EENE ENGELSCH LEZING OMTRENT DE VER-
OVERING VAN BANDA EN AMBON IN 1796
EN OMTRENT DEN TOESTAND DIER
EILANDENGROEPEN OP HET EIND
DER ACHTTIENDE EEUW.

UITGEGEVEN EN TOEGELICHT

DOOR

MR. J. E. HEERES.

INLEIDING.

In 1904 werd ons Instituut door aankoop eigenaar van een alleszins merkwaardig handschrift, toen in het bezit van den heer Francis Edwards te Londen. Deze beschreef het in zijn *Oriental Catalogue*, part VI (March, 1904), onder N^o 10816, als volgt: „Neatly written copy of the manuscript of a very important report addressed to the directors of the East India Company, which for special reasons never was printed.“ Het handschrift zelf is niet onbekend: in 1881 werd een gedeelte er van (12 October 1795—13 Januari 1796) uitgegeven in het *Journal of the Straits branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* ¹ door den heer W. E. Maxwell. Hij publiceerde dit naar een manuscript in „the India Office library“. Dit handschrift is, althans in het begin, niet geheel gelijk aan het onze, het is daar blijkbaar uitvoeriger, zonder dat die meerdere uitvoerigheid veel belangrijks meer schijnt te geven. Met 29 October begint ons afschrift beter tred te houden met het manuscript van het India Office, maar ook dan is het hier en daar beknopter en wordt men getroffen door verschillende leemten en heel wat andere afwijkingen. Ik verwijs daarnaar in het algemeen zonder ze verder

¹ P. 51 ff. van n^o 7, June 1881. De heer G. P. Rouffaer maakte mij hierop opmerkzaam. Mijn vriendelijken dank voor deze en andere bewijzen van welwillendheid, van zijne zijde ook nu weer ontvangen, vinde hier een plaats.

aan te geven, en bepaal mij tot ons afschrift. Alleen maak ik er nog op opmerkzaam, dat omgekeerd op enkele plaatsen onze kopie uitvoeriger is dan het manuscript van den heer Maxwell, die vermoedelijk zelf sommige verkortingen en samenvattingen heeft aangebracht.

Wat nu ons afschrift betreft, het is in folio formaat, bevat het eigenlijke rapport, groot 251 beschreven bladzijden, verder titel en opdracht aan de Engelsche Oost-Indische Compagnie (samen 3 beschreven bladzijden), en de volgende geteekende kaarten: 1° „General plan of Amboina with its Dependancies”; 2° „Plan of Amboina and Fort Victoria shewing the situation of the adjoining heights”; 3° „Plan of Amboina shewing the different niggers¹ into which it is divided”; 4° „Plan of the harbour of Amboina”; 5° „Plan of the Banda Islands”; 6° „Plan of Banda Neira”. De kaarten zijn goed geteekend, maar geven geen nieuws. Ik vond dan ook niet noodig, ze te laten reproduceeren. Alleen heb ik gearzeld ten opzichte van het duidelijke kaartje n° 3, maar de tekst zelf geeft de verdeeling in negorijen voldoende aan, reden waarom ik de reproductie ten slotte toch heb achterwege gelaten.

Behalve het genoemde voorwerk, bevat dan het handschrift een rapport aan de Engelsche Oost-Indische Compagnie over de expeditie van Madras uit naar en de verovering van de Banda- en Ambon-eilanden onder admiraal Rainier, 1795 tot 1796; een beschrijving van den toestand dier eilanden in den tijd, waarin zij in handen der Engelschen zijn gevallen en eenige beschouwingen en voorstellen omtrent wat er mee gedaan zoude moeten worden voor het geval dat zij voor goed aan Engeland zouden blijven. Naast het een en ander wat van geen belang is, is er veel van beteekenis. En vooral hun, die nog altijd in de Engelschen van het eind der 18^{de} en het begin der 19^{de} eeuw voorvechters zien van mildere en vrijere denkbeelden omtrent koloniale monopolie-staatkunde en wat daarmee verband houdt, zij de lezing, niet het minst van bovenbedoelde beschouwingen en voorstellen, aanbevolen. Misschien worden zij bekeerd tot andere gedachten omtrent de opinies van Raffles' landgenooten in dit opzicht, opinies, waarin Raffles *im grossen Ganzen* deelde.

Het geheele rapport is opgemaakt door „captain Walter Caulfield Lennon, principal engineer and secretary to the expedition”. Edwards' catalogus zegt nog van hem: dat hij „joined the Madras

¹ Schrijffout voor „niggeries”.

Engineers 1782, he was promoted Lieutenant 1786, Captain 1793, Major 1804, Lieut.-Colonel 1806, and retired Nov. 1810". De toevoeging (met eene andere hand geschreven) bij Lennon's naam in den titel dezer kopie "Godfather to Walter Caulfield Pratt, Ovin House (?), Aylesbury (?)" is misschien eene vingerwijzing, dat ons afschrift is geweest in particulier bezit van een met Lennon bevriende familie.

Ons afschrift is niet door een en denzelfden kopiïst gemaakt. Zooals ik in verschillende noten heb opgemerkt, zijn niet minder dan drie afschrijvers aan het werk geweest. Het grootste deel (tot bldz. 210 van den tekst) is gekopieerd door iemand, die met het Engelsch op niet te besten voet stond, en wel door "a native", zooals Lennon zelf onder de opdracht aan de directeuren der Oost-Indische Compagnie zegt. Bij bldz. 210 schijnt mij een andere hand aan het werk te zijn geweest, vermoedelijk die van Lennon zelf: immers het schrift gelijkt op diens ook in onze kopie blijkbaar origineele handteekening onder de opdracht aan de O. I. C. Bij bldz. 227 begint, dunkt mij, weer een andere hand.

Ons afschrift was door Lennon zelf voor iemand anders (wie?) bestemd. "The correct copy" had hij moeten zenden aan de Directeuren en hij maakte verontschuldigen, dat hij dit dus niet heeft kunnen zenden.

Heeft Raffles ons exemplaar in handen gehad? Verschillende potloodaanteekeningen zijn bij ons handschrift gemaakt en de hand daarvan doet mij telkens denken aan die van Raffles. Maar dit is slechts een gissing.

Wat de wijze van uitgeven aangaat, ik heb enkele gedeelten niet opgenomen, die mij geheel en al onbelangrijk voorkwamen ¹, maar overigens geheel het manuscript weergegeven. Er was natuurlijk het een en ander in wat van elders bekend is, maar ook dit werd veelal bekeken met een anderen blik, dan wij dit gewoon zijn; ik heb het daarom niet weggelaten. Natuurlijk laat ik de in het rapport vervatte oordeelvellingen geheel voor rekening van den schrijver. Soms gevoelde ik mij gedrongen, hierop nog eens uitdrukkelijk in een noot te wijzen. Niet altijd deed ik dit echter. De noten, door mij geplaatst en die wel dienen te worden onderscheiden van die van Lennon, mogen overigens tot opheldering voor den lezer strekken. Ik plaatste mij daarbij op het standpunt, dat ik de verklarende

¹ Ik heb dit door..... aangeduid.

aanteekeningen schreef voor hen, van wie ik mag veronderstellen, dat zij die noodig hebben; niet voor hen, die dit alles even goed of beter weten dan ik. Ik verwijs overigens naar de noten zelf.

Met verbeteringen van schrijffouten en verkeerde interpunctie heb ik mij zelf de vrije hand moeten laten, o. a. omdat, zooals boven gezegd, het handschrift grootendeels is overgeschreven door iemand, die nog al fouten heeft gemaakt. Bij ook maar den geringsten twijfel heb ik daarvan doen blijken.

Een register van plaats- en persoonsnamen en van verklaarde vreemde woorden heb ik achter deze uitgave geplaatst.

JOURNAL of an expedition to the Molucca Islands under the command of admiral RAINIER with some account of those islands at the time of their falling into our hands, and likewise suggestions relative to their future better management in case of being retained in our permanent possession. By Captain WALTER CAULFIELD LENNON. Godfather to Walter Caulfield Pratt, Ovin House (?), Aylesbury (?), Principal Engineer and Secretary to the Expedition.

*To the Honorable the Court of Directors of the
United East India Company &ca &ca.*

Honorable Sirs,

In the following pages which I have the honor to lay before you, you will find a regular detail of every material occurrence during our expedition to the Eastward; interspersed with such remarks and reflections, as presented themselves at the time, unwarped (?) by either system or prejudice.

I thought it better to represent every circumstance according to the first impression it made, without attempting to dress it into form; as the first sketches, tho' rude, of one who faithfully copies the object before him, often stamp a stronger idea of resemblance than the finished painting of a more perfect artist. Conceiving it my duty to propose every thing, that occurred to me, conducive to the good of the service or the interest of the State, I have done so without reserve to the best of my judgement. In apology however for the many faults, which must be noticed throughout, I have to plead an almost continual state of ill health and sometimes of extreme pain.

Should I be able to convey to your Honorable Court a clear idea of all our transactions, with the motives that led to them; of the state of the countries we have gained, and their dependencies; and

from the hints I have ventured to throw out of future advantages and improvements, should any be found of real utility hereafter, my object will be fully attained and in your approbation I shall enjoy my ultimate reward.

*I have the honor to be, Honorable Sirs,
with the highest respects Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,*

W. CAULFIELD LENNON.

NB. This not being the correct copy, which I have lately been obliged to send to the Court of Directors, you will make allowances for the writing of a native ¹.

*JOURNAL of an expedition to the Molucca Islands
under the command of Admiral Rainier.*

Madras, October 1795. In consequence of the unforeseen success of the French in overturning the Government of Holland, and from an apprehension of the Dutch colonies falling under the dominion of that power, an expedition was fitted out at Madras, by orders from England, for the purpose of securing the Molucca Islands to the ancient Government of Holland, if it again should be restored ²; or in case of their rejecting the offer of our protection, finally to reduce them by force. The expedition was formed under the Command of Admiral Rainier, and consisted of the Suffolk, 74, Centurion, 50, Resistance, 44, Orpheus, 36 ³, and Swift and Hobart, sloops of war; the Arniston, Indiaman, Surprise and Mary, transports, with about 800 troops on board the different ships. We embarked on the 15th of October, and sailed about 5: o'clock in the evening, in the midst of threatening appearances of the approaching

¹ Wie de persoon is, aan wien onze kopie is gezonden, blijkt niet. *Misschien* is het niemand minder geweest dan Raffles, de beroemde en beruchte. Immers, aan den kant der bladzijden zijn verschillende aantekeningen gemaakt met potlood, geschreven door een hand, welke veel gelijkenis vertoont met die van dezen lateren luitenant-gouverneur van Java en onderhoorigheden, terwijl de inhoud dier opmerkingen dikwijls overeenkomt met Raffles' elders uitgesproken denkbeelden. De aantekeningen moeten dan zijn geschreven vóór de verovering van Java, zelfs vóór of zeer spoedig na Raffles' komst op poeloe Pinang in 1805.

² Op deze bewoordingen in verband met Willem V's bekende proclamatie van Kew, kom ik beneden in een naschrift terug.

³ De cijfers achter de schepen geven vermoedelijk het aantal kanonnen aan, dat zij aan boord hadden.

monsoon; having just before we weighed anchor, received intelligence of the capture of Malacca by the detachment sent sometime ago, under the command of Captain Newcome ¹ of the *Orpheus*, and Major Brown of the Company's troops

Nov^r 13th. We made Pulo Pinang

The population of Pulo Pinang exceeds 20,000 souls, consisting of Chuliars, Chinese, Malays, Bengallies, Portuguese, and Europeans; the first bear the greatest proportion in number and are chiefly the boatmen and fishers, but some of the richest traders are of this cast; they are originally all from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. The artificers and most of the shopkeepers are Chinese. The persons who are generally employed in clearing the ground and cutting down trees for timber are Malays, who work by contract, and with their little axes with long handles cut down or sit idle at their pleasure. Their manner of cutting differs from what is generally practised; if the lower part of the trunk of a tree be much thicker, as it for the most part is, than, at the height of 6 or 8 feet, they erect a stage, and cut it at that height where it is least trouble; then clearing away the underwood, they take advantage of the wind, and cutting nearly through several trees in its direction, they fairly fell the first, which in its fall brings down all the others to the leeward of it. After the trees are somewhat dry, they are set fire to, but seldom were entirely consumed; very large timbers are still lying in the direction they chanced to fall. This and the quantity of ground lost by the stumps still remaining (if left to nature to decay as is usually the case), impedes the cultivation for not less than 6 years, and sometime 10. It would seem therefore more advantageous to dig the trees at first fairly out of the ground. Rice is generally cultivated after the wood is cut down, but from the ground not being effectually cleared, there is full a third part of it lost for at least 6 years, and the standing stumps give it the most barbarous appearance possible. The variety and luxuriance of the trees over this island, as over all the Malay islands, is very beautifull; timber very plenty and good; but they have no teak, which is the best wood in India. Poon grows to an immense size, and one tree large enough for the Suffolks main mast, for which it was intended, lay upon the beach.

The soil about the town itself is sandy and very disagreeable,

¹ Vgl. G. Lauts, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlanders in Indië* V, (1859), bldz. 257.

being either quite loose sand, or overgrown with long grass. The inland part of the island is very high, covered with wood. The pepperplantations here flourish extremely well, and I am told that the pepper is of a better quality than at Bencoolen, which has diminished in the quantity of its produce considerably for some years past. Perhaps this circumstance may be a means of encouraging Pulo Pinang, and it is imagined that it would be much more to the advantage of the Company to withdraw the establishments of Bencoolen and bestow their attention on this island. This addition alone would be sufficient encouragement and security to Penang. As to Bencoolen, since it is only kept up for the purpose of collecting the pepper on the Westcoast of Sumatra, and seeing that the quantity produced has gradually diminished for some years past, it is a query (?) with very little doubt, if the whole of this pepper would not just as certainly be brought to the English at Penang, where the Malays could sell it at a price, not so much above the contractprice of Bencoolen, as to equal the expence of that settlement now. ¹

The harbour of Penang is proved to be safe and capable of holding all the ships of our navy in the East, and affording them and any other ships every requisite assistance at all times. There is now a shipwright established, who builds ships here, and from the cheapness of timber, if encouragement was given to artificers, ships might be built cheaper here, than any where in India, and docks for the largest ships could be formed almost by the simple excavation of the rock of Pulo Jeraja, where the Chinese now manufacture chunam very cheap and good. It is therefore a good situation for establishing a naval arsenal, as the most central to all the trade between India and China, and all the islands to the Eastward, which, it is hoped, may soon be carried to an extent much beyond what it has been hitherto and this in all probability could be done without any, or at most a very trifling, expence to

¹ Hier is, met potlood, geplaatst de volgende kanteekening:

„Very just, for pepper is purchaseable at all other parts of Sumatra and one half the price it is at Bencoolen. Another advantage of Penang is its central situation, by which it might be made the entrepot of all the commerce of India with China, but in such case it must be a free port and not shackled with duties on import and transshipping. When they were imposed (?) to meet (?) the expences of the „Scottish Invasion”, Penang was almost deserted by the Malays, who consumed a large quantity of British and Indian manufactures, which they paid for (?) in produces (?) disposeable (?) to the Chinese.”

the Company; since if they would only avow their encouragement and support to the settlement, in the manner before mentioned, it's being continued a free port would secure it such a resource of shipping and trade, as would tempt the speculation of individuals to these undertakings. The watering of ships at Penang at present is by no means convenient, but might easily be made so.

The fort is situated at the N. E. point of the island, which is certainly the best; but it is in itself so childish a plan and scale, so near the sea, so ill executed, and so crowded on by the town and houses adjoining, that I fancy, to afford a real security to their possessions, it will be found necessary to build another in a different place; the best place for the purpose is said to be about 6: miles South, where there is an inner harbour, which might be improved for the reception of large ships. The tree or plant which yields that curious substance, the elastic gum, grows here in abundance; its juice, when cut or broken, resembles milk, which when suffered to remain exposed to the air, coagulates into the substance we see it, without any chemical process whatever. Bullocks and sheep are very scarce and poor here; the beef is generally buffalo, chiefly from the opposite shore of Quada ¹, and sheep are imported from Bengal. Poultry are plenty and cheap, the market being supplied by Malay prows, besides what are bred on the island. Vegetables are cultivated in great plenty by the Chinese, who wherever they settle are industrious and orderly.

24th. This morning embarked with the Admiral on board the *Orpheus*, we weighed anchor at 10: o'clock.

30th

we did not anchor in Malacca road untill 5 o'clock in the evening.

December 1st. The Admiral landed and was received by the Governor, M^r Couperus ², Major Brown and all the officers of the garrison, and was conducted to the Government house. We dined this day with M^r Couperus; there was a large company. Madam Couperus was dressed in a mixture between the Malay and Portuguese. Her outward garment being made exactly like a shift. She looked as if she reversed the order of her dress altogether; her hair was drawn so tight to the crown of her head, and the skin of her forehead so stretched, that she could scarce wink her eyelids.

¹ Kedah.

² Abraham Couperus, de Nederlandsche gouverneur, die in Augustus 1795 Malaka aan de Engelschen had overgegeven.

She seemed however very affable and well-bred. In the evening she played on the harp and was accompanied by some of her slaves on violins. She chewed betel incessantly, as did the other ladies in company and every chair in the room was furnished with a cuspedor to spit in; for while the ladies chewed and played, the Dutchmen smoaked their long pipes and drank klienbeer ¹, which is some of the best malt liquor I ever tasted. We were attended at dinner and during the evening by Malay slaves, male and female, some of the latter rather pretty, considering the general cast of Malay features.

8th. This day visited the works of the fort and town, which were found in better order and more capable of defence, than could be supposed from the facility with which it was gained by so small a force, as that sent against it. Had the Dutch been true to their trust and assembled the garrisons of Rhio and Perah, as they were ordered from Batavia to do, they certainly might have occasioned us a deal of trouble.

16th. After much inquiry and considerable expence, we obtained very satisfactory information relative to the situation, strength and disposition of the natives of Amboina, from which there are great hopes, the task of reducing it, if necessary, will not prove very arduous.

17th. By an English ship, arrived from China, we learn that there were no French ships at Batavia on the 1st of November, as three Portuguese ships left it on that date and arrived at Macao.

December 3^d. These Portuguese may account for the white flags that we have heard [in ?] frequent reports of as Frensch in that quarter.

19th. The Suffolk, Centurion and Hobart arrived this morning from Pulo Pinang.

21st. The Arniston, indiaman, was this day dispatched on her voyage to China.

25th. Chiefly engaged in completing the survey of Malacca. The prize agents employed in taking account of all the public effects. Major Brown having resigned the Government of Malacca, and Major Vigors having preferred going on the expedition, Captⁿ Parr, next in seniority, was put in orders for the command of Malacca.

30th. As it appeared to the Admiral, that we were scarce in tonnage, the Armenia, captain Sands, of 300 tons, was this day

¹ Kluin- of Kluunbier: een Groningsch brouwsel.

taken up at four pagodas a ton p^r month for six weeks certain.

31st. Several of the seamen, being in a very sickly state, were sent ashore, as being unfit for immediate service, and as there was a great want of wholesome accommodation for them, a temporary hospital for the sick of the navy was erected. Notwithstanding that this town is surrounded on the landside with impenetrable jungles and swamps, from the small proportion of sick in hospital it may be reckoned healthy for Europeans, tho' since our possession of it the rains have been very constant. This is probably owing to the effects of putrid vegetation being washed away as soon as formed.

Tho' situated in the most favorable way for uniting all the resources of a rich country, with an easy communication by sea to foreign markets, Malacca now labors under every inconvenience that an island does, without its advantages; and tho' it has adjoining a soil capable of yielding the richest productions of every kind, and tho' under the dominion of an European power for about 250 ¹ years, it remains, even to the foot of the lines of the town, as wild and uncultivated, and in as perfect a state of nature, as if there never had been a settlement formed here; and except by the small river that passes between the fort and town, you cannot penetrate into the country in any direction above a five miles. Nor is even this extent general, being confined to the roads which run along the sea-shore, about two miles each way, and one that goes inland. Mr Couperus has a country-house about four miles on this latter road, and there were some time ago gambir-gardens about 7 miles in-land, to which this road led, but it is not at present cleared farther than Mr. Couperus's house. There is no cultivation at present round Malacca but the gardens of the Chinese and a few of the Malays, who supply the town with great abundance of vegetables and fruits, the varieties of which are reckoned at upwards of 100; very few of them are indebted however to cultivation, being mostly the spontaneous productions of nature. The gardens immediately next the town are so choked up with cocoanut-trees, that even from Bocca China ² you can hardly see a house; they grow indeed so thick as very much to obstruct the free circulation of air and almost entirely to keep off the land-wind, which at this season is the prevailing one, and very

¹ Sedert 1511, dus in 1795 bijna 3 eeuwen.

² Boekit tjina.

cool and pleasant. This extraordinary want of cultivation I am informed is the consequence of the restrictive policy of the Dutch government of Batavia, who make a point of discouraging it in all their settlements, the more effectually to render them dependant on Java, where alone they promote cultivation and improvement, and from where they supply all the other settlements even with the common necessities of life. Sugar might be cultivated here to great advantage, the climate being very favorable to its growth, but no more is grown than is used as a common vegetable, the manufacture of that article having been hitherto prohibited. Salt too might with very little attention and care be made in quantity on the swamps quite close to the town, as they are subject to be overflowed by the tides and have no frish water to communicate with them. There was some years ago a very good manufacture of gambir here, which exported near 40,000: picul annually, but ¹ in the war with the Malays, the gardens were cut down, and the manufacture destroyed. Since then there is but a very small quantity made here, and Rhio is now the chief place where it is manufactured. Gambir is a substance of a waxy consistence, and a light yellowish brown colour, formed by the decoction of the leaves of a shrub, into which a small quantity of riceflower is thrown, to make it more firm and solid. It is of an acrid bitter taste, and is eaten with betle by all the Malays; it leaves an agreeable sweetness on the palate. This article was the only manufacture of Malacca, that I can learn, and with canes, dammer, betel, nuts and gold-dust constitute the only natural exports; and it is dependant on foreign markets even for the common necessities of life. The exclusive trade which the Dutch carried on, and the breach of which they punished with death ² was in tin, pepper, opium, Japan copper and spices.

¹ Hier staan de woorden „some years ago” in het manuscript, maar zij zijn met potlood doorgeschrapt.

² Nog den 15 October 1794 waren de verbodsbepalingen tegen particulieren handel in specerijen en oliteiten vernieuwd (zie J. A. van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, XI, 1893, bldz. 821) „op poene van de poenaliteiten, daartegen gestelt.” Deze straf was echter toen niet meer, zooals onze tekst heeft, de doodstraf, maar straffe aan lyf of leeven” (*Plakaatboek*, t. a. p., bldz. 692), terwijl ook op deze strafbepaling gaandeweg in de practijk vele uitzonderingen waren toegelaten (vgl. bv. *Plakaatboek*, t. a. p., bldz. 663, 546, v.). In October 1781 was de „levens-straf” uitdrukkelijk gesteld geworden op den handel „in de vier fyne speceryen of de daar van gestookte olien” en in „amphioen . . . behalven die van de (Amphioen-) societeit te Batavia is ingekogt” (*Plakaatboek*, X, bldz. 300, v.v., 561, 567, vgl. bldz.

The two first articles they bought from the Malays at their own prices, having either established factories for smelting the tinn and collecting the pepper, as at Rhio, Perak, Palambang et^{ca}, or forced them to sell wherever they could find them; the other three articles they sold to them. Their open trade consists in salt, piece-goods of India, Macassar cloths, tortoise-shell, ivory, wax and gold-dust. Some years ago, when the Commissioners from Holland ¹ found the trade of Malacca so much on the decline, they reduced the civil and military establishments of it considerably. This diminution of the trade is in a great degree owing to the vicinity of Penang, where the Malays, finding a free sale for all their goods, naturally carried them whenever they could scape the vigilance of the Dutch. Perhaps the prosperity of Penang is considerably indebted to the monopoly of Malacca. How far it may be affected hereafter by this monopoly being put an end to, it is hard to say. Certainly Malacca is better situated for trade, particularly that carried on by the Malays in their prows, and it is the key of the Straits, since no ship can pass but in sight of it; and there is little doubt, but it will soon recover its former consequence, when the freedom of trade shall take effect, and the Dutch influence is known to be at an end. 'T is probable that there will be found advantages and trade sufficient to support both this and Penang. This settlement it is certainly necessary to keep, to prevent any other power establishing themselves in it, and it is likely the Americans would avail themselves of the circumstance of its being evacuated in a short time, which might be attended with very inconvenient effects to us hereafter; and as to Penang, it possesses natural advantages enough to insure its prosperity, unless thrown off and disclaimed as unworthy the protection of the Company; and amongst its advantages its harbour for ships and resources in ship-building are not the least, particularly as it is not at all improbable but the chief business done in that line may soon find its way from Batavia thither, which indeed is sincerely to be wished on the score of humanity, that

238, 469 v.v.). Dit in overeenstemming met en in navolging van voorschriften van 1774, 1771, 1770, en vroegere (*Plakaatboek*, VIII, bldz. 611, v.v., 729, v.v., en vroegere deelen; De Jonge, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië*, XI, 1883, bldz. 263, enz.).

Bij deze dus niet geheel juiste voorstelling staat een kruisje in potlood, als teeken van bijzondere aandacht, door een der lezers daaraan gewijd.

¹ NL. de Commissarissen-Generaal Nederburgh c. s., benoemd in 1791, te Batavia gekomen in 1793.

baneful climate having so often proved fatal to those whom either choice or necessity led thither for repairing their ships, it might be worth attention to endeavour to establish the artificers in the ship-building line at Penang, which I have already remarked is well calculated for a naval arsenal. We should then have resources on both sides of India, and ships meeting with accidents on one side of the Peninsula need not go to the other for repair. The trade in ships too is very much increased in these straits within a few years back, which is attended with the good effect of discouraging the propensity to piracy so common among the Malays.

Abundance and great variety of timber fit for ship-building is to be got both here and at Penang. Masts of the largest size are got very cheap from the opposite side at Syac, and are sent annually to Batavia; it was for the purpose of carrying a cargo now ready here, that the *Constantia*, an old Dutch indiaman, was sent from thence some time since, and now lays here. A 74-gun ships-mast may be bought for 200 Dollars.

The population of Malacca does not exceed 14.000 or 15.000, which is calculated from the quantity of rice imported, and may be tolerably exact. They consist of Malays, Chinese, Chuliars¹ and Europeans; and as there is nothing bearing any resemblance to a rajah or supreme head among them from the interior part of the country, each cast has its own chief or Captain as he is called, who are all subordinate to the Government.

The disposition of the Malays about Malacca is quite inoffensive, nor has there been any act of treachery, that I could learn, committed by them for a considerable time² past. In their domestic habits they are free from the prejudices of the Hindoes and are reckoned Mahometans. They are extremely indolent, and if not tempted by the hope of gain would never exert themselves, tho' very muscular in their make and better formed for strength and activity than any of the natives in India. They are passionately addicted to gaming and cock-fighting, which are their chief amusements. Creese-fighting is the principal public exhibition I could observe, in which the combatants pride themselves, not in the boldness of attack and manly agility, but in the wily approach of

¹ Mooren van de kust van Malabaar? Vgl. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, Murray, 1886), p. 159, sub voce „Choolia. — Vgl. hiervóór bldz. 255.

² Vgl. hiervóór, bldz. 260.

a tiger, where their greatest merit lies in getting unawares behind their antagonist and surprizing him by a stab in the back; and this circumstance I look upon as strongly indicative of the general disposition of the Malays.

The Chinese are equally addicted to gaming with the Malays, and have here and at Penang licensed houses, where they play with dice, a kind of hazard that seems to have a good deal more variety than our's. They are also fond of theatrical exhibitions, in which their merit is considerable. Their chief performers are carpenters and other artificers, and there is no doubt, if people of the same rank in life in a distant country-town in England were to attempt getting up a play, they could hardly equal the exhibition of this sort we saw at Pinang on a stage erected for the purpose in the streets. The spectators sat on chairs and benches in the open air, and were refreshed with tea and sweetmeats. Their music is certainly very disagreeable, being composed of gongs and very harsh hautboys. They are very industrious, almost all of them keep little shops and sell groceries of all sorts. They all hitherto sold arrack, and the consequent drunkenness of the place was abominable. I am happy to observe now however, that by the new regulations with respect to the duties this article is put under limitation and taxed as it should be. The Chinese, when they arrive at a certain age, always prepare their coffins, as a memorandum of the end they must, sooner or later, necessarily arrive at, and as a stimulus to the observance of morality during life; and certainly they are in general a very orderly well behaved people. At every man's door you accordingly see 4 or 5 immensely thick planks, of which their coffins are to be made. Their burying-ground they always choose on a hill, and that called Bocca China derives it's title from being chiefly devoted to that purpose. Their tombs are of a particular construction, being surrounded by a considerable space, open on one side, and simicircular on the other, some of them formed at a great expence. They always enclose with the dead body a certain quantity of provision and sometimes money. From their industry and ingenuity they are vere useful to new settlements, and deserve to be relieved from those oppressive impositions which the Admiral has very wisely put an end to. They are great breeders of hogs and are generally the persons who slaughter them; but the priveledge of doing so became a subject of taxation in the Dutch Government and still continues

so, as they have a particular method of increasing the weight of the pork by introducing water into the cellular membrane similar to the cheat butchers at home sometimes practice of blowing up meat to make it look well, but still more effectual. They kill beef too, which is very coarse and bad, being all buffalo. There are bullocks and cows here, but very scarce and poor, and the milk and butter, both here and at Penang, are very bad; the cause is the same in both places, the soil not being sufficiently cleared, the natural grass in the swamps and jungles is too coarse for cows, but is the best for buffaloes, which here grow to a great size and strength, and when taken, are very fierce. For the same reason sheep cannot thrive, there is therefore no mutton but from Bengal.

