter end of Rajah Palacca's life, rose against

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\* Wesang-E. This is according to the records of Soping and Bone. But I have found elsewhere, that her brother To-E-Sang immediately succeeded his father; and that after the demise of Rajah Palacca, he caused an uproar in the time of the King of Bone Lapataoo; who upon this attacked him, and having made him prisoner, placed the sister in his room, after whose demise, Lapataoo again restored him.

her

her, and dethroned her, causing himself to be proclaimed Datoua, or King of Soping. Rajah Palacca, on learning this, prepared himself to resign state Wesang-E. But he got sick and died. He had however, on his dying bed, most earnestly recommended this business to his successor Lapataoo, who afterwards very promptly executed it. After her demise, the Sopings elected for their ruler the King of Bone Lapataoo. This Prince accepted the throne, but after having taken possession of the realm, he asked the Sopings, whether they were fully prepared to obey his orders? which being answered in the affirmative, he desired the grandees, that they would release him from the burden of the Empire, and accept for their King the lawful hereditary Prince

To-E-Sang. This the Sopings agreed to with pleasure; and Lapataoo immediately took his departure for Bone. After the demise of To-E-Sang, the Sopings for the second time elected

Lapataoo. The adventures of his life are stated under the head of Bone. He ruled Soping till his death; when that nation came down to this fort, and requested the Company permission to elect for their Datoua,

Lapadang Sadjate, who, at that time, being under the protection of the Company, kept his residence near the fort. The request was granted by the Company's Ministers; so that in the following year after his election, that Prince departed for Soping. On his arrival there the kingdom of Bone was also given to him. The History of his life is written under the head of Bone. After he was dethroned, the Sopings elected for their King his successor to the Empire of Bone,

Sappualc-E,

Sappuale-E, who was dethroned by Bone and Soping, after a reign of exactly four years. The grandees of that country elected then for the second time Lapadang Sadjate, who was persecuted by his sister, in 1727, and murdered with his whole family. After this that nation elected for their Queen the same Princess

Batara Todjo, who ruled the realm till 1737, when the Wadjorees subdued her and her land; on account of which the Sopings elected for their Datoua, or King

Laondang, Aroo Tancete, surnamed the Mad Duke, who after his demise was called Matinroa-re-moosoon. In his time, Soping was very much harrassed by war. But that nation nevertheless made no other election until his death; when, for the second time, they elected the Queen of Bone

Batara Todjo. After the demise of that Queen this realm fell to her brother and heir Djallal Oodeen. But, on mounting the throne of Bone, he resigned Soping to his brother

Latongang, Aroo Pandjee; who, in 1758, was dethroned by the grandees of that country; who elected in his room the King of Bone

Abdul Radshab Djallal Oodeen, called by the Sopings Datoua-re-Thitta. This Prince accepted the Empire on condition, that he might rule them by means of a Vice King; for which purpose he appointed his son in law, Mappa Aroo Patoodche. This the Sopings agreed to, and accepted the appointed Viceroy.

Of this deposition and election, the grandees of Soping informed me in a solemn manner as  
Governor

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Governor of this place, and at the same time sent an Embassy to Batavia to request the approbation of the Right Honorables.

The remaining part of the history of several of these Kings, is given under the head of Bone.

## BOOK VI.

**T**HE kingdom of Lohoo, before the Maccassars and Boneers had encreased in power, was the most powerfull, and the largest Empire of all Celebes.

Under the head of Maccassar is mentioned in what manner that Empire has decreased, and how, with the assistance of Bone, it was conquered by Tonya Palanga.

At present, their jurisdiction extends from Pelope, the chief town, or village of that province, along the West-shore from the Bay to Larompo; being about twenty miles. On the opposite side it extends over the whole South-east part, inland between the Bay, and the Eastern-shore of Celebes, as far as the Alphoors will permit them. To the West, it borders on Wadjo, and to the North on Torathea.

The country is very fertile in Paddy and Sago; and produces very good iron. Gold also is found in its rivers.

The names of their ancient Kings do not appear any where. The first King who is mentioned by the Company's records, was with the Maccassars, whom he assisted, conquered at Bouton in 1666, when he submitted completely to the Company, promising to enter into a written treaty with them. This King is elsewhere called Careeng Haroo; he was at that time but fifteen years old, and under the guardianship of his Chenning or Prime Minister, who shortly after served for some time with us against the Maccassars, and injured that enemy as much as possible. But in August 1668, he ran over to Tello, without any imaginable reason.

The King himself was sent to Batavia, whence he fled to Bantam, taking with him the son of Montemarano, the Macassar field-marshal at Bouton. After a stay of three years, they departed from Bantam, and wandered about in Java and elsewhere, and at last returned to Macassar.

Meanwhile a certain Daceng Lolo administered the kingdom of Lohoo. He entered into a solemn alliance with Bone, and elected for Datoua

Lama Pamadang, or Daceng Maazounou, an elder son of the deceased King, by the sister of him Daceng Lolo, thus of no inferior birth to the fugitive King. This Lama Pamadang created the sons of Daceng Lolo Chennings, or Prime Ministers. That nation adhered strictly to the Company, but more especially to Bone; and in the war against Wadjo, and other nations, acted with us as an ally. At present, they are more or less subject to Bone; as they cannot undertake any thing of importance, without the concurrence of that court. Whether this has its rise from the just now mentioned alliance, or whether it is because the Queen of Bone, Batara Todjo, was the Datoua, or Queen of Soping also, is not exactly known.

The present Datoua is the Queen of Taneete, Tanrelee, called also A-Isa; who in 1759, was for the second time elected to that dignity; having before that, in 1756, been obliged to fly out of that kingdom to her brother in Taneete.



## BOOK VII.

**T**ANEETE, or Aga-nonsha, signifies a bridge, or a passing over. It lays half way between Fort Rotterdam, and the Bay of Soriana, has for its neighbours, to the East the province Mario-re-wawa, to the North Barroo, to the South Sageree, and to the West is bounded by the sea.

This province was formerly united in close friendship with the Maccassars; but it was conquered in the reign of Tooma-Pare-Sika-kallona. They kept at first their independence, and were acknowledged as Allies of Maccassar, whose Kings gradually usurped more and more authority over that province, till at length it was actually considered as subject to Maccassar, and was so described in the Maccassar conference of September 1668.

This province is likewise very fertile in paddy, affords good sport in hunting wild hogs and deer, and in the mountains produces some gold.

In the time of Mr. Speelman, King Ebrahim, then between fifty and sixty years of age, ruled over that province. He came over to the Company, during the peace of Bonaya; and on his accepting, and swearing to the treaty, was acknowledged as an ally. During the second war, he remained a faithful adherent to the Company's interest.

His son and heir was Daeeng Matoolang. This and the other following Princes, whose names and transactions do not appear, seem to have all constantly adhered to the alliance with the Company. From 1735 to 1747 appears, as ruler of this province,

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Joseph

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Joseph Facharooden, surnamed the Mad Duke, called after his demise *Matinroa-re moonooona*. He is known at Java, where he served the Company as a military man. In the month of July 1747, he was killed in a skirmish with his neighbours of Nepo, leaving the province to his sister

Tanrelelee, called also A-Isa. At that time this province was in the utmost distress, so much so that, without the effectual aid of the Company, it would certainly have been entirely laid waste. For this reason, that Princess put herself under the protection of the Company, and voluntarily abdicated, and made over to them her lands. But when the danger was over, she soon forgot her engagement. She however remained a faithful adherent to the Company, probably because, by doing so, she kept safe from the hatred of the King of Bone. This must be said in her praise, however, that with the utmost readiness she sent some forces to Java, to assist the Company.

In the month of December 1758, she departed for Lohoo; and not long after her arrival there, was for the second time elected Queen of that realm. Before her departure, she had reconciled herself with the King of Bone, conveying the administration of the province of Tancete to the Company's Ministers, and to the King of Bone.

## BOOK VIII.

**M**ANDHAR, situated on the borders of the sea, is bounded on the North by Cajelee. Beroang is its most Southerly part. On the East, it is bounded by the desolate mountains, which serve that nation as a safe retreat, in case a too powerful enemy invades their country. They leave, in such an extremity, the villages on the sea side empty, and a prey to their enemies.

The Government of that country consisted in former times of ten states, all of whom are allied, and three voluntarily gave themselves up to the Company, viz. Mapilly, Bouco, and Chiampalagee. The latter is said to be a Toradcheese village, under Bellanipa. After the peace of 1674, it was made a present of to Rajah Palacca to rule it at his will and pleasure.

These abovementioned three states however, on the 6th of August 1669, entered into a treaty with Mr. Speelman, but it was not signed, nor sworn to.

The first two of the three have also become parties to the treaty of the 10th October 1674, which they have signed and sworn to. Yet all three are kept in slavery by the King of Bone; to whom they must pay a contribution, which was probably ordered by Rajah Palacca, because, under the dominion of the Maccassars, they were not reckoned among the Palily or free people, but amongst the Hambas, or slaves; and possibly because, in the rebellion after the conclusion of the treaty, they did not prove faithful.

The other seven states are generally called the provinces of the seven rivers: namely Bellanipa,

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pa, Madchena, Biroang, Pamboang, Thinrana, Tampalang, and Mamadchee.

These nations, as well as the just mentioned other three states, were formerly subjected to the Maccassars, and forced by the right of conquest to contribute annually some shields, as a mark of their vassalage. They were even obliged, during some years, to suffer themselves to be ruled by a great Governor, in the name of the Maccassars, whom, in 1658, they rejected still remaining faithful to the Maccassars, and assisting them in their wars. At Bouton the Maradias of Madchene and Thinrana, together with 7 or 800 men, fell into our hands. After this they continued to act against us with a small force in the Maccassar war.

On entering into the Bonay's treaty, the Maccassars renounced all dominion over the Mandharees. The Princes of the country were then summoned several times to appear and treat with the company; but except the chief of Bellanipa, they all remained obstinate in refusing it; having by the mischievous Croncong been brought into the idea, that our assuring them of the Maccassars having renounced their dominion over them was but an invention.

For this reason the Company, and Bone made war against them; but they were not conquered; for they fled into the mountains. Yet it seems that they repented when Rajah Pallacca, in the beginning of 1674, had summoned all the allies, and was ready to march into their country with 30,000 men; for all the nine states then came down to humble themselves, and, on the 10th October 1674, they signed, and swore to the treaty.

This

## BOOK VIII.

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This treaty, the Princes of the seven rivers signed again and swore to, according to the custom of the land, when, in 1757, they were summoned by Bone to appear, in order to adjust the differences they had with each other.

Here I cannot omit to mention, that at that time they declared that they thought their ancestors had contracted not with the Company, but with the Rajah Palacca.

After this, they again quarrelled with each other, and pretended it was for that reason they had sent no Ambassadors to the Right Honorables, to request their approbation of the renewal of the treaties. Those contentions, though for the second time prevented by the Company, soon broke out again. The Mandharees are, like many other nations in Celebes, an unsteady people, who can be brought to their duty no otherwise than by force. They have never troubled themselves very much about treaties, much less about those articles, which bind them to navigate with passes from the Company, and prohibit their admitting any vessels without a similar pass. They deserve, notwithstanding this, to be held in some esteem, because they have shewn in other cases, not only their respect for the Company, and for Bone, but also their readiness in assisting the Company in the last war.

## BOOK IX.

## BOOK IX.

**T**OADJO, according to the pronounciation of the Maccassars, or Wadjo, according to that of the Boneers, is situated Northward of the river of Thirrana Bone, which separates that country from the kingdom of Bone. From this it extends to Pancke, which is a separate principality under Wadjo, bordering on Cottenga; in the rear of this and of Keera, it extends still more to the North, as far as Larompo or Lohoo. To the West, it runs towards the limits of Adja Tamparang or Sedeenrang; and is ruled by forty Princes, or Regents; among whom women are admitted.

All these Princes, or Regents are obliged to reside within Wadjo. They may, however, repair to their own countries, to settle their necessary affairs, provided after this they return to their stations.

Under Wadjo are included several independent Princes as allies; who exercise an absolute authority over their villages. Yet they have no vote in the state of Wadjo itself; so that in making war or peace, they must submit to the resolutions of the forty.

These forty Princes are divided into three parties, which are called Sato Tanring, Binting Pola, and Toua, and have each a chief Banner, under which they resort, viz. Patolaya for the first, Pila-E for the second, and Chiakonridree for the latter party. From each of these three parties, two chiefs are elected, one for the war, called Patara, and the other for policy, called Padenrang. They have for their President the Matoua, or elected King, who is not comprehended among the three parties.

These

These seven Princes, among whom no woman is admitted, compose a Board, where in the name of Wadjo, or forty, they exercise the supreme authority over all affairs, except the making of war or peace, about which the great council must assemble, and in which the Matoua, if necessary, has two votes.

On the death of this eminent chief, the Matoua, the three parties, or thirty nine votes are summoned, who out of their body elect another Matoua, without regarding the family of the late one. But the vacant Regentships are supplied by election from the nearest kindred of the predecessor, provided they are not the offsprings of a mother in a state of slavery.

At the increase of the Maccassar power, during the reign of King Tonee Palanga, these nations had also their share of oppression, but they retained their liberty for one hundred carge of gold, and were accepted as allies of the Maccassars. These however imposed them some obligations, as a mark of superiority over them, which, after the death of Palanga, the Wadjorees did no longer regard, but engaged themselves with the King of Bone Bonkang-E, against whom, at that time, the Maccassars had unjustly made war, and entered with that Prince, and with the people of Soping into a treaty, called Lamoon-Patooa-re-Timoorong, under the following conditions:

" Bonkang-E releases Wadjo from the slavery  
" of the Maccassars,

" Thirana is to remain in common, and none  
" of the three contracting parties shall furnish  
" himself there.

L.

" Bone

" Bone presents to Soping the village Goa Goa, " and to Wadjo the village Baringan both with " their dependencies."

Hereupon, an offensive, and defensive league was concluded, and sworn to between them at the village Timoorong.

In 1606, when Bone accepted the Mahometan religion, these nations were also forced to submit to it. They obtained then from the introducer of that erroneous faith, the Prime Minister of Goa, Re-agamaeena, a confirmation of the old treaty, they had entered into with Tonce Palanga. Since that time they have always remained good and faithful allies of the Maccassars.

They were afterwards several times conquered by the King of Bone Lamadaramma, or Oopoone Pacokoa, but they always returned to the Maccassars, to whose party they still adhered even after the conquest of Maccassar by Mr. Speelman. They were also the most hardy people of all those who, after the subduing of the Maccassars, came to the Company; to which they were compelled by Rajah Palacca, in 1670, by force of arms. They then entered into a treaty with the Company, to which they swore according to the custom of the land. This treaty however they kept but in very few parts; paying but indifferent attention to the\* Tellong Pootche, or triple alliance,

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\* Tellong Pootche is the same treaty as that of Lamoqn Patooa-re-timoorong, but with the abolition of one of the conditions; because Rajah Palacca, after the conquest of Wadjo, took possession not only of Baringan, and Goa, but he annexed Timoorong to the Empire of Bone also, fortifying Thinrana under pretence, that Wadjo had broke first the Lamoqn Patooa, at the time they assisted the Maccassars, to bring Bone, and Soping into slavery; made



made between Bone, Soping, and Wadjo, till the time of the misfortunes of Bone, under the reign of the Queen Batara Todjo, or Aroo Timoorong, when they themselves conquered Bone. On that account they thought that they had a just pretension to Thinrana, Baringan, and Timoorong; which Rajah Palacca had annexed to Bone.

The present King of Bone, however, in the life time and reign of his above mentioned sister, endeavoured, with the assistance of the Company, to blot out this injury, and to bring this country to obedience. On account of the differences of opinion among the Dutch chiefs, also on account of sickness in the camp, especially among the Europeans, and on account of the current report of the revolt of the Chinese at Batavia, &c. our army, with almost won play, was obliged to withdraw.

These people remain by themselves, live peaceably with one another, and pursue their trade, being the greatest merchants, and at present not only the richest, but even the most feared people all over the Island of Celebes.

They do not trouble themselves about the treaty, which they have entered into with the Company, as well as with Bone; and say it has ceased in the last war. They are willing, however, to renew with Bone the Tellong Pootche, but on the same condition, as on making the Lamoon Patooa, and provided Timoorong be again under Wadjo; but Bone will enter into no other agreement with them, than that which Rajah Palacca had made. How long this dispute will last, and what in the end will be the consequence, time

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must reveal. Mean-while it is very certain, that Wadjo increases in power, and that Bone has lost much of its influence.

Aroo Seenkang, has already, for some years past, resigned the Government; no other Matoua however is as yet elected in his room. He has at present the title of Aroo Paneke, and causes by his band of robbers much trouble to Bone. If that Prince, who is already very old, comes to die before the King of Bone, then some hope may be entertained, that the matter in dispute will be adjusted between Bone and Wadjo, without any rupture, because many of these people are merchants, and like peace better than war.

## BOOK X.

**T**HE province of Torathea extends from the river Thikoa, along the shore, South and Eastward, as far as the river Tino, the Eastern shore of which belongs to Bonthain. To the North it is bounded by Maccassar, and to the West and South by the sea.

Anciently it was an independent country, divided under several Kings, also independent of each other. The principal of them was that of Laaya; and the most considerable now are those of Biramoo, and Bankala.

## BOOK XI.

**T**HE small province of Lineques lays between the boundaries and near the Bay of Torathea.

According to the Maccassar records, that province was conquered by Tooma-Pare-Sika-kalonna, but left to be ruled by its own Princes. In process of time, they were also reduced to bondage, and kept under a very severe yoke, as those Princes declared, who in October 1667, together with all Poolembankeeng, came over from the Maccassar garrison to the Company; adding that, for a long time past, they had anxiously looked for an opportunity of throwing off the Maccassar yoke.

The coming over of these people to the Company facilitated very much the peace of Bonaya. But afterwards they did nothing or very little in favor of the common cause, notwithstanding they have obtained by the Bonay's contract, according to the promise made to them, their full liberty from the Company, which was felt very hard by the Maccassars. This privilege the Boneers have since endeavoured to rob them of, for during the peace, they plundered that people more than in the war they had done the enemy, telling them. "You are now slaves of our King, therefore your goods are ours." Nay, even the Princes of that province seemed to acknowledge Rajah Palacca, under the title of Aroo Bone, as their absolute master, as they before had done the Kings of Maccassar: which Rajah Palacca not only permitted, but in process of time it became of such consequence, that to this day, the king of Bone holds the Toratchees for his submissive allies,

allies, without being willing to own that those people are also allies to the Company. Of their being so, it seems that they have themselves no proper comprehension.

Such ignorance has more than probably arisen from the interpretation made by Rajah Palacca, both at the conferences and at the signing of the treaty, in the time of Mr. Speelman. By the memoir, or notes of the latter on the Maccaissat affairs, it appears very clear that Rajah Palacca did not always act very faithfully; because he contracted and executed every thing in his own name, and not in that of the Company; in consequence of which all native letters and other papers from abroad were directed to Rajah Palacca alone. From policy on interpreting he added the name of Mr. Speelman at the head of them. To this day some Boneers and some of the most remote allies know no better, than that Rajah Palacca was the leader, and the Company only assisted him in the war of 1667. The Wadjoeres even did not dare to trust themselves to Mr. Speelman's sending for them, because they thought that Rajah Palacca had not only the highest authority over the army, but that he held the same over us also; and that, notwithstanding our assurances, they would be put in slavery by him.

