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Accounts of the Makassar Revolt, 1686

Introduction

The Makassar plot, first revealed about August 1686, and their revolt in September, appeared to take Siam by surprise. Hitherto the cosmopolitan capital of Ayutthaya had accommodated numerous different “nations” living in their own “camps” or quarters, with little apparent friction. The Makassarese were to be the exception.

The Makassarese, which we shall call, like contemporaries in Ayutthaya, Makassars, came from South Sulawesi (Celebes) and constituted the Sultanate of Gowa, with its capital at Makassar (later Ujung Pandang). They were a major military force which the Dutch in the VOC, in their attempt to establish a monopoly in spices in the Moluccas and control over the Java Sea, took more seriously than their enemies, including the Bugis of Bone. Conflicts between the VOC and Gowa were continual from 1615. The VOC attacked Gowa in 1660 and forced Sultan Hasanuddin (r.1653-69) to accept peace. But skirmishes continued and in 1666 the Governor-General Maetsuycker sent twenty-one ships and 600 European troops, as well as Ambonese and Bugis militias, to attack

Makassar. Fighting lasted nearly a year, and Speelman, the Dutch commander (and later governor-general), forced Hasanuddin to sign the Treaty of Bungaya in November 1667, but he soon resumed his attacks; a second campaign lasting until June 1669 ended in his complete defeat. The Makassar fort was taken over by the Dutch and renamed Rotterdam. The Bugis leader, the Arung (king) of Bone, Palakka, (d.1696) then became the most powerful local ruler in South Sulawesi, and instituted authoritarian rule which led to large numbers of Makassars, as well as some Bugis, fleeing Sulawesi to seek new homes (Ricklefs 1981: 61-63). Some of the Makassars, apparently under the leadership of a son of Hasanuddin, came to Siam and sought permission to settle there. King Narai granted them land next to the Malay quarter, on the grounds of proximity to co-religionists.

The Makassar revolt was seen by historians of the period as the first aberration (the second being the Mergui massacre of the English in 1687) in the smooth flow of the latter part of the reign of King Narai between the well-

documented embassies of Chaumont in 1685 and La Loubère and Céberet in 1687 and the crisis of the May 1688 coup d'état (considered by the French as a "revolution"). Contemporary accounts exist of the revolt, most notably that of Samuel White, the shahbandar or harbour-master of Mergui, given in photocopy as an appendix to this article, from the original broadsheet published in London in July 1687; this was published *in extenso* in Anderson (1890: 290-296). White, an old confrère of Phaulkon, virtually a licensed pirate operating from Mergui, was apparently in Ayutthaya in September 1686 when he wrote his letter dated "Sept. 20. 1686" (Julian calendar, which would be 30 September Gregorian) to his brother George in London. Forbin's account of his handling of the captain and crew of a Makassar ship in Bangkok at one stage of the revolt is well known.¹ Much less well known is the account by the engineer La Mare, which is found in Livre III (pp.96-128) of Guy Tachard, *Second Voyage du Père Tachard et des Jésuites envoyez par le Roy au Royaume de Siam...*, Paris, Horthemels, 1689. Curiously Hutchinson (1966: 52, n.2) says of this: "Doubtless an account by Père de Fontaney published in Vol.II of Tachard (1689); 97-128", but Hutchinson seems to have read it superficially, since only a short addendum is by Fontaney, and the account appears in Bk III, not Bk II.

La Mare's account²

"[96] During the time we were there [in Batavia], many false rumours circulated, which alarmed many people. The French who went into the town were told that it was too late to send help to the King of Siam;³ that this prince had made peace with the Dutch Company;⁴ that troops had been sent to him, and that the French would certainly not be well received. This news was confirmed by the testimony of two Siamese mandarins who were in Batavia, who were said to be envoys extraordinary of the king their master; that in addition to the troops which had already been sent in several vessels, there were

still two store-ships in the roads ready to set sail to bring these envoys back with soldiers and horses.

"[97] This news seemed all the more trustworthy, according to some, since a revolt of the Makassars had occurred in Siam which caused much comment, and which would doubtless have had dire consequences if the King of Siam and his chief minister⁵ had not brought a rapid resolution to the matter. We were informed with much assurance about all these matters, and such details were provided, that it was difficult not to give due credence to them. However, I was quite sure that they were only rumours, but it was quite difficult for me to disabuse some people. To do so more effectively, I wished to speak to the mandarins whose [words] had been cited, but they, far from confirming what was bruited about in Batavia, told me things completely to the contrary, assuring me that Monsieur Constance was better established than ever in the king's favour, and for proof of that, this prince had sent him a parasol and a silver chair which is the ultimate favour this monarch has for honouring those he likes. These same mandarins added that they had received letters on a vessel which had recently arrived from Siam, [informing them] that the Makassars had all been expelled, but they were not told of the reason nor how this had come about. I think that since I have mentioned here this important matter, I should inform the reader what happened. Here is the account in all its length, as [98] written down by a French engineer, named M. de La Mare,⁶ who was there, where he had carried out his duties admirably.⁷ Some details have been added which were learnt from those on the spot.

"In order fully to understand, he says, all that I am about to relate concerning the revolt of the Makassars, it is necessary to know that a few years back the Dutch conquered the King of Makassar,⁸ whose kingdom was located on the Celebes, one of the Moluccan islands. The prince of whom we are speaking, one of the sons of this king, followed by many of his nation, escaped from the hands of his enemies, and came to the King of Siam to seek asylum, to build

houses for himself and his followers, and this place was subsequently called the Makassar camp,⁹ in the manner of speaking of this country. This camp was situated partly on the bank of the great river called the Menam,¹⁰ and partly on a small stream called the Cachon¹¹ which enters the main river at this point. They were specifically allocated this location because of the proximity of the camp of the Malays, who have the same religion as them, being Mohammedans, and there were already some mosques built there; nothing was overlooked to give them all kinds of favours and consolation for the misfortune which [99] they had suffered. But this prince soon forgot what he owed to his benefactor.

“He devised five years ago a plot against the King of Siam, to kill him, and place on the throne the younger brother of the same king.¹² The conspiracy was fortunately discovered, the generous monarch pardoned not only his brother, but even the Makassar prince and all his accomplices. This excess of generosity should have produced eternal regret in the soul of this ungrateful man; but far from repenting of his crime, he entered four months ago into another plot, encouraged by the princes of Champa¹³ who had taken refuge in this court like himself, and who had resolved to crown the younger of His Majesty’s brothers, and offer him the turban, or death. They had, it was said, resolved that they would leave him on the throne but a short time, and that afterwards they would require him to abdicate, to be replaced by one of them who garnered the most support. They would also propose to all the Christians, Gentiles, and pagans in the kingdom to adopt their religion, or die. It is also important to know that these princes of Champa are three brothers, sons of the late King of Champa, who sought refuge here on the advent of their elder brother to the crown, fearful of being [100] badly treated. Of these three brothers, one was a King of Siam’s palace officer, who was not party to the plot, and the two others lived as private individuals. It was the youngest who began the conspiracy, the account of which follows.

“The young prince of Champa, having resolved to unseat the King of Siam, conferred with a Malay captain who also came from Champa, a man of courage, intelligence and education, and outlined his plan. This captain joined his faction, and it was he, with one of their priests, who conducted the whole business. This is how he went about things. He proclaimed in the Malay camp and that of the Makassars that he had seen appear in the sky a sign which threatened them with very great misfortune, or promised them very considerable advantages; that every time he had seen it something extraordinary had occurred to those of their faith; that therefore one had to pray to the Prophet that this augury would be to their advantage, but also to be on their guard. After filling the people with terror without declaring his plan, he took them all to one side in turn, and little by little revealed his proposals to the extent that he observed they were willing to be part of them, so that, except for three hundred Malays, he had them all join his faction within three months, helped [101]¹⁴ only by one of their priests, as we have already said.

“After having brought matters to this state, he called together the three chiefs to agree about what should be done with the three hundred Malays whom he had found far from agreeing to his proposals. They decided that when they were ready for action, they would have them come to the meeting place without saying anything about what was to happen, and there they would declare the affair, being convinced that they would not hesitate to submit to their proposals when they saw that all their compatriots were already partisans to them. They also resolved to go in the first instance to free all the prisoners and all the galley slaves to be found in the city, and bring them over to their faction, which they were sure both [groups] would do with much joy. They decided also on pillaging the palace in order to give courage to their partisans. They resolved furthermore that the day their plot would be carried out would be the 15th August, at eleven at night. The two Cham princes seeing the hour draw nigh, wrote a letter

to their brother who was attending the king in Louvo,¹⁵ in which they informed him of their plan, and advised him to escape as quickly as possible. They ordered the man who took the letter only to deliver it the same day at eight in the evening, so that if he wished to join the plot [102] he had the time to escape from the king's hands.

"His sudden flight made the [Cham] prince suspicious that something unusual was about to occur, and he was sufficiently prudent not to open the letter. He took it to my Lord Constance,¹⁶ who had it opened and interpreted by a Malay mandarin. As soon as the reading of the letter was over, this minister ran to warn the king of what was occurring in the capital, who without undue concern immediately gave all the necessary orders to thwart the plans of the seditious persons. He had a detachment of three thousand men of his guard go to defend the palace in [the city of] Siam. He sent the Chevalier de Forbin¹⁷ to Bangkok, for fear that the plotters might seize the stronghold. He had the rest of his guards, numbering five thousand men, placed in his palace and nearby, and had troops set up on the roads leading to the gates and on the town ramparts; in short he omitted nothing that a wise man would do to ensure the safety of his state.¹⁸

"However, as the hour designated by the plotters had come, everyone was prepared. It was on a slip of land, which separates the two rivers [103] beside the Makassar camp that the three hundred Malays were assembled, armed, on the orders of the Makassar prince, without knowing what was expected of them, but nevertheless seeing that so many people were assembled thinking that treason was in the air. They spoke to the prince who had caused them to gather and asked him whither he wished to lead them. He avoided telling them, but on being pressed [for a reply] he declared himself. They all said to this prince in a single voice that they would not be part of this action, that they did not wish to move from there, and that they would prefer to die rather than betray the King of Siam, who had received them with kindness

in his realm, and had assisted them considerably since they were there. These reasons caused other Malays to hesitate, who already had some remorse at their action, which made them declare that they too did not wish to advance. After this everyone began to take flight, and escape in whatever way he could. The Moham-medan priest, about whom we have spoken, was certain that some of these people would go and reveal the conspiracy, and that their plot had failed. He decided therefore to go himself to reveal the plot to the governor of the town, in order to obtain his pardon, which he did immediately.

