

After: Figurative-Kaart  
 Van een gedeelte van de  
 Westkust-Sumatra,  
 April 1835 (Baud Papers 323, ARA)

## TUANKU IMAM BONDJOL (1772-1864)

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The memoirs of Imam Bondjol reproduced here are largely confined to the period of the Dutch military campaigns in the Minangkabau interior from 1821 to 1837, and more particularly to the campaign against his own *negeri* (the Minangkabau village unit),<sup>1</sup> Bondjol. He devotes only a few paragraphs to the founding of Bondjol and, although the negeri was envisaged as a bulwark of the Islamic faith, he makes little mention of his own devotion to that faith or of the civil war which broke out in Minangkabau in the early nineteenth century between the *orang putih* and the *orang hitam*, known generally as the Padri War.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, although he paints a picture of Bondjol as a center of active trade, he makes no mention of the important part played by the Bondjollers in trying to wrest control of Minangkabau trade from the hands of foreigners; both by removing the latter from their dominating position on the west coast, and encouraging market towns in the interior to become centers for goods coming from Penang and later Singapore by way of the east coast.

### Islam and Minangkabau

Imam Bondjol was before all else a devout Muslim. We know little of the conversion of Minangkabau to Islam, but it seems likely that it took place during the period of Atjehnese domination of the coast in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> In the early seventeenth century a preacher of the Sufi Naksjabandijah *tarikah*

1. For a discussion see L. C. Westenek, De Minangkabausche Nagari (3rd edition; Weltevreden: Boekhandel Visser & Co., 1918).
2. The derivation of the term Padri has often been disputed, but it seems most likely that the word was originally pidari and meant a man from Pedir (Pidië), referring to pilgrims who had returned from Mecca by way of Atjeh; see Ph. S. van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen aangaande den Padri-oorlog," De Indische Gids, XXXVII, No. 2 (1915), p. 1103. The terms orang putih and orang hitam derive from the color of clothing. The Padri were distinguished by their white robes, while black or dark blue clothing was the mark of a penghulu or head of a Minangkabau clan.
3. It is possible that missionaries also came from the east coast; see B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies (2nd edition; The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1966), I, p. 52. Hamka, Sedjarah Islam di Sumatera (2nd edition; Medan: Pustaka Nasional, 1950), p. 11, states that Islam entered Minangkabau by two routes; from Malacca by way of the east coast rivers Siak and Kampar, and by way of Atjeh and the west coast. There is evidence of isolated conversions even earlier; see A. Cortesão, ed., The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), I, pp. 160-161.

(mystical order) visited Pariaman from Atjeh and lived for a time in two of the three *luhak*<sup>4</sup> of Minangkabau--Agam and Lima Puluh Kota.<sup>5</sup> Later in the seventeenth century we know of four leading Minangkabau *tuanku*<sup>6</sup> (religious teachers) who taught grammar, Islamic law, syntax, and exegesis respectively.<sup>7</sup> Whether or not they were Naksjabandijah followers, they came under the influence of the Sjattarijah tarikat when it was planted at Ulakan by Burhanuddin, a pupil of the famed Atjehnese mystic Abdurrauf. The pupils of Burhanuddin gained considerable influence for the Sjattarijah in the Minangkabau *darat*,<sup>8</sup> where its original center was Pemansiangan in Agam.<sup>9</sup> The leading *tuanku* of the late eighteenth century had all studied at Ulakan, which was regarded as the chief source of religious authority in the country.<sup>10</sup>

However, one of the most brilliant of them, later known as Tuanku Nan Tua or Tuanku Kota Tua<sup>11</sup> of Empat Angkat, a district in Agam, seems to have come under Naksjabandijah influences on returning to the *darat*.<sup>12</sup> The Naksjabandijah tarikat was regarded as being closer to the *sunna*<sup>13</sup> and was more acceptable than the Sjattarijah to the Shafi'i school of law.<sup>14</sup> There seems to have arisen around Tuanku

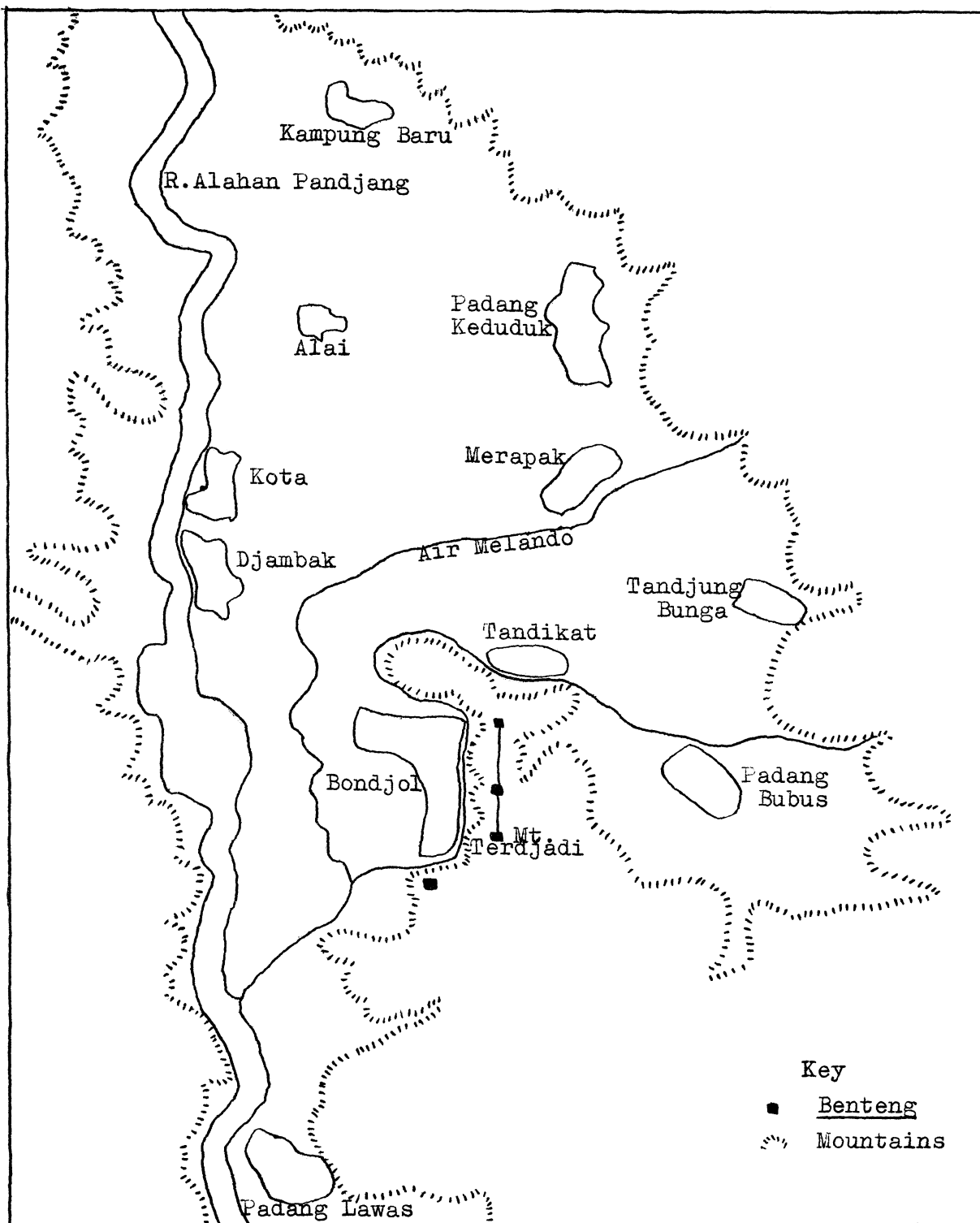
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4. The term *luhak* refers to the heartlands of Minangkabau. The third *luhak* is Tanah Datar.
  5. Ph. S. van Ronkel, "Een Maleisch Getuigenis over den Weg des Islams in Sumatra," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXXV (1919), pp. 369 and 374.
  6. *Tuanku* is one of the highest titles accorded religious teachers; the generality of religious are known as *malim*.
  7. Ph. S. van Ronkel, "Het Heiligdom te Oelakan," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LVI (1914), p. 294, ftn. 15.
  8. The *darat* comprises Minangkabau proper, as opposed to the *rantau*, the acquired territories, which included the west coast.
  9. Van Ronkel, "Het Heiligdom," pp. 281-309; H. A. Steijn Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries (Padries) in de Bovenlanden van Sumatra," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, III (1855), pp. 264-265.
  10. D. D. Madjolelo and A. Marzoeki, Tuanku Imam Bondjol Perintis Djalan ke Kemerdekaan (Djakarta and Amsterdam: Penerbit Djambatan, 1951), pp. 40-41.
  11. Well-known teachers were generally known by their place of residence.
  12. Hamka, Ajahku. Riwajat Hidup Dr. H. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perdjuaan Kaum Agama di Sumatera (3rd edition; Djakarta: Penerbit Djajamurni, 1967), pp. 23-26.
  13. The *sunna* refers to the tradition and customs of the Prophet accepted as proper conduct to be followed.
  14. Hamka, Ajahku, p. 23.

