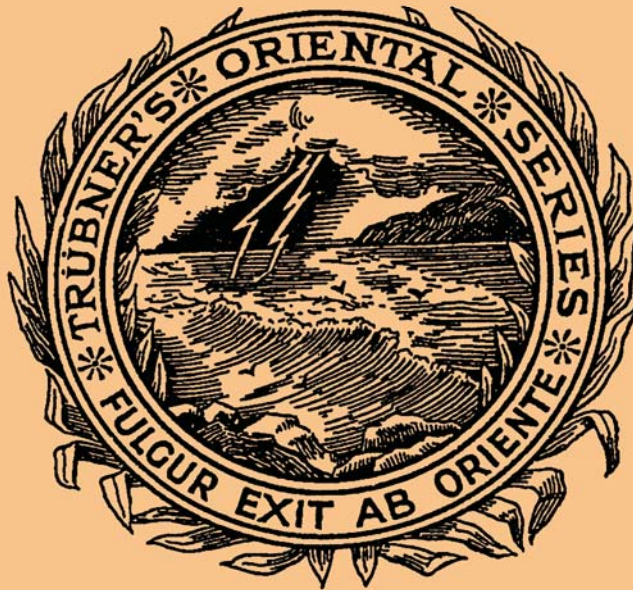


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WITH SIAM IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



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ENGLISH INTERCOURSE
WITH SIAM IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

JOHN ANDERSON



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ENGLISH INTERCOURSE

WITH

S I A M

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

JOHN ANDERSON, M.D.

LL.D. EDIN., F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF "MANDALAY TO MOMIEN," ETC.

WITH MAP.

LONDON:

ROUTLEDGE, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, & CO., LTD

1890.

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P R E F A C E.

THIS hitherto unwritten chapter in the history of British enterprise in the East owes its origin to the following circumstances.

Seven years ago, I found myself in the pleasant town of Mergui, a seaport on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. I had gone thither at the request of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, to bring together materials to illustrate in the museum some of the features of the marine fauna of the Bay of Bengal, a department of animal life then all but unrepresented in the collections contained in that institution.

On my return to this country from India in the beginning of 1885, the collections made in the Mergui Archipelago were brought to England to be placed in the hands of men competent to work out efficiently the various animal groups represented in them. My first idea was that the results of the labours of those employed in this work should be published by the Trustees of the Indian Museum, aided, if possible, by a grant from the Government of India.

To add to the interest of this contemplated report, I proposed to myself to preface it with a short account of the history of the district in which my labours had lain.

My appeals for scientific assistance to work out the collections met with a willing and speedy response in every instance, and I am consequently under a deep debt of gratitude to all those who aided me, and I have elsewhere attempted, although very imperfectly, to express my

obligations to them for their labours. However, after the various groups of animals represented in the collections had been distributed among my colleagues, and I had received some of their reports, I observed that the work was assuming proportions I had not anticipated, and found that its publication would be a much more costly undertaking than I had originally contemplated. This also proved to be the case as regards my own researches into the history of Mergui, which grew as the inquiry advanced.

In order to fulfil the understanding I had entered into with those scientific men who had so willingly given me their assistance, *viz.*, that their reports should be published with as little delay as possible, the duty was laid upon me to arrange, on my own responsibility, for the early publication of their labours.

The action taken by me in this respect was attended with complete success, as my appeal to the Council of the Linnæan Society of London to publish the scientific results of the expedition to Mergui in their Journal met with a cordial response from that body, on the condition that they received a small grant-in-aid towards the cost of publication. At that time I was under the impression that one volume of the Journal of the Linnæan Society would have sufficed for the purpose, but as the work advanced, it was found that a second volume would be needed, and this was granted by the Council on the same terms as the first.

Having thus had to give up my original idea that the Trustees should publish the report, and having collected a mass of materials bearing on the history of Tenasserim, including Mergui, which could not be published by the Linnæan Society, I resolved to publish my researches separately, and I was encouraged to do so by Dr. Rost; and I now make public this chapter in the history of English intercourse with Siam, a kingdom of which the province of Tenasserim formed a part in the seventeenth century. I am duly sensible of its many imperfections,

but as it brings to light facts hitherto generally unknown regarding the keen interest taken by our countrymen in the trade of Siam during that period, I venture to place them on record, and hope that my labours may be leniently judged.

By far the greater part of this narrative is founded upon original documents preserved in the India Office, and I am deeply indebted to Mr. Frederick Charles Danvers, the registrar and superintendent of these Records, for permission to examine the rich historical treasures under his immediate keeping. I have also to tender my thanks to Sir George Birdwood and to Mr. C. E. D. Black for affording me facilities for their examination that tended greatly to lighten my labours. My acknowledgments are likewise due to Dr. Rost for valuable counsel on several occasions.

The book itself speaks more tellingly than I can do of the immense assistance I have received from the erudite labours of that distinguished scholar, Colonel Sir Henry Yule, whose name will be found quoted throughout the work, either singly or associated with that of his lamented colleague, Arthur Coke Burnell. The names of others who have assisted me will be found mentioned in the pages of the work, and I take this opportunity to thank them individually for their aid.

In looking back on the seventeenth century, in the beginning of which our countrymen first appeared in the East in any numbers, and turning our eyes to the map of Southern Asia as it now exists, what a wondrous revolution has befallen that part of the globe since then. It is about a quarter of a century less than 300 years since English merchants first set foot in Southern Asia. Then they owned no more than the warehouses in the seaports and towns in which they were permitted to sell their goods, and their presence, in a map of that period, would be represented by small red dots, mere pin-points, scattered at wide intervals along the seaboard of India, Burma,

Siam, and some of the islands of Oceania. But in a map of to-day, we find the British Empire in the East extending from the frontiers of China and Siam westwards to those of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and from the Himalaya in undisturbed sway southwards to the waves of the Indian Ocean—a mighty empire, nearly 2000 miles in extent from east to west, and 1700 miles from north to south.

An unbiassed history of how this vast responsibility of government has gradually come to rest upon our nation has yet to be written.

In view of the wonderful changes that have befallen many sovereignties in the East since the seventeenth century, the circumstance that Siam has remained but little affected by them is a noteworthy fact. But now that that kingdom is in contact, both to the east and to the west, with European powers, the conditions of her past have become considerably altered, and no more forcible illustration of this can be adduced than the Commission that is shortly to assemble on her western frontier to settle certain questions affecting the limits of our jurisdiction in that region, arising out of our recent conquests in Burma.

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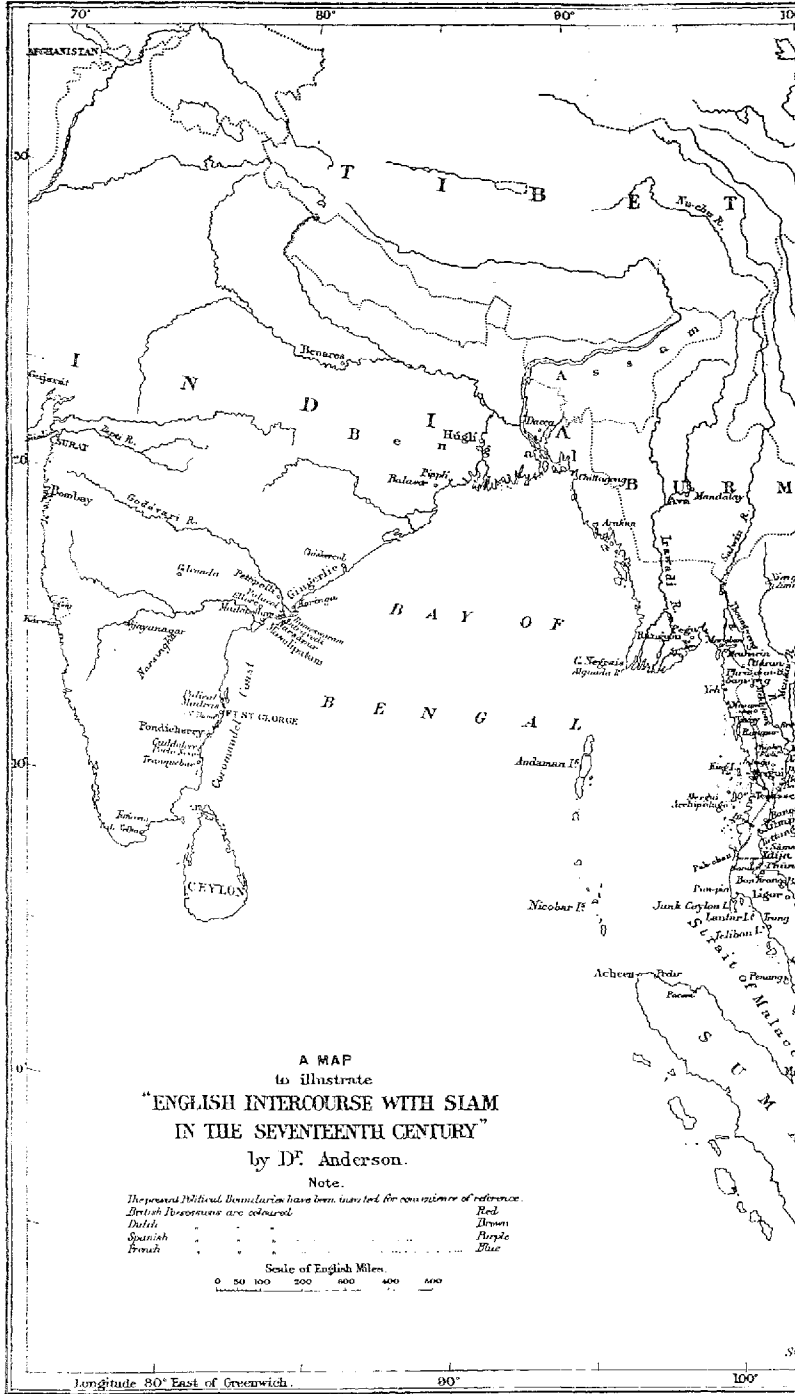
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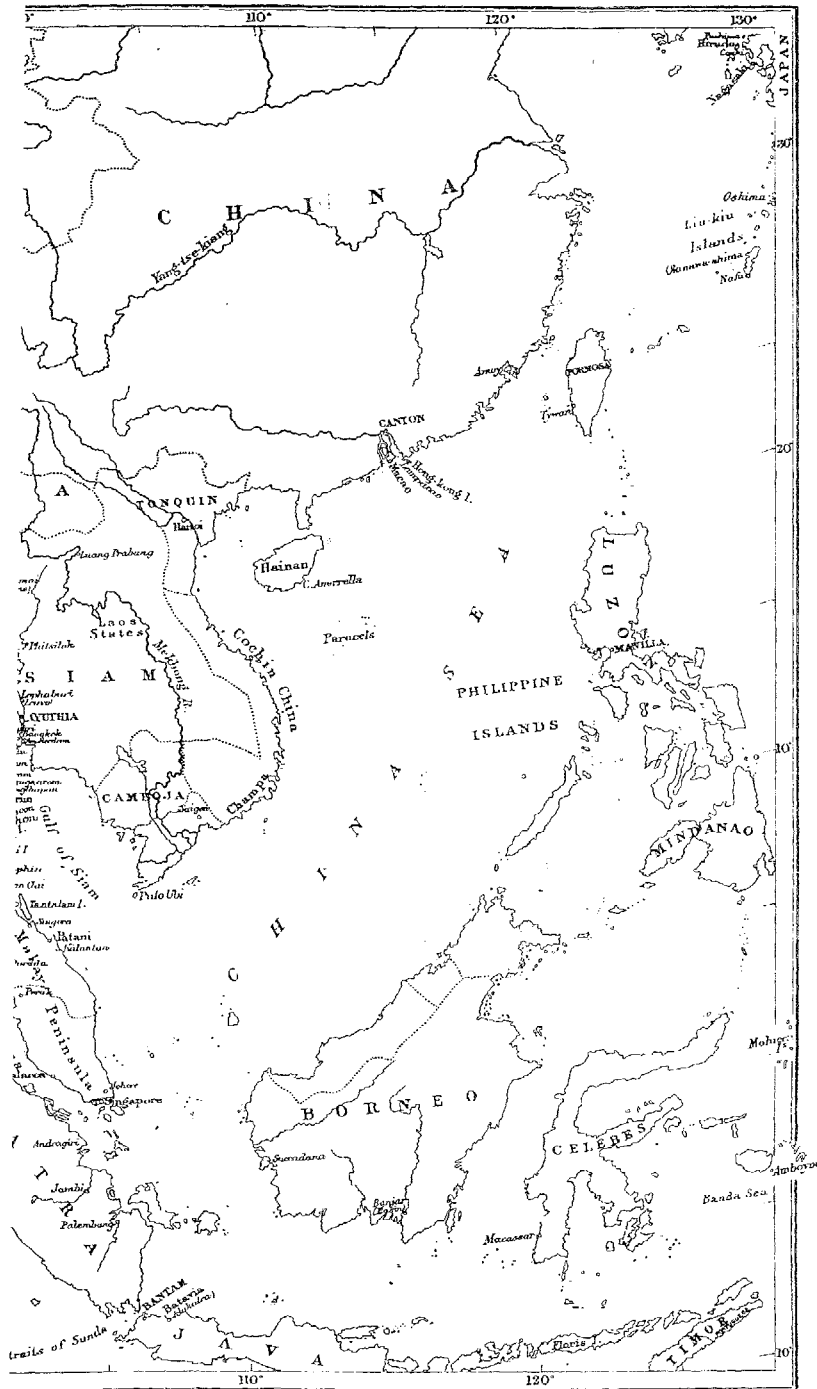
A MAP
to illustrate
"ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH SLAM
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY"
by D^r. Anderson.

