

A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT
OF
COUNTRIES ROUND THE
BAY OF BENGAL,
1669 TO 1679

BY
THOMAS BOWREY

EDITED BY
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PREFACE.

IN preparing this MS. for the Hakluyt Society, I have had it copied exactly as it stands, retaining the original spelling and the use of capital letters. But the contractions have been written out in full and the letters u v i j and ff (for capital F) have been adapted to the present accepted usage. Also, where necessary for the sense, modern punctuation has been employed. The marginal notes have been omitted because they were, in nearly every case, merely repetitions of the text. The illustrations are reductions from exact photographs of the originals.

I make no apology for the voluminous notes appended to the text, as in a work designed to be of assistance to students it is in my judgment of value to show how far the statements of a writer, who was an independent trader in the East, are substantiated by the official records of the East India Company, and to exhibit the views and knowledge of residents about the East in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and also to give every assistance practicable in acquiring information as to the men and manners of that period. The majority of the notes consist of contemporary quotations from unpublished documents at the India Office and British Museum, and

extracts from existing printed works have been excluded except where the remarks of contemporary writers serve to elucidate the text. Anglo-Indianisms not given or only slightly treated in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* have been traced, wherever possible, to their original source and have, I believe, in every instance, been explained and correctly translated into modern parlance. No other published record, at present known to me, covers the period 1669—1679, and this MS. therefore fills a gap in the early history of the doings of the English in Bengal, Madras and the Malay Archipelago.

In the preparation of this MS. for publication my thanks are in the first place due to Miss Lavinia Mary Anstey, without whose untiring perseverance, capacity for solid work of a nature uninteresting in itself, and accuracy and energy in research and in the copying of documents, cheerfully undertaken and spread over a period of five years, this edition would have been impossible.

My thanks are also due to Mr Eliot Howard for the loan of the MS. and for help in connection with the search for the identity of the author. To the authorities at the India Office for their courtesy in placing all contemporary information at my disposal, and when I consider that upwards of 150 MS. volumes alone have been examined during the editing of this work, I cannot but feel that the labours of those who have had to fetch and carry the ponderous tomes have been by no means inconsiderable. But in this most courteous of the Government Offices, there has been no grumbling at my voracious requirements! To Mr William Foster, Assistant Registrar, to whom I am specially indebted and whose intimate knowledge of the Records in his charge has materially

helped me throughout the work. To Professor J. F. Blumhardt for the elucidation of many Hindustani titles and words. To Mr F. W. Thomas, M.A., Librarian at the India Office, and to Mr W. Irvine, lately of the Bengal Civil Service, for similar assistance. To Syed Hossain Bilgrami for two notes in the Golconda Section. To Mr Donald Ferguson for help with Malay words. To the Rev. E. Louis C. Clapton, M.A., Rector of Lee, Blackheath, for a gratuitous search among the parish registers in connection with the author of the MS. To Dr James A. H. Murray for assistance with Old English words. To Mr G. S. Forbes, M.A., of the Madras Civil Service, for furnishing copies of Bowrey's letters from the Madras Records.

I must further express my sense of the excellence of the printing and press reading of the Cambridge University Press, and my gratitude to Messrs J. and C. F. Clay for the labour saved in consequence in the matter of reading proofs.

A full Bibliography and Index are appended to this work.

R. C. TEMPLE.

tl THE NASH,
WORCESTER.
Dec. 27th, 1904.





INTRODUCTION.

I. HISTORY, CONTENTS AND VALUE OF THE MS.

PROFESSOR E. B. TYLOR, F.R.S., first drew my attention to the existence of this remarkably interesting MS., and subsequently its owner, Mr Eliot Howard, of Ardmore, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, to whom it came by inheritance, courteously allowed me to copy it. It was known to Yule, to Anderson, and to Murray, who have each a brief quotation from it¹. The MS. is clearly and carefully written in the handwriting of the period and has been exceptionally well preserved, so that there is no doubt as to the reading of any part of it. The writer, who was a sailor, further illustrated his MS. profusely with pen and ink drawings, such as are common for the period. But crude as many of them are, his representations of ships and boats are not only valuable for the details they give, but also for their accuracy. The whole of the drawings have been exactly represented in the plates attached to the text, on a reduced scale, from photographs taken by my son, Lieut. R. D. Temple, 50th Rifles. The title of the MS. is, after the fashion of the time, unconscionably long and comprehensive, and purports to deal with many more subjects than is actually the case². The contents, however, fall very far short of the author's intention, for he is full on the subject of the East Coast of India, but scrappy in his relation of the Coast of

¹ See *Diary of Wm. Hedges*, vol. iii. p. 183; *English Intercourse with Siam*, p. 266; *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. Cheroot.

² See page I of this vol.

Burma, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, perhaps owing to the loss of notes, and beyond these points his account practically does not extend.

As a matter of fact the accounts in the MS. are of the following places :—

- I. Choromandel Coast, pp. 2 to 107¹.
 - (1) Fort St Georg's [Madras], pp. 2—5.
 - (2) The Pag[oda] of Jno. Gernaet [Jagannath, Juggernaut], pp. 12—14, and several other places.
 - (3) Careyro [Karēdu], N. of Madras, p. 36.
 - (4) St Thomas, his Mount, pp. 44—50.
 - (5) Pettipolee and Pullicat, pp. 51—60.
 - (6) Metchlipatam and Guddorah [Masulipatam and Gūdūr], pp. 60—64, 71 f.
 - (7) Narsapore, Madapollum and Pollicull, pp. 98—107.
- II. Golcondah [Kingdom], pp. 107—119.
- III. The Coast of Gingalee [Golconda], pp. 120—128.
- IV. Orixa [Orissa, a fragment], pp. 128—131.
- V. Bengala, pp. 131—234.
 - (1) Dacca, pp. 149—151.
 - (2) Cattack, p. 151 f.
 - (3) Ganges and Hugly Rivers, pp. 165 f., 209—212.
 - (4) Hugly [town], pp. 167—170.
 - (5) Cossumbazar, pp. 213—215.
 - (6) Pattana [Patna], pp. 221—232.
- VI. Arackan, p. 234 *n.* [heading only].
- VII. Pegu, p. 234 *n.* [heading only].
- VIII. Tanassaree, p. 234 *n.* [heading only]².
- IX. Janselone [Junkceylon], pp. 235—258.
- X. Queda, pp. 259—285.
- XI. Achin, pp. 285—326.

¹ All these figures refer to the pages in the text.

² pp. 103 to 130 of the MS. left blank for these places.

The MS. breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence, but this circumstance is not to be explained by the author's death as he stayed nineteen years in India and the East altogether, and this "Account" purports to relate to the first ten years only; also it is not mentioned in his Will, which bequeaths, *inter alia*, a "Manuscript book in a Green Cover" to the East India Company. The probable explanation is that the "Account" of the years 1669—1679 was commenced in 1680, and afterwards abandoned in favour of his larger MSS. bequeathed to the East India and South Sea Companies, and his Malay Dictionary published in 1701, a work that was some twelve years on the stocks, or that the latter part of the MS. was lost before it was bound up.

