

SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 2005, ISSN 1479-8484

Editorial Notes

The following account is derived from Alexander Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, 1808: I.351-393. Dalrymple has left us the following succinct introduction to the account below (M. W. C).

Capt. Alves was sent back to Burma in 1760; and on his return to Bengal, transmitted to Governor Pigot, at Madrass, the following Diary of his Proceedings.

DIARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF AN EMBASSY TO BURMA IN 1760

Captain Walter Alves

On the 10th of May, 1760, I sailed from Madrass, and resolved to touch at the Nicobars, in order to meet with a Dutch Ship, which I was informed was to sail from Negapatam, for the Nicobars and Pegu, about the time we sailed from Madrass; on her I intended to send notice to Gregory, the Armenian, at Dagon, that the Buraghmah King might the sooner get Notice of, our being sent to Negraise with Letters and Presents for Him, as I had reason to apprehend that the people about Negraise would be very shy of strangers (after what had happened there to the English) only those who might have a bad Design, and from them were not strong enough to be without apprehensions of Danger; for this reason I thought it best to touch at the Car-Nicobars, as it was nothing out of our way, at this Season of the year.

Accordingly on the 23d of May I arrived at the Car-Nicobars, and anchored there, and on the 25th, the Dutch Ship that I expected to anchor there also, she having sailed from Negapatam, on the 12th of May. I went on board her, and found one Coja Pocas, an Armenian who had been to the Coast, and was on his return to Dagon again; he undertook to deliver a Letter for me to Coja Gregory who he told me was Sea-Customer at Dagon, and had also some other Office under the Buraghmah King; but at the same time hinted to me, that it was a particular custom at Pegu, that if any Person desires another to do the least thing for him. to give a present of some kind, before the other can possibly understand him; as the Buraghmah King paid no Salary to his Officers, and what they got that way, was

what they principally lived on, and that as there was no Madeira Wine. to be procured at Negapatam, a Chest of that, with Some Cordials, and a Cast of Knives and Forks he thought would be most acceptable to Gregory, and engage him to use his Interest with the King of the Buragmahns (which Mr. Whitehill and Capt. Dawson both told me was very considerable) to forward as much as possible any Business that was to be transacted, and the release of the unfortunate Englishmen, that were detained in Slavery by the Buragmah King; On these considerations, and for fear if he (Gregory) should altogether be denied a Present, he should oppose what I was sent for, I complied in part with Pocas's request, and sent him some Medeira, some Cordials, and other little things; these with the Letter to Gregory I delivered to Coja Pocas, and the Dutch Ship sailed on the 28th of May for Pegu; and on the 29th we sailed for Diamond Island, after having taken in Water, and as much provisions as possible, as perhaps we might not be able to procure any at Negraise for some time.

Here follows a Copy of the Letter sent to Gregory:

SIR,

I take the Opportunity by Coja Pocas to acquaint you, that I am going to Diamond Island, or Negraise, immediately, having on board Letters and Presents, for His Majesty the King of the Buragmahns from the Honourable John. Zephaniah Holwell, Esq. Governor of Fort William in Bengal, and from the Honourable George Pigot, Esq. Governor of Fort St. George, which I am ordered to deliver to whomsoever his Majesty thinks proper to appoint to receive them, at Negraise; The Prtswt from Bengal is as follows, Fifty Musquets, Twenty Brass Barreled Blunderbusses, One Hundred Pistols, Five Pieces Superfine Scarlet Broad Cloth, One Piece Europe Crimson Velvet, Five Pieces fine Broad striped Dureas, Five Pieces Narrow striped Do.; and the present from Madrass, is Superfine Broad Cloth, one side Red, the other Yellow, Twelve Yards, Do. the one Side Red the other Green, Twelve Yards; Superfine Morees Ten Pieces, Do. Betelhas, Three Cubits broad, five Pieces.

There is also a Letter for the Vizier, and another for You, both from the Honourable George, Pigot, Esq. which with those for his Majesty, I will deliver to whoever is appointed to come for his; You will please to acquaint whoever may be sent to Negraise, to receive the Letters and Presents, that I shall lay at Diamond Island, and when the Boats arrive at Negraise, tell the People to make, if it is in the Night, Three different Fires, that can be seen from Diamond Island, and it in the Day, let them also make three different Fires, and shew a White Flag, as large as possible, that We may see it the better; on seeing either of these Signals, I will come off from the Harbour's Mouth, in the Vessel, and send the Boat in, to see what is to be done; I send you also by Coja Pocas, Three Dozen of Madeira, with some Cordials, and some other things; which I hope you will accept of, and shall esteem any favour you do for any of the Englishmen who are at Dagon, as done for me, and if you can possibly forward the

Buraghmah King's good Intentions to release them, that they may go to Bengal with me, it will be gratefully acknowledged by them, and will be esteemed a favour by every Englishman, who hereafter may have the Pleasure of knowing you, I shall stay at Diamond Island, waiting his Majesty's Answers till the beginning of September, but longer I cannot possibly stay.

Dated at Car-Nicobar, 26th May, 1760

I sailed from the Nicohars, as I have said before, on the 29th May, and on June 5th, arrived at Diamond Island; where I intended to have lain with the Vessel, 'till I saw the Signal, on little Negraise, that I sent to Gregory, or got some Information by our own Boat, which I intended to send into the Harbour the first opportunity of fair Weather; but the Wind coming to blow very strong from the Southward, and a very large Sea tumbling in, which made the Vessel ride so hard, and occasioned her to make so much Water, as that it we had laid there, from appearances we had reason to fear the loss of our anchor, and also endangering The Honourable Company's Vessel, so on the 13th June, finding we could not ride any longer, for the aforesaid reasons, I weighed and run within Pagoda Point, which is about Three Miles without the Harbour of Negraise, where there was a little more shelter, for I did not care to go into the Harbour of the Negraise, 'till I knew the temper of the Buraghmahns in regard to us. On the 14th I went into the Harbour with the Boat, and met with some people belonging to a Chowky, a little way up ftrsaim River, who were come to gather Fruit and Limes in the Garden on Negraise, I spoke with them as well as I could, but not being able to understand one another fully, for want of a Linguist, I sent one of our Peogle with the Buraghmahns up to the Chowky, where there was a Moorman, they told me, and they left one of their People in his room, and to go aboard and see the Vessel. In the morning of the 15th they returned from the Chowky, and hoisted a flag on Little Negraise, on which I went into the Harbour in the Boat, and found the Headman of the Chowky had come, and brought our Lascar again, also the Moor-man with him for an Interpreter, I told him We had brought Letters, and Presents from Bengal and Madrass for the Buraghmah King and asked him to furnish me with a Boat, to send up to acquaint Antony (who he told me was still Governor of Persaim) of our Arrival, This he said he would do, if I would send a Man up with her, so [354/355] I left him and went aboard to write a Letter to Antony, which I gave to Mr. Drysdale, who offered to carry it, so having sent him into the Harbour, He went up the River with the Chowkye P[e]ople to Persaim.

Here follows a Copy of what I wrote to Antony:

SIR,

By my Chief Mate, I send this to acquaint you of our Arrival at Negraise, having Letters and Presents on board from The Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madrass, for his Majesty the King of the Buragmahns (then I wrote a List of the Presents as I did to Gregory) I should be glad you would forward this Advice to Coja Gregory at Dagon, for whom I have a Letter, and another for his Majesty's Vizier, I have already wrote to Gregory, by a Dutch Ship, that I saw at the Nicobars, which by this time, if no Accident has happened to her, should be arrived at Dagon, to convince you of the truth of what I wrote you, I have sent the Chief Mate with this, who will satisfy you in any thing you want to know concerning us; I have sent you also a few Datts, and some little things, which please to accept of, and I shall esteem your forwarding Notice of our Arrival to his Majesty a favour, in case the Dutch Ship I sent to Dagon, by, should not be arrived.

Dated 15th June, 1760

On the 23d of June, Mr. Drysdale returned, and told me he delivered the Letter to Antony, and explained it to him, for he understands Portuguese., He seemed to be very glad of our Arrival, and very kind to Mr. Drysdale in his way; He came down the length of the Chowky to speak with me, and sent a Chit, that as it was very blowing Weather, He durst come no further, in his Boat, and desired I would come there and speak with him, but there was a stronger reason, for his not coming down further, which his fear suggested to him, than the bad weather, which he did not mention, and that was the Part he acted, or as, he said afterwards, was forced to act at the cutting off the Negraise.

