

THE RETIREMENT OF THE FRENCH GARRISON FROM BANGKOK IN THE YEAR 1688

by

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I. Manuscripts presented with translations:

1) Original of Portuguese letter of September 1688 from Macao, of which an English translation has been published in 1916, *Records of the Relations...*, vol. V, n^o. 31, pp. 55-59. Lisbon State Library, n^o 465, f^o 186.

2) Original in Latin with English translation of letter dated 26th of November, 1688, from Father Maldonato S. J., Rome, Propaganda Fede, *Scrittura riferite*, vol. V, n^o 104.

3) Original in Latin with English translation of letter dated 23rd of November, 1689, from the Bishop of Metellopolis, Rome, Propaganda Fede, *Scrittura riferite*, vol. V, n^o 195.

4) Original in Latin of letter dated 20th of June, 1706, from Dona Guimar de Pina, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, *Mémoires et Documents, Asie*, vol. 2, n^o 90.

Translation: Free translation in English of the French version of a letter dated 27th of December, 1693, sent in triplicate by P'ya Kosa T'ibodi, Minister of the King of Siam to M. Martin, Governor of Pondichéri, M. Brisacier, Missions étrangères, Paris, and Father de la Chaise, Chaplain to Louis XIV., Paris, Missions étrangères, vol. 862, p. 677; vol. 863, p. 273; vol. 880, p. 853. The French version was published by Adrien Launay in his *Histoire de la Mission de Siam*.

II. List of manuscripts and publications to which reference is made in the text:

MANUSCRIPTS.

A. C.: Archives des Colonies, Paris, series C², Letters etc., Affaires de Siam, Journal de Cèberet.

A. M.: Archives de la Marine, Paris, series B², Letters etc., T⁴, Tachard's letters.

M. E.: Missions étrangères, rue du Bac, Paris.

The voluminous archives of the Missions Etrangères consist of letters received from missionaries since 1660, collected into volumes which contain also the copies of certain relevant documents, such as the version of Kosa Pan's letters.

Q. d'O.: Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Quai d'Orsay, Paris.

P.F.: Propaganda Fede, Rome, Scrittura riferita.

PUBLICATIONS.

Anon. *Relation des Révolutions arrivées à Siam dans l'année 1688*, Amsterdam, Pierre Brunel, 1691.

Vollant des Verquins, *Histoire de la Révolution de Siam*, Lille, J. C. Malte, 1691.

Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, London, 1727.

Lucien Lanier, *Étude historique . . .*, Versailles, 1883.

Paul Kaeppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1908.

Records of the Relations between Siam and foreign countries in the 17th century, 5 vol., Bangkok, 1915-1921.

Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la Mission de Siam*, Paris, 1920.

Virgile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France, 1640-1740*, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1932.

E. W. Hutchinson, *The French Foreign Mission in Siam*, JSS, XXVI, pt. 1, (April 1932), pp. 1-72.

id., *Four French State Manuscripts*, JSS, XXVII, pt. 2, (April 1935), pp. 183-244.

M. M. de La Loubère and Céberet, the Envoys of Louis XIV who accompanied the French troops to Siam in 1687, reached France on their return from the East in July 1688, ⁽¹⁾ accompanied by the French Jesuit Tachard, who was to recruit a force of civilians in France for service in Siam under Phaulkon.⁽²⁾ The fruit of their labours was already spoilt by Phaulkon's death in Siam a month before their return to Europe, but the fact was not known there for more than a year.

Before leaving Siam the Envoys had signed a treaty with Phaulkon which gave a French garrison to the King of Siam to protect him against the Dutch whom he feared. Sundry commercial and religious privileges originally proposed by Siam in 1685 had been clarified and improved by the Treaty, but the Siamese offer of a depot for troops and traders in the dependency of Singora had been converted by the French into a pretext for introducing their troops into the fortress of Bangkok and for drafting a detachment to Mergui.

Phaulkon, the Greek favourite of King Pra Narai, in negotiating

⁽¹⁾ Kaeppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 214.

⁽²⁾ Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France*, p. 58.

with the French who were backed by an armament capable of enforcing their demands, made terms with them which appeared to save the face of Siam, but thereby antagonised the French, earning for himself the distrust of both sides. It was suspected that he was glad to have the garrison near him when the King fell ill, but any reliance he may have placed in it was disappointed in April 1688, when the appeal which he sent to the French for help against his enemies was ignored.⁽¹⁾ Deserted by the French, he fell in May, and was executed in June 1688. The King died soon afterwards, following which the French troops in Bangkok were besieged for some months by the Siamese. The warship *Oriflamme*, which left France in February 1688 with reinforcements for Bangkok, arrived in September, too late to be of any service other than that of expediting the departure of the whole French force from Siam.

News of all this ruin did not reach Europe until late in 1689. Meanwhile, the Revolution in Siam had been followed within a few months by the Revolution in England, which country, under the leadership of William of Orange, ceased to give support to Louis XIV, and joined the general confederation against him.

It had been the intention of the Marquis de Seignelay, Louis' foreign Minister, early in 1689, to follow the precedent of the previous year when he sent out the *Oriflamme* to Siam.⁽²⁾ Four warships were to sail for the Bay of Bengal under the command of the Marquis d'Eragny in order to prevent any attack being made by the English upon Mergui. In March 1689 de Seignelay obtained Louis' signature to orders for M. Martin, the French chief at Pondichéri, who was to proceed to Mergui in person and co-operate in every way with d'Eragny. In April 1689 however Louis intervened to postpone the expedition, and despatched three of the ships to assist James II. in his futile Irish campaign.⁽³⁾

In the autumn of 1689 some anxiety was felt in France at the non-arrival of the two vessels, *Coche* and *Normande*, which were overdue from the East. There were also rumours abroad concerning trouble in Siam. They were discounted as propaganda of the enemy. Nevertheless, it was felt necessary to hasten the despatch of a power-

(1) E. W. Hutchinson, *Four French State Manuscripts*, JSS, vol. XXVII, p. 183-244, for the negotiations in 1685 and 1687.

(2) Lanier, *Etude Historique*, p. 275.

(3) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 217, and A.M., B², 69, f^o 204 seqq.

ful squadron to the Bay of Bengal, and on the 20th of September 1689 orders were issued to Captain Duquesne-Guiton to assume command of the six vessels, *Oiseau*, *Dragon*, *Lion*, *Florissant*, *Gaillard*, and *Recueil*, which were to sail at once.⁽¹⁾ At the last moment, on the 6th of November 1689, definite confirmation of the rumours about trouble in Siam was received from the Dutch concentration camp for prisoners of war at Middleburg, where it was learnt that survivors from the *Coche* and *Normande*, together with part of the Siam garrison were held captive by the Dutch, who had seized the two ships off the Cape.⁽²⁾

Tachard, with his party of civilians for service under Phaulkon, was to have sailed for Siam with Duquesne-Guiton. On receipt of the news from Middleburg, the civilians had to be disbanded, and the plan for their employment in Siam abandoned.⁽³⁾ The departure of the squadron was postponed until early January 1690. Tachard was permitted to accompany it in order to try and win the favour of the new King of Siam with the presents intended originally for Pra Narai.⁽⁴⁾

The earliest rumours of trouble in Siam were current in France during the summer of 1689. Their doubtful nature may be inferred from the first manuscript, a letter in Portuguese written after the arrival at Macao in September of news brought by a ship which sailed from Petchaburi shortly after Phaulkon's death.

The second manuscript contains an authentic, and probably the first written account of the disaster following Phaulkon's death from the pen of an eye-witness, the Flemish Jesuit Fr. Maldonato.

The third manuscript, a letter from Bishop Laneau, records the misfortunes of the French who remained in Siam, after the departure of the troops.

The fourth manuscript gives an insight into the circumstances of Phaulkon's widow eighteen years after his death.

Kosa Pan's letter gives the Siamese version of events leading up to and following the Revolution, also of the retirement of the garrison.

The French version of events following the Revolution was first published in 1691 in the form of two books by eye-witnesses, both of

(1) A.M., B², 70, ff^o 80, 93, 135; also Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 and 219.

(2) A.M., B², 70, f^o 356 v^o; also Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

(3) Dated 27th Nov., 1690: M. E., 880, p. 380.

(4) Dated 4th Jan., 1690: Prop. Fede, Ser. ref., V, n^o 239,

ful squadron to the Bay of Bengal, and on the 20th of September 1689 orders were issued to Captain Duquesne-Guiton to assume command of the six vessels, *Oiseau*, *Dragon*, *Lion*, *Florissant*, *Guillard*, and *Erueil*, which were to sail at once.⁽¹⁾ At the last moment, on the 6th of November 1689, definite confirmation of the rumours about trouble in Siam was received from the Dutch concentration camp for prisoners of war at Middleburg, where it was learnt that survivors from the *Coche* and *Normande*, together with part of the Siam garrison were held captive by the Dutch, who had seized the two ships off the Cape.⁽²⁾

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whom were Officers with the French troops. Vollant des Verquins, whose book⁽¹⁾ was published at Lille in 1691, was one of the Frenchmen from Bangkok who was captured by the Dutch with the ships, *Coche* and *Normande*, whilst on their way home. The author of the anonymous work *Relation des Révolutions* was, according to the text, no other than Desfarges, the General in command of the French force in Siam. He did not leave the East for home until March 1690, thirteen months later than Vollant. After a long and circuitous voyage via the West Indies in the warship *Oriflamme*, he was drowned when that vessel was wrecked off the Breton coast on the 27th of February 1691.⁽²⁾

These two works confirm each other. Both were published during the same year in Flanders and Holland while Vollant was interned. Neither of them records events subsequent to Vollant's parting from Desfarges. It is therefore probable that the latter entrusted his manuscript to Vollant for publication before his own return home. His object may well have been to direct the notice of the public to his success in extricating his men from a difficult situation, and thereby divert attention from his share in the fiasco of the French in Siam and from the misfortunes of those whom he left behind there.

When in May 1688 P'ra P'et Racha succeeded in his coup d'état, the position of Desfarges became extremely delicate, since his troops, as a condition of being admitted into Bangkok, had sworn an oath of allegiance to King P'ra Narai, who was still alive. Having declined to intervene on Phaulkon's behalf in April, Desfarges was not likely to initiate hostilities after his death. At the same time, P'ra P'et could not hope for Desfarges' support, since the latter had suggested to Phaulkon in April that they should both offer their services to P'ra Narai's brothers, an offer which compromised him with P'ra P'et.⁽³⁾

P'ra P'et had appointed Kosa Pan, the late Siamese Ambassador to Paris, to be his Minister of Treasury, and relied upon his experience of the French to enable him to rid the country of their

(1) *Histoire de la Révolution de Siam*, by Vollant des Verquins.