"As soon as the governor received this information [104] he had the priest made prisoner. He called together the few people in the palace, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, so that the enemy would realize that their treason had been discovered, and that there were in the palace sufficient troops to defend it. Indeed this considerable bustle caused the spies to think that there was a large number of soldiers there. They immediately advised the three princes,¹⁹ who notwithstanding the desertion of some of their men, were until then ready to march with the rest to carry out their plan. This news so alarmed them that they all returned to their homes, to devise a way of extricating themselves from this untoward situation. They were still more disconcerted the following morning when they learnt that three thousand guardsmen had arrived in the palace, and that all the inhabitants of the town were under arms and positioned on the ramparts.

"After taking these measures, the king, on learning that the enemy would not attempt anything further, and had withdrawn to its camp, sent my Lord Constance to [the city of] Siam, to try and reason with them, and discover all the details and circumstances of the conspiracy. The minister perfectly well succeeded in his journey. He required the captain who had elaborated the plot to hand himself over to him in the hope he held out [105] of obtaining the king's pardon, and it was from him that he learnt all that we have just detailed; to which he added that he had



resolved to make himself king, and to destroy the three princes. M. Constance only stayed two days in [the city of] Siam, and on leaving to return to the king [in Lopburi] he had it proclaimed that all the conspirators had to go within four days at the latest to confess their misdeeds and denounce their accomplices, on which the king would forgive them, and would [allow them to] return to their property and their families; but that if they delayed longer, they would all be severely chastised. All the Malays went together to seek the king's pardon, and obtained it. Only the Makassars were unable to concede this submission, and were resolved to die.

“Their prince was several times summoned by the king to come and give account of his conduct, but he consistently refused to do so, excusing himself on account of not having taken part, he said, in the conspiracy; it was indeed true that he had been greatly urged to do so, but he had always resisted such powerful solicitations brought to bear on him. If he had committed any fault, it was not to have revealed the authors of such a pernicious design. But [he considered] his position as prince and that of a friend were sufficient to exonerate him [106] from performing the role of a spy, and betraying friends who had confided in him a secret of such importance. Such an unreasonable reply decided the king on resorting to force of arms to bring him to reason. The character of this nation was sufficiently well known to appreciate that they were not people to let themselves be taken without resistance, so preparations to bring them to heel were required. It seems that these preparations filled them with courage rather than intimidating them, and an event which occurred in Bangkok soon after, before they were attacked, made them still more proud.

“A galley from the Celebes, and which brought from the King of Makassar a present of some silver and some slaves to the prince who was his relative, was on the point of leaving when the conspiracy broke out. The captain, having witnessed the little likelihood of the success of that enterprise, in which he was

involved, thought he ought to assure his safety by withdrawing. He asked for, according to the custom of the country, the permission to leave the kingdom with a *tara*, that is to say a *laissez-passer*, to remove his trade goods. He was immediately given it. But at the same time a secret order was sent to the Chevalier de Forbin to arrest him with all his men at the point where there was the chain which had been strung across the river at Bangkok throughout [107] these troubles. It was hoped to obtain more details from them about the conspiracy, concerning which they were not thought to be completely innocent. They arrived there on 27 August.²⁰ Immediately the Chevalier de Forbin sent for the captain to have him come into the fortress and inform him of the number of people being transported in his galley. This compliment somewhat surprised the Makassar captain, who was on his guard against attacks. He did not think it was prudent to go and place himself between four walls at a time when he began to realize that his safety consisted in flight. He raised a thousand difficulties to avoid this, going as far as saying he could not go there, without being followed by all his men with their arms.

“After protracted discussions, in order better to conceal the trap being laid for him, he was allowed into the fortress with eight of his men, with no other arms than their kris. The kris is a small dagger a foot and a half long, with a flat blade, most often with wavy sides. It can be two fingers thick below the hilt; from there it diminishes in size to end in a rather sharp point. Some kris have poisoned blades. This is effected in two ways; either the poison is applied each time one wishes to use it, or else [108] the poison is mixed in the tempering when it is being fired, so that the substance fully penetrates it; these last blades, so it is said, cost up to a thousand *écus*. It is true that they take a considerable time to make these types of daggers. They observe certain superstitious moments for tempering them; they strike a certain number of blows on particular days of the month to forge it; they interrupt their work for weeks at a time, and they spend in this way on different occa-



sions a whole year to make this masterpiece of their diabolic art. The makers of charms observe less ceremonial in the fabrication of their figurines. This poison is so subtle in summer, that it is enough for the kris to make a slight scratch, and draw a drop of blood, for it to reach the heart very soon. The only remedy, according to everyone, is to eat very quickly one's own excrement. Furthermore, a brave Malay and his kris are inseparable. To hand it over is for them a terrible affront, and to draw it and not to kill anyone a sign of cowardice. When they have once taken their opium, which makes them half mad, they throw themselves onto pikes and swords without fearing death, crying "Mecca, Mecca"²¹ and rarely miss their man. Let us now return to our tale.

"[109] The captain with his escort come on shore, to reach the citadel, after saying goodbye to the rest of his comrades, and declaring to them that if he were asked for his kris, he would run amok; to which they all replied that if that happened they would follow his example, and die to avenge him. Immediately after he entered, he was taken to a kind of hall built on one of the bastions of the stronghold, where he was ordered to bring his men to be counted. The plan of the Chevalier de Forbin was to have them enter the outer part of the citadel, having them followed in a line by a company of soldiers ordered for this task, to surround them on all sides, and so require them to hand over their arms. The captain replied coldly that he had fifty men, and without so much ado they could trust his word, but as they insisted in this matter, and as he saw he was obliged to obey, it had to be. He sent off two of his men, to go and warn the others.

"The Chevalier de Forbin took this opportunity to assemble a large number of pikemen and musketeers, who were guarding the entrance to the hall which was open on all sides for this purpose. Then the Makassar realized, but too late, the dangerous position he was in. He seemed to be distracted, and in the attitude of a [110] man determining some important plan. Sweat poured in large drops from his face. However the Chevalier de Forbin sent an officer

to ask for his kris, in the name of the king. The captain's only reply was to thrust it in his stomach, and have him fall dead at his feet. The blow was so violent that he broke three of his ribs. Two of the men of the Siamese captain attempted to fulfil their duty and seize the Makassar, but two blows of the kris delivered him from his two enemies one after the other, and after having floored a fourth, he came in a fury to throw himself on the pikemen. But as it was impossible to break their ranks, after having tried a few blows, he jumped with three of his men through a window in the hall, and threw himself into an embrasure²² of the bastion, to jump down from the top to the bottom. As this leap nevertheless appeared dangerous to them, some volleys of musket shot were needed to make them follow this example. A second volley was fired as they fell. There were still some who had enough strength to raise themselves and run with faltering steps to the soldiers who were posted nearby, but it was easy to finish them off.

"The Sieur de Beauregard, a French captain, seeing that the Makassar captain, although hit by several bullets, still had some life remaining, forbade his sergeant to kill him, and approaching [111] him, attempted to remove his kris. He took the sheath instead of the handle, which this nearly dead man felt, and still had enough strength to draw it and slit his stomach. It has to be conceded that the wounds inflicted by this dagger are horrible, and they give when striking a particular movement to the arm which makes an opening [in the skin] as large as the biggest halberds are capable of.

"The Chevalier de Forbin, on seeing the resolution of these men and considering what the others would be capable of, was obliged to take very different measures from those taken hitherto. He had his garrison, numbering some three or four hundred men, come out and lined up in battle order outside the stronghold. He positioned the men in such a way that the Makassars would be hemmed in. During this time the Makassars, who had come ashore, alerted to what had occurred by the musket

volleys they had heard, demanded the restitution of their captain. The Chevalier de Forbin uttered fine words to gain time and put himself in position to seize them or else kill them. They for their part prepared to sell their lives very dearly. They wound lengths of cloth which covered their shoulders around their arms to act as bucklers. Everything appeared perfectly well prepared, when an English captain²³ left his position, and advanced [112] with some soldiers, sending word to the Chevalier de Forbin that he was going to bring him this rabble trussed up from head to foot, but unfortunately leaving a small ditch to his rear. The Makassars considered this position favourable to attack, moved to action, and having come under a volley and some blows from the pikes which killed a few, cut him to pieces with their kris together with his men. Some had more than twelve wounds. The rest of the garrison was so frightened by this first charge of the Makassars that, not waiting for a second one, everyone took to flight, and the stronghold was cleared in an instant. The Chevalier de Forbin might well shout, it was impossible to rally them; he was obliged to withdraw himself, and ran a considerable risk of being killed.²⁴

“If they had known how to profit by their advantage, they could have made themselves masters of the fortress, given the fear which prevailed; but one can say that if these people have the strength of lions, they also have their brutality. They do not reason, they are happy just to kill everything in front of them, taking no account of age or sex, and they went to seek refuge in the forest, where leeches, mosquitoes, hunger and a hundred other miseries were so able to weaken them in twelve or thirteen days that they only had sufficient strength to die [113] with their arms in their hands, and to kill a further five or six men who came to dispatch them. A young Makassar of ten or twelve years, who had withdrawn into a temple of Idols²⁵ with some of his comrades, made two sorties with his kris in his hand, and killed two men by himself. Some, whose wounds make them incapable of fighting, were taken alive. One of them, while

dying, said: “Alas, I have only killed two, let me kill seven more, and I shall be content.”²⁶ Others prayed that they be killed as quickly as possible, to rejoin their companions whom they wished to follow. But God, who from the worst of situations draws the greatest benefactions, had selected three of this unfortunate troop for Heaven. They became Christians, and were baptized by the Gentlemen Missionaries²⁷ who were then in Bangkok. Two in particular seemed to convert in good faith, in which one cannot indeed sufficiently admire the profundity of the judgments of God, who in this way causes everything to cooperate in the salvation of the elect. A fourth, however, urged to renounce Mohammedanism, brusquely asked: “Will I be forgiven if I become a Christian?” As he was told no, but that was a reason in itself for him to think of assuring his next life, since he saw he was about to forfeit his present one, he said, with unparalleled impiety, “What does it matter, if I am [114] with God or with the Devil, if I am to die?” Here the words of the Bible are shown to be true: “One shall be taken, and one forsaken.” We relate all these details to demonstrate the nature of this nation which doubtless had a fund of natural bravery; and if the barbaric customs in which its people were raised and the lack of discipline did not cause this courage to degenerate into brutal ferocity, it would be held to be among the most valiant nations in the world.²⁸

“While this action was taking place in Bangkok, the king attempted every means not to be obliged to undertake a similar one in [the city of] Siam. We are witness that he did not fail to do everything to bring the unfortunate Makassar prince to the path of reason, not wishing to be obliged to spill royal blood. But it seems that this prince had plotted against himself. The very recent pardon which the others had obtained ought to have made him hope for the same treatment for himself and his followers, if he wished like them to give himself up to the king’s clemency, and on the other hand the justice which had been meted out in Bangkok to fifty of his countrymen ought to

have opened his eyes and shown him his inevitable demise and that of all the Makassars. Nevertheless this prince, blinded by his misfortune, never wished to submit to going [115] in person to seek pardon of the king, whatever solicitation this monarch sought through the mandarin of his quarter named Ok-phra Chula; this mandarin had always accompanied the French ambassador²⁹ during his stay in the kingdom. This Ok-phra Chula, having informed this prince that he wished to speak to him, the prince replied that he dared not enter the city because of the disturbances there, but requested the Ok-phra to remove from the city, and he would go and speak with him. The Ok-phra left, following the minister's orders, and went to house close by the Makassar camp, and there the prince came to see him.

