

SECTION I

# **GEOGRAPHY**



# THE LONDON COMPANY'S ENVOYS PLOT SIAM

LARRY STERNSTEIN

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

## FOREWORD

The impetus for this article came from a gift from Jan Jetzo Boeles in 1969 of a photograph of Lieutenant (later Colonel) James Low's map "Siam, Camboja & Laos" dated 1824. Otherwise engaged at the time, I laid this treat aside. A decade later it was re-sighted as I tracked another map through my well-disordered collection. This chance re-view brought a stab of shame which engendered a determination to sit resolute until this egg which I had let lay unattended had hatched. During several years thereafter I took every opportunity to rummage through relevant archival collections in London, The Hague, Amsterdam, New Delhi, Calcutta, Philadelphia, Washington D.C. and New York. "Low Maps of Siam" was first aired in Bangkok in 1984 at the second International Conference on Thai Studies and then, on request, published in *The Journal of the Siam Society* (1985). Subsequent scholarly demand led me to publish "Low's Description of the Siamese Empire in 1824" (1990a) and "Siam and Surrounds in 1830" in *The Journal of the Siam Society* (1990b). Yet even as these later papers were being prepared I had embarked on a wider study of the mapping of Siam during the early 1800s by the encroaching British. This endeavour had overtaken me when I found that wherever there were leavings of Low, there too were those of his "colleagues" Dr. John Crawfurd and Captain (later Colonel) Henry Burney. So, archival collections were rejoined and re-rummaged during the late 1980s for all traces of Crawfurd and Burney, and it is these from which this study has come.

## INTRODUCTION

Before the "scramble" for territory in Africa and Asia which describes the intense rivalry among Western powers during the half century or so from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the First World War—the so-called New Imperialism—Britain is said to have pursued an anti-annexationist policy during the so-called Little England Era.<sup>1</sup> In truth, Britain engaged in more than a little annexation of territory during that period and nowhere more so than in South and Southeast Asia. The London Company began to amass an empire in India from the mid-eighteenth century as Mogul polity fast-crumbled, and by the first decade of the nineteenth

century nearly a third of the subcontinent was under British control; Prince of Wales Island (now Penang) was acquired as early as 1786, Singapore in 1819 and Malacca in 1824; the Burmese provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were won in 1826 and by 1852 had been amalgamated with Pegu into Lower Burma which was governed from Calcutta; in the South China Sea, the island of Labuan was annexed in 1846.<sup>2</sup> Still, Britain appears to have been more than a little reluctant to acquire territory in Southeast Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century and those annexations which were made seem to have been dictated by two impellant needs.<sup>3</sup> The first was to secure the potentially lucrative trade between India and China; South-east Asia happened to lay astride the sea route through the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea. The second compel-

ling need was the defence of the empire abuilding in India; the French were perceived as a menace in the Bay of Bengal and the adjacent Burmese were fractious. Siam posed no proximate threat to India, either territorially or commercially, but she could make an awkward neighbour.

Siam had long-standing claims, albeit nominal and discontinuous, to overlordship of the several peninsular Malay states, including even Singapore. The destruction of Ayudhya (capital of Siam for more than 400 years) in 1767 by the Burmese had forced a relaxation of this sway, but the opening decades of the nineteenth century found Siam fully recovered and actively attempting to reassert her shadowy suzerainty over at least the northernmost of the Malay states. When the British acquired Prince of Wales Island in 1786 and Province Wellesley on the mainland opposite the island in 1800 from the sultan of Kedah, the Siamese court was unable to object and, wisely, sat silent. The London Company, well aware of the historical vassalage of the Malay states and of Kedah in particular, foresaw potential conflict as the fledgling Chakri dynasty at Bangkok gathered strength and shrewdly made no commitment to defend Kedah against aggression in the treaties of 1791 and 1800 which sealed the ceding of Prince of Wales Island and Province Wellesley. The sultan, however, had been given verbal assurances of British protection and the Company tacitly undertook the moral obligation of guardian. This duty was tested in 1821 when Siamese forces overran Kedah and the sultan, with a sizeable number of followers, fled to Province Wellesley. Siam requested extradition of the sultan. This was refused. An immediate consequence of this play was to cast doubt on the London Company's right to Prince of Wales Island and Province Wellesley, and to make uncertain also the settlement's food supply of which the bulk had come from Kedah. The London Company was of one mind: Prince of Wales Island/Province Wellesley was British and the Siamese were to be dealt with diplomatically. Dr. John Crawfurd was sent as envoy from the governor general of India to the court of Siam in 1821.<sup>4</sup>

Crawfurd was instructed to negotiate three proposals: re-enthronement of the sultan of Kedah; establishment of Anglo-Siamese trade on a "defined and permanent footing" (Crawfurd 1830, II, App. B: 589-590, 595-596); and abetment by Siam against Burma in the seemingly unavoidable event of war. The reason for the first of these three objectives—re-enthronement of the sultan of Kedah—has been outlined; the reasons for the other two objectives need elaboration.

Establishment of Anglo-Siamese trade on a "defined and permanent footing" was pushed by local merchants and officials at Prince of Wales Island who were advocates of the so-called "country trade"—trade in commodities other than those of British manufacture and outside formal transactions of the London Company. These "locals" saw substantial potential gains from direct trade with Siam. They knew Bangkok as the pre-eminent entrepot in Southeast Asia for the China trade, a place from which could be got quantities of valuable commodities such as rice, sapanwood, sugar, teak and tin. They pointed to growing commercial intercourse between Prince of Wales

Island and Siam which held out prospects of a most profitable exchange, provided only that Bangkok's onerous port levy, comprising measurement and customs duties prejudicial to non-Asian commerce, was normalized. The commercial position of Prince of Wales Island was seen rather differently by the London Company and the British Government both in London and Calcutta. Set in the context of total trade in the East, the trade of Prince of Wales Island was insignificant and destined to become even less consequential with the rise of Singapore. Indeed, Singapore had all but displaced Bangkok as the pre-eminent entrepot in Southeast Asia within a year of its founding. For the London Company, negotiations on the subject of British trade with Siam was an indulgence allowed the "country traders;" normalization of commercial intercourse was not to be gained at the expense of Anglo-Siamese amity.

Anglo-Siamese amity was of major importance because an Anglo-Burmese war was imminent. Although the relationship between the Siamese and Burmese courts at the time was one of mutual hatred, the assistance of Siamese forces was not assured thereby and so Crawfurd was to proffer certain inducements. That the London Company sought also to avoid or at least to mitigate impending difficulties in the Malay states by allying the Siamese in war and sharing the spoils appears a reasonable inference.

Crawfurd's negotiations attained not one of his diplomatic objectives: the Siamese observed the Anglo-Burmese conflict from the sidelines; side-stepped any commitment to a commercial treaty; and scorned British support for the sultan of Kedah as meddling in their internal affairs. That the Crawfurd Mission was a failure (acknowledged at the time by all British parties concerned and since by concerned scholars) dismayed neither the London Company nor Calcutta; they saw the initiation of diplomatic intercourse with the court of Siam as opening a way for negotiations which could serve imperial policy in the East.

Not five years later, in 1825, a second envoy, Captain Henry Burney, was sent to the court of Siam from the governor-general of India.<sup>5</sup> His brief differed only in detail from that given John Crawfurd, the first envoy: re-enthronement of the sultan of Kedah and abandonment of designs on Malay states south of Kedah; establishment of "free" commercial intercourse between Britain and Siam; abetment of Siamese forces in war against Burma; and reinstatement of residents taken by the Siamese from former Burmese provinces now under British jurisdiction. Burney concluded a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce in 1826 (BP, v. I, pt. 3, pp. 375-384; I.O. FRSS, v. 138, no. 37, pp. 190-272). The treaty allowed for "free trade" and for some reduction of levies at the port of Bangkok, but constraints placed on the actual working of this commercial agreement virtually maintained all restrictive practices. The treaty dealt with the status of the Malay states beyond Kedah, but in a way which permitted an interpretation agreeable to either signatory. As for Kedah, the Siamese not only refused to reinstate the sultan but insisted he be shown no favour, which included asylum anywhere in the vicinity of his former sultanate. He was sent to Malacca. The treaty specified

nothing about the assistance of Siamese forces in warring against Burma, though former residents of the conquered Burmese provinces were to be repatriated, provided they could be found.

The Treaty of Friendship and Commerce received warm commendation in certain British quarters and hot condemnation in others.

"Locals" at Prince of Wales Island were not best pleased. The commercial clauses of the treaty did not encourage "free trade" but, instead, severely circumscribed the activities of British merchants. Even more dismaying was the perceived loss of Kedah by the virtual banishment of the former sultan with whom they enjoyed a patron-client relationship. That the treaty did not finally debunk what was seen as the myth of Siamese suzerainty over the Malay states was roundly criticized also, although that Siamese overlordship south of Kedah went undeclared in the treaty was nicely interpreted as its denial and, consequently, tacit admission of British influence, if not control, over the southern half of the peninsula.

Calcutta and the London Company declared themselves satisfied with the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce. That the treaty was vague about political jurisdiction over the Malay states south of Kedah suited their hands-off policy toward Siam at a time when Burma was already a handful. In any event, it was felt that further local territorial responsibility of any kind in Southeast Asia was unwarranted in light of global British commercial interests. Siam was best kept quiet; that the "country trade" was not encouraged thereby was a small price to pay—indeed, it was no price at all for the London Company.

If the efficacy of Burney's negotiations is arguable and those of Crawford is nil—though such assessment seems harsh—both excelled as spies.<sup>6</sup>

Gathered up was a mass of information about the kingdom's economic, social, cultural and political life, and its natural resources and landscape. Much of this intelligence is contained in the envoys' copious correspondence and lengthy reports which pepper the records of the supreme government in Bengal and the presidency of Prince of Wales Island. Both envoys also maintained daily journals in which a great deal about Siam is secreted. Crawford published a diary-like book of his mission which conveys much of what was then known of Siam (Crawford 1830); Burney thought to publish a book on Siam also, but did not (Hall 1958, 101). Early in this century two collections of the official correspondence and reports of Crawford and Burney, and contemporaries, which concern Siam were published: *The Crawford Papers* and *The Burney Papers*.<sup>7</sup> In all this material now available about early nineteenth century Siam, a uniquely informative kind of documentary evidence which was purposefully compiled by both Crawford and Burney is wanting: charts and maps.

The reason for the disappearance of charts and maps from the correspondence and reports to which they were originally attached can only be supposed, but simple administrative practice appears blameworthy. At Calcutta, charts and maps were routinely detached from covering documents and sent to official expert authorities for vetting. This evaluation could

take a considerable time and might lead to a further lengthy period of reassessment and amendment of an original sketch. Prior to the establishment of a lithographic press at Calcutta in 1823, those charts and maps deemed worthy were forwarded to London for reproduction. But even when the Calcutta press was running full-speed, lithographic production was a slow process. Whether a published or even an original chart or map was re-attached to its parent document, particularly following a protracted time away, seems to have been more chance than design. For these charts and maps which were re-attached or had remained attached to the original nineteenth century covering documents, dislodgement was likely with the advent of modern specialized library systems: nowadays maps are routinely despatched to map archives and, though clues may be given to their whereabouts when parted from parental materials, ready identification and retrieval is not certain. That maps have been "lost" through such administrative practice is eloquently attested to by those which have been "found."

Abetting such map displacing administrative practice is the researcher who regards maps as garnishry to genuine documentation and as leitmotif in grand historiography. Purblind, this "scholar" neither notices the absence of a named map nor registers its presence. Not one of the several historians known to me to have sifted through the leavings of Crawford or Burney has raised voice to protest the disappearance of those charts and maps of Siam which these envoys so carefully compiled.

My concern as a geographer with a long-standing research focus on Thailand and an especial interest in the historical geography of the kingdom is to exhibit and to evaluate the "lost" maps of early nineteenth century Siam compiled by John Crawford and Captain Henry Burney, envoys from the London Company to the Chakri Court.

## THE CRAWFURD PLOTS

Failure of the Crawford mission to secure a formal commercial-political agreement between the government of India and the court of Siam in 1822 was laid at the outset of negotiations when, in the words of the envoy, Crawford: "The character of the Government of Siam was discovered ... to be unusually sordid, insincere and rapacious" (CP, p. 23; I.O. FRSS 87: 201).<sup>8</sup> Subsequent intercourse with the court of Siam served only to heighten Crawford's initial foreboding:

To a character of venality and corruption, we found superadded a remarkable degree of national vanity yet with an extraordinary jealousy and distrust of all strangers, and especially of Europeans. We saw indeed that an intercourse with the latter was courted, but merely as affording an object of extortion to those in power ... (CP, p. 24; I.O. FRSS 87: 202).

So, pleads the agent of the governor general of Bengal:

With a Government thus at once vain, jealous, insincere and corrupt it was no easy matter with a due regard to the national honor to conduct a negotiation at all, and to bring it to precise and satisfactory results, as might have been looked for with a people of a less barbarous and more manly character, was found in the sequel impracticable (CP, p. 24; I.O. FRSS 87: 202).

From Crawford's self-righteous vantage point, the Siamese negotiators were unreasonable if not downright dishonest: they did not accede to a formal agreement for freer trade because the very authorities with whom he was negotiating had a vested interest in maintaining the restricted trade from which they drew immense profit. The envoy, well-aware he was dealing with hard-headed businessmen, seemed not to realize he was proffering next to nothing in return for their surrendering dictation of the terms of trade. Yet, statesmenlike, the Siamese authorities agreed to "aid and assist British merchants in their commercial transactions," to maintain duties payable at current levels and to welcome trade from all quarters; a formal arrangement backed by "many personal assurances" (CP, p. 61; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 27, no. 24). Although these advantages were judged of little consequence by Crawford, such concessions reflected the desire of the Siamese court to enter into more intimate relations with the government of India and, thereby and more immediately, with the presidency of Prince of Wales Island with which there existed "a trade of no inconsiderable amount" (CP, p. 5; I.O. BLR v. 86). Indeed, it was the perception by the Honorable Company (East India Company) of "a favorable disposition on the part of the King of Siam to encourage an intercourse" (CP, p. 12; I.O. BLR v. 86) which led it to prompt the Honorable Court (Government of India) to send the mission, advising, *inter alia*: "We do not anticipate any obstacles of a serious nature to the opening [of] a general trade with Siam" (CP, p. 5; I.O. BLR v. 86).

What went wrong?

Certainly several things did not go right, but the real reason for the failure of the mission to secure favorable terms of trade was not what went wrong but who went wrong. Crawford went wrong. The envoy decided expressly to refuse the Siamese permission to purchase fire-arms from the British. Asked forthrightly by the minister for foreign affairs at an extraordinary pre-audience meeting whether "if a treaty were made with the Governor-general of India, Siamese Vessels would be permitted to purchase fire-arms and ammunition freely at British ports?" he replied "that if the Siamese were at peace with the friends and neighbours of the British nation [the Burmese, "national enemy" of the Siamese] they would certainly be permitted to purchase fire-arms and ammunition at our ports, but not otherwise" (Crawford 1967, 89). The minister then diplomatically changed tack and spoke about trade, of which Crawford says disparagingly: "he evinced much shrewdness and intelligence; but his views were those of a keen trader, and

not of a statesman" (Crawford 1967, 89). And, notes the envoy disapprovingly: "Before I took leave of him, he again reverted to the favourite subject of our supplying fire-arms" (Crawford 1967, 90). To which, Crawford self-approvingly records: "I gave the same answer as before" (Crawford 1967, 90). Crawford avers this answer to the "*demand* of supplying them with fire-arms" (my emphasis) was "compatible with a strict neutrality" (Crawford 1967, 89). "while the Siamese and Burmans were at war" (CP, p. 162; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 42, no. 13) and, in any event, he "did not feel ... authorized to yield to" the request (Crawford 1967, 90). I suspect Crawford's refusal to grant the Siamese permission to purchase fire-arms stems from his self-righteous disapproval of the Siamese court. The governor general certainly thought his envoy's fastidiousness unwarranted and

... particularly adverted to the circumstance that the concession on our part of permission to the Siamese Government to purchase fire arms ... would to all appearance have induced the King to grant the freedom of commerce ... which it was a special object of your Mission to obtain. It is not apparent that any very weighty reasons exist against granting the permission, and it is perhaps therefore to be regretted that you did not consider your instructions to authorize your entering more decidedly into the views of the Siamese Court on this point (CP, p. 177; I.O. FRSS v. 90, p. 700).

Crawford himself, in hindsight, regretted his will "Upon the subject of fire-arms" (CP, p. 162; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 42, no. 13) "on which the Siamese set the greatest value throughout the negotiation" (Crawford 1967, 89) and communicated his conviction "that there is no motive which can be held out to them so likely as this [permission to purchase fire-arms] to induce them to relax the severity of their commercial restrictions" (CP, p. 162; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 42, no. 13.). Indeed, shortly after assuming the Residency at Singapore in 1823, where he was to act on matters connected with Siam, Crawford informed the Siamese minister for foreign affairs:

... there exists now no objection to the merchants of England supplying the Siamese Government with firearms. The cargo of Mr. Gillie's ship [first to come to Siam direct from England] indeed consists almost wholly of this article, a circumstance which I trust will be considered a convincing proof of esteem and confidence (CP, pp. 188-189; I.O. FRSS, v. 101, pp. 1521-1522).

The governor general commended as "fully warranted" the resident's "manner of treating the question of supplying fire arms to the Siamese" and suggested:

At the present moment, indeed, in our actual state of warfare with the Burman Empire it may be

considered a decided object of policy to furnish the people of Siam with means of offence against the common enemy to the utmost practicable extent (CP, p. 197; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 60, no. 8).

Thereafter, the Siamese received canon, muskets and ammunition aplenty.

What had the Siamese minister of foreign affairs made of Crawford's repeated rejection of his clear intention to seal a treaty with the government of India provided only that fire-arms could be bought from the British? I imagine the minister was nonplussed. Reiteration of the desire of the Siamese court to purchase fire-arms—twice by himself at an extraordinary pre-audience tête-a-tête—had met with the same unqualified refusal. His Majesty had concluded the audience with Crawford by saying:

I am glad to see an envoy here from the Governor-general of India. Whatever you have to say, communicate to the minister ... What we chiefly want from you are fire-arms (Crawford 1967, 95).

Crawford had not reacted to the ultimate prompt. So, it seemed, refusal of permission to purchase firearms was not a bargaining counter. Was the envoy under instructions to deny the request or was his refusal inconsistent with the wishes of the governor general? The East India Company had been informed of the desire of the court; indeed, several hundred muskets were among the gifts to His Majesty brought by the envoy from the governor general, though the minister could not have known the Honorable Company had advised the Honorable Court immediately the mission had departed Calcutta in 1821 that:

With respect to ... fire arms, we understood that a present of muskets would be peculiarly acceptable to the Kings of Siam and Cochin-China, and we accordingly directed 850 stand of arms to be furnished from the arsenal for that purpose (CP, p. 11; I.O. BLR, v. 86).

And again:

... the present friendly disposition of the King of Siam ... cannot fail to be improved and confirmed by the Mission now proceeding to the Court with valuable presents, and more especially the seasonable supply of fire arms ... (CP, p. 15; I.O. BLR v. 87).

On the other hand, the envoy had said the Burmese were friends of the British and he was to proceed to the court of Cochin China to establish friendly relations there. Crawford had been less than forthright when asked about the number of firearms to be presented to His Majesty; saying first "a few hundreds," then, when pressed, "probably three or four hundred," and when asked to "be good enough to say either the one or the other," said nothing (Crawford 1967, 75). The commander

of the mission ship, when asked "How many musquets have you for the King of Cochin China" replied "That question related to the Ambassador and not to me" (CP, p. 93; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 36, no. 20) and would not be drawn, though he openly admitted knowing the number. Enmity between the Siamese and the Burmese on the one hand and the Cochin Chinese on the other was long-standing; Siam could be squeezed between, fighting on two fronts with formidable foes armed by the British. Was this the intention of the governor general of India?

I suspect the Siamese court was in a quandary and determined to discover the mind of the British. If the governor general was interested in establishing a formal working relationship, then not to sign the desired treaty but to proffer, instead, a conciliatory agreement while pointing to the blockage would permit him to resolve the matter easily: all the governor general need do is permit the purchase of arms. Whatever the reasoning, the Siamese court did this and waited. No word was heard from the governor general for several months. What might the court have made of this silence, fast becoming pregnant? Might not the Siamese have suspected Crawford of misrepresenting their position to the governor general? Reason for such surmise comes from receipt by the governor of Prince of Wales Island of an extravagant complaint dated January 1823 about the conduct of Crawford from the minister of foreign affairs together with a letter of identical purport from the second minister for commercial affairs addressed to the Persian secretary of the supreme government. The letter from the second minister to the Persian secretary stems from a bit of gamesmanship which attended the answer to the letter of the governor general conveyed by his envoy addressed to His Majesty, King of Siam. Crawford, seeing the answer was in the name of the minister for foreign affairs, not His Majesty, the King, and noting the inferior quality of the paper used

... declined receiving an answer from the Minister addressed to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General, and insisted that the letter should be written to one of the Secretaries, in consequence of which it was finally agreed that the Second Minister ... should address the Persian Secretary ... (CP, p. 62; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 27, no. 24; see also Crawford 1967, 169).

No doubt the Minister sought the intercession of the governor, with whom he had an amicable intercourse, at Bengal or perhaps at London if the envoy had acted under instructions from the governor general. The governor forwarded both letters to Bengal and assured the minister of his and the British government's friendship (see CP, pp. 227-279; I.O. FRSS, v. 89, pp. 408-411). The governor general rejected the complaints, approved of Crawford's conduct and assured the minister of his friendship and respect for His Majesty (see CP, pp. 170-172; I.O. FRSS, v. 90, pp. 691-694).

The letter from the Siamese minister must be judged a strategem to allow the governor general to sidestep the impasse with face by simply using his agent as scapegoat. The strategem

comprises not only what is said but what is unsaid. No notice is made of the "Quedah affair" and the refuge given its rajah by the government of Prince of Wales Island; of which we need refer only to Crawford's own version of lengthy discussions in Bangkok, contained in a report to the governor general (see CP, pp. 23-47; I.O. FRSS, v. 87, pp. 201-236), to apprehend the rectitude of the Siamese position which is nicely encapsulated in a remark of the minister for foreign affairs:

... the King of Queda is not a Child, he knows the customs of the Country, and if he wishes to be restored to his Kingdom he will repair to the presence [of the King of Siam] (CP, p. 31; I.O. FRSS, v. 87, p. 210).

Not a word is there about the refusal of the envoy even to consider the request, often reiterated, to be permitted to purchase firearms. Had Crawford been instructed to so do, then to express dissatisfaction would not be prudent; had Crawford not been so instructed, the governor general would need no further notice of Siamese disquiet. Boiled down, what is said amounts to a dispraise of Crawford's behaviour, which is particularized as "improper" and "supererogatory." The envoy's impropriety is laid to his ignorance of Siamese custom and law, and to the disrespect and insolence of those under him which "was not in accordance with the Governor-General's sentiments" (CP, p. 276; I.O. FRSS, v. 89). The envoy's supererogation is attributed to his stretching "the orders he had received from the Governor General of Bengal" (CP, p. 276; I.O. FRSS, v. 89) who

had sent a letter to desire that the trade might be laid entirely open on both sides, so that English merchants should come to Siam and not be allowed to transgress, but directed to adhere to the old laws agreeably to the custom of great countries. This plan of the Governor General of Bengal had gained him a highly favourable report among the merchants of the Empire for wisdom and prudence, and they said he was the fittest person to hold a high station over the English possessions all over the world, only Crawford having come and made additions to what the Governor General said ... (CP, p. 275; I.O. FRSS, v. 89).

This is instanced by his request "that the English might be allowed to have resident merchants at Siam" though "the letter which he brought expressly stated that no place to reside in was requested where such merchants might be placed" (CP, p. 268; I.O. FRSS, v. 89).

Crawford's rebuttal of this accusation is vigorous and forthright:

With respect to my having ever asked permission for British merchants to reside in Siam, this ... I can safely deny. I never thought such a thing practica-

ble or useful, and upon this subject I need only refer to the strong opinion which I expressed respecting the impracticability of Europeans residing under any circumstances under the Siamese Government ...

I must take the liberty here, however, of suggesting, having seen the original Malay letter, that the expression rendered Resident Merchants in ... translation has probably reference to the establishment of a British commercial agent. It will be seen on reference to the papers laid before Government by Mr. Morgan [a merchant sent to Bangkok by the Governor of Prince of Wales Island in 1821, immediately prior to the Crawford Mission, to sound out the Siamese about the removal of restrictions on British subjects in Siam] that the Prince Krom Chiat and the very Minister who is author of the present allegation, themselves suggested the establishment of a British consulship ... and when I arrived ... I actually found a Portuguese one promised ... Under all these circumstances ... the establishment of a consulship... appeared to me a practicable and useful measure (CP, pp. 82-84; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 36, no. 20).

Offered also in evidence of the envoy's supererogatory activity was that during his stay he had closely observed

... the place and its population, and he also drew maps of all the rivers, sounding their depth, and measuring the extent of the islands without the river's mouth, which were many in number (CP, p. 269; I.O. FRSS, v. 89).

Siamese suspicions having been aroused, when Crawford departed the kingdom his interpreters had been questioned and these two said

... that this Crawford was a very clever and investigating man, and had come in order to view the Empire of Siam previous to the English fitting out an expedition with ships of war to come and conquer and seize on the Empire. And it was for this reason that Crawford, Dangerfield, the Doctor and the military officer sounded the rivers and measured the size of the Islands, small and great, and reckoned the population, and took counsel to do many other things to give cause of offence ... (CP, p. 269; I.O. FRSS, v. 89).

To this allegation, Crawford's rebuttal was as vigorous but not as forthright as before:

... I and the gentlemen of the Mission are represented as drawing maps and sounding rivers. Express permission was given ... to make free use of

our astronomical and surveying instruments within a fortnight after our arrival ... It so happened, however, that neither the astronomical nor surveying instruments were ever made use of, and that the greater number of them were never even taken out of their cases during our stay at Siam, owing to the accidental sickness of the officer [Captain Dangerfield] in charge of them. The step of surveying a group of desert islands at the head of the gulf, if this be alluded to, could certainly have had no bearing whatever upon the interests of the mission for it took place near a month after we had quitted Siam, and I think scarcely less than two after the negotiation had terminated.

That I spared no pains ... to obtain information respecting the ... country and especially of its commercial interests ... I am proud to avow. This was ... an object ... in my instructions ... Whatever information has been obtained ... may be considered ... too little than too much ... The only fair ... comparison ... is the first mission of Col. Symes to the Burmas, a people of similar manners and ... prejudices with the Siamese, and here ... a ... surveyor was employed ... surveying and astronomical instruments were freely used ... a complete survey of the river Irawady ... and ... a great deal of general information respecting the ... country was ... obtained. [Fearful to labour the obvious, yet I must mutter: Burma was gobbled by the British.]

Of the vague rumours ... put in the mouth of my two interpreters there is not the slightest foundation (CP, pp. 84-87; I.O. BPC range 123, v. 36, no. 20).

Among the governor general's "instructions" to his agent, Crawford, is a severe directive concerning "a small supply of instruments for surveying ... that you will carefully avoid any use of ... which can tend in the slightest degree to excite the jealousy of the Governments to which you are accredited" (Crawford 1967, 594). This injunction from the honorable court reflects advice from the honorable company concerning the operations of the "practised and skilful surveyor"—Captain Dangerfield—for whom

... it is to be hoped ... some favorable opportunities will offer ... [nevertheless]. We rely ... on the discretion of the Envoy for avoiding any occasion of offence or jealousy to the Sovereign or people of the countries to which he is to proceed, which might be created by an incautious attempt to undertake survey operations (CP, p. 9; I.O. BLR v. 86).

The supply of instruments for surveying was indeed small if all it comprised was the single "transit instrument and a chronometer" made available by the honorable company "for the use of the surveyor while employed on the Mission" (CP, p. 11; I.O. BLR, v. 86).

As it happened, reports Crawford:

... although the opportunities which frequently occurred were favorable, I much fear that the hopes of Government will be disappointed. The delicate state of Captain Dangerfield's health throughout the voyage ... rendered his services ... unavailable. This led me ... to make such provision for this unlooked for deficiency ... as ... our situation would admit and accordingly I applied to Mr. Brown ... and made to him the use of the Mathematical and astronomical instruments ... (I.O. BPC range 123, v. 27, no. 31).

Despite all shortcomings, the surveying venture yielded

Five Charts upon a large scale of the Eastern Coast and head of the Gulf of Siam; a chart of the river of Siam on a large scale from actual survey; an outline chart of the Gulf of Siam; a chart of the group of islands called Si-chang in the Gulf of Siam from an actual survey; a delineation of a portion of the Anambas Islands in the China Seas, and a chart of a portion of the North-West Coast of Borneo, being in all ten charts (CP, p. 71; I.O. BPC range 123, v. 27, no. 31).

Crawford crows over these maps on which "The whole of the coasts and countries delineated ... have either never been described or delineated before, or much less accurately so," (CP, p. 71; I.O. BPC range 123, v. 27, no. 31) yet he submits:

... the cautions recommended in the instructions of the Government ... have been strictly attended to. At Siam, the express permission of the Government was obtained for using our surveying and astronomical instruments (CP, p. 72; I.O. BPC range 123, v. 27, no. 31).

The foregoing record carries reason for finding Crawford less than forthright when he represents the work of the mission's "surveying department." Part of the reason comes directly from the dissonance within Crawford's disquisition; however, far the greater cause for the charge comes from Crawford's peculiar, if not shifty, use of the term "Siam" when rebutting the imputation of supererogation with regard to the surveying of "islands without the river's mouth" (CP, p. 269; I.O. FRSS, v. 89) and his seemingly over-careful introduction of the attribution "from an actual survey" into the list of charts provided by the mission.

Consider Crawford's use of "Siam." Repetition of a portion of the envoy's deposal of the Siamese complaint about the survey operations of the mission will help sharpen the argument:

... neither the astronomical nor surveying instruments were ever made use of, and ... the greater

number of them were never even taken out of their cases during our stay at Siam ... The step of surveying a group of desert islands at the head of the gulf ... could certainly have had no bearing whatever upon the interests of the mission for it took place near a month after we had quitted Siam, and I think scarcely less than two after the negotiation had terminated (CP, pp. 84-85; I.O. BPC range 123, v. 36, no. 20).

Here, "Siam" is Bangkok. So, the "group of desert islands at the head of the gulf" is not part of "Siam." At best, this is foolery. Is there possibly another interpretation of the passage? Well, yes, Crawford might have meant that though the mission required permission to engage in survey work, on completion of the business of the mission, the ship's company became merely any band of jolly Britishers who might practise surveying anywhere without need to refer to the sovereign state. How else, if "Siam" be Bangkok, to interpret Crawford's avowed compliance with the strictures regarding the survey operations of the mission, since "At Siam, the express permission of the Government was obtained for using our surveying and astronomical instruments" (CP, p. 72; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 27, no. 31).

Nothing in it anyhow, implies Crawford: why all the fuss about "surveying a group of desert islands at the head of the gulf"? In truth, Crawford was well aware that everything was in it, because Crawford's "desert islands" are Crawford's "group of islands called Si-chang," and of *Ko Si Chang* Crawford had said a great deal to the governor general in a lengthy treatise on Siam which was submitted with, but separate from, his rebuttal of the criticism of his activities as envoy by the Siamese minister for foreign affairs. With not a jot of exaggeration it can be said Crawford thought *Ko Si Chang* key to British interests not only in Siam but in all Asia east of India:

I ... prefer ... the formation of a commercial emporium in one of the islands of the Gulf of Siam ... The uninhabited group of the Si-Chang Islands, which contains a fine harbour and lies in the direct route of the native commerce of the Gulf, offers a most advantageous situation for such an emporium. Were this or a similar position under the security and protection of an European Government, I ... predict it would immediately become an entrepôt the principal portion of the trade which countries in the Gulf of Siam conduct with Cochin China and the western and southern parts of Asia, while it would create an extension of European commerce with those countries of which there has been hitherto no example.

... Singapore ... though in general so highly favourable as an emporium, is not calculated to secure those advantages which I have now speculated upon in an emporium formed within the Gulf of Siam, for it lies far out of the direct route of that great intercourse which the countries on the Gulf

maintain with China, a trade which in fact greatly exceeds that of Singapore, native and European put together. No part of this trade can ever centre in Singapore, and therefore this place is inadequate to secure to our trade the advantages which I have contemplated as attainable in our emporium at the head of the Gulf of Siam (CP, pp. 163-164; I.O. BPC range 123, v. 42, no. 13).

An emporium was not all that would be afforded by possession of *Ko Si Chang*:

Through ... military attack the Siamese would be ... compelled to enter into equal and equitable conditions of commerce and friendship with us. The blockade of the Menam will be the easiest, safest and most effectual measure ... The squadron will be secure in the fine harbour of the Sichang group of Islands of which a survey is in the possession of Government, and nearly from this station it will have in its power to intercept, not only the whole foreign trade of the kingdom, which centres in the Menam and can pass by no other route, but the valuable tributes and forced deliveries which are conveyed to the capital from every part of the Gulf, but especially from its eastern shore. In that foreign commerce and these deliveries not only the Government itself is concerned, but every individual about the Court ... so that it may be reckoned with certainty that a few months continuance of the blockade ... would enable us to dictate to the Court of Siam any conditions which it might be considered just or necessary to impose upon it (CP, pp. 151-152; I.O. BPC range 123, v. 42, no. 13).

Small wonder, then, that the "desert islands at the head of the gulf" received an inordinate attention from the mission; indeed, nine full days were spent clambering the rocky, forested slopes of the two main islands comprising *Ko Si Chang* (see Crawford 1967, 187-193; Finlayson 1826, 257-280). Although Crawford's visit to these islands may have been encouraged by information received during his stay in Bangkok, likely he knew something of *Ko Si Chang* prior to his departure from Calcutta where he prepared himself for the Mission by acquiring "full and accurate knowledge ... with regard to everything connected with the former and present political and commercial history" (CP, p. 7; I.O. BLR, v. 86). Indeed, he cites Hamilton (1727) in his Journal as

... the only writer whom I have met with that takes notice of this group of islands. He calls the whole, the Dutch Islands, and the principal one, or Si-chang, "Amsterdam." They appear to have received these names on account of the ships of the Dutch East India Company which frequented Siam in the seventeenth century, being in the habit of taking

shelter at them in the south-west monsoon. English ships, it would appear, had been occasionally in the habit of doing the same thing (Crawfurd 1967, 193).

Also, in March 1826, two years before the appearance of Crawfurd's *Journal*, Hamilton's account is referred to in an article in the *Singapore Chronicle* titled "Harbor of Ko-Si-Chang" which if not actually penned by the resident, Crawfurd, was certainly based on an interview with him.

It is reasonable to suggest that the sojourn to Ko Si Chang was scheduled for entry in the ship's log long before the mission sailed for Siam; is it reasonable also to suggest that reason for the stay was to provide a factual basis for deciding on seizure? Possession of Prince of Wales Island and Singapore, and Crawfurd's nice descriptions of a number of islands and island groups in the South China Sea between Malaya and Borneo and fronting the eastern littoral of the Gulf of Siam, all point to the possibility; instructions from the governor general delivered to Crawfurd while on his way to Siam give reason for promoting this possibility to a probability. The instructions concerned the island now called Pangkor in the Straits of Malacca which Crawfurd avers, was

pointed out ... as eligible for a commercial establishment and a desirable acquisition from the Prince of Pera through the authority of his liege, the King of Siam, with a view of possessing myself of the best information respecting it ... (CP, p. 66; I.O. FRSS 87: 286).

Crawfurd consequently visited the island and reported his findings to the government of Prince of Wales Island: it was "unsuitable" either as "a place of resort and refreshment for our navy in the Bay of Bengal," or as "an emporium for the commerce of the nations to the eastward of the Straits of Malacca." As well, he found "scarcely a spot ... level enough for cultivation or even for convenient and comfortable habitation," and thought the "prospect of deriving any benefit from the working of tin mines ... more than questionable" (CP, p. 67; I.O. FRSS 87: 288). Crawfurd might have been taken aback by the sharp retort of the governor:

... this Government, notwithstanding the permission of the Supreme Government, granted in March 1819, did not consider the subject of sufficient consequence to undertake the occupation of Pankour as a British Settlement of importance ... but merely contemplated the possession of a right, recognized by the Siamese Court, to establish a small military post there for the better suppression of piracy, and for encouraging a trade between Perah and this Island, in tin, as an advantage which, if the same could have been attained without entering into negotiations which might have been troublesome to the Mission, it might have been worth while to obtain (CP, pp. 69-70; I.O. FRSS 87: 290-291).

The compilers of *The Crawfurd Papers* apparently thinking this reply inconsonant, inserted a bridge between the two letters:

It appearing that the views of this Government respecting the Island of Pankour had not appeared to Mr. Crawfurd in the same light as was intended, the following explanatory letter was addressed to him on the subject (CP, p. 69).

"This government" refers to the presidency of Prince of Wales Island; apparently the supreme government in India was not wholly satisfied with the views of "this government" with regard to Pangkor Island and used Crawfurd as scrutineer. The riposte of the governor of Prince of Wales Island is wholly consonant with pique. Indeed, Crawfurd as envoy, was *persona non grata* at Prince of Wales Island, whose government pounced immediately the mission ended, venting its resentment in several "I told you so" letters to Bengal but through London:

When in the year 1820, you acquiesced in the proposal of the Government of Prince of Wales' Island to depute a Commercial Agent to the Court of Siam, you very properly directed that the utmost caution should be used, in order that the jealousy and mistrust of the Siamese Court might not be excited, and that Government, in deference to your Counsel, instead of deputing a Public Officer, employed a Merchant (Mr. Morgan), then about to proceed to Siam, to obtain intelligence ...

We were, therefore, not prepared to hear that, without awaiting the return of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Crawfurd, A Medical Servant of the Company, had been deputed in the character of an accredited Agent of the Governor-General ... accompanied by a Surveyor, Naturalist and Sepoy-Guard, in short with a retinue, which it appears to us was calculated to arouse the jealousy which you had before stated you were so very anxious to avoid exciting.

At the Court of Siam Mr. Crawfurd appears to have totally failed in all the objects of his Mission; which ... he attributes chiefly to the ... interests of the Government, and ... Public Officers ... in upholding the present system of Commerce; partly to the occurrences in Queda ... and partly to the ... Siamese Government having been refused permission to purchase Fire-Arms ...

We doubt not that these causes ... contributed ... to the ill success of the Mission, and we think ... their operation was aided by the enquiries ... by Mr. Crawfurd ... and the Surveys which were executed during his stay in Siam.

Mr. Crawfurd has proposed, ... the establishment of a Commercial Emporium on the Si-Chang Islands ... but we do not consider it expedient to entertain this proposition at present (CP, pp. 218-220; I.O. BD 99: 454-457).

So perished a proposal previously commended by the honorable court "to merit every consideration, and will be borne in mind against ... any opportunity ... for its execution" (CP, p. 177; I.O. FRSS 90: 700) but about which agents of the honorable company in Bengal had been circumspect:

Crawfurd's suggestions relative to the formation of a commercial establishment on the ... Si-chang Islands ... and the survey of the Anambas and Natunas Islands [in the South China Sea between Malaya and Borneo] with similar views, will doubtless attract the attention of your Honorable Court. Though they appear to us to merit consideration, we should not ... feel ourselves warranted in adopting such measures ... without the previous sanction of the authorities in England (CP, p. 183; I.O. BLR, v. 90).