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### BOOK XII.

**TORADCHA** is a large province, situate in the interior part of the country, and bounded northward by the mountains of the Alphoers, which separate it from the Bay of Tominee. To the East it has Lohoo, and Wadjo; to the South Sedgeereng; and to the West the Mandhar mountains.

A large part of the inhabitants are hill people and heathens. Another part of them rove on the sea, dispersed all round the island of Celebes, about Ende, and Sumbawa. They live by fishing and boiling trepan, and also by catching tortoises for the sake of their shells.

These latter, called also Badjos, are kept as slaves of Bone, or of Goa. Mr Speelman wished that those, who were under Maccassar, should belong to and serve the Company as bondmen; But of this, it seems, no use has been made.

### BOOK XIII.

## BOOK XIII.

**E**NREKAN and Letha, are two small provinces, situated in the West of the preceding one. The Kings of them are in alliance with the Company. The last mentioned became voluntarily so, having made a very advantageous treaty with Mr. Speelman acting in the name of the Company; which, on the 26th August 1669, was signed and sworn to, in the presence of the King of Soping, Rajah Palacca, Caréeng Taneete, Aroo Pacque, Aroon Gooro Batookeke, and the Torats Kings of Laaya, and Bankala. But Bone pretends that these people are its slaves, subdued by Rajah Palacca, of which however no proofs have appeared, except the actual vassalage they perform to Bone.

On the 20th of April 1671, the King of Enrekan, called Labinv, was by Rajah Palacca brought into Fort Rotterdam, where he accepted the same treaty, which two years before had been entered into with the King of Letha, called Pohalepan, and which, on the 27th, was sworn to in the presence of the King of Soping, Rajah Palacca, and the Ternatan Prince Callematta. These people are to this day acknowledged by Bone as allies.

## BOOK XIV.

**CAJELEE.** This province lays on the West-shore, North of the island Celebes, between Mandhar Mamoodche and Silensa, the most Southernly place which formerly belonged to the King of Ternate, but it was also usurped by the Maccassar King Tonce Palanga, and put under an annual contribution of 1,100 gallons of lamp-oil, and 1,100 Cajelees Sarongs, a sort of cloth made of the bark of a tree, called Y-oo.

Cajelee is divided into six Governments, namely, Paloo, Banawa, Cajelee, Sigy, Typa and Loly. This province was by the Bonay's contract resigned to the King of Ternate; but afterwards the Right Honorables ordered, that it should be brought under the Government of Maccassar.

Formerly, that country used to provide this place sufficiently with oil made of cocoa-nuts: but it was, after the year 1730, harassed so much first by the discord of the Princes amongst themselves, and then by the Mandhars, that they were obliged to cut down all cocoa-trees, in order to fortify themselves therewith. The country, being entirely laid waste, is now for the largest part subject to the Mandhars.

The Kings of that province requested at the time the assistance of the Company's Ministers: upon which some ships, with troops on board and a Committee from the Political Council, were sent there. But they did not behave with much courage or wisdom, in such a manner that the King of Paloo regretted very much having requested the aid of the Company.

From



From the report of the committee it appears, that that country is very populous and fertile in Paddy : also, that it produces much gold, and that near Parege, in the Bay of Tomine, one has to dig but four feet under ground to obtain it.

## BOOK XV.

**TOORONGAN** is situated in the interior part of the country, on the river Boole Boole. This village, together with eight others belonging to it, called Wavooboole, or Wauwowoole, or the small mountains, was free, and independent. After the conquest of Samboupo, six of them Tarrongan, Mannipa-Woo-e, Manisse, Balem Boco, Bacoe, and Caboo, were on their instant request received in the alliance of the Company.

Afterwards the people of Tooraayo, situated behind Goa, towards the ascent, and on the top of the mountains; and further up from the villages Booloo, Bonto Tanne, Tay-Seere, Phrige, and down from the mountains to the village Kyndang, situated behind Bole-comba, came over to Aroo Toorongan, and with him requested permission to become parties to the treaties, viz. to that of Bonaya and to the others entered into with the allies; which was agreed to. All of the above were places of some importance in time of war; but at present, they are mostly connected with Bone, in the same manner as Boole Boole with its dependencies, situated in the Bay of Bone, on and near the river of the same name. This has to the West Wauwowoole, to the South the river Kassee, to the North the river Tanka, and to the East the shores of the Bay. It is called likewise Tello Limpo-e, and has three chief villages, viz. Boole Boole, Lamante, and Rajah; all of which are independent of each other.

The people of that country had faithfully adhered

hered to the Maccassars before, as well as during the war of 1667. The Maccassars gave them up by the Bonay's treaty, and the district was then put into order by Rajah Palacca, and, in progress of time, it was governed by himself in the name of the Company. After the demise of Rajah Palacca, it remained under Bone, and now makes a part of that state.

Although Tqorongon, and Boole Boole, with other free allies of Bone, viz. Sawito, Sedeeng, Lamoorpo, Batankeeke, &c. have treated with the Company verbally only, they are all included in the Bonay's treaty, and in that which was made with Tello in July 1669. Therefore they ought to be considered, and kept as our own allies.

Having said as much as was known to me of the allies of the Company on the coast of Celebes, I step over to the remote ones.

## B O O K XVI.

**B**OUTON, in 1580, was accepted as an ally to Ternate, by the then Ternate's King Baab Ullah; on condition, that annually the people should evince their gratitude for the preservation of their freedom by some acknowledgement to that King.

It appears, that after that time, they respected the Ternatans and adhered to them. They were, in 1655, conquered by the Maccassars; but they repurchased their liberty from them for 780 tials of gold.

In 1666, they were surprised again by a very large Maccassar force which had reduced them to the utmost extremity, when the Company's fleet, under Mr Speelman, arrived there and relieved them by the destruction of the Maccassars.

In the year following, on the return of Mr. Speelman from the eastern provinces, these people concluded the treaty before mentioned with the Company and the King of Ternate; in consequence of which they sent 1,000 armed men in 34 vessels, with the Company's force to Maccassar.

This treaty the Boutons have since observed but half and half; for, after the Maccassar war, they usurped from Ternate the Island of Pantchiana, on which lays Tiboore, and also Calensousoo, and Tambouco, situated on the East coast of Celebes.

In 1752, they suffered the Company's ship, Rest and Work, to be cutoff by the Pirate Frans Frans, and seemed to connive at the capture. For this the Right Honorables, in 1755, ordered that they should

should be severely chastised. An expedition, under the command of captain John Caspar Reysweber, was sent to their country, in consequence of which they were so terrified that they went to the Kings of Bone and of Ternate, to seek aid and assistance. Being rejected by both, they sued for peace, and promised to observe the treaties, but without renewing them, or paying the penalty imposed on them.

## BOOK XVII.

**T**HE petty kingdoms on the opposite shore on the island of Sumbawa, viz. Beema, Dampo, Tambora, Sangar, Papekat, and Sumbawa, are all independent of each other; yet they are allied together by a defensive alliance, as far as concerns their possessions on the island Sumbawa. They all are separate allies of the Company; whom they have respectively accepted for their protectors. Of the history of those Islanders, what deserves to be known, I shall briefly state.

Beema, the situation of which is to be seen in the sea-chart, lays on the East point of the island Sumbawa, forty five miles South of the island of Celebes. Therefore navigators, with good vessels, can go, and come there throughout the whole year. It is a fine country; to which belong the land, and straits of Sape, all Mangary on the West point of the island Ende, and also the island Goonong Apy (Volcano,) situated a little to the North of Beema.

This kingdom, together with Dampo, Tambora, and Sangar, the Maccassars, in 1619, subjected to an annual contribution; and five years afterwards did the same to the kingdom of Sumbawa. Of that tribute Beema was released in 1660, partly because the King of Beema had allied himself by marriage with the King of Maccassar; and partly from the apprehension of the Maccassars, that he would engage himself to the Dutch; because Mr. Troitman, after the conquest of Panekokan, went thither and concluded a verbal alliance with the King of Beema.

IN

In 1665, the above mentioned Princes were summoned by the Maccassars, to come with their forces, and assist them in subduing Bouton. At that expedition the first four of them were present, and after the defeat of the Maccassar forces fell into our hands also. They were carried to the eastern islands; and in the following year suffered to return, when they took an opportunity in an execrable manner to cut off the Shallop the Oratus, murdered all the European sailors in that vessel, and fled to the Maccassars.

On the making of the peace at Bonaya, it was agreed that the Maccassars should deliver these Kings into our hands; but they suffered them to escape to their own countries; whence they were demanded in vain by a Committee sent to Beema. That Committee had orders also, to form a closer union in writing with Beema. But the prime Minister of that court, Turelee Campas, did not favour it, saying that he would abide by the treaty concluded with Mr. Troitman.

Mr. Speelman nevertheless wishing very much to enter into a treaty with these people without bringing the Company's troops into that unwholesome country, recommended to the Right Honorables, to grant letters of amnesty to the before mentioned Kings, concerning the cutting off of the Company's Shallop the Oratus, and the murdering of her crew; which was so successful, that the Princes of Beema, and Dempo humbled themselves before the Company, and sent Ambassadors provided with proper credentials, who, on the 1st October 1669, concluded and swore to the treaty.

At the same time, and in the same manner, a  
N commission

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commission was sent to Sumbawa, to demand from them the delivery of the Prince Arpo Cayo, he being banished there by the Maccassars; and to enter into a treaty with them. The first demand was granted, but the King Maas Goa would not enter into a treaty with the Company, without permission of the Maccassars.

After this the fugitive Maccassar, as well as other discontented native petty Princes, have always kept these islands in a state of unquietness. Among other piracies, they, in 1673, assisted the discontented nobles of Sumbawa against their King Maas Goa, dethroning, and robbing him of all his treasures supposed to be about 500,000 Rix Dollars.

In 1674, a considerable force on the part of the Company, and under the command of captain John Frans Hosteyn, was sent to Sumbawa, with orders to check the rebels there; but without effect, it appears, for the King elected in opposition, called Maas Bantam, kept the kingdom. The chiefs of our expedition succeeded only in reconciling the Kings of Dampo, Tambora, and Pekat with each other; at which reconciliation, the latter King was then first declared to be a free, and independent Prince. In the same year, the King of Sumbawa sent an Embassy hither, to humble himself before the Company, and to make a treaty with them; which his Ambassadors, the first of whom was the principal rebel against the late King Maas Goa, on the 12th of February 1676, signed and swore to.

But these, as well as all the other Princes of the opposite shore, soon forgot the contents of their engagements, by which they brought a multitude  
of



of disasters on their country, and people : which chiefly fell upon Beema, Tambora, and Sumbawa ; and which ended with the murder of the Queen of Dampo, the apprehending and exile of the King of Beema, and Tambora, and also the killing, and expelling of many Macassar pirates near, and about Sumbawa. After this, those of Dampo, Tambora, Sangar, and Papekat entered into a new alliance with the Company, according to the tenor of that of Beema, and Sumbawa ; which, on the 18th of April 1704, was concluded and sworn to.

Concerning these treaties it ought to be observed, that Mr. Speelman declares to have neglected what therein is not clearly written, namely, that on the demise of the Kings, and prime Ministers, none may be elected, and installed in their room, without the previous knowledge, and assent of the Company ; yet he pretends that the same is comprehended sufficiently in the article of the treaty, in which the Company is acknowledged as their protector ; and that therefore it ought to be understood, and kept as such. But the Sumbawares will not understand it in that manner.

In conclusion to this, it is to be added, that the Kings of Beema, Dampo, Tambora, Sangar, and Papekat, have behaved pretty well after the last treaty was made with them ; but the King of Sumbawa has very little minded his engagement, being hardened in his ill machinations by the Macassars, and Wadjorees dwelling there, the latter of whom carry on a great trade, which extends as far as they dare trust themselves at sea, with their native vessels.

## BOOK XVIII.

**T**HE people of Passir, and Coote, two small Kingdoms or famous places for trade, situated on the East-side of the island of Borneo, have been conquered by the Maccassars, under the reign of the King of Goa Re-gaookanna; and from that time, the Maccassar Kings have always kept up an intercourse with these places, solely for themselves, and their families; without their permitting any body else, either subject, or ally to go thither.

In 1686, the Kings of Passir and Coote were, by the Boneese Prince, Aroo Teko, brought to the King of Bone Rajah Palacca, who carried them into this fort, where they were both admitted to the alliance as friends of the Company. An act of admittance was by the then President William Hartsink granted to the King of Passir; and that King, in 1696, being at this fort, made a very appropriate use of that act against Daceng Mattena, alias Bontoramba, daughter of Cronrong, who made pretensions upon the kingdom of Passir. The dispute two years afterwards was determined by the Governor in Council in favor of the King of Passir.

In 1726-8, these small provinces were seized by the fugitive Wadjoree Prince, and famous pirate Aroo Seenkang; who afterwards became Matoua of Wadjo. At present, under the title of Aroo Paneke, he continues to govern them, and the people are obliged to pay him an annual tribute.

Having treated of the principal affairs concerning

## BOOK XVIII.

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cerning the remote petty allies; I shall finally step over and describe the Company's own territory, and the most remarkable affairs, which in regard to them have successively occurred.

BOOK XIX;

## BOOK XIX.

**F**ORT Rotterdam, situated in the kingdom of Maccassar, formerly under the jurisdiction of Tello, on the Western shore of the island Celebes, in South latitude five degrees, seven minutes, is the chief residence of the Company. It was in the Bonay's treaty called Oodjong Pandang, and together with the village, and land appertaining to it, given to the Company.

How far the land, or limits of this fort extend, appears in no treaty, or negotiation. For that reason the Maccassars are to this day so very arrogant, that they pretend to fix its boundary to the North a little distance from the town Vlaardingen with its suburbs; to the South at Campong Baroo; and to the East at Bontualac. They became so bold, in the time of the Governor Lozen, that they dared to claim the small village Marisso, situated at a gun-shot distance to the South of the fort. But though Mr. Speelman, in his records, says that the Company's lands do extend, along the sea shore of Sandrabone, no farther than the river Patingaloang, nor in land than the muddy marshes of Tello, and that even Goa, and Tello have not as much as the breath of one foot of ground outside their gates; it nevertheless is contrary to the Bonay's contract. For in that treaty these countries are described as extending along the sea side of Torathea as far as Bonaya; and further to the North of this fort, as far as by right of conquest appertains to the Company.

The difference herein, as well as in many other cases, between the Company, and the Maccassars,

took its rise from this circumstance, that, after the conquest of Samboupo, the Bonay's treaty remained in its full force; or rather that the same has not, after the altered constitution of affairs, been either corrected, augmented, or illustrated.

Mr. Speelman in his time did endeavour to fix the limits of the Company's territory; but then the Maccassars said, that he might do this according to his pleasure, because all was the Company's, in which state it remained, Mr. Speelman leaving it to his successor to be finally arranged.

The Maccassars have long forgotten what at that time they said to Mr. Speelman, though often reminded of it by the successive Governors. The Company afterwards made three successive wars against them, at the issue of each of which they continued to say that the Company had but to state and determine their own lawful pretensions. But the settlement of that necessary point, it seems, was never thought of.

The Company's territory, attached to this fort, extends from Sambong Jaya to the Marsh of that name; and further north about, along the Salupits behind Bontualac, as far as the river Patingaloang, not far distant from Oodjong Tana.

By the northern provinces are understood the countries of Maros, with the half of Sadiany and Barras of Cabba, Siang, Lapacoon with Bonigero, and Sagerec; forming the plains between Tello, and Tancete, which are the proper granary for rice of all Celebes; also the places between these plains, and the hills, viz. Salorehe, Pirao, Bantimoorong, and Malacca; and finally the

the hill villages, namely Malawa, Tchamba, Bengo, Thinrana, Labooadcha, and Laya.

These provinces, adjoining each other, have to the west the sea, to the North Taneere and Mario, to the East Lamooro, and to the South the kingdom of Maccassar.

All these provinces were under the reign of the Maccassar King, Alla-Oodeen, the great-grand father of Mappa Somba, conquered, put under bondage, and divided into shares by villages among the Maccassar Nobles, who enjoyed, as their property, the rent of the paddy-fields, and the customary vassalage from the inhabitants of these lands, till October 1668, when on the violation of the treaty on the part of the Maccassars a war ensued, and Maros was seized by our allies. But on the 20th of November of the same year, it was taken back by the enemy. After this the people remained obstinately adhering to the party of the Maccassars, until a few days before the conquest of Samboupo; when that province being completely reduced by the force of our arms, all the depending nations, either by force, or voluntarily, came over to the Company, and became its subjects.

In the records of Mr. Speelman it is found, that the province of Labacçan was accepted first as an ally, but that afterwards the people having rebelled, they were brought to obedience by force of arms. That province therefore is to be considered more as a Company's property by conquest than by treaty: according to which it is, with all the other provinces, held as subject to the Company.

In

In 1671, the people of Thinrana, Thambea, Malawa, and Bengo, did not only humble themselves to the Company, but, on the 18th of January 1672, they swore to some articles, by which they acknowledged themselves subjects of the Company.

In 1736-7, when the rebel Bontolancas invaded the northern provinces, all these countries partly by compulsion, and partly of their own accord, rose and took up arms against the Company. But when, in August 1737, Maros was retaken by Governor Smout, almost all the revolted Chiefs returned to their former allegiance; the rest betook themselves to flight, and being afterwards overtaken, received the punishment they justly deserved.

The Chiefs who had returned to their duty, as well as those who had been newly appointed, were, in January 1738, summoned to the Fort. The guilty but repentant chiefs obtained them their pardon, and with all the others, except Labaccan, they renounced for ever the Maccassar dominion, and were after this received again as faithful subjects.

A Junior Merchant has the subordinate direction over all these provinces; holding his residence in that of Maros within the palisaded post of Falkenburgh, at the village of Soorejearang. On this residence depends the small post of Buuren, in the principality of Taneete, on the river Pantjana.

Maros has five native Regents, who are selected from their own bosom by the heads of the ancient families, and recommended to the Governor in Council



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Council. After the approbation of the Right Honorables, the final election takes place.

The titles of these Regents are according to their districts: viz. Lomo Maros, Careeng Tanralilee, Careeng Simbang, Grand Gallarang Bontoua, under whom is Barras, or Cabba; and lastly, Grand Gallarang Tancouroo.

There is also a Company's Regent over half of Sodiang, who has the title of Gallarang.

Siang has a Regent, called Lomo.

Labaccan is subjected to the jurisdiction of a Careeng, on whom depend, as petty allies, Careeng Mangelicanna, and Careeng Malice. Of the same dependence is also Bongero; over which a separate Regent, under the title of Careeng, has the direction.

Sageree has likewise five Regents, of whom Mangalong is the chief; the others are Careeng Marrang, Lolo Clookooa, Careeng Mandellee, and Tomaloompo Tanoontoo.

The greater part of the inhabitants of these plains are Boneers, who are more diligent in agriculture, and gardening than the Company's own subjects. The Boneers have their separate chiefs, placed over them by the King of Bone; but they are liable to the tithe on the growth of rice, no less than the Company's subjects.

The other provinces, situated between the plains and the hills, have also their Regents, appointed by the Company, mostly under the title of Careengs, according to the name of the chief village of their particular district, as above mentioned.

These



These furnish the Company with the necessary timber and bamboos for their post at Soorejeerang, and poles for the wharf at this fort.