"At first the Ok-phra reproached him for his treason. He replied that it was true that he was extremely guilty, but requested him to intercede on his behalf with the king. The mandarin told him that he would have to go in person to seek the remission of his crime. His Majesty did not wish him to die, but only for him to repent and signal his obedience, and he could then expect much of his king's bounty. The prince replied that he could not agree to do this, and then withdrew. Ok-phra Chula reported this to the minister, and the minister to the king. This disobedience incensed His Siamese Majesty, who still did not wish to eliminate a prince and all his nationals without being forced to do so by every possible [116] reason, and gave orders to Ok-phra Chula to try and bring him [to reason] by gentle means. Ok-phra Chula went to seek him out a second time, to give him to understand that the king still was well-intentioned in his regard, but this prince gave out that he was ill, and could not go. The mandarin sent him doctors, who reported that he was not sick, and was not in the least way indisposed. Ok-phra Chula informed the king, who decided on the death of this stubborn individual, or to have him obey. To this end he detached five thousand four hundred men from his guard, in order to frighten him with this [large] number,

hoping that fear would bring about what gentle persuasion had failed to do. His Siamese Majesty gave this order to his chief minister as the most worthy of all his subjects and the most capable of executing his desires.³⁰

"Everything was put in hand to carry these out, and the morning of the day having been decided on, the 24th September [1686], having arrived³¹, my Lord Constance embarked the previous evening in a barge, taking with him Captain Udall,³² commanding a vessel of the King of England which was at the bar of Siam, and several Englishmen who were in the service of the King of Siam, a missionary, and another individual. He went to take on the way all the troops which were waiting on other barges and some small galleys near a horseshoe bend in the city of Siam opposite the Makassar camp. He inspected them all, and [117] then assigned each to his post, sending all the Englishmen, except Mr Udall, on two of the king's ships armed for war a half a league³³ below the Makassar camp, and remained there until an hour after midnight to visit all the positions, after which we³⁴ also went on board the said vessels about four in the morning. We then set off to carry out the plan, which was to start at half an hour after four by a given signal, which would be made on the other side of the water.

"My Lord Constance again inspected all the positions on coming upstream, and gave orders on all sides. The order to attack was that Ok-luang Mahamontri, captain-general of the Royal Guard, who had fifteen hundred men in his detachment, was to cut them off at the rear of their camp, making a dense mass of all his men from the banks of the main river to a stream some five fathoms wide, which was immediately at the end of the camp.³⁵ On the upper part was a pond behind the camp, which stretched from the main river to just two fathoms before the stream, so that the Makassars could not fight them except in this stretch of two fathoms which created a kind of raised path; but [the captain] had orders to form a barricade of stakes at this point. Ok-phra Chula was to position himself on the other side of the stream, and line it with a

thousand men, and in the two rivers, there were [118] twenty-two small galleys, and sixty barges full of people to skirmish with them, and a thousand men on the strip of land opposite their camp.

“The signal being given at half-past four in the morning, as had been arranged, Ok-luang Mahamontri suddenly set off, followed by fourteen of his slaves, without giving orders to his troops to follow him, nor taking the position he had been ordered to. He walked ahead without knowing if he was followed, and went straight along the raised path until reaching the Makassar houses, where he stopped, calling out quietly “Ok-phra Chula.” One of the Makassars in the darkness, which prevented him from seeing him, replied in Siamese: “What do you want?” This mandarin thought that he was indeed Ok-phra Chula, and moved closer to him, asking him: “Where are you?” “Here,” replied the Makassar, at the same time coming out of his ambush, followed by twenty-five or thirty others. They killed this mandarin and seven of his slaves; the others escaped in the darkness. After they had conducted this attack, some of the Makassars went to the other side of the stream before Ok-phra Chula had secured it.

“At five thirty, Mr Coates,³⁶ an Englishman and captain of a King of Siam’s vessel, attacked them from the side of the river at the furthest point of their camp. He had several fireballs launched to burn down their houses, had a continual musket discharge, and obliged them to withdraw to the upper part [119] of their camp. This captain, on observing this, went on land, followed by ten or twelve Englishmen, and a French officer, and [some Makassars] advanced towards Mr Coates and the French officer, who seeing other Makassars run up, and themselves abandoned by their men, extricated themselves, and jumped into the river. Mr Coates received a blow on his head, and died, and the French officer escaped by swimming away.

“After this attack, all the Makassars abandoned their camp, which was already half-burnt, and reached the upper part of the small stream in order to cross over to the Portuguese

camp, and wreak their vengeance on the Christians [there]. It was at that moment that Monsieur Véret, head of the godown of the French Royal [Indies] Company, arrived in a longboat and a barge in which were all the Frenchmen in the city, numbering about twenty. Monsieur Constance, well aware of what the Makassars intended to do to the Christians, and being in a lighter barge than the others, advanced very swiftly to the enemy side, followed by the barge of Monsieur Véret and twelve or fifteen other Siamese barges, to prevent them from undertaking their plan, and to cross the river half a league above their camp. Seeing the [120] enemies [there], he ordered the Siamese to go ashore and attack them.

“However, as it was extremely important to engage them as soon as possible, to prevent them from fulfilling their intentions, this minister went on shore and advanced straight towards them, followed by eight Frenchmen, two Englishmen, two Siamese mandarins, and a Japanese soldier. The longboat had not yet arrived, because it could not follow the [lighter] barges.

“There was at this point a large open space, to the side of which was a grove of bamboos; these are a kind of large hollow reed, about twenty-five or thirty feet high, and as thick as one’s leg; houses made of these bamboos in the fashion of the country were found intermingled with each other at a distance of two hundred and fifty paces from the water’s edge. There was also a very thick hedge of these same bamboos with two openings, to arrive at the plain where the enemy was.

“When the Siamese had passed through this hedge, and were in the plain, they began to fire on the enemy. Two Makassars died, after having killed a Siamese, and the others withdrew to behind the bamboos. In this retreat, as a woman was embracing her husband, she was killed with a blow from the kris.³⁷ In retreating in this fashion, they split up to the left and the right [121] in order subsequently to surround the Siamese; and to inflame themselves further, they took their opium, which is a kind of brown gum, which makes them instantly mad,

and removes any other thought from them or any other desire except to kill and be killed. And this is what is called amok in their language. As soon as they had taken their concoction, they threw themselves at the Siamese with their heads lowered.

“The minister was preparing to fight them, although they numbered more than sixty, when suddenly between thirty and forty others cut across on both sides, to take the Siamese from the rear. This movement obliged us to make a precipitous withdrawal, and jump into the water to return to the barges, which were already setting off for open water. Of the twelve persons going with Monsieur Constance on land, five were killed, namely Mr Udall, the captain of the King of England’s vessel [the *Herbert*]³⁸, stabbed five times, and who died on the terrain, the Sieur de Rouen,³⁹ a French merchant wounded on the sides and the face, who died in the water on re-embarking, the Sieur Milon, a French clerk wounded in the back, who also died in the water, and two other Frenchmen, a trumpeter of the King of Siam, and another, a farrier, each of whom sustained ten to twelve blows and [also] died on the terrain. This setback did not surprise the minister; he went a second time [122] on shore, followed by several Frenchmen, coming both from the barge and the longboat which had just arrived, and several Englishmen who had joined the fray. There were many Makassars killed in the second attack, but they neither killed nor wounded anyone.

“The minister, seeing that there was no way of overcoming these people, except by overwhelming force, detached four hundred men commanded by Ok-phra Jumbarat, to go above that spot to fight them, if they sought to pass that way, and at the same time disembarked near the stream, taking three thousand men with him, entered the flooded plain at this point, and marched towards his enemies; all the Frenchmen and Englishmen accompanied him. When we were in the plain, we saw from afar the enemy, who were desperately attacking the four hundred men who had gone to the upper part,

and who vigorously fought off their fury, and obliged them to withdraw to the shelter of the houses and the bamboos, pushing them ever to the upper part of the river. These musketeers [123] fired continuously, and gave no ground, whatever effort these furious assailants did to provoke them. Thus the Siamese, who had so poorly performed at the beginning, did wonders in the end. Some time after, this minister had two thousand two hundred men advance in a crescent; they had remained with him in the plain to link up with the four hundred in the upper part. They advanced as far as the bamboo hedges, carrying in front of them small very thin hurdles, which they fixed with stakes as they advanced towards the enemy; this was useful to stop the path of these madmen when they run amok.

