VALENTYN'S DESCRIPTION OF MALACCA.

[The following paper is a translation by Mr. Müller, Government Translator, of Valentyn's Account of Malacca.

A portion of this has already appeared in Logan's Journal, Vol. IV, but as it appears that it was never completed, and matter was omitted which some might find interesting, and, further, that the translation was not altogether to be depended on, I have thought it worth while to insert a trustworthy translation of the whole with a few notes.

D. F. A. H.]

ABSTRACT, TRANSLATED FROM FRANCOIS VALENTYN'S HISTORY OF MALACCA (ANNO 1726.)

The town of Malakka is situated in 2° 20' northern latitude and on 102° 20' longitude, on the Continental Malay coast, which lies easterly of the East coast of the great island of Sumatra, about 8 miles [leagues?] in a straight line from the opposite shore.

Ptolemy and the Ancients gave it the name of "Terra or Regio Auriferá," which means "the country rich in gold," or of "Aurum Chersonesus," i.e., "The Gold Peninsula," making it appear at about the 11th degree, where it is joined by a narrow isthmus to Tenasserim and Siam. It is the most southern territory of India.

It is situated on the point of a neck of land, between which and the N.E. coast of Sumatra is a fine sound, known by the name of the Straits of Malakka, or otherwise, by that of the Straits of Singapore, after a very ancient town commonly called Singapura.

It covers approximately an area of 1,800 paces in circuit, or of about one mile, and has a strong wall on the sea side of about 600 paces long, being also protected by a solid stone wall on the N.W. or river side. There is, moreover, a stone bastion on the N.E. side, called Santo Domingos, and there was another wall, called Tipah, built towards the waterside, and extending to a strong round bastion called St. Jago, now gone to ruins; there were also other fortresses on the S.E. side and two bastions, making it altogether a
very strong place, but in time almost all these fortifications have gone to ruins. We do not mention their names now, as they will appear in the course of this description.

The convent of the Jesuits, also called St. Paul’s Convent, was built higher up in town, and the monastery of the Minorites, otherwise called that of Madre de Deus, stood on the adjacent hills.

The territory belonging to Malakka extends over a length of 30 miles, and over a breadth of about 10 miles. There are two islets in its vicinity, Ilha das Naos, (1) within a gun-shot from the town, and Ilha dos Paúros, (2) from where they got the stones to build houses, &c. with, beyond the range of gun-shot. The Portuguese carracks and galleons used to anchor between these two islets in 4 or 5 fathoms of water. (3)

On the North-West side of the town is a wall with a gate and a small fortified turret, and next to it a river, discharging into the sea, with fresh water at low tide, but with salt water at high tide. Its width is 40 paces, and its current is generally pretty strong. It is commonly called “Chrysorant,” and there is another river on the East side. (4)

The country on the other side of the river (being on the same level with the town is built) is joined to it by a wooden bridge; but the ground is very swampy on the South-East side, being generally flooded in the rainy monsoon, with the exception of a small piece along the beach, which lies somewhat higher.

There are in the town many fine and broad streets, but unpaved, and also many fine stone houses, the greater part of which are of the time of the Portuguese, and built very solidly after their fashion.

The town is built in the form of a crescent.

There is a respectable fortress of great strength, with solid walls and fortified with bastions, well-provided with guns, able to stand with its garrison a hard blow. (5) There are, in the fortress, several strong stone houses and pretty good streets, all remembering the Portuguese times, and the tower, erected on the hill, seems to be

(1) Pulau Jâwa.
(2) Pulau Úpeh.
(3) Only about two fathoms now.
(4) No traces of this now, except in the large drains near Kampong Jâwa, and Banda Hilir.
(5) The only remains visible of this now are contained in the curious old gateway (near the residence of Mr. J. E. WESTERHOUT) which bears Portuguese arms, but a Dutch date, viz., 1610; this is probably what is left of the bastion called “Baluarte Santiago” as marked in the old plates of the Fortress.
still pretty strong, though its interior is falling into decay. This fortress, built on the hill in the centre of the town, is about the size of Delfshaven, and has also two gates, and though one of its sides stands on the hill, yet the other side is washed by the sea. It is at present the residence of the Governor, of the other officers employed by the company, and of the garrison, which is pretty strong. Two hundred years ago this place was merely a fishermen's village (1) and now it is a fine town.

In former times the town had a population of 12,000 souls; but there are now not more than 200 or 300 families, some of which are Dutch and some others Portuguese and Malays, the latter living in the most remote corners of the town in common attap huts.

At a small distance from the town are also some fine houses and many well-kept cocoa-nut plantations and gardens with fruit trees, the greater part of which are owned by Malays.

This town is remarkably well situated for trade, and these straits have been frequented, since the times of old, by much shipping, which still continues from Bengal, Coromandel, Surat, Persia, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Tonkin, China, and from many other countries; the gross revenue in the year 1669 (consisting of 10 per cent. import duty and 3 per cent. export duty, and some other small taxes) amounting to 74,958.18 guilders.

There arrived in that same year 116 Javanese vessels, besides the Danish, Portuguese and Moorish vessels.

This place is very convenient for our vessels passing through the Straits of Singapore going from Japan to Bengal, Coromandel, Surat and Persia, and also for vessels bound for Batavia coming from those places.

The place is not very productive in provisions; everything must be imported from other places, with the exception of fish and some kinds of fruits.

The productiveness of this place is very poor, compared to that of the Coast [of Coromandel], Bengal, Ceylon, &c.; and the surrounding country bears a barren aspect.

It is also not safe to venture in the jungle, as it abounds in wild beasts.

One of my friends, Mr. van Naarssen, told me, that it once had happened to him in person to fall in with a tiger accidentally, and he was sure on several other occasions of being in the neighbourhood of one of these animals, for it was only in that case his horse

(1) i.e. about 1525, or 14 years after the Portuguese took it, in which case it must have greatly fallen from the state in which they found it.
got unmanageable. There are, moreover, many elephants and other wild beasts. This same gentleman has told me also, that he once saw a tiger which made a leap at a deer that tried to escape him in the water; the deer did escape, and the tiger was dragged down by an alligator.

The East India Company has a Governor at this place, who has supreme authority over all the officers and over all the affairs. He is assisted by a Supercargo (as second in rank), an Attorney-General, (1) a Paymaster, and a staff of officers similar to those mentioned in our account of Amboina, performing almost the same duties and receiving the same pay; there are here, besides, several “Opperhoofden” (Commandants) of other places or factories, which are under the authority of this Governor, and also an especial “Shahbandar” or Collector of the Custom-house duties.

A Council of Police is constituted from among these officers (as also already mentioned under Amboina) forming the Government of this territory; another Council administers the law; and a third one all the ecclesiastical affairs.

The Malays of these countries are commonly called “orang di bawah angin,” i.e., “the people below the wind” (to leeward), or else “Easterlings,” whilst those of the Occident, more especially the Arabs, are called “orang atas angin,” i.e., “people above the wind” or Occidentals; this is not thus there are no other tribes of that name, but that these two nations are the most renowned, the most ingenious and the most civilised of that race.

The Malays are the most cunning, the most ingenious and the politest people of the whole East.

Whether they have been thus called after the country, or whether the country has been called after them, will be shown by and by, when we shall have traced their origin as far back as possible, producing it from their earliest history.

They are of a rather pale hue and much fairer than other natives of India, also much kinder, more polite, neater in their manner of living, and in general so charming, that no other people can be compared to them. Their language, Běhása Malayu, i.e., the Malay language (whether called after the people or after the country) was not only spoken on that coast, but was used through the whole of India, and in all the Eastern countries, as a language understood everywhere and by every one, just as French or Latin in Europe, or as the Lingua Franca in Italy or in the Levant, to such an extent even that, knowing that language, one never

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(1) Prokureur-General.
will be at a loss, it being used and understood in Persia, nay even beyond that country on that side, and also as far as the Philippines.

And if you don't understand this language, you are considered a very badly educated man in the East, whilst the Malays are accustomed to study it, trying their utmost to enlarge their knowledge of it and to learn also the Arabic; even some among them the Persian language too, and those who are more studious still strive to obtain the knowledge of the Sanskrit, the mother-language of most of the idioms in the East.

The Malay is spoken nowhere so correctly and so purely as here, though there is still a great difference between the Court language and that of the lower class. The language spoken by the courtiers is so swelling, so interlarded with Arabic (to show their erudition in that language), and differs so much from the common pure language (the former being the adulterated language), since every nation, that speaks this common or low Malay, has mixed some words of their own language with it, that it would not be understood by the common people, for which reason it is used only by princes, courtiers and priests, and therefore considered as the language of scholars. It is by nature a very pleasant, sweet, charming, and yet a very powerful language to express yourself in. A lot of works written in that language, already mentioned by us before, and several fine songs, in which they have transmitted many events of past times, show this plainly.

The Malay men are generally dressed in a pair of trousers, with a broad blue, red or green garment, wound as a blouse, and a turban rolled round the head.

They are commonly of a very lively nature, but they always keep open a back door and are not easily to be caught, while they are witty and of great self-conceit.

I do not know another nation in the Indies more cunning than the Malays and the natives of Macassar, for which reason they are not much to be relied upon.

The women's dress is almost the same as that of other Indian women, or like that of the Javanese women, and consists in a long gown, hanging down to their feet and very often also fastened above the bosom under the arms, the upper part of the body being naked. They tie up their hair in a bundle at the back of their head, though some have another hair-dress, almost the same as that of the Creoles. These women too are generally of a more excited
mind than other women of India, and they excel also in loveliness and wit far above others. (1)

(1) The following passage is given in Logan’s Journal, p. 700, Vol. IV, but does not occur in my edition of Valentyn, which is dated 1726.

D. F. A. H.

The other inhabitants are Portuguese, who are very well known, or other "Indians, who have been already described as Chinese, Guzerattes, Bengal, Coas-Moors, Acharines and others. The commodities produced here are these:—

"Kelambak," Agila-wood and Camphor in the Kingdom of Pahang, Tin, "Gold, Pepper, Pedro de Pereo (Query, Bezoar stones?), Elephant (tusks)."

The imported goods consist of:

- All sorts of cloths, more especially Petas Malayan, or Malay cloths.
- Surat cloths
- Bengal cloths.
- Guinea cloths (coarse "blue calico.
- Salampories.†
- Bafta Brotsja.‡
- Bethilis.§

The imported goods consist of:

- Coast Chintz.
- Opium.
- Red Woollens.
- Copper.
- Rupees.
- Reals of eight [Spanish dollars].

The charges of the garrison and other expenses run very high, sometimes as much as 200,000 guilders (2 tonnen gowld), the reason of which "is, that the clear income during the year is often much less than the out-

"In the year 1664 and during several years, the expenses were much higher and it was thought proper to reduce the strength of the garrison and bring the expenses within the sum mentioned, 200,000 guilders. Subsequently it was deemed proper further to reduce the expenditure by 40,000 guilders. Orders were given by their Excellencies in 1669 to reduce the extent of the fortifications and a certain Ensign (Vanguard) was established there from the 17th of January of the year and entrusted with the duties of enquirer."

* Marsden quotes Loureiro against Valentyn in support of the contention that "këmbak" and "gaharu" (i.e. agila wood or lignum-vaga) come from the same tree, and are merely different qualities arising from difference in age, &c, and he quotes also, "Gahru champaka agullochum sparium, R." But "këmbhuk" is the heart of the "kambúja" tree, known also as 'poko' buhýa, kambú. The heart of the "chämpáka" tree, furnishes the "kas-túri," while the heart of the "kàrus" tree produces all the varieties of "gaharu," which are as follows:—1st quality, very black, "lampam;" the 2nd "sandok" or "silsk;" the 3rd "wangkang" or "buah;" 4th, which is not marketable, but is used privately, is the refuse of the 3rd and is called "gaharu mèdáng."

† Half wool, half cotton.
‡ Indian cotton cloth. Brotsja,—place where it was made?
§ A fine Indian linen.
Several other factories are under the Governorship of Malakka, of which some are in this country and others on the East coast of Sumatra, and the Opperhoofden (Commandants) of these Settlements were sent thither by the Governor of this place and by his Council. These factories are Peirah (Perah), Keidah (Kedah), Oodjong-Salang, (1) and Andragiri. (2)

Peirah, the first named Settlement, situated on this Malay Coast, was subjected to the authority of the Queen of Atsjin (Acheh), and was only kept for the tin trade: the Hon'ble Company had appointed there an Underfactor, to purchase that mineral for ready cash, or to barter it against cloths at fifty Rix dollars the bakhur, but the nature of that people is very mean and murderous, which it has shown by murdering in 1631 all the people of our factory at that place. Their Honours have often been compelled to order the Governors of this Government (Malakka) to break up quietly that factory and its lodgings, and to try to find an opportunity to avenge this abominable piece of roguery, which was carried out afterwards, and which we will mention with every particular later on.

The second outer-factory is Quedah (Kedah), also situated on this Coast almost opposite Atsjin. We had there also an Underfactor and a Settlement to barter tin, gold and elephants for the Hon'ble Company; but this small kingdom, gave us also now and then so much trouble, that we have been obliged to break up this factory too.

We shall meet with the two other factories in our history of Sumatra.

[Here follows a list of the Governors and principal Officials of the Government of Malacca.]

LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF MALAKKA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johan van Twist, Governor and Extraordinary Member of the Council of India</td>
<td>1641—1642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremias van Vliet, Governor and Extraordinary Member of the Council of India in 1645</td>
<td>1642—1645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Commonly known as "Junk Ceylon."
(2) Indragiri.
Arnold de Vlaming van Onsthoorn, Governor and Extraordinary Member of the Council of India, 1645—1646
Johan Thyssoon Paijart, Governor and Extraordinary Member of the Council of India in 1637, 1646—1662
Johan van Riebeek, Commander and President, 1662—1665
Balthasar Bort, Commander and President, Promoted to Governorship, 1665—1668
Extraordinary Council of India in 1670 and Ordinary Council of India in 1678.

John Thyssoon Paijart. - Governor and Extraordinary Vice-President, 1637—1652
Johann van Riebeek, Commander and President, 1632—1665

Promoted to Governorship, 1665—1668
Extraordinary Council of India in 1670 and Ordinary Council of India in 1678.

Jacob Jorisseon Pits, Governor, 1679—1680
Cornelis van Quaalberg, Governor, Extraordinary Council of India in 1682, 1680—1684
Nicolaa Schaghen, Governor and Extraordinary Council of India in 1682, 1684—1686

Dirk Komans, Director from 5th January till 26th November, 1686
Thomas Slicher, Governor and Extraordinary Council of India, 1686—1691

Dirk Komans, Director from 18th October, 1691, to 1st October, 1692, 1691—1692

Gelmer Vosburg, Governor, 1692—1697
Govert van Hoorn, Governor, 1697—1700
Bernard Phoonsen, Governor and Extraordinary Council of India in 1703, 1700—1704

Johan Grotenhuys, Director from 18th January to 22nd May, 1704
Karel Boluer, Governor, 1704—1707
Pieter Rooselaar, Governor and Extraordinary Council of India in 1707, 1707—1709
Willem Six, Governor, 1709—1711
Willem Moerman, Governor, 1711—1717
Herman van Suchtelen Governor, 1717
SUPERCARGOS OR SECUNDAS.

Johan Verpoorten, ... ... ... 1641—1642
N. Snoek, (asserts that he saw here in 1643 a wo-
man 150 years old ),* ... 1642—1645
Gerard Bersche, ... ... ... 1646—(?)
Johan Goesens, ... ... ... (?)—1656
Gerbara Herberts, } These two have been Super-
} cargos at the same time, } 1656—1661
Balthasar Bort, ... ... ... 1656—1657
Michiel Curre, (instead of Bort, with Herberts), ... 1657—1658
Gillis Syben, ... ... ... 1661—1664
Joannes Massis, ... ... ... 1664—1669
Francois Sandvoord, ... ... ... 1668
Henrik Schenkenberg, ... ... ... 1668—1670
Dirk Komans, (sometimes acting as Director), ... 1684—1691
Adriaan Lucassoon, ... ... ... 1691—1692
Francois van der Beke, ... ... ... 1692—1693
Pieter de Vos, ... ... ... 1694—1696
Abraham Douglas, ... ... ... 1696—1700
Philip David van Ucchelen, ... ... ... 1700—1702
Gerard Huychelbosch, ... ... ... 1702—1703
Joannes Grotenhuys, ... ... ... 1703—1704
Antoni Valkenier, ... ... ... 1708—1709
Herman van Suchtelen, ... ... ... 1709—1711
Antoni Heyusius, ... ... ... 1711—1716
Gerard Voogd, ... ... ... 1717

CAPTAINS (OF THE GARRISON.)

Laurens Forcenburg, ... ... ... 1641—1642
Hans Cruger, Captain-Lieutenant, ... ... ... 1643—1663
N. Femmer, ... ... ... 1680
Jacob Palm, Captain-Lieutenant, ... ... ... 1708—1709
Christiaan Trekmeyer, Captain-Lieutenant, ... ... ... 1709—1711
Nicolaas Oostenrode, Captain-Lieutenant, ... ... ... 1711

* I had credible information the other day of the death of a man at the age of 120 a few years ago: he died in the Mahomedian year 1295; he could read and write, and told his son that he was born in 1175. In the Death Returns for this year, so far, there are 7 deaths registered at the age of 100 years, but I have been unable to obtain satisfactory proof in regard to them.
VALENTYN'S DESCRIPTION OF MALACCA.

SHAHBANDARS.

Jan Janssoen van Menie, ... ... ... 1641—1644
Emanuel du Molina, ... ... ... 1656—1660
Michel Curre, ... ... ... 1650
Francois van der Beke, ... ... ... 1683—1692
Johan van der Leli, ... ... ... 1708
Dirk Vouk, ... ... ... 1709—1712
N. Tempelaar, ... ... ... 1712
Samuel Cras, ... ... ... 1712—1716
Johan Bernard, ... ... ... 1717

ATTORNEY-GENERALS (FISCAALS GENERAAL.)

Gerard Herberts, ... ... ... 1641
Balthasar Bort, ... ... ... 1649
Johan van Zyll, ... ... ... 1650—1655
Emanuel du Molin, ... ... ... 1655—1656
Gillis Syben, ... ... ... 1656
Balthasar Bort, } a short time these ... ... ... 1656
Emanuel du Molin, } all together, ... ... ... 1656
Gillis Sijlen ... ... ... 1656—1657
Gilles Syben, ... ... ... 1657—1661
Abraham den Back, ... ... ... 1661—1669
Jacob Martensson Schagen, ... ... ... 1669
Jacob van Naarssen, ... ... ... 1688—1684
Pieter van Helsdingen, ... ... ... 1684—1685

BARRISTERS (FISCAALS INDEPENDENT.)

