

THE ASIATIC JOURNAL

FOR
JANUARY, 1822.

Original Communications, &c. &c. &c.

A SUCCINCT HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S ENDEAVOURS TO FORM SETTLEMENTS AND TO EXTEND AND ENCOURAGE TRADE IN THE EAST, AND OF THE CAUSES BY WHICH THOSE ENDEAVOURS HAVE BEEN FRUSTRATED.*

SECTION I.

Sumatra, Borneo, Java, the Eastern Islands, &c.

Few visits had been paid to the East-Indies by English traders previous to the first charter, granted to an English Company in the year 1600. Thorne, an English merchant, had made a representation to Henry VIII. concerning a trade with India, and formed a scheme of opening a traffic by the north-west passage with China. Some London merchants, adopting his views, in 1576 fitted out two ships under Capt. Frobisher; but the expedition failed, and the project was demonstrated to be impracticable by Sir Francis Drake, on his return from his celebrated voyage. In 1582, Capt. Stephens went to India by the Cape of Good Hope; and the next year the voyage was made by a different route, as appears by the journal of Ralph

Fitch, a merchant of London, preserved in the Collection of Voyages from the Harleian Library. He went by Tripoli to Ormus, and on to Goa; from thence to Bengal, Pegu, and Siam; visiting Ceylon, and the cities of Cochin and Calicut: he returned by Ormus to Tripoli, and thence to England, where he arrived in 1591. The famous Cavendish visited the East-Indies in 1588; and in consequence of the information obtained from him and his predecessor, Drake, Queen Elizabeth was induced to accede to the request of several rich merchants, and erected, in December 1600, a Company, to whom she granted a charter of exclusive privileges, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies."

Their first voyage took place the ensuing year. Capt. James Lancaster sailed with five ships, namely, the Dragon, Hector, Ascension, Swan, and Guest storeship, amounting in the aggregate to 1,430 tons, for India, and arrived the 5th June 1602, at Acheen,

* Compiled principally from the fourth volume of *Modern Univ. Hist.*, fol. 1759; and Extracts from the early records of the Company, appended to the Report relative to the Trade with the East-Indies and China, from the Select Committee of the House of Lords. Printed 1821.

on the north-west extremity of the large island of Sumatra, charged with a letter and presents from Queen Elizabeth to the King. He concluded a very favourable treaty of commerce, and left factors there; but did not obtain sufficient pepper to load his ships, owing to the scarcity of the preceding year. In 1608, the Company's ship *Ascension* proceeded to Priaman; on the same island, and obtained a cargo of pepper; and in 1612, the English ships again visited Acheen, where they experienced a favourable reception, with a confirmation of their privileges. Two years afterwards, the Company extended their trade to Banjar-Massin, on the south coast of Borneo; and attempts were made by the servants of the Company, in the same year, to establish a beneficial trade at Sambas and Socodania, on the same island, at the former of which Capt. Middleton had settled a factory in 1610. The Company's agent, however, was compelled by the natives to make a precipitate retreat, "leaving behind all debts due" to them, and "happy to escape with his life."

It appears that, with a view to extend the trade with Sumatra, Capt. William Keeling, who conducted the Company's fourth voyage, addressed a letter, in 1616, to the Sultan: though, it would seem, without success, as the traffic of the island was afterwards engrossed by the Dutch, who obtained and fortified a settlement at Padang, in the centre of the island, which they made their chief residence. Yet the exertions of the Company were not altogether unsuccessful in this part of India, for in 1619, the French complained that the English trade interfered with theirs.

Meanwhile efforts were making to establish a traffic with the Molucca and Banda Islands farther to the eastward. The little island of Pulo-roon was ceded to the English in 1601; and in 1607, that of Banda also, by formal surrender (in the strongest terms, according to Purchas) of the

natives, who proved afterwards to have acted in collusion with the Dutch. In December 1616, articles of cession were regularly executed by the states of Pulo-way and Pulo-roon, by which these islands were delivered to the English. The latter was however seized by the Dutch, after their massacre of the English at Lantore in 1619. This catastrophe, and the still more inhuman massacre at Amboyna in 1622, seem to have been the ruin of various small factories, which, according to Capt. Keeling's journal of his first voyage to Eastern Asia, and other early records of the Company, had been established by their servants at Ceram, and the cluster of small islands adjoining. The English had also been expelled by the Flemings, in 1614, from a settlement which they had formed at Cambello, in Amboyna; but in the following year the crews of two ships (the *Thomasine* and *Concorde*) were put in possession of Cambello Castle by the natives. They were ejected by the Dutch, but recovered and retained it, till the infamous transaction referred to, namely, the murder (under the mockery of judicial forms) of the English residents after dreadful tortures, during a period of profound peace between the two nations.*

* These dreadful scenes are detailed at length in the *Coll. of Voy. from Harl. Misc.*, vol. viii. It is but fair to observe that the early navigators of our own country cannot be exempted from the charge of excessive cruelty. In a work published in 1606, containing records of the English factory, established at Bantam in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is an account of the execution of a Chinese, who appears to have set fire to a house, marked with such features of barbarity as to render it almost incredible. The agent was Mr. Scott, the chief of the factory, who relates the proceeding: "He was a goldsmith, and confessed to the Admiral (Sir James Lancaster) he had clipped many rials, and also coined some counterfeit: some things he confessed concerning our matter, but not much; but he would tell us nothing. Wherefore, because of his sullenness, and that it was he that fired us, I caused him to be burned under the nails of his thumbs, fingers, and toes, with sharp hot irons, and the nails to be tore off; and because he never blinked at that, we thought that his hands and legs had been numbed with tying, wherefore we burned him quite through the hands, and with rasps of iron tore out the flesh and sinews. After that I caused

In the second voyage of the Company in 1604, the fleet was under the command of Sir Henry Middleton. Two of his ships obtained a lading of nutmegs and mace at Banda, and of cloves at Amboyna. He was well received by the natives, but experienced many ill offices from the Dutch traders. He returned on 6th May 1606, with letters and presents to James I., from the Kings of Bantam and Tidor, and a cargo of unexampled richness and value, such as had never been seen from India in English bottoms. Three years afterwards two ships (the Dragon and Consent) were refused a lading at the Moluccas by the Dutch and Spaniards. In 1609, Capt. David Middleton was refused trade at Banda by the Dutch, and was obliged to sail to the adjacent island of Pulo-way. The Dutch even followed him to Bantam with two large ships and some frigates, with the determination to sink him, but were prevented by calms and contrary winds. By the contrivances of that jealous nation, the factory which the English had established at Macassar was lost in the year 1615.

In that year the Company had a factory at Batavia (though they had car-

ried on trade with the Island of Java long previous, and had settled a factory at Bantam in 1609, which was made a presidency in 1634); and in 1616, they agreed to pay seven hundred rials per annum for liberty to trade: but their factory was burnt by the Dutch in the same year. In 1619 the English leagued with the King of Bantam, and also with the King of Jacatra, against the Dutch, who surrendered their fort. Batavia was for some time after the seat of the joint operations of the English and Dutch, under this treaty; and the poor King of Bantam, with a policy by no means to be despised or condemned, whose territories had been the scene of hostilities between rival mercantile states, destroyed all the pepper trees in his dominions, conceiving that the pepper was the cause of his misfortunes. The Company continued in possession of Bantam as their chief factory in this part of India, till 1662, when it was taken by the Dutch, and afterwards virtually yielded to them, in 1685, with all the other possessions in this part, by King Charles II., under a sort of treaty, by which the Dutch gave in compensation to him and his ministers £100,000. They had also obtained full possession of Jacatra by cession from the Soosoooonang Matteram, (or Sultan) in 1677, to the exclusion of all other European nations.