They all have several Gallarangs, or village chiefs amongst them; they live quietly, and peaceably under their own laws, and religion; and perform the necessary vassalage due to the Company, their lawful master.

Southward of fort Rotterdam, on the Western shore of the island Celebes, the Company possess the small provinces of Gallissong, and Poolembankeeng, situated within the Empire of Macassar proper, between the fish-ponds of Aing, and the river of Tchicoa. The small kingdom of Sandrabone lays between both.

These places were conquered in the war of 1667; as were also in 1668-9, the sea-shores of Bonaya, Barombon, Panekokan, Patto, Samboupo, and Madjennang. But the last six mentioned villages, together with their dependencies, belonged subsequently to Goa, though it is not possible to find out at what time they were ceded to that kingdom. The most probable account is, that it was done shortly after the war, or that the Company never took possession of them, for in the records it is found that, at that time, Aing was given as a fief to the King of Soping; and that Regents were placed over Gallissong and Poolembankeeng.

The inhabitants of these two Regentships are very good soldiers; the Gallissongs are esteemed likewise to be the best mariners here; and in both qualities they are bound, if required, to serve the Company for food only.

## 110 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

The islands Tanakeke, and the Three Brothers are in the district of Gallissong, being possessions of the Company by right of conquest. Of the same dependence are also all the other islands in front of the Maccassar sea-shore, from the point of Torathea to Tancete. But the Maccassars dispute them to the Company, though they have but few in their possession, of which the principal is great Balang, where they have a Colony of Badjos, or Toradcheens. Some of these islands are inhabited by subjects of the Company, and a few by Boneers; but the most part are desolate, and barren.

On the Southern, and Eastern part of the island Celebes, the Company has the kingdoms of Bonthain, Bolecomba, and Beera with their dependencies.

Bonthain to the West has the river Tino, which separates that kingdom from Torathea. To the North, it has the mountains; to the East, the river Callekonkong; and to the South, the sea.

This kingdom formerly was numbered among the free allies of Maccassar, and ruled by its own Kings.

Bonthain has been conquered twice by the arms of the Company, and of their allies, and, according to the Bonay's treaty, it became finally a property of the Company.

It is a very pleasant country, fertile in paddy, and has a very fine, and large bay for ships and other vessels. The people there, as well as at Bolecomba and Beera, are the best inclined, and most quiet subjects the Company has in the island of Celebes.

In

In what manner that kingdom was given as a fief by the Right Honorables to Rajah Palacca, and to some successive Boneese Kings; also at what time the Company took it again into its immediate possession, is stated under the head of Bone. As a province, it is of too great importance to be separated again from the Company's administration, without the highest necessity.

It is ruled by two native Regents, who have the title of Carengs, viz. one placed over Bonthain, and the other over Tompo-Boolo; under whom are several inferior chiefs, or Gallarangs. But all of them, together with the Serjeant, who guards here the Company's post, are subordinate to the Company's resident, who has the same superior authority over

Bolecomba, which formerly was a kingdom also, brought first into subjection by the Mac-cassars.

It extends from the river Callekongkong to Bonthain, as far as Beera, or the river Banpang; and has to the North the mountains of Kyndang, which separate it from Bone, or rather from the hill people of Touraayo; to the South it has the sea.

This province forms a part of the Company's conquered possessions. The people are its lawful subjects; and with those of Bonthain, have the same obligations, and enjoy the same prerogatives, as the inhabitants of the Northern provinces. Two chief Regents are appointed over the country, viz. Careng Gantharang, and Careng Oodjong-Lowe, who have several subordinate chiefs under them.

The

## 112 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

The country is very fertile in paddy, and large forests, which afford good sport. But the wood is not fit for building houses. The harbour is very dangerous for ships in the West-monsoon; but small vessels may, at high water, come into the river Callekongkong; at or near the place where lays the Company's post Catoline, in which the Junior Merchant and Resident holds his abode. To that Resident is also trusted the direction of

Beera, which province extends from the river Bampang, Eastward along the sea-shore, to the point of Lassein, and Northward to the point of Kadjang. In land it is bound by Bolecomba, Toorongan, and Kadjang, belonging to Boole-Boole.

The King of that small kingdom came to subject himself to the Company, in the time of Mr. Speelman; so that the whole province by the Bonay's contract was ceded to them.

It is of a dry, and rocky ground, producing nothing else than Oobe, or Yams, on which account the people are obliged to fetch their necessities in rice, or paddy from Bolecomba, and Beema.

It has some forests, which furnish the inhabitants, as well as those of Bolecomba, with some good timber for building prows. It was formerly indeed the principal timber yard of the Macassars.

These people in general are tolerably good soldiers, both at sea and on land. The richest amongst them are merchants. The lower class live by building vessels, and by making coarse white cloth with the Cotton, which grows luxuriantly,

antly, and of which they pay annually a small contribution to the Company.

This province has ten Regents, of whom Careeng Beera is the chief. The others are Lemo-Lemo, Tanna-Benoo, Bontotanga, Ara, Tiro, Langa-Langa, Weroo, Grassing, and Batang. All these come annually to Maccassar, to deliver their tribute.

The island Salyer lays exactly three miles South off the point of Lassem; between both of which three small uninhabited islands are laying, called the Boogeroons.

Around Salyer lay several other islands, viz. Babeloang, Tammelongee, Polasee, Tannamalala, Kajohadjee, Boneratta, and Calawz, &c. all of which belong to Salyer. The two latter are inhabited. Some of the others produce tolerably good timber, but it is of no duration.

According to the Maccassar records, Salyer with Bolecomba, and Beera, was made tributary to the Maccassars, under the reign of their King Tooma-Pare-Sika-Kallonna; but Mr. Speelman says, the account of the Ternatees is different. According to them the whole was conquered by their King Baab Ullah, who presented it to the Maccassars as a mark of everlasting friendship. Both accounts may be true; what otherwise admits of no doubt is that, by the Bonay's treaty, the Maccassars made a full resignation of those countries to the Ternate's King Mandharsaha.

Nevertheless many of these islanders have afterwards occasioned much trouble to the Company; until being brought to subjection by force of arms, they at last entered into an alliance with  
Mr.

## 114 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

Mr. Speelman on the part of the Company, and of the King of Ternate. By this all of them acknowledged themselves as subjects, and engaged to pay to the King of Ternate a small tribute of Sarong and Matches made of Cocoa-Husk, which was to be received here for that King by the Company's Ministers. Besides this, they were bound to due vassalage; and the extent of their navigation, and trade was fixed by a particular regulation.

This treaty was reduced to writing and signed some years afterwards, when the Regents protested not to know that they had any thing to do with the King of Ternate, for no such thing had ever been clearly explained to them. They requested therefore to be excused from what concerned that King; which probably, on the recommendation of the Ministry here, the Right Honorables granted to them, because the records say that these islanders remained with the Company, without Ternate having to meddle with them.

This island is all over mountainous and has large forests in which there are many deers. It produces for food yams, roots, and batta, a kind of millet; and the inhabitants make from their own Cotton much blue and white coarse cloths.

It is governed by fourteen Regents, of whom that of the province Bonto-Bango is the chief. The others have the direction over the other provinces, viz. Tanette, Gantharang, Batang-Matta, Layoolo, Bala-Boolo, Bookit, Mare-Mare, Bonto-Boroos, Bonea, Opa-Opa, Barrang-Barrang, Pootte-Bangan, and Onto. All of them are obliged once a year, in the month of October, to come hither with from 250 to 300 men; to perform the requisite

requisite vassalage, and to bring forward the differences which the Regents may have with one another for final adjustment.

The people of that island in general are a cowardly, and slavish race, and notwithstanding that very quarrelsome, and headstrong; so much so, that when they do not get a thing done according to their mind, they immediately break up with their whole family and settle in another province.

Here is on the part of the Company a junior merchant as resident, who makes his abode near, or within the palisadoed post called Defence, situated in South latitude five degrees and some minutes.

The islands Calawz and Boneratta, were given as a fief to the aged Rajah Palacca. In the first of them he caused his dancing-girls to be taught and educated, an example which his successors have followed, for this reason the two islands are inhabited mostly by Boneers, and have but few Salyers.

*END OF VOLUME I.*





# APPENDIX

TO

## VOLUME I.

*Treaty concluded in the year 1667, between  
the Dutch Admiral Cornelis Speelman and  
the King of Maccassar.*

**A**RTICLES of a firm and everlasting peace, good friendship and alliance, concluded between the most powerful Padua Sere, Sultan Hassan Odeben, the Kings and other petty Powers of Maccassar, and the Honorable Cornelis Speelman, late Governor on the Coast of Coromandel, superintendant of and Commissioner to the easterly Colonies, Admiral and General of all the navy and land-troops in India serving under the Honorable Dutch Company, in the name of His Excellency John Maat Suiker, and the Honorable Members of the Council of India, representing the Supreme Government, and vested with the high authority of the Right Honorable the Court of Directors of the United Honorable Dutch East India Company.

### ART. 1.

It is hereby agreed, that the treaties concluded on the 19th of August and 2d December 1660, at Batavia, the first between the King of Papua, plenipotentiary of the great and mighty King of Maccassar, and His Excellency the Governor General in Council; and the second between the first Maccassar high power, and Jacob Gaamo, Esq. Commissioner on the part of the above Honorable Dutch Government, are confirmed and to be held good and observed in all their parts, as shall in the following articles be more fully explained,

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ART. 2.

( 11 )

ART. 2.

All European servants and subjects of the Honorable Company, who are at this time in the Maccassar dominions having lately deserted the service of the Honorable Company, and all those who having deserted it long ago may still be found, shall immediately and without any delay and exception, be delivered into the hands of the Admiral.

ART. 3.

All rigging and tools, guns, treasury, and every other articles, without exception, which have been taken from the Honorable Company's ship Malvish (the Whale) cast away at Salyer, and from the Honorable Company's Yacht or Barge, the Lioness, cast away at the island Don Douange shall be restored to the Honorable Company. In that restoration however the eight iron guns, from the Whale, said by the above high Maccassar power to have been paid for, shall remain in their possession, if it be proved that the sum of 4,000 Spanish Dollars has been actually paid for them to the late Commissioner Gaamo, on behalf of the Honorable Company.

ART. 4.

A ready and signal punishment shall be inflicted, in the presence of the Dutch Company's Resident, on all such persons as shall be found alive and guilty of the murders committed in divers places on subjects, or servants of the Dutch Company; and for that purpose the said high power of Maccassar shall deliver such persons as above-mentioned, in order that, as an example to deter others from such atrocious acts, they may be dealt with accordingly.

ART. 5.

## ART. 5.

The great and mighty King of Maccassar and his Grandees shall have to mind and to care, that first of all the debtors of the Honorable Dutch Company, without exception, do come forth and discharge their debts and arrears to the Honorable Dutch Company. if not in the present season, in the next at farthest; to the performance of which, the said high powers of Maccassar do hereby solemnly bind themselves,

## ART. 6.

In conformity to the last treaty concluded with the said high powers of Maccassar, all Portuguese and their followers, without exception, wheresoever they may be found within the Maccassar territory, shall be caused to remove and leave this country. And as the English are considered by the Honorable Dutch Company as the instigators and authors of the breaking of the former treaty, it has been thought necessary for the welfare, prosperity, and general tranquillity of both contracting parties, that the said high powers of Maccassar do likewise cause the removal from their land of the English settlers and traders with their followers; that measure therefore with respect to the two nations shall take place at the first opportunity; and hereafter none of them shall ever again be admitted to come to this country on any occasion whatsoever. The entire removal of all individuals of both the said nations is and remains positively fixed to the end of . It is further agreed that the said high powers of Maccassar shall never in any province or district under their jurisdiction, either now or hereafter, under any pre-

tence whatever suffer to enter, admit, or tolerate subjects of any European nation whatsoever; nor grant license to any native powers not in alliance with the Honorable Dutch Company, to trade, or settle in their kingdom.

#### ART. 7.

A free trade in Celebes, and principally in the kingdom of Maccassar, shall be secured solely to the Honorable Dutch Company, excluding therefrom every foreign European nation and all Asiatic or other nations; be they Moors, Javanese, Malays, Atchins, Siams, or any others without exception; and the said Honorable Company shall alone bring and import here for market or sale any cloths, merchandise, or ware from Coromandel, Surat, Persia, Bengal and China. Should there be at any time any of the above articles introduced in transgression to this, all such merchandise so imported, shall be confiscated to the profit of the Honorable Dutch Company, and the transgressors be moreover punished according to circumstances. The common sort of Javanese cloth is however not comprehended in the exclusion.

#### ART. 8.

The Honorable Dutch Company is hereby acknowledged, by the high Maccassar powers, to be free from all import and export duties without exception.

#### ART. 9.

The high Maccassar Government and their subjects shall not hereafter navigate to any foreign ports except to those of Balie, Java, Jacatra, Bantam, Gamhi, Palimhang, Johor, and Borneo, for

( 1 7 )

for which purpose it is at the same time stipulated, that they shall be bound, whenever they intend to navigate to any of the above ports, to take out a pass from the residing Dutch Commandant, and that all and every one who shall be found at sea, or at any of the above ports, or elsewhere, without being provided with such a pass, shall be considered as enemies of the Honorable Dutch Company, and they shall be captured and their ships confiscated. The same high powers, or their subjects, shall send no vessels to Beema, Salor, and Timor, &c. nor to the East-point of Lassem in Celebes, being the East-side of the strait of Salyer. The same prohibition extends with regard to the North and East-side of Borneo along the coast of Celebes towards Minado, or the islands thereabout; and the transgressors of this prohibition shall forfeit their lives and goods according to circumstances.

ART. 10.

As all the fortifications and strongholds on the coast of Celebes, under the dominion of the high Maccassar powers, must be considered as prejudicial to the Honorable Dutch Company, it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that with all promptitude the strongholds of Barambong, Panckeke, Goesse, Marisson, Borebas, &c. shall be demolished and levelled with the ground. To the great King of Maccassar shall remain the large and strong fort of Samboupo only, and no new forts, strongholds or batteries shall hereafter be raised in the room of those which are to be demolished, or elsewhere, except with the consent and approbation of the Honorable Dutch Company.

ART. 11

## ART. 11.

The large and strong fort on the North-side of Maccassar, called Ojon-pandang, shall, after this treaty has been sworn to, be immediately evacuated by the native Maccassar garrison, and delivered in a proper state to the Honorable Dutch Company to be garrisoned by their troops; and the town and adjacent country belonging to the above fort Ojon-padang shall remain under the jurisdiction of the said fort Ojon-padang, to be possessed by the Honorable Dutch Company, without the Court of Maccassar having any right to interfere or meddle with the inhabitants thereof, they being in future to be considered as subjects of the Honorable Dutch Company. The merchants shall have to pay to the great King of Maccassar such duties on their goods as shall hereafter be agreed to between the said high Power and the Honorable Company. The Honorable Dutch Company on their part agree not to admit, shelter, or protect within their jurisdiction, any person whatever, being a malefactor, or debtor, subject to the said great King, or to the Grandees of Maccassar, unless such person has been emancipated and has received permission to emigrate to the territory of the Honorable Dutch Company. It is further stipulated and agreed, that the lodge of the Honorable Dutch Company shall be forthwith erected by the said high court of Maccassar, in the same order as it was left by the Dutch merchant Verspreet, either within, or without the fort, according to the pleasure of the said Honorable Dutch Company.

## ART. 12.

**ART. 12.**

The Dutch money current at Batavia, consisting of rix-dollars, shillings, doublejees and pijsen, shall at the same rate be current at Maccassar; and should the natives object to it, the high Maccassar powers promise to do their utmost to make it acceptable to them, and to promote its currency in the bazars.

**ART. 13.**

As an indemnity for the violated peace, the great King and the Grandees of Maccassar stipulate and promise to pay to the Honorable Dutch Company 1,000 slaves, male and female, all young, healthy and full grown people, reserving to themselves liberty to make the above promised payment either in slaves, or in jewels, gold or silver, at the current rate among the Maccassars of two and half taal, or forty Maccassar gold Maze for each slave, which liberty is granted, provided half the payment be made by the Maccassar Embassy at Batavia in June next, and the other remaining half in the succeeding season at the farthest.

**ART. 14.**

The great King and Grandees of Maccassar shall in future not interfere, or meddle with the land of Beema and its dependencies, and the Honorable Dutch Company shall be left to act according to their own will and pleasure, without the high Maccassar Court, now and hereafter, directly or indirectly, entering into any correspondence with the dependent Princes of that country, and assisting them in any way with their advice, or with their arms against the Honorable Dutch Company.

**ART. 15.**

ART. 15.

The said high Court of Maccassar acknowledges the truth of the abominable murders which the King of Beema, his son-in-law Careeng Dempo, the Rajah of Tambora, and the Rajah of Sangar, with their adherents, to the number of twenty five men, mostly Beemanese people, have committed on the subjects and servants of the Honorable Dutch Company, engage to deliver up into the hands of the Honorable Dutch Company the criminal Rajah of Beema, and as many of his accomplices as may be found in the Maccassar dominion, in order that they may receive the punishment due to the atrocity of their crimes. It is also hereby stipulated and agreed, that the said high Court of Maccassar shall deliver into the hands of the Honorable Dutch Company the Maccassar Prince Careeng Montemarano for him to humble himself before the Honorable Dutch Company, and beg their pardon for the offence he has committed against them.

ART. 16.

Restitution shall immediately be made to the Court of Bouton of all such people, as in the last war, at the invasion of the Maccassars, were taken and carried off by them, as far as they may still be found alive, without exception; and to the King of Bouton shall be paid the money which has being received by the high Maccassar Court for such Boutonese as since the sale of them have died, and cannot in consequence be returned. The said high Court of Maccassar does besides renounce, now and for ever, all and every pretensions to the said kingdom of Bouton; and solemnly promises to abide by that renunciation.

ART. 17.



## ART. 17.

To the King of Ternate shall be returned, as stipulated in Article 16, all the people of the island of Xula who, in the last war with the said high Court of Maccassar, have been taken and carried away by them; and also ten iron guns, two brass guns and three lelas (small brass pieces riding on poles,) which have likewise been taken and carried away; and the said Court shall besides relinquish all pretensions to the said island of Xula. To which the above high Maccassar Court have agreed, renouncing now and for ever all their rights not only to the island of Xula, but also to that of Salyer, and restoring them to the King of Ternate. The same high Court of Maccassar do further renounce all authority over the principality of Pantchiana, and over all the provinces laying on the coast of Celebes, from Minado down to Pantchiana, over the islands of Bangay and of Copy, and over all other provinces and islands of the said coast. In the same manner the said high Court of Maccassar do renounce all sovereignty over the provinces of Lambagy, Candipan, Bool, Tontoli, Dampellos, Belessang, Silensac and Cajelee, which extend between Mandhar and Minado, and which, from ancient times down to the late war with Maccassar, had lawfully belonged to the Crown of Ternate; and the said high Court of Maccassar do hereby solemnly promise now, or hereafter never to disturb the court of Ternate concerning these provinces.

