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Printed in Denmark by Syddansk Universitets Trykkeri, Odense

Cover design by Ulla Poulsen Precht
Photo by Elith Pantou

ISSN 0909-8976
ISBN 87-90923-79-0

The Editor wants to thank Kirsten Albjerg, Editorial Secretary, for her competent and cheerful collaboration in preparing this issue.

THE UNPUBLISHED BRAAD PAPERS AND THEIR AUTHOR, C.H. BRAAD (1728-81)

by
Jeremy Franks

1. Introduction

Born in Stockholm in 1728, Christopher Henric was the elder child of Poul Braad, of Danish descent, and his wife, Gertrude, from Torneå in the far north of Sweden. When he was six, his parents moved to Norrköping and engaged tutors for him; the last of them, Eric Walbom (1710-73), was 18 years older and they became friends for life. Braad wrote in his obituary how Walbom was 'concerned to accustom his pupils to think clearly ... [and] through encouragement and suitable variation tried to make learning easy and pleasant'. Walbom must have been the sort of ideal elder brother any child is lucky to have.

Entering Uppsala University at the usual age of fourteen, Braad soon found it had little to offer him. He and Walbom already corresponded in Latin and he also knew English, French, German, his paternal Danish and his maternal Swedish and may have had a reading ability in Greek. At Uppsala he already owned over 300 books; when he died he owned over 3,000. He left Uppsala for a position as a clerk in a public office in Stockholm, where he learned or perfected a formal style of handwriting that all but a couple of his manuscripts exhibit. Bored with clerking, he showed his persistence, understanding of his elders and skill in exploiting good fortune to become a cadet in the Swedish East India Company. He was nineteen. Twelve years later he held the most senior post below the board of directors: a first supercargo in charge of a trading voyage. On its highly profitable conclusion he was offered but declined a directorship.

His career was built on his reputation as a writer, first of a detailed account of his first voyage, to Canton, in 1748-49, then of a longer account of his next, to Surat and Canton in 1750-52. During the next ten years – on land mostly in India for five or six years, on the high seas for the rest – he was kept so busy that he completed no other formally composed text until, aged about fifty, he composed a short

autobiography of his whole life. Seemingly in good health, he began a more detailed account of his early years and his career with the Company but died, in October 1781, four months after starting it.

After his death, a collector bought his 3,000-volume library and his papers. In 1840, when his son put his father's whole collection up for auction, Uppsala University bought most of the papers; other manuscripts were, or have come to be, held in archives in Göteborg, Linköping, Norrköping and Stockholm, but they have never been catalogued as a whole. Helsinki University Library, Finland, bought and still holds 1,100 letters from his and his parents' correspondents. About a dozen Swedish archives hold his letters in his correspondents' collections, but a catalogue of them was lost in a fire in the early 1990s; archives outside Sweden may hold letters from him to foreign correspondents.

My acquaintance with him began with *Canton* (Table 1, 2) that I read for research purposes (see Franks 1997). It gave me the rare thrill that I could recall from a long-past London book-trade job of finding in an unsolicited typescript the talents of an author. But who was Braad (and how should his name be pronounced), and was the promise of *Canton* fulfilled in anything else he had written? In the years it took to work through his papers, it was astonishing that only his monographs on indigo and the Mocha coffee trade had been printed. At first no plausible reason was apparent, but my eventual thesis (Franks 2005a-c) that his work has been neglected, exploited (i.e. used but not referred to), slighted or treated euphemistically has not yet been challenged.

2. *The Manuscripts*

2.1. Introduction

With linguists in mind, I aim here to describe the main manuscripts, summarized in Table 1, so as to offer relatively direct access to the whole *corpus*.

| Full name in translation | Cited as | Extent (Swedish archive) |
|---|---|---|
| 1. List of books that have been read through on the voyage in the <i>Hope</i> vessel to China in 1748-49 | <i>books at sea</i> | 71 pp; 11,000 words Swedish (Linköping Diocesan Library) |
| 2. Account of the voyage in the <i>Hope</i> vessel under Captain Pettersson's command from Göteborg to Canton in China from 26 January 1748 to 11 July 1749 | <i>Canton</i> | 173 pp; 50,000 words Swedish (Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm) |
| 3. Notes of the curiosities I saw and found in Canton in China during my stay there from September 1748 to January 1749 | <i>Canton notes</i> | 54 pp; 12,000 words of Swedish (Uppsala University Library) |
| 4. Description of the voyage [in 1750-52] of the <i>Gåtha Lejon</i> vessel to Surat and innumerable other Indian places | <i>Surat Journal</i> | 401 pp; 145,000 words of Swedish (original, Göteborg University library) |
| 5. Notes on trade [in Canton] that I had made on the voyage [to Surat and Canton in 1753-4] (and drafts for 32 other letters from Canton, India & Mocha) | <i>notes on Canton trade</i> | the notes comprise an 11,000-word letter; the other drafts contain a total of about a further 28,000 words (Uppsala University Library, L185) |
| 6. Historical Remarks on Bengal; its Inhabitants and Present Condition in the year 1754 | <i>Bengal</i> | 156 pp; 45,000 words of Swedish (Uppsala University Library, H361) |
| 7. Extracts from the Capuchins' diary kept in Surat from 1658 to 1760, made in Surat in 1760 by C.H. Braad | <i>Capuchin diary</i> | 48 pp; 20,000 words of Swedish (Uppsala University Library, H360) |
| 8. Christopher Henrik Braad: his autobiography | <i>short (1780) autobiography diaries</i> | 16 pp; 3,000 words of Swedish (Norrköping City Archives) mentioned only in 8 and now unknown; probably lost |
| 9. Diaries of travels in southern Asia to Ceylon, Canara, Malabar, Arabia & etc | <i>CV</i> | 73 pp; 35,000 words of Swedish (original, Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm) |
| 10. <i>Currículum vitae</i> C.H.B ^d or a Short Summary of the Principal Events that I, Christopher Hinric Braad, experienced during my travels and life. Composed in Korsäter in June 1781 | | |

Table 1: C.H. Braad's main manuscripts (excluding letters, shorter notes and the *like*)

Begging the question of the feasibility of exhaustively introducing a *corpus* of some 450,000 words in a short article, all I can attempt here is briefly to comment from a linguistic point of view on each manuscript or a part of it: for example, on the words in the manuscripts about the textiles (see Section 2.4.2) that were the principal reason for European interest in India. Translations of a selection of drafts for letters sent on business from India (see Table 3 in Section 3, below) reveal the circumstances in which some were composed. One (xix) is rare testimony to a writer's pen running away so far with his feelings that, on reflection, he chose to draft something less revealing and keep them to himself (see Sections 3.1 and 3.2.3, below).

2.1. The Books and Notes

2.2.1. Books at sea

As its name suggests, this was written when, on his first voyage, Braad 'tried to occupy the time I had on my hands ... with reading the books I had taken with me, in addition to those I could borrow on board, rather than forcing myself into humiliating conversations' (CV, 24) with those of his shipmates who looked down their noses at the bookish cadet who was promoted to ship's clerk on arrival at Cadiz.

He read about one hundred titles but neither distinguished his own books from the others on board nor dated his notes; his handwriting varies in precision but there is no way to correlate that with weather conditions as recorded in the ship's log.

His notes suggest a part of his linguistic ability; his citations of classical works reveal a further part.¹ He noted details of 41 books in Swedish, 2 in Danish, 3 in each of Dutch and English, 27 in French; and 28 in German. Their years of publication (where given) were 25 before 1650, 9 in 1650-1700, 42 in 1701-40, and 17 after 1740, the year when Walbom took over his education.

The French and German titles each include at least one pornographic ('gallant') work but he commented only on the first:

the most shameful and obscene of the sort I have ever read and seen, so that I am highly amazed that it could be published, when the whole of its contents is such as cannot be uttered for polite ears and honourable feelings, being as it were a listing or representation of all the debauches and disorders that an unbridled youth can ever fall into.

The severe Swedish censorship of the early 1740s (discussed in Franks 2005b) ought to have kept him from learning the French or German he needed to read this filth; maybe he won first-hand experience when, as CV implies, he and other unbridled youths celebrated in the Cadiz brothels his promotion to ship's clerk.

2.2.2 & 2.2.3. *Canton* and *Canton notes*

During our stay in China, my principal pleasure was to increase my home-made collections [of locally composed mss. and so on]² about this realm, its inhabitants, trade and so on, which served me, on our return voyage, to compose an account of what I had seen and experienced on the whole voyage. Finally, after five months and two days at Canton, during which time the vessel loaded her cargo, we sailed from the Whampoa roadstead on 22 January 1749. (CV, pp. 24-5)

I have modernized his spelling here ('Whampoa'). He names this place four times in CV, thrice as 'Hwampou', once as 'Hvampou'; and in *Surat Journal* (p. 400), *Bengal* (2) and letter (1) of *Notes on Canton trade & other drafts* as 'Wampou'. Deducing or inferring anything from Braad's spelling is risky, for even his native Swedish orthography was, in the contemporary manner, far from regular; see below (7) the *Capuchin diary*, for example, for his various attempts to represent in Swedish the Hindi word *chauki*.

2.2.4.1. *Surat Journal*

I spent the four months I stayed in Norrköping [in the winter of 1752-53] almost wholly on making a fair copy of my account of travel in *Götha Leyon*, which related in detail all that I had found remarkable in the places visited during this voyage. This comprised some 150 folds of paper, written in a small hand, with sixty to seventy drawn tables; I delivered it on my return to Göteborg to the directors, who received it with great pleasure. Councillor Lagerström [the company's secretary] sent a copy of it to the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. (CV, 33)

Braad signed it on 5 March 1753 and before sailing east again on 8 April worked in a hurry to replicate its illustrations and maps for the copy still held by the Academy of Sciences. The note he added in 1767 to its dedication page states, among much else (see Franks 2005a), that its text contains many clerical errors; my examination of a chapter suggested its c. 145,000 words contain eight to ten thousand of such errors.