Arnold Hackins, ... ... ... 1690
Arnold van Alzen, ... ... ... 1695—1703
Abraham van Kervel, ... ... ... 1708—1711
N. van Loon, ... ... ... 1711
Nutger Dekker, ... ... ... 1712
N. Crommelin, ... ... ... 1712—(?)
N. Sibersma, ... ... ... (?)—1717
TREASURERS.

Jacob de Cooter, ... ... ... ... 1641—1643
Jan Claesoon Cloek, ... ... ... ... 1657
Thomas do Vos, ... ... ... ... 1657—1658
Adriaan Lucassoon, ... ... ... ... 1658—1661
Jacob Jorissoo Pits, ... ... ... ... 1661—1663
Jacob Splinter, ... ... ... ... 1663
N. Rex, ... ... ... ... 1717

SECRETARIES.

Balthasar Bort, ... ... ... ... 1646—1649
Gillis Syben, ... ... ... ... 1649—1656
Abraham den Back, ... ... ... ... 1656—1664
Matthys Sonnemaus, ... ... ... ... 1669
Jan Pas, ... ... ... ... 1680
Samuel Cras, ... ... ... ... 1709—1717
N. Lispensier (for a short time “ad interim”), ... ... ... ... 1712
N. Cotgère, ... ... ... ... 1717

WAREHOUSE-KEEPERS. (“Winkeliers.”)

Jacob May, ... ... ... ... 1641—1642
Karel Verwyk, ... ... ... ... 1642
Dirk van Lier, ... ... ... ... 1656—1658
Johan van Groenewegen, ... ... ... ... 1658—1659
Johan Massia, ... ... ... ... 1659
Nicolaas Muller, ... ... ... ... 1662
N. Bokent, ... ... ... ... 1691

COMMANDANTS (“Opperhoofden”) AT PEIRAH.

This Factory re-established in 1655.

Isaak Ryken, ... ... ... ... 1655—1656
Pieter Buytzen, ... ... ... ... 1656
Cornelis van Gunst, ... ... ... ... 1656
**VALENTYN’S DESCRIPTION OF MALACCA.**

*Factory abandoned in 1656 and re-established in 1659.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>StartYear</th>
<th>EndYear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johan Massis</td>
<td>1659</td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Schats</td>
<td></td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan Massis</td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>1661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adriaan Lucassoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>1661</td>
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</tbody>
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**COMMANDANTS AT LIGOR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>StartYear</th>
<th>EndYear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balthasar Bort</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joannes Zacharias</td>
<td>1656-1657</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michiel Curre</td>
<td>1657-1660</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan Massis</td>
<td>1661- (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolaas Muller</td>
<td>1667-1669</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

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**TREASURERS AT MALAKKA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>StartYear</th>
<th>EndYear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michiel Curre</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kornelis van Gunst</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michiel Curre</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Schats</td>
<td>1656-1658</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelis van Gunst</td>
<td>1658- (?)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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**STORE-KEEPERS (DISPENSIERS) AT MALAKKA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>StartYear</th>
<th>EndYear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lubbert Coorn</td>
<td>1657</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Claassoon Cloek</td>
<td>1657-1663</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernhard Vink</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Jorissoo Pits</td>
<td>1663- (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OPPERHOOFDEN (Commandants) AT OEDJONG SALANG.

Cornelis van Gunst, ... ... 1656—1658
Jacob Jorissoon Pits, ... ... 1658—1660

The factory broken up in 1660.

OPPERHOOFDEN (Commandants) AT KEIDAH (Kedah).

Pieter Buýtzen, ... ... 1654—1656
Arend Claassoon Draey (This Factory was quietly broken up in December). 1656
Jacob Jorisson Pits (sent thither as Tax-collector; but the roadstead remained blockaded till 1660), ... 1657

[ I have found, moreover, in some of the documents in the Archives of Malacca the names of the following Officers, besides those mentioned above:—

Jacob Kerkhoven, Underfactor, ... 1660—1662
Henrik van Ekeren, Supercargo in Ligor, ... 1656
Jacob van Twist, Lieutenant, ... 1657
Sebastiaan Cledits, Ensign, ... 1662
Jan van Es, Ensign, ... 1662
Bernhard Vink, Ensign, ... 1662
Jan Meke, Surgeon-Major, ... 1662
Willem Cornelissoon, Surgeon-Major, in the Fortress, 1662
Henrik Pelgrom, Ensign, ... 1710
Pieter du Quesne, ... ... 1711]

COMMISSIONERS (known for having done something noticeable here.)

Justus Schouten, ... ... 1641
Pieter Boreel, ... ... 1642
Johan van Feylingen, ... ... 1646
Balthasar Cojeth, ... ... 1709
Isaac Massis, ... ... 
N. Elards, ... ... 

The island of Dinding belonged also to the jurisdiction of Malakka, and its Chiefs were also appointed by the Governors of Malakka.
To know Malakka thoroughly and to be fully instructed of those particulars which have made it renowned, we must trace its origin and foundation, and disinter for posterity, from the clarity of antiquity, all that has been buried by the lapse of years and by oblivion, or most probably by want of opportunity.

If I had not been so fortunate as to secure some very rare books, written in Arabic, which cannot be got now for any money, I would not have been able to inform the world of those particulars about Malakka, which are now here mentioned, and which we are sure that but very few people could make known to mankind, while among thousands (of men) who know the Malay language, there is hardly one able to read it, when it is written in Arabic characters, and still less to understand that bombastic Malay, mixed with so many Arabic and Persian words and sentences.

Those books then are called "Tadjoo Eshalatina" or "Makota Segalla Radja," i.e., "The Crown of the Kings," "Misao Gomitar" and "Kitab Hantoowa," or "Hangtooja," (1) i.e., "The Book Hantoowa," commonly more known among the Malay scholars under the name of "Soolalat Eshalatina," that is, "The Book of Heraldry or Genealogical Register of the Kings" (viz., Malakka Kings). These three gems (which are now only found in very few libraries), though full of fictions and useless stories, are considered, however, among us as the best historical descriptions written in the Malay language, and which are not only most useful to learn the Malay thoroughly, but in which are also to be found many useful things about the Javanese, Malay and other Kings, not mentioned by another author. The Mohammedan Princes in India and their Priests are almost the unique possessors of these works, and it is the greatest difficulty in the world to get possession of one copy. But I have got them all, as I have mentioned already before, whilst speaking of the Malay language. Though we find in the two first mentioned works and in some other books, particulars clearing up many obscure points, yet the last one mentioned is in this respect the best one, while it gives us all the particulars from the very beginning, even from before the time that it (Malakka) was built, and in quite a decent style (for natives at least).

(1) Hang Thinh.—There were nine of these "hangs," champions, of whom an account may be found in LEYDEN's "Malay Annals." CRAWFORD speaks contemptuously of it as a historical work, which it no doubt deserves; but it is useful for the insight it affords into the national customs and manners.
I really don’t know the author of the book *Hangtooba*, but I must admit it to be one of the most decent Malay works I ever have read, of which we will communicate to our readers a summary as briefly as possible.

If we want to trace scrupulously the origin of the Malays, it is worth while to find out first, whether they derive their name from the country (the Malay Coast and the town of Malacca) or whether that country has been called after them.

They lived first on the great island of Sumatra (called in former times *Andelis* (1)) and also *Maningeabo*, (2) till it was discovered that this was the name of only one kingdom of this island) and there more especially in the kingdom of Palimbang, situated on the inner west coast, at about 8 degrees latitude, opposite the island of Banca, on the river *Malayoo*, which runs all round the mountain *Mahameroo*, (3) and thence downwards to the river *Tahang* and so on into the sea.

* Every one hearing the name of the first mentioned river, would feel inclined at once to think, that those who had settled there had been called after the said river “Orang Malayoo,” i.e., “the Malayoo people, people living on the river Malayoo,” others however suppose that that river (also called *Mallejoo* and *Maladjoo*) has received its name from this laborious, industrious, quick and hasty people, while the Malay word for laboriousness and quickness is also *Maladjoo*. But it is my opinion that the Malays got their first name from that river, and that they have given that name afterwards to several coasts and countries where they have settled, though the whole of this country (then nothing but fishermen) has been subdued by the King of Siam, of whom some of these natives have rid themselves a long time afterwards.

After having been settled here for some years, without knowing anything about a King to govern them (an obscure period, about which nothing has been mentioned by one author), but not quite pleased with this place, and not always having been left unmolested,

(1) More commonly "Indalas" or "Andalas."

(2) *Mānangkāban*, or *Mānangkūrbun*, as to the origin of which name various legends exist, e.g. fight between tiger and buffalo, latter winning; also fight between gigantic Javanese buffalo and buffalo calf, latter victorious; again when Rāja was first instituted at Bukit Gantang Penjaringan a buffalo with golden horns and hoofs issued from a hole in the ground with a herd of followers, but returned to it before his pursuers could catch him and so "mānang kūrbun."

(3) Mahamiru, the Hindu Olympus.

* This and much of what follows has already been criticised by competent critics, so I will not indulge myself here.
they thought it more advisable to elect a King (and such the more while they had greatly increased, whilst still heathens) which first King had the name of Sri Toori Bowana. (1) This Prince has ruled them 48 years, and pretended to be a descendant of Alexander the Great, to whom Demang Laiur Dang (2) (who then ruled the Malays as a Prince of less fame) resigned his sway, in consideration of his illustrious lineage and while he was a descendant of such a renowned Prince; this happened in about 1160 A.C. (or some years before).

The Malays crossed under this Prince (Sri Toori Bowana) from the island of Sumatra to the oppositeshore, now the Malay Coast, and more especially to its North-East point, known as “Oedjong Tanah,” that is, “the extremity of the country,” and known among geographers as “Zir baad” which means in Persian “below wind” (to leeward), hence receiving a long time afterwards also the new name of “the people below wind” (to leeward), or else “Easterlings” (above all the other nations in the East), from this so-called promontory where they had settled again, the same name having been given afterwards also to some of their neighbours or other Easterlings. This country has generally been known since that time by the name of “Tanah Malaya,” i.e., “the Malay territory” or else “the Malay Coast,” comprising in a larger sense all the country from that very point or from the 2nd degree till the 11th degree North latitude and till Tenasserim, though, taking it in a more limited sense, only that country is understood, which now belongs under the governorship and jurisdiction of Malacca and its environs; they are also considered above all the real and original Malays and they are, therefore, also called “Orang Malaya,” i.e., the Malays, whilst all the other Malays, either closely or far off, as those of Patani, Pahang, Periah, Keidah, Djohor, Bintam, (3) Liugga, Kampar, (4) Haru, and others in this same country or on the islands of Bintang (5)

(1) “Sri Tribhuana” and “Sri Tribhuven” — Malay Annals, Leyden. But Crawfurd accepts “Sri Turi Buana,” and on the authority of Professor Wilson gives “Illustrious Turi tree of the world” as the meaning. His first name was “Sang Saputra.”

(2) Lébar Daun, “Demang,” a Chief (Javanese);— “Demang Lébar Daun”— “Chiefman Broad Leaf.”

(3) Batam or Batang Island lying between Bentan and Bulang? or Bentan?

(4) Kampar, river and country of that name in Sumatra lying between the Sink and Indragiri rivers.

(5) Bentan, the island lying E. by S. of Singapore, on which is a prominent hill visible from Singapore, and alongside of which on the W. side of it, lies Pélau Penyengat, the site of Riau (Rhio).
Lingga (1) (on the South of Malakka), or in Sumatra, are also called Malays, but always with the addition of the name of the country where they come from, as for instance: Malayu-Djohor, Malayu-Patani, &c., &c.

Now, this is that famous far-renowned country considered by many ancients and even by many people now-a-days, to be that very ancient 0fr, the country from where King Solomon got the gold and the other Indian curiosities, mentioned in the H. Scriptures, and consequently called by the ancients “Regio Aurifera,” i.e., the gold coast, the gold region.

It is certain that, leaving Ezion Geber and passing through the Red Sea and so along the shores of Arabia and Persia and from there again along the Coasts of Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal, and so on, skirting along the coast, from one shore to the other and finally along the Kingdoms of Arracan, Pegu, Siam and Tenasserim, till the Malay Coast, this could be done without a compass; but we have amply shown in our first volume and in other places, that it was not this Coast, which was meant by that 0fr, but that it must have been very likely the island of Ceylon.

The Malays, after having remained at that place for some time, built there their first town, calling it Singapura, and a small sound on the South side of the same town still carries that name.

The King of Madjapahit (an empire of Java) was in those days one of the most powerful Princes in those quarters. He was not only feared on the island of Java, but he had conquered also many places in Java Minor and in Sumatra and had extended his dominion over several other provinces. (2)

Madjapahit then being one of the first and most celebrated cities, not only of Java, but of the surrounding islands too, the ambition of its Prince induced him to drive this new people out of their country, and consequently to attach a new pearl to his crown. He attacked them several times with large forces and thus forced them to fortify their place more and more.

Sri Toemi Bowana died in 1203, after having ruled them as a brave Prince during 48 years, and was succeeded by Padoeka

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(1) On this island is Dâék, the seat of the Johor sovereign after the abandonment of Johor Lâm. The occurrence of the names Bintam Lingga and Bintang Lingga together, would suggest perhaps accidental repetitions, rather than the inference that Bintam was for Batam, the latter not being well known, while Bintang was in connection with Lingga. This is evidently the case from what appears on p. 65.

(2) And had had communication with China after defeating a Chinese expedition sent against him.
PIKARAM WIRA as their second Prince. This one did not govern them for such a long space of time; he died after a period of 15 years. He did nothing of importance, only extending the recently built town and fortifying it a little more, so as to be able to withstand better the plots of the mighty Prince of Madjapahit, who did not leave him in peace.

He died A. D. 1223, and was then succeeded by the third King, SIRI RAMA WIKARAM. This was a young and brave King, who ruled them during 13 years with moderation, and who commenced to be feared all round, but he died very suddenly in 1233, to the great grief of his people, who liked him very much.

His successor was SIRI MAMA RAJA, who was the fourth King and who also made a very good figure and extended the town greatly. He governed them 12½ years with great care, and was also very much liked by his subjects and feared by his enemies. He died in 1249.

That same year SIRI ISKANDER SHAH was elevated to the crown in his place as the last King of Singapura. He resisted the mighty King of Madjapahit in the first three years of his reign, but was so hard pressed by him at the end of 1252, that he had to abandon Singapura and to migrate higher up to the North side and from thence to the West side of this country, where he laid foundation of a new town in 1253. Including him, five kings had ruled in Singapura during a period of 91 years. He embellished that new place gradually to such an extent that, among the three great and celebrated cities in those quarters of the East, this place was considered afterwards to be the third in rank, or next to Pasi in Sumatra, which stood second next to Madjapahit. He called this new town Malakka, after a certain tree—"Kajoo Malakka," or the Malakka, otherwise called the Mirabolon or the pentagonal tree. While it happened that he commenced to build the town at the very spot where he had taken some rest under such a tree, whilst waiting there till the dogs dislodged the game, one day that he was hunting in those environs, all which particulars are told at large in the book Hautoooh. The former Kings of Madjapahit, not yet satisfied with the conquest of Singapura, crossed to the opposite shore of the island of Sumatra and took there the kingdom of Indragiri. Since then, they have always made one of the Javanese princes, related to them, King of that realm, and we shall find afterwards one of the Kings of

* Mr. Maxwell has drawn attention to the existence of a similar legend amongst the Guzaraties. (Journ. Roy. A. S. Socy, XIII, N.S.)
Malakka as a King on that throne, invested with that authority by the King of Majapahit.

In the meantime this town (Malakka) and this renowned people increased under this prince very much in importance and in power, and it was this King who laid the foundation of a permanent kingdom.

He lived till 1274 A.D., and died after having governed this people during 25 years, having swayed the sceptre three years in Singapura and 22 years as the first King of Malakka, feared by his neighbours, and beloved by his subjects. Sultan Magar succeeded him that same year as the second Malay King at Malakka.

This prince died after a short reign of two years, and on his death the Malays had been governed 115 years and 6 months by Heathen Kings.

He was succeeded in 1276 by Sultan Mohammed Shah, the seventh King of the Malays, and the third of Malakka, who was the first Mohammedan Prince of Malakka; he became famous, while he strongly propagated this new religion and greatly enlarged his empire during the 57 years that he governed this kingdom.

It seems that it was he who transferred the name of Malajoo to the adjacent islands of Lingga and Bintam or Bintang, South of the Promontory of the Malay Coast, and that he made that name famous among the natives of Djohor, Patani, Keidah (otherwise called Quedah), Peirah and of other places even on the opposite coast of Sumatra and Kampar (1) and Haru, and that the inhabitants of those quarters, feared him so much, that apparently all their countries were then already subjected to him.

Not satisfied with those conquests, he married in the last years of his reign, the Princess of Arracan, heiress of that King, thus subjecting that kingdom by inheritance, installing the Prince, whom he appointed there and who had been selected among the Malays Mangkubumi, i.e., Chancellor of the Kingdom of Malakka.

He died A.D. 1333, after having reached a very advanced age, leaving to his son Sultan Aboo Shadaid (the eighth King of the Malays, the fourth of Malakka, and the second Mohammedan King) a peaceable kingdom. But this Prince did not possess it a very long time, for he was stabbed by the King of Arracan in 1334, after a reign of but one year and five months, leaving the kingdom in the same condition as his father had left it to him.

He was succeeded that same year by Sultan Modfar Shah (as

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(1) Kampar, see note (4) page 64.
the ninth King of the Malays, the fifth of Malakka, and the third Mohammedan King). This King governed his people with great sagacity and very carefully.

He showed his sagacity in leaving to his people a book full of sublime rules and maxims, called "The Statutes of Malakka," and he has given also many proofs of his valour during his reign of 40 years.

A very mighty Prince, called Boobatnya, governed in 1340 the Kingdom of Siam (then called Spaharnan or Sorumn).

This King who had overpowered the countries all round his empire, having also received reports of the celebrated commercial town of Malakka, was jealous of its rise, challenged it to surrender, and when King Modafar would not submit to him, he ordered his General Ali Isjakan to attack it.

A fierce battle ensued between these two Princes, or rather between their Generals, but Sirc Naka Dinalja, the General of Malakka, behaved so valiantly, that he forced the Siamese to retreat with great loss and shame. That King of Siam died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by one Chupandan, who did not leave the matter, but, again attacking the King of Malakka, besieged the town for the second time; but he was as unfortunate as his predecessor, and was also defeated by the same General of Malakka, who gave him such a severe blow in driving him away from the town, that he too died of chagrin a short time afterwards.

