CONTENTS.

Original Contribution.

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT OF JUNKCEYLON ISLAND
BY COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

SUMMARY:

PART I.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. Inadequacy of Modern Historical Accounts of the Island; Neglect of the Old Sources of Information ... 1.
2. Remarks on the Name of the Island ... 2.

PART II.—SERIAL NOTICES OF THE ISLAND.

1. Older period: A.D. 1200 to 1782.

Circa 1200—Kedah Annals ... 20.
1512—Galvano ... 20.
1589—Mendez Pinto ... 21.
1588—Ralph Fitch ... 21.
1583-1592—Linschoten ... 21.
October 1592—Barker ... 22.
1598—Hakluyt ... 23.
1606—Bocarro ... 23.
1639—Mandelslo ... 24.
1662-63—De Bourges ... "
1671—Roman-Catholic Mission ... "
1677—Hitch in the British Tin Trade ... "
1681-85—Gervaise ... "
1685—Choisy ... 25.
"—Chaumont ... "
"—The Franco-Siamese Trading-Convention; Tin Monopoly at Junkceylon granted to France ... "
1687—La Loubère ... 26.
1689—The French Naval Demonstration at Junkceylon ... 28.
1700-1719—Hamilton ... 30.
1779—Dr. Koenig ... 32.
1st visit ... 33.
2nd " ... 35.
Extracts from Local Records up to 1782

C'halang
Phuket
Takua-thung
The Junkceylon Revenue

Page. 41.


The Junkceylon Roman-Catholic Mission, 1779-1785
Captain Forrest's Visit, 1784
1. Position of the Island, etc
2. Name
3. Neighbouring Islands
4. Orography and Hydrography
5. Harbours
6. Tha-Rüa
7. Towns and Villages
8. Excursion Inland
9. Fauna and Climate
10. Opium trade; Imports and Exports
11. Tin Mining
12. The Tha-Rüa Pagoda
13. Currency and Manner of Trading
14. The Islanders
15. The Islanders
16. The Islanders
17. The Islanders
18. The Islanders
19. The Islanders
20. The Islanders
21. The Islanders
22. The Islanders
23. The Islanders
24. The Islanders
25. The Islanders
26. The Islanders
27. The Islanders
28. The Islanders
29. The Islanders
30. The Islanders
31. The Islanders
32. The Islanders
33. The Islanders
34. The Islanders
35. The Islanders
36. The Islanders
37. The Islanders
38. The Islanders
39. The Islanders
40. The Islanders
41. The Islanders
42. The Islanders
43. The Islanders
44. The Islanders
45. The Islanders
46. The Islanders
47. The Islanders
48. The Islanders
49. The Islanders
50. The Islanders
51. The Islanders
52. The Islanders
53. The Islanders
54. The Islanders
55. The Islanders
56. The Islanders
57. The Islanders
58. The Islanders
59. The Islanders
60. The Islanders
61. The Islanders
62. The Islanders
63. The Islanders
64. The Islanders
65. The Islanders
66. The Islanders
67. The Islanders
68. The Islanders
69. The Islanders
70. The Islanders
71. The Islanders
72. The Islanders
73. The Islanders
74. The Islanders
75. The Islanders
76. The Islanders
77. The Islanders
78. The Islanders
79. The Islanders
80. The Islanders
81. The Islanders
82. The Islanders

Ch'aliing
P'huket
Page.

1st Burmese Attack on C'halang (Dec. 1785-Jan. 1786); Lady Chan, the Junkceylon Jeanne d'Arc, and her maiden sister

Subsequent life of the two C'halang Heroines

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

The Old Route

Opening of a New Overland Route: 1804

2nd Burmese Invasion of Junkceylon: August, 1809

3rd " " " ; Nov.-Dec, 1809 to Jan., 1810

Siamese Disaster at Yā-mū

Fall of Thalang

4th Burmese Invasion of the Island 1: 1811-12

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

I. Relation written by Junkceylon officials in 1841 (Siamese Text) 109.
   "   "   "   "   " (Translation) 118.
II. Abridged Variant of No I  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  126.
III. Despatch from Kalahôm, 1804  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  128.
IV. Letter from a Local Official at P'hanom, 1805  ...  ...  ...  ...  131.
   Addenda et Corrigenda  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  133.
   Thomas Bowrey's description of Junkceylon: 1669-1679  ...  ...  ...  134.
   British Designs upon Junkceylon: 1780-1785  ...  ...  ...  ...  135.

INDEX  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  141.
## Misprints

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>page</th>
<th>line</th>
<th>for</th>
<th>read</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>t. alterantive</td>
<td>alternative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>.. designation</td>
<td>designation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.. East of</td>
<td>East coast of as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.. as</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.. triennially</td>
<td>triennially for the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>b. of the</td>
<td>evidently for the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.. widdently</td>
<td>Châu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>&quot;Châu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>t. Châu</td>
<td>took to sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>b. took the sea</td>
<td>Yā-mū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>t. Yā-mū</td>
<td>Yā-mū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>b. Τά θεόν</td>
<td>Τά θεόν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>t. Χί θείς</td>
<td>Χί θείς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.. ไท</td>
<td>ไท</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>b. &quot;แม่</td>
<td>เพื่ม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.. เว็บ</td>
<td>วับ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.. จ้า</td>
<td>เจ้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.. ชน เพราะ กิ่ย, ชน อินทริร ชน เพราะ กิ่ย, ชน อินทริร ชน เพราะ กิ่ย, ชน อินทริร</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>t. เทา</td>
<td>เทา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.. Thāpōi</td>
<td>Thāpōi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Historical Retrospect

OF

Junkceylon Island,

BY

COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M. R. A. S., M. S. S., etc.

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 Siamese possession is, as a rule, dismissed with two or three lines not always free from some very gross errors; and not unfrequently 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 thereon, 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 Siam 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" quote Forrest as calling the island Jan-Sylan and saying it is properly Interop (i.e. in Malay).

'Cape') Sylang, which to them appears to be nearly right. They further add that the name is, according to Crawfurd, '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 Siam 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 (Iunsalao in the Portuguese spelling), the inhabitants have long been known to call it Chalang, ฉร่ำ, and this is the form adopted in the oldest Siamese records, while in some of the later and even of the local ones the variant ทำความ, Thalang, 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, Chalang. Of this Salang 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

---

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 Ujong Salāng, the 'Salāng Headland,' for their language possesses no equivalent for the initial O'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 designation Ujong 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 Ujong 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 Majapahit 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 Siâm. 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 Indu 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, Chalang, by which it is and has been known to this day. The word is neither Siamese 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 mainland 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 Chalang, which may have been so called by the same people who originally applied the designation Chalang 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 Chalang (wr. ขอลัง) by the natives, may come in handy for a parallel. The present day Moñ call the island "Dong Khalang," i.e. the Khalang town, after the name of its historical capital.

Another puzzling place-name on Junk-ceylon Island is that of its southern district, Phuket (Bhükech), ภูเก็ต, which, though closely enough resembling the Malay Bükit—"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 Siamese records of the period, termed Mù-ngit, ลิงกิจ, and not Bhükech.
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 Moñs, 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 Achin, 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 northern 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 Chalāng 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.


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-Khmēr) 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 Siamese as Ch'ah Nam, ฆํา นํา ("Waterfolk") still inhabit the numerous islands of the Mergui Archipelago down to a point not far to the north of Junk-eylon; 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 Indu traders and colonists, and it was probably from that period that the tin mines, on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, and very likely also on Junk-cylon 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 Takopa 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-cylon 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 Pak-Chan inlet, and that designation was Takola or Takkola, suggested by the principal seaport and trade-mart in that region, of which the present Takopa, in Siamese Takua-pa, ตะโคะ ป่า, is the historical continuation. This country or seaport of Takkola is referred to as early as the very dawn of the Christian Era in the famed Pali 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 Takopa; but also a cape to the south-west of it, which I have elsewhere
shown to be the headland presently known as Cape Takôpa on the northern shore of Pâk P‘hirah (Papra) Strait (separating Junkeeylon 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 Junkeeylon Island as well. In such a case the Malay idea of Junkeeylon 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. There seems to be no reason for doubt that this region and seaport of Takola correspond—as I have elsewhere suggested—to the Kalat Island (in reality Peninsula) of the early Arab navigators described about A. D. 880-916 by Abu-zaid as an emporium of trade for eaglewood, ivory, sapanwood, al-kali (tin), etc., and classed by him among the possessions of the Zabej Empire. Ibn Khurdâdbih, writing in about 864 says, however, that it belonged to the Jabah of India, by which name he means, I think, Pegû. It seems therefore pretty certain that Junkeeylon, 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.

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 Salâng, i. e. Junkeeylon, 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 Junkeeylon, 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 Kbaline, 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 Junkeeylon "the mainland of Juncaaloon."
Judging from the only ancient inscription that has so far turned up in the neighbouring Takópa district, the main bulk of settlers from India in those parts must have been Drávidians, 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 Pagan in 1050-1057 and converted into a dependency of theirs, it is possible that the ruler of Ligor (Nagara Srl 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 Tenasserim¹; 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

---

¹. The story of the Pagan King Narapadisithu (Narapati-jayasūra)'s visit to Tavoy in 1204 is well known. At about the same period, a Pagan 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 Pagan 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 Sukhátthai in 1282, Tavoy and Tenasserim became tributary to Siêm 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 Siâm and even the Straits, where its possessions were conterminous with those of the Palembang Empire.

In 1257 Siâm 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 Siâm 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 Ayuddhya, 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 Monthîerabâl (Kaṭa Mandirapâla) enacted in the course of the century immediately following, Ligor or Nagara Sri Dharmarâj classed as one of the eight tributary kingdoms of Ayuddhya which were ruled by princes styled पर्यन नामानि. Of these there were two more on the Malay Peninsula further to the north, viz. Tanâvasri or Tenasserim, and Thawai (Davai) i. e. Tavoy; whereas in the south four petty tributary Malay States are mentioned, viz:

1. इन्हूँ च नामे, Újong Tānāh, the then name of Johor;
2. मलाका, Malākā, i. e. Malacca;
3. मलैयू, Malāyū,—apparently the district on and about the Malāyū river, immediately adjoining Johor on the west;
4. वरावारि, Worawāri (Varavāri), a district of difficult identification, but which may have been Mora-muār, i. e. Muār, below Malacca.

Although these Malay States sent the usual gold and silver trees of tribute directly to Ayuddhya, they were, like other ones not mentioned (such as e. g. Pèrak and Kedah), under the tutelage of Ligor which continued in her rôle of policing the Malay Peninsula on behalf, at this period, of Ayuddhya, 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 Patâni, 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 Ayuddhya, there were other petty States purely Siamese 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-ngâ, 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 Ayuddhya, together with 1000 ornamented waxen tapers.

1. Witness the punitive Siamese 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 Odiina [Ayuddhya], the Capital City of this Empire, as well to bring their Tribute thither, as to do the Sumbay a1 to their Emperor, which was indeed to kiss the Courtelas that he ware by his side2; 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 Sembik, Sembayang = to worship, to pay homage; in Khmēr Sompea, Sompea Krah; sometimes spelled Somba, Sumbay, Zomalye, 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, Phra Chau, the Sacred Lord, i.e. His Majesty; something like “Holy Tzar.”
Poyho, 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. 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, for it then included Takūa-pā (Takōpa), besides C'halāng and P'huket, the two districts into which Junkceylon Island was already apportioned. P'hang-ngā thus was a rather important State, whose 1. May be P'hyā, although the Ligor Viceroy's rank was that of a Chū-P'hyā.
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 Siam, 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 aforesaid. 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 Siam 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 Portuguese 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 Siam, 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 Takúa-pañ, of Junkceylon Island, and Pérák 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 Siamese possessions on the Malay Peninsula. And its mines, as well as those in

---

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

². The tin mines in Ligor, Singora, Phattalung and Chumphón do not appear, judging from what Tavernier says, to have been discovered and opened until about 1641 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 Sri-Sawat province to the south-west of Nakhon Swan, for we learn from the Ayuddhya annals (vol. I, pp. 297–98) that an albino elephant having been caught there in January 1659, King Narâi 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 Siâm there under the name of Caranquor, in which tin abounded and whence it was brought to the city of Malacca to be shipped to foreign countries (Ramusio's "Navigazione et Viaggi," vol. I; Venetia, 1563, f. 317 verso). It is not easy to say which is the district meant under this designation of Caranquor which may be a mistake for Caranquor. It may be a question of either Selangor, Kalang, or Chalâng (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 heretofore, 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, Chalâng and P'hūkèt were forthwith detached from under P'hangngā 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, 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 Junkcøylon 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 Dōn) and Thā-thong (now Kānchanādit), where mines had but recently been opened. As to Junkcøylon we are told that in 1677 a misunderstanding had arisen between the English authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuddhya regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkcøylon. 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 Junkcøylon. Two Frenchmen, as we shall see in due course, held that post between 1683 and 1689.

1. 觀風 考獻, 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 Siam. I propose therefore the correction B. E. 2166 = A. D. 1623, though it may yet have to be modified.


The necessity of coping with the situation created by the growth of foreign trade had led to the southern provinces of Siam 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 Siamese records, under the reign of King Narai (A.D. 1658-1688). That such was already the case in 1681-5 we positively learn from Gervaise, who adds however that the provinces on the East coast of the Gulf of Siam had by that ruler been placed under the Ok-ya Wang 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 Siam, Tal'üa-pa, Taküa thùng, Ph'hang-ngā, Ch'alang (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 (Kalāhōm 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 Siamese 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

1. "Histoire du Royaume de Siam"; Paris, 1688, p. 79. "Le second Ministre d'Estat est appelé Praclanj, ou plus communément Baracon... Comme il a l'Intendance générale de toutes les Côtes Maritimes depuis Piply jusqu'à Tennasserim, c'est à lui 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 Siam to France in 1685-87. The distinguished Minister referred to is Ch'au Phraya Kosā (Lek), who died in 1683 after having held the post for fifteen years and acted also as Chakkri, or Minister for the Northern division of the kingdom, since 1630 or thereabout (op. cit., p. 80):

2. 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-ya Tharamāthibodi (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 Mahāvanśa, 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 (Junkeeylon) in the sea called Tappān; 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. Our inferences as to Junkeeylon 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 Junkeeylon that I am aware of occurs in Galvano’s valuable work written in about 1557;
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]."

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 Juncalan), 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 Lān, 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 Péraj, Linschoten says: "...there is found much calaem [tin], which is like tiane, there commeth likewise of the same from Gunsalan, a place lying upon the same coast North north west, from Qeda 30. miles, under 8 degréès and a halfé." 3 Despite these

1. "...à cidade de Perá, & aqué da Iunsalão, & outras muytas pouaçoes 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.


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 kingdom of Juncaurum, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our soldier [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 horns 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 poysen. We had onely two or three of these horns, 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 merchandise; 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

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-Rūa which we shall see later, was much frequented by shipping. The pitch for trimming the ships referred to is, of course, Damar, in Siamese 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 Dedicatarie,” 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-Salâng really applied to the southern end of the island only.

1639—Mandelso.

Mandelso 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 Siâm.²

1671—Catholic Mission.

In or soon after 1671 a Catholic branch mission was started from the Siamese 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 Ayuddhya 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 Ayuddhya regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkceylon.

1681—85. Gervaise.