(2) A.C., C² 6, f^o 249; also Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

(3) For events in Siam during 1688 the following sources have been consulted: *Relation des Révolutions*; Vollant des Verquins, *op. cit.*; The letters of Artus de Lionne, M.E., 853. pp. 72, 101, 162, 305, 319 and M.E., 856, p. 123.

presence without endangering the safety of the Siamese who had been left behind in France, as might have resulted if he had adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the French in Siam.

The Siamese therefore decided to invite Desfarges to come up to Lopburi and see them. They there asked him to bring up his men to help crush a fictitious rebellion in the North East.⁽¹⁾ Desfarges succeeded in temporising on the plea that his personal presence and authority would be needed to persuade his officers to obey this order. Once safely back again within the Fortress at Bangkok, Desfarges consulted with his Officers. It was decided to abandon the Fort on the West Bank of the river, and to retire into the shelter of Forbin's new works on the east bank.

The Siamese immediately occupied the position on the west bank which the French had abandoned. Thereupon the latter attempted to recapture it, not supposing that it was held in force. By so doing, the French became the aggressors. Also, by their unsuccessful sortie they encouraged in the Siamese a hope of forcing them to surrender. The French then allowed the Siamese to invest them, pending the arrival of help from the ships which were patrolling the gulf under the command of French officers. To expedite the return of these ships, a junior officer, St Cricq, attempted to break out to sea in a small junk. St Cricq had not proceeded far down stream before he found himself surrounded by enemy craft. Seeing that there was no escape, he permitted the enemy to close with him. He then fired his powder-magazine, perishing in the flames which destroyed a number of his adversaries.

At first, the siege was conducted with energy, and the defenders were kept on the alert by fears of incendiarism at night, but in July the ardour of the Siamese abated. Desfarges attributed the change in their demeanour to the impression made upon them by St Cricq's desperate action. Kosa Pan claimed afterwards that the French asked for terms. Probably what happened was that the French Jesuits in the Fort succeeded in communicating with Bishop Laneau, whom the Siamese employed as their intermediary, and that through these channels the Siamese learnt that Desfarges was prepared to withdraw from the country on terms. He had been unable to establish contact with the French crews of the two ships in the Gulf. The latter had been met at the Bar by the Siamese and conducted

(1) Kosa Pan's letter, translation n°. 5.

direct to the capital before they learnt of the plight of their fellow-countrymen in Bangkok.

In September 1688, when the *Oriphanne* arrived with reinforcements from France, the negotiations for withdrawal of the garrison were in full swing. The Siamese were able to prevent direct intercourse between this ship and Desfarges until all danger of collusion was past. The additional 200⁽¹⁾ Frenchmen in this ship were thus merely an encumbrance to Desfarges, since he had no means of feeding them without the help of the Siamese, and they occupied accommodation in the ship which otherwise might have been utilised by his own troops. He was therefore obliged to hire two ships from the Siamese for the repatriation of his men to Pondichéri. He agreed that Bishop Laneau and Véret, Agent in Siam of the Compagnie des Indes, should stand security for the return of the ships and their hire.

A hitch was caused in the final negotiations by the sudden arrival in Bangkok of Phaulkon's widow, known in after years as Dona Guimar de Pina. One of Desfarges' Officers, Ste Marie, had been up to Ayut'ia to buy provisions for the journey, and there received an appeal from the lady for protection from the importunities of a nobleman. She succeeded in winning the sympathy of Ste Marie, with whose help she reached Bangkok, determined to claim a passage to France. Céberet appears to have offered Phaulkon shares in the Compagnie des Indes to the amount of fr. 300,000, of which the latter had actually taken up one third.⁽²⁾ That the widow had a just claim to these funds is implied by the grant which she received subsequently of a pension to which reference is made in her letter, the fourth Manuscript accompanying this article.⁽³⁾

The Siamese objected to her leaving Siam, probably for the reason that they themselves claimed the return to them of Phaulkon's foreign investments, and feared that if she went to France she would anticipate them.

Desfarges himself was quite ready to surrender her to her enemies, but he was opposed by eight out of ten of his officers backed by de Lionne. The Bishop supported Desfarges, holding that the comfort of

(1) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 263, for the statement that 350 men embarked.

(2) A.C., *Affaires de Siam*.

(3) Also M.E., 882, p. 430.

a single woman should not be allowed to prejudice the safety of the whole garrison.⁽¹⁾

The deadlock was only resolved when Véret produced a letter from the widow's mother begging that her daughter be sent back to her at Ayut'ia. Fr. Maldonato states that all the French clergy were detained in custody by the Siamese until the widow left the French camp. Desfarges in his narrative deplored this complication, which came at a moment when he was haggling over the equipment of his ships, but he stated that he eventually obtained an assurance that she and her family would enjoy liberty of conscience and protection from violence. This undertaking appears to have been observed, since Kaempfer on his visit to Ayut'ia in 1690 had no remark to make about ill-treatment, but merely observed that she was living in extreme poverty.⁽²⁾

Vollant gives as follows the terms of the agreement finally made between Desfarges and Kosa Pan :

"Desfarges was to hire two ships on the security of Véret and the Bishop, who stood surety for the return of the ships with payment for their hire, also for the return of cash declared by Phaulkon at his trial to be owing to him by the Compagnie des Indes.

"The garrison was to retire with all the honours of war, taking with it all its cannon, munitions and baggage, after delivering the fortress intact to the Siamese.

"The Jesuits were to have the option of remaining in Siam with the Missionaries in enjoyment of all the privileges conferred by the late King.

"The Company was to retain the concessions made to it in the earlier treaties.⁽³⁾

"Hostages were to be exchanged during the period covered by the retirement to the ships. Those held by the French were to travel down river with Desfarges, while those held by the Siamese were to follow within gunshot of them. The hostages of both sides were to be re-exchanged at the Customs post near the mouth of the river.

(1) M.E., 854, p. 657.

(2) Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, Glasgow ed., 1906, p. 33.

(3) *i.e.* the treaties made by Deslandes in 1682-83.

The hostages given by the French were V  ret and one of the General's sons. They were allowed by the Siamese to board Desfarges' boat for luncheon while still some way above the Customs post. At this moment news came that some of the craft loaded with cannon had run aground soon after leaving the fortress. Desfarges suspected that the alleged accident was designed to rob him of the cannon. He refused therefore to allow V  ret and his son to leave the boat, and he did not surrender the two Siamese whom he held as hostages. His own reference to the incident is quite brief. He states that he had been warned to expect an attack as he was leaving the fortress, but that the Siamese contented themselves with holding back some of his boats, for which reason he refused to surrender the hostages he held.

It is extraordinary that Desfarges should not have reckoned upon the impression of treachery which his action was bound to create in the minds of the Siamese, even if their own consciences were as little clear as he suspected. It is also extraordinary that the Jesuits and de Lionne, who elected to retire with him, should not have prevailed upon him to refrain from an action certain to compromise the position of the Bishop and of the Frenchmen remaining in Siam, upon whom the resentment of the Siamese must fall.

While Vollant deplored the misunderstanding, which he attributed to mutual suspicions revived by the incident of Phaulkon's widow, Kosa Pan's letter shows that the Siamese drew the worst conclusions. Their reactions are described by Fr. Maldonato and by Bishop Laneau in the second and third manuscripts. The justice of Kosa Pan's contention cannot be denied that when the guaranteed party evades his responsibilities it is the guarantor who pays for him. Kosa Pan went so far as to claim that by Siamese law the Bishop, as guarantor became liable for the death penalty. Eight out of the ten priests together with thirty-three French laymen were imprisoned and treated so roughly that some actually died.⁽¹⁾ It appears therefore that Kosa Pan took undue credit for his clemency.

The letter of Fr. Maldonato emphasises the bitter feelings which the Siamese entertained for the French. The Bishop, in his letter, appeared to regard the persecution as inevitable. His protests were reserved for the insubordinate Portuguese clergy, especially Peter Martyr, one of Phaulkon's late secretaries, whom the Bishop had

(1) M.E., 680, pp. 15 and 139; 862, p. 379; 880, pp. 311-613;

excommunicated for refusing to recognise the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Vicars. It is pleasing to observe that Fr. Maldonato gave no countenance to Peter Martyr's excesses, although as a Jesuit he must have sympathised with his protest against French episcopal jurisdiction in Siam. In fact, it would appear that the long standing feud between the French clergy and the Jesuits was finally composed and laid to rest from the time when the Flemish Jesuit Maldonato championed the cause of the persecuted French Missionaries at Ayut'ia.

One fact of great importance emerges from Fr. Maldonato's letter, namely that the Siamese confined their reprisals to the members of the French Foreign Mission, while the Jesuits and Dominicans, who had been closely identified with Phaulkon, and whom we should expect to find involved in his disgrace, were left unmolested. The assumption therefore is that, when subjected to torture, Phaulkon cannot have disclosed his secret understanding with the Jesuits for the establishment of Christianity in Siam through the agency of foreign civilian officials, whom he had deputed Tachard to enlist in France with the help of the Jesuits.

In the matter of the hostages Desfarges showed himself much less considerate for the safety of those he was leaving behind him in Siam than did Phaulkon. It is possible that some stirrings of remorse for his abandonment of his surety, the Bishop, in November 1688, may have influenced his plans in February 1689.

In that month, upon his arrival at Pondichéri from Siam, he held a council of war at which M. Martin, the Company's chief, strongly urged the plan of an attack in force on Mergui. Others advocated returning home, but the majority with Desfarges were in favour of making a demonstration at Puket.⁽¹⁾ Arrived there, Desfarges attempted to effect a reconciliation with the Siamese by sending them back one of the men he held as hostages. They refused however to treat until all had been returned. The last hostages reached Ayut'ia in April 1691, after which the survivors among the captive Missionaries were released.

Desfarges was deterred from showing fight by the knowledge that the Siamese held the fate of these captives in their hands. Had the whole French force concentrated upon a surprise attack against Mergui, as Martin recommended, they had every chance of succeed-

(1) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

ing, and they would then have possessed a solid basis for negotiation, holding prisoners of their own for exchange with the captives at Ayut'ia.

Desfarges concluded his somewhat complacent narrative with the following justification of his Fabian tactics :

"My policy was to husband my ammunition and to gain time rather than risk courting an attack from the enemy after I had expended my powder. Events proved me to have been right. If by negotiating with them we had small hope of finding the Siamese sincere, we had none at all for our ultimate safety if we had rejected their advances.