This is a system of commercial policy upon which the Dutch have been always intent, and from which, even in the present enlightened and liberal age, it is said, they have not departed. Their trade to the East was a monopoly in the strictest sense of the term: for the sole object of most of the cruel wars they waged with the natives, was to force them to exclude the traders of other nations, especially of England. The measures they adopted to prevent the growth of spices in other countries, and their practice of destroying the surplus beyond a certain quantity of those precious com-

modities, are well known.* So early as the year 1627, the Residency at Batavia reported to the Court of Directors, the continual efforts of the Dutch to exclude the English Company from commerce with the continent and islands of South-Eastern Asia. In the treaty which they concluded with the King of Macassar, in 1667 (afterwards known by the name of the Bonay treaty), the latter engaged to expel the Portuguese and English, and to admit the subjects of no European nation, or their Ambassadors, to enter his country. It appears also that they had entered into engagements with all the petty states in the Moluccas, and in the islands of Celebes, Banda and Amboyna, stipulating that those States should not trade with any other European power.

In the reign of Charles I., the trade of the Company decaying in consequence of the treacherous proceedings of the Dutch and Portuguese, who, though sometimes at variance with each other, were ready to coalesce against the interests of the English Company, the latter made no opposition to, or rather promoted, a measure which was a direct infringement of their charter: namely, a commission for restoring commerce in the East, issued by the King to certain merchants of London, authorizing them to send out a limited number of ships to India. The success of the expedition was at first considerable; but on its return home, the Dutch attacked it, and sunk two of the ships, whose cargoes were valued at £150,000. The second attempt was still less fortunate, and most of the speculators were ruined.

In consequence of these acts of outrage, for which the Government either would not or could not obtain redress or adequate compensation, and from the civil troubles at home, scarcely

any memorials remain, for a series of years, of the Company's transactions. More vigorous measures were adopted by Cromwell; and in the treaty of 1654, it was stipulated, in the twenty-seventh article, "That the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna, as the Republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living." And the disputes between the two companies were afterwards adjusted by a commission.

This treaty, and the humiliation of the Dutch, infused confidence into the India trade, and a subscription was entered into, under the protection of Cromwell, of £800,000, for carrying it on.

One of the earliest acts of Charles II., on his restoration, was to afford his countenance and protection to the Company. He granted them a new charter, dated April 3, 1661, confirming their exclusive right, with additional privileges. Bombay was also ceded to them by the Crown, because the revenues of the place were not equal to the expense of maintaining it, and for other political reasons.

In 1658, the Company obtained from the Queen of Acheen, in Sumatra, a grant of privileges of trade, and settled a factory there in 1659. The Dutch, however, still continued their depredations; and in the former year the ship *Mayflower* was plundered by the Dutch Commodore, Balshaasar, and forced to depart empty.* The privileges were confirmed in 1661, when Mr. Henry Gary was sent to the Queen, who was desirous of English friendship. About this time, however, the Dutch took from her the principal forts of Sumatra, over which Acheen claimed hereditary sovereignty; and it appears by the Dutch treaties with the King of Maning-kabue, and the petty

* It is but just to observe, that an instance of this barbarous policy may be alleged against our own colonists. It is said that the planters of Virginia and Maryland were formerly in the habit, in plentiful years, of burning a certain quantity of tobacco, to prevent the market from being overstocked.

* See farther of these outrages, in *Ralph*, vol. i, p. 100.

States which surrounded the island, that the Queen of Acheen's actual possessions were in a state of blockade. After this, the trade seems to have declined. The government of the country was represented as bad, and the pepper, which was the chief object of trade, as coming from another part of the island (Lampong) which was subject to Bantam. When this place fell under the dominion of the Dutch, in 1683, it was proposed to revive the commercial connection with Acheen; but Bencoolen was then found to be much more convenient, as a commercial entrepôt for the island of Sumatra. The Company therefore established a settlement there in 1685, and York Fort was built by the agency of Benjamin Bloom, in consequence of the loss of Bantam. It was considered as the key to all the other settlements on this coast, but an unhealthy place, and therefore difficult to get persons to settle there. In 1687, the chief at Bencoolen, Mr. Ralph Ord, was poisoned at the instigation of the Dutch; and the Company had serious thoughts of withdrawing from Bencoolen, preferring Priaman or Acheen. At this time, the Government of Fort St. George were engaged in correspondence with the native chiefs of Sumatra, three of whom arrived at that Presidency in 1685, to treat of a settlement and trade. The correspondence lasted till 1688, when it was resolved to encourage the trade on Sumatra, by establishing factories at Priaman and Indrapore. These factories, with others which had been established, it was afterwards found necessary to relinquish, on account of the hostile movements of the Dutch; and to confine the Company's pepper trade, after the erection of York Fort at Bencoolen, to that settlement. The Company have since established several small residencies for the collection of pepper along the coast, which have been maintained in time of peace, and not abandoned till untenable in time of war.

In 1695, the Company obtained, by grant from the Rajah, the town of Sil-lebar, near Bencoolen. Two years afterwards the island of Sumatra was the scene of hostilities between rival chiefs, in which the Company were compelled to take part; and in 1698, it was proposed, as a measure of prudence, to withdraw all the northern factories to York Fort, which was ordered to be made defensible against a European enemy. The concerns of the Company were at this period disordered by a new rival Company being erected at home.* The differences among the natives of Sumatra were composed in 1700; but a garrison of two hundred men was determined on for York Fort, to protect the Company's property. It was a principal business of the English to allay the differences among the natives, otherwise the pepper plantations would have been continually destroyed, and three years must elapse before they could be brought to maturity again. The character of the Malays is described as jealous and fickle, and some of the chiefs were engaged in a plot against the Company, in 1701.† The Madras Government wrote a letter to the King of Acheen, in 1700, desiring to renew former friendship and ancient privileges; and some years afterwards the same Government made another attempt to establish a settlement there, under the conduct of the Hon. Edward Monckton, but were obliged to withdraw it.

In 1703, all possible encouragement was held out to some Chinese to settle at Bencoolen, such as the offer of having a captain of their own, as at Batavia; but they could not be per-

* A union soon after took place, when the style of the Company was altered to "the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies."

† The contradictory accounts we have of the Malay character probably proceed from their deceit and duplicity; they are represented as abounding in professions, always talking of bravery and honour, and their language is the softest of any in Asia; yet they are, in fact, the most ferocious, sanguinary and treacherous people on the face of the globe.

sueded to settle. Bencoolen was this year made independent of Fort St. George; but was replaced under the superintendance of that Government in 1710.

In 1705, the Company lost the Governor, three civil servants, and forty-one slaves, through the unwholesomeness of the climate. All the out-stations were therefore withdrawn to York Fort, when Mr. Jeremiah Harrison arrived in 1708, and found the settlement in a very unprosperous state. The number of independent rajahs gave rise to many feuds and disorders; and in 1719, the English settlers were nearly extirpated by the natives, who destroyed Ippoe, with the Resident, burnt Friamong Peggat (a small wooden fort), and closely besieged Banthall.* The English, however, returned the next year, and were permitted to proceed in building Fort Marlborough.