Nan Tua a center for the study of *fikh*,<sup>15</sup> that all embracing Islamic jurisprudence which comprises laws regulating not only religious observances but all aspects of social life. This center was at odds with the authority of Ulakan.<sup>16</sup> Tuanku Nan Tua himself, however, seems to have been mystically inclined and spent long hours in meditation.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless he had a thorough knowledge of the Koran, and he was concerned to indicate to his pupils, especially those he saw destined for more worldly concerns, the failure of Minangkabau society to follow the precepts of Islam and the general dissolution of morals. He taught them the necessity of change in society, but the means he recommended were gentleness and persuasion.<sup>18</sup> Tuanku Nan Tua's pupils were known for the zeal with which they desired reform in Minangkabau. Among them was Imam Bondjol, known in his youth successively as Mohammad Sjahab, Peto Sjarif, and Malim Besar.<sup>19</sup> He had been born in 1772 in the *kampung* Tandjung Bunga in the valley of Alahan Pandjang, just north of Agam and was, according to Dutch sources, "of low birth."<sup>20</sup>

The position of the *malim* in Minangkabau society at the time of Imam Bondjol's birth was not one of influence. In so far as Minangkabau society was governed at all, it was administered by its *penghulu*, the hereditary heads of the *suku* or clans.<sup>21</sup> Administration at the negeri level in the darat was carried on by the *penghulu suku* in the *rapat* or assembly. A token obligation to consult Islamic law was recognized, but in general matters in the *rapat penghulu* were decided by *adat* or custom.<sup>22</sup> The *malim* had no role at all in matters

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15. H.J.J.L. de Stuers, De Vestiging en Uitbreiding der Nederlanders ter Westkust van Sumatra (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1849), II, App. C, pp. 243 et seq., especially p. 251.
  16. Hamka, Ajahku, pp. 23-24. Hamka concentrates on the philosophical differences between the two centers.
  17. Steijn Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," p. 252.
  18. Ibid., p. 257.
  19. H. M. Lange, Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger ter Westkust van Sumatra (1819-1845) ('s Hertogenbosch: Gebroeders Muller, 1852), I, p. 16; B.d., "De Padries op Sumatra," Indisch Magazijn, II, No. 1 (1845), pp. 175-176. For the meaning of these gelar, see Hamka, Ajahku, p. 24, ftn. 1.
  20. V. d. H., "Oorsprong der Padaries," Tijdschrift voor Neêrlands Indië, I, No. 2 (1838), p. 124.
  21. J. Van Der Linden, "Het Inlandsch Bestuur in het Gouvernement van Sumatra's Westkust," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, IV (1855), p. 266. This article is based on an answer to a query from the Resident of Sumatra's west coast and was compiled on July 26, 1833. The original is to be found in the van den Bosch Papers, 394, in the Algemeen Rijksarchief [hereafter ARA], The Hague.
  22. Ibid., pp. 257-259 and 262.

# The Valley of Alahan Pandjang



After: Schets van de Positien voor Bondjol,  
January 1836 (Baud Papers 494, ARA)

of administration,<sup>23</sup> although an *imam* may have had a voice in the rapat penghulu where religious matters were concerned.<sup>24</sup> In general a malim, if he chose to be a tarikat teacher, lived outside the social hierarchy, gaining his fame and eminence from his influence on his pupils. His only other recourse was to become an "adat-religious," one of the *orang empat djenis* (the people of the four sorts) who assisted the penghulu. In this respect the malim was the only representative of the *sjari'at* (Islamic law) assimilated by the adat. His function outside the circle of the family was normally that of imam or *chatib* in the negeri mosque.<sup>25</sup>

About 1803 there erupted into Minangkabau society three hadji who had returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>26</sup> In Arabia they had witnessed the conquests of the Wahhabis, and although it is possible that Wahhabiyah ideas had penetrated Minangkabau earlier, this was probably the first news of their military successes. The Wahhabis arose in Arabia in the mid-eighteenth century and spread their teachings chiefly by the use of force. Their creed was based on the Hanbali school of law, the strictest and most uncompromising of all the schools, and they aimed at a return to the authority of the Koran and the sunna. They saw the main purpose of the Islamic community as applying the law of God, the classical law stripped of all the innovations of intervening centuries. To expand the community they invoked *djihad* (holy war).<sup>27</sup>

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23. C. Th. Couperus, "De Instellingen der Maleijers in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, IV (1855), p. 8; G. D. Willinck, Het Rechtsleven bij de Minangkabausche Maleiërs (Leiden: Brill, 1909), p. 295. Willinck is not always a reliable source, but he is the only scholar who has tried to give an account of the position of the malim in the pre-Padri period.
  24. Van Der Linden, "Het Inlandsch Bestuur," p. 268.
  25. Willinck, Het Rechtsleven, pp. 218-219 and 296-299.
  26. V. d. H., "Oorsprong der Padaries," p. 113.
  27. R. B. Winder, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century (London: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 8-11; W. C. Smith, Islam in Modern History (New York: Mentor, 1957), pp. 48-51. It has been claimed by two leading scholars of Minangkabau that the Padri were not themselves Wahhabis; see E. B. Kielstra, "Het Ontstaan van den Padrie-Oorlog," Indisch Militair Tijdschrift, Part II (1887), p. 227, ftn. 1, and B. Schrieke, "Bijdrage tot de Bibliografie van de huidige godsdienstige beweging ter Sumatra's Westkust," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LIX (1920), pp. 254-255. Kielstra and Schrieke admit, however, that the Padri used Wahhabi methods and were opposed to customs such as tobacco and opium smoking and games of chance which also met with the disapproval of the Wahhabis. It is not possible here to enter into a discussion of Wahhabi doctrine and practices, but it does seem that some of their distinguishing characteristics, such as abhorrence of the reverence for saints and tombs, were absent from Padri teaching. Imam Bondjol himself is known to have been addicted to and skilled in astrology; see Madjolelo and Marzoeki, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, p. 65.

The Wahhabis were also concerned to remove corruption from contemporary Arab society, and it was against alleged corruption in Minangkabau--cockfighting, the smoking of opium, the chewing of betel, and the general anarchy in society--that the returning hadji now preached.<sup>28</sup> Tuanku Nan Tua could not be won over to the use of force to spread the work of reform, but a number of his pupils were, and the reform movement split.<sup>29</sup> The main aims of the converts of the hadji--especially the famous "Eight Tigers"--were strict obedience to the tenets of the Koran, in particular the Confession of Faith, the saying of the five daily prayers, abstinence, and circumcision. All customs allegedly not prescribed by the Koran were to be abolished, the wearing of long white clothes and the veiling of women made obligatory, and cockfighting and the use of betel, tobacco, and opium brought to an end.<sup>30</sup> Gradually the hadji's converts began to fortify their kampung and started to wage war on those kampung which would not voluntarily embrace their creed. In each conquered kampung the penghulu administration was subordinated to the control of two religious heads, the imam and the *kadi* (Muslim judge), who enforced Islamic discipline by fines or death.<sup>31</sup>

#### The Founding of Bondjol and the Padri War

We now come to the "memoirs" of Imam Bondjol. We know from the investigations of the Dutch scholar van Ronkel that a fuller manuscript of the Imam's life existed in the early twentieth century at Bondjol, where it was designated "*tambo* [story] of the son of Tuanku Imam," and which gave a more complete account of the early days of Bondjol before Dutch intervention.<sup>32</sup> From van Ronkel's paraphrase of this manuscript and from other sources we can piece together some of the early history of Bondjol.

In the early period of the reforms a group of visitors from the valley of Alahan Pandjang journeyed to Agam to see their effect. They were led by an important penghulu, Datuk Bendahara, who had been a student of Tuanku Nan Tua, and by his confidante, the future Imam Bondjol.<sup>33</sup> Imam Bondjol, then known as Tuanku Muda, appears as a pious young man who had totally embraced the new teaching, and

28. Steijn Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," pp. 253-255; v. d. H., "Oorsprong der Padaries," p. 113.
29. Steijn Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," pp. 253-256 and 259; B..d., "De Padries op Sumatra," pp. 168-169.
30. B..d., "De Padries op Sumatra," pp. 170-171; Steijn Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," p. 259; Een ambtenaar op Sumatra [Steijn Parvé], "De Secte der Padaries in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," Indisch Magazijn, I, No. 1 (1844), pp. 26-27.
31. Steijn Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," p. 273; B..d., "De Padries op Sumatra," pp. 171-172.
32. Ph. S. van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen aangaande den Padri-oorlog," De Indische Gids, XXXVII, No. 2 (1915), pp. 1099 et seq.
33. Ibid., pp. 1104-1105; B..d., "De Padries op Sumatra," p. 175.

as a faithful servant of his penghulu leader.<sup>34</sup> After accompanying one of the hadji on his journey to spread the new teaching, they returned to Alahan Pandjang within four months. The influence of Datuk Bendahara ran throughout only part of the valley; on the other side of the river Datuk Sati of Merapak was in the ascendant. The latter opposed the new teaching and conflict broke out;<sup>35</sup> it was this conflict, of which Imam Bondjol makes no mention in his "memorandum," which led to the founding of Bondjol.<sup>36</sup>

The actual course of the founding of the negeri is somewhat obscure. Both the tambo and nearly contemporary Dutch authorities ascribe the founding of Bondjol to Datuk Bendahara.<sup>37</sup> However, Imam Bondjol's Indonesian biographers, probably basing their interpretation on some inconsistencies in the Dutch sources, argue that the first "fort" for the defense of Islam was established by Datuk Bendahara near Padang Lawas to the south of Alahan Pandjang, and that it was only after his death that Tuanku Muda established Bondjol to the northeast at the foot of Mount Terdjadi, where it could be better defended.<sup>38</sup> The founding of Bondjol was followed by full-scale civil war in Alahan Pandjang, during which Bondjol was besieged for nine months. Even after the siege was broken up Bondjol continued to be attacked for two and a half years, and during this period Imam Bondjol seems to have played a leading part as a skillful fighter.<sup>39</sup> The Dutch accused him of surrounding himself with a group of fanatical young men as *hulubalang*,<sup>40</sup> and indeed his Indonesian biographers reproduce one of his writings on the supreme joy of holy war and Islamic martyrdom.<sup>41</sup> This would seem to be corroborated by what is known of the campaigns undertaken by the Bondjollers themselves after they felt secure in their own valley, and in which they penetrated north to Rao and then into the territory of the Mandahiling Batak.<sup>42</sup>

34. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," pp. 1104-1105; v.d.H., "Oorsprong der Padaries," p. 119.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 120; B..d., "De Padries op Sumatra," p. 176.

36. The meaning of Bondjol is somewhat obscure. Literally it means a "projection" and in this sense it was probably used by contemporary Minangkabau to mean a fort. Imam Bondjol, however, seems to have given it the more symbolic meaning of a fort for the defense of Islam; see Lange, Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger, I, p. 17, ftn. 1.

37. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1104; v. d. H., "Oorsprong der Padaries," pp. 120-121.

38. Madjolelo and Marzoeki, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, pp. 62-64.

39. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1105; v.d.H., "Oorsprong der Padaries," pp. 121-124.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125. Hulubalang were the men who led the people in war.

