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Original Contribution.

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT OF JUNKCEYLON ISLAND

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Historical Retrospect

OF

Junkceylon Island,

BY

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PART I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. Inadequacy of modern historical accounts of the island; neglect of the old sources of information.

A feature that cannot fail to strike anyone in quest of historical information on the Island of Junkceylon in modern works on Siām or in books of general reference, is the conspicuous meagreness of the subject matter supplied under such a heading Even in the most carefully compiled works, all that relates to the past of that important Siāmese possession is, as a rule, dismissed with two or three lines not always free from some very gross errors; and not unoften a few more lines are deemed sufficient to deal with whatever else there is to say on the topographic features, natural resources, productions, and inhabitants of the island itself.

Happily, the latter aspects of the subject have recently received far greater attention than heretofore, and we have quite lately been put in possession of very valuable information not only thereanent, but also as regards remains of antiquarian interest on and about the island. However, its historical past still remains a sealed book; and the object of this paper besides presenting a first attempt in that direction is to show that, even leaving aside local sources, there are by no means a few important items to be

gleaned from the accounts of early European travellers and later writers, if one will only take the trouble to glance over the pages of such a class of publications. It is therefore passing strange that none of those writers who have of late years treated of the island in the extant books on Siām or encyclopædias of general information and the like, has thought, or cared, of laying under contribution at least the best known and most accessible of the old sources just referred to. The results obtained from an examination of the limited number of them to which I could gain access, as set forth in these pages, will at least, it is hoped, demonstrate what fruitful harvest can be reaped from such a department of European literature, and how much more could be gathered, should the inquiry be further extended to publications and unpublished MSS. that I had no opportunity to consult.

As regards local documents on the history of the island, although unfortunately not extending further back than the last quarter of the eighteenth century, they supply us with very important information for the following period which cannot be found, in so detailed a form, elsewhere. I could only avail myself of a limited number of such documents, including the records for the first three reigns of the present dynasty, thanks to which the present sketch could be carried down to the middle of the nineteenth century. From that point to the present day there can be no lack of documentary material for anyone inclined to continue the history of the island which, with the further assistance of European publications and of information gathered locally from the mouths of the oldest living inhabitants of the island, might thus easily be carried down to the present day.

2. Remarks on the name of the island.

Of the name of the island various derivations have been suggested, none of which I consider to be satisfactory. Yule and Burnell in their "Hobson-Jobson"[1] quote Forrest[2] as calling the island *Jan-Sylan* and saying it is properly *Ūjong* (*i. e.* in Malay,

1. 2nd edition, London 1903, p. 473, s. v. *Junk-ceylon*.
2. "Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago," etc., by [Captain] Thomas Forrest, London, 1792; pp. III and 29-30.

'Cape') *Sylang*, which to them appears to be nearly right. They further add that the name is, according to Crawfurd,[3] 'Salang Headland.' But W. Crooke, the reviser of the new edition of "Hobson-Jobson," inserts within brackets the following remarks by Mr. Skeat who doubts the correctness of the above etymologies. "There is at least one quite possible alternative, *i. e. jong salang*, in which *jong* means 'a junk,' and *salang*, when applied to vessels, 'heavily tossing' (see Klinkert, *Dict.* s. v. *salang*). Another meaning of *salang* is 'to transfix a person with a dagger,' and is the technical term for Malay executions, in which the kris was driven down from the collar-bone to the heart." I make bold to remark in my turn that all this is mere guess-work. Mr. Skeat, though undoubtedly being a good authority on Malay matters, ceases to be such on topics exorbitating from the area of his peculiar field, as it clearly appears from the numerous blunders he makes in the course of his remarks in "Hobson-Jobson" on subjects connected with Siām and other parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula lying outside of the present Malay inhabited area.

While in the oldest notices of the island, dating as far back as 1512, its name is given as *Iunsalam* or *Iunsalan* (Iunsalão in the Portuguese spelling), the inhabitants have long been known to call it C'halāng, ฉลาง, and this is the form adopted in the oldest Siāmese records, while in some of the later and even of the local ones the variant ถลาง, Thalāng, occasionally appears. Surely, the inhabitants ought to know better as to the name of the land that has been their birthplace, than strangers. There cannot consequently be any question that the correct name of the island is, and has been for long ages, C'halāng. Of this Salāng is but the Malay form, adopted doubtless at the period of the Malay invasions of the Malay Peninsula from the opposite shores of Sumatra, which appear to have commenced in the last quarter of the thirteenth

3. "Malay Dictionary," London, 1852, s. v. *Salang*; and "Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and adjacent countries," 1856, s.v. *Ujung*.

century. In the course of their initial reconnoitring voyages and raids along the coasts of the Malay Peninsula, these sea-faring adventurers no doubt noticed the island and from its appearance as a promontory boldly projecting out of the mainland they took it as part and parcel of the latter, thus naming it Ūjong Salāng, the 'Salāng Headland,' for their language possesses no equivalent for the initial *C'h* occurring in the native name of the island, and *S*, *Sh*, or *Z*, are the letters most approaching to it in sound. Although in subsequent expeditions the insular nature of the so called headland doubtless came to be recognised, the original designation persisted to this day, as has been the case with many other misapplied ones. It might be suggested as an alterantive that the early Malay adventurers, while fully aware from the very first of the real character of the land, having learnt the name of the island merely applied the desigation Ūjong Salāng, 'Salāng Head (or Point)' to the southern promontory of the island itself. I should think, however, that the view first set forth has most chances in its favour of proving after all the correct one. And there can be no doubt that it is from Jong-Salāng, the shortened form of Ūjong Salāng, that the earliest European designations *Iunsalam*, *Iunsalan*, *Junsulan*, *Junsalan*, etc. have been derived, which will appear duly authenticated in the following pages.

Forrest's and Crawfurd's inferences thus turn out to be correct, in so far as the European derivation and the Malay form of the name of the island are concerned. But where these and later writers erred, is in having thought Ujong Salāng or Jong Salāng to have been the original name of the island, conferred upon it by Malays. This mistake must be ascribed to the Malay bias that has so far affected most European writers on Malay matters, who have thereby been led to credit the Malay emigrants from Sumatra and Java with the creation and development of whatever forms of civilization have existed on the Malay Peninsula and on other sections of the Indo-Chinese mainland, as well as on the neighbouring islands, prior to the advent of Europeans in these parts.

But such fanciful theories can no longer hold water at the present day when it is patent that purely Malay influence, on the Indo-Chinese mainland especially, is of comparatively modern date

and has been exerted on a very limited area only, although occasional raids from the archipelago are recorded to have occurred from as early as the eighth century A. D., and although the southern part of the Malay Peninsula appears to have, from the last quarter of the seventh century, fallen under the sway of the mighty empire that had then its centre at Palembang, on the East of Sumatra. For this mostly insular empire had, like those on various parts of the Indo-Chinese mainland, grown up and had doubtless also been founded through the instrumentality of immigrant adventurers from India who may be said to have been the earliest colonizers, civilizers, and empire makers of the Further Indian region. The influence exerted from Palembang on the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula from the seventh to the thirteenth century was, therefore, essentially Indian rather than Malay. The purely Malay one commenced only on or about the time of the foundation of the Kingdom of Menang-Kabau in Northern Sumatra late in the thirteenth century, and the expansion of the Javanese Kingdom of Mājapāhit during the latter half of the century next following. Neither did, however, extend further north than the present limits of the Malay States on the Peninsula, which represent, down to this day, the results of those enterprises and are actual evidence as to the extent of the area affected. It is easy to see that the latter did not include Junk-ceylon Island, and had its northern limit a good deal further to the south of it.

In any case, it is to far more remote ages that we must trace the origin of the name of the island. And this brings us back to the very dawn of the Christian Era, if not even several centuries before it. The Malay Peninsula was then inhabited mostly by Negrito populations of which the last descendants are still found surviving in the recesses of its jungles, and by a fair complexioned race undoubtedly of Moñ-Khmër extraction which occupied the litoral as well as some of the islands, having come and settled there from Pegu and Siām. The principal harbours of the coast and trading centres had been taken possession of by colonists, mainly from Southern India, and these had begun not only to develop the resources of the soil, and to establish trading relations with their mother-land and various countries in the West, but also to lay the foundations of petty States that grew afterwards in extent and power. Junk-ceylon Island was undoubtedly well known since that

period, and if not colonized by Indū adventurers, there is reason to believe that its principal seaport was frequented by trading vessels and its tin mines opened to work, as it is certain those of the neighbouring districts on the mainland were.

Under such circumstances it must be assumed that the island possessed then a name, and there is every probability that such a name was the very one, C'halāng, by which it is and has been known to this day. The word is neither Siāmese or Malay, nor does it seem traceable to any Indian language. Like other toponyms on the island and indeed on many parts of the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula, it has a Moñ ring about it, and in any case it belongs to the language of the earliest settlers, be they of Moñ or of the aboriginal Negrito stock. We must know something more of the languages of the Semang, Sakai and Selung or Salon tribes (of which latter a settlement appears still to exist on the eastern coast of the island and another on the main land to the north of it), ere the question can be decided. While regretting having to leave it unsettled for the present, I should like to point out one particular fact that may assist somehow towards its solution. There exists on the West coast of Sumatra, near Rigas Bay a place, *Chellang*, whose name is more correctly written Cḥalang, which may have been so called by the same people who originally applied the designation C'halāng to Junk-ceylon. The two toponyms might be traceable to the same root-word, and thus prove etymologically identical.[1] In such a case there could be

1. If not, the name of the bay at the southern end of the island marked *Kelung*, *Kilong*, *Khelung* in modern maps and charts, but pronounced *C'halong* (wr. ฉลอง) by the natives, may come in handy for a parallel. The present day Moñ call the island "Döng Khalāng," *i. e.* the Khalāng town, after the name of its historical capital.

Another puzzling place-name on Junk-ceylon Island is that of its southern district, P'hūket (Bhūkech), ภูเก็ต, which, though closely enough resembling the Malay Būkit='a hill,' appears in no way connected with this term. Nor am I inclined to trace it to *Bugi* or *Wugi*, the piratical race from Celebes who overran the west coast of the Malay Peninsula during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the one next following, founding there several settlements; for Bugis are, in the Siāmese records of the period, termed *Mu-ngit*, มุหงิด, and not Bhūkech.

no doubt that the original word travelled from the Malay Peninsula to Sumatra, and not vice-versa; for there are to be found on the northern part of Sumatra many other places bearing names identical with those of localities not only on the Malay Peninsula, but also further north of it, as far as the coast of Arakan. It seems to me that the people who brought these place-names on to Sumatra cannot be other than the Mōñs, who most assuredly crossed over to the island from the Malay Peninsula at a remote period and spread over at least the northern portion of it where the language spoken in some districts—in Achīn, for instance—is, to this very day, to a considerable extent composed of Moñ words.

Otherwise we must resort to the only other alternative that is left us, namely, that such toponyms are of Indian origin and have been introduced by the Southern-Indian traders who applied them equally to places on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal as to localities in the northen part of Sumatra. Of the nomenclature introduced through such a channel there are not a few well ascertained instances on both regions. The question remains as to whether C'halāng is also of the number, or finally, whether it being neither of Moñ nor Indian origin, it is a loan word from the speech of the aboriginal Negrito tribes once inhabiting the country.

3. General survey of the early history of the Island.

The early history of the island is wrapped in deep mystery, and it is only by circumstantial evidence that we can infer what its status may have been prior to the dawn of the thirteenth century when it makes its first appearance on the scene of the world's history. As we have seen, its earliest inhabitants were undoubtedly Negritos, similar to the present Semang still found not very far away on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, and to the Andamanese living at no great distance on the large cluster of islands to the West of it. The fact of Junkceylon Island lying between these two shreds of territory that have remained to this very day in occupation of Negrito tribes, clearly argues that its aboriginal population cannot have been of a different race This was, naturally, in the course of time gradually supplanted by off-shoots of the Moñ (or Moñ-Khmër) family that

proceeded thither from Pegu, among which the *Selung* or *Salon* are probably to be classed. These peculiar maritime tribes of expert divers and swimmers, known to the Siāmese as C'hāu Nam, ชาว น้ำ, ("Waterfolk") still inhabit the numerous islands of the Mergui Archipelago down to a point not far to the north of Junk-ceylon; and we have had occasion to notice that even on the island itself, and on the neighbouring mainland, settlements still exist of people that appear to be racially connected with them, if not exactly identical.

After these Moñ descended tribes came the Indū traders and colonists, and it was probably from that period that the tin mines, on the West coast of the Malay Penisula, and very likely also on Junk-ceylon Island, began to be worked. As regards the latter we have no positive proof, but it can hardly be doubted that the natural riches of the island could escape the notice of those shrewd miners who at so remote an age developed those of the neighbouring Takôpa district immediately to the north of it. By reason of its position on the old sea route to Further India that crossed the Bay of Bengal further to the north, and then skirted the West coast of the Malay Peninsula for its whole length down to the Straits, Junk-ceylon could certainly not escape becoming well known to the early navigators, at least by existence, if not by name. For indeed, no specific mention of it is to be found in the accounts of adventurous seafaring men and traders of those periods. These appear to have had only one designation for the region, including the island and the districts to the north of it as far as the Pāk-Chan inlet, and that designation was Takola or Takkôla, suggested by the principal seaport and trade-mart in that region, of which the present Takôpa, in Siāmese Takūa-pā, ตะกั่ว ป่า, is the historical continuation. This country or seaport of Takkôla is referred to as early as the very dawn of the Christian Era in the famed Pāli treatise titled "Milinda Pañhā," or "The Questions of King Milinda" (VI, 211). Towards the middle of the second century A. D. Ptolemy mentions not only Takola as a mart situated on the West Coast of the Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula) in a position approximately corresponding to Takôpa; but also a cape to the south-west of it, which I have elsewhere

shown to be the headland presently known as Cape T'akôpa on the northern shore of Pāk P'hraḥ (Papra) Strait (separating Junkceylon Island from the mainland lying immediately to the north of it) which was apparently made, in the mind of the illustrious Alexandrine geographer, to comprise Junkceylon Island as well.[1] In such a case the Malay idea of Junkceylon as a Cape would find its counterpart, if not its origin, in some remote naval tradition as to the peninsular character of the island, which Ptolemy would have simply echoed in the mention of his Cape beyond Takola.[2] There seems to be no reason for doubt that this region and seaport of Takola correspond—as I have elsewhere suggested—to the *Kalah* Island (in reality Peninsula) of the early Arab navigators described about A. D. 880-916 by Abū-zaid as an emporium of trade for eagle-wood, ivory, sapanwood, al-kalī (tin), etc., and classed by him among the possessions of the Zābej Empire. Ibn Khurdādbih, writing in about 864 says, however, that it belonged to the *Jabah* of India, by which name he means, I think, Pegū. It seems therefore pretty certain that Junkceylon, although well known to the early navigators who often had to sail past its western and southern coasts, was considered by them practically as part and parcel of the Takôpa district, and accordingly they did not trouble about finding out what its special native designation was; or, even if they eventually learnt it, of putting it on record.

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1. See my remarks on this subject in the *Journal R. Asiatic Society* for July 1897, pp. 572-573 and table IV, nos 79,80. Also in the same *Journal* for April, 1904, pp. 239,247.

2. Colonel Yule, in his map of Ancient India in Smith's well-known historical "Atlas of Ancient Geography," identified the Island of Salāng, *i. e.* Junkceylon, with the Island *Khaline*, or *Saline*, mentioned by Ptolemy. However, I place but little reliance on the variant *Saline* appearing in some editions of Ptolemy's work; and from some experience gained in the course of researches on the Ptolemaic geography of Indo China, I came to the conclusion that Junkceylon, from its lying quite close to the mainland, has been treated as part of the latter, as instanced in analogous cases in the work of that geographer; and that therefore *Khaline*, is almost undoubtedly the correct reading, and very probably designates Kar-Nikobar.

In this connection it may be of interest to point out that at a far later period Hakluyt, in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" prefaced to the voyage of Sir James Lancaster, terms Junkceylon "the *mainland of Junçalaon.*"

Judging from the only ancient inscription that has so far turned up in the neighbouring Takôpa district, the main bulk of settlers from India in those parts must have been Drāvidians, hailing from Kalinga and more southern districts on the East coast of India where Tamil was spoken. Although these adventurers formed the ruling and trading classes of the population, they do not seem to have founded any important State in this particular region which appears to have remained until the middle of the eleventh century, or thereabout under the sway of Pegu, a kingdom likewise founded by immigrants from Kalinga, that had grown very powerful under their civilizing influence. When that kingdom was overthrown by the Burmese from Pagān in 1050-1057 and converted into a dependency of theirs, it is possible that the ruler of Ligor (Nagara Srī Dharmarāj) on the other side of the Malay Peninsula took advantage of that opportunity in order to annex Junkceylon and the neighbouring districts on the mainland, for—judging from extant records—Burmese domination on the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula did not at the period in question extend any further south than Tenasserim[1]; whereas, on the other hand, Ligor is known to have then had sway over the whole southern portion of the Peninsula as far down as the Straits. This State was itself, however, a more or less nominal dependency of Kamboja, which had been for many

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1. The story of the Pagān King Narapadisithu (Narapatijayasūra)'s visit to Tavoy in 1204 is well known. At about the same period, a Pagān inscription informs us, he despatched a monk, Shin Arahan, to the province of Tenasserim to procure a certain relic of the Buddha preserved there. Near the Shinkodaw pagoda about ten miles from Mergui an inscription has quite recently been found recording a gift to the pagoda by Nga Pon, the Royal Usurer of Tarok-pye-min, the king who reigned at Pagān from 1248 to 1285. I am indebted for information as regards this inscription to the kindness of Mr. Grant Brown, the present Deputy Commissioner for Tenasserim.

There can thus be no doubt as to Burmese possessions on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula having at this period included Tavoy and Tenasserim. But there is no evidence whatever that they extended any further south. With the rise of the Martaban kingdom under the protection of Sukhôthai in 1282, Tavoy and Tenasserim became tributary to Siām and continued as such for many centuries, although several times reduced to obedience by later kings of Martaban (in 1318, 1320-25, 1327); of Pegu; and, finally, of Burma.

centuries the suzerain power over all the Gulf of Siām and even the Straits, where its possessions were conterminous with those of the Palembang Empire.

In 1257 Siām threw off the secular Kambojan yoke, and went even to the length of invading Kamboja and dealing a death blow to that colossus then already tottering to its fall. All the possessions on the Malay Peninsula and the Straits were wrested from it, and became dependencies of the newly risen Thai empire that fixed its capital at Sukhôthai. Junkceylon Island, as part of the Ligor kingdom, followed the lot of this State, which continued to rule the Malay Peninsula as a tributary kingdom on behalf of Siām instead of Kamboja as heretofore. Of this novel status of Ligor we have positive evidence in the Sukhôthai inscription of 1283-1306 A. D.; which is the earliest extant epigraphic monument of the first Thai empire. After the overthrow of this by the second empire that had sprung up in 1350 with its capital at Ayuddhyā, all the former's possessions on the Malay Peninsula passed under the latter's domination; and thus we find in the Palatine Law called the Koṭ Monṭhīerabāl (Kaṭa Mandirapāla) enacted in the course of the century immediately following, Ligor or Nagara Srī Dharmarāj classed as one of the eight tributary kingdoms of Ayuddhyā which were ruled by princes styled พระยา มหานคร. Of these there were two more on the Malay Peninsula further to the north, viz. Tanāvaśrī or Tenasserim, and Thawāi (Davāi) *i. e.* Tavoy; whereas in the south four petty tributary Malay States are mentioned, viz:

1. อุยง ตะหนะ, Ūjong Tānah, the then name of Johor;

2. มลากา, Malākā, *i. e.* Malacca;

3. มลายู, Malāyū,—apparently the district on and about the Malāyū river, immediately adjoining Johor on the west;

4. วรวารี, Worawārī (Varavārī), a district of difficult identification, but which may have been Mora-muār, *i. e.* Muār, below Malacca.

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1. See Laws of Siām, vol. II, p. 92 of 5th ed., 1888.

Although these Malay States sent the usual gold and silver trees of tribute directly to Ayuddhyā, they were, like other ones not mentioned (such as *e. g.* Pêrak and Kedah), under the tutelage of Ligor which continued in her rôle of policing the Malay Peninsula on behalf, at this period, of Ayuddhyā,[1] although not omitting like the States under her guardianship to rebel when opportunity offered and her suzerain relented his grip. But chastisement in such cases was not long to follow from headquarters and the unruly dependency was again made to feel the pressure of the iron hand and became the loser into the bargain; for whenever such soaring attempts on its part evidenced a dangerous exuberance of vitality, a wing-clipping cure was applied as a rule, by effect of which one or more valuable dependencies were severed from it and either attached to more loyal neighbouring principalities or placed under the direct control of the capital. Such was the case with Patāni, Kedah, and Ligor itself as as we are going to see directly.

Besides the Malay States above referred to that were expected to periodically do homage and present the symbolical golden and silver trees directly to the suzerain at Ayuddhyā, there were other petty States purely Siāmese further north on the Peninsula, which, though recognized as tributary, were required to perform such periodical demonstrations of allegiance through the medium of Ligor. Their status practically was, therefore, that of immediate dependencies of the Ligor kingdom. Such States were Singora, P'hattalung and P'hang-ngā, which had each to forward every year to Ligor two gold and two silver trees of one Tical weight of precious metal in each of them, besides a certain number of ornamented waxen tapers and a determined quantity of local produce. Every three years Ligor assembled together the tributary trees received during the period, which thus numbered 18 of gold and as many of silver, added to them its own (6 for each kind and year, or 18 of each kind for the three years), and forwarded the whole (36 golden and 36 silver trees) to Ayuddhyā, together with 1000 ornamented waxen tapers

1. Witness the punitive Siāmese expedition of A. D. 1502 against the rebellious Malacca, which was, as Nieuhoff informs us, under the command of the governor of Ligor.

and the several sorts of local produce collected. This custom for Ligor of sending these various shares of tribute triennally, must evidently have replaced an older one of forwarding it every year. In the course of time this system having been found to work unsatisfactorily owing to the loss of time and delays involved, it was substituted by the other one of triennial homage. But for the tributary States under Ligor, the ceremony was to be performed at the capital of the latter kingdom every year—apparently in September on occasion of the rite of drinking the water of allegiance—when the chiefs of those States had to proceed to Ligor and there do homage while taking at the same time their oath of loyalty by drinking the traditional adjured water.

Of most of this we have unimpeachable evidence in the account of Mendez Pinto who, having had occasion to visit Ligor in 1539 or 1540, tells us, that "14 petty Kings" were then subject to it, owing homage to Siām, and "that they were anciently obliged to make their personal repair unto *Odiia* [Ayuddhyā], the Capital City of this Empire, as well to bring their Tribute thither, as to do the *Sumbaya*[1] to their Emperor, which was indeed to kiss the Courtelas that he ware by his side[2]; Now because this City was seated 50 Leagues within the Land, and the Currents of the Rivers so strong, as these Kings were oftentimes forced to abide the whole winter there to their great charge, they petitioned the *Prechau*,[3] King of Siam, that the place of doing this their homage might be altered; whereupon he was pleased to ordain, that for the future there should be a Vice-Roy resident in the Town of *Lugo* [Lugor, Ligor, Lakhon], which in their Language is called

1. From Malay *Sembah*, *Sembayang* = to worship, to pay homage; in Khmër *Sompea*, *Sompea Krab*; sometimes spelled *Somba*, *Sombay*, *Zombaye*, by later European writers. The explanation "a present; Malay *Sambah-an*" given in "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., p. 851, s. v. is therefore not quite correct.

2. This is an error; the feudatories were not required to kiss the King's courtelas, but as still nowadays, to drink water in which weapons forming the instruments of punishment for high treason are dipped while the adjuring formulas of the oath are recited.

3. พระเจ้า, P'hrah Chāu, the Sacred Lord, *i. e.* His Majesty; something like "Holy Tzar."

Poyho,[1] unto whom every three years those 14 Kings should render that duty and obedience they were accustomed to do unto himself, and that during that time they spent there in performing the same, being the whole month of *September,* both their own Merchandize and that of all others, as well natives as strangers, that either came in, or went out of the Country, should be free from all manner of imposts whatsoever."[2] Thus we clearly see from the account of this eye-witness, that in or about 1540, the chiefs of the tributary States and provincial governors under Ligor, proceeded thereto to the number of 14 in the month of September of each year, to do homage and drink the water of allegiance. This ceremony has to be held, according to time-honoured custom, twice a year, viz. nowadays on the 3rd waxing of the 5th moon (about the end of March) and on the 13th waning of the 10th moon (September); but formerly it took place on the 15th waning of the 4th moon or on the 1st waxing of the 5th, and on the 15th waning of the 10th moon or on the 1st waxing of the 11th respectively. The shifting of these dates as above was effected on account of the national festivals and rejoicings that form an inseparable feature of the end of the 4th and 10th lunar months and the beginning of the 5th and 11th which mark the commencement of the new year and of the new half-year respectively, of which the drinking water ceremony occupied too large a share of the best time available for merry making, thus proving somewhat of a gloomy damper on the general mirthfulness.

Among the tributary States mentioned above as being at the period under the immediate control of Ligor, the one in which we are chiefly interested here is that of P'hang ngā, พังงา, for it then included Takūa-pā (Takôpa), besides C'halāng and P'hūket, the two districts into which Junkceylon Island was already apportioned. P'hang-ngā thus was a rather important State, whose

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1. May be P'hyā, พญา, although the Ligor Viceroy's rank was that of a Chāu-P'hyā.

2. "The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto," transl. by Cogan; London, 1692, p. 43.

chiefs are known to have been at times of as high a rank as Chāu P'hyā, owing to the fact that it being situated near the western frontier of Siām, it became necessary to place it under an official of high station and ability so as to efficiently provide for its defence against eventual attacks from the Peguan side or raids from the Malay pirates that infested the sea of the Archipelago.

In the course of time, however, Ligor having become too powerful and therefore unruly, had its wings duly clipped in the shape of the severance from it of the three States of Singora, P'hattalung and P'hang-ngā which were placed under the immediate dependence of the capital to which they henceforth came directly to pay homage and present their tribute. Accordingly, the share of Ligor's contribution was reduced to six gold and six silver trees a year, the others being supplied independently of her by the States aforenamed. On the other hand, not long afterwards C'halāng, P'hūket and Takūa-pā were detached from P'hang-ngā, as a result of which this latter State became so insignificant that it was relieved from the burden of sending the golden and silver trees of tribute which was thereupon shouldered on Takūa-pā. The tribute trees in question continued to be forwarded to the capital of Siām once a year from C'halāng, P'hūket and P'hang-ngā (and later on in the latter's stead by Takūa-pā); and once every three years by Ligor, until a few years ago when the new administrative reform of provincial government was introduced.

It is not difficult to guess the reasons why C'halāng, P'hūket and Takūa-pā were so early detached from P'hang-ngā. The advent of European nations in the East Indies as traders, colonists and empire makers that followed after Vasco da Gama's memorable navigation, led to a revival of the interoceanic trade that had come almost to a standstill since the time of the Arabs despite the laudable efforts of the mediaeval Italian Republics on the one side, and of the Chinese on the other to keep it alive and to stimulate the development of the natural resources in India, Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. The feat accomplished by the Portuguese through the discovery of a sea route to India, however, overtopped by its result all these achievements, as well as the far older ones in the same direction of the Greeks and, I should add, of the

Phoenicians, for these were beyond doubt the pioneer Western traders to India not only, but also to Further India.

Thus the impetus given to trade at the latter period was enormous, was unexampled; for soon every maritime European nation of some standing followed in the footsteps of the Portugnese and set about to strenuously dispute with them a share in the East Indian bounty. This rush had reached its climax by the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the one next following; and among the countries that immediately resented the beneficial effects of the novel vigorous impetus impressed to interoceanic trade was not least Siām, on account not only of her varied productions, but above all of her being in possession of the only tin yielding territories then known in the East.[1]

These territories, as we are all aware, were those of Takūa-pā, of Junkceylon Island, and Pêrak the mines of which latter, however, were not developed to their full extent until long afterwards.[2] Under such circumstances Junkceylon especially, being beyond doubt the richest of all in tin ore, assumed all of a sudden an unprecedented importance among Siāmese possessions on the Malay Peninsula. And its mines, as well as those in

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1. The famous Bangka mines were not discovered until A. D. 1710.

2. The tin mines in Ligor, Singora, P'hattalung and C'hump'hon do not appear, judging from what Tavernier says, to have been discovered and opened until about 1640 A. D. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* for October 1904, p. 720. At this period tin was also mined in the Srī-Sawat ศรีสวัสดิ์ province to the south-west of Nakhon Swan, for we learn from the Ayuddhyā annals (vol. I, pp. 297–98) that an albino elephant having been caught there in January 1659, King Nārāi exempted the people who had assisted in securing the precious quarry, from royalty on tin-mining in that district.

As regards the Malay Peninsula, in 1516 Barbosa mentions a dependency of Siām there under the name of *Caranguor*, in which tin abounded and whence it was brought to the city of Malacca to be shipped to foreign countries (Ramusio's "Navigationi et Viaggi," vol. I; Venetia, 1563, f. 317 *verso*). It is not easy to say which is the district meant under this designation of *Caranguor* which may be a mistake for *Çaranguor*. It may be a question of either Selangor, Kalang, or C'halāng (Junkceylon) Island; if not of Sangora or Singora and even Trang (the *Taranque* of d'Albuquerque's Commentaries).

the Takūa-pā district received a far larger share of attention than heretofcre, the export of tin being made at once a royal monopoly. Thus, the necessity of direct control from headquarters of the administration of the two mining centres was felt, and Takūa-pā, C'halāng and P'hūket were forthwith detached from under P'hang-ngā and placed under the immediate dependence of the central government at the capital of Siam.

Article 37 of the Law on Criminal Procedure, enacted apparently in A. D. 1623,[1] enjoins on all frontier posts and custom stations to prevent foreigners from surreptitiously buying agilla wood, sapanwood and *tin*, thus evidencing that these articles of produce had then already been made the object of royal monopoly. Licenses were, however, granted later on to Europeans to trade in tin not only at Junkceylon but in various districts on the Malay Peninsula. Among those recorded is the one dated the 6th November, 1675 in favour of the Hon. East India Company to buy that produce in C'hump'hon, C'haiyā, P'hun-p'hin (now Pān Dŏn) and Thā-thong (now Kānchanadit), where mines had but recently been opened.[2] As to Junkceylon we are told that in 1677 a misunderstanding had arisen between the English authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuddhyā regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkceylon.[3] From several European accounts of the period which will duly be quoted in the next section of this paper, we learn that the working of the tin mines on that island was now in full swing, and the necessity of fully developing them led to the appointment of Europeans to govern Junkceylon. Two Frenchmen, as we shall see in due course, held that post between 1683 and 1689.

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1. ลักษณ อาญาหลวง, Laws, 5th ed., 1888, vol. II, p. 199. The date is set forth as 1976, year of the Hog (= A. D. 1431), which is unmistakeably a clerical slip, as the king then reigning bore a different title from the one given at the outset of this law, and no English and Dutch as mentioned in the article in question were as yet in sight in Siām. I propose therefore the correction B. E. 2166 = A. D. 1623, though it may yet have to be modified.

2. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, for October 1904, p. 722.

3. Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 137.

The necessity of coping with the situation created by the growth of foreign trade had led to the southern provinces of Siām being placed under the department for Foreign Affairs instead of under that of War as heretofore ; and Junkceylon was, as a matter of course, of the number. This important administrative step was taken, according to Siāmese records, under the reign of King Nārāi (A. D. 1658-1688). That such was already the case in 1681-5 we positively learn from Gervaise,[1] who adds however that the provinces on the East coast of the Gulf of Siām had by that ruler been placed under the Ok-yā Wang[2] in order to make this post more considerable. But it is not improbable that the measure referred to dates from an earlier period.

Such a state of things continued until 1782 when upon the advent of the dynasty presently reigning over Siām, Takūa-pā, Takūa thùng, P'hang-ngā, C'halāng (the jurisdiction of which then extended over the whole of Junkceylon Island), and the other provinces on the Malay Peninsula were withdrawn from the control of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and placed under that of the Ministry for War (Kalāhôm Department) as had originally been the case in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is unnecessary to pursue the present inquiry to a more recent period, since both Siāmese and European records are plentiful enough as to permit of reconstructing the history of Junkceylon Island for the last two centuries. Such documents will serially be dealt

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1. "Histoire du Royaume de Siam "; Paris, 1688, p. 79. "Le-second Ministre d'Estat est appelé *Praclang* [P'hraḥ Khlang, พระ คลัง] ou plus communément *Barcalon*.....Comme il a l'Intendance generale de toutes les Côtes Maritimes depuis Piply [P'hejburī], jusqu'à Tennasserim, c'est à luy à veiller sur le Commerce, et à mettre en bon estat tous les Magazins du Roy." Then he refers to the ability displayed in holding that post by the late brother of the first Ambassador of Siām to France in 1685–87. The distinguished Minister referred to is Chāu P'hrayā Kosā (Lek), who died in 1683 after having held the post for fifteen years and acted also as Chakkrī, or Minister for the Northern division of the kingdom, since 1630 or thereabout (op. cit., p. 80).

2. ออก ยา วัง, R. Palace Warden, of which the Ministry of the Royal Household is the present historical continuation. The occupant of this post bore formerly *ex officio* the title of Ok-yā Tharamāthibodī (Dharmādhipati), with Ministerial rank.

with in the next section. If local records lack entirely for an earlier age it is mainly due, as it will now have become clear, to the fact that Junkceylon Island being then under the direct control of Ligor, little or nothing about its affairs and conditions transpired to the capital of Siām. No reference to it is to be found, it is true, in the chronicles of Ayuddhyā even for the subsequent period during which the island remained under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but as the few works that deal with Ayuddhyā history have been handed down only in a fragmentary form we must conclude either that whatever passages concerned Junkceylon have become lost, or that nothing of very great importance occurred there which the annalists thought worth the while to put on record.

On the other hand, in the course of the long Siāmo-Burmese war that followed the downfall of Ayuddhyā and the establishment of the new Siāmese capital at Bāngkōk, Junkceylon played no insignificant rôle and was several times the object of earnest attention on the part of both belligerents. As a result of this some very interesting episodes were evolved, on which local records throw far more light than can be obtained from foreign sources. We shall revert to these matters in due course when it will be seen how deservedly and at the cost of what heavy sacrifices the island succeeded at last in winning for itself a condign place in history.

PART II.

Serial Notices of the Island.

1.—Older period: A. D. 1200 to 1782.

Circa 1200.

The earliest reference to Junceylon known to me in Eastern literature, occurs in the Kedah Annals translated by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low in the third volume of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*. We are told therein that Marong Mahāvaṁsa, the founder of Kedah, in the course of his journey thereto from India, sailed along the coast of Pegu reaching in due course Tavāi (Tavoy), Marit (Mergui) and Salāng (Junkceylon)[1] in the sea called Tāppān; and having cast anchor abreast of Salāng Island asked permission from the chief to take in wood and water, after which refreshments he continued his voyage. From various considerations which it would take too much space to refer to here, I have recently come to the conclusion that the foundation of Kedah, and therefore the sea journey mentioned in the above extract, took place on or shortly after A. D. 1200.[2] Our inferences as to Junkceylon being frequented from a very ancient period by trading ships on their route to and from India, receive thereby confirmation.

1512—Galvano.

