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Editorial note:

The following bibliographic note was compiled by Oliver Pollak, for the past three decades Professor of History at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, some thirty years ago, but never published. I ran across the ms. in the SOAS reference collection and wrote to Professor Pollak for permission to make this valuable information available to the general Burma research community. Thankfully, he agreed. No additions have been made to the original. Even so, as readers will find, the note has generally stood the test of time.

M.W.C.

Some Forgotten Scholarship on Burma: A Bibliographic Note

Oliver B. Pollak

The number of scholarly works concerning Burma produced in the quest for masters and doctorate degree is prodigious. The guides to this literature are available in varying formats in Curtis W. Stucki, American Doctoral Dissertations on Asia, 1933-66; B. C. Bloomfield, Theses on Asia, accepted by Universities in the United Kingdom and Ireland, 1877-1962; Lian The and Paul W. van der Veur, Treasures and Trivia: doctoral dissertations on Southeast Asia accepted by Universities in the United States; and Frank N. Trager's Burma: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography. The most thoughtful and up to date list is by Professor and Mrs. D. R. Sar Desai which is subregional in its approach, international in information sources, retrospective in approach and includes masters theses as well as doctoral dissertations. Theses and Dissertations on Southeast Asia, An International Bibliography in Social Sciences, Education, and Fine Arts stands at the forefront of bibliographic excellence.

Scholars should be aware of the recently published 37 volume Comprehensive Dissertation Index, 1861-1972 which contains 417,000 doctoral dissertations which in conjunction with Dissertation Abstracts International Keep abreast of completed doctoral research. Of special interest to Asian scholars is the commencement in 1975 of Doctoral Dissertations on Asia: an annotated bibliographical journal of current international research, a joint venture of Xerox Corp. and the Association for Asian Studies. F. J. Shulman, the editor, in the first issue impressively covered work in progress as well as recently completed research.

These bibliographies list about 200 works in the humanities and social sciences dealing specifically with Burma. It is in the nature of bibliography and the widespread dispersion of

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1 Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, New York, 1968.
3 Ohio University, Center for International Studies, Athens, Ohio, 1968.
5 Inter Documentation Co., Ag Zug, Switzerland, 1970.
Burmese studies that even the combined lists are inevitably incomplete. It is impossible to ferret out all works, or to anticipate studies nearing completion. The following list contains over fifty primarily pre-1970 titles not included in the above cited works. They are presented here as a contribution towards totality in the bibliography of higher degree theses and dissertation on Burma.

ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, FOLKLORE, RACE RELATIONS AND SOCIOLOGY

FÜBER-HAIMENDORF, Christoph
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Ph.D., Univ. of Vienna, Austria, 1951.

HEINE-GELDERN, Robert Freiherr von
Die Bergstämme des Nördlichen und Nord-östlichen Birma
Ph.D., Univ. of Vienna, Austria, 1914

KHIN KHIN SU
The acculturation of the Burmese Muslims
M.A., Univ. of Rangoon, 1960.

KICKERT, Robert Warren
The political organization of some minority groups - North Burma and Assam
Ph.D., Univ. of Vienna, Austria, 1958.

LÖWY, Lino
Die Erziehung der Mädchens - Assam und Birma
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Current racial problems in Burma
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Muslims in Burma

ZACOFSKY, Walter
A cultural study of certain basic health concepts of selected primitive societies

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The changing structure of the Burmese economy
EDUCATION

BOYLES, James R.
A program of adult education for Twante, Burma
M.A., Univ. of Denver, Col., 1938,
PP. 52.

DAVIS, Bertha Ettie
Adaptability of the Old Testament to the religious education of the Burmese
M.A., Univ of Chicago, 111., 1915,
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HINTON, Herbert Ernest
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M.A., Univ. of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1927,
pp. 165.

HOBBS, Cecil Carlton
Christian education and the Burmese family
M.A., Colgate Rochester Theological Seminary, New York, 1942,
pp. 259.

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Education in Burma
Univ. of Washington, Seattle, 1926,
pp. 86.

JOHNSON, Cecilia Louise
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Foreign Mission Society
M.A., Univ. of Chicago, Illinois, 1920,
pp. 225.

K. T. M. KHIN
An historical account on the development of the secondary schools in Burma until the
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M.Ed., Univ. of Sydney, Australia, 1965.

LINDER, Elizabeth and LING, Patricia
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M.A., Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary. Philadelphia, Penn., 1955,
PP. 187.

MA KHIN THWE
Family centered home economics education for Burma
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PP. 112.
MA KYIN SI
A proposed corrective physical education program for the elementary schools of Burma
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PP. 71.

MAUNG MAUNG S. TINT
Administration of the secondary school in Burma
M.A., Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu,
1962-5.

MAUNG SAN TINT
An investigation into the study of the educational system in the Kayah State, Burma
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1955, pp. 104.

NICHOLAS, Catherine Kate
A brief study of the development of some of the educational enterprises existing today in India, including Burma
M.A., Univ. of South California,
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OLMSTEAD, Clarence Eugene
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pp. 211.

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Comparative study of the pre-university education in Burma and New Zealand
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pp. 211.

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pp. 241.

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A grammatical study of the dialogue passages of the novel Nga 3a by Maung Htin

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Selected short stories of Thein Pe Myint with introduction, translation and commentary
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Rijks Univ., Netherlands, 1956.

SMITH, Sadie May
The problem of standardising the evangelistic program and training of the Bible women of
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M.A., Univ. of Southern California,
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THOHEY, Gabriel
Missionary accommodation and Burmese Buddhism
Ph.D., Italy, 1957, pp. 303.
Editorial note:

After the initial posting of this reprint, Dr. Tilman Frasch (Manchester Metropolitan University) sent the following useful and cautionary note on the 19th century translation below: "This is the first of several attempts to read and translate the text of an inscription Burmese monks left at Bodhgaya when visiting the site in 1296-98 AD. Burney had reached Bodhgaya in the company of a Burmese delegation to the Governor-General of India, and presumably he was helped by the Burmese in his translation. However, neither his nor any (but one) of the later translations is fully reliable, as usually the name Putasin is misread as Pyutasin (l. 11 of the Burmese version reprinted here). Putasin (or Buddhasein) is the name of the local ruler of Bodhgaya; it was mixed with with the epithet Pyu-ta-sin (or "Lord of 100,000 Pyu") which the Rakhaing Minthami Egyin attributed to king Alaungsithu. The only reliable translation comes from G. H. Luce, Sources of Early Burma History, in Southeast Asian History and Historiography (Festschrift GEH Hall), eds. C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters, Ithaca 1976, p. 41-42."

Translation of an Inscription in the Pali Character and Burmese Language, on a stone at Buddha Gya, in Behar

From Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal May, 1834

When the Burmese ambassador MENGY MAHA CHESU and his suite were on their way to the Upper Provinces, to visit the Governor General; they took the opportunity of paying their devotions at the celebrated Buddhist temple near Gya. There, as usual making notes of every occurrence, they took copies of an ancient inscription in the Pali character, discovered by them, in a half-buried situation near the Maha Bodhi gach or sacred papal tree, on the terrace of the temple. A copy of their manuscript having come into RATNA PAULA's hands, he had obliged me by lithographing the text; as a sequel to the more lengthy inscription from Ramree in the present number.

It will be remembered that there is a near coincidence in the names of the kings of Ava, alluded to in the two inscriptions; although an interval of more than 500 years separates the two in date; this can only be cleared up by a better knowledge of the history of the country, than we now possess. In the Burmese chronological table, published in Crawfurd's Embassy, SATO-MANG-BYA (probably the same as Sado-meng) only founded Angwa or Ava in the Sakkaraj year 726. In 667-8, TA-CHI-SHANG-SI-HA-SU reigned in Panya; his grand-son founded and reigned in Chit-gaing.

At page 111, Lieut. BURT refers to an unintelligible inscription at Gya, mentioned by Mr. Harington; but that contained only one line, and was in a different locality. The present inscription seems therefore to have escaped attention up to the present moment; it is now recorded as furnishing an authentic note on the construction of the Buddha Gya monument in the year 1305 A.D.; for it may be presumed that the previous Chaityas and Buddhist structures had been long before levelled with the ground, and the inscription states, that previous missions to reconstruct the edifice had been unsuccessful. As proving that this spot is held in peculiar veneration by the Burmese, it may be remembered that in 1823, a deputation of Buddha priests was sent from Amarapura, by the Burman emperor, to perform the obsequities of his predecessor, recently deceased, at the shrine of Buddha Gya.

"This is one of the 84,000 shrines erected by SRI DHARM ASOKA, ruler of the world (Jambodwip), at the end of the 218th year of Buddha annihilation, (B.C. 326) upon the holy spot in which BHAGAVÁN (Buddha) tasted milk and honey (madhupayasa). In lapse of time, having fallen into disrepair, it was rebuilt by a priest named NAIKMAHANTA. Again, being ruined, it was restored by Raja SADO-MANO. After a long interval it was once more
demolished, when Raja SEMPYU-SAKHEN-TARA-MENGI appointed his gurú SRI-DHAMMA RAJA-GUNA to superintend the building. He proceeded to the spot with his disciple, SRI KASYAPA, but they were unable to complete it, although aided in every way by the Raja. Afterwards VARADASI-NAIK-THERA petitioned the Raja to undertake it, to which he readily assented, commissioning prince PYUTASING to the work, who again deputed the younger PYUSAKHENG and his minister RATHA, to cross over and repair the sacred building. It was thus constructed a fourth time, and finished on Friday the 10th day of Pyadola, in the Sakkaraj year 667 (A.D. 1305). On Sunday, the 8th of Tachaon-mungla, 668 (A.D. 1306), it was consecrated with splendid ceremonies and offerings of food, perfumes, banners, and lamps, and pūja of the famous ornamented tree called calpa-vriksha; and the poor (two?) were treated with charity, as the Raja's own children? Thus was completed this meritorious act, which will produce eternal reward and virtuous fruits. May the founders endure in fame, enjoy the tranquility of Nirbhan, and become Arahanta on the advent of Arya Maitri (the future Buddha).
Editor’s note

This article by Francis Hamilton, also known as Francis Buchanan, first appeared in *The Edinburgh Journal of Science* (vol. 3, April-October, 1825, pp. 32-44). Despite its relatively late dating, Hamilton’s understanding of the area and the people were not substantially different from those found in his earlier diaries during his travels in the area in 1798.

M.W. C.

An Account of the Frontier Between Ava and the Part of Bengal Adjacent to the Karnaphuli River (1825)

Francis Hamilton
(M. D. F. R. S. and F. A. S. London and Edinburgh)

The river called Naaf by Europeans, which enters the sea in about 20º 50’ north, for a short way forms the boundary between Ava and Bengal; and across it is the only communication known between the kingdom of Arakan subject to Ava and Chatigang subject to Britain. North from the forks of this river, so far as I could learn in 1798, there was no district boundary; but there extends north, along the whole of the Chatigang district, a mountaneous frontier occupied by several rude tribes. Through this region flow many rivers; some into the sea, either through Chatigang or Arakan, and some into the Erawadi; and the high land at the sources of such of these rivers as run through the district of Chatigang was commonly supposed to be the actual boundary. The rude tribes indeed, which occupy the hilly countries on both sides of the central eight, claim independence, and support it, so far as their slender means will admit. On this account, we cannot depend on there being no passages through this country, because the inhabitants will naturally conceal them, as an intercourse by these passages would inevitably lead to their more full subjection to either one or other of their more powerful neighbours.

In a map of the Empire of Ava by Mr. Walker, the rivers flowing through Chatigang are laid down as anastomosing with those which run through Arakan; and this may be the case, although I heard not the most distant hint from the natives of such a circumstance. Indeed none of those, with whom I conversed, pretended to know anything of the sources of the large rivers, on the banks of which they dwelt, alleging that a fear of the independent tribes hindered them from ever penetrating so far. Such an anastomosis, in a very hilly country, is singular, and renders uncertain the above mentioned idea of the boundary. This would increase the probability of there being passages direct from the sources of the Karnaphuli to Ava, through the country of the Jo; but I am not acquainted with the authority of which Mr. Walker has proceeded; this, however, from the manner in which it is laid down, would seem to be from an actual survey, and is therefore probably correct, so that the height of the land can only be the boundary towards the northern extremity of the district of Chatigang, concerning which, I am now about to treat.
The total width of the mountainous region, between the Naaf on the side of Bengal, and Zhænbrugiun [Hsin-pyu-gyin] on the side of Ava, is about 124 miles east and west; one-half of which probably is watered by rivers flowing into the Bay of Bengal, and the other by streams running towards the Erawadi. The whole of this space is occupied by rude tribes alone. As we advance further north, the width of these wilde increases by low hills adjacent on the west to the Mugg mountains of Rennell, and which, on the Karnaphuli, extend about twenty miles west from these mountains, which, by the Bengalese, are there called Barkal.

The Bengalese, and the rude inhabitants of these hills, have an utter abhorrence at each other, and their manners, in almost every thing, are opposite, the rude tribes having more resemblance to the people of Ava, and even of Europe, than the Hindus have. Even their manner of cultivation is totally different. The natives of Gangetic India, especially, altogether neglect land that is not level; while the rude tribes consider such as nearly useless, and cultivate the hills alone. Notwithstanding their mutual abhorrence, this in some measure prevents encroachment; and the low hills, running north from Islamabad (the abode of Faith) to the Phani, are allowed to remain in possession of the rude tribes called Tripura, Jumea, and Chakma. These people seem to have no dependence on the chiefs of their respective nations. In their jooms they rear cotton, rice, and ginger, and a great part of the first and last they exchange with the Bengalese for salt, iron, earthenware and fish. They have no black-cattle; but rear hogs, goats, and poultry, and seem to be in easy circumstances. They are subject to predatory attacks from the Kungkis, nominally dependent on Radun Manik.

To the east of these hills is a fine valley watered by the Havildar river, which falls into the Karnaphuli. This valley is level, and cultivated for rice by the Bengalese. East from this is a chain of low hills called Korilliya pahar, which extends far south beyond the Karnaphuli, on the southern bank of which are two steep cliffs, that return the most distinct echo which I have ever heard. These hills are of inconsiderable height; but, like those north from Islamabad, are neglected by the Bengalese, and allowed to remain with the Muggs, who cultivate after the joom fashion.

The Karnaphuli (Ear-ring) river, which Rennell calls Curumfullee, forms at its mouth a good harbour for ships of considerable burthen, and would be of great importance, were it not so deeply embayed, that in the S. W. monsoon, ships cannot proceed to sea without danger. At Patarghat, the ferry from Islamabad towards the south, it is about a mile wide; and at Korilliya pahar, it diminishes to about 200 yards, but the tide runs up strong.

East from Korilliya pahar, is a fine valley called Rumagniya, which extends north and south from the Karnaphuli, on the banks of the Ishamati towards the former, and on those of the Silun towards the latter. Although it contains some small hills, it is well cultivated by Bengalese peasants; and some parts still belongs, as the whole did formerly, to the hereditary chief of the tribe called Muggs at Calcutta, where they are much employed by Christians as cooks, their habits fitting them for preparing our impure diet, which neither Hindu nor Mohammedan can approach without disgust. Beyond the low hills, which bound the valley of Rungamiya on the north, east, and south, no Bengalese cultivators have settled, but the hills are as fully occupied by rude tribes as the nature of the joom cultivation will admit; and, in 1798, when I visited the country, Taubbokha, the hereditary chief of the Mugg people, retained among these hills a kind of independence, although in the parts of his estate, cultivated by Bengalese, he was reduced to the same footing, as the other proprietors of land (Zemindars) in Bengal. In the following account, I shall confine myself to a description of the territory within the hills, which forms a part
of the frontier, and, at its southern end, is not above fifteen miles wide from east to west; but it increases much in width farther north, towards the sources of the Chimay and Karnaphuli rivers, where it is probably from thirty to forty miles from east to west. Its length is probably about seventy miles; but of this a considerable portion towards the north, has been occupied by the Kunkis called Lusai, who are quite independent of the Mugg chief.

Some miles within the western boundary of the low hills, a chain of greater height runs northerly (about N. 40' W.) from the Sungkar, and crosses the Karnaphuli, the course of which, from the Mugg mountains of Rennell, to beyond this chain, is about N. E. by N. and S. W. by S. with most numerous and great windings. This ridge of hills seems to be about 500 feet in perpendicular height; and, being of a good soil, is well cultivated after the joom fashion. The portion of it south from the Karnaphuli, is called Sita pahar or Sita mura, and that north from thence, is called Ram pahar, and the continuation of the same ridge is probably that called by the Tripuras, Dehta mura, or the Deities Head, the southern portion being dedicated to the God Rama and his wife Sita. At its northern end, Sita pahar descends to the Karnaphuli with a shelving rock, called Sitaka ghat (the landing place of Sita), which is highly venerated, and the Hindus, therefore, offer grain, flowers, and eggs, to Sita and Rama, while the Muggs worship Taung-maung, (Mountain-prince). Even the Muhammedans of this province have adopted the superstition, having contrived some fable for almost every place held sacred by the Pagans, thinking probably, that it would be disgraceful for their religion, were they not provided with as many ceremonies and holy places as their neighbours.

Above Sitaka ghat, the Karnaphuli is about 100 yards wide, and of considerable depth. Although the tides flow pretty strong, the water is quite fresh; but even in the dry season, is rather muddy. The concave side of its reaches have low banks, while, on the convex low hills come down to the water-edge, as indeed is common in hilly countries and small rivers. The soil seems in general to be good, and rests on a rock consisting of thin horizontal strat of clay and sand slightly indurated. The hills are cultivated for jooms, as much as the nature of the process will admit; and on the levels, there are Mugg villages (para) surrounded by many plantain trees, and gardens or small plots, in which are reared ginger, betle-leaf, sugar-cane, indigo, tobacco, and capsicum. These are their permanent places of abode; but, at their jooms, they have temporary villages called Kamar, which are changed almost every year, and are only occupied by the labourers in the season of cultivation.

Each para is under the authority of an officer, termed Dewan, who communicates his name to the place; so that the names of the paras undergo frequent changes. In the paras, the huts are better than in the kamars, although each has only one apartment; but the stage, on which it is raised about twelve feet from the ground, is about forty feet by twenty, affording a platform before the door for air and domestic work. The ascent to the house is by a notched stick, which serves for a ladder, and is drawn up when the family wishes to avoid intrusion. Except the houses of the chief and of his brother, all the huts of the country seemed very much alike; and the wealthy, as usual in India, rather occupy a greater number of huts, than build houses on a large scale. On the whole, however, the huts in the Mugg paras seem more comfortable than those of the Bengalese cultivators. The people have abundance of poultry and hogs; and, as there are many plains of some extent, which are not fitted for the joom cultivation, the Muggs keep some oxen and buffaloes, which pasture there, and are probably fattened for eating, although, to avoid offence, this is concealed from the Hindus; but they are not used in the plough. The country, however, is in a poor unproductive state; and, if cultivated like the West Indies, which its hills equal in soil, it might become of great value.
Every Mugg cultivates as much land as he pleases, and the revenue of the chief arises from a poll-tax, and not from a land-rent. Each man pays in proportion to the strength of his family. It is said, that a married pair, living without any assistance from children or servants, pays annually five rupees; and that other families, in proportion to their strength, pay ten, or even fifteen rupees. If the cultivator disposes of the produce of his farm, he pays the tax in money; but, if he chooses, he may pay it in cotton at a fixed price, so that in case of a bad market, the prince may not have it in his power to exact too great a share of the produce. What part of the revenue goes to the Dewan, for his trouble of management, I did not learn; but it is probably small, as I saw no appearance of affluence about the habitations of these officers. The chief also receives money from the Bengalese, who cut grass for thatch on the plains, which abound with this material of an excellent quality; and he levies some duties on boats ascending the Karnaphuli.

The people called Muggs, at Calcutta, are scarcely known by that name in their native country. By the Bengalese, they are commonly called Chakma or Sagma, or, in ridicule, Dubades, (two-languaged) because they have in general forgotten their original language, which is the same with that of Arakan or Roang, as they call it, and have attained a very imperfect knowledge of the Bengalese, although several of them read and write this dialect. They all, however, retain some words of the Roang language, especially their names; and their priests use both the character and language of Arakan, little different from that of Ava. They all follow the doctrines of the Boudhas, but have engrafted on these many Hindu superstitions, and especially bloody sacrifices offered to the Debtas, or deities of the woods, rivers, and mountains. In spite of the admonitions of their priests, this superstition is very prevalent among the Muggs. The Debtas are supposed to dance and sing in the air; and, by their manner of doing so, to render their will known to certain women, called Diyari. On all occasions, when the Muggs are strongly influenced by hope or fear, such as in sickness and dearth, they apply to a Diyari, who consults the Debta, and is informed by him what sacrifice will be acceptable. This sacrifice is vowed; and, if the person obtains the object of his wishes, the animal is immolated at the place where the Diyari says that the Debta resides. These Diyaris, by their influence with the Debtas, and by their skill in drugs, are supposed to be also able to render a joom inaccessible to tigers and wild elephants; which, as the natives repose the utmost confidence in the science, is perhaps a sign that these animals are not very destructive. The magical power, attributed to their Diyaris by the Muggs, by the silly Bengalese, has been extended to the whole tribe, and towards the Megna, a Mugg is beheld with a mixture of abhorrence and fear, from his eating without the observance of east, and from his supposed power in the black art; so that he is considered nearly as bad as a Christian.

The national religion of the Muggs, is the same with that of Arakan, (Rakhain), that is to say, they follow the sect of Maha Muni among the Bouddhists. The chief priest assumes the same title, Paun-do-gri, with the spiritual guide of the king of Ava. He informed me that they have two orders of priesthood, the Samana, and Moshang; the latter of whom are superior in point of dignity, and by the Bengalese are called Raulims. The priests, like those of Ava, use a yellow dress, and seem very numerous in proportion to their followers; but do not appear to be so much respected by the laity, as the priests of Ava are. Some of the laity assume the yellow dress for a time, and give themselves up to study, but the books which I saw such using, were in the Bengalese character, and except a few words, they understood no other language.
The name Chakma or Sagma, given to this people by the Bengalese, is evidently a corruption from Saksah, the name they give to themselves; while, in the dialect of Ava or Aree, as they call it, they are termed Sæk. They seem to be the remains of the first colony from Arakan, that occupied Tripura on the conquest of that country from the Muhammedans. Many of them still remain in Arakan or Roang, having probably retired there, when the Moslem power was restored in Tripura, and these are distinguished from the conquered portion by the name Sak-mi, and speak the language of Rakhain alone. The Bengalese they call Koar. The men have adopted the Bengalese dress; but the women retain that of Arakan and Ava; and both entirely resemble in person and features the natives of these cities. Like the other rude tribes in the vicinity, they eat every thing, and have no objection to eat along with individuals of other nations; but they do not intermarry with strangers. Although both their rivers and marshes abound in fish, they have not the art of catching these animals, and employ Bengalese fishermen for the purpose. Their principal men have slaves, but these are chiefly Tripuras; nor is it allowable to hold a Saksah in bondage. Several villages, however, both of Tripura and Kungkis, in a state of personal freedom, live in the territory of the Saksah chief, and subject to his authority.