41. Madjolelo and Marzoeki, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, pp. 65 and 72.

42. V.d.H., "Oorsprong der Padaries," pp. 116-117; B..d., "De Padries op Sumatra," p. 177. The tambo admits that women, cattle, buffaloes and even pots and pans were robbed from defeated



The above description relates to that part of the Padri War which took place before European intervention. The war in this period has been described by some scholars as a "social revolution" or a "coup d'etat," because in order to carry out their reforms the Padri had to remove the penghulu, the inherited representatives of the suku administration.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless Imam Bondjol's memorandum, and what is known of his early life, makes it quite clear to what extent he relied on the penghulu to carry out his wishes.<sup>44</sup> That the penghulu were never totally displaced in Alahan Pandjang is obvious from what the memorandum relates of a penghulu-led revolt against the Imam at the end of 1832, which resulted in three penghulu inviting the Dutch into Bondjol. A change in the doctrinal emphasis of the Padri movement, to which the tambo bears witness, may have been partly responsible for this. At an uncertain date the nephews of the four tuanku of Bondjol were sent to Mecca "to guarantee purity of teaching,"<sup>45</sup> and it seems probable that they returned to Minangkabau as part of a larger group of hadji in 1829.<sup>46</sup> The first Wahhabi empire had ended in defeat in 1818, and the hadji appear to have come under more moderate influences in the holy places; among other things, on their return they recommended the handing back of captured goods to their lawful owners.<sup>47</sup>

The tambo, as paraphrased by van Ronkel, alleges that although now in their decisions the penghulu relied on Islamic law, interpreted by four jurists, in purely "adat matters" the former were the sole arbiters. In the midst of this Imam Bondjol seems to have felt himself too old to abandon the concepts which had molded his youth, and in a Friday sermon he abandoned the future of Alahan Pandjang to the penghulu, who nevertheless asserted that they would continue to revere his judgment.<sup>48</sup> What happened subsequently is well depicted in the memorandum. After his defeat by the Dutch in 1837 the Imam seems to have gone even further in his accommodation with the penghulu. In his last days of freedom in the *rimbu* (forest) he appointed one of his younger sons, Sutan Tjaniago, his successor. Among his parting words to this son were the following: "'One thing more: recognize the authority of the adat-penghulu; if he cannot

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negeri; see van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," pp. 1105-1106.

43. Schrieke, "Bijdrage tot de Bibliografie," pp. 251-252 and 260; Willinck, Het Rechtsleven, p. 301.
44. Schrieke's observations are perhaps more relevant to the situation in Tanah Datar, where a large part of the Minangkabau royal family and a number of penghulu were murdered on the orders of the fiery Tuanku Lintau.
45. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1106.
46. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen te Sumatra's Westkust, pp. 241-242, ARA, Ministerie van Koloniën [hereafter MK], 4136.
47. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1107.
48. Ibid. It is not clear what role the penghulu of Bondjol played in decision making before this time (approximately 1829).

be obeyed, he is not a true penghulu and only bears the title. Abide as faithfully as possible by the Adat, and if your knowledge is not sufficient, then learn the twenty attributes of Allah."<sup>49</sup>

### The Conflict Over Trade

The other important aspect of the life of Imam Bondjol, his effort to wrest control of Minangkabau trade from foreign hands, is not mentioned in the memorandum and is only touched on by the tambo.<sup>50</sup> The natural outlet for Minangkabau trade was the west coast of Sumatra. For centuries, however, the enterprising Minangkabau had seen the chief ports of their coast dominated by others. In the early seventeenth century the Atjehnese had a monopoly of the pepper trade on the coast.<sup>51</sup> The Dutch, at first welcomed by the Minangkabau as their saviors in the later seventeenth century,<sup>52</sup> established their own monopoly on the coast, and later the English too got a foothold further to the north. Although the Dutch monopoly was theoretically in force throughout the eighteenth century,<sup>53</sup> by the time of Imam Bondjol's birth and youth Dutch hold on the coast was precarious. Among other things the coastal people, despite strict Dutch regulations, were planting cotton and making salt,<sup>54</sup> and cotton fabric was being woven in the darat to help lessen dependence on the Dutch.<sup>55</sup>

The rivers of the east coast, which rose in the heart of Minangkabau, provided an alternative outlet for Minangkabau trade. In the early sixteenth century Tomé Pires declared that the "kingdom" of Indragiri furnished the chief port of Minangkabau.<sup>56</sup> This eastward trade seems to have gradually declined and it was only in the

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49. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1116. It is difficult to know if these are the exact words used in the manuscript, as in various places van Ronkel paraphrases his source. The publication of this manuscript would be of inestimable value to historians.
50. Ibid., p. 1107.
51. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, I, pp. 51-53; J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese Control over West Sumatra up to the Treaty of Painan of 1663," Journal of Southeast Asian History, X, No. 3 (1969), pp. 459 et seq.
52. Ibid., p. 469.
53. See the treaties reproduced in J. E. Heeres and F. W. Stapel, Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1907-1955), VI, pp. 29-54 and 64-66.
54. Von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 15, 1789, par. 169-171, ARA, Koloniaal Archief [hereafter KA], 3800.
55. Consideratie, Nopens den Handel . . . Padang, December 22, 1789, par. 221, KA 3800.
56. The Suma Oriental, I, pp. 152-153.

late eighteenth century that the Minangkabau were able to find a way out of the Dutch trading net on the west by the founding of Penang in 1786.<sup>57</sup> The Dutch found that the Minangkabau were bringing goods from there into the darat almost as cheaply as they could be brought from the west coast, and the Dutch *opperkoopman* at Padang went so far as to try to persuade the penghulu of Lima Puluh Kota to close the main road from their luhak to the Kampar River.<sup>58</sup> This attempt failed and the Dutch came to regard Penang as a "cancer to trade."<sup>59</sup> The attractive alternatives available to the Minangkabau increased with the founding of Singapore, to which a considerable amount of the coffee of the darat began to be sent.<sup>60</sup> In return for its chief export Minangkabau was supplied by Singapore with Siamese salt, Bengal cottons, and coarse China ware.<sup>61</sup>

After a period of English "control" of the west coast between 1795 and 1819, the Dutch returned to Padang in May 1819. As a result of a treaty with a number of penghulu and representatives of the murdered Minangkabau royal family, Dutch forces made their first attack on a Padri kampung in the darat in April 1821.<sup>62</sup> Considering that the interior of Minangkabau had frequently been in turmoil during the one and a half centuries the Dutch had been on the coast, their motives for entering the darat at this point must remain a subject for further investigation.<sup>63</sup> The ostensible reason was the disruption of trade by the Padri.<sup>64</sup> From Imam Bondjol's account and other evidence, however, there seems to have been a flourishing trade under Padri control in the interior, carried on via channels not subject to foreign control.<sup>65</sup>

Bondjol was well situated for trade with the west coast, as several of the near-by rivers flowing to the coast were navigable.

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- 57. Von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 30, 1788, par. 48, KA 3752.
  - 58. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1789, par. 21-31, KA 3800.
  - 59. Consideratie, Nopens den Handel, par. 191.
  - 60. Van den Bosch to Baud, November 16, 1832, in Exh[ibitum] June 5, 1833, No. 70 k/m Geh[eim], MK 4230.
  - 61. Singapore Chronicle, March 1826 and September 1829, in J. H. Moor, Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries (Singapore, 1837), pp. 98 and 101-102.
  - 62. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen, pp. 1-6.
  - 63. The most important investigation of a problem of this type is R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians (London: MacMillan, 1961), see particularly pp. 17-18.
  - 64. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen, p. 8.
  - 65. The disruption of trade reported by Anderson (See J. Anderson, Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in MDCCCXIII [Edinburgh and London, 1826], p. 347) does not appear to have been permanent.

The Bondjollers carried on an active trade in the area between Tiku and Air Bangis, where they were supplied with English and Indian cotton-piece goods and other English goods, chiefly by the Atjehnese. They also made their salt on the same piece of coast.<sup>66</sup> The return of the Dutch put all this commerce in jeopardy. Imam Bondjol's aim now was to press into the lowlands as far south as Pariaman, a place vital to Dutch sea communications, and in May 1823 his forces captured the hinterland of Pariaman.<sup>67</sup> However, for reasons which are obscure--the more so as the episode is unmentioned in the memorandum--on January 22, 1824 the Imam and two other Bondjol tuanku entered into a treaty with the Dutch by which the latter hoped to improve their position on the coast.<sup>68</sup> Apart from the usual clauses of eternal peace, friendship, and mutual assistance, the nucleus of the treaty was an attempt to draw Bondjol firmly into the Dutch trading orbit. The three tuanku promised to do all in their power to encourage their neighbors in Rao, who had been a support of Dutch trade in Company days, to come to Padang or its dependencies to trade (clause Id); to permit the free and unimpeded introduction into Bondjol territory of all articles the Dutch wished to sell (clause Ie); to assist the Dutch to stop "smuggling" (clause If); and to buy their salt from the Dutch at six guilders per *pikul* (clause Ih).

Considering his own aims with relation to the coast between Air Bangis and Pariaman, it is difficult to know what moved Imam Bondjol to agree to this treaty. The Dutch salt monopoly in particular had always been hated, and Dutch salt was 200 percent more expensive than salt coming from the British possessions of Natal and Tapanuli.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps he hoped for a breathing space from Dutch intervention in the darat, and was pleased with the Dutch promise never to interfere with the religion or government of Bondjol's lands, and to see that Bondjol's customs were "respected" throughout Dutch territory on Sumatra (clause IIb). It is difficult to know what would have become of the treaty had its Dutch maker, Lieutenant Colonel Raaff, not died in April 1824, for he was highly respected by the Bondjollers as a brave soldier. But as a result of hostilities which took place in 1824 before de Stuers, the new Resident, could arrive, the Bondjollers returned the treaty to the Dutch.<sup>70</sup> When de Stuers asked for a reconsideration of the agreement, Bondjol insisted first that Dutch posts along the coast should stop at Pariaman, and that Bondjol

66. Lange, Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger, pp. 187-188; Madjolelo and Marzoekí, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, pp. 21 and 81.

67. Een officier van het Indische Leger, "Episoden uit de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche krijgsverrigtingen op Sumatra's Westkust. II. 1822," Indisch Magazijn, I, No. 2 (1844), p. 229; "III 1823," Indisch Magazijn, I, No. 2 (1844), pp. 7-9. The page numbering is according to the loose numbers of the journal.

