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A Preliminary Survey of Burmese Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland

Tilman Frasch
Manchester Metropolitan University

It does not take much imagination to assume that Great Britain has a rich collection of Burmese manuscripts, given that her rule over the country lasted more than a century. However, the cataloguing of these manuscripts is still in its infancy, especially when compared to Germany where the "Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland" (VOHD), a large project sponsored by the German Research Council, aims to compile basic data for all oriental manuscripts in German public collections and archives. So far, no less than four volumes have been published on the Burmese manuscripts alone.1 The only English reference guides that can bear comparison are the volumes listing the holdings of the Wellcome Institute and the List of the Burney Parabaiks in the former India Office Library. The following compilation is a first attempt to list the existing catalogues for the Burmese manuscripts in Great Britain and, as Dublin is included, Ireland. The list is mainly bibliographical, but it is hoped that it will nevertheless help to and perhaps even lead to a more systematic survey of the manuscripts than was possible here. In this respect, it does not claim to be complete. The publisher of the Bulletin will however be delighted to update this list whenever new catalogues or bibliographic references are brought to his knowledge.

Cambridge


According to Dalby, the Cambridge collection was never catalogued, although the number of Burmese manuscripts is obviously significant. The main contributor was J. G. Scott who had lived in Burma and the Shan States for several years.2 All that we have is a short hand-list:


Another donor to the library was Walter Sibbald Adie, ICS, whose bequest (in 1943) contained four manuscripts in Burmese and Sanskrit (MS Or 1371-1374).


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2 Scott was the author of two major works, a record of his experiences in Burma (Shwe Yoe, The Burman. His Life and Notions, London 1905), and the Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, 2 vols, London 1898. The latter, though still considered as an important source of information, has severe deficiencies and well deserves a critical examination.
Rhys Davids' list contains 10 manuscripts in Burmese script, viz.

Abhidhammattha-sangaha (Add. Mss. 1257)
3 Kammavacas (1260, 293-4, 340-41)
Patimokkha (129)
Bhesajja-manjusa (1252)
? Mahavagga (225)
Mahavamsa (296)
Salayatanavagga (200)
Sumangala-pasadana (294)

**Dublin/Trinity College**


The Trinity College holds five Pali manuscripts in Burmese script:

Visuddhimagga
Bhuridatta Jataka
Candakumara Jataka
Kammavaca
Buddhavamsa

**Dublin/Chester Beatty Library**


I have yet to get hold of this hand list.

**Edinburgh**


No. 1898: "a magico-religious work in the Shan language with references to the Vessantara Jataka"

Ref: H 9.8 - *Burmese Manuscripts*, anonymous undated typescript3 and H 9.2 - *Mon Mss. from Edinburgh*, anonymous undated typescript

According to these two hand lists, there are fourteen Burmese and three Mon manuscripts in the University Library of Edinburgh, most of them commentaries on texts from the Pali Canon. The first hand list was obviously prepared by a scholar of Pali and Burmese, as it contains dates of the mss., references to printed versions of the texts and translations of the dedicatory inscriptions. The following manuscripts are mentioned (numbering presumably refers to the collection of oriental manuscripts):

no. 61: Atthasalini-nissaya, undated

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3 I would like to thank the staff of Edinburgh University Library for making the hand list available to me.
no. 62: Mahosadha-Jataka-nissaya (1836 C.E.)
no. 63: Sarattha-sangaha (1786 C.E.)
no. 64: Nyasa-nissaya and Nyasa-pali-taw (1741 C.E.)
no. 65: Mulasilka-anak (1771 C.E.) and Mulasilka-nissaya (1753 C.E.)
no. 66: Tikya-kyaw-nissaya and Tikya-pah-taw (1843 C.E.)
no. 67: Burmese calendar for the year 1773 C.E.
no. 68: Kammavaca
no. 69: Uddesa on Shan paper (presumably 1808 C.E.)
no. 70: Culava-pali-taw-nissaya (undated)
no. 71: Abhidhamma-sangaha-nissaya (1846 C.E.),
Vinaya-sangaha-nissaya (1778 C.E.),
Apadana-atthakatha-pali-taw,
Dhammayamaka-nissaya (1775 C.E.) and
Vimalacara (1782 C.E.)
no. 72: Namaka-nissaya and Sandhi-nissaya (1782 C.E.)
no. 73: unidentified
no. 74: Burmese Charm Mss. (Khandaparitta)

The three Mon manuscripts are Tray Samantaprasat and Tray Athakatha-parajikan, Nam Athakatha-parajikan (fragment with various commentaries).

Liverpool


Joseph Mayer was a rich merchant of Liverpool, who collected (among other things) Chinese ceramics and oriental manuscripts. After he had made over his collection to the Municipality of Liverpool, it formed the basis of the Liverpool Museum. The following eight manuscripts are in the collection:

1 ms on silver leaf (a Kammavaca, I suspect)
1 ms on palm leaf, unidentified
1 Kammavaca on ivory
1 ms on palm leaf, Shwe-pyi-win-pyo
1 ms on palm leaf, Mahosadha Jataka
1 ms on palm leaf, unidentified
1 Kammavaca on copper sheets
1 Paramatthamedani-kyam

London/British Library


Fausboell's Catalogue lists 176 items, arranged in 6 categories: texts from the three pitakas plus doctrinal writing (i.e. commentaries), histories and a rag-bag category for grammar, rhetoric and the like. The collection, now located in the British Library, is easily accessible by the electronic catalogue of the BL.

U Pe Maung Tin's list contains approx. 350 manuscripts on various topics, though again Buddhist religious texts form the majority. Accession also by way of the OPAC. It should be noted that the BL holds further Burmese manuscripts (in addition to the two collections referred to here), for which the hand-written find book of the Library has to be consulted.