Gervaise, who resided in Siâm from 1681 to 1685 attached to the Catholic mission at Ayuddhya, 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.
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 Tha Ria. 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 Siâm,) 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 Jonsalam among the 11 provinces of Siâm 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 with 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 Siâm of the Compagnie des Indes) to Baron, dated December 26th, 1682.—See Lanier’s “Étude Historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam”; Versailles, 1883; p. 30.
with the establishment of French influence and trade monopolies in Siam 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 Siam signed at Louvo (Lop'hiburi) 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. 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 Loubère.

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

"They have another [mountain of loadstone] also near Jonсалam, 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 Jonsalem loses its vertue in three or four Months." (p. 14) " ...Salt may...cost too much to make, as in the Island of Jonsalem, 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 Jonsalem 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 Narai, 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.
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 [Ayuddhya] 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 Siâm from the 24th September to the 22nd December 1685.

Anderson, after having told us1 that Charbonneau, the first medical missionary to Siâm, 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 Siâm." 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

certainly the desire of the Siamese 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)—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 Ayuddhya. 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-Siamese 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 Siam in the spring of 1688, Desfarges, the French officer in command of the citadel of Bângkok, 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 Siam. Desfarges still held, contrary to what should have been, three distinguished Siamese 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 880 soldiers.

Immediately upon coming at anchor in Thā-rūa 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'hraḥ 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 Bangkōk river. This message was sent overland to the Siamese capital and reached it towards the end of August 1689, according to Pallegoix. The Bishop of Metelopolis, the only one of the hostages left there by Desfarges who had not broken his faith and fled, did his best to persuade the Siamese officialdom not to allow such a fine opportunity of reconciliation to pass away. But his arguments were of no avail: the Siamese 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 Siamese hostages with two letters for the P'hraḥ Khlang. In one, coming from his pen, he solicited the dispatching of envoys, accompanied by the Bishop of Metelopolis, to Junkceylon in order to conclude a treaty. The other letter, signed by Veret, the unscrupulous and mischievous quoniam chief of the French factory at Ayuddhya, treated of commercial affairs, and demanded from the King of Siām the cession of Junkceylon Island to the Compagnie des Indes. "L'effronterie de Veret ne se dementait pas," observes Lanier at this juncture.

After long deliberation the Siamese 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 Siamese 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 Siamese Court the rectitude of intents with which the French expedition had
proceeded to Junkceylon. The whole party ultimately reached Siam on the 5th December 1689, with the welcome announcement that the French vessels had withdrawn from Junkceylon bound to Bengal. Thus ended this barren attempt at re-establishing cordial relations with Siam. 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 harbour. 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 Siamese 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.

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" 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.


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, ปั ต อง] 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 Siamese capital, notices that "he is only of a cream colour,

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 [Băng Khlib, ฿173 ฿21] a village near Jonkckeyloam, as white as him." (p. 470).

It will thus be seen that the reaction consequent on the Siamese 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 Siamese 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 scientific expedition to Siām where Phya Tak 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 Pák-Phrah Strait.
and published in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

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 scientific study of the flora and fauna of Siam, and perhaps the only one who ever investigated those of Junkceylon. 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. Koenig 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, Pulhu Panjang [Pulo Panjang, in Siam. Koh Yau-yai, นั้ น ทรู หิภิ ], 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
peculiar shape. The anchor was cast at three o'clock in the afternoon between the islands of Pullu Salang [Pulo Alang, Siam. เกาะ อ่าง], 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 Lêtei, ป่าเลา = Saw Shed], and is the largest of them all; an hour after we came to Kockren [Koh?]. 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 [Thá-Rúa, ท่า รู, then capital of the Phuket district].

"28—I went to the island Pullu Sallang Minor [Koh Alang Nói], 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, 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.

1. This is a most puzzling toponym, the initial word of which is evidently Koh, เกาะ, meaning an island; though Khok, เกาะ, 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 Koh Khuei, เกาะขุ่น, lying close by the north-eastern corner of the Lêm Yá-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 Thá-Rúa village, where tin has been and is still worked. In the last named direction exists a hamlet bearing the name of Bán Băng Koh, 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 Löm Ngā, ล่อง นาง, and southward
from the Alangs] and cast anchor towards midday near a small
island [Koh Mali, กะลี 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
[Koh Map'hrāu กะลี หม่ำ ประรู, which name—like most long words
in the local parlance—is usually contracted into Koh Ph'rau], 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 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

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

2. The island here alluded to is Koh Khob, กะลี ขอบ. The posi-
tion of the ship thereby becomes fixed at ¼ mile eastward from Koh
Map'hrāu, ¼ mile westward from Koh Mali, and 1 mile southward from
Koh 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-Rūa Harbour], where we had been a month ago.

"7.—We travelled between the islands of Pu̍tšu Penjjang [Panjang] and the Lehlands [Alangs], as far as the French island, 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 Rūa Harbour]. (p. 60).

"22.—I took the road, leading to Cockreu [? Koh...], 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 told me that the leaves of Sussa Radja [Malay Bakung Suasa=Susum onthelminticum?] 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..."

1. See above, p. 30. This now appears to be Koh P'hēh, 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, by the river bank at Thā-Rūa, 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* [Lēm Yāmū, แพร่ป้อม], 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).

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

[ 157 ]
"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 Amomim 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 Searabota acuta [?] : 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-tzi²...... (p. 75).

1. If an Amomum (misread Amomin), i.e. a zinziberacea, it may be either Khā, ກັ (Alpinia galangas); P'hai, ທ໒; Proh, ວ໒, often pron. Ploh (Kaempferia galangas); Ren, ຫ໒ (Amomum villosum), or similar. Perhaps Khā-ling ກາ-ລາ, 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 Biing, ອານໜັງ 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 Biing is Melopeus albostratus, the largest variety of mygale found in Indo-China; and it is known that mygales are eaten boiled or stewed in Siâm, Laos 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 Searabeidae; 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 ຜູ້ອານໜັງ, is scarcely more than one inch long. Hence only further research can lead to the identification of the edible insect alluded to.
Early in the morning I made preparations to go to Tarnah [Thä Rüa] in the afternoon, and then I went for a short time to Pullu Jambu [Yä-mṳ]. 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 Gkottischok [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 Nok Nang [read Nok Kahāŋ or Krahāŋ, or ڭەڭەن ڭەڭەن, or བྲུ་ཆེན་, 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.

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... The old women collect it, and bring it to the smelter, who renders them ½ of what they have brought him, because the prevailing custom here is to give the smelter ½ 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 Siamese 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. Koenig'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. Koh Yau-yai. We moreover see that the islanders still enjoyed the privilege of mining
for tin wherever they chose, had to pay $ for the cost of smelting, and probably $ of the net produce as royalty to the chief of the district who had to forward a certain portion to the provincial authority at Phang-ngā or Takua-pa, to be thence sent to the Siamese 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 Siamese capital was still at Ayuddhya had not been re-established during the reign of Phya Tak, 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 Maphrān I am unable to say. It is a pity our author did not tell us something more of Thā-Rūa 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 Ayuddhya (1767) and the translation of the capital of Siān 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.

Chalāng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhya there were two chiefs in the Chalāng district, born of the same father but of different mothers. One of them bore the name of Chom Rāng, resided at Bān Takhien 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 Thalang later on. The other chief was Chom Thān,1 who resided at Ban Don; one of his sons became also some time afterwards governor of Thalang. Perfect harmony reigned between the two families at Ban Takhiien and Ban Don. But this state of tranquility in the island was soon to come to an end.

For some time afterwards Chom C'hāi Surindr of the Lip'hon village (บ้าน ใต้พุ่ม) 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 Phraya Thalang, but shortly afterwards he was shot dead by dacoits, and Thalang remained without governor.

Thereupon a Malay from Kedah made himself master of the island. But soon the people of Thalang revolted, erected fortified camps at Mai Khāu, Pak 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

---

1. These titles of Chom, จอม, given to the Chalāng 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 referred to, the name of the district or island is invariably spelled ท่าลัง, Thalang, and not ทะลัง, Chalāng.

2. Ban Mai Khāu, บ้าน แม่ 何かว, village lies on the north-western end of the island; Pak Sākhū, ปาก สำรา (Sago Mouth) lies close to the north-west of Ban Don; and Ban Lip'hon village is immediately to the north-west of old Thā-rūa town, on the road thence to Ban Don. Tang-ro is doubtful as a place-name; it may mean "to make a stand."
not become Siamese until 1810 or thereabout! 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 Siám except during brief intervals of rebellion invariably followed by a re-tightening of the grip on it from headquarters.

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

Ph'uket.—Ph'uket was formerly an important district, but later it was placed under the jurisdiction of C'halâng. Its governors were at first Luâng Ph'uket (Khâng-Khot), and then Nâi Siri-châi overseer who became Phra (or Phrayâ) Ph'uket. They resided at Thâ-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 Ph'uket and C'halâng stood as follows:—

On the West, Hin C'nâi, Ph'lâi Tanôt;

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, Koh Maphráu, An Tap-ké, Lém Ngá, Lém Mat-p'há; while the following islands were included in the jurisdiction of Phúket, viz: Koh Yáu (Pulo Panjang and Koh Yáu Noi to the northward of it), Koh Alang (the two Alangs), Koh Kluei, Lém Yámú (Jam of maps, a quasi peninsula), Koh Rét and Nákhi, Koh Kawah, Koh Pá-yóí, Koh Chá-ngam, An Pháramá, Koh Yá-nat, Koh Khulák-hlot. The boundary continued thence to Lém Kho-en, Pak Ko-yik and Lém Pak-P'hraya from which point it crossed over to Pak-nam Mon and Pak P'hráh, where the strait separated it from the territory of the Takúa-thúng district.

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

Takúa-thúng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhya, Cháu P'hraya Indravamsa selected a site at Pak-P'hráh whither to build a residence for himself. He had scarcely cleared the site and commenced the work when he was overtaken by death. P'hyá Tak had then just become King of Siam (1768); so he sent out several high officials of Cháu P'hraya and P'hyá rank as commissioners. These established their quarters at Pak P'hráh; and were, among others Cháu P'hraya Lít Rajanikál, P'hraya Dharmatrálók, and P'hraya Phip'hit P'hókhái, who either died or fled as it will be seen further on, at the time of the Burmese invasion of 1786.1

The Junkceylon Revenue.—The royalties in kind on mines and other produce, as well as on sundry imports collected in Cháláng were forwarded to Takúa-thúng whence they were sent on to Takua-pá. 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 pass2 down to Thá 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 Cháiyá. 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 Takúa-thúng and Takúa-pá 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 Siam 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 Kala-hom 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'hya Ták, the Catholic missionaries had had bodily to withdraw from Siam 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 Thâ-Rúa 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 Siam resolved, while proceeding to Bângkok in order to receive thereat his consecration, to again visit his cherished Christians of Junkceylon and Takúa-thúng. Accordingly, he took a track across the Malay Peninsula that was to shorten his journey by some eight or ten days (doubtless via the Khâu 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 Rio 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 provision² to fiddling, to composing Malay songs and setting them to the sonatas of Corelli, eminently fitted him for that task. And yet his valuable book³ is

---

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 in 4o.
sarcely 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 Siâm. 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* [Pâk P’hrah, พระบรม] ..............................

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 Pâk P’hrah (Lêm Pâk P’hrah). 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 Siamese commissioners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had made Pâk P’hrah their residence.

As regards the narrow isthmus of sand, covered at high water, connecting the island with the main across Pâk P’hrah 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

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 Koh Klhei and Koh Khamam, northward of the minor Panjang (Koh Yau Noi) is used to this day, it being the ordinary passage to Phang-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 [Pak P'hrahl] above-mentioned, there is another capacious harbour on the south-west part of the island, as the natives informed me; 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. 3

6. Tha Rua—On the main opposite to this island is a creek that leads to the village of Terowa [Tha Rua], 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'hya P'himon, พิษณุพิมณ์], 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 Lêm Yã-mû at the northern end of the harbour (see p. 37 above); but is presumably the tiny islet a little northward of the entrance to Thã 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'hya P'himon or Eimol (Vimala) was governor of Krahl, and had lately resided at Chump'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'hya Dukkharás, พระยา ตุกการ], Pee-Siring [P'hya Surindr-rájá, พระยา สุรินทรราช], and Pee-Lancrac [P'hya Lañkáraks พระยา ลังการาส]. 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-Bīta],

Bankian [Bān Takhien, บ้านตะคียน see above, pp. 41, 42],

Bandan [Bān Don, บ้านดอน see above, p. 42],

Popra [Pāk Phrah.] where is the harbour already mentioned,

Nanay [Nā Nai, นาไน S. E. from Thā Rúa town; another village of the same name lies a short distance northwards from Bān Don and Bān Takhien],

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

presently reigning dynasty when, as may be expected, a good deal of transference in official posts took place. Apparently, P'hya Phimon was first sent to Junckeylon 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 Phang-ngā or Takān-thùng. He became afterwards Chǎu Ph'yā, 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'hya Thukkarát (Dukkharás) and this Pee-Lancrac, which last title, by the way, is not easy of identification. It may be Lañkáraks, Alañkárarakṣ, Aṅgaraks, or even Anuraks.
Tyang [Thā-Yāng, ท่าย่าง, a little southwards from Bān Don?],
Turthlay [Chāi Thalē, ปั้น ชาป ทะลี, S. of Bān Don, towards the West coast?],
Bankonian [Bān Khōk-yāng, ปั้น หักยาง, N. E. from Thā-Rūa, East coast?],
Banktan [Bān Kathan, ปั้น กาทาน, West coast on Bān Thau Bay?],
Bandrun [Bān Karon, ปั้น คารอน, West coast, on Karon Bay?; or, mayhap, Bān-Khrong, ปั้น บанг คาร่ง, on the homonymous river, East coast],
Sagoo [Bān Sakhū, ปั้น สักหุ่, on the West coast, N. W. from Thā-Rūa],
Bringing [Bān Ra-ngeng, ปั้น ระเนง, a little westwards from the present Pʰhūket?] (this last produces tin); also
Kakwing [evidently the same place as Dr. Koenig's puzzling Kockren; see above, p. 34],
Patriit [Pʰhak-cʰhet, ปั้น แพคเกท, N. E. from Thā-Rūa, East coast?],

1. Even with the two forms Kakwing 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-Khrēng ปั้น ทะถึง, exists at a short distance S. W. from the present Pʰhū-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 Koh or Khōk. There is no other course left for the present but giving up its identity.
E. Tallong [not seemingly C’halong on the homonymous bay but, almost certainly, Thalâng], and Patong [Patong, see above, p. 31] (these four last also produce tin).

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

8. Excursion inland.—“About eight miles inland, from Terova, 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.

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 Phalûng—evidently a misprint for Thalâng and the same place as Capt. Forrest’s Tallong—“was the great mining place before Tongkiah [Thung-khâ, ノン] 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 Salâng derivation” adds that “there is no doubt that Junk-Ceylon is a corruption of Yong (Tanjong) Phalûng [Thalâng] or Salâng [Salâng].” For it is well-known that Tanjong is a mere contraction of Tânh Ujong, which carries one back to the very derivation he disbelieves. It will be evident from the last quoted passage, however, that Thalâng or Salâng (C’halâng) is exactly what he means by his Phalûng. 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 inhabited 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 Xamnans. Population:

Siamese
{ Males, 8948 } 15188
{ Females, 6240 } 11350
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 Thalâng district proper, at or about Ban Don, which lies in the direction indicated at five miles, as the crow flies, from Thâ Ria; 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, who resided then at Terowa, on some commercial business, his vessel 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

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-Rūa 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 [lungi, practically the Siamese Phā-nūng, ผ้าพัน] 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 kāng-in, 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. 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.; 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. 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." Pulo Pinang, our new settlement, gets a great deal of it; Queda did formerly.