Though, of course, the observations in the MS. fall far short of such as would be looked for in a traveller of the present day, yet there is no doubt that the author was a well-educated man for his time, an acute observer of all that went on around him, and deeply interested in the natives of the country. Many of his observations therefore are of exceeding interest to the student of things Indian and of Anglo-Indian history, being indeed in these directions of unusual value. Among his observations the following may be instanced. He shows clearly that the word "Gentile" meant a Gentoo, and that a Gentoo was a low-caste Hindu; his definitions of *rājput* and *rājā* are most accurate; so are his name for, and his account and knowledge of, the Chulias; his description and careful drawings of native boats are among the best of the kind for this period; he offers the earliest quoted instance of "bunko" and "cheroot" for a cigar; he carefully explains that the so-called Golconda Mines were in reality many miles distant from Golconda; his notices of "Currant Coynes" and of the Cowry are among the most valuable of their kind; he is very clear as to the limits of the Gingerlee Coast, a district only vaguely described in other contemporary accounts; his remarks on the Hugli, and his carefully-drawn chart of that river exhibit his practical

knowledge of the configuration of its shores and banks, and of all its dangers; his frequent notices of *sati*, coming from an eye-witness, are important as evidences of the custom; his "Janselone" section is a unique contribution to the history of an island about which there is hardly any record in the 17th century; lastly, his references to many notable Anglo-Indians of his day are of additional interest as showing these men in their ordinary daily life, rather than in their official character as they appear in the Company's records, especially as he writes without the ill-feeling and petty spitefulness, common in his day and among the community with which he worked and associated.

II. AUTHORSHIP OF THE MS.

The author has hidden his identity under initials, and it needed a search occupying two years before the connection between T. B. and Thomas Bowrey could be proved. From the internal evidence of the MS. itself the following information was gathered. The author was by occupation a sailing-master¹; he was in the East, at least from 1669 to 1679²; he began his career there at Fort St George, Madras³; he was well acquainted with the writings of Bernier and with Mogul history down to his own time⁴; he personally knew Ambrose Salisbury, chief at Pettipolee [Peddapalle] from 1662—1675⁵; and was employed by the notable William Jearsey on one, at least, of his many private trading vessels⁶; he was also acquainted with James Horner⁷, Alexander Ogilvy⁸ and Samuel Ware⁹, all of whom are mentioned in the contemporary Records; and in Bengal he came in contact with Walter Clavell¹⁰, Matthias Vincent¹¹, and "Chin Cham¹²," the Company's broker. These facts would have been a certain guide to the identity of an Englishman in

¹ See p. 172.

⁴ See pp. 135—145.

⁷ See p. 263.

¹⁰ See p. 158.

² See sub-title, p. 1.

⁵ See p. 57.

⁸ See p. 264.

¹¹ See p. 164.

³ See p. 2.

⁶ See p. 250 f.

⁹ See p. 262.

¹² See p. 154.

India in the 17th century, had the individual in question been a servant of the East India Company. He was, however, an independent trader, and hence the difficulty in tracing him.

That T. B. was by occupation a sailing-master is abundantly shown throughout the MS. From the fact that he was piloting the *Sancta Cruz* down the Hugli when he met Streynsham Master in 1676¹, I was at first strongly inclined to believe that he was Thomas Bateman, one of the first batch of apprentice-pilots sent out by the Company on a seven years' indenture to learn the navigation of the Hugli and Ganges, in order that the Company's ships might be brought up to Hijili and thus avoid the delay of transferring their cargoes into small boats at Balasor. Bateman's indentures would have expired in 1676, and it seemed reasonable to conjecture that he had left the Company's service and was acting as an independent pilot to "country" ships. Accordingly, I made an exhaustive search of the MS. records at the India Office relating to Bengal, and more especially to Hugli in 1669—1679. After many disappointments, I at last found a mention of Thomas Bateman in August, 1675, when he took the Company's sloop *Diligence* up to Hugli. In September, on the return voyage from Hugli to Balasor, he encountered a violent storm, in which his ship was only saved "after a very great hazard," and he himself perished either at the time, or as the result of exposure². Thus, after nearly two years, the identity of T. B. was still wrapped in mystery!

The next idea was that the initials might, after all, be J. B., and that the author was John Bugden, an independent trader, commanding his own vessel, and brother of the Company's servant, Edmund Bugden. As a man in a better position than an apprentice-pilot, I considered it more likely that he would have the education which the author of this MS. evidently possessed. Then, too, he was associated with Clement Jordan, who was T. B.'s

¹ See pp. 175—178.

² *Factory Records*, Hugli, No. 4.

purser in 1676¹. Further, Yule in his reference to the MS. in *Hedges' Diary*² gives the initials as J. B. This clue seemed to promise well, and I followed it vigorously, until the owner of the MS. made it evident that the scent would lead nowhere. Mr Howard referred to the text, and examined the initials with great care, and expressed his confident opinion that the T. in question *was* a T. and *not* a J. He, however, spared no pains to assist me in the search and gave me every information possible about the MS. He stated that it came to him through his ancestor Peter Briggins, a Quaker, who, beyond holding East India Stock, appeared to have no connection with India. Neither was Peter Briggins a sailor, nor had any of the males of the family a Christian name beginning with T.

Later, Mr Howard supplied me with a clue, which eventually turned out to be the right one. He informed me that there was an idea that the MS. might have been a gift from a certain "Captain Bowry" (Christian name unknown), whose name is mentioned in the diaries of Peter Briggins. Mr Howard sent me a copy of the "Eliot Papers" containing extracts from these diaries, and afterwards entrusted me with the diaries themselves. A search through these volumes showed that Peter Briggins and "Captain Bowry" were acquainted, and that they met constantly from 1706 till 1713, when the Captain died, and that subsequently Peter Briggins rendered many services to the widow.

My next discovery was the will of Captain Bowrey³. This gave the name *Thomas Bowrey*, and contained the information that the testator had spent many years in India, and was the author of Maps and "Journalls," both of Africa and the "South Seas." There seemed ground, therefore, for identifying Thomas Bowrey with T. B. The difficulty was that there were no means for fixing the dates of Bowrey's residence in India, and the

¹ See p. 178.

² See *Diary of William Hedges*, vol. iii. p. 183.

³ Wills at Somerset House, *Luds*, fol. 53.

title of the MS. had naturally led to the assumption that the period of the author's residence in the East was limited to the ten years 1669—1679.

A further search among the India Office Records produced several references to Captain Thomas Bowrey, commander of a "country ship," who made numerous voyages from Madras between 1682 and 1688, when he sailed for England. I was still, however, without any proof that Bowrey was in India at the time occupied by the MS.

The next link in the chain of evidence was the discovery at the British Museum of a set of Charts of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, the River Hugli and the Persian Gulf by Thomas Bowrey¹. The earliest of the charts was drawn in 1681, but the lettering and signatures bore a striking resemblance to the writing in the MS., and thus supplied further confirmatory evidence of the identity of T. B. with Thomas Bowrey.

Next followed an important discovery. In the General Catalogue of the British Museum Library, I found a printed work by Thomas Bowrey entitled "A Dictionary of English and Malayo²." This Dictionary, published in 1701, contains a preface in which the author says that he spent *nineteen years* in India and returned on the *Bengall Merchant* in 1688. He must, therefore, have arrived in India in 1669, and we know from his own MS. that T. B.'s residence at Fort St George dated from that year³. This practically settles the question, as it is hardly likely that *two* independent traders, each having the same initials, should have arrived in India at such a date as 1669, have visited the same places, and have recorded and illustrated their impressions there without being distinguished in the contemporary records. If two such persons did exist, it is extremely unlikely that one should have been mentioned in the records and not the other. Again, we know that

¹ *Sloane*, 5222, 6—17.