The earliest European mention of Junkceylon that I am aware of occurs in Galvano's valuable work written in about 1557;

1. It is interesting to notice that the island is here termed Salāng and *not* Ujong Salāng, thereby evidencing that the second form of the name is of later growth. I have no access to the Malay text of the Kedah Annals and am therefore unable to verify the passage. But if, as seems certain, the text has simply Salāng, this would at once dispose of Mr. Skeat's wild flights of imagination on *jong*, and 'heavily tossing' junks, etc., referred to above (p. 2).

2. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* for July 1905, pp. 495-499.

but dates back to about 1512 when, we are told, Albuquerque sent a second mission to Siām (the first one had been despatched in 1511), putting in charge of it a knight called Ruy Nunes da Cunha. This envoy went "unto the citie of Pera and on this side of *Iunsalam*, and to many other populations standing along this coast, where Duarte Fernandes had been before [in 1511]."[1]

1539—Mendez Pinto.

Soon after comes Mendez Pinto, who severally refers to Junkceylon as follows (the no. of page is that of Cogan's translation, London, 1692).

1539—"passing by the Port of *Junculan*" (for Junçalan), p. 22.

1545— *Juncalan* (p. 189); *Juncalan*, one of the seaports where trade fell on account of Portuguese scorings along the coast (p.189); "Coast of *Juncalan*" (p. 207);

1548—"a place called Tilau [Pāk Lāu, or Trang ?], which is besides *Juncalan*, on the South East Coast, neer to the Kingdom of *Quedea* [Kedah], an hundred and forty leagues from *Malaca*" (p. 280); *Juncalo* (p. 285).

1588—Ralph Fitch.

On the 10th January, 1580, the famous traveller Ralph Fitch sailed from Pegu for Malacca, passing en route the Islands of "*Tanaseri, Iunsalaon*, and many others."[2]

1583-1592—Linschoten.

Speaking of Pêrak, Linschoten says: "...there is found much *calaem* [tin], which is like tinne, there commeth likewise of the same from *Gunsalan*, a place lying upon the same coast North north west, from Queda 30. miles, under 8 degrées and a halfë."[3] Despite these

1. "...à cidade de Perá, & aqué da Iunsalão, & outras muytas pouoaçoes q'jazem ao longo desta ribeira, por onde ja Duarte Fernandez viera." (Galvano's "Discoveries of the World," Hakl. Soc. 1862, p. 114). I had to somewhat modify the wording in the English version quoted above, as the translator, curiously enough, took *ribeira* to simply mean a river, whereas in the present instance it has the sense of coast, just like the Italian *riviera*.

2. J. H. Ryley's "Ralph Fitch"; London, 1899, p. 178.

3. "Voyage of van Linschoten"; Hakl. Soc., 1885; vol. I, p. 104.

precise enough indications the recent editors of the English translation quoted here have, strange to say, failed to recognize *Junçalan*, i. e. Junkceylon under the not very opaque travesty of *Gunsalan*; that is, anyhow, the only inference that can be drawn in view of the fact that they have kept a prudent silence on this toponym in their footnotes, and even omitted it from the Index.

October 1592—Barker.

We now come to what I believe to be the first European account of a visit to the island, which is due to the pen of Edmund Barker, lieutenant in Sir James Lancaster's fleet. This very interesting narrative is, to the following effect.

"And doubting the forces of Malacca, we departed thence to a baie, in the kingdome of *Junsalaom*, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier [a Portuguese], which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with us, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came unto vs. We sent commodities to their king to barter for ambergriese, and for the hornes of *abath* [=rhinoceros], whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this *abath* is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female unicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hornes, which are the colour of a browne grey, and some reasonable quantitie of amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise; but he to get abord vs, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire; for hope whereof he let him returne aboord, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast...," etc.[1]

Although not unfortunately saying anything about tin works

1. "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies"; Hakl. Soc., 1877, pp. 14–15.

on the island, this account supplies us with several interesting details that make it invaluable, and indeed unique for the sixteenth century. It will have been noticed that Junkceylon is here termed a kingdom, and its ruler a king (corresponding to the Malay rāja, applied to any petty chief or princelet). This confirms what we have stated in our introductory section as regards the status of the island at the period in question, which was that of a tributary State to Siām placed, however, under the immediate control of Ligor. The bay where the fleet anchored is, no doubt, that of Thā-Rüa which we shall see later, was much frequented by shipping. The pitch for trimming the ships referred to is, of course, Damar, in Siāmese น้ำ มันยาง, from the *Dipterocarpus* or oil tree. The mention of ambergris among the chief exports of the island is important ; and we shall find it confirmed nearly a century later. It would be interesting to learn whether such a valuable product is still collected in such considerable quantities about the shores of the island. Such does not seem to be the case nowadays, although spermaceti whales are said to be even at present numerous enough in the surrounding sea. On the whole it will be seen that with its tin, rhinoceros horns, ambergris, resins, wood-oil, and so forth to barter with outlandish commodities ; and with its well sheltered bays the island must have offered sufficient inducements to foreign shipping which, no doubt, resorted thereto in considerable numbers.

1598—Hakluyt.

We have already had occasion to notice that Hakluyt, in his "Epistle Dedicatorie,' calls the island "the mainland of *Junçalaon*," which argues that in his time its insular character was by no means generally known to Western navigators.

1606—Bocarro.

Antonio Bocarro, in his "Decada 13 da Historia da India" (Lisboa, 1876) has the following passing references to the island :

1606—Junçalao, a seaport (p. 135).

1615—Ponta de Junçalao (p. 430) by which I suppose he means the southern point of the island. This seems to support

the view that the Malay designation Ujong-Salāng really applied to the southern end of the island only.

1639—Mandelslo.

Mandelslo speaks of *Juncalaon* town which he wrongly includes in the Kingdom of Malacca, by which he means the Malay Peninsula.[1]

1662-63—De Bourges.

De Bourges enumerates *Iansalom* among the 11 provinces of the Kingdom of Siām.[2]

1671—Catholic Mission.

In or soon after 1671 a Catholic branch mission was started from the Siāmese capital on the island by the Bishop de Bérythe who sent there a Portuguese priest by the name of Perez. It seems that Portuguese settlers were pretty numerous there at this period, and the mission soon prospered. But owing to want of labourers at headquarters M. Perez had to be recalled in 1673 to Ayuddhyā where in the month of May of that year he greeted the Bishop of Heliopolis on his arrival from Europe.[3]

1677.

In 1677, as already noticed on a preceding page (17) a misunderstanding had arisen between the English authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuddhyā regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkceylon.

1681—85. Gervaise.

Gervaise, who resided in Siām from 1681 to 1685 attached to the Catholic mission at Ayuddhyā, sets forth the advantages of the port of *Jonsalam* which, he says,[4] is situated to the west of the

1. "Voyages de Perse aux Indes Orientales par le Sr. Jean-Albert de Mandelslo"; Amsterdam, 1727, p. 334.

2. "Relation du Voyage de Mgr. l'Evêque de Beryte, par M. de Bourges"; 2nd ed., Paris 1668, pp. 141–42.

3. "History of the Churches," etc., in the *China Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 10. Pallegoix' "Description du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1854, vol. II, p. 143; Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 235.

4. "Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam"; Paris, 1688.

Malay Peninsula in about 8° lat., between the mainland and an island that bears its name and lies only two leagues off. The only defect of this seaport is, that it is not deep enough for large vessels; but a large fine roadstead near it can successfully do duty as harbour. It is a place of refuge for all vessels proceeding to the Coromandel coast when surprised by storms, which usually occur during the months of July and August; and is of great importance for the trade of Bengal, Pegu, and other neighbouring kingdoms (pp. 14-15). Evidently, the port here meant is that of Thā Rüa. Further on he states that the Dutch have often set their eyes upon the Island of *Jonsalam*, because there are to be found some small quantities of gold and ambergris, and plenty of *calin* (tin)[1]; but the King (of Siām,) has entrusted the government of the island to a Frenchman (Charbonneau, see below) who finds himself well there and has no mind to permit them to enter it (p. 32.)

1685—Choisy.

The gossipy Abbé de Choisy tells us in his "Journal"[2] that *Joncelang*, a seaport on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, abounds in *calain* (tin) and ambergris.

1685—Chaumont.

Chaumont simply mentions *Josalam* among the 11 provinces of Siām in a list seemingly copied from De Bourges (p. 160); and adds that tin was shipped by the King's junks for China, the Coromandel coast, and Surat (pp. 150, 155).[3]

The Franco-Siamese Trading-Convention of 1685.—
Tin Monopoly at Junkceylon Granted to France.

However, the two French envoys, Chaumont and Choisy, knew a good deal more about the island than they give us to understand in their books, where all their political doings in connection

1. The alleged Dutch designs upon Junkceylon and Tenasserim are already set forth in the letter of Deslandes (the chief agent in Siām of the Compagnie des Indes) to Baron, dated December 26th, 1682.—See Lanier's "Etude Historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam"; Versailles, 1883; p. 30.

2. Paris, 1741; p. 397.

3. "Relation de l'Ambassade de M. le Chevalier de Chaumont," etc.; 3rd ed., Paris 1687.

with the establishment of French influence and trade monopolies in Siām are most scrupulously skipped over. We now full well know from the documents of that period preserved in the archives of the French Government, that besides the published treaty granting privileges to the apostolic missionaries in Siām signed at Louvo (Lop'hburī) on the 10th December 1685, a particular convention was likewise drawn up by the two signatories—Chaumont and Phaulcon —according most advantageous prerogatives to the Compagnie des Indes, not least of which was the monopoly of the tin trade on *Joncelang* Island, with the permission to build there a factory.[1] Whether such a building was erected or not does not transpire; but as French governors continued to be appointed to the island, there seems to be no doubt that a small French settlement sprang up there.

1687—La Loubere.

Of all writers of this period La Loubère is the one who supplies us with the most important information on Siām, and therefore also on Junkceylon. Subjoined are the passages bearing on this island culled from the English translation of his valuable book.[2]

"They have another [mountain of loadstone] also near *Jonsalam*, a City seated in an Island of the Gulph of Bengal, which is not above the distance of a Mans voice from the Coast of Siam but the Loadstone which is dug at *Jonsalam* loses its vertue in three or four Months." (p. 14) ".. ...Salt may...cost too much to make, as in the Island of *Jonsalam*, the inhabitants whereof do rather chuse to import their Salt from Tenasserin" (p. 84).

"The *Calin* or Tin.—All the *Calin* is his [the King's], and he sells it as well to Strangers as to his own Subjects, excepting that which is dug out of the Mines of *Jonsalam* on the Gulph of Bengal; for this being a remote Frontier, he leaves the Inhabitants in their ancient Rights, so that they enjoy the Mines which they dig, paying a small profit to this Prince" (p. 94). Thus, under the reign of King Nārāi, the islanders still enjoyed the privilege of working their tin-mines by paying a royalty in the form of a certain

1. See Lanier, *op. cit.*; p. 67.

2. "A new Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam," London, 1693.

share on their net produce. This system seems to have continued until some time prior to 1821 when we hear for the first time of the tin mines of Junkceylon being farmed (see below).

"Brother Réné Charbonneau...after having been a Servant of the Mission of St. Lazarus at Paris, had passed to the Service of the Foreign Missions and was gone to Siam [in 1677].....by his Industry knew how to let blood, and give a Remedy to a sick Person. ...He was afterwards three or four years [circa 1681-1685] Governor of *Jonsalam* by Commission, and with great approbation: and because he desired to return to the City of Siam [Ayuddhyā] to his Wife's Relations, which are Portugueses, Mr. Billi, the Master of Mr. de Chaumont's Palace, succeeded him in the Employment of *Jonsalam*" (p. 91).—This must have been at about the end of 1685 or the beginning of 1686, as the Chevalier de Chaumont was in Siām from the 24th September to the 22nd December 1685.

Anderson, after having told us[1] that Charbonneau, the first medical missionary to Siām, arrived in the country in 1677 and was at once employed in a hospital established by the King, comments as follows on his appointment to the governorship of the island of Junkceylon.—"How far this appointment had been brought about by the influence of the Vicars-Apostolic is unknown, but in the light of after events, it seems even more probable that it had been made at their suggestion, and that this was the first active or overt step taken by them to forward French influence in the kingdom to the detriment of other nations, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, who had been in the country long before them, and who had materially contributed to promote its commercial prosperity. Being in no way an appointment connected with the Church, it can only be regarded as the beginning of the great effort made by the Jesuits, later on, to obtain for their nation supreme political supremacy over Siām." These comments seem justified only to a slight extent. Junkceylon—as we have seen Gervaise informs us, a year or more before the question arose of Charbonneau's appointment, and as Deslandes' letter confirms since 1682,—had been more than once coveted by the Dutch; and it was

1. "English Intercourse with Siam," pp. 240-241.

certainly the desire of the Siāmese Court to prevent it falling into their hands. Furthermore, it was entirely against his inclination and only when signified that "the King of Siam absolutely requir'd it,"—we learn from La Loubère (p. 91)[1] — that Charbonneau proceeded to build a wooden fort on the Pegu frontier. It must have been as a result of his having honourably acquitted himself in the fulfilment of this task, that he was chosen for the governorship of Junkceylon Island which he cannot very willingly have held, since he resigned the office after three or four years and preferred to return to his family circle in Ayuddhyā. The appointment of another Frenchman to succeed him, far from having being inspired by the Vicars-Apostolic, was evidently but a natural consequence of the Franco-Siāmese trading convention signed in the course of Chaumont's mission in 1685. This is shown by the very fact of the Master of Chaumont's household being designated to fill the post.

1689—The French Naval Demonstration at Junkceylon.

As a result of the revolution that took place in Siām in the spring of 1688, Desfarges, the French officer in command of the citadel of Bāngkok, had to evacuate the place with his troops on the 2nd November of the same year and embark for Pondichery which he reached on January 31st 1689. There had arrived some two weeks before that the débris of the French detachment that garrisoned Mergui. A council being held of the military and civil authorities present at the place, it was resolved, among other things, to occupy Junkceylon Island, so as to be able to easily come to terms with the new power that swayed over Siām. Desfarges still held, contrary to what should have been, three distinguished Siāmese officials as hostages, and it was hoped that through their means negotiations could be reopened and some satisfactory arrangement easily come to. Five ships being placed at his disposal by the Pondichery authorities, he sailed for Junkceylon in February, with his officers and 330 soldiers.

Immediately upon coming at anchor in Thā-rüa harbour, Desfarges set about to renew the connection that had been broken

1. A phrase misconstrued by Anderson (op. cit., p. 241) as applying to Charbonneau's appointment to Junkceylon.

with Siām. So he wrote to the P'hrah Khlang announcing his return, that he had brought the hostages with him, that all he wanted was peace, and all he claimed was that the Frenchmen held captive in Siām should be returned to him, as well as his baggage that had been detained behind when he left the mouth of the Bāng-kōk river. This message was sent overland to the Siāmese capital and reached it towards the end of August 1689, according to Pallegoix. The Bishop of Metellopolis, the only one of the hostages left there by Desfarges who had not broken his faith and fled, did his best to persuade the Siāmese officialdom not to allow such a fine opportunity of reconciliation to pass away. But his arguments were of no avail: the Siāmese refused to consider the matter, and strict orders were sent to the local authorities at Junkceylon not to supply either victuals, water, or provisions of whatever sort to the French there and to lay hands on such of them as attempted to land.

Surprised at meeting with so much stubbornness, Desfarges tried his hand once more at peace-making on somewhat different lines. On the 27th August he sent out one of the Siāmese hostages with two letters for the P'hrah Khlang. In one, coming from his pen, he solicited the dispatching of envoys, accompanied by the Bishop of Metellopolis, to Junkceylon in order to conclude a treaty. The other letter, signed by Véret, the unscrupulous and mischievous *quondam* chief of the French factory at Ayuddhyā, treated of commercial affairs, and demanded from the King of Siām the cession of Junkceylon Island to the Compagnie des Indes. "*L'effronterie de Véret ne se démentait pas,*" observes Lanier at this juncture.

After long deliberation the Siāmese Court replied that the Christian captives would not be delivered until Desfarges released the last two hostages he held. The French commander gave way at last. The season was far advanced, so after freeing one of the hostages he sailed for Bengal with three ships. Twelve days after, M. de Vertesale, the second in command, left Junkceylon in his turn with the rest, after having released the last Siāmese official detained as security and sent along with him the two interpreters Ferreux and Pinchero who were to make in due course known to the Siāmese Court the rectitude of intents with which the French expedition had

proceeded to Junkceylon. The whole party ultimately reached Siām on the 5th December 1689, with the welcome announcement that the French vessels had withdrawn from Junkceylon bound to Bengal.[1] Thus ended this barren attempt at re-establishing cordial relations with Siām. Lanier speaks of it as an occupation of Junkceylon, but arguing from what precedes there appears to have been no actual occupation whatever of the island. The French fleet seems to have merely lain at anchor in the harbour,and if the orders received from headquarters were strictly carried out by the local authorities, its men can have had but little chance of setting their foot on shore. Mr. Billi, the French governor appointed in 1685, was apparently no more in charge. If occupation there was, it must have been of some islet in or about the habour. It is interesting to notice in this connection, that one of such came to be known to navigators as *French Island* (see below, under the date 1779), owing presumably to its having been temporarily held or availed of by the crews of that fleet. The expedition was therefore, to all intents and purposes, a mere peaceful naval demonstration, as harmless and useless as may be imagined. It may indeed be said to have utterly ruined the French cause at the Siāmese capital, for the news of Desfarges' arrival at Junkceylon led there to a recrudescence of ill-feeling and to reprisals against the missionaries and their converts.[2]

1700-1719—Hamilton.

Not long after the above events Junkceylon was visited between 1700 and 1719 by Captain Alexander Hamilton in the course of his various trips along the West coast of the Malay Peninsula. Needless to say that this well informed writer whose "New Account of the East Indies"[3] offers—according to Professor

1. Cf. Lanier, op. cit, pp. 172–174; Pallegoix, vol. II., pp. 188,190; and Anderson, op. cit., p. 383. The last-named author makes one of his most glaring blunders in confounding this expedition, which took place in 1689, with the cruise of Admiral Duquesne-Guitton's squadron in the Gulf of Bengal which took place in 1690 and had nothing to do with Junkceylon or, for that matter, with any part of the Malay Peninsula.

2. Cf. Lanier, op. cit., p. 175.

3. In 2 vols 8vo: 1st ed., Edinburgh, 1727; 2nd ed., London, 1744.

Laughton—"a closer parallel to the history of Herodotus than perhaps any other in modern literature," has left us one of the best old accounts of the island which is here subjoined.[1]

"The next place of any commerce on this coast [West coast of the Malay Peninsula] is the island of *Jonkceyloan*; it lies in the dominions of the King of Siam. Between *Merjee* [Mergui] and *Jonkceyloan* there are several good harbours for shipping, but the sea-coast is very thin of inhabitants, because there are great numbers of freebooters, called *salleiters*,[2] who inhabit islands along the sea coast, and they both rob, and take people for slaves, and transport them for *Atcheen*, and there make sale of them, and *Jonkceyloan* often feels the weight of their depredations.

"The north end of *Jonkceyloan* lies within a mile of the continent, but the south end is above three leagues from it. Between the island and the continent is a good harbour for shipping in the south-west monsoons, and on the west side of the island *Puton* [Patong, อ่าว ปะตอง] bay is a safe harbour in the north-east winds. The islands afford good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin, but few people to dig for it, by reason of the afore-mentioned outlaws, and the governors being generally Chinese, who buy their places at the court of Siam, and, to reimburse themselves, oppress the people, in so much that riches would be but a plague to them, and their poverty makes them live an easy, indolent life.

"Yet the villages on the continent drive a small trade with shipping that come from the Choromandel coast and Bengal, but both the buyer and seller trade by retail, so that a ship's cargo is a long time in selling, and the product of the country is as long in purchasing." (p. 431).

Further on Hamilton, speaking of an albino elephant he saw at the Siāmese capital, notices that "he is only of a cream colour,

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1. Culled from vol. VIII of Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages, London 1811, which reproduces it *in extenso*; as I have no access to the original work.

2. *Selat* or Malay pirates, called by old writers *Celates*, *Salettes*, etc.

and I have seen several at *Bangarie* [Bāng Khlī, บาง คลี][1] a village near *Jonkceyloan,* as white as him." (p. 470).

It will thus be seen that the reaction consequent on the Siāmese revolution of 1688, which stifled the great progress that had been made during the preceding thirty years in the development of the country and its trading relations with abroad, had lethal effects on Junkceylon as well. With no more armed vessels or garrisons to defend the coast this was incessantly exposed to the incursions of the Malay pirates, while the former European governors of the island had been replaced by unscrupulous Chinamen who have ever since proved, while holding official posts, the real bane of the island. So the oppressed people had no alternative but to idle away their time, and tin mines lay almost untouched. Interesting is Hamilton's mention of Patong Bay (he is, to my belief, the first writer that has referred to it), which must have been known to navigators as a place of refuge during the north-east monsoon long before his time. On the whole his account, especially from a seaman's point of view, is a very correct one, and closes the available series of European sidelights on the island for the period during which the Siāmese capital stood at Ayuddhyā.

1779—Dr. Koenig.

The next learned traveller to visit Junkceylon was Dr. Koenig, a prominent Danish botanist and pupil of Linnaeus who held from 1768 several appointments as medical attendant and naturalist in India. At the end of 1778 he started on a scientifical expedition to Siām where P'hyā Tāk had set up as king; and on his way back to India in 1779 he stayed for several months at Junkceylon, of which in his usual enthusiastic spirit he studied the fauna and flora, extending his researches to several of the neighbouring smaller islands. The voluminous account of his travels, written in Danish and preserved in MS. in the British Museum collections, lay quite ignored to the public until the portions of it relating to Siām and the Malay Peninsula were well advisedly translated into English

1. This is the *Bangery* of the map of Siām accompanying La Loubère's work (1690), and lies on a bay on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula a short distance to the north of Pāk-P'hrah Strait.

and published in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Roya Asiatic Society*.[1]

His chief interest lying in investigations concerning natural history, he has, as a matter of course, designedly neglected other points of more general interest. Nevertheless, his narrative contains many valuable items of information on the geography and political events of the countries he visited; whereas in his special field he was certainly the first savant to make a scientifical study of the flora and fauna of Siām, and perhaps the only one who ever investigated those of Junkceylon.[2] The account of his researches in this and adjacent islands alone occupies altogether no less than 30 pages of print, hence it can only be here summarized, leaving out matters that would merely interest specialists. The very bad handwriting of the MS. has proved no small source of difficulty to the translator, especially in the making out of proper names, which moreover seem to have been taken down only in a somewhat slovenly manner so as to still further intensify their puzzling character. Hence but conjectural identifications could at times be offered here. Such of them as will be found accompanied by a query should be further examined by those well acquainted with the local topography, as they are still open to correction.

1st visit.—On the 19th March, 1779, Dr. Kœnig arrived in the neighbourhood of Junkceylon in the ship "Bristol" commanded by Captain Francis Light, the well known founder of Penang in after years.—"We passed a very pleasant-looking island, *Pullu Pausang* [Pulo Panjang, in Siam. Koh Yāu-yai, เกาะ ยาว ใหญ่], and straight before us in a narrow strait we saw many differently shaped rocks, projecting from the sea, the biggest among them had the most

1. No. 26 (Jan. 1894) pp. 59–201; and No. 27 (October 1894) pp. 57–133.

2. In the third volume of "Études Diverses" of the Mission Pavie (Paris, 1904) his name and his work are totally ignored, and in the preface Henry Mouhot is represented as having been the first naturalist to visit the interior of Indo-China. Long before him, however, Dr. Koenig had been botanizing in the environs of Ayuddhyā and Chanthabūn, besides exploring the interior of Junkceylon. He is thus incontestably the pioneer, and deserves not only to be remembered in connection with botanical and zoological discovery in Indo-China, but his place and merits should duly be recognized in works purporting to deal with this subject in an impartial spirit.

peculiar shape. The anchor was cast at three o'clock in the afternoon between the islands of *Pullu Salang* [Pulo Alang, Siām. เกาะ ฉลัง], which consist of two islands, one smaller than the other.

" 24.—Early I went to the tin smelting place and botanized; at four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the first hamlet, which is called *Ringluy* [Rông Lüei, โรงเลื่อย=Saw Shed], and is the largest of them all; an hour after we came to *Kockren* [Koḷ ?].[1] I saw the manner of smelting in the evening.

" 25.—I went to the mine which lies about a quarter of a mile from *Kockren*. The way passes through a dense forest. From there I went further to a place the tin of which was exhausted.

" 26.—Went back across the mountains, and arrived at twelve o'clock in *Tarmah* [Thā-Rüa, ท่า เรือ, then capital of the P'hūket district].

" 28—I went to the island *Pullu Sallang Minor* [Koḷ Alang Nōi], with the boat, the crew of which was to cut and fetch wood for the ship. I found many remarkable things. At five o'clock the ship went under sail." (Op. cit., No. 20, pp. 197-198).

Being caught in a heavy storm when near the Nikobars, which so wildly belaboured the old ship as to make it unsafe to proceed, they were forced to turn back towards Junkceylon which they reached on April 30th.

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1. This is a most puzzling toponym, the initial word of which is evidently Koḷ, เกาะ, meaning an island; though Khôk, โคก, a patch of rising ground, is not impossible, however unsupported by circumstantial evidence. Further on our author distinctly speaks of it as an island – " the island of *Cockren* "—thus leading one to connect it with the islet of Koḷ Klùei, เกาะกล้วย, lying close by the north-eastern corner of the Lëm Yā-mū peninsula. However, as a tin mine is stated by him to have existed at a quarter of a mile from *Kockren*, the foregoing inference loses much of its value, and one would incline to look for the locality in question either to the south-east or to the north-west of Thā-Rüa village, where tin has been and is still worked. In the last named direction exists a hamlet bearing the name of Bān Bāng Koḷ, บ้านบางเกาะ, " Island Creek Village; " but this can hardly be Dr. Koenig's *Cockren* or *Cockreu*. So the final identification of this place-name must be left to local investigators.

2nd visit.—" 30.—We arrived between the islands [i. e. the three islands northward from Lĕm Ngā, แหลม งา, and southward from the Alangs] and cast anchor towards midday near a small island [Koḥ Mali, เกาะ มะลิ]. There we found two English ships, that of Captain James Scott and that of Captain Theserten [Peters, or Petersen]" (p. 201). This stray hint evidences how frequented by shipping was the island at this period.

" May 1.—In the afternoon I went to an island called *Kopran* [Koḥ Map'hrāu เกาะ มะ พร้าว, which name—like most long words in the local parlance—is usually contracted into Koh Ph'rāu], which was at 1000 steps' distance [westward] from the ship...I turned my attention first to a prominent mountain peak. It consisted of clayey very fine stone, which varied much in colour; most of it was grey, some was green, black or pink. It did not form any big blocks, but strong ferruginous veins divided it into many irregular parts. This kind of stone is used by the Siamese to write their books with, which books consist of black cardboard. They cut the stone into small sticks, one inch in length[1] and half as thick as a quill....." (Op. cit., No. 27, p. 57).

" 3.—" At midday I went again to this island...First of all I visited the huts of some Malays and learned from them that they boil the large *Holothuria* [beche-de-mer] first in salt water; after that they are put on a stand, which is made of split bamboo, is half a man high, two yards broad and six feet long. They kindle a bright fire underneath this stand, which has the effect of both drying and smoking the *Holothuria*" (pp. 58-59).

" 6.—I went to an island which lay one mile northward from our ship.[2] My researches were soon interrupted by the arrival of

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1. A clerical error has widently crept in here. These steatite slate pencils, called Din-so Hín, ดิน สอ หิน, in Siāmese, are about 6 inches in length. Those made from soft yellow chalk are termed ดน สอ เหลือง.

2. The island here alluded to is Koḥ Khob, เกาะ ขบ. The position of the ship thereby becomes fixed at $\frac{3}{4}$ mile eastward from Koḥ Map'hrāu, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile westward from Koḥ Mali, and 1 mile southward from Koḥ Khob.

seven or eight Malay *praus*, whose neighbourhood is always dangerous for all Europeans.....After 8 o'clock the anchor was weighed to go to *Tamah* [Thā-Rüa Harbour], where we had been a month ago.

"7.—We travelled between the islands of *Pullu Penjang* [Panjang] and the *Lehlands* [Alangs], as far as the French island,[1] but the ship did not advance.....; therefore the anchor was cast..."

"8.—We tried again to get near the land,.....and at four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at *Tamah* [Thā Rüa Harbour]. (p. 60).

"22.—I took the road, leading to *Cockreu* [? Koḷ...], which was very muddy and often intersected by rivulets.....In a very dark wood, often traversed by the rhinoceros, I found on their dung a special kind of *Boletus stipitatus*. The roots consisted of a bulb...

"23.—I went again to the place in the wood which is often flooded by the sea....." (p. 62).

"24.—A tiger visited our house, but was satisfied with only one goose for this time, which he carried away with him to his hiding place, which was about 200 yards from our house in a dense opening wood at the back of the house....."

"27, 28.—I continued to collect insects. Towards evening I met a wild elephant, from which I had to escape. The bishop of these parts[2] told me that the leaves of *Sussa Radja* [Malay *Bakung Suasa=Susum anthelminticum?*].....are used as vesicatories....." (pp. 62-63).

"30.—We went to our ship, which lay in the harbour, but we had much trouble to reach it, on account of the many trees floating in the water, cast there by recent storms.....

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1. See above, p. 30. This now appears to be Koḷ P'hëḷ, เกาะ แพะ, to the north of the Alangs.

2. The author doubtless means the Buddhist head-priest of the place. There was at least one Buddhist monastery, วัด ท้าย น้ำ พัง by the river bank at Thā-Rüa, as will be seen further on.

"31.—I went to the larger *Pullu Salang* [Alang], which is only separated from the smaller island by a narrow passage, it is twice as large as the smaller one, and lies parallel with the land, stretching from North-East to South-West.....After low tide we returned to our ship, which lay three miles from this island.....

"June 1-2—I had an opportunity to send some intelligence of my present condition to my friends on the coast of Bengal, as Captain Peters returned thither.....

"3.—Captain Peters took all my letters. His ship took tin from our captain and left the harbour in the afternoon to sail for its destination.....

"4.—I went to *Pullu Jambu* [Lëm Yāmū, แหลมย่ามู],[1] an island, which might rather be called a land-point because only a swamp, which is only flooded at high tide, separates it from the island Junkceylon. It has the same direction as the two *Salangs* [Alangs] and on entering the harbour it lies on the right-hand side. It consists of two middling high but narrow mountains, which are separated by a valley. The front part of this island is closely covered with high trees; there seems to be one place in the valley which is not overgrown with trees, and also a hill, which lies in front of the mountain furthest inland, and seems not to produce any trees, but is covered with a kind of light green grass, which gives a very pleasant view in the distance. Unfortunately, however, this grass grows to almost a man's height and consists of a kind of sugarcane.... The bamboo and the sugarcane make this island a favourite resort for elephants, therefore as soon as one comes into the jungle, one finds many paths made by the elephants, and that these paths originate from them is shown by their dung, which one finds everywhere. I was told that there were specially white elephants with their young ones living here, the latter however were of the ordinary colour; but I should not like to pledge myself for the truth of this assertion. ...(pp. 64-66).

"12.—At breakfast I was treated to some rhinoceros hide. ... The rhinoceros are said to visit this island from time to time. ... (pp. 68-69).

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1. Incorrectly marked in charts as *Lem Jam.*

"16...among other corals, there are many fleshy corals on these shores...In the evening I was fetched out one and a half mile, to the ship of Captain Welsh, which had just arrived from the coast of Sumatra...(pp. 70-71.)

"19...the splendid cone of the *Amonim* showed to perfection. It has a carmine red colour, and is often eaten by the Siamese, who call it *Kalch* [Khā ... ?] [1] ...The Siamese told me that the elephants too are very fond of this cone...(p. 73.)

"In the afternoon I sent my boy and some of the Siamese to fetch me some beetles of which they had spoken. They said that this beetle builds its nest one foot deep in the ground, by preference in such places where the wild elephants have left their dung. In the evening they came back with fifteen beetles of a very large kind, which resemble the *Scarabaea acten* [?] : The Siamese wash these insects, fry them, and eat them with great appetite; they assured me that they had an excellent taste, which opinion my captain confirmed, who had himself eaten them, prepared in some other manner. I am convinced that they contain many particles of fat.....The Siamese call these insects *Fhu-zi, vel Tzuh-tzhi* [2].....(p. 75).

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1. If an *Amomum* (misread *Amonim*), i. e. a zinziberacea, it may be either Khā, ข่า, (*Alpinia galangas*); P'hlai, ไพล; Proḥ, เปราะ, often pron. Ploḥ (*Kaempferia galangas*); Reu, เร่ว (*Amomum villosum*), or similar. Perhaps Khā-ling ข่า ลิง, a wild variety of *Alpinia*.

2. The kind of insect here referred to would at first sight hardly seem to be aught else than the *Tua Büng*, ตัว บึ้ง, which nests in holes underground and is eaten roasted in the fire, its eggs being also relished. If so, Dr. Koenig might have written down its name in the form of *Tuh-byng*. There is, however, a serious difficulty confronting us here. The *Tua Büng* is *Melopœus albostriatus*, the largest variety of mygale found in Indo-China; and it is known that mygales are eaten boiled or stewed in Siām, Lāos and Kamboja; while their eggs are considered a delicacy. But the insect referred to by Dr. Koenig is described as a beetle and must evidently belong to the family of Scarabeidae; for it is impossible to conceive that a naturalist of his standing would speak of a mygale as such. Among beetles I only know of the *Brachinus exquisitus* of the carabidae family being eaten fried; but this, called แมงกินูน, is scarcely more than one inch long. Hence only further research can lead to the identification of the edible insect alluded to.

"21.—Early in the morning I made preparations to go to *Tarnah* [Thā Rüa] in the afternoon, and then I went for a short time to *Pullu Jambu* [Yā-mū].....I found another tree resembling the rotan, with a fascicle of fruits, the spadices of which were bright red. The fruits were oval, oblong, smooth, sessile and fleshy inside; they were of a beautiful blood-red colour, and were twice as big as the ordinary sized quills. The fleshy part encloses the kernel with a layer of prickly stiff fibres, which were rather loose at the top part. The kernel consisted of an oblong nut, which was exactly like a nut when cut, and contained some red juice, which dyes the linen red when brought in contact with it.....The tree is well known by the natives here who call it *Gkottschoh* [โกฏสอ, Kôt So ?],[1] and use these nuts sometimes instead of the ordinary Betel nuts.....I went round the island and found a kind of large tree, which was frequented by several *Buceros*.....The Siamese call this bird *Nock Nang* [read Nok Kahāng or Krahāng, นก กะหาง, or กระหาง, the large hornbill, *Buceros rhinoceros*, of which Nok Hāng is the local contracted form of the name]; it only lives on fruits and seldom flies low. The remarkable thing in this bird is that it makes a peculiar noise with its wings as it flies along. ..." (pp. 78-79).