From Sitakaghat to the hills, called the Mugg mountains by Rennell, the course of the Karnaphuli, in a direct line, is between thirty and forty miles; but I took almost four days to ascend this length in a good boat, for which there was a sufficient depth of water, and I reckoned the distance eighty miles by the course of the river. For about two-thirds of the way, I had at times a slight tide with me. Above this, the river contracts to about fifty yards in width, and becomes more rapid and clearer. Where it reaches the Mugg mountains, at a place called Barkal, a ledge of rock running entirely across the river, stops boats from passing; and about a mile farther up, there is a higher ledge, over which the river falls in various beautiful cascades, about six feet high, which, in the rainy season, unite in one great torrent, as appears in the rainy season, unite in one great torrent, as appears from evident marks on the banks. The river in May is beautifully clear, and full of fish. The western face of the hills near Barkal is cultivated in jooms; nor is the term Mugg mountains known in the vicinity. The rock is sand-stone.

I shall now give some account of the streams which fall into the Karnaphuli between Sitakaghat and Barkal, and which water the intermediate country, that is the proper seat of the Saksah.

About ten miles above Sitakaghat, following the course of the river, the Kapty enters, coming from hills at a considerable distance to the southward. Canoes can ascend this rivulet to a village named Kamsey. About the year 1795, a large band of the Bonzhu tribe of Kungkis descended by this rivulet, and committed great devastation on the Bengalese of Runganiya.

About eight miles above the Kapty, the Karnaphuli receives the Rain-ghiaun, coining far from the south-east. About two hours and a half rowing from its mouth, lived a Saksah chief of some note, who had several villages (para) under his authority. Six days journey farther up this river brings the traveller to the country of the Kungkis, called Bonzhu or Bonjugies. If Mr Walker’s idea of these rivers be right, the Rain-ghiaun must be the anastomosing branch, which connects the Karnaphuli with the Sunkar and Peercally, which last falls into the Arakan river. The Bonzhu, in this case, will occupy the vicinity of the great peaks called the Blue Mount and Pyramid Hill, along the Peercally and Koladyng rivers. At any rate, they have the Saksah and the Longshue or Lusai tribe of their own nation on the west, and the Jo on the east, and extend,
near the 93° of east longitude from Greenwich, from about the 22d to the 24th degree of north latitude.

In the course of the next four miles, the Karnaphuli receives from the south-east three small streams, the Duliya cherra, the Tara cherra, and the Kuburiya cherra, which run through a country in general level, and covered with long grass and a few trees. On this account it is less populous than the more hilly parts, being mostly unfit for the joom cultivation.

About twelve miles farther up enters from the north-west a river of little importance, called Manik cherra. A little higher up, on the opposite side, is the mouth of Mug-ban, which comes from a marsh of the same name. This and another marsh, (jil) on the Duliya, are said to contain immense quantities of fish, and to be common resorts of large herds, of wild elephants.

Above Manik cherra about ten miles, a little above the mouth of the Ranggamati, is the principal residence of the chief, who, by his people, is called Mang, their pronunciation for what, according to the Alphabetum Barmanum, should be written Mæn, one of the titles usually assumed by the sons of the king of Ava, and therefore analogous to our word Prince. This residence (Rajarbari) contained not only the house of the Raja, but that of his brother, with all their families, except some Bengalese servants, who had huts on the outside of a fence made of bamboo mats, constituting what is called a fort or castle. The whole habitations within were thatched huts, so far as I could see by looking in at the gate; for I did not enter as the chiefs were absent, and as their women and pigs were alarmed. The former, I was told, might, without offence, be seen by strangers; but their timidity, at the approach of an European visitant, occasioned a general scream, on which I retired. The same cause in general prevented the women of a lower rank of Saksah from approaching me. They seem to be drudges, being darker coloured than the men, who, compared with the Bengalese, are very fair,

From the chief’s residence there is a fine view of both the ridges of mountains by which the territory of the Saksah are in a great measure bounded. They appeared to me farther distant than I could allow by computing the distances travelled, Since I was there, to judge from Mr Walker's map, the residence of the chief has been moved farther up the river.

About two miles above the chief’s residence, a considerable river enters from the north. By the Bengalese it is called Chingay, Singay, or Chimay, and is no doubt that called Chingree by Kennell. My boatmen said, that canoes can ascend it for six days, which will give a direct course of between thirty and forty miles. One of them, in proceeding to a residence of the chiefs, had gone up five days, during which time the canoe was twice unloaded, and carried past water-falls.

The Saksah say, that this river springs from hills near Kundal, so that its total course, in a direct line, may be about fifty miles, allowing Kennel to have placed its mouth correctly, which, so far as I can judge, is the case. They gave me the following account of the rivulets that they pass, in proceeding up its channel, so far as canoes can go. 1st, Kanda cherra on the left; 2d, Kausgurra on the right; 3d, Guy cherra on the left; 4th, Tamarang on the left; 5th, Karik khung, the first on the right; 6th, Khundy cherra on the left; 7th, Dungata on the right; 8th, Kabutkia on the right; 9th, Maha karung on the left; 10th, Nana karung on the left; 11th, Poli on the left; 12th, Incha cherra on the right; 13th, Toisakma on the left; 14th, Karik khung, the second, on the right; 15th, Bæscherra on the left. The Raja had formerly a house at Dungata; but he has been driven from thence by fear for the Kungkis, called Lusai; and no Saksah now reside beyond Kanda
cherra, half a day's journey from the Karnaphuli. The country, however, between the Chingay and Rampahar, is occupied by Kungkis, subject more or less to the Saksah chief.

Rather more than three miles above the mouth of the Chingay, the Basunta enters from the south-east, and is navigable a short way for canoes. Here, again, the country becomes more hilly and more populous. About three miles above Basunta, on each side of the river, there are hills higher than usual in this range; that on the south-east side, from a large black rock, is called Hattiya, (the elephant,) and that opposite is called Chela. The scenery here is very romantic. The strata are horizontal, and of a schistose structure. A little above the elephant rock, and beyond the hills on which it stands, there enters from the same side a rivulet, called Sualung, up which canoes can proceed some way, and its banks are occupied by those who cultivate jooms.

About six miles above the elephant rock, the river Kazalung enters from the north-west, and is said to spring from the same vicinity with the Chingay. It is said to be a considerable stream, and that boats, drawing twenty-seven inches, can ascend it for a whole day, while canoes can go much farther. The banks of this river, at a little distance from the Karnaphuli, and those of its tributary streams, are occupied by the tribe of Kungkis, called Lusai, Lushi, Langga, or Lingta, who extend from thence behind the Tripura territory, and are a terror to both Saksahs and Bengalese. The tide extends up to the mouth of the Kazalung.

About seven miles above the Kazalung, we experienced difficulty in passing shoals; and about five miles farther on, two small rivulets enter from the south-east, with a narrow point between them. From thence to the ledge of rocks, which closes boat-navigation, is about two miles and a half; and the waterfalls of Barkal are about a mile farther, nearly, I conjecture, in the 23° of north latitude. These waterfalls are probably occasioned by the river passing through the ridge that extends north-north-west from the Blue Mountain, the name of which, if I understood the natives right, is Meindaun among the Saksah, and Munipahar among the Bengalese. This name, however, I suspect is rather applicable, in a general manner, to all the lofty hills in the vicinity, the Blue Mountain rising to between five and six thousand feet perpendicular; but at the Karnaphuli the ridge is not above seven hundred feet.

I shall now trace the course of the Karnaphuli to another great mountain, from the report of a Muhammedan guide, who had been in the country beyond Barkal three times—twice to cut bamboos, and once to kill wild elephants for their teeth. During the four cold months, the former is a common occupation among the Bengalese. They carry small canoes past the waterfalls, and in these embark their provisions. In the distance which the guide went there are three water-falls. The first, named Utanchetri, is two days journey from Barkal;--the second, named Harinaka duar, (Deer-gate,) is one day's journey farther;--the third is at Hattiyaka Mu, (Elephant's Mouth,) and is a day and a half's journey above the second. Beyond this the guide went half a day's journey, and from some of the reaches could see the great Muin Mura, which is probably a continuation of the mountains that separate Arakan from Ava. At its bottom the Karnaphuli falls from a high rock, beyond which the Bengalese canoes never attempt to go. This part of the great Muin Mura the guide estimates to be twice the distance from Barkal that the latter is from Sitakaghat. The course of the river winds much; nor does the guide pretend to know its general direction.

In this part of its course the Karnaphuli receives no great branch; but the largest is at Hattiaka Mu. Between the falls the current is very gentle, and at Hattiaka Mu the body of water
is as considerable as at Barkal. The country is in general level, with some hills, however, near Hattiaka Mu; but during the rainy season a great proportion is inundated, forming jils or temporary lakes. Around these lakes there are immense herds of wild elephants, and the level country there are immense herds of wild elephants, and the level country is not inhabited, although well fitted for the cultivation of rice; but the west face of the great Muin Mara is occupied by the tribe of Kungkis, named Bonzhu or Bonjugy. Their prince, by the Bengalese, was named Taibiak; but whether this was a title, or a proper name, I did not learn. The Saksahs called this chief Taikoup, and said, that he lived on the bank of a small river called Taishang; but into what great river this falls I was not informed. A branch of the Kazalung has indeed this name; but all that vicinity is occupied by the tribe Lusai. The Saksahs indeed pretend, that the Lusai also are subject to this prince; but this was denied by the Tripuras, and all the incursions of the Bonjugies of which I heard came from the south-east side of the Karnaphuli, while the Kazalung is towards the north-west; and, so far as I can judge, the former seems to be the boundary between the two tribes.
The lecture given by Dr. Cushing on the subject of the Shans the other evening, does much to make one realize the extent of the country recently annexed to the British Empire, and the wonderful variety of peoples and races dwelling in it. Of course, everyone who has seen anything of Burma, and paid any attention to its history, knows that it is essentially not the country of the Burmese. The Burmese proper are probably a very small minority in it, though the peoples of other races, Talines, Shans, and some others, have in certain places become so Burmanized that it is difficult to distinguish them from the Burmese. The process has probably been going on for centuries in some degree, and was no doubt greatly accelerated first by the conquests achieved by Alaungpra and his immediate successors, and latterly by the policy of the British who, misled by the fact that the provinces they annexed were wrested from the kings of Burma, took it for granted that the great majority of the people were Burmese, and that Burmese was the language of the country. It will probably never be known exactly how much the British Government has done to make Burmese the language of the country, from the first by making it the language of the Courts, and the language which British officials in Burma must study; and latterly by the educational policy which almost forced every school-boy who came to school to learn English, to learn Burmese as well.

The fuller knowledge we now possess of the country known as Burma, show us that it was very far from being the country of the Burmese, in the sense of being the country peopled exclusively by that race and generally speaking that tongue. It was a country of many races and peoples, speaking many different tongues, and with our present knowledge of those different races the constant wonder is how the Burmese came so much to the surface as they actually did. They do not seem to be naturally more brave, more industrious, more capable of organisation, or more ready to admit to discipline, than such races the Shans, Talines, and Karens. On the contrary, looking at these races as we know them now, both the Shans and Karens at least, seem to have far more those qualities which ought to have brought them to the surface, than the Burmese have, who actually did become the dominant race. To say that the Burmese gained their ascendancy because they had become welded into a nation, while the others were still split up into petty clans and principalities, only throws the difficulty back a stage. The Burmese became welded into a nation because they had got possession of the plains, where the organisation of a kingdom in more easily affected than in mountainous regions where communications are difficult. But then the question naturally arises as to how the race, apparently least endowed with the qualities which contribute to success in the struggle for existence, got and retained possession of the plains, driving their "betters" from this point of view, to the hills and to the more inaccessible jungles.

Another curious point raised by the consideration of the condition of Burma as the British found it, is its striking contrast in many ways to India. Both countries had for centuries been the scene of incessant conflict among the petty Kings ruling over parts of them; both countries too had been swept over by wave after wave of invasion from abroad; and in both cases the
invaders, finding a more fertile land than their own mountains fastnesses, were apt to stay. The
invasions of India by hordes from the north-west are matters of well known history; and in a
similar manner successive hordes from the neighbourhood of China poured into Burma.
According to Dr. Cushman the founders of the kingdom of Siam, were probably the last comers,
and it can have been no petty irruption of a small fugitive band, which went so far and started
that kingdom. But though both India and Burma had been subjected for centuries to very similar
conditions before they passed under British control, there were great differences in the results.
In India in spite of decimating wars common to both countries, and in spite of fearful famines
which are peculiar to India, in great parts of that peninsula the British found a teeming
population, while in Burma the country was so scantily populated that the greater part of its had
lapsed back into impenetrable jungle. It is difficult to see why perpetual conflict and recurring
famines combined, had failed to depopulate India. Probably when Eastern history is more
carefully studied than it has yet been, some light may be thrown on these points, but meantime
they seem to be inexplicable.
Editorial Note:

Henry Burney was a scholar, soldier, and diplomat well-known for his numerous contributions to the early British study of Burma as well as the source for equally numerous first-hand observations of the people and country. The following article was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 4 (vol. 4, Juy, 1835, pp. 400-404).

M.W.C.

Notice of Pugan, the Ancient Capital of the Burmese Empire.

Lieut.-Col. Henry Burney
H. C.'s Resident In Ava

The celebrated Venetian traveller, MARCO POLO, (see MARSDEN'S edition of his Travels, pages 441 to 451,) has given us an account of the war between the Tartars and the people of Mien (the Chinese name for Burmah), which occurred some time after 1272, and led the former to take possession of the then capital of the latter nation. SYMES and CRAWFORD, in the Journals of their Missions to Ava, as well as HAVELOCK and TRANT in their accounts of the late war, have described the extensive remains of Pagan, the former capital of the Burmese empire, lying between Prome and Ava, with its innumerable ruins of temples and columns. Perhaps the following account of the destruction of that city, translated from the 5th volume of the large edition of the Royal Chronicles of the Kings of Ava, (Maha Yazawen wen dan gyee,) may be deemed curious.

Pugan, also called Pouk-gan and Arimaddana, is stated to have been founded by a king Thamu-dirit, A. D. 107, shortly after the destruction of the Thorè Khettara or Prome empire, and the king Narathihapade, in whose reign the Chinese took possession of the city, was the 52nd from the time of its foundation,

"In the Burmese year 643, (A. D. 1281,) the Talain Wareeroo killed the noble Aleimma, who was lord of the city of Mouttama (Martaban), a part of the empire, and set himself up as king there. In the same year, the emperor of China deputed ten nobles with 1000 horsemen, to demand certain gold and silver vessels, on the ground that king Anauratha Men Zau¹ had presented them. Some histories assert that they came to demand a white elephant.

The Chinese envoys conducted themselves in a disrespectful manner in the royal presence, when his majesty ordered the whole of the ten nobles and 1000 horsemen to be put to death. One of the ministers, Nanda Peetzeen, respectfully addressed the King, saying,

¹This King of Pugan is said to have invaded China about A. D. 1040, and gold and silver flowers or ornaments are the emblems of tributary subjection among all the Indo-Chinese nations.
Although the envoys of the emperor of China are ignorant of what is due to a king, and have conducted themselves in a disrespectful manner, yet if it seemeth well to your glorious majesty, a report of their conduct should be made to the emperor of China. If it pleaseth your majesty to have patience, and issue such orders as may promote the interests of the country, each orders should be issued. To put ambassadors to death has not been the custom during the whole line of our kings. It will be proper then for your majesty to forbear.'

The king replied, saying,

'They have treated with disrespect such a sovereign as I am; put them to death.'

The officers of government, fearing the royal displeasure, put the whole of the Mission to death, without a single exception.2

When the emperor of China received the intelligence of the execution of his envoys, he was exceeding angry, and collecting an army of at least six millions of horse and 20 millions of foot, sent them down to attack Pagan; the king of which, Naratheehapade, as soon as he heard of the coming of this force, placed under the generals Nanda Peetzzen and Yanda Peetzen 400,000 soldiers, and numerous elephants and horses, with orders to proceed and attack the Chinese army. The two generals marched to the city of Nga-young-gyan, and after putting its walls, ditch, and fortifications in a proper state of defence, opposed the Chinese army at the foot of Bamau river, killing, during three months so many of that army, that not a grass-cutter even for its elephants and horses remained. The emperor of China, however, kept reinforcing his army, and replacing those who were killed, by sending 200,000 men, when he heard of the loss of 100,000 men, and 400,000, when he heard of 200,000. Hence the Burman army was at last overpowered with fatigue, and the Chinese crossed the river and destroyed Nga-young gyan.

As the Nats or spirits attached to either nation were fighting together in the air, four of the Pugan Nats, namely, Tebathen, (the guardian of one of the gates of Pugan city,) Tsalen wot-thaken young Nat, Kan shye young Nat (guardian of the long lake or tank), and Toung gye yen Nat (lord of the foot of the mountain), were wounded by arrows. In the new Yazawen, Tebathen Nat is styled Thanbethen. On the very day on which the stockade of Nga-young-gyan was taken, the Nat Tebathen returned to Pugan, and entered the house of the king's teacher, on whom he had always been accustomed to wait. The king's teacher was asleep at the time; but the Nat shook and awakened him, and said,

'Nga-young-gyan has been destroyed this day. I am wounded by an arrow, and the Nats Tsalen-wot-thaken, Kan shye and Toung gye yen are also wounded in the same manner.'

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2 There is some kind of tradition at Ava, that the Chinese envoys insisted upon appearing in the royal presence with their boots or shoes on.
The priest and king's teacher called one of his disciples, a young probationer, and sent him to the king to report the loss of Nga-young-gyan. His majesty inquired how this circumstance was known, when the young probationer declared, that the Nat Tebathen, guardian of the Tharabha gate, had just arrived from Nga-young gyan, and reported the matter to the king's teacher, who had thus learned, that that place had been destroyed on that very day.

"The king then summoned a council of his ministers and officers, and addressed them as follows;

'The walls of the city of Pugan are low, and enclose too small a space to permit all the soldiers and elephants and horses to remain comfortably within, and defend them. I propose therefore to build a strong wall, extending from the eastward, from the village of Balen, in the upper part of the river, straight down to the southward, taking in the village Yonatha. But it is not possible just now to procure bricks and stones quickly; if we break down some of the temples, and use the bricks, we shall be able to complete this wall most expeditiously.'

Accordingly, 1000 large arched temples, 1000 smaller ones, and 4000 square temples were destroyed. During this operation, a sheet of copper, with a royal prediction inscribed on it, was found in one of the temples. The words were as follows:

'In the city of Pugan, in the time of the father of twins, the Chinese destroying, will be destroyed.'

The king thereupon made inquiries among the royal women, and learnt, that a young concubine had just given birth to twins.

As his majesty now believed, that even if he built the intended fortification, he would be unable to defend it, he caused 1000 boats with figure heads and war-boats, to be made ready, and embarked in them all his gold and silver and treasures; a thousand cargo boat's, also, he loaded with paddy and rice; in a thousand state boats lie embarked all his ministers and officers, and in the gilded state boats, his concubines and female attendants. But as the boats could not accommodate all the royal concubines and female attendants, who were very numerous, the king said,

'These women and servants are too numerous to be all embarked in the boats, and if we leave them here, the Chinese will seize and take possession of them; tie their hands and feet together, therefore, and throw them into the river.'

The king's teacher however observed,

'[I]n the whole circle of animal existence the state of man is the most difficult of attainment, and to attain that state during the time of a Buddha, is also most difficult. There can be no occasion for your majesty to commit the evil deed of throwing these people into the water. Such an act will be for ever talked of even among kings, and will be registered in the records of the empire. Let your majesty therefore grant permission for any person to take such of the royal female attendants as cannot be embarked in
the royal boats, and by so doing, your majesty will be said not only to have granted them their lives, but to have afforded them protection.'

The king replied, 'Very true,' and set at liberty 300 of the female servants of the interior of the palace, who were taken and carried away by different inhabitants of the city.

The king then embarked in his gilded accommodation boat, and retired to the Talain city of Bathein (Bassien).

Nanda Peetzeen and Yanda Peetzeen, after the loss of Nga-young-gyan, retreated and built a couple of stockades on the eastward slope of the male mountain, where they again resisted the Chinese. Both the generals, holding some fixed quicksilver\(^3\) in their mouths, leaped 15 and 16 cubits high in the air at a time, and attacked the Chinese; but whilst fighting in this manner, an arrow, which had been discharged by one of the Nats of the two countries, who were contending in the air, struck Nanda Peetzeen, and threw him to the ground lifeless. In consequence of this event, and the Chinese army being very numerous, victory was unattainable, and defeat again ensued. The Chinese pursued vigorously, and the Pugan generals retreated, keeping their force as much together as possible. On arriving at Pugan, and finding that the king and the whole of the population had left that city and fled to the Talain country, the army followed them to Bathein.

The Chinese continued the pursuit until they reached Taroup\(^4\) mau, but their army, owing to the great distance which it had marched, and its great numbers, began to experience a scarcity of provisions; and was induced to turn back from that place.

In the Burmese year 646 (A.D. 1284), two pat or quarters wanting to complete the 27th lunar asterism, the king Naratheeha-pade fled in fear of the Chinese. Hence he is styled Taroup-pye-men, the king who fled from the Chinese."

After remaining five months at Bassien, the King, hearing that the Chinese had retreated from Pugan, made arrangements for returning thither. On his way up the river, it is recorded on one occasion, his cooks having been able to serve him up a dinner of only 150 dishes, instead of 300, to which he had always sat down every day, he covered his face with his hands and wept, saying, 'I am become a poor man.' Shortly after on his arrival off Prome, he was poisoned by his own son, the governor of that place.

The building at Pugan, which MARCO POLO calls 'a sepulchre of the king,' must have been one of the large Buddhist temples, containing some relics of Gaudama. The body of a deceased king of Ava is usually burnt within the palace enclosed, and the bones and relics carefully collected in some vessel, and thrown, into the Irawádi river.

Like the early kings of England, named Rufus, Beauclerk, Lackland, Longshanks, &c., most of the Burmese kings are distinguished by some sobriquet or particular appellation. A king,

\(^3\) Among the Burmese alchemists, fixed, or as they call it dead, quicksilver, if an object of great desire, owing to the miraculous power which it is said to confer on the possessor.

\(^4\) Chinese Point, the same as SYMES'S Tirroup-mion.
Narathu, who was killed by some *Kulas* or natives of India from Chittagong, about the year 1171, is styled *Kula-gya-men*, the king who fell or was killed by *Kulas*. Another of *Toungu* or *Toungugu*, who was taken prisoner and carried away from *Toungugu* to *Syriam*, by the celebrated Portugueze chief, PHILIP DE BRITO and NICOTE, about the year 1612, called *Kula-ya-men*, the king whom the *Kulas* obtained or seized. See Modern Universal History, vol. 7th, page 118.

In the Sketch\(^5\) of the remains of Pugan, the large pagoda on the *proper* right, is called *Ananda*; it was built by a king Kyan-zeet-tha, who reigned between A. D. 1064 and 1093, and was repaired by the father of the present king of Ava, in 1795, when Captain SYMES visited the place. The pagoda on the high point of land, wasted by the river, is called *Langa Nanda*; it was built by Anauratha-zan, who reigned between A. D. 1017 and 1059.