"The greater part of my staff was for bolder action, but, as I repeatedly reminded them, it would never be too late to make a last desperate sortie, while time itself might bring us the relief which we could not hope to gain by any efforts of our own."

Were this the whole story of Desfarges' leadership, it might be possible to soften the reproach which is associated with his name. The expedition from beginning to end was a tragedy, of which not the least important feature was the selection of an elderly man having no experience of the East for the post of commanding officer. From the fact that he was accompanied by his two sons it would appear that Desfarges regarded Siam as a field for the improvement of the family's fortunes.⁽¹⁾ His command at Bangkok was disfigured by a laxity of discipline prejudicial to French prestige, and the affair of Phaulkon's widow is proof that he did not enjoy the ready obedience of his Officers.

His desertion of Phaulkon in April 1688 might be condoned on grounds of expediency advocated by the commercial and religious French residents, but it will be remembered that on two other occasions he shirked the risk of an engagement, both on his original arrival in Siam, when he refused to fight his way into Bangkok as the Envoys advised, rather than accept admission as a mercenary of Siam,⁽²⁾ and again in 1689 when Martin's projected attack on Mergui was not supported.⁽³⁾

In April 1688 it would not have been impossible for an energetic

(1) Lamier, *op. cit.*, p. 220, who quotes a letter of Deslandes to Delagny.

(2) A.C., *Journal de Céberet*.

(3) A.C., C² 63, f^o 143 : Letter from Martin to de Seignelay.

man, backed by a loyal staff, to bring off the coup-de-main which Phaulkon desired. It must be admitted however that even if they had succeeded in maintaining Phaulkon in power in 1688, and had repressed Pra P'et, it is doubtful whether the French could have maintained the mastery over Siam against the will of the Siamese after the full effect was felt there of the union of England with Holland against France, which took place in 1689, followed by the capture of Pondichéri by the Dutch in 1693.

The expedition to Siam, although the largest, if the reinforcements are included, was by no means the first one sent to the East by Louis XIV in support of French commerce. When in 1664 the *Compagnie des Indes* was refloated by Colbert, the object was to found a colony at Madagascar as a base for the trade which was to be conducted with the West Coast of India. With this end in view, a military expedition under Montevergue was sent to occupy Madagascar, while the renegade Fleming, Caron, proceeded to Surat in order to open up trade there.

Later, when Madagascar was found to be too big an undertaking for the limited resources which France could spare, a military expedition was sent to found a colony in India. On the 5th of January 1670, Colonel de la Haye, by Royal decree, was given command of three men-of-war with 236 canon, and was empowered as Louis' Viceroy to appoint military governors in the occupied territory. A post was first seized in Ceylon, and later, the town of St Thomé, near Madras, was occupied, but both were lost to the Dutch owing to lack of unity between the French commercial and military leaders.⁽¹⁾

Then in 1687, when it was decided to accept the offer of a stronghold by the King of Siam, and with Phaulkon's aid to obtain a footing in Bangkok and Mergui, the military force despatched under Desfarges for the purpose was independent both of the Envoys entrusted with the negotiations, and of the traders on the spot who were to give effect to the treaty. The absence of any single controlling authority in the East gravely prejudiced the prospect even of any initial success which might have been obtained.

French enterprise in the East during the reign of Louis XIV suffered in the first place from too much state control. The Parisian merchants were shy of subscribing their capital, since they held that

(1) For an account of the *Compagnie des Indes*, v. Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, Ch. I.

the Crown possessed too large a share.⁽¹⁾ It suffered in the second place in the East by the failure of the Crown to give supreme control to the Board of Directors of the Company, subjecting their local Agents to military and political dictation. It suffered in the third place occasionally from the misplaced zeal of French Missionaries. French Missionary enterprise was strong in the xviiith century, and Missionaries, who were in the field ahead of the traders, sometimes with the best of motives prevailed upon the latter to open trade in places more adapted to evangelistic than to commercial enterprise.⁽²⁾ This was the case in Siam.

On the whole, the French Company was not served worse by its Agents than the English East India Company. Even if Véret,⁽³⁾ the French Agent in Siam, was not a man of merit, his predecessor Deslandes, as well as both Baron, who succeeded Caron, and Baron's successor, Martin, were all men of worth and ability, no less than their more fortunate English contemporary, Sir John Child, at Surat.

Child, it is true, was dependent upon London for orders which he handed on to his colleagues at Madras, the station responsible for the abortive English expedition against Mergui in 1687, but he was never hampered by the presence of military commanders or of independent political Agents sent out from home to work beside him instead of under his orders, as was the case with the French.

Unified control of commerce and politics in the East was achieved with the greatest success by the Dutch in Batavia, who though they were not individually superior to their English and French rivals in the East, and though like them they were not independent of their masters in Europe, nevertheless received from the latter that ungrudging confidence and unfailing support which was the secret of the preeminence they won during the xviiith century.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

(2) A.C., C^o 63, f^o 14 : a letter of the 10th of January 1682 in which the trader Roques warns the Company against listening to the advice of Missionaries who press for the foundation of Agencies for their own convenience without reference to their prospects of success.

(3) A.M., t. IV ; a letter from Delagny to Martin, dated 28th September, 1698, says : "Il est bon de retirer Véret. C'est un misérable individu plein de "petites passions."

(4) See *An Essay on the East India Trade ; its importance to this Kingdom ; with a comparative view of the Dutch, French and English Companies* London, 1770.

I

NOVAS DO REYNO DE SIAM.

[Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, Ms.n.º 465, fl. 186].

Por m.^{tas} vias repetiam novas de El Rey de Sião mandar mattar por traidor o Grego Constantino Falcão a quem El Rey de França proximamente tinha mandado o titulo de Duque mas, nada acabavamos de dar intr.^o credito por nos faltarem cartas, e testemunho dos nossos Portuguezes. ate q no mez de Agosto deste prez.^{te} anno de 1688, chegou a Macao hum F.^o Frr.^u morador desta cid.^e q de Sião partio p.^u costa em janr.^o deste mesmo anno, e da costa veyo a esta cid.^e oq.^l refere partirão de França 5 Naos pera Sião.

Destas chegarão quatro em que vinhão P. P. da comp.^u e 800 homens dos q.^{es} na viagem morrerão 300 dos 500 q chegarão vivos pos o Grego em hũa fortaleza chamada Bancò, 200 com 3 P.P. da Comp.^u cada dia morrião 2, e tres p.^r destemperança no comer de lanhas, e beber de urraca, pello q dezião mal da Terra, e de quem os mandara, fugindo m.^{tos} delles e outros roubando e fazendo m.^{tos} insultos aos naturaes comque provocarão ao seu Talapui mayor, q corresponde ao nosso Papa, ajuntar outros muytos Talapuis, e ir se queixar ao Rey das insolencias dos Francezes, neste estado deixou este homẽ as cousas de Sião no tem. q^e partio delle.

Em septembro chegou a cantão huma soma de Siam q partio do porto de Pipuli em que vierão varias cartas de alguns moradores desta cid.^e asistentes em Sião, os q.^{es} rezão morrer El Rey de Sião de pessoa q lhe dera seu crioulo chamado q. Pra Pitirachai por ver q perdia o Reyno por não querer ouvir as queixas, e brados que o povo lhe dava contra o Grego. Este o Pra Pitirachai he o Rey q matou os 2. Principes, genro e sobrinho do Rey defuncto. Prendeo logo o Grego dando lhe tratos até confesar q todos os Francezes e xptãos estavam confederados com elle para se levantar com o Reyno, e com esta confissão lhe mandou cortar a cabeça, e feittos em quartos, o lançarão aos caens, achouse fanado com seras letras no braço que se não poderão ler. Mattarão lhe tão bem seus fillos. A molher, e sogra ficão captivas de El Rey com continuos tratos q lhe dam p.^u q confesem o q sabem. Os mais parentes prezos, tidos por traydores, e as fazendas confiscadas. Tinha o Grego minada a terra desde sua caza até o Palacio, esperando occasiam para

fazer voar. Achando em sua caza muytas armas, polvora, mantim.^{tos} e myl pares de machos.

Trezentos Francezes q assistião na fortaleza de Bancó com a nova da morte do traydor Grego fizerão alguns asaltos nas aldeas dos Sioens, porem os Sioes os forão perseguindo ate os fazer retirar a fortaleza, avendo de hũa e outra parte mortes. E puzerão nos em tal aperto, que aos 15 de Julho deste anno de 1688. botarão bandr.^a branca pedindo por meyo do Bispo Francez Naos pera se irem. Alguns dizem q lhos concederão. O coll.^o do Bispo esta feito pagode, e os xpãos naturaes deste oriente q o Bispo tinha, forão prezos, obrigando-os o Rey a q serão gentios.

O Rey chamou ay Portuguezes p.ⁿ lhe defenderem a Cid.^e e seu Palacio. A outros mandou p.ⁿ a Barra a estacar o Rio e segurar a entrada da armada Franceza q o Grego confesou avia de vir este anno m.^{to} mayor q a do anno passado.

Pedio o Rey aos capitães dos barcos estrangeiros q estavam no porto lhe defendessem o Rio. Os cap.^{ans} dos nosos 2. Barcos de Macao lhe offerecerão os barcos, e suas pessoas a seu seruiço. Aceitou o Rey o offerecim.^{to} e em sinal de agradecim.^{to} deu, e vestio de sua propria mão hũas casacas á Andre Gomez, Gp.^{al} Franco, Fran.^{co} Ferreira, e outros Portuguezes, prometendo remunerar a acção concluyda. E ficam nossos barcos, com suas galez guarnecendo o Rio.

Mandou o Rey arrecadar todos os papeis do Grego p.ⁿ por elles descobrir os confederados na traição, e p.^r isso prendeo os R.P. Fr.P.^o Martyr religioso de S.Dg.^{os} que por ser secretario do Grego, o estão martirizando com tratos, e fica com quatro prizoens. Por doente escapou dos tratos o R.P.Fr. Estevão de Souza Religioso do S. Agust.^o p.^r q tão bem era 2.^o secretario do Grego. O R. P. João Baptista Maldonado Flamengo da Comp.ⁿ de Jesus, escapou de ser avexado p.^r dizer q era Portuguez. Os clerigos Francezes não pasão bem. 20 Francezes com hum P.^e da comp.ⁿ Francez q vinham da fortaleza de Bancó em hũa chalupa forão mortos.

Quis o Rey mandar a esta cid.^e hũa fragatta com Portuguezes por temer, q se baldiassem com os Francezes.

