

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS
IN
BORNEO AND CELEBES,
DOWN TO
THE OCCUPATION OF LABUAN:
FROM THE
JOURNALS OF JAMES BROOKE, ESQ.
RAJAH OF SARAWAK, AND GOVERNOR OF LABUAN.

TOGETHER WITH A NARRATIVE OF THE OPERATIONS OF
H.M.S. IRIS.

BY
CAPTAIN RODNEY MUNDY, R.N.

WITH NUMEROUS PLATES, MAPS, CHARTS, AND WOODCUTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

WHEN I first received the Journals of Mr. Brooke, it was my intention to have published only such extracts as related to events subsequent to those narrated in the "Expedition of her Majesty's ship Dido to Borneo;" but, on a closer examination of the manuscripts, I found so much instructive and interesting information in the earlier part of Mr. Brooke's Diaries, not included in the work of the Hon. Captain Keppel, that I at once determined on giving to the public all such matter as had previously been omitted; and I hope that those who may do me the honour to read these volumes will deem me fully justified in the course I have taken. By adopting this plan, I considered that the career of Mr. Brooke might be traced with some degree of correctness

year by year, during his long absence from England.

That portion of the Journals which is descriptive of Celebes will be found worthy of special attention, as it gives to Europe, for the first time, the history of the great independent kingdoms of a fine island, hitherto almost unknown, and whose native princes are most desirous of forming commercial relations with the English nation.

The constitution of these Bugis states is very remarkable, more especially that of Wajo, which, as Mr. Brooke observes, "bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times in Europe, or rather of that period in the history of the Low Countries when the rights of free citizens were acknowledged;" and, strange to say, these are the only people we are acquainted with, professing the Mohamedan religion, who have emancipated themselves from the fetters of despotism.

I have added such engravings from sketches furnished by Mr. Brooke, or from others made by myself, and officers serving with me, as I have thought would illustrate the native mode of warfare, and display some of the characteristic features of their country, and I have given every attention to the preparation of the charts, by aid of which

it is hoped the reader may be able to trace with sufficient accuracy the several localities mentioned in these volumes.

The chart of the Gulf of Boni in Celebes was prepared under the immediate eye of Mr. Brooke on his visit to that island, and gives the geographical situation of many places hitherto unknown. That of the north-west coast of Borneo is here presented to the public for the first time, with the names and positions of the rivers, which were also obtained by Mr. Brooke during several exploring expeditions, undertaken for that purpose by Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, K. C. B., the Commander-in-Chief in the Indian seas.

The general chart of the Archipelago, whilst showing the track of Mr. Brooke's yacht, the *Royalist*, will also point out the singular position of the province of Sarāwak, which, situated at the extreme north-west point of Borneo, appears indeed but as a speck on the confines of this vast island, yet who shall predict what may hereafter result from the gradual extension of the civilising influence already planted on that little spot of earth?

The present state and future prospects of Labuan

are set forth in my own Journal with the discoveries of coal, timber, water, &c., made subsequently to my taking possession of the island in the name of the Queen, and the charts to accompany this description will show the proposed site of the town and other features of the settlement.

To the Earl of Auckland, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I am much indebted for the permission granted me of referring to official documents relative to Borneo; and I wish at the same time to thank Rear Admiral Dundas, C.B., Captain Hamilton, R.N., the secretary, and John Barrow, Esq., of the Record Office, for the ready assistance which I have received at their hands.

I feel myself particularly obliged to Henry Wise, Esq. for his kindness in giving me access to many valuable letters from Mr. Brooke; and my best acknowledgments are also due to James Augustus St. John, Esq. for the assiduity and attention which he paid in his revision of the Journals, as well as to H. Williams, Esq., for his able notice of the geological formations of the north-west coast of Borneo, and for the chart of Sarāwak which accompanies it.

I am greatly indebted to Francis Grant, Esq.,

A. R. A., for permission to engrave the head of Mr. Brooke, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, from his admirable portrait recently executed. A larger and more highly finished engraving* from it is in progress. The costume is that usually worn by the rajah at Sarāwak, and is adapted to the genial climate of Borneo.

1. *Hobart Place, Eaton Square,*
1st March, 1848.

* To be published by Dominic Colnaghi & Co., of Pall Mall, East.

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Jan. 1.

Mr.
Brooke's
Journal.

January 1. 1840. — On this, the first day of a new year, I will endeavour to give a succinct account of my proceedings since my departure from Singapore, on the 20th of November. Our passage to this island has been most tedious. Many days of light winds, succeeded by calms, brought us after three weeks' labour in sight of Celebes; and the first glimpses of the mountain ranges are highly picturesque, and the general appearance of the country such as to make the first impressions extremely favourable. Bonthian hill, towards the extreme southern point, has a bold and grand outline, and terminates the line of mountains which stretch from the northward. We were well received by the Dutch officers, and I was much gratified at the opportunity afforded me of visiting the celebrated

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waterfall, which is truly magnificent from the romantic scenery with which it is in every direction surrounded, and from the charm attached to its undisturbed solitude and complete seclusion. Then we had shooting amongst the hills in the vicinity of Bonthian, and rides about the country, in all of which excursions I found my Bugis guide and companion, Dain Matara, most intelligent and useful.

We visited Senua, Lengang, and Lokar; pleasant villages, situated in a country rich in natural beauty and tropical vegetation; the level grounds being in a high state of cultivation for the growing of rice, whilst other parts afforded excellent pasture for cattle and horses. At Lokar we first caught sight of the summit of Lumpu Batang; and, after much discussion with our guide, induced him to proceed, and, on the afternoon of the third day after our departure from Bonthian, we had the pleasure of standing on the highest peak of the mountain. On the 23d, we again reached Bonthian in safety, and I had the satisfaction of being the first European that had succeeded in gaining the summit of this mountain.

From Bonthian I came on to Boela Komba, near which there is plenty of game. The next point is Tanjong Berak; the country to point Labu belongs to the Dutch. Here, also, is the island of Balunrueh 400 feet high; off which are several coral reefs, and among these we are now at anchor in twenty-three fathoms.

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Jan. 3.

January 3. — Sailing from Balunrueh on the 1st, we reached Songi this morning, when I immediately despatched a messenger to the rajah of Lamatti offering to pay my respects.

Jan. 5.

January 5. — We sailed from Songi yesterday, and are now amongst numerous reefs and shoals, threading our way with some difficulty. There is a speck of an island, called Balūfu or Balupo, and the next prominent object is the hill and point of Meru, with a woody island off it. Somewhat inland stands the hill called Patiwōngi, which constitutes a good landmark for this part of the bay. Leaving the Lamatti we passed the district and stream of Sajuru, next to which is that of Anchū, with another small river, then Salomeko, and then Meru. To the southward of Meru the land falls into a deep but narrow bay. Anchored at Meru about half-past five P. M., having outrun the nacodah's boat. Breeze strong off the land, but smooth water.

Jan. 6.

January 6. — At four A. M. set the sails, and hove short, then waited for daylight, when we got under weigh. Many reefs were to be seen all around. Tanjong Salanketo is a low point, and at intervals from it stretch three patches, called Mamarnē. Our passage lay to the eastward of the third patch, and between it and a large reef, which extended along our starboard hand as far as the eye could reach. Passing within a short distance of Mamarnē, which seems to be composed of sand and rock, we had ten fathom water, muddy bottom. It is needless to enumerate every patch and reef in

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detail, as they will best be seen in the chart. From Salanketo the water becomes shallower, but outside the headland the least depth we had was seven fathoms, deepening again to ten on approaching Patiro, and eight passing the pitch of the point at half a mile distant. Off Patiro is a patch of white sand and coral, the passage lying between it and the point.

Having sailed by Patiro, we anchored in eight fathoms, the breeze being strong dead ahead for going into the bay, and the navigation, by the nacodah's account, very intricate. The following are the districts, or rajahates, continued from Meru: Meru Bulu, Bulu, Bono, Murio, Salanketo, Data, Kaju, Boniè (with a considerable town on the shore), and Patiro. Patiwöngi and Meru hills seem the last of the spur which comes from the Lumpu Batang range; but inland a chain of eminences runs to the northward and westward. In lieu, however, of the former range, a distant mountain of great height becomes visible a considerable distance off to the northward. The name is Lati-mojong, and the natives say it is far higher than either Lumpu Batang or Wawa Karang. There are two points at Patiro close together, and a short distance further is Tanjong Chumenè. The land then trends into a bay to the westward, which is low, and terminates with Tanjong Palettè. Into this bay our two native guides are now gone, to a town called Bajuè, which, according to them, is near Boni. It is difficult, however, to reconcile

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these accounts with the chart; for on the latter, though Patiro, Bajuè, and Palettè are all named, they are placed far to the southward of Boni, which is represented as being situated near the mouth of the river of that name, forty miles from Bajuè, whereas our guides state it to be inland three hours' walk. Much depends on my interview with the king. Dain Matara* is clever and manages well, and I have sent the great man a most polite letter, explaining my situation and my wishes.

Our boat returned in the afternoon from Bajuè, after acquainting the King of Boni with our arrival and wish to visit him.

He returned for answer, that he should be glad to receive us, but that it would be previously necessary to call together the other different rajahs, in order to have their opinion and advice. Dain Matara gave me a curious and laughable account of the reports current amongst the natives. Five ships, it was represented, were on their way to

* "Dain Matara, my Bugis companion," says Mr. Brooke in his Journal, "was a man well born; and, for his country, affluent and educated. He offered at Singapore to accompany me on this expedition, refusing all pay or remuneration, and stating that the good name to be acquired, and the pleasure of seeing different places, would recompense him. At first, I must own, this disinterestedness rendered me suspicious; but, conceiving that the greatest utility might accrue from his assistance, I agreed to take him and his servant. Our long passage served to make us well acquainted, and, I believe, raised a mutual confidence. Dain, cheerful, good-tempered, and intelligent, gained daily on my esteem; and, by the time we quitted Bonthian, I was rejoiced that he had accompanied me

1840.

Boni, to form an alliance with the king to expel the Dutch from the island, and, in case of refusal, to declare war on Boni itself. I was said to bring five chests of silver for the chief, and three for the other principal rajahs, and that my intention, or rather the intention of the government, was inimical to their independence. No wonder, therefore, that some hesitation was manifested, although the king became assured that only one small schooner, instead of five ships of war, had arrived in his dominions. At the same time, to show the minute intelligence conveyed concerning us, it was mentioned to Dain, that we had been to the top of Lumpu Batang, and that we had put a written paper into a bottle, which, after being carefully sealed, had been left on the summit of the mountain.

The same reports gave us some clue (whether true or false I shall presently determine) to the source of this information. A man on horseback had arrived from Komba to communicate this intelligence. Its truth would not surprise me; but I think I can triumph over these evil impressions by a candid and open proceeding, and unravel the dirty web which is set to keep me out of Boni.

January 7. — Wooding near Tanjong Patiro. Jan. 7.
Strong breezes from the westward.

January 8. — Under weigh after breakfast; but, Jan. 8.
when we had proceeded a few miles, the weather came on thick and rainy, which compelled us to anchor. Strong breezes at W.N.W. with rain

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during the rest of the day ; drove from our small anchor, and let go the bower. After bringing to, sent the long boat to Boni for provisions, which came off in the evening. The people were kindly treated, and orders had been received from the king to supply our wants. The sabundar, at the same time, expressed himself certain that the king would receive us in a day or two.

Off Cape Patiro the flood tide comes from the south, the ebb from the north, but not strong, though the rise and fall are considerable.

Jan. 9. *January 9.* — Lay at anchor: rainy and bad.

Jan. 10. *January 10.* — At 5 P.M. got under weigh, and beat in as near Bajué as we could approach. There are a few scattered shoals in and about our anchorage, amidst reefs with fishing-stakes on them. Seven and a half fathoms, soft bottom. Two hours' journey inland from Bajué is the capital of Boni, the residence of the king and his principal people. As I have before stated, a spur of the mountain range of Lumpu Batang descends behind Sangi, and continues somewhat inland beyond Bajué. The country immediately close to the sea is low, and probably alluvial; further in, it rises into hills, and terminates in the above-mentioned spur, which may average about 2000 feet. Beyond Bajué the continuous range is broken (as far as I can perceive); but detached mountains and hills stretched beyond Tanjong Palettè, and probably join the chain of Latimojong. Tanjong Palettè, which, with Patiro, encloses the Bay of Bajué, shows

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exactly like an island when it first appears, and a person not entering the bay might conclude it to be one, as the land to the westward of it recedes and is quite low. Palettè is wooded and superior in elevation to the adjoining coast.

It is needless to remark here the extreme defects of our existing charts, which are so incorrect in latitude as to make it very doubtful whether the bay has not been laid down from native information. Some names are right, but the situations are often forty or fifty miles from their true places.

After breakfast I sent a boat ashore, and was provoked, on its return, to find that my letter, which was to have been forwarded two days ago, had been sent back, with a polite message that it could not be delivered before I met the king.

No time could be specified when the interview would be granted, and I was merely informed that in ten or twelve days it was probable that the various people summoned might be gathered together. I have not been idle, however, since my arrival off the coast, in collecting information; and, being convinced that a sinister influence is at work to delay, or even prevent, my meeting the king, I am resolved to proceed at once on my voyage after a final interview with the sabundar and interpreter. On a future occasion, I propose detailing the particulars I have collected concerning the condition and politics of Boni; and in the mean time, by leaving them to muster their barbaric state, I shall show them, at all events, that my wish to visit the king

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arose purely from the alleged, and not any hidden, motive. The interview would only have been gratifying, as far as I am personally concerned, because it would have allowed me to see portions of the country and to seek for Hindú remains which rumour states exist in this vicinity. One or two natives tell me they *have heard* that there is a large excavation under a hill, full of figures of men and beasts. To see this would have gratified me much, as, if it exist, it probably bears some resemblance to Elephanta and other similar caves. I can procure no guide to the place; but could I find a man acquainted with the locality, it is not the Boni king who would keep me out.

Jan. 11.

January 11. — At daylight sent the long boat ashore with the interpreter, Mr. Poons, to *insist* on the sabundar's receiving my letter to the king. Mr. Poons, however, in his usual manner, remained on shore until eleven o'clock, gossiping, and then brought back the letter, having been talked over to forget his instructions. I again despatched him, with more positive orders, and he continued ashore till dusk, the sabundar having during the interval set off for Boni. About five o'clock, however, I was favoured with a visit from an Arab, a quick intelligent fellow, extremely civil, and *my very good friend*. He explained to me the customs of the country — the invariable rule that there must be a muster of all the king's relations and chiefs before a stranger could be admitted to an audience — the disinclination of the tomarilalan, or

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prime minister, to receive any Englishman, he being devoted to the Dutch interest — his great influence over the king — the folly of presenting any letter through him — and, finally, offering to convey the letter privately to the rajah pangawa.

Not being at all assured of my visitor's good faith, and quite certain that he was on board to observe and to report, I continued very guarded, and certainly, *where a man has nothing to conceal he makes an excellent diplomatist*. In conclusion, after a very long conversation, he said he had been sent by the pangawa, who would deliver my letter secretly to the king, as both were anxious to see me, and only deterred by the minister. It was agreed that I should sail in the morning, and, anchoring at some distance, await his coming. To all this I readily consented, as it might work good, and could do no harm. I learnt, moreover, that there was a cave such as I have described, and the name Mampo. Mr. Poons having returned with the unfortunate letter, it was delivered to our Arab guest, who, after drinking some glasses of claret, and smoking divers cigars, took his leave, with promises to see us again to-morrow evening, or the day following.

The state of Boni, now the most powerful in Celebes, is of recent origin, and presents the curious spectacle of an aristocratic elective monarchy. The king is chosen by the aru pitu, or rajah pitu, or seven men or rajahs. The aru pitu, besides being the elective body, hold the

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great offices of state, and thus, during the lifetime of a king of their own choice, continue the responsible rulers of the country. The tomarilalan is prime minister and treasurer; and, though not a member of the elective body, is the sole medium of communication with the king. Upon the death of one of the aru pitu, his successor is appointed by the remaining six; so that, in fact, the aristocratic body not only elects a king, but is likewise self-elective.

From this form of government it is evident that the entire power rests with the aru pitu as long as they are agreed amongst themselves; but as it often, and we may conclude generally, happens that they are divided, the majority is not sufficient to carry a question. During the lifetime of the king, the deciding voice rests with him, should the aru pitu not be unanimous; but in cases of election to the sovereign power, the decision becomes more difficult, and the tomarilalan, though he nominally becomes king pending the period of the election, seldom has power to decide between the contending parties. A general assembly is then convened of all the inferior rajahs of the country and the influential men who hold office in the different provinces, and the voice of this popular assemblage greatly influences, though it does not decide, the election. Each party by this public appeal tests its strength, and the weaker is fain to give way; often, however, the final appeal is to the sword, or the question is delayed from time to

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time, the powers of government being carried on by the aru pitu, with the tomarilalan at their head, until a change is effected in the sentiments or circumstances of the adverse factions.

Sometimes this delay has been known to extend to two or three years, and the final settlement made without the occurrence of a civil war. The election concluded, the rajah of Boni, or, according to his native title, patamankowè, becomes the head of the state, without equal; and in this respect the kingdom of Boni differs from Wajo, as I shall hereafter show. But although the supreme head, the patamankowè, cannot act independently of the aru pitu; questions of peace or war, of internal policy, the administration of justice, and all the exigencies and acts of government, are referred to this council, the king only giving the final deciding voice when they differ amongst themselves.

Besides this aristocratic form of internal government, it was once the custom to hold an assembly or congress of the different Bugis rajahs and councils, which decided all questions of dispute, concluded alliances offensive and defensive, and settled many questions of contested succession which tended to produce a general rupture. Unfortunately, however, this congress is no more.

We perceive the rudiments of improvement, a glimmering of better things, in this constitution of Boni; but we must not for an instant suppose that it works any benefit to the community generally:

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an irresponsible and self-elective aristocracy rules with as despotic and corrupt a sway as any monarch; and from my information I am led to conclude that life and wealth are as insecure as in any other Malayan state, and the people as greatly oppressed. The popular assembly, however, though consisting only of a minor aristocracy, shows that there is some check upon public acts, though private wrongs may be committed with impunity; and we are led to hope that the spirit of inquiry and discussion thus generated, may spread to the lower orders as well as the middle classes. I cannot, however, help feeling a deep interest in this Eastern people, who have advanced to the faint development of a public voice, who have made their monarchy elective, limited the authority of the sovereign, and, like Venice, entrusted the powers of government to a council of seven. We may trace here one of the progressive steps of Europe towards better institutions; and amongst a bold, enterprising, and commercial nation, we might hope, if left to themselves, that they would advance in the right path.

Those whom I have consulted are positive in their statements, that no ceremony, such as described by Sir Stamford Raffles, as the feast of the lor dara, or feast of blood, exists now, or has in their belief or knowledge ever existed. These Bugis shrink at the bare idea of eating the hearts of their enemies, and the tempting addition of lime and salt seems by no means to reconcile them to the repast. War being decided on, each chief calls his fol-

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lowers together, and leads them to battle. The *patamankowè* himself, on serious occasions, takes the field in person, no law existing to prevent him; but the practice is rapidly falling into disuse. The discrepancies between Sir Stamford Raffles's accounts and mine may probably arise from his having based his views on the state of Goa, or Makassar, instead of Boni. I am unable, however, to reconcile Sir S. Raffles's opinion, when he avers, page 145., in his *Memoirs*, that, "the Bugis and Makassar nations, like the Javanese, are perfectly distinct from the Malays," with his subsequent declaration, page 239., that, "the Malay resembles the inhabitant of Celebes very closely both in features and form, in his moral character, his dress, and his occupations; though in every thing he is his inferior — a lower caste of the same character and people." According to Marsden, he resembles him in language likewise; and no wonder he should be like him in all these particulars, since the Malay, according to the tradition quoted by Sir Stamford, sprung from the Bugis. They are one and the same people; how, then, are they perfectly distinct nations?

Whatever credit we may choose to attach to this tradition of the time of Sawira Gading, the roving heaven-descended hero, we must at least confess that the Bugis and the Malays are originally from the same stock, alike in dress, habits, features, and language.

The foregoing brief account of the government of the Bugis country of Boni, is no unfit intro-

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duction to its present condition and prospects. Going back for some time (probably about a period of ten years), we shall find the Dutch and Bugis nations inimical to each other, and frequently at war. At that period arose a contest for the succession to the country of Si Dendring, near the kingdom of Wajo, between two brothers; the elder by name Lappa Tongi, or by title the datu lompola, and the younger, Lappa Gnorisan. The right of the question I shall decide at some future time; but the result of this dispute was a war in which the Dutch sided with Lappa Gnorisan, and the present tomarilalan took part with Lappa Tongi. The consequence of course was, that Lappa Gnorisan became the devoted servant and follower of the Dutch, who, faithful to their ally, advanced his interests in Si Dendring. I am not aware what immediate results sprang from the last contest; but certain it is, that Lappa Gnorisan has gained many advantages over his elder brother, and possesses all the district of Si Dendring. The struggles between the brothers have occupied a considerable time; and during this period, the tomarilalan having spent a year at Makassar, became by some unaccountable means the firm friend of the Dutch. His conversion to their interest has greatly altered the condition of the struggle for Si Dendring, and has likewise given the Netherlands government a firmer hold on this country than it ever before possessed.

CHAP. IV.

TONJONG PALETTE. — THE ORANG BAJOW. — NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE LETTER. — SAILING DIRECTIONS. — A WAJO MAN'S ADVICE. — PERSECUTION OF THE NATIVES. — INTERVIEW WITH THE RAJAH PANGAWA. — CONVERSATION WITH HIM. — DESCRIPTION OF THE RAJAHS. — STRIKING APPEARANCE OF THE NATIVE FLEET. — QUARRELS OF NATIVES. — APPEARANCE OF COAST. — DIRECTIONS FOR NAVIGATION. — BAY OF PENEKÈ. — FORMATION OF LAND. — MAGNIFICENT COSTUME. — HORSEMANSHIP OF THE RAJAHS.

January 12. — Got under weigh, and beat about a short time, but came to, as I liked not the look of the passage round Tonjong Palettè. In the evening went to the point, which is cut off from the main by a small inlet. This island and point are composed of coral of different ages, deposited in irregular waves, each with its intermediate valley evidently formed by water. Here and there, amid coral wells, are basins. The height of the island is about forty or fifty feet, and the whole is covered with trees. A soaking tropical rain drenched us on our return.