“Monsieur Constance also had the rest of the armed barges advance to keep ever close to the enemy, to prevent them from swimming to the other side of the small stream, so that, seeing themselves attacked on all sides, they began to be afraid and to separate, to try and save their skins as best they could. Most withdrew in disorder into the houses, two in one house, three in another; some hid among the bamboos, and twenty-two took refuge into a mosque. The houses in which they were thought to be hiding were set on fire; most waited until the house had half burnt down before leaving, and then they left running [124] amok, throwing themselves into the most dense group of soldiers, lance and dagger in their hands, fighting until they dropped dead. Not one of those who withdrew into the houses or the bamboo grove did not die in this manner. The prince himself who had hidden behind a house, and who was wounded with a musket shot in his right shoulder, came out with his lance in his hand, and ran straight towards Monsieur Constance, who opposed his lance at him. The prince saw this, stopped, and seemed to wish to direct his lance at him, but at the same time he threw himself on an English captain, who was a little to his left. A Frenchman close to Monsieur Constance fired a musket at him, and killed him. Finally all the Makassars were killed

or taken. The twenty-two who had withdrawn into the mosque gave themselves up without fighting. Thirty-three others were taken, all covered in wounds. One of the sons of the prince, aged about twelve years, came to give himself up of his own accord. He was shown the body of his father, which he recognized, saying he was the cause of the loss of his nation, but he was very sorry to see him in such a condition, greatly blaming those who had killed him. Monsieur Constance ordered a Christian from Constantinople, in the King of Siam's service,⁴⁰ to look after him. [125] He was subsequently taken to France with one of his brothers.⁴¹

"Only forty-two bodies were found; the others had been drowned in the river. Most of them had corselets consisting of strips of metal linked together at the ends, in diminishing size, which allowed them much ease of movement. Not one had firearms, and they do not know how to use them. What makes them so redoubtable throughout the Orient is this fury which opium instantly inspires in them, making them very agile and insensible of wounds, in addition to the marvellous skill they have in thrusting lances and assegais,⁴² as well as using the sabre and the kris. This last weapon is the most dangerous of all those they employ. Most of these kris are made of poisoned steel, so that there is no remedy when one is wounded by them; furthermore they give such sweeping blows with these weapons that they can splice a man in two, and almost never [physically] hit anyone, but just kill them on the spot. Some also had long blowpipes from which they blew poisoned darts inserted in small pieces of wood. Some Siamese were wounded by them, and died three hours later. Several strips of paper and writing were found [126] on those who were dead; these contributed perhaps still more in making them bold.

"Only ten Siamese were killed in this whole affair, and those wounded had been hit by the darts from the blowpipes, and who died shortly after, as I have just said. So the Siamese only lost seventeen men at the time of this action, including the seven Europeans. The attack lasted

from half-past four in the morning to four in the afternoon. All the mandarins performed their duties very well, going to all the most dangerous spots with their sabres in their hands, and carrying out with exemplary promptitude all the minister's orders.⁴³ Finally everything being accomplished, Monsieur Constance gave the order to cut all the heads of the dead, and to exhibit them in their camp. He then left the scene to go and give an account to the king of what had occurred. His Majesty showed himself entirely satisfied with his conduct, while giving a gentle reprimand for having exposed himself to such danger, and ordered him to thank on his behalf the Frenchmen and Englishmen who had shared in his perils.⁴⁴

"I should add to this account, to show the steadfastness of the Makassars, what Fr de Fontaney⁴⁵ wrote about the punishment that four of them suffered [127]; they had been the king's soldiers, and had deserted the very day the uprising started. This caused the king to desire to make a notable example of them. I attempted, said this Father, to defer the agony of these unfortunates, to see if I could not inspire them to become Christians, imagining that such people who had already suffered much would be the more willing to listen to a doctrine which teaches the means of being ever content, because they had been tortured to a terrible extent, raining them with blows from sticks, inserting pegs under their nails, crushing their fingers, branding their arms, and squeezing their temples between two boards. Monsieur Le Clerc,⁴⁶ who knows their language, did all he could to win them over to Jesus Christ, but to no avail. So we were obliged to abandon them to their punishment. They were tied up with their hands and feet bound, their bodies naked, in so far as the modesty of these [Oriental] people who are very particular is able to permit this; and after having put them in this state, a tiger was set upon them. It only smelt all four of them, one after the other, and then looking around the enclosure, which was about fifteen feet high, it made a great effort to jump over the fence and escape. It was midday, and it had [128] not yet

touched the criminals, although they had been exposed there since seven in the morning. At this, the executioners became impatient, and withdrew the tiger to fasten tightly these poor creatures to thick stakes. This posture was enough to excite the anger of the tiger, who killed three before nightfall, and in the night the fourth. The executioners restrained this cruel animal with two chains strung between two sides of the enclosure, and pulled it, whether it wished it or no, towards the criminals. What was extraordinary, was that one never heard them complain, or even sigh. One saw his foot eaten by the tiger, without even moving it, another without uttering a cry, had all the bones in his arms crushed. A third allowed it to lick the blood which flowed from his face, without averting his eyes and without flinching. Only one moved at his post, in order to avoid seeing and meeting this incensed beast, but he finally died with the same fortitude as the others.⁴⁷

Edward Udall's account

Another text of some importance detailing the Makassar revolt is cited by Anderson (1890, 287-9). This is by Edward Udall, brother of Captain Henry Udall of the *Herbert*, who lost his life in the affair. Edward wrote his account to another brother with erratic spelling and non-existent punctuation, and as it is less well known than Samuel White's version, and has not to our knowledge been reprinted since 1890, it is reproduced here.⁴⁸

"The Muccossoes of which there is a great many of them about Siam a month before we came Rebelled but had the worst of it and hundred there heads set upon poles and fearing they might Rise againe there Going the 13 of Sept about 30 or 40 of them to ye Pallice And sent ye King word they came to treat with him he sent to them to deliver up their Cresses [kris] and armes and they should be admitte they Returned ye King this answer yt it was not there way to treate unarmed for they knew ye King of Siam very well and had those sent out to discourse them tell there King they ware like a great tree

yt could not be removed but where it stood must fall and yt if there King had anything to say to them he might come to them for they knew where they livd this hapned in ye afternoone the Lord Phalken and Rest of ye Lords had order for making all things Ready to Rewen there Camp ye next morning which they beleaved might containe about 70 persons which they found after they had destroyed them to be so... to ye performance of it ware sent att ye lest 15 thousand Siamers towards ye evening word was brought me Brother was going with his Honour to Bankoak to se yt ye Castell was secured for fear ye Muccossoes should attempt to Rise this tale was not Quite told me before another came and told me he was goeing with his honour to ye Pallice, a third by that he had well don comes and tells me He was only goeing with his lord ship to order ye men of war to be in good Readiness in case if any thing should happen and to se that they ware well provided that they might not be surprised I was satisfied not mistrusting any thing in ye lest about 6 a clock Brother sent for me I was at a Genl house Just going to suppe but would not tarrey but promised if could would come to them againe when came to his Honours they ware all gon and Mr. Basspoole⁴⁹ His Honor Secretarey told me my Brother left word with him to bid me keepe our Dores securely fast and load all our gunns for it was likely to be a troublesome night and yt he was gon aboard ye men of warr to accompany his honours I then inquired what was ye matter which Mr. Basspoole told me and that they ware gon to destroy them and In that night they fenst them all Round with bambooes that they could make no isscape but in ye morning when they went about there desine nothing would searve brother and one or two more but they would goe a shoare for they ware vropians and thouse dogg If they saw [?] them but land would Runn from them although they ware perswaided to ye contrary and told they ware Desperate Villings and would Runn to ye mussells of there gunns and Crease them yet this advice could not disswaid them a shoare they would goe and ware no sooner landed but Mr.

Alvie that was one savd when the pinnis was cast a way was Immediately creast Capt Coats one of the King of Siams men of Warr Captaines was nockt in to ye water and Drowned and Brother with some more being landed in a place half a mile from them was Immediately kild his wounds being searcht (at ye Dutch Factory where he was buried) by the Dutch Doctor who found on ye left side of the heve the bones broak with great contusion and ye utmost parts ye mussells of ye neck wounded about the Right eare ye fleshy part at ye back side of the Right vpper arme cutt off the left Os Humeri above ye abouemost Epiphisys broak by two bullets the brest pearced in between ye third and fourth Ribb on ye right side and Issuing on ye left side between the 2 and 3 Ribb Hirted by 2 spatts aboue ye Os Sternon the muscils of ye belly about ye place where ye stomach lies pearced through and through and ye back with 8 severall wounds whereof one did penitrait aboue ye second vertebra of ye Raine. this is an Exack coppey of ye paper ye Dutch doctor gave me and word for word write after him.”

Edward Udall may be a poor speller and unaware of punctuation, but gives an accurate idea of the wounds inflicted by the Makassars.

Davenport, Martin, and Gervaise

Davenport, White’s unwilling secretary, adds a detail, quoted by Anderson,⁵⁰ which other sources do not give: Phaulkon narrowly escaped being killed in the attack on the Makassar camp, and would have died had not “a strong black Cafer [Kaffir] flung him into the river and swam with him to the boat” he was to escape in.

Yet another variant on the account of the Makassar revolt is found in François Martin’s *Mémoires*, vol. II⁵¹. Martin, the director of the French outpost at Pondichéry, was not an eye-witness, but was informed by letters from the French factory in Ayutthaya of events there and was able to supplement his information from Forbin, who unexpectedly appeared in Pondichéry on the French Company vessel the *Saint-Louis* at the beginning of 1687:

“It happened at this time that a body of Makassars, who were established in Siam [Ayutthaya] and had their quarter there, conspired in a plot, according to what was said, to kill the king and put in his place one of his brothers or a prince of their nation who had escaped with them from Makassaer where he ran the risk of losing his life following revolutions which had occurred in those islands. The plot was discovered before it could take place; Mr. Constance [Phaulkon], who was then in a strong position, took on the task of destroying this group. He assembled Siamese and native Christians [of Portuguese descent], joined by twelve or fifteen Frenchmen as well as some English under Captain... [there were two captains, the sea captain Udall and the military captain Coates]; this body of men advanced over the water to the Makassar quarter. These persons, who numbered at most two hundred, warned of the attack on them, were prepared for it. Not every precaution was taken after going on shore before attacking them, the attackers threw themselves on them without taking account of order or rank; the Makassars, with typical determination and resolution, swooped down on this body of men and sent them off in rout, with Mr Constance running the risk of losing his life and being obliged to withdraw. Four Frenchmen were killed: Sieur de Rouen, a private merchant who had been in Siam two or three years; a Company clerk; and two others. The English captain [both Udall and Coates died] fell fully armed into the river where he drowned; two other Englishmen died there. The Makassars foresaw at once that the attack would be renewed and that no quarter would be given; it is said that some killed their mothers and their children while awaiting the second attack.