The *Surat Journal* and the *Capuchin diary* are the core of the papers, being about Surat respectively in the early 1750s and during the preceding century. What 'about' signifies will be clear only when at least one index to these two (and perhaps also other) texts has been completed of people, places, events and subjects addressed, including history, wars with European interests or between rival domestic grandees, or both; local religious and similar practices; trade, traders, trade goods, moneys and minting, weights and measures; flora and fauna; river, coastal and offshore vessels, land vehicles; weather, earthquakes and celestial phenomena; domestic and public architecture; and much else.

A linguistic obstacle posed by these texts is the various European ways of spelling the diverse names of innumerable sacred and profane personages in India. It is heightened by the unknown languages through which such and other words reached Braad: in what language(s), for example, did he and the Armenian merchant who traded between Canton and Surat communicate with one another when the latter was a passenger on the 1750-52 voyage? When he and Braad

met by chance near Calcutta a couple of years later, Braad would have visited Patna and its environs in his company, had he had the time and money. As it was, the Armenian seems to have been Braad's source, or one of them, for what he recorded about these parts of the sub-continent and parts of Malaya.

One or more of Braad's manuscripts document the earliest use in Swedish of some 700 words of which the language and/or meaning of many has yet to be identified. Their Indian-Ocean range is from the Comoro island of Johanna, where Braad noted that *ionkeo*, *kam* and *kurtas* (perhaps variations of Swahili) signify respectively 'ink', 'pen' and 'paper', to Malaya, where perhaps his Armenian friend told him *puachi* signifies a firefly, with words from many Indian languages (see Watt 1889-93) in between. Taken as a whole, they sum up Braad's fourteen-years study of learning all about Indian-Ocean trade. As the principal reason for European interest in India was her textiles, I have chosen in what follows to hint at this linguistic complexity by quoting in context and explaining if possible the meaning and derivation of some words to do with textiles.

2.2.4.2

Some words, principally concerning textiles, occurring in *Surat* and some others of Braad's mss., with translations and explanations where possible.

alcatifer alcatyfer

'Golfwen altid äro betäckte med *Alcatyfer* eller Turkiska mattor' (Surat, 112).

'The floor is always covered with *Alcatyfer* or Turkish carpets'.

'När [Morer] göra visiter, betäckas rummen med de vackraste *Alcatyfer* och dynor' (Surat, 144).

'When [Moors, ie usually Muslims] make visits, rooms are covered with the most beautiful *Alcatyfs* and pouffes'.

Alcatif, a 'word for "a carpet" ... is not however of Indian origin, but is an Arabic word (*katif*, 'a carpet with long pile') introduced into Portugal through the Moors' (Yule and Burnell 1886:11).

arlat unidentified item of trade (Surat 190-195); (not in Schwartzberg 1978, Watt).

bissa see **viz**.

brafs unidentified item of trade (Surat, 190-195), perhaps related to 'Pulo Brafse', an island off the northern point of Sumatra, near Aceh (Pl. XIII, Herbert New Directory) (Not in Mukharji 1883, Schwartzberg, Watt).

cloth (in general; its widths)

'Deras förnämste fabriquer äro i bomull, som årligen sås och insamlas i stor myckenhet wid och omkring denne staden. De tillwårka därutaf mångchanda slags tyger, hwita, färgade, och randiga gingans [sic], med flera af sämre och bättre godhet och finhet, hwarpå de hafwa mångfalldige särskilte namn. Allesammans äga äfwenledes en olika bredd, och skilljas därigenom hwart slag ifrån annat. Alle tyger af en cubits bredd, nämnas *jickbati*. *Savagazj* hålla $1\frac{1}{4}$ do: *dergazj* $1\frac{1}{2}$, *ponedogazj* $1\frac{3}{4}$, *dobati* 2, *savadobati* $2\frac{1}{4}$ och *arabhati* $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubit, som äro de bredaste. Desse termer brukas därföre, at eftersom alle siden och bomulls tyger wåfwas till olika bredd och godhet, så när man will utmärcka hwad sort en åstundar, lägges termer till, för exemple *baftas savagazj* eller *pattola dohati*, och så vidare, då sälljaren straxt förstår, ej allenast hwad wahra en åstundar, utan ock hwad slag den skall wara utaf (Surat, 167).

'Their most distinguished cloths are of the cotton sown and harvested annually in great quantities at and around this city. Of it, they produce many sorts of cloth, white, coloured and striped ginghams, with many of better or worse quality and delicacy for which they have a multiplicity of specific names. Altogether, they are of different widths and are so distinguished from one another. All cloth having a width of one cubit is called *jickbati*; of one-and-a-quarter *savagazj*; $1\frac{1}{2}$ *dergazj*; $1\frac{3}{4}$ *ponedogazj*; 2 *dobati*; $2\frac{1}{4}$ *savadobati* and $2\frac{1}{2}$, which are the widest, *arabhati*. These terms are used because all silks and cottons are woven in different widths and degrees of delicacy, so that whoever wishes to specify one of them adds a term, as for example a *baftas savagazj* or a

pattola dohati and so on, so that the seller knows not merely the cloth indicated but of what sort it must be'.³

coorge corge corsch

'de [blekta och oblekta bomulls tygbitar] säljas alle efter *corsch* till 20 stycken på en *corsch*, och nedföras i början af den NÖstliga monsun i packor om 10 *corsch* i packan till Surat' (Surat, 185).

'The bleached and unbleached lengths of cotton material are all sold by the *corsch*, twenties in a *corsch*, and are shipped down in loads of 10 of such packs to Surat at the start of the NE monsoon'.⁴

silke

'Silcke, produceras af särskilte maskar på olika årstider, hwarest sedan dess godhet skiljes. Det fördelas uti sex slag. *Aggudbund* är det bästa och spinnes af maskarne i November månad. 2°. *Schejtibund*, därnäst, i februari och Martio. 3°. *Sawabund*, i Julio. 4°. *Asforibund* uti May och Junio. 5°. *Såkebund*, i April och May, och 6°. *Mangbund*, som är det sämsta, i Januariis. (I Augusti?), Septembr: och Octob månader arbeta maskarne intet'.

'Det är gulgigt i sig sjelf; men det säges at somlige bruka bleka det med *pisang* aska. Uti Surat förwårkas ej mycket däruf; men mästa delen går till Amadabath, hwarest de göra af samma ömnighet tapeter, atelasser, och andre dem kalla *pattoler*, invåfde med guld och sillfwer som äro prägtige och dyre & etc annars har jag inge andre sidentyger sedt ibland dem, fast *taffeter* och satiner inuti landet skola tillwårkas mera än Chinesiske och Persianske, som warit kostsamme nog. Parseerne employera litet silcke och större delen i band och fransar; men synnerligen i sine *allegias* eller halfsiden, däruti warpen består af fint bomullsgarn med silckes inslag. De hafwa dem af alle färgor, äfvensom randige och rutige, och bruka Turkarne och Persianerne med flere dem nog till under kläder, medan de hålla länge, och ju mera de twättas, dess wackare blifwa de' (Surat, 166-7).

'De utaf silke merendels komma ifrån Amadabath och det inre landet af Indostan, som *patalas* eller målade tyger, släte el[ler] med guld inswåfde *atlasses*, *taffeter*, (*cotoms*?) släta eller broderade med guld och sillfwer, täcken och tapeter af silke med (?), *allegias* eller halfsiden i all façon, och flere; hwarjämte också ett och annat slag af de

Chinesiske sidenwarorne, fast inet till någon quantitet plägar bitföras, och däribland också deras brocader, som de inväfwa med förgyllt och försilfrat papper, utan at nämna Persianske siden tygerne, som här hållas för de starkaste och waragtigaste af alla som tillwärtas i Asien, och af alla slag inbringas till Indostan och flere Asiens länder' (184).

'Their silk is made by special worms at different times of year that distinguish its quality. *Aggubund*, the best, is made in November. *Schejabund* is next best, in February and March; then *sawabund* in July; then *asforibund* in May and June; *såkebund* in April and May; and the sixth and worst is *mangbund* from January. (In?) August, September and October the worms are inactive.'

It is in itself yellowish but it is said that some usually bleach it with *pisang* [banana] ash. Not much is consumed in Surat but most goes to Amadabath, where they make of it an abundance of wall coverings, *atelases*, and others call them *patolas*, splendidly and expensively woven with gold and silver and so on, otherwise I have seen no other silk cloths among them, yet more taffetas and satins are said to be made in the country than in China and Persia, which have been costly enough. Of the little silk the Parsis use, the most part is in ribbons and fringes, but particularly in *allegias* or half-silk cloth, in which the warp comprises fine cotton threads with elements of silk. They weave them in all colours, also striped and chequered; as they wear well and look more beautiful the more they are washed, the Turks, Persians and others use them for underclothes'.