About this time the Company were endeavouring to procure pepper from other parts; and in 1718, they directed inquiry to be made as to the propriety of sending ships for that article to Banjar-Massin, on the island of Borneo, with which, as before stated, they had opened trade as early as 1614. It appears by the correspondence of 1703, that this place was then subject to the King of Cochin-China. In that year, after some previous discussions, a factory was established there, under Mr. Allen Catchpole. This gentleman was afterwards Governor of Pulo-condore, off the coast of Cambodia (a very valuable settlement, well supplied with water, hogs, and cows, and resorted to by the Chinese), and was massacred by the Macassars, with the greatest part of the factory at that place. In 1706, liberty was obtained to trade at Banjar-Massin, without objections being made to fortifications; but the following year the English were driven from it by the natives. It was found that no trade could be carried on there

without heavy Mexican gold coin, and that the government of the King and Princes was arbitrary and oppressive: a settlement at Tong-borneo was therefore preferred. In 1736-7 the Company sent the ship Prince of Wales to Banjar-Massin, to trade for pepper. The expense for presents was deemed great, and the prices high. The ship sailed from thence with a cargo in 1738. In the year 1746, the ship Onslow was sent there. The Sultan received the Company's letter favourably; but afterwards ordered the Captain to be seized and kept prisoner, till a Prince of Mandura, a prisoner on board the English ship, should be given up to the Dutch; and subsequently detained the vessel as a guard-ship. The next year the Sultan would not allow an export of pepper till the English had furnished him with a guard-ship; and he sent a letter to the English captain, informing him that he could not trade in his territories without leave of the Dutch, and they were therefore compelled to depart. The Dutch entered into a contract with the Sultan that year for the monopoly of pepper in his dominions.

In 1770, Balambangan, a small island north of Borneo, possessing a convenient harbour for shipping, was ceded to the Company by the Sultan of Sooloo. The Bombay Government was instructed to form a settlement there, the objects of which were to establish a mart for the exchange of the manufactures of Europe and the continent of India, against the productions of China and the Eastern countries; to acquire a share in the spice trade; to extend the Company's trade to the unfrequented parts of Asia; and to divert the Chinese trade into a more advantageous channel. Balambangan was to be declared a *free port*, open to all nations; but the trade in spices, raw silk, and opium, to be reserved to the Company, and spice to be cultivated on the island. A small establishment of servants, consisting of a chief, two councillors, two

* See a full account of this transaction in Lockyer's Account of the Trade in India, c. 4.

factors, and two writers, was appointed by the Court of Directors, to whom alone they were to be subordinate. This settlement was formed in 1773, and in 1775 the English settlers were treacherously expelled by the Sooloos. During the peace of 1803, the Bengal Government restored the settlement of Balambangan; but on the renewal of hostilities the Court were induced, by weighty considerations, to direct it to be withdrawn.

With the Philippine islands, the Company's endeavours to open trade were thwarted by the power and influence possessed by the Spaniards in that quarter. Various attempts were made between 1648 and 1694 to trade with the Manillas. In 1681 the Company sent 60 pieces of Colchester baize to Bantam, for the purpose of being introduced circuitously into Manilla, with a view of creating a demand for these British manufactures. But no traffic was permitted without a license, and so rigidly and cruelly was the law enforced by the Spaniards, that in 1668 a Danish Commander was executed, and his crew imprisoned, for attempting to trade without one. The Company in consequence endeavoured to procure liberty to trade, by means of the English Ambassador at Madrid, but without success. In 1675, the Presidency of Bantam, finding a glut of European commodities, owing to the transit of goods being stopped in China, by a revolution in that country, attempted to find a vent for them at Manilla. The Company's servants wrote as follows: "The baize and Norwich stuffs have been shewn to these people, and Punkee (the King of Tywan's Minister) has been acquainted that they are sent out as a trial for Manilla. They are a sort of manufacture they have not seen, so are unwilling to meddle with them; but Punkee hath offered to send them on the Company's account, freight free, on his junk,* which, though of-

fering no certainty of a good price, may be better than keeping or returning them." "We had often urged on the Tywanners,† that the chintz and quilts were commodities proper for Manilla, but to no avail until this year, when a scarcity of China goods helped us off with the remains of the chintz." "On the despatch of their junks to Japan, we have never omitted to invite them to buy some of our Europe cloth; but they, fearing some inconvenience may accrue because we are not received there, have hitherto declined."

With the large southernmost island, Mindanao, they were at first more successful. In the instructions sent out by the London Company, by the ship *Adventure*, 19th Nov. 1684, they direct the supracargoes, if possible, to open a trade with Mindanao, and settle a factory there; and to advise Fort St. George, by letter, what English woollens may be disposed of; also promising large gratuities and future promotion in their service, if they should prove successful. The King of Mindanao having sent a letter to the Company, inviting them to send a ship and factors thither, and offering them a settlement, the Company's ship before-named, in obedience to the Court's instructions, on the 17th Dec. 1685, pursued her voyage to that island. On the 25th January 1685-6, the *Adventure* arrived at Magindanao, the chief town of Mindanao, in the territories under the King. The Company's factors were civilly received by the King and the Admiral; but when they endeavoured to commence a mutual trade, they found the place ill supplied with native productions, the people restrained from dealing with them till the King and the Admiral had fixed the respective prices at which they were to buy and sell; and these two personages, acting as if they were indifferent or hostile to trade,

* A junk is a Chinese foreign trader; it is a corruption of *Tchuan*, signifying a ship.

† The Company then carried on a friendly traffic with the kingdom of Tywan, which will be adverted to in Section 3.

offering and demanding prices for which the Company's factors found it unprofitable to deal : added to which, the *datchin*, by which the native merchants for a long time insisted on weighing their goods, was so false, that the factors were obliged to suspend their dealings till the King caused another *datchin* to be made : a concession which it required much negotiation to obtain. At length, when the King and Admiral, and the few natives permitted to trade, entered upon the barter of such articles as they had, for such as they chose to take, they would receive no kind of cloth but *longcloth* (a species of fine calico), and demanded prices for such proportions of gold, clove-bark, cassia lignea,* tortoiseshell, wax, and ebony, brought in slowly, which nothing but the greater loss apprehended from taking their cargo to another market, and having part of it spoiled, induced the Company's factors to give. The Captain, indeed, sold a few guns, part of which were mounted on the ship for defence (but which the King and Admiral insisting on having), at a good price. Viewing altogether the tardiness with which native commodities were brought for sale, the high prices demanded, and the many occasions on which the negotiations for trade were interrupted, by disputes arising from capricious and unreasonable acts on the part of the native authorities, it might be suspected that they were afraid directly to refuse, yet wished to discourage, any intercourse with the English. The ship staid at the place nearly three months, and at her departure the King, notwithstanding what had passed, invited the Company's factors to return next year, promising them a better trade, yet offering nothing in the way of commerce but a few guns. As to a settlement, although the King had originated this

subject, by addressing a letter to the Company, yet when their servants arrived there, they found him not disposed to treat on the business ; and in conferences with Mr. Cheney, and in the official answer to the Company's letter, he recommended that the business of a settlement should be postponed till he and the English were better acquainted. It is difficult to assign the true reason of his thus deserting his own proposal ; whether it was owing to the intrigues of the Dutch or of the Spaniards, or the awe in which he stood of both those powers, or any sudden jealousy he had conceived of the English, or to the divisions in his own family, and the distracted state of his Government. He spoke both of the Spaniards and Dutch, and frequently adverted to the neighbouring station of the latter at Ternate. He sometimes alleged that both had desired a settlement at his chief town of Magindanao, which he had repeatedly refused ; and were he now to grant this privilege to the English, he could no longer deny it to them, without bringing upon him the hostility of these already dangerous neighbours. The Spaniards, in fact, occupied a much greater portion of territory in Mindanao itself, than the Company's factors were aware of, till the King's Admiral pointed out on the map the forts and positions they held, commanding more than half of the island.