Besides Pruitt's work on the Wellcome Institute (see below), this seems to be the only collection of Burmese manuscripts in GB which is properly listed and described.

In addition to the catalogues listed above, selected manuscripts from the collection held by the British Library have been published and described. These include:


Schwartzberg deals with cosmographic conceptions and representations, making use of numerous manuscripts in the British Library. His article includes several illustrations from them.


This article is related to the one mentioned before. Patricia has chosen illustrated manuscripts depicting the world and the cosmos, both from the BL and private collections. The manuscripts are described in an appendix.

Patricia Herbert, "Burmese Court Manuscripts", in Donald Stadtner (ed.). *The Art of Burma*, Mumbai 1999, p. 87-103.

This article concentrates on paintings or picture books, mainly from the Konbaung period.


This is an edition and translation.

Additional information can be found in Hermann Oldenberg, 'List of Pali Manuscripts in the India Office Library', *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1, 1882, p. 59-128

Dr. Hoeming, 'Pali Manuscripts in the British Museum Library', Journal of the Pali Text Society 2, 1883, p. 133-144


London/SOAS

Though no hand-list exists for the collection held by the SOAS, the Burmese manuscripts are listed in a separate card index which can be used inside the library. Copies of the cards are also included in the microfiche catalogue of the library. The
collection consists of some 70 items (mostly palm leaf with few parabaiks), the majority of which are texts and commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures.

**London/Wellcome Institute**


We may regard this as a standard catalogue. As may be expected in an institution focusing on the history of medicine, manuscripts on Burmese medicine and astrology account for a large part of the collection, though the collection is definitely dominated by Kammavaca manuscripts of which it contains no less than 54. This catalogue replaces the earlier list of Jacqueline Filliozat, 'A Survey of the Burmese and Siamese Pali Manuscripts Collection in the Wellcome Institute', *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 21, 1993, p. 1-42. She lists altogether 93 manuscripts in Burmese script.

**Manchester**


N. A. Jayawickrama, a professor of Pali from Sri Lanka, included in his catalogue manuscripts written in Sinhala and Burmese scripts, with the Burmese ones forming about one third of the altogether 83 items. The new catalogue improves his descriptions of the Burmese texts where necessary and adds a number of manuscripts not listed so far.

**Oxford**


The collection at Oxford consists of the following 24 items:

- 2 sets of altogether 4 letters
- 1 Patimokkhapadattha-anuvannana-nissaya (a paraphrase of a Patimokkha commentary)
- 1 Nemijataka
- 1 set of water colour drawings
- 2 parabaiks with court scenes
- 2 texts on Shan paper, one of them being the Mahasatipatthana Sutta
- 1 set of three texts with Buddhist stories
- 1 fragmentary Buddhist Sutta
- 1 parabaik with scenes from the life of the Buddha
- 1 Dasanipata Jataka in Burmese
- 1 Parajikan Nissaya (paraphrase of the first part of the Vinaya)
- 1 parabaik on daily affairs
- 1 parabaik depicting elephants
1 parabaik on the positions of the Buddha
1 set of manuscripts with Kaccayana's grammar, the Cariyapitaka comm., and its paraphrase
1 Burmese passport with Portuguese translation\textsuperscript{4}
1 parabaik with miscell. writings
1 coll. of Burmese letters
1 Rajaniti in Burmese and English (incomplete)
1 palm leaf on astrology and fortune telling
1 silver leaf with quotations from the pitakas

Additional catalogues for Oxford are:


\textit{Catalogue of Several 100 Manuscript Works in Various Oriental Languages collected by Sir William Ouseley}, London 1831


This list has only 8 manuscripts:

Vessantara-Jataka-nissaya (Wilson 25a)
Nemi-jataka-nissaya (Pali 15)
Mahosadha-Jataka-nissaya (Pali 16)
Buddhavamsa (Wilson 55b)
Dhammasanginippakarana and nissaya (Wilson 56a-b)
2 Samantapasadika-nissaya (Ouseley 145 and Pali 11)
a Pali-Burmese manuscript (Wilson 51)

The latest list has been compiled by Jacqueline Filliozat, 'A Survey of the Pali Manuscript Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford', \textit{Journal of the Pali Text Society} 24, 1998, p. 1-80. Her article also has an index with the titles of the works. According to this catalogue, the collection, among other items, consists of

34 Kammavaca
Nemi-jataka, Kaccayana and Cariyapitaka
a parabaik with paritta
dighanikaya
Suttavibhanga-parajika
Sandhi-nissaya
Vithi-lak-rui
Sadda-nye-sum-con

\textsuperscript{4} It has been published in \textit{Journal of the Burma Research Society} 12 (3), 1923, p. 127-129.
Some Account of the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún, near the Burmese Capital, in a Memorandum

CAPT. E. H. SLADEN,
Political Agent at Mandalé

1. The Pagoda was built in the reign of king Bodo Piyah,1 in the Burmese year 1178 (A.D. 1816), by his grandson, Noungdau Gyee, now known as Bagyeedau Piyah,2 which specifies his relationship as paternal uncle to the present reigning king.

2. It is situated at Mengoon, on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, a couple of hundred yards only from the huge brick ruin which is known as the Mengoon pagoda.

3. Mengoon was a place of comparatively little note, until raised into importance by king Bodo Piyah, who made it his favourite retreat, and conceived and founded the monster pagoda which has given or taken its name from the place of its creation.3

4. King Bodo's partiality for the place, or his extensive building propensity seems to have been necessarily imitated by those about him, so that it soon became a conventional undertaking on the part of members of his family (and of his government too) to add to the importance and sanctity of the fashionable retreat, by embellishing it with shrines, pagodas, and other good works then in favour with the king.