'Most of those made of silk come from Amadabath and inner Hindustan, such as *patolas* or painted cloth, smooth or with interwoven gold, *atelases*, *taffetas*, smooth or gold embroidered (*cottons?*), silken covers and wall coverings of (embroidered?) silk, *allegias* or half silken in every fashion, and others; in addition their brocades that they interweave with gilded and silvered paper, not to mention Persian silken weaves that are regarded here [i.e. in Surat] as the strongest and most durable of all that are made in Asia and of all that are brought to India and several other Asian countries'.

viz

'En måste först och främst lära känna bomullsgarnet såsom fundamentet, och skilja dess finlek, och sedan fordrar ganska stor

accuratesse, sedan är nödigt räkna alle trådar af hela styckets bredd, hwarefter en sedan kan fixera wärdet. På samma sätt som i Europa klädes finhet räknas efter 100-talet af trådar, så göra Surat Banjans med sine waror, dem de wäfwa till så eller så många *Viz* eller *Bisa*. När en nu wet at skiljja garnets finlek, och wet trådarnes mängd i bredden, så kan en aldrig fehla i priset; ty ju flere *Viz* ett stycke äger, dess högre pris räknas för hwar och en af dem när de gå öfwer ett wist antal; dock äro Banjans för sluge, at till dem som ej weta däraf någonsin nämna antalet af *Viz* i hwart stycke; mycket mindre hwad det är, så jag endast af en blårt händelse kom at taga notice däraf. NB De här etablerade Europeer, beställa alle sine wahror till så många *Viz* och då lefweransen sker, måste packorna i chefernes närwaro öppnas, då wisse stycken ur högen tagas ut, och rifwas af mitt på, så de kunna se om at antalet är efter accord' (ur 'Förtälet till Prof Boken på Surats Bomulls Silkes och Halfsiden Tyger', CHB, november 1754, Uppsala L185).

'One must first of all learn all about cotton thread as fundamental and distinguish its quality and then, which demands great accuracy, one must count the threads of the weft of [i.e. across] the cloth, from which one can determine its worth. As in Europe, where quality is reckoned by hundreds of threads, the Banians in Surat do so in weaving a weft of a given number of *viz* or *bisa*. Once one can distinguish the quality of the thread, and knows the number of threads in the weft, one cannot err as to price, for the higher the number of *viz*, the higher the price once they exceed a given number. But the Banians are crafty enough never to mention the number of *viz* to one who does not know, much less to say what it is, so it came to my attention only by chance. NB. The Europeans established here order goods to a given number of *viz* which, being delivered in bales, must be opened in the chiefs' presence, when some pieces are taken out and torn in two to see whether the number is as ordered' (Foreword to Sample Book of Suratii cotton, silk and partly silken material', from CHB's letter of November 1754).⁵

2.2.4.3. The *hackery*

As to this word, Yule and Burnell say 'its origin is exceedingly obscure'. I have chosen to treat it separately as exemplifying a particular

significance of Braad's observations: their subjects had been affected hardly if at all by what later became 'British India'. By the late 19th century, a *hackery* was the common native bullock cart used in the slow draught of goods and materials. But formerly in Bengal, as still in Western India and Ceylon, the word was applied to lighter carriages (drawn by bullocks) for personal transport' (Yule and Burnell 1886). In Surat in 1750 it exemplified, when new, the conspicuous consumption of the time; when worn out and shabby, vehicles plied for hire like taxis.

Their matching pairs of decorated white bullocks with painted horns reminded Braad of Reiner's beautiful ox in *Rolfs Saga*,⁶ but did not prevent him from observing two sophisticated technical features. Apart from anything else they suggest that Indian traditions were innovative: the less remarkable was that the *hackery* had a light space-frame of rattans on which the driver sat and the buffaloes were harnessed to: a great improvement on the usual far heavier pole. The second was astonishing.

Its wheels turned on axles of steel that, attached in some way to *only the centre of the vehicle*, would have provided a measure of independent springing. Thinking that bumps and the like would not have needed shock absorbers to cope with impacts at relatively low velocities, I recalled Mary Renault's mention in *The Nature of Alexander* of an obscure hint in Diodorus⁷ about something of the sort observed on the funeral car of Alexander the Great. Braad's observation suggests that pre-British India exhibited a material trace of a cultural interaction between ancient India and Alexander's Greeks. Whether anything more of a comparable sort can be discovered elsewhere in his surviving papers must remain an open question for the time being.

2.2.5

Notes on Canton trade & other drafts are for the thirty-three letters sent in the course of his duties or to comment on them between 18 November 1754 and 5 January 1757. Table 3 lists them; translations of the Swedish texts follow in Appendix I.

2.2.6

Bengal derives from his visit to Calcutta and its environs in 1755. Composed as letters to an as-yet unidentified gentleman, it seems to have been written in Sweden after July 1759. Some of its details complement the *Surat Journal*: his recollection of catching a snake in his rooms in Surat suggests he had lived not on board in the anchorage 6 km downstream, but in the 'beautiful and comfortable premises' listed at 25-30 rupees a month among the prices of general provisions; see *Surat Journal* chapter 10.

One passage can explain the nautical phrase 'horse latitudes'. Braad sailed from Canton to Calcutta in the *Lascat-crewed Success Galley*, and in a calm in the Bay of Bengal, a part of the 'horse latitudes', saw its Muslim crew try to call up a wind by hoisting what was said to be a representation of the Prophet's steed into the rigging.⁸ *OED* attributes the term to mortality among 'horses and other cattle' being shipped to America but Braad's observation, although not yet confirmed, is less implausible.⁹

2.2.7

The Capuchin diary extracts comprise a manuscript of extracts from and notes on entries in a diary kept by the Capuchin mission in Surat from 1658 until 1760. Perhaps the most remarkable of the papers, it is the only evidence of a diary that was kept for a century in a Mughal city of major importance by an independent group of Europeans; judging from the 600-odd titles in the bibliography of Yule and Burnell (1886), it was unique.

Space makes it possible to say only a very little as to who these Capuchins were; why they kept a diary and what they recorded in it; and why they made Braad, one of hundreds of Europeans to visit Surat before 1760, privy to its confidential record of events and the probably even more confidential means they employed to obtain their data.

say nothing of their reputation as mediators between violently squabbling Europeans and Mughal adventurers.

As such things are a constant theme in the extracts, it is not surprising that, soon after completing them, Braad correctly foresaw trouble (with the English) for his trading enterprise and had to resist improper arrest and some clumsy attempts at extortion (by the Mughal authorities, as they may be called). With characteristic, unsurprising discretion, one of his Capuchin friends, *père Médard*, hid under his headgear the letters with which Braad successfully asked other friends in Surat for help.

I like to think that *père Médard* knew how, disguising his real aims, Braad had gulled the English director in Calcutta with a pretended interest in snakes (see Franks 2006) and that the two men enjoyed together the thrills of living on one's wits. In view of Braad's use of (literal) snakes in Bengal, it was apposite that an earlier father had said (literal) snakes in India should be *prudent* [sic] *sicut Serpentes & Simplices sicut Columbe* 'as cunning as serpents and as innocent as doves' (Matth. 10.16). Braad's command of French must have further favoured him in their eyes.

The Swedish of his diary extracts is linguistically interesting for its reflections of the diary's French and the French he spoke with its keepers. Here is a single example: the Hindi *chauk* and its manifestations in French and Swedish. According to *Hobson-Jobson* (Yule and Burnell 1886:205), it signified a shed resting on four posts (Sanskrit *chatur* 'four'); a police station or lock-up; a customs or toll-station; the dues levied at such a place; also the act of watching or guarding. In current British-English it is army slang for prison: 'chokey'. In his *Surat Journal*, Braad's first encounter with it, he called it a 'Moorish guard' (*morsk väkt*).¹⁰ Ten years later, he probably found the *choquis* of the diary extracts (1752) in the diary but put the word into Swedish as *tjockis*, *tjockis* or *tjockis* (1701, 1704, 1714, 1749, 1751, 1752). In brief, this manuscript is something for a specialist in early-modern French.

Braad's extracts from it controvert the statement that 'there is very little of what one can call authentic historical material relating to the early 18th century at Surat itself, and the English and Dutch companies' surviving papers are 'untrustworthy in two ways. On the one hand they

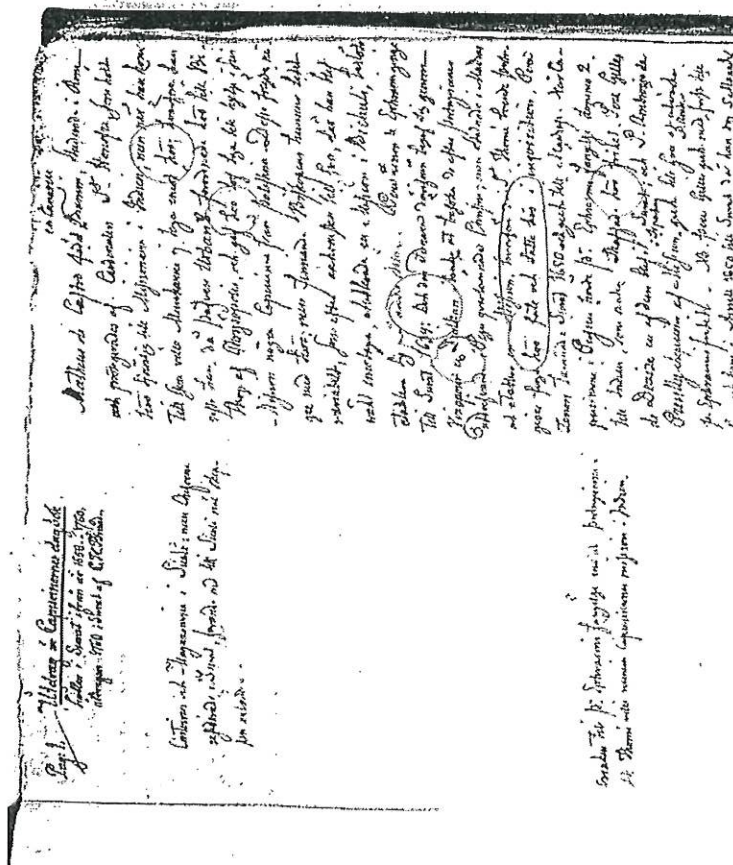


Table 2: Facsimile of the first page of Braad's extracts from the Surat Capuchins' diary (reproduced by kind permission of Uppsala University library)

The facsimile of the manuscript's first page (see Table 2; for its transcription and translation, see below, 2.2.10) tells a little of how and when they first came to Surat. No complete record of their names exists; many came from France, particularly near Tours, and from Italy; judging from the extracts, they kept their diary and perhaps also ran the mission, in French; this included a medical clinic that offered anyone who asked for it, free European and local drugs and treatment, as well as (my guess) cover, for passing on hard news and gossip. During the long turbulent decline of Surat, the Capuchins did well to keep themselves fully if improperly informed. It ensured their survival, to

report situations which do not exist. On the other, they tell lies about their transactions mainly involving money'.¹¹

2.2.8

The *short (1780) autobiography* says little about his travels; its fourth note gives the text of the instructions that set him off on those in 1754-58. It describes his married and family life in Sweden after his final return from the east in 1762. As it mentions the birth of his youngest daughter, Gustava, 'at 3 in the morning on 1 November 1778', he must have concluded it not long before beginning *Curriculum vitae* in June 1781.