It was at this time that the town of Malakka was considered the third in rank with Madjapahit and Pasi, among the renowned cities in those quarters of the East.

This Prince governed this kingdom with much glory for some years more, and died in 1374.

He left his son as his successor, who was first commonly called Sultan Abdul, but called afterwards (when he became King) Sultan Mansor Shah. He was the tenth King of the Malays, the sixth of Malakka, and the fourth Mohammedan King. Many important things happened in these quarters during his reign, and none of his predecessors governed so long as he did, viz., 73 years.

The Kingdom of Indragiri on the East coast of Sumatra was still under the supremacy of Madjapahit in the beginning of the reign of this King, but when Mansor Shah had married Radin Gala Isjindra Kirana, the daughter of the King of Madjapahit and a Prince of great celebrity, that King bestowed the Kingdom of Indragiri upon his son-in-law, and in this manner Indragiri came under the rule of the Kings of Malakka, who governed it till we came here.

The King of Madjapahit was at that time (1380), so powerful
that he rather ought to have been styled an Emperor than a King, while there were so many Kings submitted to his supremacy, that, when they appeared in his council, he had to show to every one of them their seat according to their rank. He gave the first seat, the place of honour next to him, to the King of Daha; the second seat to the King of Tinjong Pura (Java), who was also married to one of his daughters, Nasa Kurama or Nyai Kasuma and who has succeeded him as King of Madjapahit; and the third seat was the place of the King of Malakka, his other son-in-law.

King Mansor Shah made also an alliance with the Emperor of China, and married his daughter. After this union he declared war with the King of Pahang and conquered his kingdom.

At that time Malakka was the first, Pasi the second, and Haru the third city in those quarters of the East: these places were famous, excelling in power and importance. Afterwards he declared also war with the King of Pasi, one Sainalardin, and defeated him too.

A short time afterwards, about 1420, Kairan Samarlooka, King of Macassar, sent a fleet of 200 sail with a strong army to Malakka, to wage war against that place, but the Laksamana or the Admiral of King Mansor Shah attacked the enemy so valiantly, that he compelled him to retreat, and he retired to Pasi, which place he then besieged, ruining the country all round it.

The said Sainalardin, King of Pasi, afterwards had differences with his two younger brothers, who drove him from his kingdom, compelling him to take refuge with this King of Malakka (Mansor Shah), who took him under his protection, and he besieged Pasi for the sake of this Prince, and reconquered for him his kingdom and its chief town; but afterwards he (Sainalardin) would not submit to Mansor Shah.

His reign thus passed in constant wars and military troubles. He died in 1447, leaving his son, Sultan Aleddin as his successor.

He was the eleventh King of the Malays, the seventh of Malakka and the fifth Mohammedan King.

His reign lasted 30 years, but it does not appear to me, that he performed anything memorable. It moreover seems to me that, under his rule, Malakka must have submitted for a short time to the dominion of the King of Siam.

He died in 1477 and was then succeeded by Sultan Mamud Shah, who was the twelfth King of the Malays, the eighth and also

* Zeineddin, or Zeinalabeddin.
the last King of Malakka, and the sixth Mohammedan King.

He governed this people during 38 years, of which 29 years in Malakka and afterwards 7 years more in Johor. It was under his reign that the Malays threw off the Siamese yoke, and such in 1500; but we will see that at large in what follows.

It was also during the reign of this King, that the Portuguese arrived for the first time at Malakka, and conquered the country. For the sake of evidence and to clear up the matter, we will mention all those great events from the beginning and treat in due order that part of the history of Malakka and of its Kings till the time, when we arrived in these regions.

ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AT MALAKKA.

The Malay historian is not quite correct, when he states that the Portuguese arrived for the first time in these quarters, more especially in Malakka, in the beginning of the 30th year of Sultan MAHMUD SHAH’S reign, for, adding 29 years to the date that he ascended the throne, i.e., 1477, the first arrival of the Portuguese should have happened in A.D. 1506, and it is fully evident from what follows, that they first came here not earlier than two or three years after that date and that they did not conquer Malakka earlier than five years after that date, viz., A.D. 1511. This Prince’s reign was consequently a longer one in Malakka and not such a long one in Johor.

King Emanuel of Portugal ordered in 1508 JACOB SEQUEIRA, (1) one of his Admirals (according to Maffus it was the Admiral DIDAKUS LOPES), to go with 4 vessels of his fleet of 16 sail to Malakka to make a treaty of friendship with the King of that country, then Sultan MAHMUD SHAH.

Arrived at Cochin, he first went in 1509 to Sumatra, touched at Acheen, and finally arrived thence at Malakka.

He met King MAHMUD at that place, who had then just revolted from the King of Siam, under whose dominion the Malays had been for a short time. SEQUEIRA, as soon as he had dropped anchor, forwarded one HERONEMUS TEIXEIRA (1) with a present and with a letter written in Arabic from King EMANUEL, requesting the said King of Malakka to allow him (SEQUEIRA) to carry on trade in amity, which the King granted him at once.

No sooner had SEQUEIRA made a treaty of friendship and of

(1) This name is still met with here.
commerce, than the Moors and Arabs pointed out to the King that the Portuguese did not come here to trade, but that it was their intention to drive the Prince out of his kingdom. They spoke so in fear that, when the Portuguese were once allowed to trade here, their own traffic by means of caravans from Cairo and Alexandria in Egypt and to Europe, would be totally ruined.

They aspersed the Portuguese character to the utmost, and told the King that they had acted in that very manner at Cochin, Cannanore, Ormus, and other places, that they had seized upon the said countries and had built fortresses in all those places to vindicate their rights.

The consequence of these instigations was that Mahmud at once made up his mind to violate his word and to break the treaty already made with Sequeira, and he intended to invite him with his principal officers to a dinner and to kill them all at that party.

The Moors thought this plot to be carried out as easily as it had been easy to their cunningness to persuade the King to their purposes, but we will see that they did not succeed so readily as they had imagined.

True, Sequeira had already accepted the invitation, but, in the meantime, having been informed of the said plot, he pretended to be unwell and betrayed nothing.

The King had also allowed Sequeira to have a building on shore, in which house Rodrigo Aranjo (1) had already established himself as the Supercargo, for the trade of the Portuguese.

The Chinamen living here and a Persian woman had informed Sequeira in time, by means of a tailor, of the intended treachery, but at first neither he nor his companions would believe that it was true, and they went on courting the girls in the town behaving unchastely.

One Nakhoda Bequa and one Isutee Mutis, (2) a Javanese Raja (I really don’t know how to spell these names), the wealthiest inhabitants of this place next to the King, meantime did their best to kindle this fire and to confirm the King of Malakka more and more in his hatred to the Portuguese. They made splendid presents to the King and to his uncle, thus trying to obtain their villainous object; but the Admiral of the King of Malakka, an honest man, fully disapproved this shameful treason, and maintained that the King was obliged to keep the treaty at least as long as these new customers had not given him a reason to do something

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(1) According to the Commentaries of Albuquerque, "Ruy de Araujo."
(2) Utimati, a Javanese title.
of that kind with some appearance of justice: but all his persuasion, though well-founded, had no effect.

When MAHMUD heard that his first plot had failed and that the principal reason that SEQUEIRA had not come was, that the promised spices had not been forwarded to him, he sent him word that he would despatch at once the crafts with the goods. SEQUEIRA seemed to be pretty well pleased with this message, but he for his part stationed at the same time some of his boats on four different places so as to be prepared for all eventualities.

The King sent some embarkations with soldiers besides, who were hidden under the victuals and provisions. He ordered moreover some of his people to conceal their arms under their garments and to try to get access on board of the vessels as dealers in etables, and to take hold of the opportunity as soon as they perceived a column of smoke going up in the town.

PETRUS MAFFEIUS tells us, that ISUTI MUTIS had ordered his cousin, one PATIANOS, to kill SEQUEIRA, while SEQUEIRA had put his trust entirely in that man and admitted him freely into his presence.

When everything had been properly arranged, the crafts paddled to the vessels; they created suspicion, however, by ascending the vessels with too large a number at once and GRACIA DE SOUSA noticing this stopped them and sent FERDINAND MAGELLAN to SEQUEIRA, to warn him that there was something suspicious in the wind.

ISUTI MUTIS and his men, eight of which already surrounded SEQUEIRA, who was playing at chess, stood anxiously waiting for the signal on shore, viz., the column of smoke. SEQUEIRA, though warned by MAGELLAN, did not care at all about it; he only ordered a Mate to ascend the mast to see if the boats, which had their freight, were on the way back already, and continued his game as passionately as ever. Still the signal was not given, and when the Mate, who was in the mast, saw that a Malay drew his Kris and that another made a sign to show the first one, that it was not the right moment yet, he warned SEQUEIRA at the top of his voice, that those Malays were merely waiting for a signal to effectuate their plot.

SEQUEIRA called out for his arms just in time and drove the enemies overboard, who, astonished and wild that their attempt again had failed, jumped in their boats and hurried away from the vessels.

The signal on shore was given just after they had left the vessels, and the consequence was that those who had still stopped
straggling in the town, were murdered unmercifully. Twenty of them fled to the house of Rodrigo Arange (1) and Francisco Serrano, and having got a boat in time escaped the massacre.

Whilst Sequeira and his officers were still deliberating with each other about this wicked deed, the King and the Bandahara (Chancellor of the Exchequer) sent an Ambassador to the vessels to apologize for what had happened, offering to punish all the culprits and to deliver unhurt all the Portuguese who were still in Arange's house. The very first thing that Sequeira did, was to claim, that those Portuguese should be surrendered at once, but seeing that the King was continually using subterfuges and that his ships got gradually surrounded by a great many native crafts, blocking him up imperceptibly, he thought it more advisable not to stop any longer, but to weigh anchor, not only to avoid a flagrant breach of peace, but also not to miss his return to India through the Ganges, by the passing of the monsoon. But when he received the intelligence, that D'Almeida (together with whom he had been dispatched) had returned home, he too went back to Portugal. The famous Alfonso Albuirk, who had been appointed Vice-Roy in 1509, had resolved in the meantime to conquer Aden, in compliance with the orders of his Sovereign; he consequently first sailed with 23 vessels, manned with 800 Portuguese and 600 Natives of Malabar to Ormus, intending to take the usual way, but, prevented by contrary winds, he had to put it off an to take another resolution. He then conquered Goa and made peace at Ormus.

Jacob Mendes Vasconcel, backed by several other ship-masters, wanted then to go to Malakka against the advice of Albuirk and actually started to realize that plan; but Albuirk had him brought back by main force, imprisoned him and dismissed several of his advisers.

He made at the same time a treaty with the King of Pacem (Pasi) and insisted upon the extradition of Nakhoda Bequa; but this one having escaped before he could be surrendered, the Portuguese at once pursued him and succeeded in overtaking his ship, he was killed after having defended himself very bravely.

The following curious fact occurred at his death, viz., that no blood was to be seen first, though he had been stabbed through; but it was discovered then, that he wore a blood-stanching stone.

(1) See note (1) p. 71.
in a bracelet, (1) and as soon as that stone had been removed from his body, the blood gushed from his wounds.

It was about that time that the King of Malakka, who was still a vassal of the King of Siam, threw off that yoke.

He (Albukirk) sailed to Malakka on the 1st August, 1511. The Chinamen of that place were kind enough to warn him of an attempt already planned there beforehand against him and promised at the same to assist him, whilst the King sent him a proposition of peace as soon as he had cast anchor. The King of Pahang (the Portuguese pronounce it Pan) to whom Mahmud's daughter had been betrothed a short time before, was also at Malakka, when Albukirk arrived there and it was on the wedding day at the very moment, that some of the allied princes, who had been invited to witness the marriage, were led round, seated on a magnificent triumphal car on 30 wheels, that he dropped anchor.

The sight of the arrival of Albukirk's fleet disturbed the King and all the wedding guests; the majority of them being natives, they wanted to run away at once, but the King, hearing that he did not want to interfere with their festivities, sent to inquire of him, with what kind of goods he could serve him, upon which he sent the reply that he did not want any new goods, but that he merely came to demand the Portuguese who were still there and those goods which had formerly been detained so deceitfully.

The King, who had certainly about 9,000 brass guns in the town, tried to put him off with promises and to protract till his fleet, which had left for an expedition, should have returned, and therefore told him, that those Portuguese had escaped; but Albukirk, not inclined to be put off with that excuse and receiving not even the slightest news of his companions on shore, ordered at once to set fire to some houses in the town and to some native embarkations, and thus compelled the King to deliver to him immediately Arange and the other Portuguese, whilst he assured Albukirk, that he wished most ardently to be at peace with him. But when Arange had warned Albukirk not to trust the King, he claimed a place where he could build a fortress, which the King promised him to his choice, putting it off however constantly. Seeing that

(1) In the Commentaries of Albuquerque described as a bracelet of bone set in gold, said to be made "of the bones of certain animals which were called "cabals (also cabuis) that are bred in the mountain ranges of the kingdom of "Siam, and the person who carries these bones so that they touch his flesh can "never lose his blood, however many wounds he may receive, so long as they are "kept on him."
the King tried again to deceive him, he ordered to set fire to his palace. Then the King begged to make peace and accepted the terms made by ALBUKIRK, who demanded the delivery of all the Portuguese, the restitution of the stolen goods, and the indemnification of the expenses for two fleets, which had been despatched this way; but the King’s son (whom MAPPEJUS has named ALLODIN) and the King of Pahang declining to accept the said terms, ALBUKIRK ordered his troops to attack and to plunder the town, and to spare only the properties of one NINACHEW and of ISUTINUTIS, (who had already made peace with him before and had submitted to him) and of all the Javanese who stood under his orders and of a few other individuals, who were his allies in town. The King having been wounded personally dismounted his elephant and fled, and so did the King of Pahang too, and they never returned again.

A few days afterwards he and his General ANTONIO D’ABREO (?) attacked the town for a second time; a fierce battle was fought, but D’ABREO conquering a certain bridge put the Malays to flight and ALBUKIRK made his entry in the royal palace where he found that the King and his household had already fled.

ALLODIN having collected the fugitives, was defeated for a second time and compelled to flee to the island of Bintani (situated opposite to Singapore), where he fortified himself in spite of its Prince.

The Portuguese, once masters of the town, plundered it thoroughly, capturing among other things the 9,000 brass guns. The booty seized at Malacca was so rich, that one fifth of it, i.e., the part reserved for the King (of Portugal), amounted to 200,000 ducats.

ALBUKIRK appointed Raja ISUTINUTIS, head of the Moors, and NINACHEW, head of the other native inhabitants; he fortified the town, opened the place for the trade, and built of the tombs of the Kings the first Christian Church, devoted to the Annunciation.

He sent the news of this conquest to the King of Siam, who was very much pleased, that his disloyal vassal had been punished so severely, he congratulated ALBUKIRK on his success and begged him to make an offensive and defensive alliance. The Laxamana (or Admiral of Malacca) came to beg him also to consider him a friend, assuring him, that he had tried to dissuade the King from making war, and ALBUKIRK pardoned him also.

And behold now this proud Malakka, the glory and the success of the Malays!

(1) Commentaries—ALBUQUERQUE, “Dabre.”
The fugitive King MAHMUD did not die of grief (1) (as it is asserted by the Portuguese), but he had fled in 1511, to the North-East side of the Southern Promontory of the country, after having ruled Malakka for 34 years: with him a period of 252 years was completed that this country had been under the sway of Malay Kings. He commenced to build a new town at that place (the third one built by Malay Kings in those quarters), enlarged it and finally finished it, and gave it the name of Johor, after the Arabic word "Johor" perhaps, which means "a pearl" also "the fine human shape."

He founded a new empire there, the Kings of which from that date were no longer styled Malay Princes or Kings of Malakka, but Kings of Johor. He reigned two years at that place, died in 1513, and was succeeded by his son, who had not the name of ALLODIN (according to the Portuguese historians), but who has been mentioned by the Malays as Sultan AHMAD SHAH, in their genealogical register of the Kings of Malakka and Johor. He was the thirteenth King of the Malays, the first of Johor, and the seventh Mohammedan King.

[To be continued.]
Leaving this prince and his new city for a while, let us return to Malakka, where more treachery was being plotted against its great conqueror Albuquerque.

Raja Isutinutis, wronged by King Mahmud, had already, before the arrival of Albuquerque, tried to expel that prince: having made up his mind to obtain possession of the town with the aid of some Javanese and one Pati (1) from Japara, he thought it now the right time to renew the attempt, the more so that he knew there were but very few Portuguese troops.

So he sent a letter to the King's son, who had fled to the island of Bintam, (i.e., Bintang, or more correctly Bentan) informing him of his intentions, but his letter was intercepted, and he, a man of eighty years of age, his son Patagus, and his brother-in-law, who tried to enter the fortress, were arrested and decapitated in public, while their houses and property were destroyed and laid waste, and their memory consigned to oblivion. It was to no purpose that his widow offered to pay one hundred thousand ducats if their lives were spared.

Intent then on revenging herself, she promised her daughter in marriage to a Moor called Paticatir (Osorius calls him Pasecatir and Mapefus, Quitiriis) who had been appointed head of the Moors by Albuquerque, on condition that he should avenge the death of her husband, son and brother-in-law, Paticatir having often previously in vain asked for her hand while Isurtinutis was still alive.

(1) "Pati Unus" according to Faria y Souza, who afterwards became King of Sunda.
The marriage having been concluded quite secretly, the widow engaged 6,000 troops, and with their aid attempted to carry his plots into execution, but ALBUQUERQUE put him to flight on the first engagement, and thus broke up at once all his power and influence.

Having established peace here in 1511, ALBUQUERQUE appointed RODRIGO BRIT PALAYN first Governor of Malakka, and NINACHETU Shahbandar and head of the Moors. SAIJ lashin, the King of Pasi (Pâseï), who had once before deserted to MAHMUD, was again restored to favour, but notwithstanding went over a second time to the enemies of ALBUQUERQUE.

ALBUQUERQUE then left Malacca in charge of Patalyn with a garrison of 300 Portuguese, sent one of his captains with a squadron of ten sail to the Singapore Straits, and returned with four vessels to Malabar (Malabar?) to keep a watchful eye upon the plots of ABAÐILCHAIN against Goa.

He, however, not only failed to carry out his expedition, but narrowly escaped with his life, his vessel having struck and sunk in a storm off Pasi on the Island of Sumatra. Though this happened at night, he and his crew were saved; but he lost Nakhoda BEQUA's bracelet with the precious blood-stanching stone. (1)

After suffering many distresses and being almost starved, they arrived safely at Cucheen (Cochin on West Coast of India) in February, 1512.