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Jan. 12.

January 13. — Wind dead ahead. A party of Bajow came aboard, and, since the visit of our Arab friend, many natives have come off. The Orang Bajow resemble the Bugis and Malays. They have no country, live in boats, carry on a trade in tortoise-shell, bêche de mer, &c. They possess no distinct written characters, but their oral language is dif-

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ferent from the Bugis, though, as far as I can perceive, strongly resembles it and the Malay in structure. They say they have books of laws (ondang ondang), written in the Bugis character, and a tradition that they originally came from the kingdom of Luwu. I hope to see more of them, and get some of their books, as well as a good vocabulary of their language.

In the evening came our Arab, Seid Mahomed. The negotiation progresses favourably, but slowly; and I shall proceed, likewise, as soon as I can. The pangawa longs to see us; the young rajahs desire it greatly. The letter has been read, and the patomankowè informed of its contents. The tomarilalan is alone ignorant of this affair. I propose proceeding, however, when I can.

Jan. 15.

January 15.—Dain accompanied Seid Mahomed ashore the evening before last, and returned to-day, with no satisfactory intelligence. There is much talk, with many rumours concerning us. It is certain the pangawa wishes us to be received, but the superior power of the tomarilalan prevents it. The weather rainy and blowing, so we could do but little elsewhere; nevertheless, I am tired of these delays, and conceive they may be only so many stratagems to detain me. I amended my previous information by a more correct list of the aru pitu.* The tomarilalan is not one of them, but a ba-

* 1. Aru Ujong; 2. Aru Tannetè; 3. Aru Timojong; 4. Aru Ma-
chege; 5. Aru Tah; 6. Aru Pouching. Each, in case of absence,
is able to appoint a proxy, or salawatan.

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lancing power, and the medium of communication between them and the king. It seems, however, that the power of the aru pitu is decayed, while that of the tomarilalan has increased; and I can easily credit this from the absolute sway the present prime minister appears to exercise.

January 16. — Unpleasant morning. In the afternoon it cleared, when I got under weigh, and beat with a light breeze through the passage between Lakatampah and two smaller shoals near the shore. There is five and six fathom water through; but the passage is not more than three quarters of a mile wide, and its approaches are straightened by shoals near the shore. Passing Palettè at a moderate distance, in from five to seven fathom water, the low point of Lowni appears in sight. From Palettè you must not steer to the eastward of Lowni, as there is a patch of rock which lies a little out to the northward and eastward. We did not see it. Short of Lowni is the river of Chinrana, off which we anchored. The town is some distance up the stream; but the straggling village of Latonro stands close to its mouth.

January 17. — Off Chinrana river. At 5 P. M. despatched Dain in the gig for Wajo. At the mouth of the Chinrana he was stopped, however, under threats of being fired upon if he tried to proceed. Accordingly he returned. I sent my long boat for water, and she is yet absent. Shortly after the boat's return, an old Wajo man of respec-

Jan. 16.

Jan. 17.

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tability came off, and advised me to proceed to Penekè, in the territory of Wajo. If he succeeds in getting us a man to act as guide, it will be my best plan, though the determined hostility of the Boni court rather inclines me to set them at defiance.

A very fresh breeze sprang up in the forenoon. The long boat returned, having got water; but, in consequence of the sea's rising, our old Wajo hajji was unable to go ashore in his canoe. Towards evening, the wind moderating, I sent him in the long boat to a small stream in the bight of the bay. They were received, however, with the same hostility as at the mouth of the river, and instantly ordered off; and the poor hajji, on account of having been guilty of boarding the schooner, was not permitted to land. At every point they seem to have raised the population against us; preposterous stories are spread abroad concerning our bad intentions; and half a dozen Bugis prahus, returning from Singapore, are magnified into a hostile squadron. Besides this, we are accused of spreading contagion through the country; so that wherever we have landed, hundreds of men are asserted to have died of disease. My patience is greatly tried by this petty persecution, and forbearance almost forsakes me. To secure my little remaining stock, however, I shall proceed to-morrow to Penekè, which is on the sea-coast of the Wajo country.

How different are one's feelings in a state of

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calm, from what they are when roused by continued opposition and insult ! yet I must ever stamp it on my mind, ever and ever recur to the same just principle, that any collision with these poor people would be as barbarous as unjustifiable. It rests with me alone to forbear. All about me would plunge forward, take and give offence, and cause the shedding of blood, and innocent blood. Patience, patience, then ! patience !

January 18. — Chinrana. Our horizon again cleared this morning, on the arrival of Seid Mahomed with intelligence that orders had been issued to allow our boats to enter the river and proceed to Wajo ; and that the rajah pangawa intended making a hunting party, when we could meet without obstruction. Dain Matara accordingly accompanied the Arab ashore, in order to ascertain the truth of his news, and likewise to proceed to Boni. The civility of the people proves the correctness of the first statement, and the other may likewise happen. Jan. 18.

January 19. — At dusk our ambassadors returned. Dain had seen the rajah pangawa, and been well received. I am expected to-morrow, and am to meet this chief near Palettè. Jan. 19.

January 20. — Started for Palettè with a fresh breeze. At the far mouth of the creek which isolates this point, we found the *cortége* of the rajah. Fifty or sixty boats of various sizes, with a vast train of attendants, surrounded us ; and, after a brief delay, Jan. 20.

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our boat was taken alongside the pangawa's barge, into which I stepped. The usual opening compliments were exchanged, the usual nothings were gone through, and a pause took place. I then thought I might get to closer quarters, and expressed my pleasure at thus meeting him *by chance*, as I wished to declare to him in person that I was unconnected with any government, and had no object in visiting his country, except the wish of seeing what was new or interesting. This afforded him an opening, and he began to talk, or rather to sift me as much as lay in his power. The questions of a native are so curious a jumble of ideas that I shall give this conversation.

"What pleasure could you take in coming so far?"

I replied, that it was difficult for him to understand how much Englishmen liked going to different places; that all Englishmen travelled; many, like myself, kept vessels to visit foreign countries.

"Do you receive any pay?"

"No."

"Do you trade?"

"No."

"When in England, did you not trade?"

"No."

"How do you live, then?"

"I have a fortune of my own."

"Then you must be a relation of the queen?"

"I have not that honour."

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"Which is the stronger nation, England or Holland?"

"Certainly," I replied, "England."

"Are they friends?"

"Yes."

"Russia is a very strong nation?"

"Yes."

"Is she as strong as England?"

"She is powerful; but, in my opinion, England and France are the two strongest nations."

"What became of Bonaparte after the English made him prisoner?"

"He died at St. Helena."

I added, "He was a man of great ability and power, but very ambitious, which ruined him. He must have been very powerful; for, though the French had nothing to do with these countries, he extended their name even here."

"How came it that the English gave back Java and the other countries to the Dutch after taking them?" I explained that the English took them from the French; and when peace was made in Europe, gave them to the Dutch.

"Do not the Dutch pay tribute for them?"

"By no means."

This and much more took place, showing some shrewdness mixed with a perfect confusion of events, the past and the present being strangely huddled together in his head. The rajah pangawa is a man of rather short stature, stout built, very dark, and

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with a very inexpressive countenance; his age, about forty-five; his manners are by no means pleasing, though civil; and his talents, I should say, are nothing above the common run of those about him. Dain Palawa, his relation, was with him; a younger and better-looking man, with an air of dandyism in his dress and appearance; and a countenance exhibiting much quickness and shrewdness, with a strong unpleasant expression of cunning. The chiefs generally were dressed in cloths of dark colours. Some of their boats, or rather, long canoes, pulled fifteen paddles, and were ornamented at the stern and bow with carved wood. The small sailing boats had outriggers of wood, which, weighted with men, enabled them to carry a sail of enormous size. The mass of men collected on the occasion gave me the impression of being stout and well-built, but not good-looking. Their number might be about 500 or 600, and the contrast to our small party was striking. Our long boat, armed with her two swivels loaded with grape and canister, blunderbusses, muskets, pistols, and cutlasses, would, however, have made sad havoc amongst them if they had attempted any treachery. A painter might have been pleased with the scene of our meeting. The number of native boats, some sailing, some paddling—the various flags—the dense group on the shore, and in the midst our little English boat, with her ensign flying, surrounded by dozens of the native prahus—

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the dark foliage of the trees, and the flitting and screaming of cockatoos, unaccustomed to this invasion of their resorts—presented to the mind the picture of a distant and little-known land. On taking my leave, I requested that I might have an escort to visit the cave of Mampo, a curiosity of old times which I much desired to see. I was told, however, that it was not in the pangawa's power to grant my request, but he would mention it to the king.

Beating up, after the interview, from Palettè to Chinrana, we carried away the mast of the long boat, and consequently had a tough pull, arriving aboard at sunset. Awaiting us was a boat from Wajo, bearing a letter from the rajah Lappa Tongi, full of expressions of welcome, and regretting that he could not come in person, on account of the illness of his mother, the ranee of Tulla Tendring. I received much information from the intelligent nakodah, who brought this communication; but, as his authority is not conclusive, I shall postpone mentioning the affairs of Wajo until I have the best informants and the means of personal inquiry.

January 21.—Again I despatched our boat with Dain to Tulla Tendring; and, in the evening, he returned, having met a fresh mission from Lappa Tongi with a second letter, saying that his mother was at the point of death, and advising me to proceed to Penekè, in the territory of Wajo. It is

Jan. 21.

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clear that the rajahs of Wajo look to me for assistance, and think me able to perform far more than is in my power : should I find their cause just, such assistance in advice as I may be able to afford they shall have, short of any personal interference in their quarrel ; but it must be explained to them, beyond a shadow of doubt, that I am unconnected with government. This must be forcibly and *rudely* done, for all natives are, in spite of general assurances, apt to give you credit for being a secret agent, and are willing to act on this false impression.

The flood-tide at this season scarcely checks the reflux of water. Leaving the anchorage of Maraluatu, we sailed along outside the fishing stakes, which extend beyond Tonjong Lowni. This point is low ; and, at a reasonable distance, the navigation is clear, with soundings of eleven or twelve fathoms. Beyond point Lowni is the river of the same name, and a second larger entrance, called Ky-èh. Beyond Ky-èh are two or three shoals, which must be passed outside, or to the eastward ; and at Laboto the anchorage is in seven, six, or five fathoms. The land beyond Chinrana is low and alluvial ; and at Laboto, a level plain of many miles in extent, covered with long green grass, has evidently been gained from the ocean. Indeed, the entire western shore of the bay bears marks of encroaching on the sea ; and the number of shoals driven up by the S.E. monsoon, as well as the deposit of the rivers, gives reason to conclude that the

progression of time will convert this deep bight into dry land, by these ceaseless, though scarcely visible, causes.

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January 23.—Waiting in vain for a Penekè pilot who had promised to come, nothing occurred: weather squally and unpleasant. Laboto is the last village in Boni, the boundary between that country and Wajo being about a mile or two to the northward.

Jan. 23.

January 24.—Sailed for Laboto; keeping away to westward to avoid the shoal of Batu Mano. Standing out too far, however, having no pilot, we got into four fathoms, on the extensive shoal of Lakatompä. Kept on the shoal some time, with sand and rocks under our bottom. Bore up, and running to the southward, got into deep water; again hauled our wind, and stood in to windward of Tanjong Setangè, and the village of the same name. We stood on in 17, 16, 14, down to $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, where we anchored between the shore and shoal of Lakatompä.* A vessel steering along the coast must keep a good offing, in order to avoid the shoal of Batu Mano, which lies to the northward of Laboto, and haul in again for the point of Setangè, into the passage between the shore and the shoal of Lakatompä. This last reef is of considerable extent, composed of sand, with masses of rock. The passage in shore is wide and clear; and one or two shoals, lying near the beach, are easily dis-

Jan. 24.

* This name signifying, as far as I could understand, a wall, or breakwater.

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Jan. 25. *January 25.* — Came to anchor in Penekè Bay, after working in. There are two or three patches which must be looked out for, lying well out, and rather over towards the northern point.

Jan. 26. *January 26.* — Penekè is situated three hours' sail up a small shallow river. The shores of the bay are entirely composed of mangroves, behind which is a grassy plain, similar to that at Laboto. The stream, on reaching the low mangrove shore, finds its way out in numerous channels. In the evening I went up one of these to the village of Lamarna, and received intelligence that the rajah Lappa Tongi had arrived at Doping, another village on another stream. An inferior rajah, old and given to opium smoking, was sent to us, and I brought him on board. The poor old gentleman was affected by the slight motion of the vessel, and a heavy rain caused his attendants to pass a miserable night on deck.

Jan. 27. *January 27.* — Our much-desired interview with the chiefs has taken place, and nothing could be more kind and affable than our reception. The village of Doping is situated at the verge of the grassy plain which stretches as far as the eye can reach in every direction, and, as I have before observed, terminates towards the sea in low mangrove swamps. Here may be seen the formation of land, from the time it first emerges from the sea at low

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water, through its progressive stages. First, the low sand bank. Next, the young mangrove shoots sprouting out in the sterile and water-covered soil. Thirdly, the twisted roots of the same tree exposed to the action of the tides; freshness and verdure above, but without resting-place for man's foot. Fourthly, the gradual accumulation of soil amid the mangrove roots, and the trees large and of many years' growth. Fifthly, the soil emerging above high-water mark, gives nourishment to a few other trees and shrubs, besides the mangroves. Lastly, the full-grown forest, or bare plain, as it were by man's intervention, presents itself.

January 28. — I may pause here to give a brief Jan. 28. account of the rajahs who came to meet me at the village of Doping. First and foremost was the Rajah Lappa Tongi *, the claimant of the country of Si Dendring. He is about forty-five or forty-eight years of age; of a melancholy countenance, and grave demeanour. His dress was magnificent, composed of puce-coloured velvet, worked with gold flowers: the trousers, rather loose, of the same material, reached half-way down the calf of the leg, and were fastened by six or eight real gold studs. The baju (or jacket), buttoned close up, was fastened with the same material at the throat, and down the breast, and each sleeve had a row of golden buttons up the fore-arm. A blue gold-embroidered sarong, or kilt, was round his waist,

* Or, more properly, the datu lompola.

1840. — over a handsome gold and jewelled kris; and on his head a light scull-cap of gold, neatly and elaborately carved.

The other two rajahs* were richly dressed in cloth of gold; and as the three advanced to meet me, surrounded by their numerous and wild-looking followers, it was a novel and pleasing sight. After our cold reception in Boni, their kindness was highly gratifying, and raised my hopes of seeing the interior of the country. They proposed to take me to 'Tesōra the day after to-morrow; and to-morrow the chiefs are to visit the vessel, and in the evening show me a deer-hunt.

January 29. — The rajahs came on board, and were well pleased, though rather sick. They had, in going back, a rough pull against a strong breeze and chopping sea; and were, I doubt not, very glad to find themselves once more on dry land. It was late before we got on the grass plain looking out for deer, and we had not the good fortune to find any. Their style of riding is novel, and sportsmanlike. A light bridle, like a bearing-rein, is the sole equipment of the steed; and the horseman, twisting his hand in the mane and at the same time grasping the bridle, engages in the chase. They ride bare-backed, and in the right hand carry a light hunting-spear, with a noose at the butt end, ready to be passed over the deer. They indulge in no display; no prancing, no curvetting, no needless exertion for the

* Penrang and Pajumparuah.

horse, but remain as steady and quiet whilst beating for the game, as the oldest sportsman in England. The opportunity I had was not quite sufficient to judge of their merits ; and I will therefore postpone the account of a hunting-field till I have seen them in chase of a deer.

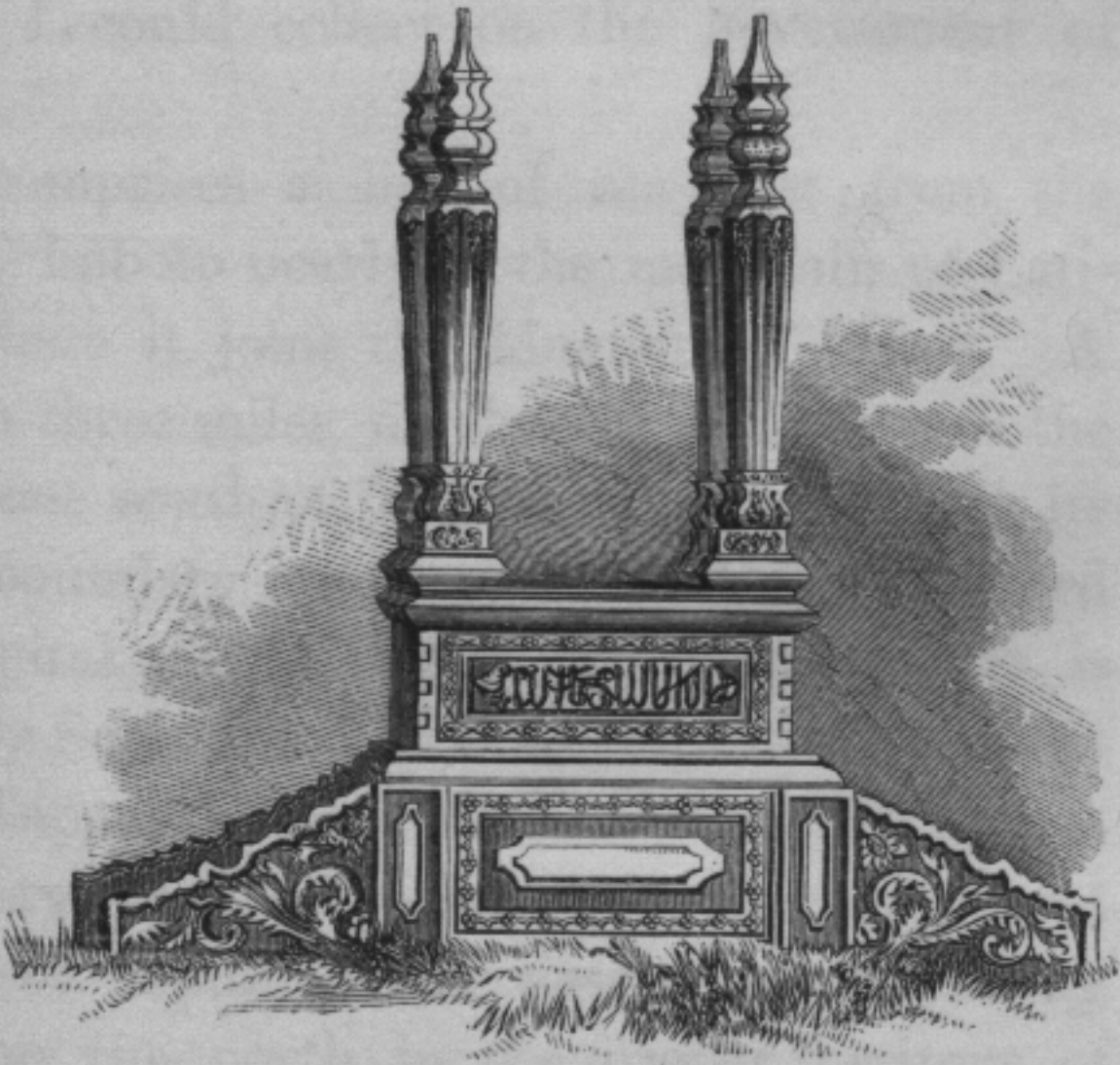
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CHAP. V.

EXTENT OF WAJO. — CONSTITUTION OF WAJO. — RIGHT OF LAND. — SLAVERY. — OBSERVATIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT. — REVIEW OF CIVILISATION. — EUROPEAN DOMINATION. — DISPUTES CONCERNING SI DENDRING. — PRIDE OF BIRTH. — DOMESTIC MANNERS. — STATE OF MORALITY. — EXCURSION IN WAJO. — NATIVE GREETINGS. — BUGIS CURIOSITY. — THE RAJAH'S BANQUET. — COCKFIGHTING. — POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS. — CITY OF TESORA. — CUSTOMS OF THE BUGIS. — MANNERS. — SIMPLICITY OF THE NATIVES. — STRANGE CUSTOMS.

1840. PENEKÈ BAY. Having passed some weeks in the Bugis country, and collected as much information as lay in my power, I shall proceed, before copying the daily journal, to give a brief account of the government, customs, religion, and manners of Wajo, in order to render my narrative more intelligible to the reader. The southern limb of Celebes contains the four kingdoms of Luwu, Wajo, Boni, and Soping. Of these Luwu is the most ancient, and probably the parent state. The fifth kingdom of Goa, or Makassar, has long been under European domination; and the country of Si Dendring, formerly dependent on Boni, has of late years risen into an independent kingdom. The three states of Boni, Wajo, and Soping have always been united in a strict and intimate league, and heretofore (with occasional interruptions of their good understanding) have acted as one state

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FRAGMENT OF ARABIAN BUILDING (?TOMB), CELEBES.

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for the purposes of defence. The constitutions of these three states bear some original resemblance. Boni is the most extensive and powerful; Wajo, the bravest and freest in its institutions; and Soping, the last of the triple alliance, the least considerable. It is of the country of Wajo that I have at present to write, having already detailed what information I could collect on the government of Boni.

Wajo comprises a line of sea-coast from the vicinity of Laboto nearly to the mountain of Latimojong, where it joins the kingdom of Luwu. A line drawn three miles northward of Laboto to the same distance south of Lagusi, will nearly mark its southern boundary; and a few miles northward is the capital Tesōra. To the westward it is bounded by Soping and Si Dendring; and the great Lake of Tapar-Ke-Rajah divides these kingdoms, the territory of Wajo extending along the east bank, that of Soping on the west; the latter being bounded on the north by the proper territory of Si Dendring, at the upper part of the lake. This boundary may generally be stated as running from the vicinity of Latimojong towards the south-west until it comes in contact, or nearly so, with the head of the Tapar-Ke-Rajah. The government of Wajo is feudal, and comprised of numerous rajahs, independent, or nearly so, living in their own districts, possessing the power of life and death, and each surrounded by a body of slave retainers or serfs, attached solely to the fortunes of

1840. their master. A general form of elective government, however, holds amongst them, which modifies the arbitrary sway of the rajahs of fiefs, and acknowledges, to a certain degree, the rights of free men not of noble birth. This government consists of six hereditary rajahs*, three civil and three military chiefs, one military chief being attached to each civil one. With these six officers rests the election of a head of the state, entitled the aru matoah, who may be considered an elective monarch, exercising during his reign all functions of the chief magistrate, checking and controlling the feudal lords, deciding cases of difference, and conducting the foreign policy of the kingdom. Below the six great chiefs, is a council, or chamber of forty arangs, or nobles of inferior rank, who further serve to modify the feudal state, and are appealed to in all cases of importance or difficulty. The rights of the freemen are guarded by three pangawas, or tribunes of the people, one being attached to each department of the state.