"26.—The atmosphere on land was rather unsafe for Europeans during the last days, on account of some quarrels between some English captains and the king; I was therefore called back to the ship. Before I left the land I botanized a little..... A Chinese merchant, living at *Tarnah* [Tha Rüa], told me that tin was also being found on the height of the mountains, because the violent rain washes the earth away and so uncovers the tin and sometimes even washes this down as well. The old women collect it, and bring it to the smelter, who renders them $\frac{4}{5}$ of what they have brought him, because the prevailing custom here is to give the smelter $\frac{1}{5}$ of whatever he smelts, which is the only payment for his trouble. All the tin in *Pullu Panjang* had formerly been collected in this manner, and was not dug for as they do here, and there was

1. The presence on the island of the medicinal plant called Kôt So will be found confirmed further on from Siāmese sources; but it is somewhat doubtful whether it can be the tree referred to here, as from its designation the plant would appear to be a mere tuber.

enough tin there to furnish many people with an occupation. But Malay ships had often killed and robbed this people, so that in the end they had fled. On the whole Malay coast people are said to collect the tin in this primitive way and not to dig for it as they do here "……(p. 80).

"[July] 5.—I spent this day in Captain Light's company, and we could dare to penetrate deeper into the wood, because we had many people with us who were armed with guns....We went right across the island, which was covered with a dense forest, consisting of many very high trees; the ground was strewn over with their fruits and we gathered some of them....." (p. 81).

"12.—...I asked Captain Light to let me have a boat and a few men; we rowed to a part of the island which did not make it necessary for me to climb.....I went a few hundred steps up the mountain and found to my great astonishment two kinds of Areca trees....There was a whole wood of them here, white ones as well as the red kind....." (p. 83).

"13.—I was seized with a violent bilious fever, combined with cold shivers and general weakness.....[which] threatened to kill me. Therefore I resolved to go with Captain Scott's three-masted ship, which was bound for Malacca, my Captain readily made all arrangements for my passage, as he feared to have a corpse on his ship, while Captain Scott could easily make funeral arrangements at sea; and late in the evening of the 17th I went on board of Captain Scott's ship, called "Prince." We sailed still the very evening." (pp. 84-85).—

Thus ended Dr. Kœnig's fruitful visit to Junkceylon. He got thence safely to Malacca, next to Kedah, visiting many other places *en route*, and ultimately got back to India where he died on June 26, 1785, at Jagrenatporoum, aged 57 years. Although he tells us but little of the social condition of Junkceylon, his occasional remarks on the harbour, the neighbouring islands, and especially the tin mining operations going on there in his time are exceedingly interesting. We gather from these that the island continued to be exposed to the incursions of Malay pirates who had been the cause of the discontinuance of tin works on Pulo Panjang, i. e. Koḷ Yāu-yāi. We moreover see that the islanders still enjoyed the privilege of mining

for tin wherever they chose, had to pay $\frac{1}{5}$ for the cost of smelting, and probably $\frac{1}{4}$ of the net produce as royalty to the chief of the district who had to forward a certain portion to the provincial authority at P'hang-ngā or Takūa-pā, to be thence sent to the Siāmese capital by the route that shall be described in due course. The smelting of the ore was seemingly done by Chinamen who were already numerous in the island and carried on a certain portion of its import and export trade. But tin was also exported on European ships, which fact argues that the monopoly in force at the period when the Siāmese capital was still at Ayuddhyā had not been re-established during the reign of P'hyā Tāk, or was maintained but in a slovenly manner. Dr. Koenig does not tell us anything about ambergris, probably because he had not visited the West coast of the island where that substance is likely to have been chiefly collected. *Per contra*, he records the presence in considerable numbers of rhinoceroses, tigers, elephants, and even albino elephants on the island. Most of these wild animals have probably become far more scarce since that time. As to whether slate pencils are still wrought at Koh Map'hrāu I am unable to say. It is a pity our author did not tell us something more of Thā-Rüa which, as we shall see from other accounts, was at the time a town of considerable importance. But on the whole we must be thankful for whatever else he put on record, which has a special interest as being the only sidelight we get on the island since Hamilton's time, and but a few years after the fall of Ayuddhyā (1767) and the translation of the capital of Siām to Bāngkok (1768).

Extracts from Local Records up to 1782.

I shall now make some extracts from a document written by local officials in 1841 in so far as they bear on the period immediately preceding the year 1782, so as to complete our notices on the history of the island up to that date. The rare document in question is reproduced and translated in full in Appendix A; so here I need only touch upon the principal points relating to the period under examination.

C'halāng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhyā there were two chiefs in the C'halāng district, born of the same father but of different mothers. One of them bore the name of Chom Rāng, resided at Bān Takhīen and was the governor of Thalāng; he wedded

a Malay widow who had fled to the island from Kedah, and had by her 2 sons and 3 daughters, two of the latter of whom achieved afterwards great distinction, as will appear in the sequel, while the elder son became governor of Thalāng later on. The other chief was Chom Thāu,[1] who resided at Bān Don; one of his sons became also some time afterwards governor of Thalāng. Perfect harmony reigned between the two families at Bān Takhīen and Bān Don. But this state of tranquility in the island was soon to come to an end.

For some time afterwards Chom C'hai Surindr of the Lip'hon village (บ้าน ลิพอน) rebelled with the intent of seizing the power. An order came from the capital to arrest him, and he was caught and executed for high treason. There being then no able man left in the island, an official from the capital, Khāng-seng by name was sent out as Governor. At, the eldest son of Chom Rāng, succeeded him as P'hrayā Thalāng, but shortly afterwards he was shot dead by dacoits, and Thalāng remained without governor.

Thereupon a Malay from Kedah made himself master of the island. But soon the people of Thalāng revolted, erected fortifed camps at Mai Khāu, Pāk Sāgū, and Tang-ro (?)[2] and drove the Malays out, thus liberating the island. This event seems to have happened either shortly before or shortly after 1780, and was no doubt the cause of the erroneous statement, repeated in all European accounts of Junkceylon from Horsburgh's time to the present day, to the effect that the island was formerly a possession of Kedah and did

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1. These titles of *Chom*, จอม, given to the C'halāng chiefs at the period are worthy of notice. *Chom* means 'top', 'summit'; and metaphorically a chief, or chieftain. It is also remarkable that in the document here refered to, the name of the district or island is invariably spelled ถลาง, Thalāng, and not ฉลาง, C'halāng.

2. Bān Mai Khāu, บ้าน ไม้ ขาว, village lies on the north-western end of the island; Pāk Sākhū, ปาก ตาคู (Sago Mouth) lies close to the north-west of Bān Don; and Bān Lip'hon village is immediately to the north-west of old Thā-rüa town, on the road thence to Bān Don. *Tang-ro* is doubtful as a place-name; it may mean "to make a stand."

not become Siāmese until 1810 or thereabout![1] The evidence we have brought forward in the foregoing pages shows how much truth there is in such a slovenly assertion, and how much knowledge about the political history of Kedah in those writers who ignore its having been, since a few decades from its foundation, a dependency of Siām except during brief intervals of rebellion invariably followed by a re-tightening of the grip on it from headquarters.

Meanwhile Mom Srī P'hakdī, son of Chom Nāi Kong, a Ligor man who had come out as governor of Takūa-thùng, had wedded Chan, the eldest daughter of Chom Rāng, the old chief of C'halāng; and had had by her two children. The aforenamed Mom Srī P'hakdī died some time before 1785; for towards the end of that year Chan, the heroine of the island, is, in the Bāngkok Annals, described as being a widow of the late governor, which statement argues that Mom Srī P'hakdī must have governed C'halāng for some interval before that date. And here we must interrupt the history of C'halāng district for the present and pass on to the other one on the southern part of the island.

P'hūket.—P'hūket was formerly an important district, but later it was placed under the jurisdiction of C'halāng. Its governors were at first Lúang P'hūket (Khāng-Khot), and then Nāi Srī-c'hāi overseer who became P'hraḥ (or P'hrayā) P'hūket. They resided at Thā-Rüa, a little country town of considerable importance then, situated one and a half miles up a small stream of the same name. There was a large Portuguese settlement here, as well as a fine market street, composed of large brick buildings, among which rose the spacious houses belonging to the Europeans that used to reside here while their ships lay at anchor in the harbour. The boundaries between P'hūket and C'halāng stood as follows:—

On the West, Hin C'hāi, P'hlāi Tanôt;

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1. Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India," 3rd ed., s. v. "Junk Seylon, or Salang Island," says quoting from Horsburgh: "It formerly belonged to the Malay raja of Queda, but it has since been forcibly occupied by the Siamese of Ligor."

This has been copied, almost *verbatim*, by Prof. Keane in his "Geography of the Malay Peninsula," etc.; London 1892, p. 15.

And H. W. Smyth in his "Five Years in Siam," London, 1898; vol. I, p. 316, still tells us no less incorrectly that "about 1810 it finally became Siamese."

On the East, Koḥ Map'hrāu, Au Tap-kë, Lëm Ngā, Lëm Mat-p'hā; while the following islands were included in the jurisdiction of P'hūket, viz: Koḥ Yāu (Pulo Panjang and Koḥ Yāu Noi to the northward of it), Koḥ Alang (the two Alangs), Koḥ Klùei, Lëm Yāmū (Jam of maps, a quasi peninsula), Koḥ Rët and Nākhā, Koḥ Rawaḥ, Koḥ Pā-yôi, Koḥ C'ha-ngam, Au P'hārāmā, Koḥ Yā-nat, Koḥ Khūlā-khlot. The boundary continued thence to Lëm Kho-en, Pāk Ko-yik and Lëm Pāk-P'hrayā from which point it crossed over to Pāk-nam Mon and Pāk P'hraḥ, where the strait separated it from the territory of the Takūa-thùng district.

Our document next adds some important information about Takūa-thùng, which is worth summarizing here.

Takūa-thùng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhyā, Chāu P'hrayā Indravaṁsā selected a site at Pāk-P'hraḥ whither to build a residence for himself. He had scarcely cleared the site and commenced the work when he was overtaken by death. P'hyā Tāk had then just become King of Siām (1768); so he sent out several high officials of Chāu P'hrayā and P'hyā rank as commissioners. These established their quarters at Pāk P'hrah; and were, among others C'hāu P'hrayā Lü Rājanikūl, P'hrayā Dharmatrailôk, and P'hrayā P'hip'hit P'hôkhai, who either died or fled as it will be seen further on, at the time of the Burmese invasion of 1786.[1]

The channel of Pāk P'hraḥ (คลอง ปาก พระ) formed the line of separation between Takūa-thùng and C'halāng.

The Junkceylon Revenue.—The royalties in kind on mines and other produce, as well as on sundry imports collected in C'halāng were forwarded to Takūa-thùng whence they were sent on to Takūa-pā. From the last named district the tin ore, the bales of [Indian] fabrics and the firearms [from India] were conveyed across the main range by way of the Kháu Sok pass[2] down to Thā P'hanom on the eastern watershed, where they were laden into boats and brought by way of the P'hanom river (Khlong P'hanom) to C'haiyā. Here they were shipped to the capital. Such,

1. These and former commissioners evidently were sent out for the purpose of watching the collection of the revenue—chiefly tin—from Junkceylon and the Takūa-thùng and Takūa-pā districts, and the forwarding of it overland to the capital by the route that is described further on

2. The name of this mountain is playfully marked *Mt. Rock* (!!) on the extant maps.

we are told, had been the custom for a very long time, and until the Burmese invasion of 1786, when the above operations came to a standstill not to be resumed for a good many years, and then, too, by a different, though more practicable, route.

2.—Second Period: 1782-1851.

As already noticed in the first part of this paper, with the advent of the present dynasty on the throne of Siām in 1782, an important administrative change took place, by effect of which Junkceylon and all the other provinces on the Malay Peninsula were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Foreign Department and placed as of yore under the control of the Kalāhôm or Minister for War, under which they were to remain until the recent reorganization of 1893. (See above, p. 18).

The far more enlightened spirit that has ever since distinguished the newly founded dynasty, proved highly beneficial not only to the country, but to the foreigners that had made it their residence. Owing to the severe persecutions of P'hyā Tāk, the Catholic missionaries had had bodily to withdraw from Siām towards the end of 1779. But now that ideas of tolerance of all creeds prevailed, they returned to their posts within the year 1782. Joseph Coudé, however, resided for some time at Junkceylon where he found a number of soi-disants Christians that welcomed him with joy. I suppose these were mostly the Portuguese mestizos and other Eurasians of the Thā-Rüa settlement with, perhaps, a sprinkling of descendants of the natives evangelized during the mission of 1671-73 (see p. 24 above). They had been receiving but some desultory teaching from the chaplains of Portuguese vessels and some Franciscans that had now and then visited the island.

Later on Coudé, upon being appointed Bishop of Rhesi and Apostolic Vicar for Siām resolved, while proceeding to Bāngkok in order to receive thereat his consecration, to again visit his cherished Christians of Junkceylon and Takūa-thùng. Accordingly, he took a track across the Malay Peninsula that was to shorten his journey by some eight or ten days (doubtless viā the Kháu Sok pass). But this being a very unhealthy and difficult road, the

Bishop fell seriously ill and died while en route on the 8th January 1785.[1]

Captain Forrest's Visit—1784.

Having been sent in 1784, by the Bengal government, to found a settlement at Rhio at the king's invitation, Captain James Forrest upon hearing when touching at Pulo Dingding that the king Rāja Hāji had just fallen at the siege of Malacca which he had attacked—an untoward incident this that upset all his plans—returned and called at Junkceylon. To this circumstance we owe his capital account of that island, which, falling a few years after Dr. Koenig's but under the new régime of the presently reigning dynasty, and immediately before the island had been lain waste by repeated Burmese raids, possesses a special interest from a historical point of view. This interest is further enhanced by the valuable details it supplies not only on local topography, natural resources and trade, but also by the sidelights it throws on administrative affairs and the very life of the people. A miniature picture is thus presented to us of the island at a most eventful stage of its existence; and the precision of the information is such as to enable us to check and even complement to a certain extent several of the imperfect statements occurring in local documentary records. As a cute observer, an explorer and a faithful recorder of his peregrinations, Captain Forrest must be ranked immediately after Captain Alexander Hamilton, his eminent predecessor in the same field; and his varied subsidiary accomplishments that ranged from map-making to translating Pope's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer into Malay for the benefit and edification of the Filipinos, and from suggesting novel ingenious modes of preserving sea provision[2] to fiddling, to composing Malay songs and setting them to the sonatas of Corelli, eminently fitted him for that task. And yet his valuable book[3] is

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1. Pallegoix, op. cit.; vol. II, pp. 274-75, 278. *China Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 12.

2. As regards fish-curing (p. 137) he may be said to have preconized pyroligneous acid.

3. "A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago.....also an Account of the Islands Jan Sylan," etc.; London, 1792; large 4o.

scarcely any more, if ever, consulted. Had those playful writers on Junkceylon in recent bulky tomes of would-be sensational twaddle, and in encyclopaedias of general information or otherwise, taken the trouble of opening its pages, they would have spared a goodly few of the glaring blunders they have unblushingly perpetrated. And after having read Captain Forrest's account of Junkceylon one feels regret that this careful observer had not an opportunity of visiting some of the districts on the opposite mainland, as in such a case we should be indebted to him for valuable information on those so little known territories also. His account of the island occupies eight pages (29-36) in the publication just referred to; and as this has now become somewhat scarce and is conspicuously absent in libraries private or otherwise out here, we cannot help giving it well nigh in full, omitting only such passages as are irrelevant for our purpose, or obvious to residents from their bearing on too well known matters not peculiar to the island alone, but to practically the whole of Siām. Henceforth, then, we shall leave Captain Forrest to speak out for himself, adding within brackets or in footnotes our identifications of proper names, or comments, as the case may be.

1. Position of the Island, etc.—"The *Island Jan Sylan* (called *Junk Ceylon* in our maps) is situated on the east side of the *Bay* of *Bengal*, and is divided from the continent by a narrow isthmus of sand about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, which isthmus is covered only at high water (the tide rising on the springs about 10 feet), and shuts up on the north part, an excellent harbour, called *Popra* * [Pāk P'hraḥ, ปาก พระ][1] .....

1. This harbour our author marks in his "Chart from Jan Sylan to Queda" (facing p. 36 in *op. cit.*) on the mainland opposite the northern end of Junkceylon, within a promontory which is evidently that of Pāk P'hraḥ (Lĕm Pāk P'hraḥ). The anchorage was frequented by European shipping since the writer tells us (p. 31) that Captain Scott's vessel lay then at anchor in it. It is ignored in the present day directories and sailing directions; but an index to its importance is to be found in the fact that as we have seen above (p. 44) the Siāmese commissioners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had made Pāk Phraḥ their residence.

As regards the narrow isthmus of sand, covered at high water, connecting the island with the main across Pāk P'hraḥ Strait, we find it marked in Captain Forrest's chart at the western entrance to the Strait

2. **Name.**—"The name *Jan Sylan* is a corruption from *Oojong Sylan* (point or promontory of Sylan), the south point projecting a little way into the sea, and probably the name was given to it before it became an island at high water, and before it was disjoined from the continent, as it is at present: the word *oojong* being a Malay word signifying point, and the inhabitants in general speaking Malay, from their intercourse with that people, had it been considered as an island, the word *pulo*, signifying island in the same tongue, a word of easy pronunciation, if once affixed to it, would most probably never have left it.[1]

3. **Neighbouring Islands.**—There are several small islands adjacent to it, from one to six miles in circumference ; and one beautiful island lies about sixteen miles east of it, called *Pulo Panjang* (*Long Island*): it is about 23 miles long, and 8 broad, of moderate height, gently sloping from the middle to the sea on each side. *Pulo Panjang* is divided from the *main* by a strait called *Callat Leheere* (Throat Strait),[2] with 2 fathoms water in the shallowest part.[3]

4. **Orography and Hydrography.**—"*Jan Sylan* has no high hill upon it, but several of moderate height; and, as may be expected from its size, no considerable river; but several creeks that run to

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just referred to. This bar exists to this day, but the depth on it at low water is said in the "Bengal Pilot" (3rd ed., 1901, p. 431) to vary "from one to 3 fathoms at low water." Nevertheless Mr. Kynnersley in his account of the island in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R. Asiatic Society* for July 1901 states (p. 64) that it is "fordable by elephants at low tide." This may be true at certain seasons of the year ; but if Captain Forrest's remark that the bar was covered only at high water be correct, it must be argued that it has deepened since his time, and this in spite of the well ascertained fact that land keeps on rising continually in those parts.

1. We have already commented upon this passage and other evidence connected with the point it discusses, on pp. 2-7 and 9, 20, 23-24 above.

2. A mis-spelling (or misprint) for *Selat Leher*='Neck [or 'Throat] Strait.'

3. This channel, leading between the islets Koḷ Klùei and Koḷ Khamam, northward of the minor Panjang (Koḷ Yāu Noi) is used to this day, it being the ordinary passage to P'hang-ngā ; but no name is marked for it in our charts or naval directories.

the sea, generally through flat marshes of mangrove trees, from pleasant brooks in the interior parts; they keeping purposely the skirts of the island in a state of nature, I suppose, to prevent invasion; and their vessels consist only of few prows [*prau, prahu*] about the size of Indiamen's long-boats, and small canoes, that find their way up these creeks, to the well-cultivated plains abounding with rice fields in the middle of the island.

5. **Harbours**—" Besides the harbour of *Popra* [Pāk P'hraḥ] above-mentioned, there is another capacious harbour on the south-west part of the island, as the natives informed me[1]; but I never was in it. The place where ships generally anchor is in a good road, well sheltered behind a small island now joined to the main island at low water, lying in 8° 10′ N. lat.[2]

6. **Tha Rua**— On the *main* opposite to this island is a creek that leads to the village of *Terowa* [Thā Rüa], consisting of about 80 houses, on a plain, through which runs a pleasant brook, with many windings, over a gravelly bottom.

"After having with much difficulty got up this narrow creek, where oars cannot be used, on the upper part, paddles only, and perhaps against a strong current, one is much pleased to reach the pleasant rivulet above-mentioned; and here resides *Pee-peemont* [P'hyā P'himon, พระยา พิมล], the governor, or viceroy, from the court of *Siam*.[3] This governor, when I was there in 1784, had three

1. Evidently Patong Bay; see p. 31 above.

2. This small island cannot seemingly be Lëm Yā-mū at the northern end of the harbour (see p. 37 above); but is presumably the tiny islet a little northward of the entrance to Thā Rüa river. It is now almost within a stone-throw of the shore, from which it becomes separated only at high water. Evidently, the land has progressed seawards a good deal since Captain Forrest's time, if our deductions are correct - and it seems that it cannot be otherwise.

3. Our author further refers to this official in the Introduction to his book, p. III, as follows: "Pee-peemont governor of Jan Sylan in 1784...for the King of Siam, and formerly governor of Kraw, when the country about Kraw was well inhabited, and the road across the isthmus much frequented, before the wars which, thirty years ago, between the Peguers and Birmahs or Burmahs, had greatly depopulated this quarter." This information is correct and agrees with that supplied us by local records. P'hyā P'himon or Pimol (Vimala) was governor of Kraḥ, and had lately resided at C'hump'hon on the east coast of the Peninsula until he was appointed to Junkceylon. The latter event happened presumably in 1782, immediately after the advent of the

assistants, or perhaps rather colleagues, as they partook of his power: their names were *Pee-Tukerat* [P'hyā Dukkharās, พระยา ทุกขราษฎ์], *Pee-Siring* [P'hyā Surindr-rājā, พระยา สุรินทร ราชา],[1] and *Pee-Lancrac* [P'hyā Laṅkāraks พระยา ลังการักษ ?].[2] Each of these officers had about sixty followers, a kind of retainers, who in a great measure live on the community ; for, receiving little pay, they oppress the inhabitants: their arms are a musquet and bayonet, sword and dagger. I have often seen them attending their masters at *Pee-peemont's* house, where they all met frequently upon business.

7. **Towns and villages**—" The names of the towns or villages upon the island, are:

Terowa [Thā-Rüa],

Bankian [Bān Takhīen, บ้าน ตะเคียน see above, pp. 41, 42],

Bandan [Bān Don, บ้าน ดอน, see above, p. 42],

Popra [Pāk P'hraḥ.] where is the harbour already mentioned,

Nanay [Nā Nai, บ้าน นาใน, S. E. from Thā Rüa town ; another village of the same name lies a short distance northwards from Bān Don and Bān Takhīen],

Bandpon [Bān Li-p'hon, N. W. from same ; see above, p. 42],

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presently reigning dynasty when, as may be expected, a good deal of transference in official posts took place. Apparently, P'hyā P'himon was first sent to Junkceylon as government commissioner or acting governor. We shall hear a good deal more about him in the sequel.

1. This was a very able official born in the west provinces, very likely at P'hang-ngā or Takūa-thùng. He became afterwards Chāu P'hyā, and devoted himself to the improvement of means of communication across the Malay Peninsula, as will be seen further on.

2. I can find no record about both P'hyā Thukkharāt (Dukkharās) and this *Pee-Lancrac*, which last title, by the way, is not easy of identification. It may be Laṅkāraks, Alaṅkāraraks, Aṅgaraks, or even Anuraks.

Tyang [Thā-Yāng, ท่า ยาง, a little southwards from Bān Don ?],

Tirtulay [C'hāi Thalē, บ้าน ชาย ทะเล, S. of Bān Don, towards the West coast ?],

Bankonian [Bān Khôk-yāng, บ้าน โคก ยาง, N. E. from Thā-Rüa, East coast ?],

Banktau [Bāng Kathau, บาง กะเทา, West coast on Bāng Thau Bay ?],

Bandrun [Bān Karon, บ้าน กะรน, West coast, on Karon Bay ?; or, mayhap, Bāng-Khrong, บ้าน บาง ครอง, on the homonymous river, East coast],

Saqoo [Bān Sākhū, บ้าน สาคู, on the West coast, N. W. from Thā-Rüa],

Bringing [Bān Ra-ngeng, บ้าน ระเงง, a little westwards from the present P'hūket ?] (this last produces tin); also

Kakoing [evidently the same place as Dr. Koenig's puzzling *Kockren* ; see above, p. 34],[1]

Patrit [P'hak-c'het, บ้าน ผัก เฉด N. E. from Thā-Rüa, East coast ?],

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1. Even with the two forms *Kakoing* and *Kockren* (which last is doubtless the most correct of the *variae lectiones* occurring in Dr. Koenig's account) now lying before us, it is yet impossible to say which is the mining place intended. A village Thā-Khrëng บ้าน ท่า แครง, exists at a short distance S. W. from the present P'hū-ket and about half-way to actual tin-works, but the initial syllable of its name does by no means answer the requirements, which are, as already observed, a word something like Koḥ or Khôk. There is no other course left for the present but giving up its identity.

Tallong [not seemingly C'halong on the homonymous bay but, almost certainly, Thalāng],[1] and

Patong [Patong, บ้าน ปะตอง see above, p. 31] (these four last also produce tin).

The inhabitants of the whole island may be in number about 12,000 souls.[2]

8. Excursion inland.—"About eight miles inland, from *Terowa,* in a N. W. direction nearly, *Pee-peemont* has a country house, built, as all their houses are, of timber, and covered with palm leaves, an universal covering in Malay countries.[3]

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1. Mr. Kynnersley states in his "Notes of Visits to Puket," etc. in the *Journal Str. Br. R. A. S.* for January 1905 (No. 42, p. 12) that *Phalúng*—evidently a misprint for Thalāng and the same place as Capt. Forrest's *Tallong*—"was the great mining place before Tongkah [Thùng-khā, ทุ่งคา] mines were worked at the end of the promontory or island which we call Junk-Ceylon." He, however, displays a but shallowish knowledge of Malay when, after having declared his unbelief in the "*Ujung Sálang* derivation" adds that "there is no doubt that Junk-Ceylon is a corruption of *Yong* (Tanjong) *Phalúng* [Thalāng] or *Salúng* [Salāng]." For it is well-known that *Tanjong* is a mere contraction of Tānah Ūjong, which carries one back to the very derivation he disbelieves. It will be evident from the last quoted passage, however, that Thalāng or Salāng (C'halāng) is exactly what he means by his *Phalúng.* Hence, there can be no doubt as to the identity of both with Capt. Forrest's *Tallong.*

2. This I think an underestimate, which is more likely than not, as our author had no opportunity of visiting more than a few inhahited places on the island. In 1824 Captain Low, as we shall see, reckoned the population at 6000 souls; but this was shortly after no less than four Burmese raids had taken place. A seemingly accurate census taken in 1897 yielded the following results: Villages 201, under the immediate authority of 20 *Kamnans.* Population:

Siāmese	{ Males, 8948 / Females, 6240 }	15188
Chinese, mostly mining coolies,		11350
Total ...		26538

Allowing for quite possible shortcomings, we must conclude that the total population of the island prior to the Burmese invasions, must have been no less than 15000 to 20000 souls.

3. This country residence must have been in the Thalāng district proper, at or about Bān Don, which lies in the direction indicated at five miles, as the crow flies, from Thā Rüa; and therefore at seven to eight miles' distance following the windings of the track. The description given of the route also corresponds.

"I travelled thither with Capt. James Scot,[1] who resided then at *Terowa*, on some commercial business, his vessel[2] lying in *Popra* harbour, a very sensible and intelligent gentleman, to whom I was much obliged for his civilities and services on many occasions. We travelled on an elephant, through a path worn like a gutter, in some few places, where it was over a flat rock, the path being worn by the elephant's feet, and so narrow as not to be above an inch or two wider than his hoofs: I wondered how the huge animal got along. This bad road was for a very little way through the skirt of a wood; and about two miles from *Terowa* we got into the open country again, full of rice fields and well watered, yet not swampy. In about three hours we reached the governor's house, which is larger and more commodious than the one at *Terowa*, and seven miles distant from it. In his garden we found limes, oranges and pummel noses. *Chysong*, the son of a Chinese with whom I lived, told me the island produced most tropical roots and fruits; and I am persuaded many of our vegetables might be raised, the climate is so cool; very like what it is at *Pulo Pinang*.

"The governor gave us a very good dinner, but did not eat with us. He did not speak Malay, but had a linguist who spoke Portuguese. Our drink was the water of young coco-nuts and sherbet. After dinner we were entertained with three musicians, who played on such like string instruments as the Chinese play on at Canton. Having drank tea we took leave.

9. **Fauna and Climate.**—"They have a good many elephants, which they get from Mergui; none wild, no horses; they have bullocks and buffalos for labour; wild hogs and deer, a few tame goats, no sheep, domestic dogs and cats. They have the common poultry, but not in abundance. The climate is very agreeable; no violent heats; the rains come on gently in July, and continue

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1. Here we meet with an old acquaintance, first introduced to us by Dr. Koenig five years before this (1779; see pp. 35, 40 above). Captain Scott resided at Thā-Rüa for a good many years. It was he who assisted his colleague Capt. Francis Light in persuading the rāja of Kedah to conclude in 1785 the famous treaty by which Penang island was ceded to the British.

2. A three-masted ship called "*Prince*," as Dr. Koenig informed us (see p. 40 above).

until November, with frequent intermissions: fine weather then succeeds, with very cool north-east winds at night, which must be favourable to the cultivation of vegetables, as it is at Calcutta.

10. Opium trade; Imports and Exports.—"The vend for opium on this island was thirty or forty years ago very great, as this was then a free port. The opium came from *Bengal* generally in English country ships, and was bought up by Malay and Buggess [Būgis] prows, who, after having sold a mixt cargo by retail, to the natives for tin (in doing which they staid many months, and hauled up their prows to repair), they then exchanged their tin with the Bengal vessels for opium, which they carried chiefly to *Celebes* and other Malay Islands. The mixed cargo they brought to sell for tin was generally a chequered cloth called *Buggess cambays*, made on the *Island Celebes*, resembling *lungys* [lungī, practically the Siāmese P'hā-nùng, ผ้าพ่ง] of *Bengal*, but closer wove; Java painted cloths and painted handkerchiefs, generally made from Indostan long cloth; Java gongs, brass pots, and other utensils of brass made on that island; China and Java tobacco; various porcelain; blue and white and unbleached cloth called *kangan*, and white and blue called *compow*, brought from China by the junks that resort to *Siam*, *Macasser*, *Sooloo*, *Batavia*, *Rhio*, and other places.

"Things are now much altered: the use of opium is forbid to the natives, the importation is prohibited, and a heavy duty is laid on the exportation of tin by orders from *Siam*; in consequence, the trade of the place has dwindled much; Indostan piece-goods, and some European articles, such as iron, steel, lead, cutlery, and broadcloth, being almost the only imports. Neither do many Buggess prows come, as no opium is to be got; but Malay prows come from *Queda*, and a few from the *Strait* of *Malacca* and *Pulo Pinang*, that bring the China articles already enumerated. About the year 1782, in return for many China articles they got from *Siam* partly overland, they returned tin, the same way; but the project was given up in 1784, it not answering the expense to send tin across the isthmus.[1]

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1. Further particulars about the overland route, etc. will be found—gathered from local sources—in the sequel. See also above, p. 44.

11. Tin Mining.—"The tin miner lies under greater oppression of late years than formerly: he must now carry all his ore to a Chinese smelter, who farms this privilege from government. The smelting costs 12 *per cent.*[1]; besides, the miner for a certain weight in slabs, must deliver a certain weight of tin ore, which often produces more: thus he pays a double duty before he gets the tin into his hands; the last duty is the heaviest and most impolitic. Government takes 25 *per cent.* before the tin can be exported: this gives so much dissatisfaction, that they wish much to throw off their dependance on *Siam*; and it was said that, if *Pee-pimont* could get support, he would very readily do it.[2] How far his having three associates in government might prevent such an attempt, I cannot say: possibly their appointment is with that very intention, by the despots of *Siam*; who, armed with an insignificant monarch's authority, often govern themselves, but always in his name.

"I have been told the export of tin from the island is about 500 tons yearly; formerly it was much more.[3] *Pulo Pinang*, our new settlement, gets a great deal of it; *Queda* did formerly.

12. The Tha-rua pagoda.—"Here, at *Terowa*, there is a *pagoda*, built of timber, and covered with palm leaves; it is served by about twenty priests, called *tellopys* [Tala-Kh'pôi,[4]] who live in small

1. Dr. Koenig said $\frac{1}{5}$ (see p. 39 above), corresponding to 20 p °/₀, a still higher rate. Probably it had been reduced since his time when, however, the monopoly of smelting appears to already have been farmed out to Chinamen.

2. We shall see that he became more loyal to his sovereign in after years.

3. This is a statement of far-reaching importance, showing how considerable was the output of the Junkceylon mines prior to the end of the seventeenth century when we have seen Hamilton tell us it had already declined (*vide supra*, p. 31). The production dwindled still further after the Burmese attacks of the last part of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth; but after 1850 or thereabout it kept continually increasing, By 1870 it had reached 3600 tons, culminated to fully 5000 a decade later, and then it again entered upon a phase of decline owing to the exorbitant royalties and heavy additional charges levied (amounting in the aggregate to about 40 °/₀); so that it scarcely exceeds 2500 tons at the present day.

4. I believe that the various derivations hitherto suggested for the term *Talapoy*, *Talapoin*, etc. (which are collected in "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., pp. 890-91, s. v. *Talapoin*), fall all fairly wide of the mark. The word is evidently the Moñ Tala-kh'pôi, which sounds practically as Tala-pôi when pronounced quickly, meaning "My Lord." Tala=Master, Lord; Kh'pôi or pôi="Our," "my," is more particularly applied to

apartments adjoining to the *pagoda*, which might be about fifty feet long and thirty broad. They, with uncovered shaved heads, wear a yellow garment, and carry a white wand in their hands about five feet long.....my vessel lay in *Terowa Road*.....

13. Currency and manner of trading—"Certain pieces of tin, shaped like the under half of a cone or sugar loaf cut by a plane parallel to its base, called *poot*,[1] are used on the island as money;

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novices or deacons, also called Mniḥ Kh'pôi; whence Mendez Pinto's hitherto unexplained *Talagrepo* (=Tala-Kh'poi), *Grepo* (=Kh'pôi), and Neepôi (=Mniḥ-pôi). The *Talapat* or *Talipot*, palm-leaf fan, has nothing whatever to do with all this as my predecessors have fancied.

1. Probably ปืก, Pük, a lump, which is the name still applied to the slabs or cakes of tin obtained after smelting. It may, however, be meant for the Chinese *Pwat*=a lump.

Such ingots were formerly in use as currency all over the Siāmese tin mining zone on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Captain Tremenheere, in his report of 1841, thus speaks of them:—"The pieces or ingots of tin in the shape of the frustum of a cone, which are manufactured at the Rehgnon [Ranong] mines, on the *Pak Chum* [Pāk Chan] river to the southward, and exchanged there for goods at 4 annas each, weigh 1 lb. 2 oz. 383 grains; and their value at Mergui, where the average price of tin is 85 rupees per 100 viss of 365 lbs., 4 annas 4 pie [pice]" "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. I, p. 253.

No less curious than such cone-frustum-shaped tin ingots of Junkceylon and neighbouring districts, are the *Tampangs* of the same metal formerly used as currency in Pahang, and mentioned by the Malay traveller Abdullah in the account of his journey from Singapore to Kelantan in 1838 (Dulaurier's transl. "Voyage d'Abd-Allah," Paris 1850, pp. 22-23). Far from being, however, *ingots* as Millies conjectured ("Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes" etc.; La Haye, 1871; p. 60, f. n. 1), they are hollow, and in the form of a pyramid frustum. This I can positively vouch for, as a number of them, in their various sizes, exist in my own private numismatic collection.