2.2.9

The detail of names, dates and events in *CV* suggests that Braad wrote it with the help of the diaries he mentioned in his sixth note to (8), but I've found no trace of them in the inventory of his library after his death; the 1840 auction catalogue describes some lots so imprecisely that a buyer could have bought a diary or two without knowing it.

2.2.10

Curriculum vitae is the 'more complete autobiography under the name of "Magistrate Braad's life and travels, 1781"' that is mentioned in print as such – not as *Curriculum vitae* – only in a note to the entry on Braad in a biographical dictionary from 1863-64.

In telling of childhood play with boats in puddles and Swedish coastal voyages in boyhood, he explains indirectly how he took easily to life at sea. Disappointed by Uppsala University and dismayed as a Stockholm clerk, his persistence in trying to do what he wanted was rewarded with entry into the company's service. *CV* ends when he resigned from it in 1762 after completing his only voyage as a first supercargo.

This temporal framework implies that the lack of any reference to his failure in 1767 to 'communicate' his travels in southern Asia (see Franks 2005a) cannot be called a formal omission, yet it injured his identity as a writer. As I have suggested, the discretion that did so much for his career with the company did nothing for him as a writer.

A transliteration precedes my translation, and the notes on the left of the facsimile in Table 2 are framed in each. The ringed abbreviations (e.g. *hoo* with a *vinculum* over the *oo* for *honom*) are not reproduced. Illegible words in the manuscript are represented by (?).

Pag. 1 Utdrag ur Capuchinernes dagbok hållen i Surat ifrån år 1658 å 1760: utdragen 1760 i Surat af C.H. Braad

Contoiren och Magazinerne i Suali; men Cheferne residerade i Surat, farande ned till Suali när skeppen anlände.

Matheus de Castro född en Canarin Bramin, studerade i Rom och protegerades af Cardinalen St. Honofre, som höll honom tjänlig till Missionaire i Indien; men när han kom till Goa ville Munkarne ej tage emot honom; hvärföre han reste hem, då Påfven Urban 8 förordnade honom till Biskop af Chrysopolis, och gaf honom lof taga till hjälp i sin Mission några Capuciner från Palestina. Desse följde någre med honom; men finande Biskopens humeur litet variabelt, som efter ankomsten till Goa, där han blef wähl emotagen, etablerade en Mission i Bichuli, beslöto etablera Sig på andre ställen. Pere Zenon & Ephraim gingo till Surat, 1634: (?) den sednare därifrån begaf sig genom Vizapour eller] Dialkan i tanke at besöka de efter Portugisernes utdrifwande i Pegu quarlämnade Christne; men stadnade i Madras at etablera en Mission, hvarföre de i St. Thomé boende Portugiser fingo honom (?) och satte honom i inquisition. Pere Zenon lämnade Surat 1650 och gick till Madras. När Capucinerne i Persien hörde Pr Ephraims fängelse kommo 2 till Indien, som änte[ligen] skaffade honom frihet. Père Gilles de Dezize en af dem blef i Surat; och P.

Orsaken till Pr Ephraims fängelse var att Portugiserna i St. Thomé ville ruinera Capucinerne mission i Indien

Ambroise de Preully Superieur af Mission i Ispahan gick till Goa at utvärka P. Ephraims frihet. NB Père Gilles gick med P. Ambr[oise] först till Goa, och kom i April 1650 till Surat där han dog 5 Månader efter.

Page 1. Extracts from the Capuchins' diary kept in Surat from 1658 to 1760; made by C.H. Braad in Surat in 1760¹².

The office and storehouses were in Suali but the chiefs lived in Surat and went down to Suali [at the mouth of the Tapti River] when vessels arrived.

Matheus de Castro, born a Brahmin Canarin [i.e. from Canara], studied in Rome and was a protégé of Cardinal St. Honofre, who found him serviceable as a missionary in India, but when he came to Goa the monks refused to accept him, for which reason he returned home,

whereupon Pope Urban VIII appointed him bishop of Chrysopolis and gave him leave to take as helpers in his mission some Capuchins from Palestine. Some of them followed him but, finding the bishop's temperament to be a little variable after his arrival at Goa, where he

was well received and established a mission in Bichuli, they decided to establish themselves elsewhere. *Pères* Zenon & Ephraim went to Surat in 1634; (?) the latter took himself later thence through Vizapour or Dialkan with the thought of visiting the Christians remaining after the Portuguese

The reason for P Ephraim's imprisonment was that the Portuguese in St. Thomé wished to ruin the Capuchins' mission in India.

had been expelled from Pegu,¹³ but stayed in Madras to establish a mission, whereupon the Portuguese living in St. Thomé¹⁴ made him (?) and subjected him to an inquisition. *Père* Zenon left Surat in 1650 and proceeded to Madras. When the Capuchins in Persia heard of *Père* Ephraim's imprisonment two came to India and eventually brought about his release. One, *Père* Gilles de Dezize, stayed in Surat; and P Ambroise de Preully, the Superior of the mission in Isfahan, proceeded to Goa to bring about P Ephraim's release. NB *Père* Gilles went with P Ambroise first to Goa and came to Surat in April 1650 and died there five months later.

3. Letters from Canton and India

3.1. Introduction

The following extracts (see Table 3) have been chosen mainly to reveal the circumstances in which Braad wrote, e.g. drafts i-xii on board a Swedish vessel at Canton in response to his directors who, in a letter, took for granted his agreement to travel alone to investigate trading prospects in 'southern Asia'; mostly he wrote when he could send letters by sea or via a courier (a *pattamar*) who, as one of a series, ran with them to a distant port for onward shipment. In preparing a visit to Mocha from Surat that might mean a year's absence or more, he foresaw (draft xxii) a letter sent 'overland' (i.e. via Alexandria) to Europe would take far less time than by sea round the Cape. The possibility that a hypothetical Swedish vessel might reach Surat or another Indian port led him to draft (xxiv) a letter to a notional supercargo about suppositional future conditions.

Isolated in Surat and lacking funds to engage a *pattamar*, he was dependent on others'. Highly disciplined penmanship enabled him in a few hours to draft and make multiple fair copies of letters to be sent in different 'bottoms' (i.e. vessels) to nullify the usual nautical risks. This left him (virtually) no time for private letters: if ever his travel diaries are found (see Table 1, 9), they may contain the personal thoughts he might have expressed to friends or relatives. Time or its lack had other effects on his writing.

News spread slowly and might arrive as hearsay or rumour, and letters passing it on and responding to it had to be read as conditional. Thus drafts xxvii and xxxii illustrate a flow of news of events that would culminate when Robert Clive's small English force suddenly found itself at Plassey able to dominate the tottering Mughal realm. When this news of some of the pivotal events of 18th-century India reached Braad, he was not alone in failing to foresee their outcome.

| (Ref.) | Date | Correspondent etc; | Words of Swedish | At, route to Gbg |
|----------|--------------|---|------------------|--|
| (i) | 18/11/1754 | to SOIC: on <i>Prinz Carl</i> to Canton | 11,000 | Canton, direct |
| (ii) | ditto | to SOIC: on material woven at Surat | 750 | ditto |
| (iii) | 28/11 | to John Irvine, supercargo in <i>Prinz Carl</i> | 200 | ditto |
| (iv) | 22/11 | to supercargoes in <i>Prinz Carl</i> | 170 | ditto |
| (v) | 18/11 | to SOIC directors, Göteborg (Gbg) | 2,000 | ditto |
| (vi) | ditto | to Abraham Grill, director SOIC, Gbg | 3,000 | ditto |
| (vii) | ditto | to Abraham Grill | 400 | ditto |
| (viii) | ditto | to Colin Campbell, director SOIC, Gbg | 300 | ditto |
| (ix) | ditto | to Niclas Sahlgren, director SOIC, Gbg | 270 | ditto |
| (x) | ditto | to M. Lagerström, director SOIC, Gbg | 360 | ditto |
| (xi) | ditto | to Jean von Urfall, director SOIC, Gbg | 300 | ditto |
| (xii) | ditto | to Jonas Ahlströmmer, Alingsås | 500 | ditto |
| (xiii) | 3/2/ 1755 | to SOIC | 500 | Calcutra, London |
| (xiv) | ditto | to Abraham Grill | 500 | ditto |
| (xv) | 27/2 | to SOIC directors | 450 | ditto |
| (xvi) | 2/9 | ditto | 1,500 | Surat, Pondichery /Paris |
| (xvii) | ditto | to Abraham Grill | 400 | ditto |
| (xviii) | 10/12 | to SOIC directors | 1,200 | Surat, 1 st Paris, 2 nd London |
| (xix) | ditto | to Abraham Grill | 1,300 | ditto |
| (xx) | ditto | covering letter for xviii & xix | 70 | Surat, Paris |
| (xxi) | 1/3/1756 | to SOIC directors | 670 | Surat, 1 st Paris, 2 nd London |
| (xxii) | 5/4 | ditto | 1,300 | Surat, Paris |
| (xxiii) | ditto | to Abraham Grill | 1,000 | Surat, Paris |
| (xxiv) | ditto | to such SOIC supercargoes as it might reach | 650 | Surat |
| (xxv) | 20/7 | to SOIC directors | 750 | Mocha, Pondichery/Paris |
| (xxvi) | ditto | to Abraham Grill | 700 | ditto |
| (xxvii) | 22/9 & 24/10 | to SOIC directors | 2,400 | Surat |
| (xxviii) | 20/10 | ditto | 1,000 | Surat, 1 st London, 2 nd Paris |
| (xxix) | 24/10 | to Abraham Grill | 600 | Surat |
| (xxx) | 6/12 | to SOIC directors | 1,300 | Surat, 1 st London, 2 nd Ceylon /Amsterdam |
| (xxxi) | ditto | to Abraham Grill | 800 | Surat, sent with (xxx) |