² British Museum Library, *Press mark*, 68. c. 12.

³ See pp. 1 and 2 of this vol.

the MS. descended to Mr Howard through Peter Brig-gins, who, while keeping minute record of his daily life, alludes to no seafaring acquaintance except Captain Bowrey.

The identity of T. B. and Thomas Bowrey is also further confirmed by certain remarks in the Dialogues at the end of the Dictionary above mentioned, which strongly resemble those in the MS. Among these I select the following :—

MS.

Janselone . . . affordeth no-thing Save Some Elephants and tinne . . . and tinne they have in abundance.

There [Achin] they measure by the bamboo.

Quedah . . . The Neighbour-inge Kings vizt. Pattany and Johore.

The City Achin is . . . populous . . . famous . . . for . . . the great Traffick and Com-merce from most parts of India, China, and South Seas . . . Many Ships and Vessels doe att all Seasons of the year arrive in this Port from Severall places, namely Suratt, Malabar Coast . . . Fort St. Georg's, Metchli-patam, Bengala, Pegu, Syam, China, Java Major and Borneo, with infinite Numbers of Prows from the Malay Shore . . .

Wee make all our pitch and Tarre with Dammar and Oyl . . . One third dammar and Oyle, well boyled togeather, make very good tarre.

Dialogues.

Junsalon . . . its Merchandize is only Tin, of which it yields about Four Hundred Bahar Yearly.

Bamboo . . . the name of a concave measure, used at Atchee on Sumatra.

Kings of the Malayo country are those of Quedah, Johor, Patanee and many more.

Achee is a large City, and populous . . . the Port is never without Ships of English, Danes, Portugals, Moors, Chuleas, Chinesses and others and many Prows, which usually go into the River, all these come in their proper Seasons with the several sorts of Goods of Surat, the Coast, Bangala, China, and many other places.

Damar . . . is the Gum of a tree in India which being boil'd with Oil, makes Pitch or Tar.

MS.

Achin is now and hath a Considerable time been Governed by a Queen, ever Since the time that the discreet and Pious Kinge James of happy memorie Swayed the Sceptre of great Brittain, France and Ireland.

Dialogues.

The City and Kingdom [of Achin] has for above an Hundred years been governed by Queens and Twelve Lords.

The last extract, in which the mistake as to the length of time Achin was governed by queens is repeated, would have proved the identity beyond cavil, had not the same error been made by other contemporary writers, such as Fryer, Dampier and Hamilton.

On the whole there is practically no ground for doubting that "T. B." represents "Thomas Bowrey." At the same time it would have been satisfactory if external evidence were forthcoming as to Bowrey's movements prior to 1682. Unfortunately, this is not the case, though I have made a careful search of the 1669—1679 Records at the India Office. The reasons why Bowrey's name does not appear before 1682 may be that, for the first few years after his arrival in India, he probably held a subordinate post as mate or pilot, and, until he was in a position to trade on his own account, he would have had very little contact with the Company's servants at the various factories.

In his Will Thomas Bowrey left his widow free to keep any of his "Maps and Journalls" (except those specially bequeathed to the East India and South Sea Companies), for her own use. The natural assumption is that, in gratitude to Peter Briggins for the many services he rendered her, after her husband's death, she gave him the MS., reproduced in this volume, together with a Chinese Cabinet now belonging to Lady Fry, a descendant.

The Native inhabitants are for the most part Gentiles, (commonly called Gentues¹) and Mallabars², many of which live within the Outermost walls of this place called Fort St. Georg's³. I have heard it reported, and can well give credit thereto, that there are noe lesse then fourty thousand of them, vizt. men, Women, and Children that live under St. Georg's flagge and pay customes for all Sorts of goods they buy and Sell with in the Compasse or Command of our Guns.

They are a Sort of harmlesse Idolatrous people; they Worship many Gods of Sundry Shapes, and metles, as Gold, Silver, brasse, Coppar, Iron &c., many alsoe of Stone, clay, or the like, but their Chiefe God of all is in forme of a man Somethinge deformed, and is Set up in their great Pagods⁴, or temples, and is very circumspectly and with great adoration attended and prayed Unto at all hours both of day and night, with many Others Set up in their Pagod Courts and small Stone buildings thereunto adjoyneinge, beinge of most hideous Shapes, as Satyrs, Cows, bears⁵, Rhinocerots, Elephants, &c., with many Smooth and well polished marble Stones, Sett upon an End of 3 or four foot high, on all which they powre Oyle, and adorne with flowers, worshipinge them with Strange and admirable reverence.

¹ This and the references later on are valuable as showing that Gentile meant a Gentoo, and Gentoo a low-caste Hindu. *N. and E.* p. 38 for 20th Nov. 1680, has "the Mutineers threaten to kill the Gentue Oxmen if they bring goods or provisions into the Town."

² Later references will show that the term Malabar was applied to the inhabitants of both the East and West Coasts of Southern India. In the passage above, the author is using the words Gentue and Mallabar in their secondary sense. He means that the natives are low-caste speakers of Telugu (Gentue) and Tamil (Mallabar).

³ For a description of the "Heathen Town" of Madras, see *Fryer*, p. 39.

⁴ See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Pagoda. For the use of the word in the sense of "idol," see later on.

⁵ ?boars.

days, to which Devilish feast resorteth many very rich Merchants and Brachmans, with many Others from the remotest Parts of Hindostan, in soe much that it is very rare if fewer then 150000 persons resort to one of the festivalls at the great Pagod¹, and noe few thousands to the Subordinate Pagods in the whole Empire. The maine Spectacle and purpose is to behold their graven God Jno. Gernaet, which at Such times is carried in a Chariot (richly adorned and of curious and costly Workmanship) round the Pagod and through the broadest Streets of the towne in great triumph and with great Solemnitie.

This Chariot is of Exceedinge great weight, beinge made of Very Solid wood, very rich, with much iron worke thereon and finely Engraven, with the Shapes of men and women dancinge, as alsoe many hideous Shapes of Satyrs, bulls, bears, Tigers, Elephants, Rhinocerots, &c., in soe much that it is soe Ponderous, that although it be fitted Upon 6 or 8 Good Axletrees, with good wheels on each Side, yet requireth more then an hundred Stronge men to draw it alonge Upon hard and Smooth ground (and this they accompt the Arke of God)².

They have Small ones alsoe, fitted onely with one or two axletrees, that 8 or 10 men can draw, and doe

¹ "Festivals are kept there for many days together, [at Jagannāth and Benares] and millions of People repair thither from the other Countreys of the Indies; they carry their Idols in triumph, and act all sorts of Superstitions; they are entertained by the Bramens, who are numerous there, and who therein find their Profit." *Thevenot*, part iii. p. 69.

² "He [Jagannāth] is never removed out of the Temple, but his Effigie is often carried abroad in Procession, mounted on a Coach four Stories high. It runs on eight or ten Wheels, and is capable to contain near 200 Persons. It is drawn thro' a large Street about 50 yards wide, and half a League long, by a Cable of 14 Inches Circumference, and, at convenient Distances, they fasten small Ropes to the Cable, two or three Fathoms long, so that upwards of 2000 People have Room enough to draw the Coach." Alex. Hamilton's *East Indies*, vol. i. p. 384.