Ko Si Chang was one of only two places which merits the signal "from an actual survey" in Crawfurd's list of mission charts; the other is the Chao Phraya River, sounded and surveyed only from its mouth to Bangkok during the ascent and descent of the mission ship for "visits never extended beyond a few miles of the town" (Crawfurd 1967, 147) and "All attempts to visit the interior of the country were unavailing" (Finlayson 1826, 264). "Five Charts ... of the Eastern Coast and head of the Gulf of Siam" and the "outline chart of the Gulf of Siam" (as well as maps of places beyond Siam) did not derive "from an actual survey." Whence came these charts, then? The answer lays buried in the ultimate appendix to Crawfurd's *Journal*, titled "Materials of the Map" which refers to the included "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" compiled by John Walker (see figs. 1–10). Materials relevant to that portion of this map depicting the Kingdom of Siam are attributed as follows:

From the Cape of Patani to the point of Kwi is taken from a Mohammedan mariner, a native of Siam, possessed of considerable intelligence—who was acquainted with the use of maps and the quarter-staff, and could even take an altitude of the sun with our quadrants; no mean proficiency in an Indian.

The head of the Gulf of Siam and its eastern shore, down to Kangkao or Hatian, are from the same authority; many points being determined, and the whole arranged and adjusted by Captain John Brown, the commander of the *John Adam* [the Mission Ship].

The interior of Siam is laid down from a map prepared for me by my friend Captain Taylor, who drew his materials from the Siamese authority already mentioned—from La Loubère, and Dr. Francis Buchannan Hamilton (Crawfurd 1967, 598).

Minus "a Mohammedan mariner," John Walker's "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" would not be.

Among the Mohammedan Siamese who figure in Crawfurd's negotiations at Bangkok only two are named and none are mariners. I suspect the mysterious Mohammedan is one of two mariners Crawfurd became acquainted with before ever he set foot in Siam; indeed, before he dropped down the Hoogly:

We had scarcely landed [at Penang or Prince of Wales Island], when we were met by the commander and the pilot of a Siamese ship, thus far on her voyage from Calcutta to Bangkok. I had frequently seen these two men at Calcutta, and availed myself of my acquaintance with them, to add to our information. They were both, especially the pilot, shrewd and well-informed men, and the details they communicated respecting their country, supplied more useful and practical knowledge than all we had before obtained from printed sources. They were descendants of Mohammedan settlers from Arcot on the Coromandel coast, and inherited the religion and language of their country (Crawfurd 1967, 11).

Of these two suspects, the pilot is the more probable perpetrator, not only because he is pointed to particularly in this passage, but because the commander, as described by Crawfurd, "was an unwieldy old Mohammedan of sixty, and of most uncompromising Oriental habits" (Crawfurd 1967, 87). The reason for not naming the master map maker might be laid to Crawfurd's supercilious attitude toward "Indians" and Siamese, but he may have thought better of surely identifying this man because of possible dire repercussions. At Singapore, where the Mission to Siam was stymied for a time by the force of the northeast monsoon, Crawfurd again met the two Mohammedan Siamese, whose return to Bangkok was likewise delayed, but whereas previously they had freely given

... a great deal of useful information ... as we approached Siam they became much more shy and reserved, and now communicated nothing without a strict injunction to secrecy. They constantly resisted our solicitations to assist in translating the Governor-general's letter into Siamese, observing that the communication of his Majesty's titles would be considered as the divulgement of a state secret, which might cost them their lives. The commander ... passed his hand over his neck on such occasions, to represent the operation of a sword, that no doubt might be entertained of the nature of his apprehensions (Crawfurd 1967, 48).

Whatever the reason, the Mohammedan Siamese authority on whom depends the depiction of the kingdom of Siam on Walker's masterfully compiled map is an anonym. Indeed, the original charts from which the "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" draws its Siamese parts are as lost as is their

maker. I doubt these original charts are extant; likely, they were drawn up in Calcutta, chaperoned throughout the mission and reworked where possible on the basis of co-ordinates determined by Captain Brown. Brown was particularly active in this regard around the head of the gulf and along its eastern shore, which is reason, I suggest, for production by the mission of "Five Charts upon a large scale of the Eastern Coast and head of the Gulf of Siam;" conversely, the western shore of the gulf, where few readings could be taken, is shown by the Mission only on "an outline chart of the Gulf of Siam" (CP, p. 71; I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 27, no. 31). Of the interior of Siam beyond Bangkok, where the mission did not go, there is no map.

Crawfurd was instructed

... to transmit to the Office of the Secretary in the General Department, the Charts and other Documents connected with the Survey prepared by Mr. Brown, and the Honorable the Governor General in Council will be prepared on a report from the Marine Surveyor General of the extent and value of Mr. Brown's services to make him a suitable remuneration... (I.O. BPC, range 123, v. 27, no. 40).

Transference was duly made and the charts were promptly passed to the Marine Board with a request for assessment by the Marine Surveyor General, Captain Daniel Ross (see I.O. BPubC, 13 March 1823). Captain Ross promptly passed his assessment back to the Marine Board:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter ... accompanied by a Memoir and Charts of the Gulph of Siam, presented by Captain Brown to the Government; and in compliance with the directions of the Board to report on the same ... judging of the accuracy of the Charts by comparing them with the Memoir, I am induced to recommend the exertions of Captain Brown to the favorable notice of the Board ... as the information which he offers is almost the only one we possess of that part of the Gulph of Siam and will certainly prove useful to Ships navigating thereabouts. I must however observe that the whole of the Charts might have been comprized in a single Sheet (I.O. BPubC, 22 March 1823).

Crawfurd disagreed with Captain Ross about assemblage of the charts into one and thought the compensation offered Captain Brown a paltry sum; Brown's remuneration subsequently was raised threefold (See I.O. BPubC, 31 July 1823). Of the charts produced by the mission's "surveying department," all that is known is that they do not appear to have been sent to London for engraving and publication, which was usual practice at this time (Personnal communication India Office Library and Records, 10 October 1980). Whatever their fate, I suspect Crawfurd carried copies, if not the originals, to Singapore where he became resident in 1823. Reason for such suspicion

comes from discovery of two charts based on information "communicated to Mr. Crawfurd" entitled: "West Coast of the Gulf of Siam" and "East Coast of the Gulf of Siam." Each map is from "Copy of a Native Manuscript" out of Singapore, 1825; though each has been adjusted as is manifest by a grid, soundings and an inset of Ko Si Chang. Discovered with these two charts is a third entitled "Map of the course of the Siam or Menam River. With part of Upper Siam constructed from original information collected by John Crawfurd Esqr." which is otherwise unattributed, though a copy was made in the Office of the Surveyor General of India in 1830. Can these three charts be other than the three from which John Walker drew the Siamese portion of the "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" for Crawfurd's Journal (see figs. 11 through 19)?

Crawfurd's *Journal* includes also a second chart (fig. 20) entitled "Sketch of the Town of Bang-kok, by a Native," which, as a caricature rather than an attempt to represent the built city, says a great deal about the *raison d'être* of the capital (Sternstein 1982, 13). In fact, this "J. & C. Walker" piece is an artless, if not artful, exsection from a "Copy of a Sketch of the course of the River Menam by a Native of Siam," (fig. 19) which was made at Singapore in 1825 by the self-same copier of the two charts showing the east and west coasts of the Gulf of Siam. Fig. 21 is as near a representation of a map as drawn by Crawfurd's "Mohammedan Siamese mariner" as is likely to be found.

Incidentally, the three charts copied at Singapore in 1825 and that "constructed from original information collected by John Crawfurd," which are here included as figs. 11, 14, 17 and 21, were found at the National Archives of India where they might have lain unnoticed but for being included in an inventory (Prasad 1975) which was brought to my notice when, in 1984, I visited the National Archives in search of the "lost" maps of the Crawfurd mission. Before New Delhi, I had searched Bangkok for indigenous maps of Crawfurd vintage. This venture was urged by Crawfurd's crediting "native" authorities for the mission's charts of Siam and by reference in his *Journal* to having been "informed that some attempt had been made by the Court to compile a rude map of the kingdom from native surveys" (Crawfurd 1967, 332). Although nothing relevant was discovered at Bangkok, I believe maps of Siam were made by Siamese early in the nineteenth century and before (witness the "Crawfurd" maps and charts themselves) and that these, if extant, repose in a royal sanctum.

Crawfurd's *Journal* is itself "evidence of the appropriateness" of the choice of Crawfurd as envoy for D.K. Wyatt, and though he did not "enjoy any great success in attaining the objects which he sought," still the envoy rightly judged "the mission ... a useful exploratory probe which others might later follow with more substantial results" (Wyatt 1967).

As an account of this mission, however, Crawfurd's *Journal* is eminently successful. As a narrative of his negotiations it is both informative and illuminating. It sets forth in detail the positions of both parties with some perception and fairness; and a careful reading of his account readily provides an

understanding not only of the steps which led up to the impasse upon which the negotiations finally hung, but also of the major themes which were to dominate Anglo-Thai relations in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Crawfurd's *Journal* similarly is impressive as a general introduction to Thailand and Vietnam as they were early in the nineteenth century. While his material ... is sometimes thin ... it is highly useful. Crawfurd was a keen observer who actively sought information ... The information which he gained is in some places faulty, and on some occasions poorly interpreted, but on the whole it is important, well-organized, and, with a few exceptions, but slightly marred by the author's own prejudices (Wyatt 1967).

I cannot concur wholeheartedly. My reading of the *Journal* and documents relevant to the activities of the mission finds Crawfurd inappropriate as negotiator though sufficient as spy. It is the map makers—the unnamed Mohammedan Siamese mariner, Captain John Brown and John Walker—whose work merits praise; better charts of the Gulf of Siam, particularly its eastern shores, came available only several decades later and then only from a concerted effort mounted by the Admiralty and Siamese authorities.<sup>9</sup>

## THE BURNEY PLOTS

In the Introduction to the facsimile reprint of *The Burney Papers* D. K. Wyatt (1971) rightly claims:

As a source for the history of Thailand and Malaya in the second quarter of the nineteenth century *The Burney Papers* is unrivalled.

Accurate also is his evaluation of the Thai historical archives as:

... sadly deficient in materials on this critical period in Thai history, and a large proportion of what we know, not only of Thai relations with the West and her neighbours ... but also of Thai government and society, is to be found only in this monumental collection.

Reason as well is given for reprinting the original 1910 publication by the Committee of the Vajirañāna National Library in Bangkok:

The poor paper on which the limited number of copies ... was printed ... has not easily withstood time and the increasing demands which scholars ...

have placed on it, and complete usable sets are extremely rare. This facsimile reprint is intended to repair that deficiency, in the confidence that these volumes have a great deal to offer to the serious study of the modern history of South East Asia.

The facsimile reprint does repair this particular deficiency.<sup>10</sup> Sadly, however, the opportunity is missed to repair, or merely to enumerate, even the more obvious of other deficiencies in the original collation—a number of which are pointed to, albeit unwittingly, by the collators—and thereby, to greatly enhance the worth of *The Burney Papers*<sup>11</sup> to "serious study" of the beginning of serious British colonial enterprise in Southeast Asia. For a geographer, most serious of the shortcomings of *The Burney Papers* is the absence of the many maps referred to, particularly those which actually accompanied the correspondence which comprise the *Papers* and about which marginal notes point to a prior displacement or admit to the omission of an accompanying map and urge the reader to seek it out.<sup>12</sup> Among the omissions, most disconcerting are two oft-cited maps credited to Captain (later Colonel) Burney himself: "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" (1824); and "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok and P.W. Island" (1825). My aim is to "repair that deficiency, in the confidence that these ... [maps and others by Burney] have a great deal to offer to the serious study of the modern history of South East Asia."

### "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China"

Captain Burney's "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" received commendation, if not laudation, from the Right Honorable the Governor General of British India, Lord Amherst, in a minute dated 5 November 1824.<sup>13</sup>

The Map ... possesses a particular value, from the circumstance of its having been compiled with the assistance of Mr. Gibson, whose local knowledge enabled him to afford the most useful information ... Captain Burney ... has also contributed a very interesting Document ... being the substance of various personal communications with Mr. Gibson ... a person ... acquainted with the real views, temper and character of the King and Court of Ava ...

... Captain Burney ... zealously availed himself of an opportunity, such, as he conceived, might not again be offered, namely, the presence of Mr. Gibson at Penang, and devoted himself with unremitting labour to the compilation of a Map of the very Theatre of Military operations, and respecting which our information was unavoidably so imperfect (BP, v. 1, pt. 4, pp. 745-46; I.O. FRSS 99: 48-50).<sup>14</sup>

That this apparently remarkable map receives no other evaluative notice in *The Burney Papers*<sup>15</sup> is disconcerting though expli-

cable, perhaps, for the compilers' concern to amass materials bearing directly on Siam and the map, despite its title, bearing detail only for Ava.

The map itself has been lost,<sup>16</sup> and only a lone copy, dated Calcutta 4 May 1831, is to be found in Burney's personal papers held in the library of the Royal Commonwealth Society<sup>17</sup> (see figs. 22–24). Provided the copy—a product of the first lithographic press in India which was set up in Calcutta in 1823 (Cook 1989, 125–134)—is without undue embellishment, though likely much reduced in size,<sup>18</sup> the "original", dated Calcutta 22 October 1824, is a finely drawn map of the area within 5 to 28 degrees North and 88 to 115 degrees East showing boundaries between principal states (perhaps outlined in colour as on the copy) and suggesting terrain by crude hachuring, but lacking scale or legend. "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" is inscribed to Lord Amherst and bears the pedigree: "Compiled by collating the personal knowledge of the principal members of a Birman Embassy to the King of Cochin-China with the best European authorities." This matter-of-fact account of the map's making belies a remarkable genesis which even Captain Burney's prosy description, in a letter dated Calcutta 22 October 1824,<sup>19</sup> cannot flatten:

My Lord

I do myself the honour to present ... a Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China ...

The Margin of the Map contains a full account of its construction<sup>[20]</sup> yet it may not be uninteresting for me to state some additional particulars regarding the extraordinary character, Mr. George Gibson, from whom I derived all the new information detailed in the Map.

In the month of February last year [1823] a Vessel under Bermaun Colours arrived at Prince of Wales Island having on board several Cochin Chinese and an Embassy from the Emperor of Ava to the King of Cochin China, of which Embassy Mr Gibson, a native of Madras but of English descent, was the principal Commissioner.<sup>[21]</sup> Just as the Mission Ship was about to pursue her voyage, She caught fire and was utterly destroyed ... upon my representation the Penang Government was pleased to make a pecuniary loan to the Embassy, and to authorize me to provide a passage for most of it's Members ... on board a Portuguese ship bound to Macao.<sup>[22]</sup>

Mr Gibson expressed himself very sensible of the service which I had done the Mission, and on begging me to point out how he could testify his gratitude, I observed that as he was about to visit a country respecting which little was known to Europeans, I should wish him to keep and to give me on his return an account of all that he might see worthy of notice. He readily promised to keep a Journal ... and to begin it from the date of his departure from the capital of Ava.

The Embassy returned to Penang ... in May last [1824] and Mr. Gibson receiving an authentic account of our declaration of War against Ava, again applied to me for advice and assistance. At my suggestion he offered to render his local knowledge and experience useful to Major Canning at Rangoon, to which offer [officer?] he was ultimately forwarded by the Penang Government. He now also presented me with the Journal of the Burman Embassy which he had kept at my desire ...<sup>[23]</sup>

... upon Mr. Gibson's return to Penang ... I discovered that he had been educated at Nabeek a Catholic Mission situate between the rivers Khinduen and Irrawady—that he had visited most parts of the Birman Dominions that he had in his possession numerous French and Native maps and charts<sup>[24]</sup>—and that he had often compiled ... maps of the country for the ... Emperor of Ava ... I thought it my duty to endeavour to render his information as subservient as I possibly could to the interests of the British Government ... [Captain Burney outlines his unique experience, which] had all fortunately given me the means of knowing on what points Mr. Gibson's intelligence could be most serviceable—Although his private character and manners are by no means agreeable, yet ... I found he possessed so much curious and really useful information regarding the Berman Government and country, that I spared no pains to make him disclose all that he knew and I think ... that a great portion of what I gathered from him is worthy of credit.

I collected at the same time every European work which I could find at Penang making mention of the Empires of Ava, Siam, or Cochin China, in order to compare their accounts with whatever the Birman Embassadors personally knew & having persuaded Mr. Gibson and several of his followers to attend at my house for eight or nine hours a day during twenty or five and twenty days, at the expiration of that period he and I, with the assistance of two copying clerks, succeeded in completing a large map of the above mentioned Empires.<sup>[25]</sup> The Burman portion of that map was afterwards taken off & forwarded to Major Canning at Rangoon, who was pleased to make a very favourable report of it.

I have since had the accompanying more correct copy of the whole map executed, and although I do not pretend to possess a very accurate knowledge of the principles of map making, I humbly hope that the present map, in as much as it is fallen [fuller?] than any other extent [extant?], and as it exhibits not only all that the best European authorities have published regarding the Countries of

Ava, Siam, and Cochin China, but the boundaries, as last established, between those respective Empires, a number of public roads, and a variety of entirely new information, may not be deemed altogether unworthy of your Lordship's notice.<sup>[26]</sup> I beg leave to submit enclosed an official copy of Governor Phillip's observations when moving the Penang Government to repay to me the disbursements which I had actually incurred in preparing the map that was forwarded to Major Canning,<sup>[27]</sup> and I must now leave it entirely to your Lordship's grace and favor to determine, whether the personal labour and research, and the great address and patience considering Mr. Gibson's strange character, that was requisite in the compilation of such a map, entitle me to any public remuneration.<sup>[28]</sup>

A severe attack of Liver, joined to a disappointment in some expectations which I had been led to entertain of further public employment at Penang, obliged me to apply to the Penang Government for permission to proceed to Europe on Medical Certificate. I have since considered it advisable to visit Calcutta in the first instance, in order to lay before your Lordship the accompanying map with such information regarding Ava and the countries to the eastward as I have had an opportunity of collecting. I do not presume to have anything like a claim upon your Lordship excepting such as may appear to you to be founded in public services, and with that view, I respectfully trust that the enclosed copy of a Memorial, which I had lately occasion to address to the Honorable Court of Directors with the accompanying Testimonials from the Penang Government, and from Governors Bannerman and Phillips may establish to your Lordship's satisfaction, that I have been and can still be, a useful public servant (I.O. H/M 663, pp. 728–734).

George "Gibson died of cholera on the march up to Prome" with the British army in 1824<sup>29</sup>; Henry Burney got over his "severe attack of Liver" and made a distinguished career as a public servant. Would Burney have got his "resident's visa" east of Suez in 1824 if not for the fortuitous intercession of the singular, albeit awkward, genius of Gibson made manifest in "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China"?

Yet the worth of the map is problematical. Burney himself, from the vantage of hindsight in March 1827, judged it dispassionately in reply to a despatch from the supreme government dated 27 November 1827 requesting a half-dozen copies of the "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China:"

... I beg leave to observe, that one copy of that Map was submitted to the Right Honorable the Governor General, and it is now I believe in the hands of the Surveyor General of India. Another copy was

presented to the Honble Governor of Pinang, whilst the original was transmitted to the late Major Canning at whose death it again came into my possession.<sup>[30]</sup> As the War with Ava must have enabled our Officers to collect geographical materials by regular surveys, I doubt whether it may be expedient to go to the expence of preparing six copies of a Map prepared with less advantageous and accurate means, but as the original Map appears to me to be a very curious document, and it has been lately examined by the Siamese Ministers at Bangkok, who have set down in the Siamese character the names of those places which they could recognize, I beg to deliver it herewith in order that should his Excellency the Vice President in Council deem it proper it may be transmitted for record to the Honble the Court of Directors (I.O. H/M 670, p. 1073).<sup>[31]</sup>

Whether Burney's advice was accepted by the Supreme Government is not known, but that the copy of the "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" with Burney's personal papers is dated "Copied in the Office of the Surveyor General of India. Calcutta 4th of May 1831" suggests either a period of deliberation or, more likely, a low priority; George Everest—who became Surveyor General in 1830—thought such maps of possible illustrative worth but not to contain information "sufficiently accurate to be introduced into any map ... under the authority of the Surveyor General" (Phillimore 1954, III: 296). In truth, that a copy of this map was made at all seems inexplicable but for a profound lack of geographical information east of Burma, and particularly of Siam with which kingdom the British were now concerned as neighbours; certainly that portion of the map concerned with "Burma" excited the Calcutta Office not at all.<sup>32</sup> Essentially, however, Siam as shown on the "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China," according to Burney himself, derives from its depiction in the late seventeenth century:

The great river of Siam was taken from the plans in La Laubere's [Simon de la Loubère] account of Siam [*A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, London 1693; Loubere was in Siam for three months in 1687] & 1st v. of Kampher's [Kaempfer] History of Japan [London, 1728; Kaempfer was in Siam for a month in 1690]. The other rivers and places in Siam were set down from the map in Laubere, and from information received & native maps seen by Mr. Gibson whilst at Enva or Ava (Phillimore 1954, III:80).

On the other hand, coastal areas are said by Burney to derive from more recent charts:

The sea coasts in this map were taken from Mr. Horsburgh's latest charts [early nineteenth cen-

tury], and from some French charts by D'Apres de Manneville [second half of the eighteenth century] & from a manuscript chart of the coasts, islands, & rivers, between Junkslon & Negrais by Mr. Gibson himself (Phillimore 1954, III:79).

I admit to more than a little difficulty in seeing in the compilation by Burney / Gibson a true reflection of the maps of the "great river of Siam" by Loubère and Kaempfer or "other rivers and places in Siam" shown by Loubère, though the depiction of coastal areas can be readily related to the other named charts. Whatever his reason for citing Loubère and Kaempfer, Burney is to be commended if, as it appears, he decided to give greater weight to the "native maps seen by Mr. Gibson" and even to the enigmatic "information received" when the virtual blank which is interior Siam on "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" could easily have been filled by simply transcribing place names from Loubère's "A Mapp of the Kingdome of Siam." This is not to say that the Burney / Gibson compilation is free of serious shortcomings—both those common to maps of Siam from this period and others peculiar to "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China"—but to highlight its several unique features which have since proved creditable. Of these most are historical references which have been given *bona fides* only in relatively recent times: most eye-catching being the bold notation of Dvaravati (or Thawarawadi), the pre-Ayudhyan realm whose very existence was subject of contentious debate only a few decades ago, as another name for Siam. Yet what really distinguishes and merits notice for the Burney / Gibson depiction of Siam is the first correct representation on a non-native map (at least on the many maps I have seen) of a major landscape feature: the latitudinal reach of the Chao Phraya River in its tributaries, which is plainly labelled "Head of the Menam [Chao Phraya] River" (see fig. 23). Although there is no direct evidence of the source of this unequivocal geographical statement, it can be supposed Gibson was so certain of this particular, having seen native maps and spoken with many knowledgeable indigenous people, that Burney was induced to make a decided departure from prior European intelligence.

That Burney admitted the veracity of at least some contrary native knowledge, makes more puzzling his omitting any reference to a map based squarely on native informants which was submitted by a "colleague" to the governor of Prince of Wales Island (to whom Captain Burney was attached as military secretary) on 3 April 1824: Lieutenant Low's map of "Siam Camboja & Laos" dated 1 March 1824, though first completed in 1822 (Sternstein 1985, 1990a). Although Burney did not "borrow" information from Low—Low seems not to have got to Gibson and the two depictions of Siam are remarkably different from one another—why not acknowledge the existence of Low's map? Perhaps the "rivalry manifested in open enmity" between the two gentlemen was rife even before the contentious events of 1825 and 1826 (Sternstein 1985, 149-151). Whatever the reason for this lapse of scholarship, it is inexcusable.<sup>33</sup>

### "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island"

First notice of a "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok and P.W. Island" is found in a long report dated 2 April 1825 to the government of Prince of Wales Island in which Captain Burney details his activities during March 1825 when he was political agent to the Siamese states which occupied the Isthmus of Kra. He asks that "further particulars regarding the geographical situation of the Siamese boundaries" be sought in previous communications and a "Map and Memorandum which will be submitted hereafter" (BP, v. II, pt. 3, p. 212; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 18). Next notice of this "Map and Memorandum" is in a submission to the governor general of India on 3 May 1825 at Fort William where, the Captain states, he had been "directed by the Government of Prince of Wales Island, on my return from a Mission to the Siamese States ... :

... I do myself the honor to report my arrival, and to beg you [Secretary to Government in the Secret and Political Department] will have the goodness to take an opportunity of laying before His Lordship in Council, the enclosed Memoir, and accompanying Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States lying between Bangkok and Prince of Wales Island. During my passage to Bengal I have endeavoured to apply an intimate acquaintance with the views and records of the Penang Government and some researches into, and personal observation of the genius and character of the Malayan and Siamese Nations, in compiling this review of the different objects which have been proposed to the British Government to be pursued in its negotiations with the Court of Siam (BP, v. II, pt. 2, p. 164; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 22).

There is reason to suppose (though without immediate and direct evidence) that Captain Burney had previously submitted the "Map and Memorandum" or at least the "Map" to his superiors at Fort Cornwallis. This belief comes not merely from the nicety of protocol but from reference by the Governor of Prince of Wales Island to "holding in my possession a geographical sketch of the Siamese States compiled by Captain Burney himself dated 10 April 1825 and signed officially as Political Agent to these states ... " (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 268; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, p. 581).<sup>34</sup> The question which arises is whether Captain Burney could have completed the promised "Map and Memorandum," or even the "Map" alone, in the week between the 2nd and the 10th of April 1825. There is evidence, though indirect, that the "Map", if not the "Map and Memorandum," was well underway when its promised submission "hereafter" was first announced on the 2nd of April.<sup>35</sup> Even so, could Captain Burney have submitted this sketch to the Governor of Prince of Wales Island before his departure for Bengal? Captain Burney was ordered to proceed to Calcutta on the 9th of April 1825:

With reference to the Reports submitted by you to Government of your Proceedings in your last Mission, I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to acquaint you that considering no further measures can be adopted by this Government, until apprised of the views and sentiments of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, he has deemed it advisable to direct you to proceed by the present opportunity to Bengal, for the purpose of receiving such instructions as the valuable information you have procured, and your perfect acquaintance with the motives and views of this Government may induce His Lordship in Council to give you.

(Letter from Acting Secretary, Fort Cornwallis, to Captain Burney dated 9 April 1825. Burney's personal papers, Box IV, No. 380, Royal Commonwealth Society Library.)

The "present opportunity" was the ship *Sherbourne* which, according to the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* of Wednesday, 13 April 1825, had sailed for Calcutta in the evening of 11 April 1825, "Captain and Mrs. Burney and Family" on board. Time was short but time was enough in which to lodge the sketch dated 10 April 1825 at Fort Cornwallis.

Captain Burney, in his submission to the governor general dated 3 May 1825, notes that while enroute to Bengal, he compiled a "review of the different objects which have been proposed to the British Government to be pursued in its negotiations with the Court of Siam" (BP, v. II, pt. 2, p. 164; I.O. FRSS, v. 330, no. 22). This gives reason for Captain Burney carrying all relevant material to Calcutta; not reason for supposing that the "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States lying between Bangkok and P.W. Island" which accompanied his submission to the governor general was compiled and drawn on board the good ship *Sherbourne*. Indeed, the great if not insurmountable difficulty of attempting to prepare a map in such circumstances gives good reason for supposing that a great effort would have been made to complete the sketch prior to setting sail for Calcutta; a supposition which is given some support by the 10 April 1825 date borne by the "geographical sketch of the Siamese States" held by the Governor of Prince of Wales Island. So, it seems reasonable to suppose that the sketch lodged at Fort Cornwallis was twin to the sketch submitted at Fort William.<sup>36</sup>

His Lordship found "the geographical sketch ... very useful" (BP, v. I, pt. 4, p. 669; I.O. FRSS, v. 102, 392). and appears to have forwarded it to the Surveyor General. Three versions of this geographical sketch have been unearthed; none is dated 10 April 1825.

What is apparently the earliest of the three versions is titled "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] & Queda" and signed "H. Burney Pol. [Political] Agent to the Siamese States" (see fig. 25). Although this first attempt by Captain Burney to provide ready information about the geographical disposition and political status of the several peninsu-

lar Siamese States bears no date it must have been compiled in January 1825 since it was an "enclosure" to a report dated 28 January 1825 in which Captain Burney details his first mission as "Political Agent to the Siamese States"<sup>37</sup>—which appointment was made on the 4 January 1825 by the Government of Prince of Wales Island (See BP, v. I, pt. 4, pp. 750–751; I.O. FRSS, v. 99, p. 59). "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] & Queda" cannot be the geographical sketch dated 10 April 1825 because it does not show a number of critical features about which both the Governor of Prince of Wales Island and the governor general of India comment (See BP, v. II, pt. 2 pp. 164–215; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 22; and BP, v. II, pt. 6, pp. 267–68; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, pp. 580–581).

(I am impelled to insert this aside in order to warn against gross misrepresentation which occurs occasionally in BP and, in this case, the parental India Office series as well. In Burney's personal papers (Box VI, D1) held at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library, "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] & Queda" is second of three enclosures to Captain Burney's report of his first mission as "Political Agent to the Siamese States;" the first enclosure is a translation of a letter from the son of the Rajah of Ligor at Quedah to the Governor of Prince of Wales Island and the third enclosure comprises remarks about Siam by Captain Burney. In BP and I.O. FRSS, Captain Burney's report is found in v. II, pt. 1, pp. 5–15 and v. 99, pp. 315–334, respectively. The first enclosure follows immediately: on p. 16 in BP and pp. 335–336 in I.O. FRSS. The third enclosure (Burney's remarks about Siam) follows the first enclosure on pp. 17–22 in BP and pp. 336–344 in I.O. FRSS; it is titled "Enclosure 2." No reference is made to the original second enclosure: "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] & Queda.")

"Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] & Queda," dated "Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta 8th May 1825" (see fig. 26), seems simply a more elaborate version of the first map though Captain Burney is not credited with its compilation. Several coincidences with his "first" map, however (not only the identical title, but the equivalent areal coverage and the replication of place names and other intelligence), point to his input. The reason for supposing this map is based at least in part on Captain Burney's sketch dated 10 April 1825 (that laid before His Lordship at Fort William early in May 1825) comes not only from the several major points of sameness with his "first" map<sup>38</sup> but because it displays certain critical features of the truant sketch which are noticed by Captain Burney in his covering "memoir"<sup>39</sup> and, later, by the Governor of Prince of Wales Island (See BP, v. II, pt. 6, pp. 261–274; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, pp. 569–593). On the other hand, that the "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] & Queda" is attributed not to Captain Burney but to the Surveyor General's Office, suggests the Captain's input was relatively slight, perhaps merely as amender of an already substantially completed map as, indeed, he implies in a note to the Government of Prince of Wales Island dated 14 July 1825:<sup>40</sup>

I beg you will do me the favour to present to the Honorable the Governor in Council the accompa-

nying Six Copies of a Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States lying between Bangkok and Quedah, which the Surveyor General of India has had prepared at his Lithographic Press, conceiving that a Map of this description would be convenient to the Public Authorities for easy and frequent reference. I have coloured and corrected four of these copies (BP, v. IV, p. 678; I.O. FRSS v. 102, pp. 430–435).

Whether "coloured and corrected" or not, "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] & Queda" comprises a nice piece of intelligence which merits commendation.<sup>41</sup> It was overtaken but one month later, however, by a map titled "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island," dated Surveyor General's Office, 9 June 1825, signed "H. Burney Captain, Political Agent to the Siamese States" and dedicated "To The Honble. Robert Fullerton Esq., Governor of P.W. Island and its Dependencies" (see figs. 27 and 28). The inscription may have surprised the Governor since Captain Burney informs him of having "taken the liberty of inscribing the...Map to you" at the conclusion of a brief letter dated 8 August 1825 (BP, v. II, pt. 3, pp. 14–15; I.O. FRSS, v. 103, pp. 746–749).<sup>42</sup> Whether the Governor was pleasantly surprised is not known; in 1827, when rebutting Captain Burney's criticism of certain of his Government's activities vis-à-vis the neighbouring Siamese, the Governor refers only to the map dated 10 April 1825—seemingly a disavowal of the later gift.<sup>43</sup>

Captain Burney was especially critical of the activities of Captain Low (Sternstein 1985, 149–151). In September 1826, Captain Low led an expedition despatched by the Government of Prince of Wales Island to Perak to check the Siamese bid to exercise suzerainty over the peninsular States. Captain Low did this by signing a treaty with the sultan of Perak which promised British assistance against threats to his independence, particularly from the Siamese to whom the sultan had formerly sent tribute. In so doing, Captain Low grossly exceeded his written instructions; indeed, the Council at Prince of Wales Island was not authorized to enter into such treaties and had to refer it to the governor general of India for confirmation. The governor general condemned the treaty. Before this reproof reached Prince of Wales Island, Captain Low had been despatched on another punitive expedition to dislodge "pirates" who regularly raided the harbour at Prince of Wales Island and, it was alleged, were assisting the Siamese to undermine the authority of the sultan of Perak. Captain Low captured the chief "pirate" who, being Siamese, had to be tried at Ligor (now Nakhon Si Thammarat) whose Raja identified the "pirate" as one of his officials charged with administering Siamese territory. Captain Burney voiced strong support for the Raja of Ligor to the Supreme Government in Calcutta which led the governor general to censure the Governor of Prince of Wales Island and to suspend Captain Low from all political duties.

Clearing Captain Low of the charges laid by Captain Burney turned on the location of the "Korow" river: whether it was within the Siamese State of "Quedah" or the "independent" state

of Perak. In a "Minute by the President" dated the 4th of September 1827, the Government of Prince of Wales Island argued that the boundary between "Quedah" and Perak was the "Krean" river and that the "Korrow being many miles [c. 20 miles] to the south of the Krean was within the Perak and not the Quedah territory" (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 270; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, p. 585). Evidence for this assertion was that the "Krean and not the Korow river has invariably been stated as the boundary in every map, chart, and report" (BP, vol II, pt. 6, p. 267; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, p. 580); that "it was his [Captain Burney's] authority which in our judgment fixed the boundary" (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 248; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, p. 506); and, ironically, that on Captain Burney's own "geographical sketch" the "Krean" is clearly marked as the "Southern boundary of Quedah" (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 268; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, p. 581). Captain Low was subsequently "cleared" and resumed his career, though the Supreme Government in a letter dated the 16th of November 1827 hedged any criticism of Captain Burney:

With respect to the Map of Captain Burney, in which the Krean River was laid down as the southern boundary of the Queda State, it is sufficient to observe, that that officer must be supposed to have made it so, to the best of his belief, founded on all the information he could procure, but although such authority would justify the presumption that the fact was as assumed by him and acquits you of an intentional act of aggression on the territory of a neighbour, it is evident that if the Rajah of Ligure should succeed in proving his right to the country between the Krean and the Korow, the British Government is answerable to him for the error into which it has fallen (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 279; I.O. BSPC, v. 348, no. 45).<sup>44</sup>

A strident criticism of Captain Burney had been registered months earlier, however, in a despatch dated the 27th of August 1827 to Fort William co-authored by the Governor and Resident Councillor of Prince of Wales Island. Concerned to controvert the Captain's criticism, the despatch is spattered with gratuitous remarks which represent this officer as a rumour monger, inconsistent, disloyal, incompetent, irresponsible, a false witness, intemperate, presumptuous, vacillating and devious (see BP, v. II, pt. 6, pp. 245–260; I.O. FRSS, v. 141, pp. 501–522). Even Captain Burney's map making is slighted as a "favourite and we have reason to know not an unprofitable pursuit" (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 249; I.O. FRSS, v. 141, p. 506). Captain Low weighed in with a letter to the Governor of Prince of Wales Island dated the 17th of August 1827 in which he rebuts each of the grave charges made against him and ends with a damning countercharge: "I can only ascribe [Captain Burney's charges] to private feeling" (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 237; I.O. BSPC, v. 347, no. 14. Also see Hall 1974, 161).

Well, whatever the character of Captain Burney, or his detractors, "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island" is a fine

compilation of diverse, even disparate, intelligence from various authorities, as is amply attested by its long pedigree:

This sketch is of course not intended as a Guide for the Navigator although it may afford him assistance in ascertaining the Native Names of the different [different] islands, ruins, and head lands that he may pass. It is an attempt to reconcile Native Maps and descriptions, and what was observed by ourselves during the progress of the late Mission to Pungah [now Phangnga], with European Charts; and thus exhibit for the information of Government a more Comprehensive View of the Siamese States and Towns lying between Bankok [now Bangkok] and Prince of Wales Island [now Penang]. The following are the material [?] from Rangoon to Chava [Chaiya?] are taken principally from a large Map of Ava, which was compiled last year with the assistance of Mr. Gibson and the Burmese Ambassador [to] Cochin China. The West Coast of the Gulf of Siam is set down from Horseburgh's [Horsburgh's] Cha[r]t, and a Map of it, which the son of the late Pya of Salang [now Phuket] drew and which was examined and corrected by the eldest son of the present Pya and several of his attendants at Pungah, and by Boree Rach Soom [Boree-rach-Soomeeas], but a Prah of Chaiya. The Coast and Islands between Chamwa [?] and Pah-Preor Peppra [?], are taken from Horseburgh's [Horsburgh's] and Inverarity's [Inverarity's] Chart & the Country from a Native Map, which a Siamese Priest [Priest], Tan Khuntip [Ta-Khun-tip], sketched & to which [line missing?] Prince of Wales Id. are set down after comparing Horseburgh's [Horsburgh's] Forrests [Forrest's], Blairs [Blair's], Heaths [Heather's], Inverarity's [Inverarity's] Martin Lindsay's & D'Apres Mourvillotes [Mannevillette's] Charts with maps and description obtained from several Malayan & Siamese Pilots as well as what was observed by ourselves during our passage to and from Pungah. of [Of] all the European Charts the two oldest D'Apres de Mourvillotes [Mannevillette's] & Martin Lindsay's in Dalrymples [Dalrymple's] East India Pilot appear by far the most correct. Some information also respecting the towns in [on] the Gulf of Siam and the Country around Pungah was received from Padre Juan a Native Catholic Priest residing near that town at Tham [?]-and it is but just to acknowledge that very great assistance was derived during the progress of the Mission from the descriptive Sketch of the Malayan Peninsula completed by Mr. John Anderson Malay Translator to Government.

Immediately following and reaffirming this testimonial to mongrelism is an "Explanation of Siamese & Malayan terms

used in this Map" (errors and doubts are not pointed out):

Air S. Bay  
 Bang S. Rivulet  
 Bedar M. Great  
 Brekit M. Hill  
 Din S. Sand  
 Goonong M. Mountain  
 Ikun M. Tail  
 Jai S. Great  
 Keechit M. Little  
 Khoo, Kho S. Mountain  
 Klong S. River  
 Ko, Kho S. Island  
 Laong S. Dust  
 Lem, lum S. Point of land  
 Luch S. Deep  
 Lunas M. Wide  
 Lanton M. A palm tree  
 Merah M. Red  
 Muk S. Bettle nut  
 Muda M. Young, New  
 Morang S. Country large Town  
 Muang S. Mangoe  
 Naya S. Serpent  
 Nak Kraat S. Ditto or Dragon  
 Oojong M. Point of land  
 Pah S. Mouth, nam Water  
 Pak or Pak-nam, Mouth of a river  
 Padang M. Field  
 Pandon M. Pandarins Shrub Kowra  
 Panjang M. Long  
 Ranlun M. Level Plane reach  
 Salat M. Straits  
 Tah S. Wharf  
 Tanjang M. Cape  
 Toluk M. Bay  
 Thung S. Field  
 Takoo S. Tin, hence Tunotong or Takoo Thung tin  
                   fields or Tincopa or Takoo-pa Tin Wilds  
 Terah M. Old Trou S. name of a fruit  
 Quallu M. Mouth of a River

Following this list is a compendium entitled "Siamese Titles." Intended no doubt to provide a nice bit of political intelligence, this brief is made a riddle through error and vagary.<sup>45</sup>

Although "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island" is more of a mosaic than would be tolerated in a modern map, it is not a particularly motley collocation for its time and place. What is disconcerting is the slipshod presentation of the information provided in its legend which raises doubts about the niceness of the intelligence displayed on its grid. In fact, when compared with previous maps credited to Captain Burney himself, "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between

Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island" shows several unique additions and inexplicable omissions as well as uncommon spellings of place names, but not a pervasive sloppiness. Still, any sloppiness comes as a surprise because the Captain's voluminous correspondence is so obviously meticulous. Indeed, the nature of the faults suggests these were committed by a copyist neither well-acquainted with the area nor well-versed in the Malayan or Siamese language. That Captain Burney failed to correct these shortcomings before publication of the map in June of 1825 may be laid to his being preoccupied with his appointment in mid-May of 1825 as envoy to the court of Siam.

"Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island" is, as its title implies, a political map concerned to provide intelligence about the status of the States in the area vis-à-vis the court of Siam. The map provides some information about the nature of these States and their interrelationships against a backdrop of major terrain features and several routeways crossing the peninsula, but a great deal of its value comes from reading it together with Captain Burney's report of his mission to the Siamese states in March 1825 (see BP, v. II, pt. 3, pp. 197-222; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 18). On the other hand, the area actually traversed by Captain Burney in his capacity as "Political Agent to the Siamese States"—the west coast of the peninsula from Prince of Wales Island (now Penang) to Salang (now Phuket)—is marked on the map by a dense assemblage of place names (all but a few of which refer to landscape features—caples, bays, waterways, islands, hills and mountains) otherwise uncited or noted only desultorily elsewhere. Here, the map makes a substantial first contribution to meeting Captain Burney's observation that "... of the coast between it [Pungah] and Kedah, a good chart of almost the whole ... is even to this day a *desideratum* in hydrography" (BP, v. II, pt. 3, p. 215; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 18).

"Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island" is praiseworthy also for the evidence it provides of Captain Burney's steadfast use of indigenous informants to augment British intelligence, in the face of a deal of disapprobation.<sup>46</sup> So, its legend forthrightly acknowledges the usefulness of charts and maps received from Siamese and Malays:

... A Map of it [West Coast and Gulf of Siam] which the son of the late Pya of Salang drew and which was examined and corrected by the eldest son of the present Pya and several of his attendants at Pungah, and by Boree Rach Soom, but a Prah of Chaiya.

... a Native Map [of the area between "Chamwa" and "Pah - Pre or Peppra"] which a Siamese Priest [Priest], Tan Khuntip, sketched & ... maps and description[s] obtained from several Malayan & Siamese Pilots ...

These native maps are noticed also in the accompanying report, though details differ somewhat:

I ... experienced no difficulty in obtaining a map of the West Coast of the Gulph of Siam from Ligore [now Nakhon Si Thammarat] to Bangkok. The Young Chief himself ... examined, and with some of his own attendants, corrected this map.

I met at Pungah [now Phangnga] Padre Juan a Catholic Priest, a native of Junkceylon [now Phuket] who ... freely communicated ... as much intelligence regarding the country and people [west coast of the isthmian area from present Phuket to the Burmese border] as he possessed ...

Subsequently ... I obtained I think more correct information from Ta-Khun-tip, a Siamese priest ... who drew for me a Chart of the Coast, and from Prah Boree-rach-Soomeas ... (BP, v. 2, pt. 3, pp. 211-212; I.O. BSPC v. 330, no. 18).

It is frequently alleged the Siamese made no maps of their dominions before the introduction of rational European methods of surveying around the turn of the twentieth century; that previously maps of Siam were made by foreigners. The simple reason for this critique appears to be that pre-modern native maps of Siam were unsighted. A more "profound" reason for believing the Siamese made no pre-modern maps would come from requiring a map to meet certain modern "scientific" criteria; which definition would, of course, disallow real map status for all pre-modern maps, native or not.<sup>47</sup> Three decades ago, reading John Crawford's reference (albeit contemptuous), to "... some attempt ... made by the Court to compile a rude map of the kingdom from native surveys" (Crawford 1967, 332) led me to mount several painstaking searches for this and other such native maps. Although only one "indigenous" map was identified (Sternstein 1968, 47-99)<sup>48</sup> and studied (Kennedy 1970), this find together with other references excited open conjecture about the existence of a body of pre-modern native maps.<sup>49</sup> Imagine my delight when I discovered one of the native maps referred to by Captain Burney nestling in his personal papers at the Royal Commonwealth Society's Library (figs. 29 and 30).

Its several shortcomings notwithstanding, "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island" is the best map of its time of the isthmian States, and Captain Burney merits commendation for his uncommon *nous* in the use of native informants in its compilation. Indeed, for one late-nineteenth century student of the geography of Malaya "nothing ... produced since his [Captain Burney's] date ... can vie with his own sketch in practical usefulness or careful execution" (Skinner 1878, 57).<sup>50</sup>

### "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy and Bangkok"

Captain Burney's Journal of his mission to the Siamese court carries a promise to "submit some account of the journeys

performed overland through the Siamese dominions by Messrs. Harris and Leal ... <sup>51</sup> Mr. Harris, Acting Assistant Surgeon, and Mr. Leal, Interpreter, accompanied Captain Burney's mission to Siam but were obliged to undertake side-trips in the performance of their duties; treks which passed through the borderlands between southern Burma and Siam—indeed, Mr. Leal traversed "the whole line of the Siamese frontier" from Martaban to Pak-chan below Mergui.<sup>52</sup> These journeys greatly agitated the Siamese court for the very reason that Captain Burney thought to "submit some account" of them: Messrs. Harris and Leal made observations and kept diaries (Mr. Leal was asked to make entries in his native Portuguese) which afforded much intelligence about the little-known, highly strategic tract of country which lay between the British territories in Tenasserim, Tavoy and Martaban and the Siamese capital.<sup>53</sup>

On 1 March 1827 Captain Burney, having "had an opportunity of arranging the papers," submitted the accounts of Harris and Leal, amply annotated, to the Supreme Government at Fort Cornwallis (BP, v. III, pt. 1, pp. 1-47; I.O. BSPC, v. 344, no. 12). Accompanying this submission was a

... Geographical Sketch\* ... compiled from a slight sketch prepared by Mr. Leal from several native maps and descriptions collected from Pegu and Siamese travellers at Bangkok, from the accounts of four sepoys of the 25th Bengal Native Infantry, who conveyed public dispatches from the Envoy at Bangkok to Martaban and Tavoy and returned with answers, and from a manuscript map of the west coast of the Gulf of Siam received from Mr. Crawfurd. Horsburgh notices his want of authentic documents regarding the Gulf of Siam and Tenasserim Coast, which have never been surveyed. His chart, however, has been for the most part followed in delineating the coasts of this sketch.

The Green line marks Mr. Harris's route and the blue Mr. Leal's (BP, v. III, pt. 1, pp. 6-7; I.O. BSPC, v. 344, no. 12).

The asterisk refers to a marginal note: "\*up to the present this Sketch has ... not been discovered."

This Sketch, or at least a close derivative, is now discovered (fig. 31). The original, apparently detached from the account submitted by Captain Burney and forwarded to the Surveyor General's Office in Calcutta was redrawn and came finally to rest in the National Archives of India and being untitled, undated and unattributed, was catalogued in 1975 as:

F.158/16. BURMA—Map of the Anglo-Burmese territory and the Siamese Dominions. Scale 1"—35 1/4 miles. By M. Burke. 1827. MS. (Prasad 1975, 349).

Although the descriptive title bestowed is manifestly reasonable, it gives no notice to the lines marking the routes of

Harris and Leal which, in fact, comprise the primary message of the map (figs. 32 and 33). Incidentally, "By M. Burke" is an error; "Exd. M. Burke" which is noted in the lower left corner of the map identifies M. Burke as having examined, not executed, the Sketch.

Among Burney's personal papers held at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library are two earlier versions of the northern half of the "Geographical Sketch" which accompanied Captain Burney's annotated account of the journeys of Harris and Leal. The more finely drawn and more informative of the two is fig. 34, from which fig. 35 is derived.<sup>54</sup>

Siamese misgivings about the potential military consequences of the journeys overland by Harris and Leal would surely have been heightened had Captain Burney's annotated account and "Geographical Sketch" (fig. 31) been sighted, but nothing short of alarm would have come from reading the annotated "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy and Bangkok":

This Sketch is taken from several sketches and descriptions furnished by Native Christian Burmese & Siamese travellers.

Most places have two, a Siamese & a Burmese & sometimes even a third or Pegu denomination. In this Sketch the first name is Siamese & the second Burmese.

The passage between Bangkok & Menam-noi takes 8 or 9 days against the stream & 5 days with it. The journey from Menam-noi to Khai-Maktat takes 3 days & thence to Tavoy 2 days. The passage from Menam-noi to Songola takes 6 days against the stream & 3 days with it. The journey from Songola to Mysikleet takes two days. The passage between Mysikleet & Martaban takes 4 days with the stream & 6 against it. The Officers at Martaban & Tavoy will be able to correct the Routes from the Siamese boundaries to those towns.

Pyra Puram is stationed at Lumchang with a Siamese force of 1 or 2,000 men. Chow Pya Maha Ayothia is said to be at Menam-noi Fort with about 3000 men. And one of his Officers, Seming Pho-phat is at Chaiyok with a small detachment, & is styled "Pyra Chaiyok."

Additional information about routes across these borderlands is given in pencilled notes which appear on fig. 32 as ghostly jottings in the Andaman Sea:<sup>55</sup>

Lt. Shortland's Journey from 29th Decr to 12th Janry 1827 from Moulmien to 3 Pagodas or Praw Thoungo by Perambulator 134 miles. Deduct 40 for windings of the Road. Direct distance 94 miles.

10 days from Penbin on the Taungbeaup river to Phreepree. [from Captain] Low.

Measured distance from Tavoy Wharf to the summit of Narga Daung 54 miles 3 furlongs, which may be reduced by one in ten owing to windings & will then give about 49 miles for the direct distance. No hills? [from Captain] Low.

All pencilled notes refer to journies completed before 1 March 1827, the date on which Captain Burney submitted the annotated accounts of Harris and Leal to the Supreme Government, and though all mappable intelligence from these notes is also pencilled in on the Sketch proper, "Geographical Sketch" (fig. 31) does not carry this information. Otherwise, though fig. 34 differs from fig. 31 in the area common to both in certain details, both sketches show the lineaments of this particular landscape with an uncommon, albeit crude, correctness; namely, the configuration of the western littoral of the head of the Bight of Bangkok, the courses of a number of waterways and the orientation of mountainous terrain, and the relative position of several towns and many villages. On the other hand, "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy & Bangkok" is endowed with a particular, prominent landscape feature which is not represented on the "Geographical Sketch" (fig. 31): "Ko Khausib Khau or 99 Islands," which is depicted as a huge lake (fully half a Tonle Sap when in flood) studded with islets from which issues the "Hongoroo" (Houngtharaw?) river. This remarkable, if not fantastical, "natural" phenomenon is not on any previous map of which I am aware, is not noticed in the accounts of Harris and Leal and bears no resemblance to an actual topographical feature in its given location or anywhere in Siam. That Captain Burney thought it credible and a necessary inclusion on his Sketch implies a wholly trustworthy source of information, but a source sorely misled or misunderstood. I suspect the evocative "99 Islands" was used locally to describe, say, a tract of exceptionally rugged terrain or a wonderfully braided stream or an extensive swampy area or suchlike, and that one or another of the Captain's informant "Native Christian Burmese & Siamese travellers" conveyed the allusion literally. In its stead, the "Geographical Sketch" shows a relatively innocuous indicator of mountainous terrain (see fig. 31) which suggests the mitigating influence of the conservative Surveyor General's Office—perhaps in the person of M. Burke. Yet the "Geographical Sketch" itself displays a fabulous topographical feature: a single river with a mouth at either end of its course between the Gulf of Martaban and the Bight of Bangkok. In truth, however, this seems merely a cartographical construct which likely arose from confusing Leal's route between the headwaters of the Ataran and the Khwae Noi rivers with a connection between these watercourses. Reason for this error is readily apparent on "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy & Bangkok" (fig. 33), though the divide between headwaters of the "Uthran" (flowing northeastward to the Gulf of Martaban) and "Mekhlong" (flowing southeastward to the Bight of Bangkok) is marked by the "3 Pagodas Pass."

Withal, the "Geographical Sketch" and "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy & Bangkok" provide nice small-scale descriptions of a virtually unknown landscape by marrying the

purposive but narrow accounts of trained but alien observers with the indiscriminate but wide views of untrained but knowledgeable natives. Captain Burney did the marrying and did it tolerably well.

On the face of it, "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy & Bangkok" (fig. 34) is not more than a memorandum in the guise of an annotated map; in fact, this Sketch is more than a nice graphic memorial because the topographical "back-drop" on which the routes traversed are picked out is itself made up from bits of uncommon information gleaned in large part from trustworthy eye-witnesses. The derived "Geographical Sketch" (fig. 30) also might be seen simply as charting the itinerary of Harris and Leal, which would account for the lack of notice afforded this map by the Supreme Government; in fact, Captain Burney's annotated diarial account coupled with the "Geographical Sketch" of the several ways traversed by Harris and Leal provided invaluable intelligence of the heretofore virtually unexplored Siamese frontier and of the proximate strength of the Siamese State.

### "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam"

A brief letter from Captain Burney to the Supreme Government dated Calcutta 9th March 1827 which covered the transmission of a "Digested Narrative of the Proceedings of the late Mission to the Court of Siam," ends with notice of the inclusion of "a Geographical Sketch\* of the Kingdom of Siam compiled by me from a great variety of native and European Authorities."<sup>56</sup> The asterisk refers to a marginal note: ("See map from Bengal Secret and Pol Cons: [Political Consultations] V. 330."). The marginal note leads not to "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," however, but to "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States lying between Bangkok and Prince of Wales Island" (I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 22. See also BP, v. II, pt. 2, p. 164). Placement of the asterisk after "Geographical Sketch" suggests the noter thought the remainder of the title was a rather vague, if not slipshod, reference to the oft-cited, specifically named map. The error may be excused because this is the one reference to "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" in any of the India Office series and the map itself had long been absent from its original place. This map is lost, but there is reason to believe a copy dated Calcutta 28th April 1827 rests in the National Archives of India (see figs. 36–42).

The catalogue of the historical maps held at the National Archives of India lists a map "F. 90/14" which is described as:

SIAM—Map of Upper and Lower Siam. The conquered Provinces of Ye, Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim of the Peninsula of Malacca and of part of the Island of Sumatra. Scale 1"—35 1/4 miles. Surveyed [Compiled] by Capt. H. Burney. Copied in 1827.<sup>57</sup>

A prior citation in *Historical Records of the Survey of India* refers to "Another map [in addition to "Map of the Empires of

Ava, Siam, and Cochin China"] by Burney covered Tenasserim, Siam, the peninsula and straits of Malacca, and part of Sumatra, on a scale two inches to a degree." A footnote makes it clear this is the map "F. 90/14" now held at the National Archives of India (Phillimore 1954, III: 80). That "F. 90/14" is without a title and is unsigned, the basis for its attribution to Captain Burney is unknown, and it differs markedly from the previous Burney/Gibson map of the area, is reason for legitimate doubt about its origin.<sup>58</sup> Reason for believing "F. 90/14" to be a copy of "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," however, comes from evidence found in Burney's personal papers: a couple of pages in the Captain's hand headed "Construction of this Sketch" wherein are details of the make-up of a map which can be none other than the lost Burney Sketch but which serves "F. 90/14" equally well (see figs. 43 and 44); and, in support, a sketch map—untitled, unsigned and undated—which shows the greater part of the area shown on "F. 90/14" in a near-identical way (fig. 45).

To accredit Captain Burney author of "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" is to credit him with a nice compilation of the motley materials available for making maps of Siam in 1827. Spur to the assemblage of the variegated cartographical bits which make up the Sketch was a need to know the make-up of the Siamese kingdom which lay alongside British territory recently acquired in Ava. Although the Sketch makes painfully clear that little was actually known about the geography of Siam, Captain Burney could not know of its many shortcomings and did acknowledge that a great deal was not known and much of that purported was not corroborated; in truth, the pedigree detailed in "Construction of this Sketch" is also critique and apologia. Especially scanty was information about the interior of the country, and though Burney took care not to fill empty tracts with anything to hand, everywhere there is misrepresentation which in places sinks to grotesque distortion (see fig. 46). Still, "Geographical Sketch of the kingdom of Siam" represents Siam to the British at the outset of their colonial thrust in Southeast Asia and, as such, it merits scrutiny.

## THE PLOTS THIN

The decade of the 1820s during which Crawford and Burney, and Low (Sternstein 1985; 1990a; 1990b) sought to provide a cartographical description of Siam was followed by three decades during which British mapping of the kingdom was at standstill<sup>59</sup> save for a few forays designed to determine the eastern limits of recent territorial acquisitions in Burma.<sup>60</sup> Reason for this stoppage may be laid primarily to British preoccupation elsewhere and especially in Burma where first Crawford and then Burney was sent during the 1830s to deal with a trouble-

some court. By-the-bye, Low also was posted to Burma at this time and he produced several excellent maps of tracts of the British territory. Of the Anglo-Burmese entanglement during much of the remainder of the nineteenth century nothing more need be said here than that for the British Burma was a handful, and for her envoys, Crawford and Burney included, Burma was a breaker of health and reputation.<sup>61</sup> Reason for the cessation of British cartographical endeavour in Siam also may be laid to George Everest, Surveyor General of India from 1830 to 1843 and to his assistant and successor, Andrew Waugh. Under George Everest the first concern of the Survey of India was the Great Trigonometrical Survey; that is, the development of "a practical system of geodetic work of the highest accuracy ... that could be extended over the whole length and breadth of the peninsula" (Phillimore 1958, IV:10-11). To cover all India with triangles, from which rigorous framework would depend all surveys and the great "quarter-inch Atlas of India," was the aim. Everest, the very model of a modern professional surveyor, allowed but did not approve of

The maps ... from officers employed in the Political Department, either residing at foreign courts, or in territories beyond the sea, as in the instance of Major Burney ... or in countries ... the geography of which is little known ...

Such maps and plans ... cannot always be constructed on correct and scientific principles ... but they serve to illustrate the reports ... and may be found useful ... although they could not, of course, be relied on as sufficiently accurate to be introduced into any map ... under the authority of the Surveyor General ... (Phillimore 1958, IV: 296).

British plotting of Siam was renewed only after 1855 when yet another Treaty of Friendship and Commerce was negotiated by yet another eminent British envoy, Sir John Bowring.<sup>62</sup> Whatever credit the "Bowring treaty" merits for bringing modernity to Siam, map making thenceforward is by professional surveyors working with the concurrence, indeed the encouragement and active participation, of the Siamese;<sup>63</sup> though a first reasonably accurate map of the extent of the kingdom had to wait on the first reasonably accurate survey of the course of the Mekong which is credited to an intrusive Frenchman, Francis Garnier (1885), late in the 1860s.<sup>64</sup> Virtually overnight, all previous maps of Siam which had relied heavily on hearsay—as those of Crawford and Burney and Low—became curios without real worth. Yet in their time such maps and charts provided critical geographical intelligence and were of contemporary value; and those who made them did so painstakingly and with as scientific a sensibility as could be mustered. Now, perhaps, the London Company's envoys plots of Siam again may be judged of value, to historiography if not historicity.

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## REFERENCE ABBREVIATIONS

BP	The Burney Papers
CP	The Crawford Papers
I.O. BC	India Office Board's Collections
I.O. BD	India Office Bengal Despatches
I.O. BLR	India Office Bengal Letters Received
I.O. BPC	India Office Bengal Political Consultations
I.O. BPubC	India Office Bengal Public Consultancies
I.O. BSPC	India Office Bengal Secret and Political Consultations
I.O. FRSS	India Office Factory Records, Straits Settlements
I.O. H/M	India Office, Home/Miscellaneous
I.O. IPC	India Office India Political Consultations
I.O. LR	India Office Library and Records

## NOTES

1. The descriptive terms used come from J.A. Hobson who saw 1870 as the date from which there was "the beginning of a conscious policy of imperialism" (1938, 19). Hobson was succeeded by a host of authors who elaborated and extended his New Imperialism. In more recent times, New Imperialism has been criticized and alternative explanations offered for the imperial expansion which characterizes the last quarter of the nineteenth century—see, for example, Robinson and Gallagher (1961). Use of the term "scramble" to describe the territorial annexations which occurred during the so-called New Imperialism was widespread; see Betts (1966).
2. SarDesai (1977) proffers a nice overview based on a close reading of the literature, although certain aspects of the relationship between Britain and the states of Southeast Asia during the early nineteenth century are glossed.
3. Retrocession of the Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia (including Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Western Sumatra and even Java) following the Napoleonic wars might be used as evidence of British reluctance to acquire territory in the region, but the need to revitalize The Netherlands as a fence against the French in Europe must be counted the essential reason.
4. John Crawford (1783–1868) receives a column and a half in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (13: 60–61). The rather austere account of his life therein can be augmented through the several works cited, notices of obituaries and an animated brief by J. Bastin who pleads the need for a biography though "anyone who undertakes the task will find few personal papers, and these hopelessly scattered" (1954, 697-8).
5. Captain (later Colonel) Henry Burney (1792–1845) receives no notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; perhaps the several pages devoted to the more famous of his family were thought

sufficient to honour the name. Burney's career, however, is provided by D.G.E. Hall (1958; 1974).

6. That an envoy was not only negotiator / negotiatix but also spy is often overlooked. In fact, there are examples of instructions given envoys in which spying activities are given explicit expression; in most instructions, however, as in those given Crawford and Burney, covert undertakings are implicit. The function of envoys as spies is nicely described by H. Franke:

... Embassies had, as a rule, the duty to report after their return on what they had heard and seen, on the customs of the land and on its resources, and also on the foreign rites concerning gifts and presents. This duty of reporting and spying ... covered both political and military information, including personality profiles of the foreign dignitaries with whom they came into contact...

Military information was, of course, very important ... in case peaceful relations were replaced by political troubles which could lead to military action. Indeed much of the data in ... diaries was originally intended to provide information that could be useful for the military. To this category belong above all the detailed itineraries, with exact distances between the major places, and geographical descriptions of the country itself. Knowledge of the road-system was necessary if ...[an] army should one day try to advance into foreign territory, and the state of repair of fortifications, and whether a town was walled or not, were matters of interest to the military staffs ...

The role of embassies for collecting information was, of course, also reflected in the security measures ... adopted with regard to foreign envoys ... who ... might "chart and sketch ... mountains and rivers and buy books" ... The importance of maps for military intelligence is, of course, obvious ... One thing emerges quite clearly from all this: espionage and intelligence work were, for both sides, an integral part of the diplomatic game (1981, 13-14).

7. Both sets of *Papers* were published by the Vajirañāna National Library, Bangkok:

*The Crawford Papers* (CP) in 1915; *The Burney Papers* (BP) in 1910.

8. *The Crawford Papers* is a slim volume which comprises official records related to the mission of Dr. John Crawford to the Court of Siam from the Government of India in 1821. It was compiled and printed by the Vajirañāna National Library, Bangkok, in 1915 (reprinted in 1971 by Gregg International Publishers Limited, England) seemingly as an afterthought to the publication of the five volumes of *The Burney Papers* in 1910. Although CP shares the shortcomings of BP (see the critique under *The Burney Maps* following) reference to both *The Crawford Papers* and the relevant India Office series is made to facilitate retrieval of the "original" documents and to provide a means of ready comparison between the two which frequently differ, though the difference is not usually consequential. Quotes are from India Office "originals" which are copies of original correspondence.
9. See "Admiralty Surveys—Siam", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, v. 28, 1858, pp. cli-clii; and Admiralty Chart 2414: "China Sea, Gulf of Thailand. Chiefly from the Survey of John Richards, Master Commanding *H.M.S. Saracen*, 1859".
10. The original 1910 publication held at the India Office Library and Records is "complete and usable" and was microfilmed in 1973, not two years after the appearance of the facsimile reprint. Staff of the India Office interviewed in 1991 were certain that *The Burney Papers* was scheduled to be microfilmed long before 1973; indeed, before 1971. Would not the expenditure involved in producing the facsimile reprint in 1971 have been better directed toward more accurate, more inclusive, better organized—in short, more useful—documentation than that now available for "serious study of the modern history of South East Asia" in *The Burney Papers*?
11. Reason for so titling this collection of correspondence between British officials and also, but in relatively small part, with native authorities during the period 1822–1844 comes from the fact that Captain (later Colonel) Burney was head of the mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Siam which concluded the first Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between the two in 1826. In truth, BP (unlike CP) inadequately entitles the contents; indeed, the title is misleading for volumes

IV and V of the set which would better be "The Richardson Papers" and "The Low Papers", respectively, if we would continue this peculiar titular line.

12. Marginal notes in BP also accompany the relevant India Office documents.
13. Reward from the governor general was not only recommendatory but monetary:

In considering the amount of pecuniary remuneration...I know no better guide to take than what has been awarded...to Captain Low. Valuable as the geographical information collected by the latter officer relative to the Countries to the Eastward of Ava may be, I cannot consider it of such immediate importance as what has been achieved by Captain Burney...

... I would propose that a pecuniary donation, somewhat exceeding in amount that bestowed on Captain Low, be awarded ... 5,000 Rupees (BP, v. I, pt. 4, pp. 745–46; I.O. FRSS, v. 99, pp. 3–62).

14. Reference to both *The Burney Papers* and the relevant India Office series is made to facilitate retrieval of the "original" documents and to provide a means of ready comparison between the two which frequently differ, though the difference is not usually consequential. Quotes are from India Office "originals"; these being copies, of course, of *original* correspondence.
15. Indeed, BP refers to the Map only twice: first in the Secretary's covering letter enclosing Lord Amherst's commendation (see vol. I, pt. 4, p. 744); and again in a letter from Captain Burney to the Governor of Prince of Wales Island dated 8 August 1825 simply noting its enclosure (see vol. II, pt. 3, p. 15).
16. "Lost" means the map is not held in several relevant archival collections: the India Office Library and Records, the Map Room and the Manuscripts Department of the British Library; the National Archives of India; the National Library of Singapore.
17. "...3 bound volumes and 16 special boxes, lettered 'Burney Papers'". *The Manuscript Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Commonwealth Society*, London: Mansell, 1975, p.58. The Map is item B. xxxiv in Box III.

18. The copy measures c. 87 by 90 cm. The original is referred to as "large" and a portion of it "covering Burma, Tenasserim, and western Siam" is described as "a large map about four feet by five, scale nearly 24 miles to an inch" (Phillimore 1954, III: 79).
19. That this particular letter is not in BP and the correspondence of which it is part is not included or not readily apprehended in the India Office series with which students commonly work (I.O. FRSS and I.O. BPC) is reason enough for the unusually full reproduction which follows; but there is other good cause. This document is obviously a copy of the original; a copy not free from error and inconsistency which may be laid, at least in part, to the copier. It is well to be reminded that the different India Office series (from which BP derive) comprise not original correspondence but copies, and that not one but several copies might be made and these by different copy clerks. If to draw the character or the intent of a correspondent from an original letter is problematic, how much more so from a copy? Still, I find in this letter much about Captain Burney's nature and circumstances which are vital to an appreciation of his career and, by-the-bye, nowhere else as nicely conveyed.
20. Although there may be some doubt about the meaning given Captain Burney to the term "margin" and the phrase "full account of its construction," likely the original map of 1824 included a good deal of information about its make-up which goes unnoticed on the copy of 1831. What is certain is that the "large map...covering Burma, Tenasserim, and western Siam" which was taken from the "large map of the kingdoms of Ava, Siam, & Cochin China, which Capt. Henry Burney and Mr. George Gibson compiled" bore notes which amount to a "full account of its construction" (Phillimore 1954, III: 79-80).
21. The Embassy was to secure a commitment to an alliance against the Siamese; the Cochin Chinese demurred. (For accessible information about this Embassy see Crawford 1967, App. A; and Burney 1971, II: 2:5-7. George Gibson, leader of this Embassy, was described by a British military surveyor in 1824 as "a very singular personage" (Phillimore 1954, III: 71); the little known of Mr. Gibson suggests this cannot be other than an understatement:

Mr. Gibson states that he was born at Madras, that his father was a

Commander in the Country Service [his mother was a native of Madras], and was last [lost] in the Bay of Bengal, that he has made two voyages to Lisbon, that he has commanded several vessels, and that in a small Danish Brig belonging to Tranquebar, he had once before visited Cochin China in the year 1798. He further states, that he has been an occasional resident in the Burman Country from his childhood, that he has visited every part of it, and that he is intimately acquainted with the language, customs and manners of it's inhabitants. The nature and disposition of it's king and principal ministers.

Whether Mr. Gibson is correct in every particular of his statements, cannot be ascertained here, but a Journal which he has kept of his embassy to Cochin China, and which he has allowed some of the Officers of this Government to inspect, shews... much shrewdness and curious observation, and talents of... much higher an order than he could be supposed to possess...

But it is necessary to add, that Mr. Gibson is by no means cleanly or reputable in his person and manner, and that he is addicted to intoxication, in which vice, even he shows a part of his extraordinary character, as he is some times for three or four successive days in a state of complete insensibility, and then for several months afterwards, he refrains from every kind of spirituous liquor (I.O. H/M 663, pp. 208-209. See also I.O.H/M 663, pp. 216-218).

22. The government of Prince of Wales Island considered "it would be judicious and politic, as well as liberal, to afford the Embassy the succour they solicited, and thus give to the two courts of Ava and Cochin China, a convincing proof of our readiness and desire to promote an interchange of good offices..." (I.O. H/M 663, p. 205. See also I.O. H/M 663, pp. 206-207, 211 and 215; and I.O. BC 21981, pp. 16-17).
23. Mr. Gibson also gave Captain Burney

... copies of his Instructions and of a French and Latin translation of the letter which the Government of Ava had addressed to the King of Cochin China ... copies taken of

several pictures, which a Chinese painter, attached to the Embassy had executed, of the costumes of Cochin China and of scenes...there (I.O. H/M 663, p. 218, p. 730).

Captain Burney then remarks that

Mr. Crawford [Crawford] the Resident of Singapore, having obtained a copy of this Journal whilst the Mission touched at that settlement, and having published an account of it, I have now only to submit...the original work... (I.O. H/M 663, p. 730).

Captain Burney several months earlier (June 1824), having recently received Mr. Gibson's "gifts", assured the Government of Prince of Wales Island of his intention to

... lay all these Papers before the Honorable the Governor the moment I have made a proper arrangement of them, which is a task I have found very laborious, owing to Mr. Gibson's ungrammatical English and bad hand writing. His Journal would have been of little use, if I had not copied the whole of it myself, and if I had not been able to refer to himself daily in order to ascertain his real meanings (I.O. H/M 663, pp. 219-220).

It appears Mr. Crawford got in ahead of Captain Burney, albeit unintentionally; in fact, the good Captain appears to have overstated his role not only in deciphering the Journal but in encouraging Mr. Gibson to maintain it. That Mr. Gibson "readily promised to keep a Journal of his Mission" appears less a consequence of the urgency of Captain Burney than the insistence of the King of Ava:

... and as to the affairs of the realm, it is his Majesty's wish that as religion shines & prospers in the Imperial Realm, so it may shine, flourish & prosper in Yooan-gyee [overwritten "correction" makes spelling uncertain], and that their sons & grandsons in successive generations may be enlightened; and also it is his wish to crush & clear away by means of the forces of the two countries, that rebellious part of the Imperial Realm, the Bankock-Shan-Yodoraks [overwritten "correction" makes spelling uncertain] ...Although

that has been a tributary part of the Imperial Realm ...yet it has never been quiet but restless, yet which his Majesty judging it to be a mere temporary evil, is exercising forbearance toward them, it must not be that on account of their molestations, the intercourse between the two allied countries should be interrupted; there must be no impediment to intercourse between the two countries, but it is necessary to clear away & remove those Shan-Yodoraks. This is the business which his Majesty has committed & entrusted to you...When ...you have fully accomplished & finished your business you are required to note down fully & accurately (the particulars of) the Yooan-gyee King's capital, country, villages, provinces, districts & the general divisions of the country, and also what people live near & adjacent to the people of Yooan-gyee, what sort of people there are in the country of Yooan-gyee, what habits and customs they follow and observe; - also what bays, rivers and streams there are, - what kind of structures their garrisons, watch houses & c are; - what sort of people live in the adjacent countries, cities & villages, - and whatever is worthy to be known or noticed of the Yooan-gyee King, his sons, younger brothers, his nobles & ministers [?], his country, villages, towns, fortifications and every thing of the kind; after having noted down these things, you are required, within the space of 12 months, to come again to the bottom of the soles of the Imperial Feet; using all precautions to secure the King's business from the dangers of the way. But if, contrary to these your instructions, so plainly expressed, you should ...act unworthy ... the royal penalties will be awarded you.

(Translation of the "Letter of Instructions to the Ambassadors to the country of Yooan-gyee". Burney's personal papers, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Box IV C 1).

- 24 . Elsewhere, Captain Burney alludes also to Dutch maps in the possession of Mr. Gibson (see I.O. H/M 663, p. 219).
- 25 . Elsewhere, Captain Burney says the preparation of the map occupied "five and twenty or thirty days" and "eight or ten hours a day during a Month" (I.O. BC 21981, pp. 19 and 21). Whichever is the truer, such a dedicated effort must be commended yet wondered about: what drove the Captain to this relentless labour? I suggest the spur was his "disappointment in some expectations which I had been led to entertain of further public employment" and an attempt to prove his worth as "a useful public servant" (I.O. H/M 663, pp. 733-734).
- 26 . Captain Burney submitted a "Memorandum of various conversations held at Penang with Mr. Gibson...respecting Ava and the present War...for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council" on 4 November 1824 (I.O. H/M 663, pp. 739-751). The first part of this Memorandum actually concerns the compilation of the "large Map of Ava [derived from the "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China"] which was forwarded to the late Major Canning at Rangoon", and points particularly to "wherever Mr. Gibson differed from extant Maps and Charts". Beyond what "the best European authorities have published", then, is what Mr. Gibson had to say, though not all he said was believed and shown on the map.
- 27 . These "observations" include highly commendatory remarks about Captain Burney (see I.O. H/M 663, pp. 735-736).
- 28 . Attached to Governor Philips's Minute which authorises repayment of Captain Burney's expenses incurred in compiling the Map of Ava (I.O. H/M 663, pp. 735-736) is a Note which duly observes that "The B [Bengal] Govt also awarded to Captain Burney Rs 5,000 for this Map, a copy of which should be ordered to be sent home." See also BP, v. 1 pt 4, pp. 745-746 and I.O. FRSS, v. 99, 49-51.
- 29 . Not Henry Burney but Thomas Trent, surveyor of H.M. 95th Foot which marched to Prome in 1824, provides a fitting epitaph for the uncommon Mr. Gibson:
- He had made himself very useful, and his loss was difficult to be replaced... (Phillimore 1954, III:71).
- 30 . There appears to be no record of the transmission of the "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" to Major Canning, only of that portion of the Map comprising "Burma, Tenasserin, and western Siam". Neither original map is with Burney's personal papers and neither has been discovered in the relevant map archives. A copy of the Map covering "Burma, Tenasserin, and western Siam" is held at the National Archives of India.
- 31 . The fate of this map is unknown.
- 32 . A large (910 cm by 1 m 340 cm), detailed, nicely drawn "Geographical Sketch of the Burmese Empire" was compiled in the Office of the Surveyor General in Calcutta and published in July 1824. The map bears a full account of its construction which closes with a cautionary paragraph:
- To unite in One View the Geographical relations of the Dominions of Ava to the surrounding States & particularly to British India—to mark the direction of its great natural features & to trace its communications, form the object of the present attempt, in which it is hoped, no more confidence will be placed than is claimed by its very moderate pretensions ("Maps 5.C.24", Map Room, British Library).
- Since this map immediately pre-dates the appearance of the "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" and immediately post-dates that portion of this map "covering Burma, Tenasserim, and western Siam" transmitted to Major Canning at Rangoon which is signed by Burney and dated Prince of Wales Island, 23rd June 1824 (see Phillimore 1954, III:79) it is not remarkable that no notice is given Burney/Gibson. Side-by-side comparison of the two maps suggests, however, that the relevant portion of the "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" would have held little of moment for the compilers of "Geographical Sketch of the Burmese Empire;" and, indeed, not one of the several detailed maps of Burma produced during the several years thereafter credits any input from the Burney/Gibson compilation (see Phillimore 1954, III:78-80).
- 33 . Colonel R.H. Phillimore says only that "A map that may have been known to Burney when he was collaborating with Gibson was signed by James Low at Prince of Wales Island in March 1824" (1954, III: 80).