| (ref.) | Date | Correspondent etc; | Words of Swedish | At, route to Gbg |
|----------|----------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (xxxii) | 5/1/1757 | to SOIC directors | 1,350 | Surat, 1 st London |
| (xxxiii) | 5/1 | to Abraham Grill | 750 | ditto |
| | | Sum of words | c. 39,000 | |

Table 3: *Letters and the like on matters of business from C.H. Braad at Canton, India etc. 1754-57 (SOIC signifies the Swedish East India Company)*

Other aspects of time affected how he expressed his feelings (draft xxiii): lack of time when writing, lapses of time since the death of his correspondent's wife and between his correspondent's (supposed) initial grief and the arrival of a much-delayed letter of condolences: it meant he had to write philosophically, which 21st-century readers, used to all-but-instantaneous (bad) news by radio, TV and e-mail, might think was insensitively unemotional, even characteristically, rather than circumstantially so. This consideration makes the longest extract, from draft xix, all the more interesting.

It is an instance – its rarity can only be guessed at – of a writer's pen uttering what he might hesitate to say aloud. A year of advancing his career by doing what his directors wanted had left Braad feeling isolated, hard up and hard done by. When he saw his draft would not do, he noted this and promptly drafted something else.

His first draft implies a corollary between his deferential mode of address to his father's friend, Abraham Grill, *wälborne herr director* (lit. 'well-born Lord Director') and the lack of consideration with which the board of directors, including Grill, had treated him: 'all the risks are mine', he wrote, 'and the board risks nothing'. It would be anachronistic to qualify this 18th-century treatment with 'unfair' or another 21st-century adjective, since his (verbal) abasement before a superior presupposes such high-handed treatment. That he suppressed in his letter the outspoken thoughts visible in his draft suggests that in *CV* he may have suppressed his real reasons for refusing an invitation to become a director. He wrote that he was tired after years of travel by

land and sea but could it be that he had no intention, as a director, of treating others as badly as he had been treated as a subordinate? This exemplifies the need when discussing a point in one manuscript not to try to treat it in isolation from any other.

The phrase in Swedish in the preceding paragraph is abbreviated as *WBHD* in the texts and translated below as 'my lord, his highness the director'. Braad's habit of coining Swedish verbs from French is indicated by italicizing his sources (mostly from Elkbohrn) in brackets; the italicized phrase in French occurs in the manuscript. (See Section 3.2.3 below).

3.2. The Extracts (original Swedish texts in Appendix)

3.2.1

From draft xvi: Surat, 2 September 1755. *Via* M. Boucard sent to Pondichery, under cover of Messrs. Tourton & Baur, Paris: to the Directors of the Swedish East India Company:

... this is sent off with a *pattamar* to Pondichery¹⁵ through the agency of M. Boucard who promises to arrange that it will be despatched (*depecherat*) in the first French vessel.

3.2.2

From draft xvii to Director Abraham Grill Esquire; same date and enclosed in the former:

...with the courier waiting for my letter so can I still not abstain from delaying him further ... the *pattamar's* urgency does not allow me to write more amply to my lord, the Director ... I am obliged to break off in the hope that my lord, the Director will most graciously excuse my hurry, for I had no knowledge of this facility three hours ago. I have no time to write to my relatives, if my lord, the Director,

has occasion to let them know that I am alive and in good health that should be enough to satisfy them.

3.2.3

From draft xix to Director Abraham Grill Esquire [10 December 1755]:

... had I not the orders of my lord, his highness the Director for it, and were even convinced that what I so freely inscribe falls only in the hand of a kindly disposed patron who best interprets and even bears with my errors, I should proceed with great care in my expressions, and in particular when I name something that can concern only myself, to have need of an extensive apology, but when I consider that I am writing not just to a superior and a patron, but also to a lord who has cherished me with all the tenderness that the closest of relatives might ever have expected, so I cannot hide (*cachera*) my opinions, much less write other than what I think, and for that reason I always put pen to paper with more freedom when I have the honour to address my lord, the director, than when I do so to any other, whom I could fear might examine with a less kindly disposition whatever I might write.

(: I add that regardless of the fact that I have lived to my satisfaction (?) in no place in India as now in Surat, free from the envy and reproaches of my fellow-countrymen, and living well and easily in the hospitable company of the best of Europeans here, yet my spirits are in constant agitation and melancholy. Providence has been pleased not to extend to us mortals the advantage or discomfort of perceiving what is to come; all we can do is to assess probability from circumstances and precedents: there stops all our foresight, for the slightest accident often turns (*tourner*) aside into a way quite different than what we had supposed. These thoughts are not new for me, they pursue me every day and in particular now since I have been disappointed not to see some [Swedish] vessel here this year. I know that as I write the time has come in Europe that shall decide my future well-being or fate; knowing this (?), how

can I be in good heart? Their highnesses the directors have shown great confidence in choosing so slight a person as myself; but on the other hand show so great a suspicion in that all reward is put off until some uncertain future and *après coup*, without any funds being afforded me than almost what I had earned on the previous voyage, so that all risks are mine and the directors' none. When I consider this what I shall expect /: in particular as the lives of all are in the hands of Our Lord, if He should be pleased to make some mortal stroke and deprive me of the best of patrons whom He has graciously brought up. I am sure that should the Almighty endow my life with its fate, and I find myself disappointed, Great God! what will the future be; yet I shall never give way to reproaches. Forgive me, my lord, my gracious director, if I allow melancholic rapture to overcome me, and if I seem to injure my lords my exalted superiors do not let this go any further. I repeat the most intimate of my thoughts and should my lord, the director, take them to be dreams I can assure him that they well deserve the name, for the constant uncease they cause. If the gentlemen directors approve my reports from China, if & (?)#:

NB This [foregoing paragraph] in parentheses not sent; but I wrote instead as follows:

My health has been to some degree poor these two or three months; but I count it as a consequence (*suite*) of my isolation and the melancholy thoughts that have arisen since I have found that no ship is heard of this year; at time I think that something has been sent out, but has missed (*manquer*) its passage, and at time I occupy my mind with other guesses. But most disturbing is the uncertainty as to my own fate at home in Sweden, now that the time is probably come when my insignificant person has been thought of, either to [my] advantage or not – how can I guess? In the meantime[#] if the gentlemen directors have approved my reports from China, if the offers I made to demonstrate my willingness to learn have reached them¹⁶, if I have been freed from hidden malice (but is that possible?) but in particular if the Almighty has been pleased to keep my lord, the director alive and in good health, so shall I not fear but live in good hope that this delay must of necessity turn (*tourner*) to my advantage; but should the contrary have occurred, what reason

would I not have to regret the elapse of a whole fruitless year? It would then be no small satisfaction for me that a good cargo should have been here in September.¹⁷ I should have made it clear that one would have found a more favourable market than that supplied by any of the earlier vessels but it had in particular been a means of convincing the gentlemen directors that voyages to Surat can be made without (?) skill (*habib*); but I ought to say fortune, for some might perhaps dispute the correctness of my use of the earlier expression and how should I dare to decide such a point?

3.2.4

From draft xxi to the gentlemen directors, SEIC; Surat 1 March 1756; sent in *Streetham* to Spalding & Brander, London, in M^r Holford's envelope; a copy sent in M^r Boucard's:

... until now I have remained in Surat, while continuous trouble with the Mahratters has obstructed almost all communication with other places; but now everything is peaceful again, I begin to think of how I could advantageously use these six or seven months that I suppose I have to occupy. Had some vessel left for Persia in November I had perhaps not erred in taking such an opportunity that I must now let go when it occurs; but I hope nothing is thereby lost, for little of the trade of these parts is still unknown to me, and from what I have learned I find a voyage thence would not at all be worth the trouble. If my proposal to go to Mocha¹⁸ would do remains to be seen, at least I think so, for otherwise I should never have the resolution to incur the great expense and trouble of visiting one of the most miserable places in Asia. The latter I shall always bear patiently in the hope that their highnesses my gentlemen directors will relieve the former, for that would be impossible for me to bear, if I am not to return penniless home from India.

Provided I meet no unforeseen obstacle, I intend to proceed to Mocha at the end of this month in the hope with the help of God of being back by the beginning of September. For safety's sake I shall leave here a few memoranda to be dispatched to their

highnesses in the next vessel in the unexpected event that one arrives before my return.