However on the 24th in the Morning, I went up in our Boat to meet him, and after the first Salutations were over, He desired me not to be afraid of him, for the Part he had acted, at cutting off the Negraise, which he said no doubt I had heard of on the Coast, and at Bengal, in a worse light than it really was (he did not know me, or took no Notice if he did, though I dined with him the Day before Negraise was cut off) he told me, that all the Part he had, was that of Interpreter, which he was obliged to do, for the Buragmah King had sent LAVEENE, the Frenchmen, with about sixty men to him, with a Letter, telling him he had sent these Men to cut off this Settlement, by any means, no matter whether by Fraud or Force, also ordered him to go along with them in quality of Interpreter, as they had a Letter from the Buragmah King to Mr. Hope, in order to conceal their Designs the better, which He was to explain, the Buragmah King, at the same time told, in his Letter to him, that it by any means, the Project was discovered, he should look on him (Antony) as the means of the Discovery, and would cause not only himself, but every other Person whatever, without Distinction of age or sex, that had any Relation to, or any manner of Connection with him, to be put to immediate Death; This Threat silenced him, and, he says, was the reason of his not discovering the

design to Capt. Inglis, or Mr. Southby, he says Laveene had orders to kill no body, without they resisted, and then to save as many as possible, especially Europeans (which, from what I have seen, was not done out of Humanity, but from a motive of Interest, thinking the more that were alive, the more Money would be got for their Ransom) then he told me the manner of their Executing the orders they had from the Buragmah King, which was much the same, with the Account I gave in to The Honourable Board on my return from Negraise in 1759, only what follows, and is what, Mr. Robertson has since told, is true, that just as Dinner was to have come upon Table, nobody being above but Messrs, Southby and Hope, besides the Buragmahns, Antony came down the Ladder, which led to the Hall, and as soon as He was down, Mr. Robertson. and three Soldiers, who were in the Godown below, heard the Shrieks and Groans of those that were murdered, both above and below; and looking out at a Window saw Antony running as fast as he could, into the Woods; then those who were in the Godown, to whom also Mr. Briggs had got in, after being stabbed in two or three Places, shut ail the Doors and Windows, and. Went by a Trap-door to a Koom of the Hall, where, looking through the Key-hole, they saw the Buragmahns in the Hall, sitting on the Couches, the feet of which were placed on the Bodies of Messrs. Southby and Hope.

Mr. Robertson and the rest, remained in this manner till about 4 or 5 in the Afternoon, when the Buragmahns having plundered every other part of the House, came to the Door, and desired those within to open it, and they would save their Lives; one of the Soldiers understood a little of the Buragmah Tongue, and asked for Antony, but was told, He was not there, and if the Poor was not immediately opened, they would force it, and murder every body they found there; on which the Door was opened, and the Buragmahns took Messrs. Robertson, and Briggs, with the three Soldiers, and pinioned them, and about Sunsett they were ordered through the Woods to Antony's Boat; in going down the Ladder, Briggs, not going fast got a Blow from one of the Buragmahns, which knocked him off the Top of the Ladder, about 14 feet high, to the Ground, he got upon his Knees, and endeavoured to rise, but one of Buragmahns run his Lancet through him; Robertson and the others, when they got to the Boat, which was about Dusk, were immediately loosed, though in that short time, they were tyed, their Arms were all swelled and cut with the cords, they were bound with, Antony ordered them to be loosed when they were put into his Charge, and they themselves say, he used them better at that time, than they expected; The Boat was sent away with them that very tide to Dagon, where the Buragmah King was.

This, as far as Antony knew of it, was the substance of what he said, but he interlarded his Account, with many Protestations of Sorrow for what had happened, and Encomiums on His own Humanity, and Disinterestedness in the whole affair; no Plunder had he touched; which, when I saw Mr. Robertson afterwards, I found to be false, for he took many things, and amongst the rest his Silver Buckles; under

pretence of taking care of them for him, but, to this Day, he has never mentioned returning them, however these things at that time I know not of, I asked what Reasons also the Buraghmah King, assigned for cutting off Negraise; after a great many Encomiums on the Buraghmah King, and Invectives against the Chiefs of Negraise; he told me, that Mr. Hope had given four or five Musquets, with some Powder and Shott also Provisions to the Peguers; and that Gregory, the Armenian, had represented this to the Buraghmah King, as if it had been, 400 or 500 Muskets that had been given, instead of four or five; and said that the English were a very dangerous People, and if not prevented in time, he would find, would act in the same manner, as they had done in Bengal, and on the Coast; where the first Settlements were made in the same manner as at Negraise, but that, by degrees, they had fortified themselves, and brought Men, and all manner of Military stores, in, under various Pretences, till they thought they were strong enough, then they pulled on the Mask, and made Kings whom they pleased, and levied all the Revenues of the Country at Discretion; This he said was the principal Reason, though there were others, which the Governors of Negraise, had given rise to, by hindering Merchant Vessels from going to Perseen by which the Buraghmah King lost his Duties.

However every thing that could in the least be made to serve as an argument against the English, was always aggravated and put up in the worst light possible, by Gregory, to the Buraghmah King; for then, Antony said, that the Settlement at Negraise, always undersold the Armenians, and spoiled their markets both in buying and selling; which he imagined was the Reason of Gregory's acting as he did, for there never was any quarrel between the Armenians, and any Inhabitants of Negraise, that ever he heard of; on the contrary It had served as an Asylum, to several of them, in the late troubles; and to himself also; when they could be safe no where else; but He told also, that the Buraghmah King was very sorrow for what he had done, and had given orders to him, to invite all English. Ships, that should touch at Negraise, to come and trade on the same footing as before; and that, in particular, he would be very glad of our Arrival, in order to make friendship again with the English; but at the same time told me, as we had not come on the Score of Trade, but as an Embassy to settle a Friendship; that unless We came up to Perseen, the Buraghmah King would be suspicious of our Intentions; and he was sure the Armenians would take all opportunities of fomenting the Quarrel and representing us as Spys, and that unless we came into the River to Perseen, he for his own sake, durst have no communications with us; as it would be said he was carrying on some Plot with us; and as for the Letters and Presents, he could not receive them, till he had Orders, from the Buraghmah King, which would at the shortest time, be six Weeks before they could arrive: As he was at Muxaboee then, and as he must write, if we refused to come in, he knew not, how it might be taken; and that as the SW Monsoon was now setting in, we must

come into Negraise Harbour, he said, for shelter, and that if any ill was intended us, it could as easily be done there as at Perseen: On this I told him, I would consider of what he said, and left him, in order to go on board; but as it blew excessive hard at South, I was 24 hours in getting to the Vessel; though not above three in coming from her.

When I had got on board, I found the Vessel rode very hard, and made Water, as there was a large Sea from the Southward; and that on heaving in the slack of the small Bower-Cable, it was found stranded; on this, as it was not possible to lay where we were in Safety, and as we were obliged to go into Negraise Harbour, and had nothing on board which could induce or tempt the Buraghmahns to seize us, I thought it best to run up to Perseen at once, as I was well convinced, that if the Buraghmahns had a Design to seize us, they could do it at Negraise as easily as at Perseen; So on June 26th in the Morning, We weighed and run up the River, and on the 28th arrived at Perseen, where we moored, by this time there was a Letter come from Meergui Norrataw, the Prince at Dagon, for Antony, in which he informed him of our being to arrive at Negraise; and desired him as soon as he had Notice of our Arrival there, to go down and bring the Vessel to Perseen; and also he gave him a very strict order to take care that nobody molested us in the least, and to let us have every thing we wanted.

I had not the least Notice from Gregory about any thing, but that he was gone up in great haste to the Buraghmah King, I heard from the People that brought the Princes Letter to Antony; who sent an answer to the Prince, advising him of our Arrival, at Perseen, I immediately set about getting a Bankshall built, to put our Stores, and Provisions in, while we hawled a-shoar to stop our Leaks, on the 7th of July I received a Letter from the Prince at Dagon, desiring me to come along with Antony to him; and bring the Letters, and Presents with me, which he would forward to the Buraghmah King, to this, I sent an immediate Answer, that as soon as I could procure Boats, I would wait on him, as he desired; and bring the Letters and Presents with me. On the 13th I went up to Kiowk Kiow (which is the principal place hereabouts, since the burning of Pwswn, and where Antony lives) in order to get a Boat to go to Dagon; Antony told me, there was only one Boat, fit to put the Presents in, at Kiowk Kiow, which he wanted for himself; but that he would send and hire one, at some neighbouring place, for me, after staying two days to no purpose, I came down again to Perseen, without a Boat; for nobody durst hire me a Boat, without Antony's order; which he told me he had given, though on putting it to the Trial, I found, he had not.