Almost all the mountains in the Peninsula of Malacca, as well as these in Sumatra, are impregnated more or less with gold, and many of them go by the name of *M^t Ophir*. That inland from this place is about 26 miles; the communication to it being by the river that disembogues naer Point Sisa. The Malays who go there are under no restraint, nor pay any duty; but enclose with stakes a certain extent of ground, where they think convenient, work untill they procure the quantity they want and then return to dispose of it. The richest gold-mine in the world is said the black mountain in Cochin China: the working of which having been interrupted by civil wars for four years together, some time back; the price of gold-dust in China rose 25 percent higher than its general rate, and upon its being again opened, gold-dust thro' that immense empire fell to its former standard.

Concerning the works of the fort and town of Malacca, according to the plan they are built upon, they are in tolerable good repair, and capable of considerable defence; tho', should it remain eventually in our possession, which is not unlikely, and a garrison be established on it, it would be absolutely necessary to modernize the whole river-face of the fort

The severity, which the Dutch have constantly exercised in this Government, has impressed itself so forcibly on the minds of the inhabitants of all denominations, that they can hardly conceive the English to be now their rulers from the mildness of our administration and the politeness we show to the Dutch; which is attended with the ill effect of their influence being still so great, as to keep back every kind of information and assistance that we might naturally

expect; it therefore becomes the more necessary to adopt decisive measures, and the Admiral has accordingly resolved to send away the late governor and Dutch soldiers, who have been hitherto kept, in contradiction to the orders from Madras. However, as there has been a sort of interregnum with regard to the administration of justice, it was thought necessary, to continue in office the members of the former Court of judicature, which some of them seemed not over-willing to comply with, untill they were given to understand that the ultimative was being sent to Madras; accordingly a commission of justice was made out and issued. The Fiscaal is the acting member upon all occasions of small import, and in the Dutch government his fees always bore proportion to the rigour of the punishment. This stimulus to cruelty neither the general disposition of the Dutch, nor the particular temper of M^r Rhude required; and it was but a short time before our arrival, that a young woman with child was whipped so unmercifully, that she died in a short time. They sometimes proportion the punishment to the time of smoaking their pipes, and it is not uncommon to say, give him one pipe or two pipes, according to the magnitude of the offence, meaning that the criminal is to be flogged during the time that the pflegmatic Fiscaal smoakes one or two pipes of tobacco. ¹

The investigation of the public accounts and revenue has been a source of great trouble, and untill the determination to send away M^r Couperus and the Dutch soldiers was understood, every possible difficulty was thrown in the way. It now appears that several things were omitted in the statement of public property first sent. The accounts of the salaries and emoluments of the Dutch servants seem to be loaded with a great many more charges than is natural to conceive would be allowed; but there seems to have been a great deal of peculation in practise, particularly in one article, the share of 25 percent on the revenue that was allowed to the civil servants; the consequence of which was, that the Government tempted the Chinese farmers of the revenue to bid a vast deal more than they were realty worth, from the first fruits of which their shares were regularly paid; but the balance was more than could be collected, and they were therefore obliged to write to Batavia for a remission of it altogether, which I am informed was never refused.

¹ Natuurlijk dat een dergelijke beschuldiging aan het adres der toenmalige Nederlandsche autoriteiten te Malaka geheel blijft voor rekening van den schrijver.

The public sale of the revenue was some days ago advertized for this day, on the principle of a trade open to all, upon certain fixed duties, which perhaps may be more profitable in the end than the monopoly.

1796: January 3^d. The orders issued some days ago for the embarkation of the troops was necessarily changed on the Admiral resolving to leave behind the Centurion, for the defence of the Straits and settlement of Malacca, as we have lately had frequent reports of French and Dutch cruizers being out. From this and the great increase of stores and baggage, all the ships are very much crowded.

4th. M^r Couperus having had orders to prepare himself to go to Madras on this day on board the Swallow, as he had a family and vessel of his own (which has hitherto passed for a brig, belonging to the king of Cochin, commanded by a French officer) he requested permission to proceed in her, and having reported himself ready and obtained his pass-port from the Admiral, he embarked accordingly.

6th. The troops and stores being all on board the respective ships, we embarked this morning and being provided with such interpreters and guides, as were necessary, sailed from the road of Malacca about 12 oclock.....

These Straits are by no means well laid down, as it is impossible to know the different islands and head-lands from any chart of them yet published. It certainly would be a very desirable circumstance to have a complete regular survey of them, as from the number of different islands, channels might be discovered, that would favor the passage of ships in either direction and with any winds, as I am informed there is deep water and good anchorage thro' almost all of them; but from want of a knowledge of them ships, being afraid of exploring new passages, lose a vast deal of time.....

11th. A sail in sight to the Southward, wick proved, as was supposed, to be the Transfer, captain Elmore; we stood on with the tide, but not being able to weather Pedro Branca, were obliged to return, and again anchor under Point Romania. The Transfer also joined us.

12th. This day received intelligence from the mate of the Transfer, who was on shore at Rhio, that on the 7th instant a prow arrived there from Banca, the noqueda or Malay commander of which

reported to the sultaun of Rhio, that there were in the Straits of Banca 3 French and 2 Dutch ships of war (capal prauw¹ in the Malay tongue) and that the Sultaun advised him, not to proceed by that passage on that account. The mate, who came on board us, thinks the report well founded, as the forfeiture of his life, he says, would be the consequence to the noqueda of false information. The Admiral on this resolved to return as far as the Little Carimons and send into Malacca for the Centurion, and, after giving the requisite warning to the settlement of Malacca, to proceed by the straits of Durion and Banca, in order if possible to intercept this force, which might be an armament⁽²⁾ destined either for the recovery of Malacca or to distress our trade in these Straits; and there is some reason to suspect, Mr. Couperus may have given intelligence to Batavia of the exact situation of the garrison of Malacca and likewise of the probable time of our departure. The soldiers on board the Orpheus are reported to be very discontented, on account of the difference of the provisions with which they are served from that of the sailors. On long voyages like the present, when the services of men are to be immediately called for and every exertion expected from them, there should certainly be more attention and liberality shewn to their provision, on which their health so materially depends. They are denied the little gratifications of flower, pease, sugar et^{ca} and only served biscuit and salt beef 1 pound of each p^r day to each man. The consequent sickness or at least weakness of the men after a voyage of 6 weeks, must surely be a much greater loss to the public service than those little allowances, which would not only gratify their pride as well as palate, but keep up that efficient vigor necessary on their arrival at their destined scene of action. For supposing only five in a hundred to suffer by the saving, exclusive of the idea of humanity, that of economy will make it evidently appear, that it is cheaper to employ one hundred stout, hearty, well-fed men, than one hundred and five, supported on this curtailed allowance, five of whom are sure to become unserviceable thereby.

14th. Having come to an anchor off the Little Carimon-island, the Admiral dispatched the Hobart and Malay prow to Malacca with orders for the Centurion and Swift to join us. Wrote to captain Parr, commandant of Malacca, an account of the information

¹ Kapal përang?

which caused our return, and the Admirals intention to proceed by the Strait of Banca, to clear it of any enemy that may be there.

16th. The troops were landed at a very good watering-place on the Great Carimon-island, to refresh themselves, while the transports were well washed and cleared, which from being so crowded could not be done, while they were on board, and was therefore necessary for their health and comfort. We also changed our place and anchored nearer to the watering-place.

17th. This day joined us from Malacca the Centurion, Hobart and Swift. They inform us of the loss of Shah Muushy of Bombay from China on the rocks of Pedro Branca on the 8th inst^t. The crew were all saved in their boats but the ship went to pieces immediately, and nothing but their lives saved; the boats passed us, in the night of the ninth. The loss of this fine ship is the consequence of the want of a proper survey of these straits, with proper remarks on the tides and currents. From the Phoenix we this day learn by our boats which returned from her, that there are two Spanish frigates at Manilla, both sickly (?), bound shortly to Spain, by the way of Cape Horn; that the forces of Manilla are considerably increased and great pains taken in their discipline; that the fort is put into a very respectable state of defence, the works being new modelled and repaired. The present governor is reckoned an active, clever man, who encourages cultivation and trade. Some specimens of a white rope, made of grass, and some of the material itself prepared for twisting were brought us, which seems to be very strong; but I understand, decays in fresh water. They make a very good sort of canvass of it. I am inclined to think that if the long grass, which grows in the beds of all the great rivers on the coast, was properly prepared, it is the same or at least would be equivalent to it in strength and durability, as it possesses a remarkably strong fibre, very fine and silky

18th. At 6 o'clock this morning weighed anchor with a fine breeze from the North and made sail, now a formidable looking fleet, consisting of 9 vessels; as we sailed thro' the Straits of Durion, the farther we advanced, the more convinced we were of the in-accuracy of the charts of it, which are more calculated to lead ships astray than to direct them; so that, had we not on board the different ships some good pilots, we should have been much at a loss. . . .

20th. . . .

When being in sight of Monapin-hill on the island of Banca, we came to an anchor.

21st. We got under weigh (?) very early this morning; the Swift, being very far ahead, made the signal for a strange sail, which we were in hopes was one of the Dutch fleet, but it turned out to be a Portuguese ship, which was in the road of Mintone (!), trading. We also saw two Malay kitches, which our hopes were for a short time flattered by; such is the effect of refraction in all these straits, from the very strong evaporation, that, had we not been acquainted with the deception, we might frequently have fancied fleets in view from the trees being so extra-ordinarily raised by it; and once the Hobart actually made the signal for a fleet, the appearance of the trees being so strikingly like one. The Portuguese captain came out to speak to us and told us he has been here since the 28th ultimo and heard nothing in that time of either French or Dutch ships.

22^d. Last night being remarkably fine with a fair wind, we continued under an easy sail, and this morning were a-breast of Parmesan-hill on Banca and the Second point of Sumatra. The troops and stores were now moved from the Hobart to the Centurion, the former being destined to return to Malacca and Madras. The water in this strait is quite brown, owing perhaps to the low swamps on the Sumatra side, where the trees actually grow in the water. The putrid leaves therefore and the mud of these swamps may give this colour to the water. A small brig is just now observed at anchor off Lucepara-island, to chase which our boats and those of the Squadron are sent. Lucepara and the First point of Sumatra form the entrance of the Straits of Banca from the South; it is very narrow and only $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 fathoms, the ground softest towards the Lucepara side, but the mid channel is perfectly safe. About 7 o'clock, this evening, our boats being nearly up with the chase, she fired upon them so briskly, that they could not attempt to board her, and as she appeared to make sail towards Batavia and a breeze springing up, the Orpheus was sent in chase. We were very anxious about the boats this night, as the wind freshened very much and it grew very dark.

23^d. This morning early we discovered the Orpheus with her prize; they joined us about 10 o'clock with all the boats quite safe. The brig proves to be the Harlingen, captain Pilander, of 14 guns and 48 men. She was sent from Batavia 5 weeks ago to cruise off these straits, to watch the appearance of the English

fleet. The Admiral made prize of her directly, as she fired at our boats first and we learned from the captain the certainty of a Dutch war; we also heard the agreeable news of the taking of the Cape of Good Hope. The Hobart parleyd us this night, when we proceeded on our voyage Eastward, with a fine breeze.

27th.

The men on board are growing very sickly; the Admiral has therefore ordered the soldiers to be served the same allowance of sugar, rice and pease as the sailors. The sailors are chiefly ill of scurvy and fluxes, the soldiers of swelled throats, like an exterior sort of quinsy, and I am told it is the same complaint in the other ships; but is not dangerous.

30th.

This night being very fine, saw the high-land of Celebes at 11 o'clock, upon which we laid to the remainder of the night.

31st. Saw the island of Tanakeka this morning, which is low-land. Celebes, as you approach it, is extremely beautifull, many parts of the land resembling the finest parks in England. As we coasted slowly on with a light breeze, a boat with a Dutch soldier came on board from Bonthian, where they have a little wooden fort of 8 guns and 16 men, under a serjeant, who is subordinate to Boelacumba, which is farther on about 20 miles, where as we intended to call for water and stock, we kept the Dutch man on board to pilot us to the best anchorage. The tide seeming to make against us, we anchored for part of the night, while it was calm.

February 1st. The wind being very faint this morning, so that it was feared the ship could not get in, the Admiral sent a boat ashore to the Dutch resident at Boelacumba. After three hours rowing in a very hot sun, we landed and found a miserable Dutchman, resident, an assistant and a doctor, with about 20 soldiers, and a little wooden fort with 16 guns, 6 and 3...? As it was not the Admirals intention to take advantage of their weakness on the present occasion, we only demanded a supply of provisions, which he immediately gave the necessary orders to provide; but having very little power or influence, as he says, he is afraid what he can procure will be very inadequate to our wants. We dined with him, as it rained heavily with violent thunder and lightning. They are sometimes subject to earthquakes, a shock having been felt 5 months ago, when captain Seaton of the Helen was here, but they are not frequent nor violent. This, the resi-

dent, Mr Wist, says is the rainy season here, which begins about the latter end of December; he asserts that notwithstanding the fruitfull appearance of the country from the sea, it produces nothing but a little rice in the valleys and cocoanuts near the coast, and from a nearer view of it, what appears to be beautiful plains and fine pasture grounds, are nothing but extended savannahs and deep morasses. However the soil is naturally extremely rich and only requires a sufficient cultivation to make it produce every fruit and vegetable within the tropics. The rise of the land towards the mountain is very grand and might afford every gradation of climate, that could be wished for, and if made the use of that might be and of which it is capable, would probably be one of the richest places in the East. There is a small river here with very good soft water, but very inconvenient watering from the distance the ships are obliged to lay, near three miles, and the bar at the rivermouth being only passable for ships boats at high water.

2^d. Early this morning the Admiral went ashore to see the place, which from captain Seatons discription was imagined to be very plentiful in all sorts of supplies; but there is a great deal of difference between the wants of a single country-ship with about 10 Europeans on board and a fleet like ours. Indeed in all descriptions of places like this, it were to be wished that those who make them, could divest themselves of that sort of rapture, which their arrival at a friendly port, where they chance to get their immediate wants supplied and the novelty of the scene altogether are so apt to excite, particularly after a voyage of any length; and that they would confine themselves to a just representation of what a place really can produce and the use that it may be of to navigators in general. It was with the greatest difficulty and exertion that we could get 18 bullocks, 12 buffaloes and 12 sheep, with a few poultry, and no fruit or vegetables; the bullocks were good but very small, weighing only £ 120 each, at 6 Sp. dollars, sheep at 3 and buffaloes at 10 each. The Dutch resident here seems to possess very little influence, but, as we were informed, has several villages under his management, from which he collects the tithe of the produce of rice, which about defrays the expence of this garrison and Bonthian. In this part of the country they manufacture those fine cotton cloths of a tartan pattern, so much esteemed amongst the Malays; but the colours

are not so bright, nor I fancy can they afford them so cheap, as the Chay goods on the Coast of Coromandel.

The Dutch have numerous factories on this island, most of which are subordinate to Macassar, the chief seat of Government; and as they must be rather a disagreeable check to the natives, it is probable, that the removal of the whole of them would be a very acceptable price of service to the rajahs of Ghoe or Macassar on the S. W., Bony, up the great gulf of Sewa, and Mandar on the N. W. coast of Celebes, where they possess their chief settlements, by which we might secure enlarged privileges of trade and open a mart for immense quantities of our manufacture, opium, cloth and hardware; and perhaps an embassy for this purpose, conducted in a proper manner, after the removal of all the Dutch posts, would be attended with very beneficial effects. ¹ For if a proper compact of mutual trade was entered into, whereby they would consent to give every preference of trade to the English ² and *hoist the flag of Great Britain at all their sea-port towns*, it might prove a sufficient bar to any other nation making a settlement amongst them; and by this means acknowledging the sovereignty of the British nation (aided by their natural aversion to all invasion of their natural rights and liberties, which must always in some degree happen by the most liberal settlers), would exclusively ³ secure all the advantages, the intercourse with this island could afford, without the necessity of establishing garrisons and posts along the coasts, to occupy the territory, as the Dutch at present do, to preserve a dominion of little or no value.

The rajahs in the interior of the country are continually at war with each other, which I am told the government of Macassar encourages, and they invariably sell as slaves the prisoners they make in their expeditions, which are often for no other purpose. Some prisoners are lately arrived here, four of whom some of our

¹ Hierbij is geplaatst de volgende kanteekening met potlood:

„A very important subject of consideration.”

² Uit deze en dergelijke (zie de volgende noot, enz.) opmerkingen blijkt opnieuw, dat bij de beschuldigingen, door de Engelschen geuit tegen het monopoliestelsel onzer Oost-Indische Compagnie, ook al geldt het spreekwoord van pot en ketel.

³ Hierbij is de volgende potlood-aanteekening geplaatst:

„In addition to this a consul, either a Portuguese or halfcast Englishman, would be necessary to guard our exclusive privileges (?) of trade in time of peace, under the British flag.”

gentlemen bought. The Buggesses¹ have in general a very good character for fidelity and bravery, which qualities would render them very fit for Sepoys² on the Coast of Coromandel, where there is rather a want of inhabitants to supply them, and it might not be a bad scheme to get Buggese recruits from Celebes hereafter for that establishment.³

We took a row up the river of this place about a couple of miles, most of which way it runs westward nearly parallel to the sea. Great numbers of houses and inhabitants on its banks and prows of all sizes, most of the large ones paduakans⁴ with the tripod mast. The Buggesses are Mahometans. There are very few beasts of prey; and a traveller has nothing to apprehend but from the inhabitants. The distance over land from hence to Macassar is about 40 Dutch or 160 geographical miles, but sometimes difficult to travel, as well from the very high land between as its being intersected by deep swamps and ravines, which in the rainy season are impassable. We returned on board in a burning hot sun, and by night had every thing off (?) we expected. The Buggesses are a better looking people than the Malays in general and Macassar is famed for pretty women and good horses. A few of the latter we saw here, the highest price of which was 25 dollars. Women, who are equally saleable (being considered as slaves), from 35 to 500 and even 1000, according to their beauty and accomplishments.

February 3^d. We weighed anchor early this morning with a light breeze and sailed thro' the Straits of Salayer.

11th.....

We entered the bay of Bouro at 6 o'clock.

12th.....

The Admiral sent on shore to see the Dutch resident here, to endeavor to get a pilot for Amboina and also to cultivate a friendly connexion if possible with the natives. On approaching the shore, we found the surf so high, that the boat could not land near the town, and were therefore obliged to row a

¹ Boegies, Boegineezen.

² Sepoys, sipahi: een inlandsch soldaat in Engelschen dienst (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 612 ff.).

³ Hierbij de volgende potloodaanteekening:

„This circumstance might be tried as an experiment, should another opportunity occur.”

⁴ Padoewakang (vgl. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, III, bldz. 484).

considerable distance Eastward, where a reef of rocks affords some shelter. The wildness of the place and want of cultivation was very conspicuous from the moment of landing, for all was swamp and wilderness, even to the Residents door; and even in the streets the grass was grown so high and wild, that it had very little the appearance of a town. The Resident was soon made acquainted with the views and intention of the expedition, as far as was necessary or proper, and prevailed on to assemble the chiefs of the natives to communicate with them in the same manner. The head-rajah Cayely soon attended with a number of his people, before whom the proclamation in Malays was read and explained, and he was assured in every possible way of the friendly disposition of the English to the natives of these islands, of which he seemed convinced. We endeavored to get pilots to Amboina; but tho' he seemed willing to procure them, the people of the village, on the appearance of the ships, were so terrified, that they fled into the woods; and as it would have detained us too long to wait their being sent for, he was dismissed with a small present, after recommending the cultivation of a friendly connection with the English, which he promised to observe, and also to communicate and recommend the subject of our interview to the other chiefs of the island, 13 in number, who are all subordinate to the Dutch. The Residents house here is tolerably good and stands outside the fort, which is a wretched stone building, without a ditch; the building inside a heap of ruins and the gun-carriages quite rotten and useless. His garrison consists of about 36 soldiers, not above 14 of whom are Europeans, tho' all dressed and armed alike. While we were in conversation, persons were employed to sound the men of the garrison, and one man was found who offered to pilot us to Amboina, and who as been there and about it these 9 years. Him we brought off, tho' the Resident did not consent but from apprehensions of force being exerted. The country of Bouro has the wildest appearance possible, very mountainous and covered with wood. The bay is very large, the entrance 6 miles across and 12 or 15 deep, being by no means a safe or eligible place for ships to call at in this monsoon. Found great difficulty in rowing 10 miles to windward across the bay, to where the Suffolk had about this time anchored. We learned from the Dutch pilot, that the Resident had sent off an express to Amboina on our first appearance. The Swift joined us this day.

13th. Some of the transports being short of water, the Admiral resolved upon staying to get a supply, and dispatched the Swift to cruise off Manipa, to cutt off the communication with Amboina.

14th. Our watering was attended with great difficulty and delay and detained us here all day. The Resident sent us a present of bullocks and 3 deer with some fruit. Four natives of Amboina came off to us to day, with offers of their service, to procure us supplies of provisions and workmen from the country and establish a connection and intercourse with the natives, in case of opposition. We went on shore this day on the North-side of the bay, and found the cayapooty tree which yields an aromatic oil in great estimation, as well on account of its beneficial effects in strains and bruises as for its perfume, which the ladies of Amboina admire and make use of to anoint their hair. This tree grows pretty large with small long leaves of a remarkable fine smell when rubbed. The bark has the quality of being applicable to the purpose of calking instead of oakum, being very soft and pliant like the silky mulberry paper of China, and I am told answers very well; the natives use no other substance in calking their canoes and prows. The wood is very hard, of a red colour and seems fit for furniture or other household purpose. It derives its name, from caye, in the Malay language, a leg and pooty: white; because the bark of the stem of the tree is of that colour (sic!).

15th. This morning got under weigh (^p); it was with great difficulty the Suffolk and Centurion could get their anchor's out of the ground, which was very tenacious. We brought too off Manipa, where the Swift laid at anchor. She had a panchallang ¹ as prize, with which she came out to us. The Orpheus and Swift were sent back to Manipa to bring off the garrison, who did not behave so well as was expected; we stood on about 8 at night and laid to untill daylight off the West-end of Amboina.

16th. Weighed this morning with a fine breeze and stood on for the entrance of the bay; we passed the Three-Brother-islands and the little fort of Lariki and saw several very neat towns on shore as we passed; the hills looked very wild and covered with woods, except some places that appeared to have been cleared. As we came off the entrance of the bay, our wind died away and the puffs, that at intervals came down the vallies, were rather against

¹ Pěntjalang (zie *Encyclopaedie*, IV, bldz. 485).

us. A brig appeared standing in for the bay, but as soon as she saw our colours, hauled off to avoid us, when the Swift was immediately sent in chase. About 4 in the afternoon we worked up to nearly opposite the fort Victoria, when captain Lambert of the Suffolk and myself, having received instructions from the Admiral, went off to shore.

We met with no opposition in our approach but landed at once at the jettee-head and were very politely received by several of the Dutch officers, who conducted us to the fort to the Governors house. He seemed much agitated, being an old man,¹ when we delivered to him the letters from his Serene Highness the Stadholder and the governor of Madras; and assembled his Council to read and consider the contents. We were delayed near 2 hours during this consultation, which we spent in conversing with the Dutch gentlemen, from whom we learned that the place was considered by themselves as untenable. The Governor soon after came out and informed us, that the Council with himself had agreed to deliver up the place, upon the same terms as were *demand*ed by the Dutch governor of Malacca. These however being never agreed to, we considered as no rule of guidance in the affair and therefore refused to receive the letter, which would only have occasioned loss of time, but informed him that if he chose to surrender upon the same terms, as were *granted* at Malacca, they should be forthwith complied with. We soon discovered that they gave up every idea of resistance, and were therefore more positive in recommending them to adopt a course that would secure to each individual the enjoyment of his private property and the continuance of their present pay, and also such of their officers as might be thought necessary to be kept in employ; referring to the Admiral himself such further allowance in lieu of emoluments and the percentage on cloves, as he might deem proper for enabling the civil servants to support their rank, as we knew their pay to be inadequate thereto; which conditions being put into as simple a form as possible, they agreed to surrender the public property and fort with all it's dependencies the next morning. These being the express terms and meaning of the capitulation agreed on, we came off about 11 o'clock, and acquainted the Admiral with the execution of our mission, with which he was extremely well pleased.

¹ Alexander Cornabé (vgl. Lauts, t. a. p., IV, bldz. 258, v.).

17th. This being the anniversary of the English settlement at this place having been accused and afterwards tortured and executed 173 years ago,¹ we landed with the Admirals ratification of the terms of the treaty of surrender; and quickly after 2 companies of grenadiers marched into the fort, took possession of the gates, guards et^{ca} and hoisted the British flag instead of the Dutch. There is an inscription over one of the gates, the meaning of which is "Obtained by blood, and so to be defended", which was soon understood by every body; but notwithstanding that, and the recollection of former cruelties exercised on our countrymen, now by the return of the date made fresh in every persons mind, there was not shewn the slightest tendency towards taking vengeance for that event. The Dutch called themselves our friends and we treated them entirely as such. It took up nearly the whole of this day to arrange quarters for the troops and to collect the keys of all the public stores and offices. Major Vigers landed with the grenadiers and received the fort keys, and the whole of the troops shortly after were put ashore and occupied the barracks compleatly.

The Swift returned to day with her prize, which proved to be a Dutch brig, the *Splinter*, from Macassar to Amboina and Banda, with a reinforcement of 102 European soldiers and 34 Malays on board. It was certainly a very fortunate capture, for had she got in safe, there is little doubt, but such an addition would have altered the temper of the garrison very much, many of whom already seemed desirous of risking every thing by opposition; and had they arrived at Banda, would no doubt enable them to make an obstinate defence. For from a letter, which M^r Cornabe, the Dutch governor here, gave the Admiral, from the governor and Council of Banda and which was left ready to be delivered to the commander of any expedition that might arrive, of which they had information on the 23^d of December last, it is plain, the garrison there have made every preperation for resistance and in their letter avow it, at the same time dissuading him from any offers of pro-

¹ De *zoogenaamde* „Amboyna massacre." Doet deze herinnering niet denken aan lord Roberts' telegram aan koningin Victoria bij de overgave van generaal Cronjé, nl. dat deze plaats vond op Majoeba-dag? — Maar de schrijver hier vergist zich in den datum: den 23 Februari 1623 kwam de Engelsche samenzwering of *zoogenaamde* samenzwering pas uit (De Jonge, *Opkomst*, V, bldz. VI).

tection, which they were determined to reject. It appears somewhat extraordinary, how early the news of our expedition reached Amboina and Banda, since they were so minutely informed of the Stadholders letter so soon as the 23^d of December; and from the circumstance of the chief reference, in treating for articles of capitulation here, being made to the terms *demanded* by Mr. Couperus at Malacca, it is supposed to have been thro' his communication in the earliest stage of the summons of that place, that they received their information.

The confusion, that generally attends the first taking possession of a place, deprived us of every resource of bazar articles, for the inhabitants of the town all fled from their houses. There was therefore in spite of every precaution some plundering took place in the town, chiefly by the Dutch soldiers, who were sent out of the fort to make room for our own troops, which could not be avoided. In the fort too, as soon as it became dark, our soldiers, who got a quantity of arrack from the Dutch, began to plunder, and broke open the spice-stores' Secretarys office and several other places, by which, had it not been almost immediately perceived and the plunderers detected, we should have suffered considerable loss. As it was, there was very little taken away, and the doors immediately secured and sealed up.

18th. This morning the Admiral landed in state, having rowed round the different ships of war, followed by the captains in their barges; the yards of the ships manned, mariners drawn out, with drums beating and guns firing *et^{ca} et^{ca} et^{ca}*. He was received in the jettee-head by the Dutch governor and Council, who accompanied him to the fort, where he received the compliments of the gentlemen of the different establishments civil and military. Most of the chief rajahs of the island too were presented as well as the captains of the Chinese, with all of whom the costum of the place made it necessary to shake hands. Most of the rajahs were dressed in full suits of black and wore swords.