3.2.5

From draft xxii to the directors of Swedish East India Company. Surat, 5 April 1756. Under cover of MM. Tourton & Baur, Paris. Left c/o M. Boucard for dispatch to M. Perdriaux, French resident at Bassora [Basra] in the *Dragon* that was to sail 13-15 April:

...the delay with shipment down river of goods, and the previous months' interecine troubles in this place has hindered any vessel for Mocha from fully loading its cargo or proceeding to sea, although now is the usual time for their departure.

... if opportunity offers I shall have the honour to write from Mocha *via* Suez and Grand Cairo to Alexandr[i]a and thence to Europe. Otherwise it is hoped to be able to write next thanks to an English vessel that sails for home during the present month, with a duplicate of it that I have left to be sent under cover of a French dispatch to Paris.

... it is now the 10th [April] and I seal this before going onboard and sailing. (?) sent a copy of my missive of 2 September last year of which I sent no duplicate.

3.2.6

From draft xxiii. Under cover of the former. To My lord director Abraham Grill. Surat 5 April 1756:

...I had written so much of my letter when a packet reached me from China, in which my lord Johan Abraham Grill [director Grill's son] has done me the honour of mentioning his arrival there and with no small surprise (*surprenerat*) relating the decease of his

lamented mother, the late Mrs. Grill. I should do well not to reopen old sores, as without doubt this lapse of time must have diminished in part my lord, the director's sorrow over so great a loss, yet how can I refrain myself from testifying to the sorrow that such a loss causes?

...NB Enclosed please find three other letters, namely to my dear mother, to M^r David Sandberg [an SEIC supercargo] and Cap^t George Elphinston [a company captain].

3.2.7

From draft xxiv to the supercargoes of this year's China-bound vessels of the Honourable Swedish East India Company. Surat, 5 April 1756:

Gentlemen:

Whether or not this letter comes to the attention of one of the gentlemen to whom I have the honour to be known, I presume it will not be thought an untimely presumption, if one who is unknowledgeable permits himself the freedom to appear troublesome, particularly if I offer the assurance that my sole purpose is thus to attempt to further the interests of the Honourable Company, of which I am more than convinced that each and everyone of the gentlemen privately have so much at heart as can be possible.

I doubt not that I shall have the pleasure in September of seeing a Swedish vessel here, and with regard to our country's products having been in short supply for two years, everything promises the market will be good, but as the profit of a voyage depends also very much on selling the cargo from this coast in China and I, from my own experience, am convinced how little the previous year's prices in Canton may be relied on, therefore it would be highly desirable to obtain in good time a reliable pris courant for the most recent season, for what can best suit the market can be determined by comparing it and the former. Unfortunately most of the letters sent

from China are delayed by the China vessels spending time down on the [western] coast [of India]; but suitable precautions could prevent this. If the gentlemen were pleased to address such a list of the goods mentioned on the other side either to me or the supercargoes in the next Surat vessel, it would be best if two copies were sent with the first Macao vessel, of which one [copy] should be left with the French director, M. Louet, in Mahée, and the other sent in an envelope (*couvert*) to M. Jean Bapt. Boucard in Surat. Should someone in the vessel to whom the last might particularly be recommended, he might perhaps have an opportunity to send it with a *pattamar* from Tellicherry¹⁹; but should no suitable opportunity arise, it would be best to retain it until his arrival in Bombay where most of the vessels from Macao arrive by the middle of February and thus earlier than our vessels usually sail from Surat. The honourable company will probably not send any vessel here from China, for Chinese goods are altogether too costly, but for safety's sake I will send their prices from which it may be seen that there is nothing that will repay the effort, at least in Surat.

To employ my time with something useful I have determined to sail to Mocha and am at the time of writing about to embark, yet with the hope of returning by September.

...NB The letter to Mahée should be addressed to M. Louet, *Conseiller au Conseil Supérieur & Chef pour la Nation Française à Mahée* and endorsed *en cas de quelque Changement pour être délivré et ouvert [sic] par le Chef présent à Mahée*. The envelope for Surat: *À M. J.B. Boucard, Marchand Français à Surat*. Would be advisable to send duplicates with M. Hums,²⁰ whether he departs earlier or later than the Macao vessel.

... Sent 2 copies of this, one addressed to M^r W^m Elliot, with Cap^t Rob^t Walpole of the vessel *Houghton*, the other delivered to Cap^t Mar(diz?), who has promised to send it from Batavia addressed to M. Pegou.

3.2.8

From draft xxvii to the directorate, the Swedish East India Company. Surat, 22 September & 24 October 1756. The first part of this letter sent via Bengal to Paris, and the whole letter by the vessel *Porffield* in M^r Holford's²¹ envelope. A second copy sent on 6 December:

... the news from India is hardly pleasing for the Europeans, particularly the English whom the new Nabob of Bengal on the pretence (*prétender*) of an affront by [their Calcutta] Governor Drake drove out of all their offices in Cazembazar, Dacca, Calcutta, Jugdea & etc, tore down their fortifications, killed a number, imprisoned many and despoiled both the Indian and European inhabitants. The English company's losses exceed (*excedera*) all that can be imagined, they have assembled there all their forces from Coromandel to get their revenge, but the war that has been declared in Europe, the Nabob's large army, the situation of the country & etc obliges them to settle the matter as soon as they can and satisfy themselves with re-taking Calcutta that, from being the richest and largest colony in India is now no better than a pile of stones.

3.2.9

From draft xxix to my lord director Abraham Grill. Surat, 24 October 1756:

... time passes and I occupy myself with pleasantries: what madness. I therefore close ...

3.2.10

From draft xxxii to the directorate of the Swedish East India Company. Surat, 5 January 1757, addressed to Spalding & Brander, London, sent via M^r Holford leaving on the *Hector*:

I have up to now taken such care to write on every occasion I could that I am almost sure that even if the worse should occur, at least some of my letters must reach their addressees and in the hope that they will I shall repeat (*répéter*) as little as possible of what they mention.

... English trade in Bengal seems to go badly and they probably must submit to the Nabob's proposition until an opportunity arises to re-establish (*rétablir*) themselves on their former footing. All is peaceful in Surat, and the [Seven Years] war between the English and the French encourages (*encourage*) the native merchants here to trade with greater keenness than for a long time, which they can do with greater security than before ...

3.2.11

From draft xxxiii to My lord director Abraham Grill, Surat, 5 January 1757, enclosed in the former:

... the letters that I have had the honour to address my lord, the director, since my return from Mocha have been so full of melancholy reflections that I would reasonably fear for their kind reception, were I not convinced that, far from falling into the hands of a strict judge, they address themselves to a lord whose great goodness and disposition towards me have been the only reason that I have dared so to describe my uneasy spirit's situation for a time.

... If anything worries me, it is what to do, should a vessel or letter arrive next season. I must clearly stay here longer but what will they here say who are now polite and friendly? They will maybe become tired of me and think me a vagabond, [one who] does not return to his fatherland, and how can I show them their mistake; perhaps in 1758 I am no closer than before, and should I eventually receive a recall, most of my funds sent out this year would be exhausted. My lord, his highness the director may well laugh at my imaginary fears when this letter reaches him and would to God the day will dawn

when I myself may look back with amusement on my untimely alarm.

4. Conclusion

This article has considered some manuscripts about trading and related conditions mainly in India in the 1750s. As they comprise some 450,000 words of Swedish; and their author has for two centuries been not the least known of the many well-educated servants of the Swedish East India Company; and Swedish university and other public archives have held these manuscripts for over a century and a half, their enduring unpublished state reflects a choice or a series of choices to refrain from asking whether, and if so to what extent, their publication could augment the history of India (in especially the crucial years of the 1750s) or that of their Stockholm-born author's native country or its language, or be of general linguistic interest. Matters other than linguistics having been discussed elsewhere; the present article has tried only to approach these linguistic questions by outlining the main manuscripts and briefly discussing some relevant features. This is not the end of the story nor even the end of the beginning; much remains to be done.

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Notes

1. He cites Ausonius, Antipater, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Herodotus, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Pliny, Plutarch, Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, Megasthenes, Strabo, Valerius Flaccus, and Vitruvius in *Surat Journal* and/or *Bengal*.
2. In 1781 he owned, among other Chinese manuscripts, one in folio (no. 32, library inventory, Linköping Diocesan library) of 'Chinese Materia Medica, drawn in China with about 700 figures of insects, plants & etc., together with explanations in Chinese'.