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

1. Dr. Koenig said ½ (see p. 39 above), corresponding to 20 p 0/0, 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 there about 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 0/0); 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 Mon Tala-kh’poi, which sounds practically as Tala-poi when pronounced quickly, meaning "My Lord." Talae=Master, Lord; Kh’poi or poi=“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," are used on the island as money;

novices or deacons, also called Mni h Kh'pôî; whence Mendez Pinto’s hitherto unexplained Talagre po (=Tala-Kh'i'pôî), Grego (=Kh'i'pôî), and Neepôî (=Mni h-pôî). The Talapat or Talipot, palm-leaf fan, has nothing whatever to do with all this as my predecessors have fancied.

1. Probably |% Pûk, 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 Pwot=a lump.

Such ingots were formerly in use as currency all over the Siamese 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 Ruhgnow [Ranong] mines, on the Pak Chum [Pâk 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 pice [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 “Uytrekkening van de goude en zilveren munten waardye van Indien” (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{1}{2} sols; 1 Bitsthin (Bitsjin in Valentijn)=4\frac{1}{2} [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 pecul of 183 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 [Pitis 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 Ayuddhya 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. Phya Tak, 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 Siamese 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 Phya Bimol, an experienced Krah governor, Phya 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 Siam; 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-Siamese wars that had raged almost without
intermission since the middle of the eighteenth century, had so far
had for theatre Central and Northern Siâm. But in 1785 the
Burmese, in consequence of continuous reverses suffered there
recently, changed their plan of campaign, resolving to simultaneously
invade Siâm 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 Siamese 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
Bângkok Annals of the 1st reign.

The Burmese flotilla, under the command of Yi-wun, sailed
from Mergui early in December 1785, and attacked Takua-pâ and
Taküa-thâng which, owing to their unpreparedness, it easily took.
The Siamese commissioners residing at Pak-P'hral: t attempted to make
a stand but were defeated. P'hrayâ Dhammatrailok fell in the fight,
while P'hrayâ P'hîp'hit-p'hôkhâï fled via P'hang-ngâ and crossed the
main range by the pass which has since been named after him
(Dân P'hrah P'hîp'hit, รูป มุ่ง ภูเขา, 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'halâng. Several
stockades were erected round the city for this purpose. The
governor (P'hrayâ Thalâng) had but recently died and no successor

1. By Châu P'hrayâ Dibakarawongse (Khâm), who was Foreign
Minister until 1870 when he died. The first portion of these Annals has
been published in continuation of the Annals of Ayuddhyâ and of the
reign of Phya Tak (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 (ไวน ทุ่ม = 'Date-plum'), the widow of the late governor (if so, this official must have been Mom Sri P'hadiri, 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 Chalang saved through the heroism of the two sisters.²

1. Her name is spelled ขันธ์, Chandr (= 'Moon') in the local relation of 1841; but no such name would be given to a woman, as the Moon in Indù (and therefore in Siamese) 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, จันทร์ or จันทน์, with relation to the fruit of Diospyros decandra or Date-plum, จัน 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 Junkseylon (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 Siäm had been simultaneously invaded, while a force had been
Intelligence of the Burmese advance on Junkceylon had reached Bangkok towards the end of December 1785; but the Siamese armies being then (January and February 1786) engaged in repelling the enemy in the north, and on the Kanbur frontier in the west, no relief could be sent. As soon as victory had crowned Siamese 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 Patani and other rebellious Malay States back to allegiance.

On hearing this welcome news, the officials at Chalang sent a report of the local occurrences to the Second King at Singora and one to headquarters at Bangkok. 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 Chalang appointing Governor one of the local officials who had distinguished himself (?) and conferring upon the widow of the late Governor that had so successfully organized the defence, the rank of Lady Devakrasattri (เทวนาครสัตถิ), and on her maiden sister, that of Lady Sri-Sundara (ศรีสุนทร). To these two ladies the King sent the insignia appropriate to their ranks and merits in resisting the enemy.

SUBSEQUENT LIFE OF THE TWO CHALANG HEROINES.

Phraya Phimol (Bimol), late governor of Krai, residing first at Chumphon and subsequently, since 1782 or thereabout,

despatched across the Krai Isthmus which took Chumphon, 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 Chalang.

1. This can only be Phraya Phimol 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 Siamese 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 Chalâng. At all events we know from Captain Forrest's account already quoted above (p. 49) as well as from the Siamese records that this official had come to the island and resided thither for several years, finally wedding Lady Deva-Krasâattrî (Chan). From her he had five children, the eldest of whom, a daughter, Thong (หม่อมยิ้ม) by name, he brought afterwards to Bangkok presenting her at Court. There she became in due course the mother of Princess Ubol (พระ นาง จี บุญ). Now, this Princess was the 32nd child of King Phra Phra Buddha Yot-fa, 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-krasâattrî with Phrayâ Phimol took place early in 1786, and therefore soon after the siege of Chalâng.

Some time after this Thien, the eldest son of Lady Deva-Krasâattrî from her first husband, brought an action against his step-father Phrayâ Phimol, in consequence of which the latter was removed to Phatthalung. The son of Chom Thâu of Bân Don was then appointed governor, and is recorded in local documents under the title of Phrayâ Thalâng of the Golden Tray (Phrayâ Thalâng Chiet-thong). Having incurred the royal displeasure for some escapade committed later, this official was arrested and brought to Bangkok where he died under confinement. Thien, the son of Lady Deva-Krasattrî, was then appointed to succeed him, and is nicknamed the Asthmatic Governor (Phrayâ Thalâng Hüt, พระยา ทลายหืด). He was given Nai Rüang, the younger brother of the deposed governor, as Palat or vice-governor; and Nai Châu as Yokkrabatr or registrar. These three officials all bore then Phrayâ rank.

1. Chiet, ชีเท็ด, 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 Phan-thong, another form of tray.
As to Lady Sri-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 Siam itself numerous instances of patriotic amazons who have sacrificed their life and blood for the defence of their own country. But the deeds of the C'hâlâng 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 Siam 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, or little shrine will, in a not too distant future, be erected by public subscription on the island as a memento of what

1. Among such may be mentioned: 1. Queen Suriyôthai who, donning male armour during the Peguan siege of Ayuddhyâ in 1563-64 (rectified date), followed the King in a sortie towards the P'hâ-khâ Thong fields, and fell killed on her elephant; 2. Lady Mô (ผู้ ผู้ ผู้), wife of the Palat (vice-governor) of Khôrâj; who, being taken prisoner with the other inhabitants in 1826 when the city was stormed by king Anu of Wieng Chan, mutinied on the way thereto, and at the head of a body of 460 women joined the men in attacking the Wieng Chan troops, and defeated them, thus returning with her rescued companions to Khôrâj; 3. The two C'hâlâng 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 Siam has a record in heroism not second to that of any other country.
was done for its freedom by the two C'haling sisters, at which the younger folk may inspire themselves to their patriotism and the aged may deposite the pious tribute of a prayer or a flower.

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

The rare Siamese 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 Siamese 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 Siamese; 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 Siam. 1

1. Mr. Leal got an inkling about—not the old, but—the new route followed by tin in his time (1825) when he visited Bán Don. He says: "The Thá-kham [Thá-khām] proceeds nearly across the peninsula, passing to Pennom [P'hanom or Thá P'hanom], a town three days journey from Phoonga [P'hang-nga], 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 Ban Nga [P'hang-ngā] or Paklao [Pák 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). Yes, 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 Bán 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 Pák-Lāu or P'hang-ngā, but from Takua-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. 1
The Old Route.—This route, we learn from document I, started from Taküa-på on the West and crossed the main range by the rather difficult Khâu Sok (เขา สก) Pass, the Mt. Rock of our playful cartographers. After this it descended the eastern slope and reached the P'hanom or Thã P'nom river (กนู วานม คานถ ท่าย วานม) at Thã Khâu Sok (ห่า เขา สก), i. e. ‘Sok Mount Landing-place.’ This stream is the southwestern branch of the old Thã Thong (ห่า ท้อง) sometimes called Thã Khăm (ห่า ขาว) river, which joins the southern one, the Bàn Don, at the head of the Bàn Don inlet. Thã Khâu Sok is probably one and the same place as Thã P'nom 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 Bàn Don, whence they were forwarded to the capital of Siâm.

Such is the route that had been followed for the goods in question since the time of Ayuddhya down to 1785, when the Burmese invasion of the Siamese 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 Khâu 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 Thalang authorities used to send it on to Taküa-thùng, and the authorities there had it conveyed to Taküa-på, this being the custom that had invariably been followed for a long period. When Chalang had not as yet been taken by the Burmese, whereas Taküa-thùng, Taküa-på, Chaiya and Chumph'non 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. Luang P'heji-r-dhanû (Säng), an official from Ligor, having come at Bân Kâu Som-ô on the P'hanom river, collected men and started to convey the crown property down to Thã Khâu 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 Lūang P'hejr-dhanū (Sēng). Owing to this, all the people along the Thā P'hanom river fled, and the deserted country became covered with jungle.

"When the P'hra Thukā-thūng—who was the father of the later P'hra Thukā-thūng named Thin (好きな)—was governor of that district, an order came to him from the capital to proceed abroad [भोजन = India] and get piece-goods of special patterns [น้ำนวล] manufactured there. The governor sailed out taking with him white as well as black Baboo (บุษบัต, บุษบัตซึ่ง) foreigners residing in the island, and the masters [and crews] of some of the small vessels [anchored there]. At that juncture Lūang Phākhya-yawāthī (Bāgyavādī) who had gone to Trang with Lūang 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 Thukā-thūng governor had all these valuable things conveyed under his personal supervision [across the main range] to Thā Khāu Sok. Having [embarked them he had scarcely] reached the rapids at Pratu Lōng (ทรงเล็ก โปรด); 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'hya Surindr-rājā, a high locally born official 1 who had become of late a sort of Governor-general (Chāng-wāng) for the tin-bearing Siamese provinces on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula. Seeing that the time-honoured route by the Khāu 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'hya and assistant governor, or joint commissioner (see above, p. 90.)
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 Khâu Sok pass, by pointing out that this overland communication between the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula at Taküa-pā and the East Coast at Ban Don (C'haiyā district) was probably already known from the halcyon days of Taküa-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 Khâu Mon Pass, the Kral. Isthmus, the Khâu Sok Pass, and probably a yet more southern one between Trang and Ligor (or Singora and Phattalung) 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 Maruí [and proceeds by] Pāk Lāu, and Thā. Phāme.¹ Chāu

1. The Pāk Lāu river debouches into the bight east of the mouth of the Phāng-ngā river. Maruí is the first important place one meets
Phraya Surindr-rājā was summoned to the capital by royal command soon after the Chān Phraya Kalāhom (Plī) had found his death in the Siamese retreat from Tavoy [A. D. 1793], as it was proposed to appoint him to that vacant post. When Chān Phraya 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 Chān Phraya Phonlathep, the father of Phraya Bodindr Dec'ha, 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.

Chān Phraya 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 Phang-ngā, Thalāng and Takūa-thūng districts. The Khâu 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 Phnom whence boats could easily descend to Phūn-phīn and proceed on to Phumarieng.

For the speedy conveyance of crown property he would merely

---

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. Phumarieng, ภูมิริเรือง is the present site of government for the Chāiyā district; Phūn-phīn, ภูนภิน, 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 Luang 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 Kalāhōm Department to despatch to the authorities of the provinces concerned. At Pāk P'hanom the three officials K'húm Thip'hsombat, Khúm P'hejr-khirt, and Khúm Sri Songkhram were to be put in charge of the station. For Marūi and Pāk Lāu Luang Riddhirong-songkhram was to be superintendent; and all the territory between Marūi and Pāk P'hnom was placed under the control of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā.

"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 Khúm Thip'hsombat to be Luang Rāmabijai, 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 Luang Riddhirong-songkhram to collect a sufficient number of men [serfs] at Marūi and Pāk Lāu wherewith to convey, whenever required, crown property across the range to Thā P'hnom, to be handed over there to Luang 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:

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 Khau Nang Hông ("Swan-hen Mountain"),
2.—at Pak Dan, ปั๊ก ตัน (or ปั๊ก กะรำ ตัน, Pak Kradan);
3.—at Thung-Khā, ทุ่ง ห่าง;
4.—at Marūi, มะรู;
5.—at Pak Phnom; ปั๊ก ภน;
and had rest-houses built at each of them, 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 Khau Sok Pass and transported down stream to Thā Khau Sok [as of yore]; whereas those from P'hang-ngā, Thalāng, and Takūa-thūng were brought together at Marūi where they waited until the pack elephants were ready to load them. Luang Nā was promoted to Phra Wiset-songkhrām superintendent of the Dān Yāu station, and entrusted with the task of receiving and embarking the valuables at Ph'hanom, and bringing them down stream [to Bān Don or further]. Khun Phējr [-khiri] and Khun Indr were appointed to assist him as overseers.

"Upon these arrangements being completed, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā despatched Khun S'ir Somp'hōt to solicit an audience from His Highness the governor of Ligor, and inform him of the official appointments he had made at the stations and guard-posts from Marūi to Pak Phnom. 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 censurate their administra-

1. Khau Nang Hông is near Pak Lān; Pak Dan is further upstream from Pak Lāu village, on the banks of Khlong Lāu; Thung-Khā is on the eastern (really north-eastern) watershed towards Thā Ph'nom; Pak Phnom is one and the same place as (or near by) Thā Ph'nom; Marūi is within the entrance of Khlong Lāu, below Pak Lāu village.

2. This was then Mom-chāu P'hat (Vaddhana), the son of a Prince of the Ayuddhāya dynasty. He governed Ligor from 1785 to 1821 in which year he retired owing to old age, and died in 1839. His oldest son had succeeded him since 1821.
tion and allege that the present governor of Ligor and Châu P'hrayâ Surindr-râjâ 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 Châu P'hrayâ Surindr-râjâ 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, Châu P'hrayâ Surindr-râjâ, 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 Marui and Thâ P'hnom remained under the full control of Châu P'hrayâ Surindr-râjâ.”

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 Châu P'hrayâ Surindr-râjâ’s superintendence, as follows:

“Châu P'hrayâ Surindr-râjâ was the highest authority over the Eight Districts. P'hrayâ Prasiddhi Songkhram [apparently his son and successor] was also Chang-wâng (i.e. Governor General) over the same eight districts. The Eight Districts in question were:

1. Thalâng, [Junkeeyl.] Island [under 2. P'huket, ]
3. Taküa-pâ, [under 4. Taküa-thüng, [under Kora, Phang-nga, Khural; and Khurot were immediate dependencies of Taküa-pâ.”

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 Marui, Pâk Lâu, and Thâ 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 Monthon Phuket or Phuket Circle approximately comprises the territory of the former Governor-generalship of the Eight Districts.