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\(^5\) We regret extremely that the number of plates in the present No. precludes the admission of the sketch to which the author alludes.—Ed.
Editorial Note:

Gaspero Balbi, an Italian travelling to Southeast Asia in the sixteenth century, has left for us a valuable account of Burma during the reign of Bayinnaung. This account was originally published in English as “Gaspero Balbi his Voyage to Pegu, and observations there, gathered out of his owne Italian Relation,” in Samuel Purchas (ed.), Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others, volume 10 (1626). Much of the narrative, however, covered his journal to the country, without reference to Burma, and this portion has been left out of the following version. According to the original editor’s introduction, Balbi, a Venetian jeweller, began his journey east with a caravan from Aleppo towards the Bagdet and the East Indies on the 13th of December 1579. He would not reach Burma for another three and a half years. We do not know precisely how long he remained or when, indeed, he left Burma, for the available version of his narrative was left out of the Hakluytus Posthumus volume, for, as the original editor explained:

“Our Author proceedeth In large discourses of this Countrie, and the occurrents of that time, which (so much as is necessary) we have in some of our other Peguan Relators, Frederike, Fitch, or the Jesuites, and are therefore here omitted.”

M.W. C.

Voyage to Pegu, and Observations There, Circa 1583

Gaspero Balbi

On the thirteenth of September, 1583. in the name Jesus Christ, after wee had laded our merchandise, and payd our Customes, we went a shipboord; And having sailed untill the three and twentieth of this moneth, we found our selves neere to Maccareo, it is very strange which is reported of the ebblngs and Rowings of the water, and certainly he which hath not scene them will scarcely beleeve them; Certalne Pilots goe from Martovan, as swift as an Arrow in the encreasing of the water, as long as the Floud lasteth, and the Tide being at the height, they turne out of the chanell, and there ride; when the water is fallen on drie land ; and the bore or tide comes as some great tree: and in such a time they oppose the Prow against it, and so expect the furie of the water, which resemblleth the noise of a great Earthquake: so that maugre their strength and skill the Barke is washed from head to steare, and with that violence is carried swiftly into the chanell. After that, the winde blew from the South-west, and wee sailed to the North-west, till the morning, when we found our selves at Bara, right over Negrais (they call so in their language the Haven which goeth into Pegu) where wee discovered on the left side of the River a Pagod or Varella all gilded over, which is seene afarre off by the vessels that come from the Maine, and especially when the Sunne shines, which makes it glister round about as farre as it is seene. And because the raine washeth it often and consumeth the gold, the men of that place often regild it, that the ships by the splendor thereof may have this benefit, to know
the Haven: and they doe it for devotion and reverence to the place. Wee then all rejoied at that time, and made merrie; because we considered that if we had arrived there four or five dayes later we could not have entred the Haven by reason of the continual winds which blowe there with great furie.

Then casting anchor, to expect the floud, so to shunne some Rockes which are under the water: we saw a place very curiously adorned with Bowers and a Church (where the Talipois reside, which are there as the Friers with us) where the people of this Countrie assemble to pray. It is reported that in this place there are abundance of Tigres which devour the men and beasts of the Countrie. On the foure and twentieth of September, there came a little Barke neere us called a Salangara, whereby the Captaine of our ship sent a Portugall with a present to the King, to give him notice of our arrivall, and the evening following wee drew neere to the Hand of Flies, so called of the multitudes of them there caused from the abundance of fish there salted, wherewith also we furnished our ship.

In the meane time the ship went to Cosmi; to the Lord of the Countrie, who sent twenty Boats with eight Oares a piece, and a royall Almadie, which is a certaine long Barke, rowed with many Oares, and it beganne to put forth, and two dayes after the Lord of Cosmi came together with the ship, who presented our Moorish Captaine with great faire Hennes, of a very good taste, and many Oranges, which growe in great quantitie in the Countrie. The said Lord was rowed in a Barke made very fantastically, it was of the length of a Foist; but so narrow that in the middle it seemed not to be above one pace over, at the head and stearne it was as narrow as our Gondolos; but it was very high, and there were more then an hundred Rowers, which rowe at the side with an hundred Oares like stickes, and they did observe in their rowing to draw the water towards them all together by reason of foure Trumpeters, which sound when they should rowe, and sit in the middle of the Barke; the Signior was in a high Cabbin made in the middle of the Boat covered after the manner of the middle part of a Gondolo, but greater, with a Port before to shut, and open as he pleaseth.

Now the fift of October we came to Cosmi, whose Territories on both sides are woody, and frequented with Parrots, Tigres, wilde Boares, Apes, and such like creatures. Cosmi is seated in 16. degrees and a third part, and hath the houses made of great Indian canes, and covered with straw, fronted towards the North-east, scituate in a very fine place, but subject to the ravening of Tigres, which often enter into the Towne, and catch men and beasts, and devour them; but this they doe in the night, for they abide in the Woods all day.

Wee departed from Cosmi the sixe and twentieth of October, with a little Paro, which is to say, a voyage Barke, having committed our merchandise to the Guardian of the great Paro, and sayling down the River, at even we arrived at a Village on the left hand of the River called Pain Perlon; and about three of the clocke the next morning at Marma Mala, and about the evening before a great Citie on the left hand of the River called Jaccubel; and an houre after at another on the right side called Tegiatden. The morning following we came to a place called Balatin, where they make Pots and Jarres of excellent fine earth, and a little after we saw Dian a fertile Countrie, plentiful in timber both for Houses, Ships, and Barkes, where they have certaine vessels like Galeasses, which have on both sides from head to sterne Cabbins with divers merchandises, and in the middle in stead of the Mast there is a house like ours, so that within them they traffique for store of Muske, Benjamin, and divers Jewels.
On the nine and twentieth day we saw the Land of Bedogiamana, Lagapala, and Purdabui, and the evening we came to a great Countrie called Gungiebui, where wee tarried with great feare of being assaulted by theev es, who under the shew of friendship betray dispersed passingers; and in like manner we avoyded the danger of the multitude of Tigres, which in these parts assaile men, and destroy as many as they can get. For this cause we strengthned our selves in the middle of the River; yet they report, that the fiercenesse of this creature is such that he will prey in the water. The day following wee went in a narrow River like our Brent by Padua, which is shadowed with Paime trees that growe in great abundance in both sides of the River; there is the great Citie of Collan, which is a league long on each side, which being a perfect square make twelve of our miles. After that, we came by another Citie called Tuvaguedan, where are many Pagods and Statues; and at evening we arrived at Leungon a very faire Citie, seated in a pleasant Territorie, I replenished with Palme trees: parting from thence after wee had scene many buildings on both sides of the River, about morning we came to a great populous Citie called Silvansedi, and at evening before another called Moggio where were infinite store of great and small vessels, all covered from head to sterne with straw, within which are the families of one house, so that they serve for convenient habitations, they use to drinke in them hot waters made of Rice, as strong as our Aquavitæ, these Barkes sell fresh fish, and salted and dressed in divers fashions, and other sorts of provision, so that along that River, to the mouth of the Sea, which is fresh water, they may sayle without carrying any victuals, but only money to spend.

The second of November we came to the Citie of Dala, where besides other things are ten large roomes full of Elephants which are kept there by divers servants of the King of Pegu. The day following we came to the faire Citie of Dogon, it is finely seated, and fronted towards the South-west, and where they land are twenty long steps, as from the Pillar of Saint Marke to the Straw-bridge, the matter of them is strong and great pieces of timber, and there are great currents of water both at ebbe and floud, because it is a place neere Maccareo, which entret h and goeth out of the mouth of Sirian, which is a Sea-port: and alwaies when the water encreaseth, they goe upon the Stairies: and when it is ebbe, it discovers all about, and makes it a great way drie land. On both sides the River, at the end of the banke, or at the staires, is a wooden Tigre, very great, and painted after the naturall colour of a Tigre; and there are two others in the midst of the staires, so farre one from another, that they seeme to share the staires equally. They stand with open mouth, shewing their teeth and tongue, with their clawes lifted up and stretched forth, prepared to assaile him that lookes on them.

Concerning these they told mee a foolish beliefe which they have, that they stand there to guard, for if any should be so bold to displease the Pagod, those Tigers should defend him, for he would give them life. After we were landed we began to goe on the right hand in a large street about fifty paces broad, in which wee saw woodden houses gilded, and adorned with delicate gardens after their custome, wherein their Talapois, which are their Friers, dwell, and looke to the Pagod, or Varella of Dogon. The left side is furnished with Portals and Shops, very like the new Procuratia at Venice: and by this street they goe towards the Varella, for the space of a good mile straight forwards, either under painthouses, or in the open street, which is free to walke in. When we came at the Varella, we found a paire of staires of ninety steps, as long in my judgement as the chanell of the Rialto at Venice. At the foot of the first staire are two Tigres, one at the right hand, and the other at the left, these are of stone, and stand in the same fashion that they doe on the shoare-side. The staires are divided into three, the first is forty steps, the second thirty, and the third twenty, and at the top of each of them is a plaine spacious place. On the last step are Angels of stone, each with three Crowns one upon the other; but so, that that
which is undermost is the greatest, and that which is next lesser then that, yet greater then the uppermost, which is the least. They have the right hand lifted up, ready to give the benediction, with two fingers stretched out. The other hand of the one is laid upon the head of a Child, and of the other upon the head of an Ape; those Statues are all of stone. At the right hand is a Varella gilded in a round forme, made of stone, and as much in compasse as the streete before the Venetian Palace, if it were round: and the height may equall Saint Markes Bell-tower, not the top of it, but the little Pinnaces. At the left hand is a faire Hall carved and gilded within and without. And this is the place of devotion, whither the people goe to heare the Talapois preach: the steeete is greater then Saint Markes, at the least larger. And this is a place of great devotion amongst them, and yeerely multitudes of people come by Sea and by Land. And when they celebrate a solemn Feast, the King in person goeth before them all, and with him the Queene, the Prince, and his other sonnes, with a great traine of Nobles and others, who goe to get a pardon. And on this day there is a great Mart where are all sorts of merchandises which are current in those Countries, which they frequent in great multitudes, which come thither not so much for devotion as traffique, and we may freely goe thither if we will. Round about this and upon another Varella were Apes running up and downe, the great and small staires also are full of them. After wee had seene this, at the foot of the first staire when I went downe I turned my face to the left side, and with some Portugals which were in my companie found in a faire Hall a very large Bell, which we measured, and found to be seven paces and three hand breadths, and it is full of Letters from the top to the bottome, and so neere together that one toucheth the other, they are very well and neatly made: but there was no Nation that could understand them, no not the men of Pegu, and they remember not whence, nor how it came thither.

At the evening about one of the clocke at night wee went from this place, and about three we came among some Fishers Nets, which almost shipwrackt us, as they did one of our companie, who being entangled in them went under them, and so was sunke, and this was through the negligence of some Fishers, who when they lay forth such Nets, ought to have a barke with a light or fire all the night to give warning to Saylers, that they come not on that side. But praised be God, we freed our selves in the best manner we could; that day after the Sunne was up wee arrived over against the mouth of Sirian, which is on the South side, where with some difficulty we landed, for the violence of the water drew us into Maccareo. Sirian was an Imperiall Citie, where an Emperour resided, the Walls and Bulwarkes are ruined, by which one may see that it hath beene very strong, and almost impregnable; but Anno 1567. it was subdued by the King of Pegu, who to take it sent a million and an haife of men; and after he had besieged it two yeeres with the losse of halfe a million of his men, he tooke it by treason. Which when the Emperour understood he poisoned himselfe, and the rest of his familie were carried away prisoners upon Elephants, who returned in great numbers laden with Gold, Jewels, and other precious things: departing from Sirian we followed our Voyage, seeing many inhabited Townes called by divers names. Finally we came to a place called Meccao, where we disimbarqued to goe by land to Pegu, being about twelve miles. Over against Meccao are certame habitations where the King of Pegu was then for his disport, who causeth there beautiful gilded vessels to be made, beseeeming such a King. From Cosmi to Meccao we were eleven dayes in our Voyage, saying alwaies by Rivers of fresh water, which ebe and nowe, and on both sides there are houses and habitations made upon piles planted in the earth, so that the Tigres cannot molest the Inhabitants, they goe up to them upon Ladders made of light wood, which they draw up. Some of the Inhabitants keepe Bufalos in their houses; for they say, that the Tigres will not come neere the places where these beasts are, by reason of their ill favour; they are in these Countries of unmeasurable greatness and thickness. For the Voyage of Saint Thomas to Pegu, it is good to carrie Bracelets, which they make of glasse in
Saint Thomas, for with these better then with money you may buy victuals, and there in the Citie where you buy them they are sold at a lowe price, but if they are enamelled they sell them deare. The number of Pagods or Varellas which wee saw in this Voyage I write not, for they are innumerable, and in divers shapes; but I onely say, that on the shoare where wee landed to goe to Dogon, which is made of large strong timbers, are two Statues, which resemble two Boyes from the head downewards, their faces after the likenesse of Devils with two wings. There are some Varellas gilded, and set in faire places, to which they come and offer Gold and other merchandise in great quantitie, to maintayne their gilding, for the raine spoiles it. About these Varellas are found tyed many Apes of that kinde which resemble Mountain-cats, which wee call Monkeyes; they keepe them very carefully, holding them to be creatures beloved of God, because they have their hands and feet like humane creatures; and therefore their Woods are full of them, for they never take any, except for their Varellas and Statues.

There are two Cities of Pegu, the old and the new; in the former Strangers and Merchants inhabit, who are many, and utter great store of merchandise, in this also is the Kings Nobles, and Gentlemen, and other people. The new is not very large, it was built by the father of the present King, on a sudden, in a very neat fashion and with wonderfull strength: The old is very ancient and reasonable great, with many houses made of great caves, and many Magasins of brick to keepe wares in and to speake of the old Citie of Pegu, as of the nobler, because of the Kings residence in it, and of all his Court, you must knowe that the Citie-is pleasantly seated in the altitude of 16 degrees and a third part, it is environed with walls, and hath the forme of a perfit square, and in every square are five gates: round about it are many ditches full of water, which continues all the yeere, and in them are many Crocodiles, which are put there, that if any will wade over these ditches they may be taken and killed.

After that I was provided of a good Druggerman and Interpreter, the noise of Trumpets was heard, which signified wee should see the King and have audience of him, wee entred within the second gate, whereby they goe into the Court-yard, and the Interpreter and I cast our selves upon our knees on the ground, and with our hands elevated in humble wise, and making a shew three times before we rose of kissing the ground; and three other times we did thus before wee came neere to the place where the King sate with his Semini, prostrate on the earth (for no Christian, how neere soever to the King, nor Moorish Captaines, except of his Semini, come in that neere the King) I heard all his Speach, but understood it not: I gave the Emeralds to the Interpreter, who lifted them up over his head, and againe made reverence, of them called Rombee: and as soone as the King saw it, a Nagiran, that is to say, the Lord of his words, took the like Rombee, tooke the Emeralds, and gave them into the Kings hand, and then went out of his presence, who a little while after called him, commanding him as Lord of his words, that he should asks mee what Countriman I was, how many yeeres it was since I left my Countrie, and what was my name, and from what place I had brought those Emeralds, and I with the accustomed Rombee (for at every word they speake they must make such an obeisance) answered that my name was Gaspar Baibi, that I had beene in my Voyage foure yeeres, and that I brought the Emeralds from Venice to give his Majestic, the fame of whose bountie, courtesie and greatnesse was spread over the world, and especially in our parts, to be the greatest King in the world; all this was written in their letters, and read by the Lord of his words to his Majestie. He commanded to aske me in what parts Venice was seatead, and what King governed it; and I told him that it was in the Kingdome of Italic, and that it was a Republike or free State, not governed by any King.
When the King heard this, he greatly wondered; so that he began to laugh so exceedingly, that he was overcome of the cough, which made him that he could hardly speake to his Great men. Lastly, hee demanded, if that King which last tooke Portugall were as great, and if Venice were warlike. To which I answered, that King Philip that had taken Portugall was the potentest King among the Christians, and that the Venetians were in league with him, but had no feare of any, yet sought friendship with all. And then I reported the overthow which the Venetians gave the Emperour of the Turkes. Ametbi, who at that time was at Mecca, confirmed this to be true of the defeat of the Turkish Armado. Then he gave me a Cup of gold, and five pieces of China Damaske of divers colours, and bad them tell me, that he gave me these, and did not so pay me for my Emeralds, for which I should be contented of his publike Terreca, which are his Treasurers. This was holden for novelty with them that saw it, for it was not the Kings custome to present any thing to any. Moreover, the King ordered that for the wares which I had brought, the Decacini should not make me pay any Taxe or Custome.

The King nourisheth at his charges more then eight hundred domesticall Elephants of warre; but for wilde ones they may have as many as they will, for the Woods are full of them. The Bufalos of this Countrie are of berettine colour, but so great, that they are like Elephants.

There are other creatures as with us, and many also of other kinds. When he goeth to his recreations solemnly, or in his Robes, foure white Elephants goe before him vested with Gold, having their teeth inclosed in a sheath wrought with Jewels. The King of Pegu hath great store of Artillarie of all sorts; but he wants men to manage them, he might make as many Gallies, Foists & Galleassts as he would, if he had men to governe them, and to make them, and therefore makes none: yet when he undertakes any enterprise, he carries with him small Ordnance, which are governed by certaine Gunners, Moores of Bengala, of whom, as of strangers, he hath small confidence.

The King of Avva, being subject to the King of Pegu, and Brother to his Father, had a purpose to make himselfe Master of his Nephewes Kingdome, and to make himselfe King, because he was the ancietner of the Royall branch; therefore at the Inauguration of the present King, he would not come to doe him homage as he ought, and as other Kings and Dukes his subjects did; he did not onely absent himselfe, but also kept backe the Present of Jewels which he was wont to give, and restrained also the trade from his Countrie to Pegu, not suffering any Merchant to passe, but sought to conspire with his chiefe Courtiers against the King of Pegu, who as a good Nephew dissembled it, the said King of Avva being recommended to him from his Father before his death. Finally, the King of Pegu, willing to cleare himeselfe of the ill will conceived against the King of Avva his Uncle, sent one of his houshold servants to him, who was slaine by the King of Avva because of the warre, trusting that the Grandes of the Kingdome of Pegu would favour his part, and revolt from their naturall Lord, to set Him in his place. Therefore the King of Pegu proclaimed warre against Avva, and called to him his Bagnia and Semini, and gave order to his Decagini, that as they came he should put them in prison; which being performed by the Decagini, the King ordained that the morning following they should make an eminent and spacious Scaffold, and cause all the Grandes to come upon it, and then set fire to it, and burne them all alive. But to shew that he did this with Justice, he sent another mandate, that he should doe nothing till he had an Olla or Letter written with his hand in letters of gold, and in the meane time he commanded him to retaine all the prisoners of the Grandes families unto the women great with child, and those which were in their swaddling clothes, and so he brought them all together upon the said Scaffold; and the King sent the Letter that he should burne them, and the Decagini performed it, and burned them all, so that there was heard
nothing but weepings, shrirings, cryings, and sobbings: for there were foure thousand in this number which were so burned great and small, for which execution were publike Guards placed by the King, and all of the old and new Citie were forced to assist them; I also went thither, and saw it with great compassion and griefe, that little children without any fault should suffer such martyrdom, and among others there was one of his chiefe Secretaries, who was last put in to be burned, yet was freed by the Kings order; but his legge was begunne to be burnt, so that he was lame.

And after followed this order from his Majestic, that those other Captaines which remained should come to him, and he said to them, You have seene what we have done to Traitors, but be faithfull, and set in order all the people as you can, for I am a Captaine that warre justly, going without any feare of not overcoming: and so on a sudden, and within few dayes, he gathered together out of both the Cities more then three hundred thousand persons, and encamped without the Citie. Ten dayes after that I saw the King upon an Elephant all over covered with Gold and Jewels, goe to the warre with great courage, with a Sword after our custome sent him by the Vice-roy of Goa, the hilt whereof was gilded: the said Vice-roy was called Don Luis di Zuida: he left the white Elephants in the Citie.

After that, the King fell sicke of the small poxe, but when he was well, he encountred with the King of Avva, and they two fought, body to body without any hinderance of the Armies; who being equally matched, as their use is, combated bravely, as did also the Guard of this King with that of the other, and after the Kings had fought a while hand to hand, first with Harquebusses, then with Darts, and lastly with the Sword, the Elephant of the King of Pegu brake his right tooth with charging that of Awa, in which, furie he so coupled with the other Elephant, that the King of Pegu killed the King of Avva, and he remained lightly wounded on one arme, and in the meane while his Elephant fell dead under him, and the King of Pegu mounted upon that of Awa. But when the Armie of Avva saw their King dead, they ceased to fight, and demanded pardon of the King of Pegu, who with a joyfull countenance praising their valour pardoned them all, and making a muster, found that of three hundred thousand which hee brought from Pegu, there died in that battell more then 200000. and little lesse of those of Avva.

After this victorie he ordered that Avva should be destroyed, and all the people made prisoners, among which was the Queene taken prisoner, who was sister of the King of Pegu, and confined, during her life in a large house with many royall attendants; but shee agreed never to goe forth. The rest of the Citizens were banished to live in Woods among Tigres, and other creatures, and this was because the King of Pegu could not finde the great treasure which the King of Avva had. This warre was in the beginning of the moneth of Aprill, when in that Countrie fall great store of raines, causing great cold in a place called Meccao; and the fourteenth day of July, in sixe dayes he returned unexpectedly to Pegu, not finding the Citie with those guards which his Majestic had appointed, but at the request of the Prince his sonne he did no other justice.

At this his arrivall he understood, that when hee was at the warre, there was arrived under excuse to come to his favour in the old Citie of Pegu the sonne of the Emperour of Silon (or Siam) with fifty Elephants of warre, and eight hundred Horses, besides Harquebussers, Pikemen, and Souldiers with swords, who were sent towards Avva by the great Brama; but in stead of taking his way towards that coast he returned to Silon.
In the mean time was brought into Pegu the Elephant of the King of Avva, which was so much discontented, that all the day long he mourned, I my selfe saw him lament, and that hee would eate but very little; and this I saw in the lodging where the King of Pegu was wont to keepe his, where continually were two Semini, that prayed him to eate, and mourne no longer, but be merry, for he was come to serve a King greater then his own.

Notwithstanding the said Elephant would not cease from teares, and alwaies in token of sorrow held down his trunk: and thus he continued the space of 15. dayes, and then he began to eate, to the Kings great content. With the teeth of the Kings Elephant which died in battell by command from his Majestic were made certalne Pagods or Statues, which were layd up to bee kept among the Pagods of gold and silver. After the King made five other of Gonza, which was a marvellous thing to see, for sitting crosse-legged, they were as high as a strong man could fling a stone, and they were ingraved fairely and curiously: one toe of the foot was greater than a man, and the said Pagods were set in publike before the Palace, and bespangled with gold.