The unprofitable nature of the voyage, and the King's evasive conduct in respect to a settlement with the security of a fort, appear to have prevented the Company and their servants from renewing the negotiation, or sending a ship the following year. Without a settlement and fort, there was no security for the Company's servants and property. The people of Mindanao could not defend themselves from their neighbours the *Sooloos*, who were formidable pirates ; and the Native Government proved to be arbitrary and capricious, chang-

* This is probably a species of cinnamon, said to be peculiar to the island. It grows on the mountains without cultivation ; and when first taken from the tree is as strong as that of Ceylon, but soon loses its aromatic properties.

ing its policy under the secret influence of the Dutch or Spaniards; inviting the visits of the English, and making their trade unprofitable by the terms on which alone the King and his officers consented to deal.

In July 1686, Capt. Dampier visited this island and city on board a buccaneer vessel. He found the natives well disposed towards the English, and recommended a settlement being formed there. His reasons are founded upon the advantageous situation of the place, the rich commodities it abounds with, and the trade that might be opened with the neighbouring countries. It appears, however, from his statement, that the motive of the natives for desiring an English settlement there was that we might serve them as a protection against the Dutch, whom they then dreaded more than the Spaniards.*

In 1689-90, the ship *Mindanao*, which went from Madras on account of Private-traders, returned to this port with a cargo chiefly consisting of clove-bark, which had been purchased on the Company's account. The voyage was stated to have turned out unprofitably for the adventurers, and the Native Government of the island was reported to be in a distracted state.

In 1696, a further attempt was made; the Court of Directors, by letter dated 26th May 1696, directed an embassy to Mindanao, with overtures to the King to trade with the Company, to be sent from Fort St. George: but it did not succeed.

In the year 1781, the Company's attention was again directed to the island of Sumatra. Their settlement at Bencoolen being presumed to be in the possession of the Dutch, orders were sent to Bengal to obtain a settlement at Acheen. Mr. Botham, of the Fort Marlborough establishment, was accordingly deputed to Acheen, in July 1782, to ascertain the practica-

bility of the measure: he reported unfavourably of the project, in consequence of the country being at that time in the hands of a usurper, who had murdered the former king, engrossed the whole trade of the port, and refused to allow any settlement. He consented to permit a commercial resident; and accordingly Mr. J. Y. Kinlock was sent by the Bengal Government, as an agent or consul to Acheen, in January 1784, with a small establishment, but without a force. He was instructed to assist any of the Company's ships that might touch there, and to pursue such other measures as might promote the commercial interests of the Company. This establishment was abolished on a general retrenchment in 1785. A proposal was made in 1798, of entering into a treaty with the King of Acheen, the chief object of which was to secure to him a monopoly of the trade of his dominions, in return for a very small additional supply of pepper to the Company. This proposal was therefore rejected.

Upon the establishment of the present Government of Prince of Wales' Island, in 1805, their attention was called to the best means of securing the port of Acheen against any hostile power. The Court, in their letter to that Government, observe that Bencoolen, in a political and commercial point of view, had become of no importance; pepper, its only produce, being a losing concern, could be better supplied from Prince of Wales' Island and the Malabar coast. In reply, the Government represented that time as not unfavourable to a settlement at Acheen, but that it could not be effected without a considerable force of European as well as native troops, to maintain a permanent fort there; on which account the plan was given up.

In 1809, Mr. D. Campbell was sent from Bengal to Acheen, for the purpose of obtaining preliminary information respecting the revenue and

* See his account in *Harris's Coll. of Voy.*, vol. 1, pp. 106, 107.

commercial resources, state and character of the Government. His reports were received in 1811, from whence it appeared that the country was impoverished, and the King under the influence of a Monsieur L'Etoile, at whose instance he requested a supply of arms and military stores. Mr. Campbell recommended the establishment of a military force at Acheen, which was not acceded to.

In 1813, the country ship *Annapoorany*, under English colours, was seized by the Acheenese, by virtue of an assumed right to restrict the trade to all the ports on the coast of Sumatra. She was retaken by a British ship. Other similar complaints of aggression arising, Capt. Canning was sent to Acheen to adjust them; but the King denied him access, acting, it would appear, under the influence of a British subject named Fenwick, who managed his European correspondence.

A revolution at Acheen took place in 1817, and the King and Fenwick were driven to seek protection at Prince of Wales' Island. That Government immediately deputed Capt. Court to adjust the claims of the rival pretenders to the throne, and to make such political and commercial arrangements with them as might be deemed proper.

Of the disposition evinced at recent periods by the Company, to extend and encourage a trade throughout the various independent States in the East, and especially of their eagerness to create a taste and demand for the manufactures and commodities of Britain, the following extracts from the letters of the Court of Directors to the Government of Prince of Wales' Island may be accepted as satisfactory evidence:

"You will likewise observe the most friendly line of conduct towards all the neighbouring independent Rajahs or states, and you will avail yourselves of any opportunities that may offer for negotiating commercial treaties with them, upon grounds of reciprocal advantage."

"Independently of the great political advantages of possessing a commanding station for the rendezvous, refitting, and supply of his Majesty's navy, required for the protection of the Company's possessions in the eastern part of India, with the ultimate view of constructing docks, &c. for building ships of war for the royal navy, one of the principal advantages in a commercial point of view, is the probability of its becoming, in a more extensive degree, a general depôt for the commodities of India and China, particularly those of the British territories. It likewise is an emporium so situated, as to afford an easy approach from every part of India, from the extremity of China to the coast of Africa, and where merchants of all nations may conveniently meet and exchange their goods."

"With respect to the imports from Europe, we have ordered an investment of woollens to be provided, to the extent of £25,000, and of such other goods as may be deemed fit for sale at that island. We rely upon your exertions for ensuring to those goods as quick and advantageous a sale as possible. You will likewise transmit to us an annual indent of such articles of British manufacture as you think may meet with a ready and advantageous sale at Prince of Wales' Island, particularly iron, copper, lead, broadcloth, cutlery, and the various manufactures required by the Malays, Siamese, Burmahs, &c."

"It has been usual at the other Presidencies to dispose of European imports at public sales, but we think it inexpedient to limit you to that mode; probably, however, you may find it convenient to have one annual sale, soon after the arrival of the ships from Europe. It must be left to your discretion to regulate the private sales at other times, as you shall find most advantageous to the Company, and for the encouragement of trade."—*Letter, dated 18th April 1805.*

"We have perused with very con-

siderable attention and satisfaction, a letter which Mr. Raffles, Lieut.-Gov. of Java has addressed to us, under date of the 12th January 1813, on the general conduct of Java and its dependencies. Observations contained in this document, founded in part upon a letter which was transmitted to the Government of Java by our Select Committee of Supracargoes at Canton, under date the 24th Nov. 1812, have in great part determined us to send to Java a consignment of goods in the present season, of the prime cost of about £80,000 sterling.”—*Letter, 3d Sept. 1813.*

“We are still anxious, as we always have been, to promote the consumption of British manufactured iron, and we hope to receive from you such favourable accounts of sales of British iron, as may warrant our making the consignments of this article to consist chiefly of the latter kind.”

“We have to call your attention to the articles of cutlery and tools, the sale of which in India will materially benefit the manufacturing poor of this country. The manner in which the cutlery is packed, which is fully explained by the invoice, will enable you to make moderate lots, suitable to the wants of different classes of buyers, and thereby to promote the sale.”