The delay of Dutch ceremonies is very great and the greatest part of the day was spent in it. The seals and stamps of the Dutch Company in all the different departments were delivered up in form; and a proclamation was circulated by the Admirals order amongst the rajahs who attended, in order to encourage the inhabitants to return to their respective habitations and supply the bazar with provisions, for which payment should regularly be made.

Having gone round the works of the fort with the Dutch engineer and received from him the plans relative thereto, was surprized to find the state of the place so weak and ill planned and commanded in such a way as not to be tenable against a regular approach. The situation is very beautifull and the town one of the neatest and cleanest we observed, indeed every part of this bay abounds with beauty; but as other advantages should likewise be considered, much better situations might be chosen.

19th. Commenced our examination of the Company's treasure, which took us up all the day and proved very fatiguing, as well from their voluminous accounts and diversity of coins, as from the want of good interpreters or translators. Sent circular letters to all the rajahs and chiefs of the different districts to call them in, to swear allegiance to the English government. A few of the inhabitants have returned to their houses and again opened their shops, but they were so accustomed to the exclusive intercourse of the Dutch and the severity with which they execute their laws, particularly those forbidding all communication with other nations, that they could not immediately conquer their fears.

20th. With much difficulty we completed the examinations of the treasury, in which we found to the amount of rix-dollars 55,294 in various coins. The Swift sent the pantchallang William, loaded with cloves, from Saparoua.

Had this day a long conference with the prince of Tidore, whom we found here treated with some respect, but in great want. He says, that his father was sultaun of that country and in friendship and alliance with the Dutch, who were however making constant encroachments on his power and independance, and some years ago attempted to deprive him of his country altogether, upon which he was obliged to fly and take refuge in the island of Ceram, carrying with him his eldest daughter and leaving the case of the kingdom to his brother, the present sultaun. There he remained for about two years, when the Dutch government here, being informed of his retreat, invited him and his daughter to come here and under fair promisses induced them to put themselves under their protection. They were at first well received and supported in a respectable manner for about a year, when the sultaun was sent to Batavia by the orders of the Supreme Government there, whence he has not since been permitted to return; but is, as report goes, supported in a state, adequate to his rank. His

daughter remained here unnoticed, and some time ago wrote to her brother, the Prince now here, that she was in great distress, requesting him to come for her and carry her home, which the Prince accordingly complying with arrived here about 5 months ago. The Governor and Council have constantly promised to send them home, but have notwithstanding suffered frequent opportunities to escape and still detain them, tho' they are much distressed for the means of subsistence. The Prince is married and his wife lives at Tidore; he is in perfect friendship with his uncle, the present sultaun, nor does he seem to have an idea of interfering in the Gouvernement, which by the regular line of succession devolves to him on the death of his uncle. The Princes' sister is also married but has parted from her husband, not being happy with him.¹

Tidore produces spices of all kinds in abundance naturally, but from the vicinity of the Dutch at Ternate and the guard of 24 soldiers placed about the person of the Sultaun the cultivation of the spice-trees is prevented as much as possible, and such as are found, rooted up and destroyed. This country also produces ambergrease, tortoise-shell and plenty of rice and sago. They want cloths of all sorts, opium, iron and cutlery, and if possible to procure them, arms and ammunition. The Prince wishes much to return to his country, and if the English will restore him to it and relieve Tidore from the oppression of the Dutch, promises to give them the exclusive monopoly of all the trade of this country and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the English. This princes grandfather and the father of Nockoe, with whom of late years, some of our trading-ships from Benghal have had a connection, were brothers. His name is Abdul Aleem, his sister Sophia. His father who was sent to Batavia bore the name of Melchedien. This is literally the story he tells of himself, which is however contradicted in many particulars by the Dutch and perhaps should be received with caution.

We this day more minutely examined the state of the works of the fort, to see what might be indispensably necessary to its safety, which the small garrison we can afford to leave, when we proceed to Banda, obliges us to be particularly attentive to; the

¹ Men vergelijkte naast dit verhaal bldz. 279, v. van deel VIII der Nieuwe volgrees van deze *Bijdragen* (P. A. Leupe, *De verdediging van Ternate onder den gouverneur Johan Godfried Budach, 1796—1799*).

more so, as from several reports from the out-stations, lately made, a spirit of disorder seems to break out among the lower orders; possibly however much exaggerated by the Dutch, thro' whose information we received them. From the nature of the works themselves, being slight and perfectly commanded from the adjoining heights to the eastward, it was not thought tenable against the regular attack of a European enemy, even with a trifling force, and it was therefore proposed, as a temporary repair alone could be of any use or answer the expense, to complete the platforms on the works, where it was most likely an attack might be made, and perfect the glacis and covert-way all round the land-side from sea to sea and plant a good strong palisading within it, also to deepen the ditch as much as it will bear, not being at present above two feet in some places; but from the radical defect in the scrap (?) and counterscarp, which have no foundations below the present depth of the ditch, it will only admit of being deepened in the middle in the manner of a cuvette(?). This improvement being proposed to the Admiral was approved of, and ordered to be immediately executed.

21st. The great fatigue and confusion arising from the want of knowing the Dutch and Malay languages or good translators and interpreters, distresses us very much, as it is with the utmost difficulty we can understand the accounts and returns we daily receive and are constantly liable to mistake and be imposed on. Major Vigors at the Admirals request gave in a statement of the force he thinks necessary for the defence of Amboina, and also those that he hopes may be adequate to the reduction of Banda, which, from the reports we have, our entire force is not more than may be necessary to accomplish. The number of our troops is really too trifling even to garrison these places after they are taken, and it is certainly owing to the false economy of the Dutch in not securing their possessions by proper fortifications that they lose them; for men they have and stores sufficient to resist the present force, if they had only bestowed some of their profits in erecting a secure fort, which undoubtedly the present never can be made.

22^d. Administered the oath of fealty and allegiance to most of the rajahs, patties and orankaio, which are the three distinctions of chiefs among the natives of this island. The Chinese and principal Burghers too attended, that they might perfectly understand under whose authority and protection they now lived; as from the absolute necessity of continuing the Dutch

gentlemen in the offices of residents at the outstations and in the administration of justice, particularly the fiscaal, it was a difficult matter to remove the idea of their being still under Dutch authority. The desertion of the natives among the Dutch troops adds much to the irregularity at present complained of thro' the country and prevents the people in a great measure from coming in and supplying the bazars as usual. Received the different statements of the expense of the garrison, including the whole of their civil and military. Several inhabitants having been detected in disposing of cloves to the transports, a proclamation was issued forbidding such practice in future under pain of the same punishments as usually inflicted by the Dutch for such crimes, and orders were sent by the Admiral to the transports forbidding it, as their ships should be searched and whatever should be found, seized, the whole of it being considered public property, and not to be sold upon any account; the civil jurisdiction and police being ordered to be continued by the first proclamation, published immediatly after taking possession. The Orpheus sailed on a course to day.

23^d. From the propensity to desertion among the native Dutch troops, many of whom carried off their arms with them and have added much to the disorder of the country, hourly represented by the Dutch gentlemen, the Admiral ordered such of them as were not recommended by the Dutch commandant to be depended on and for whom he became responsible, to be disarmed and disbanded. The necessity of encreasing our force and leaving some artillery for the defence of Amboina, during our absence at Banda, induced the Admiral to adopt into our service lieutenant Houssman with 50 of his best men, who offered themselves as volunteers. He is a German and commanded the artillery under the Dutch government here. Many applications from the Dutch officers upon the score of their monthly allowance of rice and other provisions for their men, but it appeared, that they already received this allowance for the present month and that the chief intoxication of our soldiers immediately on our arrival was owing to their selling this allowance of arrack to them; their applications therefore were justly rejected. Our troops being near two months in arrear and an issue of pay therefore necessary. The value of the Spanish dollar being four stivers less than at Malacca, the Admiral ordered the rate of exchange to be established

at 15½ Spanish dollar to 10 pagodas, but even this is a great disadvantage to the soldiers and Sepoys. Captain Muilh was appointed by the Admiral paymaster, and all abstracts were therefore ordered to be addressed to him. The intention of the Madras government was to dispense with any paymaster upon the present expedition, ordering that officers commanding corps and departments should (?) money in advance at Malacca, but as they did not choose to become responsible for large sums of money on a service so exposed to casualties, and as the distance of the service put all possibility of a communication with the paymaster of Malacca out of question, the Admiral saw the absolute necessity of the appointment.

24th. This morning the Resistance sailed upon a cruise to Banda, to discover if possible the strenght and temper of the place. The cargo of the panchallang William was lodged in the spice-stores. Took an account of the stores and cloths in the Company's shop or winkle, were those articles are sold by auction, occasionally as the inhabitants want them. The residents of Hila and Larike arrived with returns of the troops and stores under their respective charges. Accounts from Saparoua and Haroekoe mention the safe arrival there of the Swift and brig and of their intention to embark from Saparoua the remaining spices there.

26th. This morning attended the Admiral to the top of the harbour; we landed at Baguala-pass and walked across to back-bay about one mile over; a small river runs nearly the whole of the way, which might with little labour or difficulty be perfected into a canal, communicating from one bay to the other, and be very usefull at the different seasons. The back-bay seems a very fine one, but there are some sands in it which render it not quite safe for large ships. We examined the neck of land with a view of seeing, if it would answer for erecting a fort, which from its situation, as it appeared on the plan, promised to be the best on the island; but upon inspecting it we found it extremely low and swampy and commanded by the adjoining heights. There is however a convenient spot for a redoubt, which it requires, as there is always a post established here, and the Dutch were preparing to erect one, just as we arrived. On our return looking out for the best situation to build a fortress on, the hill east of the entrance of the harbour, which overlooks and commands it in the most perfect manner, presented itself as the finest and healthiest possible, and which it was therefore determined to examine the first convenient opportunity. The Dutch

gentlemen complained much of the disorder the country people were in, having thrown off all subordination whatever; their hatred to the Dutch and impatience of the yoke under which they have hitherto laboured having broke out in several instances. This was justly attributed to the conduct of the Dutch themselves, who upon several occasions told the people that they were fried (!) from their former obligations and in their own vexation inspired them with the notion, that all authority was at an end; not considering the confusion likely to result from such insinuations or that they themselves might be the first sufferers. The desertion among the Dutch native troops, many of whom carried away their arms, added much to this disorder, and in the first instances of it was not guarded against with sufficient attention by the Dutch commandant, captain Ostrowski. Tho' these complaints of the turbulent disposition of the natives daily gained ground, it seemed as if the Dutch took a pleasure in reporting them and exaggerating the circumstances as much as possible. Upon enquiring into the subject of the different outposts, the Dutch have for years supported, it was conceived that the greatest part of them were unnecessary, except merely at those places where spices are collected expressly for the Company; and therefore that they should be removed from Saway,¹ Bouro and Manipa at least. It was also imagined that at Ternate, which is a very extended government, there is a vast expence incurred and the object nevertheless not attained, which is to prevent the growth of spices; but which being morally impossible to accomplish perfectly, it is probable, that by sending a regular annual supply of those articles, most in demand at Ternate and Tidore and the adjoining islands, not only a lucrative trade might be opened, but the purchase of their spices as completely secured to the English as by means of an established force kept there. However as the inhabitants of all these places are greatly addicted to piracy, it would be necessary to keep up a certain number of small armed vessels constantly cruising; as well to support the British claim to the exclusive trade and dominion over these countries,² as to preserve peace and good order in the intercourse between them.

¹ Aan de Sawai-baai, Noordkust van Ceram.

² De Engelsche autoriteiten denken er niet aan, het in de Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie door haar zoo gesmade monopolie op te geven. Trouwens de man, die — niet het minst door Nederlanders — wordt be-

All the chiefs of the different islands adjoining, from every information appear to be desirous to derive their authority from the English, if settled and established permanently here. The most powerfull amongst them is Noekoe, whom the Dutch have expelled from Ternate and Tidore for several years past. They call him a rebel, but certain it is, that were they not to interfere, the people seem universally disposed to obey him and he could soon regain his rights. The English ships, which have traded to the neighbouring islands for some time past, have found a powerfull and sincere friend in him.¹ He lives chiefly at Warou,² on the N. E. coast of Ceram, and it has for some time been the intention of Mr Cornabe, the Dutch governor, if he found a fit opportunity of a reconciliation with him, without the indignity of making the first advance, to create him rajah of all the N. Coast of Ceram and to withdraw the post from Saway. Mr. Cornabe was nine years governor of Ternate before he came to Amboina.

27th. The Admiral took into our service upon their present rate of pay and allowances the company of the Wirtemberg Corps here, commanded by captain Gaup, consisting of 101: men, very wel disciplined and behaved. This measure was very necessary, and fortunate that they seemed to accede to the terms offered them with great readiness. By this means and by disarming all the national troops, considerable expence will be saved, our force greatly augmented and the place, even with the small garrison we can afford to leave, be in a state of security, when we go to Banda.

The rajahs and orankaioes of Hila attended, and having taken the oath of allegiance had their offices continued to them under the authority of the English government.

schouwd als de groote principiele voorstander van eene vrijzinnige koloniale staatkunde, Raffles, heeft zich dit niet getoond ten aanzien bv. der Molukken. En *zijn* de potlood-aanteekeningen bij ons handschrift van hem afkomstig, dan blijkt het, dat hij, toen hij ze maakte, dezelfde monopolie-denkbeelden huldigde als onze O. I. C., al hulde hij ze in ietwat onschuldiger kleeed.

Trouwens, de instructie door hem den 5 Mei 1814 aan generaal Nightingall gegeven, terwijl deze gereed stond voor eene expeditie naar Celebes' Zuid-Westhoek, spreekt duidelijk; nóg duidelijker een schrijven van zijn hand aan de bestuurder der Britsche Oost-Indische Compagnie van 12 April 1818 (Zie M. L. Van Deventer, *Het Nederlandsch gezag over Java en onderhoorigheden sedert 1811*, I, 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1891, bldz. XXXIX, 32).

¹ Vgl. deel VIII, Nieuwe Volgrees, dezer *Bijdragen*, bldz. 266, v.

² Waroe.

29th. This day the Wirtemberg company took the oath of allegiance to his Brittannic Majesty; the ceremony was performed with becoming decorum and solemnity. The prisoners taken on board the Splinterberg, having expressed a wish to be taken into our service, such of them as were not Dutchmen born, or otherwise exceptionable were adopted in the different companies. Almost the whole of them were entertained, being nearly all Germans, Poles and Prusians. The Admiral reviewed the national troops today under captain Ostrowski. They were most of them half-cast, and unfit to be taken into our service, and as no dependance could be placed on them the Admiral ordered them to be discharged. Their frequent desertions have already contributed much to the confusion complained of in the country, having encouraged the inhabitants to quit their habitations, disclaim all authority and retire to the mountains, which are very difficult of access. The Orpheus returned from a cruise and the Swift brought in a considerable quantity of cloves from Saparoua.

The resident of Hila having complained of the ill conduct of the corporal in command of the post Hitoelama within his province and the desertion of most of his men, both he and the orankaios of that province, now here, were ordered to repair to their respective posts and superintend carefully their particular duties. Several of the Dutch officers from an apprehension, that they were to be sent to Madras, desired permission to resign the service and be allowed to reside as Burghers and persisting in their request, tho' reasonable assurances were made them, that it was not the intention, unless their conduct should render such a measure necessary, three of them were accordingly struck off the list. Some people of the niggory or district of Wacksieuw ¹ in the province of Larike, having been kept here as slaves for some years past on account of a principal woman of their family having been sentenced to death for smuggling cloves, upon learning that they themselves were innocent, the Admiral restored them to their families and homes.

This day examined more particularly the top of the hill over the entrance of the harbour, which is in every respect the most eligible place on the island for a fortress, being in a very strong position, very healthy, as far as one may judge from the situation, well supplied with fresh water, and convenient for ships to ap-

¹ Wakasihoe.

proach, with a perfect command over the entrance of the harbour, where ships may be in the greatest security and good anchorage.

Marche 3rd ¹. The Resistance having returned from Banda, with a refusal of any offers of protection or to admit the British forces upon any footing whatever, the Admiral issued orders to embark all the troops intended for that service to morrow morning. As neither the payment of the Dutch establishment nor the clove money could possibly take place immediately, proclamation were ordered to be made explaining the cause of delay and to assure all ranks of the Admirals intention, to issue it upon our return from Banda.

5th. We embarked and sailed with the squadron out of the bay. The winds were very light during our voyage and on the 7th in the evening we discovered the islands of Banda, particularly the Burning Mountain or Gonong Api.

8th. This morning being within a few miles of Banda, the ships steering purposely in different directions to confuse the enemy with regard to our intention, we observed two guns fired from one of the batteries on the outside of the nearest island Gonong api; the first was shotted(?) and immediately after the 2^d the Dutch colours were hauled down and a white flag displayed in its room; at the same a boat came off from shore with Dutch colours and a white flag. The wind and current being both against her coming up, the Admiral sent down to meet her, with instructions how to proceed in case of a wish on their part to give up the plan in a friendly way. Upon joining the boat however, the officer in it was only charged with a duplicate of the letter sent by the Resistance to Amboina. He was therefore brought on board, but the Admiral soon dismissed him with a short letter to the Governor, laying the responsibility for all consequences which might ensue at his doors, in case of opposition on his(?) part, and sent at the same time letters from the Prince of Orange and the governor of Madras exhorting him to accept the protection of the English. Approaching the land, the Orpheus and Harlingen were sent on to examine where the troops might safest land, convenient to the chief fort; and

¹ Lauts, t. a. p., IV, bldz. 260, stelt dit alles in Februari en wijkt ook ten opzichte der bijzonderheden af van ons handschrift. De hoofdzak: overgave zonder verdediging van eenige beteekenis, is echter juist door hem weergegeven. Van de 300 stukken geschut spreekt ons handschrift daarentegen niet.

passing within the small island of Craka¹, that covers the channel between Gonong Api and Banda-Neira, they were fired upon briskly by the batteries along shore, which seemed placed every where that might annoy an invading enemy. Two of the batteries were soon silenced and the gunners run off, having spiked the cannon. About 12 o'clock, being off the N.end of Banda Neira, the ships brought to the boats immediately manned and the grenadiers and marines landed, the rest of the troops following, a white flag was soon discovered, just hoisted on a circular redout within the harbour, to which we immediately rowed to enquire the meaning of it and being told by the officer commanding, that it was by order of the Gov^r, without knowing farther, we proceeded under the same flag of truce to the landing place opposite the town, where the Governor met us, who said, he had sent two commissioners on board to the Admiral with an offer of surrender on certain terms; on this we immediately rowed back to acquaint Major Vigors, the commandant of the troops there of, to prevent hostilities while the flags were passing, and immediately went on board to know what these terms were, but were surprised to find that no such propositions were made by the commissioners, but only a translation requested of the Admirals letter sent by the boat in the morning, as no person ashore understood English, and therefore conceived that they only meant to amuse us to gain time; however as the Dutch gentlemen seemed by their conduct to wish for farther communication, the Admiral authorized me to go ashore with them and according to the spirit of former instructions to conclude a treaty for the surrender of the place.

We landed about 5 o'clock and were received by the Governor in the guardroom of the redout I first called at. He seemed an active-minded zealous man, much irritated by passion at the moment, the reason of which I did not immediately understand, but discovered after some altercation, that his passion was owing to the terms he sent having been returned without perusal, and enquiring further, found out that the gentlemen, by whom the sent them, never delivered them to the Admiral. Upon this an explanation took place and upon his inviting us to a more convenient place to settle the terms of capitulation, I accompanied him and after considerable time we at last agreed upon the capitulation, which simply guaranteed

¹ Poeloe Kraka of Vrouweneiland.

to all individuals within the settlement the enjoyment of their private effects, to the servants of the Company, civil and military, their pay and such officers to be continued as might be found necessary for the administration of justice and civil policy, and that such of the civil servants as wished to resign might be premitted to retire to Java or elsewhere, when a convenient opportunity might offer and that the military should not be forced to enter the British service contrary to their inclinations. Upon these terms they agreed to deliver up the forts with all its dependancies, all accounts, stores and treasures, and the troops to deliver up their arms and colours next day. We agreed, that in general the same regulations of police, the same laws for the administration of justice and the same mode of managing the nutmeg-plantations as were hitherto in practice, should be continued as nearly as possible. This being not only agreeable to the general instructions of Government, but convenient in every respect to us to adopt, from the want of persons to fill those offices at present or superintend any charges we might otherwise wish to make. Upon finishing a copy of the treaty of surrender in English and another in Dutch and having obtained the signatures of the Governor and Council to both, I at last took my leave and submitted the whole proceeding to the Admiral which he accordingly approved. ¹

9th. Early this morning, went ashore with the ratification of the treaty. The grenadiers were immediately put in possession of fort Nassau and the castle of Belgica, the Dutch colours hauled down and the English hoisted in their room, which were saluted with 21 guns. The Dutch garrison marched out by the glacis and grounded (?) their arms, drums and colours. The Admiral himself landed sometime after and received the congratulations of the gentlemen of the settlement and detachment. On the occasion amidst all the joy and bustle of taking possession to day an unfortunate accident happened by the firelock of a Wirtemberg soldier going off accidentally, which killed Lieut. Lamottu of that corps on the spot. The soldier himself was severely wounded and died in a short time.

10th. This morning attended the admiral to fort Hollandia on Banda Lantoir or Great Banda, also saw the redout of Kyk-in-de-pot or Look-out-redout on Gonong Api. The formers consists of 2 forts, one near the waters-edge particularly called London (?) and the

¹ Vgl. hierbij de capitulatie, opgenomen bij Lauts, t. a. p., bldz. 390, v.v.

other, on the hill above it, Hollandia; they are both very complicated little works, with scarce any strength or convenience, tho the upper fort appears one of the best situated about these islands for general defence, being on a high neck, that commands the entrance; from the westward also a bay at the back of the island where there is now a separate post called Lackay, not above one mile from it, but the ground between is a beautifull grove of nutmeg trees. The situation of Kyk-in-de-pot is at the waters-edge on the S. side of Gonong api, and now fairly within the harbour. It is a circular work and once infiladed (?) the entrance most perfectly, but about 14 years ago by an eruption from Gonong Api, the lava flowed down in such quantity as to form a projecting point of considerable height between it and the entrance, which renders its present situation of no effect and has made the entrance extremely narrow, so that ships can only enter with a leading wind in this monsoon. We found confined at Hollandia a prince of Bantam ¹, said to be out of his senses, who has been kept there for several years past. He breakfasted with us and did not seem in the least deranged.

The different views of the whole bay and surrounding land are very curious and beautifull, the volcano of Gonong Api constituting the grand feature, which is an exact cone some what truncated at the crater, from whence continual smoke is seen to issue, but seldom more being covered with melted sulphur ashes, and not the least sign of vegetation on the sides above about one third of its height.

A number of Sepoys from the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, having been from time to time inveigled into the Dutch service, now gladly offered themselves to us; accordingly 50 of the best of them were adopted, being much wanted on account of the number of outposts necessary to be occupied.

This day surveyed the fort and hill of Belgica, which if made the proper use of, seemed to be the most convenient situation among these islands, to secure the possession of them against any European enemy whatever, but the present works are incapable of answering that purpose. Measured the height of Gonong Api geometrically with a base of 1440 feet, the altitude of the crater at the two extremes being 18° 50 and 15° 12, gives the exact height of

¹ Kan dit zijn pangerang radja Mangala, die in 1778, „als een staatsgevangene naar Banda verzonden” werd? (Vgl. De Jonge, *Opkomst*, XI, bldz. 354, v.)

1940 feet, allowing 17 feet above the level of the sea for the base on which I stood.

20. Employed for some days past informing plans and estimates of redouts, as ordered, for the better defence of these islands against the departure of the ships, upon which their chief security at present depends. Two pantchallangs or sloops were dispatched for the S. W. islands for stock etc. They sailed under the command of Luit. Shaw of the Resistance.

29th. The Armenia, transport, arrived from Amboina, with letters and intelligence stating the disorder of that island in consequence of the Malays taking up arms, and professing their intention to cut off every Dutchman in country and to make a new contract with the English for their spices. They went to a great degree of violence and set fire to several houses in different parts of the island. Upon the arrival of this disagreeable information, the Admiral determined immediately to return to Amboina and endeavour by his presence and influence to satisfy the people and regulate the affairs of government there.

30th. Having given particular instructions to major Vigors for the government of the settlement and also left behind the Suffolk with cap^{tn}. Lambert for its greater security, the Adm^l. changed his broad pendant into the Orpheus. We embarked about noon and got pretty well out, tho there was scarce any wind. This is the season for calms between the two monsoons. The Armenia was seven days coming from Amboina. The Swift and brig Amboina accompanied us.

31st. Early this morning met the Resistance on her way from Amboina to Banda, with cap^{tn} Macloads company on board, which the Admiral ordered from Amboina, before he was acquainted with the disturbances there and chiefly for the purpose of relieving the Wirtemberg company; but judging it better to leave those men for the present at Banda, he ordered the Resistance to join us and return to Amboina, having dispatched the Malay prow to major Vigors with intelligence thereof.

April 3^d. Our winds were so faint these last four days, that we could scarce make the entrance of the bay this morning, and when about 5 miles off the Admiral, thinking it possible the Orpheus might not be able to get up on account of a strong westerly tide and no wind, we got into the barge and rowed up to town; upon our arrival we found matters rather in a better state than

expected, but yet far from being settled. Cap^{tn} Calmers's company being nearly all employed on the Hitoe-side, are barely sufficient to keep in awe the violent temper of the unruly Musselmen there, from whose addresses and petitions it is evident nothing keeps them within any moderate bounds but the terror of our arms. It appears from every account that tho' their aversion to the Dutch might be ever so great or just, and tho the delay in paying for the spices might have occasioned some apprehensions amongst them, their declared hatred to all Christians was one of the leading motives; ¹ and the hope of recovering from the present change of government the exclusive dominion of the peninsula of Hitoe, the memory of which they still celebrate in their songs and at their feasts, where they are sure to madden themselves with opium and bang ², the chief cause of the present insurrection.

The ancient family, which once possessed this country, still exists amongst the mountains and tho the title of rajah and mahorajah is evidently of Hindoo origin, it appears universally adopted by the Malays, tho Mahometans. Mahorajah, the rajah of Hitoeelama, is now the representative of it, who being also the chief casizy ³ or priest of the Mohometans, possesses great influence over all the people of that province. His ancestors were the persons, who first invited the Dutch to their assistance against the Portuguese and to whom the Dutch were obliged in the beginning to allow great privileges and authority, but they by degrees, conceiving it necessary to counterballance their power, supported the inferior chiefs or orankaiois, ⁴ until at last they all became perfectly distinct and independent of each other. Hence arises the division of the island into several districts, called niggeries. This Hitoe rajah, hoping now to recover the dominion so long lost to his family and taking advantage of the confusion generally attending the change of government, set himself up at the head of all the Mohomotans, already possessed with a spirit of revolt from the

¹ Eene merkwaardige verklaring, nu zij hier komt van Engelsche zijde.

² Bang of hasjisj: een bedwelmend genotmiddel.

³ Vgl. *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 130, sub voce „Casis." — Zie ook Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 47.

⁴ Orangkaja. — Vgl. over de wijzigingen door de O. I. C. in het inlandsch bestuur van Hitoe gebracht ongeveer het midden der 17^{de} eeuw mijn *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum* (deel LVII dezer „Bijdragen"), bldz. 31, v., 258, v., 263, v., 300, 423 en de daár aangegeven literatuur.

want of caution and prudence of the Dutch, who not only in their conversation inspired them with the idea that all authority and subordination were at an end, but by their dastardly conduct in all the outposts, which they were still necessarily left in charge of, gave them spirit and confidence in proportion to the apprehension and backwardness they shewed. The Hitoe rajah therefore opened a correspondence with all the chiefs on the coast of Ceram, inviting them to join and throw off the yoke of the Europeans and recover their lost liberty and independance, summoned the orankaio's of Bouro, Manipa and all the neighbouring islands, and even called in the aid of the Alfores or hill-people on the island of Ceram, who are a perfectly savage race, whose religion obliges them to acquire the honor of a certain number of heads before they can pretend to any post of power or command or even be permitted to marry; and they were shortly to have assembled, had not our ships and troops luckily arrived from Banda at the time they did. He appointed certain captains or leaders under him in the different districts, who headed the people and led them away from their villages among the hills, where some parties had created fastnesses, in which they lay prepared for war and plunder and not only threatened to exterminate all those who refused to join them but actually murdered such of the Dutch about Hila and Hitoelama, as they could lay hands on, cut to pieces and killed the patties of Alang and Lilleboy and several others of less note. He nominated orankaio's, creatures of his own, to all the niggeries to act under his authority, declaring himself rajah of all Hitoe with the original power of that title, and thus become the chief cause of the insurrection, which however, had it not been for the want of discretion and steadiness amongst the Dutch, could never have extended to the length it did. The scandalous conduct of the Dutch garrison at Hila and of the resident of Saway with his men, leaving all the military stores at those places to the plunder of the insurgents, contributed not a little to encourage and strengthen them.