The warre of Avva being now finished, the King of Silon, who was subject to the King of Pegu, sent one to his Majestie to tell him, that it grieved him that a slave had given answer to his some, whom he had sent to aide the King himselfe, and therfore now he made no more account of him, nor held him for his Lord; therefore the King of Pegu sent forth a great Armie against Silon, under the conduct of the great Brama, who after he had lost many people through the heat; & through the great fortitude of Silon, could obtaine nothing of him but this, that if the King of Pegu would come to the campe he would reverence him, but he would not yeeld himselfe to his inferior; and the King of Pegu answered, that he would have his least slave subdue his subject. Although they kept a straight siege against Silon, yet the Citie stood it out manfully. It hath beene an Imperiall Citie; the houses are of timber, built high because of the overflowing of the River. In Winter every house hath a Boat to transport their people from one side of the River to the other: there are many houses of poore people made upon great planks with edifices of wood or great canes built on them, which they guide whither they will, to buy and sell any sort of merchandise, which is exercised by women, who when a ship comes to that place, doe not unlade it; but goe themselves upon these Rafts to negotiate, buy and sell. The people of Silon are Gentiles, as those of Pegu, they are white and beautifull; they feare not to bee overcome by the King of Pegu after this manner; for his father brought them to his obedience, going in person, and accompanied with eight hundred thousand men, neither had he taken it, if it had not beene by treason, by opening a Gate, there were many Portugals then taken prisoners, who were freed by the present King of Pegu, with commendations for doing what the King of Silon commanded them. In the meane time there was a great fire kindled in a street of the Portugals in Pegu, by the diversitie of winds which blew, it burned more then 3800. houses, and some Pagods, and praying places: and because it is a custome, that the King of Pegu in such cases proceeds against those which are authors of such a fire, there was search made who kindled the fire, and he was certified, that it was in the house of a Portugall Pilot which brought us to the Citie. The King made no shew of judging this to have beene for malice: but we were in continuall feare of burning, and so much the rather, because one of the Kings Diviners told him, that if hee would have the victorie of Silon, hee must burne a Citie, as his father did; and therefore we doubted that hee would destroy this old Citie of Pegu; but he was disswaded from it by the Prince his sonne, who is very courteous and pleasant, and much delighted in discharging Harquebusses, and to shoot in Bowes, hee is of great stature, and browne, as his father; when

\[^1\]Gonza is a mixt metall of brasse and tin whereof they make money.
he goes abroad he is carried up in a Palamkin very pompously (as his other three little brothers are also) under a Cloth of state openly.
Editor’s note:

The following pieces found publication in 1895 and 1896.

M.W.C.

“Burmese Buddhists and Mission Work”

Rangoon Gazette and Weekly Budget 23rd August 1895

The following is the reply from the joint secretaries to the Babuthutta Society Rangoon, to Mr. H. Dharmapala, General Secretary to the Mahabodhi Society.

At the meeting held on the Sule Pagoda Platform on the 2nd June 1895 the members of the Babuthutta Society promised you a further communication within three months of the subject of the support to be accorded to the movement inaugurated by the Mahabodhi Society. Our Society has most anxiously considered the questions in all its bearings and has been constrained to come to the conclusion that for the present, at least, it does not see its way to render that support and assistance which the movement to spread the propaganda of the Lord Buddha fully deserves. Repeated and urgent demands have been made upon its energies in connection with such local questions as the constitution and working of the Shwedagon Pagoda Trust, ecclesiastical matters arising out of the lamented decease of our late Sangharaga and the encouragement and fostering of the study of the Tripitika by assisting the Educational Department in holding periodical examinations. By attending such matters the Society is convinced that many important reforms will be carried out to the advantage of the Buddhist religion in this Province. The Society firmly holds that its duty to Burma as regards religious, educational and social reforms should occupy the foremost place in its programme of work, and that the question of foreign missions had better be held in abeyance for the present. At the same time it cannot withhold its esteem and admiration for the zeal and devotion you have displayed during the past four years in the cause of Buddhism and its heartfelt sympathy for the efforts of the branch societies which have been established in Ceylon, Arrakan and Upper Burma.

In conclusion, the Society expresses a hope that the solidity thus achieved in the various sections of the Buddhists will be conducive to the realization of that great Buddhistic revival, which is the wish and the prayer of every true Buddhist all over the world.
[Buddhagaya Temple Controversy]

Rangoon Gazette and Weekly Budget 2 May 1896

The Burmese Buddhists of Rangoon have engaged the services of two well-known advocates to present a petition for them to the Government of India through the Local Government asking that the orders of the Collector of Buddha Gaya regarding the removal of one of the images at the Buddhist temple at that place may be stayed. The image in question was forwarded to Buddha Gaya by the Japanese Buddhists to be placed—in a zayat which was built by the late Burmese king Mindoon Min, and the Collector has ordered the removal of its image threatening in the event of not being moved to send the image to the Calcutta Museum.

“The Buddha Gaya Temple” [I]

Rangoon Gazette and Weekly Budget 9 May 1896

The following memorial has been sent through the Local Government, to the Government of India by the leading Buddhists of Rangoon:

All Buddhists in Burma are very much interested and concerned in the preservation of the Temple and the Mahayana or sacred enclosures of the Maha Bodhi Tree. The spot on which the Maha Bodhi Tree of India stands is sacred to all Buddhists as being the original spot where the Omniscient and most excellent Lord on his blossoming to the dignity of Buddhahood came to understand the four great truths. It is considered a very pious act among the Buddhists that extraordinary reverence and homage should be paid to the sacred spot.

For nearly 25 centuries the hallowed spot has remained as the central shrine of all Buddhists. Buddhist pilgrims from all quarters of the Buddhist world have visited and do visit this sacred spot. During the 15 centuries of Buddhist supremacy in India the hallowed place was under the custody of Buddhist monks. Owing to the obliteration of Buddhism by the Mahomedans all places sacred to Buddhists were for a period of 600 years allowed to fall into decay. But in consequence of the labours of antiquarians these vestiges of a bygone past were brought to light. In 1875 the great Temple at Buddha Gaya was visited by a Burmese Embassy sent by King Mindon Min. They found the Temple in a state of complete decay and King Mindon Min, through the Government of India, secured from the Mahant the right to restore the Temple. Permission was also given to the King Mindon Min to build a monastery and keep Buddhist Bhikabus at Buddha Gaya for the performance of religious worship in the Temple. This can be proved by the correspondence that took place at the time.

The Buddhists who visit Buddha Gaya have been put to great inconvenience or want of proper accommodation. To provide this accommodation the Buddhists of Siam raised a lakh of rupees in order to purchase from Mr. Ryves and the executors of the Tikari Raj, the permanent lease of the village of Boda Gaya or Maha Bodhi. Negotiations for the sale of the permanent lease of the village were almost complete; but for some
unaccountable reason the Government of Bengal stepped in an used their authority to stop the sale.

Not content with stopping the sale, the Government of Bengal through the Commissioner of the Patna Division is about to perpetuate another act of injustice to the Buddhists. Mr. H. Dharma-pala received a letter dated the 9th April 1896, from the district Magistrate of Gaya requiring him to remove the Japanese image of Buddha now in the Burmese rest house in Buddha Gaya out of that place and away from the precincts of the Buddha Gaya Temple. On failure to comply with the request the District Magistrate states that Government will take possession of the image and will deposit it in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This image is regarded as the holiest shrine in Buddha Gaya. The removal of this image by any individual would be regarded as an act of sacrilege, punishable under the penal laws of India.

Notwithstanding this the Government of Bengal are wilfully determined to override all traditions and to violate the law by removing this image. If the Government persist in carrying out their intention to remove this image they are by the very fact of the threat contained in the letter of the District Magistrate committing an act which can only be termed a sacrilege.

We humbly submit that this act if carried out would be quite contrary to the traditions and policy of the Government of India. The strictest toleration and regard for the various religions of the inhabitants have always been pursued by the Government in dealing with religious questions and questions of caste. Lord Elgin when replying to the address presented to him on the questions of Gaya on the 30th of March 1895, uttered the following words, which show clearly what the policy of Government has always been and still is in reference to religious matters. “Government as you are aware must preserve a strict, perhaps stern impartiality of which you have indicated your appreciation, but it seemed to me that whom we approach spots or deal with institutions which others hold in veneration and affection our first object should be to do our best to appreciate the feelings inspired by them and our second to see that we do nothing by word or deed to injure these feelings.”

We feel sure that His Excellency will see that the order requiring the sacred Image of Buddha to be removed is a most unjust one and an order which is calculated to most seriously outrage the religious feelings of all Buddhists from every quarter of the world.

We have also learnt on good authority that the Buddhist priests residing in the Burmese Monastery have been turned out of it, keys have been forcibly taken out of their hands, and they are now in a desperate condition.

Wherefore your Memorialists humbly pray that the order of the District Magistrate of Gaya be set aside, the sacred Japanese Image of Buddha be allowed to rest where it now is, and that the priests be allowed to remain in the Burmese Monastery undisturbed.
A large number of influential Buddhists of Rangoon, including their Gaing Oat Tsadaw (Bishop) and several high priests waited on the Chief Commissioner at 8 a.m. on the 16th instant at Government House, to present for submission to the Government of India, a memorial praying that the order of the Government of Bengal for the removal of the Japanese image of Buddha from the monastery of the late king Mindon at Gaya and from the precincts of the Mahabodhi Temple, be set aside and that the sacred image be allowed to rest where it is now.

Maung Ohn Ghine, Honorary Magistrate, read the address which was as follows:

We the leading Buddhist priests and the principal Buddhist residents of Rangoon beg to approach your Honour with this memorial for favour of transmission to the Government of India with such remarks as may be considered necessary. The effect of the order of the Bengal Government for the removal of the sacred image of Our Lord on our feelings can be better imagined than expressed. The order is not only the most unjust, but one which if carried out will most seriously outrage the feelings of all Buddhists in the world. The facts of the case are more fully explained in the memorial. The Government of Bengal gave no reasons for their illegal acts, but a certain leading English paper in India tries to show that these irregular and extraordinary steps have been taken by Government to preserve the status quo at Buddha Gaya. Admitting for the sake of argument that the end justifies the means, and in this particular case the end itself was an urgent one, we come face to face with the fact that the status quo at Buddha Gaya never amounted to an exclusion of the Buddhists either from the Mahabodhi Temple or the village of Buddha Gaya. In 1875, the late Mahant entered into an agreement with the late king Mindon of Burma as regards the Buddhist worship of the temple, and gave or sold to his Majesty a piece of land for building a monastery, while the present Mahant also gave some more land for the purpose of extensions to the building. Under such circumstances it is absurd to suggest that the status quo at Buddha Gaya would be disturbed if some Buddhist priests were permanently stationed in the village, and there were more rest-houses for the accommodation of the pilgrims. The apprehension of constantly recurring disturbances of peace has no foundation whatever. It would not be a wise thing to suppose that pilgrims and priests belonging to a religion of which peace is the corner stone, and travelling hundreds of miles on an errand of piety, would be willing to be the aggressors, or breakers of peace, while on the other hand, the Mahant has learnt a sharp lesson in the late criminal case, and he would think twice before he becomes an aggressor.

The Burmese translation of the memorial was read by Maung San Nyoon, interpreter to the Chief Commissioner.

Mr. Smeaton questioned the leading members of the deputation on several points connected with the Japanese image and the Mahabodhi Temple and, after reading through some of the documents sent up with the memorial, promised to submit the
memorial to the Viceroy. He said he had already written on the subject, and had informed His Excellency that further particulars would be submitted when the memorial had been received, he could only tell them that they might rest assured they would get justice at the hands of Lord Elgin and that the Buddhist priests need not be afraid that any desecration to the sacred image or any other things which were held in reverence by them would be allowed.

An Examination of Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo’s Reasons for Embracing Christianity¹
by Maung Chan Htwan Oung (1896)

One of the reasons why Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo embraced Christianity is that he considered the goal of Buddhism to be annihilation and that the Buddhist ideal of perfection is destruction.

There can be no doubt that the scholastic works of the Singalese Monks support this view; but it has been demonstrated by Shwe-Gyin Sayadaw, on the authority of Pali Tipitikan and of their commentaries, that the goal of Buddhism is not only an annihilation of sensual life, but also a perfect spiritual life (_ambodhi_).

Another reason why Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo embraced Christianity is that his view of Karma and man is founded not on any independent examination of the Buddhist Scriptures, but on what he learnt from the Burmans and on the current Burmese Buddhist Literature of the day. He consequently considers that Buddhism teaches that man is a mere automaton driven by what is termed Act Force (Karma).

The third reason why Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo embraced Christianity is that he misunderstood Buddha’s method as Salvation.

Buddha taught the doctrine of evolution and gradual perfection of life. His teachings have been made to appear inconsistent by the Singalese and the Burmese monks of the Nihilistic School. In order to obtain a correct knowledge of Buddha’s method of Salvation, one might study Parami or Buddhist Perfection side by side with Christian Perfection and Buddhist Meditation side by side with Christian Meditation as understood by Roman Catholics.

The fourth reason why Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo embraced Christianity is that he had accepted the view of Buddha and Dharma as propounded by the Nihilistic Philosophers to be the correct view.

This matter ought to be re-considered by him by the light of works written upon the subject of the Oriental Scholars and by the light of the Buddhist Scriptures themselves. But Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo should recollect that the same thing will appear differently to the same mind when considered from different stand points, and that he cannot, therefore, expect to obtain the correct view of Buddha and Dharma when they are considered from the stand point of a believer in Christianity. A Christian would obtain as much an erroneous view of Christianity by looking at it from the Buddhist stand point.

¹ Originally published Akyab: Akyab Orphan Press, 1896.
What ought to be borne in mind is that most religious controversies would end before they began if the controversialists should only learn to look at the doctrines of each religious system from different stand points.

The fifth and the last reason why Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo embraced Christianity is that he had sought for a supreme lawgiver and Christianity had supplied him with such a Being.

There can be no doubt that the Christian doctrines of sin, Redemption, and Salvation would be unthinkable, without assuming the existence of a supreme Lawgiver. But it is also equally certain that the Buddhist doctrines of Karma, Meditation, and Salvation, would be unthinkable if we should not assume the existence of Nirvana and Natural Law. Where both the Christian controversialists and the Buddhist controversialists have equally erred is, that the former expect the latter to tell them the origin of Natural Law and the latter expect the former to tell them the origin of the supreme lawgiver.

In conclusion, I may observe that Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo’s criticism on Buddhism as understood by the Burmese Buddhists is fair when looked at from the stand point of a believer in Christianity; but the Buddhism of Pali Tipitakan is not the Buddhism as understood by the Burmese Buddhists; and I would suggest that Mr. Tsaw Hla Phroo should form a society to study Buddhism as propounded in Tipitakan for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of his countrymen.

The End.
Editorial Note:

The following documents drawn from the reign of King Tharrawaddy are intended as one contribution of many forthcoming to the project of organizing and publishing the source accounts for one of the Kon-baung dynasty’s most obscure, yet critical reigns. Thus, documents included have not been selected on the basis of their high rate of interest relative to other documents of the period, but rather more with the view of making the documentary record complete.

M. W. C.

Some Documents of Tharrawaddy’s Reign: 1837-1846, Part I

“Letter of Mr. Simons, Dated Rangoon, June 20, 1838: Relations Between Burmah and British India—The “heir apparent” and others put to death”

By

Mr. Simons

American Baptist Missionary Magazine 29.2 (February 1839)

The king of Burmah has latterly, through his ministers, tacitly signified his royal pleasure that the same friendly understanding, which existed in his brother’s reign between the two countries, should be continued. At the same time it is difficult to say what are the real intentions of his Burman majesty. The governor of Rangoon, who has charge of the lower country from Prome, and is also empowered to settle any difficulties that may arise with the English, has more than once intimated to Mr. Bayfield, the acting resident to court just yet; that the king might consider it an insult offered to him, and, getting angry, serious difficulties might arise between the two governments. He therefore recommends that the resident, who may be appointed by the governor-general, should remain at Rangoon; and he has no doubt that, in two or three years, when the palace is finished, the king will receive him in a suitable manner at court. Should the governor-general in council be as ready to meet the wishes of this officer, and, of course, of his royal master, as the acting resident appears to be, we may consider the difficulty between the two governments, respecting the treaty, as settled for the present.

About two days ago, official information was received by the governor, from the court of Amarapura, of the execution of the heir apparent and his wife, and nurse, and others—in all eight persons. The alleged crime was a supposed connivance at a counter-resolution in his favour, for which (so the report is,) his friends were preparing. A great many Burmans do not believe this report, but think that the heir apparent has run away into the Shyán country.

One of the Shyán saubwás has been executed. An officer’s wife has been put to death for having in her possession a valuable jewel, which belonged to the royal family.
At the time the heir apparent was executed, report says, that many who were supposed
to be of his party, and had money, were also executed. Notwithstanding the king's
severity to his own subjects, who have been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure,
the foreigners, who have visited him, speak well of his treatment towards them.

Some time in the present month the king's eldest son is to be married to one of
prince Mekara's daughters, and it is supposed that this son will become heir apparent to
the throne, as he is the son of the king's head wife, or the present queen. How such a
measure will meet the wishes of the prince of Prome and the prince of Paghan, sons of
the king by one of his inferior wives, it is difficult to say. These young men are ambitious,
took an active part in the revolution, and, in conjunction with prince Mekara, are at the
head of the government; and one of them, prince of Paghan, is commander in chief of
the army.

Materials for building a new palace at Amarapura, are being collected. From this
place a large quantity of buffalo hides are being sent. These are to be made into ropes,
and some will be used to make size to mix with mortar. About 200,000 baskets of paddy
also have been ordered to be sent up to replenish the royal granaries.

The report mentioned in my last, of the death of Meawade, the ex-woon-gyee,
appears not to be true. He was dangerously ill, and recovered. On account of his talents
as a poet and musician, he is not confined with the other state prisoners, but is allowed
to live in a small hut by himself, in the prison compound, and is employed to teach the
young people music and singing. Not a word is heard of the ex-king, and it is not known
whether he is dead of alive.

For some cause, I have not heard from the church in Ava since the 8th of March.
This may be owing to the consternation among the people, caused by the unexpected
execution of the heir apparent and others. At such times of bloodshed every man is
afraid of his neighbour, and he who remains quiet is at the farthest remove from
suspicion. The officer who had charge of Ava when the king removed from Sagaing to
Kyouk-Myoung, a person who was supposed to be in high favour, has been reduced to a
common man.

In my journal for last year I had occasion to mentioned the name of Lugyi, a
young man whom br. I. baptized. He was in my employ for some time as a writer, and I
hoped he would prove himself undeserving the suspicions I had respecting him; but time
has brought his real character to light. There are strong reasons to believe that he
deceived himself and the teachers who were here, when he was received for baptism.
The last I heard of him, he had become an alchemist, and was in search of a nostrum
which was to turn lead into silver.
Since writing the above, on the afternoon of the 21st, a vessel from Calcutta brought the intelligence that Col. Benson had been appointed resident at the court of Amarapura, and would soon be at Rangoon. Capt. McLeod, of Mergui, has been appointed also assistant to the resident, and Mr. Bayfield is to remain at Rangoon, to be under the direction of the resident. It is said the governor of Rangoon seems sadly disappointed by the appointment of a resident so soon. A despatch boat was sent up to Amarapura this morning, to communicate to the king this intelligence, and in twenty days it is supposed the boat will return with his majesty’s answer.

Various reports have reached us by the late arrivals from Ranfoon, among others, that the half-brother of the late and present king, the Bo-thmoo Men-tha, has effected his escape from the Capital. If this be true, he will of course direct his flight to the Shan states of which he was formerly the Governor-General, and by whom he is, from all accounts, much beloved. He is said to be a man of far more energy and strength of mind than either of his half-brothers, and if he has escaped out of the present king’s hands, the latter is likely to find in him a very troublesome disturber of his quiet, and one whom it will not be easy to put down.

We have seen a copy of an order, or proclamation, or whatever else it may be called, addressed by His Majesty to all his loving subjects, in which he informs them that while his elder brother was on the throne, the Government was bad and the people oppressed and unhappy, but that he intends to restore justice and happiness—that for this purpose he did intend establishing himself at the birth-place of his great ancestor, but that it having been represented to him that Amarapura was the residence of his father—that it is a holy and fortunate city, and that all the omens and conjurations and divinations point to that city as the most eligible site for his throne and palace, he has determined upon re-establishing it as the Capital—that he has given orders for building a palace there, and that it is not his intention to call upon the people to contribute towards the expense which will be defrayed from the Royal Treasure. The last assurance, if abided by, which we much doubt, will be highly popular.

Reports are prevalent at Rangoon of Mr. Sarkies having obtained from the king a monopoly of Timber; and it has naturally created considerable dissatisfaction. The report, however, requires confirmation.
THARRAWADDY’S REIGN

[Letter from Maulmain, 6 April 1839]

By

Eugenio Kincaid

American Baptist Missionary Magazine 20.1. (January 1840)

As you will feel anxious to learn every particular bearing on the prospect of the re-establishment of the mission in Burmah, I embrace the first opportunity of giving you the outlines of what has transpired since my last date.

Col. Benson reached Maulmain, the last of March, and after remaining here four days, left for Calcutta in a steam ship. After remaining five months in Amarapura, and making every effort that one of the most experienced Indian statesmen could, to restore harmony between the two Governments, he was obliged to leave, without even being recognized as an English envoy. During his whole stay, he was not only entirely neglected, but repeatedly treated with positive insult. I had an interview with him, the day before he left for Calcutta, and learned, what was anticipated by all who have any knowledge of the king and court, that it was hazardous, if not impossible, to get back to Rangoon. Repeated consultations have been held in the palace, on the expediency of destroying the resident, and all of his party; but some of the more considerate of the king’s ministers thought it impolitic, and contrary to the established maxims of nations, and mentioned two instances in which they had cut off Chinese embassies, which, in the end, brought a great deal of misery on the country. Col. Benson became quite ill, which furnished a reasonable excuse for quitting the capital; but to bring away the whole party, was too hazardous to be attempted, even by veteran soldiers. Capt. McLeod, assistant to Col. Benson, is left in charge of the mission. He, too, will come away, as soon as he can frame an excuse sufficiently plausible to be admitted by the king and the court. In this covert manner, all the members of the mission must be withdrawn, or fall by murderous hands. This is a most painful embarrassment, but the English government has imposed it upon itself, by a most extraordinary course of forbearance. Barbarous or half-civilized powers, are certain to construe forbearance into fear, and a spirit of conciliation into a tacit acknowledgement of weakness. Col. Benson thinks the king is inclined to be on friendly terms with the English, but he is under the influence of two headstrong sons, and a large number of robber chieftains, to whom he owes his elevation to the throne. Active preparations for war are still going forward, in all parts of Burmah. Such is the present state of affairs.

War, however, is by no means certain. Some revolution may take place in Burmah, that will result in restoring former friendly relations.

As things now are, it is impossible to attempt missionary labor in Burmah, with the least prospect of success. I have confidently anticipated labouring in Ava or Amarapura before this time, but repeated attacks of fever on a constitution already debilitated, render it extremely doubtful, at times, whether I shall ever again preach the gospel in Ava. During the months of January and February, my health was so much improved, that I felt cheered with the hope of regaining my strength, but, since the warm season began, I find myself shrinking again. Mrs. Kincaid has had three attacks of fever, with enlargement of the spleen, within three months past. I feel thankful that my lungs are not affected, and that I can speak with the greatest ease. I preach in the native chapel twice
on the Sabbath, and four evenings during the week, besides labouring in different parts of the city, as my strength will allow. Not long since, I baptized two Burmans, and examined two others, but they were not received.