5. The Senbyoo pagoda thus rose into existence. It derives its name from Bagyeedau's chief queen, who was a grand-daughter of king Bodo, and believed further, under the transmigration principle, to have been a revivification in the flesh of Bodo's mother; consequently she was privileged to assume Bodo's majestic title of “Senbyoo Shen,” or Lord of White Elephants.

6. It is singular enough that this pagoda (Senbyoo) should have been built in a form which at once distinguishes it from the ordinary class of similar structures throughout Burmah. But though this singularity is somewhat unaccountable, the structural design of the pagoda is evident enough; and its connection therefore, in an architectural point of view, with similar Buddhistical remains in Java and elsewhere, can be so far satisfactorily traced.

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1 Bhodau Phra is the title given to the king who reigned from 1781 to 1819, called by Symes, who visited his court, Minderawji Praw (Mantarágyi).—Henry Yule.
2 Phagy-Dau is the title of the king who reigned 1819-1837, and in whose time our first Burmese war took place. —Henry Yule.
3 Mengún is on the west bank of the Irawadi, about six or seven miles from Mandalé, the present capital. An account of the great pagoda there will be found in the Narrative of Major Phayre's Mission, p. 168.—Henry Yule.
6. The pagoda is intended to be a complete symbolical representation or model of Mount Meru, known to Burmans as “Myenmho Doung.”

7. It is as well perhaps that I should enter briefly into a description of this cosmical mountain (that is to say, a Burmese description) by way of illustrating, in some slight degree, the woodcut which is annexed, and of explaining beyond question, that the pagoda, about which we are interested is, in reality, a simple representation of the mountain to be described.

8. Burmese fragmentary accounts, collected from a variety of sources, would have us believe in the first place, in reference to this famous Myenmho Doung, that the earth we inhabit, is composed of four continents, which lie at the extreme base of the mountain, in exact correspondence with the four cardinal points of the compass. Insurmountable harriers, and interminable seas separate these continents from direct contact with Myenmho Doung, but these seas and barriers are to some extent limited at the base of the mount by the monster fish “Ananda,” which surrounds the hill on all sides with its body, and defines a complete circle by taking its own tail in its mouth. This fabulous monster fish, which is regarded as the outer guard, barrier, or defence to the mountain itself, is represented at the Senbyoo pagoda by a large outer circular wall, eight feet in height, four in thickness, and 750 yards in length or circumference.

The five (or rather six) concentric terraces, which are seen in the photograph to rise one above and inside the other, are representations of the five regions, continents, or countries, which surround the hill in concentric gradations from its base upwards.

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4 Is not this the Midgard Serpent Jörmundgand of the Edda, “that holding his tail in his mouth encircles the whole earth.” (Translation of the Prose Edda, 410.) –John Ferrusson.
The continents are called in Burmese—with reference I imagine only to the manner in which they are represented in drawings or models—"Aleyne gna Sen," or the five concentric gradations.

Each continent takes its name from the guard stationed in it for its defence, or rather for the defence of the mountain itself, against the attacks of the fallen angel or Nat "Athooya."

Ascending from the base the
1st Continent is called Nāgāh.

2nd. ,, ,, Kālōn, sea-dragon or fabulous bird.

3rd. ,, ,, Gōmbān "Beloo," or man devouring monster of the Gombān tribe.

4th ,, ,, Yēthā "Beloo," of the Yatha tribe.

5th ,, ,, Gundāpāh, from the Nat, or spirit, or fairy of that name.

The fifth, or uppermost terrace, is surmounted by the Sōōlāmānēē pagoda, which in turn has continents or terraces stretching out from its base, above which rise the several Paradises, in which reside spiritual beings of the Nat, angel, or fairy tribe.

9. This description of the hill and its belongings might be enlarged on, and lengthened out into almost unlimited detail, but with very little advantage as regards the architecture of the Senbyoo Pagoda, with which we are at present principally concerned.

10. The only discrepancy I find in connecting the pagoda with the description given above, is that it represents six instead of five concentric terraces.

The sixth terrace, though as evident as daylight, is ignored or accounted as nought, by those on the spot, who affirm that the bottom or basement terrace (though it is a terrace as much as any of the rest, and ascended by a flight of steps, similar in all respects to those attached to the other terraces) does not count, and is no real terrace at all. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that the extra terrace was tacked on by mistake, but I can readily believe in the aptitude and inclination of the Burmese artist or architect to disregard the mere trifle (as it would appear to him) of being particular as to correct definition or representation, if by the addition of a mere terrace or two, he could in any way beautify the original design, or make up for loss of height or other structural deficiency.

5 These names restored from Burmese alteration are, I imagine, Asura, Nāga, Garuda, Kumbhānda, Yaka, Gandharva.—Henry Yule.

6 I find on reference to a Burmese book, that Soo-la-mā-nēe is the name of a pagoda far up in the celestial regions, and worshipped by the Nats. I do not know the meaning of the word. From Sladen's note I do not understand whether the name is given to the great central structure of the Senbyoo pagoda, which in fact represents Mount Meru, or whether there is a separate building which carries the name of Soo-la-mā-nēe. The real Soo-la-mā-nēe in heaven is said to be three Yojana high, so in the model at Mengūn, it would, or ought to be proportionally small, if compared with the representation of Mount Meru.—Arthur Phayre.
11. I have already said that the outer circular wall of the Senbyoo pagoda (which represents the monster whale Ananda) is about 750 yards in circumference. The first or lower terrace at the base of the pagoda, has by rough measurement, a circumference of 400 yards.

The height and distance of each concentric terrace, above and apart from the other, is uniformly and respectively five feet; and each terrace is ascended on four sides, corresponding with the points of the compass, by flights of steps, leading under elaborately formed porticos of masonry, and stuccoed decorations.

Each terrace too is girt or supported by a wavy serpentine parapet, which I understand to represent the mountain barriers which separate the several continents of Myenmho-Doung.