When I was at Kiowk Kiow, I heard a Report of the Buraghmah King being dead, and of his Eldest Son having taken the Government of the Kingdom on him, and that he had sent for all the Great Men in his Kingdom, to come to Muxaboee, his Capital, and swear Allegiance to him, on enquiring of Antony he told me he believed it to be true, for that the Buraghmah King, on his Expedition to

Siam, which Place he had been before, some time, was obliged to raise the Siege on account of a fever, and Flux he had himself, as likewise one half of his Forces; and return home: but he had no other authority for any thing he said, than common Report.

On my return to Perseen I got the Vessel hawled ashoar, to see to stop some of her Leaks, and on the 28th July another Boat arrived from the Prince, at Dagon, with a Letter for me, desiring me to come with the Letters and Presents to him, as soon as possible, and the people that brought it, went on board, and took all the Arms for the Buraghmah King, by force, for I had refused to deliver them to them as I was obliged to go to Dagon myself; especially as the Prince had not mentioned it in his Letter to me neither; then; they went to Kiowk Kiow to Antony, for whom also they had a Letter, and the next day Antony, and the people that brought the Prince's Letter, came down to Perseen again, and brought a Boat for me, and the rest of the King's Presents, to go in: Antony also told me to carry a Present for the Prince, and, two or three others, that were his Assistants, in the Government the Province; who very probably would give me the Englishman that were at Dagon, without waiting for any other order, as the Country was all in Confusion, which was the Reason he did not go with me; He then told me that the late King died in his return from SIAM, about the middle of May, and that his Second Son, who was then with the Army, after his Father's Death, wanted to get himself acknowledged King, by the Generals and hading Men, but being opposed in his designs by them, who all declared for the Elder Brother, he separated himself, with what People would follow him, from the rest of the Army, and went to Tonghoe, a Province bordering on the King of Siam's Country, where he proclaimed himself King; however the Generals that kept with the Main Body of the Army, kept the King's Death private as long as possible, and sent Notice of his Death to his Eldest Son, whom they proclaimed the King, and sent his father's Body, with great Pomp, to Muxabooe, where it was burned, they also sent him word of his Brother's Behaviour, who, by this time, not finding that People joined him, as he had expected, had also sent to his Elder Brother, and, by the intercession of his Mother, was pardoned on laying down his Arms; the New Buraghmah King, now thinking he had nothing to fear, under some Pretence or other, sent for two of the Generals from the Army, who had disoblged him in his Father's life time; they not suspecting any Danger, after their late Behaviour, went accordingly to him; but without admitting them to an Audience, he made them be put to death; This proceeding of the Buraghmah King, was resented by the rest of the Army, in such a manner, by the management of one of the most popular of the Generals, who was with the Army, and apprehended the same fate with the Officers who had been killed, that they immediately proclaimed him King, on this he took Possession of AVA, with about 12000 of the best Troops in the Army, and commenced Hostilities

against the late King's Son, he also sent circular Letters to all the Great Men in the Country inviting them to Join him, and acknowledge him King.

As yet there was no knowing what turn affairs would take; however it would be a sufficient excuse for me, which ever Party prevailed, that the Prince at Dagon had taken the Presents from me by force; it would be of no signification to risque the disoblighing him by refusals, and putting those things under his Care, might perhaps get the Englishman at Dagon, released without farther trouble, so I determined to go with a good grace to him, as I found there was no avoiding it; and accordingly on the 30th of July, I set out for Dagon, in company with the Boat that brought the Princes Letter to me, and on the 5th of August arrived at Dagon, and delivered the King's Presents to Mungui Narataw, the Prince; and took a Receipt from him, tor the Particulars; I also offered him the Letters, but he would not receive them; but told me I must go to the Buraghmah King, with them, and deliver them to him in Person, and that he would send the Presents along with me, under care of one his Officers. I told him, I had not brought Necessarys with me for so long a journey, and that it would be a great Inconvenience to me to go as I was: I said this, in order if possible to get off going, for in the present Situation of Affairs in the Country, I did not by any means like it; but he would not be put off, but told me, he would send the Presents to a Place called Ledgick (which is situated on the great River of Ava, and near the Month of that Branch that runs down. to Perseen) while I went another way, with one of his Officers, to the Vessel, to get what Necessarys I wanted, and leave Orders with the Officers of the Vessel, for their behaviour in my Absence; and that afterwards I should go and join the Boat, with the Presents, at Ledgick, and proceed up to the Buraghmah King: he desired me also to provide myself with an Interpreter, before I left Dagon; otherways I probably would not get one, when I wanted him up in the Country; which, as it was absolutely necessary, I did, though I was obliged to pay dear for one; I then asked what Advices he had received about the Rebellion up in the Country, and whether or not he could not release the Englishmen to me then? he told me, that he had, that very day, received a Letter from Muxabooe, in which he had an Account of the General's forces, being defeated by the Buraghmah King's, and that he had shut himself up in AVA, in which Place he was besieged by the Buraghmah King's Forces, and that, as there was no great Guns in the Place, he expected every day an Account of his being taken: This, as I heard from every body else, was true; and, he said, as to releasing the Englishman then, though he had not the least doubt of their being set at Liberty, by the Buraghmah King, yet he could not presume so far on his favour (though the King was his Nephew) as to release them without an order, from Court, for that purpose; and, says he, as there is only those common Men here, and the Negraise Writer, meaning Mr. Robertson, you had better let it alone till the others arrive from Mergui, in the Ships we expect daily.

I then begged him to let Mr. Robertson go with me to Perseen, to stay there till my return from the King, when I should be certain whether or not he would be released; This he consented to; and said, that as he had committed no fault, either against the King, or any body else, if it had been in his Power, he would have released him long ago; that he had ever since his Acquaintance with the English, which commenced in Mr. Newton's time, when he was made Governor of all the Country below Prone, he had always lived in friendship with them, and never found reason to do otherwise; but that Mr. Hope had given some Arms and Provisions to the Peguers, which was represented to the late King, by Gregory, the Armenian with many aggravating Circumstances, on which he himself was sent some time before Negraise was cut off, to do it, though much against his Inclination, he was obliged to undertake it; that on his Arrival at Negraise he found so friendly an Entertainment from Mr. Hope, and Captain Inglis, that he went back to the Buraghmah King, with a Present, which Mr. Hope sent by him, and endeavoured to reconcile matters again; but Gregory, who had been sent to Negraise with him, did all he could to hinder the Buraghmah King, from dropping the Design of cutting off that Settlement; and at the same time represented him, as Confederate with the English, in the Designs they had, to bring the Country under Subjection, as they had already done, the Coast and Bengal; both which insinuations the Buraghmah King took so much Notice of, that he ordered Lavene the Frenchman, with a Party of Men, to cut off Negraise, and him to be put in Irons, and confined with other Criminals, and, for several Days, he was stretched at full Length on his Back, in the heat of the Sun, before the Palace Gate in Dagon, with three Timbers laid across his body, viz. one on his Throat, one on his Stomach, and another on his Thighs; till by the Entreaties of his Sister, who was the King's Head Wife, he was released, but, to this day, he has not recovered the Shock it gave him; also every Man that was with him at Negraise, except Gregory was Bamboed; I also heard when I was at Dagon, that as soon as Gregory had received the Letter, I sent him from the Nicobars, he immediately took Boat and went up to the Buraghmah King, in order to be the first, that carried him the News of our Arrival, and to take the Oath of Allegiance.

After having got an Interpreter, and a Boat, I set out on the 9th August, in the Morning, from Dagon, and on the 18th arrived at Perseen, where I found every thing as I left it; and on the 17th¹ was going to set out in Company with Mungui Narrataw's Officer, and Antony, for Muxaboee; when there arrived one of the Buraghmah King's Officer, who was sent from Court, in Company with Gregory, and another Officer, who had a Letter for me from the Buraghmah King, and told me I had best stay at Perseen, till I received it; this I determined to do, as there might be something in it, which might hinder me from going up to the Buraghmah

¹ Clearly, this date, or the one prior, is incorrect.—M.W.C.