Meantime the Portuguese (at Malakka) had been again attacked by PATICATIR, but he was so completely defeated by PETREJUS ANDRAO that he did not venture a further attempt. The PATI ONIUS (2) previously mentioned from Japâra, who had eight years before promised his aid to Râja ISUTINUTUS, now at last appeared before Malakka with a fleet of 3,000 (3) sail, having secured at the same time many adherents in the town itself, but he likewise met with total defeat, and barely succeeded

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(1) For an account of this wonderful ornament, see pp. 73 and 74 Journal, S.B., R.A.S., No. 13 for June, 1884, and note.
(2) PATI ÜNUS.
(3) FARIA Y SOUZA says ninety sail, which sounds more probable, with 1,200 men (an average of 133 to each vessel) and a good supply of artillery.
in escaping himself in a small craft, the only one left of the whole fleet, after losing more than 8,000 men. (1) The loss of the Portuguese on the other hand was not more than 20 men killed though they had many wounded in this severe engagement. The Portuguese Governor Patalyn and his Captain Andreado were much praised by Albuquerquee for their gallant behaviour.

Once again Malakka ran the risk of being reconquered by the Malay kings. Taenar Majelis (Teanno Maselis according to Portuguese historians) a Moor from Bengal, was the originator of this new plot. Being on good terms with one Peter Person, a friend of the Governor, he had arranged with his adherents that he should first kill Person, and this was to be the signal for a general massacre. A few days afterwards having been invited to dinner by Person, he tried to execute his plot, but instead of killing Person, he only wounded him; this of course caused an alarm and frustrated all their plans. (2)

(1) Faria y Souza’s account agrees as to the completeness of Piti Unus’s defeat, but differs in his account of his fleet, concerning which he remarks:—“Several of his ships were equal in size to the largest Portuguese galleons, and the one destined for himself was larger than any ships then built by the Europeans.” And, again:—“After a furious battle of some endurance, Unus fled, and was pursued all the way to Java, where he preserved his own vast vessel as a memorial of his escape, and of the grandeur of his fleet, and not without reason, as a merchant of Malakka engaged to purchase it of Percy for 10,000 ducats if taken.”

(2) Faria y Souza’s account of this affair is as follows:—King Mahomet had not yet lost all hope of recovering Malakka, to which he now drew near: and having in vain attempted to succeed by force, he had recourse to stratagem. For this purpose he prevailed on a favourite officer named Juan Maxiliz to initiate the conduct of Zorracs at Babylon. Being accordingly mutilated, Juan fled with some companions to Malakka, giving out that he had escaped from the tyrannical cruelty of his sovereign. Rio de Brito, who then commanded in the citadel of Malakka, credited his story, and reposed so much confidence in his fidelity that he was admitted at all times into the fortress. At length, having appointed a particular day for the
When the King of Djobor found that all his attempts miscarried, he deemed it advisable to conclude a permanent peace with the Portuguese (1514), which was preserved for some years.

The Viceroy Alfonso Albuirk sent his cousin George Albuirk the same year (1514), to Malakka to succeed the valiant Rodrigo Patalyn as second Governor of that place (Malakka).

Ninachetu was dismissed at the same time, and the King of Campar appointed Shahban Dar (1) in his place (no one knew the cause of his dismissal; he was so chagrined at this that he committed suicide by burning himself on a pile after delivering a solemn speech to the people.

Abdallah, the King of Campar, was soon afterwards attacked by the King of Bentan, but with the assistance of the Portuguese easily beat off his enemy. But some years later the King of Djobor induced the Portuguese, by false imputations, to suspect the King of Campar his own son-in-law, so that they bribed assassins to kill him; but it is also said that he was publicly executed on a charge of conspiring to surrender Malakka to the enemies of the Portuguese.

"execution of his long-concerted enterprise, on which Mahomet was to send a party to second his efforts or to bring him off, he and his accomplices got admitted into the fort as usual, and immediately began to assassinate the Portuguese garrison by means of their daggers, and had actually slain six before they were able to stand to their defence. Barro, who happened to be asleep when the alarm was given, immediately collected his men, and drove the traitor and his companions from the fort at the very moment when a party of armed Malays came up to second their efforts. The commander of this party, named Juan Calascan, on learning the miscarriage of Juan Maxiliz, pretended that he came to the assistance of Barro, and by that means was permitted to retire."

(1) Faria y Souza says "Bandara," i.e. "Bendahara."

(2) This is the account given by Faria y Souza, who says that Mahommed, the King of Johor, caused it to be noised abroad that Abdallah, his own son-in-law, had gone to Malacca with his knowledge and consent for the express purpose of getting an opportunity of seizing the fort by a sudden and unexpected attack, which false
GEORGE BRIT succeeded (1515) GEORGE ALBUQUERQUE as third Governor of Malakka, just before the arrival of the new Viceroy of India, LOPEZ TOAREZ ALVARENGA, successor of ALFONSO ALBUKIRK.

Nothing of importance happened while BRIT was Governor. He died here (at Malakka) in 1517. This death gave rise to sharp disputes between two high Portuguese Officials as to the succession, and FERDINAND PETREJUS ANDRADO, who touched at Malakka on his voyage homewards from China, tried in vain to reconcile them. Meantime whilst NUGUEZ VASCO PEREIRA was temporarily administering the Government, ALFONSO LOPEZ COSTA had been appointed fourth Governor of Malakka by King EMANUEL.

The King of Johor, being disinclined to suffer the Portuguese to remain any longer in such quiet possession of Malakka, waged war against them once more, attacked them suddenly, and had some very sharp engagements with one ALEXIS DE MENEZES, ('1) the Portuguese commander, but without obtaining the slightest advantage. When de Menezes had left, the King resumed his attack on the town, besieged the fortress for seventeen days, and made an assault on it, but was repulsed by the Portuguese. After this last defeat he remained quiet for a short time.

The new Viceroy, DIDACUS LOPEZ SEQUEIRA, appointed one CORREA Captain of the Portuguese Garrison at this place in 1519 to frustrate the repeated attacks of King AHMED Sjah, and one GARCIA DE SALA to be fifth Governor to relieve the invalid Governor ALFONSO LOPEZ COSTA.

A little before this the King of Johor had made another attack upon the town, but being again repulsed with great report obtained credence from the Portuguese Commander and led to ABDULLAH's downfall. This, he says, led to the natives, who much appreciated ABDULLAH's administration, leaving Malacca in such numbers that it was almost left desolate.

('1) According to Faria y Souza, this attack was made in the time of BRIT (or BRITO), and DE MENEZES arrived to assume the Government with a reinforcement of 300 men just in time to prevent Malakka falling into the hands of the enemy, and appointed COSTA Deputy Governor in place of BRITO, who was dying.
loss and disgrace, (1) he abandoned his plans for a long time.

In 1521 García de Sala was succeeded by another Governor. During his governorship George Albuérk and Antonio Brit came this way for the purpose of besieging Bintam, but it did not come to anything. (2) García de Sala in that year (1521) resigned the governorship to George Albuérk, who was thus the sixth Portuguese Governor. In 1522 the people of Bintam again came forth against Malakka with eighty vessels, but George Albuérk having been already informed that the Laksamana of Djohor was coming with a numerous and powerful fleet, despatched a strong Portuguese fleet to meet him, and a fierce fight ensued. Sixty-five Portuguese were killed, and their vessels were compelled to retreat to Malakka: the Laksamana likewise quietly withdrew.

Meantime several Portuguese, who had landed at Pahang in ignorance that the King there was son-in-law to the King of Djohor were murdered; many others were compelled by the King of Djohor to embrace the Mahomedan faith, while those who refused to do so were tied to the mouth of a cannon and blown to pieces.

About this time also a force from Bintam appeared before the town (Malakka) took Simon de Breo and thirteen Portuguese by surprise, slew them all, and burnt their vessels. García Henrique, who, on his return from the Moluccas, was cruising off the island of Bintam, was drawn into an ambuscade by the vessels of the Laksamana, lost both his vessels, and was obliged to retreat to Malakka after making a gallant defence, in which almost all his men were killed.

All these small advantages gained over the Portuguese made the King of Djohor so proud, that he again entertained the idea of attacking Malakka by sea and land and making a

(1) Faria y Souza says the King of Bintan (Bentan) which is practically the same thing, and that the Portuguese succeeded in taking the Malay Fort at Meor with 300 cannon.

(2) Faria y Souza describes Bentan as “having two strong castles and its rivers staked to prevent the access of ships, so that it was considered almost impregnable, and though Albuérk Querre went with 18 vessels and 630 men, he was obliged to retire.”
fresh effort to expel the Portuguese. He then collected a force of 20,000 men, 16,000 of which he despatched by land under the command of a renegade Portuguese Captain called AMLAAR, while the Laksamana had to take the other 4,000 men to blockade the Malakka roadstead.

AMLAAAR immediately marched on the town and very soon succeeded in making a trench sixty palisades wide near the village of Quillyn [i.e., Kampong Kling, as it is termed], but he was unable to take advantage of it, for GEORGE ALBUKIRK had it repaired at once.

The siege lasted for about a month, after which it was raised and the besiegers beat a retreat, on hearing that relief had been sent from Goa. This happened about 1525. They had hardly left when MARTYN ALFONSO DE SOUZA arrived with a fleet to the rescue of the town, and he was told that during the siege people had paid fifty ducats for a fowl.

The Governor appointed the said DE SOUZA Admiral of the Portuguese fleet in place of his cousin GARCIA HENRIK, and the very first act of the new Admiral was to blockade the river of Bintam with five vessels and so prevent the entrance or egress of anything.

In 1526 PETER MASCARENHAS was appointed Governor of Malakka, being the seventh Portuguese Governor.

The King of Djohor soon after again besieged the town, but the brave MASCARENHAS would not brook such provocation; he began to take aggressive action, and declared war against the King of Bintam, who called his son-in-law of Pahang to his aid, but both the Laksamana of Bintam and the King of Pahang's Admiral were completely defeated and put to flight, and the Portuguese conquered the whole island (i.e., Bentan). The said King of Bintam (a creature of the King of Djohor, the lawful King having been expelled) died of grief soon after. The other King then re-appeared and submitted to the Portuguese who restored him to his throne.

(1) Faria x Souza states that MASCARENHAS took Bentan with twenty-one ships and four hundred Portuguese soldiers and six hundred Malays under Tuan Mahomed and one Sinai Raja, though it was well fortified and defended by seven thousand men.
After the taking of Bintam, the King of Djohor left the Portuguese unmolested for some time.

In 1527 *Georg Kapraal* was appointed eighth Governor of Malakka, and nothing of importance occurred during his government, the King of Djohor being still at peace with the Portuguese.

In 1528 the Viceroy *Lopez de Sampaio* appointed *Peter de Far* ninth Governor of Malakka, and his government was also a peaceful one, the King of Djohor not having yet recovered the shock his power had received.

In 1529 *Garcia de Sa* arrived at Malakka as the tenth Portuguese Governor.

The inhabitants of Atsjien (in Sumatra) gave him much trouble, but we will treat the subject later, when we deal with the affairs of that island, mentioning only this that Garcia having discovered that one Sanage was conspiring with the enemy ordered him to be thrown out of the tower of the fortress.

I cannot say who succeeded Garcia de Sa as Governor of Malakka, but I have been able to trace the names and dates of the following Governors, viz., *Stephanus Gama* in 1537, *Ruy Paz Paredes* in 1545, *Simon Melo* in 1547, *Pedro de Sylva* in 1551, and his brother *Don Albaro Ataydo* in 1552.

I am equally ignorant of the names of the Governors from the last-mentioned date up to 1604, when that brave Portuguese *Don Andrao Furtado de Mendoza* (of whom we will speak more at length later) administered the supreme authority as Governor of this place.

We cannot say much about the events of that period, the Portuguese historians having recorded nothing about them.

*Ahmed Sjah*, the exhausted King of Djohor (*i.e.*, after the failure of his repeated attacks on the Portuguese), continued to rule his country till 1540, and was succeeded after a reign of twenty-seven years by Sultan *Alawuddin Sjah*, (*"Ala-ud-Din Shah,"* Malaise *"Ala-ud-Din") who was the fourteenth King of the Malays, the second of Djohor, and the eighth Mahomedan King.
It was during the reign of this King (9th October, 1547) (1) that the Achinese laid siege to Malakka, causing damage to the value of more than a million, and only raising the siege on account of famine.

We have found nothing recorded of the life of this King and of his successor, beyond the fact that he reigned 19 years, i.e., from 1540 to 1559, and that he was succeeded by Sultan ANDUL DIALIE SJAHI as the fifteenth King of the Malays, the third of Djo hor, and the ninth Mahomedan King.

This prince ruled this people 32 years, died in 1591, and was succeeded by Sultan ALAWODDIN SJAHI III. He, the sixteenth King of the Malays, the fourth of Djo hor, and the tenth Mahomedan King, reigned 19 years.

It seems to me that the first Dutch made their appearance either at this place (Malakka) or at Djo hor in the twelfth or thirteenth year of this reign (i.e., in 1603 or 1604).

It appears also that he (ALAWODDIN SJAHI III) was styled Yangdipertuan, that he resided at Batoe Sabar, (2) six miles higher up the river (i.e., above Johor Lama) and that he had a brother, called Radja Bongsoe, who lived on friendly terms with the Dutch.

(1) Faria Y Souza makes it in October, 1571, and states that the Achinese raised the siege on TRISTRAN VAZ DE VEGA completely defeating a Malay fleet in the Moor river; it may be a separate occasion, but it looks like the same, and Souza makes no mention of the one referred to at the date given in the text, which seems to have been so serious that he would hardly have omitted to notice it.

He also mentions in the time of DE VEGA an attack on Malacca by a fleet sent by the Queen of Japura consisting of eighty large galleons and two hundred and twenty smaller vessels, but the besiegers were severely defeated after a siege of three months. This was almost immediately followed by an attack by the Achinese, who, however, abandoned the siege in a panic, thinking there were some special stratagems being devised against them; when as a matter of fact, the Portuguese were in sore straits, and might easily have been overcome.

(2) "Sawar" said to mean a kind of fishing-weir. (See Malay Proverbs, No. 2 of Journ., S.B., R.A.S., p. 145.)
I find that Roche de Mello was Portuguese Governor of Malakka in 1598.

I think that probably Admiral Jacob Heemskerk was the first of our people who had any trade with the King of Djohor: he captured a large Portuguese carrack on his return voyage from China, touched at Djohor, and left behind there in 1603 one Jacob Buyzen, who would, he was sure, he treated as a friend, the King being a mortal foe of the Portuguese, and doing his utmost to harass them.

When in October, 1603, the vessels Ziericze and Hollandse Thyn (Dutch garden) under the command of Commodore Jacob Pettersoon van Enkhuizen (forming part of the fleet under Wybrand van Warwyck) arrived at the Singapore Straits, they met with a prahm or canoe of the King of Djohor bringing a letter from Jacob Buyzen, which informed them that during the last month two Portuguese men-of-war, four galleys, and twenty smaller craft had arrived at that place, under the command of Estevan Texeira de Made, a man of great fame: that these vessels were waiting for some ships, which were expected to arrive there within a couple of months from Japan and Macassar, and which they had to escort safely to Malakka out of danger from the Dutch vessels.

It appeared from a letter of the supercargo Jacob Buyzen, dated the 7th October, that the Portuguese of Malakka were besieging Djohor, and the King wrote to our Commodore to beg him most earnestly, that our troops might assist him in relieving his city from this siege. Buyzen added, besides, that Radja Bongsor, the King’s brother, intended to come very soon on board the Commodore's vessel and to remain there till their joint efforts should have vanquished the Portuguese; it, was this very Radja Bongsor who was with Admiral Heemskerk when he had captured the carrack already mentioned.

Our Commodore then gave battle to the Portuguese fleet during the whole day and put her to flight right through ours, whereupon Radja Bongsor and Jacob Buyzen after having witnessed this naval combat, arrived on board the Commodore's vessel, and Radja Bongsor after having thanked him cordially for the eminent service he had done them, presented him with a fine kris, after which he and Buyzen left him.
The only losses we suffered in that fight, were five or six men killed, and a few men wounded on both vessels. The King of Djo hor, much pleased with this victory, and with our assistance, arrived that very night with his fleet of forty prahus and four or five fine galleys near our two vessels, when he was visited by our Commodore in his own galley, to whom that Prince likewise showed his gratitude by presenting him with a splendid kris.

When the Commodore made some inquiries about pepper, the King answered him, that he would be able to forward some to him within a short time, if his river were kept open and free.

Radja Bonsoor, accompanied by many Malay gentlemen, came again on board of the vessel *Zierezue* on the 10th October; we fought the Portuguese that day, and put them again on flight, but the King, though he was present with his prahus, left all the work to be done by us, and only looked on.

He then visited the Commodore accompanied by his two brothers (one of whom was the King of Siak), and offered him his thanks; the Commodore then presented him with a Japanese sword with a silver hilt and sheath, and Radja Bonsoor with a fine musket, whereupon that Prince took leave of him.

On the 1st September, 1653, Andrea Furtado de Mendoza succeeding Fernando Albul Kirk as Governor of Malacca, as Governor-General of the Southern Provinces of India, and as Commander-in-Chief of the royal fleet, sent in the beginning of 1604 an Ambassador to the said King of Djo hor to acquaint him with this change, and to announce to him that he wished to live in peace with him, though he had been at war with the former Governor of Malakka.

The King sent the reply, that he too desired to make peace, but that he wanted to know first the terms of that peace.

Don Andrea Furtado then required that the King should part with the Dutch (having dealt already too much with them), deliver them up to him, and deprive them of their property, and he informed him that there should never be peace if the King of Djo hor would not accept the said conditions. On the 8th February the King gave a flat refusal, and briefly said that he would rather see his whole country ruined than
betray or deliver up the Dutch, who stood under his protection.

The 3rd May, 1604, Admiral Warwyck having returned to the Djohor river, the King presented him with two and a half bharas of pepper, whilst he presented the King with a quantity of powder and some balls. He sailed again on the 20th of the same month.

In February 1605, Furtado resolved to besiege Batoe Sabar, but when he heard that our Admiral Wybrand van Warwyck was in its very neighbourhood, he gave up his plan.

On the 14th of the same month, our Admiral was informed, that in the meantime the Portuguese fleet had been reinforced considerably, numbering now 7 men-of-war, 30 bantings, 20 galleys, and 10 Javanese sampans, and further that Andrea Furtado had threatened the King with an early visit, and if he again failed to conquer Batoe Sabar he would willingly pay the King tribute.