As to Phuket we have seen that at the period we are concerned with, it had been placed under the immediate jurisdiction of Chalang, although formerly it was separate. This change, however, probably took place only after the destruction of Tha Ritha 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 Bangkok Annals of the second reign.

In June-July (1809) the king of Burma having heard of the serious illness of the Siamese sovereign\(^1\), sent orders to Meng-ñâ-lê, the Burmese governor of Tavoy, to equip a flotilla and sail down the West coast of the Malay Peninsula to gather reliable news on Siamese affairs. Meng-ñâ-lê, 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 (1 ½ miles) from Thalang town.

The inhabitants there were quite unready, having been taken by surprise. Nevertheless the governor (Phrayâ Thalang) 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.

---

1. Phrañ Buddha Yot-fâ, who deceased on the 7th September, 1809.
On the 7th August the enemy opened fire. The fight lasted for eight days, the Siamese 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-kē, 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 Thalang 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-kē, 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 Thalang coast where the Siamese 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-kē 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 Thalang 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 Thalang 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 Thalang; 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 Kaláhóm to despatch a royal commissioner with a warrant to seize the governor of Thalang and bring him to Bangkok 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 Thalang with the warrant, notified the royal commands to the local officials, and having seized the governor brought him in fetters to Bangkok. The king thereupon sentenced him to receive sixty strokes of the rattan on his back, and to be imprisoned.

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

Meanwhile, Meng-nä-le, 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 Siam to seize the capital.

On the other hand the King of Siam, considering that Thalang 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 Atông-wun to Tavoy for the purpose of making raids on Chump’hon, Takūa-pā, Takūa-thūng and Thalāng. Towards the end of October (1809) this officer having made all necessary preparations both by land and sea, despatched Yē-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, Kraň, and Chump’hon.

Yē-khong sailed out and took Takūa-pā on the 17th of October; then he swooped on Takūa-thūng 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’hrah.

Intelligence of the fall of Takūa-pā and Takūa-thūng 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 Phraya Thalāng Chhet-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 Thien—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.

Yē-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 Phūket 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 Bāngkōk government, on receipt of the tidings, had despatched Phrayā Daṣayodhā and Phrayā Rāja-prasiddhi at the head of 6000 men from Chāīyā across the Peninsula by the Pāk Pīnom route, to relieve Thalāng. It further sent Chāu Phrayā Yomarāj (Noi) as general, and Phrayā Thai-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

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-lānq (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 Vōng-ca [Bāngkōk] 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 Siam.

The extract just quoted is important as evidencing that the Annamese way of spelling the name of Junkceylon, agrees with the Siamese one. With the quoc-ngi system of romanization, the name assumes the form Xa-lānq which is identical with the one (Xalang) employed by Bishop Pallegoix to render the Siamese name of the island after the
The two generals with the first nucleus of troops left Bangkok 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, Phraya Thaï-nam was sent on in advance with 30. As he neared Koh Chanak¹ 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 Tha Ya-mū.

Siamese disaster at Ya-mū—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 Thalāŋ and Phiket (Tha Rūa town). But through the negligence of some artillery-man in Phraya Thaï-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 Phya Thaï-nam's boat perished. Luang Sunthorn

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

¹. This island lies to the northward of Pulo Panjang. It seems, therefore, that the Siamese 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-Phrāh Strait to the West coast of the island, and thence, by the Bān-Don River (Bān Takhien). 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 Luang Kamheng-songkhram rushed in to lend assistance; and, amongst others, they recovered the shattered body of P'hyâ Thai-nam whom they brought ashore at Khlong Bâng Lâu (Khlong Lâu or Pak Lâu) whence the remains were sent on to Bângkok. Owing to the above deplorable accident, no further operations against the Burmese could be undertaken by this naval expedition.

As to P'hrayâ Dasayodhâ who had come across the Peninsula with his force from Chayıâ, he reached Phâng-ngâ and took position at the mouth of the stream there (Pák-nam Mûâng Phâng-ngâ); 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 Siamese expeditions were on their way to relieve Junkceylon, hastened their operations and stormed Phûket (Thâ Rîta town) which they carried in a single day. They then sent the troops available there to reinforce those engaged about Thalâng.

Fall of Thalâng—The siege of Thalâng 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 Bângkok 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 Siâm and by the brief "History of the Churches of India, Burma, Siam," 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 Châlâng town or Phûket (i.e. Thâ Rîta) 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 Bângkok Annals. Phûket (i.e. Thâ Rîa) 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

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 Phuket (Thā Rūa town) and Thalāng or Chalāng, 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 Rūa], 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 Rūa 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.
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 Siamese 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 Phraya 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 Kalāhōm 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 Chump'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 Chāmīn Sri Sorarāks, 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 Nirās, Ṛrīṣṭ, 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-Chin
Junkceylon was to have to wait another half century before getting its bard.

**How A Chinese Trader Rose to Be Capitán 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 Bangkok Annals tell us towards the end of the Second Reign,—they had been all the time instigating the English, the Annamese, and the raja of Kedah, to attack Bangkok. This is what led to the Siamese repressive expedition upon Kedah in November 1821, owing to the following incident which caused the scale of Siamese longanimity to turn.

That year a Macao Chinaman, Lim Hoi, ลิ้ม ไหว้, by name, who was a resident merchant of Thalang, 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 raja of Kedah. He thereupon seized the boat and crew, which he brought to Thalang and made over to the governor. This official forwarded the letter and

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 เถ้าหยา ท้า, in small 8vo.; pp. 15-27.

It should be mentioned that the Trang governor of the period ราช  rte หน ร ร ร, 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 Nirās on the trip, surviving to this day under the title of ตศานิร max พระ ยา ทร ร. Though covering a wider area than the above, it nevertheless knocks off the itinerary at Lêm 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 Siamese bards, and only the third time succeeded in winning a place in the national poetry.
prisoners, together with Lim Hoi, to Bangkok. Here the letter was translated, when it proved to be an instigation of the Burmese to the Kedah raja to rebel. The King suitably rewarded Lim-hoi, and appointed him Lūang Rāja—Capitan (หนังราชา ปีติไนํ), 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 Siamese 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 Siamese 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; 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," 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. 243 et seqq.
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 Phrabât," published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, 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 Phrabât Ph'okhá," 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. And here some notice may be taken of an indication of a totally different species of superstition, said to

2. The same footprint is again briefly alluded to on p. 62.
have been discovered on that island; viz. a Rādtin [Roi-tin, รอกิจ], 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, Suvaṇṇamālikī, but other versions have Suvaṇṇamāli-giri. Suvarṇa-māli, Suvaṇṇa-māli, or Salmali was, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the classical Indu name for the Malay Peninsula. In a Pali sutra 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. Other versions have Suvaṇṇa-māli and Suvaṇṇa-māli-giri.

1. The sutra in question, which forms part of a formula recited in adoration of the Buddha, is of the following tenor: "Suvaṇṇamālikī, Suvaṇṇapabbata, Sumānakūṭa, Yonaka-pūre, Nammadiya-nadiyā: pañ-capādavaram thānam, aham vandāmi dūrato." [From afar I pay reverence to the Five Noble Footprints that are extant on Suvaṇṇamāli (or Suvaṇṇamālikī), on Suvaṇṇapabbata (the Gold Mount), on Sumānakūṭa (Adam's Peak), in the Yonaka country (land of the Ionians, locally identified with the principality of Ch'üeng-Mai), and on the bank of the Narmadā river (the Nerbuddā 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 Siamese 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 Koh Khien, ឺឺ ឺឺ —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:—

"Yaḥ Nammadāya nadiyà, puline ca tire;
Yaḥ Saccabandhagirike, Sumanā ca lagge;
Yaḥ tattha Yonakapure, Munino ca pādam:
Taḥ padalāñjanamaham sirāsa namami."

[I bow my head in adoration to the Sacred Footprints left by the Sage on the sands by the bank of the Narmada 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 Phraā Bad near Ayuddhya); 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 (Nerudda) 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 Fa-hien in circa A. D. 400 as extant in Udyāna (now Swat), north of the Punjāb. It is a far cry from thence to Chiang-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 Thai or Siamese Language"—the pioneer work published on the subject—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 "Phra\ Boriraks P'hiithorn, the son of the Hon. Phraya Narong Rüang Riddhi Prasiddhi Songkhräm, Governor of Thalang [Phraya Thalang], who has come out to look after the welfare of the people in Thalang, Bang Khli, Takua­thàng, Takūn Pā, and the rest of the Eight Districts." 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 Bun-khong (ป'หระ กาลัง ปูญ กง) of whom a notice will appear further on.

The title Phraya Narong Rüang Riddhi for Thalang governors persisted, it may be observed, until 1902, when the last


2. "'พระ บริกรักภูทม, ปุญ กาลัง ปูญภูทมิ ประศีทิ สงกรม, พระยา กล่าง, ผู้ ออก มา ล่า เริ่ม กิจ คุณ ทุกข์ อาน ประศีทิ ราชสูรนันทสกดาล, บาง กดึ, ภัฏ กอง, กวัลบับ, ฟัง แปลก หัวเมือง"—The document is also remarkable from the fact that therein the name of the P'hang-ngā district is spelled P'hu-ngā (Bhū-ngā), ภูแก, after the Malay (or may be the older?) form.
bearer of it,—Nū, ณุ, 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 Siam 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 Bangkok, 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 Siamese 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 Chaiyā.

SUNDRY JOTTINGS ON JUNKCEYLON UP TO 1851.

From this time onward things seem to have settled down

¹ We find him, in fact, officially gazetted as พระยา ณรงค์ เวชภัทร
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, Bun-khong, นุ้ย ภส by name, was sent out—presumably from Bangkok to Thalang. He induced many people to settle about the western terminus of the tin road across the Peninsula, from Marui onwards till Bang Tok, นาง แหล When Phya Krai-kosa went out to collect the arrears of paddy-dues and field taxes (ภยา ข้าม ต่า นา), the Thalang 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 Chau Phraya Surindr-rajä.

The Bangkok 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 Phraya Sri Phip'hat had been charged with clearing away all opium from the Siamese 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 Chamun Räjamät and two other officials left Bangkok 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 Bangkok, was all burnt by order of the King in the royal palace, in front of the Suddhaya-svarga 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 Nai Mi,
the favourite pupil of Sunthorn P'hu,—the prince of modern Siamese melodramatic poets,—although considerably behind in excellence to his master.

Nai Mi took the Buddhist orders of Samanera (Novice or Deacon) in the Jetavana (Wat P'ho) monastery in Bângkok 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 ฉัน พระ มหาศิลป์ 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 Nai Mi left holy orders and ultimately got the post of Luang Subhanâtra, หลาน ศรี มหาสาร as a provincial petty official at Chainâth where he died about 1870.1

Nai Mi's account of his pilgrimage to Junkceylon,—termed Nirâs Châlang, นิรัส ฉลอง, 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 Siamese Nirâs literature and forms interesting reading as evidenced by the several reprints it had.2

1. One of his daughters P'hayom, พระธม, by name, became minor wife to Châu P'hîa Narâratn; she was born in the early sixties. Nai Mi 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 Thâ Sûng, ท่า สิง, at Khung Taphau, คง ทพ, a short distance up-stream from Chainâth.

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.—Nai Mi 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 Pak P’hanom (ป่าพาน, or ป่าพนม). 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, Nai Mi’s party proceeded up stream to the place called Thā Khām, ท่าข่าน, 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. 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

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 [Phūn-phin, ฟูนพิน]...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, ท่าท่อง, now Kāñchanadīth; 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 Siām,” p. 394). The correct name of the river is Khlong Thā P’hanom, except for the branch flowing to Bān-Don where it is more generally known as มีน้าป่าพนม, 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, ท่ามหา (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

1. The most famous and perhaps the most ancient withal of such shrines is that rising by the ruins of Phrāh Pradēng (หมู่ เพาะ ปราบ เด่น), an ancient city that stood on the left bank of the Bāŋg-kok river, between the mouths of Khlong Tī and Khlong Phrāh Khanōng. 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 “Prepadém, a small Government,” Kaempfer but three years later marks its site on his map as “Campus quondam urbis Pra-pradēng.” 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 คำ เค้า พระ ปราบ แดง or คำ เค้า พระ ปราบแดง. A well-known folk-tale ascribes its foundation to a powerful crocodile from the upper reaches of the Bāngkok river who, having slain Phan-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, จาลวาน, has been adapted for the stage and presented in a far more elegant vesture by King Buddha Lōt-lā in his Krai Thong, แกริ ทอง, now one of the most popular plays acted in Siām. The story is also known to the local Mōns, who locate its scene up river in the Bichitr, ปิจิตร, 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:

“—ตั้งแต่นั้นมา กันทุกหน้านั้น—หวี ทุ่ง กิ่ง ได้ ปาย เจ้า—จง ตั้งคำ เทวราชปัน ลัค เล่า—คือ คำ เค้า พระ ปราบ แดง คุณแห่งนี้” —

Between Khlong Praves-burīrom and Khlong Samrōng runs an ancient creek called Crocodile-head Creek,”

[ 212 ]
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 wà's (2 metres) lap-width. 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 รัตติกาล, "Mountain-encircling Brook," the crowning feature of which is a large Buddhist monastery of rather untidy appearance, as both the uposatha (chapel) and vihara (idol-house) have thatched roofs.

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

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

Mr. Annandale noticed in the course of his visit to the Siamese 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 Nà Tak, น้ า ตะเคียน, "lap-width." No use to look for such a class of expressions in lexicographical works purporting to teach "Siamese" 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 Thâm, วัดถ้ำ, 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 P'hū-khán Lūang, พระลูอง, the poet regains his boat at noon.

Wat Khong วัดกอง, 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 P'hrah Sēng, บ้านพระสิง, 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 P'hanom, ท่าพานนม the “Hill Landing-place” is reached. This lies encased between hills at the confluent of two tributaries of the Thā P'hanom 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, ทุ่งข้า, 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 Tha P'hnom river) rises a sala 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 sala, 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," Khâu Náng Hông, ក្រែងទឹក។ 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 Pák-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 Pák-Lâu or P'hang-ngâ. 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 Junkeeylon. 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 Niräs literature.

1. Vide supra, p. 70.
2. Account of the author’s stay and doings in Junkceylon

"We reached Junkceylon Island late in the afternoon, just before dark, and set about preparing our quarters pele-mele at Wat Thái Nam-P’hang, หน้าพระหัสดี วัดท้อง, 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. Siamese, 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 Chalâng 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. I prefer to refrain from all intercourse or meddling with them, as I think this would bring shame upon myself.


2. Women from the southern provinces of Siam 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: and their argot is not always easily understood. The youngsters from the central provinces that I have brought along with me managed to get on far better with them, with whom some of them became attached.

1. ชาวนอก, Ch'âu 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 Ch'âu Nai, ชาวใน, or people from the Inner Provinces and the Ch'âu Nok is formed, on the Malay Peninsula, by the Three Hundred Peaks or Sân-rôî Yot, 藁山頂, range which virtually separates continental from peninsular Siam. As far as this line the language spoken is practically that of the capital, i.e. Standard Siamese; whereas beyond that it abruptly changes into the southern dialect, distinguished from standard Siamese 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 Bhāsā Ch'âu Nok, ชาวนอก ชนเผ่า, 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 Siamese capital and neighbouring districts.

