



PLATE I

Medallion in commemoration of the Siamese Embassy to France, 1686.

From Histoire de France, Collection d'Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

FOUR FRENCH STATE MANUSCRIPTS <sup>(1)</sup>

relating to Embassies between France and Siam  
in the XVIIIth century

by

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## FOREWORD

Between the years 1680 and 1688, Siam sent three separate political missions to France :—

(1) Under P'ra P'ipat, an Embassy in 1680, which was lost at sea;  
(2) Under Khun Walit and Khun P'ichit, escorted by Father Vachet in 1684 to enquire into the fate of P'ra P'ipat, and to replace him in case of need;

(3) Under P'ra Wisut Sunt'ôn, an Embassy in 1686. P'ra Wisut is commonly known as Kosa Pan.

In reply, France sent two expeditions :—

The first, political, in 1685, under Ambassador de Chaumont;

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(1) The four manuscripts presented are as follows :—

1. Quai d'Orsay, *Mémoires et Documents*, Asie 11, 59 - 59v°: Draft of Louis XIV's second letter to King P'ra Narai.
2. Quai d'Orsay, *Mémoires et Documents*, Asie 11, 70 - 71': P'ya K'osa's letter to Colbert in 1683; a French translation by Bishop Laneau.
3. Archives Nationales, *Négociations*, K. 1368, No. 98: Chevalier de Chaumont's report on his embassy to Siam.
4. Quai d'Orsay, *Mémoires et Documents*, Asie 11, 35 - 43: Notes for the use of the King's envoys to Siam.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY :

a) the following are sources of MSS consulted :—

1. at the Foreign Missions in rue du Bac, Paris (M.E.): in addition to those quoted by Lamnay, les *Mémoires* de Bénigne Vachet.

The second, military and political, in 1687, under General Desfarges accompanied by the plenipotentiaries, Céberet and La Loubère.

The circumstances which gave rise to these Embassies had their origin much earlier in the century.

In 1657, when P'ra Narai came to the throne, the power of the Dutch in south-eastern Asia had increased to such an extent as to appear a menace to Siamese independence.

During the previous reign of Prasat Tong (1629-57), the Dutch had profited by domestic troubles among their English rivals to improve their own holdings in the East, and had used force to achieve their purpose. In 1629 they showed they could be ruthless by the massacre of English and Japanese at Amboyna rather than risk losing it to them. In 1641 they captured Malacca from the Portuguese, thus obtaining command of the Straits. About the same time they succeeded in exacting compensation from Cambodia for the murder of a Dutchman. In 1649, by a display of force against Siam, they improved the advantageous position they had already won in the trade of that country.

2. at the Propaganda Fede, Piazza di Spagna, Rome; MSS containing letters from Tachard, etc., (Scritture riferite nei Congressi).

b) Reference is made in the text to the following publications:

1. *Journal du voyage de Siam en forme de lettres familières*, par M.-L.-D.-C. (Abbé de Choisy), Paris, 1685, 1770, 1930.

2. *Etude historique sur les relations de la France et du royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1703* . . . . by Lucien Lanier, Versailles, 1883.

Contains references to MSS at the Ministry of Marine and Colonies at Paris.

3. *L'expédition de Siam au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, by Etienne Gallois, extract from "Moniteur Universel", Aug. 1850.

Contains references to MSS at the Ministry of Marine and Colonies at Paris.

4. *A record of relations between Siam and foreign countries*, Bangkok, 1916.

Contains reprints of the MSS at the India Office relating to Siam in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century.

5. *Histoire de la Mission de Siam, 1662 - 1811*, by Adrien Launay, Paris, 1920.

Contains extracts from the Memoires of de Choisy and Vachet, and reprints of letters by de Lionne, of Phaulkon's instructions to Tachard, etc. With references to their source as the Archives of the Foreign Missions.

Manuscripts at the Foreign Missions are denoted by the letters M. E. followed by volume and folio number. Those at the Propaganda in Rome, by the letters: Scr. Rif.

In 1664, the seventh year of P'ra Narai's reign, the Dutch repeated their bullying tactics, and thereby obtained fresh concessions from Siam. Their conquest of the Celebes caused the King of the Macassars to take refuge in Siam, where his presence served to remind P'ra Narai of the power and menace of Holland.

To meet this menace, the policy of P'ra Narai appears to have been to offer a Concession in the territory of his vassals in the Peninsula to one of the European rivals of the Dutch. This rival Power was to be permitted to erect fortifications in the Concession and garrison it with troops who would be ready to assist Siam in the event of trouble with the Dutch, but was not invited to settle in purely Siamese territory.

An offer was first made to the English. Their Agency at Ayut'ia had been re-opened in 1674 by three representatives of the East India Company, who came from Bantam in Java. The Siamese offered them the port of Patani, which they were to fortify as the English in India had fortified Madras. A young Englishman, Samuel Potts, was sent down to the Peninsula with orders to report to the Company upon the value of the Siamese offer. He found Patani engaged in a local war. The parent Agency at Bantam insisted that the Siamese should contract to buy a fixed amount of goods each year from the Company, and meeting with a refusal, decided to withdraw its interest from Siam. This decision was confirmed by a letter from the Board of the East India Coy in London, in which the offer of the Siamese was definitely refused.<sup>(1)</sup>

Meanwhile, French Missionaries had established themselves at Ayut'ia in 1662, and eventually attracted the notice of P'ra Narai. The result of their intercourse with the Court of Siam was twofold: P'ra Narai heard from them of Louis XIV and his victories over the Dutch in Europe, and decided to court the friendship of France; while the Missionaries, assuming that P'ra Narai's interest was of a religious nature, formed hopes of converting him to Christianity.

Bishop Pallu, the founder of the Mission, was a statesman and a patriot as well as a great Ecclesiastic. Side by side with his desire to convert the East, two other objects are apparent in his letters, namely a desire to obtain the interest of France in Siam with a

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(1) 5th of January 1684, V. *Record of Relations*, vol. iii, p. 7.

view to securing his communications by regular visits of French merchantmen to Siam, and a desire to increase his country's renown.<sup>(1)</sup> During the periods which intervened between his three visits to Siam he succeeded in obtaining letters from Louis XIV to P'ra Narai containing an acknowledgement of the hospitality which the Missionaries enjoyed in Siam. The first letter, (MSS. No. I.), was presented to P'ra Narai in 1673, and the second in 1681. P'ra Narai's unsuccessful attempt to obtain the interest of England occurred during the interval between the presentation of these two letters.

After receiving Louis' first letter, P'ra Narai conceived the idea of despatching envoys to France. That country however was at war with Holland, and although victorious on land, was not able to destroy the Dutch fleet which retained command of the sea until the peace of Nimeguen in 1679 opened the eastern seas more effectively to French ships. This fact accounts for P'ra Narai's delay in sending his first Embassy to France.

The Ambassador selected to represent Siam at the French Court was P'ra P'ip'at Rachamaitri, an elderly diplomat, who had already led three Embassies to China. His companions were Luang Sri Wisan and Khun Nak'on Wichai. Father Gayme, the most promising of the French younger Missionaries, accompanied the Embassy as Interpreter.<sup>(2)</sup> The party sailed from Ayut'ia on the 24th of December, 1680, in the *Vautour* which the French East India Company sent from Surat to collect them.

The voyage from Paknam to Bantam was effected in the record time of eleven days, but the party was detained there for eight months until the arrival of the *Soleil d'Orient* bound for France in August 1681. This ship watered at Mauritius, but was not heard of again.

In 1683 news reached Siam that the Embassy was still expected in Europe. P'ra Narai thereupon ordered the despatch of two minor officials to France. They were to ascertain the reason of P'ra P'ip'at's non-arrival, and in the event of his death were to ask for suggestions from the French Court concerning the best means of cementing the growing friendship between the two countries. Father B. Vachet

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(1) v. Launay, M.E., 856, p. 10.

(2) v. Launay, M.E., 110, p. 205.

was appointed Adviser and Interpreter, but he appears to have assumed the role of leader when they reached France.<sup>(1)</sup>

MS No2. is Bishop Laneau's translation of the letter from P'ya Kosa, Minister of Treasury, to the French Foreign Minister, Colbert, the able successor of Cardinal Mazarin. P'ya Kosa died soon after Vachet's departure, and was succeeded by P'ya Sri Tammarat, a man of straw, who acted as the mouth-piece of the King's Greek favourite, Constantine Phaulkon. The latter, even before P'ya Kosa's death, had commissioned a retiring Missionary, Father Pascot who travelled in Vachet's ship, to carry his respects to the East India Coy and presents for King Charles II, also to make purchases for the Siamese Court in England. This commission however appears to have been unproductive in political results.

Colbert was dead when Vachet landed in France, and his reception fell to de Seignelay, who lacked Colbert's genius and authority.

Louis XIV, after Colbert's restraining influence was removed, no longer permitted his Ministers to work out a policy for him; he regarded them simply as the agents for the execution of his own policy; and that policy tended to become more and more the policy of the Jesuits who controlled his conscience.

The Jesuits had a powerful ally in Louis' favourite, Madame de Maintenon, whom they had converted from Protestantism. Under her influence Louis became the tool of the Jesuits, whose policy was to exploit the great power of France in Europe for the benefit of the militant and intolerant elements in the Catholic world. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes—a charter of religious freedom in France—and the despatch of an Embassy to Siam to convert its King to Catholicism were signals of the change which had occurred in the foreign policy of France after the death of Colbert, who had endeavoured to continue Cardinal Richelieu's policy of alliance with the liberal Powers against Spain and the Holy Roman Empire.

A State Paper concerning Vachet's Mission<sup>(2)</sup> omits an important detail mentioned in his own Memoirs. Vachet states that on his arrival in Paris, the Court at first refused to consider P'ra Narai's suggestion that France should send envoys to Siam. But after Vachet had been received by Father de La Chaise, the latter became

(1) Launay, M. E., III, p. 141.

(2) Quai d'Orsay, M. et D, Asie. II, 37.

interested in Siam on learning that Phaulkon, the King's favourite, was a recent Convert of the Portuguese Jesuits. Vachet says that it was only after this interview with de La Chaise that de Seignelay received the Envoy: he then told them that France was preparing an Embassy for Siam to urge its King to accept Christianity.

Both the State Paper and Vachet's Memoirs leave no doubt concerning Louis XIV's interest in proselytising in Siam. His intention appears to have been to ask for P'ra Narai's conversion as the price Siam was to pay for alliance with France. So long as there appeared to be any prospect of imposing Christianity on Siam, the offer of Singora was not even considered by Louis.

Two men-of-war were detailed to carry the Embassy to Siam. Their names and those of their officers together with the personnel of the Embassy are given by de Choisy in the delightful account of his journey published under the title *Journal du voyage de Siam*. de Choisy was chosen to accompany the Chevalier de Chaumont as assistant, and was commissioned to instruct and baptise P'ra Narai if the latter agreed to change his faith.

Vachet and the two Siamese Envoys sailed back to Siam in the ship which carried the French Ambassador and de Choisy. The French Navy supplied a Battleship *L'Oiseau* of 45 guns. Her officers were:

Captain, de Vaudricourt;  
1st Mate, de Coriton;  
2nd Mate, Chevalier de Forbin;  
Midshipman, de Francine.

Three naval officers of de Chaumont's suite accompanied him in this vessel, namely, Messrs de Grandmaison, de Ffétéville, and Chevalier du Fay. The passengers also included six Jesuit Astronomers, Fathers de Fontaney, Tachard, Le Comte, Gerbillon, Bouvet and de Visdelou, with a full equipment of telescopes, sextants, etc., a list of which is given in de Choisy's book.

The six Jesuits carried letters patent issued by Louis XIV. on the 28th of January 1685, ordering them to proceed to India and China in order to take such observations as were necessary to correct existing charts in the interest of science and of safety at sea. Although not officially commissioned for Siam, their services were used there to minister to P'ra Narai's interest in scientific matters; and with the exception of Fr. Tachard, who returned to France when the Embassy was over, they appear to have remained in Siam for some time.

The remainder of de Chaumont's suite consisted of six gentlemen, Messrs. de Bebeville, d'Arbouville, Palu, de Compiègne, de la Forest, and Joncoux. They travelled in a naval frigate, *La Maligne*, of 24 guns, under Captain Joyeux, and his mates, de Sibois and de Chammoreau.

de Choisy's description of the voyage out and home is well worth reading. Each voyage occupied about six months, but only one casualty occurred, the death of young d'Arbouville, who was buried in the Gulf of Siam.

The third manuscript is de Chaumont's account of his Embassy. He had to admit that the idea of converting P'ra Narai by the aid of diplomacy came as a surprise both to the French Bishop in Siam, Mgr. Laneau, and to Phaulkon, whose services he solicited on the Bishop's advice.

de Chaumont persisted however in urging P'ra Narai to adopt Christianity, and having obtained no tangible result after three audiences with the King, he presented his request in writing. The reply he received to this petition laid stress upon reasons of domestic policy, which for the moment prevented the King from acceding to the Ambassador's request.

Phaulkon then admitted to de Chaumont that at the Audiences at which he was Interpreter he had considered it wise to suppress de Chaumont's references to religion. This admission throws suspicion upon the French version which de Chaumont gives of P'ra Narai's written statements, since they also must have been translated by Phaulkon.

Finally, having made no progress with the King's conversion, de Chaumont consented to discuss with Phaulkon the terms of concessions to French traders and missionaries which were offered for acceptance by Louis XIV.

The outstanding feature of the proposals is the grant of extra-territoriality to French subjects in Siam who were not engaged in the Siamese service. Singora was to be fortified by the French, and used by them for whatever purposes they desired. They were also to enjoy the monopoly of tin at Puket, subject to the proviso that they supplied the needs, not specified, of the local population. Religious freedom was offered to priests and converts subject to certain conditions.



Both de Choisy and the Bishop's Adviser, de Lionne, were doubtful whether the suggested concessions carried any authority other than that of Phaulkon. Their suspicions were excited by the request made by Phaulkon that the concessions regarding Singora and the missionaries should be kept secret until ratified by Louis XIV. The religious concessions, though by no means sensational, were only produced in their final form just as de Chaumont was about to leave, when he had no time to discuss them.

de Chaumont made the mistake of showing the Siamese that he desired Pra Narai's conversion as ardently as the latter desired an alliance with France. At his final audience before leaving Siam, he shocked de Choisy<sup>(1)</sup> by rashly promising to publish the Franco-Siamese alliance upon his arrival at Batavia, although all he had obtained from the Siamese was their offers which still had to be submitted to Louis XIV for approval, and a very vague hope of developing Pra Narai's interest in Christianity.

de Choisy had obtained Phaulkon's private opinion that the chances of converting Pra Narai were nil; he passed this on to de Chaumont; the latter persisted however in staking everything upon his forlorn hope of converting the King, and thereby lost a fine opportunity of gaining concrete results.

The fourth MS is a draft of Observations on Trade for the French Envoys who accompanied the military expedition in 1686 to Siam. They seem to criticise de Chaumont's insistence upon the religious issue instead of demanding complete freedom of trade for the French in Siam. de Chaumont by implication was blamed for not discovering exactly what obligations the French would be required to meet in return for the monopoly of tin at Puket, also for accepting Singora blindly before comparing its merits with those of Lakon, Mergui and Puket as a naval base and trading station. The observations required the Envoys to make searching enquiries into such matters and to conclude a final treaty satisfactory to French trade with Siam, which was to be linked up with trade between France and the Madras coast of India. Saltpetre and pepper appear to have been the items of chief interest to France in Siamese trade.

The monopoly of tin at Puket appears to presuppose a French settlement at that place. Before deciding to accept it, the Envoys

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(1) V. *Mémoires de M. de Choisy*, M. E., 8, p. 1.

were to consider whether a settlement on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal might not be made more profitably at Mergui. In any case it was assumed that the French would make a settlement in one or other of these two towns.