Millies, op. cit., p. 139, quotes from both the "Uytrekening van de goude en silveremunts waardye van Indiën" (Middelburg, 1691, p. 20) and Valentijn (vol. IV, 1, p. 357) the following list of monetary values used in Junkceylon towards the end of the seventeenth century:—1 *Tahil*=60 sols; 1 *Mas*=$3\frac{3}{4}$ sols; 1 *Bitsthin* (*Bitsjin* in Valentijn)=$4\frac{3}{8}$ [*Mas ?*]=17 sols, etc. He suggests that *Bitsthin* probably stands for *Bits-thin*, *Bits-tin*, i. e. "bits of tin," which, if correct, would argue them to correspond to Forrest's *poot*, or cone-frustum-shaped ingots.

If we apply Sir Isaac Newton's estimate of the value of the *écu* (=60 sols) in 1717 ("Assays, etc., of Coins at London Mint, before 1717") at 4s. 6d. we would obtain for the *Bitsthin* (17 sols) a worth of 1s. $3\frac{1}{4}$d. which well agrees with the price of 3lbs. weight of tin in Captain Forrest's time.

weighing about three pounds, with their halves and quarters of similar shape: if attempted to be exported without paying duty, they are seizable. This encourages smuggling. The value of tin is from 12 to 13 Spanish dollars [=54s. to 58s. 6d.] the *peul* of 133 lbs. put on board clear of duty.

"Whilst I was here, a Bengal ship, Captain Lloyd, came in with piece goods: the captain sold them to *Pee-Peemont*; no doubt partly on account of the king of *Siam* or his ministers. All Malay princes are merchants; which selfish policy starves their subjects. It however gives dispatch to the country ships, and they pay no duty. As soon as the goods are landed, the king's merchant sells them perhaps for an advance of 25 *per cent.*

"All sorts of Indian coins pass here; but they are fondest of Spanish dollars. They have not in use the *petis* [Pītis or pice, very small copper or pewter coins], or cash, the least valuable of coins, used at *Atcheen, Sooloo, Carang Assem* on *Bally*, and many other Malay places.....

14—The Islanders—"The people of *Jan Sylan*, though they generally understand the Malay tongue, from their intercourse with that people (greater formerly than now), speak the Siamese language, and write as we do from left to right. They write remarkably straight, though without lines.

"They resemble in feature the Malays, with a good deal of the Chinese look; are well made, rather slender. They are allowed to marry as many women as they can maintain; but the first wife rules the household, as in *China*: and, as in *China* and *Pegu*, no woman can leave the country. *Chysong* had but one wife....."

Such was, then, the state of affairs on the island in 1784, just one year before the series of Burmese raids began to lay it waste and to complete its misery. It will have been seen that its condition during the first 8½ decades of the eighteenth century was far from flourishing although not decidedly bad; and could have been immensely better but for the mismanagement of unscrupulous officials. From Hamilton to Forrest we hear the same refrain repeated about exorbitant exactions which deterred the inhabitants from developing the natural resources of the island. The period of

the last half dozen reigns under the old capital Ayuddhyā had been one of misrule and weakness that much slakened the hold over the outlying provinces of the kingdom and consequently brought about discontent and disaffection which largely contributed to the crashing fall of the whole worm-eaten structure. Disintegration waxed complete after that disaster, and the whole kingdom became a prey to political factions and civil wars. P'hyā Tāk, who had bravely started to unify it again and proved fully capable of keeping it well in hand, had barely accomplished the roughhewing part of the task when he turned insane, came within an inch of undoing all he had done and would have set the edifice once more a-crumbling on his own shoulders, had he not been removed in the nick of time.

Under such circumstances it would have been rash to expect things to prosper in Junkceylon any more than elsewhere. But with a sound mind and firm hand once more at the helm in the novel Siāmese capital, order had been restored, the long lost grip over the outlying limbs of the kingdom was re-tightened, and with the feeling of security that again had begun to prevail, despite the continuous wars that raged with an inveterate and unrelenting enemy, things bid fair to get into satisfactory shape. An undoubtedly wise effort had been immediately made in favour of Junkceylon by the appointment of P'hyā Bimol, an experienced Krah governor, P'hyā Surindr a local highly capable official as after events proved, and two others about whose abilities we find no record but who, judging from the criterion that had guided selection of their two major colleagues, cannot have been far below the latter's level. It can be hardly doubted that these four men set about to lick things into shape in Junkceylon ; and if, owing to more weighty matters involving the security of the State that distracted its rulers' attention elsewhere, the four Junkceylon proconsuls could not perhaps secure a sufficient meed of support to their endeavours from headquarters, and eventually despaired of success, going even so far—as Captain Forrest hints—as to entertain thoughts of secession, this only proves how they were in sincere earnest as to the development of the island. As time rolled on, they doubtless became inspired with more confidence in the stability of the dynasty that had just set up to guide the destinies of Siām ; but,

alas! the unexpected change in the plan of campaign on the part of the Burmese that was to make the West coast of the Malay Peninsula one of their subsidiary objectives of attack, suddenly nipped all those rosy prospects in the bud, and Junkceylon had to wait a good bit yet before seeing the dawn of better days.

1st Burmese attack on C'halang (Dec. 1785-Jan. 1786.) Lady Chan, the Junkceylon Jeanne d'Arc.

The Burmo-Siāmese wars that had raged almost without intermission since the middle of the eighteenth century, had so far had for theatre Central and Northern Siām. But in 1785 the Burmese, in consequence of continuous reverses suffered there recently, changed their plan of campaign, resolving to simultaneously invade Siām on the North, West, and South where they hoped to wrest from it the Malay Peninsula. With this end in view they fitted out a war flotilla which was to conquer the Siāmese provinces on the West coast of the latter. The account of the doings of this flotilla that is here subjoined is culled almost in its entirety from the Bāngkok Annals of the 1st reign.[1]

The Burmese flotilla, under the command of Yī-wun, sailed from Mergui early in December 1785, and attacked Takūa-pā and Takūa-thùng which, owing to their unpreparedness, it easily took. The Siāmese commissioners residing at Pāk-P'hraḥ attempted to make a stand but were defeated. P'hrayā Dhammatrailok fell in the fight, while P'hrayā P'hip'hit-p'hôkhai fled viā P'hang-ngā and crossed the main range by the pass which has since been named after him (Dān P'hraḥ P'hip'hit, ด่าน พระ พิ พิธ, the Mt. Prapipit of our maps).

After these doings the Burmese flotilla made for Junkceylon, where a force was landed to invest the capital C'halāng. Several stockades were erected round the city for this purpose. The governor (P'hrayā Thalāng) had but recently died and no successor

1. By Chāu P'hrayā Dibākarawongse (Khám), who was Foreign Minister until 1870 when he died. The first portion of these Annals has been published in continuation of the Annals of Ayuddhyā and of the reign of P'hyā Tāk (vol. II, pp. 650-739). It stops short at the year 1792. The account of the Burmese attack on Junkceylon is therein to be found on pp. 695 and 697.

to him had as yet been appointed. Nevertheless Chan (จัน ทน์ ='Date-plum'),[1] the widow of the late governor (if so, this official must have been Mom Srī P'hakdī, see p. 43 above), assisted by Muk (มุก='Pearl') a younger sister of hers, who was still unmarried, consulted with the local officials about organizing the defence. "They assembled men and built two large stockades wherewith to protect the town. The dowager governess and her maiden sister displayed great bravery, and fearlessly faced the enemy. They urged the officials and the people, both males and females, to fire the ordnance and muskets, and led them day after day in sorties out of the stockades to fight the Burmese. So the latter were unable to reduce the town and after a month's vain attempts, provisions failing them, they had to withdraw" (January 1786). Thus was C'halāng saved through the heroism of the two sisters.[2]

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1. Her name is spelled จันทร, *Chandr* (='Moon') in the local relation of 1841; but no such name would be given to a woman, as the Moon in Indū (and therefore in Siāmese) cosmo-mythology, is a masculine deity, like the *Deus Lunus* among the Romans. If we find the term in such names as *e. g.* Chandra-devī ('Moon Goddess,' 'Moon Queen'), it then applies to the best half of the Moon-god and not to the deity itself. There cannot, accordingly, be any doubt that the correct spelling is, in the case in point, จัน or จันทน์, with relation to the fruit of *Diospyros decandra* or Date-plum, ลูก จันทน์. This being yellow in colour, the name is usually conferred upon children of a fallow complexion.

2. Sir Arthur Phayre in his "History of Burma" (London, 1883, p. 215) which is as a rule one year wrong in the dates it gives, briefly and somewhat incorrectly alludes to this Burmese attack on Junkceylon (which he misplaces early in A. D. 1785) as follows:—"A preliminary expedition was sent by sea, which took possession of Junk Seylon, but after a few weeks the force was driven out by the Siamese, and obliged to return to Mergui. The advantage to be derived from this isolated attack is not apparent. Success could have had little effect on the main object, which was to occupy the capital. Junk Seylon could not be made the base for operations against Bankok, and the only benefit to be derived from the occupation of that island by the Burmese, would be to intercept the supply of firearms coming from Indian ports, of which traffic however there is no evidence. The expedition was a very expensive one, and caused a great loss in men."—Now, this is nearly all wrong. For, the attack was not an isolated one since the North and West of Siām had been simultaneously invaded, while a force had been

Intelligence of the Burmese advance on Junkceylon had reached Bāngkok towards the end of December 1785; but the Siāmese armies being then (January and February 1786) engaged in repelling the enemy in the north, and on the Kanburī frontier in the west, no relief could be sent. As soon as victory had crowned Siāmese operations in those quarters, the Second King was despatched (in March 1786) to clear the Burmese out of the Malay Peninsula, which he successfully did, proceeding as far south as Ligor and Singora, whence he recalled Patāni and other rebellious Malay States back to allegiance.

On hearing this welcome news, the officials at C'halāng sent a report of the local occurrences to the Second King at Singora and one to headquarters at Bāngkok. Order having been restored in the Malay Peninsula the Second King returned to the capital, whereupon the Supreme King directed a letter to be despatched to C'halāng appointing Governor one of the local officials who had distinguished himself (?)[1] and conferring upon the widow of the late Governor that had so successfully organized the defence, the rank of Lady Devakrasattrī (ท้าว เทพ กระสัตรี), and on her maiden sister, that of Lady Srī-Sundara (ท้าว ศรี สุนทร). To these two ladies the King sent the insignia appropriate to their ranks and merits in resisting the enemy.[2]

SUBSEQUENT LIFE OF THE TWO C'HALANG HEROINES.

P'hrayā P'himol (Bimol), late governor of Kraḷ residing first at C'hump'hon and subsequently, since 1782 or thereabout,

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despatched across the Kraḷ Isthmus which took C'hump'hon, Ligor, and even threatened Singora. As to the importation not only of fire arms, but also of bales of cotton goods, from Indian ports by way of Junkceylon, we have ample evidence in the report of 1841 (see Appendix A, No. I, and p. 44 above). Further, the Burmese did not take possession of the island, but simply attacked its northern capital C'halāng.

1. This can only be P'hrayā P'himol who, so far, had probably been only acting governor. As we are going to see, he wedded the heroine Chan soon after the defeat of the Burmese.

2. The titles here alluded to are on a par with those of the chief ladies in the royal household. This has probably been the only instance in Siāmese history of their being conferred upon ladies not attached to the royal palace.

interim or joint commissioner in the island, probably was the new governor appointed to C'halāng. At all events we know from Captain Forrest's account already quoted above (p. 49) as well as from the Siāmese records that this official had come to the island and resided thither for several years, finally wedding Lady Deva-Krasattrī (Chan). From her he had five children, the eldest of whom, a daughter, Thong (แม่ ทอง) by name, he brought afterwards to Bāngkok presenting her at Court. There she became in due course the mother of Princess Ubol (พระ องค์ เจ้า อุบล). Now, this Princess was the 32nd child of King P'hraḥ Buddha Yot-fā, and must have been born shortly after 1800, and at any rate not later than 1809. This fact supplies a check to our chronology, and argues that her mother Thong must have come to light in this world about 1786; and hence that the re-marriage of Lady Deva-krasattrī with P'hrayā P'himol took place early in 1786, and therefore soon after the siege of C'halāng.

Some time after this Thīen, the eldest son of Lady Deva-Krasattrī from her first husband, brought an action against his step-father P'hrayā P'himol, in consequence of which the latter was removed to P'hatthalung. The son of Chom Thāu of Bān Don was then appointed governor, and is recorded in local documents under the title of P'hrayā Thalāng of the Golden Tray (P'hrayā Thalāng Chīet-thong).[1] Having incurred the royal displeasure for some escapade committed later, this official was arrested and brought to Bāngkok where he died under confinement. Thīen, the son of Lady Deva-Krasattrī, was then appointed to succeed him, and is nicknamed the Asthmatic Governor (P'hrayā Thalāng Hüt, พระยา ถลาง หืด). He was given Nāi Rüang, the younger brother of the deposed governor, as *Palat* or vice-governor; and Nāi C'hū as Yokkrabatr or registrar. These three officials all bore then P'hrayā rank.

1. Chīet, เจียด, is the name of a tray chiefly intended to contain wild tea-leaves and other stuff for chewing, formerly conferred by the King as an insignia of rank on high officials. It since fell into disuse, and is now-a-days replaced by the ภานทอง, P'hān-thong, another form of tray.

As to Lady Srī-Sundara (Muk) the younger sister of the heroine, the records are silent after this date; hence it is not unlikely that she remained a maid and perhaps passed off the scene of this world not long later.

Without resorting to the history of the Western world which records examples of heroic women almost in every country and age from Boadicea to the Maid of Saragoza, we can find in the annals of Siām itself numerous instances of patriotic amazons who have sacrificed their life and blood for the defence of their own country.[1] But the deeds of the C'halāng sisters find a more fitting though—it should be averred—somewhat superior parallel, in those of the two sisters Trüng who, in A. D. 43, died drowned in the Red River while fighting for the independence of Annam against the Chinese invading army under the famed general Ma-yüan. The memory of these heroines has been immortalized, besides in Annamese history, in a shrine erected in their honour where to this day the somewhat degenerate descendants of their people repair to worship with scented tapers and wreaths.

But no monument has ever been raised to the glorious Boadiceas and Jeannes d'Arc of Siām recording their patriotic gallantry to the present and future generations. In so far as Junkceylon is concerned, it is to be hoped that some fitting memorial, whether a stela, spire, cr little shrine will, in a not too distant future, be erected by public subscription on the island as a memento of what

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1. Among such may be mentioned: 1. Queen Suriyôthai who, donning male armour during the Peguan siege of Ayuddhyā in 1563-64 (rectified date), followed the King in a sortie towards the P'hū-kháu Thong fields, and fell killed on her elephant; 2. Lady Mô (ท่าน ผู้ หญิง โม้), wife of the *Palat* (vice-governor) of Khôrāj; who, being taken prisoner with the other inhabitants in 1826 when the city was stormed by king Anu of Wīeng Chan, mutinied on the way thereto, and at the head of a body of 460 women joined the men in attacking the Wīeng Chan troops, and defeated them, thus returning with her rescued companions to Khôrāj; 3. The two C'halāng sisters and numbers of their fellow-citizens of the fair sex who assisted them in defending that town.

It will thus be seen that woman in Siām has a record in heroism not second to that of any other country.

was done for its freedom by the two C'halāng sisters, at which the younger folk may inspire themselves to their patriotism and the aged may depose the pious tribute of a prayer or a flower.

The Overland Route for Tin and Indian Imported Goods, Prior to 1785.

The rare Siāmese documents reproduced in appendix A, Nos. I, III, and IV, put us in possession of information unobtainable elsewhere about the overland route by which the royalty in kind on tin produced at Junkceylon and the neighbouring districts on the mainland, as well as a number of articles imported thereto from the Coromandel coast, were conveyed across the Malay Peninsula towards the Siāmese capital. Most of the disclosures are extremely interesting and relate to facts hitherto ignored by Europeans and scarcely known even to the present generation of Siāmese; so that their publication here for the first time throws no few side-lights on overland communication across the Malay Peninsula as well as on the route followed by a large portion of the Southern Indian trade and goods conveyed to Siām.[1]

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1. Mr. Leal got an inkling about—not the old, but—the new route followed by tin in his time (1825) when he visited Bān Don. He says: "The *Tha-kham* [Thā-khām] proceeds nearly across the peninsula, passing to *Pennom* [P'hanom or T'hā P'hanom], a town three days journey from Phoonga [P'hang-ngā], on the western coast opposite Junkceylon, the tin and other produce of which island, find their way by this route to Bangkok."—Reprint in Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," pp. 394-395. More recently Warington Smyth briefly referred to this route as follows:

"A route greatly used in the old days, for sending the tin of the west coast to Bangkok, was up the *Pan Nga* [P'hang-ngā] or *Paklao* [Pāk Lāu] River, and then down the Bandon Valley by the other branch. I should have wished, had time permitted, to follow up these routes myself, but, owing to the absence of any tin-mining south of the bight, I had no excuse for going." ("Five Years in Siam," vol. II, p. 80). Yea, a very queer, but Pilate-like, way of washing one's hands of so interesting a question, on which it needed but some little pains to obtain useful information from the elder inhabitants of the Bān Don or P'hang-ngā districts. Thus it comes about that we are incorrectly told that this was the *old route*, whereas it was *the new* one,—the old route starting not from Pāk-Lāu or P'hang-ngā, but from Takūa-pā as set forth above. And then, all we are informed about is tin; whereas the Indian goods conveyed across the Peninsula by those routes have remained an unfathomed mystery to both Leal and Smyth.

The Old Route.—This route, we learn from document I, started from Takūa-pā on the West and crossed the main range by the rather difficult Kháu Sok (เขา ศก) Pass, the *Mt. Rock* of our playful cartographers. After this it descended the eastern slope and reached the P'hanom or Thā P'hnom river (คลอง พนม, คลอง ท่า พนม) at Thā Kháu Sok (ท่า เขา ศก), *i. e.* 'Sok Mount Landing-place.' This stream is the south-western branch of the old Thā Thong (ท่า ทอง) sometimes called Thā Khām (ท่า ข้าม) river, which joins the southern one, the Bān Don, at the head of the Bān Don inlet. Thā Kháu Sok is probably one and the same place as Thā P'hnom and at all events cannot lie far away from it, the latter name meaning 'Mountain Landing-place.' Here the tin and other produce were loaded into small boats and conveyed down stream to Bān Don, whence they were forwarded to the capital of Siām.

Such is the route that had been followed for the goods in question since the time of Ayuddhyā down to 1785, when the Burmese invasion of the Siāmese provinces on the East coast of the Malay Peninsula put a stop not only to conveyancing operations along that route, but was furthermore the cause that an enormous quantity of tin and valuable crown property which had accumulated at the Kháu Sok Pass, remained blocked there for years and went in part lost. These are the facts alluded to in Document I, as follows :

"Whenever crown property had accumulated [to a certain quantity], the T'halāng authorities used to send it on to Takūa-thùng, and the authorities there had it conveyed to Takūa-pā, this being the custom that had invariably been followed for a long period. When C'halāng had not as yet been taken by the Burmese, whereas Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā, C'haiyā and C'hump'hon had fallen into their hands [1785] quantities of tin, bales of fabrics [Indian piece-goods] and fire-arms, had accumulated and lay idle at the Sok Mountain. Lúang P'hejr-dhanū (Sëng), an official from Ligor, having come at Bān Kāu Som-ô on the P'hanom river, collected men and started to convey the crown property down to Thā Kháu Sok [evidently without being authorized to do so]. Hence a Royal

commissioner was despatched thither from the capital with an order to hold an inquiry into the doings of Lúang P'hejr-dhanū (Sëng). Owing to this, all the people along the Thā P'hanom river fled, and the deserted country became covered with jungle.

"When the P'hraḥ Takūa-thùng—who was the father of the later P'hraḥ Takūa-thùng named Thín (ถิน)—was governor of that district, an order came to him from the capital to proceed abroad [เมือง เทศ = India] and get piece-goods of special patterns [ผ้า กระบวน] manufactured there. The governor sailed out taking with him white as well as black Baboo (บาบู ดำ, บาบู ขาว) foreigners residing in the island, and the masters [and crews] of some of the small vessels [anchored there]. At that juncture Lúang P'hākhyawāthī (Bāgyavādī) who had gone to Trang with Lúang Khlang (Thet) an official from the capital, had proceeded [to India] where he had similar piece goods woven, and silver [and gold] vessels enamelled in various colours [as used at Court] manufactured, which he brought back with him. The Takūa-thùng governor had all these valuable things conveyed under his personal supervision [across the main range] to Thā Kháu Sok. Having [embarked them he had scarcely] reached the rapids at Pratū Lóng (ถึงเชี่ยวประตูหลง); when owing to a sudden flood in the river the governor's boat sank, and all the enamelled ware was lost, so that he was unable to bring it to Court."—

After this the report under examination proceeds to relate the arrangements made by Chāu P'hyā Surindr-rājā, a high locally born official[1] who had become of late a sort of Governor-general (Chāng-wāng) for the tin-bearing Siāmese provinces on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula. Seeing that the time-honoured route by the Kháu Sok pass was a too difficult one owing to its steep gradients and the long journey involved by land, he proposed to open a new one which, besides being more direct and easy, would permit of

1. Already alluded to by Forrest in 1784 when yet a simple P'hyā and assistant governor, or joint commissioner (see above, p. 50.)

a larger proportion of the distance being travelled by water. His scheme was eventually approved of and carried out under his own supervision in 1804.

Before we proceed to describe it in detail, we wish to conclude these few notes on the old route by the Kháu Sok pass, by pointing out that this overland communication between the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula at Takūa-pā and the East Coast at Bān Don (C'haiyā district) was probably already known from the halcyon days of Takūa-pā or *Takola* as a commercial centre and entrepôt for the inland trade of those parts, when the streams on both sides of the pass, being deeper and more navigable, made that route far easier than now-a-days. C'haiyā is known to be a very ancient foundation, which fact is further evidenced by the Sanskrit inscription of probably the eighth or ninth century A. D. but recently found there. At a period when the long circuitous navigation round the Malay Peninsula by way of the Straits was no small matter, overland routes that considerably shortened the journey from one to the other side of it were—notwithstanding the difficulties of conveying merchandise by them—naturally regarded with far greater favour than now-a-days. Thus it is that the three or four routes by the Kháu Mon Pass, the Kraḥ Isthmus, the Kháu Sok Pass, and probably a yet more southern one between Trang and Ligor (or Singora and P'hattalung) came to be eagerly availed of from the remotest ages and continued to hold their own until the advent of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English in these seas, when improved means of navigation and the revolution that took place in the interoceanic trade, gradually led to their complete abandonment in favour of the sea-route.

Opening of A New Overland Route, 1804.

Subjoined is the account of the opening of the new overland route, translated from the document above referred to.

"We shall now relate the opening of the route that starts from Marùi [and proceeds by] Pāk Lāu, and Thā P'hame.[1] Chāu

1. The Pāk Lāu river debouches into the bight east of the mouth of the P'hang-ngā river. Marùi is the first important place one meets

P'hrayā Surindr-rājā was summoned to the capital by royal command soon after the Chāu P'hrayā Kalāhôm (Plī) had found his death in the Siāmese retreat from Tavoy [A. D. 1793],[1] as it was proposed to appoint him to that vacant post. When Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā reached the capital, the Supreme King and his junior brother the Vice-King bestowed on him presents of robes and tried to persuade him to remain to serve at the capital. But he thought that in the country he could lead a happier life, whereupon he entreated Chāu P'hrayā P'honlathep'h, the father of P'hrayā Bodindr Dec'hā, to submit to the King that he felt reluctant to live at the capital and that moreover being already advanced in years it would have been very difficult for him to fill the post of minister with satisfaction at a time when the King had so often to go out in the field.

Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā further prepared a memorial which he had submitted to the King, where he set forth his views that in the event of being granted permission to return to the outer provinces as of yore, he would propose to occupy himself with the re-establishment of communications for the conveyance of royalties in kind and other dues over the Peninsula from the P'hang-ngā, Thalāng and Takūa-thùng districts. The Kháu Sok route was hardly practicable on account of numerous rapids and falls in the streams; hence the crown property had gone many times lost. But another route could be opened which would reduce the journey by land to a mere three days and would besides prove far more practicable. This route would abut at Thā P'hnom whence boats could easily descend to P'hūn-p'hin and proceed on to P'humarīeng.[2] For the speedy conveyance of crown property he would merely

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after entering the Pāk Lāu river. Pāk Lāu village lies further up stream and Thā P'hame (ท่า พะ เม) is, I presume, the disembarking place at the foot of the main range.

1. He disappeared in the course of that disastrous retreat, and nothing more transpired of him, nor was his body found. There can be no doubt that he succumbed and fell among the other dead, and his body never was recovered.

2. P'humarīeng, พุมเรียง is the present site of government for the C'haiyā district; P'hūn-p'hin, พุนพิน, is the old site of same.

ask for a requisition of pack-elephants, to the number of 10 from Ligor and 10 from C'haiyā; that is, 20 altogether, which with the necessary men he would propose to put in charge of Lúang P'hip'hith Khoc'hakan as chief of the corps of transports and forwarding of all crown property by that route.

"The King approved of the scheme and granted the elephants for the purpose, as well as convenient sites at Pāk P'hanom and Pāk Lāu, as set forth in detail in the letter he directed the Kalāhôm Department to despatch to the authorities of the provinces concerned.[1] At Pāk P'hnom the three officials K'hún Thip'h-sombat, Khún P'hejr-khirī, and Khún Srī Songkhrām were to be put in charge of the station. For Marùi and Pāk Lāu Lúang Riddhi-rong-songkhrām was to be superintendent; and all the territory between Marùi and Pāk P'hnom was placed under the control of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā.[2]

"Pursuant to the above royal grant, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā returned to his native country [and made at once arrangements for the carrying out of the scheme]. He accordingly appointed Khún Thip'h-sombat to be Lúang Rāmabijai,[3] and stationed him at P'hanom with orders to cut a track through the jungle from Pāk P'hnom to P'hang-ngā. He further directed Lúang Riddhirong-songkhrām to collect a sufficient number of men [serfs] at Marùi and Pāk Lāu wherewith to convey, whenever required, crown property across the range to Thā P'hnom, to be handed over there to Lúang Rāmabijai who was to forward it on towards its destination.

"Moreover Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā established the following halting-stations and guard posts on the overland route:

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1. Dated Thursday, 5th waxing of the [second] 8th month, year of the Rat, 6th of the decennial cycle (= 12th July, 1804). This document is reproduced in Appendix A, No. III.

2. The boundaries of such a territory are defined in the documents appended to the letter-patent alluded to above.

3. As will be seen from the sequel, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā had authority to make such appointments. Similar power was enjoyed by the principal provincial governors in so far as petty official posts in the country were concerned.

1.—at the foot of Kháu Nāng Hóng ("Swan-hen Mountain"), เขา นางหงศ์,

2.—at Pāk Dān, ปาก ดาน (or ปาก กระ ดาน, Pāk Kradān);

3.—at Thùng-Khā, ด่าน ทุ่ง คา;

4.—at Marùi, มรุ่ย;

5.—at Pāk P'hnom; ปาก พนม;

and had rest-houses built at each of them,[1] and men collected thither for the protection of the crown property.

"So, henceforth only the valuables from the Takūa-pā district, were [conveyed across the Kháu Sok Pass and] transported down stream to Thā Kháu Sok [as of yore]; whereas those from P'hang-ngā, Thalāng, and Takūa-thùng were brought together at Marùi where they waited until the pack elephants were ready to load them. Lúang Nā was promoted to P'hraḥ Wiset-songkhrām superintendent of the Dān Yāu station, and entrusted with the task of receiving and embarking the valuables at P'hanom, and bringing them down stream [to Bān Don or further]. Khún P'hejr [-khirī] and Khún Indr were appointed to assist him as overseers.

"Upon these arrangements being completed, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā despatched Khún Srī Somp'hôt to solicit an audience from His Highness the governor of Ligor,[2] and inform him of the official appointments he had made at the stations and guard-posts from Marùi to Pāk P'hnom. The governor of Ligor observed that Chāu P'hrayā Surindr had better not to make such appointments, as he would send out himself the officials required from Ligor; so that future governors might not have cause to censure their administra-

1. Kháu Nāng Hóng is near Pāk Lāu; Pāk Dān is further upstream from Pāk Lāu village, on the banks of Khlong Lāu; Thùng-Khā is on the eastern (really north-eastern) watershed towards Thā P'hnom; Pāk P'hnom is one and the same place as (or near by) Thā P'hnom; Marùi is within the entrance of Khlong Lāu, below Pāk Lāu village.

2. This was then Mom-chāu P'hat (Vaḍḍhana), the son of a Prince of the Ayuddhyā dynasty. He governed Ligor from 1785 to 1821 in which year he retired owing to old age, and died in 1839. His eldest son had succeeded him since 1821.

tion and allege that the present governor of Ligor and Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā being good chums, availed themselves of their excellent mutual relations in order to turn things upside down and to unite and dismember the country at their own sweet pleasure.[1]

"When Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā heard of these objections, he sent a reply to the governor of Ligor pointing out how it would have been far better for the latter not to appoint the officials in question himself as proposed; that he, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā, would see to that, in order that the crown property might be conveyed in accordance with the plan he had submitted to the King and which he had been authorized to carry out. There the dispute ended, and so the posts of Marùi and Thā P'hnom remained under the full control of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā."

The document from which we have extracted the above account proceeds to give a few more particulars as to taxes, boundaries, etc. with which we are not directly interested here, and concludes by explaining which were the "Eight Districts" placed under Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā's superintendence, as follows:

"Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā was the highest authority over the Eight Districts. P'hrayā Prasiddhi Songkhrām [apparently his son and successor] was also Chāng-wāng (*i. e.* Governor General) over the same eight districts. The Eight Districts in question were:

1. Thalāng, ถลาง
2. P'hūket, ภูเก็ต

[Junkceylon Island]

3. Takūa-pā, ตะกั่วป่า
4. Takūa-thùng, ตะกั่วทุ่ง
5. Korā, กรา
6. P'hang-ngā, พังงา
7. Khuraḥ, กุระ
8. Khurot, กุรอด

[under Takūa-pā]

Korā, P'hang-ngā, Khuraḥ and Khurot were immediate dependencies of Takūa-pā."

These passages clearly show what was the organization of the tin-producing territories on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the beginning

1. These objections were, of course, prompted by the fact that the territory of Marùi, Pāk Lāu, and Thā P'hnom through which the new route passed, was under the high control of the Ligor authorities.

of the nineteenth. It is not improbable that its origin is traceable still further back; while on the other hand it seems to have continued until the last quarter of the nineteenth century or, practically, till the present day, for the actual Monṭhoṇ P'hūket or P'hūket Circle approximately comprises the territory of the former Governor-generalship of the Eight Districts.

As to P'hūket we have seen that at the period we are concerned with, it had been placed under the immediate jurisdiction of C'halāng, although formerly it was separate. This change, however, probably took place only after the destruction of Thā Rüa town, the capital of the district, by the Burmese in 1809, as we are going to see directly.

2ND BURMESE INVASION OF JUNKCEYLON: AUGUST, 1809.

The next mention of occurrences at Junkceylon Island to be met with in local records is that of the Burmese invasions of 1809-10, accounts of which are subjoined, taken almost in their entirety from the Bāngkok Annals of the second reign.

In June-July (1809) the king of Burma having heard of the serious illness of the Siāmese sovereign[1], sent orders to Mëng-ñā-lë, the Burmese governor of Tavoy, to equip a flotilla and sail down the West coast of the Malay Peninsula to gather reliable news on Siāmese affairs. Mëng-ñā-lë, having got every thing in readiness took the sea with 60 war boats and 3000 men. He pushed down as far as Junkceylon where he anchored and landed a force wherewith to take possession of the principal villages on the coast. This having been accomplished, the Burmese troops encamped themselves at some 50 sens (1¼ miles) from Thalāng town.

The inhabitants there were quite unready, having been taken by surprise. Nevertheless the governor (P'hrayā Thalāng) collected men to guard the ramparts. The Burmese invested the city from three sides and prepared for attack. Their advanced posts occupied several points of vantage in front of the town, carefully guarding its approaches from the sea, so that no outside relief should reach it.

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1. P'hraḥ Buddha Yot-fā, who deceased on the 7th September, 1809.

On the 7th August the enemy opened fire. The fight lasted for eight days, the Siāmese being unable to carry it on any further owing to dearth of ammunition. The Burmese fought very boldly and succeeded in storming the city on Tuesday the 15th August. They did a good deal of slaughter among the inhabitants, plundering all the valuables. Next they set fire to the dwellings, so that conflagrations broke out in many points of the town. This done, they took with them whatever inhabitants they had succeeded in capturing alive, and having loaded their vessels with the plunder, made for Tavoy, with the exception of Chik-kë, the second in command of the expedition who, being in charge of the rear, left a few days later.

From that moment utter lawlessness raged in the district. The governor of Thalāng when the town was about to fall into the enemy's hands had taken refuge in the jungle followed by many of the inhabitants. Now that the enemy was gone he returned with the survivors to the town. Fearing new attacks on the part of the Burmese he collected men and built a stockade outside the town. He also endeavoured to repair as far as possible the damages that its defences had suffered.

Meanwhile Chik-kë, the Burmese lieutenant commander, had met with a severe storm out at sea, blowing from the east, hence his boats were driven back to the point of the Thalāng coast where the Siāmese force had assembled. On being apprised of this unexpected bit of good luck the governor swooped with his men on the Burmese, captured all their war boats and made numbers of prisoners, including the lieutenant-commander Chik-kë himself, whom he sent to Bāngkok under escort with a report of the occurrences.

Upon this being submitted to the King, H. M. observed that the Thalāng governor, through lack of foresight and watchfulness, had suffered the town and a large number of the inhabitants to fall into the hands of the Burmese, thus committing a most grave offence punishable by death, for the ancient laws of Siām laid it down that whatever governor of a town or fortress abandons it to the enemy, renders himself liable to capital punishment. In the present instance the governor of Thalāng fully deserved the application of that clause. On the other hand, however, he had earned some

title to recognition from the fact that, having become fully aware of his fault and the consequences thereof to himself, he displayed earnestness in organizing subsequently the defence in his district with stockades, etc., and thus succeeded in capturing many of the enemies including one of their chiefs. This was a deserving act on the part of the governor of Thalāng; which, though insufficient to clear him entirely of blame, should save him from the application of capital punishment. Therefore, let him be brought to the capital in durance vile, so that he may amend his ways for the future.

Having thus expressed himself, the king commanded the Kalāhôm to despatch a royal commissioner with a warrant to seize the governor of Thalāng and bring him to Bāngkok to serve his sentence; meanwhile to entrust one of the principal local officials with the defence of the island against new possible attacks of the Burmese. The commissioner appointed proceeded to Thalāng with the warrant, notified the royal commands to the local officials, and having seized the governor brought him in fetters to Bāngkok. The king thereupon sentenced him to receive sixty strokes of the rattan on his back, and to be imprisoned.

Chik-kë, the captured Burmese chief, was beheaded at the Wat Saket cemetery; but his followers were merely sent to jail.

Meanwhile, Mëng-ñā-lë, the Tavoy governor, having reached that town with his flotilla, proceeded up to Ava to inform the king of his successes. The Burmese king forthwith expressed his intention of despatching a powerful expedition into Siām to seize the capital.

On the other hand the King of Siām, considering that Thalāng was an outlying district constantly exposed to Burmese attacks and that there was no governor on the spot able to efficiently defend it, the former occupant of that office being still in prison, thought that the three months' penance the latter had undergone might prove a sufficient corrective for him; and further that he, being a native of the place and fully conversant with local needs and conditions, if pardoned would seemingly be able to induce the people to offer a vigorous resistance to any future attacks on the part of the Burmese. Thereupon he had the governor released and reinstated

into his former appointment. The unlucky governor took leave of His Majesty and returned to his post a sadder, though perhaps no wiser, man.[1]

3rd Burmese Invasion of Junkceylon: Nov.–Dec., 1809 to Jan., 1810.