Roundels¹ Are in these Warm Climats very Necessarie, to keep the ☉² from Scorchinge a man ; they may alsoe and are Serviceable to keep the raine off. Most men of accompt maintaine one, 2, or 3 roundelliers³, whose office is onely to attend their Masters Motion. They are Very light but of Exceedinge Stiffnesse, beinge for the most part made of Rhinocerots hide, very decently painted and Guided with what flowrs they best admire. On the inside exactly in the midst thereof is fixed a Smooth handle (made of wood) by which the Roundeliere³ doth carry it, holdinge it up, with one hand, a foot or more above his Master's head, directinge the Centre thereof as Opposite to the ☉² as possibly he may. Sumbareros or Catysols⁴ are here very Usefull and necessarie for the Same purpose, which are carried 3 or 4 foot or more above a mans head,

Alone, unarm'd a Tygre He opprest,
 And crusht to death the Monster of a Beast.
 Thrice twenty mounted Moors he overthrew
 Singly on foot, some wounded, some he slew ;
 Dispers'd the rest : what more cou'd Sampson do ?"

A quaint representation of these two exploits is engraven on the monument. In all probability the overthrow of the "mounted Moors" and the skirmish related by T.B. are identical.

¹ A state umbrella and a constant source of bickering in the old Anglo-Indian days. *N. and E.* p. 40, for 16th Feb. 1676, has "Whereas each hath his peon and some more with their Rondells, that none be permitted but as at the Fort;" and p. 15 for 1680, "To Verona's adopted son was given the name of Muddoo Verona and a Rundell to be carried over him in respect to the memory of Verona;" and p. 72 for 8th January, 1680, "Six men for dutys, Rundell, and Kittesale." See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Roundel.

² Sailors' mark in old logs for "the sun."

³ Roundel-boy, umbrella-carrier. Compare the following reference in a letter from Madapollam to Masulipatam, 19th July, 1679, *O.C.* No. 4633, "The bearer is my rundelleere who you may send on board."

⁴ An umbrella, especially the Chinese variety of paper with a bamboo handle. See *Ind. Ant.* vol. xxx. p. 347. Compare the following in a letter from John Haines at Hugli to Job Charnock, 21st Sept. 1687, *Factory Records*, Hugli, No. 11, "The kittysol will take about 2½ yds. scarlet." See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Kittysol, and also *s.v.* Sombrero. In the old writers, sombrero was always an umbrella and never a hat.

and Shade a great matter, beinge rather more Convenient then the Other but not soe fashionable or Honourable, by reason any man whatever that will goe to the Charge of it, which is noe great Matter, may have one or more Catysols to attend him, but not a Roundell Unlesse he be in a Credible Office, and then noe more then one Unlesse he be a Governour or One of the Councill. The Same Custome the English hold good amongst their own people, whereby they may be distinguished by the Natives¹.

A Palanchino is of the forme above described², beinge

¹ The whole paragraph is a valuable contribution to the history of the words roundell, sombrero, and kittysol (as it is usually spelt), all meaning umbrellas of sorts. The use of umbrellas, especially of roundells, formed the subject of sumptuary regulations on the part of the Company for over a century. The allusion in the text is to a fulmination at Masulipatam during Streynsham Master's visit, 16th Aug. 1676 (*Diary of Streynsham Master*, p. 41)—"There being an ill custome in the Factory of writers haveing roundells carried over their heads which is not used or allowed by the Government of the Towne, but only to the Governour and three next principall officers and to two or three eminent merchants of ancient standing and by the Dutch only their Cheife, Second, and third who are of their Councill, and at Fort St. George is allowed only to the Councill and Chaplaine, It is therefore ordered that noe Person in this Factory shall have a roundell carried over them but such as are of Councill and the Chaplaine." The present editor recollects a certain Colonel of the older fashion in Madras in 1872-3 who regularly had a roundell carried by a roundell-boy after him wherever he went in Fort St George in the daytime. Compare *Fryer*, p. 30, who calls them Arundells.

² The illustration is of interest as showing that the author by palanchino meant, not the palankeen of to-day, but the glorified litter known as the muncheel (*manchāl*) in the Madras Presidency. See note on p. 19. Compare the description of "Palanquins" in *Thevenot*, part iii. p. 54—"Palanquin...is a kind of Couch with four feet, having on each side Ballisters four or five Inches high, and at the head and feet a back-stay like a Childs Cradle, which sometimes is open like Ballisters, and sometimes close and Solid. This machine hangs by a long Pole, which they call Pambou, by means of two frames nailed to the feet of the Couch, which are almost like to those that are put to the top of moving Doors, to fasten Hangings by; and these two frames which are the one at the head, and the other at the opposite end, have Rings through which great Ropes are put, that fasten and hang the Couch to the Pambou....If a Woman be in it, it is covered close over with red Searge, or with Velvet if she be a great Lady....Every one adorns his Palanquin according to his humour, some have them covered with plates of carved Silver, and others have them only painted with Flowers and other Curiosities, or beset round with guilt Balls...."

most end hath a Steele hooke fastened to it of good Substance. The bewitchinge Brachmans, haveinge intoxicated severall people, they Voluntarily come and desire to be hooked and Swunge¹ round to the publick View of many hundred Spectators, which is immediately done, and they are Swunge round with great rejoyceinge to the Gentues² that behold as alsoe to the parties themselves Seemingly, for they laugh and through flowers downe to the people, notwithstandinge the hooke is runne through their flesh, by which all the rest of the body doth hange, Some by the Sholder, some by the Small of the back, and Some by the buttock, as here described. [Plate XI.]

The Actors and Promoters of this Sort of Cruell Penants accompt themselves most religious. The Promoters are the wicked Brachmans³, the Sufferers the Ignorant Gentues and Orixas⁴, who thinke it meritorious, and a winninge of the favour of God and man, a poore

¹ In "Extracts from the Agent's Journey to Masulipatam by Land," given in *N. and E.* for 1679-80, p. 33, we find, "14th April [1679] Pollicull. Description of a great Pagoda there and of the Swinging Festival; some of the Agent's people went and saw 20 people hung up by the back by the skin with Iron Hooks attached to the end of a long pole."

Compare also the description by *Tavernier*, vol. i. part ii. p. 181, "The eighth of April, being in a City of Bengala called Malde, the Idolaters made a great Feast, according to the particular Custom of that place; they all go out of the City, and fasten Iron hooks to the boughs of several Trees, then come a great number of poor people and hang themselves, some by the sides, some by the brawn of their backs, upon those hooks, till the weight of their body tearing away the flesh, they fall of themselves. 'Tis a wonderful thing to see that not so much as one drop of blood should issue from the wounded flesh, nor that any of the flesh should be left upon the hook; besides, that in two days they are perfectly cur'd by such Plaisters as their Bramins give them." John Marshall, *Notes and Observations*, is very full on this swinging festival, which he saw at Patna on the 29th March, 1671, "a great day of penance amongst the Hindoos." See also Dubois and Beauchamp, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, on "Hook-swinging," p. 605.

² See note on p. 23.

³ See pp. 13 and 23.