[Letter from Maulmain, 9 April 1839]

By Eugenio Kincaid

American Baptist Missionary Magazine 20.1. (January 1840)

We have received further intelligence from Amarapura, which is now the residence of the court of Ava. Capt. MacLeod, left in charge when Col. Benson quitted the capital, has had a private interview with the king, but it appears to have been an informal visit, the same as he would have received from me or any other old acquaintance. Nothing was said relative to the position of the two governments. The king was affable, as he always is, but carefully avoided any remark or hint that could be construed into a recognition of Capt. McLeod's political character. Thus the subject of war or peace is attended with as much uncertainty as ever.

We have obtained no further information from the church in Ava, or from those in the vicinity of Rangoon. It is "the reign of terror." Executions are almost of daily occurrence, attended with the circumstances of the most barbarous and revolting character. In some instances, they are too brutal and disgusting to be mentioned. In addition to this, Ava and the neighboring cities have just been visited by an earthquake more calamitous and awful than was ever before known in the empire. I will extract a few passages from a letter received this evenings, which contains some particulars in relation to it. [See "Amarapura, 23rd March 1820" under separate heading below]

Another letter says, "the destruction and desolation are most appalling. The three cities are heaps of ruins, wherever there were brick buildings and pagodas. The waters of the river rose up, and flowed back. The great shock did not last above five minutes."

Thus the judgements of Heaven are falling thick upon, poor, distracted Burmah. The king knows more of God, and his law, than any other monarch that ever sat on the throne of Ava, and yet he shuts light, and truth, and compassion, our of his heart.

"Amarapura, 23rd March 1839"

American Baptist Missionary Magazine 20.1 (January 1840)

A most appalling event occurred between the hours of 3 and 4 this morning. We were all fast asleep, when a rumbling noise, resembling thunder, awoke us, and about ten minutes after, our houses shook with such violence that we were unable to stand, and were obliged to support ourselves by laying hold of one of the posts. The ground near the residency is rent in different places, and large quantities of black sand have been thrown upon its surface. In the plains, immense chasms have been formed, from three to
four yards in breadth, and extending north and south to the distance of a mile and upwards. None of the individuals attached to the residency were hurt, but I am sorry to acquaint you that the whole of the brick houses and pagodas in the cities of Amarapura, Ava, and Sagaing, have become a heap of ruins, burying in their fall the unfortunate people who were asleep at the awful moment! The loss of lives is supposed to be great. At this city alone, upwards of one hundred have been already reported. Forty Burmans have been buried among the ruins of the buildings about the palace, and upwards of twenty Mussulmans in the different mosques. Ava is supposed to have suffered most. In a day or two we expect accounts of the loss sustained in that city and Sagaing.

[Letter from Maulmain, 3 July 1839]

By
Eugenio Kincaid

American Baptist Missionary Magazine 20.3 (March 1840)

I am still preaching to the native church in this place, twice on the Sabbath and four times during the week. Br. Stevens preachers Tuesday and Friday evenings. I have recently baptized five converts, and there are five or six others who are expected soon to receive this ordinance. Not long since the head native officer invited me to preach at his house, which was well filled with earnest literature. The truth is evidently gaining ground here; the violence of opposition has diminished, and the number of inquirers is greater than was ever known here before. Br. Stevens has commenced his school, and has the superintendence of all the assistants at this station.

About six weeks since, information was received from Ava, that the king had ordered 70 or 80,000 men to march for Rangoon, Bassein, and Toung-OO, under the command of three of his sons. Now the order is countermanded. I have just received letters from Moung Na Gau and Moung Oo Doung, of the church at Ava. They give intelligence of the death of Moung Moung, one of the brethren of the church, and state that they have been threatened by the authorities, but hitherto they have been providentially preserved. I long to be there. My whole heart is there. If I had consulted my own judgement exclusively, I should have been there some months ago. Perhaps, however, it would not have been a wise course. My health is altogether better than it was a year since, and I hope I shall yet recover my original vigor. Mrs. Kincaid is far from being well. Br. Judson is still unable to preach. Br. And sister Simons have just buried two of their children, and another is dangerously ill. On the 21st of June, we heard from sister Brayton. She was then given up by two physicians, and was expected to live but a short time. Br. Wade has recently been suffering from his old complaint, which we much fear will ultimately cut him down or drive him from the country. We have intelligence that br. And sr. Howard reached Pinang in safety, and that they were anticipating much benefit from the voyage.
My letter from Rangoon will have given you some idea of the fair prospects that appeared to be opening before us in Burmah. We are ready to grasp with eagerness the most distant hope of again entering our chosen field; but still, such is the policy of the new government that our expectations were not sanguine. The courteous manner in which foreigners were treated by the governor, raised up a host of enemies against him, and he was degraded from the vice-royalty, and ordered up to Ava. His successor is a brutal and ignorant man, who is capable of any acts however barbarous, and of executing any order however cruel. But a few months since, by order of the king, he buried alive in one building, above thirty persons, men, women, and children. By the appointment of this man, every one was prepared for new acts of oppression, and we did not mistake. First an order was issued to remove all Burmans from the service of foreigners, and next to forbid all Burmans paying money to foreigners, which is equivalent to forbidding all intercourse. The Burmans were afraid to come near me, or have me go near them. I often thought seriously of going direct to Ava, and begin my work, leaving the event to God, in whose hands are the hearts of all men. However, my family could not go up with me in such a state of the country, and to go alone would induce the suspicion that I was a spy, and so render my stay useless, if nothing worse. So far as personal danger is concerned, I should not hesitate to go to Ava or remain in Rangoon, but to remain in Burmah and do nothing is not in accordance with my feelings or views of duty.

B. Abbott and I have spent nearly a month up the Salwen river, mostly among the Karens, but still have had an opportunity of communicating the gospel, and giving tracts, to many Burmans. We found both Burmans and Karens on the Salwen river, in the greatest possible state of alarm; and certainly not without some reason, for repeatedly during the time of evening preaching we were disturbed by the shouts and firing of gangs of robbers from the Burman side of the river. Sometimes a whole village is kept in a state of alarm till midnight by these bands of marauders. Great numbers of buffaloes, paddy and their property have been taken away, and the Karens along the river and for a considerable distance inland dare not sleep in their houses at night, with the exception of Ko Chetthing's village. It is truly afflicting to see the females and children compelled, through fear, to hazard their lives in the jungle, and poorly clad as they are, endanger their health by sleeping in the cold, damp air of night. I wrote down to the government, giving an account of the robberies, and the distressed state of the inhabitants. Mr. Blundell immediately ordered up two gun-boats well armed, for the protection of the frontier. Br. Abbott became ill with fever, and we were obliged to leave.

As all hope of being able to labor in Burma for the present, is given up, I have had many anxious thoughts about the path of duty. At present my mind is nearly balanced between Mergui and some town in Arracan, and yet, if climate is left out of the account, Arracan has all the claim. It is painful being in such suspense, and to an all-wise Providence I desire to commit all my ways.
THARRAWADDY’S REIGN

[Tharrawaddy’s Arsenal]

Maulmain Chronicle, September 22, 1841, p. 193

There will be found in our advertising columns, a recent enactment of the Legislative Council, which is important to be known by all persons engaged in trade at Maulmain. The only fault we find with it, is, it has come too late. Tharawaddee has already armed a force of some fifty thousand men with good muskets of British manufacture, and it is not likely that he has forgotten, that they are of no use without a good supply of powder of a similar manufacture.

[Report on the Kayens]

Maulmain Chronicle, September 22, 1841

A gentleman lately come down from up the country, reports that the Kayens of the Yoonzalen are crossing over to our side in great numbers, in consequence of the cruelties and exactions in which they are subject from the Burmese authorities. He also states, that a considerable Shan force had moved down from Zimmay for the purpose of assisting the Kayens in their dispute with the Burmese, but returned in consequence of the Burmese force, which marched from Bileng, having returned to that place without executing the duty with which it was entrusted. We are somewhat puzzled to distinguish these Kayens from each other, and to know what tribe it is that appears to have thrown off the Burmese of Bileng and what tribes have taken refuge in our territories. Our own Kayens are said to be in some alarm at the doings on the Burmese side and at the threats held out against them if they continue subject to the English; but we have not heard of any disposition having been evinced among them to seek the benefits of Burmese rule and to contribute, with far more kicks than halfpence, towards the erection of the stockade, with which labour the silly old man at Martaban is harassing the people.

[Tharrawaddy’s March to Rangoon]

Maulmain Chronicle, September 22, 1841

The King of Burmah has, indeed, at last turned his back upon the capital. The general information and prevailing report is, that early in the present month, the Princes and Woongyees of the Empire embarked on board their boats, and that His Majesty would positively commence his descent on the river on the 6th inst. His capital he has left in charge of two of his confidential friends, the Mek-kara Prince and another Woon-gyee. These, we hear, are the only persons of eminence whom he has left behind him—an immense mass of the population accompanies His Majesty; some say 200,000 in all; of whom nearly one half are well armed and prepared for immediate military service. A great number of gun-boats, or war-boats, must of necessity have been put in requisition and fitted out for this expedition, and we understand that a vessel of about 200 tons, built for river navigation, is attached to the squadron. This “naval armament” is to be increased in Rangoon, as orders have arrived there, brought by a
special messenger, to procure to be constructed several more boats and one or two large vessels. His Majesty will arrive at Rangoon, if no accident impedes his progress, about the middle of next month.

But why is he coming? is the constantly recurring question. Is it not remarkable that the object of a movement, accompanied by so much “pomp and circumstance,” should be a profound secret? We think that suspicious of the peaceful intentions of His Majesty are not excited among the natives and foreign residents here, without good reason. We have long heard it said, and read it in print, that Tharawaddee is not fool enough, nor mad enough to make an attempt to recover these provinces by attacking our military position at Maulmain. We believe he is sufficiently possessed of both these qualities, with a large mixture of cunning and deceit, and if he thinks circumstances are favourable on his arrival at Rangoon, he will not hesitate to attempt to do us mischief. If his object be only pleasure or religion, as some say it is, it would appear singular that he should surround himself with so strong a military force, as, according to universal report, he is bringing with him. To fulfil such an object, why should he come prepared for a military campaign? Besides, knowing as he must, that to approach our territories with even ten thousand troops, and to erect stockades within sight of our cantonment, cannot but awaken the suspicions of our Government, why has he not, as a friendly power would do in such cases, condescended to acquaint our Government with his intentions, and declare openly that he has no wish or purpose to disturb the peace of the provinces? It may be true that he is not “fool enough” to hazard another conflict with British bayonets; but our Government would be guilty of much greater folly to trust to his peaceful inclinations, knowing that he is coming prepared for war. During the unrecognized Residency of Col. Benson, and afterwards of Capt. McLeod at his capital, he heard of the frequent visits of our men-of-war and steamers at his port of Rangoon, and of an accession of military strength by another Queen’s and Native Regiment at Maulmain, and thought us prepared for hostile operations. But, immediately, he sees the Residency withdrawn, he hears of a war with China, his sea-port is no longer visited by a man-of-war or steamer, and an European Regiment is withdrawn from Maulmain. There is no difficulty in deciding, at once, what conclusions such an uninformed and unenlightened mind as Tharawaddee’s would draw from such circumstances. To him, it has no doubt appeared, that these things could not happen, unless our Government were hard pushed and had full occupation for its naval and military force elsewhere. It cannot have escaped observation, that it was under the circumstances alluded to, that he commenced raising his army and signified his intention of coming into close vicinity with these provinces. Still, as the saying is, “he may be more afraid of us than we are of him;” but appearances may show, that however undisturbed our apprehensions may be, he holds us, at present, in but little dread.

[Preparations for Tharrawaddy’s Arrival at Rangoon]

Maulmain Chronicle, September 29, 1841

The Burmese holidays have commenced and last, we believe, for ten days. We hear that a good show of men and boats will be made this year, and we are glad of it, as it will convince our neighbours that we care little for all the rumours and threats of attack on this place which have now been current for some months. Our people are very happy and comfortable where they are, and have no desire to partake of the “bhon” so much
talked and boasted of by their late rulers. They have had no palaces or stockades to build here and are thankful for it.

On Thursday last the H. C. Steamer Proserpine was despatched up the Salween, having on board Capt. McLeod, and Capt. Halstead of H. M. B. Childers. She also had in tow several gun-boats, manned with lascars and a detachment of the Talaing Corps, who are to be stationed at several villages on this side of the river. The Proserpine, we learn, grounded on a sand-bank a few miles above the town of Martaban. We believe she remained a night on it and floated off again the next morning without sustaining the slightest damage. Her presence up the river will have the effect, we trust, of repressing the petty depredations of our friends over the way, and of giving confidence to our own people on the bank of the river.

After the above was put in type yesterday the Proserpine returned. We learn that she proceeded up the river to Myaing, about sixty miles, and steered clear of all shoals except the one above mentioned, and met with no accident whatever. The current of the river is very rapid, particularly at this season of the year, which, with the heavy drag of gun-boats in tow, was almost too much for the power of the engines: however, the trip has been quite satisfactory. The Steamer returned, we hear, in splendid style, having left Myaing about half past 9 o’clock A.M. yesterday, and anchoring at Maulmain at 4 p.m., stopping an hour and a half on the way.

The H. S. Steamer Ganges returned on Sunday last from Rangoon and reports that great preparations were making for receiving the king, whose approach had been more rapid than had generally been expected. The Ganges left Rangoon on Saturday when it was known that the king was at Sarawan, some seventy or eighty miles above Rangoon, but it was uncertain how long His Majesty intended to remain at that place. Some said, he would be there ten days, whilst others looked for his being at Rangoon before the full of the moon, or about to-day. It was expected that on Sunday, the advanced guard, under the command of the prince of Prome, would arrive at Rangoon. The rear guard is said to be under the command of the prince of Pahkan. The new landing place, erected at Rangoon expressly for the king, is reported to be a very elegant structure, divided off into three pavilions, the centre one red and the two others green. The whole length of the bridge has a richly carved balustrade, and the work altogether does great credit to the governor by whom, and at whose expense, it is said to have been erected in honor of His Majesty. The king’s landing at Rangoon will certainly prove a spectacle well worth witnessing. The whole pomp and circumstance of the kingdom will be concentrated in that one spot, and doubtless His Majesty will, on that day, feel proud of being at the same time the Monarch of so great a host and the object of its admiration and homage.
THARRAWADDY’S REIGN

[Suggestions for a Show of Force Against Tharrawaddy, 2 October 1841]

by

“Prevantative”

Letter to the Editor
Maulmain Chronicle, October 13 1841

Mr. Editor,

But that we know His Majesty is acquainted with our power, the accounts we now receive from Rangoon regarding the numerous, well-armed men daily poring into Rangoon,—regarding the well mounted field pieces, 19 pieces (from one to nine pounders) being landed from one raft,—regarding several vessels from 30 to 70 tons which have already arrived at Rangoon from the up-country, and from upwards of twenty large Chuliah Brigs, previously enticed to Rangoon under the pretence of being let off Port-charges when His Majesty arrived at Rangoon, and for which vessels cargoes of timber cannot now be had, we might reasonably infer that His Majesty entertained the intention to conquer Ceylon after settling affairs with Maulmain and our southern provinces. At all events, His Majesty seems to be offended at Lord Auckland’s pugnacious temperament in not yielding up to His Majesty the Lord Paramountship over India, without putting His Majesty to all this unnecessary trouble to take it.

We hear that all parties at Rangoon labour to impress on the minds of their hearers, that His Majesty’s views and intentions are most religiously pacific, while others, better accustomed to link together facts with chains of circumstances, boldly assert that if His Majesty’s intention be or was pacific, then is the crouching tiger a lamb, and the unreared venomous snake a harmless worm. Timidity on our part will mature temerity on the part of Tharawaddee.

I conceive that the best plan to prevent our old enemy at Bileng from setting incendiaries to destroy our town, we should, Firstly, station a steamer with a few gunboats on the Irrawaddie, off the mouth of the Line creek, down which His Majesty is proceeding. This little trifling armament would effectually separate His Majesty from the upper provinces by water communication. Secondly, instead of our steamer and gunboats being up the Salween, they should be on the Satang river, having a few guns on the Wind-mountain at Keedown. Thirdly, we should have two or more small class men-of-war and a steamer off Rangoon. Meanwhile where is your paper which was published in Burmese? It ought, I conceive, to be revived. The first article should be the Yandabo Treaty, therein shewing to His Majesty’s subjects, that His Majesty has no more right to the Tenasserim and Arracan Provinces than the Pegue chief, now in Siam, has to the kingdom of Pegue; also giving an account of the ransom of Canton. It seems the Court of Ava effects to believe that we lost 8,000 men at Canton. If a token of suspicion that a white feather may be expected when His Majesty comes a little nearer to the scratch can be exhibited, I submit this affected knowledge of a notorious untruth is that token. Finally, you should inform the head of Government, that on Burmese affairs he would act wisely to appoint two Commissioners, one of who should be either Mr. Blundell or Col. Burney, as Senior Commissioner.
Your obedient servant,

PREVENTATIVE 2nd October

Note:—We presume the noble Earl at the head of the Indian Government, will sufficiently appreciate the measures of precaution recommended by our correspondent “Preventative,” such measures have the merit, at least, of being singularly novel, as we believe it has not occurred, in the present century, that a British military forces have taken possession of the rivers and territories of a power with whom their Government was on terms of peace!—Ed.
Editor’s note:

Present in 1878 and early 1879 and then returning again to Mandalay in 1885 with British forces, James Alfred Colbeck, mission priest for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and latterly military chaplain, provides a unique look at the beginning and end of Thibaw’s reign (1878-1885). The letters included were originally selected and edited by George H. Colbeck, mission priest at Mandalay and were published under the title of Letters from Mandalay, A Series of Letters For the Most Part Written From the Royal City of Mandalay During the Troublous Years of 1878-79; Together with Letters Written During the Last Burmese Campaign of 1885-88 (Knavesborough: Alfred W. Lowe, 1892). The natural division and balance of the letters included warrants their division into two separate groupings, with the 1878-1879 letters included here and the 1885-1888 letters included in the forthcoming issue of SBBR. According to George H. Colbeck, the senior Colbeck died four days after his correspondence of 27th February 1888, the last letter in the published collection. Unfortunately, the original editor included few details on the circumstances of the correspondence, with some exceptions, beyond date and general point of origin (in most cases Mandalay). We are not told, for example, to whom the letters were written. Aside from these limitations, however, these letters offer valuable information not available in other source materials on Mandalay during the Kon-baung dynasty’s last, and arguably most troubled reign.

M.W.C.

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Mandalay in 1878-1879: The Letters of James Alfred Colbeck, Originally Selected and Edited by George H. Colbeck in 1892

JAMES ALFRED COLBECK

Rangoon, July 16th, 1878.

I am on the move again, Bishop has given orders for me to proceed to Mandalay. I am no coward, but yet do not at all like the idea of going to Mandalay.

There are few Christians of any sort. The English can be counted on the fingers very easily. There are next to no Tamils, and altogether the "Minister of Mandalay" has to endure a kind of banishment. Add to this the possibilities of the King giving trouble, and the continual rebellions which take place. . . . Mandalay is a good centre for a Mission, but not yet. The Bishop fears I shall get obnoxious to the Burmese Government and be put into prison the first month. I don’t know why exactly, but if I were put in prison for Christ’s sake, both you and I ought to feel it an honour. Of course we know Mandalay has been hanging over me for long enough, and now the word is given there should be no great surprise.
MANDALAY IN 1878-1879

The more I think about it, the more resigned I am, and the less difficulty I have in looking calmly at the situation and finding hope and cheerfulness. A further complication is owing to the fact that the British Government of India assumes some control over the "Minister of Mandalay," and thus you see there is S.P.G. and the Bishop on one side, the King of Burmah on the other, and Her Imperial Majesty between the two. By rule the Minister of Mandalay must visit Bhamo, the frontier town between China and Upper Burmah. There is a political agency of the Indian Government here, so I should naturally visit it occasionally, at least. It will please you to hear that the latest accounts from Mandalay represent the King and Court as more favourably disposed towards the Mission.

July 30th, 1878

On the 18th off I went, at 6-30 a.m. started from Kemmendine, and after a long journey reached Prome the same day at 7-30 p.m. We stopped for the night at the Traveller's Bungalow, and next day, Friday, went on board and rapidly steamed up past Thayetmyo, and then left the territory of the Empress of India, and entered that of the Empire of Burmah. My thoughts and feelings were much the same as when I first crossed the frontier, in 1874, but deeper and more earnest. It felt to be a more real duty than ever to pray for the King of Burmah. This we do now every day according to the ancient custom of the Church, and more ancient command of S. Paul: "I exhort first of all &c. . . . for Kings." Of course he did not then speak of Christian Kings for there were none.

After being two days within Upper Burmah, during a squall of rain and wind, the steamer got aground on a sand-bank, and there we stuck helpless; another steamer fortunately came up next morning, and after a whole day tugging, hauling, twisting and twining, discharging into a flat we were towing, 500 bags of rice; blowing off by steam pressure the water from our boilers, 30 tens, we managed to get off. We reached Mandalay, the Royal Golden City, on Saturday evening, at 7, but it was some time before I could land.

I am now well pleased that I have been sent here, and believe I shall be happy. It seems quite natural for me to be here again, and there are numbers of faces which I remember. I won't lead you into Mandalay politics because I know so little about them yet, and I am ordered to beware of politics. As for seeing the King, I do not yet know. It is very ungracious to take possession of the splendid Clergy House, Church, &c., and not to be ready and willing to pay respects to the Monarch who built it. I am ready and willing to pay my respects to the King, but there are obstacles in the way of free action. I find myself becoming quite grateful to the King of Burmah for doing in past time all he has done, and heartily use a special prayer for him in our services. You see up here we are not under the authority of the Queen, and to tell you the honest truth, it felt quite wrong to use all the State prayers for the Queen of England, and leave the Monarch of the country quite out.
Aug. 7th, 1878

If it be so ordered that I see the King soon, much may depend upon our first interview. It can be no harm to tell you that one of my instructions is "not to seek an interview with the King and Court."—It is a test of my obedience for I am strongly of opinion that it would be the best thing possible to see the King at once.

Mandalay is just as ever a place of plots and counter-plots. I do not think there is as much good feeling towards foreigners as there used to be. Cholera is bad here, in fact, in all parts of Burmah more or less. Rain was wanted much, but during the last week, beautiful refreshing showers have fallen, so we ought to be thankful.

September 18th, 1878

When I last wrote, I was expecting and watching for the arrival of refugee Princes escaping from an expected massacre; we did not know whether the King was alive or dead, and expected to hear a wild outburst of confusion every moment. I stayed up till the next morning at 3, and then turned in till 6 o'clock,—nothing happened. Next day, according to secret information received, a "Lady of the Palace" came dressed as a bazaar woman, and shortly after came about a dozen others; they were more than I had bargained for, but 1 had to take them in and secrete them as well as possible. A few minutes after them came in a common coolie, as I thought. I got up and said, "Who are you?". He said, "I am Prince Nyoung Yan,"—"save me." He was terribly agitated, had escaped from a house in which he was confined, and his Uncle—had been cut down—not killed—in opening a way for the Prince to escape. This made me a party of 12:—The Prince and his wife, two daughters (Princesses), one son (Prince), Foster Mother and her daughter and attendants.