“You will not fail to make every proper inquiry, whether the wire cards for cotton are likely to find a demand in India, and to inform us of the result.”—*Letter, 28 Dec. 1814.*

“We find that our stock of iron at the several Presidencies has accumulated to the very large quantity of 8,531 tons; and as the sales of iron which are annually realized at the several Presidencies are not in proportion to the aggregate of our stock, we think it right to apprise you that as good merchantable British iron can now be bought in London at ten pounds and a few shillings per ton, it follows that your stock can be replaced at that price, with the addition of the customary invoice

charges; you must therefore consider your stock of iron as depreciated in value, and proceed to make sales thereof, on reduced terms, accordingly.”

“Notwithstanding the above observations, we shall probably see it right to make a consignment of British iron to Bombay in the approaching season, with the view of affording some relief to the workmen who are employed in the making of that commodity, and who are at present in a state of great distress for want of employment.”

“We wish to impress upon our servants the indispensable necessity of keeping us advised, by every opportunity, of our stock of Europe staples, drawn up in such detail as will shew distinctly the sizes, colours, and all other particulars of our metals, wools, and other commodities; a general indent is of little practical utility: particulars must be minutely stated, and the terms by which the goods are described in our Europe invoices must be invariably adopted in your indents and lists of stock.”—*Letter, 25th Sept. 1816.*

SECTION II.

The continental kingdoms of Siam, Cochín-Chína, Tonquin, Pegu, and Ava.

The kingdom of Siam is situated in a large valley, bounded by two great ranges of hills, at the bottom of the gulph of that name, formed by the isthmus of the Malay peninsula on one side, and the coast of Cambodia on the other, and into which flows a considerable river called Manan. The east chain of hills divides it from Cambodia, and the western chain from what is called the Burmah empire. The city is built on piles upon the banks of the river, which is so rapid that ships are forced to anchor 36 leagues from the capital. Siam is almost constantly either harassed by internal dissensions, or involved in hostilities with its powerful neighbours. Like most other eastern countries, it

abounds in many valuable productions; but the dress as well as the diet of the people is extremely poor and simple, the former consisting merely of a piece of cloth or silk fastened round their waists, and the latter chiefly of fish and rice.

In the year 1610, an English factory was first established at Siam by Capt. Middleton, of whom mention has been made in the preceding section, which subsisted for some years; but it appears to have been withdrawn subsequent to 1623, when the King of Siam and the English at Jacatra were in correspondence. In 1662, the King expressed a desire that the English should settle a factory in his dominions; though the Dutch had at that time a large commercial intercourse with Siam, lading there 40 ships yearly. In 1664, they quarrelled with the King, and next year threw obstructions in the way of the English trade in those seas, which was the chief object that provoked their jealousy and resentment. The settling of a factory was therefore, under these circumstances deferred.* The subject was resumed in 1671, and the Court approved of the proposal of establishing a factory at Siam, if practicable. In 1674 the King renewed his overtures for an English factory in his dominions, which was accordingly established in 1676, with the view of eventually opening a trade with Japan. At the commencement of this intercourse great expectations were formed of the tin trade† of Siam; and it was thought that the Siam trade generally would prove more beneficial than even a Japan trade. That country was also considered capable of affording a market for a great quantity of broadcloth; and the English agent at Bantam wrote

* About this time, however, the English Company are represented to have been in high favour with the King of Siam, who gave them a recommendation to the Emperor of Japan, whose sister he had married.

† It appears that the Dutch had a monopoly of the tin mines at Ligor in Siam, which enabled them to fix an arbitrary price upon this commodity. Tavernier, t. iv. l. viii.

to the King of Siam, recommending to him the encouragement of a broad-cloth trade, as necessary to the maintenance of an English factory in his dominions. In 1679 it was discovered that Siam itself consumed but little broadcloth; the sale of that commodity depending on China and Japan; the next year, therefore, it was determined to recall the factory at Siam. But in 1683 and 1684 it was resolved to re-establish it, the station still being favourable to the prosecution of a Japan trade, in which great hopes were indulged. Accordingly Sir John Child, in 1685, addressed a letter to the Barcalong, or Prime Minister of Siam, explaining the difference between the Company's servants and Private-traders concerning which some misunderstandings had arisen. Another letter was afterwards addressed to the King. It was observed that this Prince was favourable towards foreigners, and that Siam was a port of considerable commerce; and therefore the Company's former losses were to be attributed to mismanagement, and the malignity of the prime minister, Constantine Phaulkon, an Italian.

In 1687, an insurrection of the Macassars took place at Siam, by which the country was thrown into confusion, and the Prime Minister narrowly escaped. The Macassarese were all destroyed. The Company's losses arising out of the troubles, as appears from a letter from the President of Fort St. George to the King of Siam, dated in 1687, amounted to £65,000, for which satisfaction was demanded, or war would be declared. The next year there was a massacre at Siam. The Company were also advised that six French men of war, with 1,400 soldiers, had arrived to assist the King, and that Constantine Phaulkon had been made a Count of France.

In 1705, the Governor of Fort St. George addressed a letter to the King of Siam, desiring a renewal of former friendship, which had been interrupted by the ambitious minister. In 1712,

the Barcelong invited the English to make a settlement, and offered a *com*, the same as had been granted to the Dutch. It was stated that the Siam trade was advantageous to Japan, as the Siamese carry silver yearly to purchase 4 or 5,000 chests of coffee. At this time, however, Siam appears to have been in a state of internal disorder, and to have continued so for many years afterwards.

With Cochin-China, though an unsuccessful effort was made by the English at Japan, in 1619, which ended in the massacre of the factors, yet subsequently the attempts at trade have either been more regularly conducted than at other places we have previously mentioned, or the accounts that have been left are more minute, and abound with more copious and interesting details respecting the geography, manners and customs of the country. We shall endeavour to condense and blend the particulars contained in the narrative of Mr. Chapman,* who was deputed in 1778 to conduct two Cochin-Chinese Mandarins† of high rank to their native country, and was charged to endeavour at opening a commercial intercourse with that kingdom; those furnished by Mr. Roberts,‡ in the report of his unsuccessful mission in 1804; and various details gleaned from Mr. Barrow's Voyage to Cochin-China, made in the year 1793.

Previously, however, we will observe that the commerce of Cochin-China in former times would appear to have been very considerable. The writer last named, refers to an account given

in the extraordinary piratical voyage of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto,* who sailed for India in 1537, of the proceedings of his comrade, Antonio de Faria, along the coast of Cochin-China. "After passing Pulo Campello, an island in 14 deg. 20 min., they came," says he, "to Pulo Capas, where a fleet of forty great junks, of two or three decks a-piece, was seen in the river Boralho (Varella in the maps), which Faria had sent to discover; and after that another fleet, seeming 2,000 sail, great and small, and a walled town of some 10,000 houses." And it is said that just before the late rebellion in Cochin-China, 200 Chinese junks traded annually to Fai-foo, which in all probability was the walled town of Faria. Governor Hastings, in his minute to the Council, March 1778, states he is informed "that 70 or 80 junks resort to the single port of Turon in one season, and that the trade is the chief support of the town of Macao."