## ART. 18.

The said high Maccassar Court renounce further all authority and dominion over the Boogheca

ghees and over the kingdom of Lobo, acknowledging the Princes of these kingdoms to be free born Kings, Princes and Lords; and promising for the present and for the future never to entertain the smallest pretension to the said countries. The said high Court besides solemnly pledge themselves to liberate without delay the aged King of Soping, and to restore to him all his lands, wives, children, domestics, and property without exception, and to deliver him into the hands of the Honorable Dutch Company. All such Boogheese Nobles, their wives and children as to this day may in the Maccassar district, or elsewhere, remain imprisoned, or exiled, shall without exception in virtue of these presents be restored to liberty and to their country, in order thereby to lay the foundation of an upright peace and sincere friendship between the high Maccassar Court and the Honorable Dutch Company.

#### ART. 19.

The said high Court of Maccassar further acknowledge and declare the Kings of Lavo and Bancaba, together with the entire districts of Toratte and Badjeeng and their dependencies, to be free Kings, and free countries, as having during the last war put themselves under the protection of the Honorable Dutch Company; and do hereby solemnly promise never to pretend any authority whatever over the said Kings and countries.

#### ART. 20.

All lands, conquered during the war by the Honorable Dutch Company and by their Allies, from Boolo Boolo to the country of Toratte, and  
from

from thence inwards to Bongava, shall remain in the possession of the Honorable Company, or of their allies by the right of conquest and according to the law of war; and to and over them and their inhabitants the great King of Macassar shall retain no right, or authority whatever; but the whole shall be at the disposal of the Honorable Dutch Company, to do therewith according to their will and pleasure. Wherefore on the arrival of the Kings of Panna and Bacca, it shall be pointed out to them, what lands on the North-side the Honorable Dutch Company think proper to keep in their own hands.

**ART. 21.**

The countries of Wadjo, Boolo Boolo and Mandhar having misbehaved towards the Honorable Dutch Company and their allies, the contracting high Court of Macassar, promise and engage most solemnly to abandon the above mentioned countries, leaving them entirely to the disposal of the Honorable Dutch Company; and further pledge themselves henceforth never, either directly or indirectly, to interfere or correspond with them; and never to assist them either with people, arms, gun-powder, shot, provision, advice, money, or any means whatsoever tending to the prejudice and disadvantage of the Honorable Dutch Company.

**ART. 22.**

It is mutually understood and agreed to be-  
tween the two high contracting powers, that the  
Booghees and Toratterees, who have Macassar  
wives, and the Macassars who have Boogheese  
and Toratterees wives, shall be allowed each to  
a B. take

take his own with him, in case he wishes to return to his own country. And it is further agreed, that all such persons of the above said nations as should wish either to remain where at present they are, or to return to their own respective countries, shall be at liberty to stay or to go according to their own will and pleasure. Such of them, however, as may be recalled by their lawful sovereigns, shall not be detained by the other but sent to their country, all other provisions of this article notwithstanding.

Art. 23.

The said high Court of Maccassar promise and pledge themselves strictly to observe the letter and the spirit of the foregoing Art. 16, and in consequence to shut their dominions against all and every foreign European and native people, and never to allow any one of them to settle there. In case any of the said foreign nations should attempt to come and form a settlement against the will of the said high Maccassar Court, that Court shall oppose such attempt with all their force, according to the tenor of the present treaty; and if the said high Court of Maccassar should find their own force not sufficient for the purpose, they shall apply to the Honorable Dutch Company as their protector for assistance, which shall be forthwith furnished to them. It is further to be understood that, as the same High Court of Maccassar do acknowledge the Honorable Dutch Company as their principal ally, protector, and arbitrator, they promise and engage themselves likewise to assist with all their power the Honorable Dutch Company here, as well as any where else,  
against

against their enemies, promising at the same time most solemnly never to enter into any negotiation of peace, or any other with any nation either European or Native, at war with the Honorable Dutch Company.

## ART 24.

On all the points of this new treaty, concluded between the said great King of Macassar, his Nobles, and the Honorable Dutch Company, is founded an everlasting peace, friendship, and alliance, in which are and must be comprehended the great and mighty Kings of Ternate, Tidore, Batchian, Bouton, and, in this island of Celebes, the Kings of Boni, Soping, Lobo, Toratte, Layo, Badjeeng, with all their dependent lands and subjects, also Beema and all such Princes and Lords, as after this treaty may come into the alliance as confederates.

## ART. 25.

In case of any misunderstanding and difference arising between the allies and respective Kings, the parties shall not immediately disturb each other by war, but they are to make the case known to the resident and commandant of the Honorable Dutch Company at this place, who shall, if possible, remove by his mediation all discord between them, and reconile and bring them back to a good understanding, harmony and brotherhood. But in case one of the parties should be unwilling to listen to the mediation of the resident and commandant on the part of the Honorable Dutch Company, and not yielding to reason should remain obstinate in his rancour and animosity, the general Confederation shall then, as far as the occasion and the interest of common tranquillity

tranquillity may require, come to the assistance of the opposite party.

**ART. 26.**

When this treaty of peace and alliance shall have been signed, sealed and sworn to, the great King of Maccassar and his Nobles shall be bound to send with the Admiral an embassy to Batavia, consisting of two of the most eminent Nobles chosen out of the King's Council, in order to lay the said treaty of peace and alliance before His Excellency the Governor General and the Honorable Members of the Supreme Council of Dutch India, and to solicit the approbation of it from His Excellency in Council; concerning which that embassy may assure themselves that they will return home very much satisfied. His Excellency the Governor General however, shall, if he thinks it proper, be at liberty to require two sons of the most eminent Noblemen to be sent to and reside as hostages at Batavia. But in such case it shall depend on the pleasure of the great King of Maccassar to relieve them, after an absence of one year, or more from their home, by sending two other young Princes in their room to Batavia. And the Honorable Dutch Company promise and engage themselves on their side to treat and maintain such Princes residing at Batavia with the respect and honor due to them; and not to suffer them to be in any way molested by any body whatever.

**ART. 27.**

In execution of the 16th Article, it is allowed, that the Honorable Dutch Company may seize upon the English being in the country and their goods, and transport them to Batavia; without the great

great King of Maccassar having any opposition to make to the measure.

ART. 28.

Also in execution of the 15th Article it is promised by the said high Maccassar Court that, should the King of Beema and their accomplices, with Montomarano, be not found either living or dead, within ten days, the sons of both these Kings shall, as a security, be put into the hands of the Honorable Dutch Company.

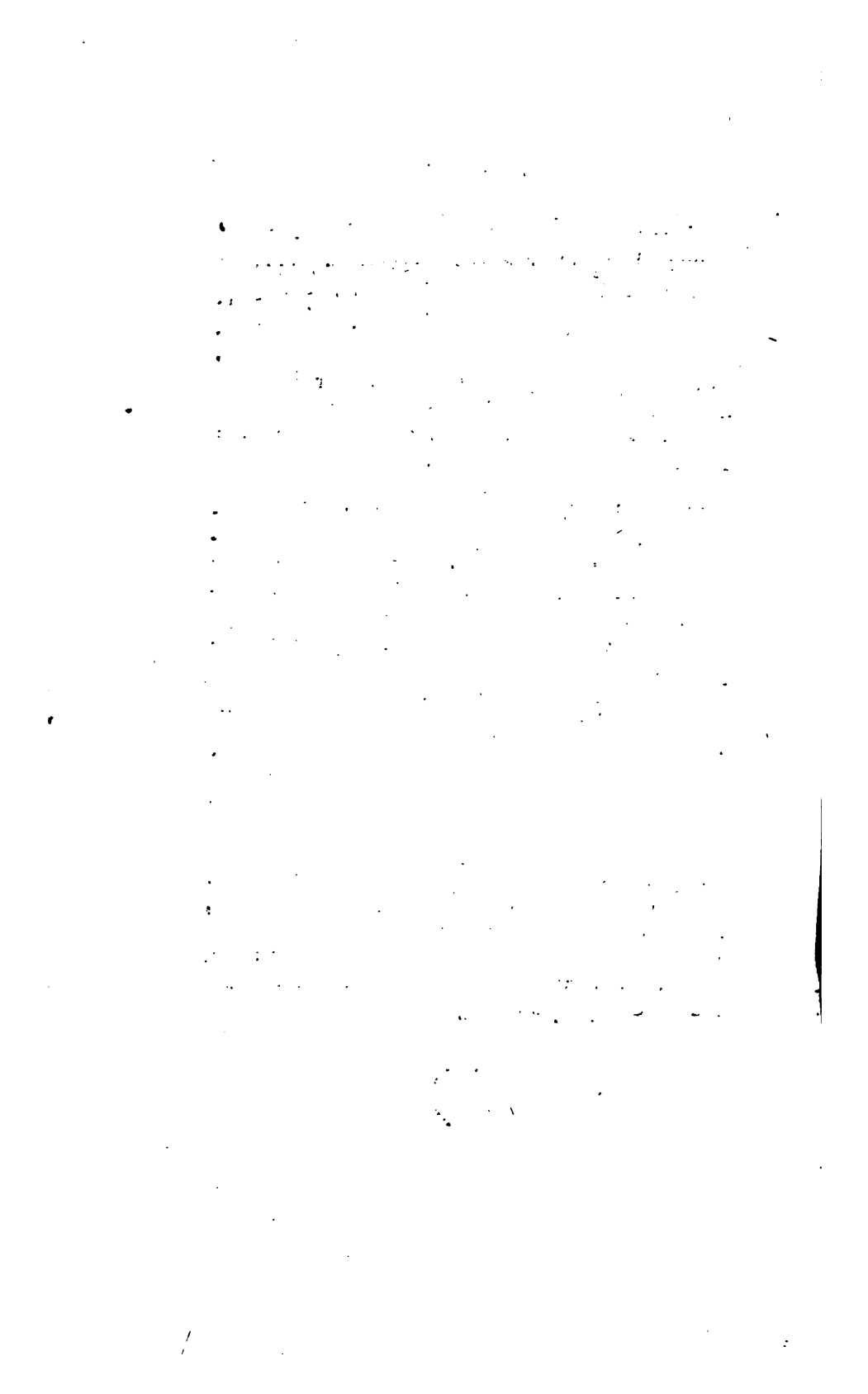
ART. 29.

The said high Maccassar Court promise moreover and bind themselves to pay to the Honorable Dutch Company in compensation of their war expences the sum of six dollars 250,000 within five successive years, either in guns, merchandise, gold, silver or jewels, according to the computed value of each article.

ART. 30.

That all the above articles of peace and alliance may be more religiously observed, they have, by the great King of Maccassar, and the undersigned Grandees, and also by Admiral Cornelis Speelman on the part and in the name of the said Honorable Dutch Company, and by all the Kings and Princes comprehended in them, after first invoking the Lord's holy name, been sworn to, sealed and signed, each in his accustomed manner, in a tent on Friday the 18th November 1667, about, or near Barombong, on the Honorable Dutch Company's own ground.







## PATENT

**G**IVEN to Rajah Palacca in the year 1672, by the Governor General of Batavia.

John Maatsuyker, Governor General in Council, on the part of the oriental Netherland States, to all who these presents shall see, or hear the reading of, greeting!

Whereas the illustrious and valiant Rajah Palacca has been the prosecutor of the war in the great Island of Celebes, against all such, who not only supported with all their power and ability the unjust cause of the King of Macassar against the Company and their allies, but who even after the conquest and successful victory over them, still remained persevering with the most obstinate malignity in their hostile intentions, despising and rejecting our letters of amnesty and forgiveness sent to them, in our name, on the part of the Company, in the year 1669, and granted to them under the great seal of the Company and the signature of the then Governor General, provided they should, within a certain time, repair to this Fort Rotterdam, there to humble themselves.

And whereas among others of their unjust proceedings, they forced by the most wicked means into an alliance with them the king of the small province of Lamgoroo, laying Eastward of Tanette on the hills, and adjacent to the provinces of Sopping, Mario and Bengo. Whereas also the said King being very old, and without an able successor, the Counsellors of state of that province, have since a number of years ruled that province, considered of itself as an absolute and free principality, and they have now, on the demise of their King, elected and acknowledged the above Rajah Palacca as his successor, he being from his father's side a descendant of the royal house of Mario, whose rights are entirely devolved to him since the demise of the Princess of Sopping, and his

his above election is the more legitimated from a certain ancient custom between the provinces of Lamooroo, Mario, and Bengo, according to which whenever of any of the said three principalities the King comes to die, without leaving behind him an able heir, or successor, they are obliged to elect one from the other side of the royal family; and as, under the conditions of the alliance common to the three principalities, the Kings cannot in their life time, nor the Counselors of state after their demise choose a successor from the other provinces, except with the approbation and assent of the Company; which His Highness, through the President in Council at Fort Rotterdam, has respectfully solicited from us: So is it, that, after mature deliberation by the Council of India, in order to shew the high esteem we have for the above Rajah Palacca, on account of the courage he has shewn in the wars with the Maccassars, both before and after the complete conquest of Fort Samboupo in 1669; We have not only thought proper to reward all the signal achievements of His Highness, with this our open act of consent and approbation, but we do hereby besides present him, Rajah Palacca, as an everlasting mark of honor, with a gold chain, and a medallion attached to it, on which the Company's arms are engraved, with this reservation however, that His Highness shall not appoint or authorize a deputy over Lamooroo, without the previous knowledge and approbation of the President in Council of Maccassar: Ordering and commanding all those whom these may concern to acknowledge and respect the above Rajah Palacca, King of Lamooroo, because we do esteem this to be necessary and due to the welfare of the public alliance, and likewise useful to the service of the Honorable Company.

Given at Fort Batavia, the principal Fort of the kingdom of Jacatra in the great island of Java, the 1st of March 1672.

*Explanation of the names and titles given to  
the native Princes, and to the Nobles of  
the Island of Celebes.*

**AROO**, in the Boogheese language, signifies either the son of a King having a separate estate, a Lord Paramount, or a Lord of a Manor; it is likewise an empty title.

**DATOUA**, a King among the most Northern nations of Celebes.

**PONGAMA**, is a chief administrator, a deputy chief of one, or more large towns, or villages, also a general.

**TOMILALANES**, are three in number with the Maccassars. The first is the Prime Minister, the second a Counsellor, and the third a Magistrate.

**SOLEWATANG**, in the Maccassar language, signifies a Vice-Roy, who rules the realm in the absence of a King.

**GOROO**, is an ordinary priest.

**CALÉE**, is a high priest.

**ANRONG GOROO**, is a petty chief of a small town or village, also a school master.

**GLARRANG**, is a subordinate chief of a town, or village.

**CARENO**, in the Maccassar language, signifies a Lord.

**MAHORADIA**, is the title given to each of the seven United Kings of the province of Mandhar.

**LOMO**, is a title given to the first Regent of the Northern province called Maros, belonging to the Dutch Company.

**BATARRA**, is the title given to the King of the Maccassars.

**BAT-**

**BATCHARRA-BOOTA**, is the Prime Minister of the King of the Maccassars.

**DABENG**, is a title given in the Maccassar language to a gentleman.

**PANGERANG**, is the Sovereign Prince of Madura in the Island of Java.

**TELLO-LIMPOOA**, a name given to the Paddy-fields belonging to the Crown.

**TODO-LIMAS**, are the five chiefs of the plains in the province of Maros.

**SAMPARADJAYA**, in the Boogheese language, signifies the royal standard. This standard is never carried in the field, except when the King himself marches with the army; on which occasion it was always, in the time of Paganism, first sprinkled with human-blood. But since they became Mahometans, that ceremony is performed by them with the blood of a Buffalo. It announces that they shall either die, or conquer.

**BATE SALAPANG**, signifies with the Maccassars the body of the nine Electors, when assembled to elect a new King.

**GENANG**, is the title given by the Booghees to a Vice-Roy, or Governor.

**MANTRY**, is a title given to a Nobleman of the first rank in the Island of Bouton.

**DJEMA TONGANG**, not known to the translator.

**PATOLAY-E**, is the title of the first Minister of the kingdom of Wadjo.

**SODANG**, signifies in the Maccassar language the royal standard of the Empire, together with all the other regalia belonging it.

**MAHARADIA BALANEKPA**, is the chief King of the seven United Kingdoms of Mandhar.

BONTQ:

**BONTO BANGO**, is the first Regent in the Island of Salyer.

**BATANG BANAS**, has the signification of country, squires.

**AROO MAMPO BONE**, is the third person in rank to the King in the kingdom of Bone.

**AROO MAMPO MACCASSAR**, is a Maccassar Prince, Prime Minister of the realm.

**DARENG TAMATCHINNA**, is the name of a criss mounted in gold, being part of the regalia of Maccassar.

**PANGANGA-LO-E-A**, is another criss, belonging to the regalia of Maccassar.

**KALANG-BODOA**, another criss, belonging to the regalia of Maccassar.

**KEOLAO-NAGAYA**, is a marvellous stone, belonging to the regalia of Maccassar.

**ANGEBANKO**, is a gun made by the natives of Java, belonging to the regalia of Maccassar.

**TUONE-PALANGA**, is a spear, one of the regalia of Maccassar.

**OOLOO-KANAYA**, is a book containing the History of Goa, or of the kingdom of the Maccassars; and also one of the regalia.

**SOODANG**, is a broad sword, belonging to the regalia.

**BARAYA**, not known to the translator.

**LATEA-RI-DOONEE**, is a small sword, one of the regalia.

**TAMALA-OOLOONG**, is the name given to the testicles of a Buffalo, and an article belonging to the regalia.

**I-TANI SAMANG**, the name of a figure resembling a beast; also one of the regalia.

**MAKOTAYA**, a gold crown one of the regalia.

PINTOJ

**PINTO-NAGAYA**, a pair of arm-rings, one of the regalia.

**SQOLENGKAYA**, an earring, one of the regalia.

**SAPPOO-LABOOA**, a pipe, one of the regalia.

**MATCHANG-KEEBO**, a flag, also one of the regalia.

**TODDO-TOOJOOA**, is the first of the nine electors of the Maccassar kingdom.

**BATE-SALUPANGA**, is the second elector of the same.

**ATLA-TOOANG**, in the youngest, or the last in rank of the seven United Kings of Mandhar.

**SQOROWANG**, is a Messenger.

**JORODBASSA**, is an Interpreter.

**POOA**, is a name of distinction mostly used by the Maccassars, and means as much as Mr.

**SHABANDHAR**, means a Collector of Revenue.

**MATOUA**, is the title given to each of the seven electors, called Matoua Petons.

**TOMARILALANG**, is a Privy Counsellor to the King of Bone.

*§ The names of Rajah, Aroo, Careeng, Datoua, Daeeng and Pooa, are given to women as well as to men.*

**THINRANA**.—*The name of that place is so written among the natives, but the th with them has the sound of the English ch, and the word is to be pronounced Chinrana.*

# ERRATA.

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## *PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.*

- Page 1, line 3—For Maccassars Kingdoms, read Maccassar Kingdoms.  
Page 10, line 24—For Berow, read Bero.  
Page 11, line 12—For Tam Tchene, read Tana Tchene.  
Page 20, line 20—For Manguway, read Mangeway.  
Page 64, line 22—For Mamdhar, read Mandhar.  
Page 78, line 13—For voluntary, read voluntarily.  
Page 94, line 27—For Wauwowoolo, read Wauwowoole. \
- Page 105, line last—For Malacca, read Malice.

## *APPENDIX.*

- Page 2, art. 3, line 3—For Malwish, read Walvish.  
Page 6, art. 11, line 2—For Ojon, read Oodjon.  
Page 7, art. 13, line 9—For tail, read tial.  
Page 10, line first—For Lobo, read Lohoo.  
Page 13, art. 24, line 8—For Lobo, read Lohoo.