34. This particular reference is in a Minute to Fort William dated Fort Cornwallis, 4 September 1827. Earlier but vaguer reference is in another Minute from Fort Cornwallis to Fort William dated 14 July 1827; see BP, v. II, pt. 6, pp. 194–196 and I.O. FRSS, v. 141, pp. 249–255.
35. There is good reason to believe that a map titled "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bankok & Queda" dates from January 1825; this map would require only elaboration to show certain particulars of the 10 April 1825 sketch.
36. It is possible Captain Burney backdated this sketch to 10 April 1825, of course, but reason for this would require a line of argument altogether too imaginative.
37. See Burney's personal papers, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Box V1 D1.
38. The title may not be one of these samenesses. A marginal note in the memoir submitted by Captain Burney to Fort William on the 3rd of May 1825 advises the reader to "See accompanying Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States lying between Bangkok and Prince of Wales Island", which reference suggests the title of the 10 April 1825 map differed from that given the "first" (fig. 3) and "second" maps (fig. 4) but was similar to that of the "third" map dated 9 June 1825 (fig. 5); see BP, v. II, pt. 2, p. 175; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 23.
39. See BP, v. II, pt. 2, pp. 165–202; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 23. See also BP, v. II, pt. 2, pp. 203–215; I.O. BSPC, v. 333, no. 13 which comprises a "Supplement to the Memoir submitted to the Supreme Government on the 3rd May 1825". Dated "Penang the 8th July 1825" the supplement begins with an apologia:
- Most of the following facts and circumstances were known to me at the time I drew up my Memoir, but I forebore mentioning them through a belief, that the Supreme Government possessed much later information respecting the Geography and Resources of the Tenasserin Coast.
40. The Table of Contents to Volume IV of BP carries the following, apparently misleading, "Subject" note:
- Enclosing his Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States for the acceptance of the Governor and Council.
41. A "coloured and corrected" copy is to be found in Burney's personal papers at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Box VII D xvi; an uncoloured and uncorrected copy is to be found in microfilm at the India Office, H/M 678, no. 9. "Corrections" total thirty-six: fifteen additional place names; fifteen alterations to spelling or elaborations; four relocations; and two deletions.
42. A wee bit of wry humour may lurk behind this dedication; in his report of the mission to the Siamese States in March 1825, Captain Burney notes:
- A small Island in the harbour of Pungah called by the Siamese Ko-mak or Pulo Penang, & remarkable as the only one covered with trees, the rest being high & rocky & as being near the best anchorage, we took the liberty of naming "Fullerton's Isle" in honor of the Governor of this Island (BP, v. II, pt. 3, pp. 215–216; I.O. BSPC, v. 330, no. 18).
43. Captain Burney's criticism seems to have loosed feelings of resentment and frustration long held in check by the Governor, perhaps even before his severe review of the "Treaty of Friendship and Commerce" with Siam which the Captain negotiated in 1826. (See BP, v. I, pt. 3, pp. 438–451; I.O. FRSS, v. 138, pp. 273–318; also Hall 1974, 129–139, 156–168).
- ... no Mission has even deputed during my Government, except such as immediately arose out of a course of proceeding adopted by Captain Burney and subsequently sanctioned by the Supreme Authority ... The objects of such Missions no longer exist, and I gladly revert ... to the principles on which I set out; That the less political discussion or intercourse we have with neighbouring states the better! It will be to me a lasting source of regret that the aberration from these principles has brought upon me the only censure from Superior Authority I have ever met with during thirty-eight years service... (BP, v. II, pt. 6, p. 274; I.O. FRSS, v. 142, pp. 569–573).
44. This turned out to be prophetic: trouble flared between Kedah and Perak over the "Krean" territory some two decades later. Only after five years of British persuasion was order restored. See BP, v. IV, pt. 2, pp. 74–78, 108–128; I.O. IPC, Range 196, v. 35, nos. 24, 25; v. 48, nos. 12, 50, 51, 54; also Bassett 1980, 31.
45. "Siamese Titles" is reproduced below without the accusing [sic] and other indicators of puzzlement:
- It is of course as difficult to define the exact meaning of Siamese titles as that of many English titles and Degrees of rank—Chow is Lord & Master & Chow Mooung Lord or Governor of a Country. The Governor General of India is Styled Chow Mooung Bengalee—Rhun is love and gratitude & a Chief in Conversation is Styled "Chookhun" Thun is just, & Chow Thun is a title generally given to a Chief Pya when added to the name of a Country or Town Signifies Governor, thus, the Government of Penang is styled "Pya ko mak" and the King of Quedah "Pya Mooung Serai" The Siamese name of Kedah; "Mooung Serai" is taken from Quedah Peak which they call "Khos Serai" and the Malays "Goonong Jerai" or Cherai." Chow Pya may be translated into Governor General, but it is a title also annexed to high Officers near the Sovereign, & particularly to Chief nearly related to the Royal Family, thus the Kalahom or Commander in chief and the Chakre or "Prime Minister" are called "Chow Pya" the former Superintends the Officers of all Provinces to the South of Bankok and the latter of all to the North of that City and to their Officers respectively the most Minute reports are transmitted from every Province Singora to Choung Mai or Jesnee the present Minister for foreign affairs is a "Pya or Pya klang" & being related to the Royal family is often styled "Chow Pya" he is said to be friendly to the English. Prah when annexed to a Town or Country may be translated into Lieut. Governor and Luang or Chiom to a Resident or Prom or Khun to an Officer in charge much lower in rank. "Pya or Prah" &c. are also conferred as honorary titles on other public Officers

and when annexed to a man's name appear to correspond with our Baronet, Knight &c. the late Mr. Light is said to have been made a Piah by the King of Siam Punhua Soubua translates into "Hua" the head of "Plean" Thousands—but I am told the title is derived from "Phoh" father, "No" or "Hua" head; meaning "I bear you as my father on my head"; and denoting the highest respect according to the custom of Oriental Nations. The Siamese generally affix the word "Phoh" father, to the names of their Chiefs The Sons of the Chow Pya of Ligor are styled "Phoh Klom", "Phoh, Pho" & "Phoh Sing" the last of which resembles so nearly the Malayan word "Poo Sing". Deceitful that the father on establishing that Son at Queda directed him to be always called by the Malayan title "Baginda Muda" or Young Prince—The Siamese name Singapoor "Ko mai" New Island. Much confusion exists with respect to the names of Siamese places. Many of them appear to have a name in the learned as well as in the vulgar language, as Ratphree, and Rachpuri, Phuchphree or Puchpuri then there are Burmese Corruption of them as Yatpee, Peatpee & Piappi and other corruptions by the Chinese, Portueze, and old Navigators, besides the denominations used by the Malays—Horseburgh's Bondelon is called by the Chinese Khontelong by the Malays Merdelong, and by the Siamese Dalong, what the Malays write Poongah the Chinese call Pungah, the Malay Singorah is the Siamese Soonkahae and their Redah is written by their old Navigators Quedah while the Siamese give it an entirely a different name the Malays Ligor is the Siamese Lauckheree, a name also used by the Burmese.

46. Mr. Clubleby, member of the Government of Prince of Wales Island, nicely exemplifies the common British attitude toward information received from natives in a minute dated Fort Cornwallis, the 3rd of February 1825, which argues for a discontinuance of Captain Burney's mission to the "Siamese States" following receipt of

the Captain's "Report of Proceedings at Kedah:"

We have received also from Captain Burney a Sketch of the Siamese Empire, derived as usual from Native information, and therefore likely to mislead from its vagueness and uncertainty (BP, v. II, pt. 1, p. 30; I.O. FRSS, v. 99, pp. 355–361).

47. The literature is rife with damning criticism of pre-modern map-makers. Excepting those few who are known to have made grotesque guesses or extravagant claims of accuracy, such personal criticism from hindsight—particularly when the map-maker/compiler lists his sources of information—is both misdirected and trivial. I proffer a recent relevant example which is not only unwarranted but erroneous:

Crawfurd's [Walker's] fairly accurate depiction of the South-western segment [of Central Thailand during the first half of the nineteenth century] contrasts sharply with his rendering of the West and Northwest, where some fundamental mistakes can be identified... Thus there is in his map a major confusion between Mae Klo'ng and Tha Chin-Suphan Buri Rivers. The Suphan Buri River is shown as originating from the mountain range between Siam and Burma, while in actuality it links up with the Chao Phraya. The extent of Crawfurd's [Walker's] confusion is shown by the fact that he depicts Kanchanaburi's location two times, once at the upper reaches of the Mae Klo'ng (Pakgrek), and another time at a similar location of his (wrongly drawn) Suphan Buri River (Pak-prek). This wholly imaginary river system shows Suphan Buri only a little distant from the northernmost of his two Kanchanaburis. Apparently Crawfurd has here relied blindly upon seventeenth-century European efforts (Terwiel 1989, 107).

Not only is there precedence for two "Kanchanaburis"—one being "Old Kanchanaburi"—and the "Suphan Buri River" as shown but this prior authority is native intelligence from the nineteenth century (see BP, v. III, pt. 1, p. 45).

See also "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" (fig. 36) and discussion therewith).

48. Another apparently pre-modern indigenous map held privately has recently been sighted; see B. Terwiel and L. Sternstein, "Prospects of Ayutthaya, Capital of Siam, 1690; A Critical Study of Engelbert Kaempfer's Manuscripts," International Engelbert Kaempfer Symposium, Lemgo (Germany) 19–22 September 1990.
49. Several years ago I voiced my belief that maps of Siam likely were made by Siamese early in the nineteenth century and before, and that these maps, if extant, repose in a royal sanctum. Baas Terwiel (1989) while taking Kennedy (1970, 315–349) to task for claiming that the indigenous map being studied was "the only extant map of upcountry Thailand in Thai which predates scientific mapmaking" (my emphasis of the weasel-word which makes Terwiel's criticism inappropriate), asserts that "As a matter of fact it was part of an indigenous map making tradition which hitherto has not been studied in detail" (p. 143). As a matter of fact this assertion is unsupported by direct evidence. Indeed, Terwiel himself muddies these waters by concluding that "The existence of an indigenous map-making tradition has been largely ignored, but there must be other early nineteenth-century, as yet unstudied maps available for future analysis" (p. 248).
50. That Skinner did not sight the June 1825 map, however, but an earlier version—perhaps the elusive 10th of April sketch—may be inferred from certain of his comments:

Between the date of Capt. Forrest's engraving (published in 1972) and Mr. Moniot's (published in 1862), no map with which the Malay Geography is specially concerned was published. There are however two M.S. drawings to speak of, Low's and Burney's, which have also been preserved in the Survey Office, originally at Penang and of late years at Singapore. [Recent efforts to re-sight these maps have been fruitless]. The former bears date 1824; the latter is undated, but was probably compiled at the time Captain Burney negotiated the Siamese Treaty of 1826. [Actually compiled

in 1825, before negotiation of the "Siamese Treaty".] Col. (then Lt.) Low confined his sketch almost entirely to the northern provinces of Siam. [Viewed from Malaya.] Captain Burney's tracing includes Kedah, Singora, and Patani [as does Low's Map]; and the care with which he compiled it may be gathered from the "memorandum" at the side, from which I quote the following passage:

The Coast and Islands between Pah Phra and Prince of Wales' Island are set down after comparing Horsburgh's, Forrest's, Blair's, Heather's, Inverarity's, Martin Lindsay's and Dupres de Menneville's [Manneville's] Charts with maps and descriptions obtained from several Malayan and Siamese Pilots, as well as with what was observed by ourselves during our passage to and from Pungah. Of all the European Charts, the two oldest, Dupres de Manneville's [Manneville's] and Martin Lindsay's, appear by far the most correct. Some information also respecting the towns on the Gulf of Siam and the country round Pungah, was received from Padre Juan, a Native Catholic Priest residing near that town; and it is but just to acknowledge that very great assistance was derived during the progress of the Mission, from the descriptive sketch of the Malayan Peninsula compiled by Mr. John Anderson, Malay translator to Government.

Likely, differences between this note and that on the map dated June 1825 reflect later additions by Captain Burney or his copyist, though an unacknowledged 'selection' by Skinner is a possibility.

51. Captain Burney's Journal comprises nearly the whole of *The Burney Papers*, v. I, pts. 1, 2 and 3. Paragraphs 90 and 170 of the Journal carry the promise of a future account. See also B. P., v. III, pt. 1, p. 1; I.O. BSPC, v. 344, no. 12.
52. Circumstances which led to these journeys are given full account in Captain Burney's Journal of his mission to

the Siamese Court (see BP, v. I, pts. 1, 2 and 3 and brief notice in BP, v. III, pt. 1, pp. 2 and 22).

53. In fact, the Siamese actively sought to thwart the intelligence gathering aspect of these expeditions by adopting all manner of counter-measures which included "borrowing" compasses for the duration of a trip, making long marches along circuitous routes not normally used, and, as a last desperate step it appears, attempting to detain Mr. Leal at Bangkok. See BP, v. III, pt. 1, pp. 10, 20 and 23 for example.
54. The sketch not shown—see Burney's personal papers at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Box XV 9 (i)—is obviously a forerunner to fig. 31; it holds nothing not also on its successor, though some information is differently arranged.
55. The original hand, though firm, is not a little difficult to read. Prior to my search of Burney's personal papers, a cataloguer apparently thought to recast these notes in a script both more permanent and readable. Unfortunately, the recast notes do not translate the originals precisely; indeed, the nice script belies several introduced errors:

Pencil notes on Burney's Map of Routes from Moulmien and Tavoy to Bangkok.

1. Lt Shortlands journey from the 29th Decr to 12 Janry 1827 from Martaban to the 3 Pagodas or Praw—Thoungo by Perambulator 134 miles.  
Deduct for windings of the Roads 40 miles, and the direct distance will be 94 miles.

2. 10 days from Penbin on the Taungbeaup river, at mouth of Tavoy River to Phreepree, on the river in Siam, South of Bangkok.

Low.

3. Measured distance from Tavoy Wharf to the summit of Narga Daung Mountain in the frontier line, 54 miles 3 furlongs, which may be reduced by 1 in ten owing to windings. This will give about 49 miles for direct distance. No hills.

Low.

This recast is attached to the forerunner of the sketch shown as fig. 8—see Burney's personal papers at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Box XV 9 (i)—which does not bear notes 2 and 3.

56. B.P., v. II, pt. 5, p. 105; I.O. BSPC, v. 345, no. 18.
57. Prasad 1975, 218. The map is listed as F. 90/14; the notation "Folio No. 90 Sheet No. 41" on the map itself is an error.
58. When first I sighted this untitled, unsigned map I presumed the editor of the *Catalogue of the Historical Maps of the Survey of India (1700–1900)* had attributed it to Captain Burney from certain knowledge. The notation "Exd.M.B." in the lower left hand corner of the map then caught my eye and raised a doubt: had the editor thought the "M" an "H" and interpreted "Exd." as executed instead of examined? This doubt grew into suspicion that the map may have been wrongly credited to Captain Burney when it was learned that a contemporary map examiner bore the name M. Burke. Later discovery of the prior reference to this map in Historical Records of the Survey of India did not resolve the question of the basis for its attribution but raised, instead, the possibility that the editor of the Catalogue ... had simply relied on the citation in Historical Records... Lacking sure information, my suspicion was articulated in an hypothesis: map F. 90/14 was wrongly credited to Captain Burney. Formulation of this hypothesis was closely followed by its rejection from evidence discovered in Burney's personal papers at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library.
59. Illustrative of this standstill is a series of maps by James Wyld, Geographer to His and later Her Majesty, titled "Map of the Burman Empire Including also Siam, Cochin-China, Ton-king and Malaya" for 1832, 1842 and 1850 held in the Map Room of The British Library (58765-8, 58765-9 and 58765-2, respectively) which shows Siam essentially unchanged.
60. Most prominent among these was the mission to Siam led by Dr. Richardson in 1838–1839 from "Moulmein to Chengmai in Upper Siam, and then south to Bangkok. He left Moulmein on 18th December 1838 and reached Bangkok on 8th February, having revised the position of the main watershed be-

tween the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam" (Phillimore 1958, IV:264).

- 61 . For a general review of this period of Anglo-Burmese and Anglo-Siamese relations see Hall (1960) chapters 24, 31 and 32.
- 62 . For a general review of Anglo-Siamese relations from Burney through Bowring see Hall (1960) Chapters 24 and 36.
- 63 . That Siamese authorities embraced the need for a scientific survey of the kingdom may be inferred from a remark of a Siamese Prince recorded by Dr.

Richardson when at Bangkok in 1839: "I asked him, in return for the map I had given him, for any geographical information he had regarding Siam; he said none existed, and expressed his surprise at the extent and correctness of Mr. Crawford's information. [!] He said he was anxious to get the King's leave to make a map of the kingdom from survey, but as he was the only man in the country who could do it, he could expect no assistance" (Richardson 1840, 245).

- 64 . Garnier met a Dutchman named Duysart, a surveyor in the employ of the Siamese, afloat on the Mekong a

short way above Chiang Khan which is upstream from Vientiane. Duysart appears to have crossed the country from Chiang Mai to the Mekong, striking the river well above Luang Prabang, and then rafted downstream, thereby becoming the first European to descend and to survey that portion of the river. Although more than this is not known of Duysart's work, "the record of whose journey and surveys seems to have been engulfed in the files of one of the Government Departments at Bangkok" (Clifford 1905, 201-202), it is possible he also rounded and surveyed the great bend in the Mekong.

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- BLR Bengal Letters Received. Vols. 86, 87, 90.
- BPC Bengal Political Consultations. Range 123: Vols. 27, 36, 42, 60.
- BPubC Bengal Public Consultancies. March and July, 1823.
- BSPC Bengal Secret and Political Consultations. Vols. 330, 333, 344–5, 347–8.
- FRSS Factory Records, Straits Settlements. Vols. 87, 89, 90, 99, 101–103, 138, 141–142.
- H/M Home/Miscellaneous. Vols. 663, 670, 678.

IPC India Political Consultations. Range 196: Vols. 35, 48.

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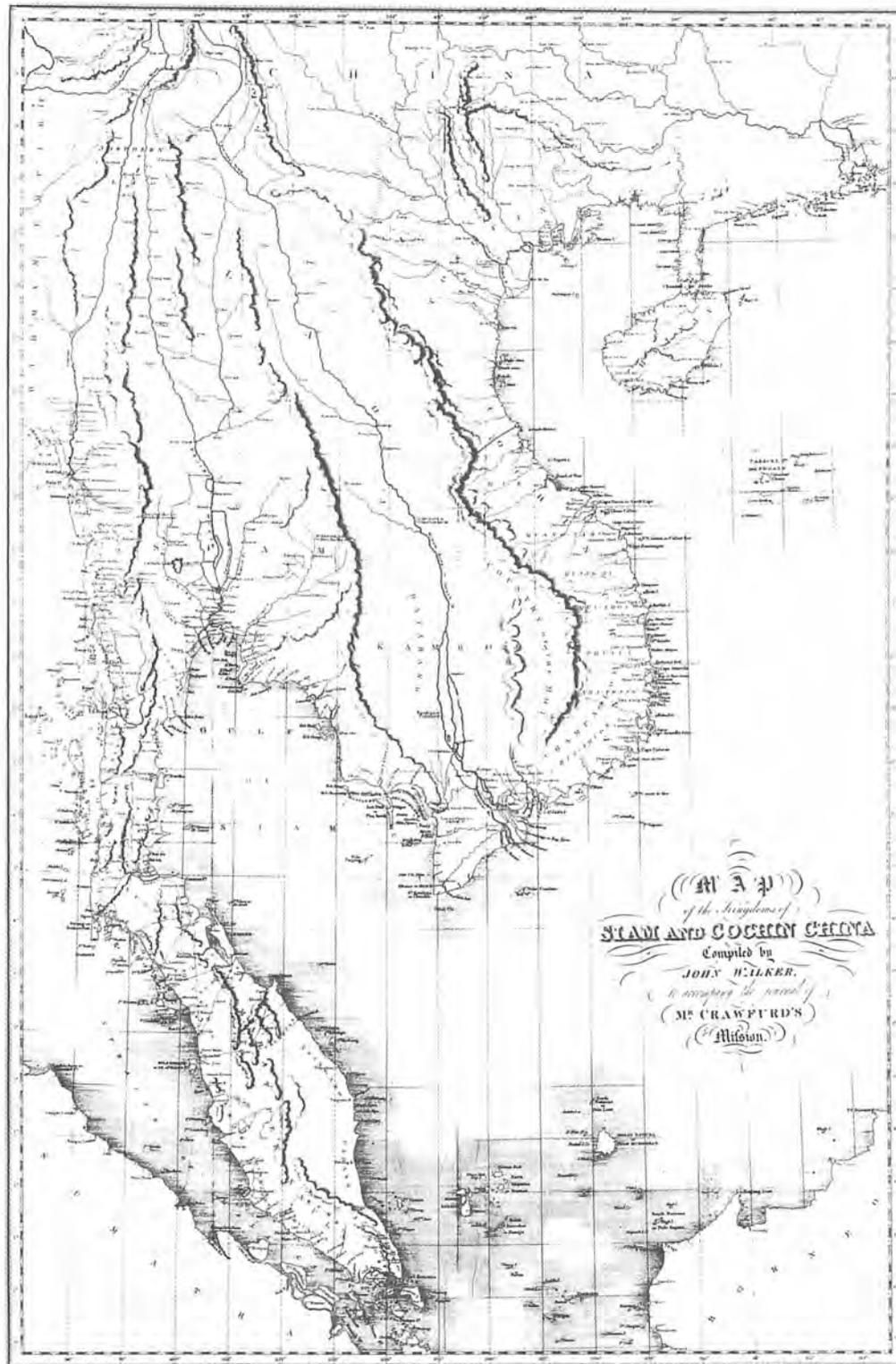


Figure 1. "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China. Compiled by John Walker to accompany the Journal of Mr. Crawford's Mission." Published by Henry Colburn, June 1828. From Crawford (1967).

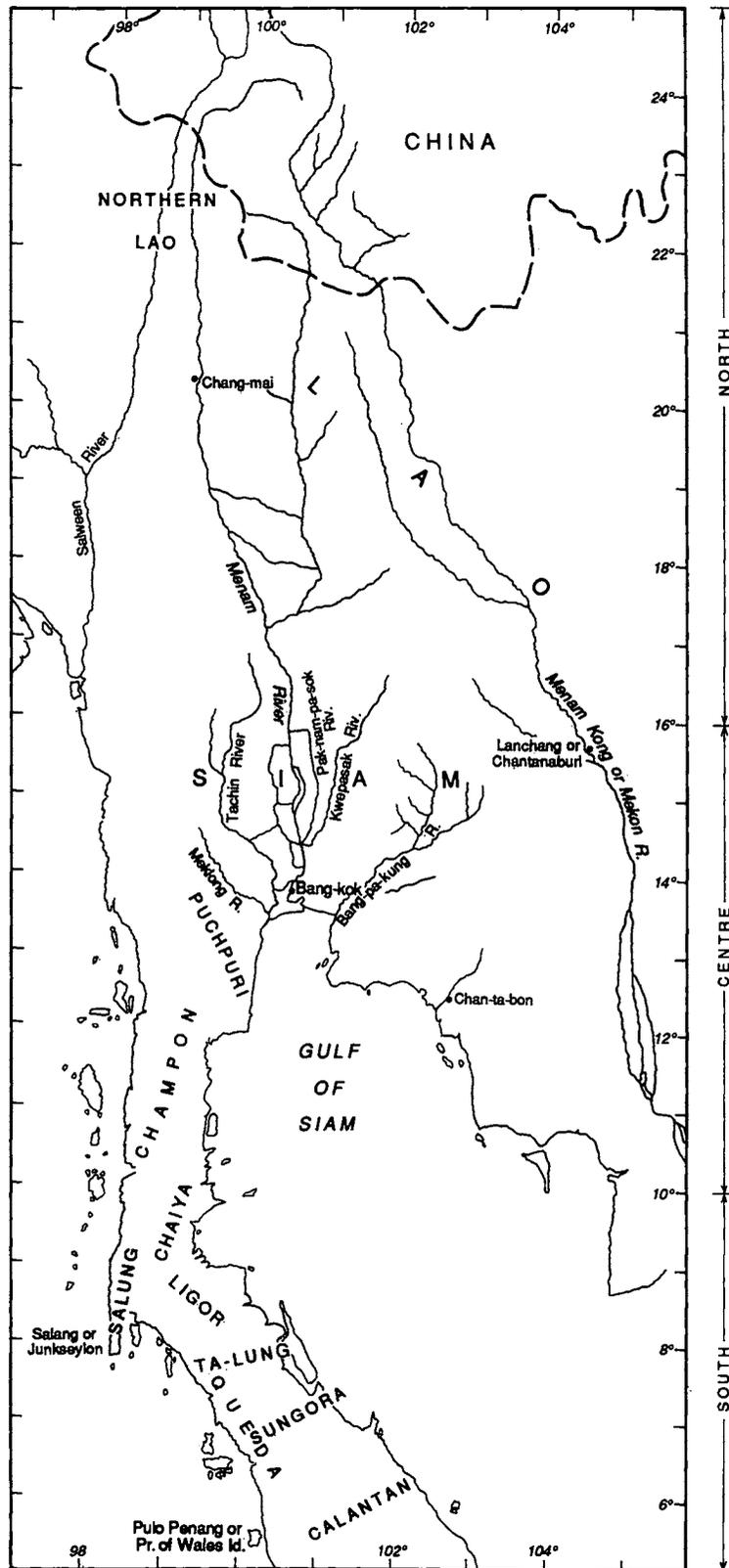


Figure 2. After "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," Figure 1. North, Centre, South refer to Figures 3, 4 and 5, respectively, on which Figure 1 is detailed.

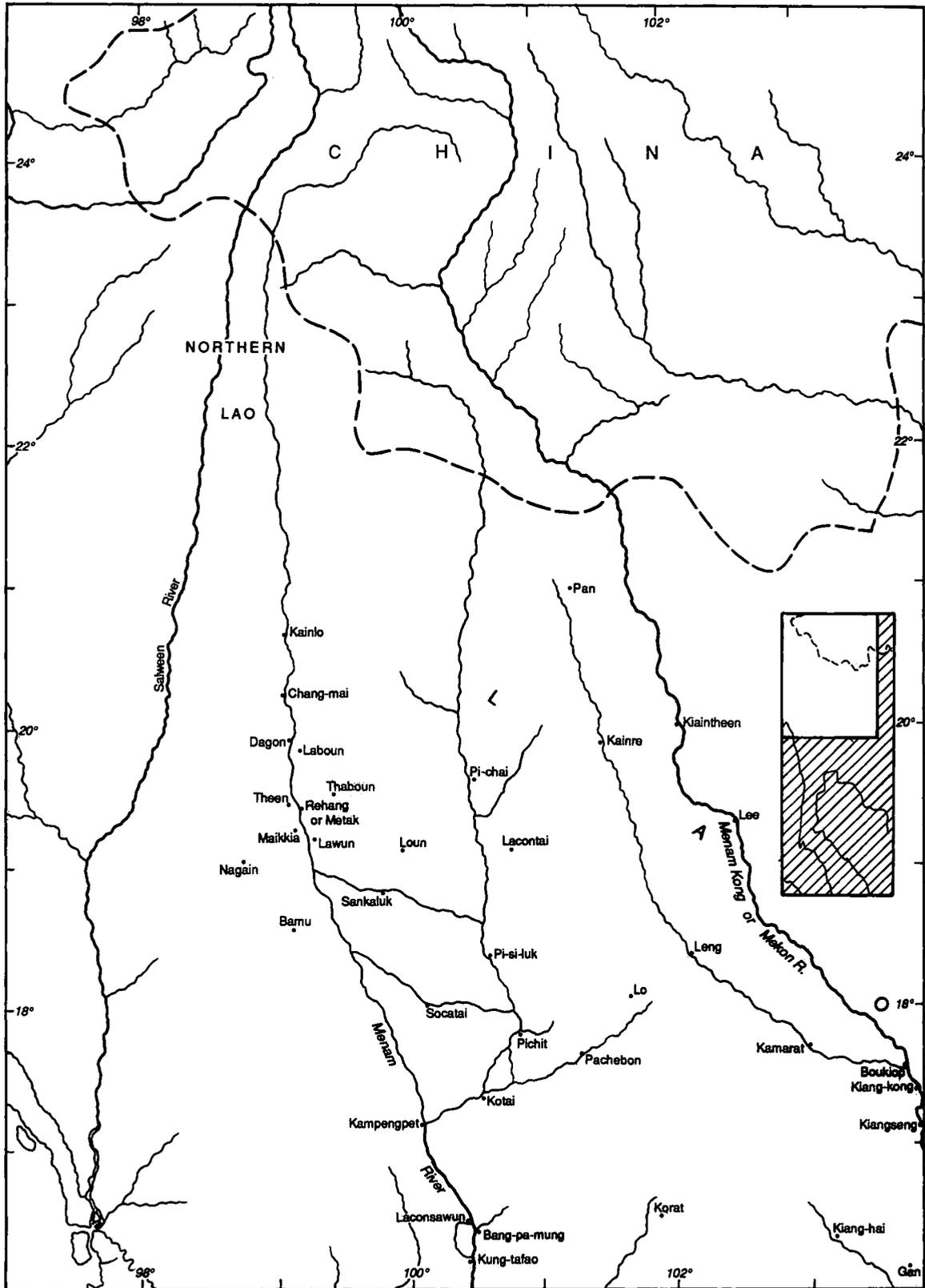


Figure 3. North, after "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," Figure 1.

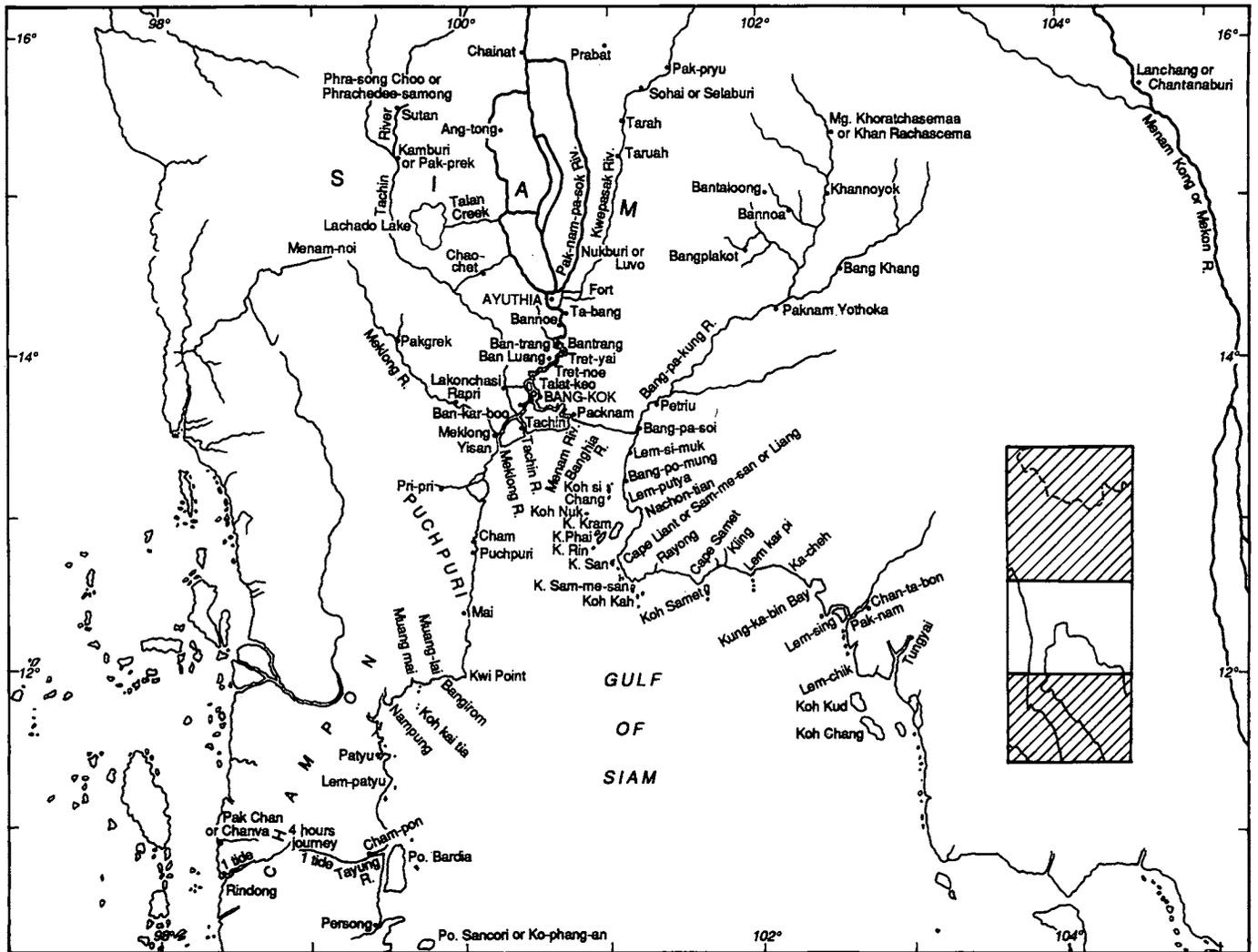


Figure 4. Centre, after "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," Figure 1.

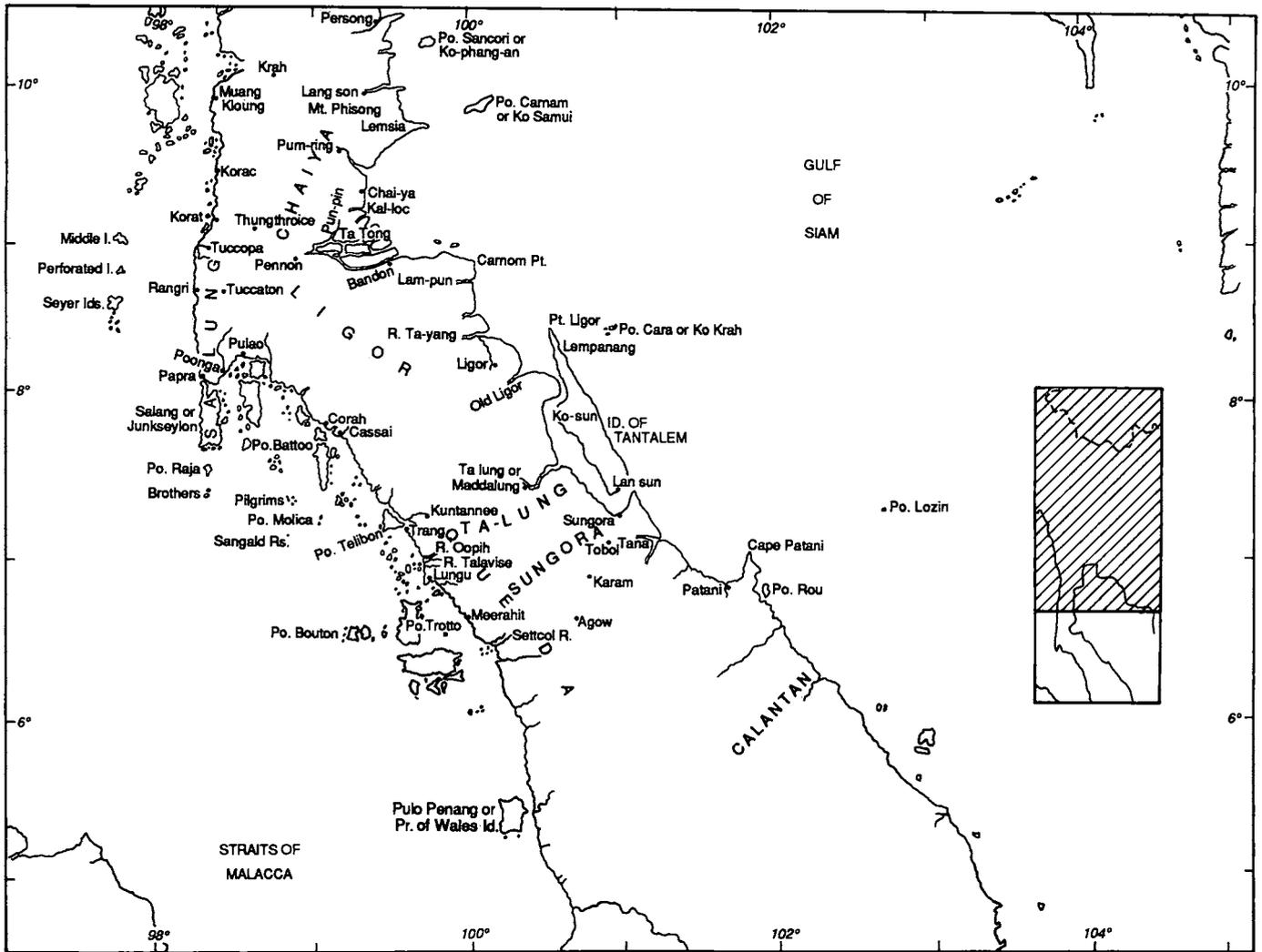


Figure 5. South, after "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," Figure 1.

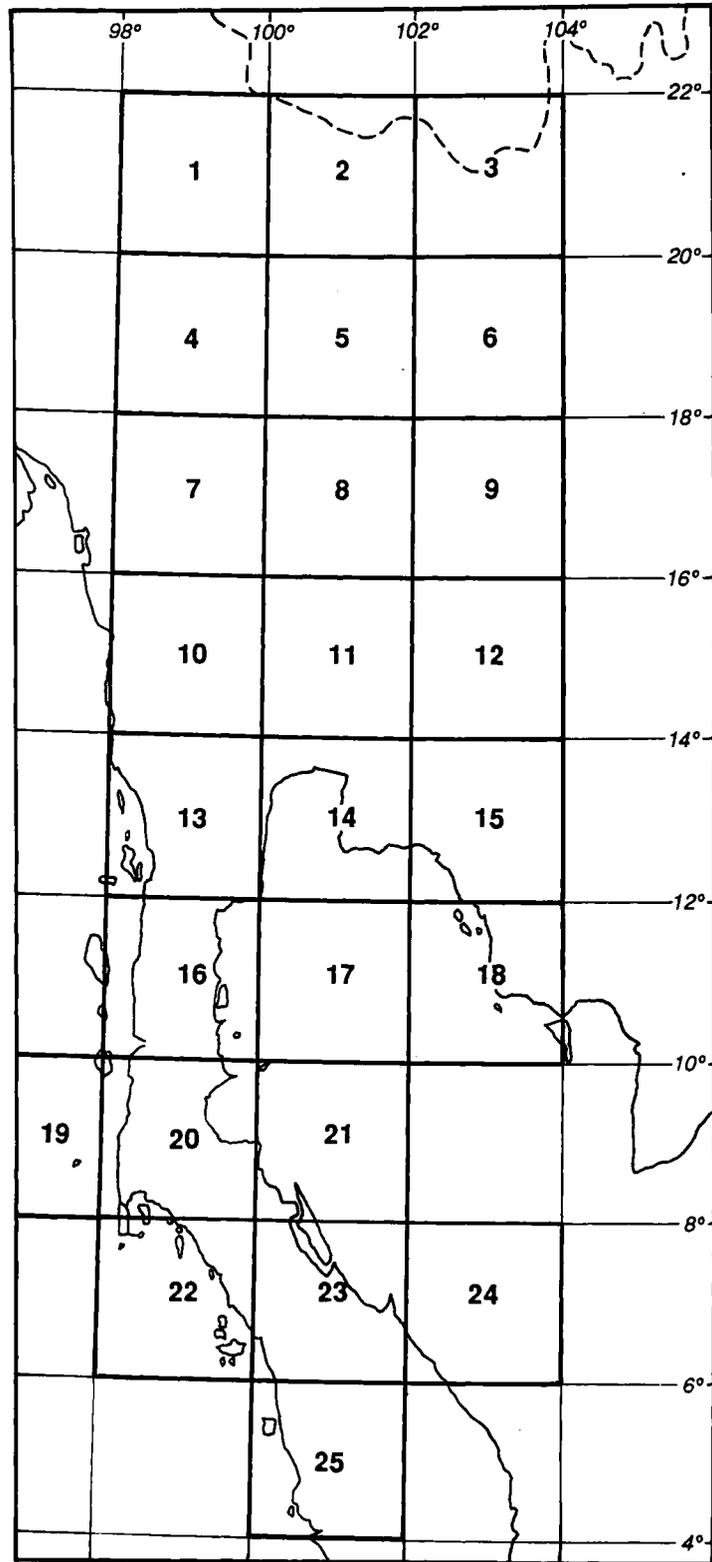


Figure 6. Location matrix for place names; after "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," Figure 1.

Figure 7. Place names on "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," Figure 1, with modern equivalents.