King, and possibly an Order for me to finish what I came for, where I was; by which a great deal of Trouble and Expense would be saved.”

On this Mungui Narrataw's Officer, without saying any thing to me, the very next Tide, went away up the River by himself; On the 18th, Gregory arrived also from the Buraghmah King; and sent to tell me, he had brought a Letter from the Buraghmah King, and desired I would come into his Boat, to receive it; To shew all possible respect for the Buraghmah King I went accordingly, and he told me he had delivered the Original to a Buraghmah Officer, who, he said, would arrive in a Day or two; but he delivered me a Copy, in English, which, he said, was a true Translation of the Buraghmah King's Letter, if was as follows:

I the most High and mighty King of all Kings, the most fortunate, and above all good fortune, of all these my Dominions, Master of the three Pegu Kingdoms, with all its Provinces, Master of the Mines of Gold, Silver, Diamond, Rubies, Amber-beads, and all manner of precious Stems, in these my Dominions, now at the Golden City, in a Golden Palace, and Sliver Canopy, Father of all good Fortune, and with a cheerfull Countenance, and free Heart, together with a Good-will, towards the Governors of Bengal and Madrass.

This to Captain Walter Alves.

My Shabander advised me, of your being at the Diamond Island, with Letters and Presents tor me; as Negrais and Persaim are Sea-Port Towns, You may freely enter and land at any of these Ports, and Trade after paying the usual Customs; as I am sensible, as well as informed, of Your coming in behalf of The Company, to make friendship with the great King, my Father, who is now dead, He being informed of the Misbehaviour of Captain Hope, the Chief of Negraise, who had correspondence with the Peguers, built several Fortifications, and did not advise his Majesty then of his being there, neither came to pay a Visit, nor fulfill the promises and agreements made by The Company, his Majesty has also been particularly informed of the Fortifications that has been built there, and upon occasion to fight against him, sent People to demolish that place, and took away their Ammunition, stores, &c. Now as you are come to trade you have Negraise and Persaim (and after having paid your due Customs) You have free Liberty to trade, not only in those two Places, but in all my Dominions, and I will trade with you, and give you Merchandize, or any thing which you shall want, more than the Gnat King my Father has given the English Nation, formerly, with a good will and a free heart; that my Country and your Country may be one in a Golden Path; If the Company at Negraise, then had done no² that both Negraise and Persaim would have been theirs, long before now, but now as Persaim is Inhabited³ you may freely come and live at Negraise, till Persaim is reinhabited, for which purpose I had made my Shabundar, Prince of that Place, and gave him Power

² So in MS—Dalrymple.

³ So in MS.—Dalrymple.

to act as he things proper, for the Benefits of The Company's Interest, should there be any hereafter, as also to prevent misunderstandings between me, and the English Nation for the future, I desire you will come up yourself with the Letters and Presents from the Gentlemen of Bengal and Madrass; I have ordered my Shabandar to conduct you: here, for I have somewhat of Importance to communicate to you; and shall have whatever your heart shall wish for. He has also begged leave of me for the Release of an Englishman one Robertson, formerly a Writer at Negraise, which I granted him; I desire you also to bring up all the Goods you have brought with you.

When I had read this, and came out of his Boat again, the Buraghmah Officer, that arrived before him, asked Antony the Contents of the Copy, (to him I had explained it in Portuguese) when he had heard them, he told me there were several things in that Copy, which he was certain were not in the Original, and that the original letter had been in Gregory's care. It was true he had solicited for it, very strongly, to be delivered to him, but was refused, for which reason, he bid me taker care he did not lead me into a Scrape, and there leave me, and that I had better stay till I received the Original, before I set out for Muxabooe, and not go immediately with Gregory, as he would have me. I thanked him for his Advice, and resolved with myself not to go from Perseen, till I saw the Original Letter, which with what I have seen, would be something of a guide to me, in regard to whom I could most rely on for the future; whether Gregory, or the others sent from the Buraghmah King; and the improbable stories, and extravagant Promises of Gregory, helped to confirm me in that Resolution, after I had talked with him some time; Accordingly on the 21st the Officer who had the Buraghmah King's Letter arrived, which he delivered me, and read publickly on the 22d with much Ceremony, and as nearly as I could understand it, was as follows. The Buraghmah King's Titles, were the same as in Gregory's Copy, which for brevity sake I leave out.

In the Reign of the Great King, my Father, (who being wearied of this World is now gone to Govern a better) Captain Hope, who was then Governor of Negraise, did not shew the Customary Respects, nor perform the promises made by The Company to my Father, the Great King, but did just as he thought fit, built Fortifications where he pleased, and also held a correspondence with the Peguers, whom he supply'd with Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, &c. which being told to the Great King, my Father, he accordingly sent a Party of Men to Negraise, and Seized all the stores, Arms, Ammunitions, &c. Now, as I am informed of your Arrival at Diamond Island, with Letters, and Presents for me, and if the Governors of Madrass or Bengal want to settle at Negraise or Perseen, they have free Liberty to do so, and Trade, after paying the usual Customs, or if you have any Merchandize, you may freely enter and trade either at Negraise or Persaim (after you have paid the usual Customs) but as Perseen is now uninhabited, you may stay at Negraise, till it is re-peopled. In the mean time, I desire you will come in Person, and bring the Letters, and Presents you have brought from the Governors of Bengal and Madrass, as also every thing of your own, you have to

sell, that your Country and my Country may be one, and you shall have whatever you desire.

When I had got this explained to me, I found Gregory's Word was not to be depended on; however I took no Notice to him, but resolved to have no communications with him; but what I could not avoid, for the future; I was desired by the Buraghmah Officers to take all my Orders from Bengal and Madrass with me, also the Copy that Gregory had given me, for the Translation of the Buraghmah King's Letters; for that Gregory had told the Buraghmah King, I was come with orders to Settle Negraise again, and had brought three Ships, and great Quantities of Goods, and Stores for that Purpose; and that it would be necessary in order to confute Gregory's Story, to shew my Original Orders to the King, as also the Copy; for they were certain that the King, on seeing nothing of what Gregory had made him expect, would ask for what I came; and what Orders I had, from Bengal and Madrass; As there was nothing in either of the Orders that could be taken the least amiss by the Buraghmah King, I told them I would do so; they also, said, that Gregory told the Buraghmah King, that Mr. Pigot had wrote to him, to transact affairs for The Company, with him, and they also, desired me if I had not already delivered to him Mr. Pigot's Letter, not to do it, till the Buraghmah King had given me leave to do so; they also said the Reason of the Buraghmah King giving Mr. Robertson his freedom, was nob because Gregory ask'd it of him, but because the late King, his Father, had promised to do so, the first Opportunity that offer'd of his getting to the Coast; which now offering by our Arrival, he gave him leave to go accordingly.

On the 22d. August, in the Evening, having finished any business I could do, I set out from Perseen, in Company with the two Buraghmah Officers, Antony and Gregory, for Muxaboee where the Buraghmah King usually resides; Two or three Days after I had left Perseen, I heard of the Arrival of some Ships from Mergui, in which I expected there was some English Officers, Nothing remarkable on our Passage, up the River, but at several Places, viz. Meam, Prone, Meloone, Yangoo, and some other Chokeys my Boat was searched, and People changed, which always cost me a good deal of Trouble, and a Present, before I got fresh People, for all that came from the Buraghmah King, not one stayed with me, as my Boat rowed heavy; but Antony staid close by me, and I believe saved me some trouble, in changing my Boats Crew so often; he also was searched, and served in the same manner, on Account of the Rebellion in the Country, only those, who came directly from the Buraghmah King, were exempted from Search; not one of whom staid by me, but took what things I had for Sale out of my Boat, under pretence she was too deep, and to make her row better, and made what haste they could to the Buraghmah King with them; as I found Mungui Narrataw's Officer had also done with the Presents, when I passed by Ledgick. On my way up the River, I found the Country People, in general, by their Discourse, which was interpreted to

me, both by Antony and my Linguist, were disaffected to the present Government, and always seemed pleased, when ever they heard of a Repulse, that the the Buraghmah King's Forces met with before Ava, which were frequent; and in every attempt they made to enter the Place (though there was no Cannon in it) were always worsted, in one of which Attacks Laveene, the Frenchman that commanded the Party that cut off Negraise, was killed; I have already mentioned that one of the late King's Generals had shut himself up in Ava, with some of the best Troops of the Kingdom, for fear of being assassinated, as two others were, before they were admitted to see the Buraghmah King; they also talked publicly, that the General, in Ava, had sent to SIAM, for the Son of the last King of Ava, whom the Peguers dethroned and killed, about Ten Years ago, to come to Ava, and he would put him in possession of the Kingdom; and by their discourse, and manner of telling these things, they all of them wish'd it might turn out so; and every thing in the Country seemed to be in great Confusion; After a very tedious journey in the Boat.