The offer of Singora as the site for a French fortified post was not to be accepted until the rival merits of Lakon had been weighed. Reference is then made to a promise that Bangkok was to be occupied by the French, and the possibility is envisaged that the King of Siam would not tolerate a French fortified settlement at Singora and Lakon as well as at Bangkok, in which case the Envoys were to rest content with an unfortified trading post at either Singora or Lakon, contenting themselves with a garrison at Bangkok. The question of garrison at Puket or Mergui was not broached in the Envoys' instructions. The settlement ultimately achieved was that French troops were admitted into the garrison at Bangkok on the understanding that they took an oath of allegiance to the King of Siam, and a detachment was sent later to Mergui, which place was chosen for a settlement on the Bay of Bengal. We possess no proof that any settlements were attempted at Singora, Lakon or Puket after the return of the Envoys to France.

The alleged offer of Bangkok is of importance, since reliable indications point to the conclusion that Bangkok was never offered officially to de Chaumont by the Siamese. This evidence may be summarised as (1) de Chaumont's own report; (2) de Choisy's and de Lionne's memoirs, relevant extracts of which are reproduced in Launay's book; (3) Phaulkon's secret instructions to Tachard (also reproduced by Launay) in which no mention was made of Bangkok or of a French military expedition. Phaulkon commissioned Father Tachard after de Chaumont's failure to lay his own plan for the Christianisation of Siam before Louis XIV through the medium of Louis' confessor, Father de La Chaise. It consisted in enrolling a party of French gentlemen for service in Siam. Phaulkon guaranteed to find posts for them as governors of towns, etc., and hoped by their influence to persuade the populace to adopt the new religion.<sup>(1)</sup> The plan was accepted by Louis, as is proved by a letter from Tachard, written on the 4th of January 1690, which states that

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(1) Launay, M. E., 879, p. 151.

these gentlemen were ready to sail in March 1689, but were disbanded when news of Phaulkon's death reached France.<sup>(1)</sup>

de Choisy was de Chaumont's second in the Embassy, and it is incredible that he should have been ignorant of such an important unofficial offer to his chief as that of Bangkok, since he was responsible for maintaining contact between Phaulkon and de Chaumont. Had he been aware of the offer, would he not have mentioned it in his private memoirs which were written without reserve?

Lastly, the Abbé de Lionne, a shrewd observer of political matters in Siam, who accompanied the expedition, expressly states that when it reached Java on its way to Siam, Father Tachard was sent on in advance to prepare Phaulkon for the determination of the French to occupy Bangkok, and that on its arrival, Tachard came on board and told de Lionne that they were to be admitted.<sup>(2)</sup>

Lanier and Gallois quote state papers showing that the French troops were only admitted on terms, namely, that they took an oath of allegiance to King P'ra Narai and that these terms were distasteful to the Envoys but were accepted by Desfarges, the General in command of the expedition, who realised that his men were in no condition to fight after the voyage, during which a third of their number had perished from sickness.

In the Illustrated History of France<sup>(3)</sup> at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, there is an explanatory note to the following effect below the medallion which is reproduced on plate I:—

"Monsieur Constance suggested offering the town of Bangkok to France on condition that an expedition was sent out with ships, soldiers and engineers together with funds to support them. The Chevalier de Chaumont and his Aide, the Abbé de Choisy, did not lend themselves to this proposal. A Jesuit named Tachard, who acted as interpreter, suggested to the Minister that support for his plan might be obtained from Father de La Chaise through Tachard's mediation. He succeeded in obtaining it, and the plan went through, but it only lasted two or three years."

The unreliability of the writer of this note is proved by his state-

(1) MSS at Propaganda Fede, Rome, Scr. Rif., V, 239.

(2) Launay, M. E., 850, p. 79.

(3) *Histoire de France*, Collection d'Estampes, Q. 49.

ment that Tachard acted as interpreter between de Chaumont and the King of Siam. Tachard came to Siam for the first time with de Chaumont: his previous service had been in America. It is thus impossible that he could have acted as interpreter, a rôle played by Phaulkon, as stated in de Chaumont's report.

Documentary evidence that the French Military expedition to Bangkok came out in response to an invitation to occupy that town rests upon this discredited note to the Medallion and upon the strength of our MS No. IV, in which two out of the three references have been written in by a second hand.<sup>(1)</sup>

The note accompanying the medallion is only important in so far as it records what was subsequently believed in France. The manuscript however was composed before the expedition left France, and it states that Bangkok was offered to the French. The two corrections deal with an acceptance of the invitation.

The following is offered as an explanation:—

Father Tachard, S. J., was one of the six astronomers despatched by Louis to the East for scientific research, who travelled as far as Siam with de Chaumont's Embassy, and who were present in Siam during its stay there. Tachard is known to have developed close and intimate relations with Phaulkon while the negotiations were in progress, and was actually entrusted by the latter with the secret mission to the French Court already mentioned. Tachard would know that the King of Siam had asked de Chaumont for the services of one of the members of his staff, de Forbin, to modernise the defences of Bangkok, and he may conceivably have concluded that since the Bangkok forts were already commanded by a Frenchman, they might be considered

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(1) It is true that the published version of de Choisy's *Mémoires* (ed. Michaud and Poujoulat) on p. 612, contains the statement that Phaulkon made an offer of Bangkok to de Chaumont and de Choisy which they refused. Absence of all reference to this statement in the unedited version of these *Mémoires*, (M.E. vol. 8.), reduces it for purposes of evidence to the same level as the medallion.

Virgile Pinot, in his recently published work, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France*, quotes many instances of the "editing" of published works on the part of the Jesuits, and emphasises the preponderating of Tachard, writing on p. 58:—

"Et même nous pouvons nous demander jusqu'à quel point le Jésuite s'était laissé entortiller par la faconde du Levantin, et, si dans cette négociation qu'ils semblaient mener d'un commun accord, il n'y avait pas une "dupe, qui était précisément Phaulkon."

as promised to French occupation. In that case he would see little difficulty in drafting in French soldiers to help de Forbin in Bangkok when the question came up in Paris of sending out troops with the Envoys to man the stronghold of Singora that had been officially offered to the French by Siam.

The insecurity of Phaulkon's position and the advantage to him of the presence of a friendly garrison at Bangkok are obvious. It is possible that Tachard, realising this fact, let it be known in Paris that Phaulkon would welcome a foreign garrison at Bangkok rather than Singora, and that gradually the idea became prevalent in Paris that Bangkok, being already under the command of a Frenchman, was a potential French garrison town.

It must be remembered that de Chaumont set out for Siam with the avowed object of effecting the conversion of the Siamese King in return for an alliance with France, and that he came home without achieving his purpose, bringing with him the offer of Singora as a military base. The object of de Chaumont's Embassy had been subjected to ridicule by La Bruyère, who wrote:—

“We travel to the ends of the Earth to convert the East, in other words, to make proposals out there which, if made to us, would be regarded as laughable and insane.”

When de Chaumont returned with somewhat empty hands, Louis appears to have disagreed with the suggestion made to him by Vachet before the Embassy set out, that even failure in so bold a venture would enhance his prestige.

The documents quoted by Lanier and Gallois show that there was irritation in Paris at the poor results of de Chaumont's costly venture together with a feeling that an end must be put to the series of Embassies by which negotiations with Siam were being protracted. The same documents state that Phaulkon later on made no secret of his contempt for de Chaumont.

The suggestion is that Tachard, as Phaulkon's friend, began by discrediting de Chaumont at home, calling attention to his failure to utilise the Siamese request for de Forbin's services at Bangkok, which should have been employed as leverage for obtaining a footing in that place for the French.

The possibility is not excluded that Phaulkon had a notion that the French might send out troops to enable P'ra Narai to cope with the Dutch menace and that he allowed Tachard to believe that they would be invited to occupy the new citadel in course of construction

by de Forbin at Bangkok. In any case, in default of conclusive evidence, we must assume that the offer of Bangkok to the French came through Tachard, Phaulkon's secret emissary to Louis; that it was a secret offer unknown both to Kosa Pan, the Siamese ambassador to Louis, and to de Lionne, his Interpreter, who came to France to negotiate on the basis of P'ra Narai's offer of Singora as a French garrison town. Tachard was commissioned by Phaulkon to obtain Louis' consent to Phaulkon's private plan for making Siam a christian country with the aid of the Jesuits. Finding opinion in France exasperated against Siam as a result of de Chaumont's failure, Tachard, it is suggested, used the bait of a French garrison in Bangkok to obtain Louis' consent to Phaulkon's plan. The matter could not be made public until Tachard had returned to Siam and obliged Phaulkon to give effect to it.

This theory accounts for the corrections made in the Observations on Trade for the Envoys. It also accounts for Tachard's movements in proceeding from Batavia to Siam in advance of the expedition and in meeting it on its arrival at the bar with the news that its admittance into Bangkok had been arranged. The final instructions for the Envoys, which have been published,<sup>(1)</sup> insisted that Bangkok was to be occupied, if necessary by force; though there were good grounds to believe that force would not be needed. These grounds would be reliance upon Tachard's mediation,—according to this explanation which is offered pending the discovery of documentary proof.

For Phaulkon, the day on which he received on P'ra Narai's behalf the allegiance of the French troops, may well have seemed to him the proudest day in his life. The French however felt the humiliation of their position. Phaulkon had already antagonised the missionaries: his triumph at their expense lost him the confidence of the Envoys and of the French colony. The result was that a few months later, when he needed the help of missionaries and merchants to persuade the General in charge of the French force to give him its support, he found that his only friends among all the Frenchmen in Siam were a few Jesuit priests who were powerless to help him in his hour of need.

A study of the Franco-Siamese negotiations shows that they were

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(1) Quoted by Etienne Gallois.

conducted on the French side with a faulty knowledge both of the real position regarding a change of religion by the King, also of the chances of success likely to accrue from a military occupation of Bangkok with a small European force, not to mention the difficulty of effecting this occupation.

On the Siamese side, Phaulkon's diplomacy was the result of an attempt to combine his loyalty to P'ra Narai and to the Jesuits with his own ends, if we regard them as desire for power and for the support of foreign soldiers upon which he might depend in the event of the King's death.

His failure lay in his Greek aptitude for finesse and trickery which antagonised the French upon whom he relied in the last resort for his personal safety.

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QUAI D'ORSAY, MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS, ASIE, II, 59. <sup>(1)</sup>

(59r<sup>o</sup>) Siam

a St. Germain le 10<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1681

Du Roy

au Roy de Siam.

tres hault, tres excellent, tres puissant, et tres magnanime Prince,  
Nre tres cher et bon amy. Dieu veuille augmenter Vre. grandeur  
avec fin heureuse.

Nous auons appris par l'evesque dheliopolis et par plusieurs autres  
de nos subiets les obligations essentielles qu'ils uous auoient non  
seulement a cause de la protection que uous leur donnés dans l'exer-  
cice de la religion chrestienne et de la generosite que vous auéz eu de  
leur prester sans interest dans leur extreme besoin vne somme darg;  
considerable mais aussi p<sup>r</sup> leur auoir encore donne de plus grandes  
preuues de votre liberalite en leur faisant bastir une maison pour les  
loger.

Nous serons bien aise aussy de trouuer les occasions de vous  
tesmoigner combien nous sommes sensibles aux marques eclatantes  
que vous auéz donné de la consideration que vous auéz pour nous

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(1) The original draft has been emended by two different hands. The above is a transcription of the final version. Since the corrections do not affect the sense of the letter but merely improve its form, a reproduction of the earlier stages through which the text has passed is considered unnecessary.

Cependant nous nous promettons que vous voudrez bien continuer cette mesme protection aux euesques et aux autres missionnaires apostoliques, (59 v) et l'estendre aussi a nos suiets negotians, afinque les uns puissent auoir la liberte de l'exercice de la religion chrestienne dont une des principales maximes est d'establis l'autorite absolue des Roys sur leurs suiets et que les autres y puissent liberement trafiquer mais pour uous marquer le desir veritable que nous auons de recognoistre tous les bienfaits que nos d. suiets ont receus de uous nous uous enuoyons quelques presens que nous auons crû qui uous seroient agreables en attendant que nous puissions uous donner des preques plus fortes de la haute estime que nous auons pour uous. Sur ce nous prions Dieu quil veuille augmenter Vre grandeur avec fin toute hereuse.

Escrit a St. germain en laye

le x<sup>e</sup> Januier 1681

Vre tres cher et bon amy

#### TRANSLATION

at St. Germain the 10th January, 1681.

Siam

From the King to the King of Siam.

Most high, most excellent, most mighty, and most magnanimous Prince, Our good and well-beloved friend. May God grant you increase of Might with happy consummation.

Through the Bishop of Heliopolis and several other subjects of ours we have learnt of the deep debt they owe to you both for the protection you have given them in their observance of the Christian religion, and for your generosity in lending them a substantial sum of money free of interest in the time of their dire need; furthermore, for having given even greater proof of your liberality in ordering a house to be built to lodge them.

We shall be glad also to find opportunities for showing how greatly we appreciate the outstanding proofs you have given of the esteem you bear to us. Meanwhile, we trust you will be willing to continue to give the same protection both to the Bishop and to the other Apostolic missionaries, and to extend it to our subjects engaged in commerce, in order that the former may be free to practise the Christian religion, of which one of the chief maxims is to ensure the



undisputed power of monarchs over their subjects, while the latter will be enabled to trade without hindrance.

As a mark of our true desire to acknowledge all the benefits which our subjects aforesaid have received at your hands, we send you sundry gifts such as we think will please you, pending an opportunity to give you stronger proof of the high regard we have for you.

We hereby pray God that he may grant you increased renown and prosperity.

Written at St. Germain-en-Laye,  
the 10th January, 1681.

Your good and well-beloved friend.

## II

QUAI D'ORSAY, MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS, ASIE, 1<sup>re</sup>, No. 32.

(70r<sup>o</sup>) Lettre que Ookya Seri tarrama Raacha decha tchadi amma tra yanutchitra pipitra tana Ratcha cousatibodi piria Paha ookya praclang escrit avec un cœur plein d'affection et de tendresse A Monsieur Charles Colbert grand ministre du tres puissant et tres excellent Prince Le Roy de France a Paris. Comme le tres puissant et tres magnanime Prince le Roy de Siam Monseigneur et le tres puissant et tres magnanime Prince le Roy de France ont un grand desir d'establiir entr'eux une amitié et une correspondance ferme et stable, en cette vettie le tres puissant et tres magnanime Prince le Roy Monseigneur a enuoyé au tres puissant Prince Le Roy de France ook prapitat raatcha 'maïtri pour Ambassadeur, et ook louang sri visara sountora, et ook quun nakora vitchai pour lieutenants de l'Ambassade accompagnés du Pere Gayme avec des lettres et des preseus pour etre une marque de l'affection et de l'estime extraordinaire qu'il a pour ce grand monarque, et du desir qu'il a que les prosperités dont il jouit augmentent toujours de plus en plus, comme aussy affin que l'amitié qui est Entre ces deux Grands Princes prenne tous les iours de nouveaux accroissements. Lorsque dans l'année raca trini Souc Dom francisco Euêque d'Heliopolis arriua icy avec (70v<sup>o</sup>) des lettres du Saint Pape, et du tres Magnanime Prince le Roy de France, il fut receu avec la magnificence que demandoit la majesté supreme du Grand Roy qui l'ennuyoit; Et le tres haut et tres excellent Prince Le Roy Monseigneur apprenant les nouvelles prosperites dont ce Grand Prince se trouuoit comblé en ressentit une joye et une alle-

gresse si grande qu'il n'y a rien a quoy on la puisse comparer. De plus le Grand Roy mon maitre ayant depuis peu receu nouuelles que Monseigneur le Dauphin auoit pris une Auguste et Royale Epouse de laquelle il auoit eü un Royal fils, la joye de ce Grand Roy s'est accretie de telle maniere qu'elle est allée jusqu'a l'excès, considerant ce Royal rejetton comme celuy qui doit un jour perpetuer le Sang Royal de ce Grand Roy et il prie Dieu qu'il daigne fauoriser ce Royal enfant d'une longue et heureuse vie, pour succeder un jour au trône de ses ancestres souhaittant avec passion que la race et le sang d'un si grand Monarque n'ayt iamais de fin. Ayant donc Enuoyé ses Ambassadeurs nous esperions qu'ils seroient icy dès l'année cho chatouara soc, et ie me preparois a porter les nouvelles de l'heureux succès de la d. Ambassade aux pieds du trône du tres puissant et tres Magnanime (71r<sup>o</sup>) Prince le Roy Monseigneur pour augmenter encore Sa joye, mais le tems de recevoir les nouvelles etant uenu, nous auons appris que le Vaisseau qui portait cette Royale Ambassade n'estoit point encore arriué en France, ce qui nous a causé une grande tristesse; j'allay d'abord me prosterner aux pieds du trône du Roy Monseigneur pour lui en apporter la nouuelle, Sa Royale Majesté d'aigna m'honorer de cette reponse LA ROYALLE AMITIÉ QUI VNIT LE GRAND ROY DE FRANCE AVEC CE ROYAUME DEMEURERA FERME ET INEBRANTABLE, QU'ON ENVOYE SÇAUIR DES NOUUELLES DU SUCCÉS DE CETTE AMBASSADE, ayant receu ces Royales paroles sur le Sommet de ma teste J'enuoye presentement ouun pitchai valid et quun pitchitra maitri avec les Peres Vachet et Pascot pour en apprendre. Je les ay chargé de quelques petits presens dont ils portent le roële qui uous seront un gage de l'estime particulier que jay pour uous, et du desir que jay qu'a l'exemple de nos deux grands monarques nous nous vnissions en vne tres solide et durable amitié. Je uous prie avec instance de nous mander ce qui sera arriué aux Ambassadeurs du Roy Monseigneur affin que selon les nouvelles que nous receurons, nous puissions songer a ce qu'il sera conuenable de faire pour la confirmation et augmentation de l'amitié de nos deux grands Princes et pour la rendre durable a jamais. Je laisse a Vostre prudence de juger (71v<sup>o</sup>) et de nous faire sçauoir ce qu'elle estimera plus conuenable pour l'augmentation de cette Royale amitié.