"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name
<b>NORTH</b>			
Chang-mai (1)	Chiang Mai	Kwepasak Riv. (11)	Mae Nam Pa Sak
Kainlo (1)	Chiang Dao (?)	Bangplakot (11)	(?)
Pan (2)	Nan (?) (see Gan)	Ang-tong (11)	Ang Thong
Kiantheen (3)	(?)	Chainat (11)	Chainat
Maikkia (4)	Mawkli (Myanmar) (?)	Prabat (11)	Phra Phutthabat
Theen (4)	(?)	Taruah (11)	Tha Rua (?)
Dagon (4)	Dagwin (Myanmar) (?)	Tarah (11)	(?)
Laboun (4)	Lamphun	Sohai or Selaburi (11)	Sara Buri
Thaboun (4)	(?)	Pak-pryu (11)	(?)
Rehang or Metak (4)	Tak	Bantaloong (12)	(?)
Lawun (4)	(?)	Khannoyok (12)	(?)
Nagain (4)	(?)	Mg. Khoratchasemaa or Khan Rachascema (12)	Nakhon Ratchasima
Bamu (4)	(?)	Bannoa (12)	(?)
Sankaluk (4)	Sawankhalok	Paknam Yothoka (12)	(?)
Loun (5)	(?)	Bang Khang (12)	(?)
Lacontai (5)	Nakhon Thai	Pri-pri (13)	Phetchaburi
Pi-chai (5)	Phichai	Meklong R. (13)	Mae Nam Mae Klong
Kainre (5)	(?)	Rapri (13)	Ratchaburi
Pi-si-luk (5)	Phitsanulok	Mai (13)	Kui Buri (?)
Lo (5)	(?)	Ban-kar-boo (14)	(?)
Socatai (5)	Sukhothai	Lakonchasi (14)	Nakhon Chaisi
Leng (6)	(?)	Ban Luang (14)	Pathum Thani(?)
Lee (6)	(?)	Tret-yai (14)	(?)
Kampengpet (8)	Kamphaeng Phet	Tret-noe (14)	(?)
Kotai (8)	(?)	Talat-keo (14)	(?)
Pichit (8)	Phichit	Bang-kok (14)	Bangkok
Laconsawun (8)	Nakhon Sawan	Packnam (14)	Samut Prakan
Kung-tafao (8)	Uthai Thani (?)	Menam Riv. (14)	Chao Phraya River
Bang-pa-mung (8)	Phayuha Khiri (?)	Banghia R. (14)	(?)
Korat (8)	(?) (see Mg. Khorat- chasemaa or Khan Rachascema)	Koh si Chang (14)	Ko Si Chang
	Phetchabun	Koh Nuk (14)	Ko Nok
Pachebon (8)	Phetchabun	Nachon-tian (14)	Ban Na Chom Thian (?)
Kamarat (9)	Khemmarat (?)	Lem-putya (14)	Laem Phatthaya
Kiang-kong (9)	(?)	Bang-po-mung (14)	Bang Lamung
Boukiop (9)	(?)	Lem-si-muk (14)	(?)
Kiangseng (9)	(?)	Bang-pa-soi (14)	Chon Buri
Kiang-hai (9)	Chiang Rai (?)	Petriu (14)	Chachoengsao
Gan (9)	Nan (?) (see Pan)	Bang pa kung R. (14)	Mae Nam Bang Pakong
		Yisan (14)	Ban Yi San (?)
		Meklong (14)	Samut Songkhram
		Tachin River (14)	Mae Nam Tha Chin (distributary of Chao Phraya River)
			Samut Sakhon
		Tachin (14)	Pran Buri
		Puchpuri (14)	Cha-am
		Cham (14)	Ko Phai
		K. Phai (14)	Ko Rin
		K. Rin (14)	Ko Khram (?)
		K. San (14)	Ko Lan (?)
		K. Kram (14)	Ko Samae San
		K. Sam-me-san (14)	Ko Chuang
		Koh Kah (14)	Ko Samet
		Koh Samet (14)	Cape Liant
		Cape Liant or Sam-me- san or Liang (14)	
		Rayong (14)	Rayong
		Cape Samet (14)	Laem Ket
		Kling (14)	Klaeng
<b>CENTRE</b>			
Phra-song Choo or Phrachedee-samong (10)	3 Pagodas Pass		
Sutan (10)	Suphan Buri		
Kamburi or Pak-prek (10)	(-)		
Menam-noi (10)	Mae Nam Khwai Noi		
Lachado Lake (10)	(-)		
Pakgrek (10)	Kanchanaburi		
Talan Creek (10)	(-)		
Ban-trang (11)	(?)		
Bantrang (11)	(?)		
Bannoe (11)	(?)		
Ta-bang (11)	Bang Pa-in (?)		
Ayuthia (11)	Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya		
Fort (11)	(-)		
Chao-chet (11)	(?)		
Nukburi or Luvo (11)	Lop Buri		
Pak-nam-pa-sok Riv. (11)	Mae Nam Lop Buri		



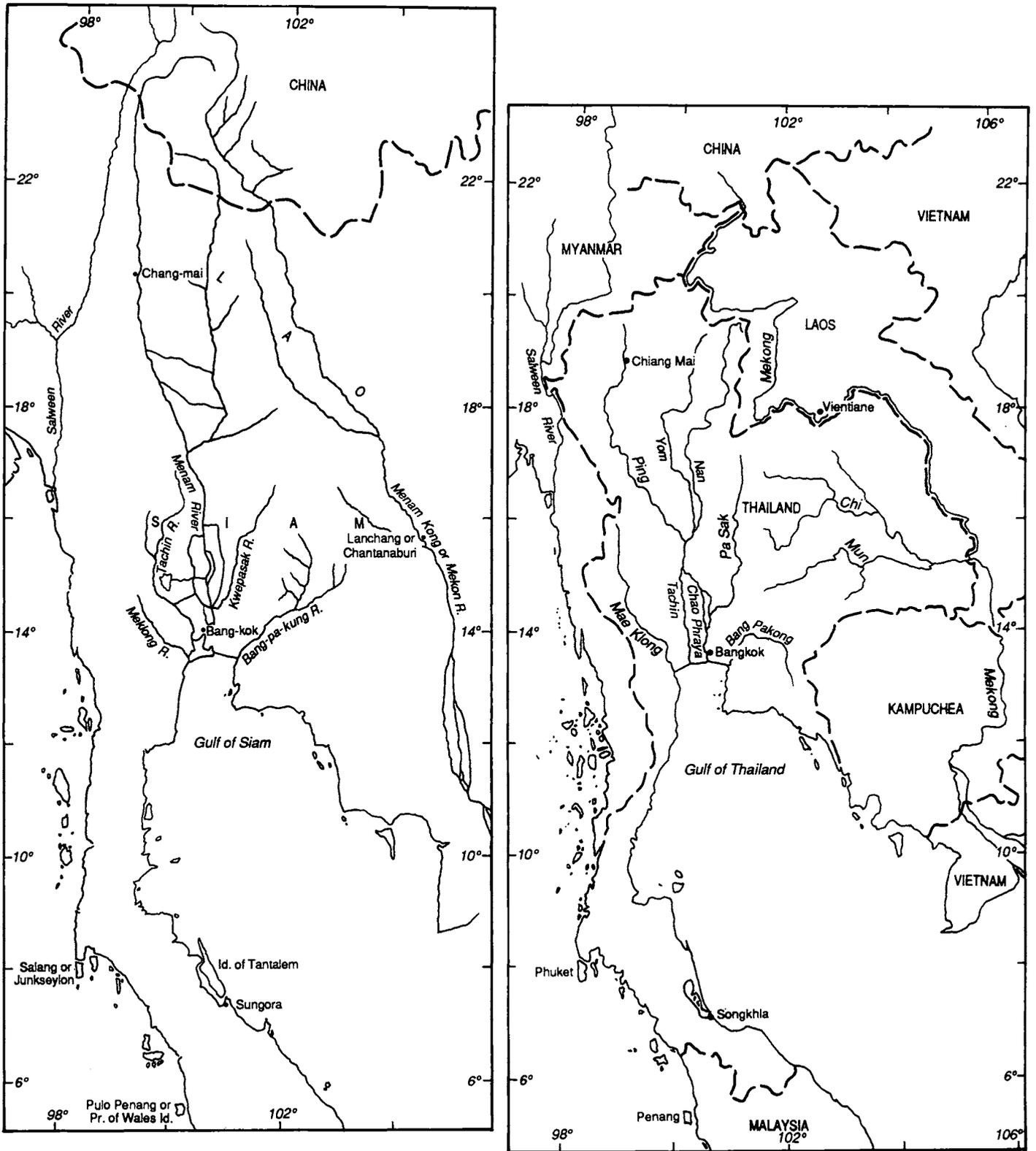


Figure 8. Depiction of Siam on "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" (Figure 1) compared with a modern map of Thailand.

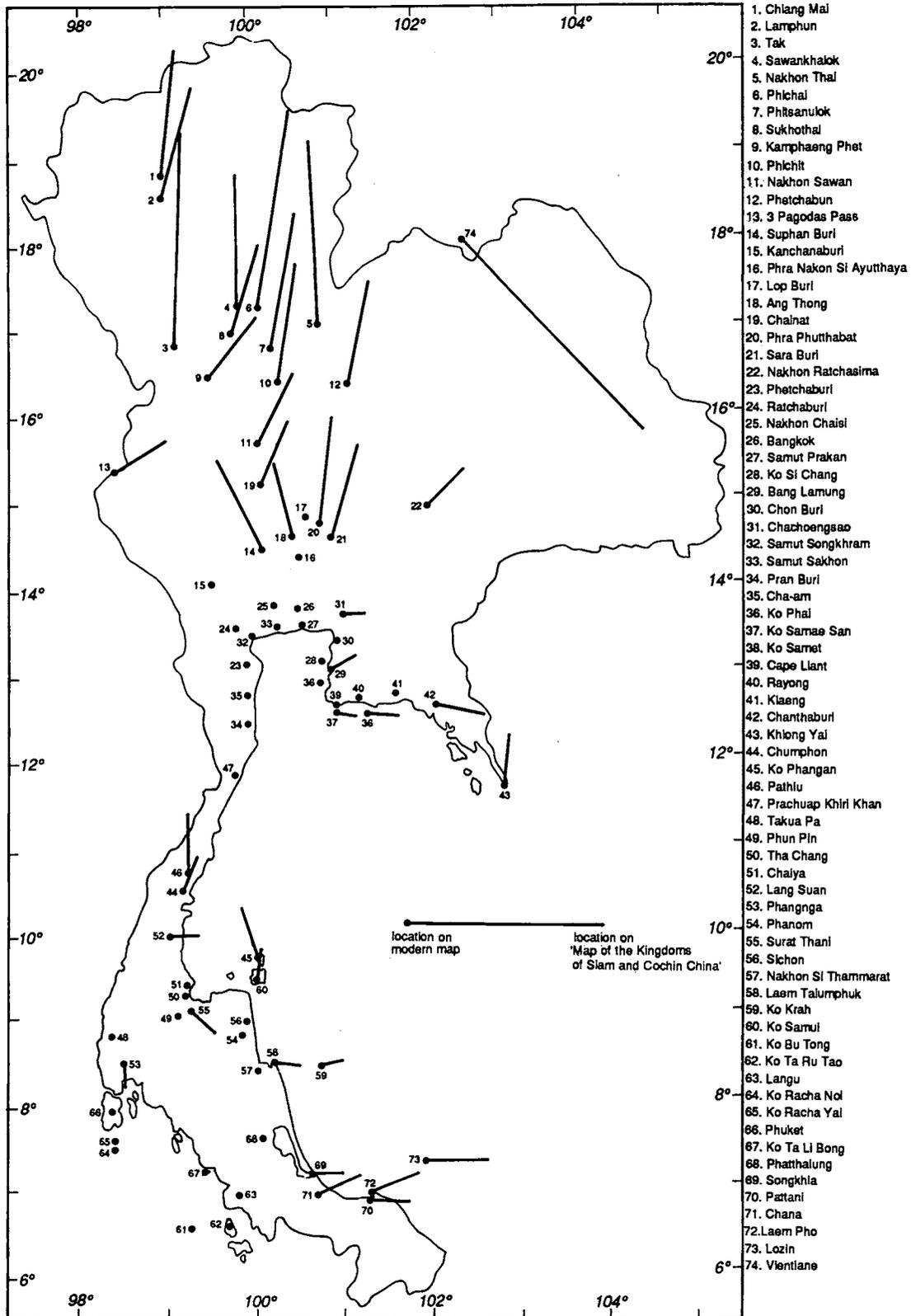


Figure 9. Location of certain named places on "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" (Figure 1) compared with location of equivalent places on a modern map of Thailand.

Figure 10  
Critique of the Depiction of Siam on "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China"

Compared with a modern map of Thailand, "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" is at once reasonably congruent and grotesque. Littoral areas correspond rather nicely, though there is a certain disproportion, particularly along the western shore of the Gulf. With distance from coasts, however, there is progressive distortion and the interior of the kingdom is woefully misrepresented.

The main reason for incongruence may be laid to the faulty delineation of major waterways on the "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China:" the "Menam Kong" (Mekong), "Menam River" (Chao Phraya), "Meklong R." (Mae Klong), "Tachin River" (Tha Chin) and the "Bang pa kung R." (Bang Pakong). The "Menam Kong" is without its long westward reach along parallel eighteen and so traverses rather than edges northeastern Siam, thereby substantially narrowing this part of the kingdom. The "Menam River" in its tributaries reaches well beyond twenty-four degrees north which is an overreach of fully four degrees. The "Meklong R." and the "Tachin River," though rightly represented as separate waterways, appear to be interlaced upstream so that the main northern tributary of the former is joined to the lower course of the latter, thereby beheading the Mae Klong and backing the Tha Chin into the mountainous borderland with Burma when in reality it is a distributary of the Chao Phraya. The "Bang pa kung R." is greatly extended in its tributaries, filling a space created by the misplaced escarpment of the "Khorat Plateau;" Nakhon Ratchasima ("Mg. Khoratchasema") lays atop the "Plateau" astride the east flowing Mun, not on the headwaters of the southwest draining Bang Pakong. The few tributaries shown of the "Menam Kong" and the "Menam River" are mislocated also, and the eye-catching "Lachado Lake" with its "Talan Creek" connection to the "Menam River" system is a feature either misinformed or misinterpreted.

The distorted framework of waterways has abetted the skewed arrangement of the towns of interior Siam (see fig. 9). That Kanchanaburi appears twice, as "Pakgrek" on the "Meklong" and as "Kamburi or Pak-prek" on the "Tachin," seems symptomatic of a general cartographical confusion worse confounded, but for this particular instance at least a reason may be found. When Burney was at Bangkok in 1826 as envoy to the court of Siam he deputed one of his interpreters, Francis Joseph Leal, to shepherd a mob of former Burmese prisoners to Mergui overland and charged him to keep a diary of the trip. In this diary the entry for 6 May 1826 notes: "At 6 [in the evening] I arrived at Pak-phrek." Burney annotates this entry: "Open mouthed—so called from this place being situ-

ated at the confluence of the two rivers Mekhlong and Sissonat. Pakphrek is now often known by the name of Kanboori. The old Kanboori or Cambori at the head of the Sissonat river was entirely destroyed during the Burmese invasion in 1766..." (BP, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 45; I.O. BSPC, vol. 344, no. 13). The "Geographical Sketch" which accompanied Burney's submission of the annotated diary to the supreme government, dated Calcutta, 1 March 1827, shows "Old Kanboori," the "Sissovat R." and "Kan-boori or Pakphrek" in the positions he describes (see fig. 31). The "Sissonat" or "Sissovat" river cannot be other than the main northern tributary of the Mae Klong wrongly attached to the "Tachin River" on "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China." So, cause may be ascribed for confusion and, therefore, the portrayal of Kanchanaburi twice.

Cause may be given also for the particularly puzzling positioning of "Lanchang or Chantanaburi" at about 15°45' N / 104°35' E though the co-ordinates of Vientiane had been fixed long before and accurately at about 18°00' N / 102°30' E; which gross mislocation appears to have led to the relative misplacement of other towns—for example, is "Kiang-hai" at 16°20' N / 103°10' E meant to be Chiang Rai at 19°55' N / 99°50' E and "Gan" at 16°10' N / 103°50' E meant to be Nan at 18°45' N / 100°45' E? Reason for the erroneous siting of Vientiane ("Lanchang or Chantanaburi") may be laid to a misinterpretation of the appellation "Lanchang or Chantanaburi" on a prior "Crawfurd" map where it refers not to the town but to the area under its nominal control. See "Rough Sketch of a Map of Ava [.] Siam, Cochin-China" which accompanied Crawfurd's "Notes respecting the Geography of India beyond the Ganges, dated Singapore 31 May 1824, submitted to the Supreme Government (see I.O. H/M/663, pp. 259-290); the original "Rough Sketch..." is lost, having been detached from the "Notes..." (by-the-bye Crawfurd regarded his "Notes..." as an "explanation" of the map) and copied without notice of its source in the Surveyor Generals Office, Calcutta, 17 August 1824 (see I.O. H/M/678, no. 6).

The point need not be laboured: the depiction of the interior of Siam on "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" is grotesque; still, the map is a masterpiece of "creative cartography." John Crawfurd himself thought John Walker had "on the present occasion skilfully availed himself of the scanty materials which were placed in his hands" (Crawfurd 1967, 597); from the vantage of hindsight—aware of the nature of these "scanty materials" and thereby of reason for the shortcomings of the Map—Crawfurd's praise is faint.

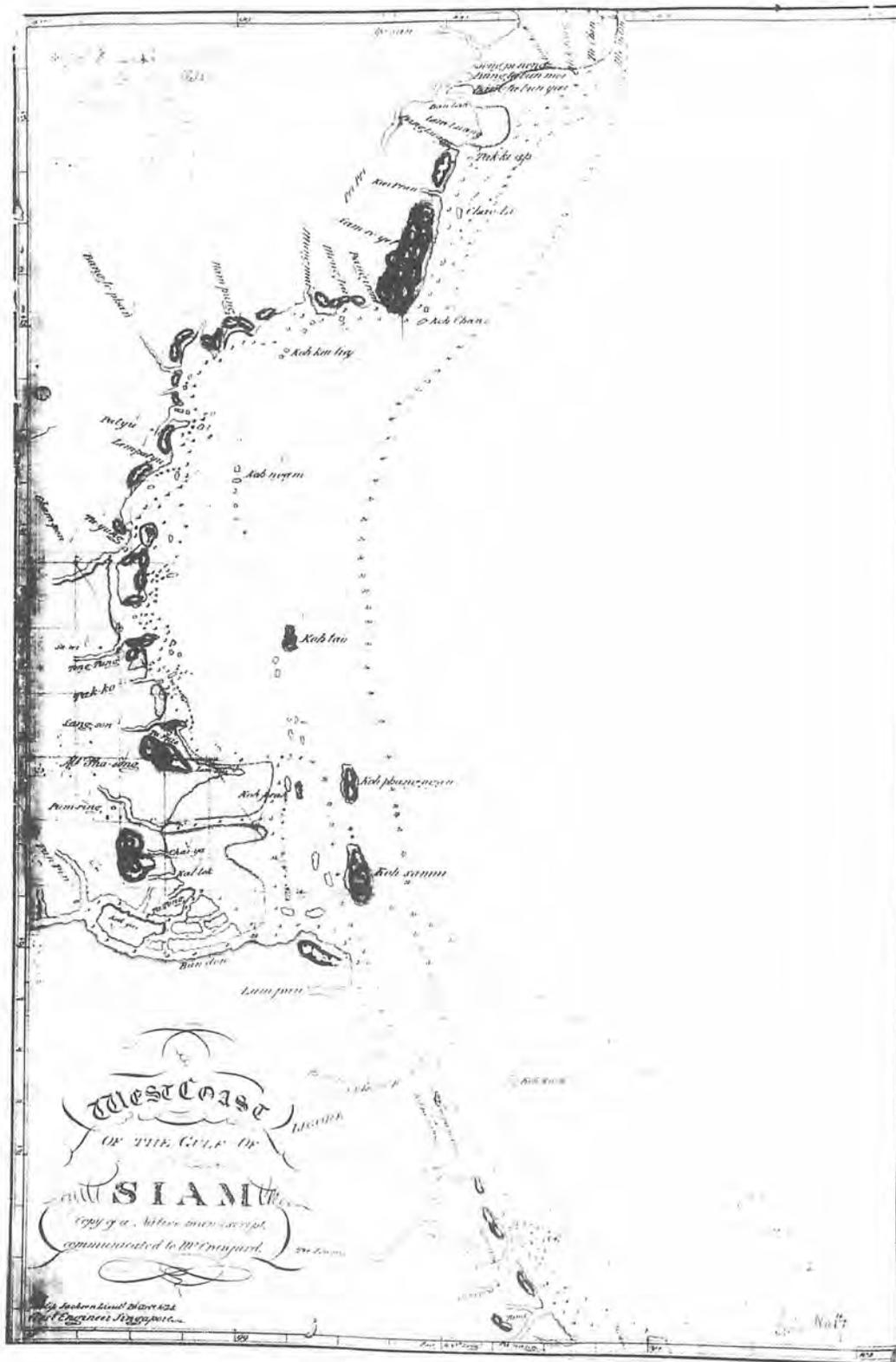


Figure 11. "West Coast of the Gulf of Siam. Copy of a Native manuscript, communicated to Mr. Crawford." Philip Jackson, Lieutenant Bengal Artillery, Assistant Engineer, Singapore 1825. From photocopy of map number 90/28, National Archives of India.

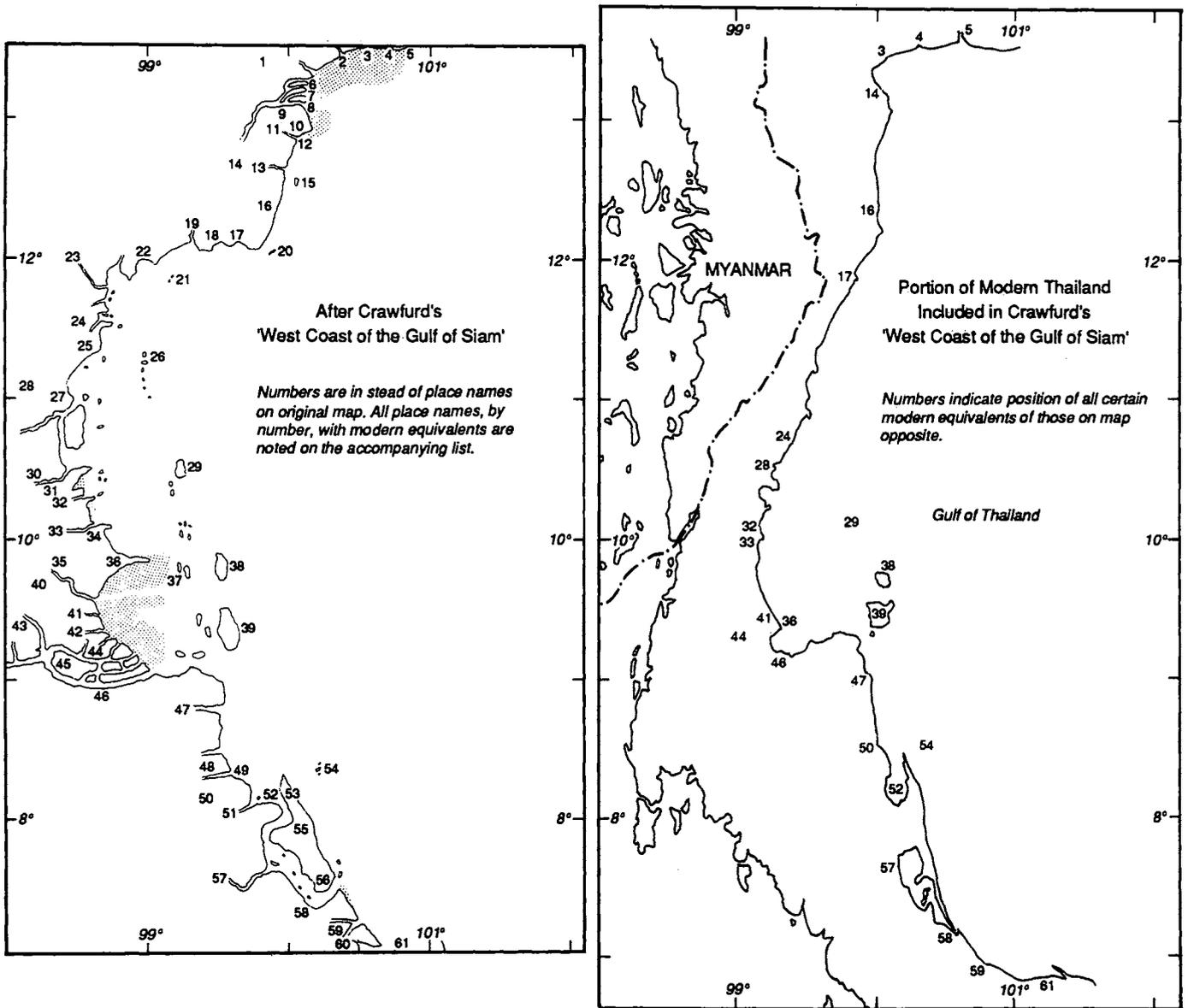


Figure 12. "West Coast of the Gulf of Siam," after Figure 11, compared with a modern map.

Figure 13. Place names on "West Coast of the Gulf of Siam," Figure 11, with modern equivalents

"Crawfurd" Place Name	"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Crawfurd" Place Name	"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name
1. Yo-san	Yisan	Ban Yi San (?)	33. Lang-son	Lang son	Lang Suan
2. Klong-Kon	(-)	(?)	34. Ta-ruie	(-)	(?)
3. Mek-Long	Meklong R.	Mae Nam Mae Klong	35. Mt. Pha-song	Mt. Phisong	Khao Lum (?)
4. Ta-Chin	Tachin River	Mae Nam Tha Chin	36. Lem-sui	Lemsia	Laem Sui
5. Me-nam	Menam Riv.	Chao Phraya River	37. Koh-prah	(-)	Ko Phaluai (?)
6. Song-pi-nong	(-)	(?)	38. Koh-phang-ngan	Po. Sancori or Ko-phang-an	Ko Phangan
7. Bang-ta-bun-moi	(-)	(?)	39. Koh-samui	Po. Carnam or Ko Samui	Ko Samui
8. Bangta-bun-yai	(-)	(?)	40. Pum-ring	Pum-ring	(?)
9. Ban-Lan	(-)	Ban Laem (?)	41. Chai-ya	Chai-ya	Chaiya
10. Lem-Luang	(-)	(?)	42. Kal-lok	Kal-lok	(?)
11. Bang-Luang	(-)	(?)	43. Pun-Pin	Punpin	(?)
12. Tak-ki-ap	(-)	(?)	44. Ta-Tong	Ta Tong	Tha Chang
13. Kwi-Pran	(-)	(?)	45. Koh-yai	(-)	(?)
14. Pri-Pri	Pri-pri	Phetchaburi	46. Bandon	Bandon	Surat Thani
15. Chao-Li	(-)	(?)	47. Lum-pun	Lam-pun	Sichon
16. Sam-ro-yet	(-)	Khao Sam Roi Yot	48. Ta-yang	(-)	Chawang (?)
17. Bang-irom	Bangirom	Prachuap Khiri Khan	49. Ligore R.	(-)	(?)
18. Mong-lai	Muang lai	(?)	50. Ligore	Ligor	Nakhon Si Thammarat
19. Mung-mai	Muang mai	(?)	51. Old Ligore	Old Ligor	(?)
20. Koh Chan	(-)	Ko Chan (?)	52. Pak-pa-nang	(-)	Ao Pak Phanang
21. Koh-kai-tia	Koh kai tat	(?)	53. Lem-pa-nang	Lempanang	(?)
22. Nam-pung	Nampung	Bang Saphan (?)	54. Koh-krah	Po. Cara or Ko Krah	Ko Krah
23. Bang-to-phan	(-)	(?)	55. Koh-sun	Kosun	Ko Yai (?)
24. Patyu	Patyu	Pathiu	56. Limsun	Lan sun	(?)
25. Lem-patyu	Lem patyu	(?)	57. Ta-Lung	Ta lung or Maddalung	Phatthalung
26. Koh-ngam	(-)	(?)	58. Sungora	Sungora	Songkhla
27. Ta-yung	(-)	Ban Tha Yang (?)	59. Tana	Tana	Chana
28. Cham-pon	Cham-pon	Chumphon	60. Pa-nang	(-)	(?)
29. Koh-tao	(-)	Ko Tao	61. Patani	Patani	Pattani
30. Sa-wi	Persong	Sawi (?)			
31. Tong-Tung	(-)	(?)			
32. Tak-ko	(-)	Thung Tako			

Source: Place names on "West Coast of the Gulf of Siam. Copy of a Native Manuscript Communicated to Mr. Crawfurd" with modern equivalents from 1:250,000 Series 1501, editions 1, 2 & 3, Royal Thai Survey Department, 1970s & 1980s.

Note: Numbers shown above are those on Figure 12; place names immediately following under "Crawfurd" Place Name are those on Figure 11. Under "Walker" Place Name are equivalents of the "Crawfurd" Place Name from Figure 1; (-) indicates no equivalent. Under Modern Place Name are present equivalents of "Crawfurd" and "Walker" place names; followed by (?) indicates uncertainty; (?) alone indicates no modern equivalent found on 1:250,000 Series 1501. Notation of equivalents does not imply precise correspondence of locations.

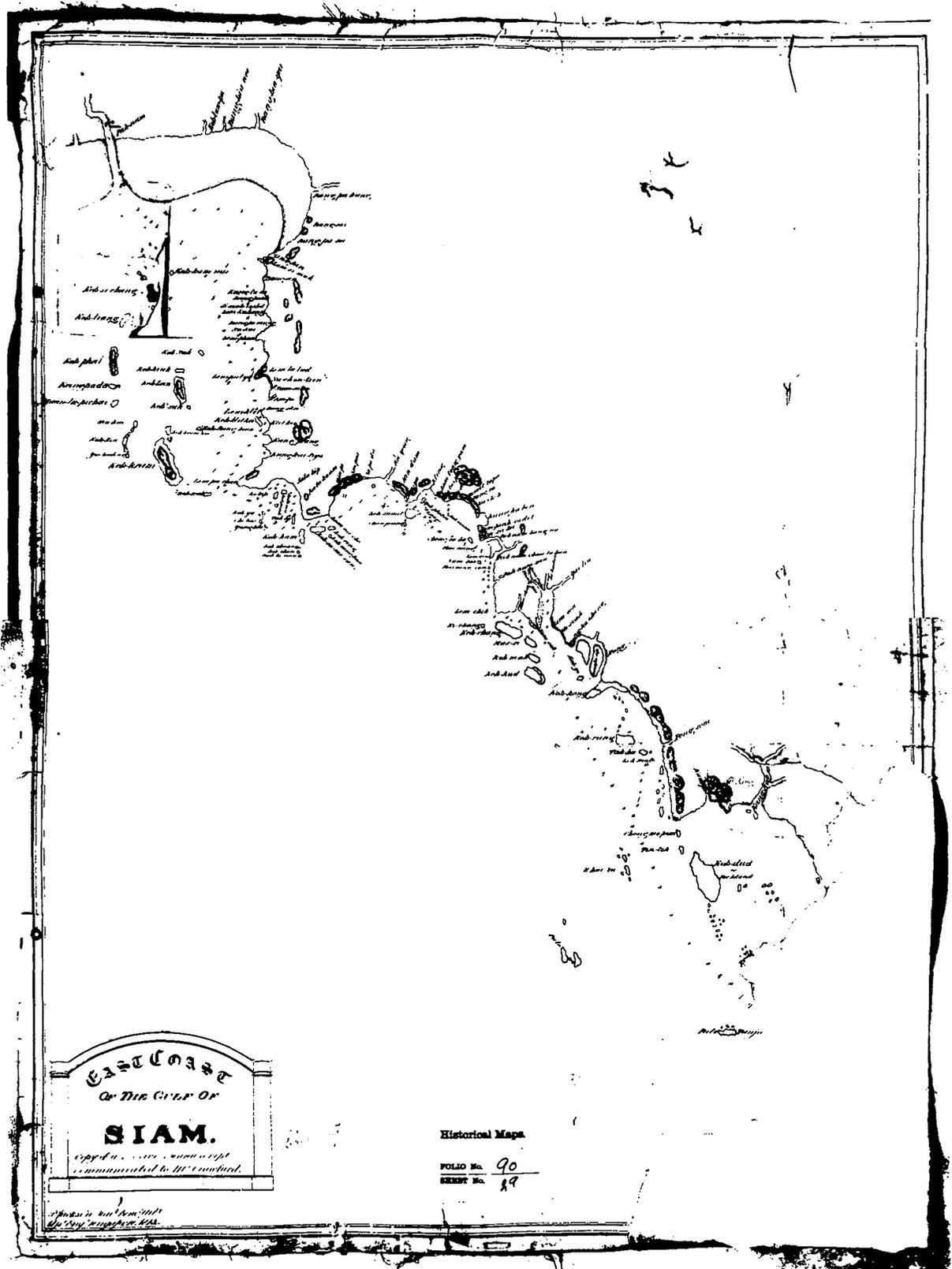


Figure 14. "East Coast of the Gulf of Siam. Copy of a Native Manuscript, communicated to Mr. Crawford." Philip Jackson, Lieutenant Bengal Artillery, Assistant Engineer, Singapore 1825. From photocopy of map number 90/29, National Archives of India.

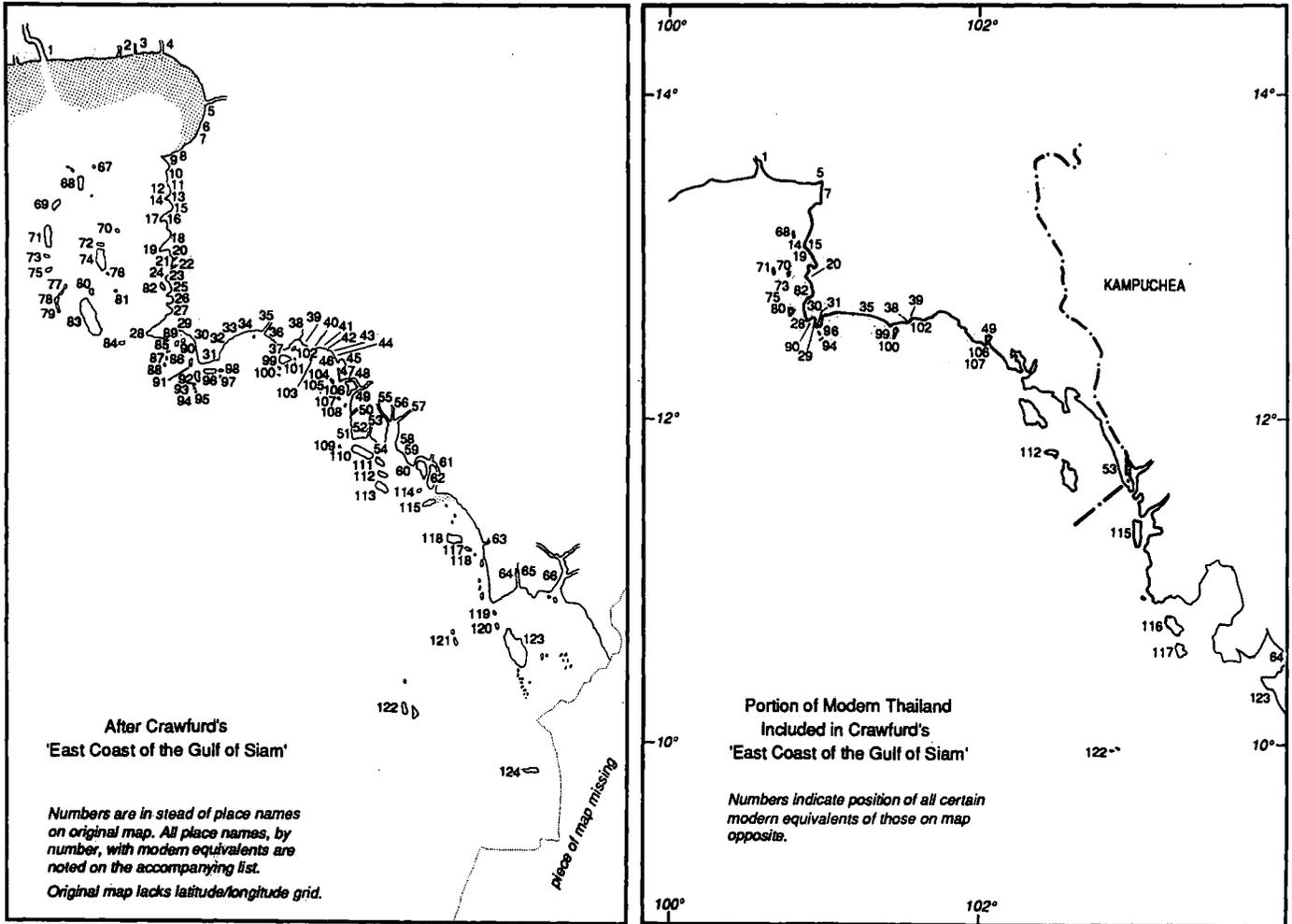


Figure 15. "East Coast of the Gulf of Siam," after Figure 14, compared with a modern map.

Figure 16. Place names on "East Coast of the Gulf of Siam," Figure 14, with modern equivalents.

"Crawfurd" Place Name	"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Crawfurd" Place Name	"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name
1. Pak-nam	Packnam	Samut Prakan	50. Pak-nam-wen	(-)	Mae Nam Welu (?)
2. Koh-lam-pu	(-)	(?)	51. Lem-chik	Lem-chik	Khao Laem Chamuk Meo (?)
3. Bang-hia-noe	Banghia R.	(?)	52. Nam-chao	(-)	Khlong Nam Chieo (?)
4. Bang-hia-yai	Banghia R.	(?)	53. Thung-yai	Tungyai	Khlong Yai
5. Bang-pa-kung	(-)	Bang Pakong	54. Lem-sok	(-)	Laem Saraphat Phit (?)
6. Bang-sai	(-)	(?)	55. Bang-prah	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
7. Bang-pa-soi	Bang-pa-soi	Chon Buri	56. Sa-kadam	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
8. Ang-hin	(-)	(?)	57. Yai-liu	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
9. Lem-si-muk	Lem-si-muk	(?)	58. Lem-son	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
10. Bang-sen	(-)	Ban Bang Saen(?)	59. Ho-siah	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
11. Kung-ta-no	(-)	(?)	60. Bang-ka-chang	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
12. Bang-piah	(-)	(?)	61. Kung	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
13. Si-mah-iaihd	(-)	(?)	62. Bang-ha-sop	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
14. Lem-Kabang	(-)	Laem Chabang	63. Pong-som	(-)	Prek Kampong Saom (?) (Kampuchea)
15. Bang-po-mung	Bang-po-mung	Bang Lamung	64. Kam-pot	(-)	Kampot (Kampuchea)
16. Na-Kai	(-)	(?)	65. Mt. Lung	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
17. Lem-phan	(-)	(?)	66. Kang-kao	Kong	(?) (Kampuchea)
18. Lem-la-lud	(-)	(?)	67. Koh-kam-uae	(-)	Ko Kham Noi/ Ko Kham Yai (?)
19. Lem-putya	Lem-putya	Laem Patthaya	68. Koh-si-chang	Koh si Chang	Ko Si Chang
20. Na-chon-tien	Nachon-tian	Ban Na Chom Thian	69. Koh-liang	(-)	(?)
21. Nam-mao	(-)	(?)	70. Koh-Nuk	Koh Nuk	Ko Nok
22. Am-po	(-)	Ban Amphoe (?)	71. Koh-phai	K. Phai	Ko Phai
23. Bang sare	(-)	(?)	72. Koh-kiuk	(-)	Ko Khrok (?)
24. Lem-klet	(-)	Laem Kham (?)	73. Kring-Badan	(-)	Ko Krung Badan
25. Klet-keo	(-)	(?)	74. Koh-Lan	K. Kram	Ko Lan (?)
26. Kung-plung	(-)	(?)	75. Maan-la-pichai	(-)	Ko Man Wichai
27. Kung-kai-tiya	(-)	(?)	76. Koh-sak	(-)	Ko Sak (?)
28. Lem-pu-chan	Cape Liant or Sam-nie-san or Liang	Cape Liant	77. Hin-kao	(-)	(?)
29. Sata-hip	(-)	Sattahip	78. Koh-Ken	(-)	Ko Rin (?)
30. Ka-ta-kuam	(-)	Khao Sattahip	79. Yai-kadong	(-)	(?)
31. Lem-wa-cho	Cape Samet	Laem Ket	80. Koh-kram-noe	(-)	Ko Khram Noi
32. Tan-pi	(-)	(?)	81. Koh-Rang-kian	(-)	Hin Rang Kwian (?)
33. Am-poa	(-)	(?)	82. Koh-klet-koe	(-)	Ko Klet Kaeo
34. Ao-po-du	(-)	(?)	83. Koh-kram	K. San	Ko Khram (?)
35. Ra-yong	Rayong	Rayong	84. Koh-siah	(-)	Ko Ra (?)
36. Hin-dam	(-)	(?)	85. Ko-hip	(-)	(?)
37. Lem-ya	(-)	(?)	86. Koh-yu	(-)	Ko Yo (?)
38. Kleng	Kling	Klaeng	87. Chi-lao	(-)	Ko Lao (?)
39. Lem-tong-yam	(-)	Laem Thong Lang	88. Yung-klu	(-)	(?)
40. Lem-ta-pi	Lem kar pi	Laem Tan (?)	89. Koh-piah	(-)	Ko Phra (?)
41. Pa-si	(-)	(?)	90. Koh mu	(-)	Ko Mu
42. Samet-tapu	(-)	(?)	91. Tak-ke	(-)	Ko Chorakhe (?)
43. Pang-ra	(-)	(?)	92. Koh-kam	(-)	Ko Kham (?)
44. Ka-cheh	Ka-cheh	(?)	93. Koh chuang	Koh Kah	Ko Chuang (?)
45. Kung-ka-ben	Kung-ka-bin Bay	Nong Sanam Chai (?)	94. Koh-chan	(-)	Ko Chan
46. Lem-piah-sadet	(-)	Laem Ai Lao (?)	95. Bak-ta-mun	(-)	(?)
47. Lem-sa-ba	(-)	Laem Thai Ran Dok Mai (?)	96. Koh sa-me-san	K. Sam-me...nt	Ko Samae San
48. Pak-nam-hung-nu	(-)	(?)	97. Koh-uing kan	(-)	Ko Chang Klua (?)
49. Pak-nam- chan-ta-bun	Pak-nam	mouth of Chanthaburi River	98. Koh-reng	(-)	Ko Raet (?)
			99. Koh-Samet	Koh Same	Ko Samet

Figure 16, Cont. Place names on "East Coast of the Gulf of Siam," Figure 14, with modern equivalents.