I may arrange the government thus:—

Aru Matoah,
elected by
the Six Hereditary Rajahs.
The Council of Forty.
Pangawa — Pangawa — Pangawa.
General Council.

The powers of these pangawas, or tribunes of

* 1. Rundrang Tulla Tendring; 2. Rundrang Tuwah; 3. Aru Beting; and 4. Patolah; 5. Filla; and 6. Chukaridi.

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the people, is considerable. With them only it rests to summon a meeting of the council of forty. They possess the right of veto to the appointment of an aru matoah. Their command alone is a legal summons to war, no chief or body having right, or even authority, to call the freemen to the field. The census of the population and the appointment of freemen, as heads of towns or villages, are in their hands, with many other privileges. The election of these pangawas rests with the people, and is generally hereditary. Each town and village has a number of freemen called the orang tuah, who administer its internal concerns, and are responsible to the chiefs for the dues in their power to exact.

Besides the constitution of the government here detailed, there is a general council of the people, composed of the heads of villages and all the respectable freemen, who are convened on extraordinary occasions, to state their opinions and discuss important questions, without, however, having the power of arriving at a decision. It is necessary for the council of forty to be unanimous in their decrees. Failing this, the general council is convened through the pangawas, and the ultimate decision of the question rests with the aru matoah, or chief magistrate. The election of the aru matoah is, as I have stated, in the six chiefs. His deposition lies in the power of the aru beting *alone*, the civil chief, who always performs the functions of the aru matoah during an interregnum.

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The most powerful chief next after the six is the rajah Penrang, who holds the privilege of advising or upbraiding the six rajahs, in case of any internal dissensions among themselves. The territory at large, with some exceptions, is under the government of one or other of the three great wards or departments; though the first individually belongs to rajahs of inferior rank, but often of great influence. The right of the land rests with individuals, and the lord of the fief has no legal right to call upon the population to cultivate ground for his support. There appears to be no right of taxation, and no duty imposed upon trade or manufactures; and the rented lands may be cultivated with the consent of the rajah, on payment of one tenth of the produce. The wealth of all classes consists of slaves, or more properly, serfs. Every freeman possesses, according to his means, a certain number of men or women who perform all the labour of tillage and domestic drudgery. The serfs raise rice, catch fish, weave sarongs for the use of their master's household, and the superfluous portion of them are required to support themselves in the best manner they can. Servitude, though so extensive that there are fifty slaves or more to each freeman, is of the mildest character, and the exportation or importation of slaves is unknown. Certainly, there is no trace of that horrid traffic, similar to what was carried on in the Macassar territory, as described by Sir Stamford Raffles, and which was probably created

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to supply the wants of the Dutch and the native princes.

The slaves in the Bugis states are chiefly debtors ; the greater part of them, however, have become hereditary bondsmen during the lapse of time. A freeman may be reduced to slavery, together with his family, by incurring debts he cannot discharge, or by the commission of some crime of magnitude, in both which cases he loses with freedom every political right and protection, and becomes the property of a master, in whose hands rests the power of life and death, of mercy or of cruelty.

From this review, it will strike us that the government (or constitution) of Wajo, though ruled by feudal and arbitrary rajahs, though cumbersome and slow in its movements and defective in the administration of equal justice between man and man, yet possesses many claims to our admiration, and bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times in Europe, or rather that period in the Low Countries when the rights of free citizens were first acknowledged. I regret, however, my being compelled to give many details, which show that their *practice* is very much at variance with their *written laws* ; and it is a matter of still greater regret, that in that progressive and imperceptible march of improvement, that growing importance which marks the prosperity of young states, they are altogether wanting or retrograding. Our judgment, however, of their faults must be mild, when we consider that, amid

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all the nations of the East — amid all the people professing the Mahometan religion, from Turkey to China, — the Bugis *alone* have arrived at the threshold of recognised rights, and have *alone* emancipated themselves from the fetters of despotism.

We cannot fail to admire in these infant institutions the glimmer of elective government, the acknowledged rights of citizenship, and the liberal spirit which has never placed a single restriction upon foreign or domestic commerce. That a people advanced to this point would gradually progress if left to themselves and uncontaminated, and unoppressed, there is every reason to believe; and in the decline of their circumstances, and the decay of their public institutions, we may trace the evil influence of European domination.

It is contended, and will always be contended, that the location of a just and liberal European people amid uncivilised or demi-civilised races, is calculated to advance the best interests of those races by the diffusion of knowledge, the impartial administration of justice, the liberal principles of government, and the increase of commerce: the question is one the discussion of which would require a space I cannot now devote to it; but taking it in the most favourable point of view, granting that a government is all it ought to be, let it be asked, have any people ever been so civilised, especially where the difference of colour stamps a mark of inextinguishable distinction between the

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governing and the governed? Is it not as necessary for states, as for individuals, to form a distinctive character? The vassalage of the mass, like the dependence of a single mind, may form a yielding, pliant, and even able character; but, like wax, it retains one impression only, to be succeeded by the next which shall be given. The struggles of a nation, its internal contests, its dear-bought experience, its hard-earned rights, its gradual progress, are absolutely necessary to the development of freedom. Any other mode, any patent means, is but reducing a people from a bad state to a worse, and, whilst offering protection and food, depriving them of *all that stimulus* which leads to the independence of communities. Has any European nation ever been civilised by this process? I know of none. The downfall of Rome was the first dawn of liberty to her conquered provinces; and what struggles, what bloodshed, what civil wars, what alternate advancement and retrogression, have marked the strife of liberty in our own country! how slow has been its pace! How severe the training which has impregnated the mass with the desire as well as with the knowledge of freedom! Could this otherwise have been? can it ever be? Is not dependence, however slight, an insuperable bar? I should answer, Yes. National independence is essential to the first dawn of political institutions, and that can only be effected in two ways: first, by the amalgamation of two races, the governing and the

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governed; or, secondly, by the expulsion of the former. In the case of the dark races, the latter is the only alternative; and anybody who may not like this philosophy, must go to the Penny Cyclopaedia, and look for one suited to his taste. It is a question to which the lust of conquest, the love of gain, the mass of benefit to individuals, conspire to render men, as well as all governments, blind. They rob a nation of its all, of all that they hold dear themselves, and give them a spangled robe to cover their naked limbs! The abstract question, however (and this is little better), goes farther back. The first principle must be sought in the right of any existing generation to part with their country. If such a right does not exist (and I believe it does not, and never can), neither can the right of acquisition exist; and the tenure of all colonies, save those founded on uninhabited lands, must rest on the right of conquest, which, in reality, means the will and power of the conquerors.

The real consideration, however, is, are European governments so constituted as to advance the independence or the happiness of the native races? Our knowledge of the past and the present must decide for the future. What says the past? What is it but a record of horrors from which the human mind revolts? We have the picture of innocent, and of comparatively happy, nations — nations prosperous and hospitable, confiding in the honour and integrity of Europeans. We seek them, and they are no more. These nations have been

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extirpated; their arts, their very language, lost in the march of this monster colonisation which now is to confer every benefit.

Turn from the South to North America, and the progress of European colonisation, European justice, European laws, European civilisation, has been ineffectual to stay the march of European ambition and European vice. The bold, the war-like red man has withered beneath the contagious example of drunkenness; and, being pushed by the strong hand of power beyond the fertile land which God and nature gave him, their mighty tribes dispersed and led away, and the wretched remnants, degraded and outcast, live the football of the freest nation in the world: their oppressors are now American instead of English. We deplore the fate of these unhappy nations: their existence is but a shadow, their destruction complete, their miseries ended, or almost so: the aggregate of murder, their national destruction, is consummated, and little individual misery survives it. May they sleep in peace! whilst we turn our indignation on the perpetrators of even worse crimes, who add slow torture and slavery to destruction.

Let us advert to the history of Africa. The swelling sails of the European vessels were thought to be the wings of some huge bird, and the white men treated like gods by this race of rude but hospitable savages. What has been the return?

Our boasted territory in India, the best and most uprightly governed of any European pos-

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session, can, after all, claim but negative advantages. It is neither oppressive nor unjust, and the people are moderately happy; but what advance have they made during the long period of our sway? Are they more civilised than in the time of Baber and of Akbar? Are their minds more enlightened? their political freedom more advanced? their religion less dominant or less bigoted? No: though the English government has used the *best means* to shake the dominion of priestcraft, it still continues. The mass are certainly as ignorant as ever; ignorant of their own rights, content under every or any government, so that they reap the fruit of labour; and, in this respect, are as low as the African!

Lastly, I must mention the effect of European domination in the Archipelago. The first voyagers from the West found the natives rich and powerful, with strong established governments, and a thriving trade with all parts of the world. The rapacious European has reduced them to their present condition. Their governments have been broken up; the old states decomposed by treachery, by bribery, and intrigue; their possessions wrested from them under flimsy pretences; their trade restricted, their vices encouraged, their virtues repressed, and their energies paralysed or rendered desperate, till there is every reason to fear the gradual extinction of the Malay races.

This is the historical record of the rule of Europeans from their earliest landing to the present

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moment. The same spirit which combines the atrocity of the Spaniard with the meanness of the Jew pedlar, has actuated them throughout, receiving only such modifications as time or necessity has compelled them to adopt. Who that compares the states of the Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, or Celebes, before and subsequent to the period of European domination, but must decide on the superiority of the former?

Let these considerations, fairly reflected on and enlarged, be presented to the candid and liberal mind; and I think that, however strong the present prepossessions, they will shake the belief in the advantages to be gained by European ascendancy as it has heretofore been conducted, and will convince the most sceptical of the miseries immediately and prospectively flowing from European rule, as generally constituted.

I have been led into a long digression, but by no means an unnecessary one, as the state of the Bugis at present is intimately connected with, and influenced by, foreign interference. I must, however, delay the consideration of these matters until I come to the details of their present political position. The encroaching and arbitrary spirit of the rajahs is the source of the principal mischief in Wajo, and the dissolute habits and unpunished crimes of their followers produce the worst results. Whilst there was an aru matoah at the head of affairs, he was in a great measure able to check the outrages of the feudal nobles; but, unfortunately, for

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the last six years there has been no chief magistrate, and during that time the evil effects of unlicensed power have been accumulating in the country. By the provisions of the state it requires the meeting and consent of the six great chiefs to render the appointment of an aru matoah legal, and the disputes respecting the succession of Si Dendring have rendered this impossible, each party refusing their consent to the measures proposed by their opponents. In case, however, of a minority remaining recusant for a length of time, it is in the power of the aru beting, with the support of the forty nobles and pangawas, to proceed to the election; but unhappily in this case, as the aru beting is the head of the state during the interregnum, it little accords with his interest to hasten the appointment. The aru beting, though acting as aru matoah, neither takes the title, nor is admitted to the privileges by the other Bugis states of Boni and Soping; and in the internal regulations of the country he has his own party, and his own interests to serve; and, the other rajahs following his example, the people fall under the arbitrary and irresponsible rule of every chief of pure blood who possesses territory. The evil effects of this condition of things have been severely felt: large tracts of ground formerly in cultivation are now deserted, emigration drains the country of its population, property is rendered insecure, wrongs are committed with impunity, and redress is hopeless, whilst the poorer chiefs turn regular caterans, and

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live upon the plunder acquired by their followers. One or two striking instances of this will be found in my journal. These evils have almost all arisen from the disputed succession above mentioned; and the same cause has latterly separated Boni and Soping from Wajo, as these two states have been inclined to side with the Dutch against the people of Wajo; and, until there be an aru matoah appointed, there can be no hope, though the parties be ever so willing, of a renewed good understanding. It has been my desire, since I have become acquainted with their affairs, to persuade the Wajo chiefs to elect an aru matoah*; but I cannot flatter myself that I have succeeded in this attempt. The other great object is to induce them to renew the former good intelligence with their neighbour states, and both in Wajo and Boni I find a sincere desire to unite their interest.

As no nation grants greater privileges to high birth, so no people are more tenacious of the purity of their descent. They are as careful of their blood as we are of that of our race horses, and the pure blood once crossed is never cleansed from the stain. The full blood is that of the chiefs; and the descendants by a father and mother, both thorough bred, are called arang sangün. A woman of pure blood never can marry any but of her own class; but the men mix their blood in marriage with the

* Mr. Brooke received a letter from the chiefs of Wajo a year after this was written, stating that, acting under the advice of their "White Friend" they had elected an aru matoah.

1840. daughters of freemen, and this cross is denominated rajin or dain, the latter being a term affixed to the name of the children. The descendants of a rajah by a rajin, rank next to the pure blood, and are termed rajin matassah, whilst the children of a rajah by a slave are called anak charah.

The arang sangiin cannot intermarry with any lower class. The same law obtains with respect to the Rajin matassah, but has fallen into disuse, and matches are now frequently contracted between them and wealthy freemen, an encroachment which will probably extend as the middle class become more influential through their wealth. The families of rich Nakodahs chiefly form this middle rank; an important body, who, from their greater enlightenment and superior riches, are both respected and looked up to by all classes. Polygamy is allowed amongst the Bugis; but is practised with restrictions unknown to other Mahometan countries. Two wives seldom live in the same house; and the number rarely exceeds three or four. Their separate establishments are chiefly supported by themselves, with occasional help from their lords, though years may pass without any intercourse between husband and wife. Divorce is easily procured by the men; and mutual inclination is a sufficient plea. In the case of the woman there must be some ground of complaint; and the mere absence of the conjugal rites is not sufficient. Concubinage is not common, prostitution almost unknown; and certainly, in these respects, as well as

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in the decency of the marriage condition, the Bugis are far superior to any other Eastern nation.* The importance attached to high blood has probably been the cause that has prevented the confinement of their women when they embraced the faith of Islam. All the offices of state, including even that of aru matoah, are open to women; and they actually fill the important post of government, four out of the six great chiefs of Wajo being at present females. These ladies appear in public like the men; ride, rule, and visit even foreigners, without the knowledge or consent of their husbands. The privileges attached to pure birth are many and important, and will readily suggest themselves, amongst which may be stated the power of governing, the right of support, impunity from punishment (save from crimes committed against their own class), the power of punishing, &c.

This brief account of the constitution of Wajo, will enable the reader more readily to understand the journal which follows.

Jan. 30. — Leaving the vessel at half-past two, we did not reach Doping till 5, A. M. Our party consisted of Mr. Murray, Theylingen, M'Kenzie, Spence, James Peter, Dain Matara, and myself. No one was stirring when we arrived; and, after rousing them, much time was lost in arrangement

Jan. 30.

* The rajahs have wives of inferior rank; but on marriage with a woman of their own class, these wives are divorced. Between divorce and a fresh alliance, a period of three months must elapse.

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and preparation. We then mounted our steeds, and the baggage being stowed on a buffalo, the cavalcade, consisting of about thirty horsemen and a crowd of foot, bent its way across the grassy plain to the westward. This undulating prairie, covered with a coarse grass and varied only by occasional clumps of trees, continues without interruption to Tesōra, the present capital of Wajo. One hour and a half from Doping is the small village of Piapaga, consisting of about twenty houses; and three hours, the village of Penrang. To the right and left are seen several small hamlets, amongst which, to the northward of Penrang, is the town of Wajo; and to the southward and westward, that of Lagusi, situated on the Sadang river, a large and flourishing place. Our road was very muddy, in consequence of the late heavy rains; and our horses were often up to their girths (or where their girths ought to have been) in mud; so by the time we reached Tesōra, we were little fitted to adorn the procession which awaited us. On a slight eminence, over which our route lay, some thousands of people were collected, most of them armed, and displaying various banners. Horsemen galloped amid the multitude, their discordant yells and levelled muskets as we approached being more calculated to create the suspicion of hostility than of hospitality.

As we reached the summit a general discharge, and a more general shout, greeted our

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arrival; and for the remainder of our way to the house prepared for us, we were surrounded by a dense crowd, firing as fast as they could load, the nearer to our persons the greater compliment. Our journey was completed in four hours, which at the rate of three miles and a half per hour, will make the distance from Doping to Tesōra about fifteen miles, the direction being nearly west.

At our house the rajahs dismounted with us, and we underwent the ceremony of eating sweetmeats, and drinking hot water; but when we began to hope for rest and quiet, our troubles were only commencing. The house was crowded with people, a dense mob at the same time collecting without, pleased and staring, whilst their poor victims, stifled with heat, sat the gaze and wonder of a Bugis multitude! Hour after hour passed, the rajahs took their leave, dinner was brought, but without diminution of the annoyance. When we ate, they gaped with wonder at the lions feeding; when we lay down and tried to sleep, the crowd pressed closer to look at our faces, particularly the women. If we escaped out of the house, fresh hordes were ready to follow our footsteps; very civil indeed, but horribly curious; and so it continued till midnight, and even after that we had some visitors. The troubles of the day were succeeded by those of the night; the crowds of men, by clouds of musquitoes; but fatigue and weariness enabled me to get some sleep, despite their distressing attacks.

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Jan. 31.

Jan. 31. — This day was consumed in visiting the rajahs; and at the house of rajah Penrang, a collation was prepared for us, of which we partook, sitting cross-legged. The cookery was excellent, and the native dishes served up in small saucers, as relishes. Each person has a salver covered with these dainties before him, with a quantity of rice, the only distinction being that the tray or salver of people of rank has a stand, whilst the crowd eat with them placed on the ground. These dishes are forced-meat balls of fowls or fish, broiled venison, buffalo flesh minced and richly cooked with cocoa-nut milk, a curry or stew, eggs prepared in various ways, omelets, besides many others. Nothing could exceed the kindness of these people and of their chiefs; and now the first burst of their curiosity having subsided, we can better appreciate their good intentions. In manners, they are well bred, but without the polish of the Malays: they indulge in loud merriment, the crowd of people being as noisy and difficult to restrain as our own countrymen.

After our repast we were conducted to the cock-pit, a square railed space, within which the birds fight. Only two men enter this pit. The birds are weighed by hand. The spur resembles that used by the Malays, seldom more than one being affixed. The winning bird must peck his dead adversary three times, or the bets are withdrawn; and when a battle is won, a plate is handed round, in which

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the money lost is put, and divided amongst the winners. I may refer to Marsden's work on Sumatra for a detail of this and many other customs, and only remark that the behaviour of the crowd was most civil and decorous.

Feb. 1.

Feb. 1. — A visit from the young rajah Pajump-aruah, and another invitation to the cockpit. There was much political and unreserved discussion of foreign domination. I contented myself with saying that my sole reason for visiting their country was to amuse myself, without any connection with the British government. I professed myself entirely ignorant of their government, but urged upon them the folly of plunging into a war, upon which they seemed determined. I postpone the subject for the present; but it appears certain that the quarrel for the Si Dendring succession has been, since 1832, the chief cause of all the agitations throughout these states.

A few days previous to my arrival, the ranee of Tulla Tendring* died, at an advanced age.

Tesōra is a large straggling city, greatly in decay; the ancient boundary of which is marked by a fortification, which embraces a space of several miles in circumference, and occupies to the eastward a slightly elevated ridge, and to the westward sinks to a swamp. Not many years since, the main stream of the Sadang river ran near the southern limit of

* The title of these rajahs is Pata Mapalaka, pata being a prefix common to all the high nobility. Her son Lappa Tongi is known by the title of Datu Lampola.

1840. the town, though it has now receded three miles or more, leaving a deep but narrow channel bounded by swamps. This has probably been the principal reason of the decline of the town, the former prosperity of which is proved by its great extent, as well as by the remains of brick-built mosques and powder-magazines. The houses are mostly large, and well built, but old and tottering, and bear evidence of the rapid desertion of the population, which may now amount to about 6000 persons, though the former limits must at least have contained four times that number. The chiefs rarely make this their place of residence, only meeting here when convened for purposes of business. There is nothing to be said in its favour; the situation is bad, the water brackish, and the circulation of air impeded; it is very hot, swarms with rats and musquitoes, and has the appearance of being unhealthy. Robberies accompanied by violence are said to be frequent, and the detached houses and thick groves offer every facility for the commission of crime.

Feb. 2. *Feb. 2.* — The Datu Lampola, one or two other chiefs, three pangawas, and the matoah of Tesōra, came at ten and stayed till three—a most unmerciful visit, but necessary to be endured. I was pleased by the freedom of the conversation, the pangawas detailing their powers and privileges without reserve. “If the rajahs wish to call the people to war,” they said, “they cannot do so without our permission; we are a *free people*.”

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Whilst these unmerciful visitors were with me, there arrived a huge despatch from Mr. B——, an English gentleman residing in the country. It was addressed to "The Commanding Officer of the British Ships off Bajuwè." In a private note he requested a supply of instruments, medicine, &c.; and in a public one stated that he had forwarded a communication, addressed previously to the Dutch governor of Makassar, which might give some insight into the affairs of the Bugis states. I glanced at it, and returned it, as it could not in any way concern my visit.

I may here detail some of the customs and habits of this people. The dress of the higher ranks is rich and handsome; their more common costume is a tight pair of trowsers, reaching half way down the thigh; and the sarong and bajo similar to the Malays; to which they invariably add a belt round the middle, generally richly embroidered. The kris is worn in this belt, and is longer than that used by the Malays. On the fingers the men wear a number of large rings; but the stones in them are rough, and appeared to be of little value. The dress of the women is plain; and, in all respects, they appear less fond of ornamenting their persons than the men. A sarong reaching to the feet, and a muslin bajo worn loose, and showing all the bust and bosom, compose the dress. The hair, long and black, is generally drawn tight off the face, *à la Chinoise*, and turned up behind. Women of rank, and the females of their household, wear the

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thumb-nail long, and enclosed in a preposterously long case. The manners of the ladies are easy and self-possessed, but listless and indolent. The men of the better class partake of this indolence and elegance of manner; but the lower orders of both sexes are noisy, boisterous, and inquisitive; and the followers of the rajah, I should say, overbearing and insolent. The Bugis are said (and I believe with much truth) to be the greatest bullies and boasters in the Archipelago; at the same time, they are the bravest and most energetic race; and the freedom of their institutions encourages the open expression of their sentiments. Since my arrival, I have been unable to discover the faintest trace of any limit to the freedom of discourse.