2. ชาวใน, Ch'âu Nai=People from the Inner provinces, including the capital and surrounding districts of Siam proper, where standard Siamese is spoken. This term of Ch'âu Nai, or Thai Nai, ชาวใน, has given rise to endless confusion at the hands of ill-informed writers on things Siamese. Dr. Leyden first made the acquaintance with the pitfall when he taunted F. Buchanan for having “Tai-nay [Thai-nai, ไทยใน] instead of the Tai-noè [Thai-noi, ไทยนอี้] of La Loubère, which signifies little Siamese; whereas Tai-nay cannot possibly signify little Siamese, but only chief Siamese; the true meaning of noi 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, ไทยใน, meaning “Inner Siamese”; and not Thai-näi, ไทยนอร์, an expression that not only
O'halang 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

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 Thai, or Siamese Language"; Calcutta, 1828) where (p. 7) he drew a line of distinction between the expressions Thai Noi, ขั้นน้อย, or Little Thai, Lesser Siâm; and Thai Nai, ขั้นใหญ่, Inner Thai, Central Siâm. The muddle continued, as a matter of course, kept in full swing by those writers of books on Siâm 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, น้อย=‘Inner,’ Chinese Nei, meaning the Châu Nai or people from the Inner Provinces (Central Siâm); and Nok, น้อย = ‘Outer,’ Chinese Wai, meaning the Châu Nok, or people from the Outer Provinces (specifically, the Malay Peninsula). Thai Noi, น้อยน้อย, ‘Lesser Thai’ are the minor branch of the Thai nation represented to this day by the Siamese and including both Thai-nai and Thai-nok or Châu-nai and Châu-nok; whereas the Thai Yai, ‘Greater Thai,’ are the major branch, represented to this day by the so-called Shâns (correctly Siâm or Siamese) of Burma. But it is perhaps useless to correct mistakes like the above, as contemporary amateurish writers of books and articles on Siâm—who never read, as a rule, scholarly publications but only antiquated and superficial clap-trap,—will always continue undaunted to foist roekauffé 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 Mara [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. 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. Lotus 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.

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 viâ Bân C'hái-thale, .matcher thlot, 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 Phêikt, and then the trail branching thence to Chalong Bay and continuing along the seashore 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, Herá,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

1. I presume it is here a question of the partly cultivated plain round Chalong Bay (Khelung of our exhilarating cartographers), stretching from the banks of Mündong creek (แหวน มุง) to Chalong village (รัษฎาธิ) and further to the southwest. The city destroyed by the Burmese rose probably on or about the site of the present Chalong village by the side of Khlong Rёng-söng (คลอง แรง son). 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 Kathu (กทน ? misprinted Naito in his Notes), a thriving mining village not far northward from Chalong 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. Herà, นาง, 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

---

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

1. *Potamonautus limula* (Hilgendorf).
3. *P. 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 नागः नागी भगिन्नियाः 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’humseng (ﾌﾇﾇﾇ),1 Chuang (ﾌﾇﾇ),2 Ch’eng (ﾌﾇﾇ),3 Marit (ﾑﾇ),4 Eagle-wood, Avrrhoa 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, Kôt Sô (นกน้อย), gall-nut trees, saffron, white sandal, unscented white sandal, Asafoetida, Bauhinia scandens, Leb-mîl Nâng (เต้นมิ้ยม่วง), Anamirta cocculus, Incense pines, Mantisia saltatoria, several kinds of zinziberaceaes; 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

1. นครด บาน not identified.
2.  See above, p. 39.
3. ซึ่งนี้ ไม่ = 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 "O'hom nok, o'hom mai," ซึ่งนี้ ไม่ practicaliy, "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 Bangkok, or of whales at the Mè-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. ซึ่งนี้ ไม่ unidentified. Aquilaria hirta ?
6. A creeper, unidentified.
7. ไม่ ใช่ 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. ไม่ ใช่ the last of which, a bulbous plant, is extensively employed in the preparation of a tincture for medicinal purposes.
9. The Loris or Nûri 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, Ching-chô birds¹ 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 Hieng 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 bears, 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 Phrah-Bat.—“At 7 a.m. I reached the sacred Foot­print 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

1. 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. 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-goddlings), human beings, Garudas, Sūras, Rākṣasas, the Wheel of the Law with its gem-like concentric rings; bows and arrows, birds, Kinnarās, Vijjadharas, maned lions, tigers, elephants, deer and sambur. Everything is portrayed there to a nicety, is skillfully 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.  öğ, the famous and most popular story of the adventures of Khun Ch'ang and Khun Phën ( helfg, ฉบำรก). 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. Those who were the fortunate possessors of mystic formularies for the search of treasures, precious metals etc. 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

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 "Cijakantamanga, 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 Siamese Crown.

2. Such formularies are called Lai-theng, ્, 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 Niras, i.e., with a view more of pouring forth one’s love refrain for the respective sweetheart and piping the Odisey 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’halâng, is of sufficient curiosity to justify its translation in a paper which, like this, is solely devoted to that interesting island.
โทษ เข้าไปตายในกรุง

ที่กรุงได้พร้อมถึงที่ (เที่ยง)

เปนเจ้าเมืองที่ผลิตได้

หมายเหตุเปนเวร

ที่กรุง (ทิศ) เบื้อง

พระยา ยกพระ

ตรง

เมืองของเจ้าเมือง

มาบุกที่หลัง

ผลิต

และ

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้

มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็

เพราะ

ผู้เกี่ยว

และ

ผู้เกี่ยว

ข้างที่

เปนเจ้าเมือง

แล้วได้มาบุกที่หลัง

พัก

เพราะ

เพราะ

ก็
[112]

[12]

[112]

[12]
บาบุ่ย, บาบุ่ย, ชาว เทศ อยู่ ในเมือง กลาง, ก็บัน นาย สานกันน้อย; พอ หลวง พาหน้าที่ ซึ่ง ไป อยู่ เมื่อ 十四条, ก็บัน หลวง ศรีก (เทศ) ชาว กระ, ไป ทำ ได้ มาทั้ง เลขอย กม ข้างทางกุ้ย; พระ ศรีก ทุ่ง คุ้ม เข้า ไป ลำบาก ข้าง ท่า เล็ก ศักดิ์ บัง เรียก ประ ถม หลวง, น่า เพราะ หนึ่ง; เลือก พระ ศรีก ทุ่ง ลำ สนใจ, เลือก กฎหมายแล้ว หลาย, หา ได้ เล็ก เข้า ไป ถอย ไม่ ถว

[ คำ ที่ บ้า ] ๑ เลี้ยง พระศรีก บ้า ศักดิ์ เล็ก เข้า (แยก) เใบ เลี้ยง; เลี้ยง ใส่ หมา แก่ พระวิชีร (หุ้นถั่ว) เลี้ยง ใส่ หมา บ้าน บัง ศักดิ์ (ซี); เลี้ยง ใส่ หมา หลวงkj หลวง ศรีก บ้า เปล่า มุข ท่าน พระยา ประ ถม ศักดิ์ สังกัม จริง บาง เลี้ยง เลี้ยง ใส่ หมา บ้าน พระยา ศรีก บ้า (มัง); พระยา ศรีก บ้า (แก, จีน ถาม ไม่ ถว ตาย; เลี้ยง พระยา สุรินทร์ ราชานะ แยก ถ่าย พระ อินทร์ รักษา กลาง นอก เลี้ยง ใส่ บ้าน ที่ พระยา ศรีก บ้า; เลี้ยง เลี้ยง หมา แก่ พระยา ศรีก บ้า (มัง) ๆ ตาย; เลี้ยง ใส่ หมา แก่ พระยา ศรีก บ้า (ยู)

เรียง ราม เลี้ยง เลี้ยง ศรีก ทุ่ง, เลี้ยง ศรีก บ้า กลาง, ก็ เลี้ยง, ก็ เลี้ยง ได้ แก่ เลี้ยง นั่น ถว

จะ เลี้ยง เมื่อ ครั้ง ที่ ท่าน แก่ มุข, ปากคาหา, ทำ ลง ไม่ได้

เลี้ยง พระยา สุรินทร์ ราชานะ มี ตรา ใส่ หัว เลี้ยง ไป ณ กรุงเทพฯ ว่า จึง ใส่ ใบนี้ ที่ อักข์ มหา เลี้ยงบัค เลี้ยงครั้ง เลี้ยง พระยา กรุงเทพฯ (ปลี) ไป เลี้ยง ทัพ หลวง; เลี้ยง พระยา สุรินทร์ ราชานะ เลี้ยง ไป ถึง กรุงเทพฯ แล้ว เลี้ยง เลี้ยง ยุ่ม หน้า ที่, สร้าง พระ อินทร์ โปรด พระราชานะ แล้ว น้า จะ เลี้ยง ใส่ อยู่ พระ อินทร์ ณ กรุงเทพฯ คือ เลี้ยง พระยา สุรินทร์ ราชานะ คือ [ 233 ]
Here is a curious word, มิ แก่, Mi-kê, for a headman or superintendent; which may be either of Khmêr or Thai (if not Malay or even
Burmese) origin. In Khmer we have similar ones, such as e.g. Mi-kär
"Chief of works," "Contractor"; Mi-koi, a "Custom-house official," a
"Superintendent of Customs," while in Western Thai (Shan) Kē, แก้ว,
(lit. "Old, Senior") occurs with the meaning of a "Village Headman."
ปราน หัว เจ้า ท่าน ศรี ต้อง แต่ ออก มา แต่ เมื่อ กฎ เงีย อย่า ให้ เจริญ พระยา สรุนทร ราชกิจ ขึ้น มาไป ทาง หน้า ผู้ใด จำ มา รั่ง เมื่อ ทรง เมื่อจะ เจ้า พระยา ดนตรี กับ เจริญ พระยา สรุนทร ราชกิจ แต่ เท่าน ช่วย พอ รัก ใคร่ กัน ทำ ให้ บ้าน เมื่อ มัน เฟื่อง กัน ก็ดั้น กันอยู่

เจ้าพระยาสรุนทรราชกิจบอกไปว่าอย่าให้พระหน้าเจ้าทำนุ้่ยคง เมื่อรองนครศรีธรรมราชกิจไม่เลยทำนุ้่ยเจ้าทรงมาไว้ให้รับไว้ให้สังพระราชทรัพย์เองตามได้ราชบุตรพระกรุณาได้ด้านมรุ่งด้านพระที่ได้เป็นสิทธิเป็นเกิ้มมาคุณเทาบัดนี้

ครั้นโปรดให้ท่านพระยาถึง(บุญคง)ออกมาเป็นที่พระยาถึงชื่นสุมรอบรอบผู้คนไว้ใจครั้นเป็นด้านท่านบ้านเสือบนตรงฝ่ายมรุ่งคอร์นมาถึงบางเค้า

ครั้นท่านพระยาไตรไตรยาออกมาข้าวรองหนังเช้าท่านมาพจน์หัวเจ้าท่านมาอย่าให้เขาท่านมาคือว่าอย่าให้เรียกให้ทางเข้าท่านมาที่มรุ่งได้มาแต่เมื่อถึงกลางทำนุ้่ยพระยาถึงก็อย่างราชกิจนานเจ้าพระยาสรุนทรราชกิจสืบกันมาอยู่สมัยแล้วครั้นไม่มีใครโปรดยกออกมาท่านก็ไม่สู้ยอมไม่ได้ทางเข้าท่านก็ได้เรียกสืบกันมา

อีบทั้นมาต้นหน้าเคาะคอระเคามาหัวต้นทำหนทางสังพระราชทรัพย์เป็นสำหรับเมืองพงษ์นาเมืองตะเภ้เมืองพงษ์นาที่เกื้อเป็นเมืองช่องแพร่ชื่นเมืองกิ่งบัวเอาคลองถ้าข้าบูรพาได้กับเมืองพงษ์นาต้นคลองคลอดออกเข้าต้องพื้นน้อยเอาเข้าสอดพื้นน้อยเป็นตนคนละพวกคลอดออกไปถึงพระยาเค้าเก่ายัง
เราก็คิดกัน เหมือน เมื่อ พังงา; เพราะ กทม. ทุ่ง (ที่นั่น) ซึ่ง เป็นเพราะ กทม. ทุ่ง, เหมือน เขย เพราะ การ (บุญ คง) ถึง เขา เขาเวลา ยา บ้า หนึ่ง, รี เหล่า บ้า หนึ่ง, เกาะนั้น ส่าไร ไป เมื่อ ช่วง แซง เมื่อ กทม. ทุ่ง; เพราะ การ (บุญ คง) เหม่า ถ้า เพราะ กทม. ทุ่ง เหมือน เขย ก็ยอม ให้

ผู้ย่อม เหมือน พังงา เขา เหม่า เหล่า เหมือน เหมือน; เดี๋ย อ่านคาม ก็ร่าสูง, สอง พัก, เหมือน เขย เหมือน เมื่อ พังงา

เจ้า เพราะ กุ้ยินทรราช ซึ่ง เหมา ใหญ่ ดำเนา ราช การ ณ แปล

ห้า เมื่อ นี้, เพราะ ประ สิษฐ สิ่ง ที่ เหมา จัง วัง ที่ แปล ห้า

เมื่อ เหมอน กัน ขึ้น ว้า แปล ห้า เมื่อ นี้:

1 เมื่อ การ, 2 เมื่อ ภูเกต, 3 เมื่อ กทม. บ้า, 4 เมื่อ กทม.

ทุ่ง, สะกร้า, 5 พังงา, 6 กรุง, 7 กรุงศรีฯ ประ  mujeres มา เหมา 8 เมื่อ

เมื่อ กทม., พังงา, ครุระ, คุรุค, เหมือน กัน กับ เมื่อ กทม.

เมื่อก็เราได้ก็พ่อมีนี้แล้วแต่จะไปตรงชะ

@ เมื่อก็เขียนไว้เมื่อปี บุญครั้งที่สี่ก่อน 1203 ปี ชะ
Historical Notice


We, the named: Nai Rok son of Chau Phraya Surindr-raj, Chang-wang; Nai Suk and Nai Sua, sons of the Governor of Thalang (Phraya Thalang); and Luang Bej-giri Sri-samud-visuddhi-songkhram, Vice-Governor (Pulat) of Thalang, 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 Thalang formerly Chom Rang of Ban-Takhien was governor. His wife was a Malay woman from Kedah, Ma-sial by name, daughter of Mahum-thau; having become a widow her younger brother claimed 5000 [dollars?] in the estate, wherefore she left Kedah in disgust and came to Thalang where she wedded Chom Rang. 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-krasattri; whereas the second one, Muk, became Lady Sri-sundara: this happened early in the first Reign. The youngest girl’s name was Ma. The younger brother of this, At, became in after years Governor of Thalang; and another still younger brother, Riang, obtained the post of Phon [Luang Phon].

Of the noblemen of Thalang, Chom Thau resided at Ban-Don and Chom Rang at Ban-Takhien. Chom Thau and Chom Rang had been born of the same father but of different mothers. Chom Thau’s sons likewise resided at Ban-Don: of these one became Phraya Thalang Chiet-thong [“of the Goldden Tray”], his mother’s name being Ch’ieng; and another, Riang, became Vice-Governor (Phraya Pulat), his mother’s name being Dam. Perfect harmony reigned between the two families of Ban-Don and Ban-Takhien: both acquired distinction, and their descendence ruled the territory in succession.