⁴ See note on p. 130.

ignorant people that know noe better. And of all Idolaters in India the Orixas are most ignorant, and are held by the rest to be of a lower Cast then they, in soe much that the Others, namely the Gentues and Banjans, will scarsely live neare any of them¹, soe that they are, as it were, Seperated from any towns or Pagods of Note. They doe, for the most part, live in Small Cottages that adjoyne to the Sea or Rivers, gettinge theire livelyhood by fishinge or makeinge Salt². Many of them resort to the creeks and Rivolets at or about the Entrance into the Ganges, to make Salt att the dry Season of the yeare, vizt. May, June, July, August, where they make there abode soe longe, and then remove to theire old Stations, the ground here beinge low and Swampy, and much frequented with wilde beasts, vizt. Tygers, Bears, Rhinocerots, &c., which alsoe dreadeth the poore Orixas, whoe Indeed I may well call poore (and ignorant too). I have often been in theire Villages, and where there have been more then 20 families of them, they cold not all change one Rupee into Cowries, whereby to be paid for a little milke or fish (or what else wee had of them) in the currant moneys of this Kingdome and Orixia and Arackan, and withall soe ignorant that they know not Silver from Tootanagga³.

¹ See p. 41 for similar caste distinctions.

² Compare the *Diary of Streylnsham Master*, under date 8th September, 1676, p. 57, "This day wee passed by...the river of Rogues [running into the lower Hugli]...we alsoe passed by great numbers of salt pitts, and places to boile salt."

³ *i.e.* spelter. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Tootnague. The "white copper" of China is meant in the text. The same trick as that hinted at by T. B. is still played upon the Nicobarese, who cannot usually distinguish between silver and tootnague, *i.e.* German silver. See also *Ind. Ant.* vol. xxvi. p. 222 f., for a similar trick on Java by the Chinese in the 17th century. Compare the following in a letter from Hugli to Balasor, 20th April, 1678, *O. C.* No. 4401, "I request you to get made for mee a handsome midle sized Aftaw and Chillumchee [ewer and basin] of Tetanague well set out with brass about the Edges." Writing to Balasor on the 12th August, 1678, *O. C.* No. 4476, the Council at Fort St George request "30 Candy of Tuttenag in 644 slabbs." T. B. in his *Malay Dict.* has, "Tootanag or the China pewter."

Shell is as bigge or bigger then a man's fist, hollow, and are Sawed into rings, and soe worne by the people of Orixia and Bengala. Some weare them white (theire Naturall colour), and Others will have them painted redd, but both are esteemed highly as a rich Ornament.

The River of Ganges is of large and wonderfull Extent¹. Once I went through a Small rivolet of it called Dobra within the Isle of Cocks, and came into the great River, which rather deserves to be called the Sea of Ganges. The breadth of it there I cannot certainly affirme, but judge it is not less then 10 English leags broad, which is about 40 miles within Ganga Sagar, or the mouth of it². Many

"to procure what Pepper possible from Tutticorie" but gave no further directions as to the re-establishment of a Factory. Compare the following curious contemporary spellings of the name of the place: "October the 9th [1673] We fell In with the Land of Tutucroyrn." Journal of Capt. Wm. Basse, *O. C.* No. 3983. "Tentecorrey where the Dutch have a small Fort." Letter from Calicut to Surat in 1678, *O. C.* No. 4389. See also Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies*, vol. iii. p. 334.

¹ See note on p. 166.

² By the Ganges the writer means the Hugli, the westernmost mouth of the great river, but his remarks show his personal acquaintance with the Hugli estuary. In the very many changes that have taken place since his day the "Isle of Cocks" has merged, with the Isle of Dogs, into Saugor Island. Saugor is properly called Ganga Sagar, so that our author not only knew the proper name but by an accident spelt it as it would be transliterated at the present day. For Cock Island, Cock's Island, Coxe's Island, with translations I. de Gale, Island de Gallo, I. de Galinha, see Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 207. To the information there given I would add that I. de Galé occurs in two maps *circ.* 1720 and again in 1745 and 1785. In a French map by Pierre Mortier of Amsterdam *circ.* 1720 it occurs as Igale, and in a map by Rennell, 1781, as Coxes's I. I would further remark for the history of the word that *Valentyn* (1660), vol. v. p. 152 ff. has "Ilha de Gala which is one mile in circumference...and Sagor," and further, p. 159, he has "Sagor or Ilha da Galinha." *Schouten*, vol. ii. p. 142 f. has (Jan. 1664) "We saw...the isles of Gale and of Lagor [probably a misprint for Sagor]." About 1668, *Bernier*, p. 176, has "island of Galles near Cape das Palmas," but meaning the Isle of Cocks. *De Graaf*, the Dutch surgeon, has (*Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, p. 43, Oct. 1669) "Near the Ilho de Gale we went up the Ganges." In the *Diary of Streynsham Master* under dates 7th Sept. and 2nd Dec. 1676, pp. 57 and 275, we find, "This morning wee came faire by the Arracan Shoare and by the Dutch boyes, and came to an anchor at the mouth of the River neare the ile of Coxes...We sailed by Kedgerree and the Island of Ingerley leaving the ile of Cockes and the Arracan shoare

incredible reports I have heard concerninge this River, which are not now incredible to me, since I have Seen much of it my Selfe. Certain it is that this is the great River Ganges that Alexander the great Sailed downe in time of his great conquests in Asia, &c.¹ It disperseth its Streams through

on our Larboard side to the East." In a letter from Hugli to Balasor, 4th Jan. 1679, *Factory Records*, Hugli, No. 5, we have, "Wee admire the *Falcon* was not arrived with us...She being seen by the *Ganges* then Coming hither off the Isle of Cocks"; and in another letter from Hugli, 19th June, 1680 (*Factory Records*, Fort St George, No. 28) "Had she [the *Bengall Merchant*] gone as intended through the great Channell by the Isle of Cocks, she might have obtained the Freight ere the Europe ships had departed thence for England." Our author in his chart of the "River of Hugly," made in 1687, has, on the left bank, "Sagor, Cox's Ild., Rogues, River of Rogues." Sir Edward Littleton in 1704 called the place Isle of Coxe's, see Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 204. In the Log of the *King George*, *Marine Records*, No. 402 B, under dates 27th Dec. 1718 and 6th Jan. 1719, we have, "This day having Received an Order of the Govr. and Councill of a Pilott to Carry me from Rogues River to Cox's I took my Leave of Calcutta...Att ½ past 3 Anchored at Cox's in 6 Fathoms, Langtialu creek East and the West end of Sago S b E ½ East." Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 4, says that "Coxes and Sagor Islands" are more remarkable than the rest. Compare Horsburgh, *India Directory*, ed. 1809, p. 360, "Sagor or Sauger Island...bounds the great entrance of the river Hoogly on the east side, being 7 or 8 miles in length, and about half that in breadth...The Brahmins call the island Gongo-Sagor, but the natives generally understand Gongo-Sagor to be the whole of the land that separates Channel Creek from the western branch of Hoogly River, except the small island contiguous to the north end of Sagor, called Coxe's Island, which is near a league in length, and two miles broad, and bounds the N.E. side of Sagor Road."

I gather that the Dobra "rivolet" is the narrow stream shown in the 1703 "Pilot" map behind Cocks Island. In Mortier's map above mentioned occurs Dbril in the same situation, but as an Island. In Rennell's map, 1781, occurs in the neighbourhood the "Doo-Agra R.", the passage through to the Sunderbunds." The creek East of Cock Island is called by Hedges the "Oyster River," see Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i. p. 68, where we find "This afternoon [11th March, 1683] we stood off towards Sagor, and anchored between Cock Island and the Oyster River."