The wavy pattern idea in mortar bears a strong and rather ingenious resemblance to various paintings I have seen, by Burmese artists, who aspire to depict hills and mountain scenery.

The parapets are flanked, or rather connected at regular distances, by arched pillars, the archway of each containing a niche, or open space, in which the guardian monster deity, or Bêlôô, sits and defies all enemies.

If the photograph which I send is looked into, it will be seen that a gentleman who was with me at the time the picture was taken, has kindly contributed his mite to science by perching himself upon the top of one of the masonry mountains which form the parapet of the terrace. The natural proportions, thus given, will be of more service I hope (by a comparison of parts) in estimating dimensions, than any unprofessional measurement or estimate of my own.

In fact, so clear is it to me that the architectural relationship, as regards design, between this pagoda and other similar structures in Java, or northern India, has been fully established and accounted for, that the necessity for correct measurement, by way of elucidating what has hitherto been supposed doubtful, no longer exists.

The photographs might have been better. They were taken on dry plates (Beer process), under rather unfavourable circumstances. The wind blew so freshly during the time of exposure, that the camera and other apparatus would have disappeared altogether, unless held in position. This too, in one instance, whilst a view was being taken from the top of the whale Ananda’s back.

EDWD. H. SLADEN, Captain,
Political Agent.

Mandalay, 6th Jan., 1868.
Remarks on the Subject [of the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún]

COL. HENRY YULE, C.B.

In a paper describing what I had seen of architectural remains of Hindu character in Java, which was read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in October, 1861, there occurred the following passage in reference to that magnificent monument of Buddhism, the Boro Bodor:

“Mr. Fergusson, who gives a good account of the Boro Bodor in his Handbook of Architecture, considers it to be a kind of representation of the great Buddhist monasteries, which are described in the Ceylonese writings as having been many stories high, and as containing hundreds of cells for monks.

Sat-Mehal Prásáda

In Tennent's Ceylon (vol. ii. p. 588) there is a woodcut of a singular pyramidal building at Pollanarua, called the Sat-mehal Prásáda, or 'Seven Storied House,' which in a rough way is quite analogous to the Boro Bodor.

“But the structure nearest to it in general design, that I have seen or heard of, was one visited by Mr. Oldham and me in 1855, at Mengún, above Amarapúra. It was thus described from my journal:—

“Further north there is an older Pagoda of very peculiar character. The basement which formed the bulk of the structure consisted of seven concentric circular terraces, each with a parapet of a curious serpentine form. These parapets rose one above and within the other like the (seven) walls of Ecbatana described by Herodotus. ... In the parapet of every terrace were at intervals niches looking outwards, in which were figures of Náts and warders in white marble, of half life size. A great circular wall enclosed the whole at some distance from the base. It was difficult to ascertain the nature of the central structure, so shattered was it by the earthquake. The whole (though round instead of square in plan) had a great general resemblance to the large ancient pyramidal temple in Java called Boro Bodor, as described by Raffles and Crawford; but this Mengún structure was not, I think, very old, and I doubt if the resemblance was more than accidental. At the foot of the hills,
some hundred yards to the westward, there was another Pagoda of similar character, which we did not visit.\(^2\)

I retract the notion that the resemblance was purely accidental. It is one of many analogies between Burma and Java in architecture, arts, and manners, of which the history is unknown, though some of them doubtless came from India with the religion which was once common to both. One idea struck me after seeing the Burmese edifice, which I will mention. This is, that both it and the Boro Bodor were meant, in a way, as symbols of the great World-system of the Buddhists, Mount Mahá-Meru surrounded by its seven concentric ranges of mountains. Nor is this inconsistent with Mr. Fergusson's theory of Boro Bodor. For these monasteries themselves were probably types of Mount Meru. In Tibet, we are told, “Every orthodoxly constructed Buddhist Convent Temple either is or contains a symbolic representation of the divine regions of Meru, and of the Heaven of the Gods, Saints, and Buddhas rising above it into the Empyrean of Nirwana.”\(^3\)

The above passage had attracted Mr. Fergusson's attention, and some two years ago he requested me to obtain more particulars about the terraced structure at Mengún. I accordingly applied to my old friend Colonel Albert Fytche, who had recently succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre in the government of our Burmese provinces, requesting him to obtain some further particulars of the building, and if possible a photograph. Colonel Fytche took up the matter with characteristic energy and goodwill, and obtained from the intelligent assistance of Captain Sladen the memorandum which precedes these remarks, and two photographs of the structure.\(^4\) The papers, owing to accidental circumstances, reached me only a few days ago.

It will be seen that Captain Sladen confirms the suggestion that the Burmese Monument was specifically designed to represent Mount Meru, but he finds some difficulty in reconciling the existence of six terraces with the supposed symbolization of Meru and its five zones. The fact is, however, that there are, as I noted in, 1855, and as Captain Sladen's own photographs very clearly show, not six but seven terraces. And it is seven that the subject which I imagine to be typified demands.

The details of the orthodox Buddhist Cosmography will be found in Mr. Spence Hardy's Manual (see pp. 3, 12 seqq.), but its essential features may be described in a few words.

The centre of the system is Mahá-Meru, encircled by seven concentric ranges of mountains, which are divided by as many seas, and gradually diminish in height from the centre outwards. Round these focal ranges the heavenly bodies revolve. Between the last and lowest of these ranges and an eighth external range (called by the Singhalese the Sakwalagala) extends the salt ocean, in which are situated the great islands, or continents rather, of the inhabited earth. The Sakwalagala is the ring-fence and hoop of the whole system.

