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NOTES ON NANING, WITH A BRIEF NOTICE OF THE NANING WAR.

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THE territory of Nanning lies inland of Malacca, extending in a triangular shape in length from the apex at Mount Ophir to the base on the Lingie river and Bukit Kayu Arang about 35 miles; the extent of the Province may be calculated at 240 square miles, while in physical description it does not differ in any respect from the neighbouring lands of Malacca; the two countries are not separated by any natural boundary.

When the Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511, they followed the Malays into the interior as far as Padang Chachar, on the boundary of Nanning with Rumbow; but only on an expedition against a party which rallied there with a view to future attacks. With the exception of this, and similar incursions made for the purpose of intimidating the Malays, and driving them from the vicinity of their fortress, the Portuguese do not appear to have exercised any authority beyond the range of the fort guns. From their power and prominent position the neighbouring native territories were considered to be under their protection: a protection, however, which, according to the universal custom in these countries, was always extended by the superior authority, without arrogating any right of interference in internal government. Nanning appears to have been in this condition when the Portuguese at Malacca were driven out by the Dutch and their allies the Kings of Acheen and Johore, in 1641. In making arrangements consequent on this capture, the Dutch were installed in Malacca in the same position as the Portuguese, and being in alliance with Johore, the Suzerain of the neighbouring states and the troublesome enemy of the Portuguese, they were enabled to pay more attention to the interior than their predecessors, whose time and resources were taken up in effecting a trading monopoly and in resisting the constant attacks of the neighbouring Malays.

In pursuance of their policy of influencing the interior states, the Dutch began to exercise controul over Nanning. This was resisted, and a body of 200 Netherland soldiers, with a large party of Militia, was early prepared to enforce their authority,

but on Johore assuming a menacing position the expedition was withheld, the Rajah of Johore at that time having been too powerful to offend with impunity. The disturbed state of Naning was, however, so injurious to their interests that in the year 1643 the Dutch felt obliged to interfere, and a deputation was ordered in Council to proceed to Naning, "to *persuade* the Menangkabows of Naning to adopt an agricultural and peaceful life." So great was the dread of the Malays in those days, that none of the Council would volunteer to undertake the mission; and, as the case was pressing, the Governor was obliged to go himself. Protected by a force of 180 soldiers he set out, and in three days arrived at the boundary of Naning, a distance of 12 miles from Malacca. Here they were received with every mark of respect, and an agreement to the following effect was entered into by the chiefs on the part of the people of Naning, date 1644:

1st.—That a Punghulu at Mullikey, against whom great complaints had been made, should be removed.

2nd.—That the Naning people should keep the river clear for navigation—(against this clause there was considerable opposition, the Naningites saying that "though subjects we are not slaves").

3rd.—Naning to pay one-tenth of the produce of paddy to Dutch.

4th.—The chief to appear annually at Malacca to do homage.

5th.—That the inhabitants should be called by beat of gong, to enquire if they had any cause of complaint against the chiefs—(this clause, however, was neutralised by a proviso, that any person bringing frivolous or vexatious complaints should be punished).

6th.—Instructions in writing were to be furnished to the chiefs, pointing out the most advisable line of conduct for them to pursue in all ordinary occasions.

This is not different from any of the treaties made between Europeans and the lesser independent native states at the time; with the exception of the 3rd clause, which, however, was not attended to. The people having to pay taxes to their own chiefs, refused to pay, in addition, to the Europeans. In their attempt to enforce payment, the Dutch roused a spirit of opposition among the surrounding Malayan states, which resulted in a

general combination headed by Johore. The Dutch treated with Johore and succeeded in making terms. The remaining confederates, however, harassed the outskirts of the town of Malacca for some time by constant attacks. A force was sent to Naning in 1645, to put a stop to these incursions, but it was met and cut to pieces. This blow, however, was not followed up by the Malays, who apparently remained satisfied at having thus checked the interference of the Europeans in their internal affairs. Nothing was done now by either party for 7 years, when, in 1652, the chiefs on being reprimanded for executing a criminal without confirmation, confessed their error. Small quantities of paddy were sent down yearly, ostensibly as the tenth of the produce, but evidently considered by the Naning people as merely a present to the Europeans. Finding the chiefs a little slack in 1664 a force of troops was sent up to frighten them. On his return, the officer in command reported that he had met a number of Malays, or as they were called by the Dutch Menangkabows, peaceably driving home a flock of buffaloes in the evening, and that he had fired among them and killed two. The Governor in Council "hoped this would do good by preventing the rebellious "Menangkabows from disturbing them."

In 1679, Naning was allowed by the Dutch to enter into a separate treaty with Rumbow, the next state inland, and in 1701 a treaty was made by the Dutch themselves with Johore, by which the protection of Naning was made over to them. To explain this a reference to the history of those states is necessary. Previously to the arrival of the Portuguese, a colony from the great Sumatra Kingdom of Menangkabow, at that time apparently the head and protector of all the Malayan states, had settled inland of Malacca, where lands were allotted to them. In course of time they increased and formed 9 states, which were governed by a constitution similar to that of the parent state, but they were under the protection of Malacca; without, however, permitting any right to interfere in their internal affairs. When the Malays were driven out of Malacca by the Portuguese they formed a new capital, Johore, at the south of the peninsula, and continued to rule over the same country as before, with the exception of Malacca: Naning, one of the 9 Sumatra states, from its close proximity natu-

rally fell under the influence of the Europeans at Malacca, and in course of time it was excluded from consultation with the other 8 states in questions of peace and war. Johore exercised a protectorate over the 8 states, and doubtless over Naning also, in matters beyond the province of European government, such as settlement of appeals and hearing cases of importance with reference to religion &c, till the year 1758, when in a treaty between the Dutch and Johore,—Rumbow, Sungie Ujong and Johole, three states on the borders of Naning, were detached, and with Naning, the protectorate made over to the Dutch. However, the inconvenience of having no congenial resort for appeal and settlement of disputes and religious differences constantly arising among themselves, induced the states to apply to Johore to obtain for them a chief of the Royal blood of Menangkabow to occupy the place formerly held by the sovereign of Johore. A communication was opened with Menangkabow and a prince of that family was sent over under the title of “Iang de Pertuan Besar.” This prince exercises no direct power nor has he any revenues beyond the fees of his office. His duties are to sit as President over the Pungulus of the states, on all matters affecting the common interests, and to hear appeals in certain cases, without however affecting the local jurisdiction of the Pungulus, who, each in his own district, exercise an exclusive internal jurisdiction, with the aid of four coadjutors under the name of Sookoos. For his support certain fees and customs are fixed, to be paid by the Rayats through the Pungulus. After the appointment of this officer, it was obvious that if the Europeans wished to retain their influence they must act on him; accordingly it was arranged that, on the death of an incumbent, his successor must pass through Malacca, produce his credentials, pointing out his lineage and connection with the Royal family of Menangkabow, and obtain permission to proceed inland where he should be regularly installed. This prince exercises power only in the 4 above named states, the other 5, as before, remaining under Johore. The English have long ceased to interfere with the appointment or examination of the Menangkabow Prince, who proceeds inland without any ceremony or notice at Malacca.

