

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

Editorial Note:

The following materials from Captain George Baker's diaries and other records and notes were originally published in Alexander Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory* in 1808. Baker has left numerous other reports, many found in the Records of Fort St. George for the period. These latter materials will be published in later editions of the SBBR. Baker's account is especially useful for being one of the few first-hand accounts written by a European, of Alaunghpaya, the founder of the Konbaung Dynasty.

M.W.C.

Observations at Persaim and in the Journey to Ava and Back in 1755¹

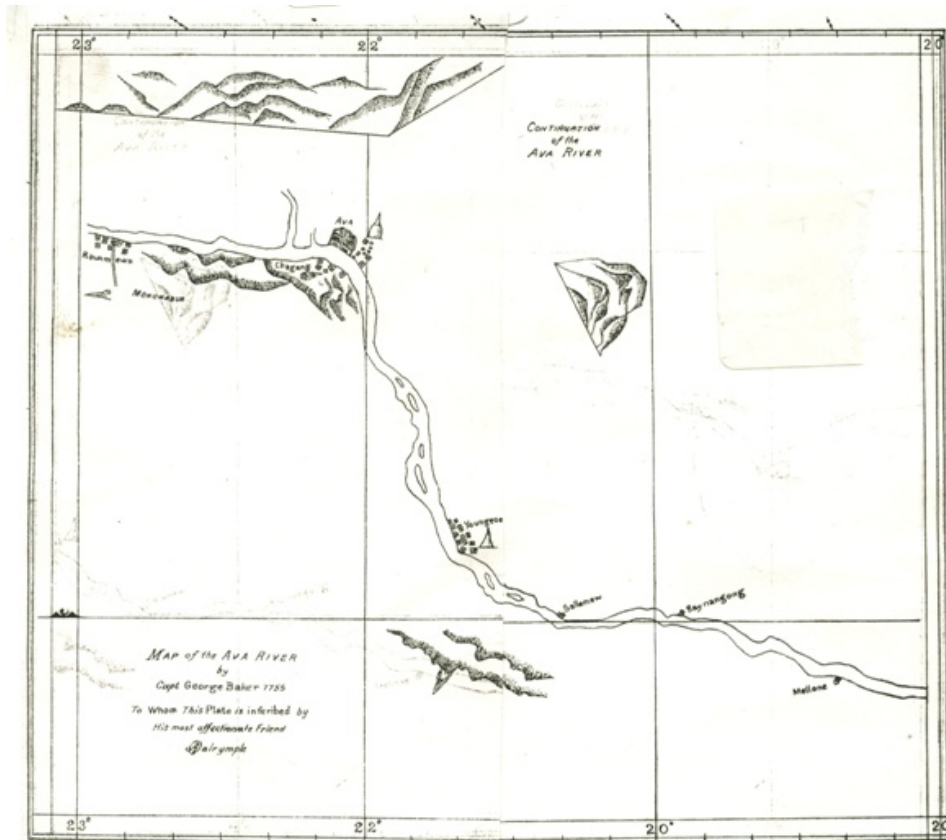
Captain George Baker

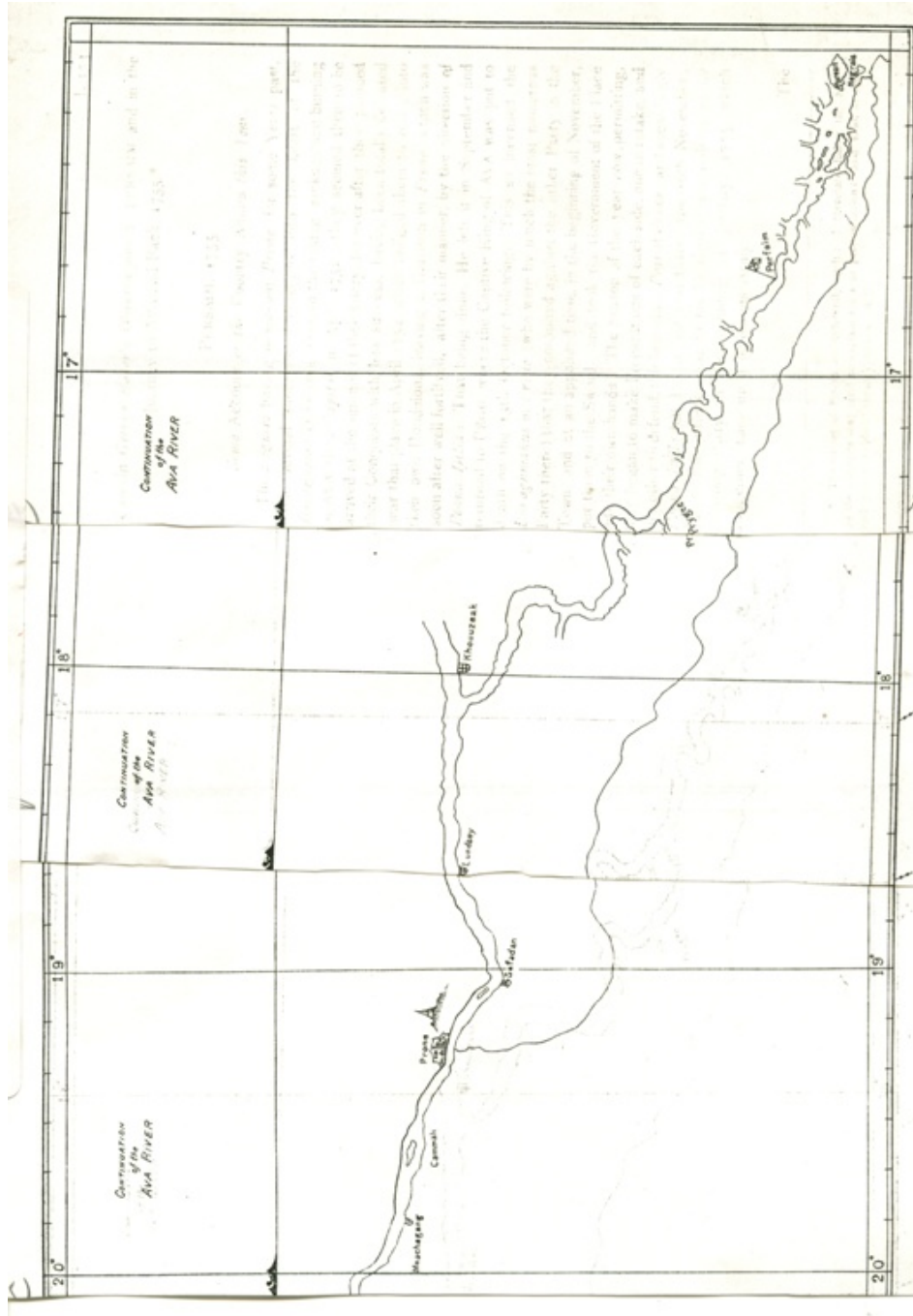
Persiam 1755; Some Account of the Country Affairs this Year

The Peguers having possessed Prone, for some Years past, made several successful Campaigns into the heart of the Bûrāghmah Dominions, even to the taking, sacking, and burning of Ava, their Capital, in April 1752; they seemed then to be arrived at the summit of their Glory, for ever after they pursued their Conquests with less success, having been totally defeated near that place in April 1754, which obliged them to retire into their own Dominions, leaving a Garrison in Prone, which was soon after well fortified, after their manner, by the direction of Ponna Della: That being done, He left it in September and returned to Pegu, where the Captive King of Ava was put to death on the 13th October following. This so incensed the Bûrāghmahns in Prone (who were by much the most numerous Party there) that they conspired against the other Party in the Town, and at an appointed

¹ Original footnote: The names of Places are differently spelt; I therefore follow the MS. As the varieties may tend to explain the true pronunciation; and shall at the end give a Table of those Varieties. A.D.

time, in the beginning of November, put them to the Sword; and took the Government of the Place into their own hands. The Season of the year now permitting, they began to make Preparations of each side, one to retake, and the other to defend, this important Post of Prone; and accordingly Ponna Della left PEGU, for that Place, the 16th November; but, making little success in his Enterprize, was re-inforced by a strong Party, in the beginning of January, 1755, which altogether made up a numerous Army.