## *EXPLANATION.*

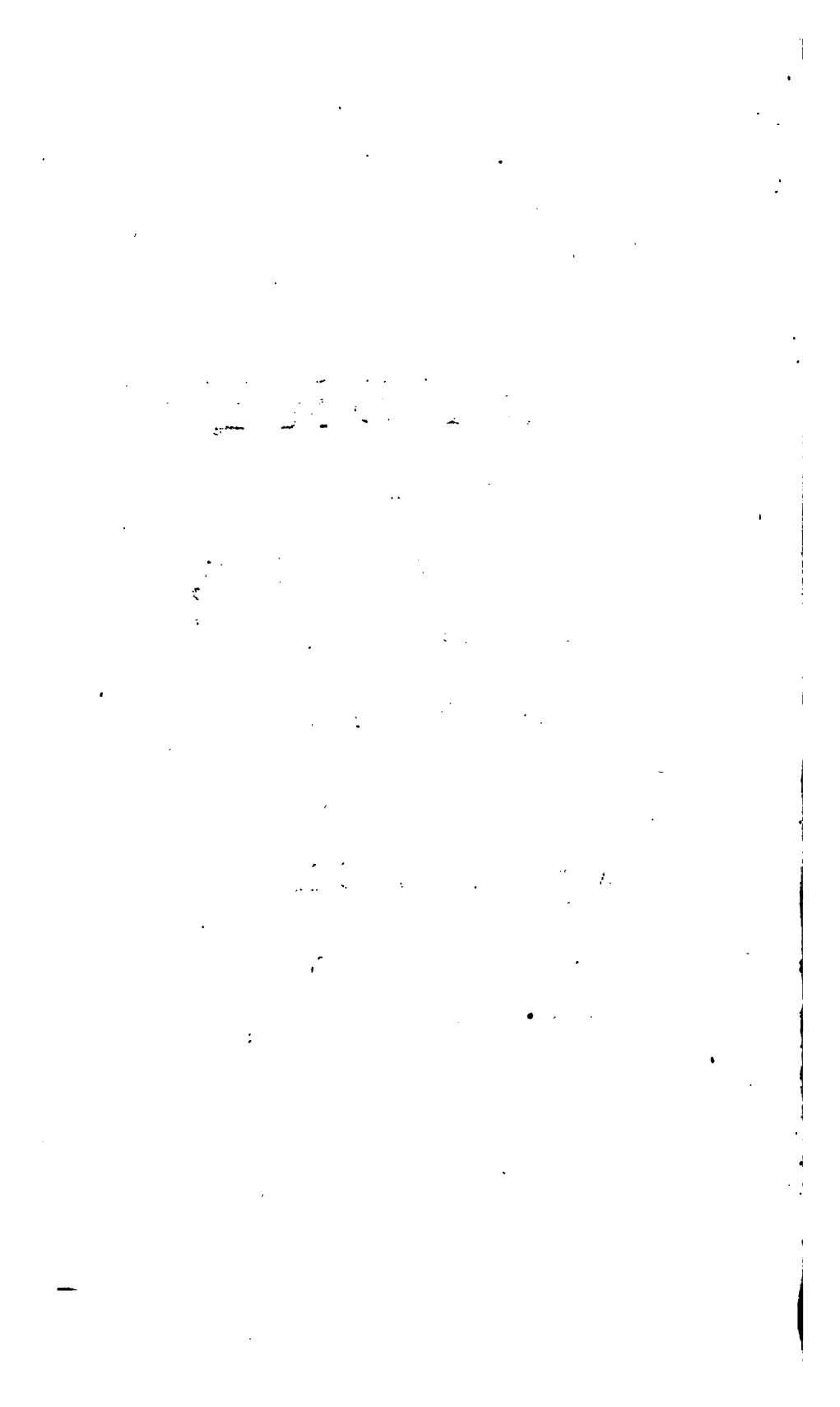
- Page 1, line 10—For Pongama, read Pongawa.  
Page 2, line first—For Batcharra, read Betcharra.  
Page 2, line 33—For belonging it, read belonging to it.

## *PATENT.*

- Page 1, line 22—For this Fort, read Fort.

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





**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**ISLAND OF CELEBES,**

BY  
**MR. R. BLOK,**  
*Governor of Macassar;*  
**WITH AN APPENDIX,**  
CONTAINING  
**A MEMOIR,**  
DRAWN UP BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
**AND COMPREHENDING SUCH REMARKABLE**  
**EVENTS AS OCCURRED IN THE**  
**ISLAND,**  
**FROM THE BEGINNING OF HIS GOVERNMENT**  
**TO 1808:**

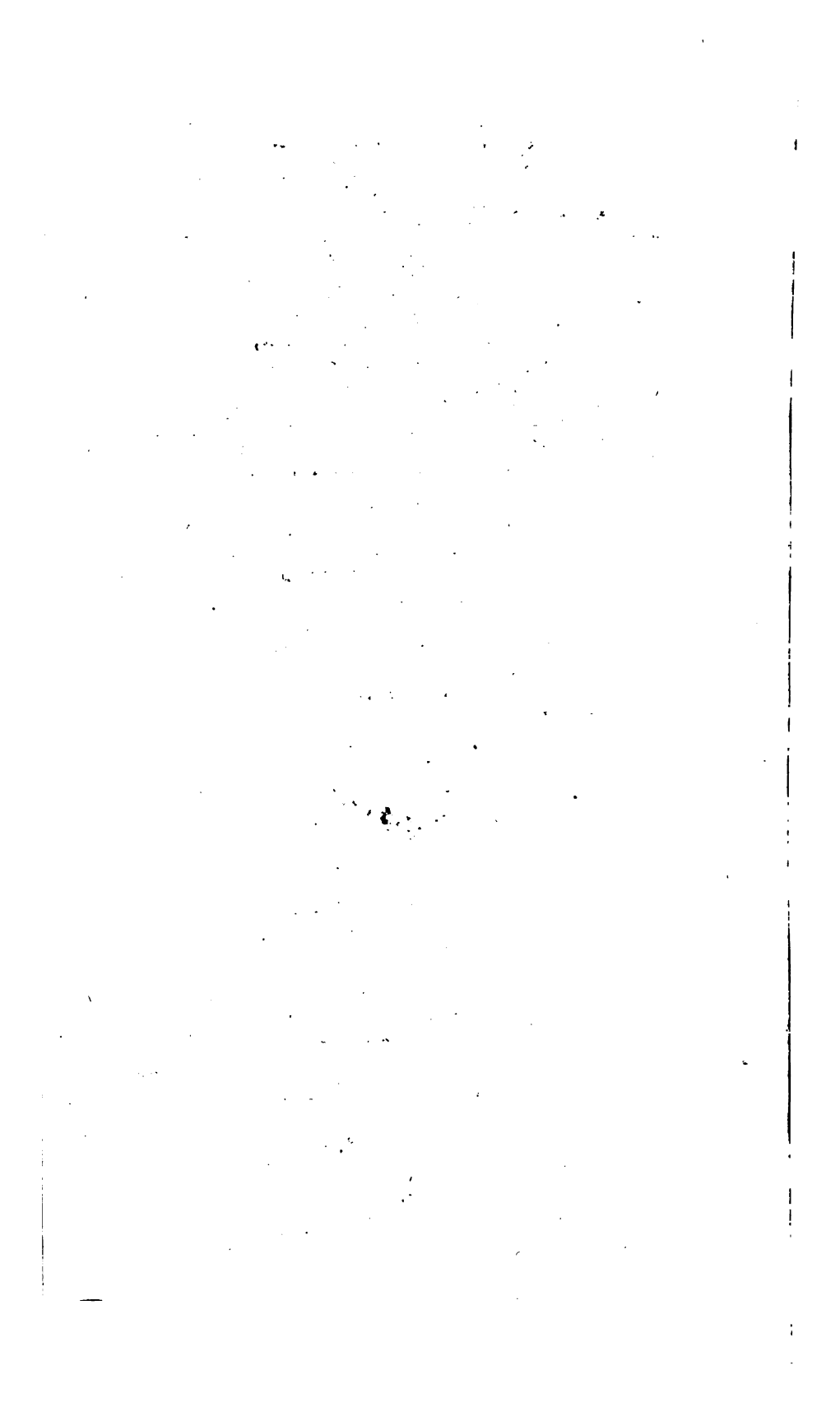
**TO WHICH HAVE BEEN ADDED**  
**A REPORT,**  
**CONCERNING THE SLAVE TRADE**  
**OF**  
**MACASSAR,**  
DRAWN UP BY A DUTCH COMMITTEE,  
APPOINTED FOR THAT PURPOSE:  
**AND THE TRIAL AND SENTENCE**  
**OF**  
**COLONEL FILZ,**  
*Late Dutch Commanding Officer*  
**AT**  
**AMBOINA,**  
WHO, ON THE 19<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 1810,  
**SURRENDERED FORT VICTORY**  
**TO**

**CAPTAIN EDWARD TUCKER,**  
*Commanding His Majesty's Ship of War DOVER.*  
THE WHOLE TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH LANGUAGE AND  
PUBLISHED IN FOUR VOLUMES

BY  
**CAPTAIN J. VON STUBENVOLL.**

**VOLUME 2.**

PRINTED AT THE  
**CALCUTTA GAZETTE PRESS,**  
1817.



## APPENDIX.

**T**HE treaty called Lamoon-Patooa-Re-Timoorong, made and concluded between the Courts of Bone, Wadjo, and Sopping in the time, or under the reign of the King of Bone, Tanrirawa, surnamed Bonkang-E, and called after his demise Mantinrooa-re-Gootchina.\*

### ART. 1.

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

### ART. 2.

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

### ART. 3.

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

### ART. 4.

And each is to follow his own way.

### ART. 5.

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

### ART. 6.

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

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

**A**

### ART. 7.

## ART. 7.

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

## ART. 8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

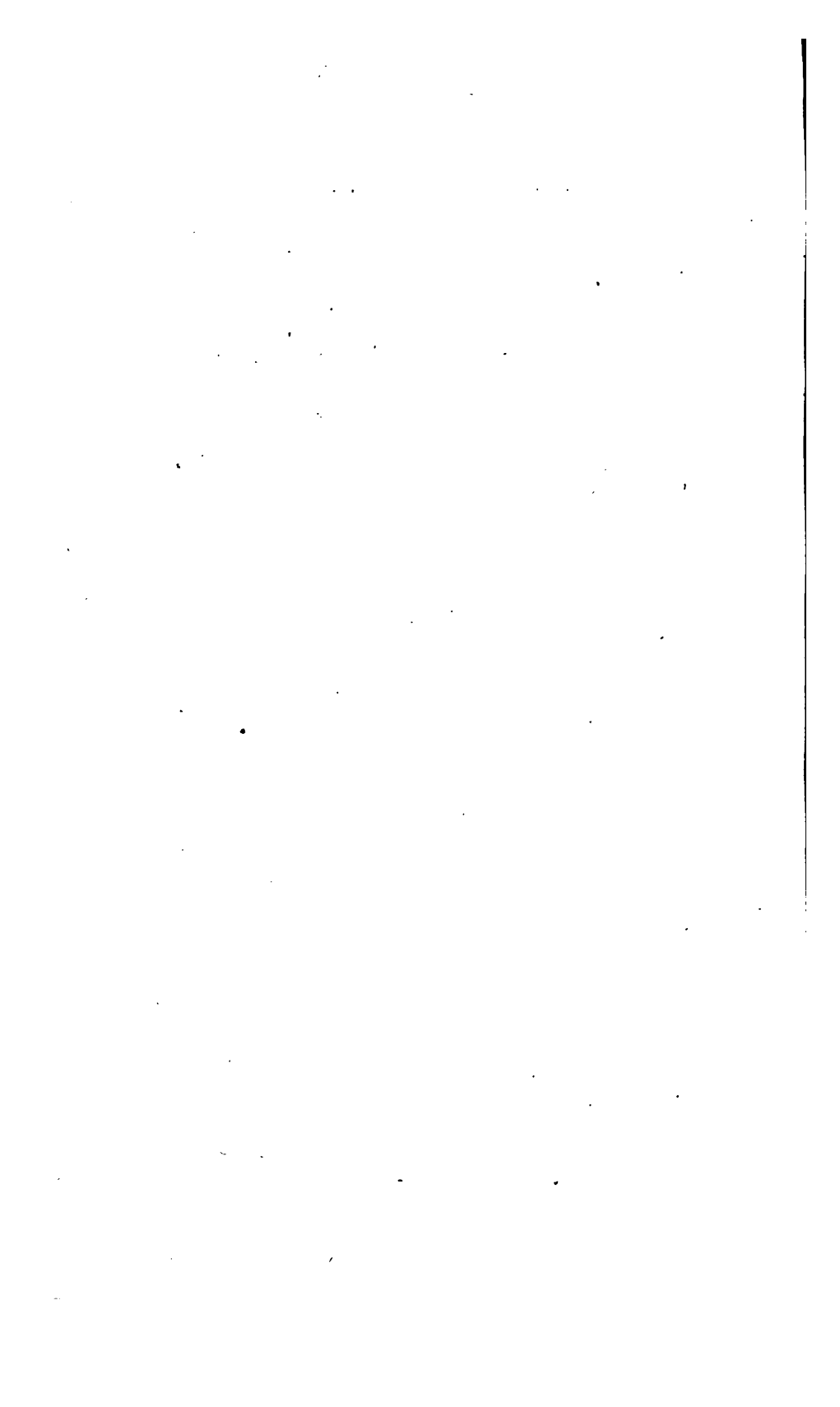
Afterwards, when the Maccassars were subdued by the Netherlanders, Wadjo remained obstinate, and was conquered by Rajah Palacca, who fortified the town of Chinrana, and having taken possession of some villages belonging to Wadjo, he suffered the King of that nation, to treat with the Company; at the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

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

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

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\* Abolished.—TRANSLATOR.



## HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

SIR,

**I**T having been the pleasure of the Honorables, the illustrious Government of Indian Netherlands to relieve me, in a manner truly honorable, from this indeed very important and laborious Government, and to appoint you, much to my satisfaction, successor to this Government, It becomes incumbent upon me, according to the ancient and good usage of this place, to leave with you, previously to my departure, a brief but comprehensive memoir of affairs regarding the present state of the Company's interest in general with the natives of this island. Of this duty I shall acquit myself, without much prolixity, to the extent of my small abilities and to the utmost of my knowledge, beginning with the balance which ought to be maintained between the courts of Bone and Goa, for the safety of the Company's territory.

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

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#### 4 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 6 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

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

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

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\* See Appendix.

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

sounder

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

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

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

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

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\* This letter was not found.—TRANSLATOR.

And

## B MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

## HISTORY OF CELEBES.

8

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

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

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

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

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\* A son of the King.—TRANSLATOR.

So

## 10 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

This the Supreme Government of Batavia were pleased

pleased to approve by a separate letter of 8<sup>th</sup> December 1657, desiring me, at the same time, to proclaim him, Aroo Mampo, to that dignity on the demise of the present King, and recommending me most strictly to observe previous to that caution and secrecy, which indeed is of the utmost necessity,

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

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

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



## 12 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\* 1759.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* Daceng signifies junior sons of Noblemen.

† Tomarilalang, a privy counselor.—TRANSLATOR.

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

§ A chief of one or more villages.—TRANSLATOR.

## 14 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

vation of the very prudent orders of the Supreme Government in their letter of the 18th March 1704, which are as follows :

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

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

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

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

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

you,

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

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

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

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

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

## 16 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

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

I have further to observe to you respecting

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

that

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

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

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



## 18 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

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

dang.

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

At such an opportunity, we could also try whether it were possible to satisfy the wish of the Supreme Government of Batavia, contained in the separate letter of 31st December 1737, concerning the Mangary.

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

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

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

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



## 20 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLÖK.

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

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

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

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

## HISTORY OF CELEBES. 21

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Collector of duties.—TRANSLATOR.

¶ Counsellor of state.—TRANSLATOR.

## 22 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

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

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

they

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 24 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finally,

## 26 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

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

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

Concerning the kingdom of Sopping, the dif-

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

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

ferences

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

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

Sir,

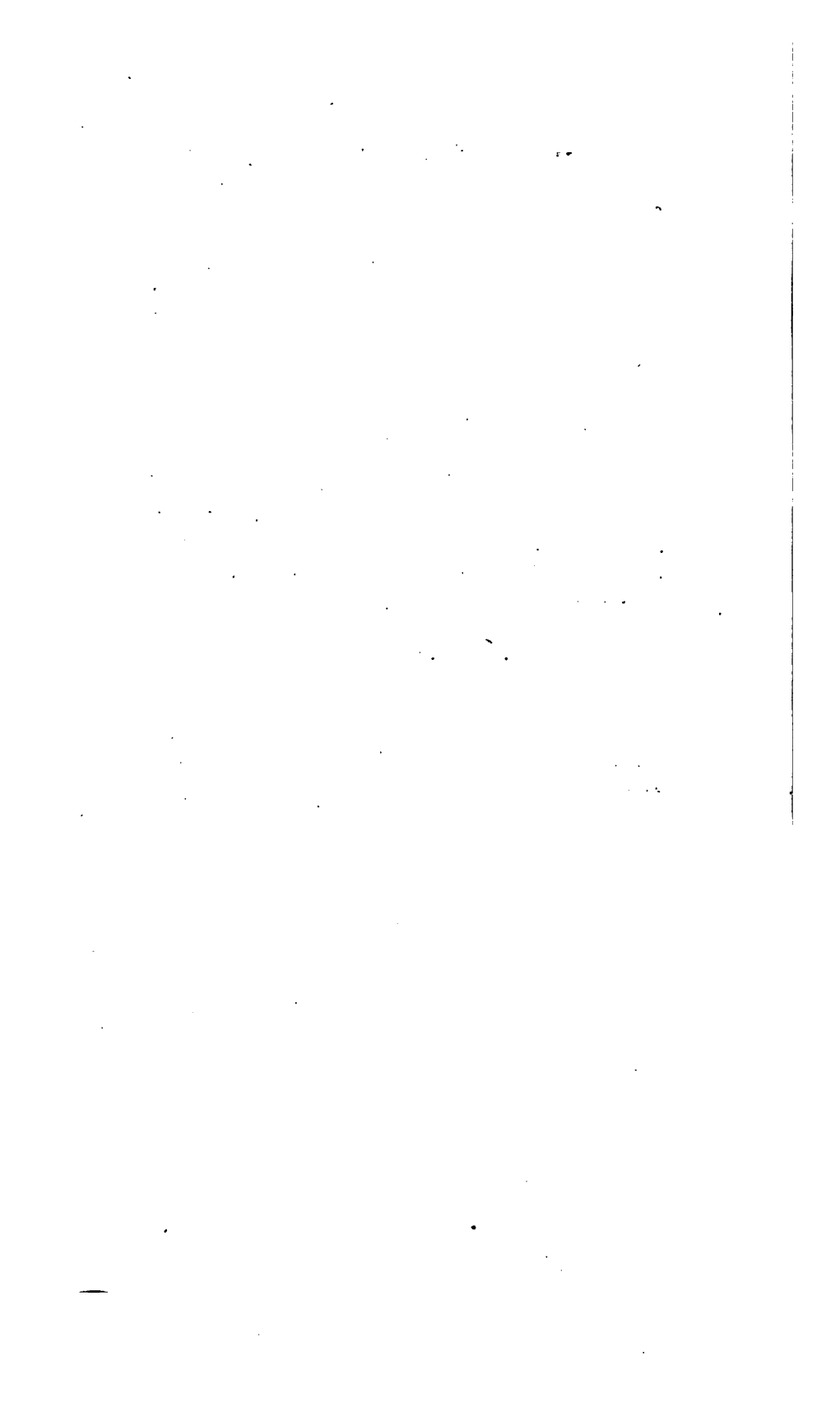
Your Most Obedient Servant,

(Signed) R. BLOK,

*Resigning Governor.*

FORT ROTTERDAM,  
*Maccassar, 10th April 1760.*





## JOURNAL CONTINUING, &amp;c.

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

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

Written  
by Mr.  
Sink-  
elaar.