The minds of the Bugis, like their manners, are shrewd, but simple; cunning, but not acute; and no match for the duplicity of Europeans. The English evidently enjoy the highest character amongst the people of Wajo. They look to them for protection, and cannot understand why a powerful nation (which they are told we are) takes so little interest in their affairs, and has so little regard to its own advantage.

I would fain have quitted Tesōra before this, but it is quite out of my power to hurry my good host. Delay and loss of time is the consequence, but I must, perforce, act with the natives, as I cannot act independently of them.

Feb. 3.

Feb. 3. — Heavy rains the livelong day.

The strangest custom I have observed is, that

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Feb. 3.

some men dress like women, and some women like men; not occasionally, but all their lives, devoting themselves to the occupations and pursuits of their adopted sex. In the case of the males, it seems that the parents of a boy, upon perceiving in him certain effeminancies of habit and appearance, are induced thereby to present him to one of the rajahs, by whom he is received. These youths often acquire much influence over their masters, as is the case in Turkey, whose history abounds in instances of the rise of these young favourites to the highest honours and power. It would appear, however, from all I could learn, that the practice leads among the Bugis to none of those vices which constitute the opprobrium of Western Asia.

Poor Lappa Tongi this evening gave me a long detail of his grievances, his claims, and his resolves. I gather that he would do any thing; forfeit any thing; Si Dendring itself, to expel his brother from that country. A settled melancholy oppresses him — that gloomy and brooding revenge, which is dangerous in a native.

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CHAP. VI.

DANCE OF SAILORS.—MARKET OF TESŌRA.—DEPARTURE.—ASCEND THE RIVER.—TEMPÈ.—DESCRIPTION OF THE LAKE.—BUGIS RIFLE PRACTICE.—FUNERAL CEREMONIES.—CHARACTER OF THE BUGIS.—CONDITION OF WOMEN.—VISIT TO THE HILLS.—CHANGES IN THE ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY.—INDOLENCE OF BOATMEN.—BEAUTIFUL SCENERY.—EXCURSIONS ON THE LAKE.—TOWNS AND POPULATION.—EVENING LANDSCAPE.—VISIT TO THE ARUN-UJONG.

To return—about ten at night our four hands went into the Rajah's apartment, and sang and danced till one P.M. I could hear shouts of laughter, and snatches of songs, not over decent, with which our fellows amused their host and hostess; and, in reward, they were feasted with sweetmeats, and encouraged to practise all sorts of fun.

Feb. 4. *February 4.*—Visited the market, and saw as much more of Tesōra as I could. There is a large market held twice a week, at which all kinds of provisions are sold. At one P.M. we started for Tempè (classical name), the Rajahate of the Datu Lampola's lady.

The canoes were about forty or fifty feet long, and only two and a half wide, covered with a small kajang, or mat. In this narrow space our party

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was ranged one behind another, seated cross-legged, somewhat to the discomposure of us all. The way lies through the swamp which skirts the town, into the bed of the river, which is narrow, but has some depth, and with low marshy banks; after this cheerless progress, it was agreeable to emerge into the main stream, just above the town of Sabang, which stands on the left bank, and contains from sixty to seventy houses. A mile or two further, on the right bank, is the town of Padiloh, with fifty houses, besides one or two smaller places as we ascended. At dusk we reached the town of Tampunŭng, situated at the foot of one of the hills of the small range visible from Tesōra.

The river is generally more than a hundred yards in width, with a stream of about three knots an hour at this season, and runs through the alluvial plain before described. Marine shells are numerous on the soil of the banks, which are grassy, with here and there clumps and groves of the cocoa-nut, plantain, or tamarind. Shortly after passing Tampunŭng night closed in, and we proceeded to Tempè, unable to observe much save the towns of Amsangan and Sinkong, with a branch of the river opposite the latter. At Tempè a salute awaited us, and we were conducted, amid a crowd, to our house — a large and ruinous building. The entrance was up a steep, inclined plane of slippery bamboo, and, having on a thick pair of boots, I lost my footing, and dragging the Rajah with me we made a highly undignified descent. They allowed

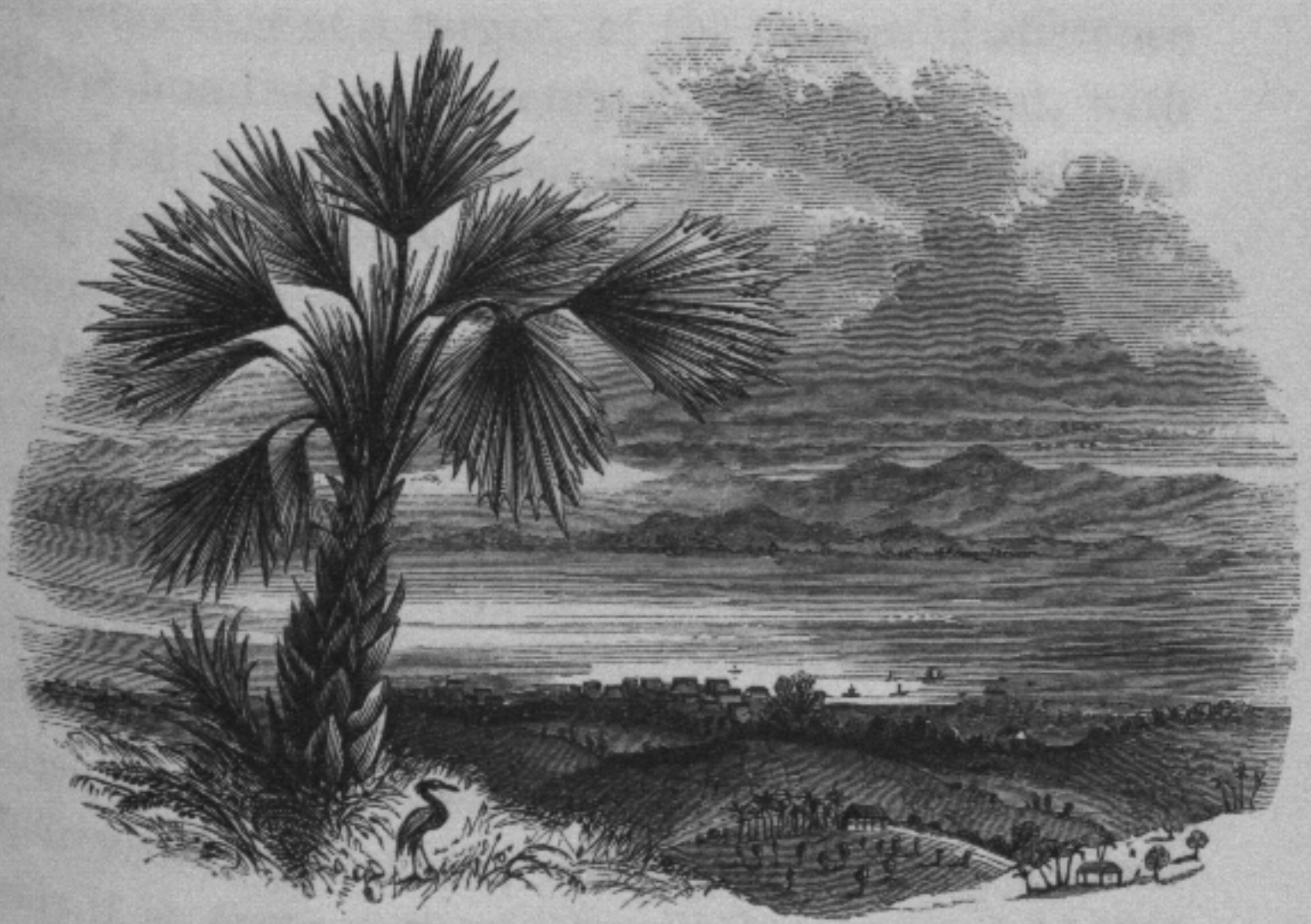
1840. us to retire to rest in moderate time, evincing much good breeding.

Feb. 5. *Feb. 5.* — Kept awake a great part of the night by the squalling of two infernal cats, with a note different from any I ever heard, though common to the cats of this country. The number of rats is astonishing, and they are so bold that they scarcely deign to get out of the way. Passed the greater part of the day on the lake, in a small canoe. Tempè stands at the point of junction of the river and the lake. All this part of which is covered with weeds, and shallow, as though gradually filling up.

The basin is situated between the range of mountains, which runs from Lumpū Batang to Latimojong, and the lower ridge already mentioned, which detaches itself from this range, crosses the river Sadang, at Tampurnūng, and takes a direction to the eastward of north. A strip of low ground intervenes in both banks betwixt the lake and hills, which has evidently been gained from the water; and the same process of the gradual deposition of soil, will in time convert the present basin into a rich valley, watered by a fine river. The right bank, as far as I could see, is covered with towns situated at the water's edge, and a few villages are scattered on the small hills behind.

The population is evidently dense, and the country looks flourishing. The aspect of the lake does not boast of any very great natural beauty, though Latimojong, towering in the distance, and the

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VILLAGE OF TEMPE AND LAKE OF TAPAR-KE-RAJAH
CELEBES.

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mountains on the left bank, are noble and diversified in outline; but the lagoon itself presents the aspect of a swamp waving with floating masses of vegetation, eight or ten feet high, and elsewhere covered and obstructed by weeds. We had some observations, and Murray, in another canoe, was employed in laying down the right bank.

On my return I found the Rajahs practising rifle-shooting at a target, at the measured distance of one hundred and twenty yards. They sat, with their followers, in a line, each man's rifle laid on props close to him, and by turns they rose and fired. Their motions are most slow and particular—the rifle is pointed upwards, the marksman gains a steady footing, brings his piece slowly to the present, then feels it with his fingers to be sure of his grasp, and, after a wearisome aim, discharges his bolt. They shoot well, but this false practice of dwelling too long on the aim, must in action cause them to lose much of their precision. It is their usual amusement, and I am told they seldom omit it in fine weather. Small bets were laid for the first shot in the bull's eye, and two or three had struck it.

The young Rajah, Ujong, or, more properly, Arun Ujong, visited me—he is a nephew of the Datu, pleasing and well-bred.

Feb. 6. — I had omitted to mention whilst *Feb. 6.* at Tesōra, the custom observed subsequent to the burial of a person of rank, of feasting the poor. The dead are buried in the same manner as in

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Malay countries. The priests offer up prayers, and all amusement is prohibited to the family and their followers for the space of a hundred days. The dress during this period is plain and unornamented, and the relatives are *supposed* to lead a retired and sober life. Subsequently to the burial of the late Pata Mapalaka, the feasting of the poor was continued for many days, and large quantities of provisions, consisting of buffalo and goats' flesh, fowls, sweetmeats, &c. were cooked on the occasion, the expense being defrayed by presents from the friends of the family. Their offerings varied from nine Spanish dollars to one, according to their means; and seeing these presents offered I thought I could not do better than pay the same tribute of respect. I believe my offering was highly gratifying to the Datu and his family; and it is often by such attention to their peculiar observances, that we gain more than by costly presents. The graves of the dead are usually marked by a rough stone, but some of the tombs of the wealthier Nakodahs are of wood, elegantly designed, and elaborately carved.

They are generally buried beyond the precincts of the towns, and the living generation is not wanting in respect to the dead. A tomb of an olden aru matoah was pointed out to me on the plain near Penrang. It was covered with a few trees, and neatly thatched over, though they knew little of the dead save his rank and his goodness. These were preserved, together with the place of his

birth, in their traditions—and few can boast of a greater degree of fame from posterity.

The Bugis, as far as I have observed, are a manly and spirited race, the same size as the Malays, slightly formed, but clean limbed, and remarkably free from cutaneous disorders. Their vices, are the vices of their condition and state of society, amongst which laziness and the use of the kris are the most frequent. They are idle, but capable of great exertion under excitement, and might be trained to regular labour, if the produce were at their command.

Their enterprise as colonists and traders is a sufficient proof of their good qualifications; and as a general rule, where we observe a people striving for wealth by means of commerce, we may attribute their idleness in other respects to circumstances which paralyse their efforts, rather than to any defect of character. Distant enterprise is almost confined to the people of Wajo, and they have a saying amongst them, that a Boni or Soping trader must have Wajo blood in his veins. In like manner the colonists which have peopled the shores of Borneo and other places, emigrated chiefly from Wajo; and this probably arose from the superior freedom of their institutions, which allow them to reap the benefit of commerce—and from commerce to colonisation is a natural and easy step.

The Wajo women enjoy perfect liberty, and are free from all the restraints usually imposed by the Mahomedan religion. They are not handsome, but

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playful and good tempered—not modest, though very chaste. The ladies of high rank are as indolent and self-indulgent as ladies of high rank are apt to be.

The Rajah of Tempè and his sister (a fine woman) often visit us, with their train of females. After our voyage from Tesōra, I inquired politely, if the lady found herself fatigued, and was told, with something of a look of astonishment, that she was not. “If I am tired (she said) they must carry me.” It was evident my question appeared a needless one, as the very idea of so great a person being fatigued was impossible! The female attendants, some thirty in number, appeared to lead almost as easy a life as their mistress—one carried the silver kettle from which the lady drank; another the ciri box*; a third, the spittoon; and the rest, less honoured, followed empty handed. These ladies, always full of fun and mischief, amused us much, took many lady-like liberties, and talked, often in a very unladylike manner, on unladylike subjects; yet, as I have said, they were chaste.

In the evening I rode to the smaller range of hills which runs by Tampurnūng. It is composed of a loose sandstone, which crumbles between the fingers, and covered with grass. The appearance of these hills or hummocks is peculiar, as they stand close, yet separate one from each other. To the eastward of them, behind Tempè, there is a basin about two or three miles in length, by a mile

* Leaf to chew.

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wide, the hummocks encircling it are, to the eastward, smaller and more irregular. The level of this basin is elevated above the surrounding country, and it has all the appearance of once having been a small lake, which has in the course of time been drained into the river.

It now presents the aspect of a pretty little valley, clothed with green grass, and some cultivation. From the summit of the hill, Tesōra is seen at no great distance to the eastward. Pomanā to the southward, Latimojong to the north, and the lake spread out to the west, with its boundary of mountains. This is the range mentioned as running from Lumpū Batang through the Boni country, and joining within a few degrees of the spur which shoots from Latimojong. Numberless towns and villages speckle the scene, and a considerable river meets the Tempè branch at Sinkong.

Feb. 7. — Ascended the river seen yesterday, which is, in fact, the principal branch of the Sadang or Welluna, as the natives here call it. The current is strong, whereas the stream of water issuing from the lake at Tempè is feeble. My first impression was, that this river, which may with propriety be termed the Sadang or Welluna, found exit from the western part of the lake; but the positive assertion of the natives of its non connection, and the improbability of a shallow lake feeding two such considerable streams convinced me to the contrary.

The space between the river and the lake is so

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inconsiderable that there is every reason to think that the river, forsaking its present bed, will find some passage into the lake, and cause considerable mischief to the towns placed along the margin of the waters, by the sudden increase of level. In this case the escape of water would be increased at Tempè; and, of course, after a time, the lake would sink again to its present level. The probability that this event is not far distant may be judged, when I state that the low alluvial plain, intervening between the river and the lake, does not exceed a mile in breadth; and that several small streams descend with rapidity from the superior elevation of the river to the inferior one of the lake.

From the extreme laziness of our Bugis boatmen, we did not succeed in getting far up, for these fellows, though they pull pretty well from place to place, have no idea of an excursion without any definite aim — as it was, the whole day was consumed ascending a few miles. The scenery is pretty, although the land is low; groves of coconuts, plantains, and other fruits adorn the left bank, which is like a garden, and the narrow steep on the right is covered with fields of Indian corn and rice. The town of Wagèh, about five miles up the river, stands on the left bank, and consists of about 250 houses, with the remains of a large brick built mosque. It is under the government of the Rajah of Tulla Tendring. As the sun was sinking we found our way by an outlet from the river into the lake, and, after struggling through beds of

weeds, got into a channel which took us back to 1840.
Tempè.

Feb. 8. — Breakfast over, we set off in a canoe *Feb. 8.*
for a cruise on the Taparkerajah, keeping along
the right bank. It is entirely covered with float-
ing vegetation, which the inhabitants represent
as shifting from one side to the other of the lake,
according to the prevailing monsoon. The right
bank, as I have already mentioned, is low; nu-
merous towns are situated at the water's edge, and
about two miles to the eastward runs the sandstone
ridge, which separates the basin of the lake from
the undulating alluvial plain, stretching to the
sea. Behind Bontosok these hills trend more to the
eastward, in a N.N.E. direction, gradually receding
from the lake towards the eastern span of Latimo-
jong.

The towns beginning from which nearly join
Tempè, are the following:

Sinkong: houses, 600; Tempè, 500; Impagaéh,
75; Limpah Kimpah, 100; Padjalelèh, 250; Ujon-
gèh, 120; Tanchung, 300; Bontosok, 40, on the
Lake; Nepoh (between Impagaèh and Limpah
Kimpah, at the foot of the hills), 40; and Aramo,
30, between Ujongeh and Tanchung, in the back-
ground. The amount, according to this statement,
is 2,055 houses, which, reckoned at fifteen persons
to each house, a moderate average, will give a po-
pulation of 30,825 in the few districts round the
lake.

There is little difference between one of these

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towns and another, save their size; the houses are generally large, and built, like the houses of the other islands of the Archipelago, on posts. They have all a second floor under the thatch, which gives room for their large families. We chose Dain Matara's house at Bontosok for our quarters, and had an excellent dinner prepared for us by our friend, in true Bugis fashion; dishes and sweetmeats an emperor might have enjoyed, though probably he would not have approved the *style* of serving up the repast.

What life can exceed this in delight? Roving from place to place, amid a friendly population—every want cared for. The day producing fresh store of information and pleasure. Our bird-stuffers in full employment; Murray with his charts; Theylingen with gun and insect-bag; myself with my journal, or, what is worse, entertaining rajahs. I do not pause to mention all the visits we receive—the picture of one *petty court*, is the picture of all. The individuals alone vary in their shades of intelligence, though all alike are civil and hospitable.

The sun now sinks over the blue hills of Si Dendring, and as I gaze on him I think of the Isle of the West—our native land; what son has she in a wilder land! Friends—dear friends, I think upon you too—the binding link to my country, and I wish for some magic power to enable me to bring the scene and place before your eyes and minds; the lake and distant mountains—the dingy

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bamboo house—the dark figures seated around me as I write—the slaughtered birds, the scattered arms—the reclining figures of my shipmates—the touch of evening over the landscape, and the blazing grass on the distant plain! All this is easily enumerated, but not described. It is not the beauty of the scene, but its effects which strike! The wild land, the distant clime—the uncertainty—the novelty of the life, and its very simplicity. As the light fades I close my journal—retire from the *window*—spread my mat, and soon shall lose all consciousness of the labours and pleasures of the day in sleep.

Feb. 9.—Pulled in our *barge* about the northern part of the lake, but we made poor progress, for, like unwilling horses, our boatmen were ever for turning back, and, being forced forward, proceeded at the slowest possible pace. The aspect of this part of the lake confirms what I have already stated, that it is filling up. *Feb. 9.*

The first town northward of Bontosok is Loah, 450 houses. It stands at a point, and is enclosed in a thick grove. Off this point the lake is filled up, and there is only a channel communicating with a deep bight beyond, called Loponpaka; after seeing which we returned, past Loah, and pulled across to Tanchung Pare—about 250 houses, and thence returned to Bontosok, which we reached at 8 P.M. Voyaging on these lagoons is highly uninteresting, as during the greater part of the time nothing is to be seen, for the long shrubs

1840. through which canals are cleared as a way for the boats.

Adding the population of Loah and Tanchung Pare to that of yesterday, we shall have 700 houses, with 10,500 inhabitants; the total being 41,325 persons on the eastern and northern shores. I propose subsequently to add the other towns I have seen, whence we may form some idea of the population of a portion of Wajo.*

Feb. 10. *Feb.* 10. — Embarked for Padjalelèh, already mentioned, to visit the young Arun Ujong. He received us with great politeness, and in the evening showed us a deer hunt with three tame stags. They were turned loose in the paddy fields near the town, and afforded us some sport, and more fun.

The Arun Ujong is a nephew of Lappa Tongi, being the son of his elder brother, Lowunru, by his marriage with the Pata Patalah — and his claim to Si Dendring, according to our laws of succession, is better than his uncle's. He is, however, a firm supporter of his uncle, and has followed him always to the wars. The Arun Ujong is married to a daughter of the Nakodah Palewo; this rich and

* Mr. Bernard, whom I met subsequently, furnished me with the following information, as derived from the natives. Though we agree in taking fifteen persons as the average to each house, I must reject the number of houses. My own observation has led me to the conclusion already mentioned — Loah, 900; Bontosok, 40; Tanchung, 800; Ujongèh, 200; Padjalelèh, 400; Limpah Kimpah, 100; Wapaguèh, 80; Tempè, 1000; Sinkong, 1000. Total houses, 4520. Total population, 67,800. The difference is great.

respectable man was on board the Royalist for 1840.
more than a week, and I was quite glad to see him
again. He likewise, with his purse and person,
sustains Lappa Tongi's cause, and has received
three wounds fighting by his side.

CHAP. VII.

SI DENDRING SUCCESSION.—HISTORICAL RECAPITULATION.—LONTARAH OF WAJO.—INTRIGUES AND CABALS.—EUROPEAN INFLUENCE.—RECEPTION AND POLICY OF MR. BROOKE IN WAJO.—CHANGE IN THE COUNCILS OF BONI.—LAKE COVERED WITH WATER LILIES.—FIRE AT WATTEREH.—MUSQUITOES.—AQUATIC BIRDS.—SHAM FIGHT.—INTERVIEW WITH ARU BETING.—INFLUENCE OF ARAB AND CHINESE SETTLERS.

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Feb. 11.

Feb. 11.—It was urged on me to cross over to Wattereh, and thence, if possible, to visit Tetiagi in the Si Dendring country. I can see no advantage likely to accrue from this visit; yet I am willing to undertake it, as I would embrace the faintest chance of preserving even a temporary peace between the two brothers.