Cette lettre a été eecritte le jour de aatit le 15<sup>e</sup> du mois ai de l'an Sacarat 1045.

La traduction est conforme a l'original Siamois signé Louis Euëque de Metellopolis Vic. Aplique de Siam etc

## TRANSLATION

Letter written with a heart full of warm affection by ออกญาศรีธรรม  
 ราชชนดชาชาติเข้ามาตบามนุชิตพิพิต [...] รตนราช โทษธิบัตพิริย [ปรกรม] ภาณุ [ ]  
 ออกญาพระคลัง to Monsieur Charles Colbert,<sup>(1)</sup> chief Minister of the Most  
 Mighty and most excellent Prince, the King of France at Paris.

In view of the strong desire felt both by the Most Mighty and  
 Most Magnanimous Prince, the King of Siam, my Lord, and the  
 Most Mighty and Most Magnanimous Prince, the King of France, to  
 establish amity and communication on a basis of firm and lasting  
 friendship, the Most Mighty and Magnanimous Prince, the King, my  
 Lord, despatched พระพิพัฒน์ราชไมตรี as his ambassador to the Most  
 Mighty King of France, together with ออกหลวงศรีวิศาลสุนทร and ออก  
 จุนนครวิชัย as aides to the Embassy accompanied by Father Gayme,  
 carrying letters and presents to witness to the love and deep regard  
 He has for that great Prince, and to his desire that his prosperity  
 may ever increase, also to the end that the friendship which obtains  
 between these two great Princes may wax daily stronger.

Lord Francis, Bishop of Heliopolis, when he arrived here in the  
 year of the "Cock"—the third of the ten-year cycle—bringing letters  
 from the Holy Pope<sup>(2)</sup> and the most magnanimous prince, the King  
 of France, was received with all the pomp appropriate to the Supreme  
 Majesty of the great King whose envoy he was. The most high  
 and most excellent Prince, the King, my Lord, on hearing of the  
 fresh prosperities showered upon that great Prince, felt such joy and  
 delight in his heart that nothing can be compared unto it.

Furthermore, when the great King, my Lord, lately received news  
 that His Royal Highness, the Dauphin, had had Royal offspring from  
 his august and Royal Consort, his joy reached such a pitch that it  
 knew no bounds, since he regards that Royal offspring as destined  
 one day to perpetuate that mighty Prince's stock, and he prays that  
 Heaven may grant this Royal scion a long and happy life, so that he  
 may succeed to the throne of his ancestors; for it is his dearest wish

(1) Charles, name of Marquis de Croissy, has been substituted for Jean Baptiste, the name of his brother, the great Colbert, who died on the 6th of September, 1683.

(2) In the French, *Saint Pape* is a rare rendering of *Santo Papa*.

that the family and line of so great a monarch may never pass away.

It was our hope that the Ambassador then despatched, would be back here by the year of "the Dog"—the fourth of the ten-year cycle—and I was making ready to carry news of the fortunate issue of the said Embassy to the steps of the throne of that magnanimous Prince, the King, my Lord, and thereby add to his delight. But at the very time when news was due, we learnt that the ship carrying that Royal Embassy had not yet reached France; which tidings caused us great distress.

My first step was to prostrate myself before my Royal Master's throne in order to impart the news to him. His Majesty graciously honoured me with the following reply:—

"The Friendship which binds the Great King of France with this" "realm will continue firm and unshakable. Let Envoys be despatched to obtain news of that Embassy."

Placing these royal words upon the crown of my head, I herewith despatch ออกขุนพิชัยวฑิต with ออกขุนพิจิตรไมตรี and Fathers Vachet and Pascot to obtain that news. I have entrusted to their care several slight offerings, the inventory of which is with them, as earnest of the especial respect I have for you, and of my wish that you and I, like our two great Monarchs, may join together in a bond of strong and lasting friendship.

I ardently beseech you to apprise us with the fate met with by the Ambassadors of the King, my Lord, in order that, acting upon the news we receive, we may apply our thoughts to devise means of sealing and increasing the amity between our two great Princes, to the end that it may last forever.

I leave it to your wisdom to decide upon and communicate to me the steps you consider most appropriate for increasing this Royal friendship.

This letter was written on Sunday the 15th day of the first month of the year 1045<sup>(3)</sup> in the (chula) era. The translation is in accordance with the Siamese original.

Signed. Louis, Bishop of Metellopolis

Apostolic Vicar in Siam.

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(3) The Chula era began A. D. 638, Add 1045 = A. D. 1683.

## III

ARCHIVES NATIONALES, NÉGOCIATIONS, K. 1368, No. 98.

(1<sup>re</sup>) RELATION de ce que M.<sup>r</sup> le Ch(eva)lier de Chaumont a fait a Siam.

A son arrivée a la barre de Siam, jl enuoya prier l'Euesque de Meteleopolis de venir a son bord pour l'instruire de ce qui se passoit sur le sujet de son Ambassade.

S'y estant rendu accompagné de l'Abbé de Lionne, jl luy dit que le principal sujet de son Ambassade estoit de faire en sorte de determiner entierement le Roy de Siam à se faire chrestien, sa Majesté ayant esté informé qu'il auoit beaucoup de penchant à embrasser cette Religion, et qu'à la vetie d'un Ambassadeur, on ne doutoit pas qu'il ne le fist.

Cet Euesque fut surpris de ce que l'on auoit fait la conversion du Roy de Siam si facile, et luy dit que la chose n'estoit pas si preste qu'on la croyoit, cependant que ce Roy auoit de bons sentimens pour la Religion chrestienne et qu'il en donnoit tous les jours des preuues par les Eglises qu'il faisoit bastir aux Missionnaires par l'amitié qu'il leur (1<sup>re</sup>) tesmoignoit, en leur accordant tout ce qu'ils luy demandoient et qu'il ne doutoit pas que l'Ambassade ne fist vn effect admirable, mais qu'il y auoit de grandes mesures a prendre.

Ils conuinrent des moyens qu'il falloit prendre pour faire reüssir cette affaire, et resolurent de s'adresser au S.<sup>r</sup> Constance grand fauory du Roy, bon catholique et homme de bien et d'honneur.

L'Euesque luy ayant dit que ce fauory n'estoit point interessé et qu'il ne cherchoit que l'honneur, l'abbé de Lionne qui estoit de la conuersation dit que c'estoit par là qu'il le falloit prendre et qu'il y auoit des honneurs en France que le Roy luy pouuoit donner, comme cheualier de s.<sup>t</sup> Michel, et mesmé luy proposa le cordon bleu.

Il fit quelque resistance sur ce dernier, mais led. S.<sup>r</sup> Abbé de Lionne luy ayant fait entendre que cela pouuoit extreme(ment) auancer l'affaire, cela le fit resoudre à luy dire qu'il pouuoit luy proposer en cas qu'il obligeast le Roy de Siam d'embrasser (2<sup>re</sup>) la Religion chrestienne.

Led. S.<sup>r</sup> de Lionne le fut trouuer, et luy en fit la proposition qu'il reçut en disant qu'on luy faisoit trop d'honneur, et qu'il feroit tout son possible auprès du Roy son Maistre pour faire retüssir cette affaire, et qu'il ny auoit que l'interest de la Religion qui le feroit agir.





PLATE II

Chevalier de Chaumont.

Detail from a Print at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, showing his  
reception by King P'ra Narai.

Led'. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance l'estant venu voir quelques jours apres à deux lieues de Siam, jl eut vne grande conuersation avec luy en presence de l'Euesque dans laquelle apres beaucoup de complimens jl luy dit que seachant sa probité et son zele pour la Religion jl auoit resolu de ne luy rien deguiser du sujet de son Ambassade, et luy expliqua en mesme temps que c'estoit pour porter le Roy de Siam à se faire chrestien.

Led'. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy dit lamesme chose que l'Euesque, qu'il ne scauoit pas qui auoit fait la chose si facile en France qu'il ne croyoit pas que cela fust si prez, et qu'il falloit prendre des mesures justes pour mettre l'affaire en bon estat.

L'Euesque luy ayant leu le compliment que luy Ch. de Chaumont (2v<sup>o</sup>) deuoit faire au Roy, jl luy dit qu'il estoit vn peu pressant et qu'il falloit en retrancher quelque chose.

Comme led'. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance ne parle point françois, l'Euesque luy dit, mais il respondit qu'il n'en vouloit rien retrancher. L'Euesque le traduisit en Portugais et en osta quelque petite chose qu'il ne trouua pas de consequence.

Led'. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance ayant demandé a esté interpreté dans les audiences, l'Euesque dit qu'on ne luy pouuoit pas refuser le Roy de Siam luy ayant donné le soin de toutes les affaires de l'ambassade.

Dans sa premiere audience, apres auoir fait son compliment au Roy, que led'. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance expliqua en Siamois, Le Roy luy demanda en quel estat jl auoit laissé le Roy et toute la maison Royale, et si Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> n'auoit point fait de conquestes depuis quelque temps.

Il dit que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> n'auoit fait que celle de Luxembourg et qu'Elle auoit obligé toute l'Europe à luy demander la paix qu'Elle leur auoit accordé a la teste de ses armées (3r<sup>o</sup>). Il luy parla ensuite des Ambassadeurs qu'il auoit enuoyé et qui s'estoient perdus, surquoy luy Chaumont respondit que cette perte auoit esté sensible a Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> et que sur le bruit qui auoit couru que c'estoit les hollandois qui les auoient fait perir, Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> auoit donné ordre a son Ambassadeur en hollande de faire de grandes perquisitions pour voir s'il en decouueroit quelque chose.

Il demanda si Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> s'estoit fait faire raison sur l'affaire de Bantam, et jl respondit qu'il ne doutoit pas que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> n'en eust toute la satisfaction qu'Il en auoit demandé et qu'il estoit party



dans le temps qu'on parloit de cette affaire. Le Roy de Siam luy parut fort jrrité contre les hollandois en se retirant.

Le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance levint trouver le soir qui luy dit que le Roy estoit fort satisfait de cette premiere audience. Il luy fit connoistre ensuite que les hollandois leur tenoient fort à coeur et qu'ils vouloient prendre quelques mesures avec Sa Majesté sur ce sujet.

(3v<sup>e</sup>). Luy de Chaumont ne respondit rien la dessus que des honnestetez et led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy dit que le Roy luy donneroit audience particuliére deux jours apres.

Il y allà, et apres auoir saltié le Roy et s'estre assis jl luy demanda comment il se portoit et tout son monde, apres vn si grand voyage, Il luy dit ensuite qu'il sçauoit que les hollandois luy vouloient faire la guerre, et qu'il auoit remarqué que la grande amitié et jntelligence qu'il vouloit auoir avec Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> leur donneroit de la jalousie, et qu'il ne doutoit point qu'ils ne fissent ce qu'ils pourroient pour empescher le commerce de la compagnie de France dans son Royaume.

Il luy respondit qu'il ne doutoit point que quand les hollandois sçauoient cette grande amitié entre les deux Roys que cela ne les fist tenir dans le respect qu'ils deuioient a Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> surquoy le Roy de Siam luy dit que les hollandois estoient adroits, qu'ils feroient toutes choses pour trauerser le commerce de la comp.<sup>e</sup> qu'il falloit prendre des mesures pour les en empescher et que la comp.<sup>e</sup> jusqu'a p(rése)nt auoit beaucoup negligé le commerce dans son Royaume.

(4r<sup>e</sup>). Il luy dit que cela alloit prendre vn autre chemin, la compagnie ayant beaucoup plus de fonds qu'elle n'auoit autresfois, et Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> estant dans la resolution de la proteger fortement.

Le Roy de Siam luy dit encore, que c'estoit dans les commencemens qu'il falloit apporter plus de precautions contre les hollandois, à quoy jl respondit que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> prendroit des mesures si justes pour toutes choses que les hollandois n'oseroient rien entreprendre, et qu'ils se ressouuenoient des guerres qu'ils auoient eü avec le Roy, dans lesquelles ils auoient esté si bien chastiez qu'ils ny retourneroient de long-temps.

Il luy demanda s'il n'auoit rien a luy dire, et il luy respondit qu'il n'auoit esté enuoyé que pour luy tesmoigner que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> souhaitoit avec empressement qu'il voulust se faire jnstruire dans la Religion chrestienne.

Le Roy se retira et le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance l'estant venu trouver le lende-

main luy parla fort des hollandois et luy fit connoître (4v<sup>o</sup>) par son discours qu'il en auoit grande peur ; Il luy demanda s'il auoit tout pouuoir de Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> et luy marqua adroitement<sup>t</sup> que le Roy de Siam seroit bien aise de faire vne ligue offensine et deffensiue contre les hollandois.

Luy Chaumont luy dit qu'il ne doutoit pas que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> ne fist beaucoup de choses pour le Roy de Siam, mais qu'il n'estoit pas venu pour la guerre, et qu'il n'auoit ordre que de tesmoigner au Roy l'enueie que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> auoit qu'il se fist chrestien.

Luy ayant demandé ses bons offices pour cela, jl luy dit qu'il y auoit bien des mesures à prendre là dessus et que quand le Roy seroit en estat de se faire chrestien, qu'il ne scauoit pas s'il luy conseileroit de le faire, ven que cela pourroit causer une grande reuolte dans son Royaume, Le Roy ayant vn frere qui ne cherchoit que quelque occasion pour cela.

Quelques jours apres le Roy luy donna encore audience et luy demanda s'il auoit quelque chose à luy dire sur le (5r<sup>o</sup>) commerce, surquoy jl luy respondit que comme c'estoit vne chose qui demandoit vn peu de temps à s'expliquer, s'il vouloit nommer quelqu'un de ses Ministres, jl en confereroit avec eux

Le Roy nomma le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance, et sur ce qu'il luy dit qu'il feroit vn Memoire des poincts de la Religion et du commerce jl luy dit qu'il y respondroit, et qu'il connoissoit bien que l'amitié de Sa Majesté n'estoit point interessée.

A son retour a son logis jl fit le Memoire qui suit qui ne parle presque que de Religion, et vn mot du commerce, pour faire connoistre qu'il n'auoit esté enuoyé que pour le seul sujet de la Religion.

MEMOIRE de M. le Chlier de Chaumont  
au Roy de Siam.