5th. Disturbances at Haroekoe of a similar nature to those in the province of Hitoe about this time grew to an alarming pitch, the chief author of which was Tolongpatty. Cap^{tn} Macloads company were therefore sent to garrison the islands of Haroekoe, Saporoua and Noessalaut.

6th. Several reports were this morning made of an attack being intended against the rajah of Soely, who is a Christian and

possessing the frontierpost towards Ceram and the Mohometan niggeries on the N. E. part of the islands, and who being always firmly attached to the Europeans, is particularly obnoxious to the people of Hitoe. A party of 30 men were therefore sent under an officer to join the Rajah and guard his district. The Pass Baguala was also strengthened and an armed boat stationed there. Soon after the party joined the rajah, the Hitoe people began their attack, but were beat off with some loss on their side but none on ours.

7th. The Swift was this day ordered out to cruise on the N. E. of the island to clear that coast of the Hitoe and Ceramese prows and any other armed prows that might be seen. The Amboina brig was sent to Banda with letters to major Vigers. The post of Hitoelama, which covers the road of communication to Hila from Hoekoenaloe or the Three houses, was ordered to be occupied again, as it appears to be a place of consequence and thro which it is frequently necessary to send, besides being the chief residence of the Hitoe rajah, who is however at present amongst the hills.

8th. A proclamation was this day issued, advertising the payment of the clove-money on the 12th to all the niggories dependant on the chief fort, with on exception against such individuals as should be proved to have taken an active part in the late disturbances

11th. Every thing tolerably quiet for these some days past, but constant reports of the intended invasion of the Ceramese prows and the meeting of the Hitoe people in different places to plunder and force the other niggeries to join them, and many of the inhabitants of Along, Lilleboy, Hitoe and Laha, ¹ which are all situated on the Hitoe side of the bay, but immediately subordinate to the chief fort, were obliged to leave their habitations and join the insurgents. In consequence of which, tho every part of the country is covered with wood, the garrison felt some distress for firing, which there are no persons who made a trade to bring into the bazar, but is the duty by compact and long established custom of the above four niggeries to supply, but which under the present situation of affairs they were unable to perform. The patties of the two first niggeries were murdered by the Hitoe people and the orankaios of the other two were obliged to take refuge here to pre-

¹ Alang, Liliboi, Hatoe, Laha.

vent the same fate. The absence therefore of their immediate chiefs contributed still to the continuance of the disorders in those places. Two parties were accordingly ordered down to Along and Laha with directions [to] protect them against the Hitoe people, to invite the inhabitants to their doussons or villages, to guard the orankaïos of Hatoe and Laha, who returned with the parties of soldiers, to make the people of Along and Lilleboy point out proper persons to fill the vacant appointments of patty in each of these niggeries, to supply the regular gusta of firewood and finally to attend for the payment of their clove-money on the day appointed for that purpose. The Resistance and Swift were employed cruising round the island and between Ceram and Saparoua, to prevent any danger from asmed (?) prows, and every other measure adopted for the preservation of peace and good order, of which there were now hopes of a speedy reestablishment.

New commissions under the British seal were issued to the different rajahs, patties and orankaïos by the Admirals directions, which instead of the Dutch commissions they have hitherto acted under. Cash was taken out of the treasury to day to pay the Dutch troops and all others under the Government.

In consequence of the proclamation for the payment of the clove-money, several niggeries this days brought in a quantity of cloves, which undoubtedly they hitherto reserved from a doubt of being paid, and perhaps with a view to smuggle off as they could.

12th. Last night arrived the Malay prow from Banda with intelligence from major Vigors and captain Lambest of the troublesome and improper conduct of the gou^r, M^r Bouckoltz, whose restlessness of disposition and chagrin at his lost power prompted him to throw every impediment in the way of business there.

13th. This morning The Orpheus was dispatched to Madras, with intelligence of our success and to procure a speedy reinforcement and supply of provisions and naval stores, of which we are very much in want. Letters from Hila this morning state every thing in that province as perfectly quiet, but the inhabitants are not yet come to their houses and usual occupations nor the Hitoe raja returned, until which no certainty of peace can be depended on, tho our Sepoys and soldiers pass singly unmolested back and forward, their enmity and declared vengeance being solely against the Dutch. ¹

¹ Vgl. echter hiervóór, bldz. 292.

Numberless estimates of losses sustained by the destruction of houses et^c and plundering of the insurgents were this day given in, which from the exorbitant complexion they were deserve very little notice. Every days observations confirms the idea of this disturbances being in a great degree occasioned by the insinuations and intrigues of the Dutch themselves, ¹ many of whom wished to avail themselves of the necessity of dividing our forces in the expedition to Banda and take advantage of any confusion that might issue. In the midst of the troubles, which they always represented in the highest colouring, they were particularly urgent with captain Gordon, the officer left in command at Amboina on going to Banda, to distribute arms amongst the burghers and former Dutch national troops, which he very judiciously refused them. The desertion of all the different garrisons at the out-posts, whether they happened thro design or carelessness of any consequences that might follow, or thro dastardliness at the unusual spirit among the Malays, encouraged these disorders to such a pitch, that there is no knowing where they might end, had we not succeeded against Banda and been again able to exert our force here. Reports too during our absence there were constantly circulated and gained considerable credit, of the loss of the Suffolk, Orpheus and Resistance and that our troops were cut to pieces; and when the Centurion and two transports were coming up the bay, it was the universal report and belief among the Dutch that they were the remains of the expedition and that all the rest perished.

15th. Five niggeries were paid for their cloves this day and more cloves were lodged in store which are supposed to be the last for this season. The accounts of each niggery are adjusted, when the whole of the spices is lodged in store, and then as soon as convenient they are paid for between February and May when the season is over and the whole supposed to be collected.

16th. The inhabitants of Along and Lillebay, which were the two niggeries in which the greatest disturbance raged, came in for the payment of their cloves. But as many of them were reported to have been concerned in the murder of their patties and somewhere observed to have cutt off their hair and put on the turband in conformity to the Mahometan custom as adherents of the Hitoe rajah, it was thought necessary to secure such of them as were

¹ Dit klopt niet met het vorige.

said to have been principally concerned in that business; for this purpose a guard of Sepoys surrounded the whole of them and seven, against whom particular information was given, apprehended and sent to the fiscaal to be examined previous to their more formal trial, in hopes of discovering the persons who actually committed the murders.

The orankaïos of Haroekoe came in this day to make their peace and acknowledge allegiance to the British government and the Admiral received them in the way most likely to assure them of the protection, justice and honor of the English. They were informed of the intended payment of the clove-money, for which immediate preparation was made to send the amount necessary to that residency. Having received their new commissions they departed for their province very much pleased and with all the appearance in the world of good and faithfull subjects, which probably they will now prove, tho certainly there were many among them, who a few days before might have been led to the most extravagant crimes without consideration of the consequences.

17th. Sent of this morning on board the Splinter brig money for the payment of the cloves in the provinces of Haroekoe and Saparoua, with particular directions to the commanding officer to superintend the payment and prevent stoppages, an acct of debts previously contracted with the Dutch residents, tho fair opportunity was given to them to get in their debts from the free will of the inhabitants who are generally indebted to their residents, by suffering the accounts to pass thro their hands; but as the Admiral in the last proclamation had guaranteed the due payment of the clove money, he resolved that it should be made bona fide.

The Amboina brig and Armenia, transport, arrived this day from Banda and bring accounts of every thing being in a perfect state of tranquillity and good order there. The Dutch soldiers to the number of seventy, that were embarked on board the Suffolk, came on board these two vessels; they are very fine well behaved fellows¹ and are willing to enter the English service, provided they get the same pay as the English troops; but the Admiral not thinking himself justified in acceding to that demand, they are first to be sent to Madras before they can be adopted. The Amboina brought 30 baskets of mace and 130 of nutmegs.

¹ Een alleszins merkwaardige opmerking, omdat het oordeel over het gehalte van 's Compagnie's soldaten uit die dagen niet altijd gunstig luidt.

7^e Volgr. VI.

20th. The two last days chiefly occupied in paying the different niggeries, dependant on the chief fort, for their cloves. The sums however which were due to those people, proved to have been engaged in the disorders of Alang, Lilleboy and Hitoe, was reserved in a separate fund and is to be applied to reimburse those who have really suffered losses, for which a committee of half English and half Dutch is to be appointed to examine the estimates given in. Particular orders were sent to Hila and the other outposts to use every possible means to apprehend the chief leaders of the insurgents, of whom a list of four was sent to captⁿ Chalmers. Notwithstanding constant information from all the outposts of the perfect state of tranquillity the whole country was in, for some days past, the Dutch gentlemen are continually making reports of meetings and intentions amongst the Malays to disturb the public quiet. Their information may possibly be better than ours from their more intimate knowledge of the language and people, and as the inhabitants of the villages on the Hitoe-side are not yet returned, their representations wear the greater appearance of probability. A person of confidence was therefore sent, well acquainted with the country, to examine and report particularly the real state of it in every respect and in the mean time such parties were detached and cruisers sent out as were most likely to defeat the intentions of the Hitoe people, supposing the reports to be just.

21st. The prince of Tydore¹, having at last fitted out a small vessel, applied for permission to return to his own country, which the Admiral consented to, having first obliged him to give security not to go to any other place and to take his oath on the koran, not upon any account to enter into any connection or correspondence with the enemies of the English, but to live in friendship with them and always to receive their ships into his ports without molestation.

A request was this day made in form by one of the bangsas² or nobles of niggery Along to be appoined patty in the room of the deceased, and produced his tree of genealogy according to the

¹ Vgl. hiervóór.

² Dus een anak bangsa, iemand uit „de bangsa radja, of de familie der vroegere en tegenwoordige regenten” (*Encyclopaedie*, I, bldz. 26)? — Zie ook G. W. W. C. van Hoëvell, *Ambon en meer bepaaldetijk de Oeliasers* (Dordrecht, Blussé en Van Braam, 1875), bldz. 46, v.; en vgl. bldz. 21, v.

established forms. The genealogies of all the chief families in the different niggeries are registered in the Secretarys office, from whence an authenticated copy must be taken and a request given in to the Governor upon a stamped paper, before any appointment can regularly take place.

23^d. Constant reports of alarms throughout the provinces, tho all letters from the outpost give very different intelligence; particular order were therefore sent to the officers upon detached duty to make use of every endeavour and stratagem to seize the ringleaders of the Hitoë faction, which is the more necessary to be expeditious in, as the rains, which are said to be very heavy here, are soon expected to set in. Two soldiers from Hitoelama arrived to day with Tolonghatty, accompanied by about 100 of the Caylolo¹ people, one of the persons we were chiefly desirous of catch^g. He landed at Hitoelama in a number of prows and orembays², evidently with an intention of joining the Hitoë rajah; but finding the post of Hitoelama occupied and the Rajah absconded, he put the best face on the matter and changed his purpose altogether and leaving his people at Hoekoenaloe³, where there were no boats to transport them across, came with a couple of attendants, and with the greatest composure and appearance of innocence declared he only came to obtain the appointment of orankaio agreeably to the promise made him, and that the number of people he brought with him was only to shew that he had the unanimous voice of the niggery in his favor. As the day was nearly short, not being able to send immediately for the Caylolo people, it was judged best to treat him with seeming confidence, that we might the more effectually secure the whole of his party, and he accordingly remained under protection during the night.

24th. The whole of the Caylolo people having come in to-day, as soon as they were assembled in the fort, a guard of Sepoys surrounded them and conducted them to the stadthouse, where they were put under charge of the fiscaal, who was ordered to examine particularly into the circumstances of their guilt. They seemed to acknowledge their guilt; many of them, just as they were going to prison, and prayed for mercy.

¹ Kailolo op Haroekoe (Oma).

² Orëmbai: Moluksch vaartuig (*Encyclopaedie*, IV, bldz. 483).

³ Aan de kust van het schiereiland Hitoë.

27th. Trifling alarms for some days past, after causing some little trouble in making detachments, proved all to be groundless. The person sent into the country to examine into the state of the niggeries to the eastward returned and made a very favourable report of the state of those districts adjoining to Soely ¹, in consequence of which the party sent there some time since was no longer thought necessary and therefore withdrawn, having previously left one Sepoy at each of the niggeries Teal, Tengatenga, Tolehoe ² and Way, which the orankaio of these places requested might be left as a sort of protection to them. They made every protestation of peace and allegiance to the English, and only requested that every thing past should be forgotten.

28th. The fiscaal having made his report of the prisoners from Caylolo, in which it appeared that four of them were principally guilty and the rest merely led on by them. Tolongpatty therefore and his four associates were sentenced to work in irons upon the works, with some other criminals convicted of similar offences, and the rest at the intercession of the orankaio, who was lately reinstated, permitted to return to their habitations, their names being registered, least a second crime of the same nature, they were engaged in, should be in future proved against them, in which case they should be considered principally guilty.

The price of rice being at present very dear in consequence of the scarcity of that article, the Admiral ordered that the Burghers should be supplied with a quantity, proportioned to their immediate wants, at a reasonable rate from the stores.

29th. This day had the agreeable intelligence of the capture of the Hitoe rajah by captain Chalmers, who represented that the Hitoe people were very numerous and all armed and therefore dreaded that the party at Hitoelama might be cutt off, the place being in ruins. A reinforcement of an officer and 30 men were immediately sent off to strengthen captain Chalmers and enable him to escort the Hitoe rajah here. The Resistance too was ordered round to intercept every endeavour by sea to rescue him, which was said to be expected.

May 1st. Letter from Hila mention the arrival of the reinforcement and every thing safe and quiet. Captain Chalmers writes that

¹ Soeli, aan den Zuid-Oosthoek van het schiereiland Hitoe.

² Tial, Tenga Tenga, Toelahoe en Wai, ten Oosten en Noord-Oosten van Soeli.

Maharajah ¹ now accuses his chief captains, Oelapahal, Boccara and Adams, as the chief promotors of all the troubles and that his name was made use of without his authority and thinks that, if he is suffered to remain at Hila for some days, there are hopes of securing the persons of these men, who are by far the most notorious captains of the insurgents thro the wole country. Such is the treachery and infidelity of the Malay character, that those persons, whom the Hitoe rajah now accuses, are the very men to whom he would immediately fly, if he should chance to regain his liberty.

The Admiral, considering the difficulty of ships coming from Madras at this season, resolved on sending to China for supplies of provision and stores, and being uncertain of the resources of our supercargoes there as to the means of procuring them, determined on sending the Surprise with a cargo spices under convoy of the Amboina, to be consigned by the commissaries for the navy and army to the chief supercargo, the net proceeds applied to the demands of the Admiral and any overplus to be vested in Companies bills in favor of the commissaries. The Surprise was accordingly ordered to be immediately filled up for the reception of the spices and otherwise to prepare for the voyage.

4th. Intelligence from the officer commanding at Larique ² mentions the descent of Oelapahal with a considerable number of adherents at Niggery Lima ³ for the purpose of restoring the Hitoe rajah to his liberty and power and that a large fleet of prows were every moment expected to join him; that on Oelapahals arrival he had been met by the whole people of that and the adjoining niggeries in the Hila province, who saluted him in a regular manner, and that he had sent letters to the orankaiois in the province of Larique, threatening to extirpate them and their families unless they immediately collected their forces and joined him, which however the orankaiois refused to do, tho some of their people went over thro fear. No time was lost therefore in sending notice of this circumstances to captain Chalmers to put him upon his guard against the intended attack, directing him to embark the Rajah on the first ship that called at Hila, to prevent the possibility of this escape. The Admiral also sent an express to Saparoua to the Swift, imme-

¹ Dezelfde, die elders in het handschrift „the Hitoe rajah” wordt genoemd.

² Larike, aan de Westkust van Hitoe.

³ Aan de Noord-Westkust van Hitoe.

diately to cruise off Hila, and also dispatched a letter to captain Packenham of the Resistance to look out for this fleet of prows and otherwise to cooperate with captain Chalmers whenever necessary.

May 5th. The Surprise galley, having taken in the spices intended for China, sailed this day under convoy of the Amboina brig direct for Canton. They were instructed to proceed by the Balambangan passage.¹

6th. The Resistance entered the bay this evening with the Hitoe rajah and one of his partisans, the orankaio of Wackal,² who were both landed and committed as close prisoners to the care of the fiscaal; and as there is no doubt of their guilt, as soon as an opportunity offers, they are to be banished from this country for ever.

7th. The patty of Alang was this day invested with his office and received his commission, silver-headed stick³ and a copy of the instructions always given upon these. Captain Taylor, major of brigade and quartermaster to our expedition, this day departed this life.

8th. This morning came in the orankaio's of the province of Larique, who made every profession of regularity and obedience. They were recommended by the officer commanding at Larique as having behaved very well since his arrival there, and opposed Oelapahal in the late attempt he made at Niggery Lima. The Admiral met them with his usual good nature and said every thing possible to conform them in their royalty and pacific disposition, promising at their request to pardon every thing that is past, provided they act conformably to their present professions, and also to issue the payment of their spices without farther delay, as the inhabitants have given proof of their duty in having resisted the threats of Oelapahal, who it is this day reported is dead, which is suspected not to be true; but that finding himself disappointed, has absconded and circulated this report to escape the pursuit, which he is aware there is now after him.

The Admiral wishing me to proceed as soon as possible to Banda to settle certain regulations, which appear necessary for the better government of the island, and also to understand perfectly the

¹ Straat Balabak tusschen de eilanden Balambangan en Balabak ten Noorden van Borneo.

² Wakal, aan de Noordkust van Hitoe.

³ Vgl. Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 19.

business of an ambassador said to have arrived there lately from prince Noekoe, ordered the *Armenia* in readiness to sail.

9th. This day commenced the sale by auction of the merchandize-stores in the winkel¹, from whence this country-people are supplied with different kinds of cloth suited to their wants. It is generally after the issuing of the clove-money, this sale is held, by which means a considerable part of the money again comes into the treasury. There is generally a time given for the payment of the goods sold, of which the Chinese are the most considerable purchasers.

10th. The captain of the Chinese applied for and obtained a renewal of his appointment under the British authority, his character and conduct having been approved of.

11th. The niggery of Lillebooy having been for a long time past without a patty, the only person who appeared to have an unexceptionable claim and who gave in a request in regular form with his genealogy properly authenticated from the Secretarys office, was this day appointed. There was a better family in the niggery acknowledged to have a prior claim, but having been under an interdict by an act of the Dutch government for some years past, on account of smuggling spices, the Admiral did not chuse to counteract such an exception, least others might be tempted to commit the same crime, seeing that the same punishments were not likely to attend it.

12th. Having received instructions from the Admiral for the affairs of Banda, embarked on board the *Armenia*; we sailed immediately and arrived at Hila on the 13th.

14th. After surveying the fort and environs of Hila and forming a plan for its more perfect defence, agreeable to the orders of the Admiral, walked round the town with captain Chalmers and could not avoid lamenting sincerely the ruin and devastation committed by these people in having deserted and partly destroyed one of the handsomest towns in this part of the world. The casizies of this province have of late been very troublesome, ever since the confinement of the Hitoe rajah, who is chief casizy, and endeavoured to excite the people to fresh insurrection in his favor, and have proceeded so far as to depose some of the regents, who refused to adopt their measures, and appoint others in their room.

¹ Het Nederlandsch woord: winkel.

Captain Chalmers therefore found it necessary to take up four of the most active, and they are now in confinement. As there appeared from the representation of the orankaio of Hila, who was one of those deposed by these casizies, to be an absolute necessity for this measure, in order to restore the peace of the country, they were sent in custody to the Admiral by the first safe opportunity.

15th. Early this morning the Swift made her appearance from Saparoua. Luitenant Hayward, who landed from her, informed us, they had seen on their passage a large fleet of prows and corracorras¹ off the coast of Ceram, N. of Saparoua, who run ashore when the Swift chased them. They had heard several reports of the garrison of Hila being cut off and considered this fleet of prows as an armament to reestablish the Hitoe rajah and drive all the Europeans² from Amboina.

Having executed every thing at Hila, that the Admiral wished, and sent plans for the improvement of the works which I conceived essential to the safety of the place, embarked on board the Armenia and made sail to the N. E. with very little wind. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon we were surprized at seeing a large corracorra come on board us, with several flags and streamers, and drums beating; at the same time observing under the shore upwards of 70 others, sailing along. Little doubting but this was the fleet mentioned by lieutenant Hayward of the Swift, we got up our guns and made every preparation for defence; however as only one of them approached, we entertained no apprehensions. When they came alongside, the principal person in her immediately came on board and seemed to express great satisfaction at seeing us English; informing us that the fleet we saw, consisting of 99 sail, was an equipment accompanying sultaun Ibrahim ul Muckeram, the nephew of sultaun Syfool Deen Shaw, commonly called Noekoe,³ and bound upon an embassy to the English commander in chief at Amboina, having heard that the English had got possession of the Spice-islands, in order to form a friendship and alliance with them, to whom he has been attached since his first knowledge of them. I received him with the respect due to the character he

¹ Koera-koera: Moluksch vaartuig (Vgl. *Encyclopaedie*, IV, bldz. 482).

² Dit is geheel iets anders, dan dat het verzet op de Ambon-groep alleen tegen de Nederlanders gericht zou zijn, zooals hiervóór werd gezegd door den schrijver.

³ Vgl. hiervóór.

represented, but being extremely anxious to know the truth of this account, sent my chief Malay interpreter to accompany him to sultaun Ibrahim, to request an interview with him, to which he readily acquiesced, and as an assurance of their return, as soon as possible, left one of his company as an hostage. It grew late however, and their prowls having all come to an anchor close under the land, the current separated us too far from them and we saw no more of them during the night; left me in a state of great anxiety, as, should their design be hostile, they were possessed of a person who might easily be terrified into the information of our weakest side for attack and give them considerable advantage over us, particularly as the Hila province was still very unsettled and ready to join the first chief of their own sect, who might stand forth.

16th. At daylight this morning we discovered two corracorras coming from the fleet towards us, and lay too untill they came up. About 8 o'clock sultaun Ibrahim and the chief persons of his expedition came on board. He seemed a very well-bred, handsome man, much superior in appearance to any Malays I had yet seen; and all those who had accompanied him of different features and manners from any of the inhabitants of Amboina or Banda. He informed us, he was come from Warowe¹ on the NO. coast of Ceram, where sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw had been about 5 weeks ago, when he left it; that upon the information (from?) captains Risdale and Stuart of two trading-ships from Bengal, that we were in possession of the Spice-islands, he came on an embassy from sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw, who is his uncle, to form a connection and friendly intercourse with the English, and seemed much to rejoice at the fall of the Dutch, who he said dispossessed his uncle of the just sovereignty over Ternate, Tydore and all the Spice-islands, to which he asserted his claim to be indisputable in every light of justice. He also informed us that three Bengal ships had been at Maba, an island close to Gibby², whither sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw was to have gone after his departure from Warowe. Having enquired, how he came to have the title of sultaun as well as his uncle, who is still living, he acknowledged that it was only bestowed upon him to add dignity to his embassy; and that all the chief persons, who accompanied him, were rajahs and

¹ Waroe, aan de Noord-Oostkust van Ceram.

² Maba, Gebi, Oost-Halmaheira.

governors of very considerable provinces on Ceram, and most of the islands to the Northward of it, over all of whom sultaun Syfoot is acknowledged. Being satisfied of their disposition and designs, concerning which I was extremely anxious, in order to prevent alarm along the coast of Hila, which would add to the disturbances of that province, I wrote immediately three letters: one to captain Chalmers at Hila, to inform him what they were and to send instant notice of it to fort Victoria; another to any of the officers of His Majestys ships of war; and a third to the Admiral himself. At the same time instructed sultaun Ibrahim to send the letters on before, as he had occasion in one of his smallest prows, that to Hila first, to prevent alarm at the approach of the fleet or hostilities from the ships on a misconception of their designs, as I knew that all the ships had orders immediately to destroy all armed prows wherever found on the coast of Amboina. I also cautioned him not to suffer his people to land at night, which he assured me he had himself particularly forbid, and also on his entrance into the bay of Amboina to anchor his corracorras in Portugese bay, a little on the right within the bay of Amboina, and proceed up to town with one or two, but no more, where upon delivering his letter and explaining his mission, he might depend upon a favorable reception; all which he promised to attend to in the most punctual manner. The acquaintance of sultaun Ibrahim and his suite, with those captains who we know have traded with them for the last 2 or 3 years for dresses of Bengal manufacture, and their appearance and manners so different from the other Malays of the neighbouring islands, removed every doubt I had in my mind and gave me great pleasure. They breakfasted with us and seemed well accustomed to our fashions.

The Sultaun with his suite took their leave about ten and we proceeded with a light but farm breeze on our voyage.

17th. Being nearly becalmed and close to the coast of Ceram, sent a boat ashore for fowls and vegetables to Couloor, ¹ nearly opposite to Post Hoorn on the Northside of Haroekoe, where they supplied us immediately at a very reasonable rate.

24th. After beating against winds and a NWly current, that increases in strength as you approach Banda, and working along the coast of Ceram, a considerable distance to the Eastward of

¹ Koelor op Saparoea?

Banda, which is the only way of effecting the passage at this time of the year, we were this evening just able to enter the harbour of Banda. Found the English part of the garrison and Sepoys in very good health, but the company of Wirtemberg quite the reverse, having already lost 8 men, with 40 down in fevers, besides both officers. The whole settlement however were wretchedly in want of every kind of provision but rice, of which there remains still of months store. Delivered the Admirals letters to major Vigors and captain Lambert, and sent those to the Dutch governor and other gentlemen. Major Vigors represented every thing in perfect security, but at the same time the situation of the garrison such, that he could not leave the command to any officer under him, particularly as the Suffolk is now ordered away; he therefore, tho having it in his option to go to Amboina, resolved to devote his time to the present care of the settlement under all its disadvantages, untill regularly relieved from Madras, in doing which he has given strong proof of his zeal for the good of the service. Learned from major Vigors that the Wirtemberg corps has upon all occasions manifested the strictest discipline and most orderly conduct possible, and that, notwithstanding their sickly situation, the scarcity and dearness of every kind of provision, they never made the smallest complaints; had therefore particular pleasure in communicating the Admirals thanks to them to be published in orders, and also to empower the Major to make them the same allowance in lieu of salt-provisions as our own soldiers.

25th. Agreeable to the Admirals instructions ordered all the nutmegs and mace in store on board the Suffolk as also the cash in the treasury, after reserving three months pay in advance for the Dutch and English belonging to the settlement.

Had a conference to day with Mr Steenberg, Mr Spits, Mr Vander-slays and some more of the most respectable planters on the island, relative to the allowance of rice made to the park-slaves, also the justness of taking into the possession of the Company the property of the parks by the late Dutch government and the real advantage arising from it, of which measure there is good reason to doubt; also made particular enquiry into the most advantageous way both to the Company and planters of managing the slaves, ascertaining the property in them and the lands, and deriving (?) the most advantage with greatest ease to both. From which it was plainly discovered,

that the act of Mr Boukholtz in assuming in the name of the Company the property of the lands and slaves was by no means considered as a just one, but which we acquiesced in as an arbitrary proceeding, against which no resistance was possible, nor could any appeal be made. From their account it appeared that some of the planters purchased their parks bona fide from the Company, and most of them time immemorial in quiet and undisputed possession of them; that the claims on the score of long arrears of debt for rice et^{ca} were never from the beginning intended to have been enforced, being meant rather as a benevolence to the planters in consequence of several losses by hurricanes and other accidents and in consideration of the former very low rate at which they were under a necessity of delivering their spices, and without which they could not attend at all to the cultivation of them; it also appeared that the park-slaves were in general better fed and taken care of than any other, having the privilege of cultivating all over the park, when they found it convenient, plantains ¹, jams ², sweet-potatoe, kanarynuts ³, et^{ca} for their own use, and tho' the Admiral empowered me, to make such addition to their allowance of rice as should appear necessary, they did not seem to stand in any need of it.

A person, who came here some time ago from Maba and stiled himself an ambasador from sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw, paid me a visit this morning, whom I discovered to be sent from that prince merely to see if the accounts of our being in possession of these islands was true; which as soon as he learned, he sent his prow back with the intelligence and remained himself; he is not a person of any rank, but since he sent off his vessel, several have come from the coast of Ceram, with supplies of sagoe and sagoe-bread, which is a very great relief to the inhabitants; and the sailors prefer it far to rice. Accounts however are brought that the island of Goram, near the S: E: end of Ceram, is become the seat of a nest of pirates, who have refused obedience to sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw and plunder every thing they can seize, and that a Chinese vessel from hence was taken a short time ago.

27th. Having found every thing in Banda in a perfectly quiet state with regard to the internal policy of it, that the care and

¹ Bananen (pisang).

² „Yam of yamswortel. De gekookt als aardappelen gegeten *Dioscorea*-knollen” (*Encyclopaedie*, IV, bldz. 789). Zie ook op „Oebi” (t. a. p., III, bldz. 50).