Do not blame me for risking my own safety, for after all it is something to be an Englishman, and more to be a priest. My house is even by Buddhists regarded as, sacred, and not lightly to be disturbed. We knew search was being made for the fugitives, and so as soon as dusk came, we dressed up our Prince, Nyoung Yan, as a Tamil servant, and as it fortunately came on to rain I smuggled him into the Residency Compound, right under the noses of the Burmese guard at the gate. He carried a lamp and held an umbrella over me, as it was raining, and I treated him in character i.e., spoke to him as a servant &c., until the coast was clear. We did it capitaliy, and even cheated the Indian servants of the Doctor into whose house we first went. Prince Nyoung Yan, alias Ramasawmy, did his part well, and we could afford to laugh at it were it not that he is still in some danger. He might be proclaimed King to-morrow, or if one of his half-brothers was proclaimed he would know that Upper Burmah is no longer safe for him.

I could not take any more in that night, and next day the guards were doubled. Every moment we expected a visit from the sergeant of the guard, and when I got back home at 11-30, I was quite a little bit alarmed to hear that one of our servants had been arrested. It turned out afterwards that it was only because he was travelling about after 9 o'clock at night without a light, so our head master and I went out, and actually had the cheek to take with us our great enemy the sergeant of the guard at the Residency gate, to help us to get the servant out of another guard house; we were perfectly successful, we had to bully the soldiers a good deal, and they grumbled and growled when we at last took him away.
"What do you mean by arresting the servant of the English Priest?"

—"If you don't look out we'll report the whole affair to the authorities, and you'll get it finely."

—"Let him go at once, and don't talk such bosh and nonsense."—That was the style.

Next evening I went to dinner with the British Resident. This was a bona fide engagement; as it was dark of course I needed a light, so one of the Prince's servants became my servant, and a sweet but sad little Princess of ten years, dressed as a boy, followed me, carrying books for me. This is just in Burmese style Priests get boys to carry books &c. for them, so we got through the guard again; I thought they were going to stop us long before we got to the gate, but walked boldly on, and the guard cleared out of my way, so Princess Tay Tain Lat got in safely to her father. Shortly after I got home, at about 11 o'clock, two of the guard strolled into our compound with drawn swords.

I heard their footsteps but did not know who they were, so I challenged them, "Who's there?"

—Answer, "Guard."

—"What do you want?"

—Answer, "Things are very unquiet, we have come to see that all is quiet here."

—I replied, "Very good, the best place to watch is at the gate."

They went, and then I breathed freely again, I thought they must have got some idea of my little family. Next morning I sent Princess Tay Tain Gyee to the Post Office, which is inside the Residency Compound, dressed up as a boy. One of my own Christian boys from Kemmendine went with her and brought back a note from Mr. Shaw, the British Resident, saying she had got in safely. The Postmaster came to breakfast with me, and as he was going back to office, I said he might as well take a boy with a box of books &c. He said, "all right," and got safely in by another gate, also guarded. This "boy," dressed as such, was the foster sister of the Prince, and a brave little woman she was. It was she who had come first of all to prepare the way for the whole family. If she had been apprehended she would have been beaten to death very likely. When the Prince's Uncle was cut down, his son was near him and had his fingers cut off; he was afterwards beaten in order to make him divulge secrets, and with one thing and another the poor man died. The Prince's wife was got in as a jewel broker. The lady made a very nice young man, but her shape betrayed her. The old sergeant suspected something wrong and seized a China boy and Burmese boy who had gone in with her; but they knew nothing of their companion, except that I had sent him in with them, and the old sergeant had not wit enough to seize her at once; he pondered till she was quite safe within the Residency, and only knew she was a woman and did not come out again.

I have not time to tell how the rest got in, but at night I went again to dinner, and needing a light took the old grandmother, (i.e.) Prince's mother-in-law, as my old man
and lantern bearer, and the little Princelet followed me as a shadow. We were nearly discovered because my old man, though she looked very nice, was only an old woman after all, and had poor eyes. I Stumbled over her and nearly tumbled on the top of three of the guard, who were sitting down by the side of the road. Perhaps this incident got us off, the light dazzled me and them too, and the old man mended his ways so that at last we too got safely in. I can tell you I was very thankful when the last got into a place of safety, for the Burmese Officers will not dare to take them out of the Residency by force. I fancy there must have been some of the Prince's men in the guard, or they would hardly have allowed so many to slip through. Once or twice the fellows seemed on the point of rushing at us as they paced up and down before the gate, but they had received no orders to stop Europeans, and of course Europeans generally have a servant to carry the lamp so that the servant goes where his master goes. Next day the old Dine Goung (the sergeant), in conversation with the headmaster said he was afraid all was not right in the English Hpoongyee's House, and he wanted to search. "You are quite at liberty to do so," was the reply, for all the birds had flown. He did not come to do it. I got better sleep that night, six hours instead of three, and did not trouble my head to look narrowly at everybody that came near the gate.

The Prince and all his people are very grateful. If he becomes King and remembers his peril, no one knows what may result. There is another Prince who is spoken of as the future King; but so many rumours are spread abroad that we can believe nothing.

The Prince says, "the life that I got from my father and mother, I lost on—such a day—and now I am living the life that you gave me."

I said, "I am not accustomed to use the Burmese of the Court, therefore pardon my blunders in addressing you."

He said, "Do not say that, if you swear at, or abuse me, it is good for me to hear."

If the other Prince really becomes King, I must make the best of my case, and shall of course plead on the score of humanity and pity. This Prince was formerly in the batch sent by the King to school. There are a dozen or so unfortunate Princes in chains in the Palace.

The Burmese Authorities do not seem to have made their choice yet, and so no one has yet lost his head. It may be that after all the Princes will be sent away to British Burmah; anyhow it is a good thing for the rest that there are two safe in the British Residency. The Resident tells the Burmese Ministers, "If you take these Princes away by force, you declare war with the British." They are afraid of losing all their Kingdom. It would be foolish to say we are not troubled, because we really are. However, the more days get over the better it is for prospects of peace and quiet. The whole is not over yet, it is only a week ago since I sat expecting the refugees. They have spoiled my sleep and my appetite, and made me as watchful as a cat. I heard yesterday, that all the Princes in the Palace except two, Prince Thibau and Prince Mine Tone, were to be starved to death. This is not confirmed to-day, but they are under close confinement and being badly treated.
September 28th, 1878

We are still kept in annoying suspense and do not really know for certain whether the old King is alive or dead; we believe he is dead, but the Burmese Ministers declare he is still alive and improving, and will give a Royal Reception at the end of the Burmese Lent, that is, in about fourteen days more.

Meanwhile Prince Thibau has been appointed Heir Apparent, but rumour says this is all a farce. We know now that a very large part of the people are in favour of the Nyoung Yan Prince—and it is also said that many of the officials favour him too; but they have been persuaded by the Head Queen, either to agree to receive her nominee, Thibau, or at all events to wait awhile.

Between 60 and 70 Princes and their relatives are now in chains, badly treated and in terror of their lives. It has been reported that several have been put to death but I hardly think that is true. There was a scuffle the other day which had a serious ending. The Ministers, to keep up appearances, said the King had called the Princes, and was going to make presents of money and send each to his own Principality. Chains were knocked off, escorts provided, money carried into a big hall into which several Princes were led. They went in at one door, but when they went out at the other, they were again seized and fettered. Three Princes, feeling themselves free, made a run for life and liberty, but were all captured again.—One of them was the Mine Ton, Prince, a favourite pupil in the S.P.G. school, in old days.

The Palace is surrounded by high walls and palisades, and he got on to the top of one of these, but fell down inside again. One of the others received a sword cut on his head which brought him down, and we have since heard he has been put to death. He was a desperate fellow and a great hater of the English, so that if dead, the country will not suffer much loss in consequence.

The Nyoung Yan is profuse in his gratitude to me, and declares as before, that he is now living the life I gave him. He has really a very good prospect of becoming King, as the people say the Thibau Prince is too young, only 19 years, and that he will be guided entirely by the Hpoongyees, with whom, as a Hpoongyee, he has been living for some years.

I had another batch of refugees here yesterday, but managed to get them all safely into the British Residency Compound. One other batch is expected, and then I shall have done, I hope. In the event of Thibau becoming King, if he suspected me of having aided these people to escape, I do not think there would be much difficulty, as Hpoongyee Kyongys or Monasteries are allowed to shield such persons at times, and I could make a good defence. The various reports of the manner in which the two Princes, Nyoung Yan and his younger brother Nyoung Oke, got into the Residency, are very amusing to those who know exactly how it all happened, and their multitude is a great safeguard to us.

There are people living in our Compound who know nothing of our having had so many people here. It was good our house is so large.

There is no trade going on now; people crowd out of Mandalay by every steamer. The British Government have sent up a steamer to be ready to take us down if need be,
and there is a gunboat ready to start from Prome or Thayetmyo for Mandalay, with a party of Sailors and Marines, at an hour's notice. The preparations are known to the Burmese officials, so they have become more careful. The worst of it is many people in British Burmah want a war with Upper Burmah, and then hope the country will be annexed to the British Empire. Of course if war was declared we should be seized at once. The Resident says he intends writing to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, telling him to hang the Editors of the Rangoon Newspapers for their inflammatory articles. Reports have been spread that the Burmese authorities intended to take the refugee Princes by force from beneath the British Flag; and lots of people believe they will do so yet; but it is not at all likely unless all the Burmese authorities go mad and the soldiers get drunk.

The Nyoung Yan Prince gave me a number of thirty plates of gold, pure and unmanufactured—to provide for sending down some of his people to Rangoon, in case he should have gone away himself; but almost all have turned up already, so I shall have no more, and must hand the gold leaves back again.

October 12th, 1878

We have had considerable excitement of late, and as the telegraphic communication was interrupted, the Chief Commissioner sent up a Despatch Boat from Rangoon to see how we all were; we are quite well, and only on the look out for the next surprise. After all, the old King was not dead when the sons were seized. He did not die till October 1st. I would have believed no one who had not seen the body, but as I saw the Lying in State myself, my belief in the death having taken place three weeks ago was completely shaken.

I wonder whether I can tell you about the Lying in State.—Let me try. I had heard of the official notification of the death of the King to the British Resident, and also that foreigners would be allowed to pay theirs respects to the old King's memory; but no invitation had been sent to the British. However, at midnight, on Thursday, I received a note from the Residency, saying that English British subjects would be admitted on Friday morning, from 6 to 9 a.m. I went at 8 o'clock, and having dismounted and left my umbrella at the outer gate of the Palace, was taken to the Supreme Court and received by the City Magistrate, or as he is called in Burmese the Myo-tha-woon-douk. I had to take my shoes off at the stairs leading up to the Court, but was kindly received, and we sat on the floor for a while talking, until we were joined by Dr. W———, who is an English Merchant, and Mr. C———, the Italian Consul. I cannot attempt to describe the various buildings now, so you must imagine fine buildings of wood, completely gilded, and with huge pillars of red lacquered wood, of various sorts, sizes, and shapes. We passed by the Throne, which is in the centre of the Palace, under a splendid canopy of glittering roofs tapering up like a card house, and having on its top a golden umbrella very elegantly wrought. After passing through gate after gate, we came to the Presence Chamber, a large, lofty, darkened room, in which the King's body was lying on a kind of couch. Two-Princesses knelt near the body fanning it, and at the foot of the couch were a large number of Queens, Princesses, and Maids of Honour; all were kneeling and very quiet, and dressed completely in white, as also was the body. The body was quite natural and fresh, so that death could not have taken place more than two days before. After sitting about three minutes we retired. When we got to the bottom of the steps we could not find our boots, they had sent them away to the steps of the High Court about 100 yards away, and purposely made us walk in our stockings to that place.
The Italian was angry enough, I was more amused than angry; all the more as
the ground was not dry, and we were as nice as cats as to where we planted our feet.
We were the only Europeans allowed to see the King’s face, as immediately afterwards it
was covered with a veil, I was glad to pay this visit, as the old King was at least a
benefactor to us—witness Church, Clergy-House, &c.

There were heaps of soldiers on guard, but few of them seemed able to do much,
their arms are very old, discarded Indian Army Rifles, and many still older, flint locks.
There were a few pieces of artillery here and there within the Palace, but as the law
forbids them to be fired within the Palace, and they are never taken out for practice, it is
doubtful whether it would be safe to fire them. The largest pieces were 24 pounders,
and I only saw two of them.

Our friend the Nyoung Yan Min-Tha has not been appointed King, but Thibau
Min-Tha has, so that we must keep quiet here, and not blaze abroad our doings of the
past month. The two Princes and their families are still safe in the British Residency,
and since I last wrote I have introduced five other people. It is risky, but I cannot get out of it
when the people come to me. It is, in fact, easier to get them within the Resident’s
Compound, than to send them away and keep them out of mine.

The other Princes are still in prison, quite a black hole. If sickness does not carry
off a number of them, I shall be much surprised. Jesting at people’s misery is not nice or
proper, but the accounts we hear of the behaviour of the various kinds and ages of
Princes are rather amusing, e.g., Attendant bringing food (which is inserted into the den
through a small aperture):

"Prince, are you there, are you well?"

Young Prince completely cowed by hunger and fear, "Yes, my Lord, by your
Lordship’s favour."
—That is No. 1.

No. 2.—Attendant (to Princes 19 to 25 years of age):
"Prince, are you there, are you well?"

Prince (laconic): "Yes thank you, I am here."

No. 3.—Attendant to oldest Prince (30, or about that age): "Prince, are you there,
&c."

Prince immediately begins cursing and swearing at the fellow, and only asks for a
sword "to assassinate my own life" as our reporter has it.

The place is by no means settled. Less business than ever. People afraid to talk of
what is going on; but I do not think an outbreak will take place. News has been brought
of a big Dacoity or robbery, five days' march from Mandalay. A town of 2,000 houses has
been plundered and fired. Troops have been sent after the robbers, as if not quickly
dispersed they may raise a rebellion for one of the captive or escaped Princes. The truth
is that we hear so many rumours, that we do not know what to believe.
The Royal Funeral has taken place, and Prince Thibau declared King. I went with the British Resident and party, but must put off giving the account to another time.

November 1st, 1878

The air is still full of startling rumours, and young King Thibau has taken a fancy to throwing spears about at those who offend him. If he goes on with that little game, his reign will not be very long—if that we are sure. We have several refugees in the Clergy-House now. Two cousins of the Prince whom I helped to escape, are with me, and to avoid suspicion, I have made them turn coolies, working in our garden and making fencing. This they are quite willing to do. It occupies their minds and hands, and they quite see the reason why I prefer them thus to work rather than hiding away in one of the rooms of the house.

They also earn their food by this means. The father of one of these men was Governor of Rangoon years and years ago, and is said to have brought on the war with the British, which ended in our taking Rangoon and the whole Province of Pegu, which we have since retained.

This was in 1852 and 1853. He, i.e., the father above spoken of, and his son, both put on the robes of Hpoongyees and went into a Monastery, but they were hunted out. The son escaped and is now with me. The father was caught and after being examined by torture, was put into prison. Some say he has been beaten to death; the reason for all this is that they are relations of the Nyoung Yan Prince, and supposed, truly or falsely, to be intriguing to get up a plot in his favour. Two nights ago, a poor woman with her little daughter threw herself on my mercy. She had been to other places, but had been turned out as she was the wife of one of the sons of the old Governor of Rangoon before mentioned. I could not turn her out, and so she is still here. One has to be very cautious in sending them away. I have tried to find a way for her into the Residency Compound where some of her relations are with the Nyoung Yan; but it seemed safer for her to remain here a day or two, and if her child would not cry there would be no fear; but children will cry you know, they are very unreasonable creatures, as I daresay you know.

Have I told you of my little adventure? I think not. The other day, having been invited to see one of the head Hpoongyees, I started off early, but missed the guide who was to have been sent for me. I did not know exactly where the Monastery was, and was riding about here and there trying to find it. At last I came to a Burmese guard house, but instead of quietly waiting to hear my civil enquiry, one of the guard said rudely

"Who are you, and where do you come from."

This, I am sorry to say, put me on my mettle, and I pitched into him rather forcibly and then rode away. He, however, followed me, and thinking it best to avoid a scene, I rode back to him, which softened him a little. He told me to get off my pony, which I declined to do and said he had orders to prevent the English Priest, or any Englishman, from holding any communication with the head Hpoongyees. The Burmese Government, you see, is dreadfully afraid of us.

Then he said, "Come with me to the officer commanding my division."
As he said it was quite close, I consented, but said, "I want to see the Hpoongyee, not your 'Officer'."

When we got to the officer's quarters, he wished me to dismount at the outer gate, and go in, which I refused, and told him to go in, and that I would stay till he returned. The officer was not in, but another man came, and as I declined to tell him my business with the big Hpoongyee, the two of them went with me, shewing the way. It so happened that the Hpoongyee had been suddenly called away by one of the Ministers of the Court that morning, and was not at home, so that, though one of the guard followed up all over the place, and listened to all I said to the other Hpoongyees, he learned nothing of my business. I did not know then, but the next day a messenger came to me from the Head Hpoongyee, to ask whether in case of a big row, I would receive and shelter the said Head Hpoongyee for a few days. I said "Yes." After my visit, it seems the guard tried to get out of the Hpoongyees everything about the whole affair. Since then, heaps of Hpoongyees have been arrested, including two or three big ones—like our Bishops—and several have been put into prison and beaten. I hope my old friend is not among them. I have told the affair to the Resident, and he has informed the Burmese Government that I was rudely stopped, so that it will not be likely to occur again if things keep quiet.

Over 1000 Hpoongyees have left for Lower Burmah since the troubles began here. The new King, though he has only just left a Monastery, will not do half as much for them as his father did.

November 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 1878

Let me try to redeem my promise to describe the King's Funeral. On Monday, October 7\textsuperscript{th}, at 9 o'clock, I went to the British Residency, where a procession formed. The Resident in full political and diplomatic uniform, sword and all, first mounted on a big elephant, sent by the Burmese Government; then the Assistant Resident on another elephant then the English Hpoongyee on a pony, who rather objected to follow a great hulking elephant, and tried to bolt twice. After us came a lot of followers, without arms, for strange to say, the Residency guard have no arms, they are mere watchmen and Lascars. When we got to the East gate of the Palace enclosure, we were met by the Burmese officials, who greeted us warmly and shook hands, then led us to a tent specially arranged for us. No foreign sword had ever been allowed inside the Palace before, so there was one concession. We passed between long rows of Burmese soldiers, most of whom wore ordinary dress, and had old Brown Bess Muskets, some even flint locks, such as may have been used at the battle of Waterloo. Not a single breech loader did I see. In the tent we found a raised Dais, and at the end of the Dais a raised step covered with fine carpets, upon which we sat, hats and shoes on, though the Woon Douk, or official, who had come to bring us in, took off his sandals.

We had a capital view of the whole proceedings, and rather to our surprise, saw that everybody else besides ourselves and an English Doctor had to take their shoes off, before going into the tents or booths prepared for them. Troops began to multiply, and dignitaries to arrive, each with an escort. Everybody was in white, the mourning colour. At last the funeral procession came, the body of the late King, surrounded by Queens, and shaded by seven white umbrellas, was preceded by 40 or 50 Princesses, who had
in their hands a white cord, as though they were dragging the Royal Bier. After this came 
a Royal Waw or Palankin—a kind of Throne, carried by about 50 men. The Throne was 
vacant, but at each of the four corners there was a young girl, bowing down with hands 
upraised, as in the attitude of worship or reverence. After this came a sham funeral pyre 
and catafalque, supposed to contain the King's body, with everything ready for burning, 
as had been usually the custom. Behind it were carried the robes, sword, betel box, &c., 
of the late King, and two ponies fully caparisoned were also led behind.

After a considerable interval came the new King, sitting in a Waw as before; this 
carriage was a splendid affair, and all its surroundings were grand. Four handsome girls 
as before, were in the car. They are supposed never to move hand or eye, but ever to be 
in reverential awe. The sun blazed down upon them, but they stood that bravely. The 
King was surrounded by Ministers and troops, dressed in scarlet coats to their knees, but 
with green fancy cord bodices, and green helmets with ear flaps. As the Royal Car came 
along, everybody went down in silence to the ground. We stood up with hats off. The 
young King hardly moved his face at all, but we could see his eyes roll to our side trying 
to make out who we were. A Royal herald crawled forward on hands and knees, to read 
a petition, humbly begging that the new King would graciously order the funeral 
ceremonies of his deceased father to be proceeded with. "Let it be done duly and well" 
was the answer, and then the King's procession went back to the Palace. According to 
custom the body should have been burned, but the old King had asked that his body 
might be buried. Everything ready for the burning, the wood, two furnaces, &c., was 
prepared in dumb show, but the body was really placed in a Pagoda and bricked up as in 
a tomb. We went round to see everything, but as the chief queen was still at the tomb 
watching the workmen, we did not go close, up to it. Everything was perfectly orderly and 
the people quiet. Sometime after the British party had got in without being questioned, 
the Italian Consul arrived at the outer gate, he was stopped as he had his sword, but 
when a messenger came to the official who had brought us in, permission was given for 
his' admission with his sword. This is a great departure from Burmese customs: they are 
wonderfully conservative, but you see are now giving way. Everybody was very kind to 
us, bringing us sweetmeats, tea, biscuits &c. One of the minor officials, Chief Clerk of the 
High Court of Justice, had been in England sometime, but you may imagine my 
amusement as well as astonishment, to be asked by a Burman, in the Royal City and 
Palace, whether I was not a "High Churchman." In our conversation he said, "The day for 
the Burmese Hpoongyees is over, they will never again have the power they have had." 
We were taken back in State to the Palace gate, and mounted our beasts. It was a very 
hot day, and we had been three or four hours in the tent, so that I saw no fun in walking 
slowly behind the elephants, and so cantered quickly home. I went into the Residency, 
and was welcomed most heartily by the refugee Princes. They had got into a regular 
fright at our long absence, and imagined we had been seized and would be obliged to 
promise to deliver them up before we would be set free. My arrival was worth a lac of 
rupees to them, they said.

The King was grandly dressed, Cloth of Gold, and splendid Crown something like 
a Papal Tiara. It seemed so heavy that he could hardly move. There were muslin 
curtains about him, and once the curtain got entangled in the gold work on the top of the 
crown, which gave him much trouble. He looked anything but comfortable or pleased, as 
a rebellion was anticipated at the time, and he might get polished off at once, and that 
was why he so quickly went back. Many of the Queens of the late King have been turned 
out of the Palace, and their jewels, which constitute their riches, taken from them. It is 
the custom for the King to marry several of his half-sisters, and the question is now
which of them. Two of the most influential and eligible decline to marry him,—one of them shaved her head and became a nun to avoid it. I don't know how he and they will settle the whole matter, but things are by no means peaceful yet. The Ministers have the chief power in their own hands still, so that the young King can do nothing startling just now. A plot has been found out during the last few days, and probably a good many people will suffer in one way or another. There will be continual plots until our two refugee Princes get away to India or elsewhere, and until it is known what is to be done with the poor chained captive Princes. No trade is being done, and people still crowd out of Mandalay.