Meanwhile the King of Burma had sent general Atöng-wun to Tavoy for the purpose of making raids on C'hump'hon, Takūa-pā, Takūa-thùng and Thalāng. Towards the end of October (1809) this officer having made all necessary preparations both by land and sea, despatched Yë-khong at the head of a body of some 4000 men in war boats to attack Thalāng; and a similar force of 3000 men to raid Ranong, Kraḥ, and C'hump'hon.

Yë-khong sailed out and took Takūa-pā on the 17th of October; then he swooped on Takūa-thùng which offered no resistance, the people having fled terror-struck into the jungle. Hence he made ready to attack Thalāng, and with this end in view he established his headquarters at Pāk-P'hraḥ.

Intelligence of the fall of Takūa-pā and Takūa-thùng had meanwhile been sent to Bāngkok by the respective authorities. The Thalāng governor also despatched a message in all haste to the capital informing the Court of the grave peril impending upon the island. He next did his best in providing for its defence, and got the inhabitants inside the stockades.

The Burmese having landed and taken position, advanced to attack the stockade outside the town, which they carried. Then they invested Thalāng town with 25 stockades connected together by entrenchments with caltrops, etc., very accurately built. Meeting, however, with a stubborn resistance on the part of the besieged, they decided to resort to stratagem and feign a retreat. Thus, after having set fire to their 25 stockades they withdrew and got into their boats, sailing out towards the end of November. The governor of Thalāng, upon learning from the explorers he had

1, I should not think it can be here a question of P'hrayā Thalāng Chīet-thong, for in the 1841 report it is distinctly stated as we have seen above (p. 62) that this official died in prison at Bāngkok. It seems likely, therefore, that his immediate successor Thīen—the Asthmatic—is implied.

sent out to watch the Burmese movements, that the enemy was really gone out of sight of the island, very foolishly allowed his people to leave the camps and attend to their business, as provisions had begun to run very scarce.

Yë-gaung, on the other hand, after having sailed and lounged about for a few days, well imagining that the Thalāng people must have deserted their stockades, so that by a sudden return he should easily carry the town, hastened back and landed his force at [the] Yā-mū [peninsula] in the P'hūket district. Thence, marching through the jungle across the interior of the island, he unexpectedly appeared before Thalāng town which he invested on Sunday, the 17th December, 1809. The Thalāng governor summoned his men to the stockades, but time failed for the assembling of a sufficient force for the efficient defence of the place.

Meanwhile the Bāngkok government, on receipt of the tidings, had despatched P'hrayā Daśayodhā and P'hrayā Rājaprasiddhi at the head of 6000 men from C'haiyā across the Peninsula by the Pāk P'hnom route, to relieve Thalāng. It further sent Chāu P'hrayā Yomarāj (Noi) as general, and P'hrayā Thāi-nam as vanguard commander to Ligor with 5000 men and orders for the governor there to collect at least another 10,000 wherewith to move in aid of Thalāng.[1]

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1. An attempt had been made by government to obtain the 10,000 men required from Kamboja, as the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi" informs us. Here is the passage bearing on the matter, culled from Aubaret's translation of that Annamese work :—"On the 8th year of Jā-long, in the 8th month (September-October 1809), the King of Siam had a despatch sent to Kamboja announcing that as his kingdom was at war with Burma, the hostilities having as theatre the territory of *Xa-lang* (C'halāng), he requested some 10,000 Kambojan auxiliaries to be sent as reinforcements. An advance body of 3,000 men was to proceed by sea and place itself at the disposal of the King of Siam in the city of *Vong-ca* [Bāngkok] which is the royal residence" (Aubaret's "Histoire et Description de la Basse Cochinchine"; Paris, 1863; p. 123). But a rebellion broke out in Kamboja on the 13th day of the same (eighth) month, and no men were sent on to Siām.

The extract just quoted is important as evidencing that the Annamese way of spelling the name of Junkceylon, agrees with the Siāmese one. With the *quoc-ngü* system of romanization, the name assumes the form *Xa-lang* which is identical with the one (Xalang) employed by Bishop Pallegoix to render the Siāmese name of the island after the

The two generals with the first nucleus of troops left Bāngkok on the 2nd December; and having got their complement of men at Ligor, crossed over the Peninsula to Trang. Here, not finding sufficient boats in readiness, they resolved to tarry for a while in order to build new ones. When some 80 boats had been got together, P'hrayā Thāi-nam was sent on in advance with 30. As he neared Koḥ C'hanak[1] he heard the noise of the Burmese gongs, and drums, and of the enemy's shouts in the distance, so he steered for the shore of Junkceylon. Here he found that the Burmese expedition had just landed at Thā Ya-mū.

Siamese disaster at Ya-mu—A fight ensued, in which the Burmese were worsted at first owing to lack of artillery in their boats, as they had taken their guns out on shore, and sent them on to be used in the sieges of Thalāng and P'hūket (Thā Rüa town). But through the negligence of some artillery-man in P'hrayā Thāi-nam's war-boat the lid a barrel of gunpowder had not been carefully replaced; hence some sparks from the guns soon fell in the barrel and set the contents ablaze. A terrific explosion followed which blew the boat to pieces. Moreover the sparks reached the gunpowder barrels in the neighbouring boats as well, thus causing several of them to be blown out in succession. But while some of the occupants of the latter escaped unhurt or but slightly wounded, every man in P'hyā Thāi-nam's boat perished. Lúang Sunthorn

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same system. It might, of course, be observed that the Annamese probably got the form *Xa-lang* (=C'ha-lāng) from the Siāmese; but it is more likely they became independently acquainted with the island, or first heard of it through Chinese sources.

1. เกาะ ชนัก. This island lies to the northward of Pulo Panjang. It seems, therefore, that the Siāmese flotilla was keeping close by the shore of the Malay Peninsula, and had probably just taken some channel between the islands to the north of Pulo Panjang, in order to proceed thence towards the north-eastern coast of Junkceylon. It would seem almost that its intention was to proceed by Pāk-P'hraḥ Strait to the West coast of the island, and thence, by the Bān-Don River (คลอง บ้าน ดอน) to reach Thalāng town (then rising on the site of the present village of Bān Takhīen). But probably the course in question was simply steered in order to keep under cover of the islands and reach some point on the east or north-east coast of Junkceylon unperceived by the Burmese.

and Lúang Kamhëng-songkhrām rushed in to lend assistance; and, amongst others, they recovered the shattered body of P'hyā Thāi-nam whom they brought ashore at Khlong Bāng Lāu (Khlong Lāu or Pāk Lāu) whence the remains were sent on to Bāngkok. Owing to the above deplorable accident, no further operations against the Burmese could be undertaken by this naval expedition.

As to P'hrayā Daśayodhā who had come across the Peninsula with his force from C'haiyā, he reached P'hang-ngā and took position at the mouth of the stream there (Pāk-nam Müang P'hang-ngā); but was unable to cross thence to Junkceylon, as he had only small boats at hand; so he waited for the wind to calm down before attempting the passage.

On the other hand the Burmese, upon becoming aware that several Siāmese expeditions were on their way to relieve Junkceylon, hastened their operations and stormed P'hūket (Thā Rüa town) which they carried in a single day. They then sent the troops available there to reinforce those engaged about Thalāng.

Fall of Thalang—The siege of Thalāng had sedulously been carried on day and night for 27 days, and at last the town fell into the Burmese hands on Saturday, the 13th January, 1810. The Burmese plundered the place and carried the people captives to Tavoy.

So far the Bāngkok Annals of the Second Reign. A few more particulars on the above events are supplied to us by Pallegoix in his chapter on the history of Catholic missions in Siām[1] and by the brief "History of the Churches of India, Burma, Siam,"[2] etc. Pallegoix' account relates to the siege of the city of "Jongselang." Although it may not appear quite clearly at first sight whether under such designation C'halāng town or P'hūket (*i. e.* Thā Rüa) town is meant, there can be no doubt that it is really a question of the former, for the account mentions that the town fell after four weeks of a very harassing siege, which practically tallies with the 27 days assigned to the same in the Bāngkok Annals. P'hūket (*i. e.* Thā Rüa) town, on the contrary, was reduced, as we have seen, in a single day. An important particular we glean from Pallegoix' narrative is, that a French missionary had again been sent to the

1. "Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," tome II, pp. 284-286.
2. *China Review*, vol. XVIII (1889-90), p. 12.

island, who remained besieged in its capital along with the other inhabitants, and though having succeeded in making his escape ultimately met his death at the hand of unscrupulous murderers. With these premises we may now proceed to give here a translation of the account, which runs as follows.

"Towards the end of November 1809, the Burmese laid siege to *Jongselang* town. After four weeks of a very bloody siege, the fortress,—the hope and refuge of all the inhabitants of the island,—was taken and burnt to ashes by the enemy. Some of the inhabitants were killed; the remnant were either made prisoners or sought safety into the woods. M. Rabeau, an apostolical missionary who had remained in the citadel the whole time that the siege lasted, occupied himself in tending the sick, teaching the pagans, and baptising many adults among whom were two Buddhist monks and a large number of little children on the point of death.

"The Christians having determined to issue forth from the citadel, M. Rabeau followed them. On their way they met the Burmese, brandishing swords and lances. M. Rabeau advanced towards them, holding a crucifix in his right hand and a picture of the Holy Virgin in his left, and told them: 'I am a priest of the living God, and have done harm to nobody.' God touched the heart of the Burmese; they laid their hands upon the heads of the missionary and of his Christian followers and bade them to sit down; after which they tied them and took the cassock as well as the breviary from M. Rabeau. Soon after that they freed them of their bonds and, through the intervention of one of the chiefs, they brought them to the camp, tied their feet and locked them up there. They were thus left until ten o'clock next morning, and during the interval they were spared neither threats nor insults. Towards ten o'clock an officer, Caffre by origin, came to visit them and took away with him three of the Christians. In the middle of night another Christian officer sent for all of them and had them shifted to another camp where he dwelt with the general. He procured them all sorts of relief and consolation.

"After having pillaged everything at *Jongselang*, the Burmese embarked for a place near by. M. Rabeau, who felt a little ill, went on board one of the best vessels, the captain of which was a

Christian and a friend of his. A short time after they had put out to sea, the crew—who were either people from Bengal or Moors,—seized the captain and bound him with the intention of casting him overboard. M. Rabeau strongly upbraided the crew in order to deter them from such a crime, but they bound him also and cast both of them into the sea; thus the holy missionary perished a victim to his charity. Those villains further massacred some other persons. A violent storm prevented them from reaching the place they were bound to; they were blown away on the Madras coast where they were arrested and prosecuted.[1]

"Some years before the death of M. Rabeau the English had established themselves on *Pulo Pinang* [Penang Island, A. D. 1786] where then existed but a score of fishermen's huts. This new colony having rapidly increased, nearly all the Christians of *Quedah* and *Jongselang* sought refuge in it, and formed there two Christian settlements which survive to this day."

Before concluding these notes on the sieges of P'hūket (Thā Rüa town) and Thalāng or C'halāng, it may be well to call attention to an error in chronology that has long been repeated in European accounts of the island and which, if not exposed, threatens to acquire a permanent standing. In which work it first appeared and who was the writer who carelessly or inadvertently originated it I am unable to say; suffice therefore to point out that even in the latest editions of carefully compiled publications such as, *e. g.* the "Bay of Bengal Pilot"[2] and the "China Sea Directory"[3] we find it stated that "the town of Tarúa [Thā Rüa], which.....was formerly the residence of the Raja of Puket.....was demolished by the Burmese" in 1796. Now, in so far as I could find, there was no Burmese invasion of Junkceylon that year; and the destruction of Thā Rüa here alluded to cannot be other than that which, as we have seen above, took place towards the end of December 1809, or early in January 1810. A mistake of a mere 13 to 14 years, which

1. The *China Review* account is far more brief than the above which it confirms in the main points. The name of Father Rabeau has there been misprinted *Rabran.*

2. 3rd ed.; London, 1901, p. 435.

3. vol. I, 4th ed.; London, 1896, pp. 119-120.

evidences how the few scraps of Junkceylonese history hitherto dealt out to us in extant works of reference sorely need not only supplementing, but also drastic emendation.

4th Burmese Invasion of the Island: 1811-12.

The tidings of Burmese freebooting on Junkceylon reached the Siāmese Court at Bāngkok on the 17th February 1810. The King, gravely preoccupied with the want of success of his troops, had a message despatched to Chāu P'hrayā Yomarāj, the general in command at Trang, censuring him for his inaction which resulted in the Burmese being suffered to twice attack the island and reducing both its cities; and exhorting him to be on the alert, as the enemy might return to deliver attacks on both Trang and Ligor.

It was, however, on Junkceylon that the Burmese again vented their spite. By the end of December 1811 or the dawn of January 1812 a body of them, 5000 strong, once more landed on the island and took position at about ¾ mile from Thalāng town, building stockades which lacked, however, in solidity. Upon news of the fresh invasion reaching Bāngkok, the King ordered the Kalāhôm to collect some 8000 men in the Malay Peninsula, where he sent his younger brother the Second King with another 2000 men from Bāngkok with a view to their marching to the relief of Junkceylon. The Second King, however, had barely arrived at C'hump'hon, when intelligence reached him that the Burmese had been compelled by the inhabitants to raise the siege of Thalāng. The local officials had succeeded in making three of the enemy prisoners, whom they sent along with the message. So the expedition returned to Bāngkok without having to strike a blow.

This bloodless dénouement, besides frustrating an occasion for the leaders of the expedition to distinguish themselves, also deprived the national literature and, the more unfortunately so, that of Junkceylon, of perhaps one of its gems. For Chamün Srī Soraraks, who followed in the expedition, had commenced to write down a description of the journey in the form of the well-known erotic poems styled Nirāś, นิราศ, *i. e.* "Separation [from one's sweet-heart]," which in consequence remained at the state of a mere fragment, stopping off abruptly at mouth of the Thā-Chīn

River.[1] Junkceylon was to have to wait another half century before getting its bard.

How A Chinese Trader rose to be Capitan China at Junkceylon: 1821.

After the above date the Burmese, having their attention distracted by more weighty matters at home, left Junkceylon quiet. But,—the Bāngkok Annals tell us towards the end of the Second Reign,—they had been all the time instigating the English, the Annamese, and the rāja of Kedah, to attack Bāngkok. This is what led to the Siāmese repressive expedition upon Kedah in November 1821, owing to the following incident which caused the scale of Siāmese longanimity to turn.

That year a Macao Chinaman, Lim Hoi, ลิม หอย, by name, who was a resident merchant of Thalāng, had gone to Penang on business, and while returning therefrom he caught sight of a Burmese sailing vessel, looking somewhat differently from ordinary trading boats. His suspicions being aroused he attacked it, and while examining its contents, came across a Burmese official letter addressed to the rāja of Kedah. He thereupon seized the boat and crew, which he brought to Thalāng and made over to the governor. This official forwarded the letter and

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1. This interesting fragment of what should have proved no second rate literary production, has been preserved—strange to say—in a collection of old erotic poems, printed under the title of เพลง ยาว เก่า, in small 8vo.; pp. 15-27.

It should be mentioned that the Trang governor of the period (พระ ยา ตรัง), himself a distinguished poet, on being despatched in 1809 to the West coast of the Malay Peninsula with the expedition that was to relieve Junkceylon, also wrote a Nirāś on the trip, surviving to this day under the title of โคลง นิราศ พระ ยา ตรัง. Though covering a wider area than the above, it nevertheless knocks off the itinerary at Lëm Sai near C'haiyā, from which district the author very likely set out overland across the Malay Peninsula.

Thus Junkceylon Island twice came well nigh within being sung by Siāmese bards, and only the third time succeeded in winning a place in the national poetry.

prisoners, together with Lim Hoi, to Bāngkok. Here the letter was translated, when it proved to be an instigation of the Burmese to the Kedah rāja to rebel. The King suitably rewarded Lim-hoi, and appointed him Lúang Rāja—Capitan (หลวง ราช กะ บีตัน), chief collector of royalty in kind on tin-mines for Junkceylon Island. This appointment evidently included not only the tin-smelting monopoly, already existing from the last quarter of the eighteenth century (see above, pp. 39, 55), but also the collection of crown dues on the net produce (*supra*, pp. 26-27).

Captain Low's Visit : 1824.

Turning now from Siāmese to European records, we meet with very useful information on Junkceylon in various publications by Captain (afterwards Colonel) James Low who visited the island and its interior in 1824. Being a diligent investigator of antiquities, as well as a proficient student of the Siāmese language, he was able to gather interesting particulars that had escaped the attention of his predecessors. I regret not having access to his paper published on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1835 [1]; and can only refer to his other articles in *Asiatic Researches* and in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

The one from the former of the two last named magazines has been republished in "Essays relating to Indo-China," [2] and the following are the principal points touched upon.

"Most of the small islands lying betwixt Trang and Junkceylon seem for the greatest part composed of granite. It prevails in the latter island, and here again tin appears in proximity to or interspersed in it and its débris.

"A range of hills, the highest of which I believe will not be found to exceed one thousand feet, stretches longitudinally through the island, with one large break in the middle. The island was probably once joined to the mainland, since the Papra [Pāk P'hrah,

1. Vol. II, part II: "History of Tenasserim," pp. 248 *et seqq*.

2. Or, "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China," vol. I; London 1886. The observations concerning Junkceylon occur on pp. 184-185. The volume of the *Asiatic Researches* where the paper originally appeared is vol. XVIII, 1833

ปาก พระ] Strait, which separates the two, is narrow and rocky. The island, when I visited the interior in 1824, had a population of six thousand souls (Siamese).....

"...as the population has been reduced to about six thousand souls, and as the Siamese have mines closer to their capital, a very small supply only is now taken from the island. Perhaps it may be rated at one hundred baharas of 446 lbs. average each. A Chinese smelter informed me that he could afford to produce tin at a cost of one half at the utmost of the market rate. The miners dig pits of from twelve to twenty feet deep, but seldom venture a lateral shaft. The ore is generally in round or oblong masses, with well-defined crystals and in a matrix of quartz, or bedded in masses resembling half decomposed granite, yet of considerable hardness."

Thus we see that the output of ore, dwindled from 500 tons *per annum* at the time of Captain Forrest's visit (1784, see above, p. 55), to a paltry 20 tons in 1824. There can be no doubt that this was entirely the result of the repeated Burmese raids on the island, which had reduced its population to about 6000 souls. Before, the latter must have been four or five times as much as that, if not far more (*cf. supra*, p. 52). The original inhabitants having thus been for the most part destroyed, it was only by foreign imported labour that the mines could again be made to prosper. This result was soon to be achieved by immigrants from China, who flocked to the island in large numbers during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In his other paper on "Buddha and the Phrabāt," published in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*,[1] Colonel Low in alluding to a Buddha's footprint commonly believed to have been left in the neighbourhood of Junkceylon and which, he says, is called "Suwanna Malike Phrabát P'hokhá,"observes (pp. 65-66) :

"The Siamese allege that this impression is extant on the coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, opposite to *Selan*, or *Salang*, as they term Junkceylon.[2] And here some notice may be taken of an indication of a totally different species of superstition, said to

1. Vol. III; London, 1835; pp. 57–124.
2. The same footprint is again briefly alluded to on p. 62.

have been discovered on that island; *viz.* a *Ráetín* [Roi-tīn, รอยตีน], as it is termed by the Siamese, or impression of a *dog's foot*, together with an image of that animal, which is reported to have once existed upon a rock at the northern point of the island, and which are said to be held in veneration by the Malays along the opposite coast; who, notwithstanding their conversion to a purer and more orthodox Mahommedanism than is now professed throughout most parts of India, are yet wedded to many obscure and unexplained remnants of their ancient superstitions. The modern Siamese however do not regard them.

"No opportunity of visiting the spot, when on Junkceylon in 1824, occurred to me: nor, indeed, is it of much consequence, while we are sure that there exists a belief that such figures, or objects, were once venerated there. Some credit may be attached to the account, because Dr. Leyden, while treating of the *Anamite* religion, remarks that 'many local and peculiar superstitions are blended with it, such as the worship of the dog and the tiger; traces of which are to be found amongst the mountaineers on the borders of India, as well as in the countries of China Proper.'"

The words that Colonel Low read *Suwanna Malike* are, correctly, Suvaṇṇamālikē, but other versions have Suvaṇṇamāli-giri. Suvarṇa-māli, Suvaṇṇa-māli, or Sālmali was, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the classical Indū name for the Malay Peninsula. In a Pāli sūtra on the five footprints alleged to have been left by the Buddha, which is preserved in Siām, it is stated that the first one was stamped somewhere on the territory of Suvaṇṇa-māli, and a second was impressed on the top of the Suvaṇṇa-pabbata-giri, *i. e.* the "Golden Mountain" which is located in the province of Tenasserim.[1] Other versions have Suvaṇṇa-māli and Suvaṇṇa-māli-giri.

1. The sūtra in question, which forms part of a formula recited in adoration of the Buddha, is of the following tenor: "Suvaṇṇamālike, Suvaṇṇapabbate, Sumanakūṭe, Yonakapure, Nammadāya-nadiyā: pañcapādavaraṁ thānaṁ, ahaṁ vandāmi dūrato." [From afar I pay reverence to the Five Noble Footprints that are extant on Suvaṇṇamāli (or Suvaṇṇamālika), on Suvaṇṇapabbata (the Gold Mount), on Sumānakūṭa (Adam's Peak), in the Yonaka country (land of the Ionians, locally identified with the principality of C'hīeng-Mai), and on the bank of the Narmadā river (the Nerbudda in India)].

Of course, the five footprints—with the single exception of the too well-known one on Adam's Peak in Ceylon,—are located within Siāmese territory and mostly identified with artificial imitations which are known to be of comparatively modern date. But the same has been done by the Burmese with regard to their country.

I have not heard of any Buddha's footprint on the coast of the Malay Peninsula opposite Junkceylon; but as facsimiles of such are frequent all over Siām, it should not be surprising if one were to be found there also. On the other hand, it is a positive fact that one is extant on the rocks by the sea-shore at Koḥ Khīen, เกาะ เคี่ยน —otherwise, Pagoda Island,—opposite the southern extremity of Junkceylon island itself, an account of which we shall meet in the sequel.

Another sūtra runs as follows: —

"Yaṁ Nammadāya nadiyā, puline ca tīre;
Yaṁ Saccabandhagirike, Sumanā ca lagge;
Yaṁ tattha Yonakapure, Munino ca pādaṁ:
Taṁ pādalañjanamahaṁ sirasā namāmi."

[I bow my head in adoration to the Sacred Footprints left by the Sage on the sands by the bank of the Narmadā river (taken by some to be two distinct impressions, viz. one on the bank of the river and the other on the sands by the seashore, though I believe a single one is implied); on mount Saccabandha (locally identified with the well known P'hraḥ Bād near Ayuddhyā); on mount Sumana (Adam's Peak); and in the country of the Ionians].

The Burmese put, of course, on this text a different interpretation to suit both their fancy and their country's topography. Hence, they identify the footprint on mount Saccabandha with the one on the Thitsaban (Saccabandha) Hill near Legaing; the Narmadā river with the little watercourse *Man* (Man Chaung) flowing near by; and the Narmadā footprint with the one extant on the left bank of the Man river itself near Sagu a little southwards from Legaing (Minbu district).

The Ceylonese, on the other hand, preserve intact the original tradition as to the footprints in question having been left on the sands near the mouth of the Narmadā (Nerbudda) river, and on the Saccabandha rock, respectively, both in the Western part of India. And it is not unlikely that the footprint in the Ionian country is the very one mentioned by Fā-hien in circā A. D. 400 as extant in Udyāna (now Swat), north of the Punjāb. It is a far cry from thence to C'hīeng-Mai. As regards the impression of Buddha's foot alleged to exist on Suvaṇṇamāli territory, however, I adhere to the views expressed above.

In Appendix No. IV to his "Grammar of the T'hai or Siamese Language"—the pioneer work published on the subject[1] —Captain Low reproduces as a "Specimen of the Epistolary Style" a letter he had received from the Junkceylon authorities some years before, while on official duty at Penang. The document in question —although from a literary point of view it may be said to pass muster merely as a specimen of *Thai-Nok* epistolary effusions—proves to be of peculiar interest for the present inquiry from the fact that it gives in its exordium the titles (if not, unfortunately, the personal names) of the official then governing Junkceylon Island as well as the neighbouring Districts, and of his son who is the writer of it. The latter describes himself, in fact, as "P'hrah Boriraks P'hūthorn, the son of the Hon. P'hrayā Narong Rüang Riddhi Prasiddhi Songkhrām, Governor of Thalāng [P'hrayā Thalāng], who has come out to look after the welfare of the people in Thalāng, Bāng Khlī, Takūathùng, Takūa Pā, and the rest of the Eight Districts."[2] The letter is dated Monday, the 4th waning of the 9th Moon, year of the Monkey and 6th of the decennial cycle=13th August 1824.

From the fact that the Governor in question is therein described as having "come out" to take charge of the island, we must conclude that he cannot have been a locally born official, but must have been sent out from the capital. Hence we think ourselves justified in identifying him with Governor Buñ-khong (พระ ยา ถลาง บุญ คง) of whom a notice will appear further on.

The title P'hrayā Narong Rüang Riddhi for Thalāng governors persisted, it may be observed, until 1902, when the last

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1. Calcutta, 1828; p. 83.

2. "พระ บริรักษ์ ภูธร, บุตร ท่าน พระ ยา ณรงค์ เรืองฤทธิ ประสิทธิ สงคราม, พระยา ถลาง, ผู้ ออก มา สำ เร็จ กิจ ศุข ทุกข์ อนา ประชา ราษฎร ณเมืองถลาง, บาง คลี, ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, ตะ กั่วป่า, ทั้ง แปด หัว เมือง" — The document is also remarkable from the fact that therein the name of the P'hang-ngā district is spelled P'hū-ngā (Bhū-ngā), ภูงา, after the Malay (or may be the older?) form.

bearer of it,—Nū, หนู by name—died (November 18th).[1]

Captain Burney's Visit: 1826.

Crawfurd, in the course of an enumeration of the sources from which the map appended to his "Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China"[2] was compiled in 1828, tells us that the delineation of the country "from Mergui to Junkceylon is taken from a sketch by Captain Burney, who visited this part of the coast." Captain (afterwards Major) Henry Burney journeyed from India to Siām in 1826 as envoy on the part of the English Government, the Honourable East India Company, and the Governor of Bengal, to negotiate a treaty at Bāngkok, which was ultimately signed on June 20th of that year. Whether an account of his journey has ever been published, and if so where it appeared, I am not aware. If it is in existence it should contain some interesting particulars anent Junkceylon, which appears to have been visited by him.

Among the Siāmese provinces opened to unrestricted trade with the English possessions in the Straits by virtue of Article 10 of that treaty, Junkceylon is mentioned. We have seen from other sources that intercourse between this island and Penang especially, had been established many years before that date. To Major Burney's observations, and may be also to Mr. Leal's remarks (1825) already adverted to, is presumably due the appearance for the first time on the map appended to Crawfurd's work, of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula from Pāk Lāu to the Bān Don river. This is—it goes without saying—the new route opened in 1804, and has been approximately enough delineated on the map, starting from *Pulao* [Pāk Lāu], passing by *Pennon* [P'hanom] on the eastern watershed, and continuing thence to *Pun-Pin* [P'hun-p'hin] and C'haiyā.

Sundry Jottings on Junkceylon up to 1851.

From this time onward things seem to have settled down

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1. We find him, in fact, officially gazetted as พระ ยา ณรงค์เรื่อง ฤทธิ (หนู), ผู้ว่าราชการ เมือง ถลาง.

2. 2nd ed.; London, 1830; vol. II, p. 458.

quite in Junkceylon, for notices of the island grow scarce and uneventful during the next fifty years, while I know of no new European account of the island having appeared in the interval. The last piece of information the report of 1841 copiously quoted above supplies us is, that some time prior to this date (perhaps between 1820-1830) a new governor, Buñ-khong, บุญ คง by name, was sent out—presumably from Bāngkok to Thalāng. He induced many people to settle about the western terminus of the tin road across the Peninsula, from Marùi onwards till Bāng Töi, บาง เตย When P'hyā Krai-kôsā went out to collect the arrears of paddy-dues and field taxes (หาง เข้า ค่า นา), the Thalāng governor aforesaid objected—though in vain—to such imposts being exacted from the people that had settled along the tin road, as these had been exempted from them since the time of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā.

The Bāngkok Annals of the Third Reign (1824-1851) contain but one single reference to Junkceylon, and that under the date of 1839. By royal decree of the 18th April of that year[1] P'hrayā Srī P'hip'hat had been charged with clearing away all opium from the Siāmese provinces on the Malay Peninsula, as the introduction of that baneful drug into the Kingdom had been severely prohibited, and the then reigning sovereign was resolved to do his utmost in order to prevent his subjects from acquiring the habit of using it. Pursuant to that decree, towards the end of April Chamün Rājāmāt and two other officials left Bāngkok as assistant commissioners and proceeded to the districts on the Malay Peninsula and Junkceylon Island. They succeeded in confiscating over 3700 chests of raw and 2 piculs of boiled opium which, being brought to Bāngkok, was all burnt by order of the King in the royal palace, in front of the Suddhayasvarga throne hall.

Nai Mi's Poetical account of Junkceylon Island.

At about this period, Junkceylon island succeeded at last in enticing a bard to sing its attractions in the person of Nāi Mī,

1. A translation of this decree has been reproduced in John Bowring's work, vol. II, pp. 368–377. It, however, originally appeared in print on April 27th from the A. B. C. F. M. Press, 9000 copies being issued; and was the first government document ever printed in Siām.

นายมี, the favourite pupil of Sunthorn P'hū,—the prince of modern Siāmese melodramatic poets,—although considerably behind in excellence to his master.

Nāi Mī took the Buddhist orders of Sāmanera (Novice or Deacon) in the Jetavana (Wat P'hô) monastery in Bāngkok during the third reign (A. D. 1824-1851), and it was while thus ordained that he undertook, in the company of some relatives and laic friends, the trip to the island which he has recorded in rhyme. He unfortunately does not tell us anything about the date of this journey, except that it extended between the year of the Hog and that of the Tiger, which may correspond, respectively, either to 1839 and 1842, or 1851 and 1854. The former couple of dates is seemingly the correct one; for, after having returned, he composed a story in octonary verse titled ดึงษะกรรม, and this—his principal work though now almost forgotten,—is said to have been completed by him towards the end of the 3rd reign or the beginning of the 4th (*i. e.* about 1851) when he had already undergone the full ordination of a *Bhikkhu* (พระ) which cannot be conferred until after one has completed his twentieth year of age. Later on Nāi Mī left holy orders and ultimately got the post of Lúang Subhamātrā, หลวงสุภามาตรา, as a provincial petty official at C'haināth where he died about 1870.[1]

Nāi Mī's account of his pilgrimage to Junkceylon,—termed Nirāś C'halāng, นิราศฉลาง, and dimly recalling Childe Harold's immensely superior lay utterances—is the only work of his likely to be handed down to posterity. Though not ranking very highly as a literary production, it nevertheless holds a distinguished place among the curiosities of Siāmese Nirāś literature and forms interesting reading as evidenced by the several reprints it had.[2]

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1. One of his daughters P'hayom, พยอม, by name, became minor wife to Chāu P'hyā Narāratn; she was born in the early sixties. Nāi Mī died aged about fifty-five years; so his life-span may be put down roughly between 1820–25 and 1870–75. He was a native of Thā Sūng, ท่าสูง, at Khung Taphau, คุ้งตะเภา, a short distance up-stream from C'haināth.

2. It was first published by the Rev. S. J. Smith's press in about 1874. The edition made use of in these pages bears the date R. S. 113= A. D. 1894-5, and fills 40 pages small 8vo.

1. The Journey.—Nāi Mī travelled down the Gulf of Siām in a sailing boat, skirting its West coast, putting in at various places, and finally entering the Bān-Don river. Here the party procured paddle boats which enabled them to ascend that stream for another four days as far as Pāk P'hanom (ท่า พนม, or ปาก พนม). Thence they journeyed overland to the West coast of the Malay Peninsula by the route we have described in the foregoing pages. Our author's account of this route is the only detailed one on record and forms a most interesting feature of his poem; hence we think worth the while to summarize it here, before passing on to his remarks on Junkceylon Island.

Having set out from Bān-Don in four paddle boats, Nāi Mī's party proceeded up stream to the place called Thā Khām, ท่า ข้าม, the "Ford," so named from its being the point at which the Bān-Don river is crossed by the land route wending along the East coast of the Malay Peninsula.[1] Here our author notices an awful whirlpool, and adds that though the place be called "The Crossing," no one is seen to avail himself of this convenience. Apparently the ford already had become impracticable by this period, or fallen into

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1. Mr. Leal, in his notes of travel in these parts in 1825, applies the name Thā-khām to the Bān-Don river which he describes as broad and rapid. He says: "...the Tha-kham, near the mouth of which is situated the town of Phoon-phin [P'hūn-p'hin, พูน พิน]...A branch runs to the southward, to the town of Bandon, where it opens into the sea, and whence it is usually termed the Bandon river. The northern branch of the Tha-kham empties itself into the sea, at a place called Tha-thong [Thā-thong, ท่า ทอง, now Kāñchanadiṭh; this is a mistake: it is the south-eastern branch that flows to Thā-thong]...The Tha-kham proceeds nearly across the Peninsula," etc. (See reprint in Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 394). The correct name of the river is Khlong Thā P'hnom, except for the branch flowing to Bān-Don where it is more generally known as แม่น้ำบ้านดอน, *i. e.* Bān-Don river. The crossing or ford of Thā-khām was availed of in 1779 by P'hyā Tāk, who crossed here with his army while marching to the conquest of Ligor whose forces he defeated immediately beyond at Thā-Māk, ท่าหมาก (see Annals of Siām, p. 539). Hence, the river was still easily passable at this point in his time.

disuse. Next he turns his attention to a shrine on the right bank (evidently looking up-stream), where many crocodile skulls are offered votively to the tutelary deity of the spot, doubtless in order to beseech protection against the saurians which, the poet adds, teem in the river at this point. We have here an example of the votive crocodile shrines noticeable in many parts of Siām.[1]

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1. The most famous and perhaps the most ancient withal of such shrines is that rising by the ruins of P'hraḥ Pradĕng (เมือง พระ ประ แดง), an ancient city that stood on the left bank of the Bāng-kok river, between the mouths of Khlong Töi and Khlong P'hraḥ Khanông. This was formerly the only stronghold guarding the entrance to the Bāng-kok river, before Pāk-nām came into existence as a walled city (about A. D. 1550). It was abandoned not long afterwards, and though La Loubère (op. cit., p. 88) still mentions it in 1687 as "*Prepadem*, a small Government," Kaempfer but three years later marks its site on his map as "*Campus quondam urbis Pra-pradeng.*" In 1771 its walls were demolished for bricks wherewith to build forts at Bāng-kok (Annals, p. 558). The old crocodile shrine is, however, still extant, and bears the name of ศาล เจ้า พระ ประ แดง or ศาล เจ้า พ่อ ประ แดง. A well-known folk-tale ascribes its foundation to a powerful crocodile from the upper reaches of the Bāngkok river who, having slain P'han-wang, the crocodile chief of the regions down stream, severed its head and offered it here as a propitiation to the tutelary deity of the place. This legend, first versified into the old poem titled Jālavan, ชาลวัน, has been adapted for the stage and presented in a far more elegant vesture by King Buddha Löt-lā in his Krai Thong, ไกร ทอง, now one of the most popular plays acted in Siām. The story is also known to the local Moñs, who locate its scene up river in the Bichitr, พิจิตร, district. A remark occurs in connection with the origin of crocodile worship in Krai Thong, fasc. I, p. 24, to the effect that from that period dates the custom of offering crocodile heads to the tutelary godlings of places infested by saurians,—evidently for the purpose of invoking their protection to wayfarers against their dreadful jaws:

"—ตั้ง แต่ นั้น มี กัน ทุก วัน นี้—หัว กุมภี จึ่ง ได้ ถวาย เจ้า—จึ่ง ตั้ง ศาล เทวราชเปน ลาด เดา—คือ ศาล เจ้า พ่อ ประ แดง ตำแหน่ง มี"—

Between Khlong Praveś-burīrom and Khlong Samrông runs an ancient creek called Crocodile-head Creek," คลอง ศีร์ษะ (or หัว) จรเข้,

Pulling further up river, the attention of the party is attracted to an abandoned Buddhist temple on the left hand side, among the débris of which stands a large statue of Buddha of about one wā's (2 metres) lap-width.[1] The place lies now desert, shrouded in thick jungle.