³ Vgl. *Encyclopaedie*, II, bldz. 190?

cultivation of the place was attended to as much as could be expected, and that a very plentiful crop of nutmegs appeared on all the trees; seeing every apprehension of tumult entirely at an end and that major Vigors himself was determined to remain untill a relief should arrive; after leaving with him such memorandums and instructions, as I received from the Admiral, and I knew were his wish to have executed relative to administration of justice, the mustering and proper care of the public slaves ^{et^{ca}} and encouraging the cultivation of maize, chocolate-trees and vegetables of all sorts, I embarked on board the Suffolk and about 10: o'clock, as soon as a breeze sprung up, we weighed anchor, and sailed out of the harbour.

29th.....

This evening we entered Amboina bay and got up to the fort about 8 o'clock.

30th. Every thing here remained in a tolerable tranquil state since the 12th. The sultaun Ibrahim, who arrived a few days after he parled us at sea, observed punctually the instructions given to him in his manner of approaching and sending his letter, and he was received by the Admiral with all the honor and respect due to his rank and the character he represented. The Dutch gentlemen were extremely anxious concerning this embassy and never failed to represent the ambassador as well as his uncle, sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw, as impostors, tho' it was evident they all dreaded his influence among the people of the country and were never easy when in his company. Sultaun Ibrahim earnestly wished to establish a friendship and intimacy with the English, whom he seemed to have the utmost confidence in, and to regard in the sincerest manner. In one particular audience with the Admiral he informed him, that sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw was the true sovereign of Tydore, Ternate and of all the Spice islands; and endeavoured by every possible argument to interest the Admiral in his behalf, to reinstate him in his rights, from which the Dutch have expelled him for upwards of 18 years, and set up a cypher of their own making in his room; who, tho' of the proper family, is not justly entitled to the sovereignty, and to whom the Dutch are nevertheless obliged to pay a tribute for all the different islands that yield spice. He asserted in the most positive terms, that if he was supported by the English, the present ¹ king of Ternate and

¹ Hier onder staat in het handschrift de volgende noot: „This distinction

sultaun of Tydore would willingly acknowledge him as their lawful sovereign, and promised that if the Admiral would assist him to expell the Dutch from Ternate, he would ensure them the entire monopoly of all the spices and the exclusive privilege of trade throughout all the islands and countries belonging to him. In order to give a proof of his zeal in support of the English and of his influence over the people even in Amboina, he wished much that the Admiral would empower him to quell the disturbances that for some time past distracted the country; and assured him, he could inform him of all those niggeries that might be now depended on, as well as those that would never be at rest as long as the Dutch remained in the country or possessed the least influence in it, and that if he was confided in, he would answer for apprehending in three days every one of the disaffected leaders, and restoring the country to perfect peace. He disclaimed any acquaintance or connection with the Hitoë rajah or any of his party, whom he looked upon as natural tributaries, bound to obey his mandates, when issued to them, under the sanction of the English commander. However desirable it was to put an end to the disturbances of the country and restore it to peace, the Admiral did not think proper to call in the aid of sultaun Ibrahim on the present occasion, not knowing how far he might be with safety depended on, and at any rate unwilling to employ foreign assistance where the English arms were sufficient for the purpose. And as to re-instating him in the sovereignty he claimed, the Admiral assured him he had not authority to do it; that his orders only extended to take possession of these islands and places held by the Dutch untill the termination of the war, when alone it could be determined whether the English were to remain possessed of them or not, but that he could not interfere in overturning the system observed by the Dutch to any greater length. However that, if he should have an opportunity of going against Ternate, that he should, if not attended with particular inconvenience or delay, acquaint sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw with it. Sultaun Ibrahim did not seem to think the Admiral quite sincere in saying that he had not authority to re-instate his uncle in the sovereignty of Tydore, but rather that he made this as a sort of excuse, observing that he could not help

of title seems to insinuate the supremacy of Tydore." Gelukkig voor den schrijver, dat hij zegt: „seems."

thinking him invested with unlimited powers. He also seemed to imagine that our taking Amboina and Banda was entirely owing to the intimacy between sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw and the captains of the country-ships, who have had an intercourse with him for some time past; and who, probably, to gain his support, were liberal in their promises on the part of the English, to second his views against the Dutch. To set him right in this particular, the Admiral endeavoured to explain the difference between the king of England and the East India Company, which was a distinction, that even with the assistance of a perfect knowledge of the language would be very difficult to make him understand. He was received and treated with every attention and respect on board the *Centurion*, which he compared to a niggery or district, and after a few days stay was dismissed in a friendly manner. The Resistance was however ordered to accompany his fleet, untill he had passed the Hitoe coast, which as it implied a sort of restriction against his touching there, appeared to hurt him a good deal. On his way round he gave an instance of his influence by apprehending the chief captain of the insurgents, Oelapahal, and delivered him up to the hands of captain Chalmers at Hila, which was certainly as convincing a proof of his having no connection with the Hitoe party as could be given, tho' the Dutch gentlemen never failed to assert, that he was the chief person concerned in it. In most of his interviews he spoke more in his own name than in that of his uncle, though he acknowledged that he derives his authority from him, nor did he even pretend to be the immediate successor to sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw, as he wrote down in my pocketbook with his own hand in arabic characters the names of his uncle, whom he stiled sultaun of Tydoria and a nephew older than himself called rajah moodah, which is always the title of the heir apparent of the empire. Himself he stiled Ibrahim Ulmuckoram of Ternate, which he says is his proper right of inheritance. It was not easy to understand, whether his claim to the empire of Ternate was independant of Tydore, or whether he was to have it as a portion of the empire claimed by his uncle, after his death, the rest going to rajah moodah, his elder brother; neither could I learn among the inhabitants themselves, which of the empires of Ternate or Tydore was considered the greatest, or whether they were the same, and even the Dutch contradicted each other and gave different accounts, either really ignorant or perhaps not wishing to communicate any

information on the subject. Should the English become permanently possessed of these islands, it would probably contribute much to the peace of the neighbouring islands, to form a connection with a family, whose influence is certainly acknowledged by the majority of the inhabitants, even under the disadvantage of being expelled as rebels and impostors by the power of the Dutch arms, for upwards of 18: years. At any rate it appears to be an object well worth inquiring into, and as far as could be observed, they are the just lineal heirs of the empire of Tydore (which they always pronounce Tydoria), as the regular succession amongst the Malays is said to run in the female line.¹

The Dutch are the inveterate enemies of this branch of the royal family of Tydore and never fail to say every thing to their prejudice, but if, as is reported, the present king of Ternate is ready to acknowledge the sovereignty of sultaun Syfoot Deen Shaw, provided the Dutch do not interfere, it amounts to some proof of the justice of his claim.

Captain Chalmers, having secured two more of the most notorious rebels, one of whom but a very short time ago murdered the orankaio of Hila, they were ordered to be executed in chains, along with Oelapahal, of whose guilt and atrocious villainy there is sufficient proof.

June 2^d. The Admiral, now finding every probability of a continuance of peace and tranquillity, resolved upon despatching me to Madras by way of Malacca and Penang, and ordered the Centurion and Mary to get in readiness to proceed as far as the latter place, where, if supplies had not already been sent from thence, the Mary was to be loaded immediately and to return with the Centurion to Amboina. I lost no time therefore in adjusting the accounts with the treasury and the public funds of Amboina for the cash taken out for the payment of the garrisons and the stores issued on account of the government of Madras, upon whom the Admiral granted bills to re-imburse the commissaries for managing the public property.

7th. Having delivered over charge of the stamps and seals of Government to the Admiral, I this day embarked on board the

¹ Vgl. over de troonsopvolging in het sultanaat Ternate Tiele—Heeres, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, II ('s-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1890), bldz. 121.

Centurion, and we sailed with the *Mary* out of the bay. We had on board the Dutch soldiers from Banda and the Hitoë rajah, with the four refractory casisies from Hila; the former to be entered into the English service at Madras, and the latter to be eternally banished from Amboina. We returned exactly by the same course we went, having called at Boelacumba, where, being only one ship of war, we found a very sufficient supply and treated them just as before; and arrived at Malacca the morning of the 2^d July and were surprized to find, we brought them the first intelligence of our successes to the eastward. Just about the same time however, news came from Penang that the *Victorious* had spoke the *Orpheus* very much distressed in the Bay of Bengal, having lost her bowsprit, and learned from her the great want of provisions in Amboina and Banda, and that every preparation was making at Penang to send off two transports with stores of all sorts, which were expected to sail from Penang this day. On this account, captain Orborne of the *Centurion*, fearing least he should pass those ships on the way, resolved to wait their arrival here, and then to embark whatever supply of troops could be spared from Malacca and return without delay to Amboina. After waiting untill the 15th and hearing no news of the vessels expected from Penang, we sailed from Malacca and the 16th fell in with the *Prince of Wales*, store-ship, bound to China, and *Gloucester*, transport, with stores and provisions bound for Amboina. As the *Centurion* was not in a condition to return immediately, the *Gloucester* was suffered to proceed on her destination.

18th. Fell in with the *Fly*, cruizer, from Madras, who informed us of the reinforcement and supply preparing at Madras for Amboina.

19th. Arrived at Pulo Penang where we found the *Victorious*; having staid a few days to refit, the Dutch soldiers were put on board the *Mary*, and every thing being ready, I embarked on the 28th and we sailed for Madras. The *Victorious* accompanied us as far as Acheen-head, where she had instructions to cruize for some time. We parted from her on the 5th of August and after experiencing rather rough weather, in which we lost our foretopmast, on the 19th anchored in Madras roads.¹

¹ Hieronder staat met potlood: „1796. August 19th.”

SOME ACCOUNT of the islands of Amboina and Banda at the time they were taken by us, with suggestions towards their better management in case of our keeping permanent possession of them.

.....Fort Victoria is an irregular hexagon with a ditch and covert way on the land side, and a horn-work towards the sea and might be capable of some defence if the situation was good; but it is unfortunately quite commanded by two ranges of heights within from 700 yards to 1100 and 1200 yards distance. 't Is somewhat surprizing that when the value of this island was known, the first settler should fix upon so disadvantageous a situation for their chief fort and town as the present, where there is very insecure anchorage for the ships and the fort perfectly commanded, in so much, that no moderate expence or exertion could render it tenable against the regular approach of an European enemy; whereas, by going up about two miles higher on the same side of the bay, there is one of the finest situations possible for a fortress, which effectually commands the entrance of the harbour and the shore on the opposite side; affords every convenience to be wished for, both for a town and fort; a noble healthy elevation; on one side inaccessible from the land and, without comparison, the finest situation on the island. The town of Amboina is very neat and clean; the streets at right angles, and houses very tolerably built, but none of them above a single story high on account of the freequency of eartquakes. There is an esplanade of about 250 yards from the covert way to the town, which is terminated by a very handsome range of houses with a double row of nutmeg-trees in front, where the principal gentry live. In the fort, besides the public store houses for spices, civil and military stores and merchandize, and quarters for the garrison, the Governor's house is erected in a very spatious good situation, also a house for the Second in Council and another for the Civil Secretary. The rest of the gentlemen of the settlement live in the town. There are two very good churches in the town; one for the Europeans, where the minister officiates in the Dutch language, and another for the Malays, where he reads prayers and preaches in their language, and this he generally does alternately. The stadthouse, where the Court of judicature meets and where there are places of confinement annexed, fronts the esplanade, and is the only building of two stories high in all Amboina; from a balcony in the upper-story all public edicts and proclamations

are read to the people, and in front of it is a large platform raised, with places to erect a gallows, for fixing the rack, to inflict the torture and other public executions. There is a very good building situated in a very little way E. of the fort, called the equipage-wharf, where the Master attendant lives and those belonging to the marine-establishment under his office; also where all the naval stores are kept. Immediately adjoining and close to the foot of the glacis at the East angle of the fort are the sheds and workhouses in the engineer and artillery departments. There is also a very commodious hospital here, where above a hundred men may be well accommodated, situated at the skirts of the town, towards the N. E., besides another, which is smaller, in the fort. At the S. extremity of the town, next the sea, stands the Burghers waght, a kind of guard house with a battery in front, where the Burghers, who are formed into a militia without pay, for the preservation of the police, mount guard every night. These are all the public buildings in the town.

The communication into the country by roads has been wonderfully neglected, there being no possibility of driving a carriage of any sort half a mile from the town in any direction. On horseback it is possible to go farther, the adjoining country being clear of wood and very beautiful to the eye, but every where intersected with deep ravines, which from their abruptness look as if they were occasioned by earthquakes, tho' no such circumstance is recorded even by tradition. ¹

The water of Amboina town is very tolerable, which the inhabitants draw from wells, tho' there are two small rivers, one N. and the other S. of the fort, but these are not considered wholesome, particularly in the rainy season. The water for shipping is generally procured on the N. side of the harbour, where it is conveyed directly into boats from a cataract over the rocks within a very short distance of the shore, in a constant stream, and is reckoned some of the finest in the world.

For the better management of this government and the more convenient collection of the cloves it is divided into residencies, all subordinate to the chief fort, of which those, that yield cloves, are called *provinces* of Amboina, and those which do not, and are at greater distances, its *dependancies*; under the chief fort and the immediate care of government are 7 : great and 24 : small districts,

¹ Sic!

most of them situated on, and occupying the whole of the Leytimor peninsula, the natural boundary of which is the Baguala pass. N: of the pass there are three niggeries or districts: viz^t Way, Soëly and Baguala; and within the bay on the Hitoe peninsula 5 other niggeries are included in the above number. Under the province of Hila are reckoned the 10: niggeries extending along the N: W: coast of Hitoe, from Lien¹ to Niggery Lima, both included, and reach as far inland as the mountains will allow them, being for the most part impassable, except by a difficult road leading from Hitoelama to Hoekoe-Naloe² at the entrance of the harbour. The province of Lariki contains the four niggeries on the S.W. part of the island, viz^t: Oering, Assaloeloe, Lariki and Waccassieuw.³ The islands of Saparoua, containing 13 niggeries, and Noessalaut, divided into 7 niggeries, form one province under the resident of Saparoua and yield a great deal of cloves. This residency is reckoned the next appointment in value to the governor. The island of Haroekoe, containing 12 niggeries with three on that part of the Hitoe peninsula next adjoining to it, viz^t Toloehoe, Tengatenga, and Tial, forms also one province, under the superintendence of the resident. All the above places afford abundance of cloves, which are absolutely prohibited in every other, whatever. Subordinate to the three residencies of Saparoua, Haroekoe and Hila is reckoned the whole South-coast of Ceram, divided into 37: niggeries; 24 of which from that part of the coast N: of Saparoua to the S: E: extremity is under the jurisdiction of the resident of that province; seven on that part of the coast contiguous to Haroekoe under that resident, and six subordinate to the resident of Hila. The other dependancies of the government of Amboina are Bouro, divided into 13 niggeries, under a resident who has also charge of Amblaw, containing 7 niggeries; Manipa, containing 8 niggeries, under care of a serjeants party, who has also authority over Bonoe,⁴ containing 2 niggeries; and on the N: coast of Ceram Saway, divided into 6 niggeries under the resident of that place, who is generally a subaltern commanding about 40 men.

All these districts or niggeries go by the general term of regencies and are placed under the authority of certain chiefs, called

¹ Liang aan de Noordkust van Hitoe.

² Hoekoenaloe.

³ Wakasihoe.

⁴ Bonoa of Boano.

in general regents, but particularly distinguished by the appellation of rajahs, patties and orankaios. The three chief rajahs of Noessanive, Keelang and Zoya ¹ are allowed to inherit the regencies in their own families and are the immediate descendants of the principal Portuguese families, first settled in this island. ² All the others are appointed by Government, which in this respect is obliged to conform to old custom and the prejudices of the people, who have a high respect for family-connections. For this reason the principal families in all the niggeries, particularly those in the clove-provinces, keep a regular genealogy of their families, which is registered in the Secretary's office, and whenever a vacancy happens in the regency, this bangsas or men of registered families, who wish to succeed, take out an authenticated copy of their pedigree from the Secretary's office, and with a written request on a stamp of a certain value from half to two rix dollars, setting forth pretensions to the succession, give it in first to the Governor, for his approval, who, if he pleases, lays it before his council; the elders of the niggery are then consulted relative to the ability of the candidate, and if he be agreeable to the people; and upon this proof, his commission is regularly made out on a stamped paper of from half a rix dollar to ten rix dollars value, according to the consequence of the niggery, and signed and sealed by the Governor and Secretary. They then receive a code of instructions for their guidance, which is hereafter annexed. They are also invested with a silver- or gold-headed stick, with the Companys chop or seal, as a mark of distinction and authority. ³ The first three rajahs ⁴ inherit other privileges, such as being allowed to wear swords, to have large umbrellas and awnings over their corra-corras or large boats for war-expeditions; they are also rested to by the guards of the fort when they pass and always sit down in presence of the governor.

Besides the regents in each niggery, the elders are invested with certain magisterial authority over the people, according to their rank, and are divided into the three degrees of capullasous ⁵

¹ Noesaniwe, Kilang, Soja, alle op Lei-Timor.

² Die radja's van Noesaniwe, enz. stammen niet af van Portugeezen, maar hunne voorzaten hebben de Portugeesche namen aangenomen tegelijk met het Christendom (Vgl. F. Valentijn, II, *Beschrijving van Amboina*, a, bldz. 118, v.v.).

³ Vgl. Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 19, v.

⁴ Noesaniwe, Kilang, Soja (Zie Valentijn, *Amboina*, a, bldz. 118, v.v.).

⁵ Kapala soa (Vgl. Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 23).

or alderman, elders of the 2^d and of the 3^d vote or class, who are consulted by the regents and called in to determine the disputes of the niggery. These also receive a certain proportion of percentage on the cloves produced in their niggeries, and from their numbers the „marignies”¹ or overseers of the „quartos”² or labourers are taken; likewise the „daty keepers”³ or superintendants of those particular grounds in which the cloves are cultivated; which appointments, small as they are, can only be made by the Governor or residents of the provinces.

All the regents of the provinces of Amboina, however distinguished, are considered vassals of the Company, who are lords of the soil, except of some particular lands, that belong to Burghers and private persons, who may dispose of and alienate them at pleasure, under the absolute restriction against cultivating clovetrees thereon. 't Is observed however, that tho' the Company assert the right of the soil, they acknowledge, they cannot deprive the inhabitants of the different niggeries of any part of their lands without giving them an adequate compensation, and particularly if there are any clovetrees thereon, which are held to be the regular property and inheritance of the planter and his family.

In all the different niggeries where cloves are cultivated, there are certain lands apportioned to the inhabitants, called daty-lands, whereon the clove-trees are planted, which are absolutely prohibited in all other places whatever; a register is kept of these daties, and the trees thereon numbered once a year and their qualities particularly noted, whether young, half grown, or bearing fruit. The entire produce of which the people are bound to deliver into the Companys stores, under pain of death,⁴ at the rate of rix-dollars 56 for the bhaar of £ 550. However these daty-lands are not distinct portions separately applied to the growth of the clove

¹ Marinjo's (Port. meirinho = gerechtsbode, gerechtsdienaar). Vgl. over deze beamten op de Ambon-eilanden Van Hoëvell, t. a. p., bldz. 23, 24, 25, enz.; Van Hoëvell, *Vocabularium van vreemde woorden, voorkomende in het Ambonsch—Maleisch* (Dordrecht, Blussé en Van Braam, 1876), bldz. 21.

² Kwartoe: „de onderhoorigen, over wier diensten een Regent kosteloos beschikken kan” (Van Hoëvell, *Vocabularium*, bldz. 17). Die diensten zelf heeten kwartoe-diensten (Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 26). — Vgl. E. W. A. Ludeking, *Schets van de residentie Amboina*, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1868, bldz. 122, v.

³ Dati, eigenlijk = belasting, schatting (Van Hoëvell, *Vocabularium*, bldz. 10). Zie over het dati-stelsel Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 175, v.v.

⁴ Vgl. hiervóór, noot 2 op bl. 260.

trees, and nothing else; on the contrary, any where within the daty-limits in each niggery, that the clove trees chance to flourish, and are well sheltered by the adjoining trees, they are directly noted in the register; so they are never seen in regular plantations or groves, but here and there scattered thro' different parts of the niggery; great care is however taken to keep the ground about them quite clear of weeds and dirt, and that they are well sheltered, which is necessary to the safety of the fruit; and at any time they chance to observe young trees shoot upon other parts of the niggery out of the daty-limits, they immediately transplant them; or if their number of trees is already sufficient, and more forbid to be cultivated, they are destroyed at once

Each person brings in the quantity he gathers, which is received at the scale and weighed, when the name of the person, wether man, woman or child, is registered, with the quantity delivered noted down. The whole weight is not always allowed, unless the cloves are perfectly well dried, for if there is the smallest dampness observed or oil easily expressed between the fingers, the allowance for the wastage in consequence is quite arbitrary and set down accordingly, but in general pretty near the truth of what they afterwards really lose by drying.

But tho' the nominal rate, at which the cloves are to be delivered, be as above stated, viz^t 56 rd^s for the bhaar of 550 £, nearly 4 s. 8 pence per £ ¹, the actual sum paid to the inhabitant, who gathers them, falls very short of it, from the number of deductions they suffer in the valuation of payment thereof. The principal drawback is an allowance of 20 per cent on the weight of the cloves for the benefit of the Governor and other servants of the Company, as a means of better subsistence; that is for every 100 £, which they are to receive payment for, they deliver in 120 £. The next deduction is the hassel-gelt, ² which is 5 rd^s from every bhaar, reserved for the Regent and the chief elders of the niggery. The third deduction is under the denomination of "pitjes-gelt" ² or betel-money for the Rajah, or Orankajo; this is one stiver from every rixdollar paid to

¹ Hierbij staat de potlood-aanteekening:

"If the bahar of 550 lb be 56 Rxd^r, it is nearly 10 lb for 1 Rxd., which at par(?) or 4 s(?) Sterling is less than 5^d pr. lb. as near as can be 4,85 p. lb., the rixdollar is(?) at par(?) — At the Cape I have known the exchange 33½ pcent adv^t(?) or 133½ in Rd. for 100 in bills, which reduces its value to 3(?). — The Dutch 92 lb is equal to 100 lb English.

² Vgl. over deze belastingen Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 25, v.

each person; and besides this, every fraction of a stiver or the odd duyts to a stiver remains on the table and becomes the perquisite of the accountants.

The whole of the cloves are punctually delivered into the Companys store at the before mentioned rate, and the price of the 20 percent overplus weight has been established and authorized from Batavia as an allowed perquisite on the average produce of £ 600.000 of cloves annually and divided agreeably to the following proportions.

Twenty percent on 600.000 £ of cloves is 120.000 £, which at 56 rd^s per bhaar is equal to rd^s 12.218.8½; this was formerly divided into 100 parts, but since the arrival of the Wirtemberg company ¹ it has been divided into 102 parts, in order to let that company have a share of the common benefit. ² Of these

	shares	rd ^s	stiv ^{rs}
The Governor receives	40	equal to 4791	21
The second, Mr Smissaert	13	1557	10½
The command ^t of the troops	4	479	7¼
Resident of Saparoua	7	830	24¼
Resident of Hila	7	830	24¼
The fiscaal	6	718	34½
Resident of Haroekoe	3	359	17¼
Resident of Larique	3	359	17¼
Military accountant	3	359	17¼
Secretary to Government	3	359	17¼
Cap ⁿ of the Wirtemberg corps	2	239	27
Uppersurgeon	1	119	37¾
Master attendant	1	119	37¾
Book-keeper and acc ^{tt} of merchandize	1	119	37¾
Resident of Bourou	1	119	37¾
Book-keeper and Milit ^y account ^t	1	119	37¾
Secretary of Justice	1	119	37¾
Bookkeeper and secret ^y of the Court of land Justice	1	119	37¾
L ^t Comm ^{dt} of Artillery	1	119	37¾
Divided among seven lieut ^{ts} and ensigns of the troops	2	239	27
D ^e among three sub ^{ss} of the Wirtemberg company	1	119	37¾
Shares	102	rd ^s 12.218	8½

¹ Het Wurtembergsche regiment werd bij capitulatie van 1 October 1786 in dienst der Oost-Indische Compagnie genomen en kwam in December 1787 tot September 1788 aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop. Op bevel der autoriteiten in het moederland werden zij in 1790 naar Batavia gezonden (Heeres in de Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht, XV, bldz. 197, 203, 206, v., 209).

² Eene soortgelijke, ietwat verschillende, opgave vindt men bv. bij Ary Huysers, *Beknopte beschrijving der Oostindische etablissementen* (Utrecht, van Paddenburg, 1789), bldz. 320, v.; Tweede druk (Amsteldam, Roos, Vermandel, MDCCXCII), bldz. 321.

The hassel-gelt is divided into ten parts, one of which is stopped from all the niggeries for the orankaio of Mardika, ¹ a village of freemen ² bound in certain services, who have no ground to cultivate cloves. This orankaio is called the gratudy of Mardika. 6 thenth go to the rajah or orankaio of the niggery, and remaining three to the elders and divided among themselves.

Tho' the average quantity of cloves allowed for is 600.000 £, it varies considerably; the following is the account of the daties and entire produce of all the provinces under the government of Amboina for 1794/5.

	Daties	Fruitbear- ing trees	halfgrown d°	young trees	Total number of trees.
Under Amboina	682	25.018	11.702	2.890	39.610
Saparoua	827	25.875	1.595	653	28.112
Noessalaut	331	10.583	2.586	3.872	16.841
Haroekoe	816	20.322	3.004	1.725	25.051
Hila	507	15.322	1.173	915	17.410
Larique	213	8.817	2.161	1.694	12.672
	3.421	105.927	22.020	11.749	139.696 ³

The produce of all these trees amounted to

	Bh ^s	£		
At Amboina.	bhaars	103	22	total £ 56.672
Sapoura and Noessalaut		933	450	. . . " 513.600
Haroekoe.		179	144	. . . " 98.594
Hila		10	325	. . . " 5.825
Larique		27	506	. . . " 15.356
Bhaars	1.254	347		£ 690.047

The population of Amboina, both provinces and dependancies, is very exactly ascertained, as it is likewise at Banda and perhaps in all the other Dutch settlements. In every niggery there are certain persons, who in the month of August make regular lustrums ⁴ of the natives of all descriptions, which are sent in to the Secretarys office and formed into a general return, which is sent to Batavia. This is called a "Ziel bescriving" ⁵, of which the following is an abstract for the last four years.

¹ De z.g. Kampong Mardika lag in de buurt van het Kasteel Victoria (Vgl. mijn *Corpus Diplomaticum*, I, bldz. 179; Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 34, v.v.).

² Orang mardaheka of mardika.

³ Deze en volgende optelsommen kloppen niet alle.

⁴ Men moet hierbij niet denken aan 5jarige periodes, maar in het algemeen aan een census.

⁵ Ziels-beschriving.