“Mr Constance, having escaped this predicament, took better precautions. They returned to the attack, the prince was killed there, two of his sons were made prisoner. The older of whom, fourteen years old, only gave himself up after seeing his father lifeless and his body covered with wounds. Some Makassars were killed, others escaped into the woods, and were given

chase. Some perished there, their arms in their hands. Fifty took to a boat to save themselves..." The account follows of the boat being intercepted by Forbin in Bangkok and the subsequent slaughter of the Siamese.

The Company vessel the *Coche* arrived in Pondichéry on 4 January 1687 with further letters from Phaulkon: "The two sons of the Makassar prince killed in Siam [Ayutthaya] in the uprising were on board the *Coche*. Mr Constance wrote that they should be sent to France; it was feared that by leaving them in Siam they might become over time leaders of a group to avenge the death of their father."⁵² Phaulkon's method of disposing of unwanted persons in Siam was somewhat cavalier; he pushed the responsibility for the two Makassar princelings onto Martin and the French.

One person, the French missionary Nicholas Gervaise, one might have expected to say something about the Makassars, since he was present in Ayutthaya during the revolt, escorted back to France the two sons of the Makassar prince and even published a history of the kingdom of Makassar (*Description Historique du Royaume de Macassar, 1688*), says virtually nothing about the affair of 1686. He contents himself with writing: "The Moors, who also [in addition to the Dutch] carry on a substantial trade in the country, are scarcely less to be feared. If Monsieur Constance, the first minister of state, had not discovered their conspiracy and if he had not been crafty enough to prevent it being carried out, it would have been the end of the king and the kingdom of Siam. These wretches would undoubtedly have made themselves masters of this kingdom, and, as they are the most fervently religious of all Muslims, it is certain that they would not have allowed the practice of any other religion throughout the length and breadth of the land..."⁵³ One assumes to the subject to have been too much of a hot potato to warrant, in Gervaise's view, further discussion at this time.

The French Missionaries' account

However, Gervaise's reticence is compensated by the fairly short official record of the Makassar revolt which appears in the *Journal de la Mission*.⁵⁴ No date for the event is given. It is here quoted, in translation, in full:

"There occurred here a plot which could doubtless have had untoward consequences if it has not been discovered by extreme good fortune. Here is what we have been able to learn of it.

"About eight months ago a Makassar, who was second in charge in his camp, decided to revolt against the King of Siam. He claimed having seen in the skies an extraordinary sign, seven stars in the form of a crescent and another star between the two extremities of the crescent. 'I have only seen this sign,' he said, 'three times in my life. The other two times, terrible revolutions occurred in the realm. This time what could this foretell? Could it not be that some misfortune might overcome the religion of Muhammad which we observe? Could it be that some great good fortune would fall to its followers? But if our religion were attacked, would we not willingly defend it at the cost of our blood and our lives?'

"Having sounded out with this discourse the opinions of his compatriots, and prepared them to undertake anything, he won them over one after the other, and had them agree to revolt against the king. He also won over the prince in his camp, and a few Siamese mandarins. They resolved to attack the palace, to pillage its treasury, to free all the prisoners, who are very numerous and ready to undertake a bold enterprise, to kill the king, and place on the throne his brother, to have him embrace their religion, and to kill all those who did not also wish to embrace it. They only waited for the moment to carry out these plans. But two or three hours before the time they had arranged for the plot to go into effect, a mandarin, who was part of the plot, either because he was horrified at his perfidy, or else because he feared it would not succeed, came to warn the governor of



the city [Ayutthaya], who assembled with exceptional diligence his soldiers which he posted in the palace and in several other parts of the city. At the same time, the king learnt at Louvo [Lopburi] all that was being hatched against him, and had assembled a large number of soldiers who watched over his palace day and night. A few days later, Mr Constance came down to [the city of] Siam. As there was talk of seizing the head of this plot, their leader proudly said he would die rather than submit himself, and that if he were attacked, he would defend himself with courage. Mr Constance went to tell him to come to him, assuring him that no ill would befall him. With this assurance he allowed his hands to be tied and a rope to be placed round his neck, and went to find Mr Constance in this condition. He was at once assured that he would not be harmed, provided he told the truth, and then he was freed and taken to Louvo. They kept their promise, and he confessed what we have related of the plot.

“At the same time as he gave himself up, another Makassar captain, who was also invited to surrender, would hear nothing of it. He said that if they wished, he would withdraw from the kingdom. Mr Constance granted his permission for him to embark with fifty other Makassars; but he immediately sent an order to Mr Forbin to close the chain [across the river] at Bangkok and to arrest them by ruse when they asked for the chain to be removed. Mr Forbin had his men ready for this; the captain came to the fort with eight companions to speak with him, he discussed matters with him very correctly for a time, but when he asked them to hand over their kris, which is a kind of dagger which they always carry at their belts, they unsheathed them on the spot, taking no account of the number of soldiers surrounding them. They hacked a path between them and jumped down from the crenellations of the fort, after killing four of five persons. The soldiers who were posted outside the fort ran up to them and attacked them; the other [Makassars], who had remained on board the galley, threw themselves on the soldiers which Mr de Forbin had posted on all sides.

They killed twenty of them, put the rest to flight, notwithstanding their number and the example and the exhortations of Mr de Forbin, who fought on this occasion with great courage and presence of mind. They killed women and children, and all those they met in their path, and then withdrew into the forest. Mr de Forbin followed them there, and after hunting for them some days, finally found them and eliminated them.

“However, there were still insurgents in the Makassar camp [in Ayutthaya], their prince held firm, and it was to be feared that they would cause some havoc. Mr Constance, accompanied by Mr de La Marre [sic], a French engineer, had them invested by Siamese soldiers; the Englishman Mr Coche [Coates] threw grenades into their camp, but they outran him, and killed him. Mr Constance fired on them, but a Siamese mandarin failed to bring up his troops to the position he had been ordered to seize, and the Makassars, after killing this mandarin and seven of his slaves, fled into their camp through this poorly defended position, and crossing an arm of the river, they moved into another camp [that] of the Malays. Mr Constance, with some Englishmen and Frenchmen in the service of the King of Siam, disembarked from his barge. At that moment, the captain of the French godown [Véret] who hearing the noise of the mangonels and muskets had gone on board his boat with several Frenchmen, both from the godown and from the *Saint-Louis*,⁵⁵ came up to where Mr Constance was; seeing him on land they all immediately went to join him. They were on the point of being surrounded by some thirty Makassars who came up in front of them, with many others on either side. Seeing that the Makassars were surrounding them on all sides, they tried to withdraw to their barge. Two Frenchmen wanted to hold fast, after killing several Makassars, but were themselves killed with several blows from the krisses and lances. Two other Frenchmen, wishing to return to their barge, were drowned; two Englishmen also died then. The captain of the French godown hesitated and a Makassar was preparing

preparing a terrible blow from a lance, when Mr de Beaumont, captain of the *Saint-Louis*, killed this Makassar with a shot from his musket and quickly held out an oar for the captain, thus twice saving his life. Numerous Siamese soldiers were brought up to this position where the Makassars were enclosed. They retreated into a nearby temple; they were forced from this place, and finally they were exterminated.

“Indeed, I do not know any people in the world as bold as these Makassars. When they have taken opium and they are amok⁵⁶ which is the term they use to say they must act like madmen, there are no perils they will not face; the number of their adversaries does not frighten them in the least, any more than the death of their companions. Though wounded and blood-stained, they fight to their last breath; they are nimble and can jump on a man from a great distance. They die happy provided they have killed. Their visual appearance is frightful. Sometimes after having been struck by a mortal blow, they rise up again and use the remaining thread of their life to kill their enemy. They fight with their krisses which they vow never to separate from, and with lances and spears which they manipulate with considerable address and strength. They also have small needles which they blow from blowpipes; their tips are covered with a poison which knows virtually no remedy. Seen among them were children fighting with a furor which belied their age; the horrible cries were heard of the women who were burnt alive in their houses; one was seen following a Makassar in his flight, and he turned round and delivered a blow from his kris which killed her. Several charms were mentioned which they use to make themselves invulnerable and to deflect the effects of firearms, but they were to no avail on this occasion.”

Discussion

One can divide the episodes of the revolt into nine phases, and compare above all the record of La Mare (LM) with that of Samuel White

(SW), the French Missionaries (ME), and add the accounts of François Martin (FM), Claude de Forbin (CF), and Francis Davenport (FD).

A. *Origins of the Makassars in Ayutthaya*

LM: A son of the King of Makassar escaped the Dutch and sought permission with his followers to settle in Ayutthaya; this was granted.

SW and ME: No mention of the origins of the Makassars in Ayutthaya.

FM: The Makassar prince was the risk of losing his life after the revolutions in the Celebes.

CF: A prince of Makassar with about 300 followers, fleeing Dutch oppression, took refuge in Siam.

B. *The hatching of the Makassar plot*

LM: The Makassar prince “five years ago” (in 1682?) devised a plot to kill the King of Siam and place the king’s younger brother on the throne, who would in turn abdicate and be replaced by a Makassar or a Champa prince. The Malay and Makassar camps were told to be alert. The plot was to be carried out on 15 August (Gregorian).

SW and ME: The Makassars conspired to seize the palace and kill the king.

FM: The Makassars conspired to kill the king and replace him with one of his brothers or a prince of their nation.

CF: The Makassar prince conspired with the princes of Cambodia, Malaya, and Champa to kill Narai and share power.

C. *Phaulkon alerted to the plot and countermeasures taken*

LM: A brother of two conspiring Cham princes, working in the Lopburi palace, took unopened a suspiciously-delivered letter to Phaulkon giving details of the plot. Phaulkon informed Narai who took precautionary measures. 3,000 palace guards were assembled in Ayutthaya. Forbin was sent to Bangkok. 5,000 palace guards were put on alert in Lopburi. A Muslim cleric, seeing all lost, decides to reveal the plot.

SW: “the faintheartedness of some few of the Conspirators [gave] vent to the Plot” some six

hours before it was to be carried out. Narai sent Phaulkon to the palace in Ayutthaya.

ME: The governor of Ayutthaya is alerted to the plot by a mandarin who was part of it, and takes countermeasures.