At the end of another two days' paddling up stream, a hamlet is reached called Nam-rob-kháu, น้ำ รอบ เขา, "Mountain-encircling Brook," the crowning feature of which is a large Buddhist monastery of rather untidy appearance, as both the uposatha (chapel) and vihāra (idol-house) have thatched roofs.

After that the stream winds through lonely jungle interspersed with towering damar trees: the river is still pretty deep,

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already mentioned in the annals of Ayuddhyā under the date of 1498 (p. 32) where—at its intersection with the Praveś creek,—another crocodile shrine stood and probably still exists. Whence the name of Húa Takhe, หัว ตะเข้ (in official parlance, ศีรษะ จรเข้, 'Crocodile Head') to the junction, and the appellation of the creek itself. Several other places in Siām bear the same name, doubtless for similar reasons.

Mr. Annandale noticed in the course of his visit to the Siāmese provinces down the Malay Peninsula that, "In Lampam [P'hattalung] the brother of the raja has set up a little shrine in which crocodiles' skulls are exposed upon a platform. Fishermen who go out upon the lake in stormy weather are said to pray before these to the guardian spirit of the crocodiles. The raja's brother is a very old man, but he is a noted slayer of crocodiles and a great magician, having once possessed a magic knife of potency..." (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. XVI, 1900, p. 521). The author here thinks himself justified in drawing, from such practices, the inference that the Buddhism practised in P'hattalung "shows a curious tendency...towards animal worship." But as it will now be seen from the evidence we have brought forth above, the oblation of crocodile skulls to the *genius loci*, is a time-honoured custom spread all over the country – at any rate wherever the ravages of the saurians extend. It is part of the primeval religion of the land, and as such deserves further study at the hands of folklorists; hence it is to be hoped that these preliminary notes may serve to draw attention to this so far neglected subject.

1. The width of statues in a sitting posture is measured from knee to knee, and termed Nā Tak, น่า ตัก, "lap-width." No use to look for such a class of expressions in lexicographical works purporting to teach "Siāmese" to the unwary foreigner.

but very tortuous. Early next morning the landscape changes to a less wild country with dwellings along the river banks, and the party reaches Wat Thàm, วัด ถ้ำ, the Cave Monastery, perched on a delightful spot at the foot of the hills. Our author visits both the temple and the cave near by, whose walls are covered with ancient fresco paintings in lively colours and gold, representing Jātakas, *i. e.* Buddhist Birth-stories. After a stroll round the mount Pʻhū-kháu Lúang, ภูเขา หลวง, the poet regains his boat at noon.

Wat Khong วัด ฆ้อง, the "Gong Monastery" is next passed where, our author pointedly remarks, no gong whatever is in evidence, but only the winding river and all-pervading jungle. Shallows are frequently met, over which the boat requires to be hauled. Whenever next reaching a deep pool, his companions are afraid of mermaids, and so betake themselves to the safer course of walking along the river banks, where they ramble about collecting herbs or shooting. They also do not mind taking frequent nips at flasks of spirituous liquor they have thoughtfully brought with them, which wicked acts make our sentimental traveller shudder and despair as to the future salvation of his mates.

At the end of a further 1½ days the party comes to a village lurking in the midst of thick jungle. It bears the honoured name of Bān Pʻhraḥ Sëng, บ้าน พระแสง, the "Sacred Weapon," but the neighbourhood is haunted by tigers in plenty.

The journey is continued partly by paddling and poling, and at last Thā Pʻhanom, ท่า พนม,[1] the "Hill Landing-place" is reached. This lies encased between hills at the confluent of two tributaries of the Thā Pʻhnom or Bān-Don river, and forms the terminus of the journey by water on this slope. The provisions and baggage are transferred on to pack-elephants, mounting which pachiderms our author and part of his companions continue their voyage by land, taking a south-western direction.

Thùng Khā, ทุ่ง คา,[2] the "Lālang grass Clearing," forming the end of the first stage, is reached at night. Here, by the

1. See pp. 64, 65, and 70 above.
2. *Vide supra*, p. 70.

margin of a brook (the right upper branch of the Thā P'hnom river) rises a śālā or resting shed. No grassy patch is to be seen, but only jungle; hence the toponym turns out to be a misnomer. On the right-hand side a shrine to the tutelary deity of the woods confronts the view, at which every traveller either way is expected to pay obeisance and make oblations of fowls and ducks so as to impetrate a prosperous journey and successful escape from danger, especially from the claws of the tigers that infest those parts. He who neglects such ceremonial is, of course, doomed to meet with accidents. Having dutifully gone through their worship the party accommodate themselves in the śālā, round which they keep a fire lit all the night through. Rhinoceros' roars are heard at various intervals issuing from the gloomy recesses of the jungle.

Next morning the party resume the journey, and after three days' marching across the woods come in sight of the "Swan-hen Mountain," Khāu Nāng Hóng, เขา นาง หงศ์.[1] Descending along the western slopes of this range, Junkceylon Island looms to view in the distance, and is reached after a while.

This last portion of the journey is dealt with in a mere few words and all mention of places met *en route* skipped over, so that the unwary reader gathers the impression that it was exceedingly short, and that the travellers got to the island on elephant's back, as no crossing over by boat is hinted at. It is not impossible that the party actually forded Pāk-P'hrah Strait which, as we have seen, in one place at least appears to be practicable to elephants (see pp. 47-48 above); but this is unlikely in view of the circuitous journey entailed for one proceeding to the island from Pāk-Lāu or P'hang-ngā. In conclusion, a few more particulars as to the route followed, would have been expected and welcome here.

Next follows the account of the author's sojourn in Junkceylon. This we take the liberty of subjoining *in extenso*, both because of its falling within the immediate scope of this paper, and of its affording at the same time an example as to the style of treatment of subjects usually followed in Siamese Nirāś literature.

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1. *Vide supra*, p. 70.

2. Account of the author's stay and doings in Junkceylon[1] —"We reached Junkceylon Island late in the afternoon, just before dark, and set about preparing our quarters *pêle-mêle* at Wat Thāi Nam-P'hang, วัด ท้าย น้ำ พัง, by the river bank. Here we dwelt in comfort and good health for many a month.

"I took frequent strolls sight-seeing about the city and environs, which both pale in comparison with a large town. The governor's house looks more dignified than the citizen's dwellings, and rises in a walled enclosure surrounded by a ditch and boasting of stately gates. Hills encompass the city both on the front and rear; the country is intersected by high mountain ranges, whose towering peaks seem to threaten the clouds and form a charming view. The river flows broad and deep through the midst of the town; junks from all parts of the world come hither to trade and ride at anchor downstream: their sails are seen in unbroken succession. They bring every kind of merchandise with which they keep the place abundantly supplied.

"In town well-being and gaiety are the rule. The merchant shops and bazaars on shore hustle and encroach upon one another. Tin is bartered for dollars, commodities are hawked all round. Siāmese, Chinese, Malay, Java (mostly from Sumatra) piece-goods retailers heap up flowered chintzes in piles or in long rows; some sell coloured silk fabrics of different kinds.

"The islanders of C'halāng love to dress tidily and tastefully. Handsomely built damsels are in evidence; but, awe-struck, I dare not glance upon them. For I am deeply afraid of their subtle philtres and craftily concocted charms that so easily lead to perdition.[2] I prefer to refrain from all intercourse or meddling with them, as I think this would bring shame upon myself.

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1. Especially translated from the นิราศ ฉลาง, pp. 32–40 of R. S. 113 (=A. D. 1894) edition.

2. Women from the southern provinces of Siām on the Malay Peninsula are reputed to be exceedingly skilful in the preparation of love philtres and charms: hence their occult craft is much feared by people from the capital and other northern districts.

Besides, of all the girls I have had occasion to see here, none can compare with the apex of my love. The local beauties chatter in the quaint jargon of country people[1]: and their argot is not always easily understood. The youngsters from the central provinces[2] that I have brought along with me managed to get on far better with them, with whom some of them became attached.

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1. ชาว นอก, C'hāu Nok=people from the outlying provinces of the Kingdom: in this case meaning the inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. The line of demarcation between the C'hāu Nāi, ชาว ใน, or people from the Inner Provinces and the C'hāu Nok is formed, on the Malay Peninsula, by the Three Hundred Peaks or Sām-rôi Yot, สาม ร้อย ยอด, range which virtually separates continental from peninsular Siām. As far as this line the language spoken is practically that of the capital, *i. e.* Standard Siāmese; whereas beyond that it abruptly changes into the southern dialect, distinguished from standard Siāmese not only by an admixture of heterogeneous words (mostly a survival of aboriginal and primeval settler's idioms), but also by peculiar tonal inflexions which deserve the earnest attention of philologists. This is the Bhāṣā C'hāu Nok, ภาษา ชาว นอก, typified in the Ligor dialect, which draws such roars of laughter when put in the mouth of actors and puppets at the theatricals and shadow plays of the Siāmese capital and neighbouring districts.

2. ชาว ใน, C'hāu Nai=People from the Inner provinces, including the capital and surrounding districts of Siām proper, where standard Siāmese is spoken. This term of Chāu Nai, or Thai Nai, ไทย ใน, has given rise to endless confusion at the hands of ill-informed writers on things Siāmese. Dr. Leyden first made the acquaintance with the pitfall when he taunted F. Buchanan for having "*Tai-nay* [Thai-nai, ไทย ใน] instead of the *Tai-noë* [Thai-noi, ไทย น้อย] of La Loubère, which signifies little Siamese; whereas *Tai-nay* cannot possibly signify little Siamese, but only chief Siamese; the true meaning of *nay* being chief or head." ("On the Languages and Lit. of the Indo-Chinese Nations," repr. in "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. I, p. 141). Of course, Dr. Leyden was unaware that the correct prototype of *Thai-nay* is Thai-nai, ไทย ใน, meaning "Inner Siāmese"; and not Thai-nāi, ไทย นาย, an expression that not only

C'halāng women are, in fact, exceedingly clever talkers: they excel in the art of charming the ear and netting partners. Once they make love to a lad, it is done with him: he is inextricably inveigled. Such is the fate that overtook many youngsters from the central provinces. As to myself, however, I kept faithful to my darling—just in the same way as one who having embraced [the noble doctrines of] Buddhism clings fast to them, and does not care any further for [absurd] Brahmanic tenets.[1]

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never existed, but that carries no sense. In vain Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low tried to put things right in the introduction to his grammar ("A Grammar of the T'hai, or Siamese Language"; Calcutta, 1828) where (p. 7) he drew a line of distinction between the expressions Thai Noi, ไทย น้อย, or Little Thai, Lesser Siām; and Thai Nai, ไทย ใน, Inner Thai, Central Siām. The muddle continued, as a matter of course, kept in full swing by those writers of books on Siām who—and they are the majority—innocent of first-hand acquired knowledge of the country,—perpetrate patch-work which is a mere dish-clout of the effusions of their predecessors. Thus it comes to pass that in full 1905, writers are still found who—though having earned distinction in other fields—tell us, like, *e. g.*, Mr. Archibald Little in his latest book "The Far East," that: "The early Siamese were more particularly distinguished as the *Thai Noi* or 'Inside Free' [*sic*], in contrast with the Shan who were known as the *Thai Yai* or 'Outside Free' [*sic*] (Chinese, *Wai* and *Nei*)."—It goes without saying that Noi means as much 'Inside' as Yai means 'Outside.' The correct terms are Nai, ใน='Inner,' Chinese *Nei*, meaning the C'hāu Nai or people from the Inner Provinces (Central Siām); and Nok, นอก='Outer,' Chinese *Wai*, meaning the C'hāu Nok, or people from the Outer Provinces (specifically, the Malay Peninsula). Thai Noi, ไทย น้อย, 'Lesser Thai' are the minor branch of the Thai nation represented to this day by the Siāmese and including both Thai-nai and Thai-nok or C'hāu-nai and C'hāu-nok; whereas the Thai Yai, 'Greater Thai,' are the major branch, represented to this day by the so-called Shāns (correctly Siāms or Siāmese) of Burma. But it is perhaps useless to correct mistakes like the above, as contemporary amateurish writers of books and articles on Siām—who never read, as a rule, scholarly publications but only antiquated and superficial clap-trap,—will always continue undaunted to foist *rechauffé* yarns upon a too benevolent public.

1. *I. e.* one whose heart has been smitten with a refined woman from the central provinces, does not care for the agrestic attractions of rural beauties.

" I stayed at Junkceylon overyear, without any incident, firm in self-denial and abstinence like the Buddha when he overcame the hosts of Māra [the demons of temptation]. I bore on with a sorrowful, anxious heart, from the 2nd month of the year of the Hog until the year of the Tiger [*i. e*, presumably, from December 1839 to April 1842]. My companions, seeing me so deeply sunk in gloom, sought to procure me some distraction by a visit to the sea coast.

3.—**Excursion to the Sacred Foot-print.**—" It is related that an impression of the Sacred Foot exists on the wide sandy beach, but the journey thereto is rather long. Nevertheless I longed to pay my respects to it; and accordingly we left in pursuance of our hearts' desire, taking the track wending towards the west.[1] We had to make our way through forests of lofty trees, to ford rivulets and cross pools in the very midst of the forest. At night we rested in the wilderness. After two days' journey we came to an open stretch of grass and paddy fields irrigated by water-courses. The track skirts the edge of a vast lake looking like a miniature sea and teeming both with crocodiles and many kinds of fish. Lotuses stud the water expanse with their blossoms of varied hues: white, blue, yellow, red, and green. The lovely sight filled me with delight and admiration, and I amused myself in pointing them out to my companions as I tramped along. Noisy gusts of wind raised and whirled about clouds of dust. The cart-trail winds through a perfectly even plain; only fan palms in close array limit the view.

" After proceeding for a while we came to a hamlet. It rises on the site of an ancient but now abandoned town, left in ruins by the Burmese. It is now a heap of débris shrouded in jungle. Only a few widely scattered habitations peep out of the foliage.

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1. The real direction taken must have been about south-west or south, unless the party took the track leading to the west coast of the island viā Bān C'hāi-thale, บ้าน ฉาย ทะ เล, and then proceeded to the southern extremity of the island by the track running along the west coast; which seems unlikely. The probability is that the route followed was at first about that of the road now leading to P'hūket, and then the trail branching thence to C'halong Bay and continuing along the sea-shore till the southern extremity of the island.

The people are thriving and cheerful : they cultivate orchards and paddy fields, plant various kinds of yams and vegetables, large pumpkins, cucumbers and watermelons sweet, sugar cane and sugars palms, as well as orange-trees bearing excellent fruits. I gazed on all these things with deep interest while proceeding.[1]

" Beyond the village I came upon the sea-shore, and walked along the beach over the sand banks. I contemplated meanwhile the majestic expanse : it was deep and merrily noisy, with its foaming surges relentlessly breaking on the shore, so vehemently as to cause the sandbanks, the rocks, and the land all round to quake. I listened to the mighty roar of the surf which made my heart shudder with awe . The ocean stretches before the view boundless and fathomless, and teems with aquatic animals of every kind. Some deftly pop up and plunge down again with clamorous splashes. Crocodiles, Herās,[2] spring up side by side in flocks out of the billows. Water snakes and mermaids dart forth, in a swinging zig-zag gait, to disport themselves with their mates or swim past by

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1. I presume it is here a question of the partly cultivated plain round C'halong Bay (Khelung of our exhilarating cartographers), stretching from the banks of Mūdong creek (คลอง มูดง) to C'halong village (บ้านฉลอง) and further to the southwest. The city destroyed by the Burmese rose probably on or about the site of the present C'halong village by the side of Khlong Rĕng-sóng (คลอง แรง ดง). This part of the island is famed for its water melons, and the late C. W. Kynnersley, in the course of his last visit he paid to the place in 1903, remarks of Kathū (กะทู้? misprinted *Naito* in his Notes), a thriving mining village not far northward from C'halong Bay, that " *Naito* is famous for its water melons which are sent to Penang " (" Notes of Visits to Puket," etc., in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R. A. S.*, No. 42, Jan. 1905, p. 9).

2. Herā, เหรา, is a web-footed water lizard, smaller in size than the water monitor, but bigger than the terrestrial variety of the same (*Varanus.*)

close pairs in unbroken procession. Crabs, shrimps, prawns, and *Makaras* (dragons) wander about wagging their tails among the waves.[1]

"By the edge of the beach stretch smooth, flat banks of pure, crystalline sand; on the right hand side runs a fringe of Casuarina trees. Intermingled with the gravel and sand of the shore are shells of divers brilliant hues, blended in the most curious manner. One sees cowries of various sizes, white, yellow and of other tinges strewn about in hundreds of millions; many of them are quaint and lovely to behold in their kaleidoscopic wealth of colours. Some are of a bright red like sapan-wood dye; some black, and others speckled, or streaked with beautifully delineated veins; some are of a vivid yellow like sandal-wood; all charming and worthy of admiration. Nor are there wanting Saṅkha (chank) shells of the much prized variety whose whorls wind rightwise.[2] There is, in short, a superabundance of magnificent things, not least among which are brilliant-white oyster shells treasuring globular pearls. In these waters ambergris is also to be found. Tossed by the waves it is cast ashore up to the top of the broad beach, and while drying it exhales a foul carrion-like stench. But when dried and freed from all impurity it acquires an agreeable perfume, besides turning into a golden yellow resembling amber in appearance.[3]

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1. We may remark, while here engaged on zoological matters, that Junkceylon Island is the acknowledged birth-place of three varieties of terrestrial decapods or fresh water crustaceans, which are:

1. *Potamonautus limula* (Hilgendorf).
2. *Parathelphusa brevicarinata* (Hilgendorf).
3. „ *salangensis* (Ortmann).

But there must be other new species, whether of animals or plants. If we except Dr. Koenig's researches—which should deserve publication—the fauna and flora of the island still remain to be investigated. Here is, no doubt, a promising field for future naturalists.

2. This is the sacred shell used in Brahmanical water-sprinkling ceremonies, and called หอย สังข์ ทักขิณาวัฏ the 'Destrorse Chank shell.'

3. Here we have a further confirmation of the presence of ambergris about the southern shores of the island, noticed in European accounts of the preceding three centuries. See above, pp. 22 (under date 1592) and 24-25 (d. 1681-85).

"I kept on glancing with interest at all these curiosities while strolling about along the middle of the beach or following the sinuosities of the sea-margin; but felt deeply sad. At the sight of the pebbles and sand glittering like crystal and gold, my thoughts flew to my darling and my heart pained to break. Oh! if my sparkling jewel, splendour and glory of my eyes, had come along with me, how I would delight in pointing out to her the endless charms of the sea (and its shores)! Alas! there is no end of regret at being severed so far apart; when will the time come that I shall be able to return and again behold her lovely form? The ocean stretches before me like an immense wilderness: yea, just like my breast thou art lonely and sad, oh sea!

"Turning my looks landwards of the sandy beach I notice an unbroken fringe of screw-pines whose corymb-clustered blossoms breathe a sweet fragrance. As the sun declines, the wind lulls, the winged tribes set achirping, the screw-pines exhale their perfumed effluvia, of which I am so fond; while a lovely breeze whispers in soft breaths, and the already half-screened sun finally disappears beyond their velarium.

"As to myself, I keep wandering along the right-hand side of the beach without prefixed direction (or purpose), and then wend my steps along the water's edge, straggling ever farther and farther from the inhabited places. On the left the ocean stretches boundless; on the right it's mostly a succession of Casuarina trees, tall and superb to behold, whose thick foliage affords shelter from the sun-beams, while the bunches of fruit with which they are laden form a lovely sight. One notices besides in the forest fine types of *Mimusops, Murraya exotica, Genipa, Murraya paniculata, Crataeva,* C'humsëng (ชุมแสง),[1] Chūang (จวง),[2] Chëng (แจง),[3] Marit (มฤค),[4] Eagle-wood, *Averrhoa bilimbi, Aglaia Roxburghiana,*

1. Hitherto unidentified; it is employed in Brahmanical rites.

2, 3. I have not yet had an opportunity to identify these: they produce scented wood and presumably belong to the Aquilaria or to the Santaline groups. Either of them may be, however, *Wikstroemia Candolleana,* or *Cordia fragrantissima.*

4. Unidentified. This tree yields a black and beautifully veined hard-wood, much used in the manufacture of local betel boxes and other knick-knacks. Its name may or may not derive from that of the Mergui district.

Elaeis Guineensis palm, Gum-Kino trees, Kananga, bastard sandal trees,[1] Kôt Só (โกฐ สอ),[2] gall-nut trees,[3] saffron,[4] white sandal, unscented white sandal,[5] *Asafœtida*, *Bauhinia scandens*, Leb-mü Nāng (เล็บ มือ นาง),[6] *Anamirta cocculus*, Incense pines,[7] *Mantisia saltatoria*, several kinds of zinziberaceae;[8] and, in short, all sorts of medicinal plants. The flowering trees and shrubs are covered with a wealth of blossoms, and the feathered tribes flock in to peck at them, or flutter askance out of sight.

"There are bright-red Loris looking as if besmeared with vermilion; peacocks strutting about the sandy beach; cockatoos[9]

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1. กระ ถ่า ภา, not identified.

2. See above, p. 39.

3. สมอ ไทย = *Antidesma paniculata* ?; if not, a *Terminalia*.

4. One must not take such glowing lists of natural wonders *literatim* for oriental poets, and no less so the Siamese ones, allow their fancy far more play than European bards dare to. More particularly in the sections termed "C'hom nok, c'hom mai," ชม นก ชม ไม้, practically, "Contemplation of the natural beauties," they present pictures of the fauna and flora that considerably outdistance the real work of nature. They would sing of pea-fowls perching on the top of trees within a stone's throw of Bāngkok, or of whales at the Mē-nam bar, and of the most wonderful trees in a miry plain, quite unconcerned whether the reader takes them to task or not. But he does not, as a matter of course, for he is well aware that all this is mere conventionalism and that the poet would be taunted with lack of vein and imagery and his lays pronounced dry-as-dust twaddle were he not to do so.

5. จันท์คนา, unidentified. *Aquilaria hirta* ?

6. A creeper, unidentified.

7. กำยาน, seemingly not meant here for benjoin which is so designated and does not, of course, grow at such a latitude, though present not far lower down on the Sumatran coast and on the southern extreme of the Peninsula.

8. ว่าน กระสือ, ไพล, the last of which, a bulbous plant, is extensively employed in the preparation of a tincture for medicinal purposes.

9. The Loris or Nūri of the scarlet variety is indigenous of New Guinea and the Moluccas; the cockatoos come also from the Archipelago, and their presence in Junkceylon is due to a wild flight...of the imagination of our poet.

and kingfishers leisurely roosted with drooping wings, long-legged plovers walking with a swinging gait, Chìng-chô birds[1] alighting on the branches of Vachellia trees or flying out of sight, herons perched side by side in rows on the Casuarinas; brown owls spying into the dark recesses of the shrubbery, and green parrakeets resting themselves near by. The winged hosts saunter, hop along; swing and turn about; flutter or hover through the air. Some roost drowsy and motionless on the branches of Hīeng trees,[2] others blessed with female companions keep closely pressed to them absorbed in tender flirtations, or pipe love-strains in the style of feathered tribes; while others still, missing their fair mates, look as mournful as me. Alas! it is a sad, terrible lot to be severed from one's beloved! So I sigh and groan as I proceed.

"The maker of day has plunged into the ocean's bosom; the moon just rising begins to unfold her soft radiance and brightens up the watery expanse and the atmosphere: one hears nothing but the roar of the tossing billows. I continue my journey through the night and see only quadrupeds coming down to frolic on the sea-shore: big hares, wild cattle, deer, wild boars, honey bears, jackals, and stately wild elephants. Their presence strikes me with terror, and shuddering I beseech the protection of the Holy Foot-print on my head. Thus I proceed without incident until the sun re-appears to shine upon the world.

4. **The P'hrah-Bat.**—"At 7 A. M. I reached the sacred Foot-print which lies in the middle of the sandy beach, near the foot of the cliffs. I was now brimming with delight, and all anxiety had suddenly vanished from me. I uplifted my hands in respectful salutation to the lotus-emblazoned foot, and lit incense sticks and tapers which, together with flowers, I offered in worship. Having then poured scented water to wash the holy emblem, I knelt, drew

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1. จิงโจ้ There must be a bird so called, for the context plainly shows that it cannot be here a question of a kangaroo, also known by this name.

2. ต้น เหียง, unidentified. It is a large forest tree with hard-wood, which is sawn into planks and employed in carpentry.

near it by walking on my knees, and finally prostrated myself before it, feeling every bit as if I actually were in the presence of the glorious Teacher and Saviour of the World himself. Reverently I stroked all over it, feeling with the hand every symbol engraved thereupon, and carefully scrutinizing each of them. The 108 auspicious marks stood then perfectly distinct to me: the continents of the earth, the abodes of Brahma angels and of Indra, all complete. I beheld represented therein the mountain ranges surrounding the cosmos, the golden mansions of deities, the tiers of heaven, the majestic peaks of Meru towering immense; with the sun, moon, and other planets. I also noticed the four rivers, the Siddantara stream; and Nāgas (serpent-godlings), human beings, Garuḍas, Sūras, Rākṣasas, the Wheel of the Law with its gem-like concentric rings; bows and arrows, birds, Kinnaras, Vijjadharas, maned lions, tigers, elephants, deer and sambur. Everything is portrayed there to a nicety, is skilfully and elegantly delineated; there seems to be an endless, an incalculable number of emblems. The more one gazes upon the holy vestige, the more he finds it magnificent and dazzling, for the crystalline sand that bespangles it causes it to glitter even so glowingly. The specks of transparent sand shine like jewelled lotus flowers, as they cast round the refracted light in radiations of various hues; blue, white and yellow. The surface of the holy footprint thus stands forth in bold relief and its splendour is enhanced many fold by the sparkling crystals, as if it were coated over with burnished gold. All round and away from its margin the sandy beach stretches delightfully level and smooth as if paved with crystal. Enwrapped in all this glory of radiance the cosy spot looks indeed charming. Each and all of my companions prostrated themselves side by side, their heads touching the ground, in adoration.

When the sun had set beyond the horizon, we resolved to hold an *impromptu* festival in honour of the sacred foot-print. Some started dancing in the best style they could boast, the dear fellows, at the sound of tunes creditably played with the natural wind instruments of our mouths; others sat down reciting Sep'hā stories[1] to the accompaniment of clapped sticks;

1. เสภา, the famous and most popular story of the adventures of Khún C'hāng and Khun Phën (ขุนช้าง, ขุนแผน). Besides being played

in short, every one displayed his talents to the best possible advantage. The whole shore re-echoed with our merry clamour.

Delighted with having thus paid our respects to the holy vestige we tarried a few more days, making at night our bed of the sand banks. Pleasant excursions were organized in the daytime by various groups to divers places roundabout. Some bent on herborizing went forth to collect medicinal plants and tuberous roots of signal efficacy; while others started to fossik for quick-silver of supernatural virtues, for antimony, for magnetic iron, and other kinds of ores.[1] Those who were the fortunate possessors of mystic formularies for the search of treasures, precious metals etc.[2] set out to carry their directions into practice, and, forsaking the beaten paths, plunged into the recesses of the jungle. Others betook themselves to lay traps and snares, catching birds, mice, boar cubs, or procupines, which they amused themselves to tame and rear up as pets according to their bent. Some again descended to disport themselves into the sea. Upon noticing some big sea-turtle crawling up towards the beach, they would instantly seize it and ride on its back for play just as they would do with an elephant, urging the poor

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on the stage, it is not unoften recited on festive occasions with accompaniment and interludes of clappers made of a hard black wood. See for more particulars, my book "Cūḷākantamaṅgala, or The Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siam"; Bangkok, 1895, p. 54.

1. As regards the presence of magnetite on the island we have the testimony of La Loubère, see p. 26 above. With respect to antimony and quick-silver although there is no evidence to hand, it is not unlikely that these metals are also to be found there in small quantities, as well as gold the presence of which we have seen noticed by Gervaise (*supra*, p. 25). In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the island is a most interesting and varied minerary field. As Ceylon is—though for different reasons—the pearl of British insular possessions in the East, so is Junkceylon the most priceless one of the Siāmese Crown.

2. Such formularies are called Lāi-thĕng, ลายแทง, a term—of course unknown to our lexicographers,—which is applied to any old MS. document containing directions for finding hidden treasure, alchemistical formulas, recipes for the cure of disease as well as for the prolongation of life, hints as to methods of discovering precious metals, etc. It may be translated "Esoteric Direction," or "Occult prescription." It goes without saying that such old documents—mostly compiled by alchemy-dabbling monks or professional occultists and alchemists,—are much in request and eagerly sought for.

beast to shape a course landwards. But the refractory chelonian would instead turn tail and make for the sea carrying them down into deep water. Then there would burst forth shouts and laughs to paralyze any other action, and the happy lads finding themselves submerged would at last regain control over themselves and gaily return ashore. As to myself, however, I continued in a sad, mournful spirit, for nothing could compensate me for the absence of my beloved one. When our visit to the Holy Foot-print came to an end, we reverently took leave of the sacred vestige and set about to return.

5. **L'Envoi**—"Thus ends the story of my long period of wandering away from my darling, for whom I have written it in order both to make known to her my sentiments and to try my vein. Though a pupil of Sunthorn [the famous poet] I am naught yet but a beginner; so may my raving passion for my beloved arouse in the public sympathy with my sufferings. *Finis.*"—

It will now be seen that only a very limited meed of useful information can be expected from a composition which, like this, is written in the style of a Nirāś, *i. e.* with a view more of pouring forth one's love refrain for the respective sweetheart and piping the Odissey of one's real or imaginary sufferings while travelling away from her, than of supplying a gazetteer of the places visited *en route*. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there is, on the whole, a substratum of truth and reality underlying the poet's fantastic effusions, which forms the medium and occasion of transmission for many interesting details that might otherwise remain ignored to history or to scientifical literature. It will have been noticed that on more than one point our author either confirms or supplements evidence we have drawn from other sources, especially as regards the productions of Junkceylon island, etc., while he gives us a valuable account of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula. At all events it may perhaps be agreed that the above, from its being the only poetical essay written on C'halāng, is of sufficient curiosity to justify its translation in a paper which, like this, is solely devoted to that interesting island.

APPENDIX.

I.—Relation Written by Junceylon Officials in 1841.

เรื่อง พงษาวดาร เมือง ถลาง, เมือง ตกั่ว บ่า, เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, เมืองพังงา, เมือง รูเก็จ.