LUSTRUM FOR 1792.	Europeans.			Mesties.			Natives † & C.		
	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.
On the whole island of Amboina	108	1	7	94	141	207	3295	3037	6411
Saparoua, includg. the coast of Ceram depend ¹	17	—	—	17	9	44	1181	2079	2910
Noessalaut, includg. the lepers on Molana ¹	10	—	—	20	17	10	990	801	1058
Loehoe and the niggeries on Ceram (Hila) ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	210	120	169
Haroeckoe with the coast of Ceram depend ¹	14	—	—	10	7	37	1689	1604	3899
Bouro*	16	—	—	9	4	18	299	279	428
Amblaw	—	—	—	—	—	—	102	91	9
Manipa	12	—	—	6	7	7	764	751	96
Bonoa	—	—	—	—	—	—	345	311	17
TOTAL	177	1	7	156	185	323	9539	9073	16099

LUSTRUM FOR 1793.	Europeans.			Mesties.			Natives † & C.		
	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.
Amboina	107	1	1	100	154	303	3422	3082	672
Saparoua and adjoining coast of Ceram	20	—	—	30	35	80	1362	2065	286
Noessalaut and Molana	6	—	—	10	11	23	638	782	105
Loehoe and adjoining niggeries	—	—	—	—	—	—	136	123	19
Haroeckoe and adjoining coast of Ceram	13	—	—	13	9	21	625	585	156
Bouro	13	—	—	10	4	21	295	285	41
Amblaw	—	—	—	—	—	—	118	94	15
Manipa	9	—	—	7	4	8	519	552	71
Bonoa	—	—	—	—	—	—	354	311	51
TOTAL	168	1	1	183	208	456	7449	7876	1441

LUSTRUM FOR 1794.	Europeans.			Mesties.			Natives † and C.		
	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.
Amboina	127	3	—	145	288	475	3277	3061	6411
Sapoura and adjoining coast of Ceram	15	—	—	21	33	52	1430	2078	278
Noessalaut and Molana	9	—	—	2	3	12	324	745	107
Loehoe and niggeries adjoining	3	—	—	2	1	2	143	121	11
Haroeckoe and adjoining coast of Ceram	13	—	—	10	10	32	1635	1528	399
Bouro	13	—	—	10	4	25	302	289	41
Amblaw	—	—	—	—	—	—	191	140	11
Manipa	10	—	—	6	5	5	407	439	25
Bonoa	—	—	—	—	—	—	329	297	51
TOTAL	190	3	—	196	344	501	8038	8698	1598

LUSTRUM FOR 1795.	Europeans.			Mesties.			Natives † and C.		
	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.
Amboina	125	—	—	126	245	447	3265	3026	6311
Sapoura and adjoining coast of Ceram	17	—	—	19	11	52	3925	4811	6511
Noessalaut and Molana	9	—	—	1	2	—	345	751	1111
Loehoe and niggeries adjoining	7	—	—	3	3	7	147	131	211
Haroeckoe and adjoining coast of Ceram	17	—	—	11	18	45	1638	1471	4011
Bouro	13	—	—	9	7	10	263	276	311
Amblaw	—	—	—	—	—	—	132	87	—
Manipa	8	—	—	5	4	3	386	372	311
Bonoa	—	—	—	—	—	—	296	274	511
TOTAL	196	—	—	174	290	564	10397	11203	19611

These numbers appearing to fluctuate in some instances very unaccountably, the average is noted	183	—	—	177	257	462	8856	9212	16511
---	-----	---	---	-----	-----	-----	------	------	-------

¹ Het eilandje Molana, ten Zuid-Westen van Saparoea (Vgl. over het leprozengesticht aldaar Van Hoëvell, *Ambon*, bldz. 6, noot¹ en Ludeking, *Amboina*, bldz. 153, v.v.).
² Is dit niet eene vergissing?
³ Men, Women, Childern. Het trekt de aandacht, dat er in 1792 en 1793 slechts 22

Mardykens.			Chinese.			Alfores or Heathens.			Macassar slaves.			Slaves of all other countrys			TOTAL SOULS.
M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	
56	45	86	62	88	237	—	—	—	211	196	125	856	965	437	16759
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	102	137	74	7250
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	67	53	30	3056
—	—	—	—	—	—	142	112	122	—	—	—	—	—	—	832
—	—	—	—	—	—	42	22	25	—	—	—	78	90	75	7489
—	—	—	—	—	—	1030	1003	1666	—	—	—	19	41	41	4851
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	4	312
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	59	36	2657
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	8	—	1264
56	45	86	62	88	237	1214	1137	1813	211	196	125	1198	1356	697	46450

Mardykens.			Chinese.			Alfores.			Macassar slaves.			Slaves of all other countrys			TOTAL SOULS.
M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	
55	64	144	55	82	252	—	—	—	299	301	81	888	908	51	17321
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	134	155	76	7695
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	52	23	2983
—	—	—	—	—	—	184	140	133	—	—	—	14	20	12	960
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	77	68	5864
—	—	—	—	—	—	1026	1007	1996	—	—	—	17	46	52	3173
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	3	384
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	56	22	1714
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	11	—	967
55	64	144	55	82	252	1200	1147	2129	301	301	81	1228	1327	775	41025

Mardykens.			Chinese.			Alfores.			Macassar slaves.			Slaves of all other places.			TOTAL SOULS.
M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	
4	50	133	52	82	240	—	—	—	221	193	42	888	977	636	17412
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	166	81	6899
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41	56	34	2309
—	—	—	—	—	—	192	152	152	—	—	—	16	20	12	1015
2	—	—	—	—	—	55	38	40	—	—	—	84	87	77	7609
—	—	—	—	—	—	1188	1166	2078	—	—	—	16	37	57	5608
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	488
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	49	22	1267
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	7	—	1200
6	50	133	52	82	240	1435	1356	2270	221	193	42	1232	1399	919	43807

Mardykens.			Chinese.			Alfores.			Macassar slaves.			Slaves of all other places.			TOTAL SOULS.
M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	M.	W.	C.	
0	43	92	56	94	279	—	—	—	330	408	231	796	843	461	17344
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	266	231	119	17505
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	56	37	2684
—	—	—	—	—	—	193	160	162	—	—	—	23	23	13	1082
—	—	—	—	—	—	45	30	35	—	—	—	154	108	80	7474
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	34	16	1012
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	291
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	45	23	1211
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	8	—	1124
0	43	92	56	94	279	238	190	197	330	408	231	1343	1348	749	49727

2	51	106	56	86	252	1022	958	1602	266	274	120	1248	1358	785	45252
---	----	-----	----	----	-----	------	-----	------	-----	-----	-----	------	------	-----	-------

Of the above number, besides the Wirtemberg company, which is not taken into the account at all, the number of protestant Christians amounts to about 17.813; the rest are Mahometans, except the few Chinese and the Alfores, who are heathens.

The Christian niggeries are all those immediately under the chief fort, ¹ except two insignificant ones, Rodenberg ² and Laha; all on Saparoua and Noessalaut, except about 40 or 50 families of Mahometans, who have from time to time been permitted, very imprudently, to settle in the niggery of Sirrisorry on Saparoua, where they have occasioned a great deal of trouble; half the niggeries on Haroekoe are likewise of the Christian faith, two niggeries on Manipa, two on Bonoa and two at Loehoe. ³

In most of these niggeries or districts are schools established for the instructions of the inhabitants, and in the Christian niggeries protestant ministers are appointed to preach the Gospel and propagate the Christian faith. The expence attending these institutions is very trifling and the benefit considerable, as it is found by experience that the Christian niggeries are much more civilized and amenable to the laws than those of the Mahometan religion. In some few the inhabitants are mixed, but prohibited under severe fines and penalties from intermarrying.

The manners of the Dutch gentry here seem much superior to what is to be observed in Banda, and it is said ever to have been the case, this settlement being estimated not only as the genteelest but the most profitable after Batavia. Banda on the contrary is considered as a sort of banishment to persons unworthy of any other appointment, the Governor alone enjoying the least hope of realizing a fortune. Most of the Dutch gentlemen are married to native women of perhaps the tenth generation from Europe blood, and seem never to have a wish to quit the places they are in, to return to Europe; perhaps from the reflection, that their wives, who are little more than the chief female slaves of their families, are unfit to be introduced into society there. The ladies are fond of dress and wear a number of jewels, but they pride themselves particularly in the dress of their favorite slaves, who attend them in company, where they carry their mistresses betel-boxes, which

¹ Kasteel Victoria.

² „Maar een quart myl van 't Kasteel" (Valentijn, *Ambon*, bldz. 114).

³ Op Klein-Ceram (Hoeamoeal).

are always an article of great fashion and expence, and sit on the floor, at their mistress's feet, unless otherwise employed or ordered. They are fond of dancing, if it can be called so, where, to the liveliest tunes, they consider it quite improper to go beyond a solemn walk to the figure and time. Their minutes¹ are always danced with more life and spirit than their country-dances. They are likewise fond of music, and most of the families have some of their slaves taught to play different instruments.

Of the manners and disposition of the native inhabitants in general, little can be said in their recommendation and the fierce savage wildness of their looks is a tolerably just type of their tempers and habits, which differ little from all the other Malays throughout these seas. In a climate, where nature so amply provides the means of subsistence with scarce any exertion of the inhabitants, it is natural to find them lazy in the extreme, tho at the same time possessed of sufficient strength and activity for any pursuits. They are however treacherous, cruel and unsteady; by no means brave from principle, tho' sometimes capable of actions that appear in the highest degree so. Fierce and implacable in thier anger, they are easily hurried on by thier chiefs or leaders to the commission of the most extravagant crimes, particularly when, under the influence of bang or opium, without consideration or reflection. Wild and inconsistent, they are at on moment led on to the greatest crimes and the next become inoffensive subjects. Insensible at the time of the enormity of their guilt and indifferent to the consequences, they are incapable of one of the most amiable sensations of the human breast, repentance of past vice and remorse for crimes committed. Violent and artful they are never to be depended on, but always to be guarded against with a watchfull eye. Death they mind not, and even sometimes brave, public executions therefore have little effect on these people, unless attended with Dutch tortures; they are however strongly affected by a since of shame; and banishment from their country and families is one of the most mortifying and exemplary punishments, that can be inflicted. These considerations have made the Dutch constantly prefer banishment and condemning criminals to public work in irons to capital punishment, and it is by a just estimation of their inconstant tempers and characters that they can best be governed. On this account it has been considered, as one

¹ Minuets = menuetten?

motive more effectual, to sentence the Hitoë rajah and three casizies, his adherents, to perpetual banishment, than to execute them in the common way. The former mode is not only considered the more dreadful punishment, where they are suffered to live in the mortifying reflection of being eternally cut off from their families and homes, but in addition, while there remains a doubt of his existence, no other branch of his family will stand up as a representative of it; which would not be the case, if he were publicly executed, as some of his numerous kindred or children would instantly supply his place.

The dress of the inhabitants of all these islands is the same: the men wear a kind of loose shirt or frock of blue or black cotton cloth, made in India, with loose drawers to the knee; the women the same kind of frock, and a cloth folded round their waist that reaches tho their ankles. The better sort wear a kind of cloth made at Macassar very strong, and in general of a tartan ¹ patterie. The general dress of the Christian regents is a black coat of broad cloth, black satin waistcoat and breeches, and either black worsted or cotton stockings, and always hats. The Mahometans wear also Europe fashioned coats of as great a variety as the oldest shop in Monmouth-street could produce, and perhaps many of them came from thence; but they never wear hats, which in every Mahometan country are considered as a reproach in part of dress. They wear turbands of black cloth about their heads in a very unbecoming fashion, and sometimes merely a handkerchief tied in a single knot. It seems to have been a study of the Dutch to establish certain sumptuary distinctions among the inhabitants, ² perhaps for the purpose of exacting donations for indulgences with regard to them, at least they answer that end at present. No person but one of the three chief rajahs is allowed by inheritance the privilege of wearing a gold-headed cane, a sword, a great umbrella; or can have the honor of a rest from the fort-gate guard, when he passes; and when any other person thro' pride or variety aspires to the same honors, which many of them do, they are obliged to pay handsomely

¹ Tartan = Schotsche geruite wollen stof?

² Het is bekend, dat in den tijd der O. I. C. dergelijke „sumptuary distinctions” niet alléén voor inlanders, maar ook voor het Europeesche element onder de bevolking waren voorgeschreven (Vgl. o. a. mijn artikel *Oost-Indische Dames en Heeren uit den tijd der Compagnie* in Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1902, bldz. 58, v.v.).

for them. The privilege of wearing a green velvet coat was confined to the prince of Tydore. Distinctions of dress and other indulgences they appear to treat with particular respect, which always excites the general emulation to obtain them, and no doubt, were these privileges only bestowed upon merits, a velvet coat, a gold-headed cane or a large umbrella would have as good an effect in inspiring virtuous exertions, as a title or star; but it unfortunately happens that as the indulgences are attended with a perquisite to the Governor, the distribution is chiefly made for the purpose of obtaining it.

Tho' the soil and climate of this island is capable of affording every thing necessary for the support and even luxury of the inhabitants, whether it arises from their natural indolence and aversion to labour, or any other cause, but there is not a sufficient quantity of food, particularly meat, for the maintenance of the garrison and inhabitants. There are neither cattle bred among them nor rice or any other grain cultivated, nor is there a manufacture of any other sort established; but for all their rice and other articles of food, except sago and fish, and all their wearing apparel, they are entirely dependant on Java, on which account the annual ship carries out a great quantity of all these articles, which are sold to considerable advantage.

Sago is the chief food of all the inhabitants, the consumption of rice being trifling in comparison with it; and under the resident of Hila¹ on the coast of Ceram there are several doussons of sago-trees, which are very exactly numbered and sold every year, to the advantage of the Company. For this purpose, there is a serjeants party kept at Loehoe and another small post at Lockay² under him. This serjeant takes a regular account of the number and state of the trees every year, and gives orders in writing to any persons who apply and pay the money for any number of trees, they choose to cut; they can not however go indiscriminately to any part they like, but to the particularly dousson, whose trees are at the time open for sale; not more than two doussons being open at the same time. The following is the last return sent in of the state of those doussons³

¹ Is dit niet een vergissing? Vgl. noot 2 op bldz. 322.

² Loki op Klein-Ceram.

³ Ik vind niet noodig, deze lijst op te nemen. Er waren in het geheel 13.042 van deze sago-boomen, nl. 2965 van de 1^{ste} soort (één rijksdaalder),

One good sago-tree, which is bought for 1 rd^s, when cut down and the pith taken out and prepared, yields about 60 measures, of rather better than 2 gull^{rs} (?) each of very fine sago-flour, which will subsist, with the aid of a little fish, a family of 10 persons for an entire month. This flour they will either bake into bread, which the sailors preferred to rice, or boil into a jelly, but they do not understand the art of granulating it at Amboina or the adjoining islands. Fish is their next article of subsistence, which is in general not so good to a European palate as that to be met with in most other countries, being very strong and rank, but being plenty, is universally made use of among the natives. The water being of a great depth and remarkably transparent, the only time for fishing, with certain success, is at night, by the light of torches, when the fish are attracted to the surface, and then easily caught; it is the same at Banda and among all these islands. There is no such thing to be got here as ghee,¹ but to the poor cocoanut-oil supplies the place of it, and the rich make use of the canary-oil, in the same way, which when fresh made is as sweet as the finest Florence oil.

In consequence of this dependent state of the island, the residents of the provinces and the officers commanding all the outposts carry on a very lucrative commerce with the people under their authority; particularly the residents of Saparoua, Hila and Haroekoe. They get from the Company's annual supply such articles as are most in demand among the natives, particularly the cloths, which they sell them, at whatever price they think proper to ask; and also occasionally supply them with small loans of money; for all this, as the payment of the spices comes thro' their hands, they are sure to re-emburse themselves. This at different times must fall very heavy on the natives, and from an order of government, prohibiting the residents from stopping, on account of debts due to them, more than two thirds of the amount of their spice-money, it may be fairly presumed, that it has frequently been exceeded, and perhaps the whole amount of it engrossed in this way. These supplies are nevertheless very necessary to the wants and convenience of the inhabitants, for all foreign commerce

649 van de 2^{de} (36 stuivers), 472 van de 3^{de} soort (24 stuivers) en 8875 jonge boomen.

¹ Ghee, een soort boter (Vgl. *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 282, f.).

being forbid, without them they must one half of them starve and all go naked. But were these supplies under proper management and regulation, they might not only become a great comfort to the inhabitants, but a source of profit to the Company, by simply establishing factories at the different residencies and posts for the sale of such goods as are in general estimation there, for which a regular profit of 50 percent might always be depended on, which the inhabitants would gladly pay, provided a positive restriction was put on further exaction, by publishing at each place the fixed price of each article.

This trade, as it now stands, is carried on by the resident of Saparoua not only to the inhabitants of the two islands under his charge, but along a great extent of coast on the South-side of Ceram, as likewise by the residents of Haroekoe and Hila, from whence their chief returns are in sago and money.

Among the productions of the island indigo of the finest colour possible is produced, it is said, in small quantities, but has been discountenanced, it is said, from an apprehension of its interfering with that produced in the West Indies; but I rather imagine from a wish to prevent the people growing rich by any manufacture, which might render them independent.

Sugar grows here extremely well and very cheap, but no field has hitherto opened to encourage the manufacture of it. Coffee is found here in great perfection and, if sufficiently attended to, might equal the best from Mocha. Upon the beautiful heights in the neighbourhood of Amboina town, wheat could be cultivated to great advantage, both the soil and climate being extremely well adapted to it. Maize already grows in great perfection, and the dry or mountain-rice is known here, but little attended to. The bread-fruit-tree is quite common, but only made use of by the lowest order of the people. The chocolate-cocoa-tree grows very well, but the cultivation neglected. There is a great variety of fruit. . . .

Nutmeg-trees have been for many years absolutely forbid in Amboina, as much as cloves are now in all other places, but Amboina; but about 11 years ago, finding the produce of Banda very inadequate to the quantity wanted, and perhaps from a hope of establishing the entire cultivation at Amboina (which if effected would render the establishment of Banda unnecessary, and is by no means a speculative undertaking, but would answer extremely well and might be effected entirely in 15 or 20: years at the

utmost), they not only permitted but encouraged them at a price much above that paid at Banda, giving a premium of 1 : rd^s for every hundred, with the mace on. For this reason the chief inhabitants of the Leytimor side agreed to cultivate at first 10.000 trees, but notwithstanding this, there are not above half that number now in the island. Of vegetables there might be the greatest variety and the finest quality: excellent roots of all sorts thrive astonishingly; the different kinds of yams and sweet potatoes excelling in a great degree, and latterly the circulation of more money than usual among the people considerably encreased the quantity brought to market.

Of wild animals the variety is not great, the chief being deer and wild hogs, none of a dangerous nature; but when it is considered, that owing to a want of attention and care there are no sheep in the island, beyond a few for curiosity, no cattle for tilling the ground, nor cows enough to furnish milk and butter for even the gentry of the town, the indolence of the Dutch appears greater and more extraordinary than that of the Malays....

It is said by many that the mountains of this island contain gold-mines; whether they do or not, there are none worked.

The government of Amboina is managed by a governor and Council, and four others, whose salaries are very small, but they have many perquisites, of which the principal is that already stated of 20 percent on the weight of the cloves. The administration of justice is carried on in matters of small concern by the fiscaal, who cannot extend his punishment beyond confinement and whipping and some small fines, tho' there is generally conceived such a terror of his executive power, that those, who are summoned before him, are glad to go to the full extent of their means¹, to moderate his severity and procure their enlargement. In the different niggeries the regents with the assistance of their elders of the first and second class are empowered to settle small disputes amongst the inhabitants; from their decision an appeal lies to the Landcouncil, which is a court composed of 6 of the principal persons of the settlement and 14 regents who sit with them. But in affairs of great importance and criminal causes, the Council of justice alone are competent to determine; at this the second in Council presides and there [are] seven members altogether, besides the secretary. Their proceedings seem to load ex-

¹ Ik laat natuurlijk deze en dergelijke beweringen voor rekening van den schrijver van het stuk.

pence on the persons who come before them, like all other courts of law, tho' they have no lawyers. But the secretary of justice answers the same end; supplying forms of all kinds for both prosecution and defence and stamps, the prices of which are proportioned to the nature of the proceeding and magnitude of the cause. The fines of citations and all other fines are said to be divided between the court and charitable purposes; but in the accounts of the orphan-society and church-fund, there is no mention made of any sum received from the Court of justice, ¹ so that, if they are charitable, they have the additional merit of bestowing their bounty in the most private manner. The prices of all stamps are paid into the treasury, but the client is obliged to pay in addition a fee to the Secretary, which is generally greater than the stamp itself. In cases of condemnation no sentence can be put in force without the sanction of the Governor, who can always counteract their decrees on the side of mercy.

As well forms of law as all other forms whatever and even passes to go from one district to another with any article of trade are subject to taxation by stamps and seals. The prices of these are always carried to the Company's credit and lodged in the treasury, such as for the stamps and seals of commissions to the regents and other appointments; but the extra fees in the Secretaries and other offices are always the better half ¹ of the sum paid.

The taxes and revenues of this government in the time of the Dutch were but few and some of them not very commendable; the annual amount as let in September 1795 is as follows.

	rd ^s
The privilege of selling arrack per ann.	5,590
Import- and export-duties	5,530
Gaming-tax	1,196
Bazar do.	1,710
Capitation-tax on the Chinese	512
For slaughtering pork	250
Tavern duty	26
Total . . .	14,814

Of these perhaps the only taxes of real benefit are the taxes on arrack and gaming.

¹ Ik laat natuurlijk deze en dergelijke beweringen voor rekening van den schrijver van het stuk.

There is no rent levied from the soil, beyond the monopoly of its most valuable produce at a very low price, but the inhabitants are bound in a variety of duties to government, the chief of which is attending the Governor in his annual circuit round the provinces and their dependancies. This circuit, called the hongy-expedition, is performed by the Governor attended by a detachment of troops and such of the gentlemen of the settlement as he wishes. He is attended by a great number of orembays, furnished and manned by the different regents of those niggeries, bound to attend him according to the regulations and instructions given to them at their appointment, and now confirmed by the custom and practice of many successive generations. The Governor issues the hongy-placard in the beginning of October and on the 18th he embarks, attended by all those of the niggeries under the chief fort and proceeds first to Hila, where he is joined by all those of that residency and Larique. He then goes on round all the provinces and outposts, encreasing his train untill his return. The object of this expedition is to impress strongly on the minds of the people the power and magnificence of the Dutch nation, to enforce the decree of cutting down all the clove-trees that might shoot up in any other places but the daties, to receive complaints and redress grievances. This expedition was formerly made in large corracorras, but as there were attended by a very heavy expence, they were about 21 years ago reduced to orembays, which are much lighter and more easily managed. But even these are a dreadfull tax on the people, and after all it is but a meer parade and is of scarce any real utility. From it however the Governor draws a considerable perquisite, for it is a regular established fee, that such of the regents, as wish to be excused, pay him rd^s 100 for the exemption, and for this the residents at the outstations become immediately responsible on the part of such of the regents under their jurisdiction, as wish to be excused from attending. In the following code of instructions are set forth the particular duties, which the inhabitants are bound to fulfill as well with regard to the hongy-expedition, as all other services whatsoever.

Translation of the instructions to regulate the conduct of all rajahs, patties and orankaiois throughout the provinces and dependancies of Amboina.

Article 1st. It is incumbent on all rajahs, patties and orankaiois under the high authority of government, to rule their subjects

with lenity and humanity, abstaining from all exactions and cruelty. They must admonish and animate them to the performance of their duty, check all irregularity of conduct and take care to acquaint the Governor with every circumstance of importance, that may require his decision or that of the Land-council.

Article 2^d. Those of the regents, who profess Christianity, shall take care that the exercise of the Christian religion be strictly observed and diligently propagated. They themselves and their families, the orang tuas and elders of the 2^d and 3 class must for this purpose shew good example, by frequenting public worship, keeping their youth at school and preventing every kind of superstition and idolatry. They are likewise obliged to prevent all hatefull disputes between their people and those who profess other religions different from their own; and for this purpose at places where Christians and Mahometans live together, each of them shall exercise his own worship without disturbing the other.

Article 3^d. The Mahometan people are particularly enjoined, not to molest the Christians, and the casizies or priests, moreover, shall cautiously avoid teaching Mahometan precepts to Christians, or building mosques in places inhabited by Christians, on the customary penalties. ¹

4th. No Mahometan is permitted to marry a Christian woman, nor can a Christian take a Mahometan woman to wife. The same prohibition extends even to concubinage.

5th. The regents are ordered not to exact any other duty from their people beyond what they are authorized by custom to do; in consequence of which each of the three principal rajahs shall dispose of 5 quartoes or servants, more or less from each niggery in proportion to its population, and if (?) the quartoes are relieved monthly. Those regents, who have more than one niggery under their authority, may from each take quartoes, but by no means to exceed the regulated proportion without the express permission of Governor or Council.

6th. To each of the three principal rajahs moroever shall be allowed two tyfadores or toddymen, one tanassy or fisherman, and two people to carry dammers or torches to attend them to evening-prayers.

¹ Hierbij is de volgende noot in het handschrift geplaatst:

The usual punishment for this offence is a fine and whipping with the gabba-gabba or green branch of the sagoe-tree, which is very severe.

7th. Every regent is obliged to see that their quartoes are exact in the performance of their several duties, and carefull to prevent the least neglect whatever. For this purpose, two or more families of their quartoes shall not live together in one house, so as to pass for one family, but each quartoe must live with his wife and children in his own separate dwellinghouse and each daty must perform the duties laid upon it under pain of severe punishment.

8th. To prevent the niggeries being deserted by the quartoes in order to free themselves from the performance of their respective duties, the regents must be careful that none of their people quit their niggeries and pass over the other districts or take service with Europeans as morits¹ or slaves, before they are qualified to do so by a writ of permission from the Governor at the chief fort or the residents at the provinces to which they belong.

9th. No houses shall for the same reasons be tolerated in the woods, but at the time of gathering the cloves, when small sheds may be erected for the accommodation of the collectors, which are to be demolished immediately when that business is finished; larger houses, which are found beyond the bounds of the niggeries, must be burned down; and those rajahs, patties and orankaio, who shall neglect to give due information thereof, shall be deprived of their office and banished out of the province for life.

10th. The usual duties imposed on the different niggeries consist from time immemorial in repairing the redoubts and doing every thing else that concerns the public good; as, in bringing and keeping in readiness the rowing orembays, which are required one from each niggery; in constant attention to the spices; and in supplying persons to transport the residents to and from their stations, when necessary business requires their attendance. They must also attend upon and execute the orders of the commissioners who inspect the cloves; procure gabbagabba and attap (or thatch), to cover the ships and other vessels that are sent hither to take in cloves. They are also obliged to procure materials for the daily works, at the tax of 1: stiver and 1: pound of rice to each man per day.

11th. The inhabitants of Manipa are obliged to contract (February 17th 1622)² to build and repair the redoubts and to procure lime,

¹ „Morits rather signifies covenanted apprentices, or conditional slaves for a limited term”.

² Dit contract van 15 (niet: 17) Februari 1622 is opgenomen in mijn *Corpus Diplomaticum*, I, bldz. 175, v. v.

bricks, timber and workmen, without any allowance whatever being made to them for it.

12th. The niggeries of this main fort, to the number of 8, must furnish in their turn, two at a time, sixty quartoes monthly between them: viz^t Keelang and Eema; Zoya and Lutoehalat; ¹ Hatoe and Halang; ² Noessanive and Murdika. ³ They must moreover send 5 extra quartoes each, when at any time required for ships loading and unloading, from the niggeries of Alang, Lilleboy, the Pass, ⁴ Soely, Way ⁵ and Great Hoetoemoery.

13th. At the different posts and out-settlements the number of quartoes to be furnished is stated in the following proportion, viz^t:

Baguala pass	10	Post Hoorn	4
Namakoly post	8	Larique	13
Hoetoemoery	4	Labay	2
Hila	17	Tapisbay	2
Loehoe	10	Post of the Ceries	2
Hitoelama	10	Bouro	10
Niggory Lama	2	Amblauw	4
Saparoua	17	Manipa	10
Noessalaut	6	Saway	4
Portoo	10	Keelang	4 ⁶
Haroekeoe	13		

14th. The niggeries adjoining this main fort, viz^t Hatoe, Lilleboy, Alang, Waccassieuw, Larique and Oery, ⁷ must, on the arrival of a ship from Batavia, have in readiness good strong orembays, manned with 25 or 30 rowers, and at the first signal of a gun from Alang giving notice, that such ships are in sight, immediately attend the serjeant, who superintends the Companys

¹ Latoehalat.

² Alang.

³ Mardika.

⁴ Paso (van Bagoela).

⁵ Soeli, Wai.

⁶ Deze plaatsnamen zijn voor een deel voldoende bekend en komen op de meeste kaarten voor. De post Namakali ligt bij Alang (Valentijn, *Amboina*, a., bldz. 115); Hoetoemoeri ligt op Lei-Timor (t. a. p., bldz. 117); Niggory Lama moet misschien zijn Lima; Post Hoorn lag op Haroekeoe; Labai, op Boeroe???, Tapisbaai, bij Larika? (vgl. Valentijns kaart van *De Landvoogdy van Amboina*); „Post of the Ceries”?

⁷ Oering.

slaves, and go in company to tow them in and save them from danger.

15th. The following native regents adjoining this main fort, viz^t:

Noessanive.	Latoehalat
Keelang	Ema
Zoya.	Gnatahoedy of Mardika
Great Hative.	Great Hoetoemoery, and
Halong.	Zoely

must, according to their promise formerly made, continue to procure the firewood necessary for the bricks and tyle-kilns, at usual price of thirteen rixdollars the steeple of six fathoms long, one fathom broad and ten feet high, which money is to be divided amongst those, who cut the wood and delivered the same, without the least deduction by the regents.

16th. The regents of *Alang*, *Way*, *Toelehoe*, *Tengateuga* and *Tial*, who at the before mentioned period had agreed to furnish nanny piles ¹ for the construction and repair of the peer head, are still to be kept to that duty.

17th. At any time the Company may want lime for the use of the fortifications or buildings, the regents on the first demand must without delay or neglect provide and send the same to the main fort, viz^t from each daty of their districts three measures at the old price of 6 d^{rs} p^r last.

18th. Those of *Bouro* and other places, where timber may be had, are bound to furnish it the following rates, viz^t:

One Amboina beam	rd ^s . 1.—
D ^o of covassa wood	—6
An oar	—6
Nanny pili	1.12
Hand-spike	—3
Pole	—2
Lassy-wood for stocks of guns.	1.28
Iron-wood one foot diameter	1.24
Anchorstock.	3.—
Swalop or large beam of lassy	1.24

¹ „A remarkable strong and durable timber and wel adapted to this purpose.”

19th. Large timbers are to be paid for in proportion; they must be brought in, whether from a small or great distance, amongst the woods.

20th. As the governors of Amboina yearly perform the hongy-voyage or expedition with a fleet of corracorras, so the same must assemble from every niggery, and the rajahs, patties and orankaïos must attend in person at the main fort on the 18th of October, without making any excuse whatsoever, except in case of sickness, when they must send some other person in their stead, after having made the Governor acquainted therewith.