SBBR 3.1 (SPRING 2005): 99-122

The Bûrāghmahns, having received Notice of their Sovereign's Death, immediately joined the New King of Momchabue, who had now usurped the Government near AVA, to whose Assistance several of the neighbouring Nations sent Parties of Men, who were commanded by him, whom I now call the Bûrāghmah King. He lost no time to come to the relief of Prone; for, by the best intelligence I get, he was there as soon as the party dispatched last to Ponna Della's Assistance, and, having a free Entrance, he reinforced it very considerably.

The River, fronting this Place, leads somewhat near North and South, and as the Town stands on the East side of it, the Peguers pitched their Camp on the West, something, below the Place; which the Bûrāghmah King observing, pitched his Camp also below the Town, almost right opposite the Peguers, for some days together there passed frequent flight skirmishes between their boats.

On the 9th of February, at Night, the Bûrāghmahns marched a little down, and crossed the River, unknown to, and unexpected by, the Peguers, and fell on them at Daylight, with such fury, as slaughtered great numbers, and routed the others: The Generals themselves escaped with the greatest hazard. This Defeat which had so dispersed their Troops, and was indeed compleat, made the Pegu Generals apprehend themselves unsafe, even in that Neighbourhood, for they immediately took their rout to Khoughn-Zeak, where they staid only to destroy the Country, and took the whole People with them to Sanyangon, (a Place about two days journey above Syrian) where they made a stand with the Army. This Affair had very extraordinary Effects on the whole People of both Kingdoms: The Bûrāghmahns were so animated, that they talked of pursuing their Conquests, and making a push for Syrian: The Peguers, on the other hand, were struck with a panick that made them apprehend they might. At least the Government here, and all that Faction, was strangely intimidated; but at nothing so much as of a set of men (Bûrāghmahns) who had been gathering together for some Months past, at Rhoughkhoughn; and who would not disperse themselves, notwithstanding they had frequent remonstrances from the King of Pegu, Rajah, &c. though they always took care to return palliative Answers to them. This Fear of theirs proved well grounded, for the Prince here, having sent Spies, they returned the 16th February, reporting that they had heard a Letter read, which came from the Bûrāghmah King, to the Chief there, telling him that if he would make head against, and reduce this Place, He should have (under the King) the whole District as His Province: On this they called a General Council, and gave out as the Result of it, that they would transport their Families to Dalla, In order to be rid of that incumbrance, and so to be the better able to defend the Town with the Men: This, for the day, was generally believed to be the resolution taken, but on the 17th in the morning it was found the Prince, had left the Place; which, being done in so secret a manner, made People suspect some eminent danger, and put them into very great confusion: The Peguers thought the Bûrāghmahns might have conspired against them; and some

Bûraghmahns thought the Peguers might have laid a scheme to massacre them; part of each Faction feared and hoped respectively, that the Government had received intelligence, that the Bûraghmah Troops were immediately at hand; Thus the Town being in an uproar; and none knowing justly what they feared; nor any steady hand to calm them, some ran to the Woods, but most to their Boats, Women big-bellied and those with Children at their breast, as also the Aged, of both sexes, were forced to exert themselves for their Lives sake, on this Occasion, though they could not determinately say what it was they had at that instant to fear.

By Noon there was not perhaps 20 Souls left in the Place, these set fire to several parts of the Town, and consumed great quantities of Grain; the Town being at last entirely evacuated, there appeared seven of the Bûraghmah Boats in sight, at 9 in the morning the 23d, which gave chace to a single Pegu Boat down the River, and having taken her, returned and landed here, they came to our house, and staid about, an hour, where I entertained them as I used to do the other Party: I desired them not to molest this Place, as it was on the Honourable Company's Ground, they declared they would not, nor did in the least; and in every other respect behaved humanely and decently, they were about 250 Men, well armed in their way, and people of good appearance ; having left us, they set fire to the Town about Noon, which they entirely demolished, with a great part of the wooden Walls, and set out again for Rhoughkhoughn at 4 o'clock that Evening.

From the time that the Bûraghmahns demolished the Town, to the 2d March, there frequently came Pegu Boats for, and went with, Paddy; at least those that could get it, for it was become now very scarce. And again on this day the 2d March there arrived 4 Bûraghmah Boats with about 30 Men, only to see how things stood, at a time when there happened to be no Peguers here; they went away again about 11 in the morning, but had not been gone an hour, when the late Second of this Place, arrived with 12 or 15 Boats, and about 200 Men, and being every day after joined by more, he got together by the 5th about 400 Men, in order to settle here again and oppose the Bûraghmahns; but that day in the morning, between 10 and 11, there arrived in sight 21 Bilraghmah Boats, the Peguers, who were then mostly on shoar, repaired to theirs, and drew out in the middle of the River, as it were to receive their Enemy; whose number they then plainly saw to consist, as I said before, of 21 Boats, and they having but 12, immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the others, who passed down out of sight, and, in about 2 hours after, returned again with 5 Pegu Boats, of those prepared to fight, and 3 or 4 other small ones laden with Grain, &c. which I did not first reckon in the number, so that there was but 5 Boats escaped in all:² However there was none of the People taken, killed or wounded, as they quitted their Boats and ran into the Woods.

² Original footnote: The number was said to be 12 or 15, and the number taken 5, so that the number of escaping must be more than 5; unless there is some mistake in the whole. A. D.

The Bûraghmahns, staid some time in the Town, and set out again about 4 that evening. The 12th there arrived again 6 Boats, who came then only to see how things stood; and if it might be safe for those, of whom I shall speak by and by, to come down; they returned again that evening, and, the next morning came back with 19 Boats more, in all 25, in which were two Armenians, two Moors, and two Bûraghmahns, Embassadors to Mr. Brooks, from (Momlabue) the Bûraghmah King, whom they left at Lundsey; He, having made himself Master of the whole Bûraghmah Dominions, has been declared and acknowledged King of all parts in it; from Him these Men brought a Letter to Mr. Brooks, desiring his Friendship, &c. and promising in return that nothing should be wanting in which he could oblige him; the Copy of which I sent that Evening to Negrais; and, as they did not think it prudent to go themselves, they went up the River again that evening, to wait there 'till an Answer might be had to the Letter, I sent; which being expected in four days, they promised to return in that period, which they accordingly did, and the Schooner from Negrais arrived the same evening, with Orders for me to accompany them thither on her; we set out accordingly the 19th in the morning, and arrived at Negrais at 8 PM the 22d. The Embassadors had their Audience the 23d; but their Business being not compleated, nor determinate Answers given, till the 26th, it was 6 that evening before we set out again for Persaim, and 1 o'clock in the morning the 30th before we arrived there; where we found then about 1800 Peguers, in about 60 fighting Boats, which, as we were then informed, had on the 26th past taken all the Bûraghmah Boats (being about 20) which waited for the return of the Embassadors. These Peguers insisted much on having the Embassadors surrendered to them, but this I absolutely refused, and as there remained no practicable method of conducting them up in safety, we determined to carry them back to Negrais; and, as I thought it absolutely necessary, for their safety, to go with them there, we set out the 31st in the evening accordingly, and at 6 PM on the 3d April arrived there. The 4th, the Embassadors went ashoar, and staid to wait some favourable opportunity) whereby to return to their Master: which it appears was attempted some two or three days after. The 9th at 4 in the Evening I set out again on the Schooner for Persaim, where I arrived on the morning of the 12th. The number of Troops here at this juncture not exceeding 500, a part of them having deserted, though it appears not 'till they had made some Incursions in the Country above, and brought off good quantities of Grain, Buffaloes, some boats, &c. The 16th they received intelligence, that Chowbrah had been attacked by the Bûraghmahns in his Camp at Sinyangon, this gave them here much concern (or the Event, and made them readily suspect, what at last they were confirmed in, viz. that he might be defeated, and accordingly they received that Account the 21st in the Afternoon: and, having made preparations for that purpose, they all set out for Syrian that night, and were followed, the next day, by those which were sent up the Country to ravage it; so that on the 23d in the morning there was not a single