1763

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

1763

A

take

## 29 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

1766  
August  
2d.

A messenger came to me from the King of Bone with

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

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

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

I returned my thanks to the King of Tello.

## 31 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

August  
4th.

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

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

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

• A Council House, or Chamber.—TRANSLATOR.

Goa,

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 32

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

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

August  
7th.

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

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

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

The

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 34

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

1766

August  
12th.

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

August  
14th.

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

September  
24th.

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

1767  
March  
9th.

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

April  
6th.

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

April  
13th.



## 35 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

April  
24th.

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

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

1768  
Written  
by Mr.  
Boolen.  
March  
21st.

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

May  
23th.

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

Decem-  
ber 31st.

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

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

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 38

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

Febru-  
ry 3d.

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

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

Febru-  
ry 16th.

The Queen Dowager of Goa Aroo Palacca, in-  
formed the King of Bone, that the Maccassars

Febru-  
ry 23d.

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

having

### 37 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

This

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 38

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

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

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

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

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

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

When the King of Goa sent a deputation to me, requesting me to allow the deputies to examine an article of the Bonay's treaty. 1775  
Februa-  
ry 17th.

This day I received intelligence that the King of Bone was very ill. March  
1d.

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

I sent them accordingly.

This day I received the mournful intelligence, that in the night at 2 o'Clock the King of Bone had March  
17th.  
June  
5th.

## 39 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

June 14th. The new elected young King of Bone, accompanied by the Prime Minister and all the principal Nobles of that kingdom came and acquainted me, that the election had taken place agreeably to the desire of their lately deceased King, and requested that the Company would approve of it.

November 6th. The Prime Minister of Bone, with other Nobles of that nation, came and acquainted me, that in their Council, they had resolved to carry their new King into the country, because, according to their ancient customs, they were bound to exhibit him there to his subjects, and for that purpose they requested my permission, which I most willingly granted.

December 2d. The new King of Bone departed this day for his country:

1776  
November 11th. This day a most curious report was brought to me by a messenger from Palembang,\* accompanied by a Glarang of Monchongkomba,† which was, that in the year before the Bougheese Prince, Aroo Pateempeng, had brought with him from Passier‡ a certain slave-boy, whom he called San-

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

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

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

keelang,

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 40

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

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

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

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

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

## 41 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

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

Novem-  
ber 14th.

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

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

† Chief of the Village.—TRANSLATOR

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 42

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

I received a report that Prince Aroo Mampo, late King of Goa, together with two of the principal Nobles of Goa, had four days before left Maros, and that, according to the general rumour they had joined themselves with Sankeelang; that Sankeelang then had marched to the town of Barombong; \* that the Queen Dowager of Goa, Aroo Palacca, and the Princess Careeng Balasaree were with him; and that the Queen Dowager had owned him for her grand-son, the fugitive King of Goa, who had escaped from Ceylon, the place of his exile. Upon this I immediately sent a messenger to Barombong in order to ascertain whether the Queen Aroo Palacca, and the Princess Careeng Balasaree were actually with Sankeelang. The messenger returned the same afternoon, and reported to me that he had himself seen both Princesses there. Novem-  
ber 16th.

I ordered then an Ensign with 31 European soldiers, the Chief Interpreter, the Malay Captain, and as many natives as he should think necessary, towards the South. Decem-  
ber 17th.

Two prisoners, followers of Sankeelang, were sent to me with a letter from the Ensign. On Decem-  
ber 17th.

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



## 43 HISTORY OF CELEBES:

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

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

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

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

February 28th. I received intelligence, that all the Hill Regents of Maccassar, together with almost all the Grandees of Goa, had joined Sankeelang; and that he, Sankeelang, had said, that within 30 days he would march into Goa, and take possession of that

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

† A province under Maros.—TRANSLATOR.

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 44

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

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

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

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

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

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\* Field Marshal.—TRANSLATOR.

## 45 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

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

May  
8th.

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

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

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

—TRANSEATOR:

† General.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ A Northern province under Maros.—TRANSEATOR.

readiness

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 46

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

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

I received information that a large number of the enemy had assembled at the village Carawesee in the territory of Tello. May 19th

The King of Goa, distrusting his own courtiers and subjects requested by a message, that I would send some prows to fetch him and his family from Goa, and allow him a house at Compong Baroo for his residence. I refused him for the present and sent him word, that I wished him, before he took such a step, to consider well whether it would be proper for him to leave his habitation in such a conjuncture, without having first tried every means to drive the impostor Sankeelang and his followers from his territory. May 24th

When

## 47 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

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

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

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

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 48

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D

In

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

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

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

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

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

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 50

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

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

On this day I received intelligence from the the King of Goa, that the Queen of Tello had intimated to him her wish to abdicate her crown. May 28th

This morning I received information from the King of Goa, that the Queen of Tello had already abdicated her crown, that she had sent to Goa the Regalia of the realm, on which account the Council of Goa would assemble tomorrow, in order to elect a successor to the kingdom of Tello. June 1st

I received in the evening communication from the Queen of Tello, that she had abdicated her crown, and delivered the Regalia to the Court of Goa, because she had been accused of siding with Sankeelang, who had visited her at Thain the place of her residency, a circumstance which it had not been in her power to prevent. She had in consequence, to avoid further suspicion, abdicated her crown, and she now requested that, as a daughter of the Company, she might be taken into their protection, as it had been done before with Careeng Madjennang. June 2th

In the morning of this day, at 8 o'clock, two messengers from the King of Goa came to me bringing D s June 3th



## 51 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

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

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

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

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

Having

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 52

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

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

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

European

## 52 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

October  
8th

Having from the 15th of June last, endeavour-  
ed in vain to expel the enemy from Goa, on ac-  
count of the tardiness and superstitious delays, of  
the jealousies, disinclination, and crafty subter-  
fuges of some of the Company's native auxilia-  
ries, principally of the Boughees, finding it impos-  
sible to trust them, and having no sufficient  
force of European Soldiers, I wrote a letter  
to the King of Bone, requesting that he would  
give positive orders to the Chiefs of his Troops  
before Goa, to delay no further the often project-  
ed general attack upon the enemy, and to bring  
the affair to a speedy issue; which letter I dis-  
patched to day by a trusty messenger.

October  
19th

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

October  
25th

Having discovered that Goa, though complete-  
ly surrounded by our Troops to prevent the in-  
troduction

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 51

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



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

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

Ober  
26th

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

Ober  
27th

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

Ober  
29th

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

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

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

† The Iron gate.—TRANSLATOR.

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 56

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

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

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

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

E

Royal

## 57 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

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

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

\* The name given to that standard. — TRANSLATOR.


## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 58

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

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



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

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

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

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 60

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

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

This

## 61 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

June  
29th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

the

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 62

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

August  
4th.

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 68

This morning I received intelligence of the sudden death, after a very slight indisposition, of the King of Goa, who had been dethroned by the Rebels, 1778  
Septem-  
ber 1st.

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

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

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



## 67 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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

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

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

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

had

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 68

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

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

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

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

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

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

Septem-  
ber 9th.  
1781

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

October  
16th.

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

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

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

## JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 70

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

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

### ART. 1.

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

### ART. 2.

It is therefore gratefully acknowledged by them  
that

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

ART. 3.

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

ART. 4.

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

ART. 5.

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

ART. 6.

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

ART. 7.

## ART. 7.

1781.

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

## ART. 8.

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

## ART. 9.

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

## ART. 10.

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

## ART. 11.

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

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

## 73 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

### ART. 12.

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

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

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

- 1 Criss, called Kallang Bodoa.

- 1 Marvelous stone, called Kaloa-nagaya.

- 1 Japan fire-lock, called Angebanko.

- 1 Spear called Tonipalanga, and

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

### ART. 13.

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

### ART. 14.

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

1  
 eminent Nobles as Ambassadors to Batavia, who 1781  
 in the name, and on the part of the King and of  
 the whole Government of Goa, shall humble  
 themselves before his Excellency the Governor  
 General in Council, beg pardon from the Supreme  
 Government for their offence, and solicit their  
 approbation of the articles of the present treaty.  
 After which the King of Goa and his Nobles shall  
 be at liberty to make such requests to His Excel-  
 lency the Governor General in Council, as they  
 may think consistent with equity.

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

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

(Signed) B. RYKE, Governor.

C. CRAANE, Chief Administrator.

J. M. BASERMAN, Major Comdnt.

J. W. H. VAN ROSSUM, } Ordinary

J. L. DEVOS; } Members

T. BOSH, } of Council.

J. G. BUDAH, Secretary to Govt.

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

(Signed) J. G. BUDAH,

SECRETARY,

G 2

Having



## 75 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

Jan.  
15th.

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

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

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

“ cd,

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

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

In the afternoon, towards evening, an English trading ship, called the Pallas, commanded by Captain John Donnell, was seen in the roads of Macassar, respecting which vessel such measures were taken, as resolved upon on the 9th September 1781. 1782  
May  
4th.

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

The death of Sankeelang is confirmed by a second letter from the Resident of Bolecomba. July  
10th.

A Deputy from the Court of Goa waited this morning upon me, and in the name of all the Maccassar nobles informed me that they wished to install their new King, and present him, according to the ancient customs of their country, to the Nation as their lawful Sovereign, which they had fixed upon should take place on the next new moon. For the Ceremonial they requested me to Oodjong  
4th.

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\* Palace.—TRANSLATOR.

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

## 77 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Prime Minister.—TRANSLATOR.

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

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

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

1790  
March  
18th.

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

TRANSLATOR.

land

## 79 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

May  
20th

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

Written  
by Mr.  
Beth,  
May  
22d.

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

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

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

miscd-

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

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

Respecting the Court of Bone, Mr. Beth says;

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

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

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

—TRANSLATOR.

H

their

## 81 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

An ally, who uses every possible means to ex-  
pose the Company to losses and indignity, and  
who

1800  
22

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

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

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

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


H 2



trusty,



### 83 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What

## 85 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 87 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

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

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

resolution,

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

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

## 89 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

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

The

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

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

1808  
Extract  
from the  
Memoir  
address-  
ed by  
Mr. Pe-  
ter  
Theo-  
dorus  
Chasse,  
to his  
success-  
or Mr.  
Francis  
Van  
Braam,  
dated  
14th  
April  
1808.



## 91 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

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

Whether

Whether a war with the Boughees does not become unavoidable in the present situation of the affairs of the Company, and as long as our respectability is not supported by a more efficacious force; whether in any case we should not have a better prospect of success with them by open war than by good words, and fine promises drawn up in a treaty, which from our first settling here were never, or, if at any time, very indifferently attended to; and finally whether, after all other exertions on our side, we should be obliged to maintain a state of activity without gaining any thing I shall leave to the consideration and wiser judgment of the Supreme Government. 1808

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

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

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

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


then

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

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

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

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

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

This however ought to be done with judg-  
 ment and caution, for fear of being by the cun-  
 ningness, more peculiar to the Maccassars than to  
 the Boughees, inveigled into a chaos of perplexi-  
 ty. We must always be backward in yielding to  
 their demands, for they never have done with  
 making

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

K

time,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\* King of Balaniëpa — TRANSLATOR.



## 89 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## **MEMORANDUM.**

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

**END OF VOL. II.**



# ERRATA.

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

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

Page 55, do. 15—The same.

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

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

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

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

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

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

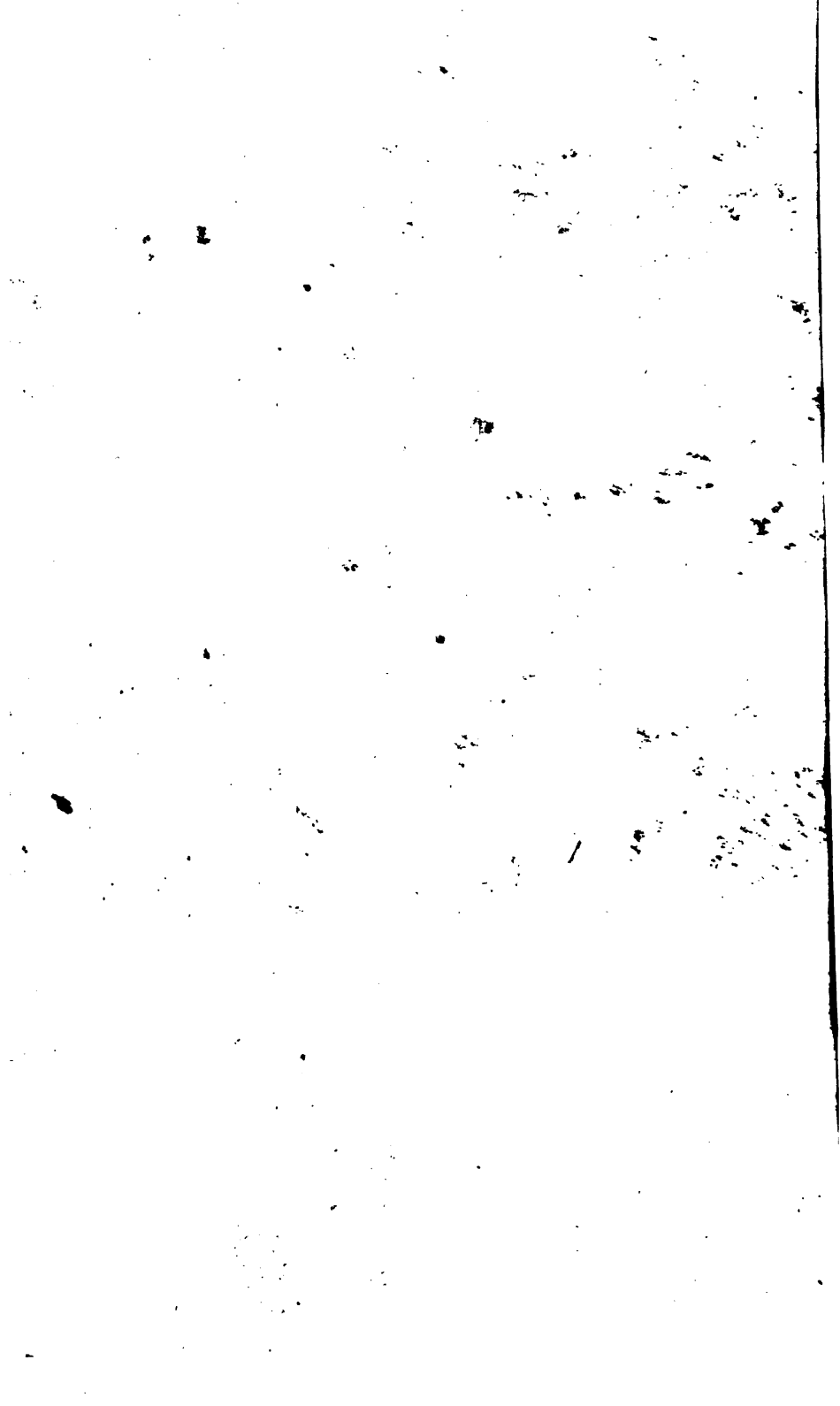
An error in the running title has occurred at the press from page 32 to 71, which has been perceived too late for any possible remedy.

**ACCOUNT OF THE SLAVE TRADE**

***AT MACCASSRR,***

**IN THE ISLAND OF**

**C E L E B E S.**



# **HISTORY** OF THE **ISLAND OF CELEBES,**

BY  
**MR. R. BLOK,**  
*Governor of Maccassar ;*  
**WITH AN APPENDIX,**

CONTAINING  
**A MEMOIR,**  
DRAWN UP BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
**AND COMPREHENDING SUCH REMARKABLE**  
**EVENTS AS OCCURRED IN THE**  
**ISLAND,**

**FROM THE BEGINNING OF HIS GOVERNMENT**  
TO 1808 :

TO WHICH HAVE BEEN ADDED  
**A REPORT,**  
**CONCERNING THE SLAVE TRADE**

OF  
**MACCASSAR,**  
DRAWN UP BY A DUTCH COMMITTEE,  
APPOINTED FOR THAT PURPOSE:  
**AND THE TRIAL AND SENTENCE**

OF  
**COLONEL FILZ,**  
*Late Dutch Commanding Officer*

AT  
**AMBOINA,**  
WHO, ON THE 19<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 1810,  
**SURRENDERED FORT VICTORY**  
TO

**CAPTAIN EDWARD TUCKER,**  
*Commanding His Majesty's Ship of War DOVER.*  
**THE WHOLE TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH [LANGUAGE AND**  
**PUBLISHED IN FOUR VOLUMES**

BY  
**CAPTAIN J. VON STUBENVOLL.**

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**VOLUME 3.**

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PRINTED AT THE  
**CALCUTTA GAZETTE PRESS,**  
1817.





# REPORT.

*Concerning the Slave Trade at Maccassar,  
drawn up by the undersigned Committee  
appointed for that purpose.*

*Addressed to the Honorable the Governor in  
Council,*

*Fort Rotterdam, Macassar,  
21st September, 1799.*

GENTLEMEN,

THE commission with which you were pleased to honor the undersigned, by a resolution of the 5th April last, being in our consideration of the utmost and of the highest importance, since it has for its object the abominable trade in men; a trade, which has an immediate, and very pernicious influence on the well-fare, and prosperity of this colony, is attended with the most disgraceful circumstances and gives birth to the most lamentable abuses, the effects and consequences of which are beyond all calculation, we have entered into the subject with all the sentiments, which its magnitude ought naturally to inspire, and we have endeavoured fully to discharge our duty according to the much respected will of the Honorables the Supreme Government at Batavia, and to their satisfaction, as we trust it will from this report sufficiently appear to you.

Beginning with the first point, namely the orders successively published here about that trade, we ob-

## 2 REPORT CONCERNING THE

serve that, as early as the years 1669 and 1670, that is to say from the first settlement of the Company at Maccassar, an order was issued by the then President in Council Maximilian De Young, decreeing that slaves for sale should first be examined at the bazar, by a writer appointed for that purpose; that then, the seller, being also examined, the writer should make out proper transfers; and enacting that whosoever should be detected in taking to himself a male, or female slave without such a transfer, should for the first time forfeit the slave so purchased, and pay moreover a penalty of 25 Rix Dollars; for the second time the same with a heavier penalty of 50 Rix Dollars; and for the third time, besides the loss of the male, or female slave, and a fine of 100 Rix Dollars, be severely punished, according to the exigency of the case.

- This placard, which mentions one of a still earlier period published by Admiral Speelman in conjunction with the Kings of the Allied Nations, on the 15th April 1666, and not to be found by us among the records in the Secretary's office, may be reputed the source from which most, if not all the orders for the prevention of abuses in that trade, have successively proceeded, as is to be seen from the contents of the placards, and orders of the 4th July 1716, 14th July 1729, 12th July 1746, 16th February 1759, and 7th August 1767, all of which are almost of one and the same tenor, with this difference only, that the penalties are made a little heavier, and they contain a further enactment for the transfers of the same person not being allowable more than three times, and for their delivery within 24 hours after the sale.