Na fortaleza de Tanecery deram os Sioens de repente, e degollarão pasante de 100 pessoas em q entrarão Francezes, Inglezes, e outros xpãos; fugindo quarenta Francezes em hum barco pello rio fora. Affirmam as cartas q não tornarão os Francezes a por pé em Siam,

mas q tão bem a christand.^o esta accabada. A propaganda se pode dar tão bem p.^r accabada por que Siam era todo seu Assilo, onde assistiam os Bispos, e por onde se cartcava, e metia seus missionarios, e subsidios nas missoens da China, Tun Kym e Cochichina. Agora não tem ja p.^o onde os introduzir, senão por Macao, ou por meyo dos portuguezes. Os intentos de França tão bem se frustrarão porque não tem outro conto, nem nenhum Rey com este successo os admittiria.

As consequencias desta façam, sam todas fataes: por q soando por todos estes reynos, q os Europeos (q p.^r poucos sam os q saibam distinguir Portuguezes de Francezes) que com capa de propagar a fé, se quizerão levantar com o reyno de Siam, lançarão a todos os missionarios, e Europeus de seus Reynos; e lhe fecharão todos os portos como fez Japam, presumindo de q nos façamos o q os Francezes fizerão em Siam. Asym q estão muy arriscados todos os missionarios não só Francezes, se não ainda os Portuguezes, e mays Europeus o serem lançados fora da China Tunkym, e Cochichina, e mays reynos com perdas de todas as christand.^{es} o q Deos não permitta. Isto mesmo tem em os Portuguezes de Siam; q concluyda a guerra dos Francezes os matem ou os lancem tão bem a elles fora. O q não tem feito em q.^{to} depende delles contra os Francezes.

CRITICAL REMARKS.

This account of the ruin of French enterprise in Siam was written at the Portuguese settlement of Macao, summarising the contents of letters brought to the neighbouring town of Canton in September 1688 by a ship which sailed from Petchaburi (Pipuli) after the death of King P'ra Narai in the summer of 1688.

The writer was a Portuguese whose countrymen in the xviii century were bitterly opposed to the French Missionaries, because from the year 1660 onwards they had disregarded the ancient claim made by Portugal to the supervision of Christian enterprise in all countries eastward of a line drawn from the poles through the Azores. Bishop Pallu, the Apostolic Vicar and founder of the French Foreign Mission, supported by the approval of Louis XIV, obtained in 1669 from the Pope an edict which explained that Rome only recognised the pretensions of Portugal in places subject to Portuguese sovereignty. Later, in 1680, Rome insisted that an Oath of Allegiance be administered to all clergy residing under the jurisdiction of

the Apostolic Vicars; and since the latter were members of the French Foreign Mission, the Oath was a source of grievance both to the Portuguese and to other Missionary organisations, such as Jesuits and Dominicans. The former succeeded ultimately in alienating the sympathy of Louis XIV from the Foreign Mission by representing that the Oath was inconsistent with that King's sovereign rights.⁽¹⁾ The hostile references of the writer to French Missionaries and to their countrymen in general are therefore more easily accounted for than his inaccuracies of fact.

The ships reported to have sailed from France in 1687 were actually six not five in number, the three warships *Oiseau*, *Gaillard*, *Maligne*, and the three flûtes *Dromadaire*, *Loire*, *Normandie*, carrying 636 officers and men under General Desfarges. 492 survivors reached Siam where they were split up between Bangkok and Mergui etc.⁽²⁾

The lack of discipline in the garrison at Bangkok was the subject of comment in the letters of Fr. Tachard, who contrasted it with the strict standard required of his escort by Chevalier de Chaumont.⁽³⁾

Pra P'et Rachai (Pitra Chai) was an influential nobleman who had command of the state elephants. He headed the national party of Sianese jealous of Phaulkon's influence over Pra Narai and over his adopted son Pra Pi. In May 1688 Pra P'et assumed power by force, arrested Phaulkon, assassinated Pra Pi, and, after the execution of Phaulkon and death of Pra Narai, the two surviving brothers of Pra Narai. There is no clear evidence that he poisoned Pra Narai. The King's son-in-law and nephew mentioned in the narrative are presumably to be identified with Pra Pi and/or the King's brothers.

George Phaulkon survived his Father until 1709, and had issue.⁽⁴⁾ He was the only recorded child of Constantine Phaulkon. In November 1688 the widow was free to come to Bangkok and importune Desfarges for a passage to France.

According to the writer of *Relation des Révolutions* the number of French soldiers actually besieged in Bangkok was 200 not 300. The statement that they sent the Bishop with a flag of truce is incorrect. The Bishop was outside the fortress with the Siamese, and utilised by them to conduct negotiations with the besieged garrison. It was

(1) v. Pinot, *op. cit.*, p. 31; also JSS, vol XXVI, part 1.

(2) A. M., B², n° 61, f° 175; also B⁴ n° II, f° 504; A. G., tome 2.

(3) A. M., Lettres du P. Tachard.

(4) M. E., Mémoires du P. Aumont.

only after the departure of the garrison and violation of the terms of withdrawal that the Bishop and Missionaries were imprisoned or their buildings sacked, i. e. some months after the sailing of the ship which brought the news on which this inaccurate account is based.

If Peter Martyr was imprisoned at the time of Phaulkon's fall he certainly was at large some months afterwards, for his insubordinate exploits are recounted in Bishop Laneau's letter.

du Bruant, with his garrison of 125 men at Mergui, the port of Tenasserim, defended himself against the attacks of the Siamese until his water supply was cut off. Having retained access to the sea, he seized the ship *Merguy* and prepared to retire from the country. He lost 20 men in a panic which occurred during the embarkation, but his worst troubles came later. The South-West Monsoon drove him on to the coast of Burma where he was refused asylum by the inhabitants. Off the Arracan coast he fell in with a French ship, but was taken prisoner together with it by the English at Balasor, and his 30 survivors only reached Pondichéri on the 15th of January 1689, two weeks ahead of Desfarges. ⁽¹⁾

The reference to a massacre of English and other Europeans after the departure of the French from Mergui is probably an echo of what actually occurred there in July 1687, during the attempted occupation of that town by Captain Weltden with two English warships. About 33 Englishmen and 20 Portuguese are estimated to have lost their lives in a midnight affray which ended in Weltden's retirement. ⁽²⁾

The power and the vindictiveness of Siam in 1688 appear to be overrated in this letter. Doubtless on its arrival in Siam Desfarges' force offered a sorry spectacle, being decimated by illness after a long voyage. Its poor discipline and the insubordination of its Officers may have created a false impression regarding the relative power of Siam and France as seen by Portuguese bred in Siam. Kosa Pan, who had been in France, suffered under no such illusion, as his letters show.

(1) v. Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-264, who quotes *Mémoires de Martin*, pp. 458-469.

(2) *Records of the Relations* etc, vol. V, II, p. 25.

II

PROPAGANDA FEDE-ROME, SCRITTURE REFERITE, VOL. 5, NO. 104.⁽¹⁾

Siam, 26/11/88.

Lugubrem tragediam in hoc Siamensi Theatro exhibitam et nuper S. V. a me missam prosequor modo usque ad catastrophem, ut tandem cognoscatur qua cautela inter ethicos ad fidem Christi disseminandam utendum sit.

Abeuntibus hinc Gallis prasidiariis, simul D. Abbas de Lionne, Rosaliæ Episcopus nominatus et VIII circiter clerici, XI Patres nostri abierunt, uno hic remanente.

Pacifice hic exitus utrimque licet admodum caute, datis hinc inde ad omnem securitatem obsidibus, tractabatur; sed nescio quid dolus omne in fine corruptit.

Obsides Galli ad naves solerter se receperunt, retentis nihilominus ibidem et postea abductis Siamensium obsidibus Mandarinis. Fraudem subodorati Siamenses in Gallos furere cceperunt. Ex eis aliquot fere 40 scaphas ad naves deducebant necdum e portu egressi: in hos furor desæviit vincula, plagas, improprias, insultationes in eos ad omnem ignominiam coniectas.

Tum ut hæc notitia ad novum Regem pervenit, statim clerici omnes Galli cum suis discipulis et noster etiam pater La Brenille ad tribunal acciti post in carcerem detrusi, exceptis minoribus scholasticis; ubi per aliquot dies cippum, catenas, compedes, aliaque vinculorum genera experti, nunc etiam sed a vinculis fere soluti tenentur.

Interdum bona omnia Seminarii et supellex qua sacra qua profana in Libros fuit relata et quasi fisco addicta aperiuntur, Talapoiis seu bonzis et templi domicinium adeptis.

Quod sane agre ferendum, sed agrius et ægerrimum quod dicam. Ipsi Ill^{mo} et Rev^{mo} D. Episcopo Metellopolitano injecta ad collum catena cum cippo ligneo, quod cuidam Mandarinio licet inimico tum ignominiosum visum est ut cippum auferri jusserit, relicta interim ad collum catena, qua vinetus ad urbem ab ostio fluminis a Siamensibus ludibundis prope palatium adducitur, ubi sub tuguribus velut ad ludibrium expositus solitarie custoditur, prohibito ad eum accessu.

Interim per quemdam clericum, qui ad procurandam captivis alimoniam libertate fuit donatus, Illm^o D^o humillima mea obsequia

(1) Fragment of a letter from Fr. Maldonato S. J. to the Pope. The preceding letter, to which reference is made in the first paragraph, has not been found, nor yet the original of which this fragment is a copy.

offeri curo. Uno gravioribus quibusdam Lusitanis proposui, Christianae caritatis illustre specimen futurum, si pro Episcopo tante dignitatis viro intercederent; quod facturos spero, si intercessioni futurus sit locus, hoc praesertim indignationis tempore, dum omnia quae Gallos spectant Siamensibus suspicionis, odii, proditionis materiam praebere videntur.

Terribilem persecutionem hic et alibi ne oriatur admodum vereor. Rex novus ad causae suae justitiam declarandam undequaque Litteras spargit contra Gallos. Unde illius Nationis Missionarii in grave periculum et Missiones omnes adducuntur, cum ab odio nationis facile ad odium Legis fiat progressio, uti hic experimur, indigenis qui fidem susceperunt iam varie vexatis et nonnullis ad idolatriam dilapsis.

De hac Residentia quid futurum sit nescio: aedificia quadam ostentat a D. Constantino nostro intimo fautore erecta, quae sine dubio Siamensium bilem provocant.