D. The Malays back out of the plot

LM: 300 Malays did not agree to the plot *before* it was revealed, but were assembled by the Makassars. They fled, and the Makassars withdrew into their camp. The Malays sought the king's pardon and obtained it. The Makassars refused to seek it.

SW: Some 200 Malays, *after* the discovery of the plot, surrendered, some were put to death.

ME: No mention of the Malays.

E. Attempts to bring the Makassars to reason

LM: The Makassar prince was summoned by Narai to account for himself. He refused to go, pleading illness at one point. Ok-phra Chula was used as an intermediary.

SW: Narai offered pardon if the Makassars laid down their arms. The Makassars refused to part with their arms and the prince withdrew into his camp.

ME: Phaulkon parleys with the Makassar chief who refuses to hand himself over. Finally he agreed to have his hands tied and a rope placed around his neck (this seems highly unlikely, from what one knows of the Makassars), and appeared before Phaulkon untied. He was taken to Lopburi where he disclosed details of the plot.

F. The Makassar galley stopped at Bangkok

LM: The Makassar galley arrived from Ayutthaya at Bangkok on 27 August (Gregorian) and was on the point of leaving when the conspiracy broke; the captain was involved in it and decided to leave *before* the attack on the Makassar camp. The details then follow CF. Beauregard was incapacitated. In the end all the Makassars were killed.

SW: Some 50 Makassars pretended to be ignorant of the plot and left in their vessel for Bangkok, where they were detained by Forbin;

this was *before* the attack on the Makassar camp in Ayutthaya. In Bangkok, they refused to disarm and a bloodbath followed. Captain Hues (Hughes?) killed, one Minchin narrowly escaped. Three days later 40 Malay vessels were found sailing off the Bar of Siam.

FM: The galley left Ayutthaya *after* the attack on the Makassar camp, but otherwise agrees with Forbin in his summary account; all the Makassars being eventually killed. There is no mention of Siamese losses, which Forbin gives as considerable.

CF: As one would expect, Forbin gives very full details of the whole affair at Bangkok, including Beauregard's brush with death. 366, mostly Siamese, died for 17 Makassars on the first day alone.

ME: At the same time as the Makassar chief in Ayutthaya was parleying, another Makassar captain, not wishing to cede, offered to leave the kingdom. Phaulkon gave orders for the chain at Bangkok to be placed across the river and his boat stopped. The rest follows the other accounts.

G. The attack on the Makassar camp (Julian 14 Sep, Gregorian 24 Sep)

LM: 5,400 men assembled for the attack on 24 September (Gregorian). Captain Udall, newly arrived on the *Herbert*, was co-opted. Ok-luang Mahamontri with 1,500 men sent to attack in first wave. Ok-phra Chula with 1,000 men to cut off any Makassar retreat. Sixty barges and 22 galleys were assembled, with 1,000 men facing the Makassar camp. The signal for attack given at 4.30 am; in the dark in the confusion Ok-luang Mahamontri killed. At 5.30 am Mr Coates, captain of a vessel of the King of Siam attacked from the river; Coates was hit on the head and died. The Makassars then abandoned their camp. The French factor Véret brought some 20 Frenchmen to join battle. Phaulkon was preparing to fight but the Makassars turning about-face forced a withdrawal. Six Europeans killed in all (Udall, Coates, de Rouen, the clerk Milon, and a French trumpeter and a farrier; Alvey of the *Herbert*

is not mentioned). Ok-phra Jumbarat was dispatched with 400 men, Phaulkon attacked with 2,200 more. Houses in the camp were set on fire. Fifty-five Makassars were taken prisoner, the rest killed; 42 bodies were found. Only 17 Siamese were lost in all; 10 in the attack, the rest from poised blowpipes soon afterwards. The attack ended at 4 pm.

SW: 100 Makassars with their prince defended their camp. Phaulkon and 60 Europeans blocked the river and surrounded the camp with about 200 galleys and barges. This took place on Tuesday 14 September (Julian). Alvey of the *Herbert* killed. Coates retreated from the camp and died from the weight of his armour and arms. Udall advanced too soon and was killed. Phaulkon had followed the impatient Udall, was forced to retreat, and hang on to the side of his boat, four Frenchmen were killed, including de Rouen. At 10 am more Siamese troops arrived, and the total was then 7-8,000. About 3 pm the fight ended, and no quarter was given.

FD: 60 Englishmen, 7,000 "Siamers", and "some French" took part in the attack; four French died (including de Rouen) as well as Udall and Coates. Phaulkon only saved after the first failed attack by a "strong black Kaffir". Alvey is not mentioned by name but one unnamed "gentleman that came out of England" with Udall also died.

FM: 200 Makassars were ready for the attack, Phaulkon was obliged to withdraw at first; four Frenchmen were killed. Phaulkon returned to the attack and succeeded.

EU: Mentions "Alvie" of the *Herbert* killed (more precisely, he was "Creasd", i.e. krissed).

CF: Forbin says the attack in Ayutthaya took place *after* the capture of the Makassar galley, and was in two stages. The first took place two months before the second, when Phaulkon assembled more than 20,000 men under the command of 40 Europeans, French, English, and Dutch; 17 Europeans and more than 1,000 Siamese were killed, and Phaulkon himself nearly died, saved by a slave. After further parleys came the second attack two months later,

when bamboos studded with nails were hidden in the water to obstruct the passage of the Makassars, who "were shot dead standing." All died.

ME: This account largely follows the other texts. Beaumont is named as the captain of the *Saint-Louis* and saving Véret. This version ends like Tachard with a comment on the nature, appearance, and weapons of the Makassars.

H. The death of the Makassar prince, son(s) taken in custody

LM: The prince was wounded but tried to kill Phaulkon. A Frenchman standing close by shot him dead. One of the prince's sons aged about 12 was shown his father's body. Phaulkon ordered "a Christian from Constantinople" to look after him. Afterwards he was taken to France with one of his brothers.

SW: The prince was killed by a captain in Phaulkon's lifeguard. The prince's son, a boy of about 12 years, fell to Phaulkon's feet and was taken to Narai unbound. No other son is mentioned.

FM: The prince was killed, two of his sons were taken prisoner, the elder of whom, 14 years old, only gave himself up on seeing his father's corpse. No details of Makassars or Siamese dead are given. Phaulkon ordered Martin to send the prince's sons to France on the *Coche*.

CF: Only the prince's two sons were saved in Ayutthaya; they were taken to Lopburi and afterwards sent to France with Father Tachard.

ME: No mention of the fate of the Makassar chiefs.

I. Punishments administered to surviving insurrectionaries.

LM: (in fact Fontaney at this juncture) Four Makassar soldiers were tortured, and eaten alive by tigers. The punishments of others are not detailed.

SW: The day after the attack "what Men and Women remained (for many of the latter were burnt in their Houses with their Children) were taken prisoner by the Siammers."

ME: No mention of punishments; all the Makassars were "exterminated".

One should note in passing that Phaulkon showed singular courage on this occasion; he had many faults, and many critics, but could not be accused of pusillanimity in this affair. Indeed, King Narai was right to reproach him for being over-bold and exposing himself to danger.

The different accounts are inevitably contradictory in details, but it does appear, Forbin notwithstanding (and he was not witness to events in Ayutthaya), that losses on the Siamese side in Ayutthaya, not Bangkok, were surprisingly light, and that only 7 Europeans supporting the Siamese died (3 English, 4 French). The chief subject of dispute is the nature of the attack on the Makassar camp in two parts. It seems highly unlikely to have been as long as two months apart, as Forbin would have it; that would have given the Makassars too much time to prepare their defence.⁵⁷ The attack seems much more likely to have taken place on one day, as La Mare has it, and in two phases: the first 4.30 am to 10 am, then some time after 10 am to 3-4 pm. La Mare has a three month period of expecting untoward events. The date given for the carrying out of the plot by La Mare is 15 August. This is not improbable if the assault on the Makassar quarter took place on 24 September.

Conclusion

From the accounts cited, it can be seen that not only is La Mare's account longer, as recorded (and perhaps touched up) by Tachard, it is also far more detailed. It may, on that account, be more accurate. It gives some names of several Siamese officials taking part in events. The Missionary account proves that La Mare was in Ayutthaya at the time of the revolt, and apparently played a valorous part in the event. White seems to have been present in Ayutthaya, though sick, to give an account of himself to Phaulkon (Hutchinson 1940: 140-2), who was less than pleased with his activities in the Bay of Bengal, though the shahbandar should have been at post in Mergui.

Logic requires that the attack on the Makassar camp in Ayutthaya (containing some 200-300 persons) took place on one day, as La Mare has it, and from the accounts we have apparently in two phases, the first being somewhat uncoordinated, and the second better prepared and disciplined. There was clearly an interval between the discovery of the Makassar plot and the attack on the Makassar camp; since attempts were made to bring the Makassar prince to fealty, the interval could have been as long as five to six weeks, but two months seems, even by Siamese standards, excessively long.

Alain Forest (1998, I 372) was to write:

Although Phaulkon appears as the victor over the [Makassar] "conspiracy", although one could reassure oneself by attributing its strength to the exceptional courage of a fanatical race drugged by opium, although order was subsequently re-established in the kingdom, the suddenness and violence of the event gave rise to anxiety as foreshadowing what could one day occur on a much larger scale. Among the missionaries, for example, in particular in the bishop [Laneau], the Makassar revolt gave rise to dark forebodings: it was the first indication of a period of "crisis".

Bèze (1968: 52,58) who arrived in Siam in September 1687, simply sees the "uprising of the Makassars" as part of Phetracha's strategy of turning the king against his two half-brothers. Le Blanc (1692, I 29-30), who arrived at the same time as de Bèze, only mentions the Makassars in passing: "His Majesty took advantage of the occasion [of throwing to the tigers a Malay who late January 1688 declared to the king that the French and Phaulkon were plotting against him] to burn alive those who remained of the Makassars from the last conspiracy; the execution took place in Siam [Ayutthaya] in the very camp of the Malays to inspire terror in those who might have similar intentions." He also mentions that both Narai's brothers were implicated in the "unfortunate plot of the Makassars" (1692, I 19-20).

The revolt was certainly more important than the two Jesuits appear to maintain: it was the only uprising recorded in Ayutthaya during King Narai's reign, and a more unfortunate outcome was only averted more by good luck than judgement. Phaulkon fought bravely, and nearly lost his life; the losses among the Siamese and the foreigners who fought with him in Ayutthaya were surprisingly light, especially when one considers the slaughter that took place in stopping the Makassar galley in Bangkok. The Royal Chronicles alas pass over the revolt in silence. La Mare's detailed account is therefore all the more valuable.