On the 22d of September, I arrived at Siggeyn, a Place directly opposite to Ava, on the other Side of the River, and where the Buraghmah King had been sometime, in order to & forward the Reduction of Ava, which he had besieged, then for two Months with 100,000 Men, as I was told, and whose Batteries were within fifty Yards of the Walls, arid though there was no Cannon in the City, nor a Ditch about it, yet the Besieged kept them off with Musketry; and when they endeavoured to scale the walls, the Besieged plyed them so with boiling Dammer, mixed with Oil, that they always fled with Precipitation; some Poor Creatures, that were miserably scalded in these Attacks, I Saw in Hutts on this side of the River.

On the 23d, in the morning, I was sent for to the Buraghmah King, but, before I could get admittance, I was obliged to send a Present before me (as Mungui Narrataw's Officer had carried those I brought from Bengal and Madrass to the Buraghmah King, and delivered them some Days before I arrived, and was gone to Dagon again;) after making Obeisance to the King, in the Buraghmah manner, I delivered him the Letters, he broke the Seals, opened them and sent me to his Secretarys to get them translated; but before they would set about it, I was obliged to give a Present, to a man that could read the Persian Language for his Trouble, I found this was very necessary, or he would perhaps have translated them, in such a manner, as that I should have been no Gainer by saving it. There was a Copy of the Madrass Letter to the Buraghmah King in Portuguese, which they made me read, and had it translated and compared with what the Persian translated, and being found to agree, when the others were done also, I was sent for to the Buraghmah King to hear them read, He said he was surprised to think how the Governor of Madrass, as he said in his Letter, could have the face to demand any Satisfaction, which he would not give; for that he looked on all that were killed at Negraise, whether guilty or innocent, as born to die there, and in that manner; and that he never would give himself any trouble to enquire farther about the affair;

His Soldiers were not obliged to know who were guilty, or who were not, neither did he expect they would enquire, but, in such cases, generally killed Men, Women, or Child as they pleased; for instance says he, as soon as ever they get into Ava, I have given them Orders to spare nothing, that has Life; and to burn, kill and destroy every thing in it; though I knew that Nittoon (meaning the General) and the Soldiers are to blame; as for these People, that were not killed, you may take them with you to the Coast; the Timbers, you may also have, but as your Governors at Negraise, and the Masters of Ships, that were seized, were the Offenders, they must stand to the loss; for Restitution, I will make none; I then asked him what Crimes the Governors of Negraise had committed, for which the King, his Father, had been so much offended? He said, that Captain Heft, while Chief at Negraise, had supplied the Peguers, who were his Enemies, with Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions; and was in Contract with them, for when they took any Buraghmah Boats, the Plunder they carried to Negraise, and Captain Hope took one half, and let them keep the other; and that not till after many repeated messages to him to desist from such Practises, the King his Father, had ordered Negraise to be destroyed; I answered, if that could be brought to proof, the Laws of England would punish him with Death, if his Father, had left his Punishment to the English; I then asked him what Crime the New Governor, that arrived the Day before, or any of his People had done, for there was no difference in their Punishment;

He said, "he was born to die there;" and laughed,

for, I suppose you have seen; that, in this Country, in the wet Season, there grows so much long useless Grass and Weeds, in the Fields, that in the dry Season, we are forced to burn them, to clear the Ground; sometimes it happens, there is some useful Herbs among these Weeds and Grass, which as they cannot be distinguished easily, are burned along with them; so it happened to be the new Governor's lot.

Then the King asked me, what I came to his Country for? I told him I was sent by the Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madrass, with Presents to His Majesty, and Letters in which were mentioned every thing desired by their Honours; which, if it was his Pleasure to grant, I was ordered to return as soon as possible, with his Majesty's Answer; but had no Authority to ask for any thing, besides what was mentioned, in the Letters to his Majesty; he told me, that if the English wanted a Settlement, for trade, in his Country, notwithstanding they had behaved so ill, he would yet allow them to trade where they pleased; but that the Principal Settlement, must be at Perseen, and not at Negraise; for when at that Place, as we were at War with the French, they might come and plunder the Island, before He could hear of their being there, or send us any Assistance; which could not be done, if at Perseen. Says he,

The Governor of Bengal requires Satisfaction for what The Company lost at Negraise, and for Mr. Whitehill's Vessel, but that I will never give; as the Governors of Negraise, and Mr. Whitehill himself, were the Offenders; let him look to them for the Losses sustained; Indeed there is a good many of the Company's Timbers at Perseen and Negraise, them you may take freely.

But, says he,

You must leave somebody to look after them; to whom I will give you an Olio, or a Permission in writing, to buy, sell, or do any kind of Merchandize at Perseen," (after paying the proper Duties).

[He continued] As He knew, that if was for The Company's Interest, that they should have a Settlement in his Dominions, he would give them as much Ground about Perseen as they wanted, and I must have somebody there to hoist Colours, or else he would think that the Governor's expressions of Friendship, were only wrote to amuse him; and me sent to his Country with some other Design than was avowed; the success of which, it was his Business to prevent; I told him, I could not possibly stay myself, neither was it in my power, to give any other Persons Authority to act for the Company, but as his Majesty insisted so strongly, that somebody should stay at Perseen, if he would be pleased to release the Englishman in his Dominions, I would leave two of them as a token of Friendship, and to look after the Timbers, as he desired, till the Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madrass signified their Pleasure: This I was obliged to say, well knowing, that if I had not complied, it would have served as a foundation for them to have quarrelled, and might be attended with the loss of my Liberty, at least, by what the distant threat of the Buraghmah King seemed to insinuate.

The Buraghmah King said that he wanted Arms, Ammunition of all Sorts, Men and Implements, to make Gunpowder, and to cast Iron, Shot; also he wanted a Horse and Mare, each four Cubits high, and a Male, and Female Camel, for to breed; that if the Governors of Bengal and Madrass would supply him with those things, he would give them, in return, the full Value, in any Commodities they pleased, that his Country produced; I told him, I did not doubt but the Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madrass would supply him with those things, it in their Power; but at present, I as there was a War with the French, Arms and all kinds of Ammunition, were so scarce that they could not be got, or they would perhaps have sent him, a larger Quantity of them; and as for a Man to cast Iron Shot, there was none made, only in Europe; Those they have at Bengal and Madrass being brought from thence ready made, and as there was nobody, there, knew now to make Iron Shot, it would take at least three or four Years, before a Man could be brought from Europe for that Purpose; then he asked me, if I could engage, in the Name of The Company, to furnish him with those things, viz. Arms,

Ammunition, &c. and he would give them as much Ground, or any thing else they wanted, in the Dominions, I said, that I could [not] enter into Engagements on the Part of The Honourable Company; and, as I had no Authority, it I did, they would not be valid; but that I would inform The Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madrass, of what He said, and desired he would give Orders, to his Secretary, to mention in his Letter to them, any thing he wanted; he said he would so, and then desired again, that as I was obliged myself to go away, I would leave two of the most Sensible Men among the Englishmen, at Perseen, in the Name of The Company, 'till the Governor of Madrass should send a proper Governor, otherwise, says One of his Counsellors, "We shall imagine you are come as a Spy, and [not], to renew friendship;" on which I answered, that Spys came always privately, but that I had always said, and done every thing, in publick; which might convince His Majesty, that I had no private Orders, or any thing to execute, but what was openly professed; and told the Buraghmah King I would do as he desired, and he said He would give Orders for Olios to be made out for the delivering of what Englishmen were in his Kingdom to me, as also an Olio, signifying it was his Pleasure, that the English who resided at Perseen, should (after paying the proper Customs) have free Liberty to trade; and that no Person whatever should molest them: and that if any English Ships arrived at Negrise, they should have Liberty to trade on the same terms; I was then ordered to withdraw, and told, that, when I had any Business, I might again wait on the Buraghmah King; and if he wanted me, he would send for me: This Day Gregory was Master of the Ceremonies, and helped to interpret, what I said to the King, but the Letter to him, and the other to the Vizier was not read in my hearing.