Peguer left here, being mostly retired to Syrian, where they had received information the Bûrghmahns intended to push their conquests, and 'tis whispered that in order to it, they are arrived in the neighbourhood of Dagon.

The 2d of May a Party of Buraghmahns from Khoukkhoughn, consisting of about 1000 Men, in 40 Boats, arrived here, (commanded by the same Man who was defeated at this Place the 26th March) who informed us that the Buraghmahns had attacked the Peguers in their Works, at Sinyangong and Panlang, and routed them thence; and that the King of the Bûrghmahns, with the body of his Army, was now encamped at Dagon. The 3d in the morning these 40 Boats set out again, down the River, in quest of what Peguers lay hid in the sundry Rivers and Creeks, between this and Dagon; and, if succeeding, to disperse them, with a resolution to go thither that way.

The 8th in the morning these 40 Boats, with 9 more, returned, having attacked the Peguers, on the 5th instant, in some of the Rivers, near the Sea side; and, as they say, defeated and taken from them 8 Boats, 7 small Guns, 8 Muskets, 10 Viss of Powder, killed many Men, and taken two Prisoners.

The 11th instant the Fleet set out again for Koukkhoughn, and the same time arrived Advices here, that a party of Bûrghmahns, who had been dispatched to reduce the Kerianers in Metra River, had accordingly effected it.

The 20th arrived here about 20 Families in as many Boats, mostly Bûrghmahns, who had abandoned the Peguers, and came to take protection of the Bûrghmahns, and for that purpose set out the same evening for Lower Conjong. Soon after which, about 9 PM, arrived here a small Party of Peguers, through the Woods, about 14 or 16 in number, they passed by our House, in such haste, that we had only time to ask them who they were? where the body of their People was? and what number they consisted of? to which they only answered they were Peguers, their Party was below, and that they consisted of about 500. Then asking if the Bûrghmahns were here? and, being resolved negatively, set out immediately.

The 25th arrived 5 Bûrghmah Boats from Khoukkhoughn, and from that to the 28th about 35 more, which made the number amount to 40 righting Boats, and were manned with about 800 effective Men, besides these, a Party of theirs came by land of about 200 Men, and the same day arrived at their Camp, part of those 20 Families, which I have already said arrived here on the 20th instant, and set out again the same day for Conjong, who happening to be intercepted, the day after, by two Pegu fighting Boats, were many of them cut off, others taken, and those which came to the Camp escaped.

The 2d June, in the evening, 35 of the Boats went down the River (the others being dispatched on the look out) in order to meet the Honourable Company's Schooner, on board of which were expected to be the remaining two Embassadors, who had hitherto waited an opportunity to come hither; and the 3d,

at 9 PM, they returned again with the Schooner, and the two Embassadors, on board her, as expected, and, on the 5th, these two Embassadors set out for the King at Dagon, with the Chief of Negrais his Letter.

The 7th arrived here those Bûrghmahns (being about 16 Families) which had since the Desertion of this Town, taken shelter at Negrais; they now entered into the Party, and protection of their own Faction; and were received without further molestation, than being each Family cessed 3 Tickle. From this time forward the General suffered several of his Troops, those with their Boats as well as others, to retire to their Homes; (perhaps on some pecuniary consideration made him) to follow their necessary vocations, as preparing for Tillage, &c. insomuch that on the 17th there remained but 7 fighting Boats, with which he that morning went down the River, as he said, in quest of the Enemy: But it is probable he did not go with that intention, since it is evident he did not go into that Quarter where he well knew they lay, viz. about Pooloo; for on the 20th two stout Pegu Boats, well manned, arrived here, and burnt the Buraghmah Houses, then set out again immediately).

On the 24th there arrived from the Buraghmah King, at Dagon, two Embassadors (one of them being one of those which came to Mr. Brooke from the King in April last) designed for Negrais, to the Chief there, with a Present of two Horses, 100 Viss of Wax, 100 Viss of Teeth, and a Ring; they were escorted with about 20 fighting Boats, well equipped and manned, with about 600 Men. The 28th arrived here the Party consisting of 7 Boats, which left this the 17th instant, but brought with them no tokens of having distressed the *Peguers*: Their Chief now put himself under Orders of him who commands the Party from *Dagon*, and is now Chief of all ranks of the Faction in this Quarter.

This Chief sent his Orders into all parts of this Neighbourhood, commanding the Seggees of the Villages, each to bring in his Quota of Men and Grain; which being accordingly done, they made themselves ready for an Expedition, and set out, with about 50 Boats, in quest of the *Peguers*, on the 5th July, but first of all to escort the Embassadors, as far down the River, as they should think past any danger from the Enemy.

The 6th in the evening we received News that the King, (as we have hitherto called him) late at Dagon, had set out thence, some fifteen days since, to go into the Ava Dominions, to oppose the late Bûrghmah King's Son, who, it appears, has invaded the Kingdom in that Quarter, from the side of Siam, and contends for the Crown, of his late Father.

Journal of a Joint Embassy to the King of the Bûrghmahns

Having received Orders, from the Chief of Negrais, to accompany the King of the Bûraghmahns two Embassadors to their Prince, Lieut. John North and myself set out, from Negrais, in company with them, the 17th July, as Embassadors from the Honourable Company, being provided by Henry Brooke, Esq. with a Present for that Prince ; consisting of 4 Pieces of Iron Cannon, one a 12, the other three 9 pounders; 80 Shot and 4 Chests of Powder, together with some few things of less value; having Orders from the said Henry Brooke, Esq. for the concluding a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance., between that Prince and our Honourable Masters.

Arriving at Persaim, the 19th, and having prepared our Boats, in the best manner we could, proceeded on our Passage again the 21st in the Afternoon.

On the 23d arrived at the Quala of Coanjong, where my Colleague, Lieut. John North, was seized with an Aguish fit, which terminated in a continued Fever.

The 24th at 6 in the evening left this Place again and at 5 in the Afternoon on the 25th reached Koukkoun Creek, which we left again.