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Appendix

A letter from Mr Samuel White to his Brother in London Dated in Siam, Sept. 20. 1686, Giving a full Account of the Late Rebellion made by the People of Macasser, Inhabiting in that Country, which ended with the Death of all the Rebels, who were totally Destroy'd by the Kings Forces, Assisted by some Europeans, of several Nations, amongst whom Capt. Henry Udall, and some others of our Countrymen most unhappily lost their Lives.

[photocopy]

15,487 words (including notes)

Note

- ¹ See Forbin, ed. Smithies, 1996, 97-119.
- ² Hitherto untranslated, and not to our knowledge reproduced since 1689.
- ³ Narai, reigned 1656-1688.
- ⁴ The VOC, the Dutch United East India Company.
- ⁵ Phaulkon, "Mr Constance" to the French, a Greek adventurer who rose to high office towards the end of King Narai's reign. He was not chief minister, and held no official position,

but, without the title, occupied the functions of *phra khlung*, minister of foreign affairs and trade.

⁶ La Mare (sometimes Lamarre) had gone to Siam with the Chaumont-Choisy embassy in 1685. Like Forbin, he was asked to stay on by King Narai, and given charge of drawing up plans for the defences of various towns in the country. Though not a trained engineer, he was a gifted amateur, and seems to have done his work competently.

⁷ It seems highly unlikely that Tachard could have acquired this information in Batavia; he must have obtained it in Siam from La Mare after his arrival in September 1687.

⁸ Speelman, seeking to gain control of the spice trade, attacked Makassar in 1666, and its king, Hassanudin, after four months of fighting, was forced to submit in 1667 under the Treaty of Bongaya (Bongias). The forts were dismantled, the Dutch were granted a monopoly of trade, all Europeans except the Dutch were expelled, and the king had to pay a huge indemnity.

⁹ Ayutthaya had a number of foreign quarters, known as camps, notably the Portuguese, Malay, and Cochin-Chinese.

¹⁰ The Chao Phya River.

¹¹ Unidentified.

¹² In fact a half-brother, Chao Fa Noi. The story which follows has to be treated with caution. Bèze (Hutchinson, 1968: 53) says of Chao Fa Apithot, the elder, not the younger half-brother: “for one reason or another he was accused of treasonable intelligence with the Malays against the King’s Person and thereafter kept in strict confinement within the Palace.” No date is given for this.

¹³ The once-important kingdom of Champa was in terminal decline, squeezed out of existence by the advancing Vietnamese; many Chams had abandoned Hinduism and adopted Islam out of desperation.

¹⁴ The page is actually marked “111” in the first edition to appear of Tachard’s *Second Voyage*...

¹⁵ Lopburi, where King Narai resided in preference to Ayutthaya.

¹⁶ “Seigneur Constance”, as Tachard was to insist during the La Loubère-Céberet mission that Phaulkon should be styled.

¹⁷ Spelt “Fourbin” by Tachard. Forbin, like La Mare, had been retained in Siam on the departure of the 1685 embassy, and made governor of Bangkok and its fort.

¹⁸ It would seem possible that all this might be ordered by Phaulkon, but the text is clear that it was the king who so ordered.

¹⁹ Two Chams and one Makassar.

²⁰ Gregorian calendar, followed at this juncture by France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Prussia, the Catholic German states, Switzerland, Holland, Flanders, Poland and Hungary, and in 1686 ten days in advance of the Julian calendar, still followed by the Protestant German and Netherland states (until 1700) as well as by Great Britain and its colonies (until 1753, by when the Julian calendar was eleven days in arrears).

²¹ *Moca, Moca* in Tachard.

²² A small opening in a parapet of a fortified building.

²³ Hues (Hughes?) according to Samuel White’s letter of 20 September 1688 to his brother George.

²⁴ Forbin himself gives a similar account of the attacks of the Makassars in Bangkok in his memoirs; see *The Siamese Memoirs of Count Claude de Forbin 1685-1688*, ed. Smithies, 1996, 97-119. Forbin gives no dates for his encounter with the Makassars, which is not surprising, since his memoirs were first published only in 1729, forty-three years after the events he describes at this juncture.

²⁵ A Buddhist *wat*.

²⁶ Nine being a magic number throughout the Indies.

²⁷ Priests of the Missions Etrangères, the French Foreign Missions, in Ayutthaya.

²⁸ This section on the deathbed conversions of four Makassars may be in part an intrusion of Tachard, one of the sections he indicated before beginning his quotation from La Mare where “some details” had been added. But Forbin writes of two deathbed conversions in Bangkok, and one refusal to apostatize, having a Makassar

say "If I am to die, what matters it whether I stay with God or the devil?" Perhaps Forbin, published in 1729 (1996: 115) is quoting from Tachard's published text of 1689.

²⁹ The Chevalier de Chaumont on his mission to Siam in 1685.

³⁰ This puff for Phaulkon is almost certainly an addition of Tachard, wishing to place "the minister" in the most favourable light for his readers.

³¹ Samuel White's letter to his brother relating the whole affair is dated 20 September 1686; it would appear that the difference between the Julian (followed by England) and Gregorian (followed by France) calendars (England being ten days behind France) accounts in part for the discrepancy. White gives 14 September for the final attack, which is indeed ten days earlier than that given by La Mare/Tachard.

³² Spelt Yjoudal by Tachard; White gives Udall.

³³ About 2 km.

³⁴ This would seem to be La Mare speaking.

³⁵ Probably the Cachon, previously mentioned.

³⁶ So spelt by White. Tachard has Cotse.

³⁷ The implication is that the Makassars were giving no quarter, not even to their own kin.

³⁸ Captain Henry Udall arrived with the *Herbert* at the mouth of the Chao Phya on 23 August 1686 bearing a letter from James II to Phaulkon thanking him for presents sent to the English court in 1684.

³⁹ Forbin has a great deal to say about the Sieur de Rouen (spelt Roüan by Tachard), in his *Mémoires*. Phaulkon had put him in prison for not selling him a cargo of sandalwood he had at the price Phaulkon offered him; Véret, the French factor, had complained to the king; Phaulkon sought the aid of Forbin, who informed the king that as Rouen was a Protestant, he was no longer a Frenchman. Finally Rouen was released and the matter patched up; sufficiently for Rouen to die in support of Phaulkon and King Narai.

⁴⁰ One is constantly surprised at the cosmopolitan nature of the court of King Narai.

⁴¹ They were put on a French East Indies Company vessel, the *Coche*, shortly after, and travelled to Pondichéry, thence to France. Véret warned the directors of the company that they should not allowed to approach His Majesty for fear of their killing him. They were, though, baptised at Versailles on 3 February 1688 and were taken into the navy. The elder committed suicide by stabbing himself. The younger was said to have "the colour, looks, and manners of an uncouth black. Never had the Jesuits made such a poor purchase than in bringing to France these two Makassar princes. They were a shame to humanity." A-F. Delandes-Boureau, *Histoire de M. Constance...*(1756: 29-30)

⁴² Iron-tipped spears of hardwood.

⁴³ One suspects this is an insertion from Tachard. Most of the French military had a poor opinion of Siamese ability in the battlefield (confirmed by the action of Ok-luang Mahamontri at the beginning of this affair), but Tachard was later, in 1687, to agree with Phaulkon to having mixed Siamese and French troops in the Bangkok fort, to the fury of the French envoys-extraordinary La Loubère and Céberet.

⁴⁴ La Mare's account apparently ends here.

⁴⁵ Fr de Fontaney was the leader of the six Jesuits (including Tachard) who had set off for China via Siam in 1685. He was not able, because of lack of transport and then shipwreck, finally to leave Siam until June 1687, arriving in Peking in February 1688.

⁴⁶ Unidentified; he does not figure among the French missionaries operating in Siam in the period 1680-1689.

⁴⁷ Fontaney is most likely to have written this account soon after returning from his shipwreck off Cambodia mid-September 1686 and before his departure for China in June 1687. Tachard did not arrive on his second journey to Siam until 26 September 1687, and must have acquired Fontaney's written account between then and his final departure for China on 3 January 1688.

⁴⁸ Anderson gives the source as India Office Records O.C. 5574.

⁴⁹ Joseph Bashpool is named by Alexander Hamilton (1727, 1997 166) as Phaulkon's



English secretary.

⁵⁰ Anderson 1890: 289; his source his Davenport's Historical Abstract, 14 (India Office EIC Charters and Pamphlets, Mss Eur.D.300).

⁵¹ François Martin, *Mémoires*, 3 vols, 1932-34, in M. Smithies, *A Resounding Failure: Martin and the French in Siam 1672-1693*, 1998, 42-44, 48.

⁵² Martin, II, 460.

⁵³ Gervaise, ed. Villiers, 1989: 62-3.

⁵⁴ Archives des Missions Etrangères, vol.879, p.520, cited by Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la Mission de Siam 1662-1811* (Paris, Tequi, 1920), *Documents*, vol.1, pp.193-195.

⁵⁵ Belonging to the French Indies Company.

⁵⁶ *Lamoc* is the spelling used in the text.

⁵⁷ I have elsewhere (Forbin 1996: 98 n.1) too literally interpreted Forbin to have the first attack in Ayutthaya taking place in July. On examination of La Mare's and other texts this seems unlikely.



Appendix

[1]

A
L E T T E R

From Mr. *Samuel White*, to his Brother in
L O N D O N,

Dated in *S I A M*, Sept. 20. 1686.

Giving a full Account of the *Late Rebellion* made by the People of *Macassar*, Inhabiting in that Country, which ended with the Death of all the Rebels, who were totally Destroy'd by the Kings Forces, Assisted by some *Europeans*, of several Nations, amongst whom *Capt. Henry Odell*, and some others of our Countrymen most Unhappily lost their Lives.