I may here give some account of the different claims to the throne of Si Dendring, the succession to which is shaking the Bugis country to its centre, and includes, in fact, their present political state.

Si Dendring, formerly a dependency of Boni, joins the territory of Wajo on the Taparke Rajah, and touches a portion of the Dutch territory to the westward and southward, stretching to the shores of the Makassar Strait, and bounded by Supa to the northward. The rest of the territory joins that of Soping. This country has for many years been

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free — it is fertile and productive, and possesses a brave population. The late rajah, or adanatuan, of Si Dendring died in 1832, at a very advanced age, and during his reign he added considerably to the extent and importance of his possessions. Being a shrewd and calculating character, he always sided with the Europeans, and supported them against the native states, of which, especially Boni, he was justly suspicious. During the period the English held the territory of Makassar, the adanatuan Si Dendring was their faithful ally and friend. On the return of the Dutch, he was equally in alliance with them; and sided with both powers in their respective wars against Boni.

With the death of this old gentleman the troubles in Si Dendring began; and in order to understand clearly the claims of the two parties, it is necessary to go back to the history of the family, and its various members. The son of the adanatuan Si Dendring, was named Malisandrang, who in his youth married (with the consent of his father) Immudah, then the young rajah Tulla Tendring, who subsequently became patamapalaka. The high rank of the lady, and her still higher prospects, render it probable that some agreement was made at the time of her espousal respecting the succession to Tulla Tendring and Si Dendring: on this the claim of Lappa Tongi entirely rests, and in support of it, his mother and himself appeal to the records of Wajo, of Boni, and of Soping.

The lontar of these three countries are stated

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each to contain the settlement of Tulla Tendring and Si Dendring on the heirs of the marriage of their respective princes. The lontar of Wajo was shown to me, and I have taken a copy of the brief part referred to : —

Extract from the Lontarah of Wajo.

“ The war being finished (between Si Dendring and Merioh) the old rajah Si Dendring came to Wajo to form an alliance between the young rajah of Si Dendring and the young rajah Tulla Tendring. There was cock-fighting, with other games, and crowds of people present at Compong Mengeh (belonging to Tulla Tendring); and this was the first time dollars were used (in Wajo), at the espousal of Malisandrang with Immudah.

“ On this occasion, Si Dendring and Tulla Dendring were (balisompah) settled, or joined in dowry. By this marriage were born four children: Achina, Wisèh (daughters), Lowunrū, and Lappa Tongi.”

I will make no remark here upon this extract, but proceed with the history. After the birth of these children, their father, Malisandrang, contracted a marriage with the ranee Pomana, by whom he had a son named Latabusasa. His third marriage was with a young ranee of Pomana, the issue by which marriage was Lappa Gnorisan, and other children. Malisandrang and his eldest son both

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dying, Lappa Tongi was the recognised heir of Si Dendring, and as such was known to the British during their possession of Ujong Pandang or Makassar.

He appeals to the resident, Capt. Phillips, for the truth of this statement; but Capt. Phillips is dead, and his claim could not rest upon such grounds. On the return of the Dutch, the rajah of Si Dendring formed an alliance and sided with them against Boni, in the war of 1824. Lappa Tongi, differing with his grandfather, espoused the more national party of Boni, and led his followers into that country against their adversaries. His elder sister, Achina, having married one of the royal family of Boni (a relation of the present pata mancowèh), was probably the reason of his taking this step, which lost him the favour of his grandfather and the countenance of the Dutch Government. From that period the younger brother, Lappa Gnorisan, resided with the adanatuan Si Dendring; and on the death of his uncle, in 1832, a will was found in his favour. On this will the younger brother's claim rests, and it was recognised by the Dutch government, by whom he was installed the successor of his grandfather in Si Dendring.

The death of the old rajah of Si Dendring was followed by war; but once or twice an agreement took place between the brothers, and they both lived peaceably in Si Dendring. The breach of this doubtful amity is thrown by either party on its opponent, and frequent wars have since taken place.

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The close of the last war left the Datu Lampola in possession of four districts of Si Dendring, viz. Wattărăh, Weniòh, Belloka, and Lisah, whilst his brother retained the throne, the regalia, and the rest of the territory.

Lappa Tongi was preparing a fresh irruption into Si Dendring, backed by the people of Wajo, when, as it is stated, a letter arrived from the Dutch government to the chiefs of Wajo, threatening them with the seizure of their prahus if they invaded Si Dendring; and the tomarilalan, on the part of Boni, threatened Wajo with war. The counter-measure was the application made to the British government from the late rundrang Tulla Tendring, the answer to which, I believe, contains a refusal to meddle in the affairs of Celebes. On my arrival, I was denied admittance into the Boni country, much to my regret.

My reception in Wajo, as has been related, was far different; for the chiefs of that country, though fully aware of the object of my visit and my non-connection with the government, were doubtless glad to have it said that an Englishman was amongst them. It was quite beyond my province to interfere in their affairs, or to act in any way in contravention of the measures of the Dutch government. I have, however, in regulating my conduct, kept two leading principles constantly in view. The first is the avoidance of any act, or any advice, which interfered with the rights of either government, coupled with the repeated

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assurances, in the plainest language, of my private capacity. The second is the right of free inquiry into the condition and policy of the native states, and the relation and conduct of the European governments towards them, — and, likewise, my offering such advice, when required, as tended manifestly to benefit the native states and preserve peace.

Having said so much of myself, I will only further remark that I fear the latter portion of my advice will be in vain, for the *datu lampola*, being prepared and determined on war, will, I fear, plunge forward — probably to his own destruction. The authorities of Boni, however, have greatly altered their tone since my arrival, though I am entirely at a loss to guess to what this change may be attributed. Yet I rejoice at it, as it may afford the long-desired opportunity of visiting Boni, and perhaps seeing the caves of Mampo.

Once more to prestate what is found in my notebook, I may mention that, by the advice of Seid Abdullah, the Arab already mentioned, I wrote to the *pata moncowèh*, stating that, before leaving this country, I wished to acquaint him that my object in coming was to visit the various chiefs, to cultivate their friendship, and to see their country. That I had been informed that some evil-disposed persons had assured him my designs were evil, and that I was an agent of Government, which was utterly at variance with the truth.

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That I wished both happiness and prosperity to the Bugis nations, and believed they could only be prosperous when the three countries of Boni, Wajo, and Soping were firmly allied, as of old. To this communication I received a most flattering reply, and an invitation, with the assurance that he was convinced of my intentions being good and my pursuits of a private nature. On this invitation I am now on my way to Boni; and it is evident some change must have come over their politics, as the king states that it is his great desire the three countries should be allied as they formerly were.

Feb. 13.—Crossed the lake to Wattărăh. One field of large brilliant water lilies extended for four or five miles, presenting the lovely contrast of white flowers and fresh dark-green leaves on a magnificent scale. On the leaves we found some nests of the aquatic birds with which the lake abounds, and the birds themselves ran over or swam amid the flowers. Whilst crossing we observed a fire blazing on the opposite shore, and on arriving learned with regret that the rajah's house, with thirty others, had been destroyed! The consequence was, after some delay, we got housed in a poor hut, together with the rajah, his wife, and the whole train.

Wattărăh stands at the N.W. angle of the Tapar-ke-rajah, and from it a channel communicates with the Sarrow Lake to the northward. It evidently was one body of water originally, and the

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ground on which Wattărăh stands, as well as the greater part of the low alluvial plain between the lake and mountains, was covered with water. The high lands on this shore are beautiful and diversified, and the prospect of the huge Latimojong most magnificent. To the southward of Wattărăh, on the borders of the lake, is Battu Battu, dependent on Soping. To the N. W. Tetiagi, the capital of the Si Dendring country, where Lappa Gnorisan resides. Wattărăh, together with Lisáh Belloka and Weniòh in its immediate vicinity, are properly belonging to the territory of Si Dendring and are the districts which have been taken by the datu lampola, and which he is now required to cede.

Feb. 14—16. — Passed most miserably at Wattărăh. I was near visiting Tetiagi; but, when the point came, I gave it up, as the datu seemed averse to my going and I had not the slightest hope of being useful.

*Feb. 14
—16.*

Lappa Gnorisan was civil enough to invite us to his residence, and Theylingen and Mr. Poons, the interpreter, went to Tetiagi, and returned highly delighted with the magnificence, riches, and feeding of their host. This is natural. Tetiagi is represented as a large town, with two other towns near it; one is Meseppè, in the neighbourhood of a hot-water spring. I here first met Mr. B., a gentleman of intelligence, and devoted to Lappa Gnorisan's cause. From his residence at Tetiagi, and occasional visits to Lagusi, he transmits informa-

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tion to the Makassar government. He acquaints me that a Dutch cruiser has been despatched to watch my movements. I care not: only, if she do come, I will give her a dance, and lodge her, mayhap, on a coral reef. Wattäre'h consists of about 200 houses, very greatly reduced by war and fire. It abounds with musquitoes — Oh! the tortures we suffered who shall describe? each livelong night was passed most miserably without sleep, and the day found us fevered and restless under the unceasing persecution. It was with joy, indeed, I hailed the moment of our release.

From the 16th to the 21st our time was idly, but not unpleasantly, passed at Padjalelèh, increasing our store of birds. To me the time was less pleasant than to my companions; for I was confined from an inflammation in my leg, brought on by musquito bites, which gave me great pain, and almost prevented my putting my foot to the ground. I now desired greatly to return on board; but the pressing instances of my hosts obliged me to remain till the aru beting comes to Tanchung, when we are to meet.

I may here say that the lake abounds with aquatic birds, amongst which are wild ducks of two or three sorts; egrets and cranes of various kinds; herons; one or two kinds of bittern; *Fulica*, of two kinds; *Parra*, with a crimson top knot; two species resembling curlew-divers (*Grebe*); cormorants, darters, &c.; besides owls, hawks, quails, &c. on land. Our number of species amounts to forty

or more here alone; and I doubt not some of them will be found rare, if not new.* 1840.

Feb. 21. — This was the day fixed for my meeting the aru † beting. Though my leg was inflamed and painful, I managed to mount a horse, and accompanied by the rajahs Lappa Tongi, Ujong, and Karain, with a train of three or four hundred men, rode to Tanchung. Our approach having been previously announced, the aru beting, with about a thousand followers, emerged from the town, and both parties halted in the plain, at a distance of half a mile from each other. Loud shouts and great clamour were followed by a general charge of horse and foot. The *horse-tail* spears, the shining krises, and the prancing animals produced a pleasing effect; and when the parties met, they went through all the show of an engagement — horse pushed against horse — spear was levelled against spear — mimic blows were exchanged between the kris men, and the muskets were discharged as fast as they could be loaded. When the engagement had lasted for some time, the two parties intermixed and halted, and our cavalcade advanced to where the aru beting was awaiting us on horseback. *Feb. 21.*

This chief, the head of the Wajo state, is about fifty years of age, dark complexioned, with a quick eye, and few marks of Bugis origin: his appear-

* The natural history collections made in Celebes and Borneo were unfortunately all lost on their way home.

† Arun, a title equivalent to rajah; always spelt arun, but before a consonant the *n* is mute.

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ance is more like that of a Turk. I accompanied him to his residence, but was in so much pain during the whole interview, that I fear I acquitted myself badly. In the evening an immense concourse fired at the target. After which I took my departure, and was never more glad than when I got back to Padjalelèh. I found the greater number of our people had proceeded to Tempè, according to my directions, whence to-morrow they return to the schooner. M^cKenzie and Poons I have kept with me, and I hope soon to follow. Mr. B. again visited me.

Feb. 25.

Feb. 25. — I may here close the daily journal, condensing my remaining stay in Wajo and the information I gained, into as brief a space as possible. Before leaving Tempè, Seid Abdullah, whom I have before mentioned, visited me, and I had frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with him. Much evil is by most writers attributed to the Arab settlers and traders in Malay countries: that they are often religious impostors I doubt not; and, from their influence amongst the natives, may do much mischief; but perhaps their bad character has been exaggerated, on account of their uniform opposition to European government.* The rule of Europeans is opposed to their interests; and though their conduct may spring from personal motives, yet they are invariably supporters of native independence.

* Further acquaintance with the Arabs has induced Mr. Brooke to alter his opinion on this point.

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Not so the Chinese. They became the willing and grinding tools of any or every government, and their interest is better advanced under a corrupt government than a native state. The Bugis, however, are free from the examples and contagion of both these races. Seid Abdullah, with half a dozen other Arabs dependent on him, are the only ones I met; and during my stay I saw but one renegade Chinese, and he kept a gambling shop at Tesōra. The reputation of Seid Abdullah is great throughout the three Bugis states; and though his permanent residence be at Tempè, he is constantly called to Boni and Soping by the rajahs of those countries. His influence and good sense I consider highly beneficial; and the well-being and independence of the states a matter of great importance to him.

CHAP. VIII.

NAKODAH PELEWO.—NATIVE GOVERNMENTS.—ANECDOTE OF THE
SLAVE TRADE.—CEREMONY OF CIRCUMCISION.—SUPERSTITION
AND SUPPOSED RUINS.—VILLAGE SHRINES.—TRACES OF HIN-
DUISM.—FAITH IN OMENS.—DEER-HUNT.—BUGIS LITERATURE
AND MUSIC.—DANCING-GIRLS.—MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.—
SINGAPORE POLICE.—DESIRE OF PROTECTION.—ALLIGATORS.—
LETTER FROM BONI.—CONFERENCE OF CHIEFS.—ELECTION OF
KING.—EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS.—A BOAT-LOAD OF RAJAHS.

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BEFORE leaving Padjalelèh, I must not omit to mention my friend, the nakodah Pelewo, a man of upright mind and liberal principles. Any nation might be proud to own him; and, for myself personally, I feel the warmest interest in his welfare, after being well acquainted with his simplicity, honesty, and hospitality. He is, for a Bugis, very rich, and may be considered the head of the middle class which has risen in Wajo from the wealth acquired in trade—a class which will encroach upon and overthrow the feudal system.

The nakodah's sons and daughters are all highly married—the former to rajahs, the latter, to the highest blood; and, surrounded by his relatives, this patriarchal old man lives at Padjalelèh, the happiest and best-governed town in Wajo. The difference between Padjalelèh and Tempè is most striking. Tempè, under the rule of the young rajah Karaino, is a nest of plunderers and thieves;

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and the ruler himself is surrounded by a set of miscreants, to whom he affords countenance and protection. Padjalelèh, on the contrary, under the upright nakodah Palewo, is a peaceful, honest, and industrious town, and the arun Ujong represses and punishes the vices of his followers.

A striking example of this difference occurred whilst I was staying there. A follower of the rajah Karain, who had assumed the character of a physician, came to the house of a relative of the nakodah; and, after sitting some time in converse with the lady of the house, said, — “I wish you would let somebody carry my bundle to Nepoh, where I am going” (Nepoh was about three miles off). The poor woman immediately said, — “My nephew shall do it for you ;” and the boy (about ten years of age) went with the pretended physician, as was thought, to Nepoh. Some days, however, elapsing, and the boy not coming back, his aunt grew uneasy ; and, setting some inquiries on foot, found that the man whom he had gone with was at Tempè. On being applied to, the miscreant coolly replied, that the boy came back the same evening ; the real fact being that he had sold him as a slave, no one knew where. Under these circumstances the nakodah applied to me to use my influence with the datu lampola in order to recover the boy, and I immediately applied to him, and received the fullest assurance that if the boy was alive he should be found. A week, however, passing, and no news being obtained, I renewed my instances more

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warmly; and urged that if the man would not disclose what he had done with the boy, he ought to be put in confinement. Such plain dealing appeared, however, to be altogether out of the question, for he was a follower of the aru Karain! On further inquiry I learnt that the *very rascal* who had stolen and sold the boy, had been sent to repurchase him with twenty-five reals* of the datu's money. I was very ill satisfied at the time; but had afterwards the satisfaction of learning from the nakodah the intelligence that the poor boy, who had been sold in Si Dendring, was to return home immediately.

The boy will be restored, but the perpetrator of this villany will go unpunished; and, probably, save for my presence, and certainly in the case of any other man except the nakodah, no inquiry would have been set on foot, and no redress obtained.

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Feb. 28. — Returned to Tempè, after a second visit to the aru beting; during which I was present at the ceremony of circumcision.

The house was decorated with a number of chandeliers of a novel and simple construction. The soft stems of the plantain tree, about four feet long, were suspended from the ceiling, and ornamented with vast numbers of sticks stuck in them, surmounted by painted eggs or coloured paper. At night these are replaced by candles, formed, as is usual, with a slip of bamboo, covered with the fruit

* A real is two Dutch rupees, or 3s. 4d. English.

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of a bruised nut, mixed with cotton. A dense crowd was present at the ceremony, with half a dozen priests seated in a conspicuous place. On the arrival of the aru beting, the first thing the old gentleman did was to order the priests, koran, and instruments into a corner, whilst he occupied the cool seat by the window. One hajji read the koran in Arabic, which none understood; and at proper intervals, the multitude gave responses in the same unknown tongue. When the responses were not sufficiently loud, the aru beting roared out to have them louder, and set the example, turning round to me occasionally with a loud laugh, and patting me on the back in his self-approval. The crowd of men and boys, inspired by their chief, roared lustily, and laughed, and talked, as though the reading of their scripture was vastly amusing. Three boys were decked out in gay, scarlet, gold-embroidered petticoats; one by one they were seated on a low stool, and the office performed by an aged priest with much decency. The crowd laughed and shouted louder than ever; and a number of women, probably relatives, showered flowers on the perfect moslem. An abundant feast succeeded, and what could not be eaten was carried away. The ornaments in the chandeliers were likewise taken by any one who could get them; and a piece of small silver money having been presented to each of the chiefs, we took our departure at sunset.

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Feb. 30.

Feb. 30.—Tempè. Rode to some reported ruins near the town of Palipu. Palipu is nearly east of Bontōsok, and stands on the sandstone range behind that town. It is a considerable place, and under the government of the aru beting. The ruin proved to be nothing but a large shed situated in a thick wood, within which the people make offerings. On this shrine we found cocoa-nuts, water ciri, carved bits of wood, &c. ; and around, a number of fowls let loose, to propitiate the evil spirit.*

The same custom, on a smaller scale, exists all over the Bugis country; each village having a small shrine at some little distance, where offerings are made. This is evidently the remains of a religion anterior to Mahomedanism. The natives seem to entertain the most confused notions of the purpose of these shrines; but the better educated, whilst they laugh at the superstition, point to Bali† as the seat of the same religion. The multitude believe in the existence of evil spirits, and the shrines are erected on the places of their residence, in order to propitiate their good will and avert their vengeance. At the larger shrine of Palipu, I obtained, however, a proof of the ancient religion being Hindu.

In a smaller shed, a few yards from the larger one, there stood a rounded stone, in shape and appearance the same we see in so many Hindu

* The vagabonds belonging to the rajah Karain stole these sacred chickens!

† An island immediately east of Java.

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temples; and, as in Hindustan, offerings had been made by sprinkling it with oil and water. It is curious to observe the existence of the superstition long after the religion has disappeared; and it is lamentable to reflect, that, whilst the truths which all creeds teach are easily effaced, the corrupt ceremonial survives.

The Bugis, generally, are greatly given to faith in omens; tokens of good or evil fortune are derived from animate and inanimate objects; horses, dogs, cats, &c., according to their particular marks or the turn of the hair, indicate one or the other. Prahus, houses, and krises, all bear some marks by which fate is deciphered. Some of the former, from peculiar knots in the wood, predict inevitable shipwreck; others are doomed to destruction by piracy, by fire, or by mutiny; whilst others, more fortunate, are to bring wealth and safety to the owner. These are, however, but the superstitions common to all times and all nations, in different ways, and springing from sources formerly dependent on, but now distinct from, religion.

My ride to Palipu tired me much; for the day was broiling hot, and my leg, bad before, was considerably worse for the exertion.

March 2. — Wagèh. An unsuccessful deer-hunt brought us here; and with my sore leg, I had little heart for the sport; for riding through the long grass gave me pain, and threw me back. Our hunting ground was between the sandstone range and the Sadang river, on its left bank. The country is

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pretty, and above Wagèh is the town of Chalako, consisting of about 100 houses. One deer was started close to me, and I had five minutes gallop amongst the rest. M^cKenzie, later in the morning, started a hog on very difficult ground, and, sailor-like, pursued him; the natives, thinking it a deer, rode like madmen from all quarters. They certainly are very bold horsemen.

March 3. *March 3.*—Tempè. During my stay I have been anxiously inquiring for manuscripts, but without success; and I am inclined to believe that Dr. Leyden, in the list he gives of Bugis works, has been misled by the exaggeration of the natives. The lontaraks, several volumes of the voyages and adventures of Sawira Gading*, and some books of sayings of their wise men, are all I could hear of; and Mr. B., who is well acquainted with the language, confirms this opinion. However, this refers to Wajo alone. Luwu, as the most ancient state and the birthplace of their traditional hero, may be richer in literature. Music there is none in Wajo, nor do the people seem to have any taste for singing, to which the Malays are attached; a common tom-tom or drum, and a small gong, were the only instruments I heard as accompaniments to four dancing women. These dancing girls were plain, and dressed with great modesty, the sarong being fastened by a belt round the waist, and a

* The rajahs bestowed the name of Saurra Gading on Mr. Brooke; a delicate piece of flattery.—Ed.

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square shawl of red or yellow over their shoulders, entirely concealing the bosom.

On their heads they wore a high pasteboard ornament, gilt and painted, with four or five ribbons, dangling from it to the waist. Their eyes were stained black; their lips and finger nails, red; and several red patches were dispersed about the face. They stood in a row, and moved slowly, each in turn taking up the song, and twirling and rapping the fan they carried in their hands. Occasionally, a man was selected to dance with them, who chose one, moving round her with a motion resembling St. Vitus's dance, and indicating his amorous passion by approaching and smelling her person like a satyr. Nothing could be more dull or stupid, or, what was worse almost, interminable.

March 5. — Returned to Bontōsok, and on the following day removed once again to Padjalelèh, where I am more comfortable and better acquainted with the people. The chief manufacture of the Bugis land is the cloth for sarongs; and on the product of this cloth the families generally obtain what little money they require. Their articles of food are easily procured. The rice and Indian corn is cultivated by their slaves. Fish are caught in the lake, generally small, and of a dark colour; fowls live about the houses; and food thus costs them nothing, save on occasions of marriage or funeral feasts. The repair of their houses, and the stock in trade for purchasing cotton thread for their manufacture, is the chief outlay.