The 26th at 7 in the morning; and on the 27th, at 3 in the afternoon, arrived at Lameanah, where we continued 'till the 29th in the morning; and at 4 o'clock the same evening reached Bowchagang, where we were confirmed in the Truth of a Report, which we had heard some days before, viz. That the French and Peguers together, had both with Shipping and on shoar, attacked the Bûraghmahns at Dagon, and that they had made themselves Masters of the English, and other Vessels there, and plyed all their Cannon on the Bûraghmah Camp, in so much that there then remained a probability of their being routed thence: This we thought a material affair, though it was not yet decided, and therefore forwarded a Letter to the Chief of Negrais, with the most circumstantial Account of it that we could procure. Now my Colleague's Fever began to intermit, having reduced him to a state of great weakness.

The 30th, in morning, left Bowchagang, and lay the following Night at Tombay, which we left again.

The 31st, at 2 in the Afternoon, and at about the same time of day, on Friday, the 1st August, got out into the Great River, leading from Ava, which, had the King been at Dagon, we should have gone thereby; But now the Bûraghmah Gentlemen. acknowledged themselves convinced that he was gone up, of which they hitherto pretended to doubt; we urged to them the necessity of our making all possible dispatch, which they promised to do, to the utmost of their power.

The 3d, at Sunset, we arrived at Lundsey, where we staid for the Boat, that carried the Guns, to get a Mast and Sail, the being the thing that so greatly prolongs our Passage.

At 10 in the forenoon, of the 6th, we left Lundsey, and having passed Saladan (a Place remarkable for the great quantities of Timber it produces) and three or four places of less note, arrived the 9th, in the evening, at Front: having

left the Boat which the Guns, something behind us. in order to procure a more commodious Boat for Mr. North, against the might come, he being not yet perfectly recovered, and attributed it chiefly, to the inconveniencies he suffered in that we now were.

The Weather proving remarkably calm, and the Freshes exceeding strong, it was the 11th ere the Boat with the Guns arrived; and, that no time might be lost, we prevailed on her to set out again the next day. Having now sufficiently experienced how tedious it was to go up this River, at this Season, and particularly informed ourselves (from such People as probably could have no Interest in misguiding us) in how long a time we might perform the residue of our Passage; received such an Account, as by no means left us any reason to think we could return to Negrais, in Season for a Vessel to be dispatched thence to the Coast, and be able to return again before the NE Monsoon: On this we again remonstrated, to the Head-Man of the Boats of our Fleet, and the Governor of Prone, together with the two Embassadors, how great a disappointment to His Majesty, should be please to sign the Treaty, if we could not return to Negrais, in season for a Vessel to be sent to the Coast, and return from thence again before the NE Monsoon; to which they unanimously answered, we should be forwarded, with all possible dispatch; but, notwithstanding this, we foresaw how unlikely it was, we should arrive at Negrais again, time enough for this purpose, and therefore wrote to Mr. Brooke, advising him of the improbability of it; and at the same time informing him that the Bûrghmahns, had not only made a Sally out of their Works, and defeated the Besiegers, but also compelled the Vessels to withdraw from thence; and how much the People in general were irritated against Capt. Swaine, “whose conduct,” said they, “argued him (and consequently You) our Enemy.”

Being well assured of overtaking the Boat with the Guns, staid here for the benefit of Mr. North’s health (who was now seized by a Flux) ‘till the 14th, and then set out in the Afternoon.

The 17th touched at Camma, and set out again immediately after.

The 19th, at Meachagang, met the Generalissimo of the King's whole Troops, with about So Boats, and 4000 Men bound to Dagoon; to re-inforce and take the Command of the Army there; to whom on, consideration of the situation of our Affairs at Dagon and Syrian, we had, when we first heard of his coming down, resolved, when we should meet him, to procure an interview, and make him some Present, in order to mitigate, and cool, his resentment against our Shipping, in that Quarter; Mr. North being ill, I paid him my Compliments in his own Boat, and at the same time presented him with sundry things, to about 100 Rupees value; and after a little Conversation, in which he shewed great hopes of taking Syrian, and destroying the French Vessels, I took my leave, and we each proceeded on our respective Voyages. The 23d arrived at Mellone, where we stayed about an hour, and set out again. The 24th, at night, reached Yaynangong, or Earth-oil town,

where we staid the night, and set out the 25th, in the morning; and on the 27th, about 2 o'Clock in the afternoon, arrived at Youngoue, where having procured a House we carried my Colleague on shoar, who was, now reduced to a state of such weakness, as not to be able to walk, or even stand; and his distemper, still raging, indicated the approach of Death, which accordingly happened the 30th, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 in the morning; and he was interred the same evening, with all the Decency that the Circumstances of Place, and Necessaries, would admit of; the Ceremony being performed, I again remonstrated to the Embassadors, &c. the necessity I apprehended there was, of our making more dispatch than what we had yet done; to which they answered as they did before that all possible haste should be made; and indeed it must be confessed, that there could scarcely be any other method used to forward the Boat with, the Guns, (as she was full manned with Oars and provided with a very large Sail) except that of having People ready (for her Crew was changed at almost every Town) at each stage to go on board her, as soon as she should arrive at it, which I proposed to them, and in order to it, they generally sent a light Boat a-head, to get the People ready against she came; but I think it was not so well executed, as to afford all the advantage that might be expected from it. The 31st. at Sunrise, we set out from Youngoue, and after having touched at several small Places, of some 30, others 40 or 50 Houses, it was the 8th September, before we arrived at the late Seat of the Empire, AVA, which is now governed, under the King, by his Brother-in-law; on whom I waited, and was kindly received; at least in such manner as is, in this Country, generally esteemed so. The 9th at Sunrise we set out for Khounmeon, a Town, on the Bank of the River, where the King always lands, or embarks, going on, or coming from, any Expedition; and on the 12th, at about 3 in the afternoon, arrived there, when the Governor immediately dispatched notice thereof to the King. On the 13th, I waited on this Governor, by whom too I was kindly received; He told me, he had advised his Majesty of our Arrival, and expected an Answer that day; and, as I understood after, came accordingly to call the Head Man of the Party,' which came with us, and the Bûraghmah Embassador, (the Armenian having no Orders to come, durst not repair to Court 'till he was called) the others set out on the 14th, in order, perhaps, to report the Event of their Embassy. On the 15th the Bûraghmah Embassador returned to Khounmeon again, with Orders to accompany us back to the King, and on the 16th in the forenoon set out, and, after having laid by considerably in the way, reached the Town about Sunset, and was lodged, by the King's Appointment, in a House, prepared for the purpose, just without the middle East Gate. When the Bûraghmah Embassador waited on the King, to acquaint him of our arrival, and soon after his Secretary came, by his Order, to take an Inventory of our Present; which being done, he returned with it directly to him. On the 17th, in the morning, I was given to understand, that he intended to admit me to a Publick Audience, in the evening; and, for that purpose (having disposed of every thing to the best advantage for the