On the 24th, in the morning early, the Buraghmah King sent me word, that he wanted the Boat, I came up in, immediately, and that he would order me another; I was obliged immediately to land every thing I had, on the Beach and make a Tent for the Present; but afterwards as I saw no likelihood of a Boat for some time, I was obliged to build a Bamboo House, to shelter me from the Weather, 'till I could get a Boat, from a Man that had the Care of all the King's; and as I could not hire one there, before I did set one from him, it cost me more Trouble and Expencc, than if I had hired one any where else, for all the Buraghmah King gave Orders, in my hearing, to get me one the same day he took the other from me; on the forenoon of the same day, viz.. the 24th, I was sent for to the Palace, to see what things I brought for Sale, opened before the Buraghmah King, I went accordingly, and though I told them, I could not possibly sell the whole, but must keep some for Presents, it signified nothing; for Gregory, as Custom Master, took one Tenth of the whole Quantity, I had given an Account of at my Arrival at Perseen (but as I had given away as Presents, some of the Goods, before I set out for Muxabooe, was obliged to give a particular Account, to whom I had given them, for, says Gregory, "We must take care, that these Strangers do not, under

pretence of Presents, sell Goods, and so defraud the Buraghmah King of his duties)" then he took for the Chop, Godown-hire, &c. at the rate of five Per Cent more, He would not except these very things, which I had given as a Present to the Buraghmah King, but took duties for them, the same as if I had sold them; there was some white Cloth, damaged, in the Buraghmah Boats, after they had taken it out of mine; for that Gregory took Customs, &c. out of the Good, which; when I objected to, as I could not sell it, was silenced, by being told in a very peremptory manner, that the Buraghmah King had occasion for more than the whole; and stood to no losses. Afterwards what things the Buraghmah King wanted were picked out, and then the Ministers took what they liked best. When I asked what price, they would give me, was answered, that on that Head, I had best say nothing, for the Buraghmah King was not to be dealt with as a Merchant, but always gave what Price he pleased, which I found, afterwards, was not half, what I could have got front other People, and the Ministers took care to follow his Example in that, and every thing else they got any thing by; I saw it was in vain to complain, so told them I relied on his Majesty's Pleasure, in that, and every thing else; at which the Buraghmah King seemed pleased, and told me that next time I came, I should bring more Goods, for that the Duties of these, were scarce worth taking the trouble of counting them tor; and said I might take away the Remainder of the Goods, and sell them to whom I pleased; on this I went away to my Tent.

On the 25th, early in morning, the Buraghmah King sent for me, and desired me to shew him, my Original Orders from Madrass and Bengal; which, when I did, after a great many Questions, which were asked to see if they could touch me in any Contradictions, I was ordered to read them, and when they were explained to the Buraghmah King, he called to Gregory, in a surly manner, that there was no mention of settling Negraise, either in his Letters, or my Orders and asked him where the three Ships, and great Quantities of Goods were, that he told him of; Gregory made no Answer, and the King asked me, where the Letter, Gregory had given me at Perseem, as a Copy of his, was; I had got it translated into the Buraghmah Tongut, in coming up the River, and gave it to Him, he ordered one of his Secretarys to send it, when he had heard it read, he asked me, if I was certain, that this was a true Translation, on which I appealed to the Buraghmah Officer, and Antony, to both of whom Gregory had explained it, in the same manner on his Arrival at Perseem, who both affirmed the truth of the Translation; on which he said to Gregory, that he had once designed to make him Sea-Customer at Perseem, according to his Desire; but as he was so expert of making himself a Prince, and an Agent for The Company, that to-morrow, or next day, he expected to hear him give himself the name of a King; and told him to go with his Comrade, on the other side the River, (meaning the General in Ava) on which Gregory pleaded his Letter from Mr. Pigot, as something to countenance what he had said, about The Company (having appointed him to transact affairs on their Part, and the

Buraghmah King) then the King asked me, if Mr. Pigot, or the Governor of Bengal had told me to apply to Gregory for any Assistance, I answered, they had not; on which Gregory was ordered out of the Palace that Instant; and he, seeming a little tardy, was dragged out in the Street: after this the Buraghmah King would never suffer an Armenian, to interpret any thing to him, but always called for Antony, who, to do him Justice, was of great Service to me, by telling me whose Interest with the Buraghmah King was strongest, and the manner of insinuating into some of the Great Men's favour, whose disposition he knew; also to whom, and the manner, to apply for the soonest dispatch of my Business.

But notwithstanding all I could do, I could [not] get my Dispatch till the 9th of October, for though I made all the Ministers Presents, through whose hands Business passed, on my first Arrival, as I was told, by every body, I would be much sooner dispatched for it; yet always when I went to ask, when the Letters would be ready, and when I should go away, I was put off with Delays, and evasive answers; there was some things of greater Consequence, which would take up so long a time, and must be dispatched first, but that the Letters and Dispatches for me, should be the first Business, they would do afterwards; I was put off in this manner for Ten, or Twelve Days, when one Evening, one of the Secretary's Servants, that used to come to my house, and to whom I was complaining of the Delays, that I was almost every day put off with, told me that it was done on purpose, and that without I gave all the Ministers, a considerable Present, each, I might be six months before I got away; for says he, the Letters want only to be fair-copied, and the Olios to be made out, all may be done in half a day, if they pleased to dispatch You.

I told him that was an Imposition, and I would complain of it to the Buraghmah King, but replied he,

What Linguist dare, or will, carry a Complaint to the Buraghmah King, against the Vizier Secretarys, &c. or if they did tell him what you desire, he would only laugh at it, and say that it was what every body else did; and why not a Stranger; for the Presents the Ministers get, in that manner, are what they live by; The Buraghmah King pays them nothing, for which Reason he will give no heed to a Complaint of that Kind; However if you please, you may try the Experiment, but take my word you'll wish you had let it alone; for to tell you a Secret, the Buraghmah King, in the present posture of his Affairs, will not quarrel with them for a Trifle; as they are all leading Men in the Country, and can be of great Service, or Prejudice, to his Interest at this time; but says he if you do give any thing, the sooner you do so, the better, and the more easily they will be satisfied; it will not be above three hundred Tekals to each of them; and there is eight in Number; besides, if you have made any remarks on the Present Situation of Affairs, here, or have any Papers you would not have seen, you had best destroy them, for I have heard that there is a Design to search your House, to look for Pafws, in order to discover, it possible, whether or not you have any Designs,

but those you publickly profess , but take no Notice to any body of what I have told you, or it may cost me my Life[.]

I thanked him for his Advice and told him I would consider of what he had said, and would see him next Day. This was the 7th of October, and that Night I destroyed the Diary, I had kept since my Arrival at Perseen, though there was nothing in it, it rightly understood, that could be of Prejudice to me; but as I found that every frivolous pretence, served to squeeze money from People in this Place, I thought it most prudent to destroy it, and run no risque. Next Morning I heard that there were two leading Men, in the Army, imprisoned, for holding a Correspondence with the Central in Ava, and that there was a Letter taken from one of their Servants, from the General to them, telling them, that he had certain Advices from the late King of Ava's Son, at SIAM, being on his March to Ava, at the head of an Army of Siamese, to come and take on him, the Title of King of Ava; which he was born to; whom, as soon as near enough, he did not doubt to fight his way to, through all opposition, that the present King would be able to make; I had also heard of a Conspiracy, to place the present King's younger Brother on the Throne, which it was said was ripe for Execution, the first opportunity; these things, and what the Secretary's Servant told me, in regard to Complaints against the Ministers (which I found to be true for I asked my own Linguist and Antony both, but not one of them would utter a word of Complaint against the Ministers) obliged me to comply with their exorbitant expectations, also I found very true what he told, with regard to searching my Papers; for the Day afterwards, Two of the King's servants came, and brought a Moor with them, for an Interpreter, and under Pretence of looking for Nick-Knacks, which they said the King's Women had desired them to ask me for, made me open [every] lock I had, and every bit of Paper, that any thing was wrote on, asked me what it was, and under pretence of shewing the King's Woman, the European writing, carried away several Papers, for there was a Dutchman, that understood a little of English, and could read some words (that they had taken with Mr. Bornean) to him, I heard afterwards, they shewed them, in order to find out, whether or not I had told them truth, with regard to what was wrote on them; but his Story and mine agreeing, they were returned to me, the Papers were my sailing Orders from Bengal and Madrass, also a Europe Letter from a Relation, and the other happened to be a Copy of the Letter, I sent to Gregory from the Nicobars; I was told, that when either the Governer of Madrass or Bengal wrote again to the King, he desired that the Letters might be wrote in English, for as neither I nor the Buragmahs understood the Persiam Language, the People that did, and were employed to read the Letters, had it in their Power to keep the Governors of Bengal and Madrass from being rightly understood by his Majesty, whereas if they were wrote in English, as most of them understood Portugese, as also many of his subjects, it would not be in the Power of these People to make misunderstandings so easily.