68. The treaty is reproduced in Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen as a footnote to pp. 146-156. It is printed in de Stuers, De Vestiging en Uitbreiding, I, pp. 78-83, and in Indonesian in Madjolelo and Marzoekí, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, pp. 81-85. I have followed the clause lettering of the ARA manuscripts.

69. De Stuers, De Vestiging en Uitbreiding, I, p. 80.

70. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen, p. 192.

should remain in control of the coast between the river Masang and Air Bangis. These proposals were rejected by the Dutch.<sup>71</sup>

Struggle between the two adversaries for control of the coast now continued for a number of years. An unexpected blow fell in 1825 when the Dutch resumed control of Air Bangis from the laxer British, and also gained possession of the British posts of Natal and Tapanuli further north. Their aim was to channel trade to the coast ports they controlled, and *pelakat* (proclamation) after *pelakat* was issued to the Minangkabau forbidding trade at all places other than Bengkulu, Padang, Natal and Tapanuli.<sup>72</sup> During the period of the Java War, however, Dutch forces on Sumatra's west coast were virtually halved, and it was only in 1830 that they once again were able to take the offensive. By this time Imam Bondjol had gained in the Atjehnese an ally in the struggle for the coast, although he makes no mention of them in his memorandum. Moving northwards, in April 1830 he attacked and destroyed all of Natal apart from the fort in alliance with the Radja of Trumon, who assisted from the sea.<sup>73</sup> Early in 1831 he led 3,000 men against Air Bangis for four days and nights; two-thirds of the garrison had been killed before the Bondjollers retreated.<sup>74</sup> He then joined forces with the Atjehnese pirate Saidi Marah, who in 1829 had destroyed the Dutch fort at Tapanuli,<sup>75</sup> and once again blockaded Natal from land and sea, only retreating after the Dutch managed to send reinforcements.<sup>76</sup>

From now on, however, reinforcements kept arriving from Batavia and the Dutch were able to take the offensive. Towards the end of 1831 they attacked and captured Katiagan, one of the chief centers of Bondjol's trade.<sup>77</sup> In the house of a merchant there they found 100 large bales of cotton and 1,000 pikul of rice, together with iron and coffee.<sup>78</sup> After the capture of Katiagan the Dutch advance northwards, supported by sea power, was relentless. The leading coastal kampung fortified by Bondjol to protect their trade, extending to the north of Natal, were taken and burnt.<sup>79</sup> The tide now turned against the Bondjollers. After the fall of Lintau in the interior in 1832, the defeat of Bondjol was regarded as the chief aim

71. De Stuers, De Vestiging en Uitbreiding, I, pp. 102-103.

72. Elout to Clifford, May 6, 1831, No. 1/109 in Exh. September 26, 1831, No. 28, MK 810.

73. Ibid.

74. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen, pp. 269-270; J. C. Boelhouwer, Herinneringen Van Mijn Verblijf op Sumatra's Westkust, Gedurende de Jaren 1831-1834 (The Hague: Erven Doorman, 1841), p. 21.

75. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen, pp. 244-245.

76. Ibid., pp. 272-273; Boelhouwer, Herinneringen, pp. 19-20.

77. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen, pp. 296-303.

78. Boelhouwer, Herinneringen, pp. 49-51.

79. Rapport over de Krijgsverrigtingen, pp. 303-307.

of Dutch arms on Sumatra's west coast.<sup>80</sup> By June 1834 the Dutch had taken Matur and were on the banks of the Masang. The slow decline in Bondjol's fortunes is well depicted in the memorandum.

It should perhaps be noted that while the Dutch were occupied with enclosing the west coast, the Bondjollers could always find an outlet for their trade by way of the east. It appears that Imam Bondjol made conquests on the Rokan, the Kampar Kanan, and the Kampar Kiri, all rivers flowing to the east.<sup>81</sup> A tributary of the Kampar Kanan was navigable to the mountains near Bondjol, and on it stood the prosperous market town of Kota Baru. It seems probable that this town was Bondjol's window on the east coast world. Goods were loaded there and sailed down to Pelalawan, a leading emporium half-way down the Kampar Besar, the journey taking thirteen to sixteen days. From Pelalawan trade continued in large vessels to Penang or Singapore, the crossing to the latter lasting about six days.<sup>82</sup> But once their hands were relatively free, the Dutch were eager to prevent this trade too, and during the Governor-Generalship of Johannes van den Bosch it became Dutch policy--though it was long before it could be brought to fruition--to seal up the outlets for this trade by occupying the mouths of the leading east coast rivers. Quite early in his administration van den Bosch flattered himself "that the trade of the whole island will soon be brought under our supervision. . . ."<sup>83</sup>

#### Flight, Capture, and Exile

The memorandum gives an account of the Dutch siege of Bondjol, and of the last days before its fall; however, it devotes only a few lines to Imam Bondjol's flight, capture, and exile. For much more information we can turn to the tambo, paraphrased by van Ronkel, which gives an extensive account of the latter part of the Imam's life,<sup>84</sup> part of which is corroborated by Dutch sources.<sup>85</sup> The description of the aged Imam's flight into the forest in the tambo is moving in its simplicity. He left Merapak with the words: "'As long as I can be buried in Alahan Pandjang I will continue to fight against the company;<sup>86</sup> my sons and I will carry on this struggle; may my

80. Van den Bosch to Baud, August 26, 1833, in Exh. January 10, 1834, No. 11<sup>k</sup> Geh., MK 4232.

81. Madjolelo and Marzoeki, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, p. 76.

82. S. Müller, Berigten over Sumatra (Amsterdam, 1837), pp. 26-29.

83. Van den Bosch to Elout, December 26, 1830, Geh., in Exh. September 26, 1831, No. 28, MK 810.

84. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1109 et seq.

85. Nota betrekkelijke de gevangen neming van den Toeanko Imam von Bonjol, November 9, 1837, in Exh. March 19, 1838, No. 162, Geh., MK 4249 [Hereafter referred to as Nota].

86. The Minangkabau continued to refer to the Dutch as representatives of the "company" well after the demise of the Dutch East India Company.

prayer to Allah and his messenger be answered: to die in the fight against the company."<sup>87</sup> He took eighty people with him into the rimbu, though some deserted him due to the lack of food and the monotony. Finally, after having sent one of his younger sons to Bukit Tinggi to discuss Dutch terms, he decided to give himself up before his family died from privation. His parting words of advice to his son concerning his future conduct and friendships are Shakespearean in their beauty and simplicity.<sup>88</sup>

Tuanku Imam Bondjol surrendered to the Dutch at Palupuh (VII Lurah) on October 28, 1837. His first night in captivity was passed without sleep, filled with worry over the fate of the women and children he had left behind in the rimbu.<sup>89</sup> However, he was permitted to stay at Palupuh until he could be reassured that his family had been safely conducted back to the valley of Alahan Pandjang, and it was not until November 5 that he was taken to Bukit Tinggi.<sup>90</sup> It was decided by the local Dutch authorities that the Imam could not be considered a common criminal as he was not a subject of the Netherlands Indies Government; he must therefore be regarded as a prisoner of war<sup>91</sup> and accorded the respect due to a statesman and soldier.<sup>92</sup> There was also some discussion among local officials over whether it would be safe to allow him to live the rest of his days at Padang, or whether he should be removed forever from Sumatra.<sup>93</sup> However, the Supreme Government at Batavia determined on his removal to the Preanger Regency on Java.<sup>94</sup> Imam Bondjol had barely entered Padang when he was taken to the mouth of the river and saw to his terror that a boat was ready to receive him. He and his companions realized "that they would have to cross the great ocean, and would never again see Alahan Pandjang."<sup>95</sup>

His departure from Padang marked the beginning of many years of exile and wandering. At the end of 1838 the Resident of the Preanger Regency expressed his dislike of having a prisoner with Imam Bondjol's history under his authority. It was decided that it was inadvisable for influential Padri to come into close contact with the inhabitants of the interior of Java, and the Imam was removed to Ambon.<sup>96</sup> There he was given a monthly sum of 65 guilders and a ration of rice, and was permitted to rent a house. Two years later he was again moved,

87. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1110. Again it is impossible to know if these are the exact words of the tambo.

88. Ibid., p. 1116.

89. Ibid., p. 1117; Nota, MK 4249.

90. Nota, MK 4249.

91. Michiels to Francis, November 9, 1837, No. 323/93, in Exh. March 19, 1838, No. 162, Geh., MK 4249.

92. Nota, MK 4249.

93. Ibid.

94. Besluit Buiten Rade, January 23, 1838, No. 3, MK 2578.

95. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1118.

96. Geheim Besluit, January 19, 1839, L<sup>a</sup>F, MK 4504.

this time to Menado in northern Sulawesi, and here he seems to have been treated with less respect and kindness by the local officials.<sup>97</sup> He lived out the rest of his life in Menado, cultivating a small piece of land, and died there in 1864.<sup>98</sup> He was buried in his last place of exile, never having seen the valley of Alahan Pandjang again.

MEMORANDUM OF TUANKU IMAM CONCERNING THE COMING  
OF THE DUTCH TO SUMATRA'S INTERIOR AND THE  
WAR THEY CARRIED ON THERE

Translated From The Malay<sup>1</sup>

There was a man named Tuanku Muda, son of a priest called Tuanku Radjanuddin, born in Alahan Pandjang, from where his forefathers originated. When he was thirty-five years old<sup>2</sup> he decided that, as all the necessities of life were difficult to come by at his dwelling place and even water had to be brought from a considerable distance, he would seek a better place for himself and his family. Through God's especial goodness he came with his wife, two brothers, and two sisters to a secluded spot at the foot of Mount Terdjadi, where he built his house and planted the ground with rice, palm and other fruit trees, and established a breeding place for cattle, horses, etc.

When Tuanku Muda had lived there a year and a half he discussed with the chiefs<sup>3</sup> and people of Alahan Pandjang the building of a fort and a prayer house; after this had been decided upon, all hands set to work and a fort was erected of fifteen *tumbak*<sup>4</sup> square, within which subsequently were built a temple<sup>5</sup> and six houses, which, after

97. Van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," pp. 1245-1246.

98. This is the date given by Madjolelo and Marzoeki, Tuanku Imam Bondjol, p. 166. See, however, E. B. Kielstra, "Sumatra's Westkust van 1836-1840," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XXXIX (1890), p. 177, where the date of the Imam's death is given as November 6, 1854.