Semel ad tribunal fui evocatus et parum abfuit quin tum caperer propter fugam viduae D. Constantini, quae sibi metuens, ad Libertatem, pudorem, vitamque tuendam una cum filiolo ad arcem Gallorum se receperat, patrocinio Christianissimi Regis protegenda, cujus Litteras varias de Falconia familia sub Regium patrocinium assumpta secum ad Ducem Gallicum defererebat; sed illa pessime fuit accepta. Patres nostri veluti fugae autores ab ipso Duce apud Siamenses fuere accusati, licet falso et admodum temere, cum nostri prius illi Dominae periculum rejectionis quae contigit aperuissent. Cæterum quandiu illa mulier in potestate Gallorum fuit, tandiu clerici omnes et noster Pater La Breuille in custodia tenebantur, et nisi Siamensibus Lusitani interpretes notum fecissent, me negotiis Gallicis nulli modo esse implicitum, haud dubie cum aliis detinebar. Interim, ubi Dux Dominam illam ex arce demisit in Siamensium manus, quod omnes nationes admodum reprobavere,—sacerdotes omnes e custodia dimisi sunt....

(Translation)

SCRIPTA REFERITA, Vol V, No. 104.

PROPAGANDA FIDEI.

FATHER MALDONATO S. J. TO GENERAL OF JESUIT ORDER.

Siam, the 26th November 1688.

I now continue the account which I recently sent to Your Holiness of the sad tragedy enacted in Siam, trusting that it will at last prove

how great are the precautions needed in spreading the faith of Christ among the heathen.

The Bishop Elect of Rosalie, Lord Abbot de Lionne, with about eight clerics and eleven of our Fathers, departed with the retiring French garrison, leaving only one Father behind.

Hostages had been exchanged in the interest of security, and the retirement was being effected without hostilities on either side though with some circumspection, when I know not what shift finally ruined everything. The French hostages quietly betook themselves back to their ships, while the Siamese Officials who were still held as hostages by the French were ultimately carried off by them.

The Siamese no sooner suspected treachery than they began to rage against the French:— some forty of their barges were on their way to join the ships, but were still in the river. The rage of the Siamese found vent in imprisonment, blows, defilement; and every form of insult and indignity which was levelled against the French.

When the news of it came to the ears of the new Monarch, straightway all the French clergy and their converts, together with our Father La Breuille were hauled into court and thence plunged into jail, only the younger pupils being spared. There for several days they suffered the "cangue", handcuffs, chains, and every other form of constraint; and there they are still confined, though no longer in chains.

Meanwhile, all the property of the Seminary, including Church and other furniture, was inventoried, and confiscated for the Treasury, Talapouns or ~~Bonzes~~ being put in control of the Church.

This was hard to bear in all truth, but what was harder still, nay hardest of all, has yet to be told. Fetters and a wooden "cangue" were loaded on the neck of the Honourable and Reverend Lord Bishop of Metellopolis. This appeared so unworthy in the eyes of a certain Official, who is no friend of ours, that he gave orders for their removal, leaving only a neck-chain with which the Bishop was bound, and led by the enraged Siamese from the river's mouth to the Capital, where he was exposed and then imprisoned in a hut to which all access was forbidden and there exposed to the mocking crowd.

Meanwhile, through the agency of a cleric who has been given his freedom in order that he may beg sustenance for the prisoners, I am offering my humble duty to His Lordship, and I have suggested to

the more responsible of the Portuguese that intercession on their part for the worthy Bishop would constitute a signal example of Christian Charity. I trust they will do so, if there is any opportunity for mediation at the present time when everything affecting the French appears to offer the Siamese material for suspicion, hatred and treachery.

I have reason to fear that a dreadful persecution will rage both here and elsewhere. The new King, to justify his actions, has despatched letters far and wide directed against the French: hence Missionaries of that nation, and indeed all Missionaries, are in grave peril, since it is but a step from hatred of the foreigner to contempt of the law, as we are finding here, where native proselytes are so persecuted that not a few have slipped back into idolatry.

I do not know what will become of this Residency. The sight of certain buildings erected by Lord Constant, our firm supporter, is doubtless provocative to the Siamese.

I once received a summons and was nearly arrested in the matter of the escape of Lord Constant's widow who fearing for her person, and to protect her life, liberty and virtue, betook herself with her young son to the French Fort. She brought with her certain letters promising the patronage of the Most Christian King for the Phaulkon family, and on the strength of them she claimed the protection of the French King.

She met however with a very cold reception from the French General, who in his negotiations with the Siamese charged our Fathers with instigating her escape, unjustly indeed and rashly, since they had previously warned her of the imminent danger of a rebuff. Nevertheless, as long as that lady remained with the French, so long were all our clerics and our Father La Breuille held in confinement; and if the Portuguese had not made known to the Siamese that I was in no way concerned with the French business, there is no doubt that I should have been imprisoned with the rest.

Meanwhile, when the General had expelled that Lady from the Fort and delivered her over to the Siamese (thereby incurring the censure of every nationality) all the Priests were released.

III

PROPAGANDA FEDE, SCRITTURE REFERITE, V, No. 195.

Siam, 23rd Nov. 1689.

From Bishop of Metellopolis to Sacred College.

Furtim e carcere scribo ad E. V. quamvis plurimum dubitem num ad illarum manus hæc perventura sit epistola, unde et utor papyra sinensi ut facilius abscondi possit; et omissis fere omnibus quæ scribenda forent, de præsentī tantummodo statu in quo degimus certiores faciam E. V.

Tertius decimus abhinc mensis est ex quo sumus in carcere, ejecti ex aedibus nostris, rebus omnibus spoliati, et eleemosynis vitam utrumque sustinentes, non pauca equidem quæ indigenarum usibus minus erant idonea nobis relicta fuerant, et his servandis duo ex nostris liberi⁽¹⁾ dimissi. At paucis abhinc diebus igni consumpta sunt hæc omnia, sic disponente Domino per infinitum amorem suum, ut sinus sine pera, sine sacculo, sine calceamentis, utinam sic et aptiores efficiamur ad prædicandum evangelium regni.

Deus tamen, qui non deficit in necessariis, providit quod unus e nostris Doc. M. Stephanus Paumard eo quod regi defuncto medicamenta ministrasset, et ita sibi maiorem benevolentiam conciliasset, quasi pro remuneratione plenam haberet quæcumque vellet faciendi et eundi facultatem. Hic fere unus est qui incarcerationis omnibus parat, quia ne granum quidem orizæ illis datur; reliqui omnes missionarii una cum Patre de la Breuille e Soc: Jesu probatæ virtutis viro, maxima cum alumnorum collegii (quod destructum est) parte, cum multis aliis sæcularibus in vinculis sunt: et quantas toto hoc tempore passi sint tribulationes incommoda, opprobria ac molestias referire non possum, quia carcer ille inter totius mundi carceres est durissimus ad perferendum: mihi vero utpote tantæ palestræ non idoneo, longe levior assignatus est, nisi primis mensibus, nec infernales ut reliqui pœnas sustinui.

Indigenæ, qui Catholicam susceperant fidem, bonis omnibus spoliati sunt, et in captivitatem redacti simul cum aliis aliquot externis: hoc maxime me movet quod alumni seminarii per diversa sint dispersi loca: indigenæ in captivitatem pariter venerunt gentilium: pauci, qui ratione morborum, qui tum grassabantur, remanserunt cum duobus illis missionariis ad servandas sarcinas,

(1) The word "liberi" is repeated in the original.

studia ut possunt continuant—quod et agunt alii qui sunt in carcere cum magistris adeo ut a pristino fervore suo inter tot arduas nondum videantur interfuisse.

Hinc spero, quod si Deus libertatem dederit, ad priora magno cum ardore reversuri sint exercitia.

Et re vera, hæc incarcerationis illis pro novitiatu omnium præstantissimo futura est. Hoc enim cum bona venia E. V., quibus totius orbis missionum cura commissa est, dixerim quod ad perficiendos missionarios et ad rite disponendos in munere vero apostolico nihil aptius est, meo quidem iudicio, quam majores hujusmodi et extraordinariæ tribulationes.

Inexpertus vix potest credere quantis a Domino gratiis celestibus tum donentur, et quam evidententer doceantur alteriora vitæ Apostolicæ secreta, ut toti post modum ex Deo pendeant: et quidem secundum id, quod de foris est, jam experientia didicimus posse vitam sustineri absque pecunia, non quidem in deliciis, sed cum oriza et piscibus exsiccatis—quod antea videbatur impossibile.

Cum Lusitanis aliquanto mitius actum est propter politicas quasdam rationes, quanquam varias et ipsi identidem passi sint molestias; sed utinam religiosi, qui illorum in campo degunt, ista—prout decebat—bene usi essent indulgentia. Sed res in contrarium recidit.

De patribus Soc: Jesu non loquor. Hi enim erga Sanctam Sedem obsequentissimi semper extiterunt, uti et tres sæculares, ex quibus duos ordinavi et qui in ecclesia illorum sacra semper faciunt,—sed non ita in ecclesia Dominicorum. Illic sunt quinque Sacerdotes, omnes censura innodati—tres Dominicani, unus Augustinianus, et unus sacerdos sæcularis, Pater Petrus Martyr parochi officio fungitur; ille juramentum faciebat in manibus meis, sed post hæc bene gestorum poenitens, aliquando negat dictum juramentum se præstitisse; alias vero fatetur fecisse quidem sed per metum. Jam scripsi ad E. V. me sacerdotem illum, prius a me suspensum, excommunicari nominatim; sed non potuisse eandem excommunicationis sententiam contra reliquos proferre propter illos videlicet tumultus, qui tunc temporis contigerent,—ideoque in suspensione et pœnis quæ ex violata suspensione incurruntur permansisse; volueram enim illorum obsequium tentare per suspensionem antequam ad excommunicationem venire. Jam vero prædictus P. Petrus Martyr illos omnes ad sacramentos admittit, quin et vices suas parochi dicto sacerdoti excommunicato et omnium ignorantissimo committit. Quod autem

contrariam sequantur agendi rationem Patres Soc: Jesu hinc gravissimam ab aliis perferunt persecutionem, et quod noluerint sacerdotem illum admittere intra ecclesiam ad legendum nescioquid, ideo aliquis Dominicanus, qui commissarium Sanctæ Inquisitionis se appellat, contra illos uti infractores Sanctæ Inquisitionis dicitur processus facere.