"Crawfurd" Place Name	"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Crawfurd" Place Name	"Walker" Place Name	Modern Place Name
100. Chan-pueng	(-)	Ko Chan	115. Koh-kong	Koh Kong	Kas Kong (Kampuchea)
101. Koh-kut	(-)	Ko Kudi (?)	116. Koh-rung	(-)	Kas Rong (Kampuchea)
102. Koh-platin	(-)	Ko Pla Tin	117. Tah-ba	(-)	Kas Rong Sam Lem (Kampuchea)
103. Koh-maan	(-)	Ko Man Nai (?)	118. Lek-mat	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
104. Chong-sa-ba	(-)	Ko Saba (?)	119. Chong-mo-piai	(-)	I. de la Baie (?) (Kampuchea)
105. Phai-nang	(-)	(?)	120. Tin-tek	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
106. Lem-sing	Lem-sing	Laem Sing	121. U-hwi-su	(-)	(?) (Kampuchea)
107. Num-sao	(-)	Ko Nom Sao	122. Pulo we	(-)	Ko Way (Kampuchea)
108. Phai-nang-iam	(-)	(?)	123. Koh-dud or Far Island	Koh Dud or Phy-kwok	Quan Phy Quoc (Viet Nam)
109. Ki-chang	(-)	Ko Chang Noi (?)	124. Pulo Panja	Pulo Panjang	Hon Panjang (Viet Nam)
110. Koh-chang	Ko Chang	Ko Kut (?)			
111. Mas-si	(-)	Ko Mai Si Yai/ Ko/Mai Sik Lek (?)			
112. Koh-mak	(-)	Ko Mak			
113. Koh-kud	Koh Kud	Ko Chang (?)			
114. Koh-yi	(-)	(?)			

*Source:* Place names on "East Coast of the Gulf of Siam. Copy of a Native Manuscript Communicated to Mr. Crawfurd" with modern equivalents from 1:250,000 Series 1501, editions 1, 2 & 3, Royal Thai Survey Department, 1970s & 1980s.

*Note:* Numbers shown above are those on Figure 15; place names immediately following under "Crawfurd" Place Name are those on Figure 14. Under "Walker" Place Name are equivalents of the "Crawfurd" Place Name from Figure 1; (-) indicates no equivalent. Under Modern Place Name are present equivalents of "Crawfurd" and "Walker" place names; followed by (?) indicates uncertainty; (?) alone indicates no modern equivalent found on 1:250,000 Series 1501. Notation of equivalents does not imply precise correspondence of locations.

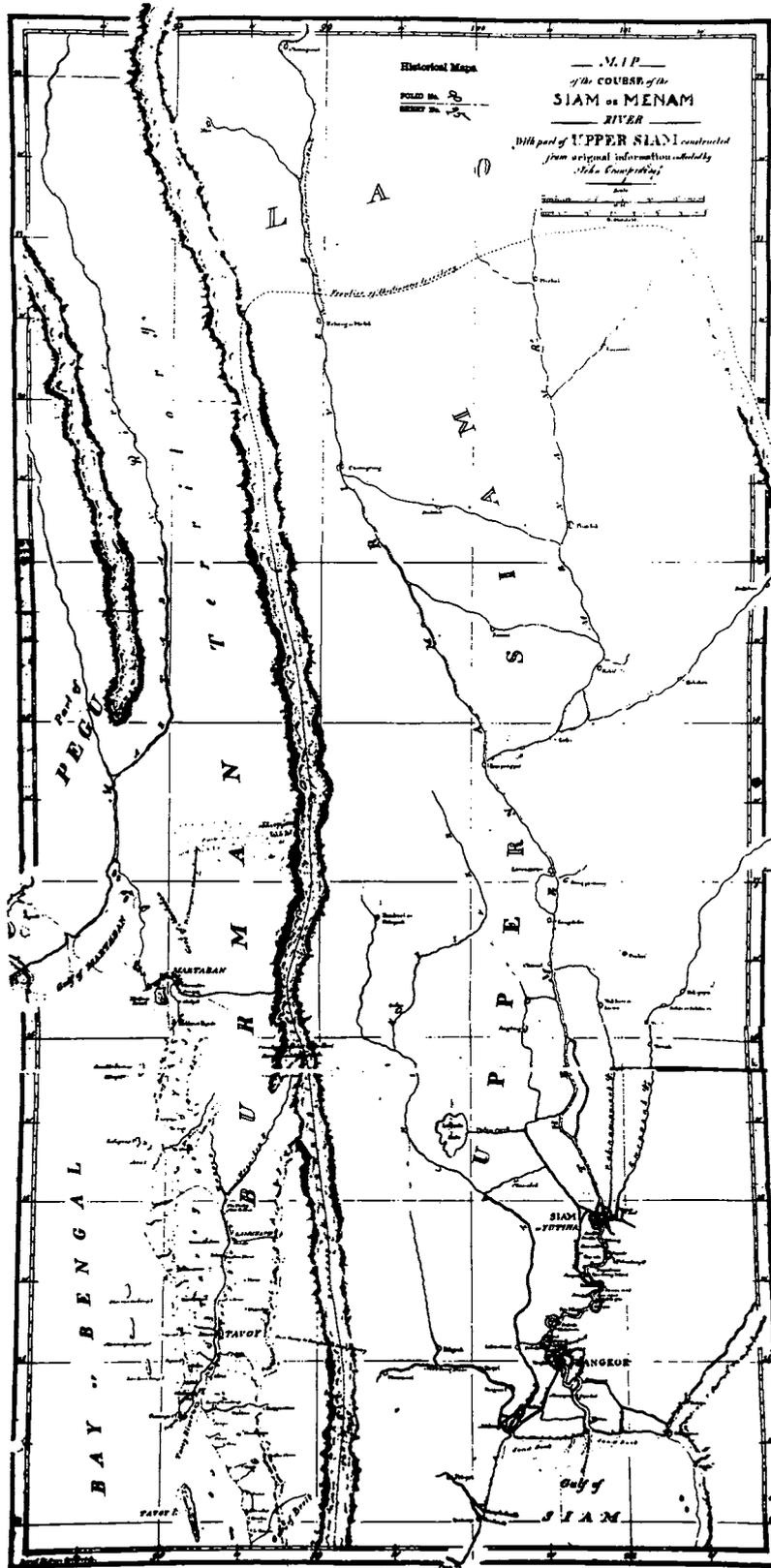


Figure 17. "Map of the course of the Siam or Menam River. With part of Upper Siam constructed from original information collected by John Crawford Esq." From photocopy of map number 90/25, National Archives of India.

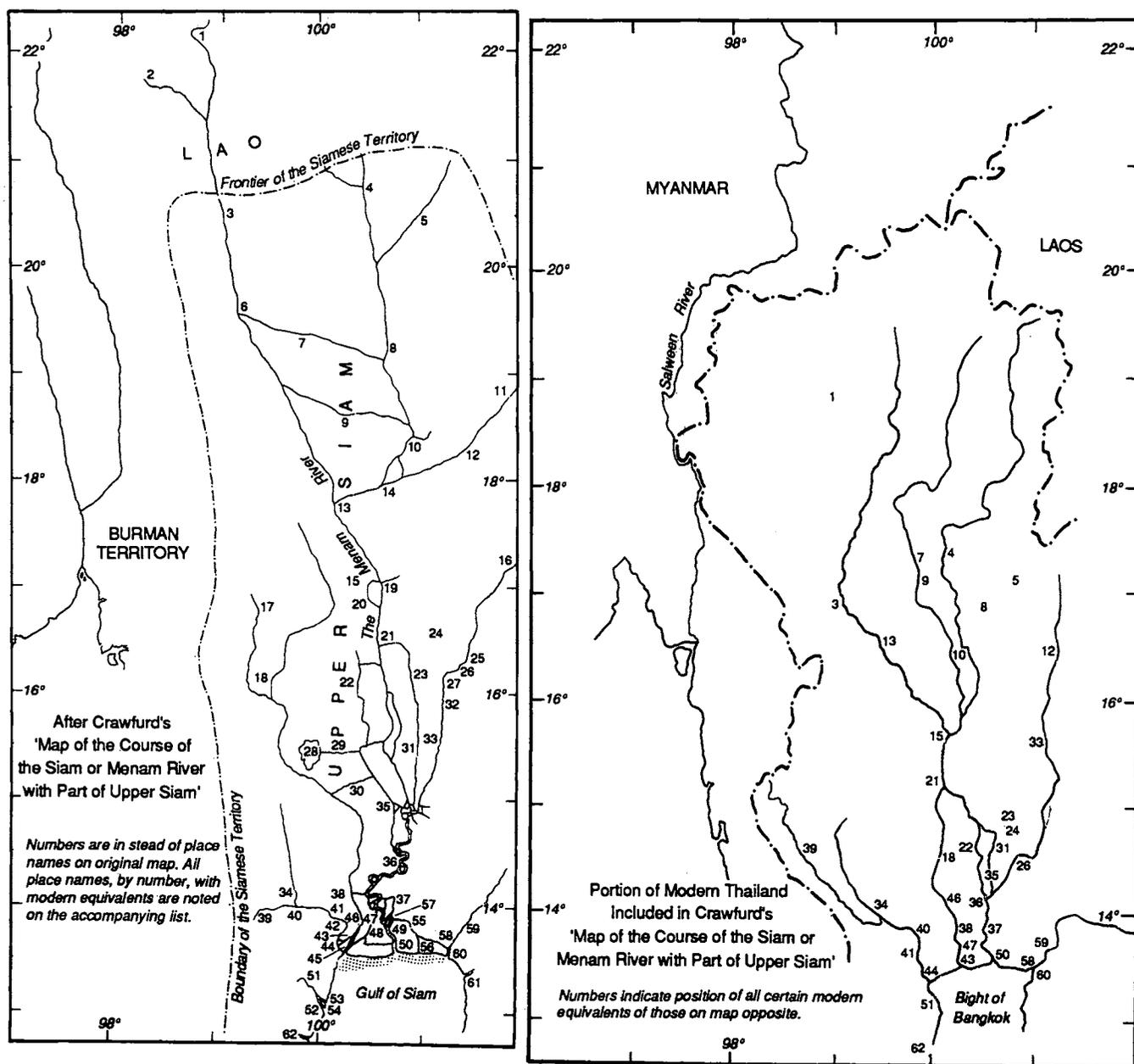


Figure 18. "Map of the course of Siam or Menam River," after Figure 17, compared with a modern map.

Notes and Sources for Figure 19 (opposite page)

Place names on "Map of the course of the Siam or Menam River," Figure 17, with modern equivalents.

*Source:* Place names on "Map of the Course of the Siam or Menam River with part of Upper Siam constructed from original information collected by John Crawford [Crawford] Esqr." with modern equivalents from 1:250,000 Series 1501, editions 1, 2 & 3, Royal Thai Survey Department, 1970s & 1980s.

*Note:* Numbers shown are those on Figure 18; place names immediately following under "Crawford" Place Name are those on Figure 17. Under "Walker" Place Name are equivalents of the "Crawford" Place Name from Figure 1; followed by (?) indicates uncertainty; (-) indicates no equivalent. Under Modern Place Name are present equivalents of "Crawford" and "Walker" place names; followed by (?) indicates uncertainty; (?) alone indicates no modern equivalent found on 1:250,000 Series 1501; (-) indicates no modern equivalent. Notation of equivalents does not imply precise correspondence of locations.







Figure 22. "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China." Burney's personal papers, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Box III B.xxxiv. The actual map (c.90 by 105 cms) is folded to a near square roughly a quarter its area; which mode of storage has led to manifest, irreparable wear.

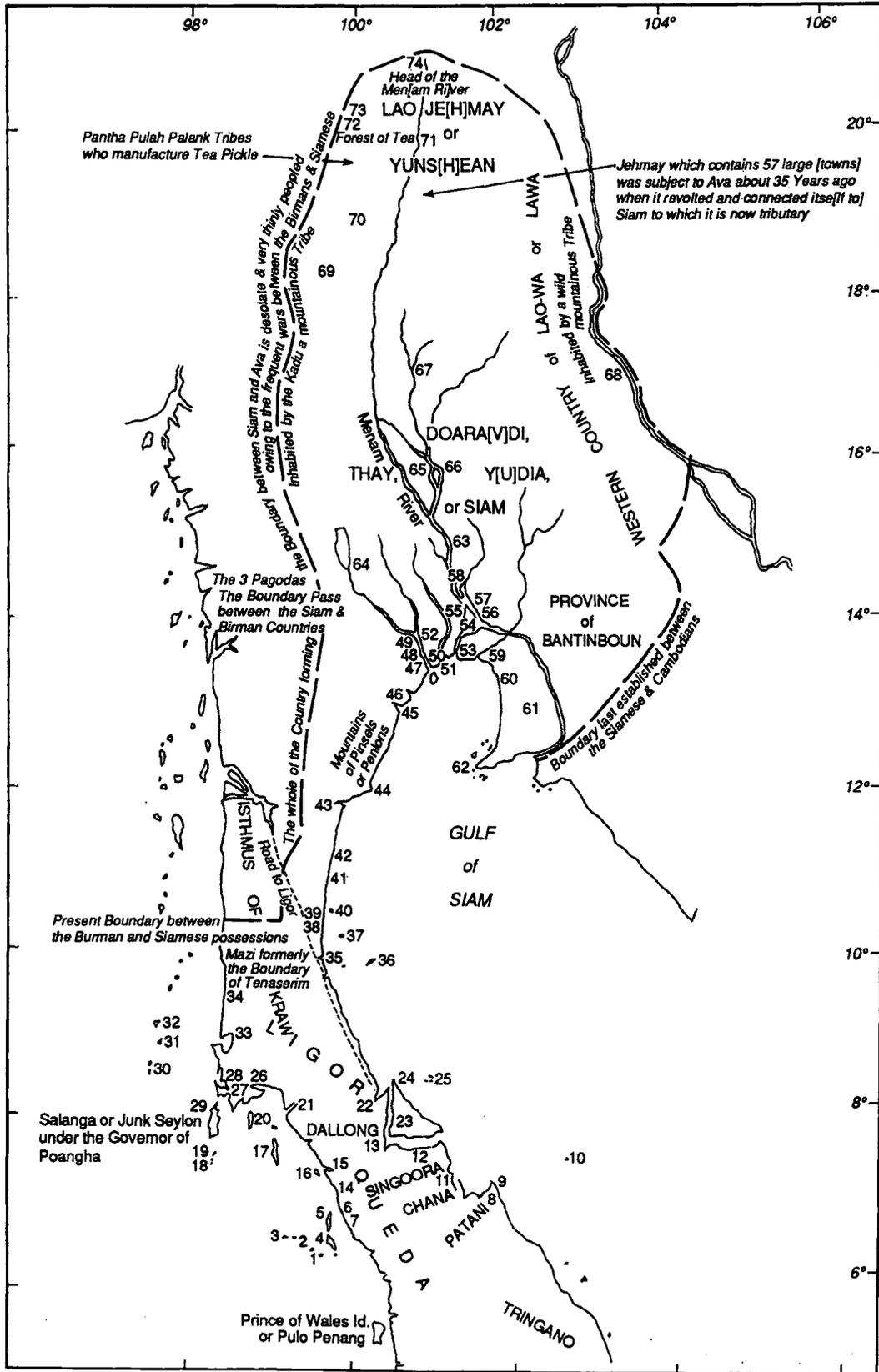


Figure 23. After "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China," Figure 22.

Figure 24. Place Names on "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" with modern equivalents

"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name
1. Pulo Laddas	Pulau Dayang Bunting/ several other islands (?) (Malaysia)	42. Bansapan	Bang Saphan
2. Pulo Lancava	Pulau Langkawi (Malaysia)	43. Cine	Prachuap Khiri Khan (?)
3. Pulo Bouton	Ko Bu Tong (?)	44. Pt. Cini	(?)
4. Po. Edam	Ko A Dang/ several smaller islands	45. Cham	Cha-am
5. Pulo Trotto	Ko Ta Ru Tao	46. Bankosey	(?)
6. Lunga	Langu	47. Mecataon	Samut Songkhram (?)
7. Setool	Satun	48. Yatpee	(?)
8. Patani	Pattani	49. Piatpee	Ratchaburi (?)
9. Cape Patani	Laem Pho	50. Tha [chin]	Samut Sakhon
10. Pulo Lozin	Lozin	51. [P] ak	(?)
11. Tseni or Chana	Chana	52. Cambu [ri]	Kanchanaburi
12. Singoora, Soonkkra	Songkhla	53. Pakenham	Samut Prakan
13. Dallong or Boudelon	Phatthalung	54. Bantroy	Bangkok (?)
14. Talavas	(?)	55. ...npay	(?)
15. Trang	Kantang (?)	56. Ban Samse	(?)
16. Telibon Id.	Ko Ta Li Bon	57. Bantram Id.	(?)
17. Pulo Lantar	Ko Lanta	58. [Yud] ia Ancient Capital of Siam	Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya
18. Brothers	Ko Racha Noi	59. Bamplasoi	Chon Buri
19. Pulo Taya	Ko Racha Yai	60. Ogmo	(?)
20. Pulo Panjang	Ko Yao (?)	61. Shantibon	Chanthaburi
21. Macaran	(?)	62. C [ape] Liant or ...am	Cape Liant
22. Ligore or Louckun	Nakhon Si Thammarat	63. Louvo	Lop Buri
23. Tantalum	(-)	64. Kiavekiaon	(?)
24. Pt. Ligore	Laem Talumphuk	65. Sacota	Sukhothai
25. Pulo C[ara]	Ko Krah	66. ...supposed to be the ancient ...a Nuk...on	(?)
26. Poangha or Panha	Phangnga	67. Locont[h] ai	Nakhon Thai
27. Popra	(?)	68. Chang supposed to be Capital of Lawa formerly tributary to the Cambodians	Vientiane
28. Natua	(?)	69. Yguanroue	(?)
29. Straits of Popra	(?)	70. Marmaye	(?)
30. Seyer Ids.	Ko Similan & smaller islands (?)	71. Jehm[ay] or [Z] emee	Chiang Mai
31. Mandarin Cap or Perforated Id.	Ko Tachai (?)	72. Letpeckkuen	(?)
32. Forsog Id. or Middle Id.	(?)	73. Maiyounghey	(?)
33. Tacumpa	Takua Pa	74. Kiactou...	(?)
34. Rindong	(?)		
35. Patanor	(?)		
36. Pulo Carnom	Ko Samui		
37. Pulo Sancori	Ko Phangan		
38. Zeye	Sawi (?)		
39. Bardia	(?)		
40. Pulo Bardia	(?)		
41. Chounpioun	Chumphon		

Source: Place names on "Map of the Empires of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China" with modern equivalents from 1:250,000 Series 1501, editions 1, 2 & 3, Royal Thai Survey Department, 1970s & 1980s.

Note: Numbers shown above are those on Figure 23; place names immediately following under 'Burney' Place Name are those on Figure 22. Under Modern Place Name are present equivalents of the "Burney" Place Name; followed by (?) indicates uncertainty; (?) alone indicates no modern equivalent found on 1:250,000 Series 1501; (-) indicates no modern equivalent. Notation of equivalents does not imply precise correspondence of locations.



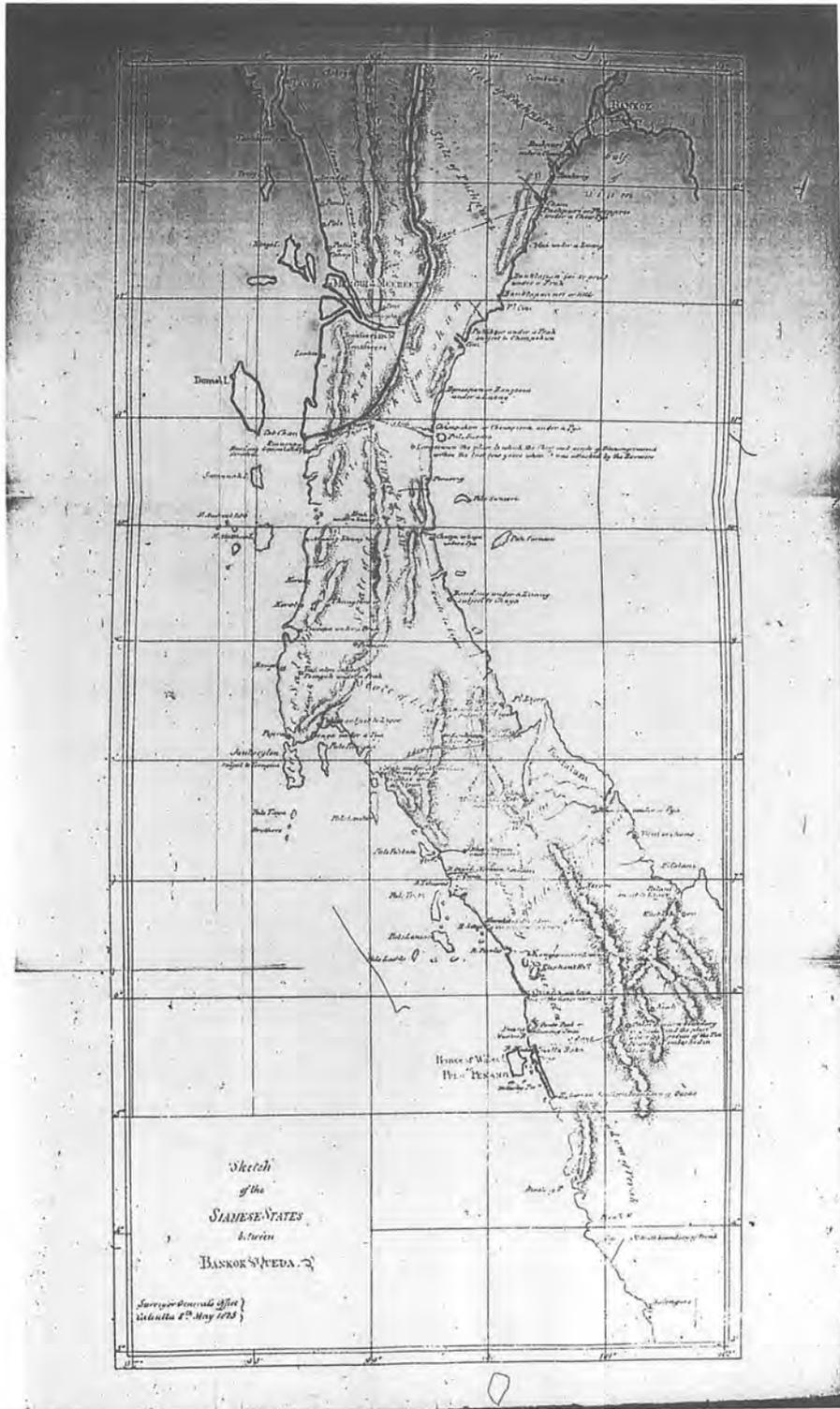


Figure 26. "Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] & Queda." Burney's personal papers, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Box VII D xvi.

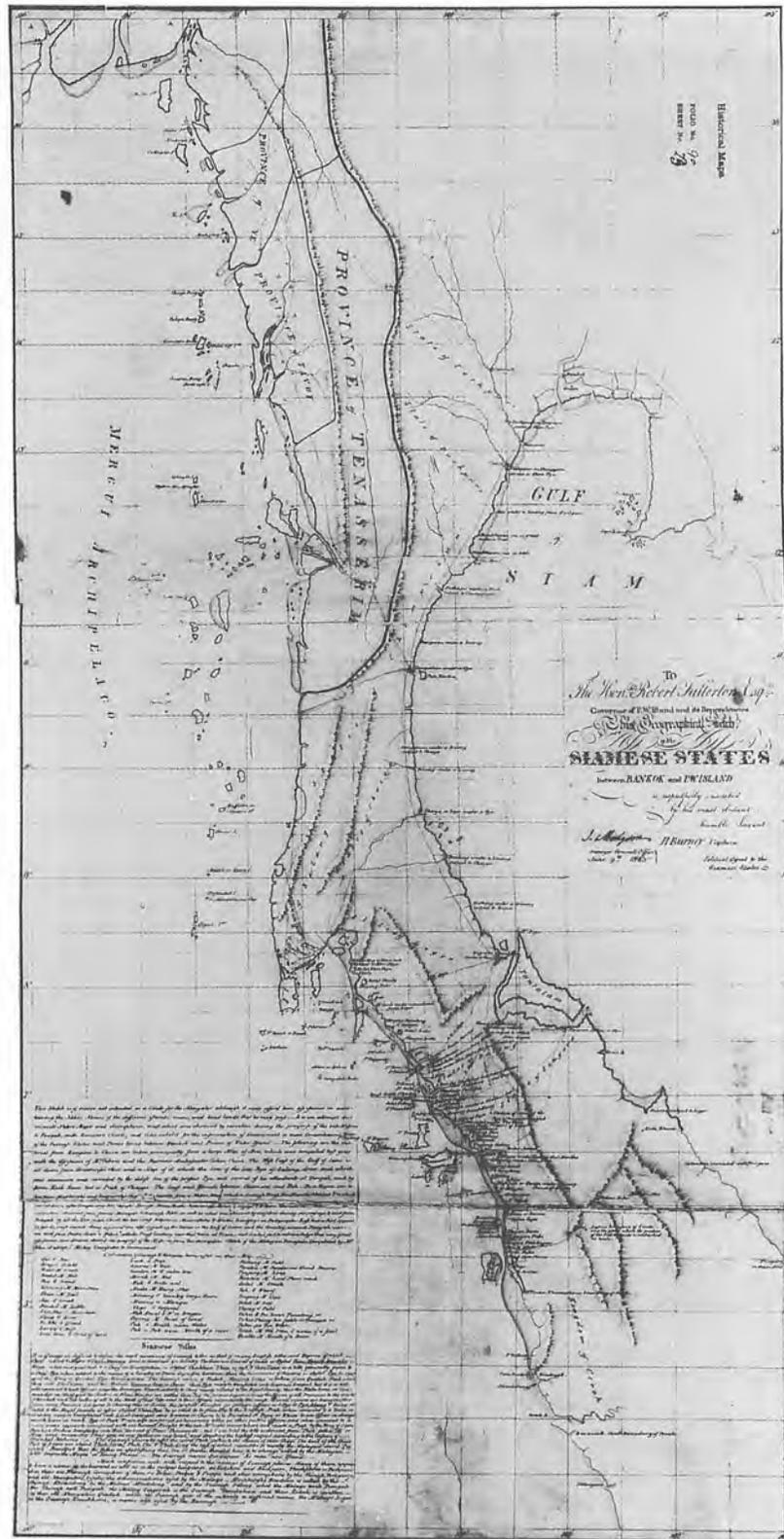


Figure 27. "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island." National Archives of India, Historical Maps, Folio 90 Sheet 23.

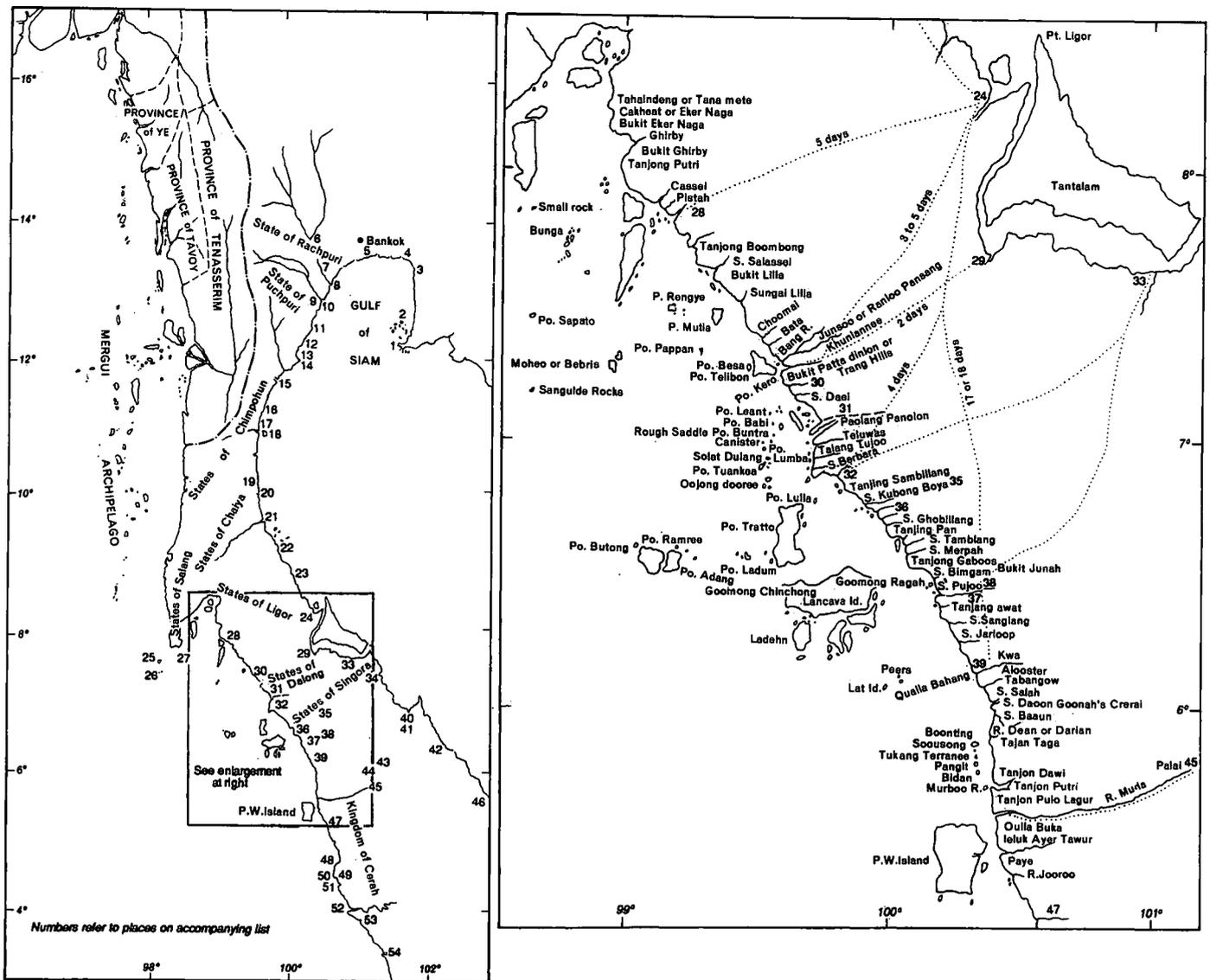


Figure 28. After "Geographical Sketch of the Siamese States between Bangkok [Bangkok] and P.W. [Prince of Wales] Island," Figure 27.

- |  |   |  |   |
|--|---|--|---|
| 1. Cape Liant                              | 16. Bangsoon under a Luang                      | subject to orders from Ligor                                     | 41. Kota Bharu  |
| 2. Sichang Id.                             | 17. Chimpohun under a Pya                       | 30. S. Plean under Mom Blat a Hio from Merdelong                 | 42. Catantan connected with Tringano  |
| 3. Ogmo                                    | 18. Pulo Bardia                                 | 31. S. Opih the established boundary between Merdelong and Queda | 43. Kalian Mas  |
| 4. Bamplasoi                               | 19. Lungsewun under a Luang subject to Chaiya   | 32. Sungu under a Chinese Capt.                                  | 44. Kalian Intar  |
| 5. Banjore                                 | 20. Persong under a Luang                       | 33. Soorgkhraa or Singora under a Pya                            | 45. Eastern boundary of Queda and place where the produce of the Tin Districts is embarked in boats |
| 6. Cambulli                                | 21. Chaiya or Zeya under a Pya                  | 34. Tsena R.   | 46. Tringano independent  |
| 7. Pachpoun or Ratphree under a Chow Pya   | 22. Bandong under a Luang subject to Chaiya     | 35. Statum of same of the Pya of Singora's subject               | 47. R. Crean. The southern boundary of Queda  |
| 8. Baneasei                                | 23. Tathong under a Luang subject to Ligor      | 36. S. Meerakit under Pho Klam and Phoh Princes of Ligor         | 48. R. Tallang  |
| 9. Cham                                    | 24. Ligor or Louckhun under a Chow Pya          | 37. Kajang under Mom Prop  | 49. Dinding R.  |
| 10. Puchpuri or Phreppree under a Chow Pya | 25. Po. Tayah or Rajah                          | 38. Kongar under Luang Rat Mintha                                | 50. Pulo Pankour  |
| 11. Mai under a Luang from Puchpuri        | 26. Brothers                                    | 39. Kodah or Queda under Phosing Prince of Ligor                 | 51. Sambilang Ids.  |
| 12. Banktapan jai or great under a Prah    | 27. Pilgrims                                    | 40. Patani subject to Ligor                                      | 52. Perak R.  |
| 13. Banktapan nei or little                | 28. Coreh under momchina from Ligor             |  | 53. Burnam R. South Boundary of Perak   |
| 14. Cini Point                             | 29. Khantalong Daloong or Merdelong under a Pya |  | 54. Salangore   |



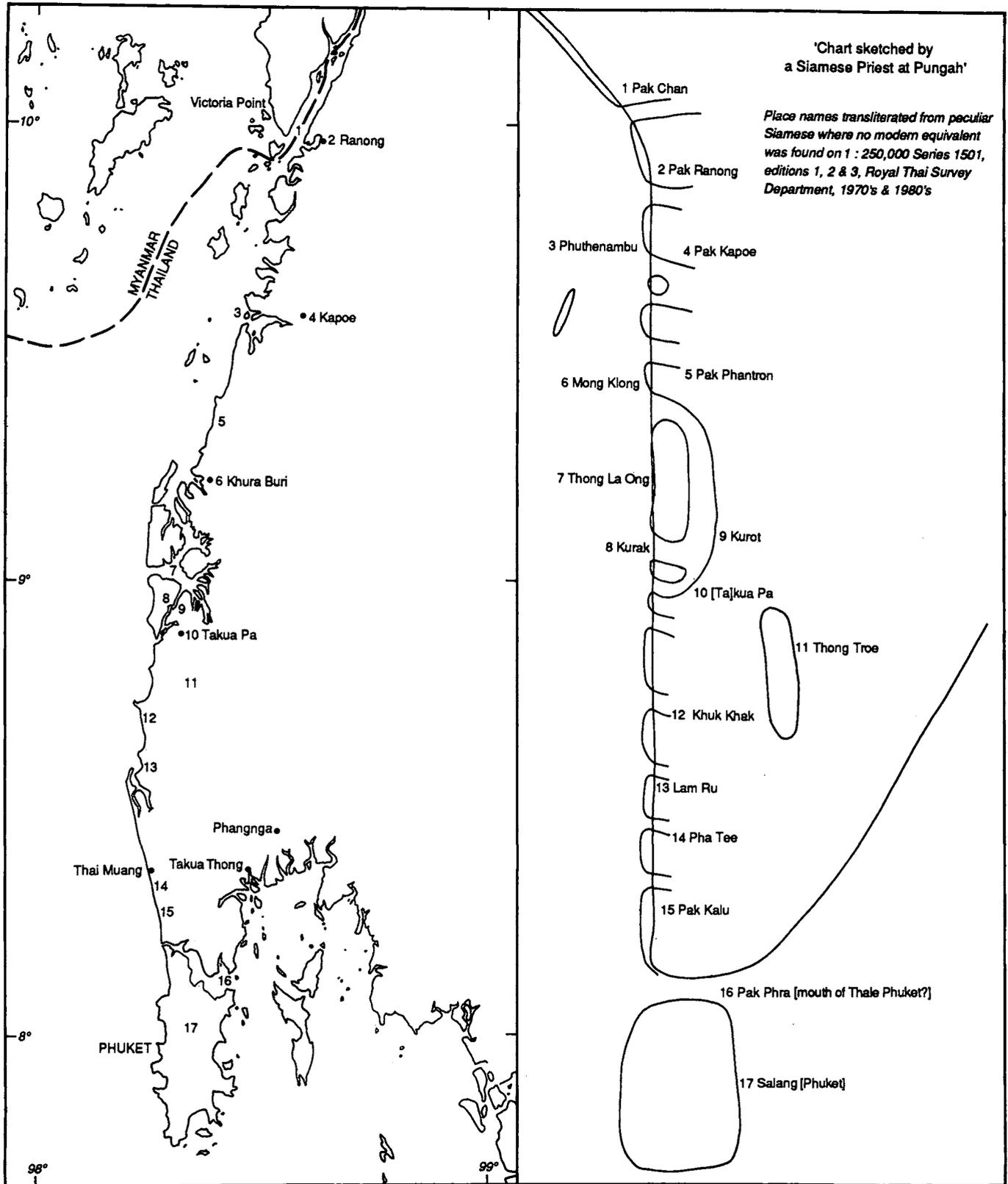


Figure 30. "Native Map of the coast from the Burmese border to Phuket," after Figure 29, compared with a modern map. Numbers denote approximate equivalent locations.



Figure 33.  
Place names on "Geographical Sketch" with modern equivalents.

"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name
<p>"Account of an Overland Route from the town of Ligor [Nakhon Si Thammarat] to Pothiu [Pathiu], a village on the Isthmus of Kraw [Kra], by Arthur Harris, Acting Assistant Surgeon attached to Captain Burney's Mission to Siam." Harris, accompanied by Leal, departed Ligor 18 December 1825, arrived Pothiu 16 January 1826, set sail for Bangkok 27 January and arrived 31 January 1826. Only place names included in this Account are noted below.</p>		29. Pathin (Pathiu in Account)	Pathiu
1. Ligor or Lakhon	Nakhon Si Thammarat	30. Sam-roi-yot (Samroi-yot in Account)	Khao Sam Roi Yot
2. Nam Jin (Nam Jen in Account)	(?)	31. Ciu or Cin Point	(?)
3. Ban Hooa Thaphan	(?)	32. Thachin	Mae Nam Tha Chin
4. Ban Clai or Klai	Tha Sala (?)	33. Thachin (Nakhon chaisi in Account)	Samut Sakhon
5. Ban Krang	(?)	34. Pak-nam Chao Phya	mouth of the Mae Nam Chao Phraya
6. Hooa Na	(?)	35. Paknam	Samut Prakan
7. Lamphoon	(?)	36. Bang-kok (Bangkok in account)	Bangkok
8. Kahnom (Kanom in Account)	Sichon (?)	37. R. Menam (Menam in account)	Mae Nam Chao Phraya
9. Ban Chekram	(?)	<p>Leal's "Route from <i>Bangnarom</i> to <i>Mergui</i> by land." Leal departed Bangkok on 13 February 1826, sailed from the bar on 23 February and arrived at <i>Bangnarom</i> on 1 March 1826. Only place names included in this Account are noted below.</p>	
10. Ban Kude	(?)	38. Bangnarom	Prachuap Khiri Khan
11. Ban Klieng (Ban Klung in Account)	(?)	39. Bangtaphan jai	Bang Saphan
12. R. Thakhom (Khlomg) Thakham Tha Kham in Account)	Khlomg Phum Duang	40. Bangtaphan noi (only Bangtaphan in Account)	(?)
13. Ban Phoonphun (Ban Phoonphen & Phoonphin in Account)	Phun Pin	41. Khao Kasoon	(?)
14. Bandon TR (TR=Thakham river?) (Bhandon town in Account)	Surat Thani	42. Tinau or Tenasserim R.	Tenasserim River (Myanmar)
15. Tha-thong	Tha Chang	43. Mergui	Mergui (Myanmar)
16. Ban Kalok	(?)	<p>Leal's "Route from Mergui to Tavoy and back by sea." Leal departed Mergui 16 March 1826, arrived Tavoy 19 March, returned Mergui 20 March 1826. Only place names included in this Account are noted below.</p>	
17. Phumrieng	(?)	44. Tavoy	Tavoy (Myanmar)
18. Ch'haiya	Chaiya	45. Tavoy I.	Tavoy I. (Myanmar)
19. Persong	(?)	<p>Leal's "Route from Mergui to <i>Chhoomphon</i> along the coast by sea as far as the mouth of the <i>Pak Chan</i> River, then up that river to the Siamese post of <i>Pak Chan</i> about the centre of the Isthmus of Kraw and thence by land to <i>Chhoomphon</i> on the west Coast of the Gulf of Siam, and back to Mergui in the same way." Leal departed Mergui 23 March 1826, arrived Khao Poon near Chumphon 28 March, departed Khao Poon 30 March, arrived</p>	
20. Ban Thareua (Ban Tha Reua in Account)	Tha Chana		
21. Khlomg Lang Sewun	Khlomg Lang Suan		
22. Lang Sewun	Lang Suan		
23. Thakho	Thung Tako (?)		
24. Suwi	Sawi		
25. Wi-sai (Wisai in Account)	Ban Wisai Nua (?)		
26. Pulo Bardia	(?)		
27. Chihoomp'hon (Chhoomphon in Account)	Chumphon		
28. Bangsoon	(?)		