1. The memorandum was translated from Malay into Dutch. See de Stuers, De Vestiging en Uitbreiding, II, App. B, pp. 221-240. General de Stuers gained access to this memorandum from his brother, General F. de Stuers, to whose gouvernement Imam Bondjol was finally exiled. I have used some of de Stuers' original footnotes and added some of my own. The round brackets in the text contain de Stuers' interpolations. The memorandum is written in the third person.
2. 1807.
3. Here "chiefs" refer to the penghulu. Elsewhere in the memorandum "chiefs" are mentioned who are obviously Padri-appointed tuanku.
4. One tumbak equals 12 feet.
5. The Dutch generally referred to mosques or surau as "temples."



everything was completed, received the name of Bondjol, indicating that this fort was erected for the maintenance of the just institutions of Islam, to oppose all evil and unlawful actions, and to recommend to everyone to practice nothing that is not fair, just, and good.

After this it was decided to appoint judges or administrators over this place, and with universal consent Tuanku Muda, Tuanku Hitam, Tuanku Gapuk, and Tuanku Keluat were so named.<sup>6</sup> Tuanku Muda was then called Tuanku Imam by the people. These four judges followed the holy institutions of Muhammad, and all their decisions bore the mark of justice. After five years under the administration of Tuanku Imam this place had expanded so much that it became very extensive, and its prosperity was so great due to increasing industry and trade that many people went there because of the cheapness of foodstuffs, since rice, cattle, and horses were plentiful.

On report of this many people from the surrounding negeri flocked there, and soon the place was filled with a lot of people from far and wide.

In course of time, and on the occasion that a son was born to Tuanku Imam, who received the name of Umar Ali, it was decided in a general consultation of chiefs and the population, which meanwhile had grown to about 500 men capable of bearing arms, to build a bigger fortification and a bigger prayerhouse; to execute this plan about 15,000 men came by invitation from the surrounding places to help, and immediately all hands were set to work, the necessary stones were hauled half a mile from a big river and the people placed in a row from there to the fortress, in order to bring the stones by passing them from hand to hand; the work was carried on day and night for fourteen days without pause, except for periods for eating and prayers, when the fortification and prayerhouse were completed. The fort was 200 tumbak long, 100 tumbak broad, 7 *kasta*<sup>7</sup> high and 5 *kasta* thick; in it were built 40 big and 3 small houses.

Then the people were sent out to look for arms and ammunition and each brought his contribution to the strengthening of the fort; the above-mentioned four regents and the other chiefs then had prickly bamboo<sup>8</sup> planted round the fort. Meanwhile, Tuanku Gapuk, Tuanku Keluat, and Tuanku Hitam died one after another, and Tuanku Imam was left to carry on the administration alone.<sup>9</sup>

Then Tuanku Imam had another son, who was called Jusuf, and after a year a third, called Ali; he also had three wives and seventy

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6. They were called the Berempat, i.e., the four.

7. One kasta equals one cubit, i.e., 18 to 22 inches.

8. Bambu duri.

9. The treaty of January 22, 1824 was signed by a Tuanku Hitam and a Tuanku Gapuk, though it is possible from the evidence of the tambo that these were the successors of the original bearers of the gelar.

slaves, both male and female.

When the people had been relieved of all care for the building and arming of the fort, they confined themselves exclusively to trade; with the enjoyment of peace and unity the prosperity of negeri Bondjol increased more and more, and merchants came there to trade from the neighboring places.

For twenty-five years the inhabitants of this place enjoyed all the satisfactions which unity, peace, and prosperity always bring, and no one committed injustice or wanton deeds, but each exerted himself at all times to practice virtue and to cultivate the fullness of justice by concord.

In the midst of this joy and internal content and prosperity, a man from Sungai Puar called Pada Bongsu arrived unexpectedly with the news that the Dutch, under the command of Colonel Raaff, were in negeri Simawang;<sup>10</sup> that Balimbing had been subjected to them after a fight of three days in which many people had lost their lives;<sup>11</sup> that they had conquered and burnt negeri Tabat Sawah Tengah, and the inhabitants had fled far and wide; that Sipajang too had been taken by the Dutch troops after one day's resistance by the population, and the inhabitants had fled in all directions;<sup>12</sup> that, as soon as the inhabitants of Lima Puluh<sup>13</sup> had heard the news, they had marched with a force of 3,000 men against the Dutch troops, which with native auxiliaries were 5,000 strong, and after making a stand for twenty-four hours they had had to give way to superior force and flee; that the Dutch troops, after having erected a fort on Mount Tendikir<sup>14</sup> between Lima Puluh and Tanah Datar, had burnt negeri Tandjung Alam to the ground which caused the inhabitants to take flight, and that they had then erected a fortification on Batu Sangkar<sup>15</sup> in the territory of the Sultan of Minangkabau, where they had remained and made peace with the people of Tanah Datar.

Following this, a certain man from Lintau, called Tuanku Ketjil, came to kampung Bondjol and related that the people of Lintau had marched against the Dutch troops in Tanah Datar, but had been beaten back by them;<sup>16</sup> that the Dutch troops were advancing on Agam; that they had conquered Kota Lawas<sup>17</sup> and Pandai Sikat, and the inhabitants,

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10. Raaff arrived at Padang on December 8, 1821. His early campaigns were in Tanah Datar, directed against Tuanku Lintau.

11. February 1822.

12. June 1822.

13. Lima Puluh Kota, a "federation" of 50 negeri, making up one of the three luhak of Minangkabau.

14. June 1822.

15. Fort Van der Capellen. It was close to one of the old Minangkabau capitals, Pagarrujung. The fort was erected in 1822 and completed in 1826.

16. March 1822.

17. July 1822.

after three days' resistance, had fled far and wide to the lands of Danau,<sup>18</sup> Alahan Pandjang, and elsewhere; that the Dutch troops had erected a fortification there; at a place called Guguk Sigandang; that on the arrival of the Dutch, Menumpu and Kurai in Agam had made peace with them and the troops had erected a fortification on the mountains there.

Then the troops marched against Kota Baru; here they met fierce resistance from the people who fought courageously under their chief Tuanku nan Rintjeh, so that the Dutch had to beat a retreat and return to the fort, with great losses and leaving behind a piece of artillery.<sup>19</sup>

After some time the Dutch troops went to fight against Kapau, but also encountered here such fierce resistance that they retreated to the fort with much loss on both sides.<sup>20</sup> Subsequently, they marched against negeri Lintau<sup>21</sup> to conquer it as well; the population, after having resisted for seven days without pause, received support from the people of Labau. The latter attacked the rearguard, so that the Dutch troops were caught between two fires. Only after both sides had suffered great losses did the Dutch troops return to fort Batu Sangkar, leaving behind four pieces of artillery, four barrels of powder, four lanterns, and many guns and swords. It was on this occasion that Tuanku nan Rintjeh, the chief of Kota Baru, lost his life.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, Colonel Raaff had died at Padang,<sup>23</sup> and Colonel de Stuers arrived unexpected at Padang as his replacement,<sup>24</sup> and subsequently came to Minangkabau; later he also stayed at Batu Sangkar and exerted himself to restore tranquillity to these lands, so that the people began to live again, as it were, and often went to visit Padang once more. After about five years Colonel de Stuers returned to Batavia.<sup>25</sup>

Colonel Elout, Commandant for the Company, who replaced Colonel de Stuers,<sup>26</sup> came to Batu Sangkar, and after some time he went with his troops to fight against Kapau (1831);<sup>27</sup> the inhabitants, although

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18. Lake Manindjau.

19. September 1822.

20. August 1822. This is one of the many examples in the text of Imam Bondjol's confusion of dates.

21. April 1823.

22. This is incorrect, as Tuanku nan Rintjeh was alive at a later date. I do not know the date of his death.

23. April 1824.

24. November 1825.

25. December 1829.

26. Actually H. MacGillavry was Resident for one year after Colonel de Stuers; Colonel Elout arrived at Padang in March 1831.

27. Actually, this was in April 1832.

supported by the people of Tilatang, nevertheless had to surrender after fierce resistance. Then the Dutch troops proceeded with their conquest in the direction of Kota Tua, in the land of Agam. On receipt of an invitation Tuanku Samei, the chief of that land, appeared before the above-mentioned officer, and soon peace was made with that district, and the Dutch troops erected a fort there which was named Kota Godong Batu.

Then the Dutch troops went to Magek, also in the land of Agam; the inhabitants submitted to them, and, with the making of peace, the piece of artillery left behind by the Dutch troops in the battle of Kota Baru was returned; peace was also made with the people of Tilatang, and the troops erected a fort in the middle of Tilatang.

Next the Dutch troops once again attacked Lintau (1832). After three days' fighting a certain man of Lintau, called Tuanku Limbu, came to offer his submission to the Government and guided the Dutch troops into Lintau, and after it was captured the Dutch erected a fort in the middle of Balaitengah.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently the Dutch marched against Kamang, in Agam district; the courageous inhabitants put up fierce resistance lasting two days and both sides had many dead and wounded.<sup>29</sup> Then a paramount chief of the land of Suliki, in Lima Puluh, named Alam Putih, came to the help of the Dutch with his people; travelling by way of uncultivated areas, they attacked the inhabitants of Kamang in the rear and set their fortifications on fire, so that they scattered far and wide, while some submitted to the Dutch.<sup>30</sup>

Then the Dutch marched on Matur, in the land of Agam. The population offered fierce resistance; the battle continued undecided for seven days, while many men fell and were killed on both sides; finally the Dutch troops retired. After a cessation of hostilities for fourteen days the Dutch troops resumed battle, upon which Matur, after having suffered great losses, had to surrender.<sup>31</sup>

Next the conquest was pursued to Lawang, in the land of Duabelas;<sup>32</sup> after a day's fighting the Dutch troops won a victory over the population. Thereupon a man called Tuanku Tinggi, from Sungai Puar in the land of Duabelas, came to offer his homage to the Dutch Government; a general peace was concluded with the people of Duabelas, and the troops were led into Sungai Puar, where they camped in the market-place.<sup>33</sup> After three days a letter was sent to the land of Kumpulan and another to Alahan Pandjang. On learning the news of the presence of the Dutch at Sungai Puar there arose confusion among the population of Alahan Pandjang, as Sungai Puar is only twelve hours on foot from there. Many were afraid, while many others showed their courage. Some

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28. July 1832.