November 9th, 1878

There was a very exciting affair last week, one of the river steamers was boarded by 200 Burmese soldiers and their superior officer, at a place called Mingyon, about 80 miles below Mandalay. He asked the captain to give up some refugees, slaves of the King, but refused to give the captain any warrant. The captain, like a true Britisher, said he would not surrender, nor allow his ship to be searched; so they had a scuffle, the end of which was, that 30 people were carried away by force. The boarding took place at three o'clock in the morning. I expect the Indian Government will come down hot upon the Burmese, but I hope they won't come down hotter upon us. As I write, the British Resident is holding a Conference with the Chief Ministers of the Burman Court, about this and the two refugee Princes. You see we are kept rather lively just now. The Burmese are looking out for the result of the war with Afghanistan; they think we shall have enough to do to maintain our own there, and that they will be able to have their own way here. Probably they will find out they are mistaken, especially if the British insist upon immediate satisfaction for the above affair and one or two others like it which have taken place lately. I do not think there will be war yet between India and Burmah, but there is no telling how foolish the Burmese may become. The Ministers have plenty of volunteers who said they would bring the refugee Princes by force from the protection of the British flag.

f I were in British Burmah, I should say, "Burma divisa est in partres tres." But we will not joke about it.

November 16th, 1878

The two refugee Princes have now got safely away from Mandalay, on board a British steamer, so that we may fairly say they are safe from molestation. There was a great struggle before everything was settled; and time after time, as I have already told, there were alarms of a forcible capture, which would have meant war between the Indian Government and Burmah, to result perhaps in the annexation of the latter—a thing which I do not wish to happen just now—I do want a little corner in the East to be independent. I think I told you about a violent seizure of thirty persons on board one of the river steamers—British, The Indian Government was very angry about it, and insisted on the officer who had so insulted the British flag being punished. This was a serious affair, so that the Burmese Government perhaps thought they might as well ask us to take away the refugees, and give them a house somewhere in British territory. Anyhow, it was decided that they should be sent down; and so last Wednesday evening, the Princes took formal leave of us, thanking all very heartily for what each had done.
The Nyoung Yan was very good. His wife and children dressed up as Princes and Princesses should be. The ladies, with splendid diamonds &c., and looking very nice indeed, said "Good bye." Of course I had seen them often enough, but never "In State." One or two of them were nearly inclined to cry at parting from us.

The Prince made me promise to give him my photo and promised his own, and that of his wife and children in return.

At day-break on Thursday, the 14th, I went over to the Residency, and quietly smuggled in the last of the refugees with me. The Burmese Government was evidently angry to be thus baulked of its prey, and sent neither elephants, carts, nor umbrellas, for the two Princes and their families; and in addition to the surliness, the officials appointed to see the Princes safely away were two hours late. At last the procession formed. First went the Chief Officer and armed guard, then came various carts containing the Prince's library, which he was delighted to receive in safety through me; then the Nyoung Yan and his family in one bullock cart;—he ought to have had an elephant all to himself, with three golden umbrellas, and about a hundred followers; then the younger Prince and family; then the Assistant Resident, the Doctor and myself, on horse-back; then two English Court officials; the whole of us having a Burmese guard on each side lining the road.

Last of all came 13 other carts containing the Prince's attendants, followers, &c. There were a good number of people to see the procession, and they have an idea that the British Government will yet place the Nyoung Yan upon the throne of Burmah. When the steamer was reached, all got quickly on board, and after saying good-bye to all once more, they left, followed closely by a Burmese Government steamer with a large number of troops on board. The Nyoung Yan was sad, for of course he is leaving his own country, and it is not settled where he shall go to. I am sad, too, for his children, if they go to India, and become like Bengal Baboos I shall indeed be sorry. Oo Zun and Tay Tin Ma Galay,—a young Prince and Princess, ages about 10 and 12, declare they love me very much. Little Oo Zun is about as mischievous as can well be; when he was in the Clergy House, I had to tell him I would beat him if he did not make less noise. He had begun to tumble about the place with the little dog Min-Gyan.

However, they have gone now, and we feel queer just for the moment, but there are yet clouds ahead. No one is allowed to see the young King; he is a prisoner really in the hands of his Ministers. Rangoon papers are urging the despatch of an "Ultimatum" to the King, in fact, trying to foment disturbances between the two countries. I have not been to see the young King, and don't know what the real feeling of the Ministers towards me and Missionaries in general is. I saw the Roman Bishop, and some of the Priests the other day.

They complained much of the evil lives of their country-men, and Europeans in general, and said they were almost hopeless about Burmans. I said, I was not, though of course I acknowledged we had very few here yet. They are gathering their Priests for an annual retreat, and will number over a dozen altogether, i.e., in Upper Burmah alone. Compare with this my solitariness, but I am hoping for better things; at all events, there is plenty of room for prayer and study to fit one for future work, here or elsewhere, and indeed more battles are won by prayer than the world dreams of.

I shall rejoice to see the way made clearer for the advance of the kingdom of our dear Lord. Sometimes, I long for hard trials that I might shew my love to Him but this is
wrong, "In your patience possess ye your souls." The trial now is to be patient, but my fear is that we are after all only cowards in sitting still while hundreds and thousands perish without Light, the Light of Life.

February 24th, 1879

We have had a terrible time here, but thanks be to God all Europeans are safe and untouched, at least for the present.

The King has turned mad with rage, vexation, and fury as it were, and has put to death as many members of the old Royal Family as he could lay hold of. Thirty persons of Royal blood have been thus sacrificed, and many others connected with them. I cannot give you particulars now. The murders are estimated at, from 60 to 250, the former being nearer the mark. I believe we were in a very critical position for some time, but the guard—only 30 men however—has arrived now, and gives a possibility of our making some defence if attacked. The Church will probably become the fort.

March 29th, 1878

We are all safe up to the present, but the clang of arms does not seem far off. Troops are being collected in Lower Burmah, and some detachments have been pushed forward close to the frontier. I hear, but do not know whether it is true, that an Embassy is coming up with an ultimatum to the King. I should not wonder if this were so, as it would bring up a fair escort, and so we should be able to leave Mandalay with it in case negotiations ended unfavourably. I perhaps have a chance of martyrdom now, but it is a political martyrdom, and for that I have no ambition. It would be impossible for me to stay behind after the British Residency goes, as I should be looked upon as a spy, and probably be at once seized and put into prison, if nothing worse. You will be able to tell how affairs in general are proceeding by the telegrams in the London papers, so that my letters will probably only reach you after your fears are over.

For the time it is rather anxious work, e.g., when the last mail arrived, the papers contained the articles of the ultimatum which is to be presented to the King. They may be all nonsense, but they are severe enough, and I should not think the King would give way. These papers, of course, find their way into the Palace, and we heard that that very hour an order was given to march upon us and seize us all. If the King were in one of his drunken bouts he may have given the order, but the Ministers did not carry it out. They are clothing, drilling, and arming their troops, and so it is possible some mad officers who have never seen a British regiment, may think they are quite a match for us. The older Ministers of State know better than this, but their power is very little. The King gives all his ear to his youthful companions and fortune tellers, who are bound to say good concerning him, under penalty of finding themselves locked up and otherwise punished.

You will hardly expect to hear much Missionary news in this letter, but we are not dead in this work either; we were hoping to baptise eight or ten adults at Easter, besides five or six children, but they have become scattered here and there, and no one can come into our Compound now without fear of punishment, nor will any stranger be at all pleased if I attempt to enter his house, as it would bring suspicion upon him. This state of things is of course hardly what one expected, when we first heard that one of our school-boys, No. 27, was to become King.
Supposing the present madcap does fight the English, and we get away safely, I quite expect he will burn all our Compound and the Residency down. This would not matter much if we were not in it; and the British Government would probably help largely in restoring things as they were before, for one reason, because a regiment of troops would probably be stationed here, and would want a Church to go to.

Another reason why I must go if the British flag is hauled down, is, that some mischievous person has published in the Rangoon papers, that I gave shelter and means of escape to several relations of those who were murdered the other day. It is quite true, but most inconsiderate and prejudicial to my safety. I have not done wrong, and I trust in God: our danger is not without its effect upon people disposed to become Christians.

Before this reaches you most likely things will be fairly settled again, as this present high pressure cannot remain for long; once let off steam and things will rapidly resume their more ordinary condition.

April 28th, 1879

Things at the present time are very uncertain, none of us know what will happen. The British Government has got 5,000 additional troops into Burmah, and is sending to India for more, while the Burmese Government is drilling and arming as many men as possible. We are the difficulty, i.e., we Europeans in Mandalay,—for of course no decent government can any longer hold friendly intercourse with such a King as Thibau.

It is very odd that everything conspires to assure the King that his reign will be a short one. His Astrologers actually tell him that by November he will be no longer King, and that he is the last King of Burmah. Of course there are numbers of similar predictions, and it would be wonderful indeed if some of them did not approach near being fulfilled. I have now in the Clergy House the Special War Correspondent of the Daily News, and the Special of the Standard is in the Residency. They both thought war would have been declared long before this, and are accordingly not a little disappointed.

The exodus from Mandalay still continues; to-day about twenty Armenians and their old Priest leave.

The loss to all kinds of people, especially traders and merchants, is very great, and such is the uncertainty, that in some parts the people are unwilling to cultivate their land, in the doubt as to whether they or others will reap the crops. It would be very singular if the end of this uncertainty were a famine in the land, and this is by no means improbable. We are having very bad days and nights, but a few days thunder and lightning like we have just had, will reduce the temperature considerably and enable us to be a little less than streaming sponges.
May 4th, 1879

We are all safe so far, but have continual alarms and rumours. It is odd to live in the midst of alarms so long. We hear wolf, wolf, so often, that when the wolf comes we shall suspect he is a sheep got up in wolf’s clothing. You may expect to see more about Mandalay in the Daily News about the time this reaches you. The special war correspondent is here, and also the special of the Standard (Mr. McPherson), who accompanied the camp of General Roberts in Afghanistan; so if the British public will take the trouble, it will be better informed about Burmah than it has been. I am very much astonished to find the Church Times quite at sea as to the political geography of Burmah. But it does not concern them very much, though it might possibly interest the editor to know that the paper gets so far up here. As a precautionary measure, I fancy, the political agent of Bhamo has been brought down here to Mandalay, and we are to have two steamers ready to provide for our decamping, should it be necessary, at any moment of day or night. A further reason for apprehension just now is the sickness of the chief minister,—the man who has kept peace between the two countries till now. I hope he is better now. He was reported to have cholera two days ago, and, being not a very strong man, we feared he might rapidly succumb. He is the Kin-woon-min-gyee.

May 11th, 1879

Now about Burmah war, fever—what is to happen I do not know, but expect it will be war, and if we can get behind the advance guard of the British troops we must be thankful. If the Afghan war and Zulu campaign had not tied the hands of Government I suppose we should have had to move before this. The last few days have been more uncomfortable, politically speaking, and it is an undoubted fact that trade and agriculture have received a most effective check in Lower Burmah. As usual, our delay and policy is declared to indicate cowardice, and many Burmans here are not backward in saying that we are afraid of the king and his new troops. If you were here you would think it queer to count up four revolvers in the Church Compound, and none of them belong to me; but it is the custom in Mandalay to sleep with a revolver under the pillow now, and my visitors have brought their revolvers up with them. Now that war seems so imminent I wish it less than ever, for it is at any time an awful thing.

I have just got another small batch of refugees. It is a terrible time for people attached to the Court—great, to-day; to-morrow, nobodies.

Our good brother George Smith has shown well in Zululand.

June 5th, 1879

I have just been writing a letter to the Nyoung Yan Prince in Calcutta, to tell him of the state of his poor old mother and sister here. They have been once at least ordered out to execution, but have been spared hitherto. They are now closely confined, and have two chains on each foot. The Princess is only about 16 years of age, and is a poor writer, but she wrote yesterday almost broken hearted, because I had doubts whether a former letter which asked for money had really come from her. I was able to reassure her the same evening by sending her substantial help, and she then wrote saying she had two chains on each foot and that the irons had chafed the flesh raw. We pity those who have
been put to death, but surely in some respects greater pity is due to those who are still in such wretched suspense and so closely confined. Of course I do not go to the Palace myself, and it is amusing to hear the devices of the women who manage to convey our messages. To-day the Princess sent out a letter written in pencil upon a strip of cotton cloth, which was wrapped up with some sewing work supposed to be for a jacket. Often enough the small notes come out wrapped up in a Burmese cheroot or cigar. We know nothing yet as to the settlement of the affairs between the two countries, and most certainly the Burmese are making every preparation, as you may see from the correspondence in the *Daily News* and *Standard*.

The Correspondent of the former stayed a month with me in the Clergy House, and we went out a great deal together, until our ponies were stolen. He, however, being a determined man, still went out on foot, but unfortunately not knowing Burmese, except a few words, he got into one or two serious rows, which might have ended awkwardly for him and us. One day he was accosted by a Hpoongyee, and talked a little while as well as he could, till thinking the Hpoongyee was speaking rudely to him, he turned round and using the only word of abuse he knew, walked away. He seems to have wanted to call the Hpoongyee "son of a dog," but what he did say, was, "a dog's funeral." This was very nasty and stupid, I was intensely surprised, and a good deal annoyed, but what of the Hpoongyee's feelings? Unless he laughed at the ludicrous mistake, he will hate the sight of a white face for long enough.

Things are so close in the Palace now that it is hard to hear anything and prove its truth, so whether more executions have taken place or not is quite uncertain.

It is true, however, that the young king is drinking heavily, and his wives, mother, and mother-in-law are not happy together.

His young favourites lord it over everybody, so that things are ripening for a regular burst up sooner or later. Perhaps if the young drunkard drank himself mad or dead he would do the best for his kingdom and make room for a better man,—our friend Nyoung Yan, now in Calcutta. I hear he is inclined to make over our Church, schools, &c., to his own Hpoongyee. If so, and he dares to try to turn me out by force, I expect the delay will come to an end, and the British Residency quit Mandalay. Sometimes I feel as though, after all, there will be no war, and that if we are left alone all will favourably settle down to the benefit of our work. So may the good Lord grant.

June 11th, 1879

Health and spirits are all that can be desired, but the troubled atmosphere is not yet dissipated, and only yesterday a poor woman sought refuge here with her little child of six months old sick with smallpox. She had been kept in prison and chains for ten months, and this child was born during that time; pity or fear at last moved the authorities to let her out, and so she came here for shelter. We have had eight small-pox cases in our Compound, and no one is left to get it, I think, so that we fear the less to receive the poor little stranger. The brother and sister of the Nyoung Yan Prince are being still barbarously treated; though their ankles are raw with the chafing of the irons, they are to be more heavily ironed, and to-day a messenger comes to say that they were put into a close dungeon last night, which has only one narrow door for entrance, and only one

1 "Son of a dog"—(quaymäthä); "A dog's funeral"—(quaymathä)
little aperture through which to pass food. Happily I sent in Rs. 100 just before this closer confinement, which may help them to live on till they can be released. The King's order is that henceforth they are not to be allowed to receive food from strangers. He and his Queens will feed them from the Royal Table! Poor mother and daughter!

There has been, and is, a plague of smallpox amongst the children of Mandalay. Few are vaccinated, and the weather is too hot to allow of its being properly done now, so that death after death occurs. What a terribly loathsome disease it is; it looks as though every part of the body were rotten and corrupt, and could never be sound again. I think English anti-vaccinationists need only step over to Burmah to be convinced of the general utility of vaccination.

I cannot tell you any more about the probabilities of war. Sullenness seems to have come over the Burmese Court, and they will do nothing to become friendly with us. Now that the Afghan War is so far settled, perhaps the Indian Government will pay more attention to this part of the world, for sooner or later a settlement must be arrived at to avoid constant sources of irritation.

Our opportunities of Missionary Work are considerably curtailed just now, but for all that there are several persons whom I hope ere long to receive into the Holy Church. I do really think that when once affairs are settled down, we shall be able to go forward far more freely than ever. I myself have an increased knowledge of Burmese, and the present difficulties have given me unexpected opportunities of exercising my knowledge and so learning the more.

As I write now, a Burmese Hpoongyee named Oo-wa-ya-ma, is leaning over my elbow admiring the rapidity of the pen and words formed. He wants to come here and learn, but I tell him he is too old, and I cannot spend my time vainly endeavouring to flog big boys so as to master them. He is 24 years of age. He is talking away in Burmese close to me, expecting sensible answers, and as I kicked his shoes out of the house, scolding him for rudeness, I must make amends for it by smoothing him down now. He would not have walked into his own Kyoung with his shoes on, and I require them to give the same respect to the English Hpoongyee Kyoung.

June 12th, 1879

I dare say you would like to hear that the poor old Queens have been set at liberty, but this is far from being the case. I don't suppose they can live long under such hardships and confinement. I am writing again to the Nyoung Yan Prince by this mail, to tell him, and to convey two other letters, but he can do nothing, and any earnest remonstrance on the part of the British Government would also be too likely to ensure the death of the prisoners.

The King has been re-crowned, and ought, according to custom, to have released a number of people, but he did not, and really I should not wonder if his continual cruelty at last roused even the stolid Burman. Of course we keep quiet and don't go out over much into places where the King's men muster largely, they have grown so bold that any stupid act might cause a row. Mr. Scott, Special of the Daily News, got into a fearful row in one of the Monasteries. He was going where he ought not to go, with his shoes on I suppose, and when spoken to he did not understand, so
instead of turning back he went on, being at length pursued by boys who threw stones. Coming to a barricade he retreated, but was captured by a few Hpoongyees, and had a squad of boys in the rear, still pelting, regardless of friend or foe.

Turning round to chastise the boys, he was actually collared by a Hpoongyee, but swinging round he made a cut at him with a stick and cut his cheek. Scott is a powerful little man and put some half dozen or so hors de combat, knocking one poor fellow head over heels down some steps. He himself did not come off without marks of the fight, but I was quite prepared to hear a shouting mob arrive at the Clergy House immediately after he returned. None came, however.

July 3rd, 1879

We do not get far from our troubles here yet, and still hang on most uncertainly. Another Resident has come, but he intends to let things go on just as they are, as he is only here for a few weeks or months, till some one is sent to be the permanent Resident. Executions go on privately, and I am told the Burmese are very busy searching for several whom I have got down to Rangoon, and for one who is still here waiting for a good opportunity.

If the young King would die, kill himself, or be otherwise got rid of, it might be easy for the country to recover itself and so to get a better King; but if the present young tyrant increases in cruelty and cunning as he does in years, there is anything but a happy look forward.

D.V., we shall baptize three adults next Sunday, one woman, Burman, one youth of 16, Burman, and one man, 26, a Mussulman, whose friends are very angry, and threaten to petition the King against it. I hope they will. They are now threatening the young man, and the friends of the Burman lad say they will disinherit him. So you see there are still things to be suffered and borne for the sake of Jesus Christ. I am thankful for it.

July 17th, 1879

I don't know whether we see the beginning of the end or not, but two, rebellions have broken out in the country, one at Bhamo, a place about 200 miles to the North of Mandalay, and the other about as far to the South West. In the former case the people refused to pay the terrible taxes laid upon them, and give the quota of one man from a house for the King's army, and when force was put upon them they killed twenty of the Governor's troops. Since then they have surrounded an officer sent to subdue them, and have killed him. In the other case 300 Burman soldiers are said to have been killed, and the revolt not quelled. Here in the Royal City nothing goes on but drilling troops, and State Lotteries, which are of course fearfully demoralizing to the people.

The baptisms I spoke of in my last letter, took place last Sunday week, without disturbance. The friends of the Mussulman petitioned the Burmese authorities, but without effect, and none of them came to interrupt the baptism of Peter; we hope he will be stedfast as a rock.
The others were Edward, a very lovable lad of 16, as tender-eyed as a girl, and seemingly most happy in being a Christian; Martha, and her son Joseph.

The New Resident knows Burmese and Burmans well; so that he does more direct work. He is a firm man, and is being more attended to by both Governments, Burmese and British. He declares he will either have things on a better footing, or go away and take the British away with him. As this would mean breaking off all official communication between the two countries, and the cessation of traffic and commerce, and most probably war in a very short time, I think the Burmese Government will give in when he declared positively the time when he will go. We shall probably all go down together if we do go, and they will not attempt to stop us.

Of course we shall lose much of our property if the embarkation is at short notice, such as 24 hours, which it may be, and unless our return is immediately behind our troops. I have asked the Bishop to attach me to the army for a time. Shall we come back only to find our Church in ruins? But poor Nyoung Yan's mother, what will she do if I go? I fear to say, and if you could read a letter she sent me this morning, you would not wonder that I begin really almost to love the poor lady.

She maintains her dignity even in prison, and though I know she is greatly in want, yet she will not ask for money, as she thinks I have already sent her so much. Her eldest son, our Prince Nyoung Yan, now in Calcutta, however, sent me a fresh supply some time ago, so that the captives need not let honour keep them from asking for what is at their disposal, whenever the prison doors can be opened. A silver key opens even a Burmese gaol.

The young King Thibau has found a match, his wife.

According to custom the kings take four wives, and four secondary wives, but she forbids him to take more than one altogether, and declares she will kill anyone who "steals" her husband. Are they not a nice pair?

Now that the Afghan war is over and South Africa in a fair way of becoming so, perhaps Burmah will have more attention shown. It seems better to have an end to present uncertainty, even if that be a short war—no more. Several thousand troops are collected at Thayetmyo, a station just inside our frontier, and I am sorry to hear that cholera has broken out among them, of which disease two doctors have died. Thus as many may die of cholera as would have died in the campaign if it had begun before the unhealthy season came on, and surely the provocation after the massacres was a sufficient reason for demanding a change in the order of things.

Owing to the death of Mr. Shaw and the removal of other officers, I am almost the only one who has seen the whole crisis up to this point, and now I am more deeply implicated than ever, so far as getting news is concerned. Several times I have been able to give the Resident news, which, with all his means, he could not get.

And to tell you the real truth, I don't quite like to become such a political man, it may be used against me some time or other, though up to the present I have the hearty good will of my Bishop and provincial Government.
I don't know whether a telegram got into the English papers that the sister of the Nyoung Yan had fled to me for protection, and on refusal of Mr. Shaw to protect her I had put her in the sanctuary of the English Church. If you saw it[,] it may have alarmed you, but it is not true, though at one time it was very near happening, but the brave little Princess, of 16, said though she could get away herself her mother could not, and so she chose to stay at her mother's side to share her fate. The old Queen says: "I pray to the Blessed God every day and every hour for you," i.e., for me.

I do pray that the Blessed God may be our Good God, but I fear she is yet bound by her idolatrous faith. Her servants, or rather Ladies of Honour here have heard the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and I will not doubt that some good fruit will be seen "in that day." Adversity opens the heart oftentimes, so may it be in this case.

We have got all our small pox over for the year, I think. There was a rumour that the King had died of smallpox, but it is false.

August 21st, 1879

I hope you have not felt over anxious during the past two or three weeks. One thing or another prevented me from writing, though I had good news to tell. You remember, perhaps, my telling of various refugees coming to us here. Altogether, about 70 have passed through our hands, and have been sent away safely to Rangoon and elsewhere; some by steamer, some by land. I have been the instrument, and in consequence have received grateful thanks. What is better, as some of them lived in our Church Compound for weeks of months, it gave us a grand opportunity of gradually and quietly teaching them our Holy Religion, and already the fruits have been reaped. Two old ladies, on the eve of going down to Rangoon, gave up the Burmese Prayer Beads as witness that they would no longer worship idols, Hpoongyees, or follow the worship of Buddhism, and made a promise to learn more about Christianity, which they wished to embrace. We continually pray for them, and have heard of their safe arrival in Rangoon, from which place they write, asking our prayers that they may become Christians. These two were grand ladies in more prosperous times, one being chief stewardess of the Nyoung Yan Prince's mother, the other being his sister's foster mother. They have both been to S. John's Chapel in Rangoon, so I hope to hear of their baptism (D.V.) shortly.