The power now obtained appears to have increased the influence

of the Dutch, as in 1703, on the resignation of the then Punghulu of Naning, they were enabled to appoint his brother to succeed; and though the Naning people refused at first to accept the appointment, they did so ultimately, on the Dutch sending up the Captain of the Malays, from Malacca, to remonstrate with them. The collection of the tenth of produce had been merely nominal, and in 1746 the quantity had fallen to 200 gantangs, of the value of about 6 dollars yearly. The collection was in that year commuted for 400 gantangs; but on account of the poverty of the people one-half was remitted. The obvious reason was the inability of the Dutch to collect the tenth, as the rayats paid regularly to the Punghulu, and could not be induced to pay a second tax to the Europeans. Under a weak government it is not to be supposed that the people of Naning would be checked by fear of their European protectors; and, accordingly, frequent instances are on record where, from tyranny and oppression on the part of the Naning Chiefs, the country has been so disordered that the Dutch felt called on to interfere for the peace of their own territory, and in doing so frequently met with a repulse, as in the year 1761, when the Punghulu was repeatedly summoned to appear in Malacca, but as often refused to come down. Had there been any reason to consider Naning as part of the Dutch territory, it is impossible to believe that such conduct could have been overlooked. So long as the Europeans did not interfere with them, and were satisfied with a tribute of 400 gantangs of paddy, the chiefs and people of Naning had no objection to be called subjects, or any other name their European neighbours might wish. They were satisfied at being generally protected from external enemies, and for this protection they rendered the tribute universally exacted and paid in the east, in connections between a powerful state and its weaker neighbour. It thus would appear that the Europeans had a nominal claim to Naning as part of their territory, shewn by the acknowledgment of their right to one-tenth of the produce, but that, except on rare occasions, they never were able to interfere in the internal arrangements of the country, which was exclusively managed, even to matters of life and death, by its native chiefs; and that the tenth, instead of being a revenue levied in Naning for the Dutch, was merely a present or tribute of a few gantangs

of rice, not amounting to a thousandth part of the produce as will be shewn below.

In 1795 the English became possessed of the Dutch Settlement of Malacca, and it was supposed that Naning followed as part of the settlement; however, from certain reasons elsewhere stated, the English government did not pay much attention to the interior of the settlement. It appears that no notice was taken of Naning till the year 1801, when circumstances occurred which drew the attention of the authorities in that direction. On the 16th July of that year, a treaty was entered into by Colonel Taylor, then Resident at Malacca, with the Punghulu and 4 chiefs of Naning.

From a perusal of this treaty, which will be found in Newbold's work, it will be evident that Naning was treated rather as a protected state than as part of Malacca, as the European governments, in these countries, do not make treaties with their own subjects. In the year 1802, Dool Syed was installed as Punghulu of Naning by Colonel Taylor, on the condition that he was to use the English Company's Seal. The Dutch had succeeded in imposing a yearly tribute of buffaloes and fowls. The payment of buffaloes was now remitted, and in 1807 Colonel Farquhar remitted a tax of one rupee which had been levied on every boat coming down the Malacca river from Naning. This tax was one imposed in Malacca territory and therefore was beyond the right of interference of Naning under any circumstances; it was now, however, abolished, thus leaving only the 400 gantangs of paddy and 6 dozen of fowls as tax or tribute.*

The chiefs continued to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in Naning, even to the power of life and death as before, till 1807, when Colonel Farquhar interfered and made a fresh settlement with the chiefs, by which the power of life and death was taken away and other matters of less importance arranged; among the rest the before named remission of the tax on boats. Excepting in cases involving capital punishment, however, matters as to the internal government of Naning were left on the old footing, no alteration being attempted till the year 1828.

In 1825 Malacca was finally ceded to the English, when certain

* In 1746 the tax had been reduced to 200 gantangs on the pretext of the poverty of the people, but it was in 1776 raised again to 400 gantangs.

steps were taken by government for the settlement of the internal affairs of the territory. It was found that none of the lands of Naning had been granted by the Dutch, in the same manner as the lands of Malacca, a proof of itself, if further proof were required, that the Dutch did not possess Naning, and the question arose as to the disposal of the Naning lands. The Records were examined, and from them it was argued that Naning was an integral portion of the settlement of Malacca; that as such it was included in the maps and documents handed over by the Dutch authorities; that by the treaties before mentioned, one with the Dutch in 1644 and a subsequent one with the English in 1802, it appeared in plain terms that Naning was subject to Malacca, as in both these documents they bound themselves to pay one-tenth of their paddy crops to the Malacca government, and they had continued to pay this tax, the smallness of which was attributed to laxity in the authorities not having made the collections. The settlement of lands in Malacca was already made on the footing that the rayats were to pay one-tenth of their produce to government as a land tax, and it would have been obviously an unequal and improper arrangement to tax one portion of the land of the settlement, and exempt the other, on the supposition that Naning, as appeared by the Records and treaties, was an integral portion of the territory of Malacca. The Governor was strengthened in this course by finding that in 1822, the then Dutch Governor, Mr. Thyssen, had taken steps to adopt a similar course, but on referring the case to Java for sanction, a delay had occurred; and the English again had obtained possession before the decision of the reference. The Court of Judicature was at this time extended to Malacca, and the point arose as to whether Naning was to be subject to its jurisdiction. To the answer on this point, the other question as to the government right to exercise the usual functions in that district was left; a course obviously incorrect, as it ought to have been first decided whether Naning was part of the settlement; the other question solely depending on that.

On the information derived from the Records, government determined to extend the Malacca system to Naning, as part of the settlement; and the Superintendent of Lands was sent to

make a settlement. This officer found the difficulty so great, and expected so much opposition, that he requested a large force of military to be detached to his assistance. He reported that the Punghulu and other chiefs were tenacious in enquiring whether their jurisdiction was to be interfered with; that the Punghulu offered to increase the present collections of rice from 400 to 1,600 gantangs; that a large amount of rice, fowls, &c, was collected from the Rayats by the Punghulu; that the quantity of paddy reaped yearly amounted to much more than 4,000 gantangs;* that a combination was being formed in the neighbouring states to assist the Punghulu in resisting government; and that the Rajahs were ground down by an incredible degree of tyranny and oppression. On this the Superintendent was directed to enforce the government orders as far as possible without the aid of military for the present, till a reference could be made to Pinang. In Council there was a division of opinion, but the sending troops to afford personal protection to the Superintendent was sanctioned. The local authority declined, however, to march troops till it was made to appear that the Superintendent and Collectors were in danger. The Superintendent was so much engaged in other duty that he could not himself go up again; but a Christian Collector was sent with a number of native writers, &c, to take down the account of the collections. They were met with a universal coolness and were in consequence recalled. The question was then reserved for the Governor, who was expected soon in Malacca. This delay and hesitation had a bad effect, as it inflamed the mind of the Punghulu, and laid the foundation for the resistance which was afterwards experienced.