29. July 1832.

30. July 1832.

31. September 1832.

32. XII Kota.

33. September 1832.

wanted to take flight and others prepared themselves for resistance. In the midst of this situation there arrived a certain emissary from Colonel Elout, called Pandita Sari, with the above-mentioned letter; it was handed to the Penghulu Datuk Bendahara.

After the departure of Pandita Sari for his land Pasir Lawas, Datuk Bendahara assembled in the marketplace the Penghulu Datuk Sati, Tuanku Imam, and all the heads and people of Alahan Pandjang; when they had gathered together, the letter from Colonel Elout was broken open by a certain Tuanku Labai and read out; it contained the following:

This letter comes from the Colonel of the Dutch troops Elout to the Penghulu Datuk Bendahara and Datuk Sati and to Tuanku Imam, in the land of Alahan Pandjang.

I, Colonel Elout, inform you that the Dutch Government now claims your Country; if you will surrender the Country peacefully, let all the chiefs come to us in Sungai Puar to make peace; but if you will not surrender your Country, then be on your guard, because we will soon march against your Country.

When Tuanku Labai had stopped reading and everyone had understood the contents of the letter, a quarrel arose among the chiefs and people; some wanted peace and others resistance; but the majority wanted peace, which was also the choice of Datuk Bendahara. Only Datuk Sati opposed this: "I will not make peace," he said, "because our Land is too small and too sparsely populated to be able to perform the Government's services."

Then Tuanku Imam rose and said: "Let there be no discord among you, but be of one mind and loyal to each other, lest calamity befall us."

However, this warning of Tuanku Imam was not well received, and discord spread increasingly among the people. Hereupon Tuanku Imam considered and spoke to himself: "What is the use of my remaining longer in Alahan Pandjang, as the penghulu are disunited and without them I can command nothing; let me rather leave here with my wife and children." No sooner had he thought of this than he went home and sent for Tuanku Sabar, to whom he revealed his resolution and stated that he wanted to go to Lubuk Sikaping. At the same time he entrusted to him full powers over Bondjol and part of his goods, house, and cattle, and he requested him to inform him of the arrival of the Dutch so that he could make peace with them.

A day later Tuanku Imam left Alahan Pandjang with all his family and part of his goods for Lubuk Sikaping; he arrived there after a day's journey and took up residence at the house of Datuk Sati. Three days after his departure from Alahan Pandjang the penghulu Datuk Bendahara, Datuk Baginda Arab, and Datuk Baginda went to offer their submission to the Government of the Dutch. Appearing before Colonel Elout, they concluded peace with him on the condition that all the Government's commands should be obeyed, provided that the Dutch troops did not move into fort Bondjol, and no infringement was made on the religion, manners, and customs of the people.

When this was all confirmed with promises on both sides, the Dutch troops were led inside Alahan Pandjang by the above-mentioned three people;<sup>34</sup> on their arrival there the people had already prepared *atap* (thatch) to build dwellings at a certain place called Medan Saba, but the Dutch refused to live there and moved into the temple and the houses in Bondjol, after having chased away the inhabitants, thus making the temple and the houses of the population into their barracks.

During the month and a half that the Dutch troops lived there, they appropriated by force the fruit, cattle, and fish in the ponds belonging to the people, without making any payment.

Three days after Tuanku Imam had gone to Lubuk Sikaping, his brother, named Radja Manang, came to bring him the news that the Dutch troops had moved into fort Bondjol and had made a barracks of the place of worship, while some of the Javanese soldiers had taken up residence in the house of Tuanku Imam, and that he had been charged by Colonel Elout, who was living in the house of Tuanku Ketjil, to request Tuanku Imam to come to him. "All right," replied Tuanku Imam, "I shall go to Colonel Elout."

The following morning about five o'clock Tuanku Imam set out for Alahan Pandjang with his son Jusuf, Paduka Madjalelo, and Radja Manang. With feelings of fear and shame towards the Malays there, they journeyed towards it along unbeaten paths.

On arrival in Bondjol Tuanku Imam with his son Jusuf immediately went to Colonel Elout, and the following conversation took place between them:<sup>35</sup>

"Where is Tuanku Imam?" asked Colonel Elout.

"That's me," he replied.

"Come inside, Tuanku Imam! Into the room," resumed the Colonel, whereupon Tuanku Imam entered the room with his son Jusuf, and then at the request of Colonel Elout sat down next to the latter. Then the following conversation began again:

"How are you, Tuanku Imam?"

"Well, Sir."

"Where are you living now, Tuanku Imam?"

"I am living at present at Lubuk Sikaping, because I fear the Dutch troops, as I am not yet familiar with them."

"You must not be afraid; the Government will do you no harm." Then he asked: "How old are you now, Tuanku Imam?"

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34. September 1832.

35. An Indonesian version of this conversation is to be found in Muhamad Radjab, Perang Paderi di Sumatera Barat (1803-1838), (2nd edition; Djakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1964), pp. 160-162.

"Sixty."

"And I am sixty-one," resumed Colonel Elout, "so we are the same age."<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile Colonel Elout ordered some refreshments and tea. After consuming these, Colonel Elout continued the conversation and said: "It would be better for Tuanku Imam to go home for the time being; he can come and speak to me this evening."

"Where shall I go to spend the night?" replied Tuanku Imam. "My house is filled with Javanese and Malays."

At this Colonel Elout resumed: "It would be better for Tuanku Imam to sleep for a time in the house of Tuanku Sabar."

"Good," replied Tuanku Imam. Then with his son Jusuf he said good-bye and went to the house of Tuanku Sabar, where he stayed. In the evening there came a messenger from Colonel Elout to request Tuanku Imam to visit him; thereupon the latter with his son Jusuf appeared before the Colonel and greeted him. Colonel Elout ordered Tuanku Imam to sit down, which he did at once. Then Colonel Elout sent a request for Tuanku Muda and the Lieutenant to come to him. When they had appeared and sat down next to Colonel Elout, he began the following conversation with Tuanku Imam:

"You are old now, Tuanku Imam! You must burden yourself with no more activity; it would be better for you to enjoy tranquillity and contentment in your old age, and leave the worry of affairs to the young."

"Good," replied Tuanku Imam. "I shall follow your advice and wise opinion, Colonel, and submit myself to your decree!"

"Then you can," pursued Colonel Elout, "choose one from among you who is capable of being your successor."

At this Tuanku Imam answered: "I shall obey your will, Colonel, because I know no one capable of succeeding me other than the person you choose!"

"If Tuanku Imam leaves me that power," replied Colonel Elout, "then it will give me pleasure to name Tuanku Muda here as Regent<sup>37</sup> of the district of Alahan Pandjang; because Tuanku Muda is the favorite of Tuanku Imam, has good judgment, and is able and courageous, isn't he?"

"Very good," said Tuanku Imam, "I shall conform to your advice."

Then Colonel Elout proposed that the following morning all the penghulu and hulubalang and people of Bondjol should be assembled to name Tuanku Muda Regent of the district of Alahan Pandjang, after which Tuanku Imam and his son Jusuf said farewell to Colonel Elout, and returned to the house of Tuanku Sabar.

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36. It is difficult to account for this statement. Elout was born in 1795, and was thus 23 years younger than Imam Bondjol.

37. The Dutch appointed Regents on the Javanese pattern from their first entry into Minangkabau.

At about six o'clock the next morning Colonel Elout had all the chiefs and people called together by a young man called Achir Ali. When they had all gathered in Bondjol, Tuanku Muda was appointed Regent of Alahan Pandjang. On this occasion Colonel Elout consulted with the chiefs and people present about going to conquer the district of Sundatar in the land of Hulu Rao; when this was decided on, the troops set off there; Colonel Elout left behind Lieutenant Laba (?) [sic] and forty men to guard fort Bondjol.

Tuanku Muda showed the way to Sundatar; Colonel Elout and three men (officers) followed behind.

After a day's journey they arrived in Sundatar; the population came to pay homage to the Dutch troops, and soon peace was made. They stayed here a day; the next day the troops marched further towards Rao, and against Padang Mantinggi, where there was a fort called Bondjol. When they were half-way there a certain Hadji Mahmud Saman, son of a Radja of Lubuk Lajang in the land of Rao, came to pay homage to the Government, and a peace treaty was made with him; then this Radja Mahmud Saman led the troops into Padang Mantinggi, and a general peace was concluded with the population.

When Colonel Elout and his men, who had all lodged as they pleased in the houses and the place of worship, had sojourned here for ten days, he left behind about one hundred soldiers under the command of ten officers to guard the place, while he returned to Alahan Pandjang and Bondjol with Tuanku Muda and the rest of the men. After remaining here for ten days, he went with his men to Agam, on the high mountains; here he conquered in succession nearly the whole land of Lima Puluh; then, having led his men back to Batu Sangkar, Colonel Elout returned first to Padang and then to Batavia.<sup>38</sup>

After some time Lieutenant Laba, who was guarding Bondjol, was replaced by another officer from Batu Sangkar, and he left for fort Bukit Tinggi.<sup>39</sup>

The Dutch troops continued to live in the mosque at Bondjol and in the houses of the inhabitants, whose occupants they expelled, and they brought dogs and all sorts of filth inside, and disposed of the fruit and cattle of the inhabitants as they pleased, and even forced on the residents all sorts of work and burdensome deliveries of rice and *padi* without payment, and punished them daily. On one occasion some government goods were brought from Sipisang to Bondjol to be transported from there to Lubuk Sikaping. Twenty Alahan Pandjang men had to carry these goods under an escort of a sergeant and twelve soldiers. When they had arrived at Sungai Silasung, which was half-way there, they requested permission to stop for as long as it took to satisfy their hunger and say their prayers, but they were not allowed to. However, when one of the twenty bearers, named Darusalam, insisted on satisfying his desires despite this refusal, one of the soldiers immediately fired at him and hit him in the chest, so that he lay there dead, while the others were hurried on with the cane. So they ran in great terror for the whole day, and after the

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38. Colonel Elout did not leave for Batavia then.