IN the past Month, when his Majesty with the whole Court were retired to the *Summer Palace of the Lees*; the *Macassers* (who you know are seated below the *Portuguese Camp*) Conspired to have burnt the City, Seized and Murdered the Palace, Destroyed the King, and turned all Topley-Jurvy, had not the faith-heredness of some few of the Conspirators given vent to the Plot, about six hours before the designed time of their beginning to put it in Execution; which discovery, how late soever, came yet time enough to prevent the attempt for that time, the Vigilance of the Guards, rendering it unfeasible: The King on notice hereof dispatches the Lord *Shaftesbury* (who is Lord President of his Privy Council) from Court, to the Palace of *Siam*, to examine and take cognizance of the matter, on whose arrival there, a Party to the number of about Two hundred surrender'd themselves to the Kings Mercy, and were sent up to *Lees*, where some of them were notwithstanding found worthy of Death; another Party to the number of fifty headed by a designing and daring fellow, whom they had made their Captain,

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tain, pretended to be weary of the Plot and with all eagerness, gave for Liberty to capture the Kingdom, in a Vessel of their own which was in a readiness to wait for them: To which his Lordship, willing to have the Country rid of such dangerous Main-Invaders, by any way, rather than be obliged to give up, consented, and gave them a Letter to pass the Bars at *Bombay*; but after their Departure from thence, being Inform'd the said Captain was not so innocent of the Plot as he had pretended, and fearing that such a Crew, Headed by such a Dejected, might do much mischief by Landing at the Bay, and Surprising the small Vessels that daily pass to and fro, to the great prejudice of the Port; He instantly dispatch'd an Express to the Chief Governour of the Garrison, one *Alonzo Fortes*, a *Frenchman*, and great Favourite of his Lordships, to in order him, that not to stop the Vessel, (yet if possible to be done without Bloodshed) to detain the said *Master*, Captain, Prisoner in the Fort. To this *And Fortes*, on the Landing of four or five of them, to show their pails before he would permit the opening of the Chain, sent them on board again, with an Invitation for their said Captain to come on shore, who accordingly did, accompani'd with six others, and (whether through Ignorance or Oversight) were all of them permitted to Enter the Fort, Armed with Cut-throats, where *Fortes* treated them very Civilly with Tea, &c. for the space of half an hour; but in the conclusion the *Mascars* offering to be gone, the *French Governour*, now too late, told the Captain he must Surrender his Arms, which he replied, *he would not but with his Life*; whereupon *Fortes* Commanding a *Bozo Private*, that stood by, to Disarm him, he immediately drew his Cut-throat and ript up the poor *Stomach*, after whose Example the rest began their Muck, and fought very desperately untill they were all kill'd upon the place, by the Senarys and the help of Two Englishmen, at that time Prisoners in the Fort, having first slain several *Swissers*, and wounded a Young *French Captain*.

This first Bruff being over, the Governour sent to Summon the rest of the *Mascars* on shore, having before hand Ordered to be drawn up two Companies of *Sons* and *Portuguese* Soldiers, (Headed by Captain *Alonzo*, and Captain *Illes*, lately arriv'd hither from *Bombay*) to receive them, whilſt himself forc'd the Fort with a Third Company; but they refusing to Obey his Summons, he sent to see five of their Vessels, which was accordingly done, and the *Mascars* then seeing themselves forc'd to the shore, and thinking to distract the Souldiers from too strict an observance of them, immediately on their Landing set fire to several Houses, which gave them opportunity to rally their Forces, then amounting to forty-three Persons armed only with Cut-throats in open face of the Fort, where they undauntedly confronted the whole strength of the Garrison, which Captain *Illes* not able to bear, too rashly advanced against such desperate Fellows, and with six or seven *Portuguese* that follow'd him, met their Deaths on the point of their Enemies Cut-throats, having first kill'd dead an equal number of the *Mascars*, *Alonzo* also very narrowly escap'd with life, being deserted by the unexperienced and Raw Souldiers under him, the Fort in the mean time not being able to ply their great Guns to do any Execution for fear of killing their own men; In this

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the rebellion for all above twenty to *Siamese*, all of them *Creates*: How-
ever although the *Siamese* had not being afterwards professed and honored
for any place or place in the world, for the days that they were all taken, and
died, and the world being in it, and the King, and when it was the only
to the world, and the world, for three days after this happened, and
would have been professed by the King, who knew nothing of this matter, yet
affirmed, that in the killing of the King, they saw forty Sails of *Moety* Vess-
els sailing: *How* *many*, whereas it should have ported from hence, and there-
fore his Majesty had been thinking on the *Creates*, to expect this said
Captain was an *Assault* to the King, and that then the appointed
time being expired, and the time of English shipping to arrive at Land
by the *Discovery* of the *Moety* Sloop, they were returning homeward.
A Third Party of these *Moety* in the number of One Hundred or three-
hundred, with their Prince at the head of them, stood upon their Defence in
their own Camp, to whom the King after his return hither from *Levy*, was
pleas'd to make a tender of Pardon, provided they would lay down their Arms,
And perhaps expecting by this his mistake for Clemency, to arrive at the dis-
covery of all that he had *discovered*, as possibly might have more than a hun-
dred in this Conspiracy, but this generous offer of his Majesty had not the de-
sired effect; for about the year of this month, the said Prince attended by the
whole Crew of desperate Veterans, all arm'd with *Creates* and *Launces*,
went to the Palace Gates: whence he sent word to his Majesty, That in the
name of his late Honor, and salute on his Royal word, he was come to
ask his Majesties Pardon, and promise a peaceable demeanour for
the future; and so that end desired admittance to show himself
at his Majesties Feet, To which he was answer'd, That the Pardon he then
was in, did not correspond with his pretences, but if he would first surrender
his Arms, and Command his Attendants to do the like, his Majesty would re-
adily grant him Liberty to come into his Presence, and confirm the Pardon he
had already on that condition offered them; whereupon the Prince perempto-
rily replied, he would never be guilty of so base a Submission as required the
parting with their Arms; adding that he was not ignorant of an approaching
great Storm - but, says he, *with the King, I am like a Great Tree, not shaken,*
and shall be able to endure any ordinary Storm; but if the Storm comes so vio-
lently as that I cannot longer stand it, he may be Assured my fall will not be with-
out the ruin of much water with it; and since I cannot be suffered to speak to the
King with my Arms, if he has any further business with me, he knows where to
find me at my own House.

All Resentment of these daring Expressions was seemingly smother'd, and it
was thought most convenient to lock him into Security, by suffering him for
that time to depart without taking any further notice of it; tho' all possible
Preparations were with great privacy made to reduce him by Force. And ac-
cordingly the Lord *Phaulkon* in Person, accompanied with Sixty *Europeans*,
having first in the Night blockt up the small River, and so surrounded the *Si-*
amese Camp with about two Hundred of the Kings Gallies and Boats, that they
could not possibly fly, on *Tuesday* the fourteenth instant at break of day gave
Order for the *Onset* intending first to have fired down all the Houses
before

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before them, that for they might have done Skilling but was in an open fight, who otherwise would have the opportunity of Murthering all that come near them, as you may see themselves in the following. With this notice of the Chief Europeans, and their constant and continual affords, and their own Deaths, and that with many damage to the Enemy; but Captain *Cox*, and by his Example and Command, several others I would believe their time on a full Spent a drypoint, where the *Makassars* also they could well look at their own, sailing out of the Harbour, and into the *Water*, newly arriv'd on the *Harbour*, and toward the rest to be the *Water* again, in which batty Retreat, Captain *Cox* with the weight of his own Armour and Arms lost his Life in the *Water*, the rest with much danger and difficulty recovering their Boats. This last Postique of the yet leader *Enterprise*, a man would have thought warning enough for them to have proceeded afterwards with more diffidence; but being for the most part of them men of more Resolution than Conduct, and unacquainted with the way of fighting with such an Enemy, and yet famous of showing themselves every man more Valiant than his Neighbour: About three hours afterwards having by burning the part of the Camp, and by plying of the Guns out of the Gallies, put the Enemy to a Retreat two Miles higher up the South River, Captain *Henry Mills* (who in Complement to his Lordship accompanied him to be only a Spectator) had not the patience to continue any longer for; but, notwithstanding all his Lordships earnest dissuases from it) would needs leap ashore, where he had not been long, with several other *English* in his Company, were a parcell of *Makassars*, in disguise of *Sammars*, by hawling a small Boat along the Shoal-water, got by near them, undiscerned to be Enemies, as to reach them with their Lances, at which time it unluckily fell to Captain *Mills* to lose his Life, the rest very difficultly escaping by taking the *Water*, but those *Makassars* escape not the small shot from the Boats: Nor was his Lordship exempted from as eminent Danger as any man that came off with Life; but Captain *Mills*'s resolute going ashore had drawn him thither also, being loth to leave the Company of one he so much respected; but the Enemies Lances, (at which you know they are most expert) forced his Retreat, being glad for some time to hang on the outside of his Boats Stern for Shelter. You will not, (tho' many others I believe will) wonder the *Europeans* small shot could not prevent their doing so much mischief with only Lances and Creases, when you call to mind their desperateness, who are a sort of People that only value their Lives by the mischief they can do at their Deaths; and regard no more to run up to the very Muzzle of a Blunderbuss, than an *Englishman* would to hold his hand against a Boys Pop-Gun. There fell also four *Frenchmen*, among whom *Monsieur de Kean* was one: So that now at length other men harder times began to make the rest more Circumspect; and continuing to burn and lay all Level before them, about Ten in the Forenoon arriv'd from a Recruit of *Sammars*, (the whole number employed by Land and Water being no less than Seven or Eight Thousand) with which they began to pick them off very briskly, I mean as fast as they could

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by them Skulking in the Bambo's, Thickets, and other Busines, till at length the Prince himself was slain by the Captain of his Lordships Life Guard, and about three a Clock the fight ended, the *Siameses* afterwards only continuing to hem in that place, to prevent the escape of any that might remain alive and attempt it. There was no Quarter given to any *Muaffers* in this days Fight, save only the Princes Son, a Boy of about Twelve Years, who after his Fathers fall came on undauntedly with his Lance presented at his Lordships; but drawing within reach, and perceiving his Lordship ready in the like posture to entertain him with his Lance, his Heart failed him, so that he cast away his Weapons, and threw himself at his Lordships Feet, who received him with all Courtesy, and brought him unbound to his Majesty. The next day what Men or Women remained, (for many of the latter were burnt in their Houses with their Children) were taken Prisoners by the *Siameses*. And thus ends the Story of the *Muaffers* with their Lives: But whether the Conspiracy, wherein they were concerned, will end with them, is very much to be doubted.

Licensed July 28. 1687.
R^o. J. B. Strange.

FINIS.