May not the terms Galinha, Gallo, Galle, Cock, however, refer to the Portuguese themselves, considering the neighbourhood and the depredations therein by Magh and Portuguese half-castes? In Terry's *Voyage to East India*, 1655, we find, p. 153, "The truth is that the Portugals, especially those which are born in those Indian Colonys most of them a mix'd seed begotten upon those Natives are a very low poor-spirited people, called therefore Galiinas dell Mar, the Hens of the Sea."

¹ Compare *Schouten*, vol. ii. p. 145, "The next day [17th Jan.



many Spacious deserts and multitudes of Kingdoms, and is knowne to be of greater breadth in many places Up in the Countreys of Pattana¹ and South Tartaria².

Formerly, yea not many years agoe, the Inhabitants on the Northerne parts of Bengala trained up their Children (from theire infancie) to Eat raw fish and flesh, and when growne Up Sent them upon travaile to discover the great Ganges, to find out the garden of Eden (by Order of theire Kings), but few or none Ever made returne, ergo now quite left off as a thinge Impossible to be accomplished.

Many Isles there be in the mouth of the Ganges, not inhabited more then with wild beasts³, the Natives much

1664] we again set sail, and we passed the wood called Sandri, where it is said that Alexander the Great formerly stopped, on seeing the great and dangerous rivers that he had to pass in order to get to a country which was unknown to him; so that he thought it best to limit his conquests, and he went back to Macedonia. It is held to be a fact in these countries that he had conquered India as far as this famous river of the Ganges, and that he reached as far as this wood."

¹ John Marshall, the Company's Factor at Balasor, who died in 1677, in his *Notes and Observations of East India, 1668—1672, Harleian MS.*, British Museum, No. 4254, differs from T. B. in his estimate of the width and grandeur of the Ganges. He says, "The Ganges river is in some places about a mile broad, and in many not halfe a mile, and in some not a quarter of a mile, and in two or one places about $\frac{1}{3}$ of mile broad when the water is low as in Aprill when the river is almost dry in many places from one side of it to the other, and very Shallow in many places not 3 foot deep, soe that boats have much to doe to pass, however without great trouble not knowing where is deepe where is shallow, but when the water is at its height which is about middle September, then it is very broad and deep, In this River untill come about Rojimal [Rajmahal] are many Alligators, and as far as Pattana, very many Porpoises, also towards Pattana very many Pellicans and other great birds."

² See note on p. 172.

³ Compare *Schouten*, vol. ii. p. 143, "The sixteenth of January [1664] we passed by the river of Jillsar, which was on our left. Here the shores of the Ganges are covered with bushes, thickets, and little woods, which extend some distance inland and in which there are many serpents, rhinoceroses, wild buffaloes, and especially tigers. For this reason the people of Bengala do not dare to dwell in those parts of their country nearest to the sea. Therefore, on our way we only saw one little clay fort, where some negroes were existing wretchedly enough." Compare also Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 4 f., "There are no Inhabitants on those Islands [at the mouth of

dreadinge to dwell there, beinge timerous of the Arack-
aners with their Gylyars¹, who many times have come
through the Rivers and carried away Captive many poore
families of the Orixia folke².

Some 20 leags from the Sea and Soe Upwards this
Country is blessed with many faire Villages and Markett
towns, fine green banks, and delicate Groves, with Store of
brave fish ponds, good Store of Venison and wilde fowle.

the Ganges] for they are so pestered with Tigers, that there could be
no Security for human Creatures to dwell on them; nay, it is even
dangerous to land on them, or for Boats to anchor near them, for in
the Night they have swimm'd to Boats at Anchor, and carried Men
out of them, yet among the Pagans, the Island Sagor is accounted
holy, and great Numbers of Jougies go yearly thither in the Months
of November and December to worship and wash in Salt-water, tho'
many of them fall Sacrifices to the hungry Tigers." See also *Bernier*,
p. 442 f.

¹ For many forms of the word Gylyar (*jaliā*), war-boat, see note
on p. 140.

² Compare *Schouten*, vol. ii. p. 143, "We saw on our right another
large river...which came from the Kingdom of Aracan. We there
espied some jeliasses of that country, which were in that region in
order to make seizures."

In the *Diary of Streysham Master*, pp. 115 and 275, there are
two allusions to the "Arackaners": "This day [8th Sept. 1676] we
passed by the river which goes to Chittygom and Dacca which the
English call the river of Rogues by reason the Arracaners used to
come out thence to Rob... Tannay is distant from Hugly about
40 miles by water and twenty miles by land, there stands an old Fort
of mud walls which was built to prevent the incursions of the
Arracaners, for it seemes about ten or twelve yeares since they were
soe bold that none durst inhabit lower down the river then this place,
the Arracanners usually takinge the People off the shoare to sell
them at Pipeley." Compare also the following: "This day [24th Dec.
1678] came a generall Letter from Dacca dated the 16th Current
advising... That the Arracaners had taken 14 boates about Chata-
gaum." *Factory Records*, Hugli, No. 2. In a letter from Hugli to
Dacca, 11th May, 1679, *Factory Records*, Hugli, No. 5, the Council
at Hugli objected to lend the Company's sloops "on all Occations to
fight against the Aracanners till they are Conquerd which according
to all likelihood will never be." On the 28th Sept. 1687, *Letter Book*,
No. 8, the Court wrote to Bengal, "We are not affraid...of the worst
the Mogull can do against us there [at Chittagong] while we have the
Raccanners to friend and can let their War Boats loose to prey upon
the Moors in all parts of the Ganges."

PATTANA.

A Very large and potent Kingdome¹, but longe Since become tributarie to the Emperours of Hindostan (or Great Mogol). This is a Countrey of Very great Trafficke and Commerce, and is really the great Gate that Openeth into Bengala and Orixia, and soe consequently into most parts of India, vizt. from the Northerne Kingdoms or Empires (by land), namely, Persia, Carmania², Georgia³, Tartaria⁴, &c. The Commodities of those countries are transported hither by Caffila⁵, who alsoe Export the commodities brought hither by the English and Dutch, as alsoe of this Kingdome.

The Chiefe Citty whereof is called Pattana⁶, a very

¹ Compare *Thevenot*, part iii. p. 68, "Patane is a very large Town, lying on the West side of the Ganges in the Countrey of Patan, where the Dutch have a Factory. Corn, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, long Pepper, Cotton and Silk, with several other Commodities, are plentifully produced in that Country, as well as Fruits; and especially the Ananas, which in the out side is much like a Pine-Apple."

² *i.e.* Kirmān, the Province of Persia nearest to India.

³ Compare *Fryer*, p. 284, "The next Neighbours, if not the same with the Armenians, were the Iberians, now called Georgians... Their Country at this time bears the Name of Gurgestan, from whence they are christen'd Georgians; not from the famous St. George, but because they follow Husbandry."

⁴ See note on p. 172.

⁵ See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Cafila. Compare *Mandelslo*, p. 8, "These last [the Dutch] come thither by Sea, but all the others by Land, with the Caravans, which they call Caffilas." *Fryer*, p. 120, has "When any Caphala or Treasure passes, they hire Soldiers to guard it." Compare also the following, "Some of the Raiahs yeilded [to Futtercon, *i.e.*, Fattē Khān, representative of Alā'uddin Khilji], others flying to retirements impregnable, lay in the Mawe of the Countrey, and could not be conquered euen to this day, but making outroades, prey on the Caffaloes passing by the way." *Lord's Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians*, p. 81.