39. Fort de Kock was erected in 1825-1826.



goods had been brought to Lubuk Sikaping and stored in the temple there, they returned to Alahan Pandjang.

By the time they returned, the Commandant had left for Sipisang, and although each went back to his dwelling place, this occasion did not go unremarked.

The severe and arbitrary actions of the troops caused universal grumbling in Alahan Pandjang, and led the inhabitants to meet together in Tandikat, where many cases were raised which had been extremely unjust and arbitrary, the more so as the population had become reconciled to the Government with mutual promises. These agreements had not only been thrown to the winds but, instead of a peaceful and tranquil administration which they had expected from the Government, they had suffered oppression and mistreatment. The result of all this was that they had definitely decided to rebel and to die rather than stand it any longer. Letters were immediately sent to all the districts, and it was agreed that each would raise a general rebellion and kill all the soldiers in their districts on the third of the month Radjab (January 1833).

On the morning of the third of the month Radjab,<sup>40</sup> on a Friday, twenty hulubalang, led by two paramount chiefs called Tuanku nan Garang and Radja Lajang, unexpectedly marched into Bondjol, and when they had entered the temple, ran amuck among the soldiers and within half an hour murdered all the European and Javanese soldiers. When he heard of this, the Regent Tuanku Muda rushed to the scene of this frightful massacre, but he was immediately greeted by one of the hulubalang with a spear which wounded him in the back so that he ran home bleeding.

Then one of the chiefs mentioned above, Tuanku nan Garang, went to the house of Tuanku Imam, and drew his sword to murder him; whereupon Umar Ali, one of the sons of Tuanku Imam, placed himself between them, and addressed Tuanku nan Garang in this manner: "If you want to murder my father, first let us see which of us two is the victor." When he heard this courageous language, Tuanku nan Garang's resolve immediately vanished. At Sipisang, where the Commandant of Bondjol had gone, there had also been a similar running amuck of which many soldiers had been the victims, and only the Commandant Roman<sup>41</sup> succeeded in saving himself and some of his men by flight.

Eight days later Tuanku Muda died from the effects of his wound. At the end of a month everyone was in a position to resist on all sides; the *benteng*<sup>42</sup> were fortified and the population provided with arms.

Six months later the Dutch troops with native auxiliaries marched against Alahan Pandjang, commanded by Commandant Rampang, Lieutenant Laba, Major Lebas, and another officer.<sup>43</sup> Before they had got close

40. January 11, 1833.

41. Lieutenant Colonel Vermeulen Krieger.

42. Forts.

43. This was in September 1833, not June as de Stuers says (*De Vestiging en Uitbreiding*, p. 232, ftn. 3). The four officers mentioned here are Commissioner-General van den Bosch, who

to the district, the hulubalang Bendahara Langit and Tuanku nan Garang, who, with their people, had stationed themselves on the road from the land of Lima Pulu, went to meet the Dutch troops;<sup>44</sup> the fight had only lasted three hours when night fell and separated the combatants. The following day the fight was resumed with renewed fury; towards evening Tuanku nan Garang was shot right in the head by a bullet, which mishap was quickly followed by his death, while three men were wounded; the fight lasted until towards midday on the third day, when the Dutch troops withdrew to the land of Lima Pulu, in fact to Pajakumbuh.<sup>45</sup>

After this Bendahara Langit got news from Bondjol that the troops from Rao<sup>46</sup> had marched against kampung Alai. On learning this, he divided his people and sent some of them there to give support to the inhabitants of Alai, while some held station at Batu Bidara. The fight had already started when Bendahara Langit's men arrived; they immediately rushed to the aid of the people of Alai; the fight lasted the whole day and until noon of the following day, when the Dutch troops retreated to Rao.<sup>47</sup> After this there was a cessation of hostilities for a whole year.<sup>48</sup>

After this time had passed the Dutch troops once again marched against Alahan Pandjang from the land of Agam; coming to Matur<sup>49</sup> on the way, they encountered fierce resistance; only after fighting for three days did the inhabitants of Matur surrender, whereupon peace was concluded. A fort was erected here, after which there was again a general cessation of hostilities for some time.

During this time of peace the people of Alahan Pandjang again began to make provision for their sustenance and they cultivated their ricefields as before. At harvest time a man from Sipisang arrived unexpectedly with the news that the Dutch troops had been at work waging war on Sipisang in the land of Lima Pulu,<sup>50</sup> led by Colonel Bauer and Lieutenants Karab<sup>51</sup> and Lang,<sup>52</sup> with a considerable

personally led an attack on Matur; Colonel Elout, who led a column along the coast; Major De Quay who started out from Lima Pulu Kota; and Major Eilers who led a column from the north.

44. The column of Major De Quay.

45. September 1833.

46. The column led by Major Eilers.

47. September 1833.

48. Actually from early October 1833 to June 1834. In February 1834 Lieutenant Colonel Bauer took over command of the Dutch forces.

49. June 1834.

50. Actually Sipisang is in Tudjuh Lurah. It was attacked in April 1835.

51. Probably Captain Krafft. See Lange, Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger, II, p. 83, ftn. 1.

52. Not Lieutenant-adjutant Lange, as stated by de Stuers (De Vestiging en Uitbreiding, II, p. 233, ftn. 5) but Lieutenant B. J. De Lange.

force of native auxiliaries from Tanah Datar and Agam. On this occasion Datuk Baginda and Datuk Baginda Kali had taken up station there. The battle lasted three days: finally Datuk Baginda and Datuk Baginda Kali could hold out no longer against the greatly superior forces and retreated to Kumpulan, while at the same time the troops pressed forward. Baginda Kali still tried to hold his own but some of his people and Baginda deserted him and fled to Alahan Pandjang. However, after holding out a considerable time and losing many men, he fled to Alahan Sati.<sup>53</sup> After all the houses and the mosque had been reduced to ashes, Kumpulan was immediately occupied by the Dutch troops, whereupon a cessation of hostilities followed for a month.

After this time had passed, Colonel Bauer sent a letter to Tuanku Imam, asking him and all the hulubalang whether they wanted to be reconciled with the Government or not. On receiving this letter Tuanku Imam assembled all the oldest men and the inhabitants of Bondjol and put this question to them, upon which they declared that they would leave the decision to Tuanku Imam and readily acquiesce in his decree. Then Tuanku Imam proposed to them that they should be reconciled to the Government and undertake to obey all its laws and commands, provided the Dutch troops remained in Kumpulan and did not settle in Alahan Pandjang; this proposal was universally accepted and communicated to Colonel Bauer by letter. The Colonel sent no answer, but informed Tuanku Imam and the population of Alahan Pandjang by word of mouth that they would have to be on their guard, as he was planning to march against them with his army. On this occasion, Tuanku Tinggi of Sungai Puar sent a letter to Tuanku Imam, exhorting him to pay no heed to the proposals of the Government but to make ready for resistance, which would have his support and for which he was already sending some gunpowder and ammunition as provisions.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile the Dutch troops, supported by native auxiliaries and commanded by Colonel Bauer and lieutenants Karab and Lang, had arrived at the plain Padang Lawas, before Alahan Pandjang.<sup>55</sup> It was about five o'clock in the morning. The population, which was ever ready for battle, offered fierce resistance; both armies suffered many dead and wounded. Some of the Dutch troops got close to Bondjol; but a heavy cannonade from Tuanku Imam made them shrink back to Padang Lawas again. Finally the people of Alahan Pandjang had to leave the battlefield and each returned to his dwelling. The Dutch troops remained there and put up their huts, after which there was a cessation of hostilities for a month.

Meanwhile the people of Alahan Pandjang built five forts on the top of Mount Terdjadi. Then the Dutch troops once more marched against Bondjol;<sup>56</sup> half-way there they encountered the people of Alahan Pandjang who held them to a stand; the battle was so intense

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53. This should read Alahan Mati.

54. Tuanku Tinggi was much trusted by the Dutch and had performed important services for them. See Lange, Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger, II, p. 90, ftn. 1.

55. June 1835.

56. July 1835.

that the fighters could not distinguish friend from foe. Meanwhile the forces of Tuanku Muhamad Saleh, Tuanku Nabaga, Ompai, and Imam Parang attacked the Dutch troops in the rear, which caused such confusion among them that they fired at one another; towards evening the battle ceased, after both sides had lost many men. About five o'clock the next morning the Dutch troops advanced on the benteng Lubuk Beringin; after fierce resistance the men of the garrison, only twenty in number, had to leave the fort; they fled to the benteng Medan Saba, which was on the river. The Dutch troops immediately entered the abandoned benteng; heavy firing was kept up between this benteng and the benteng Medan Saba over the river; by nighttime the garrison of Medan Saba decided to leave this fort as it could not be defended further, whereupon they went to Bondjol; the abandoned benteng was immediately occupied by Dutch troops. At this point the fighting was suspended for some time, whilst the participants busied themselves with restoring the posts and erecting new forts. The people of Alahan Pandjang erected two more forts on the above-mentioned Mount Terdjadi. When the things mentioned were ready the Dutch troops, under the command of Lieutenant Karab, marched against Bondjol on a certain day about five o'clock in the morning. Having arrived at a small river in the neighborhood of Bondjol they shelled the latter with five big guns. Tuanku Imam was saying his morning prayers; when he had finished he went to his guns and both sides kept up heavy firing till evening. In the course of that night and four consecutive nights the native troops erected a fort about 150 fathoms from Bondjol. When this was ready, heavy firing commenced between both forts, while in the meantime Lieutenant Karab sent a considerable force to capture Njamka [possibly Djambak]. These troops had to return to their fort at Bondjol by midday, having been unable to endure the courageous resistance of the inhabitants of that kampung.

Meanwhile the war between the inhabitants of Bondjol and the Dutch troops was carried on incessantly day and night for a month. In the meantime some of the troops were sent to conquer Lubuk Masang; the population of this kampung fled partly to Njamka [Djambak?] and partly to Bondjol. Next the capture of kampung Baru was attempted; but the inhabitants put up fierce resistance, and despite the death of their paramount chief, the hulubalang Linggang Sepadi, they held their ground so well that the Dutch troops finally had to return to their cantonments.