It is not, therefore, I apprehend, Mahá-Meru alone, distinguished into five zones, which is typified by this Burmese monument; but the whole system to its utmost bound. The Central Dagoba is Mahá-Meru; the seven terraces with their mountainous outline of parapet are the seven rocky ranges; the jungle-grown plain below is the circumambient ocean, wherein lie Jambudwipa and the other great

\(^2\) Mission to Ava in 1855, p. 172.
\(^3\) Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha, ii. 262.
\(^4\) I desire here to express my obligation to both these officers for this interesting communication.
islands; and Captain Sladen would perhaps have felt more confidence in the stability of his camera, had he perceived that instead of balancing it uneasily, "with fixed tripod in the scaly rind" of "the whale Ananda's back," he and it were planted on the Sakwalagala, the adamantine girdle of the Cosmos!

No better illustration of the subject can be given than the Tibetan representation of the Mundane system, which appears in Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Pl. I. p. 472), and from which I have made the accompanying reduction of the essential features. The text informs us that the original was done in colours by Yondé Lahuri, a Tibetan painter, in the Shaprang monastery at Lhassa.

What a strange parallel, one may observe in passing, is afforded by Mahá-Meru with its Terraces, the Paradise of Indra, that crowns it, and the many heavens rising in clime over clime far above it to culminate in the "Empyrean of Nirwana," to Dante's Mountain of Purgatory with its Seven Zones, surmounted by the Table Land of the Terrestrial Paradise, whence he ascends through the nine Celestial Spheres to the Vision of the Candida Rosa and the ineffable glory!5

Though no other similar monument has become known to us in Burmah, it is probable that analogous symbols exist there in some form or other.

5 Nay, how near to Dante's wonderful Image of the Great Rose even come the Visions of a Chinese Buddhist monk in the fourth century: "In the seventh month of the nineteenth year, at eventide, he again had a vision of the Holy ones. The form of Amita filled the span of Heaven; all the saints looked forth from the Halo that encompassed him. ...... Moreover Yuanfasé beheld a stream of water bright as light which fell from above, and parted into fourteen branches," etc. (Schott, *über den Buddhismus in Hoch-Asien und in China*, p. 99).

"E vidi lume in forma di riviera
Fulvido di fulgore intra duo rive
Dipinte di mirabil primavera

E sì come di lei bevve la gronda
Delle palpebre mie, così mi parve
Di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda

Si soprastando al lume intorno intorno
Vidi specchiarisi in più di mille soglie
Quanta di noi lassù tutto ha ritorno."

——PARADISO XIX.
As regards Java, Buddhism, I believe, has left no record except in architecture and sculpture; it is unknown to surviving literature or tradition. But in the Island of Bali we find a curious transcript preserved, though blurred indeed and corrupted, of Javanese religion before the Mahomedan conversion; and there both Buddhism, of a sort, and Brahminism still exist. Now, it is curious with regard to the Meru symbolism, of which Boro Bodor is such a splendid instance, to find that a particular vestige of this symbolism still lingers abundantly in Bali. Mr. Friederich in his "Preliminary account of Bali," after speaking of sundry kinds of temples in the Island, proceeds:

"Finally, in every house there is a multitude of miniature temples called Sanggar (Sangga of Crawford). Among these you find a MERU, a temple with a succession of roofs rising pyramidally one over the other, which is dedicated to Siva....... The apex of the Merus, as well as of the other little temples, is usually crowned with an inverted pot, or even with a tumbler, a circumstance that at first seemed to me strongly suggestive of Buddhism, for it looked like an adumbration of the cupola (or waterbubble), which is the distinctive mark of all Buddhist temples. The Sivaïtes will not, however, allow this, though they can give no explanation of such an ornament." ⁶

As accident has brought me to speak of Boro Bodor, I should like to recall attention to the very interesting observations of W. von Humboldt on the symbolism of that wonderful structure, with the view of eliciting information which I have not been able to obtain from any source accessible to me.

The construction of Boro Bodor is clearly shown in the woodcut at p. 535 of Vol. II. of Fergusson's History of Architecture. It is, omitting minutiae, a pyramidal structure rising in seven successive terraces from a square base.

The first of these terraces is low, narrow, and without parapet, and is now covered with soil. The second terrace is higher and of considerable width, forming a basement for the highly decorated structure which rises out of it. This consists of five successive terraces, each surrounded by an elaborate architectural screen, so that between every two of these screens there is formed a corridor running round the four sides of the building. The fifth terrace forms a wide platform, from which again rise three low concentric circular terraces, bordered by as many concentric rings of small dagobas. In the centre, a larger dagoba of about thirty feet diameter forms the apex and crown of the edifice.

In the outer face of each of the principal terraces are numerous niches crowned by miniature dagobas; and these niches have all been occupied by cross-legged Buddhas, whilst both sides of the corridors are carved in an astonishing series of sculptures.7

The construction of the small dagobas, 72 in number, which form the three concentric rings, is very peculiar. They are hollow cages or latticed bells of stone, each of which contains a meditative Buddha immured, and visible through the diamond openings of the lattice.

In the Mengun pagoda we see that all seven terraces and parapets are alike in character. But in Boro Bodor only the five principal terraces and parapets are of homogeneous character; the two lower terraces or steps seem only to form a plinth or platform for the monument. Probably, therefore, the type of the pyramidal structure here is that which Captain Sladen supposes to be represented at Mengun, viz., Maha-Meru alone with its five zones; whilst the circular steps above represent what a former quotation terms “the Heaven of the Gods, saints, and Buddhas, rising above it into the Empyrean of Nirwana.”