The internal disorders of the kingdom, however, entirely interrupted agriculture as well as commerce, and rendered a trade with this unfortunate country an object of little importance to any nation. On Mr. Chapman's arrival at Fai-foo he found it had been recently destroyed by the usurper. "We were surprised," says he, "to find the recent ruins of a large city, the streets laid out on a regular plan, paved with flat stone, and well-built brick houses on each side. But, alas! there was now little more remaining than the outward walls, within which, in a few places, you might behold a wretch, who formerly was the possessor of a palace, sheltering himself from the weather in a miserable hut of straw and bamboos." In 1793, a few Chinese junks that an-

* Appendix to Report, p. 326. Besides this account, a statement of the transaction is published in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1801. Mr. Hastings, the Gov.-General, has been blamed for selecting this gentleman, who was connected with the mercantile firm that supplied the merchandise he took out. The entrusting a commission of this nature to a merchant, a character held in low esteem in Cochin-China, is supposed to have caused the failure of the mission.

† This word is of European origin. It is formed from the Portuguese verb *Mandar*, to command. *Quon* is the appellation given by the Chinese, the Cochin-Chinese, and Tonquinese, to persons in authority.

‡ See, to Report, p. 320.

* The reputation of this writer has suffered so much, from his indulging in the prevalent humour of that age of embellishing the relation of adventures so as to create astonishment, that we must be cautious in giving credit to him, except regarding transactions wherein he was himself concerned, in which he is reckoned a very exact and candid writer.

nally arrived at Fai-foo, an accidental neutral ship, or English under neutral colours from Europe, and one or two country ships from India, with as many Portuguese from Macao, freighted with the refuse of goods sent out to the China market, constituted the extent of the trade of Cochin-China. The condition of the country was afterwards much improved by the judicious measures of the lawful sovereign, Caung-shung, who seems, from Mr. Barrow's statement, to have been a second Alfred or Peter the Great.

In 1627, the residency of Batavia report to the Court, that the intercourse between Cochin-China and China was uncontrolled. They detail some information received from Naukadars (captains of vessels) lately from China, respecting the eligibility of settling a factory in Cochin-China, in preference to any other station on the Chinese borders. Nothing, however, appears to have been accomplished till 1695, when the Madras Government sent Thomas Bowyear as supracargo of the ship *Dolphin*, to Cochin-China, with instructions to request commercial privileges from the Emperor. Mr. Bowyear's letter represents various obstructions to trade which foreigners were there subjected to, arising out of the arbitrary character of the government. He was compelled by them to unload his export cargo, and delayed a whole season. The Dutch, who had formerly enjoyed trade here, had been expelled since the year 1650, in consequence of a quarrel with the King, who ordered their factory to be destroyed. After continuing some time, Bowyear obtained permission to hire a factory at Foy-foe (Fai-foo), and to come again and trade another year; but did not get liberty to establish a factory, which was the object of his mission. It would appear, however, that the object was at length gained; for this year the Government of Fort St. George, in obedience to orders from the Court of Directors, withdrew the factory at Tonquin, in consequence

of the establishment of one in Cochin-China; the two countries being now at war, the two factories were incompatible: no European being permitted to trade with Cochin-China who traded at Tonquin.

The situation of Cochin-China (called by the natives Anam, or Annam, a term which also comprehends Tonquin and Chiampa,) is peculiarly adapted for commerce. It has a large extent of coast of its own, and is within five days' sail of Canton. Opposite to it lay the Philippines; Bornco, the Molucca and Banda Islands are a few degrees to the south-east, with Siam and Malacca to the westward. It possesses many excellent harbours; and the peninsular promontory of Turon (or Hansan) is to Cochin-China what Gibraltar is to Spain; with this difference in favour of the former, that to its impregnability it adds the very important advantage of a convenient port and harbour, sheltered from all winds, at all seasons of the year, with every requisite for a grand naval station, and capable of being rendered perfectly defensible by a handful of men.

These extraordinary local advantages have always allured the French, who in 1787 concluded a treaty and alliance, offensive and defensive, with the then dethroned monarch of Cochin-China, by which the latter "ceded in perpetuity to his most Christian Majesty, his heirs and successors, the port and territory of Han-san (bay of Turon and the peninsula), and the adjacent islands from Fai-fo on the south to Hai-wen on the north."

The benefits represented as accruing from a trade with that country, are the extending the sale of Europe commodities; such as iron, lead, copper, cutlery, glass-ware, broad-cloth, camblots, Manchester cottons, naval and military stores, opium, with various manufactures of Bengal to the Cochin-Chinese, but more particularly to the Chinese junks; and procuring returns

in gold, silver, pepper, cinnamon,* cassia, elephants' teeth, aquila-wood, gum lac, gamboge, indigo, cotton, and raw silk. It has been asserted that articles of British produce, when carried to the ports of Cochin-China, have been disposed of at an advance of from twenty to thirty per cent., and their value paid for in ingots of silver.

The political as well as commercial advantages attending a settlement and trade at Cochin-China are yet more enhanced, by the consideration that should any accident derange our intercourse with China, which is by no means an improbable speculation, should any interference with the Company's privileges of exclusive trade with that country be sanctioned by the Legislature, the former is the only place to which we could resort to enable us to carry on the Chinese trade with security and profit. But the causes which have hither frustrated our endeavours to form a commercial connection with Cochin-China still, in a great measure, continue to operate. The French and Portuguese keep up their relations with the Government, and are not scrupulous as to the means they employ to exclude competitors. In 1807, Lieut. Ross was sent to the coast of Cochin-China to survey the Paracels, and entrusted with a very friendly letter to the King; but he experienced the most inhospitable treatment. By subsequent information, the prejudices which exist against the English were found to be inveterate, and to have been created by the scandalous misrepresentations of the Portuguese. Perhaps a still greater obstacle is the indifference of the Government to foreign commerce. We must not assume this aversion to arise from mere caprice, or to be so absurd as too many are apt to suppose it. To encourage foreign trade is not the policy of every nation. Neither the ancient Egyptians, nor the Indians, as

Adam Smith remarks, any more than the Chinese, people of great wealth and civilization, encouraged commerce with other States, but derived their great opulence from their inland navigation. For this mode of traffic, Cochin-China is singularly well adapted: "it is intersected by rivers, which though not large enough to admit vessels of great burthen, yet are exceedingly well calculated for promoting inland commerce."

When Mr. Chapman visited this country, it was almost entirely subdued by the usurper Ignaack (or Yin-yac), formerly a wealthy merchant who traded extensively with China and Japan.* He treated him with civility, and condescended to explain to him the causes of his elevation. His statement was in the accustomed style in such cases: setting forth "that the late King, and his Ministers, having by their oppressions starved the people, it had pleased God to make him the instrument of their deliverance, and to raise him to the throne," &c. In his subsequent audience, Mr. Chapman addressed the King *de facto*, telling him that he was a servant of the English Government in Bengal, from whence he was deputed to settle a commercial and friendly intercourse with Cochin-China. The King replied, "that the fame of the English exploits at sea had reached him, and that he had heard they exceeded all other nations in the number of their ships, and excelled in the management of them; but they made an ill use of the advantage: for he had also been informed that they indiscriminately attacked and plundered whatsoever vessels they met with; that he was very willing to permit the English to trade to his ports, and hoped that they in return would not molest his galleys." To this Mr. Chapman replied, "that the first part of his information, respecting the power of the English at sea, was strictly true;

* The cinnamon of Cochin-China is of a coarse grain, and strong pungent flavour, though it is preferred by the Chinese to that from Ceylon.