Note.
The names without Italics have been used for convenience of reference.
British Possessions are coloured.

Dutch	Red
Spanish	Brown
French	Purple
	Blue

Scale of English Miles.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500

Longitude 80° East of Greenwich. 90° 100°



London: Trübner & Co.

London: Standard Geog. Inst.

ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH SIAM
IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

ON the 11th May, 1824, the Burmese seaport of Rangoon was attacked and occupied by the British troops under Sir Archibald Campbell. As the season advanced; and the country became inundated by the flooded rivers and heavy rains, it was found impracticable to engage in any active operations in the direction of Ava. A part of the force at his command was, therefore, dispatched by Sir A. Campbell, by sea, to reduce the maritime provinces of Burma, and the districts of Tavoy and Tenasserim were selected to be attacked. In selecting Tenasserim and its port, Mergui, as desirable acquisitions for Britain, the commander of the army of invasion was unwittingly carrying out a continuity of action, on the part of his nation, for, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, King James the Second and his Government, instigated by the East India Company, had yearned after Mergui, and had even attempted, but unsuccessfully, to capture that seaport, where it had been their intention, if they had triumphed, to erect a fort to command the navigation and commerce of the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and the overland route to Siam. This, however, in 1824, had all been forgotten; but the national aspiration of 1687 was gratified in 1824, as Mergui, on

being summoned, on the 6th October, to surrender unconditionally, fell in an hour's time before the gallant assault of the British troops, supported by the guns of the cruisers of the Honourable East India Company.¹

Two years later, the war, which had been forced upon Great Britain by the arrogance and hostility of the Burmese in the region of Assam, was brought to a close by the treaty of Yandabo, concluded between the King of Burma and the Honourable East India Company on the 24th February, 1826. By this treaty his Burman Majesty undertook to abstain from all future interference with the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and ceded to the British Government Arakan, and "the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui and Tenasserim," their islands and dependencies.²

The tract of country then acquired by Britain was 540 miles long, and extended from the junction of the Thoungyeng with the Salwin, in lat. $17^{\circ} 57' N.$, to the extremity of the peninsula of the Pak-cha, in $10^{\circ} N.$ Its breadth varied from seventy-five to fifteen miles, according as the sea-coast approached or receded from the range of mountains defining the eastern boundary of British territory and extending throughout the entire length of the province. The rivers on the eastern side of this chain of mountains flow into the Gulf of Siam, those on its western flank into the Bay of Bengal.³

These districts, now collectively known as the Province of Tenasserim, have had a very checkered history, being sometimes subject to the sway of Burma and Pegu, and at other periods to that of Siam. According to the native history of Taungu, King Narabadisithu,⁴ one of

¹ Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War, with an Introductory Sketch of the Events of the War, and an Appendix. Compiled and edited by Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. Calcutta: From the Government Gazette Press, by G. H. Huttmann, 1827.

² Wilson, *l. c.*, Documents, p. 209.

³ Calcutta Review, vol. viii., 1847, p. 73.

⁴ Burma, its People and National Products, by the Rev. F. Mason. Rangoon, London, and New York, 1860, p. 46.

the famous figures in the early history of Burma, and who reigned from 1167 to 1204, ruled from the borders of China to the mouth of the Tenasserim river—a definition of his sovereignty now descriptive of the Burmese possessions of Great Britain. There would appear to be some foundation for his claim to Tenasserim, as a pagoda situated on Zediwon hill,¹ about eleven miles inland from Mergui, is said to have been built by him when he visited this remote province of his kingdom, near the end of his reign.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, Siam had established its influence over Tenasserim and Tavoy, and even as far north as Martaban, as the second Shan king of that principality, on ascending the throne of his brother Warêru, the first of this Shan dynasty of the Pegu kingdom, had to solicit a recognition of his title from the king of Siam.² His successor, the third king, although married to a daughter of the king of Siam, took possession of Tavoy and Tenasserim; but during the reign of the fourth monarch, about 1325–30, the provinces of Tavoy and Tenasserim were recovered by Siam. In 1373, the Siamese are said to have founded the town of Tenasserim, and seven years later to have built the pagoda of Wotsheng,³ still standing on the ruins of Old Tenasserim. This sacred edifice has been enabled to withstand the onslaught of five centuries by the ever-recurring reparative efforts, the good work of pious Buddhists.

We have now to turn to the Siamese history, which, however, unfortunately has neither the fulness nor credibility of the historical documents of Burma, owing to the circumstance that the State Records of the country perished in the flames that consumed the capital in 1767.⁴ What now exists of Siamese history consists of two sec-

¹ British Burma Gazetteer, 2 vols., 1879, 1880, vol. ii. p. 403.

² History of Burma, &c., by Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Phayre. London, 1883, p. 66.

³ British Burma Gazetteer, vol. ii. p. 402.

⁴ E. M. Satow, Transactions Asiatic Society, Japan, vol. xiii., 1885, p. 181.

tions, the *Phongsá-va-dan-Muang-ndi* and the *Phongsá-va-dan-Muang-Thái*, "composed by the great-uncle of the present King from fragments preserved in monasteries, and from traditions surviving among the priests."¹

The first part of this history is full of fables and myths,² whilst the second, known officially as the *Phongsá-va-dan-Rachha*, gives an account of the Siamese kings, drawn up in the way already indicated, commencing with the foundation of the capital, Ayuthia, which it assigns to the year 1350-51.³

As has been previously stated, the provinces of Tenasserim and Tavoy were recovered by Siam, between 1325 and 1330, and when Phra Rama Thibodi of the *Thái-ndi*, or Little Thái, founded his new capital Ayuthia, they formed, according to Siamese history, an integral part of the kingdom of Siam, which then embraced Moulmein and Martaban.⁴ If any subjection, however, to Siam existed on the part of these two states, it was in all probability not more a than feeble tributary fealty; and it has been recorded by João de Barros,⁵ that Siamese rule, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, did not extend farther north than Tavoy.

The province or state of Tenasserim, to the south of Tavoy, seems to have been held by the Siamese, without

¹ Joseph Haas, *Journal North. Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, vol. xiv., 1879, p. 35.* E. M. Satow, *Transactions Asiatic Society Japan, vol. xiii., 1885, p. 181.*

² *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam. par Mgr. Pallegoix, tom. ii. Paris, 1884, p. 58.*

³ *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Siam and Cochin-China, by John Crawford, F.R.S. 2 vols. London, 1830, vol. ii. p. 141.* *The Kingdom and People of Siam, by Sir John Bowring, F.R.S. 2 vols. London, 1857, vol. i. p. 43.* Colonel H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo. 2 vols., 2nd edit., 1875, vol. ii. p. 259.* R. N. Cust, *Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877, p. 213.* Mr. Cust says, "An inscription exists in the ruins of the old capital of Ayuthia, dated 1284 A.D." This may possibly be the inscription that was found at Sakkothai and described by Bowring (*l. c.*, pp. 278, 279), and which, according to Bastian (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xxxiv. pt. i. p. 30*), is now preserved in the palace at Bangkok. Yule (*l. c.*, p. 259) says the date of this inscription is almost certainly 1292-93, and he quotes Garnier (*Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine, tom. i. pp. 136-137*) in support of the alteration of the date.

⁴ Pallegoix, *l. c.*, p. 75.

⁵ *Terceira Decada da Asia, Lisboa (1563), Liv. iii. folio 65.*

any intermission worthy of note, up to 1765, when it was reduced by the Burmese,¹ who retained possession of it until it was ceded to Britain by the treaty of Yandabo.

Tenasserim, the chief town of this province, had maintained a reputation for trade among European nations from the early part of the seventeenth century; but, in 1760, it was pillaged by Alaunghprâ, and further devastated, in 1765, while its downfall was sealed by the destruction of Ayuthia, in 1767, and by the attainment once more by the Burmese of supremacy along the eastern sea-board of the Bay of Bengal, as far south as the mouths of the Tenasserim river. In its fall it brought commercial ruin on its seaport, Mergui.

The importance of Tenasserim and Mergui, prior to the Burman conquest of the province, depended on the circumstance that the town of Tenasserim was the starting-point, on the western sea-coast of Siam, of an overland route to the capital, Ayuthia, and a port also at which vessels of light draught occasionally² discharged their cargoes, and thus avoided the long and dangerous voyage to the capital round the extremity of the peninsula; while larger vessels resorted to the safe and commodious harbour of Mergui, whence their cargoes from the Red Sea, the Coromandel Coast, and Bengal were transmitted in boats to Tenasserim, and thence overland to Ayuthia.