On the 25th February, 1829, the Governor arrived at Malacca. One of his first duties was the consideration of this question. The Superintendent of Lands was directed to address the Punghulu, pointing out the impropriety of his conduct, and requiring his presence at Malacca. Several letters passed between that officer and the Punghulu, but without any other result than adding to the embarrassment.

* In a previous report, dated July 1827, the same officer calculated the produce of paddy at about 1,125,000 gantangs, on which the government tenth, if levied, would have amounted to 112,500 gantangs and not 400 gantangs as paid by the Punghulu.

At this juncture the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, arrived in the Straits, and the local Governor was called to Pinang. The proceedings had hitherto been carried on through the channel of inferior and untrustworthy officers, as the Superintendent of Lands could not himself attend personally; and it was feared that the Punghulu had been instigated in his opposition by evil disposed persons. Accordingly the Deputy Resident, the highest officer under the Resident Councillor, was deputed to proceed to Naning to hold a conference with the Punghulu. The instructions given to this officer were that he was not to insist, for the present, on the collection of the tenth, but to explain to the Punghulu the absolute right of government to the payment and that the right was only waived, not abandoned; to insist on a census of the population being made; and that he should not agitate the question as to the jurisdiction of the new Court of Judicature, and the consequent continuance, or otherwise, of the sovereign authority hitherto exercised by the Punghulu. A party of sepoys was detached for a personal guard, and the Military authorities were directed to attend to a requisition for aid, to the fullest extent of their force, at a moment's warning. On the 3rd of July the Deputy Resident left Malacca, and arrived the same day at Sungie Puttye, on the borders of Naning. There was a Government bungalow at this place, and here he fixed his headquarters. A letter was despatched to the Punghulu, informing him of the arrival of a high officer from Malacca, and requesting his attendance. The following morning the Punghulu came, attended by his chiefs and by a large party of armed Malays. He was evidently very much agitated and discomposed for some time, till the Deputy had convinced him that there were no designs against his personal liberty. The Deputy explained the views and wishes of government, and expressed regret that the Punghulu had been taking such an improper course; that government considered Naning as part of their territory, and consequently that it was subject to their authority in the same way as Malacca; and that the Punghulu instead of being an obedient subject was in open rebellion. The Punghulu replied that he had been in a state of terror for some time; that all manner of reports were constantly coming up from Malacca to the effect that he and his chiefs were

to be seized and transported; but that now, having heard from a responsible quarter the real state of affairs, he and his people would give every attention and respect to the wishes of government; that the census would be at once commenced; while on other subjects he would wait the directions of government. After this universal cheerfulness prevailed, and all recovered from their alarm. The Deputy proceeded on to Taboo, where he had further opportunity of conversing with the Punghulu, at his own residence. He found that the chief cause of dissatisfaction on the Punghulu's part, was the fear that the establishment of the new Court, about which the most exaggerated reports were prevalent, would destroy his authority among his people, by taking away his right to adjudicate in all matters of complaint. In his report to government, the Deputy Resident stated that it would be extremely difficult to divest the Punghulu of his Judicial authority; as, from the great respect and veneration entertained towards him as a saint, the people would, to a man, arm in his favour; and further, there was every reason to believe that the late insubordination on the part of the Punghulu, had been caused by the machinations of evil disposed persons in Malacca, who took every opportunity of abusing his mind with the most exaggerated reports of the intentions of government towards Naning.

After this meeting matters went on quietly pending the arrival of the Governor from Pinang. The census was taken, with the assistance of the Punghulu and chiefs; and the other matters in dispute were allowed to remain in abeyance. On the arrival of the Governor on the 18th of October, a letter was addressed to the Punghulu requiring his presence in Malacca, but, unfortunately, by this time the good effects of the Deputy Resident's mission had been done away with by the sinister efforts and insinuations of the Punghulu's disloyal advisers. He positively declined to come to Malacca. This was a final answer and it afforded the Governor an opportunity for insisting on active steps being taken to reduce the Punghulu to submission.

By his refusal to come down to Malacca after repeated summonses the Punghulu Dool Syed was in open opposition to Government; and prepared to resist by force, any attempt on Naning. He had foreseen the turn matters were likely to take

and had made preparations accordingly. His application to the neighbouring states for assistance had been favourably received, and he had unbounded influence over his own people. The sanctity attached to the possessor of the miraculous bajoo and sword* had been turned to such account as completely to outweigh the evil effect of his numerous acts of tyranny and oppression.

Mr Fullerton after a full consideration of the case in all its bearings, founded on the information laid before him, came to the conclusion that an armed force ought at once to be sent into the interior to bring the Punghulu to reason. Preparations were made accordingly. The arsenal was put in requisition and the troops prepared to march; when, at the last hour, the expedition was countermanded. There was a difference of opinion in the Council. Those possessing intimate local knowledge could not be convinced, from the evidence laid before them, that Dool Syed and his predecessors were sufficiently within the category of subjects, after having so long exercised sovereign authority, even to taking of life, to warrant the sharp practice now proposed; and in consequence a more quiet course of negotiation was recommended to be carried on by properly qualified persons. The governor, finding this opinion not to be weakened, at last, as the expedition was on the point of starting, referred the question to the Supreme Government, expecting to receive an answer in two months at farthest. Unfortunately the matter was referred from Bengal to England, and the delay proved to be a most serious evil. No answer arrived for two years, during which time the local government was broken up, and Mr Fullerton, the former governor, had retired from the service.

The English power had not been directly exercised in these seas for ages. It had been taken on trust, as reflected from India and very recently from Burmah; and now on the first appearance of oppo-

* A concubine had been carried off from the Palace of Abdul Jalil, King of Johore, by a Malay who fled with her to Malacca. The king wrote to Inche Aroon, the Captain of Malays at Malacca, an account of this terrible outrage and requested his assistance to revenge the Royal honor. The Inche employed a Nanning man named Juara Magat and he kissed the man, while the woman was sent back to Johore. In gratitude for this service the king recommended Juara to the Dutch and on the next vacancy, being eligible, he was made Punghulu of Nanning. The king also presented Juara with a sword, called the "satiated serpent," and a silk jacket, both of which have descended as regalia, and are supposed now to confer on their possessor a supernatural power.

sition, the authorities hesitated. That this hesitation arose from any cause but fear, was not considered for an instant as possible, and, in consequence, a grand combination of all the surrounding states was formed to assist the Punghulu, who became so elevated at the apparent weakness of the Europeans and at the unanimous support and encouragement of the native allies, that he threw off the air of reserve and respectful resistance which he had hitherto worn. On a groundless pretext, in the month of October, 1880, he crossed the frontier of Malacca proper and seized a portion of land which had been granted to and held by Inche Surin, a Malay. The Inche came to Malacca, produced his title deeds, and requested to be re-instated. Had the Court of Judicature been sitting at the time, this would have brought matters to a crisis, as, when judgment had issued, the civil power must have protected the officers of the Court in the execution of process; however as no successor had yet arrived to replace Sir John Claridge, the government was not placed in that dilemma. A letter was sent to the Punghulu pointing out the impropriety of his conduct, and requiring him to restore the ground; to this letter a haughty and insolent reply was returned. The answer to the reference concerning Nuning had not yet arrived from England, the local government had lately been abolished, and the incorporated settlement was under a resident at Singapore, and as he could not assume any responsibility no active steps were taken concerning the Punghulu. In July, 1881, authority arrived from England to march troops into Nanning, where 150 sepoy and a few native artillerymen with two 8 pounders were ordered to proceed to seize the Punghulu. Owing to the want of supplies in the arsenal it required 16 days to equip this force, during which period of delay Dool Syed was enabled to make his arrangements.