* He and his brother, Quang-tung divided the kingdoms of Cochin-China, and Tonquin, between them. Yin-yac died in 1793.

but the latter was absolutely false, and must have been insinuated to him by those who were jealous of our prosperity, and wished to give him an unfavourable and unjust opinion of us. That the English were at the present time at peace with all foreign nations; that their ships resorted to almost all the ports in the known world, where their merchants were renowned for their probity, and the fairness of their dealings." Subsequently, Ignaack made great professions of his good intentions towards the English, and of his desire to procure their friendship. The object of this man, however, was to gain their assistance in his designs of conquest and aggrandizement, which he disclosed to Mr. Chapman, namely, to subdue the kingdom of Cambodia, with the whole peninsula, as far as Siam, and the provinces to the north, then in the hands of the Tonquinese. Mr. Chapman's mission was terminated in a very disagreeable manner, by a treacherous attack of the Tonquinese at Hue* (the capital of Cochin-China, but then in their hands), which he had been prevailed upon to visit for the purposes of trade.

In the year 1803, a mission had been despatched by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, with a view to open a commercial intercourse with Cochin-China, under the conduct of Mr. Lance; but that gentleman being taken ill, Mr. Roberts, one of the Supracargoes at Canton, under his commission proceeded to Turon Bay, and commenced correspondence with the restored sovereign, Caung-shung, whom he found completely surrounded by Frenchmen. Through their influence, it is supposed, the mission was unsuccessful. To the same cause, and the contrivances of the Portuguese, the failure of this gentleman's second mis-

sion in 1804 was ascribed, the reception of which was less favourable than the former. In his despatch to the Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General, he observes, "My reception at the Court of Cochin-China has been extremely different from what I had reason to expect; and such as, I fear, will entirely frustrate the intentions of the Honorable Company of forming a friendly connection with that country." In the course of his negotiations with the King and his Ministers, many professions of friendship were made; and the King declared he was willing to receive English vessels on the same terms as those of other nations. But every measure for securing the trade from inconveniences, and the allowing of a resident at Cochin-China, were positively rejected. Mr. Roberts observes, "after a full and attentive consideration of every part of his Majesty's conduct, it appears, as far as my judgment will enable me to decide, to have evinced from the first a determination to decline any connection with the English nation."

The last record of the Company's intercourse with Cochin-China, is in the year 1808, when the Bengal Government applied to the King by letter to procure payment for some timber furnished him by Messrs. Abbott and Maitland, merchants of Madras: but this application, though repeated, proved ineffectual.

Should the improved condition of Cochin-China, and a change of sentiment in the Government towards us, open more favourable prospects of connection with that country; the resemblance between the natives and the Chinese in character, habits, and opinions, especially in the contempt entertained for merchants generally, suggests the propriety of placing the trade under the same sort of restraint as that with China. Mr. Barrow says, "How much soever the monopolizing system of the East-India Company may be deprecated, and the wisdom of that policy doubted, which prohibits English

* The miseries of this unhappy country may be estimated by the fact stated by Mr. C., that at this place, though better supplied with provisions than any other, human flesh was publicly sold in the market. War, famine, and pestilence had destroyed one-half of the inhabitants of the country.

ships from doubling the Cape of Good Hope, whilst those under the flags of every other nation profit by such restriction, I am decidedly of opinion that the trade to China and Cochin-China ought never to be thrown open to individual merchants."

Tonquin is situated at the bottom of a large gulph, and adjoins Cochin-China on the south, and China on the north or north-east. When the Tartars possessed themselves of China, the western provinces of that empire threw off their dependence, and founded the kingdoms of Tonquin and Cochin-China. The aboriginal inhabitants, called Moys, retired to the mountains, which they still inhabit. They are represented as a savage race, black, and in features resembling the Caffres. The Tonquinese were almost continually engaged in war with the Cochin-Chinese, so that the frontiers of the two kingdoms are not always exactly defined, though the river Sungen appears to be the natural boundary. Upon the revolution in the latter country, the family of Ignaack divided the two kingdoms between them. The fluctuating state of affairs in Tonquin probably prevented the Company from trading there very early.* The first record is in the year 1671, when the Court approved of settling a factory in Tonquin, if it could be accomplished. According to extracts from a register of the first factory in 1672, the trade was exposed to great inconveniences; the Government was averse to it; and, in short, the factory was found too expensive to be supported without a trade to Japan, for which large investments of silk were necessary, which article constituted the main trade of the Dutch, who had resided at Tonquin for forty years. In 1673, some Portuguese Padres were threatened with torture. The King and Prince of Tonquin were at this time

described as covetous and lascivious, neglecting government and distressing commerce. Next year there was an insurrection of the soldiery, which was not quelled till they had put to death the King's brother and one of his Ministers in a very barbarous manner, and obtained from the King's treasury £400,000. For the foregoing reasons, it was resolved to withdraw Tonquin factory; and in 1679 it was reported that the Dutch talked of leaving the place; silk, their staple article of traffic, being so dear, that no profit could be got upon it at Japan.* It was discovered that the King possessed little authority in the country; and Mr. Chapman states, in the narrative before quoted, that the whole power of the Government, since the beginning of the fifteenth century, had fallen into the hands of the general. Mention is made in a letter, dated 1676, of a person named Tecketu, who governed Tonquin independent of the King. In 1681, the country is represented as tributary to China, and the trade in so bad a state, as to be not worth continuing. Next year there was a famine, which destroyed a fifth part of the population. The King also died, and his successor manifested the same repugnance to trade with foreigners: he refused to mediate in favour of the English with the Emperor of Japan; and nearly excluded the Dutch, owing to some error in a letter to him. The King again threatened to turn the Dutch out of his dominions in 1684, in consequence of their conduct at Bantam. The Tonquinese are represented to be actuated by a peculiar antipathy to the Christian religion. In 1694 they burned an English flag for having a cross in it, and this circumstance produced a dispute with the

* The obstinate attachment of the natives of Tonquin to their own manner of living, is one of the reasons assigned why the Portuguese were prevented from settling there, even when their power was at its height in the East.

* The trade between the Tonquinese and Dutch was first interrupted in the year 1664, and their factories withdrawn, but resettled at the request of the King. They were continued, not without some disputes between the two nations, for about forty years, when they were entirely withdrawn, and the trade carried on only by ships sent thither occasionally, and no encouragement was given them to settle again in the same manner as formerly.

Governor of Hien. The Portuguese were much persecuted the same year on account of their religion; and a chest of crucifixes having been seized, the Padres were expelled the kingdom. War ensuing between Tonquin and Cochin-China, the factory was withdrawn in 1696, as before stated, trade with the two countries being incompatible; and, owing to the distracted state of the country, was never re-established.

In the year 1778, an effort was made by Mr. Chapman, when he visited Cochin-China, to establish a commercial intercourse with Tonquin. "On my arrival on board the Amazon," says he, "I was visited by a Portuguese merchant just come from Hue. He told me, he was charged with a verbal invitation to me from the Tonquinese Viceroy, to proceed thither and dispose of any articles of trade we might have remaining. Having previously dispatched my writer and Mr. Moniz with a letter to the Tonquinese Mandarin, requesting his favour, and hearing there was but a small depth of water upon the bar of the Hue river, I proposed to the commander of the Jenny to go in his vessel, which might give him an opportunity of disposing of his investment. He consented; and leaving the Amazon in Taron Bay, I embarked with Mr. Bayard the 18th August. We anchored in the bay of Chimay, which is the boundary of the Tonquinese possessions; here I was met by my writer, accompanied by a Mandarin, named Ong-ta-hia, with an answer to my letter, containing the permission of the Viceroy to proceed to Hue. Two days afterwards I proceeded up to the town. Towards the sea the land was sandy and barren: but on advancing, the scene gradually changed; the lands put on every appearance of fertility, and we saw the husbandmen on the banks busied in cultivation. Abreast of the town, twenty-five Chinese junks were at anchor; innumerable country boats were passing and repassing, and the shore was thronged with people.