Cum Pater Ludovicus a Matre Dei recens venisset a Tenasserim et adhuc esset in cymba, vita frustus est, ad illum sepeliendum venerunt Patres Soc: Jesu meo nomine rogati, sed P. Augustinianus nomine Stephanus tantum excitatur rumorum adversus illos qui defuncti corpus ad dictorum Patrum Soc: ecclesiam volebant deferre, et talia dixit adversus Sanctam Sedem maximo cum adstantium scandalo ut Superior Patrum Soc: Jesu coactus est cedere: alioquin veniendum erat ad pugnos et verbera, Pater enim ille Augustinianus potius militis personam referat quam religiosi viri.

Sed hæc aliaque innumeraque E. V. referre superfluum est, necque illum quod apponi possit remedium ego video quominus enim ipsamet Sancta Sedes nominatim erga illos excommunicationem proferit.⁽¹⁾

Porro Rex Cocincinæ bene affectus est erga Christianos: duobus hisce posterioribus annis litteras ad me et munera miserat, quas Mandarini, cum sibi fecissent per interpretes explicari, vidissentque nimis honorifice de Christiana religione loqui et nimias mihi laudes dicere, noluerunt illas mihi reddi.

Soli Patres Soc: Jesu pro nobis stant, librosque nostros et plura ecclesiæ ornamenta apud se servaverunt. Vix illa sola sunt quæ vim ignis effugere. Multas illis habemus gratias, sed his temporibus vix quidquam possunt.

Cæterum E. V. supplex obtestor velint meminisse huiusce Missionis desolationæ, quia vere manus Dei tetigit nos et omnia illius ecclesiæ, et fluctus super nos transierunt adeo ut tædet vivere, beatosque reputamus illos quos citius ex hac vita vis ærumnarum eripit. Facti sumus in canticum populo; sed quid conquerar de nobis, cum et ipsa religio ac DEUS ipse J. CHRISTUS versus sit pariter in canticum? Haud scio utrum ad destructionem vel emendationem hæc omnia induxerit super nos DEUS, sed quicquid sit, rogo E. V. sibi persuadeant quod seu in vita seu in morte ab obsequio Sanctæ Sedis et Sacrae

⁽¹⁾ Marginal Note: (Pro Patribus illis Dominicanis et Augustinianis ad mentem revocandis hoc unum superest remedium, quod ad E. V. jam pridem scripsi sed nondum responsum accepi, ut scilicet expellantur ex religione sua per Generales suos, nec fiat ulla mentio de imperio Sanctæ Sedis.)

Congregationis (quidquid adversum hos possit objici, aut in suspicionem vocari), nunquam Deo dante esse discessuros.

Quod si quid per errorem aut inscientiam a me gestum est, seu a sociis et patribus, summo mihi solatio foret, si ante mortem— licet illa jam forte sit in januis— veniam a S. S. indultam esse cognoscerem, quoniam ad summum Pontificem non licet scribere.

Supplex E. V. obtestor ut apostolicam benedictionem pro me, pro omnibus fratribus meis, pro alumnis aliisque fidelibus et concaptivis nostris, qui in vinculis sunt, impetrent.

E. V. hum : et oblig : servus

LUDOVICUS Epūs Metellopolitanus Vic Apl :

Siam.

(Translation)

PROPAGANDA FEDE. SCRITTURE REFERITE V. 195.

BISHOP LANNEAU TO THE SACRED COLLEGE.

Siam, the 23rd November, 1689.

Your Eminences,

A prisoner and in stealth I write this letter, much doubting whether it will reach Your Eminences. Hence, I write on Chinese paper which may be more easily concealed if only to acquaint Your Eminences of the circumstances under which we now live, omitting almost all else about which I should write.

For thirteen months we have now been in jail, cast out from our homes, stripped of all our possessions, and subsisting on charity for our mutual support.

No small store of goods, useless to the natives, was left to us; and to administer this store, two of our band were given their freedom. But a few days since, all this store was destroyed by fire, the Lord in his infinite tenderness disposing that without scrip, purse or sandals we should thus be better fitted to preach the Gospel of his Kingdom.

Yet God, who fails not in adversity, has ordained that one of our number, Doctor M. Stephen Paumard should have full liberty to go and act for us, in return for the good-will he gained in administering simples to the late King.

He is almost the sole provider for all the prisoners, since not even a grain of rice is supplied to them. All the Missionaries are in chains,

together with that Jesuit of proved worth Father de la Breville, the major portion of the students, whose college has been destroyed, also many other secular Christians.

The troubles, insults, and persecutions which they have borne all this time are too numerous for me to record, since of all this world's cruel prisons their prison is the most intolerable. I indeed, save in the first months, have been spared their diabolical torments and have been given a lighter yoke: may be I was accounted too weak to bear so great hardship.

The native converts to the Catholic Faith are robbed of all their goods and deprived of their liberty, together with sundry other foreigners.

I am much worried that the Seminary pupils should be scattered in diverse places; the native pupils have likewise fallen into the hands of the gentiles. A few only, who by reason of their ill-health have remained with those two Missionaries deputed to guard the Stores, carry on their studies as best they can, as do also the rest who are in jail with their teachers, and show no less zeal than of old, in spite of their great affliction. This fact gives me reason to hope that if by God's grace they are set free, they may return to their original studies with increased ardour.

In truth, this imprisonment will serve as an incomparable novitiate. For I would beg leave of Your Eminences, the trustees of all Missions on this globe, to state that in my humble opinion no Missionary training can equal these exceptionally heavy afflictions as discipline in the Apostolic duties.

The Heavenly Grace with which they are endowed must be seen to be believed; as also the manifestation of that profound mystery in the Evangelist's life—his complete dependence upon God's will. Indeed, from actual experience we now know that life can be maintained without money,—not of course in luxury, but with rice and dried fish,—a fact which before would have seemed impossible.

For certain political reasons the Portuguese have been more lightly treated, though even they too have suffered sundry persecution. I wish that the Fathers residing in their camp had made seemly use of their liberty; but the contrary is the case.

I say nothing of the Jesuit Fathers: they have always excelled in obedience to the Holy See, as have the three secular priests, two of whom I ordained, who officiate in their church. But in the Domini-

cans' church it is otherwise, where there are five priests all under censure, three Dominicans, one Augustinian and one secular.

Fr. Peter Martyr acts as parish priest. The oath was administered to him by me, but later on he repented of his submission, and now sometimes denies that he took the Oath; at other times he says that he was intimidated into taking it.

I have written to Your Eminences that I first suspended that priest and then excommunicated him, but was prevented by reason of the troubles of that time from giving effect to a similar sentence of excommunication against the others, and that they therefore remained under suspense and under the penalties incurred for violating it; for I desired to test their obedience by suspending them before proceeding to excommunication.

The aforesaid Peter Martyr now admits all of them to the sacraments, and even entrusts his parish duties to these excommunicated and most ignorant priests. The Jesuit Fathers, who follow a different course, are subjected to a severe persecution by the others, and because they refused to admit that priest to their church to read something or other, a Dominican, calling himself a Commissar of the Holy Inquisition, is actually said to be proceeding against them for offences against the Holy Inquisition.

When Father Louis of the Mother of God came lately from Tenasserim and died while still in his boat, I summoned the Jesuit Fathers to bury him, but one of the Augustinian Fathers named Stephen raised such outcry against them when they would bring the remains into the Jesuit church, and uttered such words against the Holy See to the scandal of those present, that the Jesuit Superior was forced to give way, else would they have come to blows and stripes, for that Augustinian Father has more the likeness of a man of war than of a man of God.

But reference to these and other events is superfluous, nor do I see what remedy can be found other than individual excommunication by the Holy See.⁽¹⁾

The King of Cochin China is well disposed towards the Church.

(1) Marginal Note: In the matter of those Dominicans and Augustinians, there is one remedy that remains, as I have previously suggested to Your Eminences though I have not yet received reply;—it is that they should be expelled from their Orders by their own General, avoiding all mention of the authority of the Holy See.

In the past two years he has sent me gifts and letters which when transmitted were considered by the Siamese Officials to be too favourable to the Christian religion and too flattering to me. On that account they were unwilling that I should have them.

The Jesuit Fathers, who are our only champions here, have preserved our books and many church ornaments in their abode—these were all that escaped the fire—and we owe them much gratitude, though at the present time they can hardly effect anything for us.

However, I adjure Your Eminences to bear in mind the poverty of this Mission ; for of a truth the hand of God is heavy upon us and upon all pertaining to the church in Siam. The flood has so overwhelmed us that life is a burden, and we reckon those happy who have been bereft of life before us through the intensity of their suffering.

We have been made the subject of ribald songs ; but why should we complain, when even our Faith and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ himself is treated likewise ?

I know not whether God had brought all this upon us to the end that He may improve us. Be that as it may, I beg Your Eminences to rest assured that never by God's grace will we alive or dead ever depart from our duty to the Holy See or to the Sacred College, no matter what our enemies may cast in our teeth or bring into suspicion.

But since I may be at the very gate of death and may not write to the Supreme Pontiff, if aught has been done in ignorance by me or my fellow-workers and Fathers, it would be a priceless consolation to know that pardon has been granted by the Holy See.⁽¹⁾

On my knees I adjure Your Eminences to invoke the Apostolic Benediction for me, for all my bretheren, for our pupils, and for the the other believers and fellow-workers.

Your Eminences' most humble

and obliged servant,

LOUIS, Bishop of Metellopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Siam.

(1) The Bishop's assurance of his loyalty to the Sacred College was occasioned by a rebuke he had received from Rome for lack of zeal in administering the "Oath" to recalcitrant clergy in his See. His position was very delicate, since the terms of the Oath had been drawn up in Rome to re-enforce his authority, but they caused offense to his sovereign, Louis XIV. The Bishop was thus faced with the dilemma of reconciling the conflicting claims of the Pope and of Louis XIV to appoint Missionaries.

IV

QUAI D'ORSAY.

Mémoires et documents, Vol II, No. 90.

PHAULKON'S WIDOW TO THE FRENCH BISHOP IN CHINA.

Excellentissime Domine,

Cum Sinarum scaphis bonus odor famæ Exc:Væ Littoribus istis accessit, nec minus innatæ pietatis rumor et virtutis ardor ac misericordiæ inclinatio ad omnium præcipue ad meas aures pervenit, quæ quasi in vinculis, ut olim Johannes—si licet ita fari—audivi.

Unde illum imitans, ad Dominum Patriarchum, ut ad Messiam, epistolam mitto, et pace vestra interrogo. Tu es qui venturus est, an alium expectamus?