Figure 33, Continued  
Place names on "Geographical Sketch" with modern equivalents.

"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name
<p>Mergui 3 April 1826. Only place names included in this Account and not previously are noted below.</p>		56. Mykesath	(?) (Myanmar)
46. Ko Nam Cheut	(?)	57. Phrachaidi Samong or 3 Pagodas or Prato Thoungo	3 Pagodas Pass
47. Pak-Chan	Pakchan River & Mae Nam Kra Buri	58. Songola (Singole in Account)	Sankhla Buri (?)
48. Pakchan	Ban Pak Chan (?)	59. Alantay R.	(?)
49. Khupoon (Khao Poon in Account)	(?)	60. Loom-ch'hang or Kudeenzein (Loom Chhang & Kudeen zein in Account)	(?)
<p>Leal's "Route from Mergui to Tavoy by Sea." Leal departed Mergui 6 April 1826 and arrived Tavoy 8 April 1826. Leal's "Route from Tavoy to Martaban by Sea." Leal departed Tavoy 16 April 1826 and arrived Martaban 21 April 1826. Only place names included in this Account are noted below.</p>		61. Phau-phu-um (Phan phu um in Account)	Thong Pha Phum (?)
50. Ye (mouth of river Ye in Account)	Ye River (Myanmar)	62. Phau-oon (Phan oon in Account)	Thong Pha Phum (?)
51. Martaban	Martaban (Myanmar)	63. Chhaiyok or Daraik	(?)
<p>Leal's "Route from Martaban to the City of Bangkok up the river, across the 3 Pagodas to the Mekhlong and down that river." Leal departed Martaban 24 April 1826 and arrived Bangkok 10 May 1826. Only place names included in this Account and not previously are noted below.</p>		64. Menam noi	Ban Mae Nam Noi (?)
52. Uttran or Uthian (Muang Uthran in Account)	(?) (Myanmar)	65. Tha buko (Thatuko in Account)	(?)
53. Zemih or Athame (Khloneg Peli/ Zemih or Athane in Account)	(?) (Myanmar)	66. Samsing (Sam Sing in Account)	(?)
54. Mykwan (Phra Mongue in Account)	(?) (Myanmar)	67. Dan Claion Klai (Danclai in Account)	(?)
55. Myaikleet (Khloneg Myaikleet in Account)	(?) (Myanmar)	68. Banchiom	(?)
		69. Kan-boori or Pakprek (Kanboori and Pakphrek in Account)	Kanchanaburi
		70. Sissovat R. (Sissonat in Account)	Mae Nam Mae Klong (Khwaie Yai)
		71. Old Kanboori (also Cambori in Account)	(?)
		72. Rachhaboori or Ratphri (Ratphre in Account)	Ratchaburi
		73. Banchhang (Banchang in Account)	Ban Khonthi (?)
		74. Mekhlong	Samut Songkhram
		75. Khloneg Meua Luang (Khloneg Menam Luang or Bang Luang in Account)	Khloneg Phasi Charoen (?)

Source: Place names on "Geographical Sketch" with modern equivalents from 1:250,000 Series 1501, editions 1, 2 & 3, Royal Thai Survey Department, 1970s and 1980s.

Note: Numbers shown above are those on Figure 32; place names immediately following under "Burney" Place Name are those on Figure 31. Under Modern Place Name are present equivalents of the "Burney" Place Name; followed by (?) indicates uncertainty; (?) alone indicates no modern equivalent found on 1:250,000 Series 1501. Notation of equivalents does not imply precise correspondence of locations.

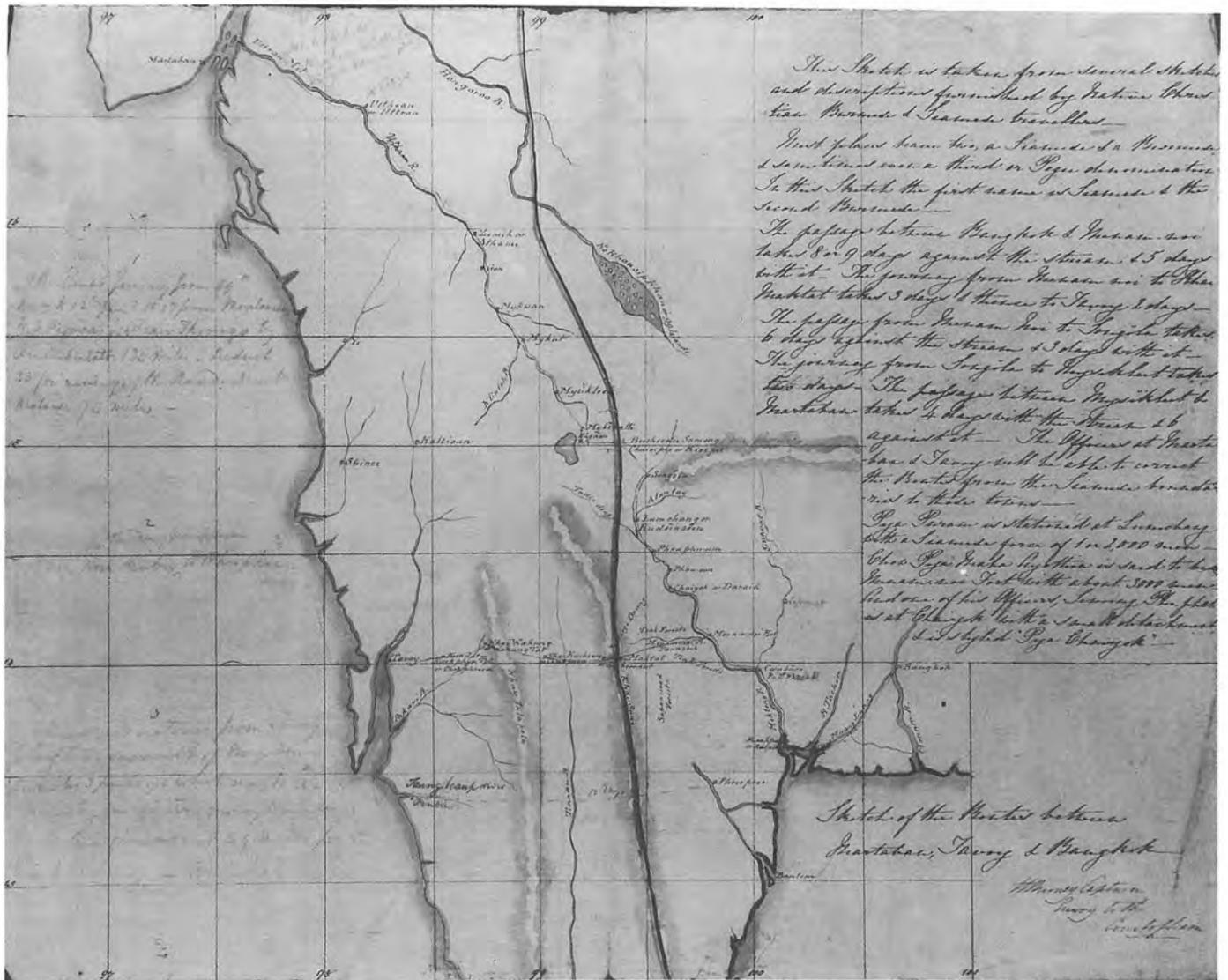


Figure 34. "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy and Bangkok." Burney's personal papers, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, J IX ii.

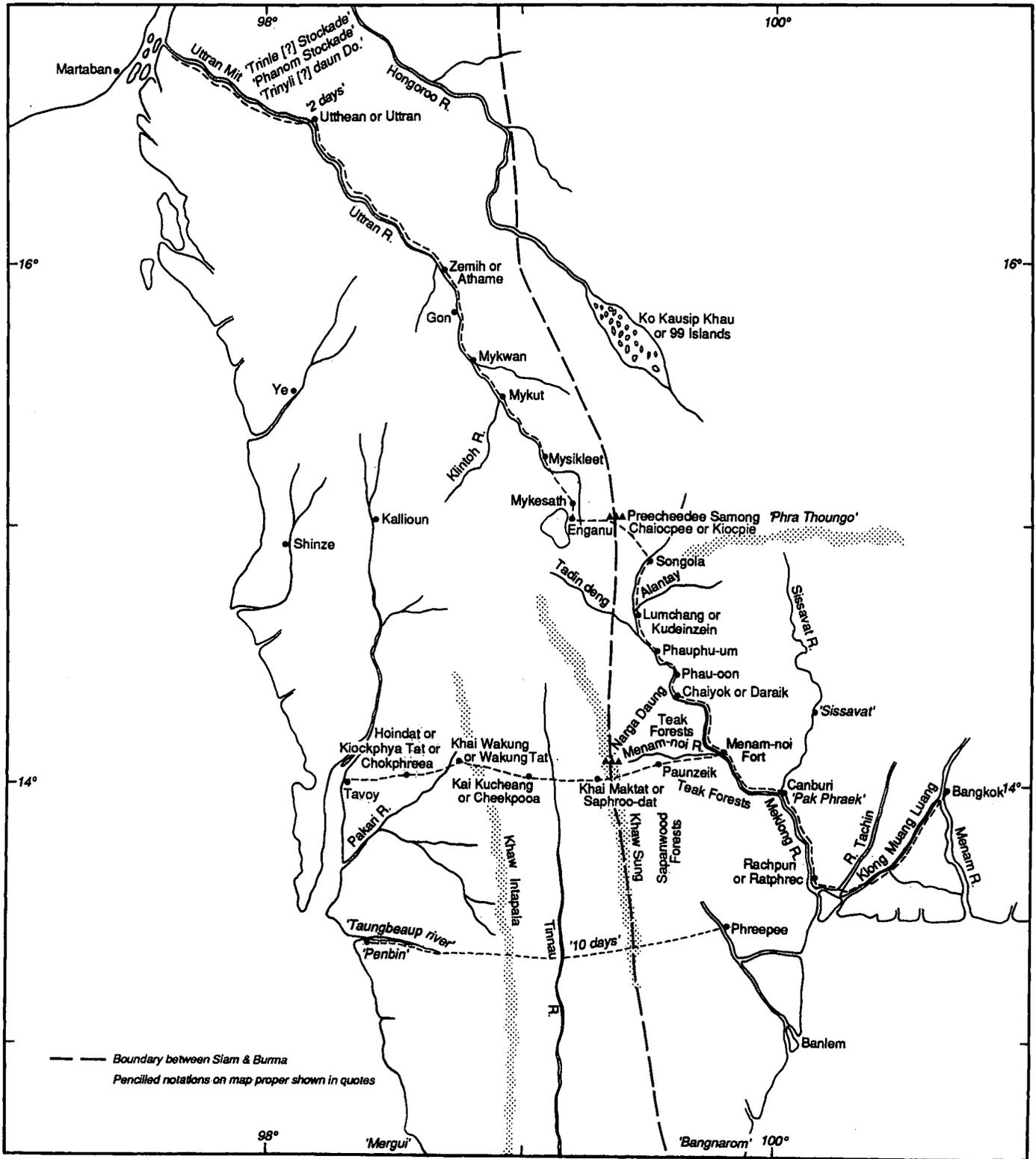


Figure 35. After "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy and Bangkok," Figure 34.

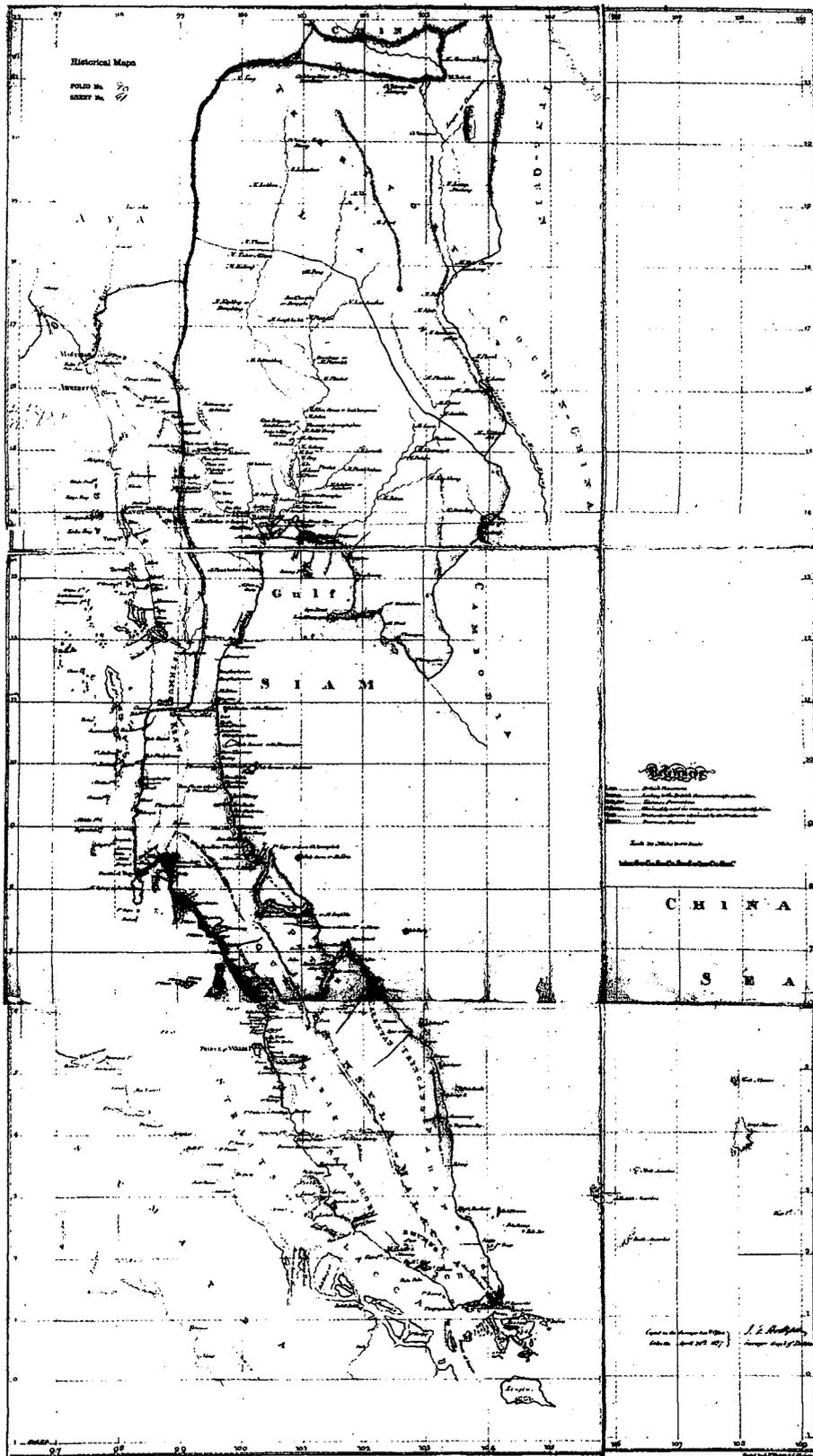


Figure 36. "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam." National Archives of India, Historical Maps, Folio 90, Sheet 14.

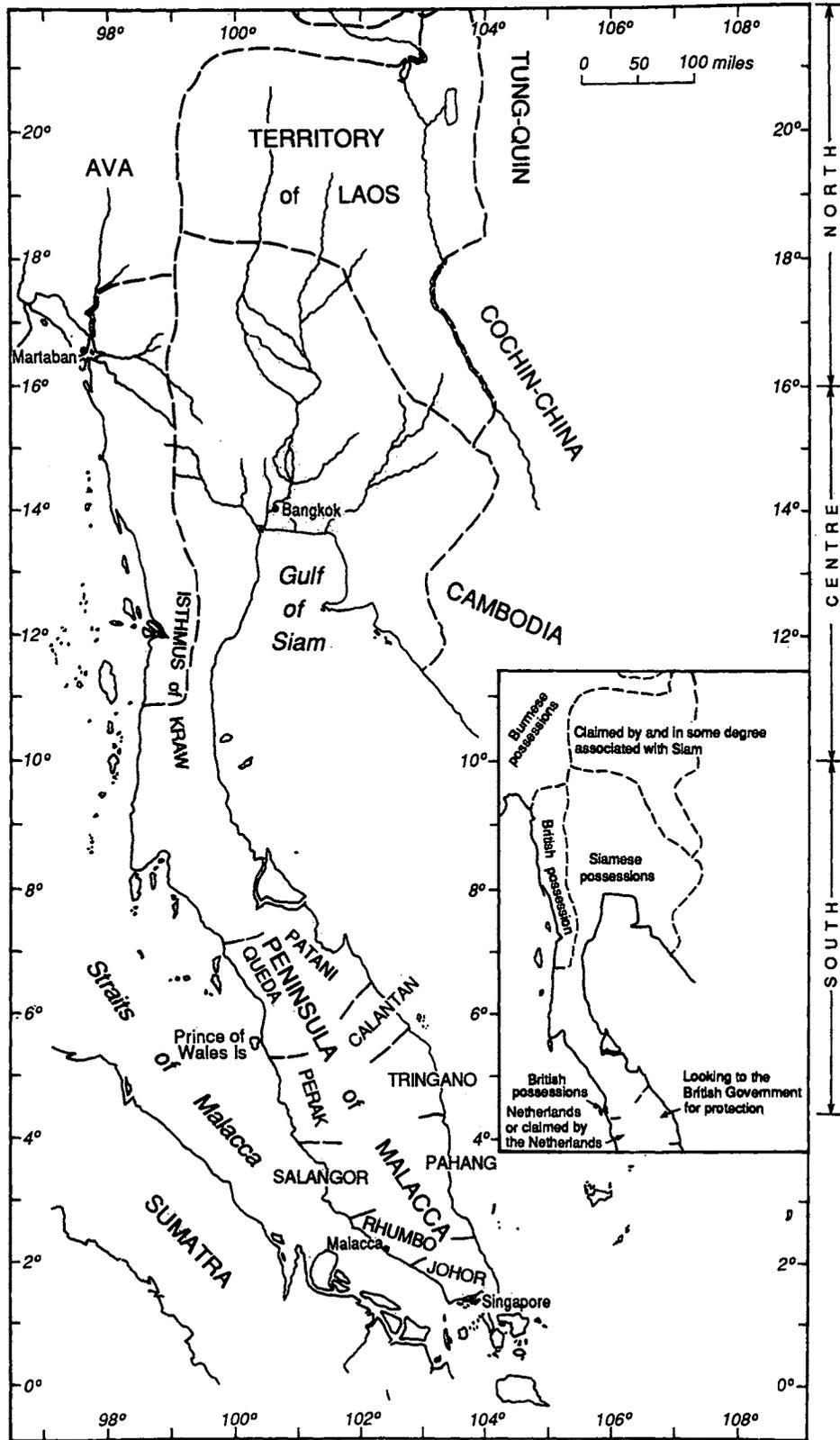


Figure 37. After "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," Figure 36. Inset based on "References" on Figure 36 which identifies territorial possessions / claims of the Siamese, Burmese, British and Dutch by colour. North, Centre, South refer to Figures 38, 39 and 40, respectively, on which Figure 36 is detailed.

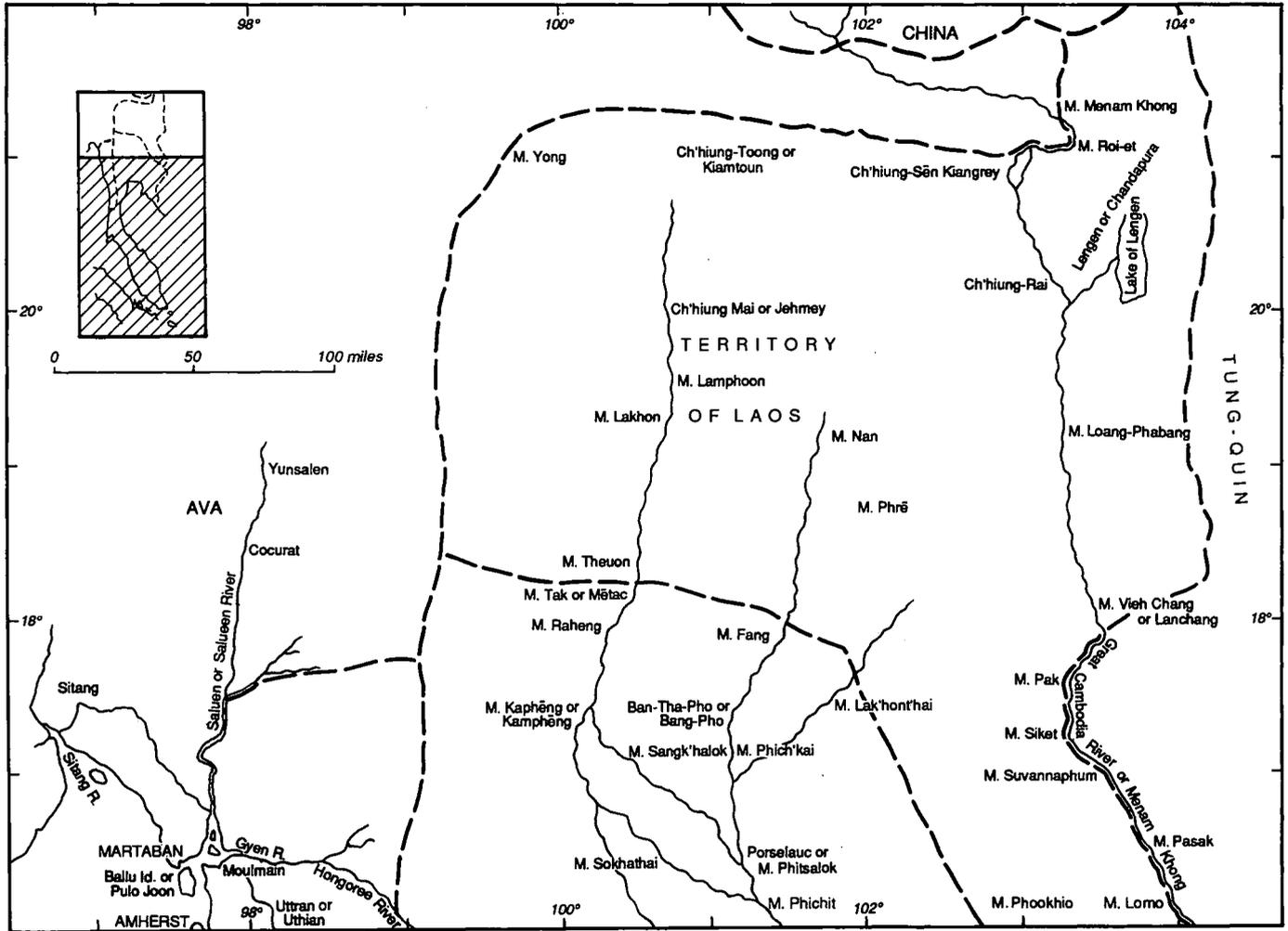


Figure 38. North: after "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," Figure 36.

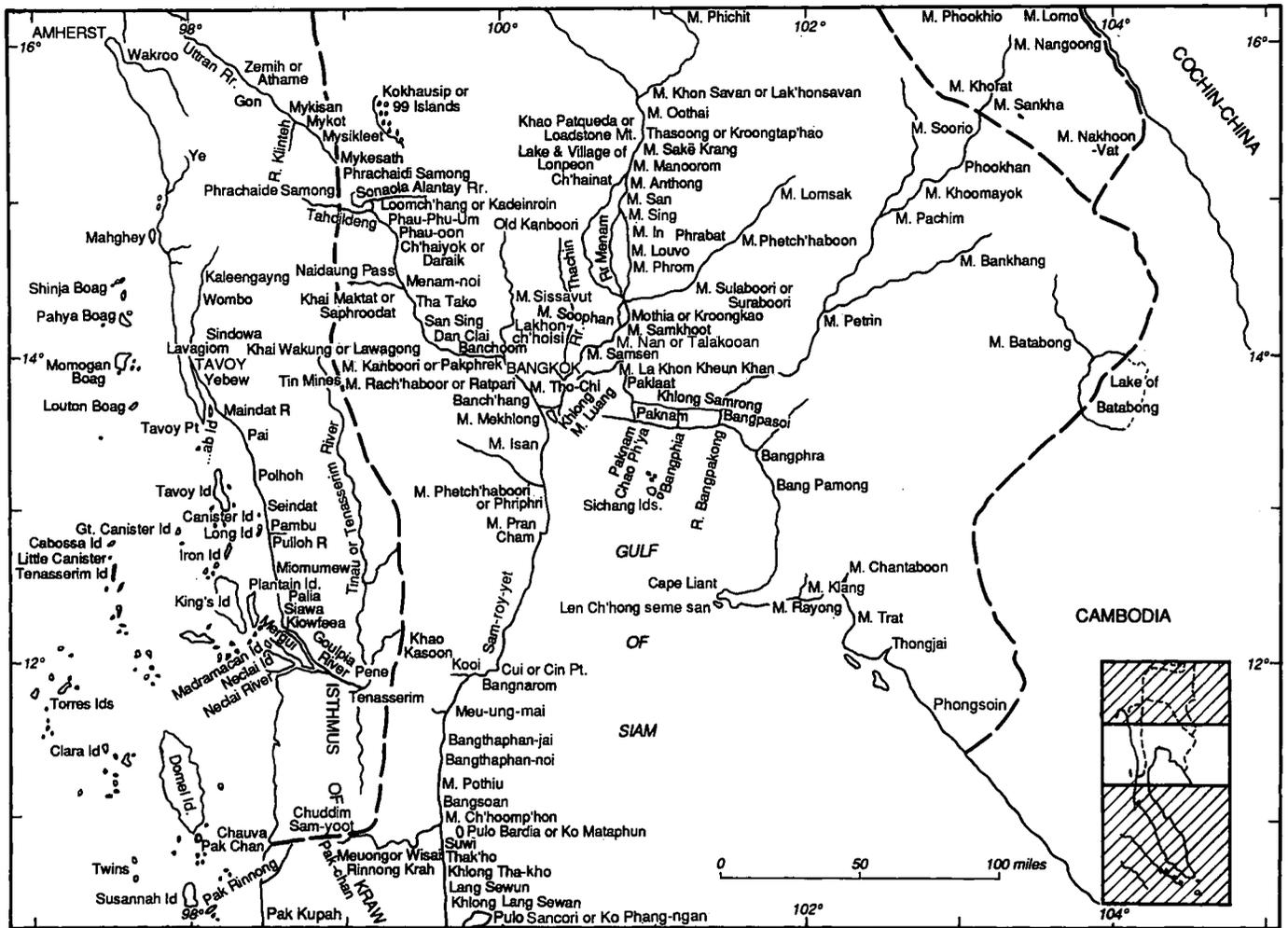


Figure 39. Centre: after "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," Figure 36.

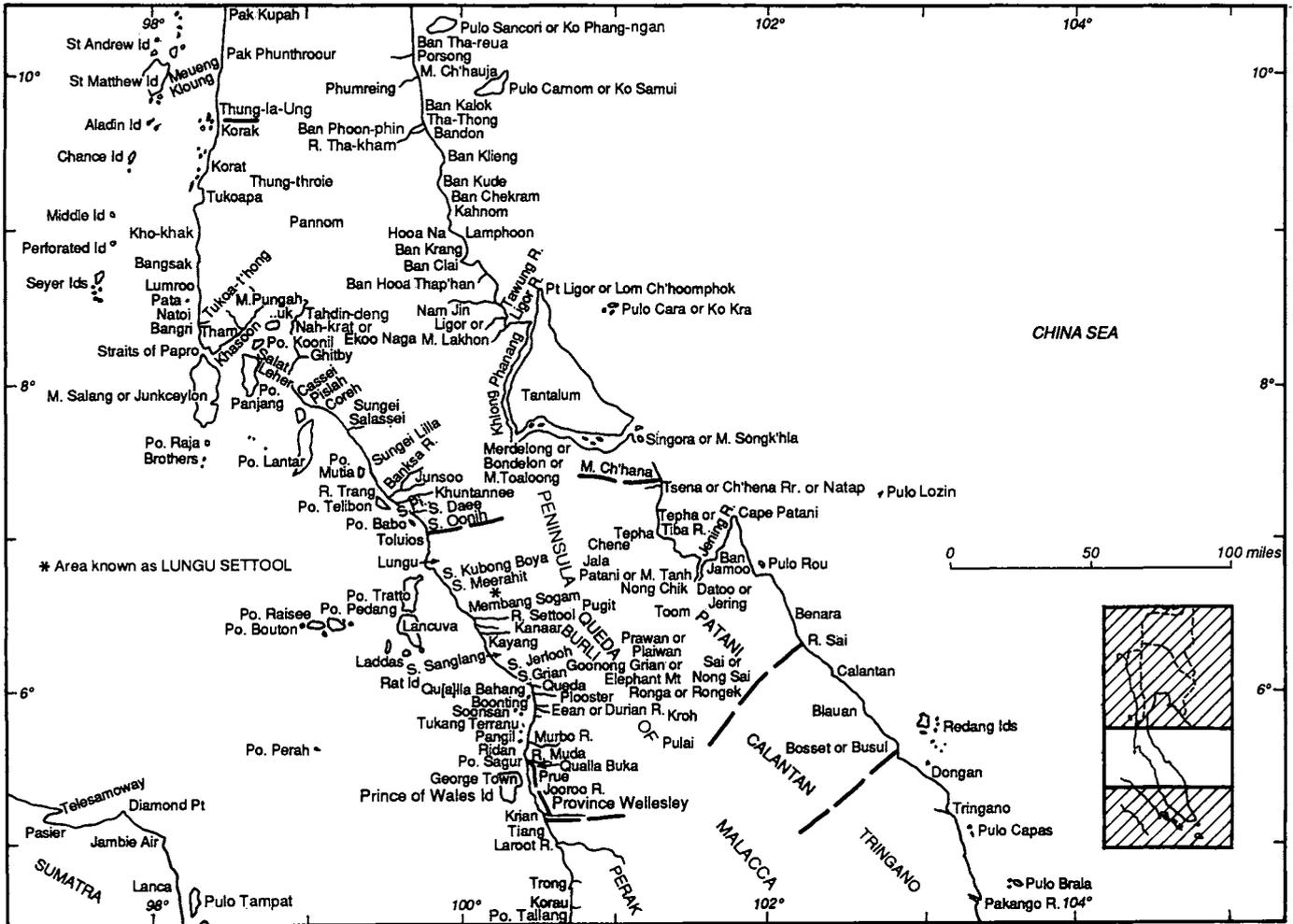


Figure 40. South: after "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," Figure 36.

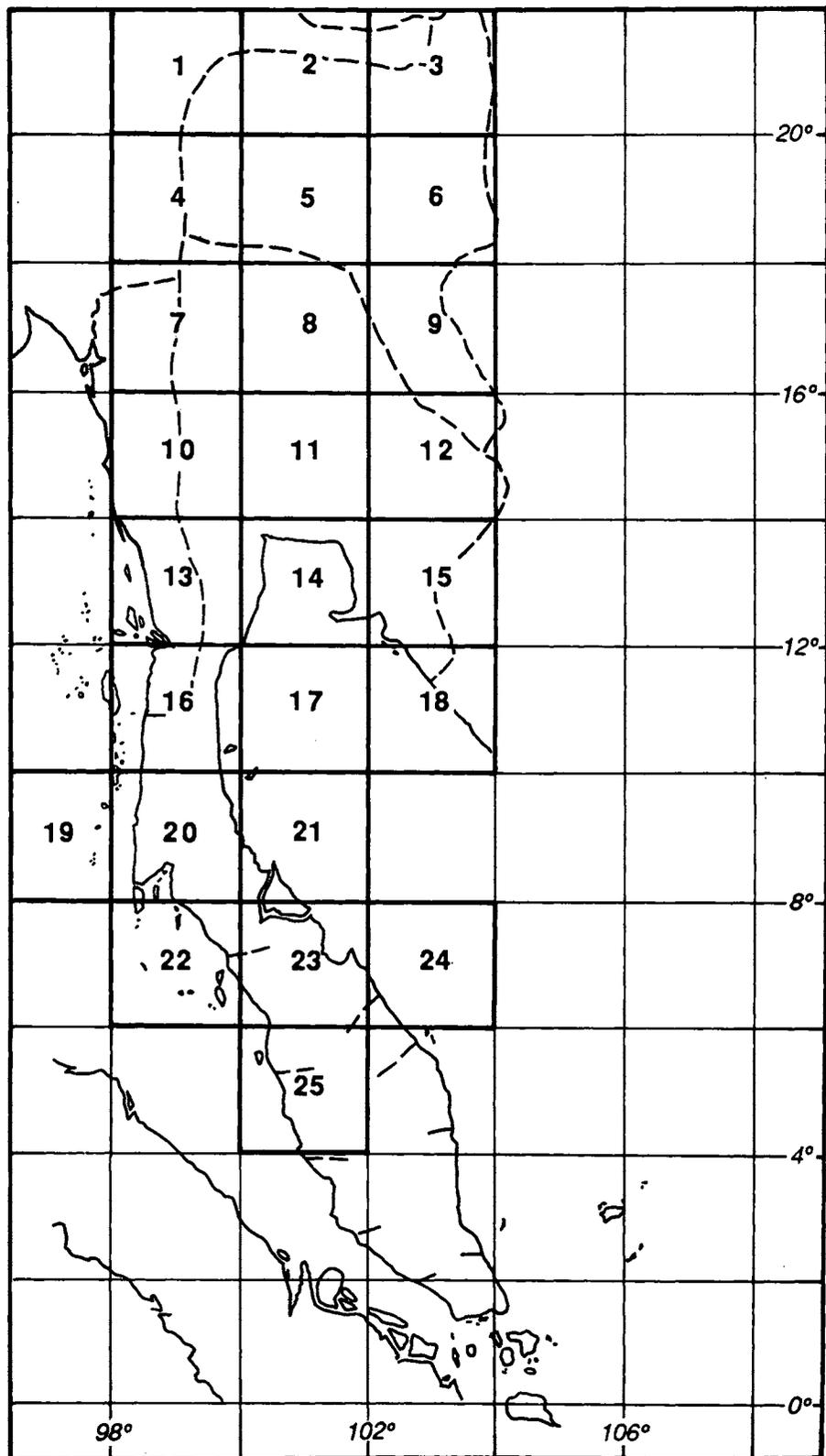


Figure 41. Location matrix for place names: after "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," Figure 36.

Figure 42.

Place names on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" with modern equivalents, see Figures 38-41.

"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name
<b>NORTH</b>			
M. Yong (1)	(?) (Myanmar?)	Ch'hainat (11)	Chainat
Ch'hiung-Toong or Kiamtoun (2)	Kengtung (Myanmar)	M. Anthon (11)	Ang Thong
M. Menam Khong (3)	(?)	M. Lomsak (11)	Lom Sak
M. Roi-et (3)	Roi Et (?)	Lake & Village of Lonpeon (11)	(?)
Ch'hiung-Sen / Kiangrey (3)	Chiang Saen	M. Manoorom (11)	Manorom
Lengen or Chandapura (3)	(?) Laos	M. Khon Savan or Lak'honsavan (11)	Nakhon Sawan
Lake of Lengen (3)	(?) Laos	M. Oothai (11)	Uthai Thani
Ch'hiung-rai (3)	Chiang Rai	Khao Patqueda or Loadstone Mt. (11)	(?)
Ch'hiung Mai or Jehmey (5)	Chiang Mai	Thasoong or Kroongtap'hao (11)	(?)
M. Lamphoon (5)	Lamphun	M. Sake Krang (11)	(?)
M. Lakhon (5)	(?)	Old Kanboori (11)	(?)
M. Nan (5)	Nan	M. San (11)	Sena
M. Theuon (5)	M. Tun (?)	M. Sing (11)	Sing Buri
M. Tak or Metac (5)	Tak	M. In (11)	In Buri
M. Phre (6)	Phrae	M. Louvo (11)	Lop Buri
M. Loang-Phabang (6)	Luang Prabang (Laos)	M. Phrom (11)	Phrom Buri
M. Vieh Chang or Lanchang (6)	Vientiane	Rr. Menam (11)	Mae Nam Chao Phraya
Hongoree River (7)	Huangtharaw (Myanmar)	Phrabort (11)	Phra Phutthabat
Porselauc or M. Phitsalok (8)	Phitsanulok	Phetch'haboon (11)	Phetchabun
M. Sokhathai (8)	Sukhothai	M. Sulaboori or Suraboori (11)	Saraburi
M. Raheng (8)	(?)	M. Sissavut (11)	(?)
M. Fang (8)	(?)	Lakhonch'hoisi (11)	Nakhon Chaisi
M. Kapheng or Kampheng (8)	Kamphaeng Phet	M. Soophan (11)	Suphan Buri
Ban Tha-pho or Bang-pho (8)	(?)	Mothia or Kroongkao (11)	Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya
M. Lak'hont'hai (8)	Nakhon Thai	M. Samkhoot (11)	Sam Khok (?)
M. Phich'kai (8)	Phichai	M. Nan or Talakooan (11)	(?)
M. Sangk'halok (8)	Sawankhalok	M. Samsen (11)	(?)
M. Phichit (8)	Phichit	Rr. Thachin (11)	Mae Nam Tha Chin
M. Pak (9)	(?)	M. Nakhon-Vat (12)	(?)
M. Siket (9)	(?)	Phookhan (12)	Pak Chong (?)
M. Suvannaphum (9)	Suwanaphum (?)	M. Khoomayok (12)	Nakhon Nayok
M. Pasak (9)	Savannakhet (?) (Laos)	M. Soorio (12)	(?)
M. Phookhio (9)	Phu Khieo	M. Khorat (12)	Nakhon Ratchasima
M. Lomo (9)	(?)	M. Sankha (12)	Sangkha (?)
Great Cambodia River or Menam Khong (9)	Menam Khong (Mekong)	M. Nangoong (12)	(?)
		M. Pachim (12)	Prachin Buri
		M. Bankhang (12)	Ban Muang (?)
		M. Petrin (12)	Chachoengsao
		M. Batabong (12)	Battambang (Kampuchea)
		M. Kanboori or Pakphrek (13)	Kanchanaburi
		Khao Kasoon (13)	(?)
		M. Rach'haboor or Ratpari (14)	Ratchaburi
		Bangkok (14)	Bangkok
		M. Tho-Chi (14)	Samut Sakhon
		M. La Khon Kheun Khan (14)	(?)
		Paklaat (14)	(?)
		Banch'hang (14)	Bang Khonti (?)
		M. Mekhlung (14)	Samut Songkhram
		Khlong M. Luang (14)	Khlong Phasi Charoen (?)
		Khlong Samrong (14)	Khlong Prawet Buri Rom (?)
		Paknam (14)	Samut Prakan
		Bangpasoi (14)	Chon Buri
		R. Bangpakong (14)	Mae Nam Bang Pakong
<b>CENTRE</b>			
Kokhausip or 99 Islands (10)	(?)		
Phrachaide Samong (10)	3 Pagodas Pass		
Phrachaidi Samong (10)	3 Pagodas Pass		
Sonaola Alantay Rr. (10)	(?)		
Tahdildeng (10)	(?)		
Loomch'hang or Kadeinroin (10)	(?)		
Phau-phu-un (10)	Thong Pha Phum (?)		
Phau-oon (10)	Thong Pha Phum (?)		
Ch'haiyok or Daraik (10)	(?)		
Menam-noi (10)	Ban Mae Nam Noi (?)		
Tha Tako (10)	(?)		
San Sing (10)	(?)		
Dan Clai (10)	(?)		
Banchoom (10)	(?)		