Il luy expose que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> informée de ses grandes qualitez l'a enuoyé pour luy demander son amitié et luy offrir la sienne et pour faire entre les deux couronnes vne alliance que l'esloignement ne soit jamais capable d'alterer (5v<sup>o</sup>). Que comme les Ministres de son Royaume ont prié les Ministres de france, par les Lettres qu'ils leur ont escrites de leur suggerer les moyens de rendre cette vnion si ferme qu'elle puisse passer jusqu'aux successeurs des deux Roys, Sa Majesté à crû que le lien le plus solide estoit celuy d'une mesme Religion.

Qu'il a esté enuoyé pour le prier de vouloir bien prendre ce moyen, et que dans cette veüe Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> luy à commandé de luy offrir toutes ses forces de terre et de mer, troupes et vaiss.<sup>x</sup> et generalement tout ce qui peut conuenir à sa gloire et au bien general de son Royaume.

Que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> sera aussy disposée de son costé, s'il accepte ce party, à prendre tous les autres moyens qu'il jugera les plus propres, pour rendre eternelle l'amitié qu'ils sont prests de contracter ensemble.

Et que quoyque Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> ne luy ayt parlé que de cette seule chose, Elle luy à cependant fait recommander par ses Ministres de rendre toute sorte de bons offices a la cour de Siam, a (6r<sup>o</sup>) la compagnie de France.

Il donna ce Memoire au S.<sup>r</sup> Constance pour le presenter au Roy, et deux jours apres jl le vint trouuer vn peu embarrassé, en luy disant que ce qu'il demandoit par ce Memoire touchant la Religion, ne feroit pas l'effect qu'il croyoit, ayant eü vne grande conuersation avec le Roy sur ce sujet dans laquelle luy ayant dit qu'il luy auoit deguisé jusqu'alors le sujet qui auoit amené luy Chaumont, qui estoit celuy de la Religion, cela auoit surpris le Roy de Siam, en disant le Roy de France me veut donc faire chrestien. c'est vne grande affaire de quitter vne Religion qui est depuis tant d'annees dans nostre maison Royale, et si ce Dieu qui à crée tout le monde eust voulu, on eust esté tous d'une mesme Religion.

Ce Roy luy dit ensuite qu'il voyoit bien que ce que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> luy proposoit n'estoit que par amitié, qu'il songeroit à cette grand affaire et qu'il feroit response au Memoire.

Luy Chaumont fut extremement surpris lors que led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance, luy auoia que c'estoit la premiere fois qu'il auoit (6v<sup>o</sup>) parlé au Roy du sujet qui l'auoit amené, et que dans toutes les audiences ou jl auoit tousjours parlé de Religion, jl ne l'auoit pas expliqué, parce qu'il croyoit absolument que les choses n'estoient pas en estat de les faire connoître au Roy.

Luy Chaumont fut extremement mécontent de ce discours et apres luy en auoir tesmoigné sa surprise, led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy remit la response du Roy de Siam, au Memoire qu'illuy luy (*sic*) auoit donné, et luy dit beaucoup de raisons, en voulant luy faire entendre qu'il falloit faire en sorte de conuertir des Mandarins et beaucoup de Siamois, et que c'estoit par là qu'il falloit commencer, qu'il scauoit bien que cela ne seroit pas desagreable au Roy de Siam, et que

comme jl aymeroit fort l'Euesque, jl ne luy refuseroit pas des pouuoirs aduantageux pour la Religion.

Il n'a pû penetrer la raison que led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance à eû, de nauoir pas parlé de la Religion, si ce n'est que luy Chaumont auoit dautres choses à proposer au Roy, et qu'il n'auoit jnsisté sur ce sujet, que pour éprouuer ce Roy.

(71<sup>o</sup>) REPONSE faite au Memoire du S.<sup>r</sup> Chlier de Chaumont.

Le Roy de Siam remercie Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de la grande affection qu'Elle à pour luy.

Il tesmoigne du deplaisir que le moyen que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> propose pour establir a jamais cette amitié Royale qu'il desire tant, soit aussy difficile à mettre à execution comme le changement d'une Religion professée pendant deux mille deux cens vingt neuf ans, sans aucune intermission, et ainsy jl laisse à juger si vn tel changement est facile.

Il dit sur cela que le véritable Dieu qui à crée toutes choses pouuoit bien, s'Il eust voulu, ne faire qu'une mesme Religion, mais que comme jl à diuersifié tous les ourages de la nature, jl à voulu faire la mesme chose dans les matieres de la Religion que neantmoins jl s'abandonne a la Divine prouidence afin qu'Elle ordonne à son plaisir de sa personne et de tout son Royaume.

Asseure cependant Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de la fermeté et de l'immutabilité (7v<sup>o</sup>) de son affection, et pour suppleer au moyen cy dessus qu'il ne prend pas encore, jl assure que tant qu'il viura, rien ne sera capable d'alterer ou d'empescher la correspondance qu'il desire auoir, et qu'il fera en sorte que ses successeurs ny manqueront pas aussy. Et pour montrer a sa Majesté, l'Infaillibilité de ses paroles, en cas que ses successeurs manquent à accomplir son desir, Il donne pouuoir et droit a Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de les traitter et ses Royaumes comme ennemis et mesme de prendre possession de sa couronne.

Il dit qu'il sera tousjours prest de faire vn Traité qui oblige ses successeurs desuiure ses intentions a cet égard.

Il accordera à la compagnie de France tous les aduantages qu'elle pourra raisonnablement esperer.

Cette response ayant esté remise a luy Chaumont, jl alla huit jours apres trouuer le Roy qui estoit a Louuo, ou led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy fit confidence d'une conuersation qu'il auoit eû avec le Roy sur le sujet de la Religion, dans laquelle il lauoit trouué plus traitable qu'il nauoit

creût ce qui luy faisoit (8r<sup>o</sup>) croire qu'il y auoit à esperer, mais qu'il falloit attendre tout de Dieu, et du temps.

Il le reprint voir peu de jours apres et jl luy dit que les choses alloient fort bien, Il prit ce temps pour luy donner vn Memoire des demandes qu'il faisoit au Roy de Siam, au sujet de l'Euesque et des missionnaires, et il a esté accordé ce qui suit.

PRIVILEGES accordez aux Missionnaires apostoliques par le Roy de Siam, dant toute l'estendtie de son Royaume.

1<sup>o</sup>. Le Roy de siam fera publier dans toutes les villes de son Royaume que les missionnaires apostoliques peuvent prescher la Loy chrestienne dans toutes lesd'. villes et les peuples les entendre chacun suivant son inclination sans que les Gouverneurs ou autres officiers puissent les en empescher, en quelque maniere que ce soit, à condition que lesd'. missionn.<sup>res</sup> prescheront la Loy de Dieu, sans insinuer aucune nouueauté dans le coeur du peuple, contre le gouuernem.<sup>t</sup> et les Loix du paÿs (8v<sup>o</sup>) sous quelque pretexte que ce soit, et en cas que lesd'. missionn.<sup>res</sup> le fissent le privilege demeurera nul, et le missionn.<sup>re</sup> coupable arresté et renuoyé en france, sans que jamais jl puisse remettre le pied dans le Royaume sous peine de la vie.

2. Le Roy de Siam accorde que lesd' missionnaires apostoliques puissent enseigner les naturels de son Royaume à leur volonté, en quelque science que ce soit, et qu'ils puissent les recevoir dans leurs conuens, escoles et habitations, avec les mesmes privileges des autres conuens de Siam sans que perso(n)ne puisse les en empescher, et que lesd' missionnaires puissent leur enseigner les sciences, Loix et autres estudes qui ne sont point contraires au gouuernement, et aux Loix du Royaume.

Et en cas qu'on découure par la voye certaine de deux tesmoins qu'ils y ayent contreuenü le present privilege demeurera nul et le M.<sup>e</sup> d'escole et le disciple seront traitez ainsy qu'il est marqué dans le premier article. Mais au cas que lesd' missionnaires se conseruent dans leur privilege, toutes les affaires qu'ils auront seront jugeés par vn mandarin que l'Euesque presentera et que (9r<sup>o</sup>) le Roy nommera pourueu qu'il soit capable de cet employ.

3. Led'. Roy accorde aussy que tous ses sujets qui de leur bonne volonté se feront chrestiens jouïssent du privilege des chrestiens et soient exempts les Dimanches et jours de festes marquez par l'Eglise,

de tous les services qu'ils doivent à leurs Mandarins si ce n'est dans vne necessité pressante, Et comme il faudra juger de cette necessité pour éviter tous differens sur ce sujet, Le Roy nommera vn Mandarin de son costé, et l'Euesque du sien vne personne d'autorité, et ce qu'ils regleront ensemble sera ponctuellement executé.

4. Led'. Roy accorde pareillement que si quelques vns de ses sujets chrestiens, par vieillesse ou jnfirmité soit évidemment incapable de service, en se presentant à vn Mandarin que led'. Roy nommera à cet effet ils pourront estre dispensez du service jusques à leur guerison.

5. Pour éviter les injustices et les persecutions qu'on pourroit faire aux nouveaux chrestiens, Le Roy de Siam accorde (9v<sup>o</sup>) que le Mandarin dont il est parlé au second article soit Juge de tous leurs procès, et afin d'éviter toute longueur, ordonne que le Mandarin, apres s'estre instruit de l'affaire, demandera l'advis de l'un des Juges du Roy auant que de rendre vn Jugement, afin qu'on n'en puisse point appeller.

Le Roy de Siam fera publier tous ses articles, par tous ses Royaumes, afin que ses peuples connoissent que son jntention est que lesd'. Missiionnaires apostoliques jouissent des d. privileges.

MEMOIRE présenté au Chlier de Chaumont de la part du Roy de  
Siam.

Le Roy accordera toutes les choses que led'. Chlier de Chaumont est chargé de demander, persuadé qu'il ne proposera rien que le bien des deux couronnes, et qui puisse estre contre l'honneur dans lequel jl s'est maintenu jusqu'a present.

Led'. Roy à creü devoir faire scavoir aud. Ch. de Chaumont (10r<sup>o</sup>) qu'il court vn bruit dans toutes les Indes que les hollandois sont resolu de molester ses terres, Et comme de sa part ny de celle de ses Ministres on n'a donné aucune occasion aux hollandois d'en vser ainsy, led'. Roy croit que le seul motif qui les peut obliger à cela, est l'affection qu'il a tesmoigné à la nation françoise.

Comme jl se veut maintenir dans l'vnion qu'il à avec Sa Majesté, jl est embarrassé sur la maniere dont jl doit se comporter au cas que les hollandois persistent dans leurs mauvaises intentions.

Il voit bien vn moyen facile de s'accommoder avec les hollandois, mais comme jl scait la haine qu'ils ont contre les françois et contre ceux qui les recoient chez eux, jl demande aud Chlier de Chaumont

les meilleurs moyens pour pouuoir suivre l'inclination naturelle qu'il à de seruir la nation françoise.

Il marque que le plus grand jnterest qu'il à en tout cela est lhonneur des sujets de sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> dont jl souhaite l'augmentation par l'affection qu'il leur porte.

Que s'il fait fortifier ses places qui sans le secours de l'Art ont (10v°) esté jusques jcy jmprenables, c'est pour asseurer le passage aux françois, et non pour deffendre son paÿs, et si cela dure jusqu'à la fin, jl les fera raser et jra au deuant des hollandois, ou de ses autres ennemis tels qu'ils soient, à la teste de ses armées avec ses elephans, et toute cette grande puissance qui luy à donné la victoire sur tous ses ennemis, ainsy qu'il est arriué quand jl auoit la guerre avec tous ses voisins les Roys de Pegu, de Laos, de Chaoma et de Camboge qui tous estoient à la teste de leurs troupes, et jl ne doÿte point que la victoire ne le suive quand jl fera la guerre à des marchands qui luy ont tant d'obligation.

#### RESPONSE dud'. Chlier de Chaumont au Memoire.

L'ESTAT florissant ou jl void le Royaume de Siam, le nombre presque infini de ses peuples aguerris, et la grande quantité de forteresses qu'a led'. Roy de Siam, l'empesche de croire que les hollandois soient assez jmprudens pour oser attaquer vn Prince qui les feroit bientost repentir de leur temerité. (11r°) Ce qui le confirme encore dans cette pensée est que led'. Roy ny ses Ministres ne leur ont jamais donné aucun sujet legitime de plainte.

Sur ce qu'il croit que l'animosité desd'. hollandois peut venir des bons traitemens qu'il a fait à la nation françoise, Il est certain que le seul nom de sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> est capable d'empescher lesd'. hollandois de se declarer ses Ennemis, et jl oserait presque asseurer qu'ils se tiendront dans les termes de la raison, quand ils scauront l'alliance estroite qui est entre les deux couronnes, ce que luy de Chaumont leur fera scauoir en termes aussi forts qu'il luy sera possible en sorte qu'ils ne puissent pas douter qu'attaquer le Roy de Siam c'est offenser sa Majesté.

A l'Egard de la maniere dont jl se doit comporter en cas qu'il soit obligé de faire la guerre aux hollandois, s'il auoit des troupes et des vaisseaux jl les offriroit, et comme jl est obligé de s'en retourner, tout ce qu'il peut faire, est dassseurer led'. Roy qu'il ne doute point

que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> en cas de guerre ne fasse tous ses efforts pour obliger ses ennemis à le laisser jouir en paix (11v<sup>o</sup>) de la gloire qu'il s'est acquise.

À l'égard de la compagnie françoise, il ny a point de doute que voyant les grands aduantages que led'. Roy veut luy faire elle ne s'establisce tout de bon dans son Royaume, et n'y fasse vn grand commerce, principalement led'. Roy luy accordant Singor.

PRIVILEGES accordez par le Roy de Siam a la Compagnie  
Françoise.

Led'. Roy accorde a lad'. Compagnie la permission destablir vne facturie dans le Royaume de Siam.

Lad'. compagnie pourra commercer librement dans led'. Royaume sans payer aucuns droicts d'entree ny de sortie en souffrant la visite par les officiers des Doüanes conformement aux coustumes du Royaume.

Les commis de lad'. Compagnie ne pourrout faire passer des marchandises estrangeres sous le nom de la Compagnie, et en cas qu'ils le fassent et que cela soit prouué la comp.<sup>e</sup> perdra lesd'. priuileges (12r<sup>o</sup>) jusqu'a ce que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> ayt jugé du cas.

Quant à la liberté du commerce, cela s'entend que lad'. Compagnie aura liberté d'achepter et de vendre toute sorte de marchandises pourueu qu'elles ne soient point de contrebande, lesquelles elle ne pourra achepter que des gardes magasins du Roy, ou des marchands qui les auront eues d'eux.

Lad'. Compagnie pourra vendre et achepter a sa volonté toutes les marchandises qui seront apportées dans le Royaume par des estrangers, ou par des naturels du paÿs, ou qu'elle fera venir pour son compte, et en cas que le Roy ayt besoin pour son service de quelque vnes desd'. marchandises, Il les pourra prendre par preference.

Les Commis de lad'. compagnie ne pourront achepter desd'. marchandises que pour le service de leurs Maistres, et en cas qu'ils nobseruent pas ce poinct, et qu'au contraire ils se mettent en societé avec d'autres marchands lad'. comp.<sup>e</sup> perdra lesd'. priuileges jusqu'a ce que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> tres chrestienne ayt jugé l'affaire.

Led'. Roy de Siam accorde que toutes les marchandises (12v<sup>o</sup>) que lad'. Compagnie chargera pour son compte sur toute sortes de



navires estrangers soient exemptes de tous droicts d'entree et de sortie.

Les Commis de lad'. Compagnie ne pourront charger pour le compte d'autres que de leurs Maistres, et en cas qu'ils se servent du nom de lad'. Compagnie pour faire passer d'autres march.<sup>ses</sup> elles seront confisquées.

Lad'. Compagnie pourra enuoyer des marchandises dans les lieux ou elle n'a pas accoustumé d'en faire transporter, et il luy sera permis de fretter vn ou deux vaisseaux ou tant q.<sup>lle</sup> en aura besoin, et jouira des priuileges accordez au 3.<sup>e</sup> article.