ข้าพเจ้า นายฤกษ บุตร เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร์ ราชา จาง วาง ; นาย ศึก, นาย เสือ, บุตร พระยา ถลาง ; หลวง เพ็ชรคีรี ศรี สมุท วิสุทธิ สง คราม ปลัด เมือง ถลาง; ขอ เล่า เรื่อง ราว ตาม ผู้ เฒ่า เล่า มา แต่ ก่อน แล ได้ รู้ ได้ เหน เอง ว่า

[ถลาง] ◎ เมือง ถลาง แต่ ก่อน จอม ร้าง บ้าน ตะ เคียน เปน เจ้า เมือง ; เมีย จอม ร้าง เปน แขก เมือง ไทร, ชื่อ หม้า เสี้ย ลูก มหุม เฒ่า (แต่ ก่อน ผัว ตาย เปน หม้าย อยู่ มหุม น้อง เบ่า จะ เอา เงิน มรฎก ห้า พัน เศษ หม้า เสี้ย ชัดใจ ไม่ อยู่ เมือง ไทร มา อยู่ เมือง ถลาง ได้ กับ จอม ร้าง เปน ผัว) มี บุตร ชาย ๒, หญิง ๓, รวม ๕ ; หญิง ชื่อ จันทร เปน ท้าว เทพ กระ ษัตรีย์, หญิง น้อง ถัด มา ชื่อ มุก เปน ท้าว ศรี สุนทร ครั้ง ต้น แผ่น ดิน บรมพระอัยกา ธิราช, น้องหญิง คน หนึ่ง ชื่อ หม้า, น้อง ชาย ชื่อ อาจ เปน พระยา ถลาง, น้อง ชาย คน หนึ่ง ชื่อ เรือง เปน ที่ พระยา ขุน นาง เมือง ถลาง นั้น จอม เฒ่า อยู่ บ้าน ดอน, จอม ร้าง อยู่ บ้าน ตะ เคียน; จอม เฒ่า กับ จอม ร้าง เปน ลูก พ่อ เดียว กัน คน ละ มารดา; ลูก จอม เฒ่า อยู่ บ้าน ดอน ได้ เปน พระยา ถลาง เจียด ทอง, แม่ ชื่อ เชียง; พระยา ปลัด แม่ ชื่อ ดำ ตัว ชื่อ เรือง; เดิม แต่ ก่อน บ้าน ดอน กับ บ้าน ตะ เคียน สามัคคี กัน ดี มี ชื่อ เสียง สิบ ตระ

กูล วงษ์ เปน เจ้าเมือง สืบ มา; ฝ่าย บ้าน ลิพอน จอม ไชย สุรินทร คิด มิ ชอบ จะ ตั้ง ตัวเปนใหญ่, มี ตรา ออก มาให้ จับ จอมสุรินทร ฆ่าเสีย เปน โทษ ขบถ ต่อ แผ่นดิน สิ้น เผ่า ผู้ดี วง เมืองถลาง ว่า เมืองถลาง (คางเซ้ง) ชาว กรุง ออก มา เปน เจ้า เมือง; พระยาถลาง (อาจ) เปน เจ้าเมือง ขึ้น ว่า, มี ผู้ร้าย ยิง พระยาถลาง (อาจ) ตาย; เมือง ก็ ว่าง อยู่ ได้ แขกไทร มา เปน เจ้าเมือง อยู่ หน่อย หนึ่ง พวก ชาวเมือง ถลาง คิด รบ แขก, ตั้ง ค่าย ที่ [บ้าน] ไม้ ขาว, ปากสาคู, ตั้งรอ, จึ่ง ตั้ง ตัว ขึ้น; พอ พระยา พิมล เปน พระยา กระ อยู่ ณเมือง ชุมพร ได้ กับ ท้าวเทพ กระษัตรี ๆ นั้น เมื่อ สาว เปน เมีย หม่อมศรี ภักดี ๆ เล่า ก็ เปน ชาว ตกั่วทุ่ง ถูก คุณชี บุญเกิด ๆ เดิม อยู่ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, ได้ กับ จอม นาย กอง ๆ เปน ชาว นคร อยู่ บ้านใหญ่ ลายสาย ออก มา เปน สำเร็จ ราชการ [ม.ถลาง ?]; ได้ กับ คุณชี บุญเกิดนั้น มี บุตร ชาย ๑, หญิง ๑, ชาย ชื่อ หม่อมศรี ภักดี มี เมียณ เมืองถลาง, หญิง คน หนึ่ง ชื่อ บุญคง ได้ กับ พระประสิทธิ สงคราม; หม่อมศรี ภักดี นั้น ได้ กับ ท้าวเทพ กระษัตรีย์ มี ถูก สอง คน, หญิง ชื่อ แม่ปราง; ชาย ชื่อ เทียน เปน พระยาถลาง (หืด)

ท้าวเทพ กระษัตรี เปน หม้าย แล้ว ได้ กับ พระยาพิมล; มี ถูก หญิง ใหญ่ ชื่อ แม่ทอง พา ไป ถวาย เปน มารดา เจ้าครอก อุบล; ถูก ถัด มา ชาย ๒ คน ชื่อ จุ๊ย, เนี่ยม; ชื่อ จุ๊ย เปน พระยกรบัตร, คือ ชื่อ เนี่ยม เปน มหาดเลก ครั้ง ต้น แผ่นดิน, ลูกหญิง ชื่อ แม่กิ่ม, แม่เมือง

ครั้น พระยา พิมล ต้อง ความ ไป อยู่ เมือง พัทลุง, พระยาถลาง (เทียน) ถูกเลี้ยง พ้อง; ที่ ถลาง ได้ พระยาถลาง เจียดทอง ๆ ต้อง

โทษ เข้า ไป ตาย ใน กรุง ; ที่ ถลาง ได้ พระยาถลาง หิด (เทียน) เปนเจ้าเมือง; ที่ ปลัด ได้ นาย เรือง เปน พระยาปลัด; ที่ ยกระบัตร ได้ พระยา ถลาง (ชู) เบน พระยา ยกระบัตร; ครั้ง นั้น เมืองถลาง เจ้าเมือง ปลัด ยกระบัตร ก็ เปน พระยา ฯะ

[ภูเก็จ] ◎ ฝ่าย เมือง ภูเก็จ หลวง ภูเก็จ (ข้างกด) เปน เจ้า เมือง; แล้ว ไต นาย ศรี ชาย นาย เวน, เปน พระ ภูเก็จ; แล้ว ได้ มา บิดา หลวง ปลัด (อุก)

เขตร แดน เมือง ภูเก็จ กับ เมือง ถลาง เขา บางคู, คด ซื่อ ตาม คลอง น้ำ เปน แดน; ว่า เมือง ภูเก็จ เดิม เปน เมือง ใหญ่ กลับ มา ขึ้น เมือง ถลาง, เขตร แดน ฝ่าย ตวัน ตก หิน ชาย พลาย ตโหนต, ฝ่าย ตวัน ออก เกาะ มพร้าว, อ้าว กับ แก, แหลมหงา, แหลม มัง ผ้า, เปน แขวง เมือง ภู ก็จ ตลอด ไป เกาะ ยาว, เกาะ อลัง, เกาะ กล้วย, แหลม ย้ามู, แรด, นาคา, เกาะระวะ, เกาะบ้าโย้ย, เกาะ ชงำ, อ่าว ภารามา, เกาะ ย้า หนัด, เกาะ คูลา, คลอด; มา แหลม คอ เอน, ปาก ก็ หยิก, แหลม ปาก พระยา; ข้าม ปาก น้ำ หมอน, ปาก พระ คน ละ ฟาก, ฝ่าย เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง ฯะ

[ตกั่ว ทุ่ง] ◎ ฝ่าย เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง เล่า ปาก พระ ว่า เจ้า พระยา อินทรวงษา ตั้ง วัง, ปราบ ที่ ปลูก วัง ขึ้น, ยัง ไม่ สำเร็จ; รู้ ว่า จับ แผ่น ดิน ตาก, เจ้า พระ ยา อินทรวงษา ก็ ตาย; โปรด ให้ ข้า หลวง ออก มา, เจ้า พระยา แด พระยา ออก มา ตั้ง อยู่ ปาก พระ หลาย นาย ; เจ้า พระ ยา ลือ ราชนิกูล, พระยา ธรรม ไตร โลก, พระยา พิพิธ โภไคย; พระยา ธรรมไตร โลก ได้ รบ พม่า ที่ ปาก พระ, พระยา ธรรม ไตร โลก ตาย; พระยา พิพิธ โภไคย หนี มา ทาง เมือง พังงา, จึ่ง เรียก ชื่อ ว่า

ด่าน พระยา พิพิธ

เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง เอา คลอง ตะหงิ่ เปน แดน, คลอง น้ำ ลำ ท่า คด ซื่อ ขึ้น มา เปน ฝ่าย ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, ตกั่ว บ่า หา กล้ำ กลวม เกี่ยว ข้อง กัน ไม่; เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง เดิม หลวง เพ็ชร์ เปน เจ้า เมือง; ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (ชา หัก); จอม พิทักษ พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง พ่อ พระ ปลัด แม่ เมือง แม่ พระ วิเศษ ชื่อ ว่า พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (ถึ); แล้ว เมือง ตกั่วทุ่ง ได้ มา แก่ พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง ชื่อ ขุน ดำ, มารดา ชื่อ นุ้ย บิดา ชื่อ เหล็ก, ว่า อุก มอน [ลูกมอญ] ชาว กรุง; ครั้น พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง ตาย ลูก ชาย ชื่อ ถิน, เปน บิดา พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (อ่อน) ได้ กิน เมือง อยู่ มารดา ชื่อ แม่ ศรี อิน ยาย ชื่อ เรียว, ชาว แร่ ไม้ แกน; แม่ เรียว ได้ กับ จอม นาย กอง, มี ลูก ชื่อ อิน

เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง เมือง ถลาง, คลอง ปาก พระ คน ละฟาก เปน แดน ฯะ

[พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ◎ ถ้า พระ ราช ทรัพย์ เกิด ขึ้น เมือง ถลาง ไป [? ไซ้] เมือง ส่ง ไป เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง ๆ ส่ง ไป เมือง ตกั่ว บ่า, เปน อย่าง ธรรม เนียม ต่อ กัน มา ช้า นาน

เมื่อ ครั้ง เมือง ถลาง ยัง ไม่ เสีย แก่ พม่า; ตกั่วทุ่ง, ตกั่ว บ่า, ไชยา, ชุม พร, เสีย แก่ พม่า; ถึ บุก มัด ผ้า ปืน ขน มา ล้าง อยู่ ที่ เขา ศก; หลวง เพ็ชร์ ธนู (แสง) ชาว นคร ตั้ง อยู่ บ้านเก่า ส้มโอ คลอง พนม, ตั้ง กองไปอุก [ลุก] ขน เอาพระ ราช ทรัพย์ ที่ท่าเขา ศก; จน มี ตรา ให้ ข้าหลวง ออก มา ชำระ หลวง เพชร์ธนู (แสง), คนตาม ลำ คลองท่า พนม ก็อพยพ หนี ไป สิ้น ก็เปน บ่ารกร้าง ขึ้น

เมื่อ ครั้ง พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง บิดา พระ ตกั่วทุ่ง (ถิน) เปน เจ้า เมือง นั้น, มี ตรา โปรด ออก มา ให้ ไป ทำ ผ้า กระ บวน เมือง เทศ; จัด

บาบูดำ, บาบูขาว, ชาว เทศ อยู่ ณเมือง ถลาง, กับ นาย ส่าเภา น้อย; พอ หลวง พาคยวาที ซึ่ง ไป อยู่ เมือง ตรัง, กับ หลวง คลัง (เทศ) ชาว กรุง, ไป ทำ ได้ มา กับ เครื่อง ถม ยา ราชาวดี; พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง คุม เข้า ไป ล่อง ตาม คลอง ท่า เขา ศก ถึง เชี่ยว ประ ตู หลง, น้ำ พะ นอง; เรือ พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง ล่ม ลง, เครื่อง ถมยาราชาวดี หาย, หา ได้ เอา เข้า ไป ถวาย ไม่ ฯะ

[ตะ กั่ว ป่า] ◎ เมือง ตกั่ว ป่า จอม ภักดี เสนา (แขก) เปน เจ้า เมือง; แล้ว ได มา แก่ พระวิชิตร (หูหนวก) แล้ว ได้ มา กับ หลวง ตกั่ว ป่า (จีน); แล้ว ได้ มา หลวงณรงค์, หลวง ตกั่ว ป่า เปน บุตร ท่าน พระยา ประ สิทธิ สงคราม จาง วาง แล้ว เมือง ได้ มา กับ พระยา ตกั่ว ป่า (ม่วง); พระยา ตกั่ว ป่า (เกษ), จีน ภา ไป ฆ่า ตาย; เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา บอก ขอ พระ อินทร รักษา, กอง นอก เมือง ไชยา, เปน ที่ พระยา ตกั่ว ป่า; แล้ว เมือง มา แก่ พระยา ตกั่ว ป่า (ม่วง) ๆ ตาย; เมือง ได้ มา แก่ พระยา ตกั่ว ป่า (อุ)

เรื่อง ราว ฝ่าย เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, เมือง ตกั่ว ป่า, ถลาง, ภูเก็จ, ก็ เล่า ได้ แต่ เพียง นี้ ฯะ

ฯะ เล่า เมื่อ ครั้ง ตัดทาง แต่มรุย, ปากลาว, ท่า มะเง นั้น

เจ้า พระ ยา สุรินทร ราชา มี ตรา ให้ หา เข้า ไป ณ กรุง เทพ ฯ ว่า จะ ให้ เปน ที่ อัคร มหา เสนาบดี เมื่อ ครั้ง เจ้า พระยา กระลาโหม (ปลี) ไป เสีย ทัพ ทวาย; เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา เข้า ไป ถึง กรุง เทพ ฯ แล้ว พระ เจ้า อยู่ หัว ทั้ง สอง พระ องค์ โปรด พระ ราชทาน เสื้อ ผ้า จะเอา ไว้ ให้ อยู่ กรุงเทพ ฯ; เจ้า พระ ยา สุรินทร ราชา คิด

เหน ว่า อยู่ เมือง นอก ได้ สุข มาก, จึ่ง อ้อน วอน เจ้า คุณ พล เทพ บิดา พระยา บดินทร เดชา ขอ ให้ กราบ ทูล พระ กรุณา คิด จะ ไม่ อยู่ ใน กรุง เทพฯ, ว่า ตัว ชรา, เปน เสนาบดี ชั้น เจ้า ชีวิตร เสด็จ พระ ราช ดำเนิน ไป ถึง ไหน ตัว ก็ ตาม ไป ถึง นั่น ก็ จะ มี ความ ลำ บาก; จึ่ง ทำ เรื่อง ราว กราบ ทูล พระ กรุณา ว่า จะ ออก มา อยู่ เมือง นอก ตาม อย่าง เดิม; จะ จัดแจง ทาง รับ ส่ง พระราช ทรัพย์ เมือง พังงา, เมือง ถลาง, เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, จะ ขน ไป ขึ้น เขา ศก ก็ กันดาร เชี่ยว แก่ง เปน หลาย แห่ง, พระ ราช ทรัพย์ สูญ หาย เปน อันตราย เสีย หลาย ครั้ง มา แล้ว; เหน ว่า ทาง บก ระยะ ป่า เดิน มา ช้า แต่ สอง คืน ไม่ สู้ กันดาร ถึง ท่า พนม ล่อง ตลอด ลง ไป ถึง พุนพิน, ตลอด ออก ไป ถึง พุม เรียง ที่ รับ ส่ง พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ไม่ สู้ กัน ดาร; ขอ พระ ราชทาน ช้าง เกณฑ์ บรรทุก เมือง ละ ๑๐ ช้าง, เมือง ไชยา ๑๐ ช้าง, รวม ๒๐ ช้าง; ให้ หลวง พิพิธ ชกณ์ เปน นาย กอง คุม ช้าง คอย เรับ ส่ง พระ ราช ทรัพย์

พระ ราช ทาน ช้าง แล ที่ ปาก พนม ปากลาว ได้ มา ตาม เรื่องราว เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา ให้ กราบ ทูล พระกรุณา มี แจ้ง อยู่ ในท้องตรา พระ ราชสีห์ นั้น แล้ว.

ฝ่าย ปากพนม ให้ ขุนทิพ (สมบัติ); ขุนเพ็ชร [คีรี]; ขุน ศรี สงคราม สาม คน ตั้ง อยู่; ฝ่าย มรุ่ย ปากลาว ตั้ง ให้ หลวงฤทธิ รงค์ สงคราม เปน มิแก;[1] แล ที่ มรุ่ย ถึง ปากพนม ให้ กับ เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา

1. Here is a curious word, มิ แก, Mi-kë, for a headman or superintendent; which may be either of Khmër or Thai (if not Malay or even

ฝ่าย เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา กลับ ออก มา ถึง บ้านเมือง แล้ว ; จึง ตั้ง ให้ ขุนทิพ [สมบัติ] เปน หลวง รามพิไชย อยู่ ที่ ปากพนม ; ให้ หลวงราม พิไชย ตัด ทาง ตั้ง แต่ ปาก พนม ขึ้น มา ถึง เมือง พังงา; ให้ หลวง ฤทธิรงค์ สงคราม ตั้ง เกลี้ยกล่อม ผู้ คน ที่ มรุ่ย, ปากลาว, ให้ คอย รับ ส่ง พระราชทรัพย ลง ไป, ให้ หลวง รามพิไชย คอย รับ อยู่ ที่ ท่าพนม, แล้ว เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา ให้ ตั้ง ด่าน ที่ ตื้น เขานางหงษ ด่าน หนึ่ง, ด่านปากดาน [? กระดาน, ด่าน], ด่านทุ่งคา, มรุ่ยด่าน หนึ่ง, เปน ๔ ด่าน ทั้ง ปากพนม, แล้ว ทำ ทำเนียบ ไว้ ทุก ด่าน ตาม ระยะ ทาง แล้ว, ให้ ตั้ง เกลี้ย กล่อม ผู้ คน ไว้ สำหรับ ป้อง กัน พระ ราช ทรัพย ทุก ด่าน

พระราช ทรัพย เมือง ตกั่วป่า เกิด ขึ้น ที่ ล่อง ลง มา ตาม คลอง ทาง ท่า เขาศก; พระราชทรัพย เมือง พังงา, เมืองถลาง, เมืองตกั่วทุ่ง ขน ไป ค้าง อยู่ ที่ มรุ่ย กว่า จะ ได้ ช้าง ไป บรรทุก; กอง รับ ล่อง จัด ให้ หลวง นา เปน พระวิเศษ สงคราม จางวาง ด่าน ยาว; เอา ขุนเพชรคิรี, ขุนอินทร เปน ปลัดกอง, คุมไพร่ ฝ่าย กอง รับ ล่อง ขึ้น มา รับ พระราชทรัพย ที่ พนม

แล้ว เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา แต่ง ให้ ขุน ศรี สมโภช เข้า ไป เฝ้า พณหัวเจ้าท่าน ผู้ ครอง เมือง นคร ศรีธรรมราช แต่ ก่อน ว่า ได้ แต่ง นาย ด่าน ที่ มรุ่ย, ที่ ปาก พนม

เจ้า พระ ยา นคร ศรีธรรม ราช มี ประ ศาสน์ สั่ง ว่า, อย่าให้ เจ้า พระ ยา สุรินทร ราชา ตั้ง หลวง ขุน หมื่น นาย หมวด นาย กอง เลย

Burmese) origin. In Khmër we have similar ones, such as *e. g.* Mī-kār "Chief of works," "Contractor"; Mī-koi, a "Custom-house official," a "Superintendent of Customs;" while in Western Thai (Shān) Kë, แก่, (lit. "Old, Senior") occurs with the meaning of a "Village Headman."

พณ หัว เจ้า ท่าน จะ ตั้ง แต่ง ออก มา แต่ เมือง ถลาง เอง; อย่า ให้ เจ้า พระ ยา สุรินทร ราชา ตั้ง,นาน ไป ภาย หน้า ผู้ ใด จะ มา รั้ง เมือง ครอง เมือง จะ ว่า เจ้า พระ ยา ถลาง กับ เจ้า พระ ยา สุ รินทร รา ชา เปน คน ชอบ พอ รัก ใคร่ กัน ทำ ให้ บ้าน เมือง ผั้น เพื่อน กล้ำ กลวม กันอยู่

เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา ก็ บอก ไป ว่า อย่า ให้ พณ หัว เจ้า ท่าน ผู้ ครอง เมือง นคร ศรี ธรรม ราช ตั้ง ไป เลย, ท่าน จะ ตั้ง มา ไว้ ให้ รับ ให้ ส่ง พระ ราช ทรัพย์ เอง ตาม ได้ กราบ ทูล พระ กรุณา; ด่าน มรุย,ท่า พนม ก็ ได้ เปน สิทธิ เปน เดิม มา คุม เท้า บัด นี้

ครั้น โปรด ให้ ท่าน พระยา ถลาง (บุญ คง) ออก มา เปน ที่ พระยา ถลาง ซ่อง สุม รวบ รวม ผู้ คน ไว้; ได้ ตั้ง เปน ถิ่น ถาน บ้าน เรือน ลง ฝ่าย มรุย ตลอด มา ถึง บาง เตย

ครั้ง ท่าน พระยา ไกร โกษา ออก มา ชำระ หาง เข้า ค่า นา, พณ หัว เจ้า ท่าน โปรด ให้ นาย ช่วย ออก มา ต่อ ว่า อย่า ให้ เรียก หาง เข้า ค่า นา ที่ มรุย ได้ มา แก่ เมือง ถลาง, ท่าน พระยา ถลาง ก็ ว่า พระ ราชทาน มา แก่ เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา สิบ ต่อ กัน มา อยู่ ฉะนี้ แล้ว; ครั้น ไม่ มี ตรา โปรด ยก ออก มา ท่าน ก็ ไม่ สู้ ยอม ให้, หาง เข้า ค่า นา ก็ ได้ เรียก สิบ กัน มา.

ฝ่าย พนม ลำ น้ำ ลำ คลอง ตาม ลำ น้ำ ลำ ท่า หน ทาง ส่ง พระ ราช ทรัพย์ เปน สำหรับ เมือง พังงา; เมือง ถลาง, เมือง พังงา นี้ เดิม เปน เมือง ช่วง แขวง ขึ้น เมือง ตะกั่ว ป่า, เอา คลอง ถ่ำ ช้าง บูรพา ได้ กับ เมือง พังงา, ลำ คลอง ตลอด ออก เขา สอง พี่ น้อง, เอา เขา สอง พี่น้อง เปน แดน คน ละ ฟาก ตลอด ออก ไป, ถึง พระ อาจ เถ้า, เกาะ ยาง,

เกาะ พิง กัน เปน แขวง เมือง พังงา; พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (ถิน) ซึ่ง เปน พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, เปน น้อง เขย พระยา ถลาง (บุญ คง) ขอ เอา เขา รา ยา บี้ หนึ่, บู่ เหลา บ่า หยี่, เกาะ นม สาว ไป เปน ข่วง แขวง เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง; พระยา ถลาง (บุญ คง) เหน ว่า พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง เปน น้อง เขย ก็ ยอม ให้

ฝ่าย อุตร เมือง พังงา เขา เขม่า เหล็ก เปน แดน; เฉียง อิสาณ ก็ รา สูง, สอง แพรก, เปน เขตร แดน เมือง พังงา

เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา ซึ่ง เปน ใหญ่ สำเร็จ ราช การ ณแปด หัว เมือง นี้, พระยา ประ สิทธิ สงคราม ก็ เปน จาง วาง ทั้ง แปด หัว เมือง เหมือน กัน ชื่อ ว่า แปด หัว เมือง นั้น:

๑-เมือง ถลาง, ๒-เมือง ภูเก็จ, ๓-เมือง ตกั่ว บ่า, ๔-เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, ๕-ก็รา, ๖-พังงา, ๗-คุระ, ๘-คุรอด, ประ มวญ มา เปน ๘ เมือง

เมือง ก็รา, พังงา, คุระ, คุรอด, เปน เมือง ขึ้น กับ เมือง ตกั่วบ่า,

รู้ เรื่อง ราว เล่า ได้ แต่ เพียง นี้ แล้ว แต่ จะ โปรด ฯะ

◎ เรื่อง นี้ เขียน ไว้ เมื่อ ปี ฉลูตรี ศก ศักราช ๑๒๐๓ ปี ฯะ

(TRANSLATION)

Historical Notice

On the Thalāng, Takūa-pā, Takūa-thùng, P'hang-ngā, and Phūket Districts.

We, the named: Nāi Rŏk son of Chāu Phrayā Surindr-rājā, Chāng-wāng; Nāi Sŭk and Nāi Sŭa, sons of the Governor of Thalāng (P'hrayā Thalāng); and Lúang Bej-girī Srī-samud-visuddhi-songkhrām, Vice-Governor (*Palat*) of Thalāng, beg to recount the story as formerly told by the elders [of the place] and according to what we have learnt and seen for ourselves, as follows.

Thalang—At Thalāng formerly Chom Rāng of Bān-Takhīen was governor. His wife was a Malay woman from Kedah, Mā-sīa[1] by name, daughter of Mahum-thàu; having become a widow her younger brother claimed 5000 [dollars ?] in the estate, wherefore she left Kedah in disgust and came to Thalāng where she wedded Chom Rāng. Five children were born of this union, of whom two were boys and three girls. The eldest of the girls, Chan by name, became afterwards [1786] Lady Deva-krasattrī; whereas the second one, Muk, became Lady Srī-sundara: this happened early in the first Reign. The youngest girl's name was Mā. The younger brother of this, Āt, became in after years Governor of Thalāng; and another still younger brother, Rüang, obtained the post of P'hon [Lúang P'hon].

Of the noblemen of Thalāng, Chom Thàu resided at Bān-Don and Chom Rāng at Bān-Takhīen. Chom Thàu and Chom Rāng had been born of the same father but of different mothers. Chom Thàu's sons likewise resided at Bān-Don: of these one became P'hrayā Thalāng Chīet-thong ["of the Goldden Tray"], his mother's name being C'hīeng; and another, Rüang, became Vice-Governor (P'hrayā Palat), his mother's name being Dam. Perfect harmony reigned between the two families of Bān-Don and Bān-Takhīen: both acquired distinction, and their descendance ruled the territory in succession.

At Bān-Lip'hon, however, Chom Jay-surindr mischievously plotted setting up as supreme chief, whereupon a warrant arrived from the capital to arrest and execute him as guilty of high treason; thus the race of good men came to an end [in that village].

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1. The initial syllable may represent the word *Mah* usually prefixed to the names of Malay women.

At Thalāng, Khāng-seng a citizen from the capital [Bāngkok] was sent out as Governor. He was succeeded by Governor Āt who was shot dead by dacoits ; thus the district was left without a superior authority. A Malay from Kedah came to rule it for a while ; but the islanders rose in arms against the Malays, built stockades at Mai-Khāu and Pāk Sākhū, and erected dykes, [1] thus becoming masters of the situation.

Just then P'hrayā P'himon (Bimol), Governor of Kraḥ [but now] residing at C'hump'hon, [came and] wedded Lady Deva-kraṣattrī. This lady had been first married to Mom Srī P'hakdī, a Takūa-thùng man son of the female devotee Buñ-köt. This lady [termed Khuṇ C'hī on account of her probably having taken nun vows for some time in after life], also originary of Takūa-thùng, had become the spouse of Chom Nāi Kong, an official from Bān Yāi-lāi-sāi in the Lakhon (Ligor) province who had come out as governor. [2] Two children were born of this union, viz. a boy, Mom Srī P'hakdī, who got married in Thalāng; and a girl, Buñ-khong, who got wedded to P'hraḥ Prasiddhi Songkhrām. Mom Srī P'hakdī had two children born by Lady Deva-Kraṣattrī : the elder one being a girl, Më Prāng by name ; and the younger a boy, Thīen, who became afterwards governor of Thalāng [being nicknamed] the Asthmatic.

Having become a widow, Lady Deva-Kraṣattrī remarried with P'hrayā P'himon, and had by him first a girl, Më Thong, who was brought and presented to Court where she became subsequently the

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1. I already observed on p. 42 that the expression ขังรอ Ṛàng-ro, occurring here, could hardly be a place-name. I have since come to the conclusion that it means to build dams or dykes wherewith to bar the access of the waterways from the sea. Such defences were probably erected in the Pāk Sākhū and neighbouring river mouths or inlets affording water communication between the sea and the Thalāng district. I must plead in extenuation of this and other gropings after meaning, that the Siāmese original is couched in a considerably involved, reticent, and at times queer language which renders correct translation by no means an easy task. In reproducing the text above I have endeavoured to make it clearer of understanding by the insertion of punctuation marks, parentheses, and blank spaces to indicate stops, etc. ; while in the translation I have followed the order of sentences in the original in so far as it seemed possible without unduly sacrificing clearness.

2. Whether of Takūa-thùng or Thalāng is not clear.

mother of Princess[1] Ubon (Uppala). Two boys were born next to her, viz. Chui who became P'hraḥ Yokkrabatr, and Nīem who became a Royal Page during the early part of the [First] Reign. Then followed two girls, Mĕ Kim and Mĕ Müang,

Later on P'hrayā P'himon, as a consequence of a legal suit brought against him by Thīen his step-son, went [*i. e.* was transferred] to P'hatthalung. Thalāng was then given P'hrayā Thalāng of the Gold Tray as governor; but this official having incurred punishment went [*i. e.* was deported] to the capital (Bāngkok) where he died [under confinement, of course].

Thīen the Asthmatic was then appointed governor of Thalāng, with Nāi Rüang as P'hrayā Palat and Nai C'hū, a governor in after years, as P'hrayā Yokkrabatr. Thus at that period, the governor, vice-governor, and registrar of Thalāng all held P'hyā rank.

P'huket—As regards the P'hūket district, Lúang P'hūket, Khāng-khot by name, was governor. To him succeeded Nāi Srī-c'hāi assistant (in the Royal Pages)[2] as P'hraḥ P'hūket. Next the governorship fell to the father of the Lúang Palat named Uk.

The boundary between P'hūket and Thalāng was fixed along a line running from Bāng Khū[3] to the river [of Thā-Rüa]. P'hūket was formerly a large and important district, but it has been once more placed under Thalāng. The limits of its jurisdiction are :

On the West : Hín C'hāi ; P'hlāi Tanôt ;

On the East : Koḥ Map'hrāu, Āu Tab-kĕ, Lĕm Ngā, Lĕm Mat-p'hā ; and thence all the way to Koḥ Yāu [the two Panjang islands], Koḥ Alang [the two Alangs], Koḥ Klùei, Lĕm Yā-mū, Rĕt [island], Nākhā [2 islands], Koḥ Rawaḥ, Koḥ Pā-yôi. Koḥ C'hangam, Āu P'hāramā, Koḥ Yā-nat, Koḥ Khūlā-khlot ; and thence to Lĕm Kho-en.

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1. The antiquated term เจ้า ครอก, Chāu Khrok, absent in dictionaries and now long proscribed as impolite to designate Princes and Princesses with, is still made use of here, being moreover spelt เจ้า เคราะ in true *Thai Nok* style (in which, as among neighbouring Malays, final *k* is silent or, at any rate. is converted into an aspirate ḥ).

2. นาย เวน, *i. e.* นาย เวน มหาดเล็ก, lit. head of a shift or squad of the royal pages ; but practically, an assistant or under-chief of section.

3. Bāng-Khū village lies W. S. W. from Thā-Rüa town.

Pāk Koyik, Lĕm Pāk P'hrayā; then across to Pāk-nam Mon and to Pāk P'hraḥ only on one side of the channel, the other [*i. e.* the northern one] belonging to the Takūa-thùng district.

Takua-thung—With respect to Takūa-thùng, formerly Chāu P'hrayā Indrawongsā had established his residence at Pāk P'hraḥ, levelled a site and started to erect a mansion; but before the work had been completed news came that P'hyā Tāk had set up as king, and Chāu P'hrayā Indrawongsā died. Commissioners of Chāu P'hrayā and P'hrayā rank were thereupon sent out from the capital; most of whom fixed their quarters at Pāk P'hraḥ, viz.: Chāu P'hrayā Lü Rājanikūl, P'hrayā Dharmatrailôk, and P'hrayā P'hip'hit P'hôkhai. P'hrayā Dharmatrailôk fought the Burmese at Pāk P'hraḥ and lost his life there; whereas P'hrayā P'hip'hit-p'hokhai made his escape viâ P'hang-ngā, through the pass that has since become known as Dān P'hrayā P'hip'hit [usually marked in maps as Mt. Prapipit].

The boundary of Takūa-thùng was fixed at the Ta-ngī river and thence straight along the Nam-lam-thā stream, the valley of which latter wholly belongs to Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā having no right in it. At Takūa-thùng formerly Lúang P'hejr was governor. He was succeeded by P'hraḥ Takūa-thùng the Broken-leg (or, Lame); and this by Chom P'hithaks,—who was the father of the P'hraḥ Palat and of Lady Müang, the mother of P'hraḥ Wises—and whose name was Thī.[1] The governorship of Takūa-thùng then passed to Khún Dam, whose mother's name was Nui, and his father's Lek. This latter was said to be descended of Moñ settlers at the capital.[2] When the governor just mentioned died, he was succeeded by his son Thín who was the father of Ōn, a later governor of Takua-thùng. His mother's name was Srī In, and his maternal grandmother's Rīeu: this matron hailed from the Rĕ-Mai-kĕn village, and having wedded Chom Nāi-kong [the governor of either Thalāng or Takūa-thùng, see p, 118 above] she had had by him the aforesaid daughter In [Srī In]. Pāk P'hraḥ Strait formed the line of demarcation between Takūa-thùng and Thalāng territories.

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1. The abridged version reproduced below under No. 2, has instead of this garbled and evidently corrupt passage the following: "Then Nāi Srī became Chom Srī P'hakdī [and not Chom P'hithaks as above] and governor; he was the father of the P'hraḥ Palat and Mĕ Müang, the mother of P'hraḥ Wises."

2. Here we have an argot word ฎ๎ก standing both for ฎ๎ก and ฎ๎ก.

The Junkceylon Revenue.—Whenever crown property accumulated at Thalāng, the authorities of this district used to forward it to Takūa-thùng, whence it was sent on to Takūa-pa; this having been the custom mutually followed for a long time.

When Thalāng had not yet been taken by the Burmese, whereas Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā, C'haiyā and C'hump'hon had fallen into their power [1785], a quantity of tin, bales of fabrics [Indian piece-goods], and firearms [from India], had been conveyed and lay piled up at the Sok Mountain. Lúang P'hejr-dhanū (Sëng), an official from Ligor stationed at Bān Kāu Som-ô on the P'hnom river, collected men and started to remove the crown property from the landing at the Sok Mountain [Thā Kháu Sok, evidently without being authorised to do so]. Hence a Royal commissioner was despatched thither from the capital with a mandate to hold an inquiry into the doings of Lúang P'hejr-dhanū (Sëng). Owing to this, all the people settled along the Thā P'hnom river [took fright and] fled, and the deserted country became overgrown with jungle.

While the P'hraḥ Takūa-thùng—who was the father of the later P'hraḥ Takūa-thùng named Thín—was governor of that district, an order came to him from the capital to proceed to India [Müang Thet] and get piece-goods of certain patterns manufactured there. The governor set out taking with him white as well as black-complexioned Baboo foreigners settled in the Thalāng district [*i. e.* Junkceylon Island], and some masters of sundry [foreign] sailing vessels. At just the same time Lúang Bāgyavādī who resided at Trang, and Lúang Khlang (Thet) an official from the capital had also gone [to India] and got similar piece-goods woven and gold and silver vessels enamelled in various colours [as used at Court] manufactured, which they brought back with them. Thereupon the Takūa-thùng governor had all these valuable articles conveyed under his personal supervision [across the main range] to Thā Kháu Sok where he loaded them into boats; but when reaching the Pratu Lóng rapids a sudden swell of the river caused the governor's boat to founder, and all the enamelled ware was lost, so that he was unable to bring it to Court.

Takua-pa.—In the Takūa-pā district Chom P'hakdī-senā (Khëk) [1] formerly was governor. He was succeeded by P'hraḥ Vijit the Deaf, and this by Lúang Takūa-pā a Chinaman. Then the office

1. This may mean either that he was a Khëk, *i. e.* a Malay or Indū by race, or that his name was Khëk.

passed to Lúang Narong the son of P'hrayā Prasiddhi Songkhrām Governor-general [Chāng-wāng], who thus became Lúang Takūa-pā. Next it fell to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Mùang) and, again, to P'hrayā Takūa-pa (Kēt) who was murdered by Chinese [? miners].[1] At this juncture Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā applied for Phraḥ Indr-rakṣā from the Border corps of the C'haiyā province,[2] who thereupon received the appointment of P'hrayā Takūa-pā.[3] Then the district passed under the governorship of P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Mùang) and, at the death of this, to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Uḥ).

Here ends the account of the Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā, Thalāng, and P'hūket districts.

Account of the opening of a New Overland Route from Marùi, Pāk-Lāu, and Thā-P'hamē. [1804].

[*N.B.*—A translation in full of the first portion of this account has already been given on pp. 67-71 above, which therefore see, as it would be superfluous to reproduce it here. The continuation from line 13 on p. 71 *supra*, runs as follows:]

1. At least one *lapsus calami* has evidently crept in here in the Siāmese text; for the abridged account (No. II) has: "Next it fell to P'hraḥ Takūa-pā (Kēt) – the father of [the later] P'hraḥ Takūa-pā (Mùang), – who was led to death by the Chinese. Then P'hrayā Indr [-rakṣā] from the Outer circumscription of C'haiyā came out as P'hraḥ Takūa-pā; after him came P'hraḥ Takūa-pā (Mùang); and, finally, Phraḥ Takūa-pā (Uḥ). "— This is undoubtedly the correct line of succession, for above Governor Mùang is made to hold office twice, and this after having been murdered the first time too. It was evidently his father, Governor Kēt, who was the victim of that dastardly outrage. As regards the difference in rank, as P'hraḥ and P'hrayā, ascribed to the Takūa-pā governors in the two accounts, No II is probably again in the right.

2. กอง นอก, lit. " Outer Corps." Under the old administrative régime this term meant the body of borderland serfs, or Outer Corvée-companies of a district, the men enrolled in which were employed on local duty such as guarding the borders, the frontier passes, duty stations etc.; and not brought in to serve at the chef-lieu of the district.

3. As such an appointment was made at the solicitation of Chāu P'hyā Surindr-rājā who, as it has been seen, was already an elderly man in 1793 though still hale and active in 1804, we may argue the approximate date for the event and place it between 1800 and 1810-1820 at the very latest.

"Later on an official named Bufi-khong was appointed P'hrayā Thalāng and sent out [from the Capital] as Governor [circā 1820]. He gathered together lots of people whom he induced to settle down and form villages all the way from Marùi to Bāng Tŏi [*i.e.* about the western portion of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula].