3. 'Hindi gaz, and corr. gaj; a Persian yard measure or thereabouts; but in India applied to measures of very varying lengths, from *hāth*, or natural cubit, to the English yard' (See Yule and Burnell 1886:400, under gudge).
4. This is 'a mercantile term for "a score"' (see Yule and Burnell 1886:255).
5. Neither word is in Yule and Burnell 1886 or on the OED CD.
6. Reiner's ox had horns embellished with gold and silver; a silver decoration with three gold rings hung between them. It was much finer than other oxen in Reiner's country; he never let it out of his sight. Braad presumably knew the version translated into Swedish by Olof Verelius in 1664-72 *Göörrikes och Rolfs saga*. See also Penguin Classic *The Saga of King Hroff Kraki*.
7. 18.26-8. I am indebted to Professor Jasper Griffin, Balliol College, his '2 local experts' at Oxford, Mr. Robin Lane Fox, New College, and Dr. Ellen Rice, Wolfson College, for their generous responses to my enquiry. Their comments, and what may be read in Kulkarni (1994), may be useful to a linguist who, knowing Greek and Sanskrit, can, unlike the present writer, explore Braad's and others' observations.
8. There is no mention, under *al-Burāq*, of any such popular belief (Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. I, 1310), but *Burāq* is 'a kind of protective symbol, so that nowadays [late 20th century] numerous representations of this creature with a woman's head and a peacock's tail are found on the rear of trucks in Pakistan and Afghanistan, as if *Burāq* were to carry the driver as safely ... as he once carried the Prophet into the Divine Presence'. (from *The Prophet in popular Muslim piety*, Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. VII, 376)
9. *Martner's Mirror* Vol. 89 (2004), 347; Vol. 90 (2005), 105, 473.
10. Cf. diary for 19 June, 1708: *Turksöke, Arab: & Moriske skepp fr[ån] Moka & Gedda*.
11. Das Gupta 1979, 297ff. Swedish company books were as bad: a raw Scots bookkeeper whose Scotticisms include 'condesention' (specification), 'inormous' (atrocious) and 'exrescence' (increase) found them 'scandalously erroneous' (4/12/1749), 'scandalous, stupid and confused' (5/2/1750), and 'very absurdly jumbled' (6/2/1750). Journal C. The East India Company Gothenburg 1743, A152, Östads archive, 56, Göteborg; Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (London & Edinburgh, 1877).
12. When Braad made these extracts, he was joint first supercargo, in other words jointly responsible for the trading affairs of a voyage, and had many calls on his time. The way he arranged the 48 sheets of paper on which he wrote his text – each is folded vertically in half, with the running text and notes on respectively the right and left of the fold – suggests he knew how he would work. My interpretation is that these (1760) extracts were made to replace others he had made when in Surat in 1755-58 but lost in a shipwreck in 1758.

13. The country later known as Burma (now Myanmar).
14. Perhaps San Thomé or Mylapore (see Yule and Burnell 1886:532).
15. This port in the south east of the sub-continent is about 1,200 kilometres (on the map) away from Surat.
16. Presumably one or more of the first twelve drafts in Table 2 that he had written over a year earlier.
17. When the last European vessels for the year reached Surat on the end of the south-west monsoon.
18. Made in a letter to the directors of 18 November 1754.
19. Lying on the west coast some 650 kilometres south of Surat.
20. Unidentified; as are the persons named in the following paragraph.
21. Holford was in the English service in Surat.

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Appendix I

C.H. Braad's drafts in Swedish for his letters on *Company business in India 1754-57* (Source: Uppsala University Library L185)

(xvi) Surat den 2^{de} September 1755. Genom M^r Boucard afsändt till Pondichery, under couvert af M^{rs} Tourton & Baur i Paris, till Directeurene af Swenska Ost Indiske Comp^t:

... Detta afsändes med en *patnamar* till Pondichery under M^r Boucards couvert, som lofwar bestyra om at det med förste Franske skepp skall blifwa depecherat ...

(xvii) Till H^r Direct^r Abr: Grill d^o dato [2 September 1755], och inneslutit uti föregående:

Änskönt budet väntar på mitt bref så kan jag ej ändå underlåta at längre uppehålla honom ... *Patnamarens* skyndsamhet tillåter mig ej skrifwa widlyftigare till Herr Directeuren ... Jag nödgas bryta af, men hoppas H^r Dⁿ gunstigast ursagtar min hast, för jag hade ingen kundskap om denne lägenhet förrän för tri timmar sedan. Mine anhörige hinner jag ej skrifwa till, om H^r Dⁿ wid tillfälle räckes låta dem weta jag lefwer och mår wähl läser det tillräckelligen] satisfiera dem

(xix) Till H^r Direct^r Abr: Grill, samme dato [10 December 1755]:

Om jag ej hade WB HD^s ordres därföre, och voro äfwen öfvertygad at hwad jag så fritt skrifwer, endast faller i en bewågen patrons hand som till detbäst utryder och äfwen bär med mine fehl, så skulle jag här gå ganska warsamt till wäga med mine expressioner, och i synnerhet när jag nämner något, som enskylt kan röra mig, hafwa nödigt af en widlyftig ursägt; men när jag besinnar at jag ej allenast skrifwer till en Förman och Patron, utan ock till en Herre som tracterat mig med all den ömhet som äfwen af en närmaste anhörig kunnat någonsin förwäntas, så kan jag ej cachera mine meningar, långt mindre skrifwa annat än hwad jag täncker, och för den orsaken sätter jag alltid med mera frihet pennan på papparet när jag har den ähtran opwägta Herr Directeuren, än jag skulle göra till någon annan, som jag kunde frugta före mine mindre bewågenhet wille examinera hwad jag skrifwer.

(: Jag tillstår, at oagrat jag på intet ställe i Indien (?) lefwat så till min satisfaktion som nu i Surat, fri från afvund och tadel af egne landsmän, och wähl liden, och med familiaritet tracterat af de bästa ibland Europeer här, så är dock mitt sinne i en stadig oro och melancholie. Försynen har ej behagat lämna oss dödellige den förmån e[ller] olägenhet at se in i det tilkommande; alt wi förmå är at af omständigheterna och precedenter probabelt döma, och där stadnar all wår försigt, som minste accident ofta tounerar en helt anna wäg än wi inbillat oss. Desse Tanckar äro ej nye hos mig, de följa mig dage[ligen] och i synnerhet nu sedan jag blifwit disappointerat at se något skepp här i åhr. Jag wet at under det jag skrifwer detta, är den tiden inne uti Europa, som skall afgöra min framdeles wälgång e[ller] öde; huru kan jag wid åtanckan af sådan (?) wara wid godt mod? Det är wist at Högt Directionen wist mig stort förtroende i det wahl de gordt af min ringa person; men å andre sidan synes äfwen at så stort mistroende, i det all belöning lämnats för en owiss framtid och *après coup*, utan at mig andre medell lämnats i händerne, än hwad nästan jag förtjänt för förre resan, så att all risqun är min, och directionens ingen. När jag considerar, detta hwad skall jag förwänta mig /: i synnerhet som allas lif äro i Herrens hand, om han skulle behagat göra någon fatal coup, och beröfwat mig af mine bäste patroner, som Han nåde[igen] afwändel Jag är säker, om Den Högste förlänar lifwet mitt öde, och finner jag mig disappointerad, Store Gud! hwad will blifwa för framtiden; dock reprochen skall aldrig blifwa på min sida. Förlåt mig min gunstige Hr Direct^{er} om jag låter en Melancholisk raptur taga öfwerhanden, och om jag synes injurera mine H Hr^{er} förmän lätt det ej komma widare. Jag repeterar det innerste af mine tankar, och om Hr Direct^{er} will taga det som drömar, så kan jag försäkra det wähl förtjänar det nämnet, för den oro det i dem stadigt försäkras. Om Högt Directionen approberat mine skrifwelser fr. China, om & (ta ut infra)?# :

Obs: denne § in parenthesis ej afsänt; men i stället skrifwet som följer:

Min hälsa har varit täm[eligen] swag desse 2 å 3 M^{der}; men jag räknar det som en suite af mine enslighet, och de Malancholiske tankar som opwäxt sen jag funnit at intet skepp i åhr hört af: stundom tänker jag något är utsändt; men manquerat passage, och ibland falla mig andre gissningar i hufvudet. Men mäst oroar mig owisheten af mitt eget öde hemma i Sverige, som nu trol[igen] tiden är inne, då min ringa person varit påtänkt, antingen till fördel e[ller] ej ----- huru skulle jag kunna gissa? Imedlertid # om H Directionen approberat mine skrifwelser från China, om de tilbud jag gordt at wisa min lärwillighet, framkommit, om jag varit friad från hemlige missgynnare /: men är det möye[ligt]? /: men i synnerhet om Den Högste behagat bibehålla WB Hr

Directuren wid hälsan, och lifwet, så har jag ingen frugtan, och lefwer i godt hopp, at detta dröjsmål måste nödwändigt tounera till min fördel; men om däremot Contrarium händt, hwad orsak har jag ej at beklaga ett helt års frugtlösa förläpp? Det skulle likwähl ej varit liten satisfaktion för mig, om i Septbr en god ladning varit här? jag torde försäkrat at man ej allenast skulle gordt bättre marknad än någon af de föregående skepp; men i synnerhet hade det varit ett medel at öfwerlyga H Directionen, at Surat resor kunna göras utan (?) habilitet; men jag bordt säga lyckta för den förre termen kunde någon kanske disputerat mig wara rätt applicared, och huru skall jag wäga slita en sådan point?

(xxi) Till Hr^{er} Directeuren af S.O.I: Comp^t, Surat den 1^a Mars 1756 sändt med *Streetham* adress^t London Spalding & Brandet under Mr Holfords couvert, och ett Dupliccate under Mr Boucards:

... Tills dato har jag uppehållit mig i Surat, emedan ett continerligt buller med Maratterne hindrat nästan all communication med andre platser; men nu sedan alt blifwit fredligt igen börjar jag at täncka mig om huru med nytta kunna anwända desse 6 å 7 M^{der} som jag ännu torde hafwa at employera. Om något skepp för Persien afgådt i Novbr hade jag kanske ej felat at betjäna mig af sådan en lägenhet, [wilkjen jag nu måste låta passera när den offererar sig; men jag hoppas ingen tung forlora därwid, emedan få af den tractens affaiter kunna än wara mig okunnige, och af hwad jag inhämtat, finner jag en resa dit, als intet welat swara mödan. Om mitt propos at gå till Moka will göra det, lærer ändan utwisa, åtminstodne täncker jag så; ty annars skulle jag aldrig kunna resolvera mig till de dryge expénc och fatiguet, som en af de miserabeste platzer i Asien exponerar en före; de sednare will jag dock alltid draga med tålmod, i förhopning at mine höge Hr^{er} Förmän lindra mig i de förre, ämar jag i slutet af mig kunna bäras, så fram jag ej med förlust will retournera hem från Indien.