In the meantime some vessels of our fleet, under the command of Admiral C. Sebastiaanse, had captured off Patani a fine and richly laden Portuguese carrack, called St. Anthony, and the Wissingen (joining the said Admiral's squadron off Patani in February that year) had also captured on the 14th January, 1605, off Pedra Blanca another carrack coming from Cochin-China and consigned to Don Andrea Furtado.

We found in the first carrack the following goods, viz:—

2,600 piculs of white powder-sugar and some baskets of sugar-candy;
4,500 piculs of Tintenaga or Spelter (zinc);
223 fardels of Chinese camphor;
90 fardels Agelwood; (1)
14 leaden boxes of musk-balls;
11 boxes of vermilion;
22 boxes of Chinese fans:
209 fardels of raw silk, and 75 fardels bad yellow silk;
6,000 pieces of variegated porcelain;
10 casks of coarse and fine porcelain;

(1) "Kaya gaharu."
sight couches and knick-knacks, one lot radix China, (1) one lot benzoin, 150 baskets with prepared silk, velvet, damask, taffeta and fine silk, besides some boxes with gold-wire.

In the second carrack we found:

- 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) piculs of Agelwood;
- 33\(\frac{1}{2}\) piculs of Benzoin; (2)
- 2 small casks with Chinese camphor, and some common sarongs.

The Wissingen had captured another small Portuguese ship off Solor, laden with ninety-two bharas Sandal-wood and 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) pikuls of tortoise-shell.

The Wissingen sailed on the 15th September with the captured carrack St. Anthony from Patani to Djohor to try and get a cargo at that place. Wybrand van Warwyck followed on the 27th October, and dropped anchor on the 12th November in the mouth of the Djohor river near the said carrack at about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles from the Wissingen. The vessels Amsterdam and Dordrecht were under his command. Admiral Cornelis Sebastiaanse’s squadron was also lying in the roads here.

The King called in the aid of both these Admirals, which Sebastiaanse pledged himself to give, whilst van Warwyck begged to excuse him for this time.

The letters, addressed by H. H. Prince Maurice to the King, were then presented to him, which he received with much respect. Admiral Cornelis Sebastiaanse presented him at the time with two brass guns, and van Warwyck gave him four small barrels of gunpowder, 40 shot-cartridges for the said cannon, 12 Japanese swords, four Portuguese muskets with shoulder-belts, some pieces of prepared silk and a shot-proof armour.

The two Admirals presented the King at his request with two small wide-mouthed guns cannon-royal, and some shot-

(1) "Jin seng," or "Jinsam," as it is also called, supposed to very invigorating. It is stated that it is only found near the mountains, a man shoots an arrow, and if it falls where the "jin seng" is to be found, a flame appears, which guides him to the spot.

(2) "Keménya," burnt by Malays and aborigines in most of their charms and spells.
cartridges for the same, from the vessel Dordrecht and with an iron pederero (small field piece) and ten small barrels of gunpowder and some shot-cartridges from one of Warwyck's vessels, in order that he should be better able to repel the assaults of the Portuguese.

Admiral van Warwyck left Djohor on the 10th December with his vessel the Wissingen, after having strongly recommended the King to take good care of his people, who were left behind with a valuable cargo, and the Admiral Sebastianse soon followed him with his vessel the Amsterdam and the carrack St. Anthony.

At the beginning of January, 1603, our Admiral Cornelis Mateleif de Jonge having met with Admiral Steven van der Hagen off the island of Mauritius, and having heard from him in what state Malakka was, set sail with his fleet to that town, but Don Andrea Furtado had fortified it considerably during the last three years, and besieged Djohor with an army of 8,000 men. The said Admiral sailed for Malakka on the 27th January and dropped anchor on the 30th April at half a mile distance from the town. (1)

He at once manned all his boats and sloops and ordered them to set fire to four ships, just aground opposite the town. These were ships of 200, 100, and 80 lasts each. Though the garrison fired five shots, they all missed the boats.

The same night Mateleif informed the King of his arrival.

The day before, our sloops having captured three prahns of the King of Quedah, loaded with sarongs, the Admiral sent them back to that King and assured him, that he wished to live in peace with him.

The Admiral then assembled a Council of war, and the Council of all the shipmasters and merchants, and they resolved to approach as near Malakka as five fathoms of water (1) would bring them, and to bombard the town from the fleet.

The vessels neared the coast with neap tide to a depth of 3½ fathoms of water, (1) but even at that distance their small cannons-royal were of no use; though a few balls did hit some of the houses, they could not reach the fortress.

(1) There is something wrong about the distances and cannon range here, perhaps "league" should be read for "mile?"
The artillery of the town answered our fire; but the *Witte Loeuw* (*White Lion*), was the only vessel once hit, whilst the most effective shot from our side, was the one, that hit the St. Paulus Church, so-named by the Dutch; ALBUQUERQUE dedicated it to “Our Lady of the Annunciation,” belonging to the order of the Jesuits.

MATELIER in the meantime ordered four boats to survey the North side of the town, and to take soundings, for if possible he intended to land there and to take its suburb; but he had to abandon his plan, the soil being too muddy, the Portuguese having raised strong stockades there to defend their houses.

He had erected in the meantime a battery of 24 pounders at *Ilha das Naos*, (1) one of the islets near the town, and had equipped it also with two small cannons-royal, and intended to bombard the town from that place, it being much nearer than the nearest place where the vessels could anchor.

Our Admiral having been informed in the meantime that it was almost impossible to make a descent on the south side of the town, intended to land on its north side, hence he garrisoned the said islet with some 30 men.

We then opened our fire from the battery of the 24 pounders in the afternoon of the 2nd May, and soon silenced the two batteries on the south side of the town.

Now and then the artillery of the town fired at our vessels, but without any effect; they did not fire at the battery however. But when MATELIER saw that all this firing to and fro was of no use, he deliberated with his Captains, whether it would be better to leave the town alone and go first to meet and give battle to the Portuguese fleet, or whether it would be more advisable to take the town first; after a mature deliberation he resolved to ask the opinion of the King of Djohor, chiefly because he wanted to make sure if the latter would help him and what his assistance would consist of.

They did not expect much from the aid of the King of Djohor, but they forwarded a message to him, and it was decided that they should wait for his answer, before acting in any way; the more that there was nothing known about the arrival of the Portuguese fleet.

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(1) Pûlau Jâwa, lying opposite St. Paul’s Hill.
Meanwhile the Portuguese had burnt down the southern suburb.

MATELIEF ordered ten men of the crew of each vessel to Pulau Septa, (1) a pretty big island about two miles from Malacca, to make ten gabions for each vessel, to be used when they should attack the town.

MATELIEF was informed on the 4th May, that our fire had wounded some of the inhabitants of the town, and that the Portuguese fleet with the Viceroy and Archbishop on board was soon expected from Goa, first to come to the rescue of Malacca, and then to reconquer the Moluccas and to fight the King of Djohor; that the place had but very little victuals, but that there were many guns with a large supply of ammunition, that there were more than 3,000 slaves and Malays within the town, but not more than 50 Europeans.

On the 5th of May, two prahu's of the King of Djohor, with the Sjahbandar of Singapura, Sri Râja Negara, (2) reached our fleet; they came to see if there were Dutch vessels in this neighbourhood, and they assured our Admiral, that it was certain that the King would come this way as soon as he knew of the Admiral's presence, so they would go back that very night.

On the 13th, the Admiral received a letter from the King of Djohor informing him that he should join him within four days, and that he should bring as many troops as he could assemble.

After the receipt on the 14th of a letter of the same tenor, there appeared on the 17th some vessels with three hundred men under the command of the King's brother Radja Sabrang, he (the King) being absent.

The then reigning King of Djohor, called Jangdipertoehan, was the eldest of three brothers. He was a lazy and indolent prince, sleeping almost the whole day, getting drunk, and amusing himself with his women, whilst he left the business

(1) Probably Pulau Ûpeh (which is somewhere about 2½ miles from the town, but then, as may be seen by the rocks on its shore side, extending further towards the town), as they were going to attack on the North side.

(2) Royal drum; or possibly connected with Sansk: nagara or nagari, country.
of government to his brother, Radja Sabrang, or Radja Bonosoe, and to the high court dignitaries.

His other brother, the King of Siak, who had married a daughter of the King, or a sister of the Queen of Patani, was also a bad sovereign; he came very seldom to Djohor, but remained at Siak, which was a fief of Djohor.

The third brother, who, like the King of Siak, was also of another mother, was called Radja Laut; but the said three princes were not to be relied upon, owing to their fondness for drinking. Radja Sabrang was the only exception.

He then came to welcome the Admiral, and presented him a golden kris inlaid with some common diamonds.

They had a long talk together, and Matelieff told him that it was his intention to take Malakka and to keep it for him, but Radja Bonosoe did not like that, and asked him, why he should assist him to besiege the town, if after all the Dutch would keep the place, for in that case it was only a change of neighbours, and that we did not assist him, but that he then assisted us.

Matelieff then asked him, what would be his reward if he took the town, whereupon Radja Sabrang promised him to give him a suitable place for building store-houses to put their goods and provisions in, which they were allowed to import duty free. But Matelieff answered that his offer amounted to nothing, that many native princes had made him the same offer, though he had never rendered them any services; he also pointed out that the present town of Malakka did not belong to the King of Djohor, but that it was a town built by the Portuguese, and that only the surrounding country had at one time been the property of the King.

Finally, he gave in about the town and agreed to leave Malakka in our possession, if Matelieff would promise to make war upon Atsijen, which Matelieff however refused to do, being at peace with that State; but he promised that, either he would assist the King of Djohor if Atsijen declared war against him, or he would do his best to appease the King of Atsijen.

Finally, the following agreement was entered into on the 17th May, 1606, and signed by the different parties:--
1. Admiral Matalier promises to take Malakka from the Portuguese with the aid and assistance of Djohor, after which the town will remain in the power of the States-General (Holland), but the surrounding country will be under the King of Djohor, provided we shall be allowed to take of it as much as we may require to fortify the town;

2. The States-General are allowed to cut timber in the territory of the King, to build ships, and to provide for all the other necessities of the town;

3. All the vassals of the States-General are allowed to discharge their ships and to land their goods in the town without paying any duty;

4. No other Dutch or European merchants may trade in the countries of the King, without first having obtained leave from our Governor at Malakka to do so, and they will be considered enemies if they trade without the said permission;

5. His Majesty can re-people and govern the burnt down suburb, known under the name of Campo Clin, (1) without any interference of the States-General. His Majesty shall if possible take up his residence at that place and fortify it, whilst the States-General shall assist him to do so;

6. All the guns and cannon which are found in the town after its conquest shall belong to the King, one part of which he is allowed to remove at once, whilst he must leave the other part for the defence of the town, until the States-General shall have provided it with other artillery;

7. All the merchandize, money and any other goods that shall be found in the town are to be divided in two portions, one to go to the States-General, the other to the King;

8. Any goods not belonging to vassals of the States-General must be landed in the said suburb [Campo Clin]; but the subjects of the States-General are allowed to purchase them there freely and to carry them from there to the town;

9. Both parties promise to assist each other faithfully against the Portuguese and Spaniards, but not in the case of a war with another nationality, unless it be to stand upon the defensive only;

(1) i.e., Kampong Kling.
10. Neither of the two parties shall make peace with the King of Spain, without the consent of the other;

11. If any subject of either party gives offence in matters of religion, the offender shall be brought up and punished by his own authorities;

12. If any subject of one of the two parties has a claim in the way of debt upon a subject of the other party, the defendant shall be called before his own authorities;

13. Both parties bind themselves to surrender deserters or runaway criminals.

The said treaty was sworn to and signed by both parties, by each of them according to the customs of his country.

The Admiral then delivered to Radja Sannarang a letter addressed to the King and coming from His Highness Prince Maurice, which letter was accompanied by the presents also sent to the King by the said Prince, which presents consisted of a long fusil, a double-barrelled pistol inlaid with mother-of-pearl, two other pistols, a sword of honour, and a halberd, besides those sent by the Directors of the East India Company, consisting of one fine harness, two halberds and six cuirasses.

Mr. Matelieu thereupon landed on the 18th May, with 700 men, and falling in with a troop of 400 Portuguese and black soldiers armed with muskets and pikes, he immediately attacked them, and drove them back to the suburb.

Finding a strong thick wall there (1) they at once threw up an entrenchment, from behind which they opened such a hot fire upon the enemy, that he had to abandon his position, which was set fire to by its own inhabitants.

After having made a rapid personal examination of the town, Mr. Matelieu found near it a pretty large river, (2) which to cross would be rather a hard task, seeing as he did so many strong turrets and such solid heavy walls round the town that it would have been very easy for the Portuguese to prevent him from taking the town; besides that he had not forces

(1) Pintu Tranqueerah?
(2) The Malacca river, separating the fortress and main town from the suburbs.
enough for the purpose, many of his soldiers being laid up already with sickness, and as for the assistance of the Malays, he did not feel inclined to rely too much upon it.

In the meantime he ordered his troops with the assistance of the Malays to construct a battery in the said suburb, and armed it with two 17 pounders, with which he intended to silence the fire of the enemy on that side of the town.

By this time Mr. Mateliez had noticed, that whenever he had asked Radja Sabrang for the help of his men he indeed promised to send him people, but they never appeared; and concluding that there was something amiss between the King of Djohor and his brother, he became aware, that he was knocking at a deaf man's door, the more so that they had conceived a sentiment of jealousy against each other. Finally, becoming convinced that he could never take the town with the small number of troops under his command, he thought it advisable to raise the siege and re-embark his troops, especially when the Bandahara had told him plainly that the Malays intended to leave the whole business to us, under pretence that Ternate and Ambon had also been taken by us without the assistance of the natives.

I wish to take this opportunity of correcting an erroneous statement I made in foot-note (5) p. 50 of No. 13 of this Journal for June, 1834. The arms on the old gateway there mentioned are not Portuguese, though I was so informed by a Portuguese Cousal, but Dutch after all, the Batavian lion is clear.

D. F. A. H.
VALENTYN'S ACCOUNT OF MALACCA.

(Resumed from p. 138 of Journal No. 15 of June, 1885.)

Upon hearing this, Mr. Matelef, growled not a little at the Bandahara, and threatened to mention it to the King, who, he was sure, would order more troops at once. The King having promised him some 1,200 men, Matelef once more landed with 300 men of his own troops and 800 Malays, fortified a brick house, built a bridge over the river, and took the convent; but a short time afterwards requiring some more Malay troops and the King having sent him only 200 men, he could not do anything else but try and starve out the town; he landed some more guns to enable his troops, covered by some rough wooden intrenchments, to approach the town gradually, though they were still very much exposed to the fire of the Portuguese Forts St. Domingo, Madre de Deus, St. Jago, and to that of the convent of St. Paulo. In the meantime, the Governor, Andrea Furtado, had been fortunate enough to introduce secretly into the place some people from the neighbourhood, whilst, a short time before our troops had landed, two galleys coming from Pahang, had smuggled into the place a small detachment of 60 European soldiers. On the other hand, many of our troops got sick, partly from overwork and partly from excess in drinking arrack and eating fruit; finally two vessels called the United Countries and the Erasminus coming from the Maas and arriving off Malacca on the 14th July, brought relief to our troops. He now had eleven vessels with him, viz., the Orange, the Middelburg, the Mauritius, the Black Lion, the White Lion, the Great Sun, the Nassau, the Amsterdam, the Small Sun, and the two vessels mentioned as coming from the Maas, and besides these he had seven small vessels. Now and then were sorties made, some from the town, but without any result, neither did our troops make much progress, and there were daily many sick people among them. This lasted till the month of August,
when Mr. Matelief got the news that a strong Portuguese fleet was approaching.

No sooner had Matelief received that intelligence than he gave orders to move the artillery back again from Camp to Klin and to re-embark all the baggage. Five or six days before, having made a general inspection of his troops, he found they still numbered 1,200 men, among whom were some 32 wounded and 163 sick. Yet, he sailed with these troops on the 17th August, and about noon fell in with the Portuguese fleet, which he fired upon until nightfall. He found that the fleet consisted of 16 heavy galleons, 4 galleys, 1 caravel, and 14 other craft, manned by 3,754 Europeans and about twice as many natives, with which it was intended to conquer Atjeh, Malakka, Djohor, Pahang, Patani, Bantam and Ambon.

On the 18th the Nassau, before she could weigh anchor, was boarded by one of the enemy's vessels, whereupon the ships Orange and Middelburg hastened to relieve her; but in their hurry these two very awkwardly contrived to get entangled with each other. Alvaro Carvalho, the Portuguese Vice-Admiral, perceiving this, at once boarded the Middelburg, at the same time Don Enrique de Norinha's galleon boarded the Orange on one side whilst Don Duarte de Guerra's galleon attacked it right forward on the bows.

The Mauritius, seeing this, went immediately for Don Duarte, whereupon a fierce battle ensued, in which the Portuguese, as well as our men, fought valiantly.

At last the Mauritius, set fire to Don Duarte's galleon and thus freed itself, but the Middelburg remaining entangled with Alvaro Carvalho's and Don Duarte's galleons, all these three vessels were destroyed by fire, though most of the crew of the Middelburg were rescued. Alvaro Carvalho and 40 or 50 of his crew, who tried to save themselves in one of the boats of the Middelburg, were all killed by the crew of the Orange; even Carvalho was not spared, though Matelief did his utmost to rescue him. Matelief, who with his vessel the Orange had boarded Don Enrique de Norinha's galleon and had possessed himself of her two flags, summoned him to haul down and to surrender. Norinha, lowering his last flag, conveyed the impression that he was about to surrender, and
by dint of this stratagem, escaped out of the hands of his enemies. However, his galleon had been riddled by cannon-balls and he had lost the greater part of his crew.

The *Nassau* was set on fire by her two Portuguese assailants, but her whole crew were rescued, save six men who had been killed in the action. We lost in this engagement off Cabo Rachado, 2 vessels, 24 men killed, and a great many wounded.

The Portuguese too lost 2 vessels, but they had about five or six hundred men killed, amongst whom were the following nobles, heads and captains of the navy, viz. — Vice-Admiral Alvaro Carvalho and Fernando da Silva, his relation; Duarte de Guerra, captain of a galleon; Diego Ortez da Favorra, Don Manuel Mascarenhas, Manuel d'Albuquerque, Sebastiana di Mirandi, Antonio di Silveira, Don Enrique de Castro, Manuel de Mello and also two Spanish Dons on board of the Viceroy's vessel. But for the rowing galleys, their loss would have been heavier still, for, assisted by those vessels, they were able to move about even in a dead calm.