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 3

sale. It was also specially enacted on the 16th February 1759, that the purchases made upon such lawfull transfers, as were executed at the Secretary's office, with the assistance of a Dutch Interpreter, and the joint evidence of the native Interpreters of Bone and Goa, should on no account be annulled, and that, on a claim to the person sold being preferred, it should be left to the choice of the purchaser, whether he would or not accept of his ransom.

In 1743, on the complaint of the Court of Bone that the inferior traders, navigating beyond the point of Bera\* and in the bay of Bone† had bought there stolen people, and at the request of that Court it was resolved by the Political Council of this place, to give an open letter to be delivered to the first Deputy, or Tomarilalang, with an order therein contained, that if any stolen subjects of Bone bought by navigators, were claimed by the Chief of their village, the purchasers should be obliged to deliver them, provided they were reimbursed of their money. But if the purchasers were furnished with the deed of sale from the Chief of the town or village, where the slaves were bought, they should then, according to law, remain possessors of them.

In 1750, the direct purchase of slaves by Government was abandoned; and it was resolved to contract for them, which was done on the sugges-

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\* A province on the South-side of Celebes, under the obedience of the Company, and in charge of the Resident of Bolecomba.—TRANSLATOR.

† The Bay of Bone on the South East side of the Island, leading into Bone.—TRANSLATOR.

## 4 REPORT CONCERNING THE

tion of the then Chief Administrator Clootwyk, in the Political Council of this place, on the 11th of April of the said year.

By the fourth and fifth articles of the placard, issued by the Honorables the Supreme Government of Batavia, on the 17th October 1752, it was ordered that no individual should detain, or conceal another person's male, or female slave, for whatever reason it might be; without the special consent of the master, or mistress; and that if such detaining, or concealing lasted longer than twice 24 hours, or an intention should appear to facilitate their escape; or to withhold them from their master, or mistress, the perpetrators of such offence, should without regard to their rank be considered and punished as guilty of seduction; or theft of slaves. In 1772 those provisions were, by a resolution passed on the 23d October of that year, enlarged upon in the following manner.

" If persons, not freeborn and being still slaves,  
 " detain or conceal their fellows, they shall, for  
 " each 24 hours, be flogged in the bazar by the  
 " officers of Justice; and if such concealment is  
 " continued for more than thrice 24 hours, they  
 " shall then be put in irons, for the space of three  
 " years, and banished to some other place, whence;  
 " after the expiration of the above term, they  
 " shall be delivered back to their masters. But  
 " if it should appear, that such slaves have de-  
 " tained, and concealed their fellows with a de-  
 " sign to facilitate their escape, or to withhold  
 " them from their masters or mistresses, they shall  
 " then be liable to the punishment decreed against  
 " free-people, according to the exigency of the  
 " case and pursuant to the sentence of the Judge,  
 " as

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 9

“ as provided for by the fifth article of the above mentioned placard.”

It was further decreed, by an order of the 16th April 1764, that those, who held slaves for sale, should lock them up before 6 o'clock in the evening, within the place appointed to that use, and should not let them out till the following morning at 6 o'clock. By an advertisement of the 3d June 1771, a fine of 150 Rix Dollars, besides the costs of the inquest, &c. was fixed against owners of slaves for sale, whose slaves having loosened themselves from their chains, should be found on the road either dead, or alive.

In the year 1773, the orders of earlier years were not only renewed, but carried one step further, by making heavier the fine fixed upon already, in case the concealed or detained person should be free-born. The legality of the transfers was also limited to a second time; and it was enacted that persons who carried elsewhere for sale slaves not being lawfully their own, should be treated as slave-thieves, and sued for that crime by the fiscal before the Court of Justice. The same provision was made against those with whom any free persons, or slaves belonging to others, should be found, either in their houses, or in their vessels, for which, upon strong suspicion, an immediate search was to be made by order of the Governor.

In 1783, the Supreme Government at Batavia were pleased to make an alteration in the former orders, which was, that, instead of the provision made for persons guilty of stealing free-born people or slaves being punished as slave thieves, a difference in the punishment was decreed, according

## 6 REPORT CONCERNING THE

ording to the exigency of the case. If the theft had been committed on free people, the punishment was to be whipping, branding, and banishment for life ; if on slaves, whipping only and banishment for a certain number of years. Europeans in both cases were to be sent to the Netherlands, and the Natives to be put in irons, and to work at the public roads and at such places as should be appointed to them.

In 1783, on the 9th April, the Governor in Council here passed a later ordinance, by which, with the renovation of former orders, and especially of that of 1773, it was decreed, that the purchaser or detainer of free-born people, knowing them to be so, on conviction of that offence, should for the first time pay a fine of 200 Rix Dollars, and for the second time be exemplarily punished as a slave-thief ; but that no person being provided with a regular deed of sale, should be liable to any thing more than to return the individual purchased by him, on an order to that effect being passed by the Governor, or by the Court of Justice, and on reimbursement being made to him of all his expences including purchase money, and other charges ; and that in such a case, the interpreters employed as witnesses at the making out of the transfer, should be held responsible for all the consequences, and as it was their duty and their particular business to guard against the detaining of slaves, or of free-born people, they should incur the punishment, and fines decreed against that offence. But by a later order of the 3d April 1784, the fine of 200 Rix Dollars for detaining free-born people, was enacted without reserve ; and the former provision

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 7

sion was renewed ordering that, upon a repetition of such offence, the person guilty thereof should be punished exemplarily as a slave-thief.

The abuses on this subject which have successively crept in, and the intrigues which are now used to obtain slaves, are so manifold and so various in shape and manner, that it would be very difficult for us to mention all of them. In attempting it even, though we should observe all possible strictness, we might from ignorance omit some thing, or from insufficient grounds of information, set some circumstances in too imperfect a light; because the villany, which is the very soul of this trade, hides itself in the dark; and it is only by accident that some uncertain account of its proceedings is now and then obtained. For that reason the undersigned Committee beg leave to be allowed to limit themselves to the most known blamable particulars, which being faithfully set down here, will sufficiently shew in what detestable and dreadful manner covetousness pursues and attains its infamous object, exhibiting itself sometimes in one frightful shape, and sometimes in another, affording food to the blood-thirsty vengeance of the Natives, and opening a wide field of trouble and mischief.

The making of a slave transfer, if properly viewed, consists indeed in nothing more than this: a person; who says that he has bought a slave, calls an Interpreter and goes with him to the Secretary's office, accompanied by any native, who gives himself as the seller; a writ of sale, according to the common course, is immediately made out; the purchaser pays to the Notary three rupees, puts two rupees into the hands of the Interpreter;

## 8 REPORT CONCERNING THE

preter ; and behold ! the matter is adjusted, and the purchaser has become the lawfull owner of a free-born man, who very often has been stolen with his concurrence and co-operation. He is, however, in no fear for that, because the stolen slave is already concealed in a place where no body can find him. It also becomes very seldom public, because there never were found more faithful receivers than the slave-traders. This is a certain point with them, they will never, as they call it, betray their prison ; what is to be understood by that expression, we shall have the honor to explain hereafter. But what is further to be thought of the value of those public instruments, to which the name of slave transfers is given, when some times it happens that both purchaser and seller are fictitious, and that the one and the other are blended in the person of the Interpreter ? The right of property over a stolen man is then acquired with as much ease, as if he were already pinioned before the door, or within the yard of the pretended purchaser, and will cost nothing more than the small sum of one rupee, or two according to circumstances, which must be put into the hands of him, who performs the part of the seller. To find a person for this purpose does not require a long search, for it is a very easy and convenient trade to live on ; and there are common natives in great number rambling about and doing nothing else. They have indeed no support but the little profits they make in that way. Slaves even, being bribed for a small fee, suffer themselves to be so employed. The person who is stolen and sold, is never examined, the Dutch purchasers having no care about that, and



## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 9

and the native interpreters quite as little; for such is the risk which they attach to their responsibility, that, if necessary, as many transfers, as wished for, could be got from them beforehand.

We may represent to ourselves our town filled up with prisons, the one more dismal than the other, which are all furnished with hundreds of wretched victims of Avarice, and Tyranny, chained in fetters, torn from their wives, their children, their parents, their friends and their comforts, and languishing in helpless misery without any prospect of salvation, or relief. Our imagination may set before us the picture (and how often has not this been a reality?) of a man who saw his aged father perish by his side, in attempting to rescue him, whilst he, incapable of further resistance, was carried away and consigned to a state more dreadful than death itself, in which irrevocably robbed of all that is dear to every human creature, he has no change to hope for, but that of being for a trifle delivered over to the arbitrary will of a master, who, by payment of the price set upon him, has acquired the right of placing him among the number of his domestic animals, and of treating him some times worse than them.

If we now lift up another corner of the curtain, a no less afflicting scene presents itself. We discover wives lamenting the loss of a dearly beloved husband, children missing their parents, parents missing their children, who, with hearts filled with rage and revenge, run along in the streets before our doors, to do all that filial love of children for their parents, tenderness of parents for their beloved children can inspire them, in

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order

## 10 REPORT CONCERNING THE

order to discover, if possible, where their dearest pledges are concealed. Often, very often all their labour and trouble are in vain. They have to return helpless, and comfortless to their afflicted friends and relations. Sometimes, however, the most profound secrecy is not proof against the zeal of their searching. If they can in any manner learn where their father or mother, their son or daughter, their husband or wife is kept in concealment, how hope must then revive in their anxious bosom, and how cheap appears to them the sacrifice, by which they flatter themselves to be put in possession of the object of their zealous search, for whose deliverance and safety they have so long made their despairing sighs ascend to heaven, and whom they are now eager to fold in their arms. But alas! the unhappy people have not yet reached the end of their sufferings. An obdurate purchaser, whose feet they are in vain watering with their tears, shall soon pronounce his sentence dictated by arbitrary power and unfeeling selfishness. That sentence is that the afflicted father may procure the liberty of his son, provided he pays an enormous ransom, which must plunge him and his family from a moderate competence into a sad indigence, or, which is still worse, burden him with debts, which, sooner or later, will again drive him or his relations into slavery.

It would be wrong to think that when these wretched people have thus gained their point, when, to furnish the demanded sum, they have sold their house and goods, or even pawned their own persons, and after the actual payment of the ransom agreed on, the matter is finished. Oh no!

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 11

po! the trader will not deliver up the emancipated slave until he departs for Batavia; and if it should be asked why? The reason is that he will not expose his prison to be betrayed. He is afraid lest the whole country should know what numbers of stolen people he keeps shut up within that dreadful place, lest his many execrable actions and horrid villanies, long concealed in the dark, should become public, and a general cry of vengeance should be raised against his guilty head. The son is therefore only exhibited to the afflicted father who sees him in a pitiful condition chained with fetters; and it is frequently then that the ransom is first agreed on. Surely the grief with which a father's heart is pierced at such a sight, and the alternate change, and rapid succession of emotions of despair, grief, hope and anxiety, which rend his tortured heart, placed in opposition to the cold blooded indifference for every thing but his own interest, with which a covetous purchaser knows how to take advantage of the poor man's distress, and to the obstinacy, with which he persists in his inhuman demand of each Rix Dollar, of each stiver, nay almost of each penny, every circumstance, in one word, of the shocking contrast can be more easily conceived than described. We trust that we have said enough to shew the abomination of practices, which cannot fail to have a very prejudicial effect on the minds of the natives against white men.

But it will be said, the laws and the orders must speak in favor of the oppressed. We have in this respect shown above, how Government endeavoured, from time to time, to provide against these abuses. What is the case, however? When

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selfishness prevails, law, reason, rights, humanity, in one word, all that is sacred must too often submit. Various circumstances, which time and local situation have produced, combine to that fatal effect; so that in spite of the most salutary statutes published against it, the evil cannot be successfully prevented. Experience has taught us that the most rigorous orders which Government could devise, were insufficient, to make a complete provision against the cupidity of slave traders.

The unfortunate men, whose sufferings we have hastily delineated, are not always stolen by foreign natives at distant places. That horrid species of robbery is very often committed near the houses of our own subjects, in our camps, or villages, within our own town. A numerous gang of villains, known by the name of Bonds-men, with some of whom every slave-trader is careful to provide himself according to his means, are the most useful instruments to procure slaves in the easiest and cheapest way. Being instructed in all the arts of villany they rove about by troops in the night, and at unseasonable hours, in order to seize their prey, which, if they succeed, they immediately carry to their employer, or to any slave dealer. Nothing more of it is usually heard, than that such a man has lost his slave, or that such a native is missing. The stolen man, woman or child is already chained, and shut up within the prison of some slave-trader, which is never visited. The slaves, when shipped for transportation, are always carried on board at night. If the stolen person be either a free-born man, or a slave of any of the inhabitants of this place, he dares not  
make

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 13

make himself known, as long as he is in the hands of the robbers; for in that case, they would kill him immediately, even were it before the door of the purchaser who wished to buy him; and the murderers after this have no difficulty to get out of the way, beyond the reach of justice.

Those, who are trained to this business, whether Bonds-men, or slaves, (for even among this latter class of people thieves of men are often found) must be armed with all sorts of cunning and artifice to attain their aim: for, except a few instances in which they are unexpectedly favored by chance, it generally takes them a considerable time before they succeed in catching any one, on whom they have once cast their eyes, because the unfortunate object of their desire is too much on his guard, particularly, when he himself frequents the same calling, and because they cannot seize him without some precaution, as he would certainly kill them if he could, or sacrifice his own life in defence of his liberty. For a long time therefore they lay in wait for him, endeavouring through a second, or third hand, to become acquainted with him, in order to gain his confidence, and then, we will not say, to conduct or allure him into the house of the slave-trader, although even this does sometimes happen, but to lead him to a remote spot, or merely to a certain distance from his house, when immediately he finds himself attacked by two or three miscreants in league with his pretended friends, and before he has time to put himself into a posture of defence, or to take hold of his criss, it is already taken from him. After his hands have been tied behind his back, crying for help would be of the most fatal consequence



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quence to him ; thus he has nothing else to do, but to remain quiet, and to suffer himself to be sold as a slave by his robbers, who know already where they are to carry him.

For such nefarious practices becoming so little public, and thieves being so seldom discovered, different reasons may be given, the principal of which are the profound secrecy of the prisons ; the clandestine manner in which the slaves for sale are carried on board in the dark of the night ; the vicious mode of making and confirming the purchase ; the facility with which the thieves are able to get away, when they have any fear to be discovered ; the difficulty of making a satisfactory inquiry about a crime, of which but a few of the perpetrators and their accomplices are generally within the reach of justice, whilst the stolen person is still more seldom present ; the almost total impossibility, that offenders of this sort should be caught in the very act, so as to fall into the hands of the law ; and finally the secret protection, which some native petty princes, living on plunder, afford to their subjects. All these, and many other reasons combine to make the practice of kidnapping go on almost undisturbed, and generally unpunished.

A rich citizen, who has a sufficient number of those tools called Bonds-men, carries on his trade much easier than a poor one does. The latter is often obliged to go himself to the Bougheese camp, or elsewhere, to take a view of the stolen prey, and to carry it home ; whilst the former quietly smokes his pipe, being sure that his thieves will in every corner find out for him sufficient game, without any trouble to himself. The thief,

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 15

thief, the seller, the interpreter, all are ready for his service, because they are all paid by him. In some cases, the purchaser unites himself with the seller for the purpose of deceiving the interpreter; whilst in other cases, the interpreter agrees with the thief and pretended seller, to put the stolen person into the hands of the purchaser. There wants on the side of fair dealing the necessary precaution, and the requisite scrutiny; and on the opposite side the profound secrecy of the prisons, and the strict care in shipping the slaves, correspond with the licentiousness with which the transfers are fabricated.

A distinction ought however to be made between such illegal, and criminal practices, and a more moderate trade in slaves, many of whom, it is true, are stolen, but not in our vicinity, nor in the districts of the Company; the other part are such persons as, according to the particular laws and custom of the natives of Celebes, have in some way or other forfeited their liberty, either in war, or for some misdemeanours, or on account of debts. These slaves indeed are higher in price, and the purchaser cannot make so great profits upon them; but they may appear in broad day-light; an interpreter may with security answer for them; such slaves can also be shipped very quietly in the day time; the horrid circumstance of murder abetting theft is not so much to be feared, and our town has to apprehend considerably less danger from that description of slaves than from the one mentioned before.

In order to put this trade on a tolerable footing, so that all abuses may be effectually remedied, the Undersigned Committee are of opinion, under correction

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rection of a wiser judgement, that the orders already enacted and above cited ought to be maintained with all possible vigour, and that the several interpreters ought, if possible, to be kept strictly to their duty ; that further a constant attention should be paid to the good order and tranquility of our town and to those people called Bonds-men, or hirelings, who by all possible means ought to be prevented from dwelling within the houses and campongs of our inhabitants ; and permitted only to reside either in the Campong Baro or elsewhere ; and finally, that the purchaser of a stolen man, or woman should, on their being claimed, be obliged immediately to deliver them up, without cost and damage to the innocent person, the purchaser having then no indemnification to demand but from the interpreter ; and also that every one, without exception, should be obliged to carry his slaves for sale on board his vessel in broad day-light. All these being punctually observed would have a most salutary effect ; and for the better establishment of the necessary measures, it would not in our opinion be inexpedient to suspend, if but for one year, the exportation of slaves.

The Undersigned Committee flatter themselves that, as far as possible, they have given satisfaction in the performance of their duty, and subscribe themselves with profound submission

(Signed) A. J. VAN SCHINNE,

*Fiscal,*

S. MONSIEUR,

*Licence Master.*

*Additional*



## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 11

### *Additional Report by the Translator*

Containing facts and circumstances not mentioned in the first.

**B**EING one day busy at Maccassar in searching through the mass of voluminous half decayed records, my eyes fell on a small uninjured manuscript, which, when I looked into it, I found to contain the preceding Report on the slave-trade of that settlement, drawn up by a Committee of two Members of the Council of Police at that time, pursuant to an order from the Government of Batavia, received in 1798. I took the manuscript with me to my house, merely to read it. After perusal I thought that the knowledge of its contents might be conducive to the good of the human race, but that the Committee, whether they had been afraid of saying too much upon the subject, or that from prejudice, or self interest they did not wish for the entire abolition of the abominable traffick in human-flesh, had purposely limited their remarks to the ordinary causes of the evils attending this trade, and to the manner of conducting it, and had avoided stating any facts and shewing too pointedly the horrible consequences, which at different times have occurred. As I have been myself not only an eye witness of several of them, but also occasionally a loser by the occurrence, I was induced to take a rough translation of that compendious work, and to enlarge it by a narrative of facts, which my own experience had made me acquainted with, during a former residence of seven years, as a Dutch Officer, at that place.

That the horrors of the traffic in men at Maccassar had risen to the highest pitch with impuni-

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ty in every respect, even as to its mode of transaction, and that the Superiors, no less than the persons appointed by them for the restriction of its abuses, and of the evils they were sure to produce, more or less connived at them, according to circumstances, or to the condition of the persons concerned, is evident to me from what I have seen, and experienced, and will appear so to every body else by the following particulars.