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The thread procured at Singapore is far cheaper, though less durable, than the Bugis cotton. Sarongs made of the latter are more expensive and far more durable; and the manufacture is chiefly carried on by females; in every house a number of hand-loom being at work. The cargoes brought by the Bugis prahus are in part procured from the eastward. Tortoise-shell, gold, mother-of-pearl, shell, &c. come from the eastern islands, on the northern extremity of Celebes. The staples of Bugis land are sarongs and coffee. The latter is chiefly grown on the mountains near Sangi, or in the Boni range.

The export of sarongs is very unprofitable, as they usually cost more than they sell for at Singapore. Coffee is more advantageous, the cost being from seven to nine reals per pical, and selling at good prices. The whole of the trade, however, is conducted on so small a scale, that a European vessel would have to lie for months, and be subject to a thousand vexations, before she disposed of her cargo and filled another. It is on the return cargo the Bugis usually make their profits; it consists chiefly of arms, gunpowder, opium, and cottons. These, particularly the first, sell at an enormous advance either for money or barter. The currency is entirely copper, dollars being few and rarely seen. Pice * from Singapore, or Batavia and China cash are used.

The nakodahs are by far the most liberal and

* Small copper money.

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civil class, and generally speak Malay well. Several of them made strong complaints of the Singapore police, asserting that they were constantly searched, *fined*, and their people put in confinement, and threatened with being taken to the court.

They said likewise, that malicious persons were in the habit of concealing a small quantity of opium in their boats, and then calling a peon, sure to be at hand, who, finding the opium, seized the boat, upon which they had sometimes to give forty or fifty dollars to get her released. These statements are probably exaggerated; but, knowing as I do what the native police is, and likewise the dread and apprehension entertained by these people of our courts of justice, I can readily believe there is some truth in the tale, and certainly the conduct of the police ought to be most strictly watched. Apprehension and exposure in courts are looked on by these people as disgraceful; and, accustomed only to arbitrary power, they form very false notions of punishments, having no idea of public justice, but trusting entirely on individual influence. On this account, to know the governor of Singapore is accounted a protection; and, in the same way, an acquaintance with any English gentleman gives them a sense of security which they never enjoy from any thing told them of laws or justice.

Many asked me for a *pass*, evidently conceiving that even the Dutch government would respect it. It was in vain to assure them it was of no use; and when I gave them a certificate,

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stating that they were respectable persons, known to me in Bugis land, and quietly trading with Singapore, they appeared quite satisfied. I wish, indeed, *my pass* could afford them the protection they desire.

March 8. *March 8.* — Tempè once again.

I am most anxious to start, but the rajahs have delayed me, day by day, for the last week. We have been constantly in the habit of bathing in the lake since our arrival, though informed by the natives that there were alligators in it. This evening I had ocular demonstration of the fact; for whilst walking on the river side, close to our usual bathing-place, a large alligator rushed into the water within a few yards of me.

March 9. *March 9.* — Dropped down the river to Tesōra. At Tesōra I received a cordial invitation from the pata mancowè of Boni. The manner of conducting business is so extraordinary that I may describe it here. Returning from my evening walk, I was informed that a messenger had arrived from Boni with a letter, which he was directed to deliver into my own hands. Putting on my jacket, I joined the circle round the datu lompula, and the letter was presented and received in due form. Being handed to Dain Matara, he translated it aloud in Malay, and then re-read it aloud in Bugis, for the benefit of the whole crowd. Much approbation was expressed, and at the conclusion one of the pangawas commenced a commentary on it. “It is a very excellent letter,” he remarked; “and if Boni and

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Wajo were on good terms, as formerly was the case, the countries would flourish, and the datu regain Si Dendring; but, in order to settle this matter, we must have an aru matoah, or else the pata mancowè will not transact business." "Oh! yes," said many voices, "we ought to have an aru matoah. The aru beting must appoint an aru matoah. He must be desired to come here immediately." "If he won't come," added another, "we will have war."

An old hajji tried to defend the aru beting, remarking, that, if he did not appoint an aru matoah, he could go himself to Boni, and renew the good understanding; but the pangawa was decidedly of a contrary opinion, and the company generally sided with him; one saying he was a foolish old man, always thinking of trifles, instead of the good of the country; at last it was settled that the rajahs present, as well as a deputation of the pangawas should wait on the aru beting, and urge him to convene a general meeting of the rajahs, in order to elect an aru matoah. You must be here, said the pangawa of Tulla Tendring, and then he will do it. I consented, if they really could induce him to proceed to the appointment, and in this consent I had a lurking desire to see the ceremonial of the institution. At the same time, I conceive it to be the very best thing which could happen for the country.

At the installation of the aru matoah, I am told that all the rajahs, the freemen, and their respective followers, are present, forming a vast body of

1840. people. One part of the ceremony is curious and characteristic. The chief about to be elected urges his unfitness for the office. "I am foolish," he says. — "I am pusillanimous — I am poor." The response is, "Wajo is wise — Wajo is brave — Wajo is rich." Great rejoicings take place, and allegiance is sworn to the elected monarch.
- March 10. *March 10.* — Delayed at Tesōra for want of horses.
- March 11. *March 11.* — Royalist. Glad to be on board again. I was accompanied down by the datu lampula, and the rajahs Karain and Bilè. On board I found all getting on well, and two or three sick men convalescent.
- March 12. *March 12.* — After leading a wild life for six weeks, it is agreeable to return to the comforts, small though they be, of my own vessel. Here I have a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit on; a knife and fork to eat with, and books to read. Our food differs little from that of the natives. The stock of wine and spirits has been out some time, our biscuit is finished, and sugar and tea we have none. These privations, if they can be so called, fall equally on all; and I believe no one cares about them, as we get rice as a substitute for biscuit, and the country furnishes us besides with coffee, palm sugar, and fowls; sometimes a little venison, or a tough buffalo.
- March 13. *March 13.* — Despatched Dain Matara in the gig to Bajue and Boni, to intimate that I was ready to visit the pata mancowè, if he desired it.

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March 14. — On shore. Rajah Penrang arrived. Lappa Tongi about to depart from Doping, to get every thing ready at Tesōra, as *he says*; but the truth is, a prahu of one of his chief supporters has arrived filled with munitions of war. I believe her non-appearance has hitherto kept him quiet. The habit of *exchanging presents*, common to the East, is most especially inconvenient in Bugis land, from the overwhelming number of rajahs — all of them showy flashy fellows, very fond of showy things.

My stock has run so low that I am going to sacrifice a microscope and rifle at the shrine of the Boni king. In Wajo, I had presented to me a handsome kris, by Lappa Tongi, and a hunting-spear; a war-spear, by arun Ujung; a light hunting-spear and a brace of deer, by aru beting; and twenty sarongs, by different persons. The sarongs, except three for my own use, I have distributed amongst the crew, who have all taken to wearing them by night, or else make them into trousers. The spears with the noose for catching deer are neat, and will afford the best idea of their mode of hunting, which, however, has been excellently delineated by Thylingen, in a sketch of the chase. The kris, or hunting-knife, was the property of the late pata mapalaka, and as such I esteem it.

In return for these presents, or rather previous to his gift, I sent Lappa Tongi a little gunpowder, four muskets, a piece of flowered muslin, another

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of Surat silk, one of handkerchiefs; besides a looking-glass, soap, and beads, &c. to his lady. Lappa Tongi is an open-handed chieftain, highly popular throughout Bugis. His talents are mediocre; his manner reserved and melancholy, but good tempered and easy. He speaks but very little, but what he does say is sensible enough. He is certainly a formidable antagonist, being supported by four of the great chiefs of Wajo; by powerful connections both in Boni and Soping, by Merioh and Supa, the warlike rajah of which has always been the first to enter the lists in his favour. His country is situated on the west coast, to the north of Parè Parè, as far as I can make out.

March 15. *March 15.* — Settled with the Rajahs Penrang, Karain and Bilè, to carry them to-morrow as far as Akutaingan, the residence of the late aru matoah.*

March 16. *March 16.* — At eight last evening came the three great men and their train, *thirty in all, stowed* in our long boat. Dropping down the Doping river, they stove the boat on the stump of a tree; and, when they got into the sea-way, they could hardly keep her afloat. The night was wretchedly passed; deck, cabins, berths, all full; rajahs rolling on the carpet, smoking opium, so thick that it was difficult to find a passage amongst them. At mid-day a feather breeze springing up allowed us to get under weigh, as I was most anxious to be rid of this live

* This old rajah, preferring retirement to power, voluntarily resigned the kingly office.

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lumber! Dain Matara arrived after we had the anchor up, with a renewal of the invitation from the pata mancowè. Leaving our anchorage off Doping, which will be found marked, a vessel must give a good berth to the next point called Redi, passing between it and the large shoal in the offing, which is a continuation of the second Lakatompah; a good look-out must be kept for detached patches, and great care taken not to approach the shore, as there is a line of shoal extending a long way out.

Passing Redi the land again sinks into a moderately deep bay between that point and the point of Akutaingan. Near the latter is the river of the same name, the mouth of which, at low water, is too shoal for our long boat, one mile and a half off the shore. Our anchorage was about four miles distant.

I got the rajahs and their attendants away as speedily as possible, for I never was so sick as of these senseless fools, who cannot move without being followed by dozens of men and old women.

CHAP. IX.

A CYNICAL KING AND HIS NO LESS CYNICAL MISTRESS. — FEAST OF THE LOR DARA. — NARROW ESCAPE OF THE ROYALIST. — ARRIVAL AT BONI. — FORTUNES OF THE CITY. — RECEPTION BY THE PATAMANCOWÈ. — GOVERNMENT OF BONI. — LUDICROUS ETIQUETTE AT THE COURT OF BONI. — COSTUME OF THE COURTIER. — OBTAIN LEAVE TO VISIT THE CAVE OF MAMPO.

1840. *March 17.* — FOLLOWED the rajahs to Akutaingan, which is situated about seventeen miles up the stream. The banks are low and alluvial: the first part through the mangrove belt, which girts this part of the coast, and then gradually rising a few feet, and covered with lively light foliage, intermixed with occasional houses. In the evening we arrived at, and got stowed away in, an excellent house, without any furniture. Torrents of rain descended during the night.

March 18. *March 18.* — This place being represented as abounding with deer and wild buffaloes, we were desirous of attacking them without delay; but delay is the prevailing order of things in this land. The late aru matoah visited us after breakfast: an elderly good-looking savage, whose propensity for wild life and the pleasures of the chase is so strong, that he cannot prevail on himself to bear the restraint of an occasional residence at Tesōra, for the discharge of his kingly functions. He resides entirely in this wild country, holding little

communication with the other chiefs ; and with his followers devotes himself solely to the chase and opium smoking. His habits are eccentric, as he despises all the luxuries and conveniences of life. His fare is homely, and derived from his favourite pursuit. Home he has none ; a temporary shed or an adjacent hut serving him as occasion requires, whilst his own house, large and well finished and far better than the generality of those possessed by the chiefs, is untenanted, without mats, screens, or any furniture.

This, as an honour, I suppose, was given to us ; at any rate it was better than residing in the hovel in which the chief himself lived, where with dogs and fighting-cocks within and horses without, we should have found ourselves in entire discomfort. The manners of this old man, like those of fox-hunting squires of our own country, have a degree of frankness and bluntness, mixed with the expression of sovereign contempt for all other men and all other pursuits, save those attached to the sports of the field. On the inherent obtuseness of his own nature he seems to have engrafted some portion of the sagacity of the dog and the generosity of the horse ; and as his affection is centered in these animals, they are the objects of admiration and imitation.

A mistress, young and beautiful, follows the fortunes of this old sporting chief, and perhaps the link which binds him to her is her participation in his pursuits. She hunts with him, wanders with

1840. him, lives with him, and even smokes opium with him. It grieved me to see so pretty a creature lost to better things, for the expression of her face bespoke so much sweetness and good temper, that I am sure she was intended for a happier, a better fate.

March 19. *March 19.* — Rain in the morning prevented our taking the field till nine o'clock; and then they mounted my followers so badly, that I threatened to return. The country is very pretty, and the view from the river side was as enticing a woodland scene as a sportsman could wish to cast his eye over.

Patches or strips of wood, and swelling knolls, broke the uniformity of the grass plain and gave diversity to the chase. The sea, with our vessel in the distance, and Latimojong, with his cloud-capped head, added to the picturesque effect of the scene. Over night an enclosure of about four miles had been put round some detached covers, to prevent the deer wandering from them.

This is formed by strips of the young leaf of the lontar palm, wound on slight sticks; which, being white and waving to and fro, so frighten the deer that they will not pass under them. The hounds were turned in, and soon game was afoot. The horsemen on the naked backs of their steeds, one hand grasping the short bridle together with the mane, the other bearing the spear with the noose attached, dashed over the ground in fearless style, at the top of their speed; but in this chase the deer

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would probably be too fast for them, if not confused and surrounded.

As it is, he turns and turns, to avoid first one and then another, and is usually noosed as soon as clear of the wood. When caught, his strength is such that they are compelled to pierce him with the spear, which is so contrived as to slip clear of the rope, as a strain comes on it, leaving the deer attached to the horse. The game being killed, chilies, salt, and limes (always carried to the field), are brought; the heart taken out; and, with portions of the liver and inside of the thigh, is minced and eaten raw with these ingredients — the sauce being blood! This is the real lor dara, or feast of blood; and neither record nor tradition (that I could hear of) describes it as a practice in war.*

The lor dara, as I have described, would, no doubt, shock the fastidious; but I ate of it, and found it by no means bad or revolting. To my taste, it was preferable to devouring living oysters or periwinkles, which those who shudder at this custom are in the habit of considering a delicacy. Our sport this day was not good; our entertainment rude; and as the old savage had thought proper to mount us badly, I resolved to depart on the return of our long boat.

March 20. — Long boat arrived; and leaving Akutaingan in the evening, we reached the *March 20.*

* Mr. B——, whom I have often had occasion to mention, states that he likewise has been unable to trace any such practice.

1840. — Royalist at half-past eleven, after a delightful pull by moonlight.

March 21. *March 21.* — At three, under weigh, beating with a light breeze and cloudy weather, ran suddenly on a shoal, not seen before, out of six fathoms in one cast, into half two — went about, quarter two, and on each side passed close through rocks on which the vessel would have struck. The spot is marked. Our escape was narrow; for with a slight heave of a sea we should probably have met with considerable damage. The navigation of this bay is most critical, and in dark weather frightful.

March 23. *March 23.* — Reached Penekè and anchored.

March 24. *March 24.* — Having intimated our arrival to the pata mancowè, an audience was fixed for the day after to-morrow.

March 27. *March 27.* — The meeting with the pata mancowè is over — the long-desired meeting which lays all the Bugis country open to me: had this event happened earlier, I might have made excellent use of the advantage; now, at this late season, I can do comparatively little. I may say, with the poet, *Dopo tanti sospiri e voti tanti, Te vedo e calco libera terra.* I may pride myself on having slowly and gradually overcome their prejudices, and triumph at this fruit of forbearance and patience. Landing at Bajué, with a large party of ten persons, we proceeded on horseback to Boni, situated to the westward about four miles distant.

The alluvial plain is about a dozen miles in extent, and the surface is interspersed with large

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masses of coral, proclaiming its once having been covered by the sea. The country from Bajuè to Boni is cultivated and rich; and between the two places is the village of Timojong — the name of the high mountain, and the title of one of the aru pitu. The capital of Boni was burnt to the ground in the last war with the Dutch; and it was only a year or two ago that the patamankowè returned to it. It stands on a rich and varied plain, and some excellent new houses have already been built.

On dismounting from our steeds, near the gate of the court, we were met by the aru Tannetè under the gate-way, and conducted at once into the presence of the patamankowè. A body of 3000 or 4000 men were ranged within and without the court-yard, dressed precisely alike, in skull caps and blue sarongs over the kris. A dead silence was preserved as we passed through them, and afforded a striking contrast to the inexpressible tumult of our reception at Tesōra. Eight or ten spearmen, clad in coats of bright chain armour, guarded the entrance, and presented the only display of arms we saw.

The patamankowè was seated at the head of a table in a moderate-sized hall; on his right sat the tomarilalan, the aru Tannetè, and the aru Timojong: on the left our party took their seats. Behind the monarch were half a dozen handsome boys, his own relations; and two rows of young rajahs were seated cross-legged on his right hand.

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Like those without, they were naked to the waist, wearing only skull caps and sarongs, and preserving a profound silence.

The patamankowè is about fifty years of age, dark complexioned, with a good-tempered expression and pleasant manner. His stature is above the middle height, and he is corpulent. His dress was a plain long robe (like a morning gown) of English chintz, fastened with a number of gold studs at the throat and wrists; his kris was quite plain; and he wore a black skull cap on his head.

The tomarilalan, an older-looking man, was dressed in the same manner, and all present were marked by the same plainness of attire. Being seated, I expressed myself gratified at his receiving me, as he was aware that I was only a private English gentleman, travelling for my own pleasure, unconnected with any government. He replied he was fully aware of it, and he likewise was a private gentleman on this occasion.

Our conversation was well sustained: the great man spoke much, inquired of our habits and customs, and the difference between ourselves and the Dutch. Like the rest of the chiefs, he seemed interested when I told him I had visited Turkey (or Roum, as they call it), and spoke much of the *power* of the sultan, inquiring whether the nations of Europe did not pay tribute to him!!

I presented him a watch, which he seemed pleased with, but remarked that the Bugis always managed to break them very soon. After much

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more conversation, and many expressions of his pleasure at seeing me, and my delight at seeing him, I ventured to request permission to visit Mampo. He hummed and hawed; but, like a skilful general, I pressed on with repeated charges, till he intimated that he would send people to the cave to see that it was fit to be visited, and inform the rajah of the district of my wish. I was *forced* to rest here; but was positively told by my old acquaintance the Arab, that no doubt I should get the desired permission.

March 31.—A second meeting with the pata- March 31.
mankowè leaves me little further to describe, the ceremony being much the same as on the first occasion. I must, however, mention the collation of sweetmeats, which was excellent, various, and delicate: coffee, which would have been considered good in Stamboul or Paris, and tea fit to drink even in Canton. I must here add a fresh list of the aru pitu, obtained from a better authority than the last. Perhaps they are the same; but I cannot refer conveniently to the former journal:—

Aru — Ujong,
Tannetè,
Timojong,
Machege,
Poŭnching,
Tah.

I have no reason to alter the particulars I formerly mentioned concerning the government

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of Boni, only qualifying it, however, with the remark that the constitution is a name rather than a reality at present; the country, as far as I can observe, being reduced under the despotic sway of the patamankowè. The power of the monarch seems to have no limit; none can approach him on terms of equality, save the aru matoah of Wajo, and the datu of Soping. The authority delegated by him to his minister appears equally arbitrary, and the aru pitu—the great council—is a mere tool in his hands. I shall not allude to the condition of Boni, as I have spoken to none of the chiefs on the politics of their country, or of their feelings towards the Dutch; I have rigidly adhered to my principle of not touching on public affairs till my advice is sought; but I believe, had I on this occasion broken through my rule, I might have told these great men some plain sensible truths, calculated to work well on their politics generally. I am content, however, to let the matter rest.

The etiquette of this court proves how despotic it has become: when the patamankowè sits, all sit; when he rises, all rise: so far things are within reasonable bounds; but should he ride, and fall from his horse, all about him must fall from their horses likewise. If he bathe, all must bathe too, and those passing go into the water in the dress, good or bad, they may chance to have on.

The population of the town of Boni is as yet small. Timojong, likewise, has not recovered the

effects of war. Bajoè contains from 150 to 180 houses. The country generally is well cultivated and rather populous; but I am by no means able to form any estimate of the number of its inhabitants, as so many are collected from a distance.

I forgot in its proper place to mention another custom of the court: no one appears with a handkerchief about the head, in the presence of the patamankowè. The lower class wear the skull-cap on the back of the cranium. The sovereign and his brother wear it cocked to the left side; other nobles to the right, and cocked according to the rank! White skull-caps distinguish the young rajahs, who compose the body-guard, if it may be so called; that is, spear-bearers, sword-bearers, ciribox-bearers, spittoon-bearers, shield-bearers, &c., to the amount of two hundred or three hundred. At my last visit I saw the pangawa, who is dreadfully ill, and I should think dangerously. His death would disturb the country.

I likewise obtained leave to visit Mampo, under the care of the aru Tannetè, who proceeds by land, whilst I sail to the mouth of the Chinrana river. Much trouble have I taken to see this cave, and now I begin to fear I may find my time and pains have been thrown away in the pursuit of a shadow. The exaggeration of the natives on all occasions makes me apprehend this; but they have exaggerated so consistently, that I still hope to find it worth something.

CHAP. X.

ENTER THE RIVER LATONRO — ITS RAMIFICATIONS, AND THE TOWNS ON ITS BANKS. — BUGIS HOSPITALITY. — LOWER CHINRANA. — PORT DUES. — CORAL ROCKS. — MARKETS. — CHEAPNESS OF PROVISIONS. — APPROACH THE HILL OF MAMPO. — INTERIOR OF THE CAVE. — HALLS, PASSAGES, AND STALACTITES. — NATIVE SHRINES. — CORAL HILLS. — CURIOUS EFFECTS OF LIGHT. — RESEMBLANCE TO THE HALLS OF ALHAMBRA. — PROCEED UP THE RIVER, HERE BORDERED BY NUMEROUS TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND GARDENS. — FEUD AMONG THE NATIVE CHIEFS. — TROUBLES AND DISSENSIONS.

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 April 1.

April 1. — Maraluatu anchorage. The Sadang or Lockuna river emerges, by numerous shallow mouths, on each side of Tanjong Lowni. To the southward and westward of the point are the entrance of Maraluatu, Latonro, and two smaller ones. The Lowni stream, to the northward and eastward, is the principal outlet; and there is another on the same side, farther to the northward. These different branches join near Chinrana, which is the key of the river, and consequently a place of considerable importance.