Another small party of two or three have given in their names as desiring Holy Baptism, and have made public profession of their desire. But now comes what rejoices me greatly. Two of the Maids of Honour who were last with the Nyoung Yan Prince's mother and sister, before the imprisonment became so strict as it is now, were delivered for safe custody to two officers noted for their brutality and cruelty during the late massacres. They both managed to escape, and came to us for refuge, where they have since remained. They made public profession, (i.e., before our small congregation) of faith, and were baptized on August 3rd, receiving the names Mary and Elizabeth. They are the first-fruits of the Palace, and the thought comes: Supposing the Nyoung Yan Prince should return to be King. He is under great obligations to me, and so are all his family; his mother and sister almost depend on me for their daily food, i.e., I am the channel through which it is supplied. Their closest attendants, stewardess, and nurse, have confessed faith, and two faithful Maids of Honour who stood by them as long as possible, are now Christian women. Who can tell what might be the result of all these
influences in the future? Pray earnestly for us all, and especially for the young servants of God who have thus in the midst of trouble found the Pearl of Great Price.

Things are much quieter, but whether likely to continue so or not for more than a few days we cannot tell. Only to-day I hear the young King has sent 2,000 troops to the frontier, and will mount the Red War Flag soon. Continual drill goes on in the Palace enclosure, which foreigners are forbidden to enter, so you see our position is but insecure and uncertain. We have had thieves again, this time they attacked the house in which the four Palace ladies were. It is a little house detached from the Clergy House. Lawrence, I, and another man heard the noise, so we went to the rescue, and the thieves—or would-be murderers, for it is possible that this was the intention—cleared off.

September 11th, 1879

I fear you have had some anxiety about me for the last two or three weeks, and had you known the reason of my silence you would have been more than anxious. I have been very near death, and have become very much reduced by loss of blood and inability to eat food, but now "Thanks to God," I am quickly recovering health and strength. It has been a strange sickness. For two or three days I felt unwell, then a boil or something like it came in the lower part of my body. I bore up for the Sunday Services on the 24th August, but in the evening dismissed the congregation without a sermon, and walked over to the Doctor, who was quite startled to find my pulse at about 180, and said he wondered how I could walk. He gave me medicine, and came next morning to find that mortification had already begun. I need not follow on cutting, cutting, cutting, and of a good number of days I have no recollection at all. On Sunday, the 31st, the native Christians especially made supplication for me. On Monday, I was thought to be at the worst, and dying, and I gave myself up entirely and completely into God's hands, wishing neither to live nor to die, but only that His will might be done. However, I recovered, and two days ago I shuffled or staggered to Church, but now I can walk quite well, and carry my stick. I am thankful.

I have news to fill sheet after sheet about things here just now, but you must wait till I get stronger.

We have just heard by secret cipher code, of the destruction of the Residency at Cabul, but hope it will not get to the Burman ears for a week or so, that together with the sad news, the punishment determined upon may be heard also, for of course the upstart King and young Courtiers would like to rid their country of the British Residency also.

"God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble." I have some wonderful love tales to tell when it is fitting, only they are serious just now, and I am so perplexed among them; at another time I could be amused, but at present I don't know whether all will settle amicably.

It will be one year to-morrow since the Prince Nyoung Yan came here, and since then we have never, been free from guests; to-day we had made all preparations for sending our Mary and Elizabeth down to Rangoon and so finally closing our list, but something has happened to stop them from leaving us, so we must still go on.
October 11th, 1879
Written on board S.S. Panthay, Prome, British Burmah.

You will, I am sure, be delighted to hear that I am again in British territory. We have rather ignominiously run away from Mandalay. Left last Tuesday morning, the 7th, crossed the frontier yesterday about noon, nearly having a fight for it. Slept at Thayetmyo last night, and are now here in Prome. We have lost a great deal of property, and all but came away with nothing. It has been very exciting, and everyone expected a fight for it, but the fighting has still to come. Our Christians have mostly come away, and what is to be done with us all I don't know. I expect to be attached to the field force if troops are sent up soon; they may be sent in a month. Next mail I will send you a big letter with full particulars of our late adventure. I am gaining wonderfully in health and strength. The excitement, and river air, and exposure, are doing me a great deal of good, and turning me quite brown; people say I look better than ever. I weigh 110 lbs. if that is any guide. When I first came here I weighed 126, and last year 115. We have brought our last refugees with us.

October 18th, 1879
Written at S. John's College, Rangoon

From the address above you will be assured of our safety. We got here on Thursday evening last, after a voyage of ten days. I am longing to get back to Mandalay and its quietness, for I don't feel half so good or composed here as in the Clergy House just left, in spite of the anxiety. I must again beg your forbearance for another week; I cannot write a long letter in diary form yet. I have been to the chief Ecclesiastical and Civil authorities here, and am pretty sure of being appointed Chaplain to the Forces as soon as a forward movement of troops is made, and of being reinstated at Mandalay again if anyone is to go there. I suppose we shall take the matter in hand during the next six months. It would have been done six months ago but for the Cabul and Zulu affairs. We have all lost much valuable property and have very little hope of recovering any compensation, either from British or Burmese Governments.

The two Maids of Honour are safely put in S. Mary's School here, and the rest of the Christians have dispersed themselves here and there among friends, or to make their own livelihood. Before we went home, on landing, we went together to Church, and offered praise and thanksgiving for our safe preservation.

Now, what do you think of this?—When we had anchored, a man came on board to tell Mary and Elizabeth that they were to go to Calcutta to the younger of the two Refugee Princes there. This would mean destruction of their morals and religion, and I was glad to hear them refuse to go, though quaking with fear at the idea of refusing to obey a Prince. This younger Prince is, as I think I told you before, a very worthless fellow, unlike his brother. I should have put every obstacle in their way, had they wished to go, and feel that as their mistress, the Queen-mother of the two Refugees, gave them into my hands, I have power over them. Judge then my indignation and horror to find that it is probably, after all, only another ruse to get back the two girls to Mandalay—a clever trick on the part of some of King Thibau's creatures. One's Christian feelings scarcely prevail to keep the lips from uttering the direst maledictions on the heads of such miserable wretches as can attempt to work so cruelly and falsely.
I have already seen many of the poor creatures whom I helped to get down to Rangoon. One woman whose baby had smallpox in prison—perhaps you remember this—met me in the road; she had her baby—now grown fat and strong—in her arms, and fell down before me and burst into tears. Several of them had heard that I was dead.

October 26th, 1879

My letters, though very short, must have given you much relief on mind, and perhaps you may have seen in the London papers some account of our exodus from Mandalay. I do not think it would be possible to give you a very detailed account of the last few days of my residence in Mandalay—unless your patience and my own were very great—mine especially; and if I confess to an impatient frame of mind just now, do not be too hard upon me.

I am just like a fish out of water, and having a few dependants, boys, servants, and Christians, who left Mandalay when I did, hanging about me, I am all the more anxious to get a settlement.

Now let me give you a brief account of what took place at Mandalay.

After the Cabul Massacre, the Indian Government got more anxious about our position in Mandalay, and when Colonel Brown left us, he wrote strongly to the Viceroy, representing the extreme danger we were in, should any sudden freak of madness seize either the King or the mob, as we were utterly defenceless, timber and mat houses, only a small guard of 20 Sepoys, and living two miles or so from the steamers' landing place.

This seems to have decided the Viceroy, and not wishing to be wise after the event, he determined to remove us all beforehand. It required some clever manipulation to get Court Records and Ammunition away without observation, and no one was allowed to pack up furniture lest open alarm should be given to the Burmese.

At last all was determined, and on Sunday, 5th of October, I was rather surprised on my return from Evensong, at finding Mr. St. Barbe, the acting Resident, and Mr. Austin, the Correspondent of the Times, sitting in my house. I asked Mr. St. Barbe why he had not been to Church, and then he began to tell me what was the matter. We were all to march down to the steamer, quietly, next morning, at six o'clock, but that on no account was I to tell anyone about it that night. I did not wish to leave, but he expressed himself very strongly, that if I stayed, having been so-mixed up in the troubles, I should probably bring on immediately what the Indian Government were not yet prepared for and of course the Burmese Government bare me but little love for what I had done.

I thought it over carefully and sought direction; then there seemed to be but one course open, and now that I have left, my conscience does not in the least upbraid me. Only three or four of our Christians stayed behind, so that I did not desert the flock committed to me. It would not have done to tell even trusty Lawrence what was about to take place, so I sent him off to the steamer the same evening with Mary and Elizabeth, the two Maids of Honour, not telling him I should so soon follow. I did not pack up much, but did not go to bed for fear of over-sleeping myself, and also because I wished as early as was safe, to give notice to Mr. Mackertoom, our worthy schoolmaster. I gathered some of my few treasures, clothing, and books, and about 3-30 on Monday morning went into Church, dismantled the Altar, took away Cross and Candlesticks, Altar Cloth,
Service Books, Registers, &c. I put the Altar slab under the floor of the Church, and then with some sadness left it, praying soon to be permitted to come back. At 4-20 I woke up Mr. Mackertoom, and then the boys who slept in the house. They opened their eyes in some astonishment when I said we were off for Rangoon that very day, but were not afraid, and helped me to get together more books and such like. I was ready in full time, but Mr. and Mrs. Markertoom were rather late, so that the Residency party marched down without us,—Sepoys with fixed bayonets and loaded rifles. After somewhat impatiently waiting, I got off the schoolmaster and his wife, the others had gone ahead, and then left the Church Compound last of all, promising a good reward to the Burmese sergeant of the guard, if I found all well on return. The house was left exactly as it stood, books, furniture, pictures, &c., with the exception of what we had in the hour or so previous packed together.

We got to the steamer all right, and then waited, expecting every moment to be attacked or boarded by the Burmese Authorities. It was for a long time doubtful whether they would do it or not, but at last: things assumed a more peaceful aspect, and we were actually allowed to send servants to get things from our houses. We had done this before, but they had been turned out, and some people beaten by the Burman guard, who had been helping themselves. I tried to get more of the Church things, and at last succeeded in getting down the harmonium, two large brass standards, and brass lights; but heavy things, such as tables, desks, &c., had all to be left behind. Personally I was not very anxious about things, but I thought possibly the Burmese Government might search the ship, and carry off any of their subjects from on board. During the night there was one alarm, a Burmese steamer tried her best to run foul of us, but got the worst of it, she was crowded with people, who might have been troops, for anything we knew.

October 7th, 1879

We were up very early, and sent for our goods, the Resident had promised RS. 100 to the sergeant of the Burmese guard, if he would get our things safely on board. The Residency flag was hoisted on the steamer's mast. We got-nearly all the valuable Church fixtures, but no house furniture, and lots of books were left behind, there was not time to bring them. It seems that the Burmese guards had been helping themselves, for they were seen carrying out a big bundle of something from the Clergy House.

The property of the lot of us was pitched indiscriminately into the hold, the hurry was so great, and at 12 o'clock we were quite ready for starting, as was also the other steamer. At last we got off, and bid farewell to

Mandalay, that "sink of iniquity," as some one on board called it, reached Mingyan same night at dark, anchored out in stream, met mail steamer coming up, but she prefers to follow us down.

October 8th, 1879

Left at 5-30. The people of the place have been greatly excited, and have been very busy getting their valuables on board. It is very hard for them. One man came on board saying, "I have Rs. 25,000 due to me in the Bazaar here, and I cannot possibly collect it under one month, what am I to do?" He is a British subject, and must go down with us if
he wishes to be safe. Three steamers, towing nine flats, make quite a fine show in the river.

October 9th, 1879

As we go down, take on board all the pilots at the various stations,—they are afraid to remain, as are also the agents of the various trading companies. Met another steamer with mails,—the captains had a consultation, and the end of it is to add another steamer and two flats to our flotilla.

Our party more or less scattered. I did not go among them much in daytime, but in evening had prayers on deck with them, somewhat to the surprise of the heathen about. We did not wish to attract attention to our refugees as we are still in Upper Burman waters.

To-morrow if all be well, we shall pass Minhlah, the frontier fortress, if such it may be called. Captain Sevenoaks is prepared to run the gauntlet of the forts if they attempt to stop us.

November 7th, 1879

People, especially the Burmese Christians, are very glad to see me again, what with rumours of Thibau's malice, and the severe illness, they have been continually expecting the worst.

Nothing seems to be settled about our relations with Upper Burmah, but an Embassy which was half way down to Rangoon, has been refused permission to come to Rangoon to the Chief Commissioner here. Our Government decline any political relationship whatever.

"I am no longer at the mercy of King Thibau."
DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

‘The mirror cracked’: The colonial history-making project and its legacy in Burma, 1900 to the present

Ph.D. dissertation, Monash University, January 2003

ALYSSA PHILLIPS

This thesis examines the ways in which the Burmese past has been investigated, described and exhibited during the twentieth century. Of particular interest are the careers and published work of the British colonial scholars who initiated the western study of Burmese history in the early twentieth century. It is argued that during this period the British introduced new genres and institutional structures for the writing, conservation and exhibition of Burma’s past, which, in the long term, precipitated a significant rupture in Burmese conceptions of the past. This research goes beyond an analysis of orientalism in British colonial historiography. By exploring the themes, styles and literary forms which British scholars used to think about the Burmese past this thesis traces the development of key colonial ideas and approaches. The continuing use and adaptation of these colonial approaches to the Burmese past is also investigated and is related, in turn, to the writing and exhibiting of Burmese history in the nationalist and contemporary periods. Clearly the British did not manufacture everything that is known about Burmese history today, yet it is important to emphasise that current conceptions of the Burmese past are to a large degree filtered through the literary genres and historical institutions established by the British in Burma.

The study analyses various modes and forms of constructing the past, including colonial archives, museums, archaeological research and the writing of prominent British and Burmese scholars. The investigation of these diverse sources enables the thesis to draw parallels between history-making during the colonial period and current debates about Burma’s history. In Burma today the past is a highly contested and politically sensitive arena. The current military regime in Burma employs the past to authorise its rule by sponsoring the establishment of museums, pagodas, tourist sites and new histories. By probing the sources of these colonial, nationalist and contemporary images this research sheds light on the process of history-making in Burma during the twentieth century.
The Structure of Nominalization in Burmese


Paulette M. Hopple
(Supervising Professor: Jerold A. Edmondson)

Nominalized sentential elements have long been observed in Tibeto-Burman languages, but the role and extent of nominalized patterns have not been explored as a base of formative structuring. This dissertation examines nominalization patterns in Burmese from the word to text level and posits a complex information packaging role of postposition particles in erecting a structure of predictable and iteratively patterned nominals which function to reduce information overload and facilitate online parsing. Burmese has been characterized as a predominantly verbal language (U Pe Maung Tin 1956). A complementary view is presented in which ontological objects created via a grammatical system of nominalization function to establish a sturdy skeletal framework for verbal and particle expression. Together the role of nominal and relational elements engender a balance realized structurally as ontological nominal objects whose juxtaposition iteratively creates larger nominals.

The claim is made here that an underlying ontological level of organization supports grammatical categorization. This organization is structurally simple and patterned. Only two word categories are posited —noun and verb. A third basic category of postposition particle functions abstractly as a type of grammatical verb. The role of the particle is expanded as an abstract nominalizing element that constructs and organizes the ontological structure of Burmese sentences and orders higher level units of discourse. Sentences are regarded as nominalized units based upon the unique and diverse functions of onfsany as nominalizer. This key particle unlocks the role of nominalization in Burmese grammatical structure — as deictic specifier, as personalizer ‘affix’, as general nominal complementizer, as relativizer, and as sentence final particle of realis mood. The prototypical functions of onfsany are realized as a vast ‘conspiracy’ of nominalization underlying the organization of Burmese grammatical constructions from simple noun phrase to paragraph to the discourse as a whole.
SEMINARS

The Burma Campaign Society

The Burma Campaign Society was established in March 2002 to promote understanding of Britain and Japan’s encounter during the Second World War.

Contact Information:

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BCS Seminars and Meetings, May 2002-March 2003

May 9th, 2002

Was the Pacific War Inevitable?
Dr. Keiichiro Komatsu

17th August 2002

Annual Memorial Service for those who died in Burma during the Second World War, followed by a ceremony to pray for reconciliation and world peace.

18th August 2002

Service of Reconciliation which will be held as part of the Evensong Service at Coventry Cathedral.

15th October 2002

The Battle of Kohima
Gordon Graham, Masao Hirakubo, Maurice Franses and Philip Malins

12th March 2003

Britain’s Grand Strategy for War Against Japan
Dr Saki Dockrill of the Department of War Studies, King’s College, London
Britain-Burma Society

Regular meetings are held at:

The Medical Society of London,
11 Chandos Street,
LONDON W.1.
United Kingdom

Please note: Meetings are confined to members and their guests - and are subject to reporting restrictions.

For more information on the BBS seminars, see:
http://www.shwepla.net/ibex.mv?which+France+/Calendar/Calendar.mv

BBS Seminars, February 2002-March 2003

Thursday 7th February 2002

Life in the Southern Chin Hills
by Helga So-Hartmann

Our speaker has been based in Burma since 1975, studying the various dialects of the Southern Chin Hills. She married a Chin and most of the people she knows are also Chin. With the help of a wealth of photographs she talked of the nature and lives of these little-known peoples, whose territory is still largely off limits to foreigners.

Tuesday 19th March 2002

Forbidden Tracts
by Shelby Tucker

Our speaker went to Burma in 1989 to fulfil a pledge made to himself three decades earlier while hitchhiking along the Thai-Burmese border. His illicit journey across the Yunnan border into Burma in 1989 had been preceded by many other equally daring journeys, in Africa, Asia and Latin America. But if his little trip across Burma via insurgent-infested hills started as a dare, it turned into something much more interesting as Shelby Tucker spent weeks among the various ethnic peoples and rebel armies along Burma's northern border area - Kachins, Shans and Communist Party of Burma. He was particularly fascinated by the Kachins, and has been ever since.

Tuesday 7th May 2002

Kelly's Burma Campaign
by Desmond Kelly MD, FRCP, FRPsych

Desmond Kelly left Burma precipitately in 1942, at the age of seven. But his father Norman Kelly stayed on to fight after the retreat of the main force of the British Army, organizing the Chin Levies from among local people where he lived in the Chin Hills. They were supported by the 17th Indian Division, whose members were to win more Victoria Crosses than any other division of the British Army. Desmond, who grew up in
the Shan States, is now completing a book about the perils Norman Kelly and his brave companions faced in holding up the Japanese advance into India. The book - also to be called *Kelly's Burma Campaign* - will be on sale towards the end of 2002.

Wednesday 12th June 2002

**The Art of Tattoo**
by Will Womack

Tattooing may be newly fashionable in the west, but in Burma its use is deeply rooted in tradition and history. Writing 100 years ago, Sir George Scott said "there is not a single up-country man who is not decorated with the dark blue tracery." Tattooing - mostly with the figures of animals - gives the wearer three advantages: decoration, magic charms and a proof of courage - since there is a great deal of pain involved in accepting these designs.

Wednesday, 2nd October 2002

**The October Reception**

Our year started off on a high note with a glass of wine, despite a complete London Underground strike, which meant that all who arrived for the meeting did so after walking an average of a mile from their rail terminus. We toasted Vicky Bowman, who was to start her duties as HM Ambassador in Rangoon in December, and she replied with a short and amusing speech.

Thursday, 7th November 2002

**A Dawn Like Thunder**
by Norma Joseph FRGS FRSGS

This was a definitive portrait of the Irrawaddy, brought to life by the stunning photography of Norma and Maurice Joseph, who had spent five months travelling up and down the 1300 miles from the confluence of the Nmai Hka and Mali Hka rivers south to the sea. They travelled in a variety of craft, and the photographs depicted historic towns and picturesque villages along the way.

Thursday, 12th December 2002

**Magic Places, Magic Times**
by Sir Nicholas Fenn and Lady Fenn

In the 1960s, Burma and the Fenns had the joint good fortune to meet each other for the first time: a particularly appreciative young diplomatic couple in one of the world's least-known, individual and fascinating lands. Two years after their arrival, General Ne Win took power - and his project of a truly Burmese Burma was still under way when the Fenns returned as ambassador and wife in 1982.

Nick and Sue love telling stories, and Sue had photographic skills to capture the many faces of Burma in those days, in addition to coping with more than her share of adventures as a diplomatic wife and mother.

Monday, 3rd February 2003
Burma 1999 - 2002
by Victoria Billing

Victoria has just completed a tour of duty as Second Secretary in the British embassy in Rangoon. She gave a general survey of the situation in Burma, and showed photographs of the many parts of it that she has visited.

Tuesday 11th March 2003

Pre-Colonial Burmese Boats
by Dr Michael Charney

Mike Charney is Lecturer in South-East Asian History at SOAS but Burmese boats are his fascination. They have taken him upriver on the Kaladan and Irrawaddy; he has admired them on temple walls in Pagan, Mrauk-U and Pegu, and dug them out from palm-leaf manuscripts, in archives and libraries in Burma, India, Europe and North America. Mike Charney showed us photographs of temple murals, river navigation and old Burmese drawings to give us a feel for life afloat in precolonial days.
Conferences

Traditions of Knowledge in Southeast Asia

The Conference "Traditions of Knowledge in Southeast Asia" is organized in cooperation with the SEAMEO Regional Centre for History and Tradition and will be held in Yangon from December 17 - 19, 2003 with the International Business Centre, Pyay Road, as the Conference venue. The Universities Historical Research annually organizes a Conference on Southeast Asian history and culture. The Conference provides a wonderful opportunity for participating in a discussion of current scholarship on aspects of Southeast Asian history and culture with a special emphasis on Myanmar and for meeting Myanmar and international scholars in an atmosphere of warm hospitality. The deadline for conference registration is November 21, 2003. The registration fee is US $150 (FEC), with a special rate of US $75 (FEC) for students payable after arrival in Myanmar. The fee provides for lunch and snacks but not for conference papers, which are separately available at a normal rate. Participants are met at the airport on arrival if they provide details of their flight.

For more information contact:

Traditions of Knowledge Conference
Universities Historical Research Centre
Amara Hall, Yangon University Campus
Yangon 11041,
Myanmar

Tel: 95-1-536622/95-1-536417
Fax: 95-1-534121
Email: uhrc@uhrc-edu.gov.mm
BURMA STUDIES CONFERENCE (U.S.)

Center for Burma Studies
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois, USA

October 22-24, 2004

A CALL FOR PAPERS

SUBMIT ABSTRACT BY 1 MARCH, 2004

Individual paper proposals are invited for the forthcoming Burma Studies conference at the Center for Burma Studies, Northern Illinois University. All disciplines and topics related to Burma studies are welcome. Please provide your name and affiliation, your address, a title for your paper, an abstract of about 150 words, a list of equipment that you need for your presentation, and an email address. Send this information to:

Alexandra Green, Program Chair
Art Department
Denison University
Granville, OH 43023 USA

or via email:

greenar@denison.edu

Information will be listed on the Northern Illinois website:

http://www.grad.niu.edu/Burma/