On the 16th July, 1881, a proclamation was issued by the Governor* informing the inhabitants that a force was going up to capture the Punghulu of Nanning on account of his rebellious conduct, requiring them to remain quietly in their houses, and promising that they should be on the same footing as the people of

* In order to avoid confusion in this narrative I continue to use the titles of Resident Councillor and Governor, although they were not restored till the 10th April, of the following year.

Malacca, except as to the tenths, which should not be levied at present; that new Punghulus would be appointed; and finally that they all knew that Naning belonged to the Company, and that it was only the Punghulu's rebellious conduct which had brought this infliction on him.

On the 6th of August the force marched, accompanied by the Assistant Resident as Civil Commissioner. Provisions were sent by the river, to be landed near the borders of Naning, and thence carried by coolies. The boats grounded far short of their intended destination, and on their return to Malacca the next morning caused a panic; being mistaken for the Malays, who were supposed to have got into the rear of the advancing force, and thus were coming to sack the town. In marching this force the civil and military authorities were entirely without information, nothing was known of the country or of the opposition likely to be made. The spies employed reported that the Naning people were entirely in favour of the English and against their own chiefs. It was afterwards said that these spies were chosen with so little care that they were, to a man, in the interests of the enemy and that in point of fact the whole population of Malacca and Naning were strongly in favour of the Punghulu and chiefs, who had numerous relatives and connections in Malacca, while the government could hardly command the loyalty of their own paid servants. On arriving at the boundary of Naning, two muskets were fired at the force. This show of opposition was made the pretext for burning down the houses of several persons who had made themselves obnoxious. With the exception of a few shots, now and then, from the jungle, no opposition was experienced, till they arrived at Bukit Seboasoh, where a sepoy and coolie were wounded. By this time however the rigor of the force in destroying the houses of the chiefs had roused the feelings of the Malays and they came out in numbers to take vengeance. The provisions had not come up from the boats, and on the fourth day, their supplies being exhausted and not having any reliable information, the officer in command determined to retreat, in which course he was confirmed by the receipt of urgent calls from Malacca to return for the protection of the town. The latter part of their advance had been made by a narrow path, in thick

jungle, and now they felt the full effect of their needless severity in burning the houses of the chiefs. The Malays had turned out with their axes, and, cutting down immense trees, had blocked up the roadway so that the officers were obliged to abandon the heavy baggage and to retreat as expeditiously as possible. On arriving at Sungie Puttye, one of the Government bungalows, which was stockaded, they halted till the 20th August, when the re-inforcement arrived from Singapore. This place was held till the 25th when the whole force was ordered to retire to Malacca. In the retreat the two six-pounder guns were lost in the jungle from the difficulty of conveying them over the fallen trees.

After the retreat, Dool Syed wrote down complaining that the Assistant Resident had come into Naning with sepoy, and shot down a Panglima who had been sent as an honorary escort to receive him. To this a dignified but moderate reply was made, that the Punghulu had forfeited all claims to consideration, but still, if he came down to Malacca, matters might yet be arranged, without inflicting certain misery on him and his people; but the Punghulu was infatuated by the advice of his false friends, and refused to listen to any terms; on the contrary, he commenced to make incursions and to levy contributions in the Malacca territory.

The opposition had now changed into a dangerous rebellion, which government could not tolerate. Requisitions for a large force were made to Madras and Pinang and pending their arrival the troops were confined to the neighbourhood of the town.

On the 25th August, the detachment left at Sungie Puttye was ordered down, and the whole attention of the force occupied for the present in the defence of the town.

On the 25th September, seven men, four of them of consequence in Naning, were brought down as prisoners by one of the Government Punghulus who had taken an active part in favour of Naning, but on seeing matters going too far, now found it convenient to alter his side. These prisoners had been sent into the Malacca territory to levy contributions, and they were ultimately transported to Bengal as state prisoners.

On the 24th October, the Punghulu and Chiefs wrote an appeal to the King of England, complaining of the treatment they had

received at the hands of the local government. In the month of January, 1892, re-inforcements arrived from Madras, and several detachments were sent on in advance to occupy the post still in possession. Colonel Herbert, the Commanding officer, left for the field on the 2nd of March, 1892, and the second campaign opened. After the retreat of the last expedition a number of Malays had been employed to cut down the jungle to such a distance, on each side of the road, as to prevent further blocking by felling trees across the path. In this duty the men had been protected by an armed party of Malays, but unfortunately the work had not been conducted with spirit; and, in consequence, the troops now were obliged to cut their own way, by slow and painful toil, through the nearly impenetrable forest for some miles; a labour which might have been avoided, at least in the Malacca territory, by a little previous attention to the employment of coolies.

A proclamation was prepared by the Resident Councillor warning the people not to put their property into armed stockades as they and all found in them would be destroyed; and informing them that if any of them, while employed in their usual peaceful occupations in the villages or fields, should receive injury from the troops they might appeal to the officer in command who would redress their grievances. This proclamation was unwisely rejected by the Governor and another substituted, simply warning the people to stay at home, as all found in arms would be treated as enemies.

In the advance Dool Syed tried the patience of the officers and men by not firing first. His object was to be able hereafter, in his complaints, to say that he had only acted in self-defence and that he had not commenced the fighting.

The delay caused by having to clear the road had a depressing effect on the troops and elevated the Malays in an extraordinary degree. They now surrounded the camp, and getting into the rear, threatened the communication with town, the only source of supplies. From the nature of the country, the enemy's numbers or disposition could not be guessed at, and it was reasonably supposed, from parties appearing at different times and at distant places, that they were numerous. On the 18th April, after a serious check, the commanding officer in writing to government

reported his critical situation, being closed up and his communications cut off in the rear; he urgently requested reinforcements, stating that if they did not rapidly arrive, the force must act on the defensive. The Government Punghulus were inert and opposed obstacles to obtaining any assistance in the matter of coolies and messengers; however, by great exertions, a body of 50 armed Malays was sent up to open the road to town. The Malays were daily becoming more bold; and had now actually stockaded themselves on the flanks of the posts occupied by the troops, and the situation of affairs had become so critical that, on the 26th April, a pressing requisition was made for European soldiers from Maulmain as the nearest European garrison.