Tavernier,³ in his account of the kingdom of Siam, says that "the shortest and nearest way for the *Europeans* to go to this Kingdom, is to go to *Ispahan*, from *Ispahan* to *Ormus*, from *Ormus* to *Surat*, from *Surat* to *Golconda*, from *Golconda* to *Maslipatan*, there to embark for *Denou-*

¹ Phayre's History of Burma, pp. 184-190. pt. ii., 1838, p. 702) says, "The large *Tenasserim* river is accessible there

² "The old capital of the province may be approached by vessels of 130 tons burthen."—Calcutta Government Gazette, March 2, 1826, quoted by H. H. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, App., p. lviii. Helfer (Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. vii.

(village of Tenasserim) to vessels of 100 tons burthen."
³ The Six Voyages of John Baptiste Tavernier, &c., Finished in the year 1670; made English by J. P. 1 vol. folio. London, 1678, Book iii. p. 189.

serin, which is one of the Ports belonging to the Kingdom of *Siam*. From *Denouserin* to the Capital City, which is also call'd *Siam*, is thirty-five days' journey,¹ part by Water, part by Land, by Waggon, or upon Elephants. The way, whether by Land or Water, is very troublesome; for by Land you must be always upon your guard for fear of Tigers and Lions; by Water, by reason of the many falls of the River, they are forc'd to hoise up their Boats with Engines."

The difficulties of the route, however, were not such as to deter travellers from frequently using it, as in the sixteenth century it was traversed by Portuguese and Siamese ambassadors or envoys, and, in the seventeenth century, by an ambassador of Louis XIV. of France, by envoys from Goa to the court of Siam, by ambassadors from Shāh Sulaimān of Persia, and the kings of Goleonda, by French and Portuguese missionaries and Jesuits, and by the servants of the East India Company, who used the route for the transmission of their Indian correspondence, directing their letters "*vid Tenassaree.*"

The travellers' route lay up the river as far as the town of Tenasserim, and beyond this still farther by boat to a place called Jelinga,² the Ialinque of the map drawn up by M. Cassini (a member of that distinguished family of astronomers who for four generations filled the office of Director of the Observatory at Paris), for the illustration of the French ambassador's account of Siam,³ and the Jalinguer of Crawford's map.⁴

At Jelinga the land journey of this route began, and could be performed either by doolies, carts, or on elephants.

¹ The distance is here over-estimated, as the journey generally took ten to twelve days.

³ A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, by M. De La Loubère, Envoy Extraordinary from the French King to the King of Siam, in the years 1687 and 1688. 2 vols. London, 1693.

² "*To the Right Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses Assembled in Parliament. The Answer of the East India Company, to two Printed Papers of Mr. Samuel White, One Entitled His Case; The other, A True Account of the Passages at Mergen.*"

⁴ History of the Indian Archipelago. 3 vols. 1820. Vol. iii.

The route, after crossing the watershed, followed down the valley of a river, and terminated at the city of Phiphri,¹ described by De La Loubère² as lying at the mouth of a river about two leagues to the west of the most occidental mouth of the Menam. In Pallegoix's map³ it is placed on a small stream entering the Gulf of Siam, opposite the western extremity of the bar at the mouth of the Menam river. In early times it was a place of importance, as it was a residence of the kings of Siam, and the office of governor was hereditary, as in the case of Tenasserim.

In De La Loubère's map a place called Pram occurs on the opposite and right bank of the river on which Phiphri is situated. It appears to be identical with Peranne, a place mentioned in the literature of 1688⁴ as the terminus on the Gulf of Siam of the route from Mergui, and the point at which travellers embarked in boats for Ayuthia.

But instead of proceeding to Phiphri or to Pram, there was another route, terminating at a place near the eastern coast called Queal,⁵ evidently the Cuy of Antonio Galvano,⁶ the Couil of De La Loubère, the Kyu of Pallegoix, and occupying much the same position as Chulai in modern maps, in the most recent of which one fails to find any trace of Phiphri.⁷

In Pallegoix's map there is another route laid down direct from Mergui by land in a north-easterly direction, straight to Xam, on the western coast of the Gulf of Siam, some distance to the south of Kyu. The point at which this route crossed the Tenasserim river was apparently at Jelinga, whence it went more directly east to the gulf.

¹ Voyage de Siam des Pères Jesuites, &c., par Père G. Tachard. Paris, 1686, p. 213, where it is called *Piplis*.

² New Hist. Rel., p. 8.

³ Descr. du Roy. Thai ou Siam, 1854.

⁴ The Answer of the East India Company, l. c.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Antonio Galvano's Discoveries of the World. Hakluyt Soc., 1862, p. 112, where it is said from "Patane, vnto the citie of Cuy, and from thence to Odia."

⁷ J. M'Carthy, Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc., vol. x. No. 3, New Monthly Series, March 1858.

It was probably a route frequented by the French missionaries in the time of Bishop Pallegoix.

There was yet another route from Mergui and Tenasserim to the eastern shore of the peninsula, but instead of going in a northerly direction, it proceeded from Tenasserim to the south-east and terminated at a place called Bangnarom, on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam, doubtless the B. Iröm of Pallegoix, probably meaning oyster-village. Along this route Mr. Leal, the interpreter to Captain Burney's mission to Bangkok, in 1825-26, travelled with between five and six hundred captives who had been carried off from Tenasserim by the Siamese, and had been liberated on the demand of our Government.¹ As Mr. Leal's travels across the Siamese frontier in more than one direction seem to have been almost forgotten, the short account that was given of them by Government, in 1827, from notes supplied by him, is reproduced as an appendix² to this work.

The invasions of Siam by Alaunghprâ and his successors depopulated not only Tenasserim province, but the Siamese dominions on the eastern shore of the gulf, as far as and including Ligor itself, which even, in 1825, had a scanty population, brought about by these catastrophes. In that year the Siamese, hearing of the success of the British at Mergui and to the north, took alarm lest their territory should next be invaded, and orders were consequently issued from Bangkok to the governors of Kraw and of Xümphon that no trade was to be permitted between Siamese territory and Mergui. While Arthur Harris³ was at Xümphon, in January 1826, he asked the governor to forward a letter, with which he had been intrusted by

¹ From the Calcutta Government Gazette, January 25 and February 8, 1827, quoted by H. H. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, App., p. lxxv.

² Appendix A.

³ An Account of an Overland Journey from Ligor to Bangkok. Madras, 1854. The journey was

made when Harris was acting as assistant-surgeon to Captain Burney in Siam (1825-26), when the latter concluded a commercial treaty with the Siamese, but the narrative of the journey was not published until 1854. It was edited by an unknown hand.

Captain Burney, to Mr. Maingy at Mergui; but he was told that this could not be done, as very positive orders had been issued to prevent all communication between the Siamese and the inhabitants of the new British territories.

The Siamese governor of Xūmphon,¹ shortly after Mergui and Tavoy came into our possession,² continued to make predatory raids³ on these districts. This was due to the enmity then existing between the Siamese and Burmese peoples, the result of the excesses of the kings of the Alaungphrà dynasty. These armed incursions were attended with all the deeds of cruelty which, from time immemorial, have distinguished warfare in Burma and Siam. Many hundreds of captives were carried off by him to Ligor, and no less than fourteen hundred were recovered by the mission of Captain Burney to Siam, in 1825-26. Fortunately this iniquitous system has ceased to exist since the treaty with Siam was made by Captain Burney in 1826; but that treaty signally failed to restore the trade⁴ between the two shores of the peninsula, as it had been literally annihilated by the ruthless massacre of the inhabitants. Could it once more be restored, a period of prosperity might be inaugurated in the district of Mergui, a portion of our Burmese possessions which has made little progress since it came under

¹ Xūmphon was the place where the Siamese troops destined for the attack of Tenasserim and Mergui always assembled. Harris, *l. c.*

² H. H. Wilson, *l. c.* App., p. lxxv.

³ H. H. Wilson, *l. c.*, Documents, Nos. 132-135.

⁴ By the tenth article of the treaty it was provided that Asiatics, British subjects, not being Burmese, Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter and trade in Siamese territory, from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Ye, were to be allowed to do so freely, overland and by water, upon the English furnishing

them with proper certificates. But merchants were forbidden to bring opium into the country, as it was positively a contraband article in the territories of Siam. If any were discovered, it was to be burned and destroyed. The original Siamese, in the tenth as well as the thirteenth article of the treaty mentions that *Khek*, and *Cheem*, or Chinese only, shall be allowed to travel into the interior of Siamese territory from Tenasserim. *Khek* signifies a foreigner, but was applied to Malays and natives of Hindustan not descended from Europeans. Calcutta Gazette, quoted by H. H. Wilson, App., p. lxxviii.

British rule. To promote such an end would be wisdom compared with the trifling and vain course, pursued by successive Deputy-Commissioners, of trying to introduce the cultivation of foreign products into a country which only requires its own vegetable and mineral wealth to be developed by the re-opening of a trade route once renowned in the commercial history of the Malayan Peninsula and Siam.¹

The village of Tenasserim, situated on the ruins of the old town, the wall of which, in 1827, had a circumference of four miles, lies at the confluence of the Great and Little Tenasserim rivers, on the left bank of the latter, about thirty-seven miles south-east of Mergui, and about sixty miles in a straight line from the eastern coast of the peninsula. I am not aware whether the officers of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India fixed the position of Tenas-

¹ Since writing the above, the following passage bearing on this route, has been found among the many extracts from the Calcutta Government Gazette, of 1827, quoted by H. H. Wilson. It is as follows—"It is to be hoped, that our officers at Mergui will shortly be able to re-open and re-establish these old and almost forgotten roads into the rich kingdom of Siam, and thus revive the ancient and valuable commerce, which was conducted with Siam through this channel, first by the Portuguese, and afterwards by the French."—App., p. lxxvi.

In the British Burma Gazetteer, vol. ii. 1879, p. 384, the trade routes between Mergui and Siam are described as follows:—"The most northern pass across the main range into Siam is by the Tsa-raw but this is so difficult that it is almost impracticable and only used by Kareng. Seventy-six miles farther south is another, called by the Burmese 'Maw-doung' and by the Siamese 'Khow-maun,' the one meaning 'Tired Hill,' the other 'Pillow Mountain,' at the source

of the Thien-khwon stream; this is the main line of communication between Mergui and the southern provinces of Siam. On the English side the country is so infested with tigers that the natives never attempt the journey unarmed, or in less numbers than three. Apart from this the Thien-khwon stream is navigable only by the smallest boats during that part of the year when travelling is possible. The route is both bad and long and it is also through a line of country where elephants are not procurable, in addition to which there is a scarcity of drinking water on the Siamese side."

The Tsa-raw or Sa-ra-wa route, however, seems to have been the route most used towards the end of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered, and was the one followed by ambassadors and others. It was shorter than the southern route, so far as the sea was concerned. For an account of a journey from the shore of the Gulf of Siam by the southern route to Mergui, see the Appendix already referred to.

serim in 1881-82, as materials for ascertaining this do not exist in London; but they determined the position of Tenasserim Peak, No. 2,¹ in the neighbourhood of the old town, and made it to be lat. 12° 2' 58" N., and long. 99° 1' 6" E.