I left the vessel in the evening, and entered the mouth of Latonro, which is nearly dry at low water. The straggling town consists of 100 houses, situated in the low ground, amid the mazes of the river. A few fowls and other provisions may be procured here, and fresh water may be had by going a few

miles up. The stream is narrow and winding, and leads into the Lowni branch of the river, just below the town of Lapanlimur.

The entrance by Lowni is reported by the natives to have a passage with two fathoms; and in coming out of it at low tide, we found a fathom water in many places over the bar, which leads me to believe their statement. The bar spreads out in flats, and is covered with fishing-stakes: so a vessel intending to enter should round the passage well, as far up as the town of Lowni. In going up the river, this straggling town stands on the right hand, and opposite to it is Lankeron, together consisting of 200 houses.

The stream above Lowni is fine, about 150 yards broad, clear, and apparently deep, with muddy low banks. A short distance above Lowni, on the right bank, is the town of Lapanlimur, of eighty houses. A few prahus are laid up here, and some of the rudely constructed boats which trade to Lowni. Two miles or more above Lapanlimur, the river divides into two branches, the principal one running to the left hand; they unite again below Chinrana, forming an island covered with cocoa-nuts and plantains. A little below, the Maraluatu branch unites with the main stream. I did not ascend it; but from Mr. Murray's account I learn there are about thirty houses at Maraluatu, and that several branches run to the westward. A small creek likewise unites it with the Latonro entrance. Above the confluence of these different

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streams, is the town of Chinrana, the residence of the undri guru, a governor of the country.

We found every thing prepared for our arrival, and were treated with the same hospitality and kindness which has all along marked our progress. Sweetmeats, with excellent coffee and tea, were served up on our arrival at six o'clock, and at nine, when I was seriously projecting an escape from the rajahs under the plea of going to bed, we were astonished by the appearance of a substantial and excellent dinner. Currie, stews, forced meats, omelets, and many other delicacies, tempted us to renew the attack, more particularly as the rajahs shared our repast, and frequently invited us to lay aside all modesty and eat as though in our own house. They are polite to their guests, and encourage, but never press, you to eat.

A chintz curtain across the house formed our sleeping-apartment; and my bed, or inclosure *par excellence*, was surrounded with another curtain. Soft mats and numerous pillows make a comfortable resting-place, when unassailed by mosquitoes: and on this particular night we had every thing in great luxury.

April 2.

April 2. — The town of Chinrana consists of about 180 houses, stands close on the left bank of the river, and is surrounded by groves of fruit-trees, chiefly cocoa-nuts, plantains, and mangoes; and the remains of brick mosques, and buildings, and wells, proclaim its former import-

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ance when it was the residence of the pata-mankowè. This circumstance, perhaps, gave rise to the mistake in the charts, which place Boni exactly where Chinrana stands. Its command of the river renders it a place of importance; and here duties are levied on all classes of vessels passing or repassing. The largest prahus pay as high as eighty reals, and the smallest canoe not more than one finam. These revenues, which must be considerable, belong to the rajah pangawa, and nominally are appropriated to defray the expenses of the war establishment.

At certain times of the year there is a considerable rise and fall of the river here; but at this season the water flows constantly down, the flood tide only checking the current of the stream. The ebb runs about three knots an hour; but its force depends entirely upon the quantity of rain which has fallen. In the S.E., or dry monsoon, the river is low, and the flood is stated to ascend as far as the village of Ujong. At Chinrana, the banks of the river are alluvial mud, with occasional patches of coral; and similar rocks are scattered over the vast grass plains which compose the sea-belt of the whole country.

A considerable market is held twice a-week; and provisions of all sorts in native use are both plentiful and cheap. Rice of a reddish colour is sold at three rupees and three and a half rupees a pikul*;

* Pikul, 133lb. avoirdupois.

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sugar-cane is in abundance, as is also Indian corn: and vessels at the anchorage might here procure a supply of fowls, from fifteen to twenty for a dollar, according to size; and a few buffaloes.

Our long-boat having joined us from the vessel, we proceeded, after breakfast, in company with numerous native boats and canoes, up the river. The banks present the same pleasing and fertile aspect; and having with a light breeze stemmed the current for several miles, we turned off into the creek which leads to Unii. Two or three miles up this narrow stream is the village of Ujongeh, of twelve houses; and farther up, the town of Unii, of 100 houses, on the right bank; the latter stands on the plain, which is neatly cultivated; but the town itself appears poor and miserable. The hill of Mampo, flat-topped and covered with wood, is about two miles distant, and our expectations being raised, we were disappointed at being obliged to wait for the morrow. A restless night, tormented with musquitoes, was borne with great patience by us all, in the hope of what the morrow might bring forth.

April 3.

April 3. — Our party was up early, and started in high spirits, but doubtful expectation, for the Hill of Mampo. A mob of 200 or 300 accompanied us, seizing this favourable opportunity of seeing what they had heard so much of. The town of Alupang stands on the hill side, consisting of seventy houses, and a short distance above it is the entrance of the cave. The first

glimpse at the opening destroyed my hopes of finding any remains of an ancient religion within, the entrance was so perfectly natural, low, irregular, and dark. A further progress showed at once the justice of these fears; for the cave expands into a lofty hall, dropping with the fantastic forms of numerous stalactites.

The rest is soon told. Mampo cave is a production of nature, and the various halls and passages exhibit the multitude of beautiful forms with which nature adorns her works; pillars, and shafts, and fretwork, many of the most dazzling white, adorn the roofs or support them, and the ceaseless progress of the work is still going forward and presenting all figures in gradual formation. The top of the cave, here and there fallen in, gives gleams of the most picturesque light, whilst trees and creepers, growing from the fallen masses, shoot up to the level above, and add a charm to the scene. Yet was I greatly disappointed and enjoyed the sight less than I should otherwise have done.

These varied forms of stalactites the natives speak of as figures; a fallen pillar represents a rajah; and, by a like stretch of imagination, they call various stones, dogs, horses, ships, rice, looms, &c. Names arbitrarily enough bestowed, but which retain their particular designations, and produce their uniformity of statement when they speak of the figures they each have seen in the cave. Some parts of the cave are inclosed with

1840. stones, and offerings of slight burning sticks, — similar to those used in Chinese temples, are stuck round them. The path to these shrines is so well trodden, that they are evidently much frequented by the natives.

Amid this disappointment it was some compensation to discover that the hill of Mampo was entirely composed of coral rock, and that the stalactites are formed of the carbonate of lime, with minute particles of crystals intermixed. There is every reason to suppose that the excavations were, in times past, formed by the sea, and that Mampo Hill, now surrounded by the alluvial plain, was once what Palettè now is, both having antecedently been islands, and then points. Mampo is a remarkably flat-topped woody hill, about 400 feet high, and a prominent feature in the foreground after passing Tanjong Palettè. The eminences about it, and detached from the lower range, may be presumed to be of similar construction, and they mark well the recession of the sea from the mountains.

The hundreds of dark figures with flaming torches mingling their light with the streams of sunbeams from the roof — their yells and shouts as they entered the spacious halls, and the time — the clime — the spot — all produced a highly picturesque effect; yet I could not enjoy, though I admired; and my chief comfort was, that I might spare other travellers from being misled by the exaggerated, but consistent, account of the natives.

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The European imagination would deck this cave with all the semblance of a cathedral, with some slight approximation to the reality; they would see the shrines of saints or heroes—the Gothic arch—the groined roof—the supporting pillars.

The natives, from tradition as well as imagination, bestow on the varied shapes of stalactites the names of men, of beasts, or of birds. The halls of Alhambra are the nearest approach to the caves of nature's formation, and, we may suppose, they were first imitations of Nature's subterranean works.

The transition from the dim light and freshness of the cave into the bright glare of a tropical sun was very displeasing; and I felt glad, after an excursion of some hours, to return to our quarters at Unii.

On the way back, Spence*, rashly changing horses with Dain Matara, was run away with, and got a severe fall, which deranged his head so much from the concussion that he could remember nothing. I was anxious about him; but a few hours' quiet brought him round, and his scattered wits returned. It was well his brains, instead of his wits, were not scattered; for the foolish fellow had made his sarong fast to the horse's bridle, in order to keep tight a number of specimens which he had collected in the cave; the sarong being round his own waist, it was a wonder he did not lose his life.

* One of the seamen.

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April 4.

April 4. — Off shortly after daylight, and got into the main river when the sun had been up half an hour. At a moderate distance above the junction on the left bank, is the village of Ujong, of ten houses, and some distance beyond the boundary of the Wajo and Boni countries, which is marked on the chart. Hence the right bank belongs to Wajo; the left, to Boni.

Proceeding onward, we reached the creek of Solo on the right, bordered by a hamlet of ten houses. The next village is Bolah, on the left bank, of ten houses; and a creek leads to a town of the same name, said to be as large as Tanchung. A considerable way further up, is the town of Pompanūa (the boundary of Boni, which here joins Pomana), attached to Wajo, but nearly independent of it. The datu Pomana is likewise the pata filla, one of the six chiefs of Wajo. The representative is at present an "old lady."

Pompanūa is a large town, and the principal place where the prahus lie up. It consists of about 600 houses, and appears to be flourishing. We here counted nineteen prahus, many of a large size, either on the river bank or in the creek which runs through the town. The distances of the various places were taken by Mr. Murray on our way up; but I am not able to give the account *in time*, as we have no watches with us! and with a current varying in force in the different reaches, there is little idea to be formed from a mere estimate in time.

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As far as Pompanūa, the banks of the river present a perfect garden bordered with fruit-trees, viz. the mango, plantain, cocoa-nut, jack-durien, &c., and numerous detached houses *or farms* are scattered along. There is much cultivation of rice and Indian corn behind the fringe of wood at the back of the grassy plain, and altogether the country wears an aspect of cheerfulness and comfort. The river seems clear as far as Pompanūa, and thus high it is navigable for craft of 150 or 200 tons. Beyond this it may be so likewise; but it seems doubtful, and, indeed, no advantage could accrue to a European vessel from going up the river, as the means of water carriage are plentiful. A short distance above Pompanūa, the old river discharges itself into the present stream. The efflux of this ancient branch has already been noticed in the voyage from Tesōra to Tempè. Nearly opposite the junction of the waters stands Tobako, of 100 houses, on the left bank, which now assumes a grassy character, the belt of fruit-trees not reaching above Pompanūa.

A short distance from Tobako, on the same side, is Kompiri, of 200 houses. A few prahus are laid up here, in one of which we rested our crew for an hour. We had before stopped for half an hour for breakfast. From Kompiri we towed, as long as the ground would allow, to the village of Balong, of ten houses, on the right bank, nearly opposite which is a branch called Wellungan, which rejoins the main stream below Lagusi. At the entrance

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of the Wellungan, is a town of the same name, of sixty houses, and half a mile from thence is Nusi, of forty houses, both on the left side of the Wellungan.

The next town, at no great distance, is Lagusi, the approach to which is marked by gardens and fruit-trees. Off the town, the river divides into numerous branches, and the current is very strong. Lagusi is on the left bank, and is the capital of the rajah Pomana. The recession of the river from Tesōra has made Lagusi a place of great importance: it occupies a large space of ground, and has at least a thousand houses, being by far the most populous town I have seen in Bugisland.

The datu Lagusi or Pomana is a supporter of rajah Lappa Gnorisan in Si Dendring. Her power is great; and, united with Si Dendring, equal to that of the rest of Wajo. Opposite Lagusi is a narrow creek for canoes, which leads to the vicinity of Tesōra; but the channel would not admit the gig, and, though evening was closing on us, we had to advance up the river. The next town is Katena, on the left bank, containing, it is said, about sixty houses; and thence a good pull took us to Sabang, on the same side of the river, of seventy houses. Above Sabang we emerged from the main stream into the old river, just at dusk, and pulled on long after dark, groped our way through the Tesōra creek, and arrived at the datu lampola's house, about nine in the evening. The latter part of our voyage was very wet; and the entire pull from

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6 A.M. till 9 P.M., with only one hour and a half rest, was trying to the boat's crew. I cannot speak too highly of the Malays, they do hard work not only well, but so cheerfully, that it is a pleasure to see them.

April 5.—I found the datu in great distress, in consequence of a feud which had broken out between two of his chief supporters, namely, the rajahs Pajumparueh and Karain, the former the brother of the rundrang Tuwah, the latter the chief of Tempè. I have already mentioned the dissolute and vagabond habits of Karain's followers; and that their master encouraged them to plunder, and perhaps received some portions of the spoil. It appears, that one of his followers entered the house of Pajumparueh, and carried off property to the amount of 500 reals, consisting chiefly of gold-mounted spears, gold ciri and tobacco-boxes, with other ornaments and some money. A comrade, likewise in the following of Karain, from revenge informed Pajumparueh who had committed the robbery, and Karain was peremptorily required to restore the property, or make good the loss. His answer was, he knew nothing about it, and would not make the loss good. Both chiefs collected their followers, and a civil war was impending in the country. The arun Ujong joined Pajumparueh, and the datu, declaring his neutrality, was met with reproaches both by his nephew Ujong, and his brother-in-law, Karain.

April 6.

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Had this war commenced, it would, of course, have weakened his cause, both parties being, not only his supporters, but his relations. Under these circumstances, I resolved not to be the bearer of any letters to our government as they had requested; for the distracted chiefs know not what they want; and though Boni may be sincere in desiring a good understanding, the fluctuating councils of Wajo render it very doubtful. The appointment of an aru matoah, by restoring their original form of government, is the most likely measure to draw a strong party to a focus, steady their councils, and curb their chiefs; much, of course, will depend on the talent and activity of the person appointed. This, however, must be risked, and at any rate the shadow of an aru matoah is a rallying point for the pangawas and freemen, and gives a responsible head of the country. I resolved to make one push with the aru beting to induce him to appoint the chief magistrate, and accordingly waited on him. I was well supported by the pangawas, several hajjis, and the matoah of Tesōra; and after some converse and much flattery, persuaded him to promise before all, that there should positively be an aru matoah that very month. The feud between the chiefs was to be suppressed by the aru beting, the datu, and the pangawas, and, if requisite, to be subsequently decided, by the aru matoah. All this sounds well; but I have no assurance that the appointment will take place, as

the aru beting is a weak old man, turned by every breath of council and every woman's will; yet there are those about him who may keep him to the point, for all the best and most respectable people are urgent on the occasion.

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CHAP. XI.

DEPARTURE FROM CHINRANA.—PRESENTS.—NATIVE TRADITION ON THE ORIGIN OF THE BAJOW RACE.—RESUME THE VOYAGE, AND SAIL ALONG THE COAST.—MAGNIFICENT SCENERY.—ANCIENT STATE OF LUWU.—RAVAGES OF THE SMALL-POX.—GOVERNMENT OF LUWU.—WILD TRIBES IN THE MOUNTAINS.—TRADE.—LANGUAGE.—DEPARTURE FROM LUWU.—COAST AND ISLANDS.—FEATURES OF THE COAST.—DANGEROUS REEFS.

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 April 6.

April 6.—LEFT Tesōra after breakfast, and dropped down the old stream which runs into the present river above Pompanūa. A short way below Tesōra creek on the left hand, is the village of Chillaèh, of five houses. Below, on the same side, Palisu, by account of eighty-six houses, the only two places on the old stream.

About four we re-arrived at Chinrana, and were treated in the same hospitable style as before.

April 7.

April 7.—Leaving Chinrana, we issued by the Lowni entrance already described, and sailed round to the vessel. A detached sand-bank, with a few shrubs on it, lies off Point Lowni, but the channel on the inside is nearly dry at low water. The young rajah Dain Palawa came on board, and I underwent the usual talk; but I must here say I like this person, who, on acquaintance proves frank, pleasing, and kind. This is the *amende honorable*

for having previously abused him. I made him a few presents, and was not sorry to see him sail off.

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April 8. — At two in the morning came three boats laden with rice, a present from the rajah pangawa, besides some fowls, &c. Thirty pikul of rice, though acceptable, was more than I wanted; but, nevertheless, I kept it, as a *set-off* against the rifle I presented to the chief. At 4 A. M. sent Dain Matara to Bajuwè for a Bajow pilot, and if possible to procure a loan of money. He returned at 4, bringing what I wanted, in the questionable shape of 12,000 pice in a huge bag. With him, too, came the laleran Bajow, and the pilot. The laleran was a sensible old man, and in reply to my questions respecting the traditionary accounts of the origin of the Bajow race, gave me the following history: —

April 8.

The Bajow emigrated from the kingdom of Menangkabu, under the command of a young rajah, a relation of the royal family. Arriving in Bugisland, they were hospitably received by the king of Goa, who assigned the young prince an island for his residence and kingdom. From him and his followers sprung the Bajow race; but their island being small, they soon betook themselves to their boats, and like their original princes, sought a home and riches on the sea. They have no distinct written characters, but use either the Malay or Bugis in their books of law and regulations, the language, however, being Bajow. I tried in vain to procure one of these books, as it

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would be curious to obtain the maritime code of a maritime people — without a country, whose home is their prahu, and whose livelihood is gained by collecting the produce of the sea and shores of distant islands. We may presume that laws made to suit such a state of society would be peculiar.

The Bajow of Bugis are all under the command of one or other of three chiefs, called lollos, below these is the title of laleran.

In the evening I weighed anchor to be quite sure of getting clear of my Boni friends, and dropped it between Tanjong Lowni and Laboto.

April 9.

April 9. — Under weigh, with a light breeze — calm in the middle of the day — under weigh again in the evening. Passed over our old ground, and anchored beyond point Akutaingan, opposite the small stream Kera, which is distinguished by a hillock in the foreground. The next point is Marasanga, between which and Akutaingan, the land forms a long bay. Akutaingan is an undefined point. To the northward of Kera the ground behind the mangrove belt becomes hilly.

April 10.

April 10. — Tanjong Marasanga is low, and covered with light green trees. Beyond this is an extensive bay, within which are many minor ones. The first of these is Sewa, with a river near the point, leading to a considerable town. The next is Tanjong Sompano, then Tongaēh. A short distance beyond Kera is the boundary of Wajo, where the Boni territory extends once more nearly to Tongaēh, joining the Luwū boundary, at a hill

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with a peculiar notch, distinctly seen in sailing along. The scenery from Marasanga changes its character; the mangrove shore disappears, and is succeeded by wood, and a magnificent highland prospect — hill piled upon hill, with Latimojong crowning all. This day we made poor progress; the wind was light in the evening, and calm in the morning. There are shoals a moderate distance in the offing, which reach to Marasanga. Beyond that point the navigation is clear as far as we have gone, with deep water — thirty and thirty-five fathoms, two miles from shore — sixteen fathoms where we lie, one and a quarter off shore, and not far from Tanjong Tongaēh.

April 11. — Calm all the morning; the light *April 11.* breeze from the S.E. began to breathe about 11; by 12 it freshened, and we ran merrily along the coast. The point next to which we lay is Larompo; there are one or two more within the bay, but not of any importance. The outer point is called Jenemaijai (or red water) Point; it is low and green, a tongue of alluvial land shooting from the mountains. This large bay, it must be understood, is comprised between Marasanga and Jenemaijai; it does not run far in. The water is deep, and clear of all danger, save near the shore; the beach is woody, with noble mountains, a continuation of Latimojong, rising behind it. Off Jenemaijai the water is discoloured by a stream which discharges itself near the point whence it derives its name. A short sail brings you to another point, the name

1840. of which I could not ascertain; from thence the land slopes to the westward, forming a bay terminated by Tanjong Buah, whence the land again slopes gradually westward to another point; near which is an island and an other bay, and within lies Palopo, the capital of Luwū. The wind died away at dusk, and we came to anchor in sixteen and a half fathoms, about two miles off shore.—Prospect magnificent.

April 14. *April 14.* — Luwū is the oldest Bugis state, and the most decayed. Its internal anarchy prevented my remaining long, or seeing the country; but the prospect from our anchorage, off Libukongèh, is not to be described. A narrow slip of alluvial soil lies at the foot of the mountains, and Palopo stands on the sea-shore, amid small streams. The mountains stretch away to the northward, and a spur branches to the eastward round the head of the bay, leaving a considerable plain. Off the points, which form the creek of Palopo, are three shoals plainly to be distinguished — the rest of the navigation is clear, and a vessel might lie well in with the island of Libukongèh. Nearly to the northward of Libukongèh is a green hill of some size, which, on rounding the far point, is the best leading mark for Palopo. We anchored a mile and a half from the island, and I despatched a boat instantly for provisions. Palopo is a miserable town, consisting of about 300 houses, scattered and dilapidated. The small-pox had succeeded the civil war, and was even more destructive to the popula-

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tion. The death of the late rajah, nearly two years since, left his sons to contest the succession. After a severe struggle they agreed upon a truce, and buried the old monarch; and, even now some hopes remain of a final accommodation between the parties.

The government of Luwū is more simply despotic than either Wajo or Boni. The monarch is styled pajungèh, with whom are the patunru*, pabechara, tomarilalan, and balironti. The title of the high nobility is "offu," tantamount to the term pata in the other countries. The two claimants to the throne are the youngest son of the late pajungèh, and his sister, the wife of the offu patunru. It is difficult to believe that Luwū could ever have been a powerful state, except in a very low stage of native civilisation. The situation is entirely mountainous, and the lowlands are not extensive enough to support a large population. The hills are peopled by wild tribes, and the depth of the bay prevents the facility of communication with other parts of the Archipelago. Ancient Luwū, however, embraced, according to Sir Stamford Raffles, the country to Chinrana, including the left bank of the Welluna. It is probable; but where, then, was Wajo? The dialect is distinct, both from that of Goa and Boni.

The entire country is wretchedly poor, and both rice and salt are transported from Boni or Makassar.

* Father of Council.

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The trade with the head of the bay is carried on in small prahus, and the returns are principally wax. The Turajah, who inhabit the hills, are undoubtedly the original inhabitants of Bugis; and in dress, or rather no dress, bear a resemblance to the Dyaks of Borneo. They are not converted to Islam, and are said to seek heads on the occasion of a great chief's death, but not to keep them in their houses. I saw about twenty of them in the market-place at Palopo, but they spoke no Bugis, and were very shy and frightened. In feature and appearance they differed nothing from the Bugis. Their principal country is represented to be Bada, an independent state, where they are both numerous and powerful. Bada, however, is at a considerable distance from Luwū.