On the 30th April, a most valuable ally went up in the person of Syed Saban, a native chief who exercised a considerable influence on the future success of the expedition. Syed Saban was the son, by a female of low origin, of one of the Arab adventurers who constantly visit these countries, as priests and traders, and who enjoy high consideration and privileges in right of their country. Syed Saban early shewed signs of intelligence and superiority; but, as his mother was of low origin, and his father had not been able to acquire a recognised position, it was necessary for the Syed to endeavour to carve out a fortune for himself. His first step was to effect an alliance with some of the neighbouring chiefs; and in this he soon succeeded. He married the daughter of Rajah Alli, the Iang de Pertuan Mudah of Rumbow, to whose fortunes he then attached himself. At the commencement of the Naning disturbances Rajah Alli was actively engaged against Rajah Laboo, the Menangkabow chief who had come over to assume the office of "Iang de Pertuan Besar." Rajah Laboo had brought with him from Sumatra a man of the most violent and flagitious character named Rajah Krajan, whose advice and measures proved fatal to his protector, who had before this time been obliged to fly to Malacca for protection, on being driven out of the interior in consequence of the excesses of his follower. At the commencement of hostilities, the Punghulu of Naning worked on the fears of Rajah Alli, in order to obtain his co-operation against the English, by circulating a report that Rajah Laboo had been taken

under protection by the English, and that after Naning should be subjugated, he was to be gratified by the expulsion of Rajah Alli from the interior and his own elevation to the head of the Menangkabow states. When the first expedition started for Naning, Syed Saban was sent to watch the force, and to observe if Rajah Laboo and his followers were present as asserted by the Punghulu of Naning. Letters were also sent to government to enquire into the truth of the reports of ulterior intentions against Rajah Alli. To these letters answers were sent denying the truth of such reports. Unfortunately they miscarried, not without suspicion of treachery, and although Syed Saban reported that Rajah Laboo did not accompany the force, the Punghulu was able to satisfy them that he would join afterwards, pointing out the evident insincerity of government in not denying the truth of the reports when an opportunity had been offered by Rajah Alli's letter. Syed Saban joined the Naning forces, and to his energy and talents are due the defeat of the first expedition. He it was who blocked the force by felling large trees in their rear, thus not only preventing them from receiving supplies from town, but ultimately perilling the safety of their retreat. Time, however, proved that there was no foundation for the reports about the English alliance with Rajah Laboo, and in consequence Rajah Alli and Syed Saban became alive to the true state of affairs. They had sufficient foresight to know that the struggle between the English and Naning must eventuate in favour of the former and they gave intimation that they might be detached from the confederacy, and be brought with their whole power to act against their former ally. Their objects in desiring the alliance were to secure the protection of government to place Rajah Alli at the head of the interior states; and to secure Syed Saban as his successor in Rumbow. The Syed had also a further aim; he wished to secure, with the aid of the English government, a right to levy a tax at the Lingie river, on all tin and other produce brought down that river. A meeting was arranged to take place at Simpang, a neutral territory on the Lingie river, and there on the 19th January, 1832, a treaty was agreed on which provided that Rumbow should withdraw from the Naning confederacy and should assist the English. In pursuance of this arrangement Syed Saban had now

joined the camp with his followers. Rajah Krajan had previously gone to Naning, where he took an active part in the operations against the English troops.

The effects of Syed Saban's presence and co-operation were instantly felt. Hitherto the troops had been harassed by constant attacks, and an apparent ubiquity of the enemy. The commanders laboured under the important disadvantage of a total ignorance of the country and an absolute want of even the most ordinary information. The feeling in favour of the Pungbulu as a saint, warring for the faith against infidels, was so strong that nothing could induce the rayats to assist in any respect against him and it was found that the spies employed were universally false, conveying perfect intelligence to the Malays of all the movements of the Europeans; and at the same time keeping the latter in the dark as to their opponents. It had been supposed that a very large force of armed Malays was on foot, as they were felt at different times, and in all directions, but Syed Saban soon put matters on a more satisfactory position. Without giving the number of the enemy,* he communicated information as to the days when attacks might be expected; as well as the days when the stockades would be empty. When an attack was meditated by the Malays it was necessary to collect the men previously, for the purpose; buffaloes were killed, and a grand feast given; after which they set out on the expedition. When not collected in this way for an express purpose, the stockades and other defences were left in the sole charge of the few personal followers of the Pungbulu. The country was a succession of densely wooded heights, with low swampy flats intervening. The road from Ching towards Naning had not been sufficiently cleared, in the time between the first and second expedition, and the troops were now forcing their way upwards towards Taboo, the capital of Naning, by the slow process of clearing the jungle and forming their own road. Before Syed Saban's information was fully imparted to the Commanding Officer, much valuable time was lost, apparently from a want of confidence in the Syed's good faith, caused by the absence of any respectable means of communication. The presence of a

* He says now that there were never more than 50 or 100 in arms at any one time.

Civil Commissioner who could have had the confidence of both parties, and whose knowledge of the natives would have prevented imposition, was much required; but in answer to the urgent requisitions of the commandant for such an officer, the reply was that there was no one at present available, but that the deficiency would soon be supplied.

The following extracts from the despatches of the officer commanding the troops to the Resident Councillor, will point out his position and the services of Syed Saban at this period:—

Head quarters, Sungie Puttye, 31st March, 1832.

“Suggested that as a temporary measure two Companies ‘might be called from Pinang’ if the troops were to remain in Naning; ‘the propriety of warning the Madras government to ‘hold another native Regiment in readiness.’”

On the 18th April, after a “severe contest” he “solicits that a requisition be immediately made for the following addition to ‘his force’—artillery, 3 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 30 men, and 12 gun lascars; 1 conductor, 1 sub do and 40 store lascars; sappers and miners, 2 companies; European Infantry two companies, native infantry one complete Regiment—and concludes his letter thus—“it is further a most painful duty to report that I am of ‘opinion if speedy reinforcements are not afforded me that the war ‘on the part of the British must become merely defensive’”. Those acquainted with Indian warfare, will easily know the meaning of this sentence.

Between this time and the 16th of May, when three companies arrived in Camp from Pinang, the Colonel continued to write in the same strain. Thus on the 20th April, he says—that he could make no forward movement, that even if he did take the stockades, he had not troops to keep them, that the roads across the rice fields were destroyed and filled with “ranjows” (caltrops), that all he could do for several months, would be to maintain a good position, and keep the rear open;—28th April, that he did not contemplate the possibility of advancing, even with the three companies from Pinang;—6th May, he urges that a further requisition be made for reinforcements, being of opinion, with the officer next in command, that another native Regiment and 2 companies of European infan-

try ought to be sent for in addition to those already requested on the 18th April, and he concludes the letter by describing this requisition as of "absolute necessity";—4th May that the three companies, anxiously expected from Pinang, will be of no avail beyond strengthening his position, and lightening the fatigue of officers and men, but that they cannot enable him to go on. On the 16th May the 3 companies arrived, and, on the 18th, Colonel Herbert writes that he cannot find in them anything beyond a partial relief to his overworn men, that he dreads the absence of reinforcements will protract the service, that "I look upon this force as next thing "to knocked up" but that he may find his situation widely different if the Resident Councillor would send him a strong supply of fighting men, or intelligence of a compact having been made with some of the native chiefs. Such is the picture of his position and prospects drawn at this period by the officer commanding the force.