MATELIEF resolved on the 19th to attack the fleet again; weighed anchor on the 20th and got engaged on the 22nd with almost all his vessels, viz., the *Orange*, *Mauritius*, *Witte Leeuw* (White Lion), *Zwarte Leeuw* (Black Lion), *Erasmus* and the *Grote Son* (Great Sun).

But as the enemy continually retreated, our vessels were unable to do them much damage.

During the night of the 24th the Portuguese fleet changing its tactics, made for ours very suddenly. This produced a panic amongst our people at first, the more so as it was night more or less and thus our vessels got very much separated from each other. Soon after, however, they joined company again, and all running before the wind, the enemy had to give up the pursuit, and returned to Malacca. With regard to the Portuguese commanders and captains of the navy and the size of their vessels, I have found a record of the following, viz.:

*Don Paulo de Portugal*'s ship of 1000 tons. [ral's vessel.]
*Don Martin d'Alphonso* 
*Don Pedro Murenam*
The names and tonnage of those of our vessels which were still left are the following, viz.:

The **Orange of 700 tons** (the Admiral's vessel.)

- **Groote Zon** (Great Sun) of 500 tons.
- **Erasmus**
- **Vereenigde Landen (United Countries.)**, 500
- **Mauritius**, 700
- **Amsterdam**, 800
- **Swarte Leeuw** (Black Lion), 600
- **Witte Leeuw** (White Lion), 600
- **Kleine Zon** (Small Sun), 200

With these vessels, Mr. Mateleff sailed to Djohor on the 24th of August, and the next day he lost sight of the Portuguese fleet, which returned to Malacca. On the 13th of September, he entered the river of Djohor where the King came to meet him and welcomed him.

Mr. Mateleff sailed on the 18th ditto to Batu Sawar to settle several urgent matters, among which the chief was to hurry on the King to fortify his town (which could easily be done if the Malays would but work); secondly to supply his fleet with provisions; in the third place to bind the King to send some praepus to Atsjiem and Malakka, to inquire whether Dutch vessels had arrived there, and finally to try whether gunpowder could be got somewhere. But the Malays wanted us to fortify their town, and gunpowder (even of the worst quality) was not to be had for love or money. So Mr. Mateleff discovered, that it was simply a waste of time to have any more dealings with this King and the Malays.

Batu Sawar is a town situated 5 or 6 miles up the river of Djohor, which is at that place very beautiful, broad and deep, and has therefore a supply of fresh water. The greater
part of the country is low, and the houses are built on piles along the river. There are two fortresses—one called Batu Sawar, one Kota di Sabrang.

Batu Sawar is about 1,300 paces in circumference, almost square, and is fortified with palisades 40 feet high, standing close together; it is further provided with some inferior outworks. It is built on level ground, close to the river, a quarter of an hour's walk from the nearest hills, and the river could easily be conducted to the place. Inside, it is thickly inhabited and filled with attap houses; but those of the King and some of the courtiers are built of wood. Kota Sabrang is about four or five hundred paces in circumference and also is almost square. There are about three or four thousand men able to bear arms within Batu Sawar and Kota Sabrang, though most of the people live outside the fortress. The whole of the land belongs to the King but that does not matter much, for if people apply for it, they can get as much as they like; it looks very fertile and abounding in trees. Admiral MATELIEP gave the King several plans and good suggestions for the fortification of the place, but the Malays were too indolent to work. Hence, perceiving that it was beyond his means to conquer Malacca just then, and that thereby the first clause of the recently concluded treaty became void, MATELIEP begged the King to grant the Dutch a place for their residence. The King gave him permission to choose any place in the country that he liked, provided, however, that he should be bound to fulfil the other articles of the treaty.

The King on the other hand solicited of MATELIEP a piece of land in Malacca when it should have been taken, which was granted to him on proper terms. This however looked very much like selling the skin of the bear, before it had been caught. The prince furthermore asked for the loan of some hundreds of rix dollars, nay even one thousand, which sum he would repay in such goods as we might wish, promising at the same time that he would not ask for any more money, until the first loan was repaid. Secondly he demanded that the Ministers of the States should assist him against all his enemies, either on the offensive or the defensive, and finally that, on his request,
they should assist him also with ships, troops, guns, etc., and that MATELIEF should remain there with his fleet until the arrival from Holland of the other vessels. Mr. MATELIEF replied to the King that a thousand rix dollars did not matter much to the Dutch, and that, as he (Mr. MATELIEF) did not care to have that amount mentioned in a treaty which he had to conclude for the Ministers of the States he would give it to him from his own private funds provided that the prince would allow him and his countrymen to trade in the country. So the prince withdrew this first clause. As for the second clause, MATELIEF said that, the Ministers of the States not being in the habit of declaring war unrighteously, they could only promise to defend him against his enemies, but, as for acting on the offensive, they would never join him against any other power than the Portuguese. And with regard to the third clause, he said that our vessels, etc., should always be at his service. The King then pointed out to our people a piece of land 30 fathoms square. Mr. MATELIEF was very much astonished at this, and told him, that though it would do for the present, we should by and by require a much larger place for our trade in his country.

When the King requested him to remain there until the arrival of other vessels, MATELIEF convinced him that it was not in his power, as two vessels had to go to Holland in December, but that he would certainly remain there till December, so as to protect him as long as possible.

Thereupon this second and subsequent treaty was signed in Batu Sawar on the 23rd of September. It seems that about this time Don ANDREA FURTADO DE MENDEZ was succeeded as Governor of Malakka by one Don ANTONIO DE MENEZES, a son of Don DUARTE DE MENEZES, late Viceroy of India, but he did not feel inclined to accept the Governorship unless the Viceroy first made peace with the king of Djohor.

Our Admiral having received the news that several store-ships, sailing under convoy of some Portuguese men-of-war, were on their way to Malakka, left Djohor on 17th October with the intention of attacking this convoy.

Arriving near Malakka he counted 7 vessels, viz., the Vice-
roy's vessel, called *La Conception*, the best armed of all the vessels and commanded by Captain Don Manuel de Mascarenhas; the galleon *St. Nicolas*, with 19 brass and 5 iron guns, under the command of Don Fernando de Mascarenhas, who had his brother Don Pedro with him; the *St. Simao*, Captain Andrew Pesa; the *Todos os Santos*, Captain Don Francisco de Norinha; the *Santa Cruz*, under the command of Vice-Admiral Sebastian Soares; then another one, the largest of all the vessels, with Don Paulo de Portugal as Captain and one more, much smaller, the *St. Antonio*, Captain Antonio de Souza Falcon.

By order of our Admiral, the vessels *Orange*, *Groote Son* and *Vereenigde Landen* were to attack jointly one of the Portuguese vessels; whilst our other vessels had to prevent the enemy from coming near. They thereupon resolved to attack in the night of the 21st the Portuguese Vice-Admiral's vessel, but a calm compelled them to postpone it till the next day.

On the morning of the 22nd he attacked the enemy in the roads, and captured the *St. Nicolas*, which could not be prevented by the Viceroy; but by the carelessness of our people this ship got free again, though Mr. Matelief had already given orders to set fire to her.

In the meantime, the *Groote Son*, *Swarte Leeuw* and *Mauritius* had boarded the *St. Simao* and after having captured her they burnt her with her whole crew. The *Erasmus* attacked the *Santa Cruz*, but was at first beaten back; the *Mauritius* then coming to her assistance, they jointly captured the said vessel, a fine galleon of 11 brass and 4 iron guns.

Among the many Portuguese nobles who fell in this battle, were Don Fernando de Mascarenhas, Captain of the *St. Nicolas*, and his brother Don Pedro; Don Francisco de Norinha, Captain of the *Todos os Santos*; Bartholome de Fonseca, Jorge Galvan and Don Pedro de Mascarenhas son of Don Geravingio de Mascarenhas. Altogether they lost 371 Europeans, and on the 23rd our people captured another galleon, the *St. Simao*, in which they seized 14 brass and 2 iron guns, 3,000 lbs of gunpowder, and a great quantity of wine and provisions.
We took in this battle 4 galleons, almost without a loss worth mentioning; the only deplorable casualty that happened being, that 75 men of our people (among whom were Klaas JanssooM Meenen, skipper of the Witte Leeuw, the supercargo Jaques de Colenaar, and the subfactor Hans van Hagen) who went on board the Santa Cruz with the intention of plundering, were blown up in her and perished miserably.

Three more ships of the enemy which ran aground were destroyed by fire.

The whole fleet of this Viceroy Don Martin Alfonso de Castro (youngest son of Don Antonio de Cascais) which had arrived only the year before, consisted of 18 galleons, 4 galleys, 1 caravel and 23 barges, manned by 3,700 Europeans, of whom 2,954 were soldiers and 780 sailors, besides the black crews who numbered many more; and it was with this fleet and these troops that he intended to conquer the whole of Southern India and to punish all the refractory princes and States.

The following are the names and particulars of the vessels of the said fleet:

1st—The Nossa Senhora de Conception of 1,000 tons, Captain Manuel de Mascarenhas, with 24 guns and 180 European soldiers, besides a number of European and black sailors. On the 29th of October this galleon was destroyed by fire off Malakka, either by Matego or by the Viceroy himself for fear that we should do it.

2nd—The San Salvador of 900 tons, Captain Alvaro de Carvalho, with 18 guns and 180 European soldiers, besides the European and black sailors. Mr. Mateleaf burnt this galleon on the 18th of August off Cabo Rachado.

3rd—The San Nicolas of 800 tons, Captain Don Fernando de Mascarenhas, with 19 brass and 3 iron guns and 180 soldiers; Mr. Mateleaf defeated this galleon off Malakka on 22nd October, in which engagement all
the crew excepting 8 men were killed. The Viceroy himself ordered her to be destroyed by fire on 29th October.

4th—The galleon of Don Enrique de Norinha, of 900 tons, 14 brass guns and 160 soldiers, captured by Matelief off Cabo Rachado on the 18th of August.

5th—The Santa Cruz of 600 tons, Captain Sebastian Soarez, with 10 brass guns and 80 European soldiers, it was plundered and burnt by Matelief off Malakka on 22nd October.

6th—The San Simon of 900 tons, Captain Don Francisco de Sotomajo, with 16 brass and 2 iron guns and 160 European soldiers. This was taken, plundered and destroyed by fire off Malakka on 23rd of October.

7th—The Todos os Santos of 800 tons, Captain Don Francisco de Norinha with 130 soldiers, this vessel was sunk with her whole crew.

8th—Don Duarte de Guerra’s galleon, of 1,000 tons, with 15 brass guns and 108 European soldiers, destroyed by fire off Cabo Rachado on the 16th of August.

9th—The Nossa Senhora de Soccoro of 800 tons, Captain Gutierrez de Monroy, with 15 brass guns and 140 European soldiers.

10th—The Don Antonio of 240 tons, Captain Antonio de Souza Falcão, with 10 brass guns and 47 European soldiers; she caught fire off Malakka on 29th October.

11th—The Nossa Senhora das Mercês of 800 tons, Captain Don Alvaro de Meneses, with 14 guns and 120 European soldiers.

12th—The galleon of Jacomo de Marais Sarmento of 800 tons, 14 brass guns and 80 European soldiers.

13th—Jan Pinto de Morais’ galleon of 800 tons, with 15 brass pieces and 140 European soldiers.

14th—Jeronimo Botelho’s galleon of 300 tons, with 12 brass guns and 100 European soldiers.
15th—Manuel Baretto’s galleon of 300 tons, with 12 brass guns and 100 European soldiers.

16th—The San Martinho of 800 tons, Captain Don Luis Lobo, with 22 brass guns and 150 European Soldiers. This was lost off Manaar in Ceylon.

17th—Captain Don Paulo de Portugal’s galleon, of 1,200 tons with 1,200 guns. This had no soldiers but many merchants and passengers bound for China. The Viceroy destroyed this vessel off Malakka on 29th October.

18th—The galleon of Captain Don Antonio de Menesez (now Governor of Malakka). This vessel too had no soldiers but many merchants and passengers also bound for China but was lost off Cape Comorin.

One of the four great royal galleys was very badly damaged off Cabo Rachado; 854 European soldiers, besides a great number of sailors and rowers were on board of the said four galleys and twenty-three barges.

In short nine out of these eighteen galleons were lost, a very heavy loss indeed for the Portuguese, who had had the presumption to think of subduing the whole of India, with that fleet, whereas this siege of Malakka by Matelief cost them about 6,000 men.

Matelief sent word to the Viceroy offering to set at liberty all Portuguese prisoners in exchange for all Dutch prisoners.

He merely requested a ransom for the Portuguese of noble extraction, to which the Viceroy made objections; upon which Mr. Matelief sent him word, that, if the Hollanders (numbering but four or five) were not set at liberty that very night, he, would early next morning, issue an order to throw overboard about two hundred Portuguese prisoners, adding at the same time, that probably Don Andreu Furtado had given him (the Viceroy) such unreasonable advice, so as to make him despised by the whole world.

It was decided by our people that a ransom of 6,000 ducats should be paid for the following prisoners, viz. —Andrea Pes—
SOA and SEBASTIÀN SOAREZ (both captains of galleons), then two cousins of SOAREZ, then JOAN BRAVO who commanded the galleon of DON ANTONIO DE MENÉDEZ, the Governor of Malakka, then one DON FERNANDO DEL MERCADO, a merchant and finally a priest.

Admiral MATELIEF was not pleased with this decision, for he did not like to introduce the practice of ransoming men into India, but it was carried by a majority of votes, under pretext, that this ransom, when distributed among the sailors, would make them in the future more willing to fight.

When up to the 28th of October not one Hollander had yet come back, MATELIEF convoked an extraordinary meeting of the Council to reconsider the question of throwing the Portuguese overboard; but whilst they were still deliberating, two prahus approached our vessels containing three Dutchmen, who declared that there were really no more Hollanders here in Malakka, but that there were still four or five more in the fleet off the Nicobar islands. Whereupon the Portuguese were liberated and landed on the 1st of November. One DON RODRIGO D'ACOSTA having agreed to take a letter to the Viceroy of India in which he was requested to set at liberty and to send to Djoohor all the Hollanders who were still prisoners in India, our Admiral gave him a passport for a whole year.

About this time (the 12th November) Mr. MATELIEF ordered the ship Kleine Son to take back the ambassador whom the Prince of Keidah had sent to him to invoke his assistance against the Portuguese, whilst he (the Prince) should attack them by land. Though MATELIEF knew that this same Prince had welcomed the Portuguese when they passed his country and that he only came because he (MATELIEF) had beaten the Portuguese, still he promised him his assistance.

He first despatched thither the Amsterdam with the supercargo JASPER JANSSON, arriving himself on the 19th before Keidah. The King having warned him on the 24th that there were two boats in the river filled with Portuguese and black soldiers, MATELIEF despatched thither one galley and one barge under the orders of PIETER VAN DER DUSSEN who soon returned with only five Portuguese, who had left Malacca thirteen days
before and had been chased by Malay pirates.

Matelief finding that this little King was deadly afraid of the Portuguese and that his help would not be of any value, left the place again on the 27th. Super-cargo Cornelis Franck, who was factor at Djohor in 1607, behaved so ill in September of that year, that Fiscaal Apins was at a loss what to do. When Matelief, on his arrival off the river of Pahang on 11th November, 1607, heard from the King that both the Viceroy of India and the Governor of Malakka had died, he decided not to stop long and sailed from there on 16th.

Fiscaal Martinus Apins left Djohor that year and informed Matelief that if no vessels came for the relief of Djohor, the King would certainly make peace with the Portuguese.

In December, he had also heard at Bantam that the Portuguese had destroyed Djohor by fire and that Rajah Sabrang, who lived at Lingga, was strengthening himself at that place. Abraham van den Broek was super-cargo of our Company at Djohor in December, 1608; a month previously our people had captured, off Malakka, a Portuguese carrack. When in January, 1609, Admiral Pieter Willemsson Verhoeven was at Djohor, he thought proper to give van den Broek the command of the vessel de Roode Leeuw and to put in his place super-cargo Jacques Obelaar, together with the second or sub-factor Abraham Willemsson de Ryk, the connoisseur in diamonds Hector Roos, with three assistants and some other people; at the same time he ordered the Roode Leeuw and the yacht Griffioen to anchor at the mouth of the river until the 1st of July, in order to protect the King against the Portuguese. Such was the course of things here in the reign of king Alawaddin III, who died in 1610.

He was succeeded in the same year by Sultan Abdullah Sjah, who was the 17th Malay king, the 5th of Djohor, and the 11th Mohammedan king. This king reigned eleven years over this people, from 1610 to 1621, and but very few events of importance happened during his Government.

In 1616 he was reputed for being attached to us more than any other Indian Prince, for which reason he and his country had to suffer very much from our mutual enemy.

He was succeeded in 1621 by Sultan Mahmood Sjah, the
18th Malay king, 6th of Johor and 12th Mohamedan king. He reigned but three years, and was then succeeded in 1624 by Sultan ABDULJALIL Sjah II, who sent the princes Rajah INDRA LELAH and MAGAT MANCHUR as ambassadors to Holland.

He was the 19th Malay king, the 7th of Johor and the 13th Mohamedan king, and reigned 47 years, viz., from 1624 to 1671.

It appears that during his reign the Empire of Maningcabo was subject to his authority. Our Company tried over and over again to build a fortress there (Admiral VERHOEVEN being the first one who did so), but they never would allow it.

Though our first attempt to conquer Malakka (made under Admiral MATIELF in 1606) had proved unsuccessful, our Company, still hoping to be some day the rulers at that place, constantly gave their thoughts to it. The seventeen Directors\* had previously given orders in 1623, to besiege Malakka again, but nothing could then be done.

\* The board of administration of the Dutch E. I. Company consisted of 17 deputies, three of which were deputed by Amsterdam.—The Translator.
[ I attach a continuation of former translations, which will complete this account.
I have to acknowledge valuable help given by Mr. J. R. INNES in revising this translation.
This paper is accompanied by a copy of VALENTYN'S map of Malacca.

D. F. A. H.]

It was in 1627 that the board of administration at Batavia intended to make the next attempt, of which expedition one KAREL LIEVENSOON was to be the Commander, but for some reason or other this plan had likewise to be given up. So it happened that it was not until 1640, in the reign of the said Prince ABDULJALIL SJAH II, and whilst the Hon'ble ANTONI VAN DIEMEN held the Governor-Generalship of India, that this matter was taken up in good earnest, detailed account of which we will give in the following chapter:—

Exact Account of the Siege and Conquest of the strong and famous Town of Malacca under the Administration of the Hon'ble Antoni van Diemen, Governor-General of India.