On the 9th of October, in the Morning, I carried Presents to all the Ministers, in proportion to their Stations (that if possible I might get away before any new Disturbances happened, which might probably effectually hinder me getting away at all) I was then told, that my Ollits for the release of the Englishman, Chokeys, &c. as also the King's Letters would be ready the next day, and they desired me to carry a Present on the morrow forenoon to the Buraghmah King, when I would get his Letters, &c. but was told that I must pay for writing and gilding the King's Letters, and also for their Cases, likewise forty Tikals, a head for the Englishman's Ollios, or that, as this was a Perquisite of the Under-Secretary's, that they could not possibly be finished without, as I was well convinced of the truth of what the Principal Secretary told me, with regard to the delays that would be occasioned, by not complying with these Demands, I thought it best to make no hesitation; but immediately paid the money, and next day in the forenoon, viz. 10th October, I went to the Palace with a Present to the Buraghmah King, and received his Letters, got all the Ollios, and took leave of him also, and in the Evening set out for Perseem in Company with Antony, who was included in this Passport I had for the Chokeys. I had forgot to mention, that on my way up the River, when I was at Prone, I saw the Noqueda of the *Fame*, that was seized at Dagon about two years ago, he told me the Buraghmah King had also given him his Liberty on the news of our Arrival, and a Letter from the English Chief at Surat, which he shewed me, but on my way down the River, I heard, on my Arrival at Prone, that he died a few Days after I had seen him, and that every thing that belonged to him was seized for the Buraghmah King; this his Servant told me, who had also obtained his Liberty, at the same time his master did, and came from Prone to Bengal with me When at Siggeyn, two days after the feast of the Candles, which was about the 27th of September, it is customary for every body to carry a present and congratulate the Buraghmah King as in England at the new year; I also went according to the Custom, at which the King seemed much pleased, and told me, he would make me a present of any thing I asked him for, whether an Elephant, a Horse, or what else I liked best: I had seen at Pagan, when there, (which I had forgot to mention) three Dutchmen that were Slaws, one a Surgeon, and two Soldiers, that belonged to a Settlement the Dutch had at Siam, and which the Buraghmahs took and plundered (in the same manner they had done Negraise) in their late Expedition, there were in it thirteen Europeans in all, which were killed, only these three, who were at Dagon in a very miserable situation.

When I saw the Buraghmah King wanted I should ask something of him, I begged that he would release these three Men, and let them go with me to Bengal, from whence they could go to their own countrymen again; this the King without Hesitation consented to, and gave Orders that an Ollio, for their Release, should be made out, and given to me with those for the Release of the Englishman, but a Dutchman, who was formerly Captain Sutherland's mate, and run away from him,

on being detected embezzling his Effects, and had been with the Buraghmahs ever since, what his Reasons were I know not, but he went to one of the Generals and told him, that those Dutchman, the King was giving their Liberty to, could be of more Service to him, than all the Europeans in the Kingdom, for they understood making of Gunpowder; this the General went immediately, and told the King of, who afterwards sent for me, and said that he was in great Want of Gunpowder, and had nobody that could make any good, tor which reason he could not be so good as his Word, in releasing the three Dutchman, as he was told that they could make Gunpowder, better than any body he had in his Kingdom; and then immediately ordered them to be sent for, from Dagon, this Message and order the Dutchman begged leave to execute, and was accordingly sent away to Dagon for them; but on my going to Dagon, for what Englishman were there, I heard that two of them, the Surgeon and one of the Soldiers, were dead, and that the Prince of Dagon had put the other on board a Ship, he was fitting out to send to the Nicobars.

All the Englishmen I could hear of in the Country, which were only five, I got an order for their Release, by name they were; Mr. Robertson, and one Lewis, who belonged to the train, of the Negraise People, Mr. Helass, the chief mate, and Richard Lee, a Quartermaster of the Fame, and one Richard Battle, that belonged to Mr. Whitehill's Vessel, all the rest died, in the late Expedition with the Buraghmahs to SIAM, at least none of those mentioned, nor any body else I saw, know to the contrary; and according to the Buraghmah King's earnest request, I pitched on Messrs. Robertson and Helass to stay at Perseem till the Honourable the Governors of Bengal or Madrass signified their Pleasure to the contrary; and got on Olio for them, by Name, for that purpose; signifying that it was his Majesty's pleasure, that nobody should in the least molest them, while they conformed to the Customs of the Country; also that they might take any of the Honourable Company's Timbers, wherever they found them, in order to have them in readiness, if the Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madrass should think think proper to send for them, and continue in Friendship with his Majesty.

On the 13th October, I arrived at Yangoe, on my way down the River, where I met with two of the Englishmen, viz. Lewis, and Lee, who were on their way to the Buraghmah King, being sent by the Prince, at Dagon, in order to assist at the Siege, of Ava, I shewed the Buraghmah King's Order for their Release, to the man in whose charge they were, but he could not deliver them to me, he said, as the order was directed to the Prince at Dagon, who had not seen it, and had given him a strict order, to cany them to the Buraghmah King, so finding I could make nothing of this fellow, I determined to send up my Linguist again to Siggeyn, to procure an Order for this man to deliver them to me, accordingly on the 14th I hired a boat, and wrote three Letters, one to the principal Secretary, one to the Vizier, and another to a relation of the Buraghmah King, letting them know the reason of my troubling them again, and begging they would procure an Order for this man's

delivering the two Englishman to me, if he should not be arrived at Siggeyn when my Linguist left it; with these three Letters, I was obliged to send a present with each, as, by Experience, I knew, that nothing could be done without; and on the 15th the Linguist set out accordingly for Siggeyn. As my interpreter was gone up, I dropt down the River, with the Stream, in order to give him time to overtake me again, before I passed Prone, having resolved to go to Dagon first, rather than Perseem, in order to get the Englishmen that were there, for fear they should be sent up to Ava, as Lewis and Lee, were, which would put it out of my power to get them released at present, and to send a Boat with a Letter from Prone, to Perseem, to advise my Officers of my coming, and to desire them to take in as many of the Honourable Company's Timbers, as the Vessel would carry.