The name of this town has undergone various renderings in European literature,² depending on the nationalities of the travellers, the sources of their information and on other circumstances.

¹ Preliminary Chart of the Eastern Frontier Series. Seasons 1877-78, and 1879-82.

² The following are some of the references to this province and town, and the modifications of the name:—*Thenasserim*, Nicolo di Conti (Poggii Bracciolini, *Hist. de Varietate Fortunæ*, lib. 4, p. 131, Paris, 1723), (1430). *Tenâseri*, Abdur-razzâk (Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Biblioth. du Roi, &c., t. xiv. p. 429). In Sir H. M. Elliot's translation (*Hist. of India*, vol. iv. p. 96) it is *Tanâsiri*. In the *Roterio da Viagem*, &c., fez Dôm Vasco Da Gama, em 1497, Porto, 1838, it is *Tenaçar*. Amerigo Vespucci, in his letter from the Cape de Verde Islands, 1501 (*Il Milione di Marco Polo*, dale Conte Gio. Batt. Baldelli Boni, t. i., 1827), rendered it *Tanasser*. Another Italian, Leo. Da Ca' Masser, 1506 (*Relazione di L. Da Ca' M.*, &c., Appendice all' *Archivo Storico Italiano*, t. ii., 1845, p. 28), wrote it *Tenazar*. Varthema (1510) wrote of the country, which he had never seen, as *Tarnassari* (*Itin. de L. V. Bolognese nello Egypto*, &c., 4to, stampato in Roma MDX., folios lxvi. to lxx.). Albuquerque (1511) rendered it *Tanaçarij* (*Commentarios do Grande A. D.*, &c., Lisboa, 1576, p. 399). G. da Empoli (1514) wrote to his father, *Tanazzari* (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, App. t. iii., Firenze, 1846, p. 80). Duarte Barbosa (1516) wrote it both *Tanaçari* and *Tanaçary* (*Livro D. B.*, in *Collecção de Noticias*, &c., Publicanda pela Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa,

t. ii. num. vii., Lisboa, 1813, pp. 242 and 369. Gaspar Correa (1519) knew it as *Tanaçarim* (*Lendas da India*, *Collecção de Monumentos Ineditos*, &c., Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa, t. ii. pt. i. p. 568). Pinto (1546) renders it *Taunaçarin* (*Peregrinaçoës de F. Mendez Pinto*. . . no reyno da China, Tartaria & Sornau, &c., Lisboa, 1614, fol. 17 *et seq.*). De Barros (*Decadas da Asia*, Decad. ii. (1552), Liv. vi. chap. i. fol. 79; Decad. iii. (1563), Liv. ii. fol. 37), gives both *Tanaçarij* and *Tenasarij*. Ramusio, in the *Sommario de Regni* (*Primo Vol.*, &c., *Navig. et Viag.*, 1550, p. 361), writes it as *Tanaçarim*. Garcia de Orta (1563) conversed of it with Ruano (*Coloquios dos simples; e drogas*, &c., Goa, 1563, pp. 22-23) as *Tanassarim* and *Tenassarim*. Cesare dei Fedrici (1568) described it (*Viaggio di M. C. dei F. nell' India Orient.*, &c., Venetia, 1587, p. 94) as *Tenasari*. The Dutchman, Linschoten (1587), spoke of it (*The Voy. of J. v. L. to the East Indies*, Hak. Soc., 1885, vol. i. p. 101 *et seq.*) as *Tanassarim*. The Englishman, Fitch (1587), heard of it probably from Malays, and called it *Tenaseri* (*Hakluyt Collection*, vol. i., 1599, p. 396). In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (1590) it is spoken of as *Dahnsari* (Blockmann's ed., Calcutta, 1873, vol. i. p. 281). Sir James Lancaster (1592) knew of it as *Tanaseri* (*Voy. of Sir J. L.*, Hak. Soc., 1877, pp. 15-16). Christoval de Jaque (1596-97) spoke of it as *Tenauri* (*Arch. des Voy. par H. Ternaux-Compans* [1841-45], t. i.

The present Siamese name of Tenasserim is *Tānaosī*,¹ the Malay form is *Tānahsri*² or *Tānasari*,³ while the Burmese has been rendered as *Tenanthari*,⁴ *Tannethaiee*,⁵ *Ta-nen-thā-ri*,⁶ and *Tanang-sārī*.⁷ The Chinese name appears to be *Ta-na-ssu-li-sen*.⁸

In 1686, Tenasserim town appears to have been known to the Siamese simply as *Tannaw*. This name occurs in a printed document attached to a petition presented in 1689 to the House of Commons by the East India Company.⁹ This document contains the constitution of a commission appointed by the Siamese Government for

p. 312). The Arctic mariner, John Davis (1599), steered towards *Tanaserin* (Voy. and Works of J. D., the Navigator, Hak. Soc., 1880, p. 154). P. Francesco Fernando, writing from Bengal in 1599, spoke of it as *Tananarino* (Lettera del P. Nicolo Pimenta, Visitatore della Comp. di Gesu' nell' India. Roma, 1601, p. 43). In Decada xiii. (1612-17) da Hist. da India, composta por Antonio Bocarro, Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa, pt. i., 1876, it is mentioned (p. 135) as *Tenassarim* and (p. 185) as *Tanaçarim*. John Saris (1605-9), who knew it well by reputation, spoke of it as *Tenassere* (Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i., 1625, p. 392). Pierre du Jarric (1615), in his account of the visit of Sequeira (1606) the Jesuit to Sion (Siam), (Thesaurus Indiarum, 1615, t. iii. pp. 432-436) wrote of it as *Tanaçarij*. Gotardo Arthus (Historia Indiarum Orientalis, &c., p. 329, 1608) describes it as *Tanassaria*. Peter Heylyn (ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΣ, A Little Description of the Great World, 3rd edit., Oxford, 1626, p. 677) spoke of it as *Tonazarin*. Tavernier wrote it *Denouserin* (l. c., p. 189); he returned from the East Indies in 1669. In a document (1664) preserved in the Public Record Office, London, it is written *Denouserree*. De La Loubère wrote it, as it is now generally used by our countrymen, viz., as *Tenasserim*; but D. Gio. Francesca

Gemelli Careri (1695), (Giro del Mondo, Napoli, 1699-1700, t. iii. pp. 358, 359), used *Tenazarin*.

¹ Dictionarium Linguae Thai sive Siamensis, by D. J. B. Pallegoix. Paris, 1854, p. 779.

² A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries, by John Crawford, Esq., F.R.S., 1856, p. 429.

³ Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, by Col. H. Yule, C.B., LL.D., and A. C. Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E., 1886, p. 695.

⁴ Captain R. Lloyd, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. vii. pt. ii., 1838, p. 1027.

⁵ The Indian Directory, or Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, by James Horsburgh, Esq., F.R.S., vol. ii., 1855, p. 34, footnote.

⁶ Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 695.

⁷ The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil. Edited by Mr. Albert Gray, assisted by H. C. P. Bell. Hakluyt Society, vol. ii. part i., 1888, p. 140 footnote.

⁸ George Phillips, Journ. China Branch Royal Asiatic Soc., vol. xxi. (1885), p. 221.

⁹ The Answer of the *East India Company* to two Printed Papers of Mr. Samuel White, one entitled *His Case*; the other, *A True Account of the Passages at Mergen*.

the administration of the province of Tenasserim, which in those days was about one-half the size of the present British province, and gives the official titles of the members, two of whom were Englishmen. The head of the commission was an *Oeya* (evidently a misprint for *Oeya*), and had the title of *Oeya Tannaw*, as the town of Tenasserim had then the rank of a city of the second class, and was under the jurisdiction of an *Oeya*.¹ This name *Tannaw*, has survived up to recent times, for the *Tannan* of Horsburgh,² is unquestionably only a modification of it, due either to a clerical, or to a printer's error.

Tanahsrí is made up of two Malay words, viz., *Tānah*, country, and *srí*, prosperity, liberality, beauty, grace, glory;³ and in connection with this, it is noteworthy that *sí*, the terminal syllable of *Tānaosí*, also means in Siamese pretty, beautiful, glorious.⁴ The affix *sí* is likewise found in Siamese names of some towns, e.g., *Pharma-sí*, the celebrated city of Benares.⁵ The similarity of the Siamese *Tānao* to the Malay *Tānah* suggests that it has possibly a Sanscrit origin like the latter, and a similar meaning.

Duarte Barbosa⁶ in speaking of the Island of Ceylon, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, said it was called by the Indians *Tenarisin*, and added "que quer dizer terra das delicias." This same expression was used by François Pyrard of Laval in his account of Ceylon, and Mr. Gray⁷ thinks that, in using it, Pyrard was seemingly quoting Duarte Barbosa, who, according to Mr. Gray,

¹ A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, by M^r. De La Loubère, p. 80.

² Horsburgh, *l. c.*, p. 34.

³ A Dictionary of the Malay Language, by Wm. Marsden, F.R.S., London, 1812, p. 169. Dictionnaire Malais-Français, par l'Abbé P. Favre, t. ii., 1875, p. 748.

⁴ Pallegoix, Dict., p. 733: *srí* in Siamese also means beautiful, glorified, &c., *ibid.*, p. 740.

⁵ Pallegoix, *ibid.*, p. 544.

⁶ Ramusio, Primo vol., Delle Navig. et Viag., 1550, p. 337. Collecção de Noticias para a Hist. e Geof. das Nações Ultramarinas, &c., Acad. Real das Sc., t. ii. num. vii., Lisboa, 1813, Livro de Duarte Barbosa, p. 353.

⁷ The Voyage of François Pyrard to the East Indies, &c., vol. ii. pt. 1, 1888, p. 140.

had misused the term in applying it to Ceylon. Barbosa, however, distinguishes Tenasserim as *Tanaçar* and *Tanaçarij*, words practically identical with *Tanaseri*, the Portuguese rendering of the Malay *Tānahsrī* and *Tānahserī*, as it is pronounced.

In Lord Stanley's edition of Duarte Barbosa's work,¹ translated from an early Spanish manuscript preserved at Barcelona, "full of abbreviations, and without punctuation or capital letters at the beginning of sentences or for the proper names," the foregoing sentence is rendered very differently, as it runs thus: "the Indians call it (Ceylon) Ylinarim. It is a rich and luxuriant land. . . ."

Mergui, owing to its position and to the safety of its harbour, still retains a certain amount of the trade of the western coast, and is the only port of any note between Moulmein and Penang.

It is situated in lat. 12° 26' N., and long. 98° 38' E.,² at the mouth of the Tenasserim river, and on an island formed by branches of that stream, and to the west of the town lies the beautiful group of high wooded islands known as the Mergui Archipelago.

In European literature, Mergui is first mentioned as Meguim, belonging to the kingdom of Siam.³ Its Siamese

¹ The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, by Duarte Barbosa, edited by the Hon. Henry Stanley. Hakluyt Society, 1866, p. 166.