Tous les françois qui ne sont point au service du Roy de Siam ou de ses Ministres venant à commettre quelque vol contre la Compagnie ou entr'eux, ou quelqu'autre méchante action, la punition en sera remise au Capitaine françois, neantmoins en cas que quelqu'une des parties ne soit pas contente du Jugement du Cap.<sup>ne</sup> françois et demande justice aux Ministres de Siam, lon surseoira le Jugement du Cap.<sup>ne</sup> jusqu'à ce que sa (13.<sup>re</sup>) Ma.<sup>té</sup> en ayt ordonné, Et en cas que quelque françois commette quelque action contre quelqu'un du paÿs, qui merite punition le Capitaine de la compagnie pourra aller prendre place parmy les Juges du Roy de Siam, pour juger le proces conformement aux Loix du Royaume, cependant il seroit plus à propos que sa Ma.<sup>té</sup> nommast vn Juge bien autorisé pour rendre la Justice a vn chacun, sans que les officiers de la compagnie fussent obligez d'interrompre leur commerce pour y vaquer.

Le Roy de Siam accorde a lad'. Compagnie le commerce de l'Estain de Jonsalam et de ses dependences a l'exclusion de toute autre nation, avec permission d'y bastir vne facturie, à condition d'en presenter le modele aux Ministres de Siam, qui apres leur aprobation, sera suivi de point en point sans aucun changem.<sup>t</sup> et sera lad'. comp.<sup>e</sup> obligée de porter à Jonsalam toutes les march.<sup>dises</sup> necessaires au commerce des habitans de ce lieu et de ses dependences en sorte qu'ils ne soient point obligez de recourir à d'autres moyens pour subuenir à leurs necessitez, et si lad'. Compagnie n'observe pas ce point exactement lesd'. habitans pourront faire commerce avec les autres nations sans qu'ils puissent estre accusez d'aller (13.<sup>ve</sup>) contre le priuilege accordé.

Lad'. Compagnie pourra establir des facturies dans les lieux du Royaume de Siam qu'elle jugera propres au commerce, pourueu qu'elle

prenne l'aprobation des Ministres du Royaume et qu'elle n'en fasse point bastir sans permission.

En cas que quelque bastiment de lad'. Campagnie fist naufrage sur les costes du Royaume de Siam, le Cap.<sup>ne</sup> de lad'. compagnie pourra en retirer tout ce qui sera possible.

Le Roy de Siam accorde le Lieu de Singor a lad'. compagnie avec toutes ses dependences pour le fortifier et en vser a sa volonté neantmoins pour plusieurs raisons, il n'est pas à propos que cela soit publié jusqu'a ce que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> en ayt esté informée et ayt fait sçauoir ses jntentions.

Led'. Roy ayant prié luy de Chaumont de visiter les forteresses de Louuo, afin de voir ce qu'il y auroit à faire, Il luy en rendit raison dans l'audiance suiuiante.

Il luy dit ensuite de marquer vne place pour faire bastir vne Eglise pour l'Euesque, et jl n'a point eü d'audiance qu'il ne luy ayt parlé dud'. S.<sup>r</sup> Euesque en luy tesmoignant auoir vne estime (14r<sup>o</sup>) toute particuliere pour luy et pour sa pieté.

Ce Roy luy a marqué aussy de la joye de ce que les Jesuistes estoient dans vne grande vnion avec led'. Euesque.

Dans vne audiance qu'il luy donna dans les bois a la chasse, Il luy dit de dire à Sa Majesté que s'il y auoit quelque formalité dans son Royaume qui ne fust pas à l'vsage de france qu'elle n'auoit qu'a luy tesmoigner, qu'il les aboliroit.

Il le chargea aussy de prier sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de vouloir considerer le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance, comme vne personne qui la seruoit bien, et luy dit que comme led'. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance auoit beaucoup d'enuieux, qu'il seroit peut estre obligé apres sa mort de quitter le Royaume et de se retirer en france.

Il le chargea aussy d'auoir soin de ses Ambassadeurs, et dans sa derniere audiance, jl le pria de bien dire toutes choses a sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> et qu'il n'auoit rien de plus cher au monde que son amitié et qu'il luy tesmoigneroit la sienne dans toutes les occasions, et qu'il prioit sa Majesté de luy faire sçauoir les choses les plus curieuses qui seroient dans toutes les Indes et qu'il les feroit faire avec plaisir.

(14v<sup>o</sup>) Il à fait present à l'Abbé de Lionne et au Pere levacher à chacun d'un crucifix d'or en prenant congé de luy, et jl a fait de grands honneurs à luy de Chaumont, et luy à donné un vase d'or appellé Bossette, qui est le plus grand honneur que que (*sic*) le Roy accorde aux plus qualifiez de son Royaume.

Luy de Chaumont se logie beaucoup de l'Euesque qui est l'homme du monde le plus pieux

Il n'a rien fait dans son Ambassade qu'il ne luy ayt communiqué et aux S.<sup>rs</sup> Abbez de Choisy et de Lionne qui sont deux personnes d'un grand merite.

#### TRANSLATION

##### ACCOUNT OF THE CHEVALIER DE CHAUMONT'S PROCEEDINGS IN SIAM.<sup>(1)</sup>

De Chaumont, on his arrival at the Bar, sent to beg the Bishop of Metellopolis to meet him on board, with the object of informing him of the reactions in Siam to his Embassy. He told both the Bishop and the Abbé de Lionne, who accompanied the Bishop, that the chief motive of his Embassy was to prevail finally upon the King of Siam to become a Christian, since His Majesty had been informed that the former was much inclined to accept that faith, and that upon the appearance of an Ambassador there was no doubt but that he would do so.

The Bishop showed surprise that the King's conversion had been represented as such a simple matter, and explained that it was not so imminent as was supposed, although the King was well disposed towards the Christian religion, and gave constant proof of his sentiments by building churches for the missionaries, and by displaying his friendship of them in granting all their requests. He added that, although the Embassy was certain to produce an excellent effect, important steps still remained to be taken.

They agreed upon the procedure to be adopted for the successful issue of the business, and decided to approach Mr. Constant, the King's special favourite, who was a Catholic as well as a good and respected man. The Bishop having remarked that the personal interests of this Royal favourite were centered solely on the increase of his own prestige, the Abbé de Lionne, who was present, suggested approaching him along these lines, adding that honours such as a Knighthood in the order of St. Michael were at the disposal of the King of France: he even went so far as to mention the "cordon bleu." The latter suggestion evoked a certain amount of opposition from de

(1) Words in brackets have been added by the translator to elucidate the text.

Chaumont, but when Abbé de Lionne had convinced him that matters might be considerably advanced thereby, he brought himself to agree that he might make such an offer to him, supposing that he prevailed upon the King of Siam to adopt the Christian religion.

The said M. de Lionne then saw Mr. Constant and submitted the offer to him. His reception of it was to exclaim against the honour shown him and to promise the use of all the influence he possessed with the King in order to bring the matter to a happy conclusion, protesting that religious zeal was his sole motive.

A few days later, the said Mr. Constant came to see de Chaumont at his camp two leagues below Ayut'ya and had a long conference with him at which the Bishop assisted. De Chaumont loaded him with compliments and told him he had decided, in view of Mr. Constant's known integrity and of his zeal for Christianity, to keep nothing secret from him concerning the Embassy. Thereupon de Chaumont told him that the object of the Embassy was to persuade the King of Siam to become a Christian. The said Mr. Constant, like the Bishop, showed surprise that the matter could have been represented in France as being so simple: his own idea was that it was premature, and that appropriate steps were required to prepare the way for it.

The Bishop then read out the text of the address which de Chaumont was to deliver to the king. Mr. Constant observed that it was rather too insistent, and suggested certain excisions. The Bishop communicated this to de Chaumont, since Mr. Constant does not speak French, but de Chaumont was unwilling to make any excision. When translating into Portuguese the Bishop left out minor passages which he considered unimportant. The said Mr. Constant asked that he should be<sup>(1)</sup> the interpreter at the Audiences, and the Bishop considered that it would be impossible to refuse him, since the King of Siam had entrusted him with all the business of the Embassy.

At his first audience, after de Chaumont had paid his respects to the King and they had been translated into Siamese by the said Mr. Constant, the King enquired after the health of the King of France and of all the Royal Family, asking whether he had made any recent conquests. He was informed that the only conquest was

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(1) The text reads "Constance ayant demandé a esté interprété"—which appears corrupt.

that of Luxemburg, the which had compelled all Europe to sue His Majesty for peace, and that His Majesty had accorded it at the head of his (victorious) armies.

The King then spoke of the Ambassadors whom he had despatched and who had perished: whereupon de Chaumont stated that His Majesty had been much affected by this loss, and that hearing a rumour to the effect that the Dutch had been responsible for it, he had instructed his Ambassador to Holland to make searching enquiries in the hope of bringing something to light.

The King asked whether His Majesty had received satisfaction for the Bantam business. de Chaumont replied that he was certain His Majesty had obtained all the redress demanded, and that he sailed at a time when the matter was still under discussion.

On withdrawing, the King seemed to him to be much irritated against the Dutch. That evening Mr. Constant called upon de Chaumont and reported that the King was delighted with their first audience. He then disclosed the concern which they (the Siamese) felt about the Dutch and their desire to take certain concerted steps with His Majesty about the matter. de Chaumont on his part confined himself to polite expressions on the subject, and received Mr. Constant's promise of a private interview with the King in two days time.

At the interview, de Chaumont took his seat after offering salutations. The King, having asked about his health and about that of his suite after so long a voyage, proceeded to declare his certainty that the Dutch meditated an attack on him; saying he had observed that his desire for close and friendly relations with His Majesty would cause them jealousy, and he was confident that they would do what they could to obstruct the trade of the French Company in his dominions. de Chaumont replied that he had no doubt the knowledge of the close ties existing between the Kings of France and Siam would keep them faithful to the respect which they owed to His Majesty. To which the King replied that the Dutch were cunning; that they would do their best to thwart the Company's trade and that steps must be taken to prevent them. He added that up to now the Company had treated trade in his realm with much neglect. de Chaumont assured him that this would occur no longer now that the Company was in possession of more capital than in the

past, and knew of His Majesty's intention to afford it every protection.

The King of Siam said further that it is at the start that special precautions must be brought to bear: to which de Chaumont replied that His Majesty would take such exact steps as to prevent the Dutch from hazarding any undertaking, since the punishment they had received in their wars against him would still be fresh in their memory.

The King then asked de Chaumont whether he had anything to say to him. The latter replied that the sole object of his mission was to declare His Majesty's earnest desire that the King should consent to take instruction in the Christian religion.

The King withdrew. Next day Mr. Constant called on de Chaumont and spoke at length to him on the subject of the Dutch, by which he gave evidence of his great apprehension of them. He asked whether de Chaumont was in possession of full powers from His Majesty, and suggested adroitly that the King of Siam would welcome an offensive and defensive pact against the Dutch. de Chaumont in turn said that although he was certain His Majesty would do much for the King of Siam, the object however of his visit was not to prepare a war, but to declare to the King His Majesty's desire that he should become a Christian. Mr. Constant, whose assistance in the matter was solicited, said that there was much to be done in that matter, and that even if the King was ready to embrace Christianity, it was doubtful whether he himself would advise him to do so, in view of the great uprising which might be occasioned thereby in the country, since the King had a brother who was only waiting for some pretext to provoke it.

Some days later the King granted de Chaumont another interview at which he asked whether he had any suggestions to make concerning trade; to which de Chaumont replied that it was a matter which required a certain time to discuss it: should the King be pleased to appoint one of his Ministers, he would confer with him. The King appointed Mr. Constant. de Chaumont having then offered to submit a memorandum on the points of religion and trade, the King promised a reply, and expressed at the same time his firm conviction of the disinterested nature of His Majesty's friendship.

de Chaumont, on returning to his quarters, drew up the following

memorandum, devoted almost exclusively to the religious issue, with only a brief reference to trade. His object was to prove that the religious issue was the sole motive of his mission.

Chevalier de Chaumont's Memorandum to the King of Siam.

He is commissioned by His Majesty, who had heard of the King's great qualities, to crave the King's friendship and to offer him his own in return, with the object of forming an alliance between the two kingdoms to remain for ever unaffected by the distance separating them.

Since the Siamese Ministers in their letters to the Ministers of France have asked for suggestions as to the manner by which this alliance could be so strongly cemented as to be handed down to the successors of these monarchs, His Majesty records his conviction that the strongest cement is the bond of a faith held by both in common.

The motive of de Chaumont's mission is to beg the King to accept this bond. With it in view His Majesty has commissioned him to place at the disposal of the King of Siam his land and sea forces, his armies and ships, and everything which can minister to the King's renown and to his country's weal. If the King agrees, His Majesty on his side will be ready to take all other steps which the King deems requisite for making the friendship unending into which both sides are disposed to enter. This is the sole matter entrusted to him by His Majesty: His Majesty urged him, however, through the (King's) Minister to use all his influence with the Siamese Court in favour of the Company of France.

This Memorandum was handed to Mr. Constant for presentation to the King. Two days later Mr. Constant called on him (de Chaumont) appearing to be somewhat embarrassed, and stated that the effect of the references in the Memorandum to religion would be other than that expected, since he had had a long talk on the subject with the King, in which he had told the King that until then he had disguised the motive of de Chaumont's Embassy, which was the question of the Christian religion. This had greatly surprised the King, who had exclaimed:

"The desire of the King of France is then to make a Christian  
"of me. It is no light matter to abandon a religion which has  
"been held by our Royal Family for centuries. Furthermore,

"if the Creator had so willed it, all nations would have had the same religion,"

adding, that as it was obvious that His Majesty's proposal had been inspired by feelings of friendship, he would give the matter his attention, and would reply to the Memorandum.

de Chaumont was amazed at Mr. Constant's admission that he had only then for the first time revealed the motive of the Embassy to the King, and had never interpreted any of de Chaumont's many references to religion in any of the audiences owing to a conviction that the matter was not sufficiently mature to be broached to the King. This statement caused great annoyance to de Chaumont. Mr. Constant showed his surprise thereat, and proceeded to hand him the King of Siam's answer to his Memorandum, and produced many arguments by which he hoped to convince him that the line to be adopted was to convert some of the officials and many of the people, to begin with, a matter which he knew would meet with no disapproval from the King of Siam, who, because of his affection for the Bishop, would not fail to grant the latter powers which would be beneficial for the Faith.

de Chaumont failed to understand the reason why the said Mr. Constant should not have spoken about the Christian religion unless it was that he, de Chaumont, had other proposals to make to the King, and that his motive for insisting at all on the subject (of religion) was simply to test the King's attitude towards it.

#### Reply given to de Chaumont's Memorandum.

The King of Siam thanks His Majesty for the great friendliness he has shown towards him, and regrets that the method chosen by His Majesty for perpetuating the mutual friendship of their countries in accordance with his own ardent desire should be so difficult to apply, to wit, the change of a Religion, which has been practised without a break for 2229 years; and he calls the world to witness whether such a change would be easy.

Furthermore, the King submits that the true God, the creator of all things, had he wished it, could have created but a single Religion. Yet he showed his preference for diversity in matters of religion, as in all the works of nature. Nevertheless, the King places himself in the hands of the divine Providence to dispose of his person and kingdom as seems best to It.



Meanwhile, the King assures His Majesty of the firm and unchanging nature of his friendship; and in place of the method above-mentioned, which he cannot yet adopt, he declares that nothing can change or impede during his life-time the relations so much desired; also, that he will take steps to ensure that his successors observe them after his death. As proof of the sincerity of his professions, the King empowers His Majesty to treat his successors and their dominions as his enemies if they neglect to carry out his wishes, and even to take possession of his throne.

The King states his readiness at any time to sign a treaty under which his successors will be obliged to carry out his wishes in this matter.

The King will grant the French Company all the facilities which it can in reason expect.

Eight days after this reply had been communicated to him, de Chaumont waited upon the King who was at Louvo.<sup>(1)</sup> Mr. Constant there confided to him the substance of a talk he had had with the King on the subject of religion, in which he had found the King more reasonable than he had expected: this led him to believe that there were grounds for hope, but that they must be prepared in all matters to wait upon God's own good time. Mr. Constant came back to see de Chaumont a few days later, and reported that all was going famously. He chose that occasion to hand to de Chaumont a memorandum of the requests he was submitting to the King on the subject of the Bishop and Missionaries. The following is what has been granted.