I will quote here the general remarks of W. von Humboldt on the types of Boro Bodor, which undoubtedly set forth the spirit of its symbolism, though probably his genius expresses it with a precision beyond the consciousness of the builders:

“One sees that the idea of the structure develops gradually from below upwards. In the six four-square terraces are set forth the innumerable Buddhas in living contact with the world and with men. Even that quadrangular form which presents the images of the Holy Ones respectively to the four quarters of the heavens is not without significance. With the introduction of the circle begins the reference to Heaven, and here also the symbolism recedes more and more from the corporeal. The bas-reliefs, with their groups and countless figures, disappear; the Holy Ones remain in their loneliness, severed from contact with the earthly, and in a position of the deepest abstraction. Access to them is closed; to the eye only it is open through the latticework. In the crowning Dome the Holy One himself has also vanished; all imagery ceases, and that which is hidden there even the eye cannot

7 The number of these niches is stated on the face of Raffles's plate as 136, a mistake for 436, which last number is that stated by Mr. Fergusson. But 436 would give an uneven number to each side (109), a circumstance inconsistent with the design. I make the niches by the plan to be 440, or 110 to the side. But it seems probable that the real number of niches, or at any rate of images, was 108 to the side, that being a number in high and sacred esteem among the Buddhists as well as the Hindus. It will be seen that the number of figures in the concentric circles above is $72 = \frac{2}{3} \times 108$. 
approach. Such a process of ascent from multiplicity and division to unity and indivisibility lies in all Buddhist symbolism. The highest of the Three Worlds is styled the World without form or colour. And the incarnated Buddhas, supreme in all Three Worlds, lose in the highest even their names.8

The Buddhas of the Boro Bodor are represented in five different attitudes. Thus the immured ones all exhibit one peculiar action, and the images on each of the four sides of the pyramid respectively exhibit one peculiar action. The five attitudes are as follows:

1. On the EAST side—The left hand rests, with the palm up, on the sole of the foot turned upward. The right hand hangs with the palm turned in, and in contact with the right knee (viz., the usual attitude of Gautama Buddha).

2. On the SOUTH side—The left hand as before. The right hand also hangs in contact with the right knee, but with the palm turned out.

3. On the WEST side—Both hands rest in the lap with the palms upwards.

4. On the NORTH side—Left hand as in 1 and 2; the right hand raised from the wrist with the palm open and outward.

5. The IMMURED FIGURES—Both hands raised opposite the breast, as in an attitude of teaching.

Humboldt comes to the conclusion that these five classes of figures represent the Five Celestial or Dhyāni Buddhas, belonging to a system which became known to Europe through Mr. Hodgson’s memorable researches.

The attitudes in all cases, and the quarters of the heaven in the case of the four Boro Bodor figures which face those quarters, correspond to those assigned to the Dhyāni Buddhas by the Northern Buddhists.

The attitude of the Buddhas on the East corresponds to that of Akshobhya, who, in the Northern system, is the Regent of the East; the Southern attitude is that of Ratna Sainbhava, the Regent of the South; the Western, that of Amitabha, Regent of the West; the Northern, that of Amogha Siddha, Regent of the North.

The attitude of the Immured Buddhas is that of Vairochana. This Dhyāni Buddha, according to Mr. Hodgson, is seldom seen, but when he is represented he is placed on the East, close on the right of Akshobhya. Pallas also assigns both of these personages to the East.9

Those who have become acquainted with Buddhism in Burmah and Ceylon, where the books contain no trace of the Dhyāni Buddhas, will be slow to believe that those are the beings represented here, or that they were ever known in Java. And yet this last conclusion would be quite erroneous; for Mr. Friederich found the names of several of the personages of that system in a Sanskrit inscription from the temple of...
Tumpang in Java, and apparently executed about the twelfth or thirteenth century. He has also seen reason, in the alphabetic character used, to believe that the influence under which these remains were produced came from Gangetic India. Still the key of the symbolism of Boro Bodor must surely be that very singular device of the Caged Buddhas, so costly to execute, and yet repeated seventy-two times. And why should Vairochana occupy so distinctive a position?

Would not that be a more satisfactory and striking interpretation which Humboldt rejected, viz., that the four Buddhas, throned in their open niches and dominating the four sides of the cosmical pyramid, are the four Past Buddhas of this Kalpa, Krakuchanda, Konagamani, Kasyapa, and Sakya; while he of the upper dagobas is Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, patiently abiding his development hidden in the heaven Tusita? To determine this, light is wanted on several points, which I have not been able to obtain. The chief of these points regards the characteristic attitudes assigned to the whole of the five human Buddhas.

I cannot find certain information in respect to any but Sakya and Maitreya. And it is remarkable that, in their cases, when we compare the characteristic attitudes of the Earthly Buddhas with that of these Dhyāni Buddhas, which are supposed to be the celestial reflexion of each, these do not correspond as we should expect. The earthly and heavenly couples are supposed to run as follows:—

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<td>5. Maitreya.</td>
<td>5. Amogha Siddha.</td>
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Now the well-known attitude of Sakya is that which belongs not to Amitábha, but to Akshobhya; and the attitude of Maitreya is that which belongs not to Amogha Siddha, but to Vairochana. I may add that there seems reason to suppose the attitude assigned to Kasyapa to be that which pertains to Amogha Siddha.

These characteristics would identify the Caged Buddha with Maitreya, which quite answers to the hypothesis; whilst the eastern figure would be Sakya and the northern one Kasyapa.

But in the only precedents I can refer to, viz., the Ananda temple at Pagan, and General Cunningham’s description of the great Sanchi Tope, Sakya looks to the

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10 In the province of Surabaya and district of Malang. There are various finely sculptured images also at this temple, which, from the descriptions given, appear to represent peiaons, male and female, of the Dhyāni Buddha system (see Batavian Transactions, xxvi. 84-5).