² I am indebted to General Walker, C.B., and to Sir Charles Bernard, K.C.S.I., for the latitude and longitude of Mergui. These are shown on a chart in the India Office entitled "Preliminary Chart of the Eastern Frontier Series, Seasons 1877-78 and 1879-82," and giving the most recent data of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India in that district. The station at which the above positions were taken was the Five Pagoda Hill, Mergui, 112 feet above the harbour.

³ De Barros, Decad. iii. Liv. ii. (1563), fol. 37. The following are some of the other modifications of this name:—Cesare dei Fedrici (1568), (*Viaggio di M. C. F. nell' India, &c.*, p. 94; Ramusio, vol. iii., 1606, p. 392 seq.) has it *Mergi*. Pinto (*Perigrinaçoës*, 1614, p. 179), *Merguim*. Van Schouten calls it *Mergy* (*A Description of the Government, &c.*, of Siam, London, 1663, p. 124); and Van Vliet (*Beschr. van het Koningryk Siam, &c.*, p. 40, Leiden, 1692) mentions it as *Myrghy*; De La Loubère's name for it is *Merguy*, *l. c.*, p. 8. The Englishmen residing at the place called it *Mergen* (*The Answer of the East India Company, &c.*); while in a book written about the

name is *Marit*,¹ and its Burmese *Myut*² or *Myat*,³ pronounced *Beit*;⁴ but if it has a Malay name, which it probably has, it has apparently not been recorded.

In the document⁵ in which the constitution of the Tenasserim Commission of 1686 is detailed, an *Opra* is mentioned as the lowest member but one of the commission, its most subordinate official being the *Olvang Chomoung*. The first of these offices was held by an Englishman, Richard Burneby, and his title was *Opra Marrat*, or more correctly *Opra Marit*, *i. e.*, governor of Mergui. In those days there were six orders of cities in Siam,⁶ and those of a lesser grade than cities entitled to *Ocyas* were governed by *Opras*; and from independent evidence existing in the Records of the India Office, it is known that Richard Burneby, in 1684-87, held a high appointment at Mergui under the Siamese Government, and what that appointment was, and the Siamese name of Mergui, are thus learned directly from the document in question, which was translated into English, either at Ayuthia, or at Mergui itself.

The foregoing names of this town may possibly have had a Talaing origin, the European form Mergui being a corruption of *Marit*, with the addition of the Burmese word *gyi*, meaning great, an affix that frequently occurs in Burmese names of places.

There is a curious fact connected with *Marit* and *Tānao*, *viz.*, that the two combined form *Maritanau*, the Malay name of Martaban, according to Crawford.⁷ The Siamese claim to have possessed Martaban at different periods. It

same time it appears as *Morgen* (A Full and True Relation of the Great and Wonderful Revolution that happened lately in the Kingdom of Siam. London, 1690).

¹ Pallegoix's Dictionary, p. 430.

² Captain Lloyd, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vol. vii. pt. i. p. 1037.

³ Captain J. Butler's Gazetteer of the Mergui District, 1884, p. 1.

⁴ Horsburgh, *l. c.*, p. 38; Butler,

l. c., p. 1; Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 434.

⁵ The Answer of the East India Company, &c.

⁶ De La Loubère, *l. c.*, p. 79.

⁷ Dictionary of Malay, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 114. In his Descriptive Dict. of the Indian Islands, &c., 1856, p. 429, he says, the Malays call Martaban *Muritanau*.

is known by them at present as *Mo-ta-ma*,¹ and to the Talaiings as *Mu-ta-man*. On an inscribed stone at the pagoda of Koung Mhoo daw, or Yaza ma-netsoola, near Ava, Mouttama or Martaban is mentioned as part of the kingdom of Yamaniya, a section of the Burmese empire at that period, 1636-50 A.D.² It would thus appear as if not only the Malay, but also the Siamese, Talaiing, and Burmese names for Martaban were compounds of the native names of Mergui and Tenasserim.

The capital of Siam throughout more than four centuries was Ayuthia, situated on an island in the river *Mē-nām*, or "mother of the waters," about sixty miles from the sea, and in lat. 14° 26' N. and long. 100° 40' E.

In the valuable work of the Heratee Abdur-razzāk³ entitled "*The Rising of the two fortunate Planets (Jupiter and Venus) and the Junction of the two Seas*," it is stated that traders from *Shahr-i-nao* frequented the port of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf in the early part of the fifteenth century.

In the Malay Annals⁴ a great Raja is mentioned as having reigned in *Shaher-al-nawi*, a term which, in another part of the Annals, is said to have been the name by

¹ Pallegoix's Dict., p. 446.

² A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855, by Capt. Henry Yule, London, 1858. Appendix B., p. 351. Extracted from the MS. Journal of Major H. Burney, Resident at Ava, that accompanied a letter dated Sept. 11, 1830, preserved in the Foreign Office, Calcutta.

³ Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres Bibliothèques, Publiés par l'Inst. Roy. de France, faisant suite aux Not. et Ext. lus au Comité établi dans l'Acad. des Inscript. et Bel. Let., t. xiv., Paris, 1843; also, The History of India as told by its own Historians, by Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., edited and

continued by Prof. John Dowson, M.R.A.S., vol. iv. p. 89 *et seq.* In this translation there is an entirely different rendering given to this particular word in Abdur-razzāk's text, but Colonel Yule considers that M. Quatremère's rendering *Shahr-i-nao* or "New City" in the "Notices et Extraits" is preferable to Sir H. M. Elliot's "the ninety cities." Dowson, *l. c.*, p. 514.

⁴ Malay Annals, translated from the Malay Language by the late Dr. John Leyden, with an Introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., London, 1821, p. 73, where it occurs as *Shaher al-nawi*, and at p. 121 as *Saheri nawi*, and it is stated to have had "all the regions under the wind dependent on it."

which Siam was known in ancient times. Colonel Yule¹ has directed attention to Mr. Braddell's² suggestion that the name *Sheher-al-nawi* "refers to the distinction spoken of by La Loubère between the Thai-*Yai*, an older people of the race, and the Thai-*Noi*, the people known to us as Siamese." He, however, considers this less probable than that *Shahr-i-nao* simply referred to Siam and its capital Ayuthia. He explains³ the origin of the term thus:—"We have still a city of Siam, *Lophaburi*, anciently a capital, and the name of which appears to be a Sanskrit or Pali form, *Nava-pura*, meaning the same as *Shahr-i-nao* (New City); and this indeed may have given rise to the latter name." He also points out that this designation of Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, appears among the early navigators of the sixteenth century in the modified forms *Sarnau*, *Sornau*, and *Xarnauz*.

Kämpfer⁴ relates that the capital immediately preceding Ayuthia stood on the site now occupied by Bangkok. For some reason or other, the latter site was abandoned, and a new city, Ayuthia, was built farther up the river. To it therefore the term *Shahr-i-nao*, "New City," might be aptly applied. In the lips of Europeans it became modified, as we have seen, to Sarnau, &c.; but Western nations also knew the capital as *Siao*, *Sion*, *Siam*, *Sian*, and *Ciama*, all seemingly derived from *Siyām*, the Malay name of the country, and further modified, for some unknown reason, to *Anseam* and *Asion*.⁵

The term Ayuthia,⁶ according to Tachard,⁷ is an abbreviation of the Siamese name of the capital, *Crung si ayu-*

¹ Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 601.

² Journal Ind. Archipelago, vol. v.

p. 454.

³ The Book of Ser Marco Polo, 2nd edit., 1875, vol. ii. p. 260.

Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 601.

⁴ The History of Japan, &c., &c., together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, written in High Dutch by Engelbertus Kämpfer, M.D. Translated from his original MS.

by J. G. Scheuchzer, F.R.S. London, 1727, 2 vols. vol. i. p. 27.

⁵ Yule-Burnell Glossary, pp. 631-632.

⁶ For the many high-sounding terms applied by the Siamese to their capital in the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Satow, in Trans. As. Soc. of Japan, vol. xiii., 1885, p. 151.

⁷ Voyage de Siam. Paris, 1686, p. 365.

*tha ya, Crung st*¹ signifying the excellent town.² During the present century the name of the city has also been applied to the kingdom. Thus in the treaty concluded at Bangkok, by Captain Burney, on behalf of the British Government, in 1826, the king is spoken of as he who dwells over every head in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-thä-yä.³

Ayuthia, or in the language of the country, *Ājūththāja*,⁴ is the Siamese rendering of the Sanscrit *Adjodhya*, the name of the Hindu city of Rama.⁵ It has been very variously modified by foreign nations.⁶

Tenasserim was first visited by a European about fifty years before a sea-way to the Asiatic continent from Europe, round the south of Africa, had been discovered.

¹ According to Pallegoix (Dict. Lang. Thai, p. 364), *Krüng* is the capital town. The affix *st* is the same as the terminal *st* in *Tānaost*.

² Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War. Wilson. Appendix, p. lxxvii.

³ In the work, *Nouvelle Géographie Univ.*, par Elisée Reclus, t. viii. (1883), p. 831, it is said, "Siam ou Ayuthia (*Sī-Āyo Thāya*), désignée maintenant sous le nom de *Kroung-kae*." Written according to Pallegoix, it would be *Krüng* the capital, *Kāo*, ancient.

⁴ Pallegoix's Dict., p. 7.

⁵ Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China, by John Crawford, F.R.S. London, 1830, 2 vols., vol. ii. p. 139. Descriptive Dict. of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Places, by John Crawford, F.R.S., 1856, p. 393.

⁶ The following are some of the principal modifications:—

Vdiā.—Commentarios do Grande Dalbuquerque, p. 396.

Hudā.—Barros, Decad. iii. Liv. ii. (1553), folio 35.

Hudā.—Maffeus, Joannes Petrus, e Soc. Iesv. Historiarum Indicarum, libri xvi. Florentia, p. 130, E.

Judia.—Pigafetta, (1522), Magellan's First Voyage Round the World, Hak. Soc., 1874, p. 156.

Judea.—Calendar of State Papers, Colonial East Indies, 1617–1621, par. 86. Diary of Richard Cocks, Hak. Soc., vol. i. (1882), p. 372.

Judia.—Nevens Een Treur-blyeynde Ongheluck, des Oost-Ind. Comp. Dienaers in't jaer 1636; wedervaren, in 't Conineklijcke Hof van Siam, in de Stadt *Judia*, onder de directie van den E. Jeremias Van Vliet. (Published as part of "Ongheluckige Voyagie van't Schip Batavia Nae de Ost-Indien:" known as Pelsaert's Voyage, 1628–29. Amsterdam, 1647.) Beschryving van het Koningryk Siam, Van Vliet. Leiden, 1692, p. 13.

Juthia.—Relation de l'Ambassade de M. le Chevalier de Chaumont à la Cour du Roi de Siam. Paris, 1687, p. 61. Pallegoix, Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam, t. ii. Paris, 1854, t. i. p. 54 *et seq.*

Odiā.—Pinto, l. c., folio 232.