displaying the grandeur of his State) I set out at 4 o'clock, accompanied by 10 or 12 of his Officers, the 4 Chests of Powder, some Shot, 2 Musquets, 2 Brass Carbines, 1 Gilt Looking Glass, 2 Bags of red Earth, and 6 Bottles of Lavender Water, being carried, with the Governor's Letter, on a piece of clean Muslin, in procession before us; and entering the Gate, passed through two ranks of Elephants and Horses, promiscuously disposed of, and interspersed with Crouds of People, (perhaps the major part of the inhabitants of the Town) until we came to a Street leading to the Palace-Yard, where were disposed of in rows, about 200 Pieces of Brass Patareroes, and Cannon, and having advanced near the Yard Gate, where we could view the King on his Throne, began our Compliments (Which were performed on the Knees, bowing the Head three times low down; this was repeated three separate times, from the Place, where it was first begun, to the Palace Steps. It must be confessed it was an extraordinary Ceremony, as I had it in my power to have refused, at least not voluntarily to have submitted to the performance of it. but what would have been the Consequence? I conceive the preventing an amicable Interview, breaking off the Treafy, and confirming them in the Opinion which they, either real, or pretendedly, entertained, since our Ships firing on them, of our being in a Combination with the Peguers, against them. But it may be objected perhaps, that The Honourable Company's Dignity is not to be prostituted after such manner, on any Condition: I answer, the Custom of this Country is well known, that some such Ceremony has been always paid, and they that would reform the manners of a Jealous Prince, or bigotted People, need much force or eloquence; I was master of neither. Moreover I was possessed of no Instructions on that Head, and I could not Justify myself to those who had an Authority to examine me. for interrupting that friendship and good understanding which we might expect to ensue from this journey, on a punctilio, which in a little time, by prudent management, I believe, may in a great measure be got over), from whence to the Palace. Steps, we were conducted by about 20 Musqueteers, headed by a Drum, In this part of the Walk, were seated at little distances on each side, several Bands of various, sorts of Musick, and Women Dancers, unto the Steps ascending the Presence Room, where I entered in the midst of a Croud of Officers, in their Court Dress, the King's two Eldest Sons, being seated on Carpets, one on each side the foot of his Throne where their Father sat in State. Having paid him my Compliments, he looked at me for some time, and at length said, How does your King do? I answered, he was well when we had the last accounts from Europe. How old is he? seventy-two Years. Is he at Peace with his neighbouring Princes? Yes, and has been since the last War with our old Enemy the French, which is now about 6 Years. Having paused some time, at length says he, Your Ships that were at Dagon with Mr. Whitehall, I treated with kindness, and supplied them with what they wanted, and at my leaving that Place, to come here to keep our fast, desired him that, in case it should be required in my absence, on an emergency, to assist my People; or at least not to

join the Peguers against them; which though he promised to observe, yet was the first that fired on them; I answered, I was heartily grieved at his being guilty of so rash, and imprudent an Action; and that I was sure His Majesty himself could not be more offended at him than Mr. Brooke would be for it; However hoped, that, on due examination, it would in the event appear clearly to His Majesty, that, it was either the force of the Peguers, or the fraud and device of our inveterate Enemies, the French, which had compelled, or seduced him to it; But says he, had not Mr. Brooke any hand in this; was it not by his Counsel? I gave him all the assurances to the contrary, that I thought would be most likely to convince him, and concluded that head, with averring, that I was sure no other Human Affair could give him so great uneasiness, as the News of this would do. He then ordered the Letter to be read, to which he gave a calm attention 'till coming to these Words,

“As you will, by this means, obtain an Alliance and Friendship with so great a Power as the Honourable East India Company, who can send you such Assistance as will support Your Majesty's Throne, against all future Rebellions, Domestick feuds, and foreign Enemies.”

At which he affected a very hearty laugh, (and his Officers in attendance, like true Courtiers, joined in the Chorus) said, have I asked? or, do I want any Assistance to reduce my Enemies to subjection? let none conceive such an opinion? have I not, in three Years time, extended my Conquest three Months journey on every Quarter, without the help of Cannon or Muskets? Nay, I have with Bludgeons only, opposed and defeated these Peguers, who destroyed the Capital of this Kingdom; and took the Prince prisoner; and, a Month hence, I intend to go, with a great force, in person to Dagoon, where I have an Army now lying; when I will advance to the Walls of Pegu; blockade, and starve them out of it, which is the last Town I have now to take, to compleat my Conquest; and then I will go in quest of Bourno, Then the Secretary proceeding on to these Words, “these Gentlemen may be Witnesses to Your Majesty's placing your Signet to the Contract on your Part, &c.”

[H]e again affected the same mirth (and was too again joined by his Courteous attendance) saying, What Madman Wrote that (alluding to the Bûraghmah who translated the Letter, for he thought, or pretended to think, it strange, that one of his own Subjects should think, --in which he supposed the Translator to agree with the Writer of the Original—that he who had recovered most of all the Ancient Dominions, should want assistance to take the Last Throne, as he called it)? the Letter being gone through, he says, Captain, see this Sword, it is now three Years, since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my Enemies; it is indeed almost blunt with use, but it shall be continued to the same,

'till they are utterly dispersed; don't talk of Assistance, I require none, the Peguers I cart wipe away as thus (Drawing the Palm of one Hand over the other).

I told him I was convinced of his potency, but hoped at the same time our voluntary Offer would not be taken in bad part. He answers, See these Arms and this Thigh (drawing the sleeves of his Vesture over his Shoulders, and tucking the lower part up to his Crutch) adds, amongst 1000 you won't see my match. I myself can crush 100 such as the King of PEGU. I protest, and GOD knows the truth of my assertion, that State is a burthen to me, 'tis a confinement which I endure only on account of the necessity there is for it, towards the support of Government. I have carryed my Arms to the confines of CHINA ; the King of which Country has sent me a rich Present of curious things, (several of which he shewed me,) on the other quarter, I have reduced to my subjection the major part of the Kingdom of CASSAY, whose Heir I have taken captive, see there he sits behind you: I have also some of the Princesses in my Court, they sit yonder (then says he to them) come forth, on which they passed before us;³ I have upwards of 100 near Relations, amongst the rest an own Brother, there he sits, (pointing to him) and 9 children, two of them Men grown, there they are: they have behaved well in the late War, the third a Youth, here he is, the rest are but young. To all which I gave the most suitable, or what I conceived would be the most agreeable Answers, (for I thought that was the Avenue to his heart) admiring the success of his Arms, telling him it was the immediate hand of Providence; and declared his Presents from CHINA, rich and curious; hoping my Honourable Masters would have the opportunity of presenting to him some of the Produce of Europe, in their kinds equal to, if not surpassing, them; when it should be known to them, what sorts would be most acceptable to His Majesty, and hoped that his Royal Progeny would, to the end of all time, perpetuate the memory of their unparalleled Predecessor. After some time he asked me where the other Letter was, meaning the Articles, I answered him here, He asked me, in what Language they were, I told him, English, he then desired me to get them translated into Bûrghmah and bring them to him the next day; on which he gave the Signal for our withdrawing, which we did accordingly, going through the same Ceremony as I did at my Entrance.

The 18th translated the heads of the Articles into Bûrghmah, in order to have presented them to the King, but he being not disposed to receive them that day, desired they might be sent by Gregory (The Armenian Ambassador, which came with us, he was often employed afterwards by the King in bringing Messages to me, and was the Man who always introduced me to him, and which brought Apologies from Him, or perhaps either forged, or new formed, them himself, as

³ Original footnote: Capt. Baker informed me, the Prince was about 21, and a Princess 17, who were as Hostages for the Fidelity of Cassay; They were fairer than the fairest of the Peguers, but not perfectly white. Her Feaures were very fine; a long face, and an air of grandeur in her appearance. A. D. 1759.

they were generally in exceeding kind terms, when His Majesty desired to be excused from granting me an Audience, at my request, on account of his Indisposition. I was ever dubious of the uprightness of this Man, yet deemed it imprudent to discover my distrust, and though it impossible to break with him, at this time, to advantage; as he had so much the King's ear; But our most dangerous Enemy was Zachary, an Armenian by Nation, and an Accomplice and Intimate of his, of whom I shall say more hereafter), the next; which was accordingly done, being the 19th, and causing them to be read to him, said, what they want three Places, and will give me in lieu thereof an Annual Curiosity; and pray what is this Curiosity to be? Go ask the Captain, Gregory came accordingly and desired to know, what it was designed to be, or whether I could assure any particular thing. I told him the Honourable Company had expressed themselves in that manner, only because the King might have the opportunity of making known to them, what would, in the Product of EUROPE, be most acceptable to him. Gregory returned immediately with this my Answer, and the King sent word again by him in return, that Muskets and Guns were what he made choice of, could I assure his Present should consist at that: I returned for answer, that he might depend, it should.