Privileges granted to the Apostolic Missionaries by the King of Siam throughout the length and breadth of his realm.

1. The King of Siam will have a proclamation posted in every city of his realm authorising both the Apostolic Missionaries to preach the Christian religion therein, also the people to use their own discretion in giving ear to them, with complete freedom from any possible interference from Governors or other officials, provided that the said Missionaries, in preaching the Divine Faith, shall not under any pretext whatsoever instill into the heart of the people any new notions directed against the Government and Laws of the land. In

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(1) *i. e.* Lopburi.

the event of such action by the Missionaries, the privilege will lapse, and the Missionary responsible will be arrested and sent back to France and forbidden to set foot again in the Kingdom under pain of death.

2. The King of Siam permits the Apostolic Missionaries to instruct any of his natural-born subjects in any of the sciences, and to receive them into any of their monasteries, schools, and dwellings with similar privileges to those enjoyed in the other monasteries of Siam, and without constraint from anyone. The said Missionaries are allowed to teach science, law, and any other subjects that are compatible with the Government and Laws of the realm. Should a violation of this privilege be proved by two undisputed witnesses to have occurred, the privilege will lapse, and the schoolmaster and his pupil will be subjected to the penalties prescribed in the first article. Provided however that the said Missionaries do not exceed the terms of their privilege, all the cases to which they are parties shall be tried by an Official whom the Bishop shall nominate, and the King will appoint, provided he is competent to perform these duties.

3. The said King also grants to any of his subjects who adopt Christianity of their own free will that they shall enjoy the privileges conceded to the Christians, and be exempt on Sundays and Feasts of the Church, except in an emergency, from all obligations to their official headmen<sup>(1)</sup>, and since there must be a Court with jurisdiction to decide upon the plea of emergency, in order to avoid all disputes on the subject an official shall be nominated by the King, and a responsible person by the Bishop, and their joint decisions shall be carried out to the full.

4. The said King likewise grants that any of his Christian subjects who are indisputably incapacitated for public service by age or infirmity shall be permitted to obtain exemption from such service until healed by making application to an Official appointed for this purpose by the King.

5. To protect Christian converts from any injustice or persecution to which they might be liable, the King of Siam allows that the Official mentioned in the second article shall be judge in all their litigation. Furthermore, in order to avoid delay, he decrees that the

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(1) The French "leurs Mandarins" denotes what was called by La Loubère "chefs de bande."

Official after studying the case shall apply for an opinion to one of the King's judges before giving judgment, to the end that there be no appeal against it.

The King of Siam will have these articles proclaimed throughout his realm in order that his people may know that it is his will that the Apostolic Missionaries enjoy the privileges set forth above.

Memorandum submitted to Chevalier de Chaumont on behalf of the King of Siam.

The King will grant all that the said Chevalier de Chaumont is instructed to ask for, being assured that none of his proposals will conflict with the interests of either Crown or with his own actual honour.

The said King feels it incumbent upon him to apprise the said Chevalier de Chaumont of the fact that a rumour is current all over the Indies that the Dutch have made up their minds to attack his dominions, and since no cause for such action has been given them either by him or his Ministers, the said King believes that the only motive which can drive them thereto is the attachment he has shown to the French nation.

Since it is his intention to abide by the amity which he has with His Majesty he is at a loss how he should act in the event of the Dutch persisting in their evil designs.

He is aware, 'tis true, of an easy method of settling with the Dutch; but as he knows the hatred they bear to the French and to those who entertain them, he enquires of the said Chevalier de Chaumont by what means he can best follow his natural propensity of serving the French nation. He points out that his greatest interest in all this affair is for the honour of His Majesty's subjects whose aggrandisement he desires by reason of the affection he bears them.

If he fortifies his strongholds, which until now have been impregnable without the aid of defenses, it is for the purpose of assuring freedom of movement to the French, and not for that of protecting his country. And if the worst comes, he will level them to the ground, and go out to meet the Dutch, or any other of his enemies whosoever they may be, at the head of his armies, with his Elephants, and with all that great Might which has given him

victory over his foes, as happened when he was at war with the Kings of Pegu, of the Laos, of Choma,<sup>(1)</sup> and of Cambodia, all of which were at the head of their troops; and he has no doubt but that victory will follow him when he makes war upon (a nation of) merchants, who are so deeply indebted to him.

Chevalier de Chaumont's reply to the King's Memorandum.

In view of the flourishing condition of Siam, which all can see, of the well-nigh unlimited number of its inhabitants trained for war, and of the many strongholds possessed by the King of Siam, de Chaumont cannot credit the Dutch with such temerity as to attack a Monarch who would quickly make them rue their rashness; and what confirms him still more in this view is that neither the said King nor his Ministers have ever given them genuine cause of complaint.

Concerning the King's belief that the favours shown by him to the French nation may be the ground of the ill will felt by the Dutch, de Chaumont is convinced that the mere mention of His Majesty's name is enough to deter the Dutch from declaring themselves his enemies, and he would go so far as to wager that the news of the intimate alliance which exists between the two Crowns will keep them within the bounds of reason,—which news de Chaumont himself will impart to them in the strongest terms so as to leave them no room for doubt that an attack upon the King of Siam is tantamount to a challenge to His Majesty of France.

Regarding the procedure to be followed in the event of war being forced upon Siam by the Dutch, if de Chaumont had men and ships at his disposal he would offer them; but since he is obliged to return home, all that he can do is to assure the King of his conviction that His Majesty, in the event of war, would use every effort to compel the King's enemies to leave him to enjoy in peace the fruits of the renown he has won.

As to the French Company, there is no doubt, in view of the facilities the said King is prepared to grant it, that it will make an establishment in Siam for good and all, and that it will trade extensively therein, especially now that Singor has been granted to it by the King.

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(1) *i. e.* Chiengmai (?).

Privileges granted by the King of Siam to the French Company.

1. The said-King grants the said-Company permission to establish a Factory in the Kingdom of Siam. The said Company will have free right to trade in the said Kingdom with exemption from all duties either on imports or exports, subject however to inspection by Customs officials in accordance with the usage of the country.

2. The Company's Agents will be forbidden to ship foreign goods under the Company's name. Should they be proved to have done so, the Company will be deprived of these privileges pending judgment of the case by His Majesty (of France).

3. Freedom of Trade means that the Company will enjoy freedom to buy and sell all manner of goods provided they are not "contraband."<sup>(1)</sup>

4. The Company will enjoy the right to buy and sell at will any goods imported by foreigners or by natives of the country, or imported by the Company for its own account, provided that the King has preemptive rights over any of the said goods he may need for his service.

5. The Agents of the Company may purchase any of the said goods, but only for the service of their master. If they fail to observe their stipulation and enter into association with other traders, the Company will forfeit the right to the concessions above-mentioned pending the judgement of His Most Christian Majesty upon the case.

6. The King of Siam will accord complete exemption from import and export duties to all goods which the Company carries in all sorts of foreign bottoms for its own account.

7. The Agents of the Company may not have goods for the account of others than their master; and should they use the name of the Company for the purpose of shipping other goods, these will be confiscated.

8. The Company is authorised to introduce goods into places in which it is not usually accustomed to do so, and to hire as many ships—from one or two vessels upwards—as it may need; and it shall enjoy the privileges extended under article 3.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *i. e.* Goods in which the state reserved to itself the sole right to trade and which, when traded without permission, became contraband.

9. If any Frenchman outside the service of either the Siamese King or his ministers should happen to commit some theft or other mischievous action against the Company or against his fellow countrymen, the punishment thereof should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Captain of the French. Should either party disagree with the French Captain's verdict and appeal to the Siamese Minister for justice, the decision of the French Captain shall be held in suspense pending orders from His Majesty; and should some Frenchman commit some action deserving of punishment against any native of the country, the Captain of the (French) Company has the right to sit on the bench among the King's Magistrates to adjudicate in accordance with the laws of the realm. It would however be preferable if His Majesty would appoint a judge to dispense justice due to each and every one, so that the Company's servant be spared the necessity of suspending their trade to attend thereto.

10. The King of Siam grants to the Company the sole right to the tin trade in Junkceylon and its dependencies, excluding all other nations, and permits the construction of a Factory subject to the submission of plans thereof to the Minister for his approval, the which shall be followed in every particular without alteration. Furthermore, the Company will be under obligation to ship to Junkceylon such goods as are needed by the inhabitants thereof for their trade, so as to save them from having recourse to other means for supplying their needs. The latter, failing strict compliance with this requirement on the part of the Company, will be authorised to trade with other nations without liability to complaint concerning infringement of the Company's privilege.

11. The Company will have the right to open Factories in such places as it shall deem favourable for trade within the Kingdom of Siam, provided it obtains the approval of the Siamese Ministers, and that it will have no building erected without sanction.

12. The Captain of any of the Company's ships wrecked upon the Siamese coast will have the right to salvage all that he can.

13. The King of Siam grants the place of Singor with all its dependencies to the Company, with the right to fortify it and to make such use of it as it is desired. Nevertheless it is inexpedient for various reasons that this concession be made public before His Majesty shall have been informed, and shall have made known his pleasure.

The said King (of Siam), having requested de Chaumont to inspect the defences of Louvo and to see what shall be done thereto, de Chaumont made his report at the next audience. He then told him to fix a site for building a church for the Bishop. There was not an Audience at which the King did not mention to him the said Lord Bishop in terms of great regard both for his person and for his piety; he also expressed to him his delight that a close union existed between the Jesuits and the said Bishop.

The King granted de Chaumont an Audience at a hunting party in the woods during which he told him to inform His Majesty of the fact that the latter had only to advise the King of any Siamese custom which conflicts with French etiquette in order to obtain its abolition. He also commissioned de Chaumont to recommend Mr. Constant to His Majesty as a faithful servant, adding that since Mr. Constant had incurred the envy of many, he might be obliged to leave Siam and retire to France on the King's death.

The king also commended his envoys for France to de Chaumont's care, begging him at the final Audience to tell His Majesty everything, and that his friendship for him was his most prized possession in the world, and that he would omit no opportunity of showing his own friendly feelings, and that he begged His Majesty to name the most curious objects to be found in all the Indies and he would then gladly send them to him.

Both Abbé de Lionne and Father Vachet, on taking their leave, were presented with a golden crucifix: de Chaumont himself was the recipient of great honours including a vessel of gold called "Bossette"<sup>(1)</sup> which is the highest distinction the King grants to the most deserving in his land.

de Chaumont is very pleased with the Bishop, than whom no more holy man exists in the world: nothing which occurred during the Embassy has been kept secret from him or from the Abbés de Choisy and de Lionne, both men of high merit.

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(1) *i.e.* 'P'ant'ong'.

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## IV

(351<sup>o</sup>) Observations pour servir a l'Instruction des Envoyez<sup>(1)</sup>  
du Roy vers le Roy de Siam touchant le Commerce.

Marine Des l'annee 1682. Le Roy de Siam par l'entremise de M.  
Siam Constance offrit au S<sup>r</sup> Des Landes Chef du Comptoir de  
1687 la Comp<sup>ie</sup> lequel s'estoit acquis une par(ticuliere) confiance  
aupres de luy et du S<sup>r</sup> Constance de s'entremettre pour  
faire bâtir vne forteresse a Jort dou les Hollandois auoient  
esté chasses, et luy ouvrir pour cet effet diuers moyens  
dans lesquels il n'osa entrer quoy quil connust l'importance  
de cet Etablissement, de quoy ayant donne avis au S<sup>r</sup> Baron  
lors directeur general dans les Indes Et la Compagnie en  
ayant esté informee des 1684, elle n'y a eu aucune at-  
tention.

Le Roy de Siam auoit aussi lors offert aud' Deslandes de  
faire charger dans ses vaisseaux en quelqu'endroit qu'ils  
allassent toutes les marchandises qu'il voudroit, et de faire  
revenir le prouenu en cuire, sans payer ny fret ny droits.

Il y auoit eu aussi vn projet pour faire aller a droiture  
de france en Janvier vn Nauire avec une cargaison de  
300,000<sup>ll</sup> moitié en draps, et l'autre moitié en comptant que le  
Roy prendroit les draps a 20 et 25 (35v<sup>o</sup>) pour cent de profit  
sur la facture et l'argent au prix courant, pour estre rechargé  
a Siam en Septembre de Salpestre et le restant en Cuiure  
et Estain, affin de revenir a la fin de decembre a la coste de  
Coromandel y charger des toilles, et demeurer leste de sal-  
pestre et repartir de la coste au comman(em)ent de feurier.

Les Siamois soupçonnoient des lors que les Hollandois  
auoient dessein de s'emparer de Bankoc, et ils communi-  
querent leurs soupçons au d' Deslandes.

Et comme les Hollandois auoient demande dans le mesme  
temps avec empressement Jonsalam pour y faire le com-  
merce a l'exclusion des autres Nations le dit Deslandes  
l'empescha et on luy donna esperance dy establir la  
Compagnie.

Il fit ensuite vn traite pour le poiure par lequel il fut

(1) M.<sup>rs</sup> de La Loubère et Ceberet.



accordé que la dix.<sup>e</sup> partie ou la 5.<sup>e</sup> si elle ne suffisoit pas pour<sup>6</sup> la consommation du Royaume seroit pour le Roy de Siam Et que le restant seroit liuré a la Comp.<sup>ie</sup> sur le pied de 3.<sup>1</sup> la liure et deffences aux Etrangers ou autres personnes d'en enlever hors du Royaume.

Le Roy de Siam voyant qu'il sestoit passé (36r<sup>o</sup>) deux ans sans que la Compagnie se fust mis en Etat de faire aucun commerce enuoya le d' Deslandes a la fin de 1684 a Suratte pour auertir dudit Traitté, et pour prendre des mesures sur les differentes propositions qui auoient este faites.

De sorte que quand M. De Chaumont est arrive à Siam Led' S.<sup>r</sup> Deslandes, qui paroît vn des plus habiles sujets que la compagnie ayt aux Indes, ny estoit pas, et il ny est point revenu, Et les affaires ont este a la disposition dvn Nomme Veret jouailler de Paris sans experience ny ouverture pour les affaires de la qualité de celles dont il estoit question.

De sorte que le d' S.<sup>r</sup> De Chaumont lequel sur les diverses sollicitations qui luy ont este faites de viue voix et par Ecrit de prendre des mesures pour la seureté du commerce de la comp.<sup>ie</sup> ayant toujours respondu qu'il nestoit venu que pour la conuersion du Roy il n'a point este ayde comme il l'auroit pû estre dvn homme d'experience et il a fait un traitte dont les conditions sont tres captieuses.

Outre quil adit qu'on auoit offert Bankoc il paroît par tout ce qui est rapporte dans le memoire quil a fourny a son retour en france des choses qui se sont (36v<sup>o</sup>) passées, que le Roy de Siam estoit dans vn tres grand ambaras al Egard des Hollandais, En sort que ce Prince se remettoit pour cet effet a la discretion du d' S.<sup>r</sup> De Chaumont. Ce sont les termes dont le Roy de Siam sest seruy dans le memorial remis au d' S.<sup>r</sup> de Chaumont a Louvo par M. Constance apres y auoir esnonce les soupçons contre les Hollandois et demandé comment Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> Siamoise auroit a en vser en cas de Guerre, et marquant precisement quil n'auoit besoin de ses places fortifiées que pour assurer le passage aux francois, Et qu'autrement il les feroit raser pour aller au deuant des Hollandois.

Cependant le d. S.<sup>r</sup> de Chaumont ne laissa pas de faire vn traitte aud' Louvo le 11. decembre avec le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance et depuis vn autre pour le poiure.

Ce traitte comprend quelques dispo(siti)ons p(rincipal)es

¶ Sur la demande d'un Commerce libre et de l'exemption des droits.