Ne quaeso miretur, Excellentissime Domine, quia mulier afflicta sum. Illa ego quæ quondam quasi domina gentium in hoc Siam emporio incedebam, e Rege excitata, a Principibus ac proceribus venerata, et ab harum provinciarum populis adorata, atque insuper—quod caput est—a Christianissimo Galliarum Rege et a sanctissimo Domino nostro felicis recordationis Innocentio XI in honorem ac munificentiam benignitate habita, eo quod non ego modo sed etiam conjux meus Constantinus tum Romanam fidem, tum omnes Missionarios Apostolicos summo amore prosequabar, fovebam, adjuvabam, dirigebam, defendebam, et ad omnia eis necessaria prompta eram, quæ quidem nullus eorum, qui ex tunc usque modo vivit, inficiabitur.

At ubi est, ut aiebant, Missionariorum Mater? Illa ubi jacet? Ubi cubat in Meridie? Est in palatii vinculis in servitudine Regis assidua, in labore et mærore confecta, in vigiliis multis et in periculis exposita, in angustiis ac tenebris Lucem expectans. Jacet non in strato nobili, sed in cucinae Regis angulo. Cubat in humo gelida et in vigilantia domus.

Tantum rerum est hujus sæculi vicissitudo.

En cur mea quærit epistola: cur mea quærit epistola: tu es qui venturus est? Venturus es, Excellentissime Domine, venturus es ad istam Dei servam de Manibus orci liberandam? Venturus ne es, non jam ad Parentem Patrum sed humilissimam ancillam de tot miseriis sublevandam? Veni, Domine, jam et noli tardare. Nam ad tuum adventum istamet tristitia laetabitur, et pro comperto habeo quod tonabit vox vestra in auribus meis: "Jam hiems transit, imber abiit et recessit, surge, amica mea, et veni."

Interim quod Excellentia Vestra moram facit in Sina, suppliciter exoro, ut de necessitudine mea summum Pontificem certiore faciat, addatque ei ut caritatis litteras Christianissimo Regi scribere non dedignetur, ut mihi favere non desinat, in jubendo Regis Societatis Directoribus ut mihi pecunias a conjuge meo sibi commissas in hac rerum penuria reddant.

Incredibilis enim est mea filique mei dura necessitas. Nam si nostras hic pecunias haberemus, qui viri mei Constantini legitimi tantum modo sumus heredes, absque dubio de tanta jam servitute libereremur, liberique ad Dei ecclesiam et non furtive, ut raro accidit, adiremus.

Similiter ergo Excellentiam Vestram flexis genibus enixem flagito ut etiam atque etiam Ludovico Magno Galliarum Regi conscribat, et erga illum pro nobis efficaciter intercedat.

Verum quidem est quod Christianissimus Rex a Patribus Societatis JESU suppliciter exoratus, et ideo inopiæ nostræ commiseratus, decreto jussit ut Societatis Regiæ Directores nobis quotannis mille nummos exsolverent. At tamen proh dolor. Post decretum illud benignissimi Regis dignum abhinc sex annis edictum solum duobus annis observatum est.

Omnia talia et alia multo majora de pietate vestra ac beneficentia propter amorem Dei facienda confidimus et expectamus.

Deus et Dominus noster JESU Christus felices Excellentiae Vestrae annos adaugeat, nobisque eandem servet incolumem ad majus Dei obsequium et animarum Salutem et Religionis augmentum et tandem ad nostri præsidium ac subsidium.

Siam, 20 Junii, anno a partu Virginis 1706.

Excellentiae Vestrae Supplex Ancilla

Et Abjecta.

D. GUIMAR DE PINA.

(Translation)

QUAI D'ORSAY. MEMOIRES DOCUMENTS VOL. II. No. 90.

PAULKON'S WIDOW TO THE FRENCH BISHOP IN CHINA.

My Lord Bishop,

The ships that come here from China have brought with them the sweet savour of Your Excellency's renown in that Land. The report of Your innate piety, Your ardent righteousness, and Your merciful disposition has reached the ears of all; and I too, who am almost a

captive like St. John of old—if I may compare myself with Him—have heard of it. Following His example, I write, My Lord Patriarch, to ask You, with Your leave, even as He asked the Messiah: “Art thou he who should come, or look we for another?”

Marvel not, My Lord Bishop, at my affliction. For I am She who in bygone days walked a Queen among the peoples in this mart of Ayudhia. I was singled out for favour by the King, respected by Princes and Chiefs and adored by the people of this land. Moreover, above all, I was the honoured recipient of favours and bounties from the most Christian King and from His Holiness the late Pope Innocent XI of blessed memory, particularly because both I, and my husband Constantine, supported the Christian Faith and upheld the Apostolic Missionaries, cherishing, helping, directing and defending them, as no one of their number still living will deny.

But where is She now who was called the Mother of Missionaries? Where does she sleep, at night, and where is her abode by day? A captive in the Palace she toils in the service of the King, worn out with hard work and grief, in the darkness of her affliction looking over for a ray of light. At night she has no princely couch, but reposes in a corner of the Royal Kitchens, by day she lies upon the damp earth, whence she keeps watch over the house.

Such are the changes and chances of this age.

What then do I ask? What is the petition in this letter? Art thou He who should come? Art thou coming, My Lord Bishop, art thou coming to free the hand-maiden of the Lord from the Shades of Hell? Art thou coming to deliver from dire straits no father of the Prophets but a lowly serving woman?

Come quickly, My Lord, and tarry not; for at thy coming my sorrow will be turned into joy. I hear Your clarion-voice blasening in my ears “Winter is o’er, the storm is past and gone. Arise, my friend, My Lady, rise and come.”

Meanwhile, as Your Excellency still lingers in China, I humbly beg that the Holy Father be notified of my need. Furthermore, I beg that letters be written to the Most Christian King, to the effect that he cease not to show favour to me, ordering the Manager of the Royal Company to return to me in my need the monies committed to his care by my husband.

For the destitution of myself and of my son is past belief. Yet, if we now had the property which we should rightfully inherit from

my husband Constantine, there can be no doubt we should be free from bondage, and able openly to attend the Church of God at will, instead of seldom and in stealth, as at present.

Likewise, I beg and implore Your Excellency on bended knee to write again and again to LOUIS THE GREAT, King of the French, until effect to Your intercession on our behalf is obtained.

Indeed, the Most Christian King, when petitioned by the Jesuit Fathers, had pity for our needs, ordering the Managers of the Royal Company to pay us yearly one thousand ducats; but alas, that order so worthy of the generous Monarch, was made six years ago, but only for two years did it have effect.

All this and much more we look for and expect from Your pious generosity inspired by Your love of God.

May God and our Lord Jesus Christ add many happy years to Your Excellency's life, preserving you for us and keeping you safe for his greater Honour, for the good of souls, for the increase of the Faith, and lastly for the protection and assistance of ourselves.

At AYUDHIA, the 20th day of June in the year 1706 after the Virgin gave birth.

Your Excellency's lowly suppliant and servant,

D. GUIMAR DE PINA.⁽¹⁾

V

LETTER FROM P'YA KOSA T'RHODI (KOSA PAN), FORMERLY SIAMESE AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE, TO MR. MARTIN, GOVERNOR OF PONDICHERRY, FR. DE BRISACIER, DIRECTOR OF THE FOREIGN MISSION SEMINARY PARIS, FR. DE LA CHAISE S. J., PRIVATE CHAPLAIN TO LOUIS XIV.

These three letters are dated 27th December, 1693, and are identical, with the exception of the initial and final paragraphs.

The French version is filed at the Archives of the French Foreign in Paris: vol. 862, p. 677; vol. 863, pp. 273 and 81; vol. 880, p. 855.

The following is a free translation:—

You state that you have heard of the Revolution in Siam also of the sufferings of Bishop Lanneau and of all the Fathers, who though innocent had been robbed of their possessions, notwithstanding the never-failing support which they had always given without stint to the welfare of Siam.

(1) Written by another hand in Latin and signed by herself D. GUIMAR DE PINA, each letter of the signature being distinct.

You assume that this ill treatment, including their confinement after the withdrawal of the French troops, was done at the instigation of our Officials without the knowledge of our King.

Finally, you refer to the promise which I gave, when I was in France, to give my protection to His Lordship and to the Fathers, and express the hope that I will appeal to the King in order to obtain the restitution of all that has been taken from them.

I must confess that your attitude causes me much surprise, since it is not in harmony with the wise, prudent and sublime judgement displayed by His Majesty of France. He refused to give ear to a one-sided version of the facts, which is the only side he had then heard, and in spite of the accusations which it contained, he continued to lavish every imaginable kindness upon the two Siamese envoys who were then in France, and so gave a crowning proof for all time of the friendship of France with Siam.

His Siamese Majesty, as soon as he heard of it, made no secret of his approval of the broad-minded wisdom which first took cognisance of both good and bad reports, and then refused to give credence to one side only. This, in our King's eyes, accounts for the excellence of the Government enjoyed by the French people.

The judgement which you pass upon our Revolution is remarkable. You have only heard one side of the case which gives voice to the vexation suffered by the Bishop and his flock. This, I repeat, is at variance with the attitude of the King of France; it is also prejudicial to good relations between our two countries..... You are aware that the late King of Siam showed great favour to Constant Phaulkon, exalting him to high office and entrusting him in conjunction with the other officials with the administration of many affairs of state.

Phaulkon drew large sums in gold and silver from the Treasury which he spent according to his own good pleasure, and which are now unrecoverable. He also went so far as to harbour treasonable designs.

The Officials who were cognizant of this hesitated to speak until a proper opportunity should present itself, but they applied themselves to thwarting his plot.

Phaulkon realised that he was not trusted. He decided therefore to apply to the King of Siam to permit the despatch of M. de Beauregard to Mergui as Governor, and of M. du Bruant with 120 French soldiers, as Commander, to hold the Mergui fort,

Eventually, when the King fell ill, the knowledge of his own treachery began to cause Phaulkon much uneasiness. He then hit upon the expedient of sending a private summons to M. Desfarges for his troops, with the intention of safe-guarding himself and of putting his treacherous plans into execution. The General only came as far as Ayudhia. He then returned to Bangkok without disclosing his motives.

Phaulkon had been accused of conspiring with de Verdesalle, du Bruant and de Beauregard. It was the realisation that his plot was impractical which led him to despatch the two latter to Mergui, as stated above, the one as Governor, the other as Commander. This was disclosed to the present occupant of the Siamese throne when he caused Phaulkon to be arrested and put to the question. His answers then confirmed the charges brought against him.

It was decided thereupon to entice the General up to Lopburi. He, having heard nothing of Phaulkon's arrest, made no difficulty about coming. The motive for our confidential treatment of him was to prevent the French from spreading the alarm, since we feared that du Bruant and de Beauregard, who were in Phaulkon's confidence, might take fright and commit some unfriendly action.