On the 20th of October, I arrived at Prone, and on the 23d. the Linguist, with Lewis and Lee, arrived; he having got an Order, and taken them out of the boat from Dagon, before she arrived at Siggeyn, however I was obliged to stay at Prone, till the 25th. on account of Antony's being sick, who was included in the passport for the Chokey's with me, and which he took care to keep, for fear I should leave him; Antony being a little better, on the 26th, in the morning, I prevailed on him to set out, and about 5 in the Evening, of the same day, were much surprised to see a large town called Meam, all in Flames, and a Crowd of People on the Shear at a Village, about 5 Miles above it, calling to us to come ashoar; we went accordingly, and they told us, that the Governor of Meam, who was at Siggeyn when I left it, and who had assisted my Linguist to procure an order for the two Englishman I sent him back for, had fled, from Court with three others, one of whom was a General and had arrived at Meam the night before, to which they immediately set fire, and fled into the woods, what their intentions were they knew not, but they had spread a Report, that one of the Buraghmah King's Brothers had rebelled at Siggeyn, whether true or false they could not tell, but they called to us, to advise us of the Danger, this information made me lay aside my Design of going to Dagon first, and proceed for Perseem, as fast as possible, not knowing what might follow the burning of Meam, so I gave the boat people extraordinary pay, and made them row Night and Day, till I arrived at Perseem, which was on the 28th at Night. Having given orders to rigg the Vessel, and get her ready to drop down as fast as possible, the next Day I went up to Kiowk Kiow to procure rice and provisions for our passage, and finding by the report of every body, that those who had burnt Meam, had not in the least molested any body else, but concealed themselves in the Woods, I hired a Boat to go to Dagon, for the other two Englishman that were there, as I knew I could be back before the Vessel would be loaded, and, Provisions procured, which might be done in my Absence; and set out from Perseem on the 31st October, and on the 4th November arrived at Dagon; the same Day I delivered the Buraghmah King's Order for the release of the Englishmen the Prince, which he immediately complied with, and desired me to

stay a Day, or two, for some Letters, that he would write to the Governors of Bengal and Madrass; he then asked me to give a Pass for the Ship that was fitting out for the Nicobars, I told him I had no authority to give a Pass; and that if I took upon me to do so, it could not be of the least service to them, but rather hurt: and besides, a Thing of that kind would be of great prejudice to me, as I had not the least authority for it, then says he you must give a Certificate, that the Buraghmah King has released all the Englishmen his Kingdom, and wants to live in friendship with the English, for in all probability they may meet with some English Ship, who may take them to the Coast, and detain them till the News from you arrive, by which means, we shall at least lose a Voyage to the Nicobars, before the dry Season is done; as this could not well be refused, I accordingly gave him a Certificate as he desired, and he got a Mastese that understands English to tell him what I had wrote in it.

When at Dagon I was informed that there was a Portuguese Man who had put into Mergui (when the Buraghmahs were there, in a Malaye Proa, he had no Pass, but said he came from Padang) on the West Coast of Sumatra, and on his passage into the Straits of Malacca he fell in with some Malays Prows, who attacked him, and his Stern taking [fire] in the Engagement, occasioned the loss of all his papers; he had on board a very handsome sett of Silver handled Knives and forks, with table and tea spoons, marked with a crest of a Hart's head, about 4000 Dollars, in Specie, also some Gold, several suits of laced Cloaths, with Linnen &c. in proportion, several En[g]lish Musquets and other things, the Shirts were marked TC. and some PS. there was also several English books, on some of which was wrote the names Ricksby, and on others, Charles Mears, 1759, none of which he could read, nor any body else he had on board, he had also a Hadley's Quadrant, and a set of French Charts, the uses of which he knew not; the Buraghmahs had not troubled him with many Enquiries, but siezed him and his Vessel, and brought them to Dagon with them; where he now was, the Effects were sent up to the Buraghmah King, before my Arrival there, on hearing this I went to the Prince, and desired he would be so good as to send for this man, and let me examine him before him, as I had reason to think from the above account, (which I told him) he had robbed some English Vessel, where he got those things, and possibly had also murdered the Owners; he was accordingly sent for, and the Prince desired me to make what enquiries I thought proper, he told me his name was Joseph de Cruz, but that he generally went by the Name of Jansy, and, after a good many contradictory Storys, he confessed that he was in an English Sloop, on the West Coast of Sumatra, and sailed from Negapatam the, last Place she left on the Coast sometime in 1759, and the Captain's Name was Ford or something like it, they had been at Tapfanooly, and had carried Mr. Hall, who was Chief there, down to Natall; Mr. Hall and the Captain went ashoar immediately on their arrival there, and in the Evening three European Soldiers came off, with an order to the officer

on board, informing him that there was Four French Ships on the Coast, which they hourly expected, and ordering him to weigh as soon as possible and proceed to some place on Pulo Nias, and there lay for further orders, this was immediately complied with; and at that Place, the Lascars, that were on board, took an Opportunity to murder the Officer and two of the Soldiers, the other was a Frenchman whom they spared, then this Fellow carried the Sloop along shoar to some of the Islands off Achin Head, where they took some Malays Prows, and divided the Effects, that were on board the Sloop (which they sunk or burnt) into three Parts, viz. one for this fellow, who was Gunner, one for the Serang, and another for the Tindal, each of whom put their Plunder into a Prow, and went where their Inclinations led them; this Fellow intended for Junksielon, but fell into Margin, in April last; where the others went to he said he knew not; the Soldier they had not murdered, and who came with this fellow, was sent up to Ava, on his arrival at Dagon, I did not see him or I would have enquired of him also about this Affair; these were all the Circumstances I could get from this fellow. When he had done his Story, and it was explained to the Prince, I desired, as this fellow had, by his own Confession, murdered the Commander of an English Vessel, and ran away with her, that he would be pleased to deliver him to me, to carry to Bengal, that he might be tryed by the English Laws, and punished accordingly; the Prince, said he could not comply with my request, without first acquainting the Buraghmah King, which would take up much time before he could get an answer, but that he would detain him Prisoner, till he acquainted the Buraghmah King, and till he heard from the Governor of Bengal or Madrass, to whom he would write about it.

On the 7th November, Gregory arrived at Dagon from Siggeyn, with a Letter from the Buraghmah King, informing the Prince, that he had appointed him to act under the Sea-Customer, when he should be made at Perseem, and to let him have one hundred Families from Dagon, to clear away and rebuild Perseem; but the Prince did not give the least Notice to it, and told Gregory, that he might go again and tell the Buraghmah King, he would not let him [have] one Man from Dagon; neither would he suffer him to carry any of his Effects out of the Town, as he expected the Peguers would be coming that way soon, as it would discourage those that staid behind; that he did to thwart Gregory, I believe, for on my falling sick there, and applying to him for a more convenient boat, he immediately sent one of his people to hire one for me, and gave orders that I might have as many People as I warned.

On the 9th November, having got the Prince's Letters, for the Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madrass, I set out for Perseem, with Mr. Helass and Richard Battle in Company with me, in the boat, I came from Perseem in, when I arrived on the 14th, I found that as yet there was not Rice enough provided for a two months passage, which we might probably meet with, at this Season of the year, to Bengal, so having procured that and every [thing] else proper that we could

get, we left Perseem on the 22d, and having got safe down the River, we sailed, from Negraise, on the 30th November, and as, at this Season of the Year, we must be obliged to work up in anchor ground, could not hoist the boat in, she being leaky I was obliged to keep two profit in her, to throw the water out, and on the 3d of December in the night, an unexpected gale of wind coming on from these, and increasing with great Violence, so that at 8 in the morning, not thinking the People safe in the boat, tried to hawl her up to take them out, but at that time, an excessive hard squall coming on, and a Sea breaking on the boat, filled her and washed the two People out of her, and as we durst not bring the Vessel to them, and could not hawl the boat up, was obliged to cut her away: nothing else remarkable happened on the Passage from Negraise.

On the 7th December, we met with the *Calcutta Snow*, Captain Baillie, from Madrass, who kept us Company into Ballasore Road, where we anchored on the 10th December. I left at Perseem Messrs. James Robertson and John Helass, to stay there till the Honourable the Governors of Bengal or Madrass, or either of them, should give Orders to the Contrary, for I could not possibly avoid leaving them, as it was urged in such a manner to me, that I thought I had reason to apprehend bad consequences if I refused it, and if not approved off by their Honours, any Vessel passing that way, by only anchor off Negraise, may very easily and without trouble bring them away; as they will always be prepared for going at a Minute's Warning, and will be sure to be on board any Vessel that anchor near that place, as the Buragmahs will desire them to go, in order to bring Ships to Perseem.

With regard to disturbances in the Country, as there is nothing to be gained by molesting them, and all Parties want assistance, they will certainly be full as safe, if not safer, than I was in going up to the Buragmah King, when I was sent for; at that time all the common people wished earnestly that there was an European Settlement that was able to protect them from the present Oppressions they suffer in the Country; and if I may judge from appearances, every Body of Figure, I had any Conversation with, and has no Dependance on the present reigning Family, would be glad of a change of Government; and for that Reason, as they imagine that the English has it more in their Power to be of Service, or Prejudice, to them than any other Nation, as there is no profit to be got, they will not openly hurt them, and privately none but the Armenians will, whose Interest in that Country is very low at present.