11 This is noticed by Humboldt, u.s.

12 See Pallas, Sammlungen, Vol. ii, Plate iii., Fig. 1; and Plate ii., Fig. 2.

13 For Pallas assigns this attitude to Divongarra (Dipankara), “the Ruler of the preceding World-period,” who, along with Sakya and Maitreya, forms the triad, called by the Tibetans Dissum Sanji, “The Three Lordly ones;” and in Mongol Gurban Tsagan Burchan, “The Three White Gods” (Sammlungen ii., 86). But, according to Schott, the third member of the group receiving these titles is not Dipankara, but the immediate predecessor of Sakya, or as Pallas himself says, “the Ruler of the preceding World-period,” i.e. Kasyapa. So I suppose Kasyapa to have the attitude of Amogha Siddha, or of the northern figures of Boro Bodor (See Schott, Ueber den Buddhaismus, p. 40).
North and, Kasyapa to the West.\textsuperscript{14} Is there then any precedent for the arrangement which would place Sakya to the eastward and Kasyapa to the North?

A third question will be as to the existence, on the Buddhas of Boro Bodor, of those distinctive symbols which Mr. Hodgson has brought prominently to notice. It would appear, from an allusion in his paper in vol. xviii. of the Society's Journal, as if he had identified some of these symbols on drawings of the Boro Bodor images; but I am not quite clear that this is meant, and I have no access to the former papers therein referred to. Indeed, I should not have presumed to touch these questions, in a position where I have so little access to necessary books, had not the receipt of Captain Sladen's memorandum given me so fair an occasion to bring forward the subject.\textsuperscript{15}

A splendid work in illustration of Boro Bodor was in preparation eight or ten years ago at the expense of the Dutch Government, but I have never heard of its completion. If the figures of Boro Bodor should really prove to belong to the Dhyáni Buddha system, it is probable also that those figures sculptured on the exterior of the adjoining very remarkable Temple of Mundot, which I took for Brahminical divinities, really belong to the same system.

HENRY YULE.

\textit{Palermo, April 17th, 1869.}

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\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{14} I have not the “\textit{Bhilsa Topes},” and do not know whether General Cunningham gives the characters by which he distinguished the different Buddhas. And unfortunately I made no note of the distinctive positions in the Ananda.

\textsuperscript{15} I have not the Journal nor the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society accessible, but I have a copy of Mr. Hodgson's paper from vol. xviii., which he kindly sent me some years ago, accompanied by tracings of the Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas. It is well known, and indeed apparent from that paper, that he does not acknowledge the distinction so often made between Northern and Southern Buddhism. Even if the Java buildings proved to belong to the Dhyáni system, however, it would not settle that question, as Friedrich's researches seemed, to point to a movement from Bengal towards Java in the middle ages, which might have introduced the Dhyáni system into the island without at all affecting the Indo-Chinese countries which received their Buddhism from Ceylon at an Earlier date.
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Note [on the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún]

J. FERGUSSON, F.E.S.

I have not the least wish or intention to dispute the theory put forward by Capt. Sladen and Col. Yule in their remarks, that the Senbyú Pagoda is intended to represent the mythical Mount Meru. I would, nevertheless, like to be allowed to explain that I think its peculiarities may be accounted for on much more mundane and less recondite grounds. The absence of any plan or section makes it a little difficult to speak with any certainty on the subject, but the photographs, with Capt. Sladen's descriptions, are probably sufficient to enable us to avoid any material error.

The central object at Senbyú will be easily recognized as one of those buildings to which we are accustomed to apply the names of Dagoba or Tope. If it contained a relic, the former designation would be correct; if it marked a sacred spot, or commemorated some sacred event, the latter would be the correct term. We do not in this instance know that it was erected for either the one purpose or the other, and it may therefore be designed to represent Mount Meru. If it does so, however, this is the first instance that has come under my notice of a Dagoba being so applied. There is certainly nothing in its external appearance that would lead any one to suppose that any difference existed between this one and the other Topes found so frequently in either Burmah or India.

Since the publication of General Cunningham's book on the Bhilsa Topes in 1854, we have become perfectly familiar with the form of Topes surrounded by detached rails. All that group are, or were, so enclosed; and from this and other examples, we may infer that the enclosing rail was an essential adjunct to the Tope. At Amravati the Tope was enclosed by two concentric rails, which still remain. My conviction is that there was a third, or inner rail, which has perished with the central building, but this is not important. In Ceylon, many of the Topes are surrounded by three concentric circles of pillars, which I do not doubt were the analogues of the continental rails. The temple at Boro Buddor, in Java, consists of a central group of Topes surrounded by five enclosures, which though square, or at least rectangular in plan, are in reality nothing but sculptured screens similar in purpose to those that surrounded the Amravati Tope. At Senbyú we have six, and in spite of the evidence of my senses, I believe that only six terraces were intended, though the photograph seems to show seven. The priests, however, may therefore have been right when they assured Capt. Sladen that the lower storey did not count. If this is so, then the Dagoba formed the seventh storey of the temple. For myself, I am quite content with the fact that we have here a Tope with six enclosing rails, without seeking for any further symbolism at present.

There is, however, another series through which we arrive at a similar conclusion, though by a different road. There are in Babylonia and Assyria a large group of temples of pyramidal form, consisting of terraces placed one above and within the other, and rising through three or seven stories.

The temple at Mugheyr is the typical example at present I known of the three-storeyed temples; that called the Birs Nimroud, of the seven-storeyed. But there are others at Nimroud in Assyria, and at Khorsabad which have similar arrangements, and the seven walls of Ecbatana, alluded to by Col. Yule were no doubt
reminiscences of the same forms. In my "History of Architecture" (ii. 518), I pointed out the connexion between the buildings on the banks of the Euphrates with those on the Irawaddy, long before I was so familiar with the subject as I now am, and every subsequent discovery has only seemed to confirm me in this conviction.

The Sat Mehal Prásáda at Pollanarua was a seven-storeyed Pagoda in every respect analogous to these. The Maha Lowa Paya at Anuradhapura one with nine storeys. So was the temple at Boro Buddor which was also of nine storeys. But the temples most in point are those at Pagan. All the larger temples there, the Ananda, the Thapinyu, the Gaudapalen are seven-storeyed,¹—six terraces and a ziggarat, or cell, with a spire at the top. These, it is true, are all square, or at least rectangular. This one at Mengun is circular, but that distinction is really of little importance, and to my mind the difference between the two is only what we should expect from the six or seven centuries which have elapsed between the dates of their erection.