⁶ See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Patna. Compare De Graaf's description of Patna, *Voyages*, p. 62 f., "This town [Patna] is very near the water as are a number of other towns of the Moors. It has a large and beautiful castle with boulevards and towers. There are fine houses,

large and Spacious one indeed, and is Scituate neare to the River of Ganges, many miles up, not lesse then 1000 or 1100 miles above the towne Hugly. There are many delicate groves and plaines adjoyneinge thereto; the Woods¹ in this Kingdome afford great Store of those deformed Annimals called Rhinocerots [Plate XII.], and many of them are taken younge and tamed². There be of them in the Woods of Bengala, but noe wild Elephants in these Kingdoms³, although the Kingdome of Arackan is well stored with them, and is but a neighbouring Country to that of Bengala.

gardens, pagodas and other grand buildings. It is situated on rising ground because of the great inundations of the Ganges so that when the water is moderately high, in order to go from the shore to the town, in some places you must climb 20, 30, and sometimes 40 stone steps. On the landward side there are a good many redoubts and towers, which serve more for ornament than defence. From one end of the town to the other, throughout the whole of its length, stretches a large street full of shops where a great trade in all kinds of things is carried on and where are to be found very clever workmen. This street is intersected right and left by several others, some of which lead to the country and the others to the Ganges. At the farthest end of the town and in the highest part of it there is a great square for the market, also a very fine palace where the Nabob lives and a large Kettera [*katrā*, a market-place] where are to be found a number of people of divers nations as well as all kinds of merchandise."

Compare also *Tavernier*, vol. i. part ii. p. 53, "Patna is one of the greatest Cities of India, upon the Bank of Ganges, toward the West; not being less than two Leagues in length. But the Houses are no fairer than in the greatest part of the other Cities of India, being cover'd with Bamboux or Straw."

¹ "We ordred you formerly to make a contract for petre with those salt men who come with great droves of oxen yearly through the Woods from Pattana ward to Orixā." Letter to Balasor, 12th April, 1679, *O.C.* No. 4596.

² De Graaf, *Voyages*, p. 73, has the following account of a rhinoceros: "The Director Jaques Verburg having been some time at Ougli on the Company's business, returned to Cassambasar. A present was made to him of a young rhinoceros which some hunters had taken in a wood, after having killed the mother. This rhinoceros was about five feet in height. It was of a pearl grey colour. The skin was furrowed and rough like that of an elephant; but it had no scales, as it is said to have. The head was large and thick, and its muzzle very large and wide; the horn was beginning to grow. This animal was a sight worth seeing."

³ *Delestre*, however, says that Bengal abounded with wild elephants. See note on p. 220.

Soe that soe farre as is reported of them to be Utter Enemies to the Elephant I doe confide in¹, for in all Kingdoms where are found the Rhinocerot the Elephant is not found wild there, nor dare the tame ones frequent the Woods, As for instance, Pattana, Bengala, and Java Major.

Many of our Countrey men and Others in Europe doe take this Creature to be the Unicorne, and will very hardly be convinced from that their Opinion, And will make no Scruple to Say that our Fore Fathers mistooke in Limning his true Shape, which, if soe, was a very grosse mistake indeed, for noe 2 Creatures in that can be more different. But I doe rather Condemne the Errour of this present age, holdinge with them not any further then this, that this is a Unicorne as it is a one horned beast, but I cannot Say that it is the Unicorne. For Example, I saw a horne of about 13 or 14 inches longe, in the very forme and Shape that wee picture or carve a Unicorn's horne²; it was of a very darke gray colour. I happened accidentally both to See and handle the Same, which gave me more Satisfaction as to the Unicorne then I had before, which Shall be Spoken of more at large in the accompt of Mocho in the Red Sea³.

The English East India Company have a Factory in Pattana, adjoyneinge to the Citty, whence wee have all (or

¹ Compare *Schouten*, vol. ii. p. 277 f., "It is also believed that they [rhinoceroses] are enemies of the elephants, and that they sharpen their large horn against flints in order to make it pierce the belly of the elephants, where their skin is most tender."

² Probably a horn of the black buck. Compare *Schouten*, vol. ii. p. 276 f., "Some have thought that this animal [the rhinoceros] is the veritable unicorn that so many people have sought without being able to find. For my own part I am persuaded that I have seen elsewhere a real unicorn's horn. It was much larger, longer, and of quite a different shape from that of the rhinoceros; what I remark here is only my own opinion, and it does not establish the point as a certainty."

³ The writer has not carried out his intention to describe Mocha in this MS. See note on p. 103.

the most part) of the Saltpeeter Sent yearly for England¹. The English Chiefe (by name) Job Chanock² hath lived here many years and hath learned the Persian (or Court) Language as perfect as any Persian borne and bred, and hath lived wholly after their Custome (save in his Religion), by which he hath obtained vast priviledges, and love of the Grandees that Sway the Power of the Kingdome, and is dayly admitted into the Nabob's presence.

¹ On the 12th December, 1669, the Council at the Bay wrote to Fort St George (*Factory Records*, Misc. No. 3), "The Factory house we desired your Licence to build without Pattana was instead of that built since Mr. Blake being Cheife att Singee and levelled by the Rains. Pattana it selfe is not a place to manage the Peter trade in, yet that being the Residence of the Nabob that Governes that Country, the Chiefe must sometimes repaire thither...if the Factory be without the Cittie, nigh the place where the peter is made, the Convenience will be very great in Encreasing the Investments and Securing the peetermen from Selling what we have bought of them to others...."

At the end of the *Diary of Streyntsham Master*, pp. 331, 332, there is an "Accompt of Pattana" by John Marshall, dated in Balasor, the 10th Dec. 1676. He writes, "Pattana lyes in the Latitude of 25 degrees and [?] minutes inter Gangem, and in Pleasant place, the Honble. Company have no Factory here, but what hire, nor doth the Cheife usually reside there, by reason the Nabobs Pallace is in the City, and his servants and officers are constantly craveing one thing or another, which if not given, though they have what they desire, yett they are not satisfied therewith, but creat trouble, and if given what they desire will be very chargeable, which inconveniency is prevented by Liveing at Singee, which lyes North of Pattana about ten or twelve miles, Extra Gangem, and is Scittuated in a pleasant but not whole [wholesome] place, by reason of its being most Saltpeter ground, but is convenient by reason thereof, for Saltpeter men live not far from it, besides the Honble. Company have a Factory at Nanagur which lyes to the east of Pattana (extra Gangem) about 4 or 5 miles, there remaynes Generally a banian or sometimes only Peons, to receive the Peter from the Peter men, which lyes there abouts, to avoid carrying it to Singee, which would be chargeable, and when what there is received in, its weighed and put aboard the Peter boates there, There is alsoe another place about 15 or 16 miles to the westward of Singee, whether is brought all the Saltpeter neare that place, and put aboard the boates there...."

"Wee exceedingly want the Peter you have ready...we would have the Warehouse Keeper see the weighing of all Peter." Letter from Hugli to Patna, 25th Jan. 1679, *Factory Records*, Hugli, No. 5.

² Job Charnock, the celebrated founder of the English settlement at Calcutta, arrived in India in 1655, and was appointed 4th at Kasimbazar in 1658. He became a Senior Merchant in 1666, and was Chief at Patna during the whole time comprised in this "Account." See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 45—100, for full details concerning Job Charnock. See also Wilson, *Early Annals*, vol. i. p. 92, note.