At Ban-Liphon, 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].

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 [Bangkok] was sent out as Governor. He was succeeded by Governor At 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-Khau and Pāk Sākhū, and erected dykes,¹ thus becoming masters of the situation.

Just then Phrayā Phīmon (Bimol), Governor of Kraī [but now] residing at Chump'hon, [came and] wedded Lady Deva-krāsattri. This lady had been first married to Mom Sri Phakdi, a Takūa-thung man son of the female devotee Buñ-kōt. This lady [termed Khun C'hī on account of her probably having taken nun vows for some time in after life], also originary of Takūa-thung, 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 Sri Phakdi, who got married in Thalāng; and a girl, Buñ-khong, who got wedded to Phrayā Prasiddhi Songkhrām. Mom Sri Phakdi had two children born by Lady Deva-Krāsattri: the elder one being a girl, Mē 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-Krāsattri remarried with Phrayā Phīmon, and had by him first a girl, Mē Thong, who was brought and presented to Court where she became subsequently the

1. I already observed on p. 42 that the expression Pāk Sākhū, 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 Siamese 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-thung or Thalāng is not clear.
mother of Princess Ubon (Uppala). Two boys were born next to her, viz. Chui who became Phrai Yokkrabat, and Niem who became a Royal Page during the early part of the [First] Reign. Then followed two girls, Më Kim and Më Muang.

Later on Phraya Phimalon, as a consequence of a legal suit brought against him by Thien his step-son, went [i.e. was transferred] to Phatthalung. Thalang was then given Phraya Thalang of the Gold Tray as governor; but this official having incurred punishment went [i.e. was deported] to the capital (Bangkok) where he died [under confinement, of course].

Thien the Asthmatic was then appointed governor of Thalang, with Nai Rüang as Phraya Palat and Nai Chü, a governor in after years, as Phraya Yokkrabat. Thus at that period, the governor, vice-governor, and registrar of Thalang all held Phya rank.

Phuket—As regards the Phuket district, Luang Phuket, Khang-khot by name, was governor. To him succeeded Nai Sri-chai assistant (in the Royal Pages) as Phra Phuket. Next the governorship fell to the father of the Luang Palat named Uk.

The boundary between Phuket and Thalang was fixed along a line running from Bang Khü to the river [of Tha-Riia]. Phuket was formerly a large and important district, but it has been once more placed under Thalang. The limits of its jurisdiction are:

On the West: Hín Chái; Phlái Tanôt;

On the East: Koh Maphräui, Āu Tab-kä, Lêm Ngä, Lêm Matphä; and thence all the way to Koh Yäu [the two Panjang islands], Koh Alang [the two Alangs], Koh Klüei, Lêm Yä-mü, Rêt [island], Nakhä [2 islands], Koh Rawäh, Koh Pä-yöi, Koh Changam, Āu Phålramä, Koh Yä-nät, Koh Khülä-khot; and thence to Lêm Kho-en.

1. The antiquated term เจ้า กราน, Chau 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 เกรา in true Thai Nok style (in which, as among neighbouring Malays, final k is silent or, at any rate, is converted into an aspirate h).

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

Pak Koyik, Lum Pak Phraya; then across to Pak-nam Mon and to Pak Phra only on one side of the channel, the other [i.e. the northern one] belonging to the Takua-thung district.

Takua-thung—With respect to Takua-thung, formerly Chau Phraya Indrawongsä had established his residence at Pak Phra, levelled a site and started to erect a mansion; but before the work had been completed news came that Phya Tak had set up as king, and Chau Phraya Indrawongsä died. Commissioners of Chau Phraya and Phraya rank were thereupon sent out from the capital; most of whom fixed their quarters at Pak Phra, viz.: Chau Phraya Lu Rajañikul, Phraya Dharmatraiolk, and Phraya Phip'hit Phokhai. Phraya Dharmatraiolk fought the Burmese at Pak Phra and lost his life there; whereas Phraya Phip'hit-phokhai made his escape via Phang-ngä, through the pass that has since become known as Dan Phraya Phip'hit [usually marked in maps as Mt. Prapipit].

The boundary of Takua-thung was fixed at the Ta-ngi river and thence straight along the Nam-lam-thä stream, the valley of which latter wholly belongs to Takua-thung, Takua-pü having no right in it. At Takua-thung formerly Luang Phhej was governor. He was succeeded by Phra Phra Takua-thung the Broken-leg (or, Lame); and this by Chom Phithaks,—who was the father of the Phra Phal Palat and of Lady Müang, the mother of Phra Phises—and whose name was Thi. The governorship of Takua-thung then passed to Khun Dam, whose mother's name was Nui, and his father's Lek. This latter was said to be descended of Moi settlers at the capital. When the governor just mentioned died, he was succeeded by his son Thin who was the father of On, a later governor of Takua-thung. His mother's name was Sri In, and his maternal grandmother's Rieu; this matron hailed from the Re-Mai-ken village, and having wedded Chom Nai-kong [the governor of either Thalang or Takua-thung, see p. 118 above] she had had by him the aforesaid daughter In [Sri In]. Pak Phra Strait formed the line of demarcation between Takua-thung and Thalang territories.

1. The abridged version reproduced below under No. 2, has instead of this garbled and evidently corrupt passage the following: "Then Nai Sri became Chom Sri Phakdi [and not Chom Phithaks as above] and governor; he was the father of the Phra Phal Palat and Müang, the mother of Phra Phises."

2. Here we have an argot word นิ standing both for น and ณ.
The Junkceylon Revenue.—Whenever crown property accumulated at Thalang, the authorities of this district used to forward it to Takia-thung, whence it was sent on to Takua-pa; this having been the custom mutually followed for a long time.

When Thalang had not yet been taken by the Burmese, whereas Takua-thung, Takia-pa, Ch'haiyā and Ch'umph'on 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. Lūang Phejr-dhanū (Seng), an official from Ligor stationed at Bān Kāu Som-d on the Phnom river, collected men and started to remove the crown property from the landing at the Sok Mountain [Thā Khâu 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 Lūang Phejr-dhanū (Seng). Owing to this, all the people settled along the Thā Phnom river [took fright and] fled, and the deserted country became overgrown with jungle.

While the P'hraḥ Takia-thung—who was the father of the later P'hraḥ Takia-thung named Thīn—was governor of that district, an order came to him from the capital to proceed to India [Miāng 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 Thalang district [i.e. Junkceylon Island], and some masters of sundry [foreign] sailing vessels. At just the same time Lūang Bāgyavādi who resided at Trang, and Lūang 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 Takia-thung governor had all these valuable articles conveyed under his personal supervision [across the main range] to Thā Khâu 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 Takia-pa district Chom Phakdi-sena (Khēk) 1 formerly was governor. He was succeeded by P'hraḥ Vijit the Deaf, and this by Lūang Takia-pa a Chinaman. Then the office

1. This may mean either that he was a Khēk, i.e. a Malay or Indū by race, or that his name was Khēk.
passed to Luang Narong the son of P'hrayā Prasiddhi Songhrīm Governor-general [Chāng-wāng], who thus became Luang Takūa-pā. Next it fell to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Mūang) and, again, to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Kēt) who was murdered by Chinese [?] miners]. At this juncture Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā applied for Phra Indr-rakṣā from the Border corps of the Ch'haiyā province, who thereupon received the appointment of P'hrayā Takūa-pā. Then the district passed under the governorship of P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Mūang) and, at the death of this, to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Uṭ).

Here ends the account of the Takūa-thūng, Takūa-pā, Thalāṅg, and Phūket districts.

Account of the opening of a New Overland Route from Martī, Pāk-Lāu, and Thā-Phāme. [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 Siamese text; for the abridged account (No. II) has: “Next it fell to P'hra Takūa-pā (Kēt)—the father of [the later] P'hra Takūa-pā (Mūang)—who was led to death by the Chinese. Then P'hra Indr [-rakṣā] from the Outer circumscriptio of Ch'haiyā came out as P'hra Takūa-pā; after him came P'hra Takūa-pā (Mūang); and, finally, P'hra Takūa-pā (Uṭ).”—This is undoubtedly the correct line of succession, for above Governor Mūang 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'hra and P'hra, ascribed to the Takūa-pā governors in the two accounts, No II is probably again in the right.

2. Ṣūd ḫamāna 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'hya 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 Buñ-khong was appointed P'hrayā Thalāng and sent out [from the Capital] as Governor [circa 1820]. He gathered together lots of people whom he induced to settle down and form villages all the way from Marui to Bāng Tōi [i.e. about the western portion of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula].

Subsequently, when P'hrayā Krai Kōśa 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'hūai to come out and represent to him that no such imposts should be levied at Marui [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 Kōśa] 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].

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 [i.e. in so far as royalties in kind and other Crown goods were concerned] of Takūa-pā.

On the East, Khlong Thām [‘Cave Brook’] had been allotted to P'hang-ngā as far up as the Khāu Song-p'hi-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'hrah Āt-thāu; Kōh Yang and Kōh P'hing-kan [or Bīgān Is.] being included as part of

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-thūng Governor [P'hraḥ Takūa-thūng] named Thin, being a younger brother-in-law of the Thalāṅg Governor Buṅ-khong, asked from the latter the cession of Khāu Rājā-Bi-nī [Rājā Bīn Mount], Pulau Pāgi, and Koh Nom Sāū [‘Maid-breast Isle’] as dependencies of Takūa-thūng; which request Governor Buṅ-khong granted in consideration of his relationship with his Takūa-thūng colleague.

On the North, Khāu Khmān-lek [‘Iron-black Mountain’] forms the boundary of P'hang-ngā territory. On the North-east [North-west?] Upper Korā [Ko-rā Sūng, ณ 77 ๗๔ and Song Phrēk are border dependencies of it.

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

What is [administratively] termed the ‘Eight Districts’ includes the following territories:
1.—Thalāṅg,
2.—P'hākēt,
3.—Takūa-pā,
4.—Takūa-thūng,
5.—Ko-rā,
6.—P'hang-ngā,
7.—Khurāḥ,
8.—Khurot.

Of these, Ko-rā, P'hang-ngā, Khurāḥ, 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].

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]."
II.—Abridged Variant of No. 1.

○ จอม ธาร บ้าน ตกศี เปน เจ้า เมือง; เมย ชื่อ หม่ำ เลย, ตก

มาหมู่ เมือง ไทร; มี ตก ชาย ชื่อ ชาย เปน พระยา กลาง ๓, ชื่อ เลย เปน

ที่ พล ๓, รวม สอง คน; ตก หญิง ชื่อ จินทราย เปน ท้าว เทพ กรร

ศักชัย ๗, ชื่อ มัก เปน ท้าว ศิริ จินทร ๓, ชื่อ หม่ำ ๓, รวม สาม

คน; รวม ทาง ชาย ทาง หญิ้ง เปน อ คน ฯ ฯ

○ จอม ธาร กับ จอม เถ้า เปน ตก พอ เถ้า กัน แต่ ต่าง มาตรากิ่ง;

จอม ธาร อยู่ บ้าน ศักชัย; จอม เถ้า อยู่ บ้าน ศักชัย; ตก ได้ เปน

พระยา กลาง เจียด ทอง, แม ชื่อ เหลียง, พระยา ปลัด เปน ชื่อ คำ

กัน ชื่อ เข้า ฯ ฯ

○ ฝ่าย บ้าน ลิพอน จอม เชี่ย ศรีชัย กิต ราชาญา เหลียง; พระยา

กลาง (ค้าง เชิง) เข้า กลาง ยอด มา เปน เจ้า เมือง; พระยา กลาง

(ชาย) เปน เจ้า เมือง มี ราชย์ ยิ่ง ชาย; แล้ว เข้า เมือง ไทร มา

เปน เจ้า เมือง หน่อย หน่ำ ฯ

○ พระยา พิมุ, เกิ้ม เปน พระยา กระ, ได้ ค้อย ท้าว เทพ กรร

ชำศัย; จอม นาย กลาง เขา นคร บ้าน ใหญ่ ชาย สัญ ยอด มา เปน

ส่วนราชอาณา; ได้ กับ คุ้นชื่อ บุญ เด็ก; มี ท่า ชาย ชื่อ หม่ำ ศรี

ราชการ, ตก หญิ้ง ชื่อ คง ได้ กับ พระยา ประสงค์ พระยา ฯ

○ หม่ำอัครภิกษุ ได้ กับ ท้าว เทพ กรรศัย; มี ตูกชาย ชื่อ เด็ก

เปน พระยา กลาง, ตก หญิ้ง ชื่อ ปราจ; ท้าว เทพ กรรศัย เปน หม่ำ

ได้ พระยา พิมุ, มี ตก หญิ้ง ชื่อ เด็ก かったです คุณ มาตร ยา เลย กรร

ขับ; ตก ชาย ชื่อ คุณ เปน พระยา ยศศัย, ชื่อ เหลียง เปน มหาล<BookMark>

ตก หญิ้ง ชื่อ กัน, ชื่อ เมือง; พระยา กลาง เลย ตก เหลียง พัง พระยา
ฟรั่นสกิญฉ์ ไป อยู่ เมื่อ พักผ้อง พังเขน พระยา เจริญ ทอง เบี๋ พระยา กลาง ที่ ปลัก นายพรหม เบี๋ พระยา ปลัก พระยา กลาง เมื่อ พระยา อาร์บ หรี ยะ

- เมื่อ ภูเก็ต หลัง ภูเก็ต (ข้าง กด) เบี๋ เจา เมื่อง แล้ว

นาย ศรี ชาย นาย เวเน เบี๋ พระยา ภูเก็ต แล้ว บิดา หลัง ปลัก (อุ ฯ) เบี๋ เจา เมื่อง ยะ

- เมื่อ ภักดี ทอง เกม หลัง เกม เบี๋ เจา เเมื่อง ได้มา พระ

ภักดี ทอง (ข้า หัก) ได้มา นาย ศรี เบี๋ ศรีภักดี เบี๋ เจา เมื่อง (เบี๋ พ่อ พระปลัก แต่ แม้ เมื่อง แม้ พระวิศาสตร์) แล้ว

ได้มา พระภักดี ทอง (ขุนดำ) พ่อ พระภักดี ทอง (ธน) แล้ว

ได้มา พระภักดี ทอง (ธน) ทุกธน นิ้ว แล้วได้มา พระภักดี ทอง (อ่อน) แล้วได้มา พระภักดี ทอง (กล่อม) ยะ

- เมื่อ ภักดี ป่า จอม ภักดี เลามา (แซก) เบี๋ เจ้า เมื่อง

แล้วได้มา พระอิจฉัตร (หู หนวก) ได้มา หลัง ภักดี ป่า ศรี ได้

มา หลัง มณรงค์ บุตร พระยา ประลึกลิ้น แต่สามารถ 各样 บาง ได้มา พระ

ภักดี ป่า (เกซ) พ่อ พระภักดี ป่า (ม่วง) จิ้น ภาษีไป ได้มา แซง

แล้ว พระยา อินทร์ กะนภายนอก แม่ เบี๋ พระภักดี ป่า แล้วได้มา

พระภักดี ป่า (ม่วง) แล้วได้มา พระภักดี ป่า (อุ) ยะ

[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].

[247]
III—Despatch from Kalâkâm, 1804.