We landed at Ong-ta-hia's house; it was the resort of the Chinese, as his office consisted in reporting the arrival of their junks, and procuring them their clearances. The next day we visited the Viceroy. He resided at the palace of the Kings of Cochin-China, six miles higher up the river than the town I landed at. The palace deserved the name of a good lower-roomed house. The building was laid out in spacious verandahs and private rooms. In one of the verandahs I was introduced to the Viceroy. I found him swinging in a net hammock, extended between one of the pillars and the wainscot of the inner apartments. He was a venerable old man, about sixty years of age, silver beard, and most engaging manners. His dress was plain and simple, consisting of a loose gown of black glazed linen, with large sleeves, and black silk cap, and sandals on his feet. I acquainted him with my business in Cochin-China, much in the same terms I had made use of to Ignaack. I then requested he would receive the present I brought him as a small token of my respect. He then descended from his net, and seated himself upon the ground. He approved of my proposal to form a commercial intercourse with his nation, and would promote it all in his power. He then inquired several particulars respecting the nation I belonged to, as our force by sea and land, our commerce, customs, and religion. After a renewal of his professions of friendship and regard, we stood up to depart: he ordered all the Mandarins who were with him to attend me to the General's, to whom it was necessary, he said, I should make a visit whenever I came to him. Attended by a numerous train of Mandarins, who marched before and behind us in ranks, we presented ourselves at the gates of Quan-jam-quen, who is an eunuch, and Commander-in-chief of the fleet and army. Half an hour elapsed ere we were ushered into a large hall; we seated ourselves upon some chairs placed for us before a rat-

tan screen, from behind which a shrill voice called our attention to the object of our visit. He did not, however, become visible till the common questions were passed, and I had acquainted him with the reasons of my coming to Cochin-China. The screen was then turned up, and a glimmering light, diffused from a small waxen taper, disclosed to our view, not the delicate form of a woman the sound had conveyed the idea of, but that of a monster disgusting and horrible to behold. He was sitting in a kind of boarded shrine, in form like a clothes-press. He was short in stature, which was, however, amply made up to him in bulk: and I may venture to affirm he measured an ell over the shoulders. He hardly appeared civil, and received my present with indifference." After the lapse of a month, the civilities he experienced at first began to abate, chiefly from his inability to satisfy the rapacity of Ong-ta-hea, the particular agent of the eunuch, and the unwillingness of Ong-ta-hia to discharge the amount of the purchases he had made from them. The Chinese residents, too, were encouraged to harass them. "They represented to the Mandarins that the English were come to deprive them of their country, and invented a number of falsities, the most absurd and groundless. My house was perpetually filled with Mandarins, sent to hear and adjust these fabricated grievances, from whence there was no other way of dislodging them than by presents; this in the end proved only an inducement for fresh parties to visit me, and something or other was daily devised to give me trouble. I avoided every thing I could that might tend to altercation. When I represented my case to the Viceroy, he referred me to the eunuch, whose province it was to adjust all these differences, and an accumulation of injuries and insults was all I could procure from him." At length Mr. Chapman heard that the King of Tonquin, instigated by the eunuch, had ordered the seizure of his vessel,

and but for their instant flight their lives would have been lost. In their passage down the river they were attacked, in the most determined manner, by the Tonquinese; fire-boats were prepared to burn the vessel, and batteries erected on the shore to prevent their escape. They at length effected their escape with some loss; and thus ended our intercourse with Tonquin.

The kingdom of Pegu is at present subsidiary to the Burmahs, a very extensive and powerful empire, which adjoins the territories of the Company, and stretches along the eastern coast of the bay of Bengal. In the year 1757, the Pegu Government became extinct, by the surrender of the capital to the King of Ava, to whom the King of Pegu had been compelled to do homage, after hostilities had been carried on between them, with various success, for many years.

The Company appear to have had commercial relations with Pegu before the year 1656, when their factory was withdrawn.* In 1695, it was strongly recommended as a place convenient for building and repairing ships, and productive of saltpetre; but the King would not permit the manufacture of it. In 1730, the Governor of Fort St. George addressed a letter to the King of Pegu's Vizier, requesting restoration of ancient privileges, but desiring also satisfaction for a ship that had been seized, which it appeared had been the occasion of a rupture. In 1752, the French obtained the grant of a factory at Pegu, which was then at war with Ava, and tried immediately to get the English excluded, though without success.

At Ava the Company had anciently a factory, but the trade proving unprofitable, it was withdrawn. In 1681, they negotiated for a trade; but the King, though he gave encouragement,

* At an early period, the Portuguese had obtained a great influence and footing in Pegu, from their having assisted the King against the Siamese. A general massacre of this nation took place, afterwards, in city and country throughout the Pegu territories.

declined to grant particular privileges. In 1695, the Government of Fort St. George requested leave to send a factor to reside at Serian, with permission to build ships; and also demanded the restoration of a ship and cargo, which had been detained, and of all captures. This mission partly succeeded, and the Company had for many years a factory at Serian, which was burnt to the ground on the 13th November, 1744, when the Peguers overran Ava, massacring many of the Burmahs. The Company's trade was not re-established till 1753, when a settlement was formed on the island of Negrais, at the mouth of the great Burmah river. In 1757, Ensign Lister was sent to Ava on an embassy to the King, and the island obtained from him by cession to the Company, who fortified their factory; but in 1759 their servants, European as well as native, were treacherously attacked by the Burmahs, and barbarously murdered or made prisoners. These people are represented as deceitful and perfidious, and such universal liars, that it is impossible to place reliance upon any thing they say.* In 1760, Capt. Alves was sent on a mission, with presents to the King, and procured the release of

the European prisoners, and permission to take away the Company's timbers; but the King would grant no more.

In consequence of an intercourse having been opened with Ava by Capt. Symes, in 1795, Capt. Cox was sent there as the Company's Resident in 1798; but the hopes formed from the attention paid to the former were completely disappointed. Capt. Cox was treated with the greatest neglect by that haughty nation, "as the agent of a subordinate or supplicant State;" and he observes,* "it is a farce to talk of treaties with this people in the present state of their information, for their ignorance of their real interests is only to be equalled by their pride and presumption; and unless I can open their eyes to their own interests in the first instance, and impress them with a respectful awe of the English power in the second, my remaining here will only expose the British character to degradation, and subject my employers to unnecessary expense." Capt. Cox left Amerapoorah, having failed in the object of his mission, and died on his return.

* Cox's Journal of a Residence in the Burmah Empire, pp. 57, 58.

(Section III., comprehending China and Japan, in our next.)

* Cox's Journal of a Residence in the Burmah Empire, p. 386.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CHARLES BARTON BURR, C. B.

To the Editor of the Asiatic Journal.

SIR: The attention which you have been pleased to pay, in your admirable work, to the Biography of men eminent for their services in India, encourages me to offer you the following memoir of an officer, who, I trust, may be considered as adding to the number of them.

I am, &c. A.—Z.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES BARTON BURR, of the Seventh Regiment N.I.,

died May 20, 1821, after a short but severe illness, which he bore with that serenity of mind which was one of the predominating features of his character, during the active varieties of his honourable and distinguished life. Nature had endowed him with talents of a superior order, which he rendered conspicuous by an unceasing and successful display of them, in the discharge of the many important duties connected with his professional character. This appears, from his having