Odiā.—Pigafetta, Primo vol. delle Navig. et Viag. Ramusio (1550), p. 396. Barros, Decad. ii. Liv. vi., fol. 80.

Udaya.—Malay Annals, p. 15.

For centuries prior to that great event, the trade of India "was supposed to have elevated feeble states into great ones; and to have constituted an enviable part in the fortune of the most opulent and powerful: to have contributed largely to support the Grecian monarchies both in Syria and Egypt; to have retarded the downfall of Constantinople; and to have raised the small and obscure republic of Venice to the rank and influence of the most potent kingdoms."¹

It was Nicolo di Conti, a native of the last-mentioned state, who seems to have been the first European to visit the province of Tenasserim. About four hundred and fifty years ago he returned to his native land, after having wandered for twenty-five years over the East. Many a strange adventure had been his, and, on one occasion, it was only by abjuring his religion that he saved the lives of his wife and children. To this painful incident in his career we are indebted for the record of his travels. On returning to Italy, about the year 1444, his denial of the Christian faith so troubled his conscience, that he applied to Pope Eugenius the Fourth for absolution. The penance enjoined on Di Conti by his Holiness was that he should faithfully relate his travels to his secretary, Poggius.²

On going back to India from a voyage to the island of Sumatra, he proceeded to Thenasserim (Tenasserim), where he arrived after a stormy voyage of sixteen days. He describes the town as situated at the mouth of a river of the same name. From the position thus assigned to Tenasserim, it is evident that the seaport at which his vessel called was not Tenasserim, but Mergui; for the former is

¹ Mill's Hist. of India (Wilson's ed.), vol. i. 1840, p. 4.

² Poggii Bracciolini Florentini Historiæ de Varietate Fortunæ, Libri quatuor. ex MS. Codice Bibliothecæ Ottobonianæ nunc primum editi, et notis illustrati a Dominico Georgio Accedunt ejusd. Poggii Epistolæ lvii., quæ nunquam antea prodierunt. Omnia

Joanne Oliva Rhodigino vulgata. Paris, 1723. Ramusio, Delle Navig. et Viag. Primo vol. et terza ed. 1563, p. 339. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. v. (1626), p. 408 et seq. Die Kenntniss Indiens im fünfzehnten Jahrhunderte von Dr. Friedrich Kunstmans. Munchen, 1863, p. 40. India in the Fifteenth Century, Hakluyt Soc., 1857.

situated thirty-seven miles up the river to the south-east of the latter, and is not at the mouth of the river. It was, however, pointed out two hundred years ago,¹ that occasionally Mergui was erroneously called Tenasserim, a mistake into which Nicolo di Conti fell. In his time, the route across the peninsula to the opposite coast on the Gulf of Siam doubtless existed; and as Tenasserim was the western terminus of that route, the subordinate seaport might well pass by the name of the larger and more important town, the designation of which was that also of the district and of the river.

Nicolo di Conti, on his visit to Mergui, was so struck by the number of elephants, that he especially mentions them as one of the features of the country. Two hundred years ago, these animals were so numerous in the province of Tenasserim that they were largely exported to the coast of Coromandel and to Bengal, as is learned from records in the India Office.² Conti also mentions sappan-wood (*Cesalpinia sappan*) as one of the products of the country.

¹ Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam, &c. Nicholas Gervaise. Paris, 1688, p. 14.

² The following notices of ships with elephants arriving at the port of Masulipatam, from Tenasserim alone, are taken from the Diary and Consultation Book of that factory:—

April 25, 1680.—A ship with elephants.
 May 3, 1680.—A ship with 16 elephants.
 April 21, 1681.—A ship with 13 elephants.
 Feb. 21, 1682.—A ship with 15 elephants.
 Feb. 22, 1682.—A ship with 15 elephants.
 Feb. 22, 1682.—A ship with 11 elephants.
 April 20, 1682.—A ship with 6 elephants.
 April 27, 1682.—A ship with 4 elephants.
 March 1684.—Two ships with 46 elephants.
 April 1684.—A ship with 12 elephants.
 April 1684.—A ship with 20 elephants.

But according to Gemelli Careri (Giro del Mondo, t. iii. pp. 358–359, and Churchill's Voyages, vol. iv. p. 284), Tenasserim was a great mart for elephants at the end of the seventeenth century. He went from Goa to Malacca in 1695. He says, "All the country of Malacca, Cambaya, Siam, Ciampà, Cocincinna,

and Tunchin abounds in elephants, of which the Siamese particularly make a great trade, carrying them by land to the opposite coast and port of Tenazarin, belonging to the king of Siam, near the Gulf of Bengala, where merchants buy to transport them by sea into the dominions of Mahometan princes."

Not only elephants, but also horses were exported from Acheen. In Notes and Extracts from the Government Records in Fort St. George (1670–1681), pt. ii. p. 9, among a number of horses bought at Fort St. George in 1679 occurs "one Atchein" at 20 pagodas, but "one old Turkey" cost 40 pagodas. The king of Acheen used to be described in official documents as "a king upon whom God has bestowed . . . many thousand horses for war; the choicest stone-horses of Arabia, Turkey, Catti, and Balacki." Beschr. der Ost-Ind. Kusten Malabar und Coromandel, &c., F. Baldæus, Amsterdam, 1672, p. 23.

So recently as 1835 a considerable trade in sappan-wood was carried on by native boats between Mergui and Dacca; but in an official return of the exports from Mergui for 1883-84, no mention is made of this wood. Nicolo di Conti's visit to Mergui took place between 1425 and 1430.

The next mention of Tenasserim occurs in the travels of Abdur-razzāk,¹ known as the Samarkandi, from his long residence in that city, but a native of Hérat, born in 1413, and who was selected by Shāh Rok, in 1442, to proceed on an important mission to the king or Raja of Vijayanagar. In his description of the seaport of Ormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, *Tenāseri* (Tenasserim) is mentioned by name as one of the countries, among many, the inhabitants of which were to be seen at that once famous entrepôt of commerce.

In 1497, Vasco da Gama's great exploit had been accomplished. He had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, an event which, in its far-reaching consequences, was destined to revolutionise the political, commercial, and social history of every Asiatic nation. After its accomplishment, the seas washing the shores of the coast of Asia and of its islands became the highway of fleets of merchantmen armed for defence, and not unfrequently for offence, all eagerly pressing forward in search of the wealth of the Orient, and in quest of suitable localities in which to dispose of their goods and to serve as centres of trade. Vasco da Gama's voyages brought back some information about Tenasserim, and, according to a contemporaneous manuscript preserved in the Public Library at Oporto,² "Tenaçar was peopled by Christians, and the king was also a Christian;" and it continues, "In this land is much brassyll, which makes a fine vermilion, as good as the grain, and it costs here three cruzados a bahar, whilst in Quayro (Cairo) it costs sixty;

¹ Notices et Extraits des MSS. da Boa Esperança fez Dom Vasco de la Biblioth. du Roi, &c. Paris, Da Gama, em 1497. Porto, 1838. 1843, p. 429. (Segundo um Manuscrito coetaneo

² Roterio Da Viagem Que em existante ne Bibliotheca Publica Descobrimto da India Pelo Cabo Portuense, &c.), p. 110.

also there is here aloes-wood, but not much.”¹ It is highly improbable that Tenasserim was so Christian as to entitle it to be described as “peopled by Christians,” but it is possible that the Christianity then existing on the coast of Coromandel may, to a certain extent, have made its influence felt at Mergui in those early times, when the traffic between the two coasts was at its height. It may, however, have been that the Portuguese, recognising a similarity between the Buddhist ritual and that of the Romish Church, concluded that the inhabitants were Christians.

Eagle-wood, or wood-aloes, at the present time is obtained by the Malay and Chinese merchants at Mergui from the islands of the Archipelago, where it is collected by the Selungs,² who barter it for their pressing wants, chiefly rice, salt, and cloth.

The Portuguese Government, in 1501, in consequence of the chance discovery of Brazil by Cabral in the previous year, dispatched from Lisbon an expedition to discover a western passage to the Spice Islands, variously known as Melcha, Melacca, Malaccha.³ The Florentine, Amérgo Vespucci, regarding whose veracity very different opinions have been held by those who have investigated his claims to have made four voyages of discovery, entered the service of Dom Manuel of Portugal, and took part in this new expedition to the “Land of Parrots” (Brazil), and probably accompanied it in some subordinate capacity. It sailed in

¹ Yule-Burnell Glossary, pp. 695, 696.

² The Selungs are a timid people inhabiting the Archipelago. They are sea-gypsies, living in their boats during the north-east monsoon, and in little huts perched on stakes in the sandy bays, during the south-west monsoon. Each family possesses a boat, and generally more than one dog for hunting the wild pig. While not engaged collecting the products of the sea, and preparing them for the Chinese traders who visit the islands, the Selungs devote their time to searching the forests in quest of

honey and wax, and for the nest of the bee, *Trigona leviceps*. They belong to the Malay race, but differ from the typical Malay; and Dr. Roet informs me that a vocabulary of the language shows that it is a distinct Malayan language, and not a dialect. General Horace A. Browne also informs me that it has not been perceptibly influenced by contact with the Burmese-speaking population of the adjoining coast.

³ Narrative and Critical History of America. 2 vols. London, 1886. By Justin Winsor. Vol. ii. p. 150.

the first instance to the Cape de Verde Islands, and while there it met with Cabral's vessels on their return voyage from the coast of Malabar. The information Vespucci collected from them, while at Cape de Verde Islands, he communicated to Lorenzo di Pier Francisco dei Medici in a letter dated the 5th June, 1501.¹ In this letter he mentions some places with which the Portuguese traded, and among them *Tanaser*.

In the discovery of the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetian Republic saw a distinct danger to its maritime supremacy; and in order that it might know what was being done by the Portuguese in their voyages to the East, and benefit by their experience, Leonarda Da Ca' Masser² was sent to Lisbon for two years, where he lived at the peril of his life, to observe and accurately record what might be of use to the Republic. His account begins with Vasco da Gama's voyage round the Cape, in 1497, the ninth and last voyage enumerated being that of Tristan de Acunha, who left Portugal in 1506. Among the places of trade in the East enumerated under his account of the ninth voyage was Tenasserim. He says,³ "At Tenazar grows all the *verzi* (brazil), and it costs 1½ ducats the baar, equal to four *kantars*. This place, though on the coast, is on the mainland. The king is a Gentile; and thence come pepper, cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg, galanga, camphor that is eaten, and camphor that is not eaten. . . . This is indeed the first mart for spices in India."⁴

Towards the end of 1502, Ludovico de Varthema, a native of Bologna, set out on his travels to the East. After

¹ In the *Storia di Milione*, prefacing the *Il Milione di Marco Polo* by Conte Geo. Batt. Baldelli Boni. 2 vols. Firenze, 1827, p. lvii, footnote: Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère, ses écrits (. . .) sa vie et ses navigations, &c., par F. A. de Varnhagen, Lima, 1865, p. 78.