In the year 1781, Sept^r. 28th, an order was issued at Batavia to lessen the expence of the hongy-expedition to the natives, which before this time was performed in corracorras, which were large boats, requiring 80 or 90 men and very liable to accidents in gales of wind. The 21st article therefore was at that time altered and now stands as follows.

21st. Notwithstanding the High Regency of India had judged the yearly hongy-expedition to be too expensive and heavy for the greater part of the so much depopulated districts of Amboina to bear, and notwithstanding the General and Council have considered the corracorras to be unfit for the purpose in bad weather, whereby many of them have foundered, nevertheless it is ordered by the said High Regency, that these be kept on foot and maintained by Manipa and Bonoa.

Bonoa: the admiral corracorras of 4 nadjoes ¹ (or banks of oars), manned by at least 60 massanaijoes ² or rowers, exclusive of the natoes (helmsmen or quartermasters).

Under fort Victoria:

Gnatahoedie: the fore-sailor or cap^{tn} laut. ³

Hoetoemorry,	} as a reserve and to be prepared with fishing utensils to supply the Governors table with fish.
Alang	
and Lilleboy	

All these four corracorras must be of three nadjoes and manned by 50 rowers besides the natoes.

In future instead of the remaining corracorras for the hongy-expedition, there must be kept in readiness and entertained good strong orembays with sails and rudders to have the lenght of 50 or 55 feet and from 12 to 13 breadth, viz^t:

Under the main fort:

¹ Ngadjoe.

² Vgl. Van Hoëvell, *Ambonsch-Maleisch*, bldz. 21, sub voce: masnait.

³ Kapitein laeet: zeekapitein, admiraal, vlootvoogd.

Noessanive and its subordinates	One	orembay
Kelang and d°	One	d°
Zoya d°	One	d°
Great Hative d°	One	d°
Ema d°	One	d°
Latochalat d°	One	d°
Baguala	One	d°
Soely	One	d°
Way	Six	d°
Under the residency of Hila	One	d°
Piroe and Tanoenoe ¹	One	d°
The residency of Saparoua	Ten	d°
On Noessalaut	Four	d°
The outward-coast of Ceram	Nine	d°
The establishment of Haroekoe	Four	d°
Komony, Cuy- } are long since excused; instead of this they yearly lolo, Catauw, } must give two fishing-nets for the use of the Pilauw ² . .) Governor and hongy.		
The inner-coast of Ceram	Three	orembays
The residency of Larique	Four	d°
Bouro	Two	d°
The island of Amblauw	Two	d°
Manipa	Three	d°
Zaway	Two	d°

All which hongy-orembays must be properly provided with sails and rudders and manned with not less than 30 rowers, besides the natoe, without any allowance, except to the black chiefs of the vessels who are present, each of whom is to receive lbs 80 of rice, 12 cans of arrack and lbs 12 of salt-beef or pork. The Mahometan chiefs to receive $1\frac{1}{2}$ rixd^{rs} in place of the latter article, according to the usual custom.

22^d. Each corracorra of 4 nadjoes must be 90 feet long and 9 astas or cubits broad ($13\frac{1}{2}$ feet); those of 3 nadjoes must be 84 feet long and of the same breadth as the former, on pain of confiscation of the same, if found under the said dementions, besides the fine of 50 rd^s; and every rower shall be fined one rix-dollar.

¹ Piroe en Tanoenoe, op West-Ceram.

² Kailolo, Kabaoe, Pilao op het eiland Haroekoe. Komony is mij onbekend.

23^d. The chief of the Ambinese must conduct themselves according to the hongy-placard, which the people are always made acquainted with, before the departure of the fleet, in the Malay language.

24th. The rajahs, patties and orankaioes under the main fort, who want to build new corracarros, must previously advertise the Governor thereof, and also those of the subordinate stations their residents, under the penalty of rd^s 25, to be paid from their private property, for such neglect.

25th. Those who dwell at Hoekoenaloe, or the Three houses, being for a long while exempted from the hongy-voyage, on condition that they should transport the Companys servants from that place to Hitalama and convey light goods and letters back and forward by land, are still bound diligently to perform that duty.

26th. The respective regents must be ready and keep their orembays ready for a cruise, whenever they may be ordered either by the Governor alone or with the Council. Each of these orembays must be manned with at least 30 massanays besides the natoes; all must be provided with good victuals, sail and rudder, after the old way, and at the expence of the several districts. But when on a cruise an orembay should perish either by tempest or other accident, the same shall be made good by the payment of rd^s. 50 to the owners, according to the gracious concession of the High Regency, explained by letter 15th December 1777.

(The next article was altered from the old instructions by an act of government, 28th September 1781).

27th. Particular notice of every thing that may be resolved on by the residents of the different provinces, the rajahs, patties and orankaioes must be taken in writing and sent to the Governor for his information.

28th. The respective chiefs of the subordinate stations, being qualified to hear and determine all small disputes, that may arise about limits, doussons, or lands, about pulling down sagoe trees, plundering fruit, and such like matters, they must do the same in presence of the regents and two or three impartial people of the district at which the dispute happened, reserving to the defendant the freedom of appeal from the sentence passed to the Land-council here. But these decisions may not be extended to causes, which appear at all criminal or any that may exceed rd^s 50, which must be brought before the Bench of justice and decided there.

29th. At the said assemblies no person shall be promoted to be a second or third vote or be a capalla soa or alderman without a special licence from the Governor, to whom must be presented the most considerable and able persons to fill the vacancy; without which the person so appointed shall be liable to immediate removal.

30th. The regents of the inner-coast of Ceram, belonging to the residency of Saparoua, are not permitted to hold assemblies for the above purposes without being duly qualified by the Governor and Council, who may send commissaries to assist at those meetings, if necessary for the quiet of the natives on the coast of Ceram, under pain of suffering the same punishment, usually inflicted for such offences.

31st. Whenever the rajahs, patties and orankaiois wish to write to the High Regency of Batavia, they must send their letters under an open cover to the Governor, under pain of being punished as the nature of the circumstances shall require.

32^d. Those among the bangsas or people of rank, who from birth or relationship shall aspire to the succession of a regency, whether rajah, patty or orankaiois, vacated by death or otherwise, must produce a claim to such distinction before the Council of government and prefer their request, having previously shown it to the Governor alone, after which the nearest related and the ablest shall be nominated to succeed.

33^d. The following regulations must be accurately observed by the regents concerning the culture of cloves.

A. They shall principally take care that the cloves may not be sprinkled with salt water or dried over a smoaky fire on any pretext whatever.

B. That each daty if possible shall be kept to the number of 140 : trees, according to the established order.

C. That at any time the Company shall choose to have the trees augmented or diminished from the above number, they shall be immediately complied with upon order.

D. That the cloves being ripe shall be forthwith gathered ere they become polongs. ¹

¹ Polongs or mother-cloves are the fruit in its full growth, which is then fit for seed. Since the above orders were first issued, the Dutch Company have encouraged the cultivation of nutmegs in Amboina and have agreed with the principal regents to cultivate 10,000 : trees and give a reward of 1 rixdollar for every hundred nutmegs produced with the mace on.

E. That every nutmeg-tree wherever discovered be torn down and the stumps cut across, to destroy the growth of these aromatic trees.

F. That the clove-trees shall be kept from all wild and dirty plants which may surround them, in order first to hinder the trees from being too much choaked by them and next to prevent those wild plants taking fire and thereby consuming the clove-trees, as was experienced some time ago at Alang, Lilleboy and Haloe, where a considerable quantity of spice-trees were lost by that accident.

G. To guard against the like accident as much as possible, every one is recommended to order in his own niggery, that no body at night go round with cumming (torches) or throw them away imprudently in the forests, or set fire to the long grass. Any person so offending shall be punished properly.

H. When cloves are to be embarked, there must be lamps kept burning in the transport-vessels, as long as the delivery thereof continues.

I. The natives of the isle of Noessalaut shall not be permitted to transport cloves to Saparoua to be weighed there, but under the superintendence and inspection of the regents of the niggery, where they have been gathered, and under a pass from the officer commanding the redoubt Beverwick (on the island of Noessalaut.)

K. Nobody during the time the cloves are gathering shall pass from one district to another upon any pretence whatever.

L. From the weight of the cloves must, in consequence of the established order, be deducted 20 percent, without any contradiction.

M. The barrot- or hassel-money shall continue to be paid and divided in the old established way in favor of the regents, the head of the Mardykes and the elders or capalla soas of the niggeries.

34th. The datties must always be kept at the stated number, and at the death of a daty-keeper the Land-council or resident, where he happens to die, must be informed thereof, that at the first opportunity the vacancy may be instantly filled.

35th. It having been hitherto usual that during the gathering season the regents have employed their subjects two days a week to gather their own cloves, the same custom shall still be continued.

36th. The island chiefs are every where obliged to repair and

build up a new the churches and school-houses, as may be found necessary in their niggeries, at the expence of their common cash, and never at that of the Company.

37th. They are likewise obliged to provide houses for themselves at the expence of the niggeries and to keep them in a good condition; but intending to renew them, the Governor must be acquainted therewith and applied to for permission, also the residents in like manner at the out-settlements.

38th. The regents are moreover bound by their duty to watch and guard against all trade or alienation of spices in order that they may not be transported to other places, neither the young trees or plants; no trafficking of them for other things will be tolerated, on penalty of death and confiscation of the goods of the person guilty of such an offence.

39th. Perpetual banishment, confiscation of goods and incapacity of their children or kindred to succeed to any regency, will be the punishment of those rajahs, patties and orankaio, who shall admit vessels, whether belonging to the natives of Ceram, to Burghers, Mardykes, Chinese or to any foreigners whatsoever, into their inhams, ¹ bays, creeks or rivers, without laying an embargo on them or bringing them up to the next establishment or post, when not provided with a pass from the Governor or chiefs of the provinces.

40th. Whenever it shall happen that foreigners, English, French, Portuguese or Spaniards, shall come and present themselves with their ships under these dominions and cast anchor near any district of the regents, it shall be the task of these, according to the oath of fidelity sworn to the Company, to refuse admittance to those strangers and to interdict every supply to, and all commerce or correspondence with them, not even permitting them on any pretence to land.

41st. In consequence of wick the regents are most positively warned not to pass to or from the foreign ships and not to drive any trade with them nor permit their subjects to do so.

42^d. But if those foreigners should by force try a landing and be repulsed, he that may have most distinguished himself thereby, shall be recompensed for his fidelity; when on the other hand, he, who may have shown any complaisance on what reason so ever, shall be openly treated as a faithless subject to the Company, and

¹ Het Nederlandsche woord: inhammen. In een noot staat „villages naer the sea”.

be punished; chiefly those, who may have sold spices even in the smallest quantity or who may have shown places where plants may be got.

43^d. The regents in general are further bound to hinder with all their power and take care, that none of their subjects for the sake of debts do pawn his body or take money to serve his creditor, as is prohibited by placard June 28th 1770.

44th. They must in the same manner observe and cause to be observed the placard of August 31st 1770, prohibiting the engaging or alienating of daty, doussons and plantations called fatanamangs.

45th. The rajahs, patties and orankaiois must likewise be attentive that according to the orders from the general and council of Batavia, their subjects do not travel to Batavia or elsewhere out of the neighbourhood of their provinces, tho' they may make use of the freedom, formerly granted them of visiting their friends in the neighbouring districts or the establishments belonging to government to transact business, such as buying sagoe, bread, tobacco et^{ca}, for a time limited by the regents, except at the period the cloves are gathering, when navigation to the inner-coast of Ceram alone remains free for buying sagoe, and that only on condition that several vessels go together under one regents, and under due pass from the Governor or their respective residents.

46th. No regent or private person is allowed to chase or shoot deer, either in Amboina or the provinces, without first having obtained permission so to do, either from the Governor or from the resident of the province.

47th. The regents are likewise bound to report, pursue and apprehend all deserters, vagabonds and fugitive slaves, who may conceal themselves within their districts.

48th. The regents of the respective niggeries, upon the discovery of persons troubled with the leprosy or any other contagious disorders, must give immediate information of the same, and by no means suffer such wretched persons to remain concealed within their districts.

49th. The respective regents must cautiously avoid making improper requests, and the principal rajahs, of Noessanive, Keelang and Zoya, must likewise avoid debauching one another subjects, on pain of being considered as disturbers of the public peace and being deposed from their regencies.

50th. All regents are hereby most seriously ordered and recom-

mended to observe punctually the foregoing orders and instructions, and cause them to be observed by the people under their commands, without any connivance or evasion whatever; but to conduct themselves like obedient and faithfull subjects to the Company, as they are bound upon oath to obey all such orders as are issued in their name and by their authority without contradiction or delay.

Actum at Amboina in the castle of New
Victoria, January 11th 1771,
(signed) A. VAN DER VOORT.

From a view of the foregoing code of regulations and instructions, issued 25 years ago, in which not only reference is had to acts and agreements entered into 150 years before, but many of them actually continued from that date; from the constant discouragement of cultivation, manufacture and improvement of any sort, that might enable the people to supply their own wants, by which they were kept down in a state of wretched poverty and dependance, even for the necessaries of life, which have progressively encreased in their value without a proportionate compensation made either for their labour or the produce of the soil; from a consideration of a great decrease of wealth and population universally allowed and which may be plainly observed to have happened of late years, the necessary consequence of such discouraging circumstances; and lastly, from a reflection on the common justice, due to a large body of people who are willing to become peaceable and faithfull subjects, it appears to be the plain suggestion of humanity as well as good policy, in order to promote the proper management and internal prosperity of this settlement, to remit considerably from the severity of the duties and services, in which the people of Amboina have been hitherto bound, and from which their natural impatience took advantage of the first change of affairs upon the arrival of the English, to break forth in sudden and active endeavours to free themselves.¹

The following propositions therefore are stated with a view towards alleviating the oppressions, under which the natives live and, without abandoning the sole right of their spices upon the principle of a decided monopoly,² to afford them such indulgences

¹ Wat niet klopt met wat het journaal hiervóór vertelt.

² Waar blijven de vrijzinnige denkbeelden der Engelschen op dit punt?

as may content their minds and make them willingly submit to a government, that will amply provide for their wants in the most reasonable manner, hold out every encouragement to promote industry and arts among them, protect them from the plunder and invasion of pirates and establish the general improvements, most likely to contribute to the internal police and happiness of these provinces.

To a people, not only acknowledged to be free, but who have a very high idea of liberty, few things are considered more oppressive than being obliged to give their labour and the produce of their industry at rates unreasonably low. It is therefore evident, that one of the first steps towards establishing content in their minds and thereby laying the foundation of a peaceable government, would be to free them from all exacted labour at the old stipulated rates, which, tho' confirmed by the custom of many years, is nevertheless borne in complaint and only submitted to from the apprehension of force. A liberal hire therefore, bearing a due proportion to the prices of provisions and other necessities of life, should be in all cases allowed. But least overturning old established customs might hurry a people, liable to be led into extravagancies, into the opposite extreme (an absolute refusal of all labour whatever), the indulgence of a just hire should be compounded with the precise and indispensable obligation to furnish proportionate numbers of workmen from the different districts, according to their population, whenever the necessity of government might require it.

From the same reasons the price of the spices should be increased, so as to re-imburse the cultivator for his trouble and make the care of the trees and the produce thereof an object of willing attention, and not, as it is at present, of exacted duty. At the same time the obligation to deliver in the whole of the produce ¹, and the absolute prohibition against smuggling should be continued in full force. For this purpose it is imagined, that by raising the price from what it is at present, while subject to the deduction of 20 percent, ² something below 4 pence, to 6 pence per pound, without that deduction, would be sufficient. The barrot- or hassil-money, in favor of the rajahs and elders, might however be continued, being necessary to

¹ Waar bleven de vrijzinnige denkbeelden der Engelschen op dit punt?

² Hier staat in het handschrift met potlood aangeteekend:

„Vide page 147. As the bahar of 550 lbs, subject to 20 pCt. allowance and deliverable in Dutch w^t, is equal to 748 lb. English, it is below 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ the lb. English that the natives deliver their cloves to the C^o.”

their support, an acknowledgement of their authority and in all cases considered as a *willing* act of the people themselves.

The mountains and woods, which are impenetrable to a regular force, hold out a constant and secure retreat to disorderly and ill affected people; it appears therefore to be a measure most likely to strengthen the hands of government and facilitate the execution of the laws, to open easy communications by good roads thro' all parts of the country, at the same time marking out the true limits and boundaries of each district, a measure most unaccountably neglected by the Dutch, and therefore now the more laborious and expensive. However the direction once traced, each district should be bound to complete its own roads and at the same time might be allowed a certain sum in proportion to the trouble attending it, which a trial might soon reconcile and an agreement be made beforehand.

The dependent state of these islands at present renders it an object of great importance to give every encouragement to cultivation; for this purpose it might be necessary at first to give rewards for the growth of mountain-rice and wheat, which the advantage of cultivating would in a short time become so apparent to the people themselves, so as to make a continuance of such rewards unnecessary. Small premiums for the best samples of indigo and coffee *et^{ca}* and the greatest quantities produced, with a certain price established for the purchase of it, would soon introduce the general culture of it, where the climate and soil are particularly favorable, where it is now produced, tho' discouraged and, tho' of the finest quality, considered as but of trifling value.

But one of the first steps towards general cultivation being the introduction of cattle, of which there is at present almost a total want on the island, in order to facilitate labour, as well as to provide a store of provisions at all times, it is absolutely necessary to import from the most convenient places a good supply of bullocks, in the first instance, and cattle of all kinds for domestic purposes; but particularly to establish a breed of cows upon the island. This might soon be effected by giving to the rajahs of the different districts a certain number of males and females of each species, horses, sheep and cows, according to the extent of land, not encroaching on the breed for 3 or 4 years, and at the end of that time to be furnished to Gov^t for use when required at fixed prices; the rajahs and people of the different *doussons* to have not only the advantage of their labour in the mean time, but the real property in them;

and should the expence of this scheme be judged too heavy to admit of giving the cattle, they might be considered as a debt without interest, untill their multiplication rendered the payment in kind easy, or by the produce of their labour, if employed in cultivation.

Untill the improvement of cultivation shall enable the inhabitants to furnish themselves with sufficient grain for their own consumption, it is absolutely necessary to supply them with rice and other provisions, and at all times they stand in need of cloths of different kinds and various articles of manufacture.

Of rice therefore particularly and other provisions, likewise of piece goods and other articles of*merchandize, a supply annually sent according to the wants of the people should be continued as in the Dutch government,¹ and would, if judiciously² laid in, be attended with no expence to the Company, as a reasonable profit might be expected from the sale, more perhaps than equal to the freight and other charges attending it. Besides vessels, employed in this way, might carry back such quantities of spices as would be sufficient for the consumption of India, to be disposed of there on account of the Company in the manner best adopted to the wants of the people by public auction in small lots.

Upon these general principles it appears evident, that a new code of regulations might be entered with the inhabitants of the provinces of Amboina, which would be perfectly satisfactory to them and establish a well regulated government to the advantage of both parties. Several other minute circumstances not enumerated here would be very necessary also to attend to in forming the permanent plan of this government, particularly introducing from the free schools of India a number of youths, well versed in English, to acquire as speedily as possible a regular knowlege of the Malay language, to serve as faithfull interpreters with the natives and supercede the necessity of Dutch aid or interference entirely, and become a groundwork for continuing schools of English and Malays, after the present Dutch plan.

With respect to the military force necessary to keep these islands in a state of good order and general security, the following is suggested as sufficient, viz^t:

¹ Waar bleven de vrijzinnige denkbeelden der Engelschen op dit punt?

² De nu volgende bladzijden zijn blijkbaar door een andere hand geschreven dan de voorafgaande.

- One commandant of the troops.
- 3 companies of European infantry.
- 6 d° native infantry.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ d° artillery.
- 1 fort adjutant.
- 1 inspector of stores.
- 1 engineer (unless a new fort should be built, then 1 captⁿ and 2 lieutenants).
- 1 paymaster and commissary of grain and provisions.
- 1 serjeant major.
- 1 quartermaster serjeant.
- 4 supernumerary serjeants.
- 1 company of pioneers.

Previous to considering the general relationship of the Spice-islands with respect to the adjoining states, it is necessary to give some account of the Banda-islands, which though at present a separate and distinct government, should perhaps with more propriety be placed under the authority of Amboina; for exclusive of its being of inferior consequence in respect to its resources, great inconvenience has frequently arisen from compacts of trade having been entered into from thence and connections formed with several of the districts and provinces, at war with the governments of Amboina and Ternate at the same time

The feature of this government is different from Amboina. The whole society consists here of the Companys servants, some Burghers or freemen and slaves. The object of their attention being solely the care and cultivation of nutmegs, the affairs of government cannot be supposed very complicated; nevertheless it is at present a distinct gov^t, consisting of a governor, Council of three and secretary, with a regular Court of justice, furnished with all the forms of stamps, seals and fines; but the governor is so much above the check or controll of any other persons, that his will may be justly considered the only law of the settlement.

The Company are here absolute proprietors of the soil and the slaves who cultivate it; as the culture of nutmegs is the only object they have in view; those islands, that produce them, are divided into a number of plantations or parks, as they are called, and given in charge to certain Burghers or freemen, generally descendants of Dutch, who are settled here. There is a number of slaves belonging to the Company allotted to each park, whom the parkkeepers

employ in the cultivation and attendance on the nutmeg trees

. The mace is delivered into store every month and the nutmegs every three months. They are both paid for on delivery, the mace $7\frac{1}{2}$ stivers per pound and the nutmegs at $2\frac{1}{2}$ stivers. From this price however a deduction is made of 17 percent from the weight of the spices; viz^t 10 percent in favour of the Company, as an acknowledgment of their right to the soil, and 7 in favour of the Companys servants, in the same manner as the 20 percent on the cloves is divided at Amboina. The 7 percent is an old custom, but the additional 10 percent has lately been past on, having commenced with the present governors authority. The quantity of nutmegs and mace, produced for several years past, has been very small, and the want of attention to the cultivation very evident; since the arrival of mr. Boekholtz the produce was so much increased, that the half years collection, which was found in store, amounted to nutmegs 81,618 pounds and mace 23,385 pounds; which being only the first half years crop, which appears to be extremely abundant on the trees, may be just supposed to yield at least an equal quantity; and in all future years with proper management the quantity may be with confidence reckoned upon at the average stated in the estimate subjoined to the general considerations concerning these islands, which is founded upon the most moderate computations of the best informed persons on the subject

There are persons, called boscwagters, whose business it is to superintend the parks. to see that the planters employ the slaves, not for their own private purposes, but in attendance on the nutmeg-trees, to take care that the mace and nutmegs are properly cared and to note the quantity, that none be smuggled off. They have certain walks allotted to them, and are to make constant reports to the Governor of the state of the different parks and the quantity likewise yielded by them. There are besides these directors of the parks, who are in fact the Governor and chief persons of the settlement, who visit all the parks every month to see that the trees are properly attended to and planted at proper distances; that the boscwagters are active and carefull; that the slaves are diligently kept at work; and that the drying-houses and stores are kept in good repair. Their regular visits are monthly and their reports transmitted to the governor of Batavia.

From nearly the whole of the soil of these islands being devoted to the culture of nutmegs, there is not sufficient left to afford the

good necessary for the inhabitants. The government of Batavia therefore sends out annually, as to Amboina, a considerable store of rice and other things for their supply. Of this rice, in order to encourage the planters, they are furnished with the quantity necessary for their park-slaves at the low rate of 25 rixdollars per last of £ 3000 weight; but that for their private slaves they pay 30 rixdollars for. All the other inhabitants, who have slave, are under the necessity of drawing from the Companys stores the rice they want for their food; and their names being registered with their number of slaves noted, they are allowed 30 £ of rice per month for each person at the latter price of 30 rd^s per last, for which they all pay ready money. However as the Company is at considerable loss in furnishing this supply, the price of this rice is intended to be increased gradually at the rate of 5 rd^s. per last annually, untill it gets up to 50 rd^s. per last, when it is supposed the Company will no longer suffer any loss.

All these regulations concerning the cultivation of the trees and the price paid for the produce have been introduced by the present Dutch governor,¹ who arrived here about 15 months before the English gained possession. Before he came, most of the planters of the different parks were in great distress, having been charged with very heavy debts incurred on account of aids at different times in rice and money, and being made accountable for the price of the slaves furnished for their parks. Besides which, from the very heavy loss they sustained in the dreadful hurricane of 1778 most of their private fortunes and plantations were entirely ruined. They were also bound to deliver their nutmegs at $\frac{3}{4}$ of a stiver or 3 farthings per lb., and the mace at somewhat more. Under the pressure of this distress many of them, conceiving their right to the soil indisputable, of which their families had been from time immemorial possessed, proceeded to the sale thereof, which however was in some instances opposed by the government. In this state of things, from the destruction of the trees and neglect of cultivation for want of due encouragement, the distress of the planters and their right in the soil disputed, the confusion in consequence reduced for several years past the quantity of spices from

¹ Vgl. hierbij de „Consideratiën over den staat der speceryperken” achter het *Belangrijk Verslag over den staat van Banda* door Reinier de Klerk, uitgegeven door C. A. M. van Vliet ('s-Gravenhage, Van Stockum, 1894), bldz. 94, v. v.

£ 600.000 weight, which it was before the hurricane, to less in some years than £ 50.000. It was judged prudent therefore by the regency of Batavia to adopt the plan proposed by mr. Boeckholtz, who was appointed governor and authorized in the first instance to assert the absolute right in the soil; and accordingly the edict, which determined that right, was issued on the first of last February; the old arrear of debt, due from several of the renters to the Company and which most of them were unable to pay, was entirely remitted; such slaves as were grown too old, to be of use in the plantations, were sold of and several others purchased in their room and distributed amongst the parks which most required them. The price of the spices too was at that time raised from the old low rate to what it now is, and the planters were to have their drying-houses and stores built for them, which they were afterwards to keep in repair and the slaves found them, but they were afterwards to feed and clothe them.

These alterations were supposed to afford ample encouragement to the planters and enable them to attend the trees better and thereby encrease the quantity of the produce. But however specious they may seem, upon a close examination of the subject it is evident, there is more despotism than justice in the new system introduced, and many of the planters, who felt themselves in some degree independant, were willing to give up their parks altogether and go off, but the difficulty of removing their effects without consent of government and the arguments of others, not equally independant, prevailed on them to yield at least to a trial and submit to a total alienation of their property, which however they do not allow to be consistent with justice. The debt, said to be remitted as an act of indulgence and bounty, should not be considered quite in that light; the chief part of it was incurred on account of rice and other provisions supplied to themselves and their slaves, without which they must have perished and the settlement have been altogether annihilated. For this debt certainly the planters never expected to be made accountable, having at the time of receiving it considered it as a donation, upon which their existence depended. And for their other debts on account of loans in money, though there were some individuals, who from idleness and inattention were in low circumstances and unable to discharge them, without alienating their parks, the great part of the planters would much rather have continued in possession of their parks and paid the just demands upon them, than under colour of a remission of their debts, be

deprived of what, from long and undisputed possession, they might be justified in considering as their actual right. Besides upon enquiry it appears that several of the planters had actually purchased their lands from the Company and paid, some of them the whole, others part of the money; and therefore to reassume these lands at pleasure seems rather a harsh measure. But the manner of accounting with such of the planters, as had paid money for their lands, is particularly unjust, Government not restoring back the money received, but accounting in the rice necessary for their slaves, not at the rate supplied to others who pay cash, but in this way they were obliged to take it at 50 r^{ds} instead of 25, which is actually cutting off one half of a debt that is unquestionable.

There are altogether in the four islands, which yield nutmegs, 57 plantations or parks with 1708 slaves, but there is no regularity either in the division of the land into parks or the distribution of the slaves to them; and it would be one of the most necessary steps to the improvement of the place, if an exact survey of the islands was made (wich is now very much wanted), the proportion between the parks better regulated and the divisions and boundaries better ascertained and now particularly defined. The above mentioned number of slaves is by no means sufficient to pay that due attention to the trees which they require, and from the best information it appears necessary to procure at least 700 or 800 more, to do justice to the plantations.

Besides the above number of slaves allotted to the parks, there are 367 more belonging to the quarter, built for them, who are divided amongst the different posts, to attend the barracks and hospitals, to carry water etc. and are in readiness to be employed upon all public works. These slaves of the quarter are all under the immediate inspection of a serjeant, who sends them to their respective duties and draws provisions and cloths for them from the Companys stores. But it is evident from the wretched appearance of those slaves and enquiry justifies the suspicion, that it has been a custom amongst the governors and other servants in authority to exchange from time to time their own private slaves, that were grown unfit for labour, for the best and youngest amongst those of the Company.¹ Therefore in future it might be a good means of preventing the repetition of this fraud, to distinguish the public

¹ Dit blijve voor rekening van den schrijver van het handschrift.

slaves, when bought, by some bodily mark such as tattooing their arms or breasts in a particular manner. This mode of marking is not attended with any cruelty and is frequently done by themselves for amusement. There were also a number of convicts kept under the care of the serjeant of the slave-quarter, who upon the arrival of the English were immediately liberated by the troops, before any regular enquiry could be made concerning their crimes or the justice of keeping them in irons. They had been sent here at different times from Batavia and all the other settlements, as the common receptacle for persons of that description. They were kept at constant labour and most of them in irons. The want of free inhabitants to labour and attend the different trades, makes it necessary to keep up the number of public slaves here, through from the expence of their maintainance, compared with the very little work they perform, they may be considered the most expensive people that could be employed. When works of any magnitude are carried on, it is necessary to hire at a very dear rate the few artisans, who are willing to work and the private slaves of individuals, whose labour their masters turn to great advantage at particular times.