As an instance that the natives at Maccassar do not fear to kidnap even half-cast Christians, I shall first state what happened in 1790, not long after my arrival there, to an Amboineese School-master attached to the Orphan institution, under the denomination of Malay-master, whose duty it is every evening, at 7 o'clock, to go to the Church within the Fort, there to read some prayers by way of evening vespers, at which however no other congregation appears, than one Corporal, and ten or twelve Soldiers off duty, who by turn are obliged to attend. That man, having in one dark evening performed his usual service, was on his way homewards, when, between the Fort and the town, he was stoppt by two Native Ruffians, who, notwithstanding his assuring them that he was a Christian, and the Malay-master, immediately stript him of his clothes, pinioned him, and throwing about him an old piece of cloth, used by the Natives and called Saroong, carried him straight to a slave-trader of the name of Geesdorp. It being already late, Geesdorp, without looking at him, caused the poor stolen Amboineese to be conducted to the prison, or black-house, and told the Ruffians to come back in the morning, for the terms of the purchase to be sculed

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 19

settled, and the transfer to be made. When the Kidnappers had quitted the house, the poor Malay-master immediately made himself known to those who guarded the prison; for he had not dared to do so in the face of the robbers, as they would immediately have killed him on the spot, even in the sight of Geesdorp, who would have been obliged to allow them to escape, for fear of being himself murdered, either by them, or if they had been apprehended and brought to punishment, by their accomplices, their friends, or their relations. As soon as the people saw that the supposed new slave was in reality the Malay-master, they carried him before Geesdorp, who, on looking him into the face, knew him directly. Geesdorp kept the poor man within his house for the night. Very early in the morning, before the Robbers could make their appearance, he repaired with him to the Governor, who from the mouth of the Malay-master himself heard all the particulars of the treatment which the unfortunate victim had received. The Governor upon this desired Geesdorp to say nothing about the affair to the Ruffians, who had kidnapped the Malay-master, and to pay them their price, without requiring from them a transfer, he taking upon him to refund the money. Had the Governor, instead of that, ordered Geesdorp positively to require the transfer, and for that purpose to bring them to the Secretary's Office in the Fort, he then, by confronting them with the Malay master, would have had an opportunity to confine them in the jail of the Fort, and, to prevent further consequences, he might have secretly sent them to Batavia, where they

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would have received a due punishment, without their friends, or relations knowing what had happened to them. Such examples repeated on similar occasions, would certainly have deterred the race of miscreants from stealing people. Kidnappers might otherwise have been originally checked in their abominable profession, had those only, whose care it was to guard against their nefarious practices, not connived at them in the making out of transfers for slaves purchased. If the desire for fees had not prevailed over the honesty of the Secretaries, who were not to make out a transfer for any person sold as a slave, without first examining all parties concerned, namely, the seller, the purchaser, and above all the supposed Slave, the unfortunate subject of the transfer; if, on finding this last to have been stolen, they had detained the seller, and delivered him into the hands of Justice, for the infliction of the punishment due to his crime; if the purchaser himself, on discovery that he knew of the theft and that he had connived at it, had been likewise made legally to suffer for his villany, there cannot be the least doubt but the practice of kidnapping either free people, or real Slaves, and the illegal purchase of them, would gradually have ceased, or at least become not so common. But it was quite otherwise. The Secretaries, whose monthly income chiefly depended on the quantity of Slave-transfers, were not so disinterested as to deprive themselves of a couple of hundred rixdollars, by being honest, and doing their duty. The same observation applies to the Fiscal, or Magistrate whose duty it was, on being applied to for a licence to put a new bought Slave

in irons, first to see the person, and examine him; as well as the transfer made of him. If he found the person to be a legal slave and as such liable to be carried abroad for sale, he was then to grant the licence, and receive his fee, but not otherwise. Self interest, however, prevailed also in that quarter, and the miserable stolen people became the victims of official cupidity. From all this it is easy to be seen, that all the public men employed in checking the abominable abuse had a share in it, and that none of all the restrictive and salutary orders, successively passed against it were ever in good earnest put into force. In this manner the affair of the Malay-master was hushed up. The thieves received their money, and when afterwards they learned, that their stolen victim was really the Amboinese, or Malay-master, they laughed at the joke.

Of the readiness of the kidnappers to murder their stolen victims if they cannot dispose of them, I have been a personal witness, having once fortunately had an opportunity of saving the life of a poor man by purchasing him. It was in 1792. On a Sunday evening, between 5 and 6 o'Clock, I had taken a walk through the Bougheese town, and on my return home, between the Town-wall, and the Company's Garden, I passed by an obscure lane leading into some jungle, where I perceived two natives dragging a third along with them. I was immediately struck with an idea of their criminal intention. Having two stout Boys with me, and being myself armed with a sword-stick, I had nothing to fear from them. So I followed them with quick steps, and coming up to them, I asked what they meant to do

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do in this jungle? The two Ruffians without the least hesitation told me, that, not being able to sell their Slave, they were tired of carrying him about, and they would therefore give him his liberty, the usual expression of such villains, when they put to death a stolen person they could not dispose of. The stolen man was between twenty nine and thirty years of age, but looked much older. On seeing me he fell on his knees and conjured me to buy him. I took pity on the poor man, and asking the kidnappers how much they wanted for him, they said that any money would be more acceptable to them, than giving him his liberty for nothing, and that if I would give them eight Spanish Rixdollars, sixteen rupees, I should have him. I closed the bargain with them, and ordering my Boys to loosen the cords he was tied with, I took him home with me, accompanied by the two kidnappers. Having paid them their money, and intending to give the poor fellow his liberty, I told the thieves, I did not want them to make out a transfer, and desired them to be gone. When they had quitted my house, the poor man full of joy at having escaped being murdered by the Ruffians, fell again at my feet and offered me his warmest thanks. I desired him to rise, and questioned him what countryman he was, and whence he came? He told me that he was a Boughce dwelling at Bontualac, in the vicinity of the Town; that having some time ago sold two Buffaloes on credit to a relation of his at Maros, he had lately gone to Maros to demand the money due to him, amounting to fourteen Spanish Rixdollars, twenty-eight rupees; that having received the sum he  
had

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had but two days before left Maros, when on the road he was stopt by the two Villains, who immediately seized him, took away his spear and criss, pinioned and robbed him of all his money and clothes, after which one of them would have killed him on the spot, but the other prevented it, saying: "Why will you kill him? he is not so very old, and still good enough for a company's Slave at Batavia; So, we may as well sell him at any rate, it is better than to kill him for nothing;" that having then thrown one of their old clothes over him, they had dragged him to Maccassar for sale, but none of the Slave-traders wishing to buy him, probably because they thought him too old, the ruffians had carried him to the place, where I had found him, with intent to murder him for fear of being detected, as he had imprudently given them a hint of his being an inhabitant of Bontualac. On the following morning, he told me that, if I would give him his liberty, he would not only repay me my money, but would in gratitude, as long as he lived, attach himself to me. My answer was that, at the moment I rescued him from death, it had been my intention to liberate him; that now, he was at liberty to go where he pleased; and that, if he was an honest man, he would not forget paying me when he should have it in his power to do so. He went, and took with him the two Boys, who on the preceding evening had attended me. In about three hours, he returned with his wife, children, and relations, laden with presents of all kinds such as the country affords. They thanked me with the warmest expressions they were able to find, for the dear life I had saved, and having paid  
me

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me my money, they once more blessed me, and returned to their homes. I afterwards received many little services from that grateful family.

With regard to the horrible consequences, attending the traffic in stolen people when these break loose, I will relate two instances which happened during the period of my former residence at Maccassar. The issue of one of them proved most terrible, both to the purchaser, and to the victims who had made their escape. The other, by a timely discovery, was of no worse consequence to the trader, than the loss of his money; but all the poor wretches, who tried to regain their freedom, lost their lives in the attempt. In 1794, a naval officer, Lieutenant in the Company's service, named De Roi, being stationed at Maccassar and in command of a small cruising vessel, was ordered to sail to Batavia with dispatches for the Supreme Government. This unfortunate man, having not long before married a young lady with some little money, thought his present voyage a fit opportunity to increase the sum by purchasing slaves, whom he would sell for a good price at Batavia. He bought accordingly nine or ten very fine stout young men; but, intending to make the best of his money, every one of the slaves he picked up was what they call warm stolen, and he got them in consequence as cheap as he wished. Being ready, to sail, he put those slaves on board of his vessel slightly secured, thinking that his small crew, consisting of a few Europeans and some Javaneese sailors, would be sufficient to guard them, and left the harbour. When he came off the Islands, called the Brothers, the Slaves thus slightly secured, observing the smallness of the crew,  
half



## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 25

half of whom only kept watch thought this a fair opportunity, to rid themselves of their fetters and of their master. Accordingly in the middle of the night, all being perfectly quiet on board, they rose all at once, each of them provided with a strong piece of fire wood, and rushed upon deck with their usual yells on such occasions. The unhappy officer, being in this manner roused from his sleep, became panick-struck, leaped over board, and drowned himself. Some of the few Europeans followed the example of their unfortunate commander, and lost also their lives in the watery deep. The rest in their consternation were all to a man cut off. The mutineers navigated the vessel northwards, behind the Brothers, to the shore of Mandhar, and, having plundered the vessel, set it a drift, landed and dispersed. As soon as this horrible deed became known, and it was ascertained that the perpetrators were on the Island, the Governor of Maccassar applied to the king of Bone; and putting a high price on their heads, requested that Prince to send in search of them, and, if found, to deliver them over to the Company, in order that they might receive a condign punishment for the atrocious crime they had committed. The King of Bone, after a long search, at length got four of them, and sent them to Maccassar, where, after being delivered into the hands of the Court of justice, their condemnation was that they should first be brought to the ordinary place of execution; there to be laid upon the rack, pinched with red-hot pincers, to have their limbs broken alive, and to remain so till dead; and then that they should be dragged by their legs to the

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sea-shore, and thence carried over to the Gallows Island, there to be hung up for the food of the birds of heaven. This sentence was, in the morning at 6 o'clock, executed in all its horrors. The first, who underwent the terrible punishment, was a lad of about fifteen or sixteen years of age; he died immediately under the hand of the executioner. Two of the remaining three died some while after; but the fourth, who had been the ring-leader, was at 12 o'clock still alive; and the executioner, to make an end of this horrid spectacle, took the cord by which the sufferer's neck was tied to the rack, and strangled him. Then the remaining part of the sentence was executed on the whole of them.

The other instance happened on the first of January 1795, at the house of a slave-trader, called Alexander Desiso. It being new year's day, Desiso and his wife, according to custom, had been dining out with their father; and the people in their own house availing themselves of the occasion, and partaking the festivities of the day, rambled about and neglected to watch their prisoners, who, perceiving that, thought it a good opportunity to break loose, and to liberate themselves by flight. In the mean-while, Desiso and his wife came home, the first being rather heavy from the liquor at his father's table. Overheated, as he was, he left his wife to enjoy her afternoon's nap in the bed-room, and laid himself down on a couch in the hall, where he fell asleep. Not long after, between 3 and 4 o'clock, eighteen or twenty of the confined slaves seeing no people moving, and the gate open, broke loose, and silently escaped through the gate leading to-  
wards

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 27

wards the plain opposite to the Fort. Unfortunately for them, one of Desiso's men met them at a short distance from the house. He ran directly home, and roused his master, who immediately summoned all the people he could find at hand, secured the remaining slaves by a proper guard, and with some armed men pursued the fugitives. Some dragoons and soldiers, who caught the alarm of *amock* (murder,) without further enquiry, gave him their assistance, and the flying wretches were overtaken, and partly shot and partly cut down in the most horrible manner, so that not one single man of them remained alive. Thus ended this affair, which, had the fugitives known that their keeper was laying so near on their passage; would most undoubtedly have begun with the murder of him, before they quitted the house.

That the house-slaves assist in Kidnapping their own comrades, out of the house of the common master, I can assert from my own experience, and from what happened to myself in 1795. I had a family of slaves in my house, consisting of the father, mother, and two grown daughters, the eldest of whom had three children. This family my wife's mother had given us on the day of our marriage. Among the other male-slaves in the house there was one of my own, a very good indeed and active boy. As I found him both faithful and intelligent, I always distinguished him from the other servants, which, particularly to the family I have described, caused great jealousy, and gave rise to perpetual bickerings between them. One day my wife, on a particular occasion, sent this boy with the eldest daughter of the above family to the bazar. My wife having for

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some hours waited in vain for their return, became anxious about them ; and fearing they were lost informed me of her apprehension: I immediately sent some people in quest of them, but the people returned, without having been able to trace either the girl, or the boy. Night came and neither of them appeared. In fact, they were lost, and we never heard any thing of them, till 1812, when my wife, following me to Maccassar, stopt at Samarang, where one day she was surprised to behold the very girl laying at her feet, imploring her pardon for having kidnapped Amsterdam, (such was the name of the boy) and carried him to the Bougheese town to a Boughee, who was to sell him, and to divide with her the produce of the sale. But the Boughee had been more cunning than herself ; he had kept her into the bargain, and sold her together with the boy to a Malay slave-trader from Java, who carried them with others to Samarang for sale. The boy had died since, and she being now old, her master, a Dutch gentleman, of the name of Van der Burgh, had given her liberty to shift for herself. She begged my wife to take her to Maccassar ; but she had behaved so very ill, that her request could not be prudently complied with.

In the report of the Dutch Committee mention is made of Bonds-men ; what sort of persons they are I think it necessary to explain. That name is given to Natives, who for a certain sum pawn either themselves, their wives, children, brothers, sisters, or other relatives. The sum, for a single person, never exceeds twenty-five, or thirty Spanish Rix Dollars. The rate is in proportion to the

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 29

the price which the person pawned may fetch by being sold, in case the debt when due should not be discharged,

These poor people some times are horribly situated. If they are young, and bound for labour within the house of the pawn broker, they are obliged, not only to work more than the slaves with whom they are associated, but every article, which they either spoil, break or lose, is put to the account of their debt; and it very often happens, that a person being pawned for ten Spanish Rix Dollars, the debt in the course of one year increases to twenty, or twenty five. When such a person gets sick, he who pawned him is obliged immediately, either to pay the debt, or to supply in his room another person of the same description. If the person pawned, whether man or woman, proves unable to defray by daily labour, not only the interest of the money for which he, or she is pawned, but also the cost of the food he, or she receives, and if the debt then is not discharged in a certain space of time provided for such a case in the deed of pawn, that person is carried to the Chief interpreter, before the Native Court expressly appointed to take cognizance of and to adjust all differences of that kind. Of that Court, the Governor is properly the President, though he never sits himself at it. The Chief interpreter, who acts in the Governor's name, lays afterwards all such cases and proceedings upon them, with the opinion of the Court in writing before him, which he either approves, or disapproves, according to the explanation which the Chief interpreter pleases to give him. Before that Court, the person  
pawned



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pawned is brought, and a secret fee of five or ten Rix Dollars, according to circumstances, added to the ordinary fees of the procedure, will always influence the Chief interpreter to cause the Native Members of the Court, who fear him more than the Governor, to pronounce such person a legal slave, as not being able to pay his debt. The pawn-broker in consequence receives a deed from the Native Court, signed by the Chief interpreter, and by the Malay Secretary, instituting him lawful master of such a person, and declaring that person to be his legal slave.

It sometimes happens, however, that such Bonds-men will stand up against their oppressor. Of this an instance occurred in 1796, with three Javaneese bound to a Dutch Junior Merchant of the name of Vermeulen. This gentleman had, not very long before, arrived from Samarang, whence he had brought with him the three pawned men, who, being shoe-makers, were employed by him to make shoes for the Maccassar inhabitants. He had come furnished with a great quantity of leather, and as he gave to his three workmen only food, cloathing, and a few doits for beetel per week, he could sell cheaper than any other shoe-maker in the place, and had of course considerable demands; so that the three pawned journey-men were obliged to work all day and night almost to satisfy the customers of their master, as well as his own insatiable avarice. This hard labour daily accompanied by a good flogging, and bad food, could no longer be endured by them. One day then that Mr. Vermeulen was dining out at the Governor's, they formed the plan of throwing off the yoke of bondage by flight,  
but

## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 31

but not before they had taken ample revenge upon their master's wife. Fortunately Mrs. Vermeulen, who had gone up stairs into her bedroom, to take her afternoon's nap, had not forgot to secure, as usual, the door inside. She had not been long on her bed, when the unhappy desperadoes, with their shoe-knives in hand, came to the door of the room, in which she was laying. Mrs. Vermeulen, on hearing the noise made to force the door, had no doubt but that it was an *amock* of the three Bonds-men produced by the ill treatment they had received from her husband. She jumped out of bed, and opening the window on the street, she gave the alarm to the people below, and to the passengers in the street, who immediately ran to the Government house, close by, and gave notice of what was going on. The unfortunate desperadoes seeing they could not succeed in forcing the door, and in avenging their wrongs upon Mrs. Vermeulen, had as soon as the alarm was given, retreated, and climbed to the roof of the house, with an intention, as it was supposed, to keep their station there with their knives in their hands till the night, when they could steal away from roof to roof to a place of shelter, and having escaped the search of their master go back to Java. But Fate had decreed it otherwise! The body-guard of the Governor were ordered to load their muskets and to shoot them down. They did so, and in less than three minutes, the miserable victims fell from the roof of the house, and lay on the ground, weltering in their blood. They died almost instantly. The executioner was sent for and dragged them by a rope tied to their feet along the road to the sea-side,

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side, whence he carried them over to the Gallows island, and hung them up by their legs.

I could relate several more instances of the same kind, were I not afraid of disgusting the public with such horrible stories. I trust I have said enough to convince my readers of the atrocity of the traffic in human-flesh, not only in itself, but still more in the abominable consequences which attend it.

I must own however, that, had the salutary orders successively given by the Court of Directors, for the management of the affairs of the Dutch East India Company, to the Supreme Government at Batavia, been faithfully put into execution; had the purchase and sale of slaves, according to those orders, been limited to such persons only, as were really born in slavery; and had the avarice of the traders been properly restricted to the purchase of slaves proved to be so by a strict and impartial examination, the horrors of the trade could never have risen to such a height, that at length it became the source of inexpressible misery to numberless innocent people, and at the same time depopulated the country of almost half of its inhabitants, as, to my knowledge, there were annually carried off from the Island, to Java and to the other Eastern settlements, no less than four thousand persons, a just cause of the blame which on that account the Dutch drew upon themselves from the other Nations of Europe. A well regulated trade would on the contrary have been of great utility and convenience to the inhabitants of Java, and of other places, but more particularly of Maccassar, where the Natives have an insurmountable aver-

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## SLAVE TRADE AT MACCASSAR. 33

sion to serve Europeans. But how could any regulation stand, when the public officers, whose duty it was to attend to the strict performance of the orders issued for the prevention of all abuses, were, by the temptation of presents and of fees, prevailed upon to connive at every not only secret, but even public transgression of those useful and wholesome orders?

Trusting that my readers will, in favor of the motive, pardon the weakness of my efforts in serving the Cause of Humanity by a faithful, though imperfect, exposure of the outrages it suffered from the combined avarice of the slave traders and of their official accomplices, I beg leave to recommend this little work to the kind consideration of a generous and enlightened community.

THE TRANSLATOR;

*END OF VOL. 111;*



# ERRATUM.

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Page 24, line 28—For warm stolen, read warm,  
meaning stolen.