On accorde l'exemption des droits, et la liberté d'acheter de toutes sortes de marchandises pourveu qu'elles ne soient point de contrebande, et a la charge de ne les pouuoir acheter que des garde magazins (37r<sup>o</sup>) du Roy Et al Egard de celles qui seroient apportées par les Etrangers Et que la Compagnie aura fait venir pour son compte que la Comp.<sup>ie</sup> les pourra acheter et vendre a sa volonté, Et Neantmoins que si le Roy a besoin pour son service de quelqu(es) vnes des dites marchandises il les pourra prendre avec toute preference.

Il est aussy porte qu'en cas d'abus par les commis de la Compagnie, elle perdra ses privileges, jusques a ce que le Roy tres chrestien ayt jugé l'affaire.

Par la disposition de cet article Le Roy de Siam ne donne rien ala Compagnie laquelle demeure a la discretion des officiers du Roy de Siam pour prendre les marchandises de france a vil prix, et celles du Royaume et des Etrangers aussy cher qu'ils voudront. Les missionn(a)ires sont demeurés d'accord et ont donné auis que la compagnie ne pouvoit faire vn bon commerce sous ces conditions particulierement par ce que quelque bonne volonté qu'ayt le Roy de Siam, de quoy on ne peut douter, on seroit toujours molesté par ses officiers.

Cest pourquoy estant a presumer que le Roy de Siam se trouuera dans la disposition d'accorder toutes sortes de conditions (37v<sup>o</sup>) raisonnables et auantageuses, On estime que les enuoyés doiuent faire Instance pour auoir avec l'exemption des droits desja accordez, la liberté entière de vendre les marchandises quelle fera apporter, sauf a conuenir avec le Roy de Siam de luy vendre en qualité et quantité celles dont on conuiendra avec Sa Majesté Siamoise aux prix et conditions dont on demeurera d'accord comm'aussy de pouuoir acheter les march(andise)s du Royaume de Siam et celles qui y seront apportées de dehors librement.

Si neantmoins on ne pouvoit obtenir cette liberté entière en tout il serait Necessaire d'insister pour auoir celle d'acheter les marchandises du Royaume et du dehors sans estre forcé de passer par les mains des officiers du Roy.

Et en tout cas les d'envoyez seroie(nt) chargés de conuenir au moins du prix auquel le Roy de Siam prendroit les marchandises de france et de la coste, ce qu'on estime qui se deuroit regler a 20 et 25. pour

cent de profit sur la facture pour les marchandises de France selon les qualités que le Roy donneroit en échange des marchandises du Japon De la Chine et des autres Estats des Indes a 8 et 10 pour cent de profit du prix coûtant sur les lieux a proportion de la distance (38<sup>re</sup>) des lieux pour en faire une avec les 20 et 25. pour cent sur les marchandises de France, et de ce qui sera stipulé pour les marchandises de Suratte, de Coromandel et de Bengalle que la Compagnie fera apporter a 10 pour %.

A l'égard des marchandises du crû du Royaume de Siam on estime que les envoies ne se doivent pas departir de la liberté de les acheter des particuliers au prix courant.

Comme il paroît que les Hollandois ont la liberté de faire commerce de quelques unes des marchandises de contrebande comme Nids doyseaux, Aquila calamba et calin et autres, il est nécessaire de obtenir le mesme privilege pour la Compagnie.

Et a l'égard de la priuation des privileges en cas d'abus par les commis de la Compagnie, comme elle feroit perdre toutes les mesures pour la continuation du commerce s'il falloit attendre de France le Jugement du Roy, cette disposition doit estre changée en la peine de la confiscation des marchandises pour lesquelles Les commis de la Compagnie pourront avoir presté leur nom.

Le Roy de Siam accorde par le (38<sup>v</sup>) troisieme article la liberté de charger pour son compte toute sorte de marchandises exemptes de droits d'entre et sortie sur les Navires Etrangers.

Par cet article il est sous entendu que nonobstant l'article precedent la Compagnie pourra reserver les marchandises pour les envoyer librement hors du Royaume de Siam, Neantmoins il est nécessaire de l'exprimer.

Il est accordé par le 4.<sup>e</sup> article de pouvoir envoyer des marchandises et de fretter un ou deux vaisseaux avec les mesmes exemptions au 3.<sup>e</sup> article.

IL EST NECESSAIRE QUE LES ENVOYÉS STIPULENT LES MESMES EXPRESSIONS QU'EN L'ARTICLE PRECEDENT.

Le Roy de Siam propose par le 5.<sup>e</sup> article de faire nommer un Juge par le Roy pour les contestations qui pourroient arriver entre les Francois et pour prendre place entre les Juges du Royaume pour les contestations entre les Francois et les Siamois et Etrangers.

Le commerce de l'estain de Jonsalam est accordé a la Compagnie a

l'exclusion des autres Nations a condition de porter (39<sup>r</sup>) aux habitants du d(it) Josalan et depend(an)ces les marchandises necessaires a leur commerce a peine de priuation du priuilege.

Il a esté remarqué depuis peu par la carte et les differens memoires que Jonsalam est a la coste du Nort de Malaca et nest pas eloigné de Merguy et de Tenacerim mesmes que de Singor il y a vne riuere que remonte fort prest du d(it) Jonsalam de sorte qu'on pourroit Juger que sil y auoit vn port au d(it) Jonsalam avec les mesmes commoditez qua Merguy, il seroit tres auantageux a la comp(agn)ie non seulem(ent) pour la retraitte des vaisseaux qui yroient de la coste et pendant lhiver, mais mesme pour faire le commerce des marchandises du sud sans estre obligé de passer par le detroit de la Sonde, et par celuy de Malaca<sup>(1)</sup> surtout pour charger les poiures dont on dit que la plus grande quantité sera receuillie dans les dependances de Ligor qui nest qu'a 20. lieues de Singor.

Comme le Choix de Jonsalam ou de Merguy depend de la verité pour les plus grandes commoditez du commerce et la sureté des v(aisse)aux si les Enuoyés ne peuvent auoir vne conaissance certaine de la commodité et auantage de l'un des lieux quils doiuent demander pour faire vn Etablissement libre et solide a (39<sup>v</sup>) la coste du Nort, ils doiuent enuoyer a leur arrivée a Siam des personnes seures et d'experience aux d(its) lieux de Singor, Ligor, Jonsalam et Merguy affin de se determiner pour obtenir le plus conuenable avec le Gouvernement d vn des d(its) lieux.

Les d(its) Enuoyez doiuent examiner en quoy consiste l'oblige(ti)on de fournir des March(andi)ses aux habitants de Jonsalam ou dvn au(tre) lieu qui sera accordé, affin que cette clause ne puisse rendre illusoires les auantages quon se promettra de cettétablissement.

Par le 9.<sup>e</sup> et dernier article du traitté de M. de Chaumont Le Roy de Siam accorde a Sa Ma(jes)té le lieu de Singor et ses dependances pour se fortifier et en vser a sa volonté, avec la reserve de tenir la chose secrette jusq(u)ace que Sa Ma(jes)té ayt fait scauoir sa resolution.

Tout ce qui a esté receuilly des memoires de M. de Choisy, de ce qu'a escrit M. de Meteleopolis, et de ce qui a esté rapporté par

(1) The words "et.... Malaca" were added in the margin by a different hand.

quelques particuliers qui sont revenus de Siam, fait connoistre.<sup>(1)</sup>

1° Que la situation de Singor est tres avantag(euse) pour estre fortifié avec peu de depence, qu'on peut demeurer a la Rade pendant huit mois en toute seüreté, et qu'on peut se retirer pendant les Vents de Nort Est a (40<sup>re</sup>) Ligor qui n'est qu'a 20. lieues et ou ils pretendent qu'il y a vn bon port.

2° Qu'on pourroit y attirer toutes les Nations de la Chine, du Japon, Bornéo, Tanguin, les Mores etc. et faire de la le commerce librement dans les mesmes pays avec deux ou 3. vaisseaux a la Chine et au Japon et aut(res) lieux, et avec plus de facilite que d<sup>e</sup> Siam.

3° Que du d(it) Singor on pourroit par la riviere faire le commerce avec les places de la coste dans la province de Queda ou est Jonsalam, et y faire porter le poiure et aut(res) marchandises sans estre obligé de passer par le detroit de la Sonde ny de Malaque.

Mais comme Singor est absolument detruit et qu'estant fort éloigné de Siam, il paroît qu'il conuient mieux d'avoir vne place faite, et plus proche.

Les Envoyez sans se departir de la place de Bankoc<sup>(2)</sup> qui a este promise, doivent examiner les avantages que lon peut tirer pour le commerce soit par l'Etablissement dvn Reduit ou dvn comptoir seulement aud(it) Singor, Eusem(ble), le prejudice que pourroit Recevoir la Comp(agn)ie faute dy auoir vn Etablissement sur tout pour la facilité de la reception du poiure, et pour la commodité de l'envoy, lesd(its) Envoyez s'assureront par le traité (40<sup>ve</sup>) qui sera fait de la concession dud(it) lieu de Singor, ou de l'obligha(ti)on du Roy de Siam de ne le pouoir donner à aucune Nation Etrangere sous quelq(ue) pretexte que ce soit en cas quil conuienne de demander vn Etablissement aut(re) que ledit Singor a la coste du Sud et de Malaque.

Il n'en paroît point d'aut(re) que Ligor de sorte que sil y e en effet vn port comme on l'assure, et que la plus grande partie des poiures se doive recevoir aux environs dud(it) Ligor, et que d'ailleurs il soit aussi ou plus commode d'en faire le transport a la coste du Nort, Les Envoyez doivent demander Ligor et faire les dernieres

(1) The words "fait connoistre" are an addition by another hand.

(2) The word "Bankoc" has been written on by a second hand in a space left blank for it.

Inst(ances) pour l'obtenir avec le privilege du calin quont les Hollandois a l'exclusion g(e)n(rale).

Cependant si le Roy de Siam en accordant Bankoc<sup>(1)</sup> faisoit difficulté de donner Ligor et qu apres avoir fait toutes les Justances possibles pour obtenir aussi le d(it) Ligor il ne vouloit par le donner au Roy pour en disposer a Sa Volonté et qu'il voulust aussi laisser aux Hollandois le commerce du Calin, il paroît necessaire dy etabliir vn comptoir pour la reception du poiure et d'obtenir tous les privileges et exemptions Necessaires.

De sorte que les dits Enuoyez doiuent demander (41r<sup>o</sup>) et obtenir Bankoc et la place la plus auantageuse et la plus commode de la coste de Malaque au Nort Soit Merguy ou Jonsalam ou aut(re) sil y en a quils puissent estre assurez deuoir estre plus conuenables.

Et al 'Egard de Singor et Ligor les dits Enuoyez examineront les conuenances et les Necessitez du commerce pour demander un etablisement<sup>(2)</sup> en l'une ou en l'autre place ou en toutes deux et ce qui sera le plus auantageux, ou au moins ce qui sera indispensablem(en)t neces(sai)re pour pouuoir executer le traitté du poiure avec benefice.

Le prix conuenu pour le poiure estant sur le pied qu'il se vend a la coste des Malayes et paroissant auantageux Il reste a examiner les autres conditions en ce qui regarde la reception, les frais du transport et la quantité que le Roy de Siam se voudra reseruer Et c'est sur ces considér(at)ions que les d(its) enuoyez semblent deuoir plus particuliereñent insister p(our) les Etablissem(en)ts a Singor et a Ligor.

Mais comme par le traitté qui auoit esté fait avec le S(ien)r Deslandes dans lequel il reste encor plusieurs aut(res) équivoques, il y auoit des conditions plus auantageuses que dans le traitté qui a esté fait par M. de Chaumont Il est necessaire que (41v<sup>o</sup>) les Enuoyez stipulent nettement celles qui sont accordees en supprimant les expressions captieuses et en y suppleant par d autres qui puissent rendre la condition de la Comp(agn)ie certaine. C'EST A SCAVOIR.

Que tout le poiure sera vendu a la Compagnie au prix conuenu sans quil puisse estre augmenté sous quelq(ue) pretexte que ce soit,

(1) The word "Bankoc" in this place and in the following paragraph has been written in a space left blank for it by the same second hand as above.

(2) The words "vn établissement" have been added in the margin by the same second hand as above.

et que le Roy de Siam ses off(icie)rs ny sujets n'en pourront vendre a personne soit Siamois ou Etrangers qu'apres que la Compagnie sen sera fourny dans les endroits plus conuenables a son commerce preferablem(en)t aux autres.

Pourra neantmoins le Roy de Siam retenir sur le poiure qui se sera recueilly ou apporté de dehors, la dixieme ou la 5<sup>e</sup> partie au plus pour la consommation de son Etat En cas que Sa Ma(jes)té en ayt besoin, et s'il ne s'en estoit pas recueilly vne assez grande quantité pour fournir a la Compagnie ce quelle en auroit besoin.

En cas qu'il y eust plus de poiure que la Comp(agn)ie n'en voudroit prendre, le Roy de Siam ou ses off(icie)rs pourr(ont) disposer du surplus comme ils auiseront bon estre apres neantmoins que la Comp(agn)ie aura (42<sup>r</sup>) pris a l'exclusion de tous autres, ce qu'elle voudra auoir.

Quoy que par les traittez il soit porté que la Comp(agn)ie declarera deux ans a l'auance la quantité de poiure a laquelle elle se voudra reduire, sil s'en recueille plus quelle n'en pourroit prendre, et qu'ainsy elle ne semble pas assujettie a prendre tout ce qui s'en recueillera au dela de ce dont elle aura besoin, Neantmoins comme les enuoyez peuu(ent) tomber dans l'obligation de declarer et stipuler vne quantité, on estime quelle peut s'obliger a en prendre 5 a 600 000 : liures par an et dauantage si elle veut, sauf a diminuer la quantité en auertissant a l'auance affin que les off(icie)rs du Roy de Siam puissent scavoir ce qu'ils auront a liurer ou a garder.

Il sera necessaire que les Enuoyez examinent les depences pour la reception l'Envoy et chargem(ent) affin de se faire accorder les conditions et priuileges tant pour les droits que pour les voitures En sorte que ce commerce puisse estre profita(ble) a la Compagnie.

L'Amende ordonnée contre ceux qui se trouueront auoir acheté du poiure au prejudice (42<sup>v</sup>) du traitté de la Compagnie ayant este réglée au profit du Roy seulement, il y a lieu de demander que la moitié sera au profit de la Comp(agn)ie.

Les vaisseaux que le Roy enuoye partants en feurier on peut faire estat qu'ils arriveront a Siam en Aoust ou Sept(em)bre.

De sorte que Sa Ma(jes)té voulant les faire passer au retour a la coste de Coromandel il faudroit qu'ils partissent a la fin doctobre pour estre a lad' coste a la fin de xbre affin d'y demeurer pour le plus tard jusq(ue)au commencement de feurier.

Et d'autant que la nauign(ti)on des vaisseaux pourroit estre retardée par des accidens et que la negotiation de Siam ne pourroit pas auoir esté terminée pour pouuoir faire partir toute l'Escadre assez tost il semble quen ce cas mesme a toutes fins on pourroit ordonner que deux des v(aisse)aux seulement pouroi(ent) estre detachez pour aller a lad(ite) coste aussi tost apres la decharge des marchandises, des presents et des hommes. Soit pour faire reuenir les autres vaisseaux a droiture en france en cas qu'ils n'eussé(nt) pas du temps pour aller a la Coste de Coromandel, ou (431<sup>o</sup>) pour aller trouver les p(re)miers sil y auoit du temps.

Si Monseigneur prend la resolution de faire partir a l'auance de Siam deux vaisseaux, les deux Enuoyez ou l'un deux pouront apres auoir acheué leurs negotiations jusques en decem(bre) aller par terre a Tenacerim où ils trouueront encore Le Navire de la Comp(agn)ie qui y doit hiurner pour rejoindre les deux vaisseaux et faire a la coste ce qui conuiendroit pour le seruice, et terminer avec les officie(rs) du Roy de Golconda vn traitté sur les hostilitéz qui auroi(ent) esté commandées par led(it) nauire de la Comp(agn)ie.

Il paroît necessaire qu'outre l'ordre de la comp(agn)ie au S(ieu)r Deslandes qui est apresent a Pondichery de s'en aller a Siam par Tenacerim de luy enuoyer vn au(tre) ordre du Roy pour le mesme effet led(it) Deslandes connoissant parfaittem(ent) le pays, et ayant este honoré de la confiance intime du Roy et du S(ieu)r Constance.