[ 128 ]

○ หนังสือ เจ้า พระยา อัคมาหา เสนาวาติ ยกยิ้ม พิริยาปราการ พาหุร
พิยูย พ่อ กษกจิตร ; มาก็ ให้ เจ้า พระยา ธรรมการแก้ว ชาดี เก โอ ไข่
ผ่านไป ร้ายชวิกรรด์ ยกยิ้ม พิริยาปราการพาหุร เจ้า พระยา เวช ศรี ธรรม
ราช, พระยา พิชิต เสนาวา มหายิ่ง พิริย์ ศรีส่งอารมณ์ พระยา พิม
ดง, พระยา พิชัย ศรี ศรี บุรุษส่งอารมณ์ พระยา ดุจฉา, พระยา พีริต
ภักดี ศรี พิชัย ส่งอารมณ์ พระยา พระ พระ พระ
พระ พระ, ห้อง เทพ ศรี ศรี ส่งอารมณ์ ห้อง บัวี พระ

○ ทั้งนี้ เจ้า พระยา สุรินทรราช ราชรัฐ ทุฒ พระ กระหน่ำ ว่า จง ขย
ตกทางดาน พระ ราช ทรัพย์ แต่ ปรากฏมา คง พนม, หน้าทางใกล้กัน ว่า
ทางท่า เข้า ศักกิ่ง ๒๔ วัน, ๒๔ วัน; ทำ พนม เบื้องที่ ด้วยมัน ดัด ผัก,
ศรี บุก, พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลั่ง แหวน เมื่อ ยิ่ง ศัก; แต่ เบื้อง คง บ้า
แรกว้า อยู่, หา มี บ้าน เขียน ผู้ คน ครัง อยู่ เหี่ยน แต่ ก่อนไม่, เบี้ยว
อยู่; จึง ศัก ให้ จัน ทพต จัน เพศ ศรี, เบื้อง ผ่าย คง งาม กุณ จุน
ทั้งนี้ ฝ่าย มี ข้อ, มา ให้ ครัง บ้าน เขียน เบื้อง ผ่าย สลัก ตำ ยา เบื้อง, อยู่
รัฐา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลั่ง มา หลั่ง คร้าง เลย; แต่ กลั่น จัน
ทั้งนี้ ฝ่าย มี ข้อ เหล่านั้น เหน้น เบื้อง น้อย ไม่ ผ่าย ครว ทวัย
พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลั่ง; เหล่าถูกนี้ ฝ่าย หลั่ง ผ่าย มา เบื้อง
อยู่บ้าน ใช้ มาก แย้, จง มา กรรณา ทำ ว้า พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ
หลั่ง จง เที่ยง ราชการ ไป; แล้ว มี ข้อ เบื้อง ฝ่าย หลั่ง พดเมือง
เมือง ค้าร้าน บ้าน, เมือง พงนำ, เมือง กลาง, เมือง ค้าร้าน ทุ่ง, ทั้งสิ่ง หัว
เมือง, บรรดา ที่ หนึ่ง หลั่ง มา อยู่ แหวน เมือง นคร, พิม สมุทร, สงคราม,
ไร้ยา ชุมพร, ปทุม, หลั่ง เมือง ปาก ได้ นั้น เบื้อง นั้น มาก; ข้อ บั้ว
[ 248 ]
ตรวจราคาหนักให้ชูที่พิพิธภัณฑ์ ซึ่ง เพื่อ ศิริ์ ฯ ฯ ฯ นาย คงที่ พรมสี สับ
สากา ชัก ขนสี เกลี้ยกล่อม เสีย เซื่อ ไฟฟ้า หลัง พลัส เพียง เมื่อ กลาง,
นาภัส สะสม ที่แบ่ง แต่ เมื่อ ถ้า เกิด บ้าน เรือน ทำ มา หา กิน ให้
มิ่ง ศิริ์ วิริณุสุร: จะได้ รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ชง หลัง ด้วย ประ
กร หนัง ถ้า มี ศักดิ์ สงกรานต์ มาก ศิริ์ ศิริ์ บ้าน เมื่อ เมื่อ เมื่อ กลาง,
กินที่ หุง ความ บ้าง จะได้ คุม กิน ข้าว หนู หมู่ ครึ่ง หนึ่ง ขับ
ด้วย ราชการ อยู่ แล้ว ฯ ฯ
ทรง พระ กระนั้น โปรด ให้ชูที่พิพิธภัณฑ์ ซึ่ง เพื่อ ศิริ์ ฯ ฯ ฯ นาย
คงที่ พรมสี สับสากา ชัก ขนสี เกลี้ยกล่อม เสีย เซื่อ สัก แล้ว แล้ว มิ่ง ให้
สัก เซื่อ เมื่อ กลาง เลือ เมื่อ นคร ฟักงุ้น สูงจี ประโยชน์ ชูมาร,
ชั้น หุบเหวย มูล หมาย แล้ว เซื่อ กล้า ป้า กล้า หึง ที่แบ่ง หรือ เมื่อ
บรรดา ชี้ หุบเหวย มูล หมาย ซึ่ง บ้า คง แสง แสง อยู่ ศักดิ์ รักษา
เมื่อ ผู้ ร้าง กรม การ จนลง นคร ฟักงุ้น สูงจี ประโยชน์ ชูมาร,
บกุ้ม หึง เมื่อ บ้าผัก ได้ ฝ่าย Override กล้า หึง นั้น เซื่อ มา ให้ ศิริ์
บ้าน เรือน ทำ มา หา กิน อยู่ ที่ พรมสี ที่ ปากสาร ให้ ได้ ๒๐๐ ศิริ์ ๒๐๐
ศิริ์ จะได้ รับ รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ชง หลัง ให้เป็น ภูมิ สถาน สำเนา
จึง มิ่ง ศิริ์ บรรบัตร ขืน ฯ
สิ่ง ทรง พระ กระนั้น โปรด เกษากา ให้ ทำ คน เขา พระยา สุริทธิ
ราชสำนัก ปัจ กรม ทุก พระ กระนั้น นั้น เลือก ถ้า ชู ที่พิพิธภัณฑ์ ชู
เทศ ศิริ์ สับ ลำน้ำ ซัก ขนสี เกลี้ยกล่อม ให้ เซื่อ เมื่อ ใด เท่าใดเป็น ชาย
หญิง ใหญ่ ข้อย ให้ ยืน ตรง ข้าง ไว้ แล้ว เเข้า พระยา สุริทธิราชผู้
สักุนธ์ ราช การ ที่แบ่ง หรือ เมื่อเบ็ญ เขา ไป กรมทุก พระ กระนั้น ให้
ทราบ ห่วง อย่า ให้ผู้ รักษา เมื่อ ผู้ร้าง กรมการ นาย ที่ นาญคันภ้
[130]

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 Ph’hanom, 1885.

○ ทั่งที บาก พนม ช้าง ฝ้าย ได้ น้า ดง ไป ต่อ กับ เมือง ศินคีรี เที่ยม คลอง ม้ง จากรก; บาก คลอง บางจาก ดง ไป ช้าง ได้ น้า, เบ็ญ ที่ เมือง ศินคีรี อ่างเกодеวัน; คลองบางจาก ระยะ กับ บ้าน ชวน ดง ไป หน่อย หนึ่ง; ฝ่าย ช้าง เหลือ น้า ที่มี คลอง ศักดิ์ วัน ไป เพียง คลอง ระหว่าง อุขุ nic; ปลาย คลอง ระหว่าง อุขุ nic ไป จก สถานที่; บาก ภูเขา ศักดิ์ หัว ยอด เบ็ญ ที่ เมือง ศักดิ์ ป้า อำนาจ ชวน กัก กิน บาก ภูเขา ศักดิ์ ช้าได้ กิน เเบ้ ที่ พนม; บาก คลอง ระหว่าง อุขุ nic ที่ ช้าง หัว เหลือ น้า เบ็ญ ที่ เมือง ศักดิ์ รัตน์คม, อ่างเกоде ช่วง ลำคลอง; บาก คลอง ระหว่าง อุขุ nic ได้ ที่ บ้านศักดิ์ ดง มา หน่อย หนึ่ง; แต่ ที่ พนม จะไป ต่อ กำหนด ทำ บ้านศักดิ์ ช้าน สัก เพียง ไหน ชิน จิตรพร, ชิน พีพิตร์ บ้าน คลอง ช่อน แรก หัน แต่ ๆ แต่ ก่อน กั้น หา ทราบ ค้า จะ  commodo กัน เพียง ไหน ไม่ ค้า

○ ข้าพเจ้า ชิน ช่วย ราชการ ชิน กักตั้ง ตั้งกรม ที่ พนม, บอกมา ยัง ชินวิจาร์ อักษร ขอให้ น้า ชิน กรมเรียน ให้ เก้าขุนเจ้า ทราบด้วย โปรด ให้ ข้าพเจ้า สิ่ง เขย แผนที่ พนม สิ่ง ได้ ความว่า:—ช้าง ฝ้าย ได้ ซัดิน แผนที่ แผนที่ กรม กับ แผนที่ พนม เขย เมืองน้ำพอง เพียงบางครั้ง ศักดิ์ ช้าง ฝ้าย ได้ น้า, แผน เมือง กบฏ ศินคีรี; กับ แผนที่ อ่างเกоде วัง ทรัพย์ ตรง ปากคลอง ธรรมรัง ครั้ง ไป เราไม่ ทั่ง,ฝ่าย ฝ้าย น้า เบ็ญ ที่ เมือง กบฏ ศินคีรี, ฝ่าย หัวน้า เบ็ญ ที่ อ่างเกоде วัง ทรัพย์; เราไม่ ทั่ง ตรงไป เข้า พนนิช ลี้สมัคร พนนิช ช้าง ลี้สมัคร เบ็ญ ที่ ทำ ช้าน,ฝ่าย เข้า พนนิช ปะหลัง เบ็ญ ที่ พนม; ๆ กับ ที่ กระฉลreck คลอง เท้า
II. НИЈЕ ЛИ СУ ОВДЕ ИЗ АНАЛИЗИ ОВИ ЛИСТА

II. НИЈЕ ЛИ СУ ОВДЕ ИЗ АНАЛИЗИ ОВИ ЛИСТА.
p. 6, bottom line of text. I have since noticed that the promontory forming the north end of Tioman island, in the Gulf of Siam, bears the same name: "Ujong Salâng," 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 Pâli ‘Cûlā’—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 ꜱꜱ꜏ ꜱ꜋Ꜳ, i.e. the ‘Nâga (Dragon) Island’ by the Siamese, 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 Salâng toponymy, must be relegated to the limbo of burst bubbles. Salâng unmistakably 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 Ujong Salâng as applied to Junkeeylon 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 neighbouring 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 Chalâng or Thalâng.

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 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 Jonceyloan, 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, offered his services, and they were accepted. But this gentleman, although better acquainted, perhaps, with the regions to the Eastward

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."

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."

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].³

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

---

¹. This can hardly have been anyone else than Mom Sri P'hakdi who left the heroine Chan a widow just before the Burmese siege of Thalâng 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 Siamese side is the silence of the local annals about such land-grabbing schemes on the part of the British. But the most curious of 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 Koh Mak Penang Island (กนบดี เหล้า ฮังกฤษ แช่มีริ กรมหมาภัก), 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 Siamese 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 Siâm (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 Asiatic Soc. Journal, fusc. 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 *Talapōi*, lit. 'Our (or, my) Lord.' Another possible and very likely prototype of the term may be *Toila-pon*, lit. 'Lord of Pity (or, Virtue)'; which expression, however, is only employed in connection with Head priests, or Abbots. *Thāpōi*, or *Th'pōi*, (and not *Kh'pōi*) 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. 90, l. 25—Nāi Mī also composed a Nīrās Sup'han, निरास सुप्ह, which I have not seen, because though in print it has now grown very scarce.
INDEX.

Abdullah, the Malay traveller, 56.
A Chinese language, 7.
Adam's Peak, Footprint on, 85, 86.
Alang islands, 34, 35, 36, 37, 44, 120.
Alchemy, 106.
A. M. S., a writer, 136, 139.
Anderson, Dr. J., 17, 24, 27, 28, 30, 64, 91.
Animal worship, 92, 93.
Annamese, 76, 77, 82, 85.
Annandale, Nelson, 93.
Antimony at Junkceylon, 106.
Aracan coast toponymy, 7.
Argot of Southern Provinces of Siām. 97.
Asiatic Quarterly Review, 138.
Asiatic Researches, 88.
Aubaret, G., 76.
Ayuddhya, the old Siāmese capital, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 24, 27, 29, 33, 41, 44, 58, 63, 65.
Ayuddhya, annals, 16, 19, 59, 91, 92, 93.
Balfour, Surgeon-Gen. E., 43.
Bān-Dōn district and river (on W. coast of Gulf of Siām ), 65, 67, 70, 88, 91, 94.
Bān-Dōn village and river (on Junkceylon Is.), 42, 50, 52, 77, 118.
Bangarie, Bangery, Bāng-Khli village, 32, 87.
Bāngkōk, 19, 28, 29, 60, 61 64, 76, 77, 81, 88, 89, 92.
" Annals, 43, 59, 72, 78, 82, 89, 137.
" Forts, 92.
Bān-Takhien village, Junkceylon, 41, 42, 50, 77, 118.
Barbosa, Duarte, 16.
Barcalon, Pracilāng ( = Phra Khlang ), 15.
Barker, Lieut. Edmund, 22.
" Bay of Bengal Pilot," 48, 80.
Bèche-de-mer, at Junkceylon, 35.
Beetles eaten at Junkceylon, 38.
Betel-nut, substitute for, 39.
Birds, 103, 104.
Bocarro, Antonio, 134.
Bowrey, Thomas, 134.
Bowring, Sir John, 89.
British designs upon Junkceylon, 135–138.
Buchanan, Dr. F., 97.
Buddhism, 92, 99, 105.
Buddhist footprints, 84, 85, 86, 99, 104, 105.
" formulas, 85.
" monastery at Junkceylon, 36, 55, 56.
" monks, 79.
" statues, 93.
" temples, 93, 94.
Buffaloes at Junkceylon, 53.
Bügi or Wügi, a piratical race, 6, 74.
Bullocks, 53.
Büng, the mygale (Malopoeus albostriatus), 38.
Burmese, 10, 19, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86, 99.
" invasions of Junkceylon, 59, 60, 61, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 121, 122, 137.
" invasions of the Malay Peninsula, 45, 59, 65, 75.
Burney, Major Henry, and his treaty, 88.
Caranguor (1516)=Salangor ?, 16.
Celebes, 6, 54.
Ceylon, 106.
Chāināth district, 90.
Chāiyā district, 17, 44, 65, 67, 68, 69, 78, 82, 88, 122, 123.
Chālāng, 3, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 41, 42, 43, 44, 50, 60, 61, 62, 63, 72, 76, 77, 96, 107, 134.
Chālōng Bay, Junkceylon, 6, 99, 100.
Chan, Lady, the Junkceylon heroine, 43, 60, 61, 62, 118, 137, 138.
Chaumont, Chev. de, 25, 26, 27, 28.
Chīn-Nāi, 97, 98.
142 Jhau-Nam—the Salon or Selung tribes, 8.
C'hau-Nôk, 97, 98.
C'hau Phraya Dibakarawongse, annalist, 59.
Challang or Châlang, Sumatra, 6.
China Review, 24, 46, 78, 80.
Chinese at Junkceylon, 31, 32, 39, 41, 55, 82, 83, 84.
"imports to Junkceylon, 54, 96.
"records, etc., 77.
Châoisy, the Abbé de, 25.
Chumphôn district, 16, 17, 49, 61, 65, 75, 81, 119, 122.
Cookatocs, 103.
Coins, 57.
Coral, at Junkceylon, 38.
Corvée, 123.
Crawfurd, John, 3, 4, 88.
Crocodile, 92, 93, 100.
"legends, 92.
"shrines, skulls, and worship,
92, 93.
Crooke, W., 3.
Currency at Junkceylon, 56, 57.
""Mergui, 56.
""Pahang, 56.
""Ranông, 56.
Damdr (wood-oil) at Junkceylon, 22, 23.
Deer at Junkceylon, 53, 104.
Dennys, Dr. N. B., 136, 139.
Des Bourges, M., 24, 25.
Dialect, the southern Siamese, 97, 121.
Diospyros decandra, its fruit, Lük Chan, 60.
Dog worship, etc., 85.
Dulanier, Prof. Ed., 56.
Dutch designs upon Junkceylon, 25.
Eagle wood, 9, 102; a royal monopoly, 17.
Eight Districts, The, 71, 72, 87, 125.
Elephants, albino, 31, 32, 37.
"at Junkceylon, 36, 37, 38, 48, 53, 95, 104.
"pack, 69, 70, 94.
English, the, 82, 135–138.
"Essays relating to Indo-China, 83, 97.
European imports into Junkceylon, 54.
European residents at Junkceylon, 53.
Fa-Hien, 86.
Field taxes, 89, 124.
Fire-arms from India to Junkceylon, 44, 60, 61, 65, 122.
"sent to Siâm, 137.
Fitch, Ralph, 21.
Folk-lore tales, 133.
"Dog, 85.
Formularies, mystic, 106.
Forrest, Capt. Thomas, 2, 4, 46, 47, 48, 52, 56, 62, 84.
French influence and doings in Siâm and Junkceylon, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.
French Island, near Junkceylon (=Kôh Phêch), 30, 36.
"Missionaries, 27, 45, 78, 79.
Galvano, Antonio, 20, 21.
Genius-loci shrines, 92, 93, 95.
Gerini, Col. G. E., 106.
Gervaise, N., 18, 24, 27, 106.
"Gia-dinh Thung-ch'i", 76.
Gold at Junkceylon, 25.
Grant Brown, R., 10.
Gunpowder explosion, 77.
Gunsalan=Junsalan, 21, 22.
Hakluyt, R., 9, 23.
"Society Publications, 21, 22, 134.
Hamilton, Capt. Alexander, 30, 32, 55, 134.
Héra, a lizard, 100.
Heroines, at Junkceylon, see under Women; Siamese, 63.
"Hobson-Jobson," Yule and Burnell's, 2, 3, 13, 55.
Hogs, wild, at Junkceylon, 53, 104.
Hornbill, 39.
Horsburgh, James, 43.
Hospital, the first, established in Siâm, 27.
Junsalon (1682), 24.
Ibn Khurdâdbih, 9.
India, adventurers and colonizers from, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 20.