Exclusive of the provisions sent out in ¹ the annual ship from Batavia, the governor-general there sends out to Amboina a large supply of piece goods, cuttery, iron and other articles of merchandize, which are sold by auction either quarterly or at such times as the Governor knows, the inhabitants can best afford to pay for them, upon all which there is a profit regularly charged of 50 percent. All these goods and even more than the Company supplies, imported by individuals, are bought up by the planters or Burghers and some Chinese merchants, who are settled here, either for their own or their slaves use or in order to export it to the islands of Aroa, New-Guinea, Ceram and the S. W.-Islands, to all which places there is a considerable traffic carried on; and in return they get from Ceram sagoe, bread and flour and sometimes salted deer. From the Aroose islands ² they get slaves, pearls, birdsnests, tortoise-shell, bêche de mer and birds, chiefly birds of paradise. These islands, situated E. S. E. of Banda, are many in number, very low and surrounded with dangerous rocks and shoals, furnishing no provisions but fish. The inhabitants as well as those of New-Guinea are reckoned

¹ De nu volgende bladzijden zijn met eene andere hand geschreven dan de voorafgaande.

² Aroe-eilanden.

extremely treacherous and savage. The intercourse nevertheless with them is frequent, as the trade is very profitable. One Burgher alone here, mr. Steemberg, has seven brigs in this trade. For the purpose of guarding the trade, there is a party of 40 men under the Resident; but the year before last the garrison was cut off; however it was shortly after reinstated by the above gentⁿ, who was wel known to the inhabitants and put an end to hostilities with his own slaves, who are very numerous.

The S. W. Islands consist of 7, the chief of which is Kissur, where the Resident lives; his garrison consists of 50 men, a few of whom are detached to the adjoining islands. The only advantage drawn from these islands is some sandalwood, salted deer and a few slaves and the intercourse with it but once a year, when a small vessel is sent about the end of March and returns with the next monsoon in May. The natives of these islands are also represented as very ferocious and savage. They seem to be a medium between the Caffres of Africa and Papoos or natives of New Guinea, their hair being neither so short and woolley as the first nor so long and bushy as the last and their features bear a resemblance to both.

In the last account of the population of Banda and the S. W.-Islands, which are dependant on this government, the numbers of all descriptions stood as follow. The Auroa ¹-islands, tho' also reckoned dependant, are not taken any account of.

In the islands of Banda, consisting of the 10 first enumerated, are :	
Europeans, men, women and children	119
Mesties or half cast	624
Black Christians	358
Chineese	98
Moors	136
Heathen freemen	41
Maussar ² slaves	26
Slaves of all other descriptions	4361
Total Banda-islands	5763

In the S. W.-Islands there are:

Men, women, children, nat. Christians	2322
Heathens, freemen	35944
Total S. W.-Islands	38266

¹ Aroe-eilanden.

² Macassar?

From this it appears, that the extent of nominal dominion among the latter islands is very considerable, but what advantage is derived from thence is not so evident. Christianity seems to have extended, but without the good effect observed at Amboina of softening their manners and civilizing them; and unless possessing and garrisoning these islands by the Dutch arises from jealousy of other European powers establishing themselves in any situation, that might serve even as an avenue of communication with their chief object of profit, the Spice-islands, the dispersing their troops and extending their possessions to such inconvenient distances and at the same time so unprofitable, cannot well be accounted for.

However as it does not seem agreeable to the disposition of the English, to form settlements and extend garrisons from such a motive and that no other good reason for keeping these islands can be given at present, any farther reflection concerning them shall be left out in the following suggestions for the management of the Banda islands, which are founded upon the opinions of the best informed persons upon the spot.

The circumstance of Banda having hitherto a distinct government has at different times produced very inconvenient effects. The distance of Banda makes it difficult to detect and punish those faults, that are said to have existed for several years past in the administration of that government, where the governors, left without check or controul, their Council possessing only a nominal participation of power, neglecting the cultivation of the nutmegs and attending only to the advantages to be derived from trade with the neighbouring islands, smuggling of spices grew to a great pitch and there are even some instances, when the merchants of Banda supplied some of the natives of the neighbouring islands with arms and military stores, who were at the same time making war with the government of Amboina; besides the society of their government being so very small, the extremely rich produce of the islands committed to the care of so few, points it out as a necessary precaution, to put the whole of this settlement under the care and authority of the government of Amboina, which being so near can at all times take cognizance of every occurrence; regulate their intercourse with the adjoining countries; receive at convenient opportunities the spices and keep them in store; supply their wants upon all occasions or draw resources, when required; receive regular returns of the state and produce of the plantations and punish immediately every infringement of the established regu-

lations or neglect in the person placed in the management of the place. It might therefore be best, that the deputy or lieutenant-governor of Banda should be subject to the authority of the governor of Amboina, to which appointment he might be in immediate succession in case of accident. By this means union and consistence would direct the affairs of both places. Responsibility under an immediate check and the hope of promotion to greater dignity and emolument would most probably put an entire stop to the speculation, that by all accounts has for several years been practised here before the arrival of the present Dutch governor, m^r. Boeckholtz.

But tho' the zeal and disinterestedness of m^r. Broeckholtz is allowed, the justness of his measures with regard to the Burghers, who have parks, is not without good reason disputed. The indiscriminate seizing on all property in the soil, contrary in almost every instance to immemorial usage and in some to absolute stipulations, appears tyrannical and unjust; and perhaps it wo^d. be the best way, to form a committee to examine into the justice of this matter and to distinguish between those, who have really a right to the soil and others, whose debts amount to the value of that right; and should it be found, that such cause existed, to adjust them to the satisfaction of the people, to restore the property, where it should appear to be truly vested and suffer it to be alienable, which would always be a means of exciting industry and improvement; and where it appeared, that the right in the soil vested in the Company, a distinction in the price of the spices or a certain rent might be established on that account. But since it does not seem of much consequence, who is the proprietor of the soil, when the whole of its produce is monopolized at a certain rate therefore, as the want of population to cultivate the plantations to the utmost is the greatest check at present to improvement, encouraging the planters to multiply their slaves, to realise and transfer their property, appears the most probable way of improving the cultivation and encreasing the produce.

The Company are at present obliged to supply this settlement with rice and other provisions at a rate, by which they are at a considerable loss. They are also liable, according to the present system, to a vague undefined charge on the score of buildings and repairs for houses, stores etc., all which in the general scale of expence is to be charged to the spices produced in the islands. Now

as simplifying matters of this nature is always an advantage, whereby contingent charges may be entirely dispensed with, it might not only be a material saving to the Company, but be far more agreeable to the planters, to increase the price of the spices and make them responsible for all expences of buildings and also furnish themselves with rice at a fair price, suppose at once 50 rd. per last, which however the government must at any rate supply, but in this way not lose by so doing. Upon investigating this subject with the most impartial and best informed persons at Banda, it appeared evident, that this mode would be most agreeable to the people and likely to produce most beneficial effects to the state; and with regard to the addition, necessary in this case to the present rate of the spices, the price of $7\frac{1}{2}$ pence for the nutmegs and 15 pence for the mace per pound would satisfy the planters and perhaps be not more expensive than the present mode.

But as it might sometimes happen, that, where provisions were somewhat dearer, there might be found some of the planters, who would curtail the allowance of their slaves, strict regulations should be instituted to prevent this and see justice done the slaves. One often of themselves might be appointed *marigny* ¹ or overseer of the others with a power to represent all just grievances to the directors in their visits to the different parks. Smuggling of quantities of spices has grown to a great pitch and the longer it is permitted, the more difficult it will be to correct it; severe rules should be put in force against those, who purchase them and the sale of them should be punished ² with forfeiture of all property in the settlement, whether of parks, slaves or other goods. Neglect too in the cultivation and attendance of the spice-trees should be punished by fines in the produce at the judgment of the directors and paid into the public stores.

Considering Amboina as the chief government, as well the dep^y. or lieu^t. gov^r. as the second in command of troops should be stationed here and alle returns and reports transmitted as convenient opportunities offered.

The complement to the number of troops already stated as necessary for the defence of Amboina in the whole military establishment, estimated towards the conclusion of the general observations on the

¹ *Marinjo*.

² Dus ook hier vast te houden aan het monopolie.

value of these islands, is what I conceive wo^d be proper for the immediate defence of the Banda-islands.

Encouragement should be given to clearing and cultivating with corn and breeding cattle on the adjoining islands, particularly Pulo Rond¹, where property might be vested in those, who settled under a restriction against the planting of nutmegs; every endeavour should likewise be made to transfer the cultivation of nutmegs to Amboina and beginning with Pulo Ay, as the number of trees in Amboina increased, diminish the number here and perhaps in time the whole produce of this valuable spice might be transferred te Amboina² and then turning these islands to the cultivation of grain and breeding of cattle, not only furnish a supply for both places but lessen considerable the expense to the state, by rendering only one establishment necessary either for the government or the defence of the Spice-islands.

Whatever may be the decision respecting these islands, whether it may be judged consistent with the interest of G^t Britain, to keep permanent possession of them or to restore them back to the Dutch³, it is only necessary in the present instance to build upon the former supposition and suggest those circumstances most likely to render them in the highest degree advantageous to the state,⁴ and at the same time promote the happiness of the people and to take into consideration the dependance and relationship, they bear toward the neighbouring states.

The government of Ternate and Tidore with the numerous islands dependant thereon, including all those between it and New-Guinea, are those nearest connected and indeed Amboina and Banda both are not only said to have been subject to that empire, but the Dutch now pay for them a sum of money annually to the king of Ternate,⁵ who is in all other respects their tributary. The only object the Dutch have in view by this government is to prevent the growth of spices, and notwithstanding the quantity of gold dust procured in some of outposts, the loss sustained in support of this establish-

¹ Poeloe Roen.

² Dat is dus nog heel wat anders, dan wat de Oost-Indische Compagnie deed, toen zij de nagelcultuur tot de Ambon-eilanden, de notencultuur tot de Bandagroep beperkte.

³ Vgl. hierachter het Naschrift.

⁴ „State” hier niet in tegenstelling tot de Engelsche Oost-Indische Compagnie.

⁵ Sic!

ment amounts to near 30,000¹ per ann., besides the number of lives sacrificed in the different garrisons. On this account therefore it may be presumed, that it wo^d be not only necessary to dispossess the Dutch of those islands but to restore them free to the native princes; in doing which, the obligation conferred on them would readily induce them to enter into such terms, as would secure to the English the whole advantages of their trade without expence.

With regard to the claim of sultaun Syfut Deen Shah to the sovereignty, it is generally asserted that there is justice on his side and that, where the influence of the Dutch was removed, the voice of the people themselves would determine in his favor; and he himself by his ambassador proposed to submit to the decision of an assembly of the chiefs of the neighbouring islands called in, under the authority of the English, to pronounce upon his claim and ultimately to abide by such limits, as they should lay down for the extent of his authority.

The government of Macassar, though not of any consequence to Amboina and Banda, relative to any competition in the cultivation of spices, is yet of great consequence with respect to the supplies, that might at all times be had from thence and also as it is so much in the way of China-ships, both outward and homeward bound. It is already well known, that the chief rajahs on Celebes have lately shown great dislike and have made some opposition to the Dutch¹, who have always made a point of encouraging dissention among them; and therefore, to free them from their present yoke, would be the most likely way of binding them to the interests of the English and besides opening a vast field for general trade with our ships in preference to all others, would furnish a certain and ample supply both of grain and stock to Amboina and Banda.

Of the trade, for some years past carried on with the islands to the N. E. of Ceram and the attempts made to form a settlement by the ships from Bengal, however defensible such a measure might be, when the Dutch had possession of the Spice-islands, the evil consequences in the event of the English keeping them are very evident. The trafficking of arms and military stores among a people very little civilized and who are sufficiently prompted by the possession of their arms to unprovoked hostilities against

¹ De Engelschen zouden spoedig na de inbezitneming door hen van Makassar en onderhoorigheden hetzelfde ondervinden!

their neighbours is at all times dishonorable and unworthy of a great nation to permit; but when it also appears, that the returns for these arms and military stores are expected to be made in spices, which can only be procured by means totally subversive of the laws and institutions of a government regularly established belonging to the same nation, should be prohibited under the severest penalties. In the course of the insurrection at Amboina there were taken from the natives in more than one instance muskets with the English E. I. Company's mark, which, being carried by the ships from Bengal to Warouw on the N. E. coast of Ceram, found their way from thence and were smuggled for cloves at Haroekoe and the coast of Hitoe, according to the confession of the people in whose hands they were found. ¹ It appears from hence that, though perhaps both cloves and nutmegs might grow among those islands, if cultivated, at present those spices are only to be procured through the medium of smuggling, and therefore any quantity purchased this way must be by the temptation of advanced prices at the best, and in that point of view a disadvantage to the state in general.

To obviate these ill consequences in future, it appears necessary to forbid the intercourse altogether and to permit no trade whatsoever in English ships to Ternate or any of the islands subordinate to that empire to the Eastward, except under the express licence and authority of the government of Amboina, ² where alone the emporium of all the spices should be formed and whence the wants of all the islands to the N^d and East^d might be amply be supplied in a very advantageous manner, both to the English and the natives, and thus by a just mode of dealing on one side and confining the prices of merchandize to moderation, would make it their interest to oppose every effort of foreigners to establish any connection with them to our disadvantage.

It may be argued as more generally advantageous to the English, to throw open the trade altogether and suffer private adventurers to carry merchandize and provisions there and be at liberty to purchase the spices on the spot; but it is only on the principle of an absolute monopoly of the spices, that it could ever be an object to form settlements in so detached a situation and there is little doubt, but this monopoly under proper regulations would not

¹ Een van elders bekend feit dus hier onomwonden erkend door Engelschen zelf!

² Hoe gelijkt dit alles op de door de Engelschen zoo zeer veroordeelde handelspolitiek onzer O. I. C.!

only be extremely productive to the state, but also more beneficial to the people themselves, than if they were left without controul, as their violent tempers and the competition, that would immediately take place among the different islands, would inevitably lead them into endless wars and anarchy, to which they are already too much addicted. Upon this principle therefore it appears essentially necessary to prohibit all intercourse, except in cases of extremity, with any other ships but those sent under the authority of the Company; and all these should be immediately considered under the absolute controul and direction of the government of these islands, with a power to inflict such fines and punishments for any attempts towards smuggling, as should be at first stipulated and never omitted in any agreement with ships, chartered for these islands; at the same time individuals on board such ships should not labor under too severe a prohibition, but have their own particular wants always liberally supplied by indents on the spice-stores at a very moderate valuation for such quantities only as could not come under the idea of trading.

The propensity to piracy among all the Malay islands has already been remarked, but it is nowhere more dangerous than among the islands round the Moluccas viz. the Papoos or natives of New-Guinea, the people of Magindano and Sooloo and those of Borneo. It is therefore necessary to the safety and preservation of the Spice-islands to establish a certain number of cruisers effectually to check all attempts of that nature, particularly of the Papoos, who frequently come in large prows, rowed by 80 or 100 men, plunder the countries they find unprotected and carry off the inhabitants for slaves.

The Dutch always kept a marine force for this purpose of several sloops, called pantjallangs, of about 16 guns each, but they were of a very rude construction and incapable of pursuing the prows to windward; one frigate, to appear occasionally in these seas, and five armed schooners or brigs of from 80 to 100 tons, carrying 12 or 14 guns, and a few swivels, with about 30 men each, 10 of whom should be Europeans, calculated for swift sailing and occasionally to be able to row, would be the proper force to establish and if judiciously employed under the government of Amboina, would certainly be sufficient to put an entire stop in a little time to all piracy. They would also prevent any attempt to smuggle or carry on any clandestine trade in arms etc. and answer the purpose of collecting the spices from Banda and the islands immediately dependant on Amboina and lodging the whole in store there to be ready for transporting either to Europe or India, as should be ordered.

Considering the ease, with which the islands of Celebes, Ternate and Tedorne etc. could be wrested from the hands of the Dutch, as before

stated, a small extension of this marine force would open such a field for the most advantageous trade with all those islands in perfect safety, as cannot well be calculated. The whole of the gold-dust, now collected by the Dutch, would soon be got in exchange for our manufactures of Europe and India, and the entire extensive and lucrative trade, now carried on in Chinese pinks to all these islands, would undoubtedly fall into the hands of the English, whose superior skill in navigation and boldness of enterprise would give them the most decided advantages over the Chinese, provided they were enabled to carry it on without danger; ¹ and thus an immense trade under a partial and comparatively trifling restriction and the supply of several millions of people would entirely fall into our hands. Considering Amboina from its situation and natural resources the fittest place to establish as the capital of the Spice-islands, the seat of government of the whole, and the sole emporium of spice and all the trade to the Eastward of it, its strength and ability to resist a foreign attack should be made one of the first objects of attention. Tho' the present state of the fortifications may be perfectly sufficient to support the government against every effort of the natives, they are quite incapable of resisting an European enemy, coming regularly before it; if it ever therefore should be resolved to retain the future possession of this establishment, an entire new fort should be built at Amboina.

The neglect of this has now made it an easy prey to the first attack and should the English continue under the same infatuation in this respect as the Dutch, their possession must be acknowledged extremely insecure. It will therefore well become the wisdom of a great nation, to attend to this consideration and the liberality of the East India Company, under whose charter and dominion it is conceived these islands must necessarily come, cannot be better bestowed than devoting to their permanent security a portion of their first profits.

The redoubts and batteries lately ordered at Banda and now nearly executed are fully sufficient to ensure its safety with the force proposed for garrisoning that settlement, according to the system already proposed for its management

It is said, that the Dutch destroyed all the produce of these islands, beyond the quantity already stated, with a view to set their own price upon those articles, certain of a consumption to that extent annually. But this seems to have been not only the extreme of selfish illiberality, but very mistaken policy; since it is evident, the more general the use of any article becomes, the greater the demand for it, until custom in the end makes that necessary, which

¹ Hierbij staat de potlood-kantteekening: „Very just.”

was before only used as a matter of luxury; that, though the sale of greater quantities, might perhaps lower the prices, the additional consumption would more than equal the profit; and that in the course of a few years the use of spices would probably extend in proportion as that of tea or sugar; the quantity necessary to the general supply call for every effort of encouragement and exceed the profit, computed as above, upon the scale of immediate certainty, in a fivefold degree. And upon the whole considering the advantages likely to be derived from the trade of these islands in other valuable articles, they may be estimated without distant speculation to bring in a clear annual revenue to the state of half a million sterling.¹

NASCHRIFT,

bij bldz. 254, noot 2.

Mijne lezing, den 29 October 1901 gehouden in eene Algemeene Vergadering van het Indisch Genootschap², getiteld: *De overgang der Kaap-Kolonie van Nederlands in Englands bezit*, besloot ik met eenige stellingen, waarin waren neêrgelegd de conclusies, waartoe ik toen meende te moeten komen, o.a. aangaande de bekende aanschrijvingen van Willem V, gedagteekend 7 Februari 1795, waarin deze Oranjevorst den gouverneurs of hoofden van bestuur onder andere benamingen, welke gezag uitoefenden in Nederlands verschillende koloniën en bezittingen in Oost en West, aanschreef, Engelsche troepen en schepen dáár toe te laten als die van eene bevriende mogendheid. Ik maakte natuurlijk een voorbehoud: ik bleef aannemen „de mogelijkheid, dat voortgezet onderzoek van mij of van anderen mijne opinie (zou doen) wijzigen.”

Zoo wel door anderen als door mij zelf is het onderzoek voortgezet. Op de resultaten van eigen nadere studie wees ik reeds in N^o. 26 van *De Nederlandsche Spectator* van 1905³; en ik kon toen vaststellen, dat ik „geen woord (behoefde) terug te nemen” van wat ik vroeger had meenen te mogen concludeeren, dat zelfs „mijn geloof aan (de) volkomen juistheid (der conclusies, waartoe ik in 1901 was gekomen, door mijn nader onderzoek) ten eerste versterkt was. Eenigen tijd later (in 1906) verscheen⁴ het tweede deel van de door Dr. H. T. Colenbrander uitgegeven *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene*

¹ Hieronder staat in het handschrift de volgende potlood-aanteekening:

„To which may be added the advantage to the country in a national point of view by the increased consumption of British . . . on Indian manufactures to the exclusion of Dutch and French manufactures now in use.”

² Bldz. 109—142 der Verslagen over dat jaar.

³ Overgenomen o.a. in *De Zuid-Afrikaansche Post* van 20 Juli 1905, bladz. 279; *De Volksstem* van 19 Augustus 1905, enz. — Op verzoek der „Boeken-Commissie” van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond zal ik binnenkort uitgeven een beknopte geschiedkundige verhandeling, waarin ik in populair-wetenschappelijke vorm den overgang der Kaapkolonie aan Engeland behandel.

⁴ 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff.

geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840. Ook daarin nu wordt over de proclamatie van Kew gehandeld. Het spreekt wel vanzelf, dat ik met groote belangstelling het werk ter hand nam en eveneens, dat ik met groote voldoening bij de lezing er van zag, dat de zeer weinige nog onbekende documenten, door Dr. Colenbrander over deze zaak gepubliceerd ¹, slechts zoovele nieuwe bewijzen waren voor mijne meening en dat wat hij zelf daaromtrent zegt op bldz. LXXXV, v. hetzelfde is als wat ik reeds in 1901 en 1905 schreef, *nur mit ein Bischen andren Worten*. Slechts op een enkel punt wensch ik even terug te komen, zij het thans zeer terloops. ² Volkomen terecht zegt Colenbrander, dat Willem V, toen hij de aanschrijving uit Kew schreef, daarmede „bleef in de lijn der stadhouderlijke politiek van 1788: die der alliantie en garantie“. Reeds wees ik daarop in mijne lezing van 1901. ³ Toen had ik nog niet mijn onderzoek uitgestrekt tot het Koninklijk Huisarchief, anders zoude ik dieper zijn ingegaan op wat ik toen slechts even aanstipte, ⁴ nl. op hetgeen in 1793 plaats heeft gegrepen. Het verwonderde mij eenigszins, dat Dr. Colenbrander, die het H. A. wel raadpleegde, dit niet heeft besproken. Als hij daarin had aangetroffen en gelezen ⁵ den (onuitgegeven) brief van den gezaghebber van de Kaap, den secunde J. I. Rhenius, van 30 Juli 1793, aan Willem V, dan zoude hij hebben gezien, dat tengevolge van de aanschrijving van de Bewindhebbers der O. I. C. van 30 Maart 1793, in overleg met de Staten-Generaal en Willem V uitgevaardigd, Rhenius alles in orde had gebracht, om de Engelsche schepen van het noodige te voorzien en „voor inquantiering“ van de „verwagt wordende Hulp troupen“ van St. Helena en Engeland. Ook andere maatregelen in die dagen genomen, waarop ik thans niet inga, wijzen er op, dat de lijn der stadhouderlijke politiek van 1788 tot Februari 1795 loopt over het jaar 1793, het oorlogsjaar.

Het tweede punt, dat ik hier wil bespreken, is dit. Colenbrander schrijft: „Over dien brief van Kew is veel gebazeld.“ Zonder twijfel, er is veel over geschreven, van den beginne af, toen Voorda en Valckenaer *contra*, Tollius *pro* optraden. ⁶ Maar is dit te verwon-

¹ N^o 675 (blz. 820); verder de „juiste“ datum (2 Februari: het was bekend, dat het renversaal van Februari dagteekende en wel van vóór 7 Februari) en de „ondertekening“ (men wist natuurlijk dat die van Grenville was); en het brokje brief aan Van Nagell in de noot op bldz. 821. Jammer, dat Dr. Colenbrander niet volledig is in het aangeven der werken, waarin documenten over deze aangelegenheid reeds zijn gepubliceerd of waarin daarover is gesproken. Deze onvolledigheid wekt den indruk, dat Dr. Colenbrander's onderzoek werkelijk nieuw licht van betekenis over deze materie werpt, wat niet het geval is.

² Ik blijf hier natuurlijk bij de aanschrijving uit Kew, die in Lennon's „*Journal*“ herhaaldelijk wordt genoemd. Wat Dr. Colenbrander elders (b.v. in *De Belgische omwenteling*, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1905) zegt over den afstand der Kaapkolonie, enz. roer ik later nog wel aan. Alleen wil ik er thans reeds op wijzen, dat wat hij daar op bldz. 100 zegt: „Holland heeft dus de Kaap niet aan Engeland verkocht, om de goede reden dat het die niet had“, onjuist gedacht, althans onjuist uitgedrukt, is.

³ Bldz. 112, 118 v. — Ook deed dit A. J. van der Meulen in zijne *Studies over het Ministerie van Van de Spiegel* (Leiden, Kooyker, 1905), bldz. 98 v.v.

⁴ Bldz. 120.

⁵ Ik zag hem niet in de *Gedenkstukken*. Heb ik hem over 't hoofd gezien, dan hier een *peccavi*!

⁶ Vgl. mijne lezing I. G., blz. 117; Colenbrander, t. a. p., bldz. 820.

deren en mag het woord „bazelen“ hiervoor worden gebruikt? De heer Colenbrander tracht zich in te denken — zooals ik reeds vroeger deed — in de zienswijze der Stadhouderlijke partij en zóó Willem V's houding te verklaren en te verdedigen, althans te verontschuldigen. Volkomen terecht. Maar — er was nu eenmaal óók een andere Staatspartij en ook deze had hare opinie en woordvoerders. En 't is, dunkt mij, zoo natuurlijk mogelijk, dat deze 's Prinsen houding scherp veroordeelde, ja! verafschuwde: zij toch ging lijnrecht in tegen wat in haar schatting 's Lands belang vorderde. En ook deze meening had recht om gehoord te worden, ook door hen, die, zooals Dr. C. en ik, haar niet deelen. Dat Willem V zelf wel iets voelde in die richting, bewijst m.i. de aan Dr. Colenbrander blijkbaar niet bekende, althans niet door hem uitgegeven ¹, brief van Willem V aan zijne gemalin, gedagteekend uit Londen den 29 Januari 1801, ² waarin hij bezwaren oppert tegen het denkbeeld, zich naar Nassau te begeven. O.a. wijst hij op het gevaar, dat hij vandaar zoude worden gebracht naar Nederland, „pour rendre compte de son administration et particulièrement des ordres donnés à Kew . . . , enz.“ Vergis ik mij, of ligt hierin een erkenning, dat over die „ordres“ ook anders mocht worden gedacht dan er over gedacht werd door Willem V en diens omgeving?

Een derde vraagteeken. De heer C. schrijft: ³ „Het is kortzichtig, hierbij aan eenige machiavelistische bedoeling van Engeland te denken“. Accoord! Maar tòch! Zou de Engelsche regeering niet ook deze bijgedachte kunnen hebben gehad: ⁴ *als* ik de Nederlandsche koloniën en bezittingen onder bewaring krijg op grond van Willem V's brieven uit Kew, dan krijg ik ze gemakkelijker in bezit dan door wapengeweld; en *als* dan de Oude Constitutie niet wordt hersteld en het renversaal niet kan worden ingeroepen“ Men leze bv. Lennon's „Journaal“ hiervóór op bldz. 253, 261, 262, 264 (men lette op: „Which is not unlikely“), 272, vooral ook 358, bldz. 359, enz., enz. 't Is waar, Lennon is niet de Engelsche regeering, maar hij was ook niet de eerste de beste en buitendien, zijn journaal en zijne beschouwingen zijn gericht tot de directeurs der Britsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, die, in geval onze bezittingen door Engeland zouden worden behouden, haar rol daarin hoopte te spelen.

Ten slotte de opmerking, dat de opgave door Dr. Colenbrander gedaan ⁵ van de koloniën en bezittingen, die voor ons behouden bleven in den oorlog tegen Engeland van 1795—1802, zeer onvolledig is. Behouden bleven niet alleen Batavia, maar geheel Java en Madoera. En wat de Buitenbezittingen betreft (ik laat hier min of meer nominale rechten van Nederland op bv. de Westkust van Borneo, enz. rusten), wij behielden ook de Lampongs, onze posten in Palembang, op Soembawa, op de Timorgroep. In den oorlog na 1803 ging óók niet verloren ons kantoor te Canton.

J. E. H.

¹ Vgl. noot 5 op bldz. 364.

² M. S. Huisarchief.

³ Bldz. LXXXV.

⁴ Vgl. mijne lezing op bldz. 121.

⁵ Bldz. 821, noot 1.