After some time the Dutch troops marched against one of the forts on the high mountain range, the garrison of which was commanded by the penghulu Kali Balang, Tuanku Sabar, Ampalima Sutan, and Baginda Talabai. Fighting was so fierce that after half a day the enemies were in hand-to-hand combat. Finally the garrison could hold out no longer; they fled to Bondjol, after which the Dutch troops entered the fort and took up station there. Subsequently some troops were sent to capture kampung Padang Bubus. These troops arrived at the above-mentioned place about five o'clock in the morning: a fierce fight developed, which was undecided for a considerable time until finally, after the lapse of half a day, the Dutch troops could hold out no longer and retreated to their fort on the mountain range.

After the lapse of some more time, the Dutch troops marched against Baru; the people of this kampung had marched out to wait for the enemy; about seven o'clock the two armies met. While the Dutch troops were erecting a fort at Tarebati, heavy fire was maintained

from both sides, which killed and mutilated many.

In this way the fighting lasted a whole year, with short intermissions; the chiefs and hulubalang of the surrounding land of Agam and other regions which had been conquered by the Dutch troops sent letters from all sides to Tuanku Imam to inspire him with courage and to urge him to make a stand, while they came to his assistance with men, gunpowder, and ammunition, which permitted him to offer such a strong resistance.

After some time Colonel Bauer left for Batavia<sup>57</sup> and General Cleerens came in his place, bringing with him fresh troops and a number of pieces of artillery and arms; after his arrival the war was carried on without pause. During this time Tuanku Imam received a letter from the Resident of Padang, Francis, suggesting that he be reconciled to the Government. Tuanku Imam let it be known that he first wished to assemble the population, who were scattered far and wide in the fields, to talk about the matter and to deliberate together, and that he therefore requested seven days cessation of hostilities, whereupon he immediately ordered the white flag to be run up, which the Dutch troops also did. However, before the seven days had elapsed the Dutch troops once again fired at the benteng Sungai Lama; the garrison offered fierce resistance; after half a day the fighting was again discontinued by both sides. The flags of peace were now hauled down, which caused surprise, as the seven days had not yet elapsed. The battle with kampung Bondjol was resumed with renewed fury, as a result of which there were many dead and wounded on both sides. After the lapse of some time General Cleerens returned to Batavia.

Then General Cochius came from Batavia<sup>58</sup> bringing with him a number of soldiers; the fighting continued on both sides; the Dutch troops shot burning bullets which fell on the prayerhouse and dwelling of Tuanku Imam and set both alight; this increased the fury of the population and they fired in deadly earnest.

About three o'clock one morning, when the people of Bondjol, exhausted by the incessant firing and fighting, were snatching some moments' rest, the Dutch troops, who still continued to shoot without intermission, took the opportunity of entering Bondjol through the breached part [of the wall].<sup>59</sup> Some African or Buginese soldiers totally unexpectedly penetrated the place where the women of Tuanku Imam were sleeping and wanted to drag some of them off. On this occasion the youngest son of Tuanku Imam, called Mahmud, was stabbed in the stomach, while one of the women had her buttock cut through, from which she died, and a second woman was also wounded in the buttock. All the women were screaming fearfully; Tuanku Imam, awoken

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57. Bauer handed over command to Cleerens on May 3, 1836.

58. He arrived before Bondjol on April 12, 1837.

59. The Dutch had concentrated on breaching the wall with their artillery fire. This reconnaissance of the Dutch inside Bondjol, led by Captain Vogel, took place on the night of December 2-3, 1836. Thus Imam Bondjol is inaccurate in dating it to the period of Cochius' command. See Lange, Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger, II, pp. 159-163.

by this, took his sword and, accompanied by his son Umar Ali, went to the dwelling of the women from where the screaming could be heard. On encountering the soldiers he was wounded by a shot in his buttock; but he continued to run amuck among the soldiers, together with his son. The latter was shot in the side; the bullet remained in the flesh and, not being able to bear the violent pains, he went home with his wound bleeding. Tuanku Imam, although quite alone, continued to wield his sword right and left, until finally the soldiers retreated from Bondjol. Tuanku Imam followed them outside Bondjol with his sword; here the soldiers stabbed him with a bayonet so that he fell to the ground. When they stabbed him a second time, he got up at once and again wielded his sword right and left among the soldiers, whereupon they fled to their cantonments; Tuanku Imam, exhausted and suffering dreadfully from thirteen wounds which were bleeding continuously, was carried home by the inhabitants of Bondjol.

About five o'clock the next morning the Dutch troops came very near the breached part of Bondjol, and attacked there;<sup>60</sup> the population, prepared for this, defended themselves bravely; even the women took up arms to help their men; the battle was so fierce that the two armies could not distinguish one another, and the shouts on both sides echoed to the sky. This lasted until twelve noon when the Dutch troops retreated to their forts; the number of dead and wounded was great on both sides.

Lieutenant Lang sent some of his soldiers and Mr. van Draha (?) [sic] to capture the fort of Baginda Madjalelo on Mount Terdjadi. After having kept up heavy cannon fire for two days they got to within a gunshot of the fort; they fired, threw missiles, and struck one another with white-hot fury. Baginda Madjalelo fell with a gunshot in the head; his brother, called Sutan Suleman, succeeded him as chief and the battle was continued with vigor. When it was still undecided after two days, Lieutenant Lang came in the night and had two barrels of gunpowder placed in a prepared hole at the foot of the mountain, where the fort was. About seven o'clock the next morning the powder was ignited and a piece of the mountain, with part of the fort, plunged from the cliff; one man lost his life and another was buried beneath the rubble, but, as he was still alive, was taken up and cared for by the soldiers; thereupon Sutan Suleman and the garrison abandoned their fort and came to Bondjol, whence they were pursued by the Dutch troops. Thereupon the entire population of Bondjol, both men and women, marched out of their fortifications to go to meet the soldiers. After a fierce fight of only half an hour, on which occasion the women too used guns, the Dutch troops retreated to Sutan Suleman's fort. The population of Bondjol pursued them to a certain distance, and then returned to Bondjol. The soldiers rebuilt Sutan Suleman's fort and provided it with the necessary armaments; subsequently they shot at Bondjol from it with fire-bullets, which caused frightful devastation among the buildings and trees. For a month fierce firing was kept up between this fort and Bondjol.

Subsequently Lieutenant Lang came in the night with his soldiers to about ten and a half fathoms from Bondjol and erected his fort

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60. This attack of December 4, 1836 also took place under the command of General Cleerens.

there, which was followed by a furious fight; after two days he moved his battery to about four and a half, and then eight days later to one and a half fathoms; meanwhile the battle continued with increasing fury; nothing could be heard but the incessant firing and shouting which accompanied it, and everything was covered in thick smoke. The Dutch troops succeeded in making breaches at various places and setting alight by fire-bullets the bamboo which was planted around Bondjol. While the battle was continued with terrible fury, the opposing sides exchanged coconuts and other small objects.<sup>61</sup> On both sides the number of dead was appalling:<sup>62</sup> in Bondjol there still remained fifteen hulubalang, who stood fast day and night for two and a half months.

About this time, three hulubalang called Kali Madjalelo, Imam Parang, and Tuanku Maharadja, who lived in Alahan Pandjang outside Bondjol, came in the night to Tuanku Imam in Bondjol and suggested that he leave the kampung and go with them to kampung Merapi<sup>63</sup> in order to deliberate there over what was to be done in these perilous times, as Bondjol had suffered such damage and the batteries had collapsed and all the houses and trees had burnt down and fallen to the ground. Tuanku Imam consented to that proposal but wanted to wait till the next evening, as he first wanted to make the necessary arrangements for the women and goods; upon this the three people mentioned returned to their kampung promising to come to fetch Tuanku Imam at the appointed time.

The very same evening Tuanku Imam sent his women and children and all the other women and slaves, from Bondjol, where meanwhile the battle still continued, to kampung Merapi [Merapak]. They arrived at the above-mentioned kampung and took up residence at the house of Sutan Lima Kota. When, after two days, the above-mentioned three people had again come to Tuanku Imam in Bondjol, he left for kampung Merapi [Merapak] with one of his sons, the latter's teacher, and a slave, and put up with his family at the house of Sutan Lima Kota.

The next night, after the departure of Tuanku Imam, the fourteen hulubalang still remaining in Bondjol also left and joined Tuanku Imam in kampung Merapi [Merapak].

When the Dutch troops saw that kampung Bondjol had been abandoned they immediately occupied it,<sup>64</sup> repaired the collapsed batteries and brought them into a good state again. Two days later the Dutch troops

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61. The tambo confirms that even in the heat of battle the Bondjollers gave young coconuts to the soldiers, and the latter gave their opponents Javanese tobacco; see van Ronkel, "Inlandsche getuigenissen," p. 1108. The original Padri abhorrence of tobacco seems to have been forgotten!

62. According to Lange (Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger, II, p. 231, ftn. 1), Dutch losses between July 7 and August 7, 1837 were 12 dead and 27 wounded.

63. This is an error for Merapak.

64. August 16, 1837. It was subsequently named Kota Generaal Cochius by the Dutch.

marched to kampung Merapi [Merapak]; the population, on hearing this, marched out to meet them. After only one hour's fighting the Dutch troops retreated to Bondjol, while the inhabitants of Merapi [Merapak] returned to their houses. With this the war was at an end.

After a lapse of two days peace negotiations were concluded at Bondjol between two delegates of Tuanku Imam and the Government.

Later Tuanku Imam was invited by a letter from the Resident of Padang to go to the fort on the mountain and meet the Resident there. Having arrived at the above-mentioned mountain and not finding the Resident there, he was brought to Padang with his son and three followers, under escort of a captain, an officer, and twelve men, from where he was subsequently transported to Batavia; he remained there four months, in the house of the Commandant of the Balinese; then he was moved to Tjiandjur. After eleven months he was again sent to Batavia and was transported from there to Ambon by warship.

Written at Ambon, September 13, 1839



Tuanku Imam Bondjol  
(Source: de Steurs, De Vestiging en Uitbreiding, I, opposite p. 163)