We therefore represented to the General that we had news from the North of impending trouble, which made it necessary that his troops with du Bruant's should effect a junction with the Siamese army at a given spot—the army to be despatched to stem the enemy's advance. We reminded him of the orders he had received in France which placed him at the service of the King of Siam. He was then instructed to write to du Bruant, who was to carry out his plan on receipt of the letter.

Had they been innocent, they would not have failed to comply with the French King's instruction, and we should have told them to avoid unfriendly actions. As it was, du Bruant, on receipt of Desfarges' letter, made ready to fight. The Siamese officers were astounded, and took steps to defend themselves. The French opened fire with artillery and small arms and continued throughout the night, killing four officers and wounding several other people. The Siamese, who were apprehensive of exceeding their instructions, might have put up a stronger defence but they contented themselves with taking cover. Du Bruant and de Beauregard, seeing that the Siamese were out of

range, embarked 16 cannon and 50 rifles on one of the King's ships, seized an English ship in the harbour, and made off in them.

Desfarges was told of Phaulkon's plot with de Verdesalle and the Army Surgeon at Bangkok, and asked to send these men to Lophuri, where they would be warned to commit no unfriendly action. Desfarges replied that they were so obstinate that it would be useless to send for them, but offered to go in person to fetch them, leaving behind hostages at Lophuri in the persons of his two sons and of the officers who were then there.

We do not know what decision he came to with his staff after leaving Lophuri. We do know however that the French Officers arrested their Siamese and Portuguese colleagues, opened fire and, burnt the General's quarters near the Fort, blew up 13 cannon in the West Fort, spiking the remainder which they were unable to destroy, and transferring the arms and ammunition to the fort on the opposite side of the river.

The Siamese immediately invaded the abandoned fort. Desfarges seeing them, ordered his men to re-take it; but they, after fighting for some time, were compelled to withdraw to their fort on the east side of the river, and then proceeded to do much damage.

The King of Siam knew that the King of France was ignorant of what his troops were doing, and feared that if his men were to do their worst, it would be an end of all friendly relations. This accounts for the order given to the Siamese that they must content themselves with building covering-works round their own fort as a protection on the river and on the land sides and prevent the French from making a sortie and doing damage.

The General's two sons and the Officers whom he had left at Lophuri as hostages, while out riding one day—as they were permitted to do whenever they so wished—made off with the intention of reaching Ayudhia and thence Bangkok. The Siamese who saw them, imagining that they were Englishmen of Phaulkon's party, overtook and arrested some of them on land and others in a boat which they had just occupied. They made them fast and brought them back to Lophuri.

As soon as the mistake was discovered, their bonds were unloosed and attendants were supplied to look after them and give them food at their quarters, as before. It is true that an Engineer, seeing himself hard-pressed in the pursuit, dodged and evaded capture longer

than the rest. When at last he was worn out and stopped to rest himself, he fell down in a faint and died in spite of the remedies and attention offered him.

The one and only thought of His Siamese Majesty was to preserve the friendship of the French King. He decided therefore to send back to the General his two sons with the officers he had left behind as a pledge for his return to Lophuri, believing that by so doing he would bring the General and his men to their senses, and compel them to desist from their unfriendly actions, but all in vain. They sand-bagged their ramparts and placed cannon in an inner fortification built with giant cocoanut trees. They raised two batteries one above the other, and scored hits against our powder reserves with their savage fire.

After that, several soldiers went down in Vêret's boat in search of the two ships which he had commissioned some months earlier for alleged coast-guard service. The Siamese sighted this small craft and hailed the French with a view to learning their intentions. The French, instead of approaching them, opened fire. The Siamese then boarded the vessel in order to arrest them, whereupon the French ignited their powder and blew the ship up.

On their side, in the west-bank Fort, the Siamese erected a "Cavalier" in order to discharge cannon-balls and bombs into the French lines. Fearing however that they might injure their fellow-countrymen as well as prejudice the relations between the two Countries, they only made use of it in replying to the fire of the French.

The French impaled several Siamese captured on the approaches to their Fort, and exposed them to the view of the Siamese Fort. Thereby they so angered the Siamese and the foreigners that a petition was made to the King to permit the erection of earthworks round the French position so as to invest it closely. The King, in his anxiety for good relations, refused this request, merely sanctioning siege-works to prevent the French from making a sortie.

The sight of these works in preparation convinced the French that they would be starved out before long. Vêret, the Company's representative, was despatched to Lophuri with a letter for me and a request for the loan of a big ship and 300 catties⁽¹⁾ for purchase of two smaller ships and for supplies. I submitted this petition to the

(1) 300 catties is 24,000 Ticals, equivalent to 45,000 gold francs on La Loubère's valuation of the Tical at 37½ sous.

King, adding that the French would be starved out if the siege continued much longer.

My proposal was that the General should sign an act of settlement, and find sureties for what he desired to borrow. Desfarges signed, and the Bishop together with the Missionaries and remaining Frenchmen in Siam went security for the treaty and for the loans.

It was agreed that the General, on his arrival at Pondichéry, should send back to Merguy (1) a boat which had sailed from that port for Masulipatam, manned by French and Siamese; (2) another boat which had sailed from Ayudhia under command of a Frenchman bound for Bander Abbas in Persia; (3) lastly, the ship which du Bruant seized, on his departure, together with its cannon, arms equipment and crew.

The big ship loaned to him was to be returned to Ayudhia, while the 300 Catties was to be refunded when the ships which Vêret had sent to Pondichéry, Bengal and Surat returned.

The young Siamese in France learning different professions were to be sent back.

The treaty included a statement to the effect that Desfarges asked to be accompanied by two hostages as far as the river's mouth. The reason for this was that he feared that the Siamese might play some trick on him during his descent of the river below Bangkok. Desfarges, on his side, was to allow the surgeon and his own son to go down in the boat with the Siamese officers.

The Siamese supposed that the French would behave like all other nations and never dreamt of them breaking the treaty. They therefore allowed the General to embark these two officers in his ship. Vêret and the interpreter were also on board. Young Desfarges, the surgeon and the second Ambassador followed in a small boat. The Bishop and I also followed with other boats.

On nearing the mouth of the river, the second Ambassador permitted young Desfarges and the Surgeon to board Desfarges' ship for lunch, and went with them, since he knew of the agreement which the General had made, and had full confidence in his honour.

Having passed the mouth of the river, the General took these two gentlemen on with him and kept Vêret, the second Ambassador and the Interpreter Pinhero with him, but failed to send back his two Siamese hostages.

In reply to our expostulations, he merely sent back one of the

Siamese officials (his hostages) and wrote asking that the Bishop should be sent to him. I accordingly sent Fr. Ferreux to him in a boat containing the sick men. I also sent another boat loaded with provisions, and demanded back the remaining official together with Vêret, who was one of the Sureties, the second Ambassador and the Interpreter, promising that the Bishop would come later, also that he should have the remainder of his cannon and baggage.

The General however paid no attention to my letters, but retained Fr. Ferreux and started to set his sails.

Although I saw that the General was breaking his promise, and by so doing was guilty of an unfriendly action, I did not desist from ordering the despatch of all his boats. He, however, never waited for them, to come but set sail and went off with one of the hostages, the second Ambassador and the Surety, Vêret.

I therefore placed the cannon in charge of my officials. I then made fast the French who were in the boats and took them to Ayudhia.

As to the General's offence against the right of nations, I agreed with my Officials that the French in Bangkok and Merguy had not acted in accordance with the order of the King of France; since, in a dispute, everyone is agreed upon the importance of fixing the blame.

The conduct of the French led us to believe that they might well have had an understanding with the traitors, but the Siamese on their side never committed any action which could interfere with good relations.

The refusal of His Majesty the King of France to give credence to reports, and his desire to discover which side was to blame was, I admit, a heavenly inspiration, since he was unwilling to give ear to all that was told him.

As to the bond entered into by the Bishop, his Missionaries, and all the remaining French in Siam,—it is the Siamese custom that when a party who is guaranteed, breaks his promise, and evades arrest, it is the Guarantor who pays for him.

Now the Bishop of Metellopolis, M. Vêret, the Missionaries and the Frenchmen remaining at Ayuthia had stood surety for M. Desfarges and his troops, also for 300 Catties loaned for purchase of ships and provisions. According to Siamese law, all the Guarantors should have been put to death.

It was my privilege to point out that His Majesty of France was

ignorant of the excesses committed by his General and Soldiers. Thereupon, His Siamese Majesty readily agreed that nothing should be done inconsistent with friendly relations until such time as His Majesty of France had learnt the whole truth.

It is to be expected that the General would not have reported all the misdemeanours committed by himself and his men, yet the superhuman wisdom and understanding of His Majesty the King of France are such that he will not give credence to one side only. We believe that he will be ready to submit the whole case to scrutiny, in which event I need only refer to three points:

(1) When Desfarges broke his word, his sons and all the French officers left behind at Lopburi as hostages might have been put to death instead of being sent back to him at Bangkok in the hope of bringing him to his senses.

(2) The Bishop with the Missionaries who were left at Ayudhia might have received very severe treatment when the General repudiated the treaty and loan guaranteed by them. Instead, they were held under observation. As soon as Desfarges had sent back the Interpreter and the Officials from Puket, when he called there, the Bishop was allowed to put up a hut for himself inside one of the Royal Store-house enclosures.⁽¹⁾

The Missionaries were not released until we heard of Fr. Tachard's return with the two officials from Europe, when they were permitted to join the Bishop. On the arrival of Fr. Tachard's companions, when we had heard from their own mouths of the favours conferred on them by His Majesty of France, His Siamese Majesty accorded full liberty to the Bishop and to all his followers, in consideration of the royal friendship.

(3) The Siamese, after investing the French position so closely as

(1) The defence, here submitted by Kosa Pan, for the treatment of the Missionaries is contradicted by the impartial testimony of Fr. Maldonato, (Ms. n° 2) who, as a Jesuit opposed to the French Missionaries, would not be expected to exaggerate in their favour.

The explanation for the reluctance of the Siamese to attack the French is more flattering to their pride than the one given in Desfarges' book. In judging between them, we cannot forget that Desfarges probably possessed more modern artillery than the Siamese, who in that case showed prudence in not pressing him too far.

The main interest of this letter lies in the admission imputed to Phaulkon of intelligence with du Bruant, which, as indicated in the preliminary article, points to his desire to shield his friends the Jesuits.

to cut them off completely and starve them out, might have refused them the loan of ships or money, but in the interest of friendly relations, rescued them from the danger they were in.