For several years Malacca and the trade of the Portuguese with that place and in the southern part of India had been much hindered and troubled by the navigation of our war-vessels. We
shall see later that in 1640 and 1641, a squadron under the command of JACOB KOPER, together with some vessels of the Johor Malays, blockaded the place so as to prevent it from being properly supplied with the most urgently needed provisions. That same year then, the Hon’ble ANTONI VAN DIEMEN, jointly with the Hon’ble Council of India, resolved to attack by main force, and, if possible, to take that strong and famous town, which, next to Goa, was the most important town of Portuguese India.

Their Honours intrusted the execution of this important business to Sergeant-Major ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON, an old, experienced and bold soldier. He left Batavia for Malacca in May, 1640, with three well-manned vessels, with orders to take over the command of the fleet from the Commander KOPER, to blockade the town on the seaside as closely as possible, and on the arrival of more troops from Batavia and of the auxiliary troops from the Kings of Acheen and Johor, to land with all his forces, and, according to circumstances, to try and take the town either by arranging terms, by siege, or by storming it, as he thought best.

In accordance with this plan, in the beginning of June, twelve ships and six boats so rigorously blockaded the town on the seaside, that its supply of victuals was almost entirely cut off, and hardly any one could succeed in leaving or entering the place; hence several vessels with provisions and one barge with fresh supplies from Goa were also taken by our people.

Meanwhile the King of Acheen refused us his assistance; but our fleet was constantly relieved by ships and troops (sailors and soldiers). In short, when at the end of July, the King of Johor’s fleet of some 40 sail with a force of 1,400 or 1,500 men had joined our troops, which were partly Dutch, partly German, and of about the same strength, our Commander, on the 2nd of August issued the order that the combined forces should land at about one-third of a mile on the north side of the suburb of Malacca. (1) No sooner were the troops landed than they expelled the enemy, several hundred strong, from the first bastion and were so close at their heels, that they entered

(1) i.e., Tranquerah.
the suburb soon after them and drove them back within the fortress.

Our troops then encamped in the conquered suburb, and after having built two batteries there within a pistolshot of the ramparts of the fortress, they battered them so fiercely with sixteen 24-pounders, that finally, notwithstanding the brave resistance of the enemy, several large breaches were made. These breaches exposed the enemy to a great danger, but they were able to meet it for a while by their extraordinary courage. The siege of the river preventing us from storming the town as yet, we could do nothing but blockade the town (within gunshot) from the seaside as closely as possible with our ships drawn up in half-moon form and harass the enemy by an uninterrupted cannonade and a constant throwing of bomb-shells, to which they did not fail to reply bravely and patiently from their heavy guns. This cannonade not only killed many people and wasted much powder and lead, but proved plainly that this siege would last a very long time, unless their Honours resolved to send a larger fleet than they had yet done to besiege the town. Though great scarcity of provisions prevailed in the town, and the Johorians assisted us in many ways, as, for instance, in supplying us with all sorts of materials, in building some of our batteries and other works, in preventing the enemy's small crafts from entering or leaving the town, and in hindering them in a hundred other ways, still it would have been impossible for us to take the town, if no other expedients had been adopted.

The pride of the Governor of Malacca, MANUEL DE SOUZA COUTINHO, and the stubbornness of the besieged Portuguese contributed not a little to the long duration of this siege, for several offers of a reasonable capitulation were rejected with contempt. Add to this the self-willed conduct of our Commander ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON and the fickleness of his successor JACOB KOPER, and it is no wonder that five months passed without the smallest improvement and with great expenditure and loss on both sides. Many remarkable encounters by sea and land occurred during this space of time,
in which our people generally carried the day; the enemy, exasperated from want of provisions, used his utmost efforts to bring them by water into the town, which our people tried to prevent, and which caused bloody battles; also similar attempts by land were made at the same time in a determined manner, but were everywhere repelled by our men with the utmost courage.

The natural strength of the place itself, which was greatly increased artificially, conducted to enable it to withstand so many thousands of cannon-balls fired at it from our Artillery, especially from the sixteen 24-pounders. Yet, by this incessant battering not only were large breaches made in the strong bastions "Curassa" and "St. Domingo,"(1) but even the dome of the "Hospital des Pauvres" was levelled to the ground, and the tower of the old fortress, the church, and several large buildings were so badly damaged, that they were hardly recognizable. The hard-pressed Portuguese on the other hand did not fail to do us damage from their battery of extraordinary heavy pieces on St. Paul's Hill, so much so that not one house in our quarters in the suburb remained intact.

The protracted siege and the great want which followed, not only in the distressed town, but also in our army, caused a bad plague, with great mortality among the troops of both parties; more of the troops were destroyed by this disease than by the hand of the enemy. Hence, notwithstanding the many fresh supplies forwarded from Batavia with the necessary provisions, our troops were quite unable to invest the town on all sides in such a manner as to cut off all supplies of victuals to the enemy. Some deserters also gave us a great deal of trouble, as they informed the enemy of the bad condition of our army and so encouraged him not to yield for some time longer, till, perchance, relief might come from Goa, or we might at last raise the siege, to which suggestions they gave so much credit, that they resolved to persevere to the

(1) This was at the N. W. corner of the fort facing what is now the New Market. (See "Plan of Portguese Fortress in Malacca," in vol. III of the Commentaries of Albuquerque translated by Mr. De Gray Birch for the Hakluyt Society.)
last, notwithstanding the wretched state in which they were.

This stubborn, nay savage resolution of the enemy, caused the destruction in the month of December, 1640, and January, 1641, of a great number of people; besides which, many of the besieged, emaciated with hunger and unable any longer to resist, fled to our army. They informed us that there were in the town not more than 200 Europeans and only 400 or 500 Eurasians, and that victuals were so scarce that a gallon of rice was sold for 10 rix dollars, and a pound of dried cow’s or buffalo’s hide for 5 or 6 crusados, and that it was very hard to get them even at that price. This want compelled the enemy to expel most unmercifully from the place many women and children and all useless mouths; famine was so prevalent that a mother actually exhumed the body of her own child and after having kept it for two days was driven by the pangs of hunger to eat it, to the consternation of all who heard of it.

Notwithstanding the wretched state of things in our camp, our people, greatly encouraged by the consistent reports of the extreme distress of the town, kept up their courage pretty well, though we had not only lost a large number of common soldiers, but also several brave men and chief officers of the army. Among these last ones were the Commissioner (Komissariss) Johan de Meere (who died on the 8th October), the Commander Adriaan Antonissoon (in November), and his successor Jacob Koper (in the beginning of January, 1641), and Captain Pieter van den Broek (the same who, as Director of Suratte and as the founder of the trade with Persia and the Red Sea, had retired to his native country with the rank of Chief Admiral, but, not having come very well out of these affairs, was sent here by his friend General Van Diemen). Most of these men died from lingering diseases, and from the great hardships they had suffered here.

By this successive decease of our Commanders we soon felt the want of proper men for Commanders of our troops, and in the absence of more distinguished officers (the whole of the Secret Council having died and a new one having been

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(1) A gallon.
(2) Marked with a cross on one face.
appointed from among the officers of the army and the fleet) Captain MIME WILLEMSSOON KAARTEKOE was approved as the Hon'ble Company's Commander of the land and naval forces before Malacca (though I cannot understand why others more suitable than Heer KAARTEKOE, as, for instance, Heer LAMOTIUS and Captain FORCENBURG were overlooked). KAARTEKOE then, in conformity with the advice of the Council (which, at that time, was composed of experienced and valiant Captains and seamen) to revent our army further dwindling away from the ever-increasing pestilence, resolved to storm the moribund town of Malacca (which now scarcely offered any resistance) and to compel its inhabitants in this manner to surrender. After having held a day of public prayers, preparations were made for the storming of the town on the morning of the 14th of January, and, by the grace of God, that rich and important town was taken in the following manner:

At daybreak of the 14th January, Sergeant-Major JOANES LAMOTIUS formed three columns of all our healthy troops (both soldiers and sailors), numbering about 650 men altogether, of which Captain LAURENS FORCENBURG commanded the first column, Captain HURDT the second, and Captain NICOLAAS JANSSOON HOUTKOOPER the third. These troops, partly armed with muskets (the sailors carrying ladders), marched towards the Bastion "St. Domingo" and shouting the war cry "Help us God" they stormed that part of the town with irresistible courage. For a time the enemy offered a brave and unexpected resistance, but after a fierce hand to hand fight we became masters of this point, drove the flying enemy from there along the skirts of the town to the point "Madre de Dios," took that also after a weak resistance, and so successively the points "Our Mille Virgines," "St. Jago,"(1) "Curassa," and the "Hospital Bulwark." But at the "Fortaleza Velha" our men met with such a brave resistance, that they had to retreat with a loss of twenty men to the said Hospital, where they were beyond the range of the enemy's guns of heavy calibre and from where we could sweep them with our

(1) This, from the plan, must have been near where the old gateway is,
Artillery.

At that moment Commander KAARTEKOE having risen from his sick-bed and making his appearance on the town ramparts, most inopportunely prevented, by his want of judgment, the successful completion of the attack which our troops had now entirely in their hands, for (most unwarrantably and contrary to the custom of war) he entered into an agreement with the Portuguese Governor and (at his request) some priests, promising them and all the inhabitants of the town (with the exception of the King's soldiers) a free and safe retreat. The enemy then having abandoned that strong bulwark "Curassa" and the old fortress, our troops marched into those places and occupied them and all the other points.

The soldiers of the enemy were then immediately lodged in our camp, and ours in the town, whilst the respectable Portuguese inhabitants and their families were left peaceably in their houses, but ordered to carry all the gold, silver, jewels and money which they possessed to the Church of St. Paul. Such good order was maintained that nothing was heard of murder, brutality or ravishing, though some of our soldiers (after having endured so much want and misery) in their first transport plundered some churches and brothels.

The Johor Malays, who had been ordered at daybreak to raise a false alarm near the bulwark "St. Jago," did not show themselves till after sunrise, when most of the bulwarks had already been taken by our soldiers; they then meant to get into the town by the conquered breach, but Heer LAMOTIUS wisely stopped them to prevent the further shedding of Christian blood, especially by the Moors, who intended to plunder and to destroy the whole town. Thus, not without great loss of men and money to the Hon'ble Company, we at last conquered that famous, strong and powerful mercantile place of the Portuguese, the matchless Malacca, which they had possessed 120 years. This being a strongly fortified and large place, superior to any other place in the East (save Goa), for its importance and many other advantages for which reason it was of old selected as the seat of the Malay

(i) On the top of the hill.
Kings, posterity may safely look upon this conquest as a proof of the valour of the Batavians. The ramparts and bastions were armed with 64 brass and 4 iron guns, 43 brass swivel guns and 31 iron ones, and the place was well provided with the best war materials.

The great number of inhabitants, the long duration of the siege and other unexpected misfortunes compelled the gallant Portuguese (for nobody will say that they did not behave gallantly during the whole siege), finally, when in want of everything and when no rescue appeared, to surrender the town. It had at that time several pretty broad and properly laid out streets, a small hill in the middle with the Church of St. Paul at its top and the beautiful Convent of the Order of Jesuits on its slope, besides many other churches and convents and very fine lofty buildings and houses; and, having been built in an exceedingly fertile tract of land, it was situated as advantageously as possible for the trade in the southern part of India.

But we must say that, if the Portuguese during this siege suffered such great calamities, they deserved it as a righteous punishment of God; for having led here for so many years such an incredibly godless life, they really could not be astonished at the terrible destruction of this town by war, famine and pestilence (the three scourges of which God so often makes use to punish similar places).

It is supposed that during the siege more than 7,000 persons died in the town, but that, in order to escape famine and pestilence, a much greater number fled from the town and were scattered all over the neighbouring country; for of its population of more than 20,000 souls before the siege, no more than 3,000 inhabitants were left.

We lost before that place more than 1,500 Hollanders, mostly, however, of contagious diseases.

The Portuguese Governor died of disease two days after the surrender of the town, and was buried in the Church of

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(1) This will probably account for signs of Portuguese type to be noticed occasionally both amongst Malays and aborigines, and apparently Christian legends found amongst the latter by Père Boris and referred to by him in a paper in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
St. Domingo(1) with much pomp and a guard of honour from our troops after the manner of his country.

The Ovidor-General (i.e., their Fiscal of India), the Jesuits, the other priests and the principal citizens with their wives and children, left Malacca a few days afterwards in a vessel (which we lent them) for Negapatam; and since we did not visit and search this ship most probably he (the Ovidor-General) carried away a treasure of money of at least several hundred thousands of rix dollars, besides what the others took with them.

LOUIS MATHIAS DE SOUSA CHYSORRO, the Commander of the troops, and the other officers and soldiers of the King of Spain were sent to Batavia, together with some priests and citizens. A few married Portuguese and the Eurasians with their families were left, so that the town might not be depopulated after its surrender, and so that we might be in a position to open it up again in time, as we afterwards did.

On the 1st of February, 1641 (i.e., 17 days after the conquest of the town), Heer JOHAN VAN TWIST, Extraordinary Member of the Council of India, and the Commissioner Heer JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, arrived in the ruined town.

The former (first Dutch Governor of Malacca), after having inspected the whole town and its surrounding territory, made the necessary arrangements for the right administration of this conquered country, altering many things that had been badly and rashly managed through the ignorance of Commander KAARTEKOEN, who, soon afterwards, returned to Batavia together with the superfluous officers and troops to bring to their Honours in person the news of the conquest of this town. This account of the siege and conquest of Malacca in all its details may merit so much more credit, from the fact that it is taken from a report dated 26th October, 1641, drawn up in Malacca by the Commissioner SCHOUTEN in person, and forwarded to their Honours at Batavia, though I doubt very much if that report can be found among the official records, either at Batavia or at Malacca, since many old papers (especially at Batavia) have been lost by the length of time and

(1) Behind the bastion of that name.
through accidents, and that at present but very few records, reaching beyond 1650, are still to be found.

One of the first matters taken in hand by Heer Van Twist was the constitution of a Board of Town Magistrates. The Factor and Fiscal, Gerard Herberts, arrived here with his family per the storeship Gragt on the 15th of May. According to letters from their Honours at Batavia there arrived at that place from Malacca on 11th December, 1640, the ship Rynsburg; on 16th January, 1641, the ship Langerak; on 24th January, the Kleine Zon with the news of the conquest of Malacca; on 10th February, the ships Goes and the Taljoot de Jager and the Quelpart and the Brak; on 13th February, the Egmond; on 18th February, the ship Klein Zutphen; and on 3rd April the Wassenaar with the late Commander Mijt Willemsson Kaartekoë.

Their Honours received with these ships all the papers treating at large the matters of Malacca.

Several necessaries, to the amount of 3,801 rix dollars, had been forwarded per the said storeship Gragt and per some other ships, whilst different sorts of calicos to an amount of rupees 31,341 had been sent with the Factors Jan Dirkssoon Puyt and Joris Vermeer for the tin trade at Perak, Kedah, Ujong Salang(1) and Bangeri, besides 1,000 rix dollars in specie. 31,341 guilders were also sent for the use of the above-named places, with orders that as much tin as could be got was to be sent to Batavia for the trade with Suratte and Persia.

Their Honours sanctioned all that had been done by the Governor and the Council and ordered them to continue to govern in the same way and to levy no other taxes, duties or money than those that existed under the Portuguese rule, so as to prevent further trouble, but, at the same time, to take full revenue which the King of Spain had enjoyed and not to surrender anything that they were properly entitled to.

On the 22nd May Heer Gerard Herberts, the new Fiscal (Attorney-General), examined and sentenced for the first time several criminal prisoners, whilst the first repairs of the

(1) Now known as 'Junk Ceylon.'
Bastion “Victoria” or “St. Domingo” were started on 23rd May, 1641. On 13th August, the Sjahbander JAN JANSZ MENIE returned from Maccam Thoheet with letters from the Orang Caia Laksamana to the Governor, containing the news that the Achinese accepted peace and promised to stop all enmity and robbery. From the letter of the Laksamana to the Governor it appears that Acheen was ruled at that time by a Queen. (1) The Governor of Malacca then requested the said Laksamana to send him ten boat-loads of timber for the repairs of the bridge of Malacca, some 200 Malay carpenters and oars and paddles.

In a letter to their Honours at Batavia forwarded per the Amboina the Laksamana of Johor complained very much of the want of fulfilment of the promises made to him and to his King by former Commanders before the conquest of Malacca, and according to an agreement, made before the siege of Malacca, he requested the Company to return to the King of Johor all the big and small guns, which the Portuguese had taken from him.

On the 14th of August the Neptunus arrived from Coromandel with a cargo of purchased goods, amounting to rupees 265,975, viz.:

- 250 bales of different calicos from Palliacatte at Rs.86,028
- 482 bales of calicos, sugar, indigo, salpetre, thread, &c., from Mazulipatam, at Rs.179,947

The storeship the Duyf with 28 hands, despatched from Acheen by the Commissioner JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, arrived at Palliacatte in a very damaged condition, with broken main and fore-mast and lost mizen-mast, for which reason, Heer ARENT GARDENYS, Governor of Palliacatte, ordered it to Bengal to

(1) Sekander Muda, the King in whose time Achin attained its greatest prosperity, and who began to reign in 1606, had just died. He was to have aided the Dutch in their siege of Malacca, but declined, owing to their alliance with his enemy—Johor. Achin was ruled for the next sixty years by Queens,
have it repaired there. There being a great demand for
cloves at Mazulipatam, the Factor, ARNOLD HENSSSEN, and
BARTHOLOMUS DE GRUITER were convinced that, if their
Honours liked to sell them at 4 or 5 Pagods [ A Pagod is an
Indian golden coin of $2.20.—Translator.] a basket of 24 lbs,
they could easily sell 100,000 lbs. in a short time. All the other
goods and produce of the Company were also pretty well sold
during the past year, notwithstanding the uninterrupted wars.
The enemy who had been lying several days with his army
before Galle, having decamped on the 23rd May, 1641, march-
ed to Billegam, Mature and Gindere(1) laying hand upon every-
thing that he could catch and laying waste the whole country
about Galle in order to intercept the provisions to our people.
At that time Raja SINGAH forwarded from Ceylon to
Coromandel five wretched elephants which were not worth
sending. Among the home freights were 422,304 lbs. of indigo.
The vessel Danish President Barent Passaart took some
tobacco to Bengal.
Heer JOHAN VAN TWIST, Governor of Malacca, wrote on 8th
September, 1641, vid Palembang to Jambi and sent this letter
per the English ship Anne to have it forwarded to the
Captain HENRIK VAN GENT. The said English ship Anne
arrived at Malacca on the 8th of August, together with the
Franiker bringing the Commissioner JUSTUS SCHOUTEN.
Twenty persons died of a contagious disease on board the
Franiker on its voyage to Malacca.
The old King of Atsjien, hearing of the resistance made by
Malacca, was very irresolute and much inclined to make
peace with the Portuguese; but he fortunately died in 1641
and was peaceably succeeded by his spouse as Queen, which
was for the advantage of the Company. Peace was made
with Djohor on reasonable conditions, and the Portuguese Amb-
bassador, FRANCISCO DE ZOUZA, who had been detained in
prison for a very long time, was released and forwarded as a
present to the said Commissioner SCHOUTEN. And everything
would have turned out to the best of the Company's wishes
but for one thing, viz., that the Company suffered a heavy loss
through the sale of the deceased King of Atsjien jewel-

(1) Weligama, Matura and Gintota.
lery, since but 5,025 tahils of the said jewellery were taken over by the Queen, and this amounted only to guilders 60,300, since Her Majesty said, first that it was not right to transfer to the living the debts of the dead and besides that the said jewels could not be worn with a Queen's dress and that the King had squandered much money and drained his country to purchase them, with a hundred other excuses too many to recount. From which it may be seen how dangerous it is to trust to fickle Indian princes in such matters, the more so as there was here nowhere else to send the goods to and they must either be sent back to the Netherlands with great loss or else sold at a loss.