The tribe of Balusa are within two days' journey, and others, scattered nearer, are under the dominion of the Bugis. Those I saw bore marks of great poverty, and had brought down small quantities of paddy for sale, from the produce of which they buy salt and other necessaries. An intelligent native told me their language somewhat resembled that of Goa; and, from the few words I heard them speak, I thought it soft and pleasing. They have no written characters. I stayed at Luwū from the morning of the 12th to the morning of the 16th, and then quitted it with a light breeze. A moderate supply of provisions may be procured, chiefly fowls, at from twenty to thirty the dollar. Wood

and water are plentiful, and more conveniently to be got than elsewhere in the bay. 1840.

April 16.—Leaving Luwū, we stood close hauled, with a light breeze, along the shore, which is low, but with deep water, and only one shoal, which we saw. Passing several inferior points, we anchored near the more prominent one of Chappa Salo, with a river of that name; there is likewise a town up the stream. April 16.

April 17.—A night of rain, thunder, and lightning — the morning clear, with a light air off shore, and we were enabled to get a beautiful view of the mountains which from Luwū run to the northward a short distance, and then curve with the bay to the north-east. The space between the sea and mountain is of the same character as heretofore, viz. low ground fringed with mangrove, and intersected by numerous streams. The bay from Palopo runs about north-east to east. We sailed some way along the shore, passing several rivers and points, and at night anchored in thirteen and a half fathoms water. April 17.

April 18.—Got under weigh, and stood along shore till well abreast of a magnificent mountain, which is as high, or nearly so, as Lumpu Batang, and protrudes in front of the amphitheatre which encircles the head of the bay. We were in search of a place called Wotu; but when about coming to an anchor, our Bajow pilot was obliged to confess he did not rightly know where it was. April 18.

Getting under sail again, with a very light breeze,

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we saw a canoe which had come off from the Offu Undri Guru at Burow; and understanding they had some provisions, of which we were greatly in want, came to an anchor at 1 P. M., and sent off our long boat. I may state that between Chappa Salo and Burow are the river and town of Low-wo, and beyond Burow lies Watto, called in the charts Wattoèh Wenua, the country of Watto. The site of Low-wo is not ascertained, and other towns of equal size exist, of which we are necessarily ignorant.

April 19.

April 19. — The boat returned late from Burow, bringing a buffalo, three goats, and a fowl, in exchange for a few articles of British manufacture. Another buffalo was likewise promised at the same price, if we would send to-morrow. Burow is situated about a mile up the small stream, and consists of about 100 houses — country low, jungle, and hardly any cultivation. Mr. Murray was despatched in the gig, to go round the head of the bay, and lay it down; at night he returned, having completed his task: he found the shores low, covered with mangroves, and numerous rivers, some of large size; but there is no outlet this way by the sea, which I conceived might possibly be the case. At the head of the bay lie the town and river of Usu, the latter has, by the native accounts, seven mouths. The head of the bay is, as may be perceived by reference to the chart, narrow and wedge-shaped. The eastern shore, however, is entirely distinct in character, being bold, and

abrupt, whilst the northern is separated from the mountains by the alluvial plain so often referred to.

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I may here mention that the natives gave me the following names for the high mountain, near which we are anchored:—1st, Wowwindrè; 2d, Koria; 3d, Tampoki; these probably refer to different peaks, or portions of it. Tampoki is, I believe, the highest peak.

April 20.—Crossed over to the eastern bank, and made it out to be an island, called Pulo Paloèh (or separated mountain), which is bold and wooded, being divided from the main by a moderate channel. Tradition says Sawira Gading anchored on the coast; and cutting down a tree, it fell and divided this island from the shore.

April 20.

Beyond Pulo Paloèh is Tanjong Lawakè, which forms a deep bay, with other bights and points within. We came to anchor off a headland, lying near the mouth of one of the coves, which I visited; the situation is easily discovered by some reddish white cliffs which form the eastern side of the entrance. The western opening has a coral reef stretching off it; within the cove are numerous islands of fantastic and irregular shapes, and coral reefs, with deep water between them. The scenery is most picturesque, as, indeed, it is all along the coast—bold wood-covered hills, with high mountains behind—bays, and valleys, and islands, and the bluest water. Where we anchored, less than half a mile from the shore, there were twenty-three fathoms, stiff clay bottom. The point beyond our

1840. anchorage is called Lelewawo, and with Lawakè forms the bay.

April 21. *April* 21. — Calm and light breeze. Passed Lelewawo with an island off it, within which is a stream and town of the same name, and anchored at night in twenty-three fathoms water, three quarters of a mile off shore.

April 22. *April* 22. — Continued calms and light airs. Passed the prominent point of Susua. Beyond Susua are other bold headlands, two of which are named Libnandala and Labekara. The former is the next, or next but one from Susua — the latter the fourth point; but I cannot speak with any certainty. This evening, off these promontories we found no anchorage, and had to lie-to all night; running along shore shortly after dark, the coast appearing very bold, we passed suddenly into fifteen and then eight fathoms; deepened again to fifteen — forty-five, and no bottom at fifty fathoms. This reef is off the next point to Susua, and we were advertised of its proximity by the smell of decomposed matter that came from it. After this I ran back a short distance to the ground we had passed over, and lay-to. Towards evening it fell calm, however, and we drifted to the southward, within a mile of another reef.

CHAP. XII.

CHANGES IN THE ASPECT OF THE COAST SHOALS. — MINKOKA DISTRICT AND TRIBE. — LANGUAGE OF THE MINKOKAS — THEIR MANNERS AND RELIGION — STATURE AND COSTUME — RESEMBLANCE TO THE DYAKS. — LEAVE-TAKING AND FUNERAL FEASTS. — SUPERSTITIONS OF THE INLAND TRIBES. — TRADING HABITS. — CHEAPNESS OF COMMODITIES. — DESCEND THE COAST. — CHARACTER OF THE SCENERY. — SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS. BONTIAN. — SAMARANG ROADSTEAD. — SINGAPORE.

April 23. — AFTER an anxious night, made sail and saw the reef before mentioned and many others both within and without: the channel, however, is good in clear weather. The mountain region gradually smooths down after running some distance along the bold coast, and slight strips of alluvial plain again intervene here and there between the highlands and the sea. Shoals numerous and far out, some very large, are reported along the coast beyond Labekara.

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April 23.

The direction of the coast is south east: the next prominent point, with two islands near it, is called Tumboli: a shoal or two is in the vicinity, easily discernible. The land from Tumboli sinks into a deep bay, across the mouth of which is a cluster of islands, the largest called Padamarungèh: we steered in for the inner point, and came to an anchor in the bay in nineteen fathoms, soft bottom.

April 24. — Passed between the island of Padamarungèh and a low point of the main, called

April 24.

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Ajuaringèh. The channel is clear away from the shore. Steering nearly east across the next bay, looking for Minkoka, we found it filled with shoals, and bore away E. by N. and E. N. E., finally bringing up at an excellent anchorage off the river Pondui, in twelve fathoms.

I now discovered that Minkoka is the name of a district and tribe, as well as of a small river in this bay. Pondui has about ten or fifteen straggling houses, chiefly belonging to Bugis residents; but the Minkoka people live scattered along the coast, and in the interior near Pondui is the village of Kalaka, inhabited by them, and not far removed is the Bajow Kampong of Pasuloi.

The country is attractive and partially cleared: the high mountains sink to wood-covered hills of moderate size; with intervening valleys, and a strip of alluvial plain on the sea shore. The population, as I have said, is scattered, and consists chiefly of Minkoka people, with some Bugis and Bajow settlers and traders. The greater part of the bay is choked with shoals; and coming into it, as mentioned, vessels should keep along the shore of the main, after clearing the channel between Ajuaringèh and the island; giving it, however, a sufficient offing, and looking out for shoals, as one or two are to be passed.

April 25.

April 25. — I was most anxious to procure provisions at this place, as I began to fear our stock of salt meat would not last, *even to Samārang*. It has, indeed, been a great drawback, for the latter part of

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this cruise, to be forced to look to the country for our supplies ; and here they have altogether failed us, as far as I can see at present. A boat I despatched to Pansuloi returned unsuccessful, and the neighbouring villages only yielded one goat and a few fowls.

I was enabled during the day to see two or three Minkoka people, and to make a vocabulary of their language, which bears some affinity to the dialects of the Battas and Rejangs of Sumatra.

April 26. — Procured one buffalo, the promise of a second, a goat, and some fowls. Numbers of the Minkokas visited us, and gave me an opportunity of inquiring into their habits and manners, and correcting my vocabulary from some of their superior people. These people may generally be stated to inhabit the bays between Tanjong Tamboli, and Tanjong Okoko, and the interior mountains. To the eastward they are bounded by a tribe called Rumbia, whose country stretches to the eastern shores of Celebes, and with whom they occasionally wage wars.

It is necessary, however, to divide the Minkokas into two, or even more communities, namely, the people inhabiting the coasts, and those in the mountains. The former have in some measure been *civilised* by their intercourse with the Bugis and Bajow people, and have nominally adopted the religion of Islam, without, however, rejecting their own barbarous customs and habits. Indeed, their

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religion seems to consist in little more than rejecting the use of pork. Their language, as I have said, bears some affinity to the dialect of Sumatra, as likewise to the Malay and Bugis : in short, it is of the common stock.

In personal appearance they resemble the Bugis : they are well made, but of low stature, and clean limbed, and clothed in the short trowsers, and some with the sarong. They wear the hair long, rarely have a covering on the head, and their arms are ornamented with rings of plaited bamboo or straw, and carved shells. These ornaments, however, are by no means common, and are chiefly confined to the few who lived a short distance in the interior.

The kris is rare amongst them, and evidently adopted from their neighbours ; but they carry a short sword, usually ornamented with a tuft of human hair at the handle. The sumpitan is in use, the arrows of which are poisoned, and they have likewise spears and long swords. It would be curious to inquire how far these people resemble the Dyaks of Borneo, with whom most writers have classed them, marking at the same time how far they differ from them, and how far the Dyak tribes differ amongst themselves. I may say then briefly, that in personal appearance there is no marked difference from those I have seen on the west coast of Borneo, and that their weapons, especially the sumpitan and short sword, are the same, or nearly so. The ornaments of human hair are common to both.

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In that peculiar and *striking* custom of taking heads they also resemble. In Borneo with the Kyans, and in Celebes with the Minkokas, this custom seems limited to funeral or festive occasions, more especially on the death of their rajah or chief.

When this occurs here, they sally forth with a white band across their forehead, to notify their object, and destroy alike their enemies and strangers. Their depredations are stated to be carried on chiefly in the Rumbia country, the people of which retaliate in kind, on the demise of their chief; but the Bugis and Bajow settlers assured me they had no apprehension on their own account, as they never attacked people they knew had settled in their country. From twenty to forty heads, according to the rank of the deceased rajah, being procured, buffaloes are killed, rice boiled, and a solemn funeral feast is held, and whatever time may elapse, the body is not previously buried. The heads on being cleaned, are hung up in the houses of the three principal persons of the tribe, and regarded with great veneration and respect. It is not necessary, as with the Dyaks, to procure a skull previous to marriage; nor, except on the occasions mentioned and during war, do they take any heads.

The Minkoka people marry only one wife. They live divided in small communities, and their houses have no resemblance to those of the Dyaks, being mere common-sized huts. The chief of the people

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on the sea shore reside at Pandokolo, an hour's journey, or two, from the Bajow Kampong.

The interior tribes acknowledge other chiefs, and are, as I have said, less civilised than those I had principally an opportunity of seeing: they are represented as wearing the bark of trees round their loins. Some of this bark cloth I procured from them: it is neatly manufactured, whilst the armlets of split bamboo are so finely worked, that they would do credit to a European artisan.

The religion of these people I had little opportunity of inquiring about. The inhabitants of the coast, professing Mahomedanism, worship particular trees or stones painted red, and make their offerings at those shrines, much after the fashion of the Bugis themselves, who are superstitiously inclined. The Bugis assured me they were not given to stealing, and were to be trusted by their friends, and a good character from them goes a long way, as they are little inclined to speak highly of a wild tribe, whom they evidently consider a very inferior class.

The Minkokas are keen barterers; numbers of canoes came off to us with various commodities. Amongst these were sago, wax, cocoa-nuts, arms, ornaments, fowls, mats, &c. which they freely gave for cotton handkerchiefs and bottles: pickle and mustard bottles they preferred; and for one of the former either a large or two small fowls were given. The wax is of excellent quality, and may be had in considerable quantities. The Bugis told me it stood them in twelve or fifteen dollars' worth of

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goods a pikul, but that the collection was tedious and annoying. This same wax sells in Singapore from thirty-two to thirty-five dollars a pikul, which is fine profit, and would justify some extra exertion of patience. I procured as a sample two pounds and a half of wax for a red cotton handkerchief (worth, say eight-pence, which price would bear out the Bugis statement). Sago may be had for a song — two cotton handkerchiefs of superior quality (worth, say two shillings), bought sixty pounds of sago, and no doubt would have purchased more had I been a bargainer, as I ought to be, and as other folks are.

Indeed the Minkoka people behaved very well and civilly, more especially respecting the provisions, of which I now find I may have any quantity. Cocoa-nuts sold from seventy to one hundred for a small red cotton handkerchief.

April 27.—It was a perfect fair on board all this morning, bartering for goods; and all seemed well pleased with their exchanges. We added a second buffalo to our stock, which we got for a musket and six yards of white cloth. At length, a breeze springing up, our anchor was weighed, and I bade adieu to Minkoka, which I would willingly have seen more of, had it been in my power. April 27.

April 28. — Beating all day to windward with a light breeze and opposing current, anchored in the evening inside the first island, having thus retraced our path from Pondui. There is a passage from thence amongst the reefs out by Okoko, which is the bluff point seen from the anchorage; April 28.

1840. but this passage is reported to be intricate and difficult being full of shoals on either hand. Having no pilot, I conceived it best to run out the way we came in, as it did not seem quite sure that we could go out the other way, and, at any rate, not without a fair wind. A ship entering this bay by Okoko ought to take the greatest care and previously examine the passage ; for, as far as I could see, it appeared a mass of shoals. Thirty reefs and upwards were counted from the mast-head as we came into the bay, lying between us and the eastern shore.

April 29. *April 29.* — My birthday ; but let that pass, as I am too old to take much delight in its recurrence. A very light breeze during the day carried us off Tanjong Okoko, then a dead calm till ten at night, between which time and four I ventured to run down the coast, on the report of the Bugis.

April 30. *April 30.* — Daylight saw us off a point not very prominent. The country about Minkoka I have described as subsiding from the lofty range to peaceful hill and vale. The shore, running about S.S.E., becomes low, with a few slight eminences in the background. Beyond Point Daylight, or Chappatanai, the coast trends away further to the eastward, and grows somewhat more bold. Kobina was in sight, and nearer to us the small bushy and sandy island of Bassa.

As far as the point, which I have called Point Daylight, the coast is clear of shoals at a distance of about four miles ; but beyond it is a large reef, several miles in extent, which must be looked care-

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fully for. A passage, in all probability, exists between the reef and the shore. We, however, passed outside, and then through the channel between this reef and the reef around Pulo Bassa, where we lay-to, and Mr. M. and myself went in the gig for sights. A heavy squall was approaching; and the Royalist lying-to between these reefs with clear green waters in the front, and the black thunder cloud in the background, formed a lively picture, now backing, now filling, and hovering at the edge of the reef, like a water-bird.

Pulo Bassa is a low small island, recently arisen from the reef, and fast extending; it has, as usual, some beautiful green trees, and exquisitely dazzling sand. The reef is composed of this substance mixed with masses of grey sandstone, and encircles the island, extending a long way out to the south westward. We managed to get sights, not quite such good ones as I could desire, and the squall being over, sailed off to the vessel, which had run to leeward on purpose to meet us.

Made sail, and saw another small patch, a long way out to the southward of Pulo Bassa. This concludes the survey of the bay, which I am rejoiced at; and now we are running with a fine breeze across to Tanjong Berak.

May 4. — Off Salaya. Extremely bad fortune; a very adverse conjunction of the planets prevents our advance. First two days dead calm off Kobina, then foul wind and contrary currents. The straits of Salaya are called Limbangan by the Bugis. It *May 4.*

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is to be regretted that the Mansfield and Amboyna banks, and other reputed dangers, are not examined. I would do it, but have no provisions.

We beat through the longer passage between Salaya and Middle Island; but it requires a stiff breeze and smart vessel, for the current is strong. In doing so we towed our long boat under water, and nearly lost her. This accident delayed us some time, and at dusk, when standing in with a five-knot breeze for Boele Kompa, we were taken flat aback by a land wind. About seven, it falling calm, we anchored off the conical mountain, about five or six miles from shore, in fifteen fathoms. A heavy swell from the southward kept us rolling deep all night. The Amboyna shoal I did not see, though we passed within a mile and a half of it.

May 5. *May 5.* — Light contrary wind: all day getting to Bonthian: anchored at 7 o'clock in the roadstead.

May 8. *May 8.* — Sailed in the evening, after procuring as much provisions as the place afforded and we could purchase, but withal inadequate to carry us to Singapore, unless we have a quick passage. I may here mention that our distress has been considerable for some time, having been in want of grog, biscuits, and vegetables, and our salt meat having run so low, that a few days' supply only remains. Luxuries, such as wine, sugar, coffee, &c. have been long strangers on board.

Now we comparatively revel in good things; coffee, arrack, sugar, and potatoes, with pigs and

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sheep, have been found at Bonthian. I regretted this the more, because, had my orders been punctually obeyed, we should not have failed in supplies so early as we did; and I take the blame greatly on myself, in not seeing and knowing that stock had been laid in for four months. However, let it pass: the remembrance of these things soon dies from the mind of sailors, so I will not allow their complaints at the time to dwell on my mind.

Eight days, with very light winds, took us from Bonthian to Samārang, whither I was compelled to go for provisions. My first application to Mr. M^cNeil for money proving successful, we were enabled to lay in a store of necessaries and luxuries. Mr. M^cNeil evinced all the liberality of a British merchant, with the well-bred hospitality of a gentleman. I stayed with him part of Saturday, all Sunday, and Monday morning; and I may well say I parted with regret from an agreeable companion and the comforts of civilised life.

Whilst we lay here the Lord Eldon came in, from Sydney. Mr. M. of Southampton was a passenger in her; and having known the Royalist of old, quite revived my yachting recollections, with recitals of the feats done at Cowes, the cups run for, the matches made, or to be made, the vessels built, or building, sold or bought.

The roadstead of Samārang is a fair one in the easterly monsoon, but quite exposed in the westerly. Samārang is a cheerful and pleasing town, with trees and a river truly Dutch. The houses are

1840. substantial and good. The people were very civil to me, and the government officers showed me every attention, though they made me pay the port charges, which I of course submitted to, but referred to the governor at Batavia.

From Samarang to the entrance of Banca Straits there was a very strong westerly set. Steering N.W. by N. we only made good a N. W. by W. course. At the entrance of Banca we encountered a squall, accompanied with thick weather, and anchored. The night was miserable, and I never remember a heavier rain: it was an unceasing deluge. After breakfast, it having cleared a little, we got under weigh, in company with two other vessels, and have now entered the straits, having passed First Point.

I may here close the journal of a six months' cruise to the Bugis land; and, reviewing the past, I have fair occasion to be satisfied. Some cares and troubles I have had, which arose from not carrying a sufficient store of those luxuries, bread and grog. Indeed, I blame myself for not having been more particular on this score, and it has been a lesson, I trust, for the future. I am always more willing to take a cheerful than a melancholy view, and cares past sit very lightly on my mind. If some of my crew, who have been four years with me, are sickened of the voyage, and leave at Singapore, I have the satisfaction of having distinguished dross from gold, and separated chaff from corn. If some are like the seed in thorny places, others resemble that which has fallen on good ground, and have

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proved themselves of sterling metal; and if it mortifies me to find men perform less than they have promised, it is even more pleasing to distinguish the good from the indifferent.

I have often asked myself the question whether, in the same time, I might not have done more, and as well. On reflection, I can answer it satisfactorily in the negative. I might have gone over more ground, but without gaining that intimate knowledge of the Bugis countries which I now have. It was information which could be acquired but slowly, and the jealousy of Boni caused much delay.

Perhaps it is not saying too much when I assert, that the removal of this jealousy was due to others as well as to myself, and that those who follow me, though at a long interval, will benefit by my patience and moderation. However, though I am clearly of opinion that I ought to limit my ambition, and to perform a moderate task well, rather than run cursorily over a large space of ground, and content myself with the outside of countries, yet I plead guilty of not having distributed my time so well as I might have done. Luwu and Minkoka should have occupied a greater portion of it; but it may be urged in extenuation that I should have lost Boni, and that the former country was in a very dangerous and unsettled state.

The early voyagers described new regions and new people. The fault of modern voyagers is trying to do the same when there is no field for it. They are consequently failures, or nearly so. The ancient

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mariners sketched for us. We have to colour their pictures in a rational and sober manner, here and there filling up what they have omitted. Our chart of this voyage comprises from Bonthian to Amboyna shoal, including the Bay of Boni (which, *en passant*, I may say, it would take another year to finish). We have gained the summit of Lumpu Batang never before reached, and from its barometric admeasure-ment can estimate the approximate height of the neighbouring mountains of Latimojong, Tampoki, and Sasua. The Bugis country, included between the mountain range extending from Lumpu Batang to Latimojong, has been laid down with more or less accuracy. With the country of Wajo we have become more or less acquainted, with its rivers, towns, lakes, and boundaries; we have lived amongst the people and shared their amusements. Their habits, manners, mode of life, and constitution, will be found minutely detailed; their present political condition, and gradual decomposition, may arrest pity and excite sympathy. Luwu is at best but a mountainous country, torn and distracted, and inhabited by a poorer and worse people than the other states. The opposite coast, remarkable for its grandeur, is peopled by wild tribes, with whom we communicated, and whose language was taken down.

I close for want of room, not of matter. Ran through Rhio Straits at night, and reached Singapore on the 27th of May, exactly one year since I first anchored here.

Mr. Brooke remained at Singapore a few months to refit his vessel, and endeavour to recruit his health. He sailed on his second visit to Sarāwak early in August, 1840, and at the end of the month anchored off that land, hereafter destined to be the country of his adoption. His proceedings will be found in his own Journal.

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Captain
Mundy's
Narrative.

shewing
the Track of the
Royalist Yacht
James Brooke Esq^r

1839

† Towns
• Villages