Så framt inge oförmod[ligt] hinder komma i wägen, ämar jag i slutet af denne Månad afgå hädan till Moka, hoppandes med Guds hjälp i början af Septbr wara tilbakas; jag skall dock för säkerhet lämna efter mig få memorandums at blifwa lefwererade till Hr^e Hr^e på näste skepp, ifall de oförmod[ligt] kunna komma innan jag är tilbakas.

(xxii) Till Directionene af Svenska Ost Indiska Comp^t Surat den 5 April 1756 Under Couvert af Mes^{rs} Tourton & Baur å Paris. Lämnat efter mig und. Mr Boucards ward för at afsända det till Mons^r Perdriaux Fransk Residenten i Bassora med skept *Dragon*, som war at segla d: 13 å 15 April:

...Dröjsmålet med Wahornes nedkommande, och de förre Månaders inbördes buller på denne orten, har hindrat det ännu intet skepp för Moka färdt sin fulla fragt in, el[ler] kunnat afgå hädan, änskönt redan den wanlige tiden för deras afgång är inne.

... Om lägenhet gifwas skall jag hafwa den ähran skrifwa från Moka öfwer Suez och Grand Cairo till Alexandria, och vidare för Europa. Annars hoppas i October kunna med ett Eng[elskt] skepp som hengår i den månaden kunna skrifwa hämnst, utom duplicatet af detta som jag lämnat at under Franskt Couvert gå till Paris.

... Det är nu d:10 [April] då jag förseglar detta, och om 2 à 3 timmar går ombå at segla. (?) sände Copia af min skrifvelse af d: 2 Septbr förledit år. Af detta ej sändt duplicate.

(xxiii) Under couvert af föregående. Till Hr Direct^r Abr: Grill. Surat den 5^{te} April 1756:

...Jag har just hunnit så wida med min skrifvelse, när som ett pacquet blifwer mig bragt ifrån China, däruti Hr Job: Abr: Grill gör mig den ähran nämna om sin ankomst dit, och därjämte ej litet supprenerar (dätdan?) berättar om sin Fru Moders, Salig Fru Grills afidnande. Jag borde wähl ej oprifwa g[aml]a sår, som twifwelsutan wid dettas ankomst tiden redan till en delh måst minska WB Hr Direct^{ns} sorg öfw^r en så stor afsäknä; dock huru kan jag sjelf hjälpa före at betyga den bedröfwelse, som en sådan förlust förorsaker?

... NB inuti detta sändt tri andre skrifwelser, n[ämligen] till min K^{na} moder, Hr David Sandberg och Cap^t George Elphinston.

(xxiv) Till SuperCargueme af Hög^e Swenska OstInd.^{ska} Comp^{is} detta år till China anlädande skepp. Surat den 5 April 1756:

Mine Herrar

Änskönt mig är bekant om detta faller i händeme på någon af de Herrar som jag den förmån at vara känd utaf, så förmodar jag ändå at det ej utydes som någon otidig präsumtion, ifall en okunnig tager sig den friheten falla beswärlig besynner[igen] när jag försäkrar at mitt endaste syftomål är at därmed söka befrämja Hög^e Comp^{is} interesse, hwilcket jag är mehra än öfvertygad om, hwar ock en af herrame enskylt hafwa så mycket om hjärtat, som möye[igen] wara kan.

Jag twiflar ej på at i Septbr hafwa den fignad at se ett Swenskt skepp här, och alle apparencer lofwa en god marknad i anseende till den brist här warit twänne år i slag af vårt lands producter, men som resans förmån också mycket lärer bero på cust ladingns försälgn^s i China, och jag af egen ärfarenhet är öfvertygad huru litet är at bygga på priseme i Canton af föregående år, så woro höge[igen] till önskandes det i god tid en riktig pris courant kunde fås för sidste saisonen, emedan af dess jämnförande med de förre, snaraste kan dömas hwad bäst will swara. Det är olycka at merendels alle bref som sändas från China komma ganska sent för det dröysmål China skeppen göra ned på custen; dock kanske detta torde kunna förebyggas om tjänlige präcautioner tagas. Om Hr^{na} därföre skulle behaga sända en pris C på de å andre sidan mentionerade wahror, adresserad antingen till mig el[ler] SuperCarg^{ne} på näste Surat skepp, woro bäst at med förste Macoa skepp twänne copior därutaf sändas, den ena at aflämnas hos Franske chefen Mr Louet i Mahée, och den andre couverterad till Mon^r Jean Bapt. Boucard i Surat. Woru någon på skeppet som det sidste particulair kunde recommenderas till, torde han kanske hafwa tillfälle afsända det med någon *patamar* från Tellicherry; men gifwes ej säker lägenhet, är bäst han behåller det till ankomsten till Bombay, det merendels Macoa skeppen anlände medio Febr^{md}, och således tidigare än vårt skepp lärer lämna Surat redd.

Det är intet troligt at Hög^e Comp^t will sända från China något skepp hit, emedan China wahorne äro alt för dyre; dock för säkerhet will jag sända deras pris, hwaraf läret ses at det intet will löna mödan, åtminstodne till Surat.

At employera tiden med någon nytta, har jag resolverat göra en resa till Moka, och står just nu på resande fot, dock hoppas i Septbr wara tillbaka.

... NB Brefwet till Mahée adresseras à *Mr Louet Conseiller au Conseil Supérieur & Chef pour la Nation Française à Mahée* och under observ: *en cas de quelque Changement pour estre delivré et ouvert par le Chef present à Mahée*. Couvertet till Surat är: *À M^r J.B. Boucard, Marchand François à Surat*. Torde wara rådligt sända duplicater med Mr Hums, antingen han går tidigare el[ler] sednare än Macao sk^r.

...Sändt 2^{ne} copior af detta; den ena adresserad till Mr W^m Elliot med Cap^t Rob^t Walpole i Sk^t *Houghon*, den andre lämnat till Cap^t *Mar(diz?)*, som lofwat sända det från Batavia under couvert till Mr Pegou.

(xxvii) Till Directionen af Swenska Ost Indiske Compagniet. Surat Sept^r 22 och October 24 1756 Förra delen af detta bref sändt öfwer Bengala för Paris, och hela brefwet med skep^t *Porfield* à London under Mr Holfords couvert. En annan copia sändt den 6^{te} Decemb^r:

... Nyheter från Indien äro föga fågnesamme för Europeerne, synn[erligen] de Engelske, som förleden Juny M^d af den nye Nabab i Bengala, för præterderad affront af Gouver^r Drake, utdrifwits ur alle deras contour i Cazembazar, Dacca, Calcutta, Jugdea & etc, raserat fortificationerne, dräpt en hop, fört många fångne, och spolierat så wähl Indianske som Europ^{ske} inhabitanterne. Engelske Comp^s förlust lærer (excedera?) all imagination, de hafwa dragit al sin force från Coromandel dit at revengera sig, men det i Europa declarerade kriget, Nábabs store armé, landets situation & etc lærer nödgda dem göra op saken det snaraste de kunna, och nöya sig at återfå Calcutta, som från den rikaste och störste colonie i Indien, nu är ej bättre än en stenhop

(xxix) Herr Direct^r Abraham Grill Surat Octobr^r 24 1756:

...Tiden passerar och jag uppehåller mig med plaisanteri, hwad dårskap. Jag slutar därföre ...

(xxxii) Till Directionen af Swenske Ost Indiske Comp^t Surat January 5^e 1757 under couvert af Spalding & Brander i London, sändt genom M^r Holford at afgå med Sk^t Hector.

Jag har tills dato varit så granlaga at skrifwa med alle tillfällen som yppat sig, at jag nästan är säker, åtwen om det wårsta hände, det åtminstodne någon af mine skrifwelser måste fram komma och ihopp dåraf wll jag så litet som möye[ligit] är repetera något af hwad i dem är omnämnt.

...Engelske affairene i Bengala synas gå illa, och probabelt lära de nödgas submittera till Nabobs proposition, till lägligare tillfälle yppas at retablera sig på deras gamla fot. Här i Surat är alt fredligt, och kriget emellan de Engle. och Franske encouragerat infödde handlande här at med mera ifer än de på lång tid godt idka sin handel, som de kunna göra med mera säkerhet än förr...

(xxxiii) Herr Direct^r Abrah^m Grill Surat January 5^e 1757 inelutit i föregående:

... De skrifwelser hwarmed jag sedan min retour från Moka har haft den ähran upwaga WBHD med hafwa varit så upfylde med melancholiske reflexioner, at jag billigt skulle hafwa orsak fruga för deras benägne emottagande, därest jag ej woro öfvertygad, det långt ifrån at falla i händerne af en granlaga domare, de adressera sig till en Herre, hvars stora godhet och bewågenhet för mig varit

endaste orsaken at jag wågat göra en så granlage beskrifning på mitt orolige sinnes situation för en tid.

... Jag wille ønska stadigt kunna bibehålla mig i denne tanke. Om något oroar mig är i fall näste saison h[wil]ken skepp e[ller] bref hitkommer, hwad då at göra? Jag måste dröya här längre det är klart, men hwad willa de säga som här nu wisa mig politesse och wånskap? de willa kanske tröttras wid mig och anse mig som en vagabond e[ller] som ej föres hem till sitt fädernesland, och huru kan jag wisa dem deras misstag, och kanske 1758 jag är lika när som förr, och om jag då änte. skulle få en rapell, woro måste af de i år utsände pg^t utgångne. WBHD lærer skratta åt min imagineaire frugtan när detta framkommer, och Gud gifwe den dagen woro inne, at jag fingo sjelf med nöye se tilbakas på mitt otidige allarmerande.