Syed Saban arrived in camp on the 30th April. On 3rd and 14th May he performed some service, but he had not yet acquired the confidence of the Commandant, who at first was naturally doubtful of the ability of a petty chief, with a few half armed followers, to overcome difficulties which had effectually checked his disciplined and well provided force. On the 17th May, Syed Saban proposed an attack on Bukit Seboosoh, one of the chief positions of the enemy, where Dool Syed had concentrated all his efforts in erecting stockades; and to this place, he staked his reputation for supernatural power and sanctity, that the British could not advance. Syed Saban proposed to attack these lines on the 17th of May. He succeeded in getting possession of the stockades; a success which effectually broke up the confederation. Colonel Herbert had applied for the sanction of government to allow Syed Saban to make this diversion, and on the 21st May he wrote thus to the Resident Councillor—"you will have heard from rumour of "the success of Syed Saban, which appears to have been very "complete, and at present without a man having been touched. The "only point of consideration which made me backward in permitting his project without high sanction, was the conviction that I "could not assist him to any extent with my present means, and "this fact stares me now in the face, for, unless this exploit draws "off the followers of Dool Syed, it is extremely probable that, for

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"want of troops in the present sick state of the force, I cannot occupy the ground taken and victory over the stockades will be of no avail." In this however the Colonel was wrong: once in possession of the stockades he had force to resist ten times the utmost power of the Malays, who had no possible chance, at any time, of retaking a work held by the regular troops. The blow inflicted by Syed Saban at Seboosoh was serious, and called forth the best efforts of the Malays to retake the defences; in which however they signally failed; and thereafter the war became a series of advances, till, at last, Taboo itself was taken. Syed Saban's local knowledge and means of gaining correct information as to the enemy's movements, enabled him to select days for attack when he could count on the stockades being very slenderly provided with defenders; a species of knowledge in which the officer commanding the force was singularly deficient.

The interior had hitherto been plentifully supplied with military stores and provisions through the five rivers, and so long as these supplies continued, it was anticipated that resistance would last; as there were no means of coercing or inconveniencing the neighbouring states. An attempt had been made to form a blockade, but the operation failed, having been from necessity entrusted to the faithless crews of local gunboats. At this juncture, however, it had become essential that some means should be adopted for bringing a pressure to bear on the neighbouring states, which were covertly assisting Deol Syed. The means were made available by the opportune arrival of H. M. S. "Magicienne", under the command of Captain Plamridge. That officer, after being put in possession of the merits of the case, tendered his hearty co-operation. It was arranged that an indiscriminate blockade should be established on the Lingie and Comang rivers, extending, however, only to the ingress of military stores at Muar river. The other two rivers, Malacca and De-yong, being within the English territory, were under the strict supervision of the local departments at Malacca. The blockade commenced on the 8th of June, and the effect was instantaneous. The inconvenience and indeed misery, which a blockade of these rivers, so easily made by the power in possession of Malacca, effect, are inconceivable in countries where life can be sustained

without external assistance. The pressure was now found to be so effectual, that petitions poured in daily from all the surrounding native states, praying that the rivers might be opened, and disavowing any complicity with Dool Syed and Naning affairs. Finding government firm in purpose the chiefs, one by one, deserted Dool Syed, as the only means of saving themselves from destruction.

This blockade, together with the information and co-operation of Syed Saban, smoothed matters in the interior. The troops were able to advance more rapidly, and on the 15th of June, Taboo, the residence of Dool Syed, was taken, after a very slight resistance. Some outworks at a considerable distance were first carried, when the officer in command observing Syed Saban to push on towards the chief defences, followed up with his whole force, and the place fell. Dool Syed narrowly escaped. The box was found in which his regalia, the sanctified sword and jacket, were kept, but the contents had been carried off. This operation finished the war. Dool Syed, deserted by all the chiefs and driven from his capital, forfeited the veneration and belief in his fortune which had hitherto preserved for him the adherence of his people, and wandered about an outcast till February, 1834, when he surrendered unconditionally at Malacca.

When the Punghulu saw the extensive preparations being made for the second expedition, he became seriously alarmed, and sent letters to several individuals in Malacca to intercede for him; to these he received the reply that he must come down to Malacca and make his submission in person, but that his life would be spared. In February, he wrote again, promising to give up the guns lost in the 1st expedition, and to abdicate his Punghuluship in favour of either his son or nephew; to this a similar reply was given on the part of government. On the 2nd of June, he sent a message to the advance to enquire if his life would be spared; to this he received for answer that he must surrender unconditionally, and trust to the mercy of the government. On the following day, on the arrival from Malacca of a gentleman who had consented to act as negociator, Dool Syed threw himself at his feet and burst into tears, bitterly regretting that he had been led into his present situation by the councils of false and designing friends.

Unfortunately for himself, he was not yet sufficiently terrified. He asserted that he did not contemplate resisting government, but only the oppressive acts of subordinates, and offered to deliver the two guns at Sungie Puttye, the post at the boundary of Naning. An armistice was agreed on at this meeting, to allow a reference to town; but the following day it was broken, whether treacherously or inadvertently does not appear, by an attack on a post held by the troops at Purling. On the 6th, the answer to the reference arrived, to the effect that Dool Syed must bring down the guns to Malacca. This he refused to do, and operations commenced with renewed vigour. There can be little doubt that Dool Syed was misled as to the position in which he was placing himself with the British government. He was encouraged in the belief that he was in opposition to a subordinate officer only; and those who were in a position to advise him to the contrary, refrained from doing so, doubtless for reasons of their own. The expenditure of the large sums of money, necessary in protracted operations in the interior, was a bait too attractive among a population in which the European and English element was insignificant, and other private objects placed many in a position where their interests were too strongly opposed to their duty. Since this settlement was finally taken over in 1825 there has hardly been a single European inhabitant, independent of government, whose interests and feelings are in support of British supremacy; and, if it again becomes subject to any other nation, the British name and recollection will be obliterated in a day. Had there been any influential Europeans with British feelings in the settlement, or had the government officers been properly informed, the Naning war could never have occurred. It is evident, from the result of the Mission of the Deputy Resident in July, 1829, that if the policy then opened had been carried out under the superintendence of European officers, assisted by proper influences of the well disposed inhabitants, and not opposed by the the sinister efforts of aliens, Dool Syed would have been brought to a sense of his true position, and the matters in difference between him and the authorities would have been arranged on a footing satisfactory to both parties. The subsequent history of this chief may be here narrated. Government provided him with a house

and land in Malacca and gave him a pension of 200 rupees a month. The following extract from a report of the Resident will explain the rest. "He has effected the purchase of the contiguous "paddy fields, is devoting attention to the cultivation of the soil, "is turning his mind to trade, is practising as a physician, is making money. As respects pecuniary means he is certainly more "independant than he ever was at Nanking; he now wears shoes, "keeps a buggy and is occasionally employing a goldsmith." The fact of his having been pensioned has done more to strengthen the influence of government among the surrounding states than the result of the war in other respects. He died peaceably in August, 1849, and his children inherit his Malacca property.