Pines¹, of which last they have in great abundance, more then in any Other Countrey that Ever I was in. The Figure of the Pine Apple as followeth. [Plate XVI.]

All Sorts of Provisions are here in Plenty Enough, vizt. Cocks and henns, Cows, buffoloes, wild hogge, and very great plenty of fish (Especially neare the Sea), but noe ducks or geese to be had, nor Swines flesh tamed alive, by reason they are all of the Mahometan Faith². Rice they have in great plenty³, and as I said before, much fish caught neare the barre and there Sold for little or nothinge. Here followeth the Shapes of Some Strange fishes I have Seen caught here in Queda. [Plate XVI.]

The Maine Land of this Kingdome in Generall with the Adjacent Isles are very woody⁴; and [on] the maine is very plenty of Wild beasts, vizt. Elephants, Tygers, Buffolos, and Monkeys. I have been by Severall informed that there are Lions here alsoe, but I never Saw any of them.

The Buffolo⁵ is here both wild and tame. The wild

¹ T. B. in his *Malay Dict.* has, "*Ānānas*, a Pine-Apple." See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Pine Apple and Ananas.

² Compare *Mandelslo*, p. 108, "The Inhabitants breed no Swine, [at Patani], but the Forrests are so full of wild ones, that they are forc'd to hunt them to prevent the destruction of their Rice; which being taken, they bury them in the ground, as being Mahumetans, and eat none themselves, nor suffer others."

³ Forrest, *Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago*, p. 25, gives a similar account of the products of Kedah in 1783, "At Queda there is great plenty of rice, bullocks, buffaloes, and poultry; but not such abundance of fruit and vegetables as at Acheen...Queda is a flat country, favourable for the cultivation of rice."

⁴ Compare Crawford, *Embassy to Siam*, p. 28, "The character of this territory [Kedah] in general is that of being extremely woody, marshy, and mountainous...In the range of hills in the interior, there are many mountains of a great height."

⁵ See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Buffalo. Compare *Fryer's* amusing description of this animal, p. 118: "A Buffola is of a Dun colour, and are all as big as their largest Oxen; they love to wallow in the Mire like an Hog; there are of them wild, which are very Fierce and Mischievous, Trampling a Man to Death, or Moiling him to Pieces with their Foreheads; their Horns are carelessly turned with Knobs around, being usually so ordered, or rather disordered (for they retain no certain Form) that they lie too much over their Heads to do any harm with them. Their Flesh is reckon'd Hotter and Courser than

ones are very furious and of great Strength. I have heard Some very Credible men in this countrey averre that many times they have Seen a Wild buffolo to Encounter with a Very large Tiger and worst him. The Buffolo is not much Unlike to a Cow or Bull, but are of Stature larger, and for want of haire and haveinge Such a Wild looke and great Stareinge horns he Seemeth much more deformed. [Plate XVIII.] There be abundance of tame ones in most places of India and South Seas, and the Malayars doe often kill and Eat them, but they are grosse meat and very hot.

This Kingdome in it Selfe affordeth noe Gold or Silver or any minerall Save tinne¹, yet Gold is here indifferent plenty², soe that most Merchants that buy our goods doe pay us in very good Coyne. Most or all of it is brought from Pattanie³, a Kingdome that is near neighbour to this lyinge on the East Side of this great Neck of Land called the Malay Coast⁴.

The Coyne is good gold and in Small pieces and are called Copans⁵, 3 of which Value one Royall of 8⁶ or 4s. 6d. English.

Beef, which is the most common Sustenance of the Moors, as their Milk and boiled Butter is of the Gentues."

Of the buffalo, Crawford, *Embassy to Siam*, p. 432, remarks, "The Siamese Buffalo in all respects resembles the same animal as it exists among the Eastern Islands, and unless the Rhinoceros and Hippopotamus be excepted, is, after the Elephant, the largest of all quadrupeds."

¹ See notes on pp. 259 and 267. Compare the following from *Factory Records*, Hugli, No. 4, under date 3rd June, 1673, "The Dutch endeavour to make Tin a Drugge" by sending home most of what they get from "Pera, Jehoar, Kedeas."

² T. B. in the Dialogues at the end of his *Malay Dict.* says, "Queda...yields some little gold."

³ See note on p. 266.

⁴ See note on p. 261.

⁵ See note on p. 241. See *Ind. Ant.* vol. xxvii. p. 223 f. and vol. xxxi. p. 51 ff., where I have gone fully into the history of the word. The gold kobang here mentioned, worth about 1s. 6d., was evidently a local coin.

Wilkinson, *Malay Dict.*, has "*Kobang* (Kedah). A coin of the value of 2½ cents. Also *gobang*. Possibly a variant of *kupang*."

⁶ See note on p. 114.

4 Copans is one mace¹.
 16 mace is one Taile².

Noe Other Coyned moneys in this Kingdome, Save Small
 Copparr moneys tinned over³, called Tarra⁴, 96 of which
 make one Copan.

Theire Weights and measures are the Same with
 them of Achin⁵, Onely there they measure by the

¹ See note on p. 115. T. B. in his *Malay Dict.* has, "Mas, gold" and "Mas, a weight for gold used in many parts of India." Compare Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 42, "A Quarter of a Mace is called a Pollam or Copang, Imaginary."

² See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tael. See *Ind. Ant.* vol. xxvii. p. 37 ff. T. B. in his *Malay Dict.* has, "Tial, a weight for gold used in many parts of India and China." The word Taile is from the Malay *tali*, which Wilkinson, *Malay Dict.*, gives as "a money value representing about an eighth of a ryal or ancient dollar of 60 cents."

³ Compare *Tavernier*, vol. i. part ii. p. 6, "The Money of the King of Cheda and Pera. This Money is of Tin, and is coin'd by the King of Cheda and Pera. He coins no other Money than Tin. Some years since he found out several Mines, which was a great prejudice to the English. For the Hollanders and other Merchants buy it, and vend it all over Asia. Formerly the English brought it out of England, and furnished great part of Asia, where they consum'd a vast quantity; they carried it also into all the Territories of the Great Mogul, as also into Persia and Arabia; for all their Dishes are of Copper, which they cause to be Tinned over every month. Among the meaner sort of people, there is little to be seen but this Tin-money, and the Shells call'd Cori."

⁴ This *tarra* is quite a different coin to that described in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tara, Tare, which in the 1903 ed. is derived from "Malayal *taram*, defined in the Madras Gloss. as 'a copper coin, value 1½ pies.'" Dennys, *Desc. Dict. of British Malaya*, s.v. Money, gives the derivation for the coin mentioned in the text from Malay *tera* (*vide* note on *tarrah* on p. 253). He says, p. 241, "The small coins of Kedah are of tin. These go under the name of *tra*, which is, however, only the word 'stamp' or 'impression.' Of these, 160 are filed on a filament of rattan, of which 8 strings, or 1,280 coins, are considered equivalent to a hard dollar."

⁵ There is no special paragraph on coins in the "Achin" section of this MS., but in the Dialogues at the end of his *Malay Dict.* T. B. gives an account of the weights and measures of Achin, which is worth quoting. He says, "The Weights and Measures of this Place is accounted so.

The Weight is the Bahar Malayo, Pecool, Cattede, Booncal, Miam,

16 Miams	1 Booncal
20 Booncal	1 Cattede
100 Cattede	1 Pecool
2 Pecool	1 Bahar Malayo.