The same night, though late, he sent Gregory back again with this Message, viz. that as he intended to begin the Siege of Pegu, some six Weeks hence, he chose rather to have a good Supply of Arms now, than an Annual Present, of them, and that he would grant the Negrais and Persaim to the Honourable Company, with a Place at Dagon, where he intended to build a Town himself (for he was determined to destroy Syrian, and suffer no body to inhabit there) if I would assure him he should be immediately supplied with 1000 Muskets, and 20 Pieces of Cannon. Thus ended all that passed material on the 19th, and on the 20th, in the morning, I returned for Answer by Gregory again, that 1000 Musket? was a quantity that I could not assure, however, that if His Majesty would please to sign these Articles, I would warrant that on my return to Negrais he should be supplied on the spot with 75 Muskets and six Pieces of Cannon, and that a Vessel should be sent to the Coast, to return again as soon as possible with 14 Pieces of Cannon, and 525 Muskets more; that being the utmost I could assure; however, I would use all my interest and Endeavours with Mr. Brooke, that the number of Muskets should be made 1000; and though I could not affirm it should be so, yet from the great respect I knew Mr. Brooke to have for His Majesty, and the strict attachment to the Bûraghmah Interest in general, I had great hopes, I should be able to prevail on him to grant the full of His Majesty's request.

[Baker's note]⁴

⁴ This has been pulled up from Baker's notes.

Here, it must be confessed, I took a very extraordinary step, but the Case appeared to me desperate; and, as I apprehended, must have had a suitable remedy; for this Armenian Zachary, of whom I spoke ... had now arrived Some two days since, he was one of the first of the Strangers who deserted Syrian, and came over to the King's Party at Dagon, where, he accidentally met this other Armenian, Gregory; who was the only Stranger then in the Bûrghmah Camp; and who having followed the King in all his fortunes, since he was first attacked by the Peguers, after the destruction of Ava (of which he was then an Inhabitant) had gained much of his Esteem and Confidence; and making him to believe that he was intimately acquainted with the Manners and Interest of the English, French, and other Strangers; and that Zachary was Master of the two first, and several other Languages, the King employed them in bringing, what Strangers they could, over to his faction, in which they succeeded so well, that they, by that means, jointly engrossed His Majesty's favour; and whosoever came, whether by their instigation or not, they made a merit of it; as was the case with all the Vessels which came to Dagon, particularly Bourno.

I having before had some acquaintance with this Zachary was well convinced from my Conversation with him, to what Interest, respecting the French and English he inclined; and being confirmed in it by a careful Examination of his Behaviour while, at Dagon, from sundry, Strangers, and even the Bûrghmahns themselves; found he had but too, much influenced the minds of the Kings and People, of the grandeur and strength of the French Nation; but, since, the Shipping attacking Dagon, he had entertained some fear of the King's resentment, for what he had said in favour of them, but he found means to remove that, by declaring it a mad trick of Bourno's, and that he would certainly be punished for it at Pondicherry. He moreover insinuated to the King, that he would undertake to reconcile the Affair, and make the French his friends, if His Majesty would send him, on that Embassy, to their President on, the Coast; and, I am well informed, that the King for a long lime designed it, and am not sure that he has yet dropt that Resolution entirely. Here methinks I foresee it will be said, how easy was it to convince the King of our sincerity, and the deceit of the French, particularly Since Bourno came over to them, and engaged to stay by them at Dagon, afterwards deserted them, and came again and fought against them; this indeed one would think were enough to convince them, but these Armenians (our Enemies) have taught them to say, did not, the English come to us, promised the King to stay by us, and we expected their help accordingly till the French and Peguers, attacked us, then, say they, when they, if they, had been friends, should have shewed themselves so, Suffered the Enemy to come upon us, without opposition; nay, though we esteem them as friends in our bosom, were the first that fired on us; and when they could not effect, what they intended, eloped with the rest; pray which shall we esteem our greatest Enemy? Notwithstanding this, perhaps, the King and

People, in general, believe the whole of that Affair to be a device of the French and Peguers; though they don't care to acknowledge it to us: However it has afforded a sufficient handle for this Frenchified Armenian, and he has not omitted to make the best use of it: Therefore finding the King wavering in his opinion; whether to send him to the French or not, I concluded something must be done to prevent it; for I make no doubt, when they know rightly the circumstances of Affairs, they would, if they could with the least shadow of Justice or Honour, have abandoned the Peguers; and nothing was more likely in my opinion to do it, than coming something near the King's terms, especially as they were such as would not have proved more disadvantageous to the Honourable Company, than the presenting him annually with any tolerable Curiosity, which was their own Proposition, and more particularly so, as they were by this exempt from the obligation of assisting him against ait his Enemies, and this I do believe had its intended effect, for the next day when the Armenian waited on His Majesty he returned to the house, (for we live and eat together) something chagrined, and told me the King had been desiring him to go to Pondicherry with a Message for him, but that he had excused himself, and to be out of the way of further temptation he would leave the Place the next day, which he accordingly did; this, as I was afterwards informed, was actually the contrary of what had happened, so that I presume the making the King this Offer, was the principal thing which rendered the Armenian's Scheme abortive, though, as he never after Spoke of that affair, I was cautious not to urge it much, and only once after mentioned it; being loth to give any Assurance, for any particular thing, when the only reason which could justify me in doing of it, seemed to be for a time effectually answered; and indeed, whether that were sufficient to have vindicated me in it, or not, my Superiors can only judge of, to whose better knowledge, and impartiality, I appeal, for their approbation or reproof, in this unwarranted affair.

He [the king] then sent back word for us to wait on him on the Morrow, viz. 21st, and I went to the Palace Gate for that purpose, but he sent out an Apology, and desired that our Attendance might be postponed 'till the next day.

On the 22d accordingly, I waited on Him, at about 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon, when he happened to be busy with his Court, about other business; and therefore sat near an hour before he accosted me, which was again with the Story of the Shipping; how ill they (our English) had requited his favours, I answered him in such manner as at length he confessed, he believed Mr. Whitehill not guilty, but Swaine he affirmed to be resolved in a scheme with Bourno. However says he, you see my Army repulsed them, notwithstanding their force and treachery, but how can we trust you again? however, I am willing to try how far you will prove truly my friends, and therefore we will now live, as heretofore, in amity, and you may have a Place as customary of Persaim, and Dagon, (for we intend to destroy Syrian) but says he, with what Intention did you come to Negrais? and without staying for the Answer, went on again with Encomiums on himself, and success;

and ran on with a Narrative, of all his Actions, insomuch that I had not the opportunity to say any thing, but signifying my approbation of what he said; at length he concluded, with saying : now we shall see how far you will be our friends, and I will deal accordingly with The Company, then I told him if he would please to grant their Request, I would assure he would be supplied with the Arms, &c. I had before warranted; on that Condition, he said, I have granted them Negrais, and a Place at Persaim, and Dagon, but come again to-morrow morning.