In the month of July large re-inforcements of European and native troops arrived from Madras, but as there was no further necessity for their presence, they were sent back immediately. Two Companies of Europeans were detained for a short time as a reserve, pending the arrangement of matters in the interior, as the occupation of the troops in Naning had afforded opportunities for marauders at Mount Ophir to make encroachments.

Two or three years before this time the Tumonggong of Muar died, leaving a son and successor of immature age. The country of Muar, being virtually independant of the nominal Sultan of Johor, from want of power on his part to interfere effectually, the relatives of the young Tumonggong, not being apprehensive of any opposition either from him or from the British, seized the opportunity to make themselves masters of the country, each in his own district. Two of them, Ahat and Mahamat, took the districts round Mount Ophir, where they came into collision with the English on account of their claims and violent encroachments on the territory of Malacca. During the continuance of the Naning war they became so insolent and tyrannical that the country was deserted by the rayats, who were deprived of their lives and property on the slightest pretexts, and finding themselves unopposed they gradually came across the boundary, and took possession of a tract of land at Chabow which formerly had been in dispute between Malacca and Muar. The Sultan was requested to drive out these miscreants, he issued an order to the two chiefs and a force of military was sent upon to be stationed

near the borders, at Assahan and Rheim, where posts were retained for some years.

A Civil Servant was sent up to Naning, during the continuance of military operations, to act as political commissioner. He arrived at head quarters in the end of June and afterwards was authorized to hold a Court of Requests and a Police Court for the trial of cases of minor importance. This officer died on the 6th of August following, from over-exertion in the duties of his office, and unfortunately no successor was appointed to the vacancy. In the month of October, 1832, the Governor visited the district of Naning and appointed a number of Punghulus, on the same footing as those of Malacca. The old system of native government was completely abolished, and an arrangement made with a gentleman of Dutch descent in Malacca, who agreed to introduce the system of tenths, to make a census of the population, number of houses, quantity of grain planted, and extent of lands exempt under the system. For these services he was to receive an allowance for travelling expences on the usual scale and to be permitted to appropriate the tenths. It is almost needless to add that this arrangement was soon annulled as advantageous neither to government nor to the natives.

After the war was concluded Naning became in effect, what it certainly never had been before, an integral portion of the English territory; the constables and bailiffs then for the first time began to serve process there as they do in other parts of the settlement without reference to native rights or institutions. The country was treated in the same manner as the other districts. Punghulus were appointed and the Malacca land system was introduced. As the waste lands were not subject to any claim, such as those of Malacca proper, Government took possession of them, but from want of proper establishments nothing has been done in the way of granting titles or of effecting improvements. The apathy and ill success which have attended all attempts in Malacca have produced similar results in Naning, population does not increase, protection is not extended and revenue is not collected.

Extracts from a letter from S. Garling, Esq., Resident Councillor at Malacca, to the Governor, communicating information previous to the Naning war.

4. Malacca is bounded on the eastern border by the Cassang river, which separates us from Muar. This country is under the government of an hereditary chief, styled Dato Tumonggong, whose residence is in a village called Pangcallang Cota, not far up the Muar river. The present chief is very young, and succeeded his late father about two years ago. Availing themselves of his youth and inexperience, several of his relatives have possessed themselves of independent authority. Unkoo (or Tuankoo) Tuan, his uncle, is chief of Se Gammat, situated on an inferior branch of the Muar river, containing about 400 houses. This chief has claimed independent jurisdiction. Inche Ahat and Inche Mahomed, who reside at Sungie Dua, a small village situated on the eastern bank of the Cassang river, not far from Mount Ophir, are distant cousins of the Tumonggong's, and are also now independent. These are the two individuals who have given us of late so much trouble at Rheim and Chohong. Since the late disturbances, which have involved the expediency of withdrawing our small detachment of sepoy from Rheim, they have seized upon all the formerly disputed land at the foot of Mount Ophir. From the inhabitants they have levied the tenth, and have driven away Inche Allang, whom we placed there as a Punghulu. This Inche Allang and Inche Barimah, who, you may remember, had possession of the land, and was obliged by us to quit about three years ago, are I believe, related to the Tumonggong, similarly with the two former. Inche Ahat and Inche Mahomed have, from their exactions, obliged the workers of the small gold mines of Gemmy, at the foot of Mount Ophir, to abandon their labors. These two men are disposed to render every aid in their power to the Punghulu of Naning, and have had the boldness to threaten that they would stockade Ayer Panas. Unkoo Tuan sent some arms to the Punghulu of Naning. I am not aware that the Tumonggong rendered any aid, and I am inclined to believe he would prefer remaining on friendly terms with us.

5. From Mount Ophir to Quallah Si Marabow, on a branch

rate of 30 dollars per bahar. For each mine the sum of 6 dollars was to be paid to the owner of the ground.

The Chinese commenced their labor on funds provided by the Dato Mudah. This chief obtains the funds from the merchants of Malacca. He has been accustomed to engage with certain individuals at Malacca, that all tin passing down the Lingie river shall be consigned to them. In return he receives an annual present. He is said to have received so large a sum as 2,500 dollars, of which 1,000 dollars were reserved for himself, 800 dollars were yielded to Calana, 400 dollars to Rajah de Rajah, and 300 dollars to Canda Allie and Inche Mahomed (who were concerned in the original founding of the Colony,) and some other individuals. Since the disturbance, of which an account is subjoined, this monopoly has ceased. Dato Mudah now contents himself with levying 1 dollar per bahar on all tin which enters or passes Lingie.

In 1828 there were about 600 Chinese miners, divided into ten Kongsees or companies. They latterly seemed to have presumed upon their number, and by their conduct gave great umbrage to Calana and Rajah de Rajah. In consequence of some misconduct with a woman at Terachie, the natives about two years ago rose upon a party of the Chinese and murdered one of their number. Their countrymen at the Sungie Ujong mines, availing themselves of the absence of the Calana, who was then at Sri Menantie on the business of the Iang de Pertuan, proceeded in a large body towards Terachie. They were met by a party of the Malays and compelled to fly. They were pursued to Sungie Ujong, attacked and many were killed. The Chinese abandoned the mines, and their property was confiscated. Dato Mudah thereupon represented to Calana the serious difficulties in which himself and the Lingie people would be involved with the Malacca merchants, whose funds were largely involved in the tin speculation on their responsibility. The Calana consented that the tin yet in the mines (Timah Carangan) and the Tin Ore (Timah Bijé) should be given up. The melted tin (Timah masak) found in the houses, amounting to about 18 piculs, was however confiscated, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which were to be given to the Iang de Pertuan Besar, and the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ to be reserved to himself. Some of the Chinese were subsequently induced to return to the mines. A

Raja, or the Raja Shabandar. This functionary has jurisdiction in all matters connected with the River, and the trade carried on by water carriage. His office is of considerable importance, in consequence of the extensive tin trade carried on at Sungie Ujong. Sungie Ujong is the least populous and powerful of the four districts, although the chief of it is considered as "Elder Brother" of the four Punghulus and takes precedence of them.