² *Relazione di Leonardo da Ca'*

Masser alla Serenissima Republica di Venezia sopra il Commercio dei Portoghesi nell' India dopo la scoperta del Capo di Buona Speranza." *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Append., tomo ii. Firenze, 1845, pp. 7-51.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ Yule's Glossary, p. 696.

an absence of nearly eight years he returned to Italy, and published his itinerary at Rome.¹ In it he professed to have visited Tenasserim, which he describes as "*Tarnas-sari*,² situated near to the sea;" and "it is a level place and well watered, and has a good port, that is a river on the side towards the north." Tenasserim, as already said, lies about thirty-seven miles inland from Mergui, *i.e.*, from the sea; and Mason³ in his "Burma" describes its position as follows:—"Forty miles through a labyrinth of thickly wooded islets, that seem fresh from the womb of uncultivated nature, the voyageur comes suddenly at the head of the delta to a crescent of precipitous mountains skirted by the river at its base, and on the crest of a low ridge of hills on the opposite shore, which lies across the bend like an arrow on the bow, are seen the dilapidated battlements of the old city of Tenasserim." Captain R. Lloyd, writing in 1838,⁴ says that at *Zediwon*, about eleven miles east from Mergui,⁵ "the features of the country begin to change from a low mangrove land to one of moderate elevation," but beyond this, in the direction of Tenasserim, "the country becomes mountainous to the very edge of the river," but, here and there, there are spots of level ground occupied by small villages. He describes the town as situated where the river divides into two branches, the Great and Little Tenasserim, opposite to the point of confluence and on the left bank of the latter." And in the "Gazetteer of Burma"⁶ it is said to stand on a rock, "and upon the sides and lower slopes of an irregular hill about 200 feet high, the surrounding country being a mass of small hills covered with dense forest." One of these so-

¹ Itinerario de Ludouico Varthema Bolognese nello Egipto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nella Ethopia. La fede, el riuere, & costumi de tutte le prefate Prouincie con Gratia & Priuilegio infra notato. 4to. Stampato in Roma, M.D.X.

² Varthema, Libro tertio della

India, folio lxvi-lxx.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴ Journ. As. Soc., vol. vii. pt. ii. (1838), p. 1028.

⁵ Preliminary Chart of the Frontier Series. Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, Season 1877-78 and 1879-82.

⁶ Vol. ii. p. 707.

called hills, however, is a mountain 2414 feet high.¹ Varthema's description of the position of *Tarnassari*, therefore, in no way agrees with the site of the old city. According to him, *Tarnassari* had a good port, that is a river on the side towards the north, the town being situated near to the sea, and on the left bank of the stream, whereas the present Tenasserim is thirty-seven miles from the sea, and the river flows from the north. If we suppose that he used the term *Tarnassari* in the same sense in which Ger-vaise² says it has been occasionally used, and as Nicolo di Conti used it, and meant the seaport Mergui, his description of the city as a level place, with a river on its side towards the north, is equally inapplicable. Mergui is built on and around a small hill 112 feet high, and is situated on the right bank of one of the mouths of the Tenasserim river, and faces the sea. The surrounding country, moreover, is undulating and hilly, and an island about 300 to 400 feet high faces the town, about half-a-mile distant from it, and forms the western side of the harbour of Mergui; and about five miles in a north-easterly direction, with intervening hilly ground, is the wooded eminence of Sandawut, 719 feet high, and eight miles from the town to the east is Natlaingtaung, 887 feet in height, while still farther on, sixteen miles, is the Minthantaung, 1053 feet high.³ I dwell on these facts as in Dr. Badger's edition of Varthema's work⁴ these discrepancies between Varthema's *Tarnassari* and the situations of Tenasserim and Mergui are not referred to, doubtless because Dr. Badger had no practical knowledge of the locality. However, as I have visited Mergui, and have gone up the Tenasserim river for some distance, although

¹ In the Preliminary Chart of the G. T. S. Eastern Series, 1879-82, the bearings of this peak (Tenasserim Peak, No. 2) from Mergui are lat. 12° 2' 58" and long. 99° 1' 6", which is practically the position assigned to the village of Tenasserim by M'Carthy in his map of Siam.

² Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam. Paris, 1688, pp. 14-15.

³ Preliminary Chart, G. T. S. of India, Season 1879-82.

⁴ Travels of Varthema, Hak. Soc. 1863.

not as far as the town of that name, I am in a position to state that Varthema's description of *Tarnassari* is in no way applicable to Mergui, and from the evidence I have adduced of travellers who have visited Tenasserim town, it is apparent that it does not apply to it. But apart from these considerations, there are many other details in his description of Tenasserim which conclusively prove that Varthema never visited the place, and that, as Colonel Yule has said, "this adventurer's account of Tenasserim is an imposture."¹

Duarte Fernandez, who was sent in 1511, from Malacca by Alfonso d'Albuquerque as an ambassador to the king of Siam, sailed direct to the city of *Hudidá*,² and according to Galvano,³ returned accompanied by a Siamese ambassador, and "passed over land towards the west unto the citie of Tanaçerim, standing upon the sea on the other side in 12 degrees, where they embarked themselves in two ships, and sailed along the coast unto the citie of Malacca." This was, in all likelihood, the first occasion on which the route from Tenasserim to Ayuthia was traversed by a European.

Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, the second envoy sent by D'Albuquerque to Ayuthia, had as his companion Manuel Frageso, who went to report to D'Albuquerque on all matters, "merchandise, dresses, and customs of the land, and of the latitudes of the harbours." They proceeded in the first instance by sea to Taranque, and thence by land with horses and draught-oxen to the city of Sião, and on their return they reported that the peninsula was very narrow "on that side where the Chinese make their navigation,"⁴ and that from thence it was only ten days' journey to the coast of Tenasserim, Trang, and Tavoy.

¹ Yule - Burnell Glossary, p. of D'Albuquerque, Hak. Soc., 1880, 696. vol. iii. pp. 152-155.

² Correa, "Lendas da India," in the Coll. de Monumentos Ineditos, t. ii. pt. i. Lisboa, 1860, pp. 262-263. ³ Discoveries of the World, Hakluyt Soc., 1862, p. 112.

⁴ Commentarios, p. 399. Commentaries of D'Albuquerque, Hak. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 156-159.

Crawford¹ enumerates three routes across the mountains of the Malayan peninsula. The first, from Quedda to Singora or Songkla; the second, from Trang to Ligor or Lakon; and the third, from Pün-pin, opposite to Junk-Ceylon or Salang, to Xäija.² The Taranque to which the Portuguese ambassador proceeded was the Trang of this second route, situated on the coast between the islands of Lantar and Telibon.³ There was also a fourth route from Quedda to Patani, in use by the representatives of the Dutch East India Company at the latter place, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The routes across the peninsula at Tenasserim are not mentioned by Crawford.

With regard to the statement, "on that side where the Chinese make their navigation," Groevenevldt⁴ relates that there is an account in the history of the Liang dynasty (502-556) of a place called Tun-sun, on the western side of the narrowest part of the Malay peninsula, that was the terminus of a trade route across it from the east, and along which the commerce of India and China was carried in those days, to escape the journey round the peninsula. According to this Chinese account, the town was famous for a wine made from a tree. This was doubtless the liquor made from *Nipa fructicans*, for which Tenasserim and Mergui were famous, and which Teixeira⁵ said exceeded all other in goodness.

¹ Embassy to Siam, vol. ii. p. 154.

² In a footnote to Harris's Journey from Ligor to Bangkok, it is mentioned that "much trade and intercourse pass through the Bandon River, and thence by means of elephants between *Ch'aiya* and *Phoon-ga*, a town situated on the Bay of Bengal, on the continent to the north of Junk-Ceylon; the tin and other produce of which islands, whenever required, are conveyed by this route to Bankok" (p. 8).

³ Captain James Low, who went in 1824 on a political mission to the Raja of Ligor in Siam, did not

proceed to Ligor itself, but received the envoys of the chief of Ligor at Trang. The chief village at that time was *Khoan Tant*, and from it Ligor could be reached in seven stages. Tigers abounded on the route. Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vol. vii. pt. ii., 1838, p. 588.

⁴ Verhandl. van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1877, Deel. xxxix. p. 119.

⁵ Relaciones P. P. T. de los Reyes de Persia, de los Reyes de Harmuz, y de un Viage dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por terra. En Amberes, 1610, t. i. p. 17.

Harris¹ mentions that the Siamese call the portion of the main mountain range of the peninsula to the east of Mergui, *Samroyot*, or the "three (*sam*) hundred (*roi*) peaks (*jot*)," a name which appears in Pallegoix's map as *Samroydt*.² At Kyu, where these mountains approach the sea, there are a number of rocky islands, mentioned by Kämpfer as *Samajotn*, and at this point of the coast, which reminded him of Sweden, a pass crosses the mountains to Tenasserim, and apparently at a low altitude.³ At the base of these mountains, on the Gulf of Siam, there is a village also called *Samroydt*, where a vessel, in which Harris was, stopped to take in water. To this village, or to Kyu, all junks bound to China or Cochin-China steer, in order to take in good water before they strike due east across the Gulf of Siam. As the distance from Bangkok to Kyu is only about 140 miles, and as the junks were not in a condition to proceed on their voyages to the east, until they had taken in water from the mountain-streams of *Samroydt*, they may be said to have begun their navigation from that point.

Another of D'Albuquerque's envoys, Ruy Nunéz Da Cunha, who had been sent on an embassy to Pegu, sailed from Malacca in a junk, and among one of the cities at which the vessel called was Tenasserim.⁴

A Florentine, Giovanni di Niccola, called Da Empoli, a worthy and famous merchant and a man of many virtues, visited the Straits of Malacca, in 1511, and, while ashore at Pedir, whither he had been sent by Alfonso D'Albuquerque, at the danger of his life, he learned from the inhabitants that ships of *Tanazzar* traded with that port; and again in 1514, that *Tanazzari* and *Sarnau*⁵ (Ayuthia)

¹ *Op. cit.*

² In a footnote to Harris's journey, by the unknown editor, these mountains are said to be the Pensels of Portuguese maps.

³ In M'Carthy's map, a pass 750 feet high is indicated at the above locality.

⁴ *Coll. of Voyages and Travels* (Thomas Osborne). London, 1745, vol. ii. p. 378. Galvano's *Discoveries of the World*, Hak. Soc., 1862, p. 114.

⁵ "Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli a Leonardo suo Padre intorno al Viaggio da lui fatto a Malacca,

produced all the finest benzoin, storax, and lac better than that of Martaman¹ (Martaban).

In 1516 Duarte Coelho² was sent to Ayuthia with letters and presents from the governor of Malacca to the king of Siam, in the hope that, by a new alliance with Siam, Malacca might be re-peopled, and the trading profits of the Mohammedans ruined. He was well received at Ayuthia, and after the letter and presents had been presented, the alliance that had been concluded with D'Albuquerque some years before was renewed; and as evidence of this, Coelho, with the sanction of the king, erected a wooden crucifix in a prominent place in the city, with the arms of Portugal carved, or painted on it.