Southern, 5, 7.

Trade and traders, 5, 8, 44, 54, 60, 61, 64, 66, 122.

Indian piece-goods for Junkceylon, 54, 65, 66, 122.

enamelled silver-ware for Junkceylon, 66, 122.

Inscriptions; Tamil, 10; Sanscrit, 67.

Insects eaten in Siam, 38.

Ivory, 9.

Janselone (1679), 134.

Jan-Sylan (1784), 2, 47, 48, 49.

Jatakas or Buddhist Birth-stories, 94.

Java, 4, 5, 54, 96.

Jongselang, 78, 79.

Jonkeeyloan (1719), 31, 32, 134.

Jonsalam (1681), 24.


R. Asiatic Society, 9, 16, 17, 20, 83.

Straits Branch, 33, 48, 52, 135, 136, 138.

Juncalaoon, 9, 23, 24.

Juncalao, Ponta de, 23.

JUNKCEYLON ISLAND - See also Chalang, Thalang, Xalang, etc.

- antiquarian remains, 1, 99.
- bêche-de-mer, 35.
- beetles, 38.
- birds, 103, 104.
- British designs upon, 135-138.
- Buddhist footprint, 36, 99.
- monastery, 36, 55, 56, 96.
- Burmese invasions, 45, 59, 60, 61, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 137.
- Capitan China, 82, 83.
- Cattle, 53.
- Census, 52.

- Chinese, 31, 32, 39, 41, 55, 82, 88, 84.
- Climate, 53, 54.
- Coral, 38.
- Crustaceans, fresh-water, 101.
- Currency, 56, 57.
- Decapods, terrestrial, 101.
- Deer, 53.
- Dutch designs upon, 25.
- Elephants, 36, 37, 38, 48, 53, 95, 104.
- albino, 37.
- European residents, 48, 53.
- Fire-arms from India, 44, 60, 61.
- French at, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.
- Goats, 53.
- Harbours, 25, 31, 49.
- History, early, 7.
- local documents 2, 18, 41, 62, 64, 109-132.
- modern accounts, inadequacy of, 1, 2, 80, 81.
- Hogs, wild, 53.
- Hornbill, 39.
- Imports, 54.
- Indian piece-goods, 44, 54, 57.
- Islanders, the, 57.
- Loadstone mountain, at, 26, 106.
- Malay invasions, 31, 32, 40, 42.
- Missions, Roman Catholic, 24, 45, 78, 79.
Kedah, Annals, 26, 134.

Kelantan, 56.

Keluor, Kilong, Khelung, Bay = Chalōng, 6.

Khālong, the Mōj name for Junkceylon, 6.

Kháu Sok Pass, 44, 45, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 122.

Khmer words, 18, 114, 115.

Khóraj, Khórat, province, 63.

Khurāh district, 71, 125.

Khurōt, 71, 125.

Klinkert, H. C., 3.

Kocken, Kakovīng, village, 34, 36, 51.


Kore district, 71, 125.

Kot Monthierabal, law, 11.

Kot Sō, a medicinal plant, 39, 103.

Krah district and isthmus, 49, 67, 119.

Kynnersley, C. W. S., 43, 52, 100.

Lakhon, see Ligor.

La Loubrère, C. de, 26, 28, 32, 92, 97, 106.

Lancaster, Sir James, 9, 22.

Lanier, Prof. L., 25, 26, 29, 30.

Lap-width of sitting Buddha figures, 93.

Leal, Mr., 64, 88, 91.

Leyden, Dr. J., 85, 96.


his Nonyah, 153, 139.

Ligor (Lakhon), 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 43, 61, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 76, 77, 81, 91, 119, 122.

his dialect, 97.

his governors, 70.

Linschoten, J. H. van, 21.

Liphōn village, Junkceylon, 42, 50, 118.

Little, Archibald, 98.

Loadstone at Junkceylon, 26, 106.

Logan, J. R.; see Journal of the Indian Archipelago.

Louve (Lop'hburi), 26.

Love philtres and charms, 96.

Low, Colonel James, 20, 52, 88, 84, 85, 87, 93, 136, 137.

Lugo, Ligor, Lakhon = Ligor, q. v.

Kaempfer, Dr. E., 92.

Kalāh Island of the Arab navigators, 9.

Kalāhom Department, 18, 45.

Kamboja, 10, 11, 76.

Kāśchanaṇadith district, 91.

Keane, Professor A. H., 48.

Magnetite at J unkceylon, 26, 106.
Mai-Khau village, 42, 119.
Majasaphit Kingdom (Java), 5.
Malacca, Malakka, 11, 12, 16, 21, 22, 24, 40, 46.
Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Magnetite at J unkceylon, 26, 106.
Mai-Khau village, 42, 119.
Majasaphit Kingdom (Java), 5.
Malacca, Malakka, 11, 12, 16, 21, 22, 24, 40, 46.
Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.

Malay adventurers, etc., 4, 15, 31, 32, 33, 42, 54, 85, 118, 119.
Malay incursions on the Peninsula, 3, 4, 6, 42.
Passes, mountain, across the Malay Peninsula, 67.
Patānī, 12, 61.
Patōng, Bay and village, Junkceylon, 31, 32, 49, 52.
Pavia, A., Mission, 33.
Pégu, 5, 8, 9, 10, 15, 21, 22, 63.
Penang, Pinang, 33, 53, 54, 80, 82, 88, 100, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139.
Pencils, slate, at Kolmhrău, 35.
Perāk, 12, 16.
Phāng-nga district and river, 12, 14, 15, 17, 49, 50, 59, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 78, 87, 95, 121, 124, 125.
Phunom, an entrepôt, 44, 64, 65, 69, 70, 88, 124, 131.
Phattalung district, 12, 15, 16, 62, 67, 98, 120.
Phayre, Gen. Sir Arthur, 60.
Phrenicians in Further India, 16.
Phrāh-bād, 84, 86, 104.
Phrāh Pradēng, an ancient city, 92.
Phiket, Bhiikech, district, circle, and town, 6, 14, 15, 17, 34, 43, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 120, 125.
Phūmarieng district, now Chaiyā, 68.
Phū-ngā, Bhū-ngā, for Phāng-ngā, 87.
Phūn-phēn district, now Bān-Dōn, 17, 65, 88, 91.
Phyā Phiphit Pass, 59, 121.
Phyā Tāk, King of Siām, 32, 41, 44, 45, 58, 91, 121.
Piece-goods imported into Junkceylon, 44, 54, 57.
Pinkerton, John, 31.
Pinto, F. Mendez, 13, 14, 21.
Pīpēy=Phējburī, a district, 18.
Pirates at Junkceylon, 21, 31, 32, 134.
Plays, Siāmese, 92, 97, 105, 106.
Poetry, 92, 103, 105.
Porcelain, imported to Junkceylon, 44.
Portuguese, the, 15, 16, 21, 22, 27, 43, 45, 198.
early Missions to Siām, 21.
Printing of first Government document in Siām, 89.
Ptōlemy’s geography of the Malay Peninsula, 8, 9.
Pulo Panjang (in Siām.: Koh Yāu Yāi), 33, 36, 39, 40, 44, 48, 77, 120.
Puton Harbour, see Patōng Bay.
Pyrogénous acid, preconized since the 18th century, 46.
Quicksilver at Junkceylon, 106.
Rabeau, a French Missionary and martyr, at Junkceylon, 79, 80.
Ramusio, G. R., 16.
Ranōng district, its tin mines and currency, 56.
Rhinoceros at Junkceylon, 36, 37, 95.
hide 37.
horns 22.
on Malay Peninsula, 95.
Royalties in kind, 68.
Ryley, J. H., 21.
Sakai tribes, 6.
Salāng, Salāng, 3, 4, 9, 20, 52, 133, 136, 137, 138.
Salon or Seleng tribes, 6, 7.
Salt, imported to Junkceylon from Tenassērim, 26.
Sānkhā shell, the destroyer, 101.
Sapan-wood, 9; a royal monopoly, 17.
Scottish Geographical Magazine, 93.
Sea-route, old, to Further India, 8.

Selat Leher Strait = Phāng-ngā Passage, 48.
Semang tribes (Negritos), 6, 7.
Siām, 5, 10, 11, 16, 18, 21, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32, 43, 49, 54, 55, 59, 73, 74, 76, 81, 88, 136, 137, 138.
fauna and flora of, 33.
historical records, 2, 91.
language, 87, 97.
modern works and writers on, 1, 2, 98.
old laws, 11, 17.
poetry, 81, 82, 90, 92, 103, 105, 106.
southern dialect of, 97.
provinces of, 18, 45.
Siāmese heroines, 68.
language, standard, 97.
Siamese words, 13, 14, 18, 23, 35, 38, 39, 42, 54, 56, 93, 106, 119, 120, 123, 133.

Singora, Songkhla, Sungkhla, 12, 15, 16, 61, 67.


Smyth, H. W., 43, 64.

Sok Mt. (Khao Sok), Pass and Route, 44, 45, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 122.

Sri-Swat district, 16.

Sukhothai, the capital of the first Thai Empire, 10, 11.

Sumatra, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 38.

Sumbaya, Sombay, 13.

Sunthorn Phu, the famous Siamese poet, 90, 107.

Sylang (1784), 3.

Takola or Takkola seaport, 8, 67.

Taköa, Takia-pa district, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 41, 44, 52, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 75, 87, 121, 122, 123, 124.

Talapoi, Talapoom=Tala-pom, Toila-pom, 55, 56, 139.

Tapers, waxen, as tribute, 12.

Tavernier, J. B., 16.

Tavoy, Thawai, Davai, 11, 20, 68, 73, 134.

Temple, Sir Richard, 134.

Tenasserim, Tanawasri Tanau, 10, 11, 18, 21, 26, 83.

Thai (Siamese) Empire, 11, 137.

Thai-Nai, 97, 98.

Thai-Noi, 97, 98.

Thai-Nok, people and dialect, 87, 98, 120, 121.

Thai-Yai, 98.

Thai-Kham crossing and river, 64, 65, 91.

Thalang (O'halang), 8, 41, 42, 52, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 89, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 134.

Tha-Phanom station and river, 44, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71, 91, 94, 95, 122, 124.

Tha-Riu harbour and town (Old Phuket), 23, 25, 28, 84, 86, 88, 43, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 56, 72, 77, 78, 86, 120.

Tha-Thuong district, now Faenhana-dit, and its river, 17, 65, 91.

Thung-Kha (Tongkah, New Phuket), 52.

"station on the overland route, 94, 95.

Tigers at Junkceylon, 36.

"on Malay Peninsula, 94, 95.

Tin, 9, 16, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 34, 37, 39, 40, 44, 54, 64, 65, 71, 84, 96, 122.

—, a royal monopoly, 17, 26.

—, ingots used as currency, 56.

—, licenses to trade in, 17, 26.

—, mines, 6, 8, 16, 17, 27, 32, 40, 41, 51, 52, 55, 84.

—, mining royalty on, 16, 26, 54, 55, 64.

—, smelting duty, 39, 41, 55.

—, farm, 27, 55, 64.

—, price of, 57.

Tioman (Tyuman) Is., 133.

Tobacco, imported to Junkceylon, 54.

Towns, ancient, 92, 99, 100.

Trang district, 16, 66, 67, 77, 81, 82, 83, 122.

Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, 83, 84.

Tray, the Gold; an insignia of rank, 62.

Trees of tribute, gold, and silver, 12, 13, 15.

Tremenheere, Capt. G. B., 56.

Tribute, 13, 15.

Ujong Salang, 2, 4, 20, 24, 52, 133.

"Tanah=Johor, 11.

Valentijn, Fr., 56.

Vessicatories at Junkceylon.
Water of allegiance drinking rite, Xalang = Chalāng, 76, 77.

Women, heroical Siamese, 63.
- heroines at Junkceylon, 60, 61, 62, 63, 137, 138.
- Junkceylonese, 96, 97, 98, 138, 139.
- Malay Peninsula and Southern provinces in general, 96, 118.

Worawari, Varavari, a district, 11.

Yā-mū peninsula (Lēm Yā-mū, Lem Jam of maps), 37, 38, 44, 49, 76, 77, 120.

Yule and Burnell; see "Hobson-Jobson."

Yule, Colonel Sir Henry, 9.

Zabej Empire, 9.