The 23d in the morning I was desired to defer my attendance 'till the evening, between 4 and 5 o'clock, then I accordingly waited on Him, and having sat a little while, he called the Secretary and dictated to him Mr. Brooke's Letter, which was in our hearing; but I finding he tolerated The Honourable Company with liberty for Factories at Persaim and Dagon only, without any mention of Negrais, and all this without any form of security: I desired His Majesty, that he would please to make a Grant of that to them also, as Ships of Burthen could not be brought up to Persaim to repair; and because that it was particularly useful as a Harbour, which The Honourable Company often wanted to shelter their Ships, as it was at one Season of the Year dangerous lying on the Coast.

Why you are there, are you not? But I thought you had wanted to come all to Persaim.

[Baker's note:] To this I could give no determinate Answer; and, in several other respects, found the want of Particular Instructions, for had I known where The Honourable Company would have chosen to have had their Factory, when Persaim had been refused, I believe I might have had a Verbal Grant of it, for whenever that shall be asked again, as it must be if they chuse it, at any other Place than near Persaim, it will be esteemed by the King as another favour granted; and whosoever shall be hereafter deputed by You to treat with the King, will, I am persuaded, need Particular Instructions on almost every Head that can happen; of the Conclusion of his Business will in all appearance be put off 'till the next time, &c. &c. that being a hole which they never fail to creep out at. Though after all it must be confessed, the manner of your Proceedings with them is rather begging a favour, than coming to terms with them, on one equal footing; and therefore I believe the success of the whole affair depends upon the manner, and other Circumstances, of the next Embassy.

[King continues] However I don't tell you not to stay there, but let me see The Company's generosity, and then They shall see mine; we are yet but Strangers, this is the first time you have ever seen my face, I don't yet well know your Intention of staying there, for what instance have I had of your sincerity, I treated your Ships at Dagon, with singular kindness, and they proved traitorous to me after it; let me see how The Company will behave this time, let them show their

generosity, and mine shall not be wanting. I don't care if they bring all Madras to Negrais, if they behave kindly now; for this is the only time by which I shall judge of their friendship. Then he gave the signal to withdraw, and come again in the morning.

The 24th in the morning I Went to the Palace Gate, to have waited on him, but was told he desired I would come in the evening, I went in the evening accordingly, but was told he was indisposed, and would have me come the next day (His Indisposition was excessive grief for a favourite Concubine, who then lay dangerously ill).

I went accordingly, viz. the 25th in the afternoon, but he being (as I was told) greatly indisposed; I was desired to come to the Rounday, the next day, where the Governor's Letter should be delivered to me by the King's Council, unless I had any particular desire to take my Leave of His Majesty in person, I 'told them, I was entirely devoted to the King's Pleasure, with respect to that: I then was given to understand the same night, that he would admit me to an Audience the next morning.

The 26th, I kept a person at the Palace the whole day, to know when it should be the King's Pleasure to admit me; but at night was told, as heretofore, that His Majesty's Indisposition had so much increased, that he could not grant an Audience, and therefore desired me to come again in the morning; hoping he might be better then, I went accordingly about 10 o'clock in the morning, on the 27th to the Inner Rounday, from whence a Messenger informed His Majesty of my coming, who returned for an Answer in Writing, don't take it amiss Captain, that I cannot grant you an Interview, my Indisposition will not admit of it (At this time his favourite lay at the Point of Death, and expired about two hours after. She was Daughter to a petty Prince, whose Dominions lay about 15 days Journey to the Northward of Momchabue, and whom the King has subdued; and taken this Princess Captive); I have therefore sent, by my first Minister, The Company's Letter, and ordered him to give you a Horse, return again with dispatch and meet me at Dagon, or in the way thither, then The Company shall not want what they would have; I have Elephant's Teeth, Wax, &c. &c. ready for them, this being read, and interpreted to me, the Minister delivered me the King's Letter, and ordered the Horse to be sent to my House, I then answered the King's Apology and said, I am far from thinking ill of His Majesty for not granting me an Audience of Leave, at such Conjunction; I am on the contrary heartily grieved for his Indisposition, and hoped his recovery would be speedy; for which I should not cease to pray; then paying my Compliments, took my leave and withdrew to my House, where I made ready for setting out the next morning.

Sunday, 28th September, at 4 in the morning set out for Khounmeon, where arrived at 10 the same forenoon, and employed the residue of the day in preparing for our Departure.

The 29th, at 5 in the forenoon, left, Khounmeon, and on the 30th, at 10 AM, arrived at Ava, where we staid 24 hours to get Rice, &c. and then on the 1st of October, at 10 AM, left that Place, and at Midnight, (for we went night and day) between the 2d and 3d, arrived at Pegang Youngue; Where, on the morning following, we were informed that there had a Boat passed that Place, two days before, with a Letter for us, on which I immediately dispatched a Man to Ava by Land, that being the shortest way, to order her back here, where I resolved to stay 'till her Return; expecting at the same time she might get information in her Passage, that we were come down, and that on that News she would immediately return hither; but it happened that she received no certain account of our being come down 'till she arrived at Ava; (Where she met the messenger I sent from Youngue).

It was the 10th, in the morning, before she arrived, when, finding the Letter to import no reason for our returning to the King, as at first was doubtful, we left that Place immediately.

On the 14th, in the evening, arrived at Front.

On the 16th, in the morning, set out from thence again; and

On the 17th, in the evening, arrived at Lundsey.

The 18th left Lundsey.

On the 19th, entered the mouth of the Negraise River; and

On the 20th, arrived at Khoukkoun.

The 23d left Khoukkoun.

The 24th arrived at Cowjoeng Quainla, where continued for an Escort of Bûraghmah Boats 'till the 27th, and then left that Place,

The 29th, arrived at Persaim, where staid about an hour, and set out again, and on the 30th, arrived at Negrais.

This is an Extract and true Account of our Passage to Momchabue, my transactions with the King there, in every respect (some Repetitions respecting his success in the Wars only excepted, of which he seemed to think he could hardly say enough) and Return from thence. As Witness my hand--George Baker.

A Short Character of the King of the Bûraghmahns

It being but ten Days that I resided at Momchabue, and either on account of His Majesty's real Affliction, or pretended Illness, had no very frequent access at Court; and not being able to speak the Language well, it can't be supposed that I can give a very full, or general Description of this Prince, or his Policy : However I will say a few words, such as has come to my knowledge, of his Rise, Wars, Person, and Government, and that as followeth.

At the reduction of Ava by the Peguers,⁵ and the taking the then King Captive, he was a Seggee, (i. e. the Head of a Village) over about 300 families, inhabiting a little Spot, where his Capital now stands, called Momchabue, Soon after the Rajah⁶ had made himself Master of Ava, he sent an Officer, with about 100 Men, to neighbouring Villages, to administer the Oaths of Allegiance, and amongst the rest to Momchabue; When they were. told by the Seggee (now King) that he was not prepared for the performance of that Ceremony, after a manner that he could wish, to honour those with who were to administer it; and therefore begged they would please to make their tour to the neighbouring Villages first, and, by their return, he would make provision for the performance of it, suitable to the occasion: The Pegu Officer went his Rounds accordingly, and returning to Momchabue was kindly received by his Host, who was to be sworn the next day; but, pursuant to a premeditated Resolution, the Peguers were all set on, and massacred, in the night.

The news of the Peguers being cut off, at length reached the Rajah's ears at Ava, who sent a Party of about 1000 Men to chastise the Aggressors but he, in the Interim, had taken all necessary precautions for his Defence, got a good party of men together, and made himself a little Tenable Inclosure, in which he defended himself against this party of Peguers, and at length, in a skirmish, slaughtered many and dispersed the rest.