The Queen reigned very peacefully, but she did nothing without the knowledge of her four chief Counsellors, who made a secret alliance, never to be ruled by a foreign King, and in order to realise that purpose, and to prevent a marriage of the Queen with a foreign Prince, they had inserted in the said treaty of peace, concluded with the King of Djohor, the express condition, that they should never send Ambassadors to each other, but that each of them should remain within the boundaries of his or her territory and refrain from all hostilities. This peace, therefore, was not at all disadvantageous for Djohor, its jurisdiction being properly and legally settled, whilst the averting of Ambassadors became a tacit excuse for being exempted from paying homage to the Atsjien crown generally, the first and chief cause of war between the said two Kings. But fearing that Djohor might get annoyed by the Queen's letter to us, in which the proud Achinese nature made it appear as if we had asked pardon for the crime committed by Djohor, we refuted this misrepresentation immediately in the presence of the Achinese and Djohor Ambassadors, and we sent, moreover, the Shabandar JAN JANSZOOEN MENIE with a letter to the Laksamana of Djohor, in which we made a clear report of the matter and of the arrogance of the Achinese to which we added, that it ever had been and would be our principal aim to maintain peace between these two Princes. (Time, however, will show if Djohor will keep peace.)
The day after the arrival of Commissioner SCHOUTEN, the vessel D’Eendracht arrived at this place from Coromandel, with a freight of calicos worth guilders 165,000, and on the 10th ditto, the (sloop) Amboina quite unexpectedly entered the river here. Having left at 6 degrees Northern latitude the vessels under the command of DOMINICUS BOUWENS (sailing from Ceylon to Java) she had touched Acheen and brought first the news of the demise at that place of the Underfactor, HENRIK VAN RENDORP, Assistant to the Factor, JAN COMPOSTEL, and further that on account of the close occupation till the 2nd May, but one Portuguese vessel had arrived at Goa, which brought the news that the two caracks, with the new Viceroy, JOAN DE SYLVA, on board, which left Lisboa in September last, were still lying under the protection of the Fortress Aguada, and that it was most likely quite impossible to return this year to Europe. Leaving Goa, the said Commander BOUWENS sailed to Ceylon with the vessels Amboina, Arnemuyden and Valkenburg; on his arrival there he heard that Punto Galle was besieged by the Portuguese, about 700 or 800 strong, under the Command of Don PHILIPPO DE MASCARENHAS, but that the place was not in distress, since the President, JAN THYSSEN, held the fortress with a garrison of 500 men well provided with all sorts of necessities. As Mr. SCHOUTEN had to remain here still a little longer, he thought it better to despatch D’Eendracht first, so, after having shipped on board the Coromandel freight, worth guilders 165,000, the unsold jewels, cash rix dollars 1,009, four undamaged brass guns from the ramparts of Malacca and a big bell for the church of Batavia, of a total value of guilders 139,431-17-8, it sailed from here on 14th September last.

On 24th September the Franiker, with Commissioner SCHOUTEN on board, left this place with a freight of Achinese pepper, some rice, 27½ bharas of Andragiri pepper (purchased of the British Anne at rix dollars 25 a bhar), besides 7 damaged guns and other rubbish, altogether worth guilders 2,273.14.

He hoped to arrive soon at Batavia, so as to be able to give their Honours a thorough report on the condition of this place
and to forward there the things that most needed, viz., a sufficient number of soldiers to reinforce the garrison, some workmen to repair the fortifications and breaches and, what was most important, some Chinese to cultivate the fields and gardens. He expressed his hope to be back here in September of next year and then to complete the arrangement of matters in the stronghold.

On the 15th of October Commander Pieter Baak arrived at Malacca with the vessels Welsing and the Franiker and Bergen op de Zoom with 100 soldiers and a freight of guilders 44,144, and, according to letters from their Honours, the following ships had arrived there (Batavia) from this place (Malacca) viz.:—

On 25th July, 1641, the vessel Kleen Zutphen; on 17th August the Breedam and the d'Eendracht with the garrisons of Mazulipatam and Palliacate; on 7th September the Franiker with the Commissioner Heer Schouten and the Chinese Ambassadors; and on the 9th September the yacht Limmen with a full freight of rice.

On the arrival of the said Commissioner, their Honours received an exact report of the whole condition of Malacca, and granted their approbation to all that had been done; they sent first the said two vessels, which 8 or 10 days afterwards were to be followed by the Arnemuyden, Bredam and the yacht de Sterre, first to assist in the action against Ceylon, and then to reinforce the fleet under the command of Mathys Quast, which had sailed to Goa on 18th July last. The vessel Akkerszoot was to follow next with a cargo of different cloths, nutmegs, cloves and mace for Persia, and to take thither also the tin bought at Peirah, Keidah, Salang and Bangeri and brought to Malacca per Graigt. We received from Gamron 700 bales of silk, and expected daily some 200 bales more per Sandvoort and de Paum which both had left that place on 2nd June: we will mention afterwards the reason why Factor Adriaan van Ostende had been induced to purchase that silk. The Company's factory at that place being burdened with a sum of guilders 300,000, their Honours gave orders to take the said tin to Persia and to
sell it there. After an administration of one year and ten months Heer van Twist was succeeded in 1642 by Heer Jeremias van Vliet as 2nd Governor of Malacca, who arrived there from Palembang and Jambi on 7th November per de Luypaard; his installation as such took place on 15th December by the Commissioner Pieter Boreel, whereupon Heer van Twist left this place with the vessel on 21st December.

On 27th April, 1645, a letter from their Honours arrived here in which they offered Mr. van Vliet 200 guilders a month, and the honorary title of Extraordinary Counsel of India, if he would sign a new agreement for 3 years (to count from 18th August, 1644), but mentioning at the same time, that, if he did not wish to make a new agreement, he had to transfer the administration to Heer Arnold de Vlamings van Oudtshoorn, who was on his way as Commissioner to Atsjien.

The said Heer de Vlamings arrived here with that letter on 15th May, left as Commissioner for Atsjien via Peirah on 22nd ditto, and returned here from there on 15th October. Heer van Vliet accepted the new agreement, but their Honours granted him, by a letter dated 2nd September, a leave to Batavia, as he had to see their Honours on different matters of importance and to give account of his first administration. The Commissioner Heer Arnold de Vlamings van Oudtshoorn was then appointed acting 3rd Governor of Malacca on 6th November, 1645, with the charge to remain here until later orders of their Honours, whilst Heer van Vliet left for Batavia on 11th ditto, after an administration of about 3 years.

Whereas the said Heer de Vlamings had assumed in the meantime the title of Governor, their Honours not only expressed their dissatisfaction in a letter of 6th December, but told him that Heer van Vliet still being Governor, he (de Vlamings) should assume the title henceforward of President only. He was succeeded in 1646 by Heer Johan Thyssoon Paijart ( who arrived here on 22nd November) as the 4th Governor of Malacca and who was introduced as such on 24th ditto by the Commissioner Heer Johan van Teylingen, who
arrived here on 21st November, whilst Heer de Vlaming left for Batavia via Andragiri on 15th December next per the de Ryp. It was during the administration of the said Heer Paijart in 1651 that the Malays of Kedah and Perak murdered nine Netherlanders. The said gentleman held the administration of this place for 16 years (something very rare) and was succeeded on 1st November, 1662, by Heer Johan van Riebeek (who arrived here on 18th October per the Slot Honingen as 5th Governor), but with the titles of Commander and President only, whilst Heer Paijart, after having introduced the said gentleman as such, sailed for Batavia on 8th ditto per the same vessel.

On 22nd September, 1665, arrived here Heer Balthasar Bort per the Meliskerke. Having been here before for several years in the service of the Company, he was introduced on 16th October by Heer van Riebeck as the 6th Commander and President, whereupon van Riebeck sailed for Batavia on that very night after an administration of about 3 years. On the 6th August, 1668, their Honours wrote to Heer Bort, that the "seventeen gentlemen" (1) had appointed him to be a Governor and granted him this new title.

In 1669 the expenditure of this Government amounted to rix dollars 201,443 with a clear profit of rix dollars 56,926.

On 4th February, 1670, their Honours wrote again that the "seventeen gentlemen" had made his Honour a member of the Extraordinary Council of India with a new agreement of 5 years.

Adbul Djallul Sjah II, King of Johor, died in 1671 and was succeeded by Sultan Ibrahim Sjah, as the 20th Malay and the 14th Muhammadan King and the 8th King of Johor. He reigned 11 years, viz., from 1671 to 1682.

On 14th May, 1678, Heer Bort received a letter, mentioning him that the "seventeen gentlemen" had made him Ordinary Counsel of India.

On 30th April, 1679, arrived here Heer Jacob Jorissoon Pits, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced by Heer Bort on 10th October as the 7th Governor of this place,

(1) The Directors of the Company.
whereas Heer BORT sailed from here with the *Nieuwe Noordwyk* on 16th ditto, after an administration of 4 years.

On 22nd November, 1680, arrived here from Batavia per *Den Briel* Heer COMELIS VAN QUAAALBERG, who succeeded Heer PITS as the 8th Governor of this place on 23rd December, whilst the said Mr. PITS left here on 14th January, 1681, with the vessels *de Veluwe* and *Kroonenburg* as Commissioner for the Coast of Coromandel and Bengal to succeed Heer WILLEM KAREL HARTSING as Governor of those places. By a letter from the “seventeen gentlemen,” dated 30th November, 1681, the said Heer VAN QUAAALBERG was appointed Extraordinary Counsel of India on 2nd November, 1682.

In the same year IBRAHIM SJAH, King of Johor, died and was succeeded by Sultan MOHAMMED SJAH II, who was the 21st Malay and the 15th Muhammadan King, and the 9th King of Johor, and who reigned there till 1699, i.e., 17 years.

On 20th September, 1684, arrived here per the *Silversteyn* Heer NICOLAAS SCHAGHEN, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced on 1st December by Heer VAN QUAAALBERG as 9th Governor, whilst the latter one sailed from here per the *rapan* to Batavia on 6th ditto. Their Honours wrote on 30th October, 1685, to Heer SCHAGHEN, that they had appointed him by decree of 23rd ditto Director of Bengal, and that they had elected as his substitute Heer FRANÇOIS TAK, then Ambassador and Commissioner to the Emperor of Java; but as the said gentleman would not arrive here before April next, he (SCHAGHEN) had to transmit the administration to the Secunde, Heer DIRK KOMANS, who was then introduced by Heer SCHAGHEN on 5th January, 1686, as Commander of this place, whilst Heer SCHAGHEN left for Bengal on 12th ditto per *de Stryen*.

On 19th November arrived here from Batavia per the *Hoogergeest* Heer THOMAS SLICHER, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced by Heer KOMANS on 26th ditto as the 10th Governor of Malacca. That worthy gentleman, who held the Governorship of this place to the general satisfaction from 1686 to 1691, suffered badly from a sad disease, which made him commit suicide on 18th October by jumping
out of a window. After his death Heer KOMANS again acted till he was relieved by Heer GELMER VOSBURG, who was introduced by Heer KOMANS on 1st October, 1692, as the 11th Governor of Malacca.

Their Honours wrote on 15th April, 1696, that, by their decree of 10th ditto, Heer VOSBURG had been elected Commissioner for Coromandel and that Governor GOVERT VAN HOORN had been chosen to relieve him here. He arrived at this place on 2nd November per the Spiërdijk and was introduced on 1st January, 1697, by the Secunde, Heer ABRAHAM DOUGLAS (Mr. VOSBURG being ill), as the 12th Governor of Malacca.

In the meantime their Honours had written already on 19th October of the year before to Heer VOSBURG, that on account of ill-health he was discharged from his commission to Coromandel. He died here the 10th January, 1697, after an administration of 4 years and 3 months and was buried in the St. Paul’s Church.

MOHAMMED SJAH II, King of Johor, died in 1699, and was succeeded by Sultan ABDULDжалIL SJAH III as the 22nd Malay and the 16th Muhammadan King and the 10th King of Johor.

I have not been able to trace how long this Prince has reigned, and who succeeded him, but after a reign of 9 years he was still alive in 1708, so, if we begin to count the Rule of the Malay Kings from 1160, the reign of these 22 Kings had lasted in the said year 547 years and 11 months.

On 11th November, 1700, Heer BERNHARD PHOONSEW arrived here per the Ellemeet from Batavia, who was introduced on 24th ditto by Heer VAN HOORN as the 13th Governor of Malacca, whilst on the same day the late Governor went on board of the Carthago and left for Batavia after an administration of about 4 years.

On 17th June, 1703, Heer PHOONSEN received the news that, according to a letter dated 18th September, 1702, their Honours the “seventeen gentlemen,” had appointed him Extraordinary Counsel of India and a Commissioner for the Coast of Coromandel. But unfortunately, both he and his splendid vessel de Vogel Phenix were taken by the French in 1705,
on his way thither, for which fact he was prosecuted after his release, but, though with much trouble, finally acquitted.

On 18th December, 1703, the Japanmen arrived here under Heer Johan Grootenbuys' colours escorted by a squadron of men-of-war.

On 18th January, 1704, the said Heer Grootenbuys was appointed by Heer Phoonsen to be provisionally Commander of this place, whereupon he (Heer Phoonsen) embarked that very evening on board of de Ellemeeet and left this place with the whole fleet on the following day.

On 10th May Heer Karel Bolner arrived here per de Schoondyk from Punto Galle, who was introduced on 22nd ditto by the said Heer Grootenbuys as the 14th Governor of Malacca.

The 10th January, 1707, Heer Pieter Rooseelaar, arrived here per the Serjantsland, who was introduced on 7th March by Heer Bolner as the 15th Governor of Malacca, whilst the said late Governor left this place in the afternoon of that day.

On 6th September of the same year the said Heer Rooseelaar received the news that, according to a letter dated 30th October, 1706, their Honours the "seventeen gentlemen" had appointed him Extraordinary Counsel of India.

Shortly afterwards (1708) the solicitor and advocate, Mr. Abraham van Kervel, arrived here, who after having had a dispute with the said Governor and (if I am not mistaken) having been put in jail by him, wrote to Batavia and brought about that their Honours sent to this place in 1709 Heer Willem Six to succeed Heer Rooseelaar, who was sent up to Batavia together with the whole board of administration with the exception of Captain Palm. Heer Six arrived here on 7th November, and was introduced on 16th December as the 16th Governor of Malacca by Heer Rooseelaar who left this place for Batavia a few days afterwards per the Nichtevegt.

Hoping that he had been cured Heer Six released the said Heer van Kervel, but he became so troublesome that he was obliged to send him up to Batavia in 1710.

By order of their Honours he (Heer van Kervel) returned to this place in 1711, but I have heard that the board of ad-
administration did not allow him to come on shore, but sent him back again to Batavia, at which their Honours were so greatly offended, that they summoned the Governor, Heer VAN SUCHTELEN (the Secunde), Captain TREKMeyer and RYKLOF JUSTUS COSTERUS; when sued at law by Heer VAN KERVEL in 1712 both Heer SIX and Heer VAN SUCHTELEN were not only dismissed from their office, but Heer SIX was fined in rix-dollars 400 and Heer VAN SUCHTELEN in rix dollars 300 whereas the two others were acquitted.

On 21st May, 1711, per the Venhuisen, Heer WILLEM MOERMAN, arrived here, who, in compliance with their Honours' special order, was introduced by Heer SIX as the 17th Governor of this place on the day of his arrival, whilst Heer SIX sailed from here to Batavia per the same vessel on 16th July next.

It is a strange fact, that the said Heer SIX and VAN SUCHTELEN, although fined and ordered to pay all costs, shortly after having received the above-mentioned punishment, were completely rehabilitated by their Honours and admitted not only anew in the service of the Company, but declared also re-eligible for their former offices, a fact susceptible of several interpretations when it is remembered how long these men had openly made light of their Honours' authority.

Heer MOERMAN, too, who arrived here with several other members of the board of administration, could not agree with Heer VAN KERVEL, who arrived in the same vessel with him; he (VAN KERVEL) remained here till the end of 1711, returned then to Batavia and was by order of the "seventeen gentlemen" sent up to Patria in 1712.

Heer MOERMAN had the administration of this Government till 11th May, 1717, almost 6 years, at which date he died here. That year he was succeeded by Heer HERMAN VAN SUCHTELEN as the 18th Governor of Malacca, who is there still at present, viz., 1725.

The above then is an account of the most principal worldly matters of Malacca; before passing to the ecclesiastical matters we will attach first a list of the Malay Kings and those of Johor.

But first I must add to this a few words, viz., that the reader
will never find in any work, written about Malacca or about those Kings, anything resembling our account, or any account worth mentioning, and this for the simple reason, that we have had the opportunity of drawing everything from the personal writings and historical notices made by the Kings of Malacca itself, which have never been seen by any previous authors or which could not be read or understood by them, and we hope that we have written something which will meet with the attention of observing and learned men, since we have had a great deal of trouble in digging up this from the dust of antiquity with much scrutiny and caution; but at the same time it has never tired us, as we were convinced, that this account would be agreeable to posterity and would acquaint it with many things of which it had never heard nor read of. To complete my account I have attached the list of the Kings of Malacca.