Monseigneur<sup>(1)</sup> est supplié de se souuenir quon luy a remonstré quon pourroit laisser vn nauire du Roy pend(an)t vne mousson entiere a la coste pour y terminer les affaires le Golconda sy elles nestoient pas finies auant le P(re)mie(r) fev(ri)er.

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(1) This last paragraph was written by a different hand which resembles that indicated in the notes on page 233.



## TRANSLATION

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Observations on Trade for the instruction of the King's  
 Envoys<sup>(1)</sup> to the King of Siam.

Marine As long ago as 1682 the King of Siam made an offer  
 Siam through Mr. Constant to M. Deslandes, Head of the Com-  
 1687. pany's Agency, who had won the complete confidence both  
 of the King and of Constant. The offer was that he  
 would use his influence to obtain the building of a fortress  
 at Jore <sup>(2)</sup> from which place the Dutch had been expelled;  
 also to that effect he put certain facilities at the disposal  
 of Deslandes. The latter however dared not engage him-  
 self therein, though well aware of the value of (such) an  
 establishment. Baron, the then Director General in India  
 was informed by him of the matter: the Company (in  
 France) was also informed as early as 1684, but took no  
 steps.

At the same time, the King of Siam also proposed to  
 Deslandes to load his ships bound for any ports outside  
 Siam with whatever goods he desired, and to bring back a  
 cargo of copper in return free of freight and duties.

He also had a plan for loading a ship on an unbroken  
 voyage to leave France in January with a cargo worth  
 300,000 livres, half in cloth and half in cash, which he  
 would take over, the cloth at 20% to 25% above the invoice  
 price, and the silver at current rates. In September the  
 ship was to be reloaded at Ayut'ia with saltpetre, the  
 remaining space being filled with copper and tin. The idea  
 was that this ship would be due with this cargo on the  
 Coromandel coast at the end of December, and there load up  
 with cotton goods, retaining the saltpetre as ballast, and  
 set sail again at the beginning of February.

The Siamese at that time suspected the Dutch of a  
 design to seize Bangkok, and they confided their suspicions

(1) M.M. de La Loubère and Ceberet (in the margin).

(2) Kæppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1908, p. 189,  
 states that Deslandes wrote to Baron on December 26th, 1682, (Arch. des  
 Colonies, C 1. 22, ff 45-49).

to the said Deslandes; and as the Dutch had been pressing for a monopoly of the trade of Junkceylon, Deslandes prevented it and was encouraged in the hope of establishing the Company at that place.

He then made a treaty for pepper by which it was allowed that if one tenth (of the pepper available) should not suffice for the needs of the Kingdom, one fifth was to be reserved for the King of Siam, and the remainder was to be sold to the Company at the rate of three livres a pound, while foreigners and all others were forbidden to take any out of the Kingdom.

Seeing that at the expiry of two years the Company was still not in a position to do any trade, the King of Siam sent Deslandes at the end of 1684 to Surat to carry news of the treaty, and to give effect to the sundry proposals that had been made. It thus happened that when M. de Chaumont reached Siam, M. Deslandes, who appears to be one of the Company's ablest agents in the East, was absent. He never returned, and the business was left in the hands of a jeweller of Paris named Véret, who lacked the experience and ability needed to engage in business of the kind which was then in hand.

The result was that de Chaumont, when approached from different quarters both in person and by letter, (and urged) to take steps to safeguard the Company's trade, invariably replied that the conversion of the King was the sole object of his mission,—having no one of experience behind him, as he might well have had; and he made a treaty containing some very captious clauses.

In addition to what he said, it appears from all the statements contained in the Memoir which M. de Chaumont submitted on his return to France concerning the occurrences (in Siam) that the King of Siam was much worried concerning the Dutch, and so put himself in the Chaumont's hands in this matter,—as witness the terms used by him in the Memorandum which he said Mr. Constant presented to the said M. de Chaumont at Louvo. He there gave vent to his suspicion of the Dutch, asking how he should proceed against them in time of war, making it quite clear that he had no need of those strongholds except for shielding the movements of the French, and that but for that reason he would have them levelled to the ground, and himself go out into the open to meet the Dutch.

Be that as it may, M. de Chaumont certainly did sign a treaty with Mr. Constant on the 11th of December, and another one later on

concerning pepper. There are certain main clauses in this treaty:

1° Concerning the request for freedom of trade and exemption from duties.—Exemption from duties is granted together with permission to buy all sorts of goods provided they are not contraband and that they are purchased solely from the King's storekeeper. Regarding goods introduced by foreigners or by the Company for its own account, the Company has the right to buy and sell them at will, with the proviso that if the king requires any of the said goods for his own use he shall have absolute right of preemption over them. It is also provided that in the event of any abuse thereof by its agents, the Company will forfeit its privileges pending a ruling on the matter by the Most Christian King.

By the terms of this article the King of Siam concedes nothing to the Company, for it is still subject to the good pleasure of the King's officials, who are entitled to take goods from France at a low price, and (sell) local and foreign goods at any price at all that they may choose. According to the admission of the Missionaries, and the information they have supplied, the Company will never trade successfully under these conditions, especially since it will always be at the mercy of the King's officials, no matter how well disposed he himself may be, as indeed he undoubtedly is.

For this reason, since it may be anticipated that the King of Siam will be disposed to grant any terms that are reasonable and advantageous, it is felt that the Envoys, in addition to the exemption from duties already granted, should insist upon complete freedom to offer for sale goods imported by them, with the sole proviso that such goods and such amounts are sold as shall be agreed upon with His Siamese Majesty at rates and on terms to be fixed by agreement: they should also insist upon the right to buy without restriction both Siamese goods and those imported from abroad. If however it is not possible to obtain this complete liberty, it will be necessary to insist upon freedom to buy the goods of the country, also foreign goods, without their passing through the hands of the King's officials.

In any case, it should be incumbent upon the said Envoys to obtain an agreement at least upon the price at which the King of Siam will accept goods from France and from the Coast,<sup>(1)</sup> and it is

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(1) *i. e.* the Coromandel Coast of India.

estimated that this should be fixed at a rate 20% to 25% higher than the Invoice value in the case of goods from France according to their quality; also that the King should give in exchange goods from Japan, China, and the other states in the Indies, allowing himself 8% to 10% profit on the purchase price at those places, in proportion to the distances involved, and in such manner that there shall be also a proportion to the 20% to 25% charged on goods from France; and furthermore, an agreement upon what shall be stipulated for the goods from Surat, Coromandel, and Bengal which the Company will bring into Siam.

Regarding the native goods produced by Siam, it is held that the Envoys must not give way as regards freedom to buy them from private individuals at the current price.

Since it appears that the Dutch are at liberty to trade in certain contraband articles such as Birds-nests, Eaglewood, Calamba,<sup>(1)</sup> Calin,<sup>(2)</sup> and others, it is imperative to obtain the same privileges for the Company.

As to forfeiture of rights in the event of their abuse by the Company's agents, since this would involve the loss of all means to carry on trade pending arrival from France of the King's ruling, this penalty should be changed to confiscation of the goods which the Company's Agent may have traded under cover of its name.

According to the third article, the King of Siam grants freedom for the Company to load in foreign bottoms on its own account all manner of goods free of import and export duties. This clause implies that, notwithstanding the previous article, the Company is authorised to set aside goods for free export from Siam: this however should be stated in so many words.

According to the fourth article, a similar right is conceded to despatch goods<sup>(3)</sup> and to freight one or two ships with the same exemptions (as in the 3rd Article). The Envoys must insist upon the same wording as in that article.

In the fifth<sup>(4)</sup> article, the King of Siam suggests that a Judge be

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(1) Calambac.

(2) Calin, a mixture of lead and tin.

(3) Imported goods- v. de Chaumont's account.

(4) i. e. article (9) in de Chaumont's account.

appointed by the King to deal with disputes among the French, and to sit on the bench side by side with the Siamese Judges in disputes between Frenchmen and Siamese or foreigners.

The monopoly in tin at Junkceylon is granted to the French subject to a proviso that the Company supplies the inhabitants of Junkceylon and neighbourhood with the goods they require for their trade, under penalty of forfeiture of the privilege.

It has recently been noticed on referring to the map as well as to the reports of sundry persons that Junkceylon is situated on the coast north of Malacca, and that it is not very far from Merguy and Tenacerim; also that as at Singor there is a river which rises quite close to Junkceylon, it may be inferred that, if Junkceylon is furnished with a harbour with facilities similar to those of Merguy, it would be most useful to the Company not only in affording refuge to its ships (in distress) and in the winter, but also even for trade in goods from the south which would not have to pass through the Straits of Sunda and those of Malacca, and especially for loading pepper, of which the largest supply, so it is said, will be found in the dependencies of Ligor which lies but twenty leagues from Singor.

Since the choice between Junkceylon and Merguy depends upon an exact estimation as to which of the two affords the best facilities for trade and protection of shipping, if the Envoys are unable to obtain reliable knowledge concerning the convenience and advantages of the one or of the other of the (two) places which they are to ask for as a site for a free and permanent settlement on the north coast, they must, on their arrival in Siam, send tried and experienced persons to Singor, Ligor, Junkceylon and Merguy in order to reach a decision with the local authorities, so that they may obtain the most suitable of the aforesaid sites.

The Envoys must enquire into the purport of the undertaking to supply goods to the inhabitants of Junkceylon or of the place conceded in its stead, so that this clause may not render nugatory the benefit to be hoped from a settlement there.

According to the ninth<sup>(1)</sup> and last article in M. de Chaumont's treaty, the King of Siam grants Singor and its dependencies to His Majesty for Him to erect fortifications there and use as He desires;

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(1) Article (13) in de Chaumont's account.

but it specifies that the matter be kept secret pending His Majesty's decision.

All that has been gathered from the memoirs of M. de Choisy, from what the Lord Bishop of Metellopolis has written, and from reports by private individuals who have returned from Siam, shows:—

1) That the position of Singor is most suited to receive fortifications at a small cost; that ships can remain in the roads in perfect safety for eight months, while during the north-east winds they can retire to Ligor which is claimed to have a good harbour only twenty leagues distant.

2) That it would be possible to draw thereto all the traders of China, Japan, Borneo and Tongking, also the Moors, and to trade in freedom from those same ports to China and Japan by means of two or three ships with greater ease than from (the city of) Siam.

3) That from Singor, by means of the river, it would be possible to maintain trade with the coastal stations in the province of Kedah in which Junkeeylon lies, and to have pepper and other goods carried to those places without having to pass through the Straits of Sunda and Malacca.

Without giving way regarding the citadel of Bangkok which has been promised, the Envoys shall consider what benefits would result for trade from the establishment either of a place of refuge or simply of a commercial factory at the aforesaid Singor; then as well, what prejudice the absence of any such establishment might involve for the Company, particularly in the matter of convenience for collection and shipment of pepper.

In the treaty which will be concluded, the Envoys are to make sure of obtaining the concession of Singor, or else an undertaking from the King of Siam to refrain from granting it to any other foreign nation under any colour whatsoever, in case it appears expedient to ask for some settlement, other than Singor aforementioned, on the south coast or on the coast of Malacca.

The only other one appears to be Ligor. If therefore a harbour really exists there,—as we are given to believe,—at which the major portion of the pepper crop from the vicinity of Ligor would be collected; if furthermore Ligor proves to be equally or more convenient for the despatch of that crop to the north coast, the Envoys should apply for Ligor, and insist in every possible way in order to

obtain it together with the monopoly of the calin trade which the Dutch enjoy to the exclusion of all others.

If however, while granting Bangkok, the King of Siam puts forward objections to giving Ligor, and if in spite of all possible insistence he refuses to give the King the full use of it, and if further he desires to leave the calin trade to the Dutch, it looks as if we should have to open a trading post there for the collection of pepper, obtaining from him all the privileges and exemptions required.

It follows that the Envoys are to ask for and obtain Bangkok and the most profitable and convenient establishment on the coast north of Malacca, whether Merguy, or Junkceylon, or some other, if any exists which they can be certain will be more suitable; and regarding Singor or Ligor, the Envoys are to study the conditions and requirements of trade with a view to asking for an establishment in one or the other or in both of them.

Since the price agreed upon for pepper is the price at which it sells on the Malay coast and appears remunerative, it remains to study the conditions obtaining in other matters, that is with regard to selection, cost of carriage and the amount which the King of Siam will require to be reserved for him: these are details on which the Envoys should lay more especial stress when considering a settlement at Singor or Ligor.

Since however M. Deslandes' treaty, in which there remains a number of other equivocal clauses, contained some better terms than those in the treaty concluded by M. de Chaumont, the Envoys must insist on a clear statement of the terms to be granted, deleting the capricious clauses and substituting others capable of ensuring a definite status for the Company, to wit;—

That all the pepper shall be sold to the Company at the price agreed upon, which under no circumstances whatever shall be capable of increase: that neither the King of Siam nor his officials nor his subjects shall ever sell any of it to either natives or foreigners until the Company has been supplied with it in the places most adapted for its trade in preference to any others.

It shall however be permissible for the King of Siam to reserve for the consumption of his dominions the tenth or the fifth part of the pepper collected or brought in from abroad, should His Majesty have need thereof, even though the quantity collected is insufficient

to provide the supply required by the Company. In the event of there being more pepper than the Company would take, the King of Siam or his officials will be at liberty to dispose of the surplus as they think proper, provided that the Company has first refusal of all it needs to the exclusion of all others.

Although the treaties require the Company to give notice two years ahead regarding the limit of its requirements in pepper, in case more be collected than it needs, and although the Company does not, thus appear bound to take the whole crop in excess of its requirements, nevertheless since the Envoys may find themselves called upon to fix a given limit in advance, it is reckoned that a limit of 500,000 to 600,000 livres may be accepted by the Company, or even more, if it so wishes, with the option to reduce the amount after due notice has been given beforehand in order to enable the King's officials to know what amount they will have to supply and what to retain.

The Envoys must study the costs of selection, carriage and shipping, in order to obtain favourable terms in the matter of duties and conveyance, so that the trade may be remunerative to the Company.

The fine levied on those who shall happen to have bought pepper in contravention of the Company's treaty has been assigned in full to the King. Application should be made for the Company to take one half thereof.

Since the vessels which the King sends out sail in February, it can be reckoned, that they will reach the city of Siam in August or September. If therefore His Majesty desires that on their way home they should call in at the Coromandel coast, they should set forth at the end of October so as to reach that coast at the end of December, in order not to be detained there after the beginning of February.

Inasmuch as the voyage may be delayed by accidents, also the negotiations in Siam may not be finished in time to have the whole squadron under weigh at a sufficiently early date, so as to meet all contingencies, orders might any way be given that just two ships be detailed to proceed to that coast as soon as they have discharged the goods, the presents and the men. The rest of the squadron could either return to France direct, if it has no time to put in at the Coromandel coast, or if it has time, it could join up with the first ships there.



If His Lordship<sup>(1)</sup> should decide to direct that two ships leave Siam ahead of the others, both Envoys, or one of them, after completing the negotiations not later than December, could travel overland to Tenacerim, where he would still find the Company's ship which winters at that place, and so overtake the two ships on the coast. They would there attend to the King's service, and conclude a treaty with the King of Golconda's officials, putting an end to the state of war which was declared by the said Company's ship.

In addition to the order of the Company to M. Deslandes, who is at present at Pondichery, enjoining him to repair to (the city of) Siam via Tenacerim, it seems necessary to despatch to him another order to the same effect from the king (of France) since he has a perfect knowledge of the country, and has been honoured with the close confidence of the King and of Mr. Constant.

His Lordship is implored to recall the representations made to him to the effect that one of the King's ships could be left for a whole monsoon on the Coromandel coast to complete the Golconda business, should it not have been concluded before the 8th of February.

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(1) *i.e.* Marquis de Seignelay for whose benefit these observations appear to have been drawn up by the Directors of the Company to form the basis of his Instructions to the Envoys. The last two paragraphs have been added by the second hand which wrote in "Bankoc" twice in the original.