10. Rumbow presents a political variety. This district is divided into Rumbow Uloo (the principal village of which is Chumbong) and Rumbow Ilir (the principal Settlements being Penagy and Bandaar.) Each division has its four Sookoos. The Punghulu Belantaye, or "Punghulu Rumbow" presides in Rumbow Uloo, but has always had equal jurisdiction over Rumbow Ilir. At the last election, however, Rajah Allie (of whom I shall presently speak) managed to bring about the appointment of a second Punghulu to preside over Rumbow Ilir. The person elected is named Pakat; and it is supposed that on his death he will not be succeeded by another, particularly as Rajah Allie's interests have of late been warmly supported by the Punghulu Belantaye of Rumbow Uloo. A further innovation has since obtained in the Government of Rumbow, by the nomination of an Iang de Pertuan Mudah. This chief ranks next to the Iang de Pertuan Besar. He has no regalia, neither has he any people or territory of his own, being in this respect as powerless and helpless as the Iang de Pertuan Besar. It may be here noticed, that the terms "Punghulu and four Sookoos" mean the Punghulu of Rumbow Uloo and the eight sookoos. Timmerman Thyssen, the late Dutch Governor of Malacca, entered into treaty with Rumbow in 1819. The treaty is dated 5th June, and is signed by Rajah Allie, as Rajah of Rumbow, Lellah Maharajah, as Pangirulu, and Gempah Maharajah, Muarbangsa, Sangsarah Palawan and Bangoah Balang, as Sukoos.

11. Johol is the most powerful of the four states, Naning, as stated in para. 6, is not longer a necessary portion of the union.

12. There are other places and chiefs subordinate to Punghulu Belantaye of which the subjoined is a list. The term Punghulu as applied to the subordinate chiefs, is unconnected with any modifying epithet, whereas the word "Belantaye" is understood as

king. The Panghulus Balantaye and the Rumbow Sookoos being consulted, they consented that Rajah Assil should be elected Rajah of Rumbow, and be styled Iang de Pertuan Mudah. Rajah Assil had four sons and two daughters. One of the daughters was married to a Bugis chief, from which marriage sprung Rajah Ali, the present Rajah Rumbow, or Iang de Pertuan Mudah. Rajah Ali is said to have concerted with a piratical chief against his grandfather's dignity, if not against his life. Having failed in the attempt he retired to Sungie Nipah.

The other daughter was married at first to Tuanku Seh (since dead, leaving one child). She latterly retired to Lingia. From thence she was afterwards invited to Sungie Ujong and married to Rajah Laboo, by whom she has several children. Rajah Ali is apprehensive of her resentment should Rajah Laboo succeed as Iang de Pertuan Besar.

The son, named Rajah Hadjee, fell in love with the daughter of a celebrated Hadjee, who was related to Rennah (now Panghulu of Rumbow). The Hadjee refused to give up his daughter, and Rajah Hadjee succeeded in carrying her off to the Istana (or place of his father's residence). Kassip, the Panghulu of Rumbow, complained to Rajah Assil, who either could not or would not satisfy him. A rupture ensued. The Panghulus and Sookoos sided with Rennah. I am told that in the interior it is not considered correct to dethrone or to fight against a chief, unless a chief of similar or equal rank leads the party. In the present instance a deputation was sent to Rajah Ali. He consented to be their leader. By negociation, Rajah Ali prevailed upon Rajah Assil to vacate the government, and to retire to Naning. It is believed that Rajah Ali swore to re-instate his grandfather, so soon as matters were somewhat quieted. Rajah Hadjee quitted Rumbow with his wife and came to Malacca. Subsequently he abandoned her. She returned to Rumbow. He persevered in bad habits and practices and became a neglected vagabond.

The Panghulus and Sookoos having been prevailed upon to elect Rajah Ali as Rajah Rumbow, Rajah Assil discovered that he had no hope in his own abstract pretensions. He came to Malacca, and addressed himself to Captain Farquhar, the Resident. It was at first intended to support him against Rajah Ali, under

the belief that government were virtually bound to do so by treaty. The Pinang authorities were against interference, and Rajah Assil was thrown upon his own resources. He is now dead.

Rajah Ali does not feel himself quite secure. His father being a Bagis, he is viewed as the son of a foreigner. The pretension of Rajah Cronjan and the animosity of his aunt, who is married to Rajah Laboo as above noticed, rendered Rajah Ali somewhat anxious.

About 50 years ago, five men named Inche Aman, Inche Mahamed, Canda Allie, Inche Jahoodin and another whose name I cannot discover, originally men of Rhio, who had emigrated to Penaji in Rumbow, removed with their families to Lingie, where with the consent and under the guaranty of Calana they founded the present colony of Lingie. It is situated about 2 hours row from the junction of the Rumbow branch with the Lingie river, and about 4 hours row from the sea. The land was covered with jungle, as is the case with the surrounding lands and the ground between Lingie and the sea. There may now be about 100 houses. The whole of that part of the country belongs to Calana. He appointed Inche Aman the local chief under the designation of Dato Muda. He has no Sookoos or ministers. Calana adopted this plan instead of nominating Inche Anam Punghulu with Sookoos, as this would have required the sanction of the other Punghulu, and Inche Amam and his followers being of Rumbow or intermarried with the people of that district, the chief of Rumbow might have enjoyed too much influence in the affairs of Lingie.

There are gold mines at Gominche which are worked by Chinese and Malays. For each person working at the Gominche gold mines, the Punghulu of Gominche receives a mayam (or 3-320th of a catty of gold.) That chief visits the mines once or twice a year, and on such occasions he receives a small present from each. The Punghulu of Johol, who is the superior of the local chief, does not derive any settled revenue from the mines. He sends annually 2 or 3 buffaloes to the mines as a present and they return to him a tahlil of gold for each.

There are a few tin mines in Gominche of small value.

About the year 1758 the Sultan of Johore made over to the Dutch authorities his interest in Rumbow and all the interior districts connected with the government of the four chiefs of Soongie Ujong &c, with the understanding that his own name instead of that of the Sultan of Rome (or grand signior) should be mentioned in the prayers offered up in the Mosque.

The Punghulus in the interior are said to have represented to the Sultan of Johore, that as he had withdrawn his right of supremacy, they wished to have as their titular head some native chief from Menangkabow, from whence they derived their origin. The Punghulus accordingly communicated with the ruling authorities in that country, and an individual connected by blood with the royal family of Pagaruyong was consequently deputed. The credentials produced by this chief was a document termed "Trompah".

The chief so deputed was to present himself and produce his credentials, in the first instance, to the local authority at Malacca. This practice has of late years fallen into disuse. Lenggang Lawoot, who succeeded about 1813, passed at once into the interior without regarding the usual practice. Rajah Laboo in 1828 did the same. Rajah Radin is now recognized as Iang do Pertuan Besar, although no official communication on the subject has been made to us. This is the less called for of late years, as we have studiously avoided all interference with the politics of the interior. This titular chief cannot, however, resume authority until he has been accepted and acknowledged by the principal chiefs of Sungie Ujong, Rumbow and Johol. Naning has scarcely any thing to do in the affair, in consequence of her connection with Malacca.