Subsequently, when P'hrayā Krai Kôṣā came out [from Bāngkok] to collect the arrears of paddy-dues and field-taxes, His Excellency [the Minister either for War or for Agriculture] despatched Nai C'hùai to come out and represent to him that no such imposts should be levied at Marùi [and other places about the western end of the tin road] as the collection of them devolved by right upon Thalāng. The Thalāng Governor also pointed out, in his turn, that such [territories and their revenue] had long before been bestowed by Royal grant upon Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā and continued till the present [as appurtenances of his successors in the government-general of the region, under that grant]. But the Royal Commissioner [*i. e.*, P'hrayā Krai Kôṣā] alleging that no formal written instructions had reached him from the Capital with respect to such a privilege refused to give in, and thus the imposts have been exacted from that day [by the Central Government.][1]

On the P'hnom [*i. e.* Thā P'hnom] slope, the basins of the water-courses on either side of the Nam-lam-thā stream and the route for conveying the Crown-property were under the jurisdiction of P'hang-ngā. Formerly both the Thalāng and P'hang-ngā districts were forwarding dependencies [เมือง ฝ่าง แขวง *i. e.* in so far as royalties in kind and other Crown goods were concerned] of Takūa-pā.

On the East, Khlong Thàm ['Cave Brook'] had been allotted to P'hang-ngā as far up as the Kháu Song-p'hī-nong ["Two Brothers Mount "]. This mountain was adopted as the dividing line between the two territories [*i. e.* P'hang-ngā and Takūa-pā]. Thence the boundary ran [along the sea-coast] to P'hraḥ Āt-thàu; Koḥ Yāng and Koḥ P'hing-kan [เกาะ พิง กัน, or Bingan Is.] being included as part of

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1. The style of this passage is exceedingly reticent, thus making it difficult of understanding. The translation of it offered here is an improvement on the abstract given on p. 89, top, where the rendering of the last sentences is defective in so far as there was no exemption whatever from taxes, but simply a privileged collection of them on the part of the Thalāng authorities in virtue of the Royal grant above referred to.

P'hang-ngā territory.[1] But the Takūa-thùng Governor [P'hraḥ Takūa-thùng] named Thín, being a younger brother-in-law of the Thalāng Governor Buñ-khong, asked from the latter the cession of Kháu Rājā-Bì-nī [Rājā Bīnī Mount], Pulau Pāgī, and Koḥ Nom Sáu [' Maid-breast Isle '] as dependencies of Takūa-thùng; which request Governor Buñ-khong granted in consideration of his relationship with his Takūa-thùng colleague.

On the North, Kháu Khmāu-lek [' Iron-black Mountain'] forms the boundary of P'hang-ngā territory. On the North-east [North-west?] Upper Korā [Ko-rā Sūng, กรา สูง and Song P'hrĕk are border dependencies of it.

C'hāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā[2] was governor-general over the Eight Districts. P'hrayā Prasiddhi-songkhrām succeeded him in the office of Chāng-wāng [Chief, or General, Superintendent] with the same authority.

What is [administratively] termed the ' Eight Districts ' includes the following territories:

1.—Thalāng,	5.—Ko-rā.
2.—P'hūket,	6.—P'hang-ngā,
3.—Takūa-pā,	7.—Khuraḥ,
4.—Takūa-thùng,	8. - Khurot.

Of these, Ko-rā, P'hang-ngā, Khuraḥ, and Khurot are dependencies of Takūa-pā.

The above account is all that is known to us and that we are able to relate [on the subject]; it remains with Your pleasure [to ordain as may seem fit to (presumably) Your Excellency].[3]

This report has been written in the year of the Ox, third of the decennial cycle, and 1203 of the [Chula] Era [=A. D. 1841]."

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1. P'hraḥ Āt—thàu, พระฐาจ เถ้า, is evidently the little promontory on the west side of P'hang-ngā Bay marked Lem Phra At (Lem P'hraḥ Āt) on modern charts ; and Koḥ Yāng and Bingan must be two of the islets lying in front of it and to the northward of Koḥ C'hanak.

2. An abstract of this and following passages has already been given on p. 71 above.

3. This concluding sentence evidences that this report was prepared at the request of the Ministry of War or Kalāhôm Department which had then jurisdiction over the Siāmese possessions on the Malay Peninsula, on the occasion of the governorship of Thalāng having become vacant, in order to enable the Minister concerned to submit the facts of the case along with a proposal for the appointment of a new governor, to H. M. the King for consideration and decision.

II.—Abridged Variant of No. I.

◎ จอม ร้าง บ้าน ตเคียน เปน เจ้า เมือง; เมีย ชื่อ หม้า เสี้ย, ลูก มหุม เมือง ไทร; มี ลูก ชาย ชื่อ อาจ เปน พระยา ถลาง ๑, ชื่อ เรือง เปน ที่ พล ๑, รวม สอง คน; ลูก หญิง ชื่อ จันทร์ เปน ท้าว เทพ กระษัตรีย์ ๑, ชื่อ มุก เปน ท้าว ศรี สุนทร ๑, ชื่อ หม้า ๑, รวม สาม คน; รวม ทั้ง ชาย ทั้ง หญิง เปน ๕ คน ฯะ

◎ จอม ร้าง กับ จอม เถ้า เปน ลูก พ่อ เดียว กัน แต่ ต่าง มารดา; จอม ร้าง อยู่ บ้าน ตเคียน; จอม เถ้า อยู่ บ้าน ดอน, ลูก ได้ เปน พระยา ถลาง เจียด ทอง, แม่ ชื่อ เชียง, พระยา ปลัด แม่ ชื่อ ดำ ตัว ชื่อ เรือง ฯะ

◎ ฝ่าย บ้าน ลิพอน จอม ไชย์ สุรินทร คิด ขบถ ฆ่า เสี่ย; พระยา ถลาง (ค้าง เซ้ง) เขา กรุง ออก มา เปน เจ้า เมือง; พระยา ถลาง (อาจ) เปน เจ้า เมือง ผู้ ร้าย ยิง ตาย; แล้ว แยก เมือง ไทร มา เปน เจ้า เมือง น้อย หนึ่ง ฯะ

◎ พระยา พิมล, เดิม เปน พระยา กระ, ได้ ด้วย ท้าว เทพ กระษัตรีย์; จอม นาย กอง เขา นคร บ้าน ใหญ่ ลาย สาย ออก มา เปน สำเร็จ ราชการ, ไว้ กับ คุณชี บุญ เกิด, มี ลูก ชาย ชื่อ หม่อม ศรี ภักดี, ลูก หญิง ชื่อ คง ได้ กับ พระยา ประสิทธิ สงคราม ฯะ

◎ หม่อมศรีภักดี ได้ กับ ท้าว เทพ กระษัตรีย์; มี ลูกชาย ชื่อ เทียน เปน พระยา ถลาง, ลูก หญิง ชื่อ ปราง; ท้าว เทพ กระษัตรีย์ เปน หม้าย ได้ พระยา พิมล, มี ลูก หญิง ชื่อ แม่ ทอง คุณ มารดา เจ้า ครอก อุบล; ลูก ชาย ชื่อ จุ้ย เปน พระยา ยกรบัตร, ชื่อ เนียม เปน มหาดเล็ก; ลูก หญิง ชื่อ กิม, ชื่อ เมือง; พระยา ถลาง เทียน ลูก เลี้ยง พ้อง พระยา

พิมล ต้อง ไป อยู่ เมือง พัทลุง; พระยา เจี๋ยด ทอง เปน พระยา ถลาง, ที่ ปลัด นายเรื่อง เปน พระยา ปลัด, พระยา ถลางฐู เปน พระยา ยกรบัตร ฯ

๏ เมือง ภูเก็จ หลวง ภูเก็จ (ข้าง คด) เปน เจ้า เมือง; แล้ว นาย ศรี ชาย นาย เวน เปน พระยา ภูเก็จ; แล้ว บิดา หลวง ปลัด (อุก) เปน เจ้า เมือง ฯ

๏ เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง เดิม หลวง เพ็ชร์ เปน เจ้า เมือง, ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (ชา หัก); ได้ มา นาย ศรี เปน จอม ศรี ภักดี เปน เจ้า เมือง (เปน พ่อ พระ ปลัด, แล แม่ เมือง, แม่ พระ วิเสศ); แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (ชุนดำ), พ่อ พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (ถิน); แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (ถิน) ทุก วัน นี้; แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (อ่อน); แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว ทุ่ง (กล่อม) ฯ

๏ เมือง ตกั่ว บ่า จอม ภักดี เสนา (แขก) เปน เจ้า เมือง; แล้ว ได้ มา พระ วิชิตร (หู หนวก); ได้ มา หลวง ตกั่ว บ่า จีน; ได้ มา หลวง ณรงค์ บุตร พระยา ประสิทธิ สงคราม จาง วาง; ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว บ่า (เกษ) พ่อ พระ ตกั่ว บ่า (ม่วง), จีน ภา ไป ฆ่า เสีย; แล้ว พระยา อินทร, กอง นอก ไชยา, มา เปน พระ ตกั่ว บ่า แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว บ่า (ม่วง); แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตกั่ว บ่า (อุ) ฯ

[*N. B.*—A translation of this account which is, practically, but an abridged—perhaps older—version of No. I., which it confirms in the main, is here deemed unnecessary, as the points on which discrepancies occur between the two, have been adverted to in the course of the foregoing pages].

III—Despatch from Kalāhôm, 1804.

◎ หนังสือ เจ้า พระยา อัคมหา เสนาธิบดี อภัย พิริยปรากรม พาหุ, สมุห พระ กลาโหม ; มา ถึง เจ้า พระยา ธรรมาโศกราช ชาติ เด โช ไชย มไหย สุริยา ธิบดี อภัย พิริยปรากรมพาหุ เจ้า พระยา นคร ศรี ธรรม ราช, พระยา พิชิต เสนา มหา พิไชย อภัย พิริย ศรีสงคราม พระยา พัฒ ถุง, พระยา พิไชย ศรี ศรี สมุท สงคราม พระยา สุงขลา, พระยา พิชิต ภักดี ศรี พิไชย สง คราม พระยาไชยา, พระ เพชร์ คำแหง สงคราม พระ ชุมพร, หลวง เทพ ศรี ศรี สงคราม หลวง ปทิว ฯะ

◎ ด้วย เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา กราบ ทูล พระ กรุณา ว่า จะ ขอ ตัด ทาง ขน พระ ราช ทรัพย์ แต่ ปากลาว มา ลง พนม, หน ทางใกล้ กว่า ทาง ท่า เขา ศก ถึง ๑๔ วัน ๑๕ วัน ; ท่า พนม เปน ที่ สัมนัก มัด ผ้า, ดี บุก, พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง แขวง เมือง นคร ; แต่ เปน ดง ป่า รก ร้าง อยู่, หา มี บ้าน เรือน ผู้ คน ตั้ง อยู่ เหมือน แต่ ก่อนไม่, เปลี่ยว อยู่ ; จึ่ง จัด ให้ ขุน ทิพ, ขุน เพ็ชร์ ศรี, เปน นาย กอง ควบ คุม ขุน หมื่น ไพร่ มี ชื่อ, มา ให้ ตั้ง บ้าน เรือน เปน ภูมิ สถาน ลำ เนา ลง, อยู่ รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง มา หลาย ครั้ง แล้ว; แต่ กำลัง ขุน หมื่น ไพร่ มี ชื่อ เหล่า นั้น เห็น เบา บาง น้อย ตัว, ไม่ สม ควร ด้วย พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง; เกลือกผู้ มีชื่อ หลบ หนี มูล นาย เข้า มา อยู่ป่าดง ได้ มาก แล้ว, จะ มา กระ ทำ ร้าย พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง จะ เสีย ราชการ ไป; แล ผู้ มี ชื่อ เปน เลข ไพร่ หลวง พลเมือง เมือง ตกั่ว ป่า, เมือง พังงา, เมือง ถลาง, เมือง ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, ทั้ง ๗ หัว เมือง, บรรดา ที่ หนี หลวง มา อยู่ แขวง เมือง นคร, พัฒถุง, สงขลา, ไชยา, ชุมพร, ปทิว, หัว เมือง ปาก ใต้ นั้น เปน อัน มาก; ขอ รับ

พระ ราชทาน ให้ ขุน ทิพ สมบัติ, ขุน เพ็ชร์ คีรี, นาย กอง ที่ พนม สิบ สาว ชัก ชวน เกลี้ย กล่อม เอา เลข ไพร่ หลวง พล เมือง เมือง ถลาง, บาง คลี, ทั้ง แปด หัว เมือง มา ให้ ตั้ง บ้าน เรือน ทำ มา หา กิน ให้ มั่ง คั่ง บริบูรณ; จะ ได้ รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง ด้วย ประ การ หนึ่ง, ถ้า มี ศึก สงคราม มา ตี ติด บ้าน เมือง เมือง ถลาง, ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, ตกั่ว บ่า, จะ ได้ ควบ คุม กัน อุด หนุนรบพุ่ง นั้น ก็ ชอบ ด้วย ราชการ อยู่ แล้ว ฯะ

ทรง พระ กรุณา โปรด ให้ ขุน ทิพ สมบัติ, ขุน เพ็ชร์ คีรี นาย กอง พนม สิบ สาว ชัก ชวน เกลี้ย กล่อม เอา เลข ลัก แล้ว แล ยัง มิ ได้ สัก, เลข เมือง ถลาง แล เมือง นคร, พัฒคุง, สุงขลา, ไชยา, ชุมพร, ซึ่ง หลบ หนี มูล นาย แล เลข ตกั่ว บ่า, ตกั่ว ทุ่ง, ทั้ง แปด หัว เมือง บรรดา ซึ่ง หลบ หนี มูล นาย อยู่ บ่า ดง แล แอบ แฝง อยู่ ด้วย ผู้ รักษา เมือง ผู้ รั้ง กรม การ ณเมือง นคร, พัฒคุง, สุงขลา, ไชยา, ชุมพร, ปทิว, หัว เมือง ปักษ ใต้ ฝ่าย ตวัน ตก ทั้ง นั้น, เอา มา ให้ ตั้ง บ้าน เรือน ทำ มา หา กิน อยู่ ที่ พนม, ที่ ปากลาว, ให้ ได้ ๒๐๐ ครัว, ๓๐๐ ครัว, จะ ได้ รับ รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง ให้ เปน ภูมิ สถาน ถำ เนา จง มั่ง คั่ง บริบูรณ ขึ้น ฯะ

จึ่ง ทรง พระ กรุณา โปรด เกล้าฯ ให้ ทำ ตาม เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา กราบ บัง คม ทูล พระ กรุณา นั้น เถิด; ถ้า ขุน ทิพ สมบัติ, ขุน เทพ คีรี สิบ สาว ชัก ชวน เกลี้ย กล่อม ได้ เลข เมือง ใด เท่าใด เปน ชาย หญิง ใหญ่ น้อย, ให้ ยื่น หาง ว่าว ไว้ แก่ เจ้า พระยา สุรินทรราชา ผู้ สำเร็จ ราช การ ทั้ง แปด หัว เมือง บอก เข้า ไป กราบ ทูล พระ กรุณา ให้ ทราบ; ห้าม อย่า ให้ ผู้ รักษา เมือง, ผู้ รั้ง, กรมการ, นาย ที่, นายอำเภอ

แล ข้า หลวง ผู้ ไป มา เอา กิจ ราชการ, ทำ ข่ม เหง ฉุด คร่า ลาก เกาะ จำ ขุน ทิพสมบัติ, ขุน เพชร์ คีรี, นาย กอง, ขุน หมื่น แล ไพร่ มิ ชื่อ, บรรดา ที่ เกลี้ย กล่อม ได้ มา แต่ บ้าน เรือน ที่ พนม, ที่ ปาก ลาว ทั้ง นี้ ไป ใช้ ราช การ งาน โยธา เบ็จ เสร็จ ซึ่ง มิ ได้ เปน น่า ที่ พนักงาน ขุน เพ็ชร์ คีรี, ขุน ทิพสมบัติ, ขุน หมื่น ไพร่ แตก ตื่น ได้ ความ เดือด ร้อน แต่ สิ่ง หนึ่ง สิ่ง ใด เปน อัน ขาด ที่ เดียว; หนังสือ นี้ มา ถึง วัน ใด ก็ ให้ ทำ ตาม หนังสือ นี้ ทุก ประการ ฯ

๏ หนังสือ มา ณวัน ๕ ๗ ๘ [๘?] ค่ำ ปี ชวด ฉอศก ฯ

(มา ถึง ปี เถาะ นพศก ได้ ๖๓ ปี, จุลศักราช ได้ ๑๒๒๘ ปี) ฯ

[*N. B.*—As the points which are of some importance and particular interest in the above letter have already been dealt with in the course of our treatment of the subject therein referred to (see pp. 64—72 *supra*), a translation in full of the document is deemed here unnecessary.

The same remark holds good for the next one, which contains but trifling details as to boundaries between the districts through which passes the overland route across the Malay Peninsula].

IV.—Letter from a Local Official at P'hanom, 1885.

◎ ท้อง ที่ ปาก พนม ข้าง ฝ่าย ใต้ น้ำ ลง ไป ต่อ กับ เมืองกาญจนดิฐ เที่ยม คลอง บาง จาก; ปาก คลอง บางจาก ลง ไป ข้าง ใต้ น้ำ, เปน ที่ เมืองกาญ จนดิฐ อำเภอ ขวัญ; คลองบางจาก ระยะ กับ บ้าน ตาขุน ลง ไป หน่อย หนึ่ง; ฝ่าย ข้าง เหนือ น้ำ ตาม ลำ คลอง ศก ขึ้น ไป เพียง คลอง กระหนายฤาษี; ปลาย คลอง กระหนายฤาษี ไป จด ภูเขาศก; ปาก ภูเขา ศก ข้าง หัว นอน เปน ที่ เมือง ตกั่ว บ่า อำเภอ ขุน ภักดี คงคา ปาก ภูเขา ศก ข้างใต้ ตื้น เปน ที่ พนม; ปาก คลอง กระหนาย ฤาษี ข้าง เหนือ น้ำ เปน ที่ เมือง คีรี รัตนนิคม, อำเภอ ขุนราม ภักดี; ปาก คลอง กระหนาย ฤาษี ฝ่าย ใต้ น้ำ เปน ที่ พนม; ปาก คลอง กระหนาย ฤาษี ใต้ ท่า บ้านศก ลง มา หน่อย หนึ่ง; แล ที่ พนม จะ ไป ต่อ กับ อำเภอ ท่า บ้านศก ขึ้น สัก เพียง ไหน ขุน จิตรพรับ, ขุน พิพคีรี บ้าน คลอง ช่อน แล คน แก่ ๆ แต่ ก่อน ก็ หา ทราบ ว่า จะ ต่อ กัน เพียง ไหน ไม่ ฯะ

◎ ข้าพเจ้า ขุน ช่วย ราชการ ขุน ภักดี สงคราม ที่ พนม, บอก มา ยัง ขุนวิจิตร อักษร ขอได้ นำ ขึ้น กราบเรียน ใต้ เท้า กรุณาเจ้า ทราบ ด้วย โปรด ให้ ข้าพเจ้า สืบ เขตร แดน ที่ พนม สืบ ได้ ความ ว่า :— ข้าง ฝ่าย ใต้ สดิน แดน ที่ ลมุง กับ แดน ที่ พนม แขวง เมือง นคร เพียงกลาง ศก; ข้าง ฝ่าย ใต้ น้ำ, แดน เมือง กาญจนดิฐ; กับ แดน ที่ อำเภอ วัง ตาขุน ตรง ปากคลอง ธรรมเรี่ยง ตัด บ่า ตรง ไป เขาไม้ หัก, ฝ่ายใต้ น้ำ เปน ที่ เมือง กาญจนดิฐ, ฝ่าย หัวน้ำ เปน ที่ อำเภอ วัง ตาขุน; เขา ไม้ หัก ตรงไป เขา พเนิน ฝ่ายเขา พเนิน ข้าง อาคเณย์ เปน ที่ ท่า ขึ้น, ฝ่าย เขา พเนิน ปละ หนึ่ง เปน ที่ พนม; ๆ กับ ที กระบี่ เอา คลอง เท้า

แม่ เปน เขตร แดน; คลองเท้าแม่ เปน ปลาย คลอง เขา ดิน แดง, น้ำ ไหล ลง คลองลาว; ปละหัว นอน เปน ที่ กระบี่, ปละ ใต้ สถิน คลอง เท้า แม่ เปน ที่ พนม; ฝ่าย เหนือ น้ำ ลำคลอง ศก ขึ้น ไป ถึง คลอง ขนาย ฤาษี; ปลาย คลอง ขนาย ฤาษี เข้า ภู เขา ศก, ปละ คลอง ขนาย ฤาษี ฝ่าย ใต้ น้ำ เปน ที่ พนม, ฝ่าย เหนือ น้ำ เปน ที่ เมือง คีรี รัตนนิคม; คลอง ขนาย ฤาษี เปน เขตร แดน, ฝ่าย หัว นอน เปน ที่ เมือง ตกั่ว บ่า, ฝ่าย ใต้ สถิน เปน ที่ พนม; ภู เขา ศก ตัด ตรง ไป เขา ปลาย คลอง พนม; ปลาย เขา พนม ตัด ตรง ไป ควร ดิน แดน ฯะ

๏ บอก มา ณวัน ๖๗๑๐ บี่ ระกา ศัปต ศก ฯะ

๙

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

p. 6, bottom line of text. I have since noticed that the promontory forming the north end of Tioman island, in the Gulf of Siām, bears the same name: "Ūjong Salāng," *i. e.* 'Salang Point,' while the cove on its west side is called "Tilo (Teluk) Salang," *i. e.* 'Salang Bight.' Though not noticed in naval directories, both these toponyms are referred to in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. V (1851), p. 138; and appear on the geological map facing p. 135 of the same work. Their occurrence in a twofold application on Pulo Tioman is alike instructive and interesting, and deals—to my belief—the death-blow to the new-fangled 'Junk' theory (see p. 3 above). For *Salang* appears here as a proper name applied both to a headland and to a bay, and there can be no question of 'Junk,' as in local folklore Tioman is believed to be the fossilized body of "the mighty Dragon Sri Gumon, that formerly held its abode in the Ulu Pahang, but which on its attempt to visit its sister Gunong Linga (Lingin Peak) Sri Rama prohibited, and changed into stone.....The Dragon Sri Gumon fell into the deep sea and there remains. See you not his nostrils as it were inflated, at the most southerly extreme, these we call the *Beralah Bugis*. Then there is the forehead and crowning *Chula* [='Horn' in Malay; but in my opinion, connected with Pāli 'Cūḷā'=Crest, top-knot], here his jagged back rises up in serrated ridges, thence to the north tapers down his long tail, the extreme of which is called *Ujong Salang* Does this not prove that he was proceeding from Pahang to Linga, his tail to the former and his head to the latter?" (*Journal Indian Arch., loc. cit.*). Conformably to such notions, Pulo Tioman is called เกาะ นาค, *i. e.* the 'Nāga (Dragon) Island' by the Siāmese, and appears under this name in the records of the local old junk-trade days. There can thus not remain the least shadow of a doubt that the 'Junk' theory as applied to Salāng toponymy, must be relegated to the limbo of burst bubbles. Salāng unmistakeably proves to be a proper name; but whether of a tree, plant, or tribe is the problem that still awaits its solution.

What now seems, however, to have been established beyond dispute is that in the Malay mind Ūjong Salāng as applied to Junkceylon cannot have in origin been meant for aught than:

1. either the territory of the island considered as a mere promontory of the Malay Peninsula;

2. or, the southern end of the island itself, provided this latter had been then already severed from the main, and its insular character was well known to the Malay navigators who first devised that designation.

Whether the aboriginal inhabitants of the island and neigbouring main considered it as an island or a peninsula is not known; in so far as local records go it is invariably referred to as an island, bearing the name of C'halāng or Thalāng.

p. 20, line 8.—after "therein," add: "p. 7."

p. 20, line 18.—"A. D. 1200."—The date of foundation of Kedah may be said to be comprised between A. D. 1204 (when Tavoy came into existence) at the very earliest, following a Chinese clue; and A. D. 1350 at the very latest, should the list of its early rulers as given in the Kedah annals eventually prove to have have been handed down in an unbroken series, which is by no means likely. I should think 1220 to be the nearest approach.

p. 24, immediately above the date "1677."—While the present paper was being passed through the press, news reached this distant land of a new publication by the Hakluyt Society entitled "A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679, by Thomas Bowrey"; printed, for the first time, from a seventeenth century MS. It is stated to contain a valuable description of Junk-Ceylon under the name "*Janselone*," and this section is said to be, according to the testimony of Sir Richard Temple, "a unique contribution to the history of an island about which there is hardly any record in the seventeenth century." It having been impossible to procure the book in time for making use of it for the present paper, we must rest content with merely calling attention to its recent appearance, and with taking note of the new and valuable account of Junkceylon it contains, for future reference.

p. 24, l. 3. "see below"—add: p. 83.

p. 32, after line 2 add:—On p. 394 of the same work Hamilton tells of a youth who was an apprentice to an officer on board a ship, whose master went a-pirating. The youth "ran from them the first opportunity he met with, on the island of *Jonkceyloan*, and informed the master of a sloop, which lay in a river there, that the pirates had a design on his sloop and cargo, and went armed, in company with the master, to hinder the approach of the pirates, and was the first that fired on them, yet that merciful man [Mr. Collet, the governor of Fort St. George, Madras] was inexorable, and the youth was hanged."

p. 42, foot note, bottom line, "*Tang-ro.*"—See p. 119 for the correct meaning.

p. 43, l. 22, "overseer."— See p. 120 for an improved rendering.

p. 46, after 2nd line.—I regret having here omitted, owing to an oversight discovered just after the sheet had been passed through the press, an interesting little chapter on foreign schemes upon Junkceylon at this juncture, through which the island came well nigh becoming a British possession. The chapter could be made still more interesting, had I access to volume IV of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* where the subject is treated at length and, it appears, the account of Junkceylon by Captain Light that will be found hereafter referred to, reproduced, which thus constitutes a new contribution to the descriptive literature of the island. As it is, I can only subjoin here a few stray notes and extracts made partly from vol. III of that *Journal*, but more especially from a "Memoir of Captain Francis Light" that appeared in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 28 (August, 1895).

British Designs upon Junkceylon: 1780-1785.

When the British "had consolidated their power on the banks of the Ganges and on the plains of Southern India, the trade betwixt Hindostan, and the Nations and Islands to the Eastward of it, had assumed a new aspect, and had become almost identified with its prosperity. The Supreme Government of British India therefore lost no time in seeking out for an eligible position to the Eastward, on which to form a settlement" However, "a considerable degree of difficulty was felt in carrying the purpose into effect, owing to the general ignorance which then prevailed in India respecting the whole of the Indo-Chinese and Malayan countries.

"At this juncture Mr. James Scott, a navigating merchant,[1] offered his services, and they were accepted. But this gentleman, although better acquainted, perhaps, with the regions to the Eastward

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1. See above, pp. 35, 40, 53. We may now add to the biographical information already supplied on this shrewd merchant-Captain, that in 1787 he founded with his colleague Capt. Light as partner, the firm of Scott & Co. (afterwards Brown & Co.) which long held pre-eminence among the mercantile establishments on Pinang Island. He survived Capt. Light († 1794) and was one of the trustees of his estate until about 1810. He lies in old Penang cemetery, within a few yards of the tomb of his bosom friend, Capt. Light. In a Pinang report of 1796 he is described a "*perfect Malay.*" See *Journal Ind. Arch*, V, p. 100.

than any of his contemporaries, was but slenderly versed in their political relations—so little so that he at first proposed that the Settlement should be made at the Island of Junkceylon—the *Salang* of the natives. But it was found that this over-estimated Island, formed a portion of the Siamese empire. It will be seen in the sequel that Captain Light committed a similar mistake with reference to Pinang."[1]

Thus far the portion accessible to me of Colonel Low's paper in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* that bears on the subject. Other writers ascribe to Capt. Light the original idea of settling Junkceylon, or rather both this and Pinang islands at one and the same time; but it seems reasonable to conclude that the plan was hatched by him in conjunction with his pal Captain Scott, though opinions vary.

Dennys says: —"The British Government of India had been long desirous of possessing a commercial emporium, but, above all, a naval station at the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and the chief instrument it employed in carrying this object into effect was Francis Light, the master of a merchant vessel. The question of the formation of such a Settlement was, on the representation of this gentleman, first entertained and resolved upon under the administration of the able, active, and ambitious Warren Hastings, although not carried into effect until that of his immediate successor. Mr. Light had been in the habit of trading with the Siamese possessions on the Bay of Bengal, and with Kedah and other Malay States on the western side of the Peninsula. He first recommended, for the locality of the future Settlement, the larger island of Junkceylon—the *Salang* of the Malays—belonging to the Siamese, and finally, Penang, an almost uninhabited island belonging to Kedah, itself a tributary of Siam." ("Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 281).

A. M. S., Captain Light's biographer in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, begins by telling us (No. 28, p. 1): "The first heard of Captain Light is in 1771, when he states he entered into correspondence with Warren Hastings as to the desirability of a repairing harbour in these waters, recommending Penang as a 'convenient magazine for the Eastern trade.' There was no doubt negotiation for many years after in the intervals of trading tours."

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1. "An Account of the Origin and Progress of the British colonies in the Straits of Malacca, in *Journ. Indian Arch.*, vol. III, No. 10 (October, 1849), p. 600.

Then he proceeds (p. 2): " In 1780-1, a scheme had at last been matured for settling Junkceylon, through private subscription but with consent of the Governor-General in Council (then Warren Hastings). There is in the British Museum a Paper which bears on this scheme, being a description of Junkceylon transmitted by Captain Light to Lord Cornwallis in his letter of 18th June 1787 (See Logan's Journal, Vol. IV). The wars with the French and Dutch in 1781-3 delayed its execution, and shortly after Captain Light decided on the superior merits of Penang harbour. He was at first for settling at one and the same time in both places; but when the friendly ruler of Junkceylon died in December 1785,[1] it was finally resolved by the Governor-General to make the experiment at Penang alone, which the young Raja of Kedah had offered to cede for $6,000 a year."

Further on the writer, in passing some strictures upon Colonel Low's treatment of the subject, makes some statements which are at one time quaint and interesting. He says (p. 11):

" One thing is certain—that in writing his criticism in 1848, Colonel Low was ignorant of Captain Light's despatch to Lord Cornwallis in 1787; and in consequence misrepresents the whole of the official negotiations respecting Salang and Penang, *as though these had turned upon 'whether the islands formed a portion of the Siamese Empire.'* The printing of this despatch in a later volume of Logan's Journal *at once made it clear that nothing of that kind came into the question*; its entire absence is in fact most noticeable." [*N. B.* The Italics are ours].[2]

" Captain Light explained fully the whole of the circumstances of his selecting these islands in the official letter mentioned above, dated 18th

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1. This can hardly have been anyone else than Mom Srī P'hakdī who left the heroine Chan a widow just before the Burmese siege of Thalāng in Dec. 1785-Jan. 1786 (See pp. 43 and 59-60 above.) An examination of Capt. Light's papers may further clear this point.

2. No less strange on the Siāmese side is the silence of the local annals about such land-grabbing schemes on the part of the British. But the most curious of it all is, that the only passage in any way connected with the question, bears the date of 1776 and refers to Captain Light as *Governor of Penang*, and this too fully a decade before actual occupation took place! Here is the tit-bit in full: "In the tenth month of that year [1776] the English Captain Light, Governor of Koḥ Māk Penang Island) (กบี่ตัน เหล็ก อังกฤษ เจ้า เมือง เกาะหมาก), sent 1400 flint-locks and other presents for His Majesty the King" (Annals, vol. II, p. 620).

June, 1787 (published in Logan, Vol. IV. p. 634). This letter shows that in 1780 Warren Hastings' Council sanctioned ' in a public letter ' Captain Light's 'plan for employing subscriptions', already actually raised for a Settlement on [p. 12] Salang (Junkceylon); which was in course of being carried out when ' before the troops and ships were made ready, the war with France in 1781-2 led to its being neglected'.

" The letter adds how, at the conclusion of the war, Hastings took the matter up again. 'But for the death of a friendly Governor of Salang in December 1785,' Captain Light—who had however in the meanwhile been struck by the superior advantages of Penang ' as a barrier to the Dutch encroachments'—would, he says, 'have taken both islands.'

" In the end, Sir J. Macpherson, Hastings' successor, ' readily accepted Penang, *but declined taking Salang* on the two grounds:—

(1)—that ' it required a greater force ' to keep ;

(2)—that ' as Government required a naval port with a port of commerce, Penang *is more favourable* than Salang.'—"

In conclusion, it will be seen that only the breaking out of war with France in 1781 prevented for the first time Junkceylon Island from becoming a British possession ; the timely death of its governor in 1785 again preserved the island to the Siāmese Crown for the second time ; and, finally, the good judgment of the Governor-General of India spared it for the third time annexation under the British Flag, as a *pendant* to Penang in the approaches to the Straits. That status might have most likely saved it from the prolonged harassments it had to experience from the Burmese, but its history would be a far tamer and uneventful one and would register no such episodes as that of Lady Chan and her co-heroines.

A-propos of insular beauties, it is not unlikely that Martinha Rozells, Captain Light's *Nonyah* that played so important a rôle in local political intrigues and negotiations of the period, was a Junkceylonese. She is vaguely described as being from Siām (see the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1905, p. 118) ; but was, in A. M. S.' opinion, " apparently a Portuguese Christian of the Roman Catholic Mission at Kedah or Junkceylon " (see *Straits Asiat. Soc. Journal, fasc. cit.* p. 13). The old story that used to be so much circulated about her being a Malay, a Princess of Kedah, and what not, is now generally discredited as rank gossip. Captain Light allied himself (as his will in 1794 shows) with her in 1772; and she survived him until about 1822. Considering the

dangers that are said to beset the unwary youth putting his foot on Junkceylon Island from the irresistible local beauties (see above, pp. 96-98), it is not unlikely that it was here that Captain Light was ensnared, and that the *Nonyah* belonged to that community of bewitching creatures. His frequent and protracted visits to the island, as well as the extensive relations he had there, tend to further strengthen that conjecture.

p. 55, n. 4, *Talapoin.*—The correct original form should be *Talapôi, lit.* 'Our (or, my) Lord.' Another possible and very likely prototype of the term may be *Toila-pon*, lit. 'Lord of Piety (or, Virtue)'; which expression, however, is only employed in connection with Head priests, or Abbots. Thāpôi, or Th'pôi, (and not Kh'pôi) is the usual term for a novice.

p. 80, l. 16—A. M. S., Captain Light's biographer, states that "the old Junkceylon Mission removed about that time [1772; the correct date must be a few years later] to Kedah, and in 1786 to Pulau Tikus village at Penang" (*Journ. Str. Br. R. A. S., fasc. cit.*, p. 13). Here an error in dates has evidently crept in, for the Roman Catholic Mission at Pulo Tikus (N. E. side of Penang Island) was not established until 1797, it being the first foundation of the kind in the Straits. (see Dennys, *op. cit.*, p. 240).

p. 89, l. 13—14 See correction in Appendix I, p. 124, note 1.

p. 90, l. 25—Nāi Mī also composed a Nirāś Sup'han, นิราศสุพรรณ, which I have not seen, because though in print it has now grown very scarce.

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