Figure 42, Continued  
Place names on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" with modern equivalents, see Figures 38-41.

"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name
Bangphia (14)	(?)	Ban Kalok (20)	(?)
Paknam Chao Ph'ya (14)	mouth of the Mae Nam Chao Phraya	Tha-Thong (20)	Tha Chang
M. Isan (14)	Ban Laem (?)	Bandon (20)	Surat Thani
M. Phetch'haboori or Phriphri (14)	Phetchaburi	Ban Phoon-phin (20)	Phun Pin
Sichang Ids. (14)	Ko Si Chang	R. Tha-kham (20)	Khlong Phum Duang
Bangphra (14)	Ban Bang Phra (?)	Thung-la-Ung (20)	(?)
Bang Pamong (14)	Bang Lamung	Korak (20)	Ko Ra (?)
M. Pran (14)	Pran Buri	Korat (20)	(?)
Cham (14)	Cha-am	Thung-throie (20)	(?)
Cape Liant or Len Ch'hong seme san (14)	Cape Liant	Tukoapa (20)	Takua Pa
M. Rayong (14)	Rayong	Ban Klieng (20)	(?)
Sam-roy-yet (14)	Khao Sam Roi Yot	Ban Kude (20)	(?)
M. Chantaboon (15)	Chanthaburi	Ban Chekram (20)	(?)
M. Klang (15)	Klaeng	Kahnom (20)	Khanom (?)
M. Trat (15)	Trat	Kho-khak (20)	(?)
Thongjai (15)	Khlong Yai	Pannom (20)	Phanom
Kooi (16)	Kui Buri	Hooa Na (20)	(?)
Cui or Cin Pt. (16)	(?)	Bangsak (20)	(?)
Bangnarom (16)	Prachuap Khiri Khan	Lumroo (20)	Ban Laem Po (?)
Meu-ung-mai (16)	Thap Sakae (?)	Pata (20)	(?)
Bangthaphan-jai (16)	Bang Saphan	Natoi (20)	Ban Na Tai (?)
Bangthaphan-noi (16)	(?)	Bangri (20)	(?)
M. Pothiu (16)	Pathiu	Tukoa-t'hong (20)	Takua Thung (?)
Bangsoan (16)	(?)	Tham (20)	(?)
M. Ch'hoomp'hon (16)	Chumphon	M. Pungah (20)	Phangnga
Pak Chan (16)	Ban Pak Chan (?)	.....uk (20)	Ao Luk (?)
Pak-chan	(?)	Tahdin-deng (20)	(?)
Meuongor Wisai (16)	Ban Wisai Nua (?)	Nah-krat or Ekoo Naga (20)	Khao Ka Rot (?)
Rinnong Krah (16)	(?)	Straits of Papro (20)	(?)
Pulo Bardia or (16) Ko Mataphun	(?)	Khasoon (20)	(?)
Suwi (16)	Sawi	Po. Koonil (20)	(?)
Thak'ho (16)	Thung Tako (?)	Ghitby (20)	Krabi (?)
Khlong Tha-kho (16)	(?)	Salat Leher (20)	(?)
Pak Rinnong (16)	(?)	Po. Panjang (20)	Ko Yao Yai
Pak Kupah (16)	mouth of Khlong Kapoe (?)	Pulo Carnom or Ko Samui (21)	Ko Samui
Lang Sewun (16)	Lang Suan	Lamphoon (21)	Sichon
Khlong Lang Sewan (16)	Khlong Lang Suan	Ban Krang (21)	(?)
Pulo Sancori or Ko Phang-ngan (16)	Ko Phangan	Ban Clai (21)	Tha Sala (?)
Ban-Tha-reua (16)	Tha Chana	Ligor or M. Lakhon (21)	Nakhon Si Thammarat
Porsong (16)	(?)	Pt. Ligor or Lom Ch'hoomphok (21)	Laem Talumphuk
Pak Phunthroour (16)	(?)	Pulo Cara or Ko Kra (21)	Ko Krah
Meueng Kloung (16)	(?)	Ban Hooa Thap'han (21)	(?)
M. Ch'hauja (16)	Chaiya	Nam Jin (21)	(?)
Phongsoin (18)	(?) (Kampuchea)	Tawung R. (21)	(?)
		Ligor R. (21)	(?)
		M. Salang or Junkceylon (22)	Phuket
		Cassei (22)	(?)
		Pislah (22)	(?)
		Coreh (22)	(?)
		Sungei Salassei (22)	(?)
		Po. Raja (22)	Ko Racha Yai
		Brothers (22)	Ko Racha Noi
		Po. Lantar (22)	Ko Lanta
		Po. Mutia (22)	(?)
		Sungei Lilla (22)	(?)
<b>SOUTH</b>			
Chance Id. (19)	Ko Surin Nua/Ko Surin Tai (?)		
Middle Id. (19)	(?)		
Perforated Id. (19)	Ko Tachai (?)		
Seyer Ids. (19)	Ko Similan & smaller islands (?)		
Phumrieng (20)	(?)		

Figure 42, Continued  
Place names on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" with modern equivalents, see Figures 38-41.

"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name	"Burney" Place Name	Modern Place Name
R. Trang (22)	(?)	Membang Sogam (23)	(?)
Banksa R. (22)	(?)	R. Settool (23)	(?)
Junsoo (22)	(?)	Kanaar (23)	Kangar (?) (Malaysia)
Khuntanee (22)	(?)	Kayang (23)	(?) (Malaysia)
Po. Telibon (22)	Ko Ta Li Bon	S. Sanglang (23)	(?) (Malaysia)
S. Pi... (22)	(?)	S. Jerlooh (23)	(?) (Malaysia)
S. Dae (22)	(?)	Pugit (23)	(?) (Malaysia)
Po. Babo (22)	(?)	Patani or M. Tanh (23)	Pattani
S. Oonih (22)	(?)	Nong Chik (23)	Nong Chik
Toluios (22)	(?)	Datoo or Jering (23)	(?)
Lungu (22)	Langu	Toom (23)	(?)
Po. Tratto (22)	Ko Ta Ru Tao	Prawan or Plaiwan (23)	(?)
Lancuva (22)	Pulau Langkawi (Malaysia)	Goonong Grian or Elephant Mt. (23)	(?) (Malaysia?)
Po. Pedang (22)	Ko A Dang	S. Grian (23)	(?) (Malaysia)
Po. Raisee (22)	Ko Ra Wi	Queda (23)	Alor Setar (?) (Malaysia)
Po. Bouton (22)	Ko Bu Tong	Qu[a]lla Bahang (23)	(?) (Malaysia)
Laddas (22)	Pulau Dayong Bunting / several other islands (?) (Malaysia)	Sai or Nong Sai (23)	Yala (?)
Rat Id. (22)	(?) (Malaysia)	Pulo Lozin (24)	Lozin
Khlong Phanang (23)	Mae Nam Pak Phanang	Benara (24)	Pa Na Re (?)
Tantalum (23)	(?)	R. Sai (24)	Mae Nam Sai Buri (?)
Merdelong or Bondelon or M. Toaloong (23)	Phatthalung	Plooster (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Singora or M. Songk'hla (23)	Songkhla	Ronga or Rongek (25)	(?)
M. Ch'hana (23)	Chana	Eean or Durian R. (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Tsena or Ch'hena Rr. or Natap (23)	K.Na Thap	Boonting (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Cape Patani (23)	Laem Pho	Soonsan (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Tepha or Tiba R. (23)	K. Thepha	Tukang Terranu (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Tepha (23)	Thepha	Pangil (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Chene (23)	(?)	Ridan (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Jala (23)	(?)	Po. Sagur (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
Jering R. (23)	(?)	Murbo R. (25)	Merbok(?) (Malaysia)
Ban Jamoo (23)	(?)	R. Muda (25)	Muda (Malaysia)
Pulo Rou (23)	(?)	Qualla Buka (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
S. Kubong Boya (23)	(?)	Prue (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
S. Meerahit (23)	(?)	Jooroo R. (25)	(?) (Malaysia)
		Kroh (25)	Kroh (Malaysia)
		Pulai (25)	(?) (Malaysia)

Source: Place names on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" with modern equivalents from 1:250,000 Series 1501, editions 1, 2 & 3, Royal Thai Survey Department, 1970s & 1980s.

Notes: Under "Burney" Place Name are those within greater Siam on Figure 38 North, Figure 39 Centre and Figure 40 South; number in ( ) refers to Location Matrix, Figure 41. Under Modern Place Name are present equivalents of the 'Burney' Place Name; followed by (?) indicates uncertainty; (?) alone indicates no modern equivalent was found on 1:250,000 Series 1501. Notation of a modern equivalent place name does not imply precise correspondence of location.



Mouth of the Menam River - Long  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 100.42 \text{ in a Manuscript Map by Mr. Jeune} \\ \text{about} \\ 101.15 \text{ in Horsburgh's Chart \& Sail Maker Directory} \end{array} \right.$  -  
The mean 100.59 E. set Down

Bangkok Lat.  $13.58\frac{1}{2}$  N. & Long. 100.34 as observed during Mr. Carford's Mission. -

Yothia or Old Capital of Siam - Lat.  $14.18$  - Long.  $100.55$  } as observed by Thomas  
Lours "  $14.42\frac{1}{2}$  } The Jesuit & the French Missions -

Phijawok Lat. under  $17^\circ$  according to Universal History vol. 7. P. 206 - and  $16.10$  according to Mr. Gibson - Set Down at  $16.30$  -

Northern Limits of Siam - about  $19^\circ$  according to Univ. Hist. P. 196 - &  $18^\circ$  according to Just Schouten & Mr. Gibson - Set down at  $18.12$  -

Siouching at  $18^\circ$  according to Marini. See Univ. Hist. P. 145. -

Changmai <sup>left from</sup> - about  $20.30$  according to Univ. Hist. P. 137 - & at  $20.00$  <sup>according to</sup> by Mr. Gibson who has been followed -

Northern limits of Laos & frontiers of China  $21.42$  according to the Jesuit's Map in De Halde -

Chhaiya - Lat. $9.57$	} as observed by Mr. Seal -
Chloomphon " $10.55$	
Putehoo " $11.10$	
Thung-jai - " $12$ " Long. $102.30$	

Difference of longitude between Paris & Siam is  $98$  degrees - consequently Long. of Paris is  $22.30$ , that of Siam is  $121.2$  - By observations of the Eclipse of the Sun on 25<sup>th</sup> Feb 1682 the long. of Siam was found to be  $121$  degrees which agrees perfectly with the observation of M. de Tachard - Some modern Charts place long. of Siam at  $116.5$  degrees instead of the  $121$  <sup>degrees</sup> Chart of the Observatory made before the above observations which gives  $122$  degrees, that is, within one degree of true observation P. 37 Vol. 12<sup>th</sup> New Edition of Albin Persuch's General History of Voyages published at the Hague in 1755. - Taken from Page 252 of les Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences. -

Voyage au Roi de Fontenay de Siam à la Chine pour l'observation de Voyages dans Vol. P. 67 -  
Pere Fontenay mentions that in the former Charts which he had seen place the bay of Siam at  $13.35$  S & that however if we may judge from the height of the Pole which had been found for Siam, which is  $14.42.30$  only that of Siam which Pere Thomas found  $14.18$ , the latitude of the bay would be a little less - for from the mouth of the river to the  $18^\circ$  of Siam there is at least 30 leagues by water, & although the river winds much it cannot be supposed that it short in a straight line only 10 leagues from one to the other.

Figure 43, Cont. "Construction of this Sketch." Burney's personal papers, Royal Commonwealth Society Library.

Figure 44. After "Construction of this Sketch," Figure 43.

## CONSTRUCTION OF THIS SKETCH

The direction of the Coasts & situation of the Islands have, with a few exceptions, been taken from Horsburgh's Chart. [~~crossed out: & filled up from native accounts & sketches~~] The Perak river has been taken from Capt. Forest [Forrest] & in delineating the Coast between that & Mergui [~~crossed out: Junkceylon~~] reference has been made to his Chart and to some old Charts by Martin Lindsay, Mr. Light & D'Apres de Manneville & to observations made & to various Native Accounts & Descriptions collected by a coasting [?] voyage between P.W. Island & Phunga. The boundaries & territory between the Anglo-Burmese & Siamese dominions have been taken from the descriptions & sketches made by Mr. Leal who had last year an opportunity of travelling overland from Ligor [~~crossed out: Bangkok~~] to Puttayu - Bangnam [?] to Mergui - Channa to Ch'hoomp'hon & Martaban to Bangkok. The same person having visited Chantaboon & Thong-jai his sketch of the East Coast of the Gulf of Siam has been followed. Upper Siam & Laos have been taken from the Map in Loubere's Historical Relation of Siam the accounts in the 7th [?] Vol. of Modern Universal History, a map of Ava, Siam & Cochin China compiled by Mr. Gibson the Burmese Envoy to Cochin China, & the descriptions obtained from various persons at Bangkok where however very little correct information respecting the [~~crossed out: territory of Laos~~] situation of the different places in Laos is known. [Following sentence is written crosswise upper right] The Siamese were said of late years to have extended their dominions in Laos and to have brought under their subjection Choungthoong, Yong & other places formerly tributary to Ava. Lower Siam [~~crossed out: is taken~~] has been filled up from some Native Sketches & from [~~crossed out: a Manuscript Map in the possession of Mr. Crawford (sic)~~] Mr. Leal; accounting his journey from Ligor. [Following sentence is written crosswise middle right] The Peninsula of Malacca from native [indiscipherable] & from some descriptions published by Mr. Crawford and from the Map in Valentyn. The Chinese frontier is taken from the Map in Du Halde & the Burmese & Anglo Burmese territory is taken from Mr. Gibson's map & from some recent Surveys in the [~~crossed out: possession of Mr. Crawford... (?)~~] Office [~~crossed out: Department~~] of the Secretary to the Supreme Govt. in the Secret & Political Department. The following authorities have been consulted in fixing the latitudes & Longitudes of the under-mentioned places. [The original list is crossed out; what follows is the list as redone on a second page.]

Mouth of the Menam River - Long 100°42 in a Manuscript Map by Mr. Crawford. about 101°15 in Horsburgh's Chart & East India Directory. The mean 100°59 E set down.

Bangkok - Lat: 13°58 1/2 N. & Long: 100°34 as observed during Mr. Crawford's Mission.

Yothia or Old Capital of Siam - Lat: 14°18 Long: 100°55 Louvo - Lat: 14°42 1/2 . As observed by Thomas the Jesuit & the French Missions.

Phissalok - Lat: under 17° according to Universal History Vol 7th p.206 and 16°10 according to Mr. Gibson. Set down at 16°30.

Northern Limits of Siam - about 19° according to Un. Hist. p. 196 & 18° according to Joust Schouten & Mr. Gibson. Set down at 18°12.

Lanchang at 18° according to Marini.[?] See Uni. Hist. p. 145.

Cheuong Mai - less than 20°30 according to Univ. Hist. p. 137 & at 20° according to Mr. Gibson who has been followed.

Northern limits of Laos & frontiers of China 21°42 according to the Jesuits Map in Du Halde.

Chhaiya - Lat 9°57

Ch'hoomp'hon - Lat 10°55

Putihoo - Lat 11°10

Thung-jai - Lat 12° Long 102°30' as observed by Mr. Leal.

Difference of Longitude between Paris & Louvo is 98 degrees - consequently as Long: of Paris is 22°30', that of Louvo is 121°02 [?]. By observations of the Eclipse of the Sun on 21 Febr. 1682 the Long: of Siam was found to be 121 degrees which agrees perfectly with the observation of Pere Tachard. Some modern Charts place long: of Siam at 145 degrees instead of the great Chart of the observatory made before all their observations which gives 122 degrees, that is, within one degree of their observations p.39 Vol:12. New Edition of Abbe Prevost: General History of Voyages published at the Hague in 1755. Taken from Page 250 of Les Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences.

Voyage due Pere de Foutenay de Siam a la Chine from above collection of Voyages same Vol:p.67. Pere Foutenay mentions that all the Marine Charts which he had seen place the bar of Siam at 13°45 N & that however if we may judge from the height of the Pole which has been found for Louvo, which is 14°42 30"N, that of Siam which Pere Thomas found 14°18 , the latitude of the bar must be a little less - for from the mouth of the river to the City of Siam it is at least 30 leagues by water and although the river winds much it cannot be supposed that it does so much as to Bangkok in a strait line only 10 leagues from one to the other.

[Final comment is at the foot of the first page.] [~~crossed out: In observing this Sketch has~~] Seeing [~~crossed out: how much has been here set down without the (benefit?) of actual observation~~] the latitudes & longitudes of [?] very [many] places in Siam have not [?] been taken, it will not be forgotten that this is a geographical Sketch & not a regular Map.

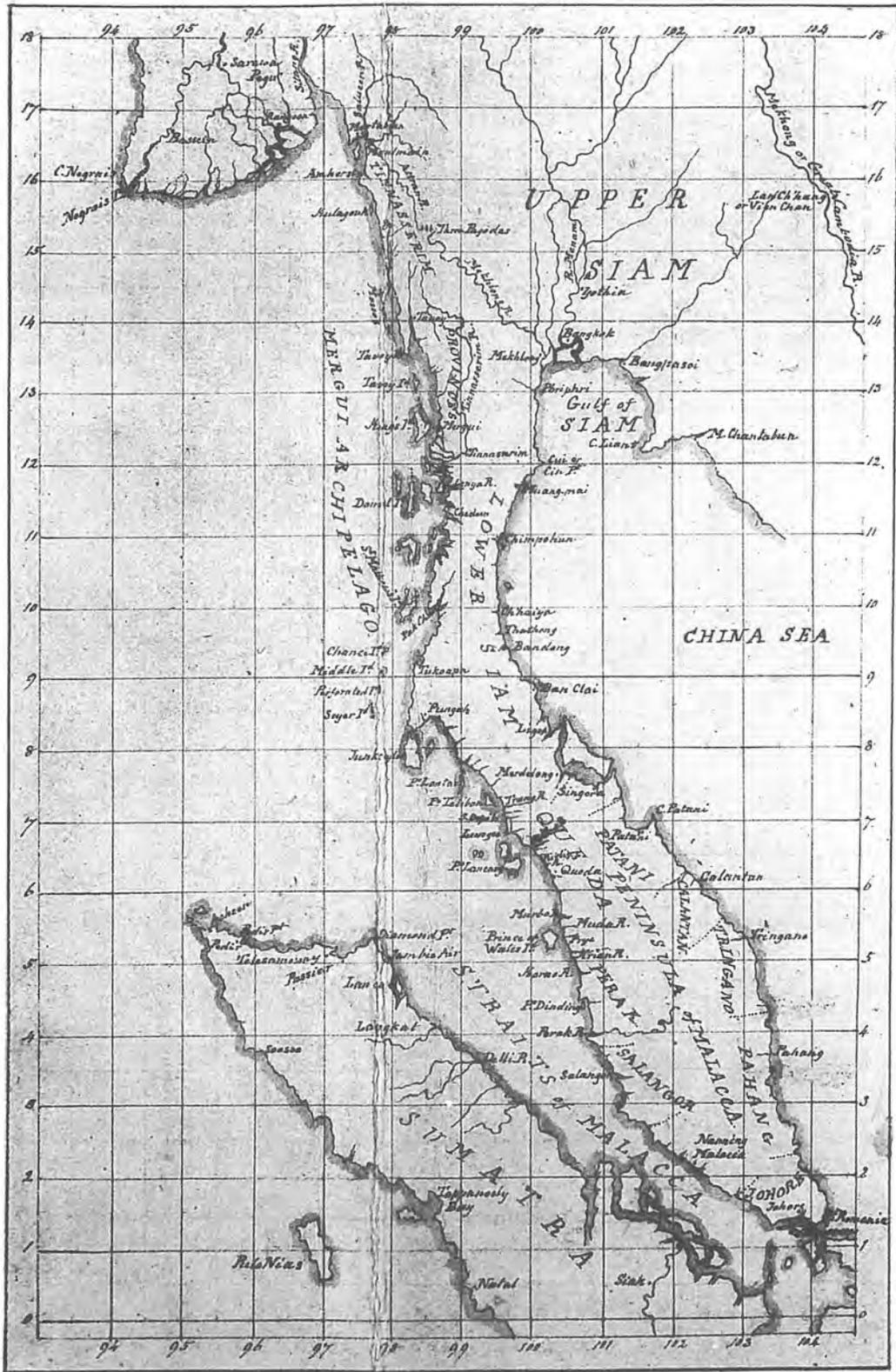


Figure 45. Sketch map of the greater part of the area shown on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" (Figure 36). Burney's personal papers, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, D X11.

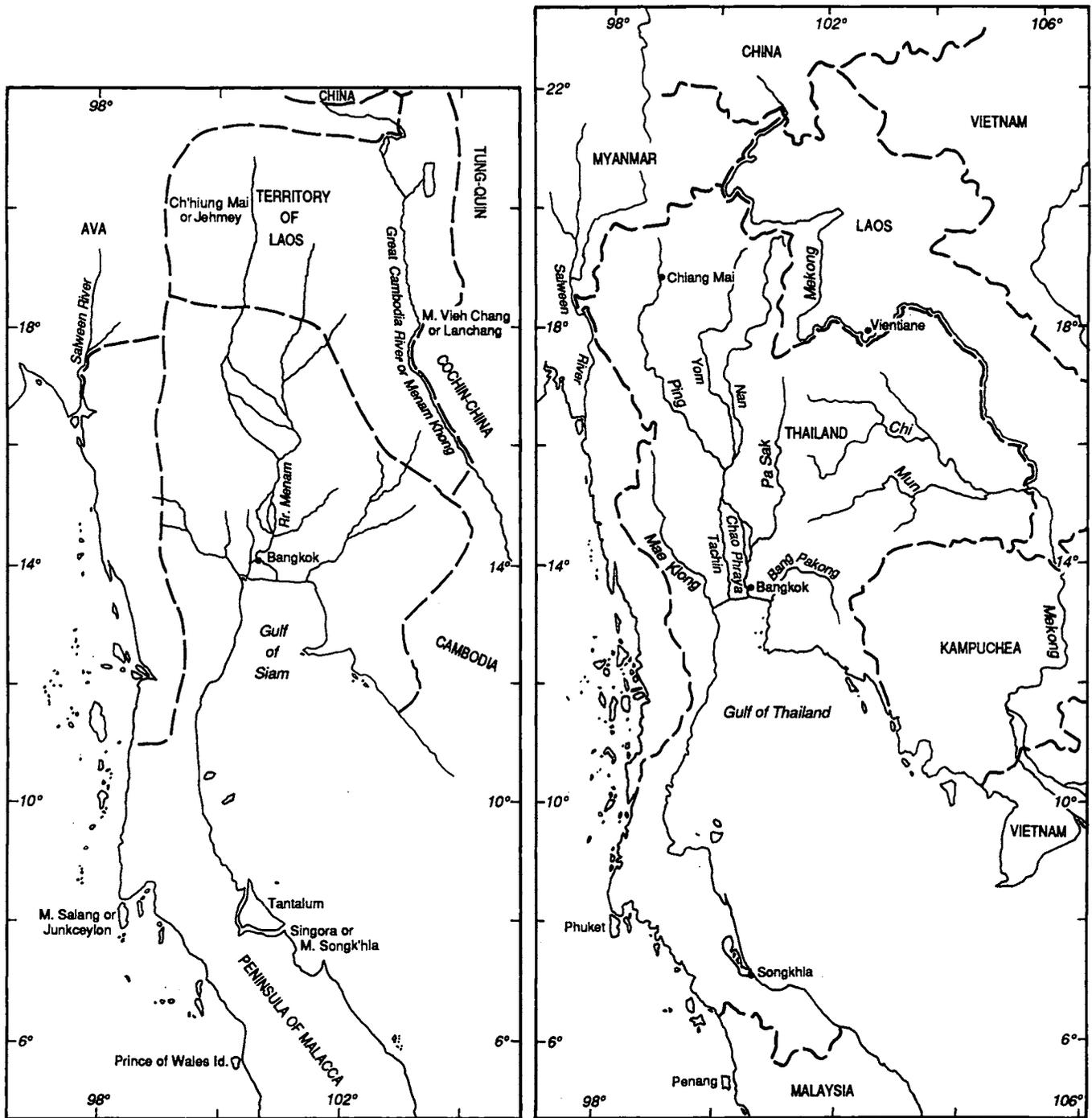


Figure 46. Depiction of Siam on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" (Figure 36) compared with a modern map of Thailand.

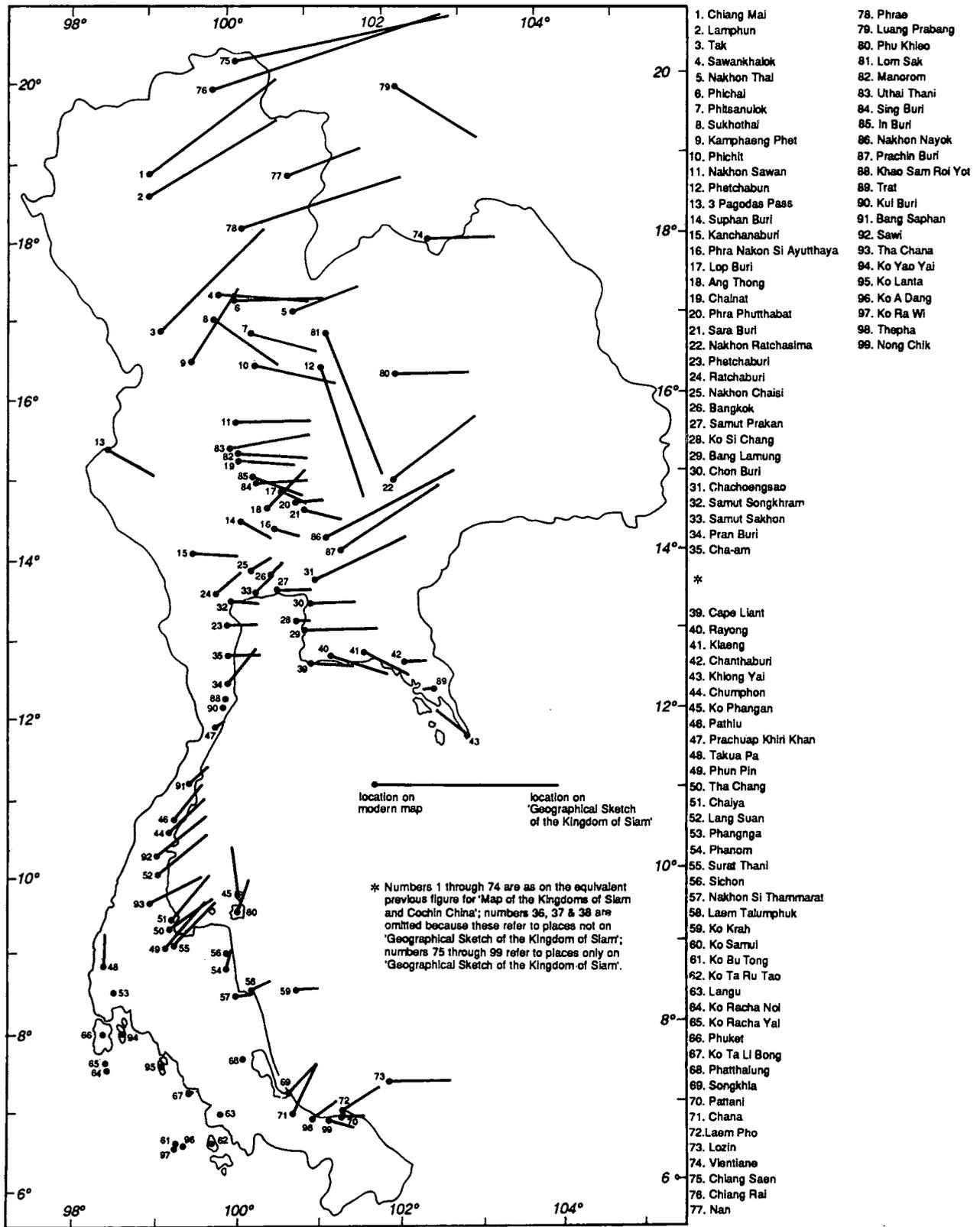


Figure 47. Location of certain named places on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" (Figure 36) compared with location of equivalent places on a modern map of Thailand.

Figure 48. Critique of the Depiction of Siam on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam"

Compared with a modern map of Thailand, "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam," though crudely similar, is a poor likeness (see fig. 46), whose incongruousness may be laid to Burney's use of out-dated maps and charts to lay down a framework within which only particular patches for which information had been gathered personally or by trusted eyewitnesses could be confidently up-dated. Compared with Walker's "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," Burney's "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam" is not to be preferred save for those several places for which Burney held unique intelligence (and, of course, Walker's gross mislocation of Vientiane): the location of the head of the Chao Phraya River; the Meklong River system; and the frontier between Siam and the recently acquired British territory in southernmost Burma.

The decided overall superiority of Walker's map over Burney's sketch is perhaps best illustrated, somewhat paradoxically, by a singular feature: the island of "Tantalem" or "Tantalum" (see figs. 5 and 40). Some uncommon intelligence about "Tantalam Island" is proffered by Burney in his "Introduction" to the account of the journeys of Harris and Leal overland in 1825 and 1826 (see "Sketch of the Routes between Martaban, Tavoy and Bangkok" above):

The Mission Brig had no difficulty in making Ligor port...and it met with no difficulty in departing again, although from the high swell and surf, which are raised whenever the northerly winds blow strong, and the shoal at the head of Tantalam Island, it is evident that Ligor roads are not safe for a ship during the height of the north east monsoon...

[Burney then quotes from Captain Hamilton's description of Ligor in his "New Account of the East Indies" 1744 edition of the book published in 1727]. "Ligor lies about 12 leagues to the northward of Saugore [Songkhla], and between them lies a low uninhabited island called Papier [that is, Tantalam, some variant thereof or, occasionally, Ligor and variants thereof]. It reaches from Saugore within three leagues of Ligor River. It is well stored with wild buffaloes, hog and deer, which are free for all persons to kill at pleasure. The road of Ligor lies two leagues from the river and about a league within the river's mouth stands the Dutch Factory, a pretty commodious house, built of brick after the Dutch fashion....."

Hamilton's Island of Papier is now named in Horsburgh's Charts *Tantalum*, which word Mr. Crawford supposes to be a corruption of the Malay Tana, or land of Thaloong, a Siamese Province lying between Singora and Ligor, called also Merdelong and Bandelon, corruptions of *Menang* country, and Ban village of Thaloong. The Siamese do not recognize Tantalum as an island. The north end or our Ligor Point they call *Lem* or *Point Chhoomphok*, and the channel which divides the island from the main they call *Khlong* or river *Phonang*. Hamilton's *Papier* may be derived from the name often given to the mouth of the Ligor river, *Pak nam Phya* or *Pak-Phiya*. The old Portuguese travellers call Ligor, Lugar and Lungar. The Siamese ministers write *Pha thaloong* whence Petelong the early Portuguese name for Thaloong. The Chinese again corrupt it into *Khontelon* (BP, vol. III, pt. 1, pp. 5-6; I.O. BSPC, vol. 344, no. 12).

Burney follows Horsburgh's early 19th century chart of the west coast of the Gulf, including "Tanatalam"; which chart he relied on in each of his sketches of Siam. Whatever doubts Burney may have harboured about the accuracy of this chart, and of the configuration of "Tantalum" in particular, he appears simply and of necessity to have used it as the most recent authoritative delineation available to him; but even had he access to the more recent "Crawfurd" chart of the west coast (see Figure 11), which is uncertain, that Burney would have challenged cartographical orthodoxy by its adoption is unlikely—witness his loud disclaimer which ends "Construction of this Sketch" (see fig. 44). Walker seems not to have hesitated to throw out the challenge: he follows "West Coast of the Gulf of Siam, Copy of a Native Manuscript, communicated to Mr. Crawford" (see fig. 11). Of course, whatever doubts John Walker may have had about the broad accuracy of this "native" chart, or of the particular depiction of "Tantalum," could have been mitigated in that the map he was commissioned to prepare was for the particular purpose of accompanying Dr. Crawford's *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China*. On the other hand, John Walker was a master mapmaker, arguably the best of his day for the East, and it is likely he was persuaded of the merits of this "Native manuscript" before incorporating its uncommon features, including "Tantalum," in "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China."

With regard to "Tanatalam," what Walker would have known, and Horsburgh before him, was that the island had been featured, albeit variously, on all manner of maps since the generative seventeenth century Dutch chart on which it is named "Po. Papier"; a plot which owed a deal of its credibility to the presence at Ligor of the "Dutch Factory" described by Captain Hamilton early in the eighteenth century (see above)—which, by-the-by is named, "Hollandt Logie" and flagged on the chart by the Dutch tricolour; see "Kaart van de Golf van Siam, Cambodia enz. van Cabo de Patany tot de Bokshoornen" No. 265 in *Inventaris der Verzameling Kaarten berustende in het Rijks-Archief*. Uitgegeven op last van Zijne Excellentie den Minister van Binnen-landsche Zaken. Eerste Gedeelte. 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1867.

Although "Tantalum" island as depicted on Walker's map is different from its shape on Burney's sketch which reproduces Horsburgh's configuration which reproduces the plot on the seventeenth century Dutch chart, this difference is not an irrelation but a variation which can be seen as an evolution; that is, the effect of the working for some 150 years of common ongoing processes of deposition, transportation and reformation of sediments to form the shoals, bars, spits and tombolos characteristic of a submerged coast. That such processes were indeed at work reforming the line of the coast around "Tantalum" island is suggested by Crawford himself:

The large island of Tantalem, is separated from the main by a narrow channel, which has considerable depth of water at its south-western extremity; but towards the north it is bare at low-water, and even at high-water is not above two or three feet deep...The island itself is high land to the south, but low and marshy to the north (Crawford 1967, 444-445).

That this kind of thinking led to John Walker's acceptance of the delineation of the west coast of the Gulf, "Tantalum" island included,

Figure 48, Cont., Critique of the Depiction of Siam on "Geographical Sketch of the Kingdom of Siam"

as shown on the "Native manuscript, communicated to Mr. Crawford" can only be suspected; but that there was a rational justification cannot be doubted, for not five years after publication of "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China" in 1828, the configuration of the west coast of the Gulf thereon depicted, "Tanatalam" island included, had become the authoritative cartographical representation. Not before mid-century did "Tantalum" island disappear from maps and charts of the Gulf. Was this joining to the main the result of natural processes as might be inferred from the cartographical evidence or was "Tantalum" island a cartographical fallacy?

Burney informs us in 1827 that "The Siamese do not recognize Tantalum as an island," see above. On Low's map "Siam, Camboja and Laos,"

"Thale Songkhraa or Salt Lake" appears... as a finger-like bay of the Gulf of Siam poked deeply into the eastern side of peninsular Siam... "Thale Songkhraa [Songkhla]" does not actually mean "Salt Lake," though its water is somewhat brackish, but merely Lake Songkhla; Songkhla being the name of the town at its entrance. At present, this body of water is called Thale Luang which means Big Lake... The obvious difference between the depiction of this significant topographical feature on Lieutenant Low's chart and a modern map is in its orientation: perpendicular to the coast on the former and parallel to the coast on the latter. The significance of this difference is that it is symptomatic of the origin of the Lake: on Lieutenant Low's map it seems a ria or drowned valley; on a modern map it seems a lagoon. Thale Luang is, in fact, a lagoon formed by a tombolo complex. On most maps dating from the 18th and early 19th centuries (in fact, on hydrographic charts from the mid-19th century) the Lake is correctly orientated and separated from the Gulf by a large, spitted island, usually named Tantalum. On d'Anville's more recent maps of the area the Lake tends to an orientation perpendicular to the coast and the island Tantalum is separated from the coast by a lengthy narrow waterway all along its western edge.

It is probable Lieutenant Low "improved" this improbable physical feature by making of the narrow waterway a river and doing away with Tantalum island altogether (Sternstein 1985, 143-144).

So, it seems Low reconciled d'Anville's depiction of "Thale Songkhraa" and "Tantalum" island with the "large mass of original

Native Materials" from which his map "Siam, Camboja and Laos" is compiled; "original Native Materials" which made of the island of "Tantalum" an undistinguished part of the main. On the other hand, Crawford's "West Coast of the Gulf of Siam," which Walker follows in compiling his "Map of the Kingdoms of Siam and Cochin China," also is based on "native materials" in the form of a "Native manuscript" on which "Tantalum" island is clearly distinguished. Which of these "native materials" is to be believed? Well, Crawford's "Native manuscript" comes from a single source: "a Mohammedan mariner," a native of Siam, possessed of considerable intelligence" (Crawford 1967, 598). Low's "Native Materials" come from a number of Siamese and Malay informants either residents of or visitors to Prince of Wales Island, which lays just off the opposite side of the peninsular from "Tantalum" (see Sternstein 1985, 138-139). Since there is no sure indication of the "Mohammedan mariner" having come ashore at either Songkhla, Nakhon Si Thammarat or any part of the coast between and because it is not possible to surely see whether "Tantalum" is part of the main from the shipping lane offshore—the more so if the charts show "Tantalum" as an island—I am inclined to the view of Burney's Siamese informants at Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat) and of Low's native sources at Prince of Wales Island (Penang) in the 1820s: "Tantalum" was not an island but part of the main.

Also to believe "Tantalum" was an island in the seventeenth century, as shown on Dutch charts, but that the narrow waterway which skirted its northwestern edge was much reduced, if not buried, during the ensuing 150 years, would embrace the evidence in the one nice surmise. My satisfaction with this neatly spliced argument would be immeasurably deepened was I unaware of a cartographical tradition dating from the sixteenth century which displays the coastal tract from Songkhla to Nakhon Si Thammarat—that is, Thale Luang and its surroundings—in much the same way as does a modern map; see, for example: "India quae Orientalis dicitur, et Insulae Adiacentes" in *Navigatio ac Itinerarium Iohannis Hugonis Linscotani*, Hagae-Comitis 1599 (in Nordenskiöld, A.E., *Facsimile-Atlas to The Early History of Cartography*. Translated from the Swedish Original by J.A. Ekelof and C.R. Markham, Stockholm MDCCCLXXXIX. Reprinted 1961 by Kraus Reprint Corporation, New York); Gerritsz, H., "South-East and East Asia, 1621" in *Asia in Maps from Ancient Times to the mid-19th Century*. Compiled and edited by Egon Klemp, Acta Humaniora, 1989; and "Ooseterdeel van Oost Indien streckende van Cilon tot Iapon en tot de Landrones Ilanden" in Doncker, H., *Zee-atlas ofte waterwerelt*, Amsterdam, c. 1705.