The next traveller to mention Tenasserim, among the more prominent describers of the place, was Duarte Barbosa,³ a cousin of Magellan's. He spent some years at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Eastern seas. He mentions that in his time ships of the enterprising merchants of Tenasserim were to be seen at Cape Guardafui and at Ravel, and that the merchants of Bengal sent large junks to that port. He says, "from the kingdom of Peigu as far as a city which has a seaport, and is named Tanasery, there are a hundred leagues. In this city there are many Moorish and Gentile merchants, who deal in all sorts of goods, and own ships with which they navigate to Bengal, Malaca, and other parts. In the inland parts of this kingdom there grows much good benjuy, which is a resin of trees which the Moors call luban javi,⁴ and it is of two kinds, that is to say, one which does not smell except in the fire, and the

e frammenti di Altre Lettere del Medesimo aggiuntavi La Vita di esso Giovanni scritta Da Girolamo da Empolisuo zio." Arch. Storico. Ital. Append. t. iii. Firenze, 1846, p. 80.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

² De Barros, Decad. iii., Liv. ii., folio 35-36. Hist. Ind. Orient. Artbus., 1608, p. 253. Hist. des

Ind. Orient. et Occid., par P. J. P. Maffei. Paris, 1665, p. 273.

³ Ramusio, Primo Vol. 1550, p. 317. Livro Duarte Barbosa, No. vii. col. de Noticias, &c. t. 11. Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, Hak. Soc., 1866, p. 133.

⁴ *Lubān-javi*, i. e., Java Frankincense, Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 65.

other of much scent, of which the genuine storax is made in the Levant, before extracting from it the oil, which in the Levant is extracted from it. And many ships of Moors and from other parts congregate at this port of Tanasary, and bring them copper, quicksilver, vermilion, scarlet cloth, silks, coloured velvets from Mekkah, saffron, coral wrought and in strings,¹ rose-water from Mekkah in little bottles of tinned copper, and it is sold by weight with the bottle; opium, Cambay stuffs, and all these goods fetch a high price at this place."

He also records that the town of Ravel in Surat traded with Tenasserim in all sorts of spices, drugs, silks, musk, benzoin, and porcelain.

In the "Sommario de Regni, Citta et Popoli Orientale," it is stated by Ramusio² that the Siamese on the Tenasserim side traded with Pacem, Pedir, Quedda, Pegu, Bengal, and Gujarát. The province was governed by a viceroy, who was perpetual captain or hereditary governor, lord of many peoples, and of a country abounding in all kinds of provisions, a reputation which Mergui long enjoyed, and still has.

Faria y Sousa³ relates that when Don Stefano da Gama, son of Vasco da Gama, was governor of Goa, a fleet of three Portuguese ships, manned by eighty men, went in search of an island of gold supposed to exist on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, a fable which, so far as European nations were concerned, may have arisen from Nicolo di Conti's statement that *Andamania* (the Andaman Islands) meant the Island of Gold.⁴

Sailing to the fabulous island, the report regarding which it is quite possible they may have used as a blind to the

¹ This was doubtless red coral, another *Antipathes* found in the which is much prized in the East; Red Sea is used for Mahommedan rosaries. but a coral of the genus *Antipathes*, yielding the black coral, abounds in the Mergui Archipelago, and is exported from Mergui to Rangoon, &c., where it is used to make Buddhist rosaries, in the same way that

² Ramusio, primo vol., 1550, p. 361.

³ The Portuguese Asia, 3 vols., 1695. Vol. ii. p. 29.

⁴ This myth expired very slowly, and existed down to the end of the

real object of their expedition, the crews of the three ships were no sooner in Tenasserim waters, which until recent years had long been a favourite resort of pirates, owing to the hiding-places afforded by the numerous islands, threw off the mask and became a scourge to the commerce of the entire coast, finding the gold of which they were in quest in the holds of the vessels they plundered, and in the pockets of the crews they frequently massacred. These were doubtless the pirates of whom Pinto heard, in January, 1545, on his way to Martaban, and who had then four well-rigged *foists* with which they had so effectually stopped all trade, that the custom-houses at Tenasserim, Mergui, and other ports, became so impoverished that representations were made to the king of Siam to put a stop to the intolerable mischief.¹

In a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian Seas, written in Arabic by Sidi-ali Kapudan (captain of the fleet of Sultan Sulaimān, the legislator of the Red Sea), who was cast ashore in India in a severe storm, *Tanassari* is frequently mentioned in descriptions of the monsoons.²

Cesare dei Fedrici,³ the Venetian traveller, to whom the

seventeenth century. Dr. Careri's (*Giro del Mondo*, t. iii. p. 290) notice of it is among the last, but he gives the English the credit of having originated it, but when, he does not say. The story related by him was that an English ship having been driven to take shelter from a storm, not in the Andamans, but in the Nicobars, to the south of them, a native, who had taken some fresh water on board the ship, spilt some on the anchor, the iron of which was turned into gold wherever the water had touched it. The crew, after they had learned from the native that the water came from a well in the island, killed him! This report of the gold-producing quality of the water, Ge-

melli Careri says he had been told on high authority, had led the Dutch to appropriate the Nicobars towards the end of the seventeenth century.

¹ Pinto, *op. cit.*, fol. 173-174.

² Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. iii. (1834), p. 545, vol. v. (1836), p. 441, vol. viii. pt. ii. (1839), p. 823; translated by Joseph von Hammer, Baron Purgestall. See also *Géographie d'Abulféda*, par MM. Reinaud et Stanislas Guyard, 2 tomes, Paris, 1848-83, p. clxvi.; also Journ. China Branch Royal As. Soc., vol. xx. p. 33.

³ Viaggio di M. Cesare de i Fedrici nell' India Orientale, et oltra l'India: Nelquale si contengono cose

kingdom of Siam and its capital were known as Sion, mentions that on one of his voyages between Malacca and Pegu (1568), he was told by the pilot of the vessel that they were not far from a city called *Tenasari*, in the kingdom of Pegu, and Fedrici says that at the time they were sailing among many islands and uninhabited rocks. The city or town, he states, was known to some of his Portuguese fellow-travellers, and he goes on to say, "This citie of right belongeth to the kingdom of Sion, which is situate on a great river's side, which commeth out of the kingdom of Sion, and where this river runneth into the sea there is a village called Mergi, in whose harbour every yeere there lode some ships with verzina, nipa, and beniamin, a few cloves, nutmegs, and maces, which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest merchandise there is verzin and nypa, which is an excellent wine."

Twenty-seven men from the vessel he was in, along with himself, left in a boat to visit Mergui; but they lost their way, and after pulling along the coast for eight days, among countries uninhabited and desert islands, during which they subsisted on a little rice which one of the men had taken with him and on 144 turtle-eggs, they met, on the ninth day, with some fishermen in the Gulf of Tavoy.¹ They safely reached the town of that name, where they expected to find their ship, but it had not arrived. They went in search of it, and found that it had encountered opposing winds, and that the people they had left on board had been in serious straits for want of water

dilletenoli de i riti, et de i costumi de quei paesi, Et insieme si descrivono le spetiarie, droghe, gioie, e perle, che d' essi si cauano. Con alcuni auertimenti vtilissimi a quelli, che tal viaggio volessero fare. Venetia, 1537. The Voyage and Trauaile of M. Cæsar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East Indies, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. . . . Written at sea in the Hercules of London, comming from Turkie,

the 25 March 1588, out of Italian, by T. H. London, 1588. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. (1599). Ramusio, vol. iii. 1606, &c.

¹ Tavoy, Tavay, or Tavai, is a local name having a wide distribution in Polynesia, as islands of this name occur in New Zealand and the Hawaiian group. J. R. Logan, Journ. Ind. Arch., &c., vol. ii. p. 481, *footnote*.

and food, as Fedrici and his party had carried off the only boat.

In the "Lusiads" of Camoens, written between 1553-69, Tenasserim is mentioned as part of Siam.¹

Linschoten,² who resided at Goa from September 1583 until the end of 1588, in his account of the lands of Arakan, Pegu, and Siam, describes the town of Martaban as the beginning of Siam. He compares the conformation of the Malay peninsula to an arm, which in the broadest place is from the one coast unto the other fifty miles, and in some places ten miles, "that is, where the towne of Tanassarien lyeth." He then touches on its political history, and gives a more detailed account of the position of Tenasserim as follows:—"From Martavan³ coasting the shore southwardes (are) 60. myles, and then 30. myles Southeast and by East: Betwéene two Islandes the coast runneth inwards like a bow, wherein lyeth the town of Tanassarien, under 11. degrees from this Towne as (I) said before, are but 10. miles over by lande to the other side of the Coast: . . . The Portingalles have great traffique unto this towne of Tanassarien, and thether commeth great (store of) merchandise out of Pegu and Sian, for it is like a staple. Likewise there is much Wine brought thether, which is made of Cocus or Indian Nuttes,⁴ and is called Nype de Tanassaria, that is Aqua-composita of Tanassaria, for that it is distilled water that procedeth from the Indian nuts. and of it selfe hath the strength and vertue that our Aqua-composita hath, and is there called Nype: Although they still Nype in divers places of India, specially in Goa, yet is this of Tanassaria more estéemed, and it is better, which is carried into all places (of India) in great pottes of Martavan:⁵ The women of India are very desirous thereof,

¹ Os Lusíadas. Englished by Burton (1880), vol. ii. p. 404, canto x. stanza 125.

² The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies. 2 vols. Hak. Soc., 1885, vol. i. p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴ Not the cocoa-nut, but *Nipa fruticans*, as is well-known.

⁵ Yule says (Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 428), "This name was given to vessels of a peculiar pottery, of

although for modesties sake before men they will not drinke it, but secretly (by themselves) they doe make good cheare (and gossoppe) therewith. Tanassaria is a kingdom of it selfe, and in time past under the subiection of Sian."

According to Linschoten, the eastern sea-board of the Bay of Bengal had lying along it "Aracan, Pegu, and Sian," and the inhabitants are described as "in forme, manner, and visage, much like those of China, onely one difference they have, (which is) that they are somewhat whiter than the Bengalon, and somewhat browner then the men of China;" and he adds, "The pictures of the Peguan is to be séene by the figures of the Indians, among Saint Thomas Christians."

In his description of the coast of Coromandel and the kingdom of Narsingha he says that "from these coastes (Coromandel, &c.) they use great trafique into Bengala, Pegu, Sian, and Malacca, that is to say, to the opposite coast of the bay."

In reading the description of Linschoten, one is astonished at the accuracy of his information, and at the clear conception he had formed of the general characteristics of countries he had never visited. He must have very carefully sifted the various accounts accessible to him, and exercised a painstaking selection in those communicated to him by the travellers, native and Portuguese, he met at Goa. He speaks of deriving his information not only "by the daily trafficking of the Portingalles out of India," but also from the Peguans themselves, "whereof many dwell in India, some of them being Christians."

From the way in which Linschoten speaks of the narrowness of the peninsula at Tenasserim, in connection with the trade of Siam, and his statement that great store of merchandise reached Tenasserim from Siam, it would appear that the route across the peninsula was, in his time,

very large size, and glazed, which were famous all over the East for many centuries, and were imported from Martaban. They were sometimes called *Pegu jars*."