The Rainy Season being now commenced, he was attacked no more this Year, as the Rajah returned to Pegu, leaving a Garrison only in Ava. The Seggee, or as the People began now to call him, by the Grace of GOD the Great Man, began to be famous, and the fugitive Prince, the King of Ava's Son, who had quitted that Place before it was taken, about this time, took shelter under his Protection; on which all the neighbouring Country, united with them, and amongst the rest the Quois, who had been a sore thorn in the King of Ava's side during his Wars with the Peguers.

The fair Weather Season being now commenced again, the Peguers began their Campaign, and brought a great Body of Troops against Momchabue, and (not to descend to particulars) were again defeated, and retired to Ava. About this time, the Prince, Son of the Captive King, absconded from Momchabuw, on suspicion of their having some treacherous design on his Person, and retired into the Siam Dominions; soon after, the same season, the Buragmahns attacked Ava, and made themselves masters of it, and not long after that again, the Great Man, as I now call

⁵ Original footnote: Captain Baker informed me the King of Ava put to death in October 1753, was the 35 in a direct Line of that Family, in a period of 375 Years, which goes back A.D. 1378. Another Line before this, for time immemorial. I am doubtful if this year, on which he was put to death, was 1753, or 1754. A.D.

⁶ Original footnote: Apporazah, Brother to the King of Pegu, commonly, though erroneously, called Upper Rajah. A. D.

him, massacred all the Quois, that were then at Momchabut, being about 700, alledging that they had laid a scheme, to have effected the same thing on them; he, having now no rival in his neighbourhood, and being possessed of a good posse of Troops, extended his conquest on every Quarter, and to the Southward as far as near Youngeoe.

This was the State of his Affairs, when in November 1754, on the Peguers having put the King of the Bûraghmahns to death, the Bûraghmahns, in Prone, massacred all the Pegu Officers, Soldiers, and common People of that Nation, then there, and as there was no Pegu Garrisons above that Town; they dispatched a Messenger to Momchabue, to beg the Great Man to come to their assistance; assuring him of their readiness to receive him as their Sovereign, on which he made as speedy preparations as possible, and after having sent a Body of Troops, under one of his principal Officers, into the Siam Dominions, to oppose the lineal Heir to the Crown, and Quois, both of which were now his Enemies, he departed for Prone; where he arrived very seasonably for the relief of that Place, it being then closely besieged by the Peguers, which siege however he found means to raise, after having killed and taken many of their troops, and caused the rest to retire down, within two days journey of Syrian, at a place called Panlang or Sinyangong.

Being thus successful in the Wars, he began now to take a Prince-like-state on him, and to receive the Compliments, and Courtesies usually paid to Sovereigns, in this Country; (which before he absolutely refused, saying, GOD would send the People a Prince, he for his part was only as an Introduction to a Revolution.)

Having now made himself master of this important Place, where he got many Boats, and had abundance of People flock to him, he resolved to push his Conquest, and accordingly attacked the Peguers again, at Panlang, which he carried by storm, and those which escaped of that Party retiring to Syrian, he followed them to Dagon, where he pitched his Camp, and here (as there had indeed many before) abundance of Bûraghmahns, which were hitherto with the Peguers, deserted them, and came to him; here he continued 'till some time in June, 1755, when rinding it necessary to provide himself with more fighting Boats, and to collect the People together, many of which yet lay about in by-places where they, and their Families, had hid themselves during the Troubles; he resolved to go in person, and giveth the necessary Orders for it; and having appointed about 15,000 Men to maintain the Post at Dagon, set out accordingly; and as he passed by every Place, gave orders, for them respectively, to call in the former Inhabitants, and obliged them to build a number of fighting Boats, in proportion to the number of the People; many of which I saw in my way down, and all of which will probably be ready by the time he returns to Dagon, which he purposed to do in November, with, as he said, 1000 Boats and 100,000 Men, but by the best Information I can

get, his Boats will not exceed 500, nor his Troops, both by Land and Water, not above 30 or 40 thousand, which perhaps with the Army now at Dagon, may make the whole Body about 50,000.

Thus is the rise of the present King, of the Bûraghmahns, (for he is now generally allowed as such, all Officers taking their Oaths of Allegiance to him; and none now durst put him in mind of his having said, GOD would appoint another King) he is about 45 Years of Age, about 5 feet 11 inches high, of a hale Constitution, and sturdy, though clean, make, and of a Complexion, full as dark as the generality of Bûraghmahns, his Visage somewhat long, though not thin, nor prominent, and coarse features, a little pitted with the Small Pox, his aspect somewhat grave, when serious; and, when seated in his Throne, I thought he supported Majesty with a tolerable, grace; his Temper (if I have made right inferences from my Conversations with the People, for though he were a fiend from the lower Regions, his Subjects through fear, as a Conqueror, would extol his Virtues) is hasty; and disposition, severe, or rather cruel: I don't remember to have heard any instance of his Justice, (though he himself administers it in almost every case) that deserves to be more remembered for its impartiality than severity, though the former never fails to meet with Encomiums from them about him; for he always causes, and often sees, all corporal, or capital, Punishments to be executed, to the utmost rigour of the Sentence, which generally argues rather a barbarous than humane disposition.

As to his Courage, his actions have often proved it undaunted, and resolute; which, with that strictness of discipline he keeps in his Army, has won him his Crown; he has 9 Legitimate Children by one Wife, the three first Sons, the Eldest married, and is about 22 Years of Age, the second about 19 and is married also; He has also abundant Relations and Dependants, which he generally employs in Posts of trust, or consequence, and so many of the principal Men of the Country have lent a hand to his Cause, and are now become interested in it, that it he happens to compleat his conquest of the Peguers this Season, as (putting by the Assistance the French may render them) has certainly much probability in it,⁷ it will in all human appearance, be more than the fugitive Prince can do, to retrieve his Right, until some unforeseen con[t]ingencies may come to pass, or the hearts of the People, which is often seen to change, shall happen to be united, in a disposition to favour his Restoration.

[Table of] Varities in spelling of Names in the MSS of Capt. Baker:

The names in his Map, being written in his own Hand, are placed first.

⁷ Original footnote: The City of Pegu was taken in the end of May or beginning of June, 1757. A. D.

Monchabue	Momchabue
Kounmewa	Khounmeon, Khounmewn q? R instead of K
Chagang	Chaggang, Chajganj
Youngeoe	Youngoue, Pegang-Youngue, Poganj-Youngjwe, Pigang-Youngue
Sallemew	Salleemue
Raynangong	Raynangome
Cammah	Camma
Khounzeak	
Prygee	Pryggee

In Ava, Mellone, Meachagang, Prone, Saladan, Lundsey, (called also Yaoungmeoe) Persaim, and Negrais, there is no variety of spelling; the following Places are not in his Map.

Conjong, called also Coanjong and Cowjoeng Quainia; Khoukkhoughn, called also Koukkhoughn, Khoukkoun, and Koukkoun; Capt. Baker's K and R are so much alike, that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other, and I suspect the Place named Rhoughgkkhoughn, P. 135, and 136 [in the original] is the same as this; Lameanah, Bowchagang, and Tombay; these are on Persaim River: Dagon or Dagoon, Syrian or Syriam; Yaynangong, Sinyangon, or Sanyangon; called also Panlang, Pooloo, Metra River, Pegue (for Pegu). A.D.