One other point in these Senbyú enclosures deserves notice. It is their wavy or serpentine form. It may sound fanciful, but my impression is, that it is really intended to recall the form of a serpent. At least, at Nakon Vat in Cambodia, all the ridges of the roofs and all the borderings of the pathways, were wavy serpents, generally seven-headed, but with the bodies of real snakes. Here it is so conventional that without the knowledge of what happened further east we should not dare even to suggest such a theory.

To my mind the most interesting peculiarity of the Mengun Pagoda is that it forms a connecting link—which has hitherto been missing—between the square and circular forms of these seven-storeyed Pagodas. With the assistance it affords I now see—dimly it must be confessed—the outline of the whole series, from the temple at Mugheyr to the present day. Many of the links in this series are still wanting to our knowledge; but I have no doubt that they exist, and I feel confident that as photography spreads we shall soon be furnished with the required information. When

¹ Yule's "Mission to Ava," p. 35 et seqq. See also my "History of Architecture," II. 516 et seqq.
this is obtained we shall be enabled to write one of the most curious and interesting chapters which remain to complete our knowledge of the history of the ancient architectural forms of Southern Asia.
Some Remarks upon COL. YULE'S Notes on the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengun

C. HORNE, F.R.A.S.

With reference to the interesting account of the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengun, read at the last meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, and more particularly with reference to the remarks by Col. Yule on the Buddhas of the Boro Bodor, I would, with the greatest deference to the writer, beg to offer some suggestions derived from personal observation of the manner in which many groups of figures of Buddha (Sákya Muni) are sculptured in Bengal and the North-West Provinces of India.

First, as to the number of times of representation. I may remark that the ceiling of the interior of the great tope or tower of Budh Graya is divided into many hundreds of little spaces, in each of which, Sákya Muni in his conventional attitude is represented. If I remember rightly, the groundwork is of a pale yellow, whilst the figures are of an uniform ochreous brown. There is, however, no variety of position in the figure, and I believe that Gen. Cunningham ascribes the ceiling to about 1100 A.D. The painting is very much faded, and the ceiling of a much later date than the body of the building.

Secondly, as to the positions of the figures. I have before me a small square memorial stupa from Buddh Gaya, of no great antiquity, but evidently copied from a more ancient one, surmounted by a tapering finial of nine circles, upon the sides of which are depicted in relief, in niches, four of the favourite positions in which that great social reformer is often sculptured, viz., begging, expounding, blessing, and contemplating. To these is often added a recumbent figure of Buddha entering "Nirvana," or annihilation; and often one of Maya, his mother, holding the Sál tree at the time of his birth.

1. On the stone in question. To the East (I say East, although the sides are all precisely the same, because there is an inscription on it beneath the figure, and because the principal sides of every Buddhist erection, as far as I am aware, faced the East; and, thirdly, because Buddha is there represented as blessing), is a sitting figure of Sákya Muni in the act of blessing, both hands being raised before him with joined palms, turning outwards, and the soles of the feet turned upwards, showing the chakra upon them.

2. To the West, or opposite side, Buddha is expounding or demonstrating, with the hands in close proximity, and the soles of both feet still upward, as in the first position.

3. To the North, he is sitting contemplating in the position as described in posture No. 1. of Col. Yule, viz., the left hand lying, palm upwards, open on the right upturned sole; whilst the left hangs down on the right knee, palm inwards.

4. To the South, he is sitting with his hands folded one over the other in his lap, i.e. between his heels (or in some other stones that I have seen, on both the upturned soles), supporting his begging pot.
I have never heard it contended by any one that these various figures, or rather positions of the same figure, represent different Buddhas, nor do I think it likely that they do so; but that they are merely as I remarked in the commencement, different attitudes of Sákya Muni, in which that of teacher occupies the most prominent place.

The suggestions which I would therefore wish to throw out are—

1. That the numerous figures of Buddha on the Pagoda of Boro Bodor all represent the same person.

2. That the building was erected in honour of Buddha, the teacher, as he sat “Turning the wheel of the Law,” or expounding his doctrines, or in the act of blessing.

The attitude No. 1 of Col. Yule would then represent Buddha as in contemplation under the Bo tree.

No. 2 would represent him expounding.

No. 3 would show him as a mendicant, for I find the begging pot to be often omitted, although it is placed in the general representation of Buddha in all Thibet (vide Capt. Austin’s paper, J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. xxxiii., p. 152).

No. 4 would represent him in the act of blessing, whilst the principal or immured figure is either in the act of teaching or perhaps blessing.

Gen. Cunningham, in his Bhilsa Topes, has shown the conventional method of expressing by the hands the act of teaching, viz., the placing of the first finger of the right hand in a peculiar manner on those of the left, which leads me slightly to doubt the certainty of “both hands raised opposite the breast as in an attitude of teaching” representing that act.

I have also seen standing figures of Buddha—generally with the begging pot, which holds so conspicuous a place in his scanty accessories, and I cannot but believe that the one and the same person is represented in many ways.¹

UPPER NORWOOD, June 23, 1869.

¹ So far as my experience goes, the conclusions I have arrived at are entirely in accordance with Mr. Horne’s suggestions. At Ajanta, for instance, especially in Cave 19, Buddha is represented in all these four attitudes, and so frequently, but with such similarity of form and emblems, that I hardly think it can be doubted but that one and the same person only is meant to be represented. The same thing occurs at Kenheri and elsewhere in the western caves, yet I never heard it suggested that these figures were intended to represent any other person than the one Sákya Muni.—J. F.
Editor's note:

This first-hand communication from Giuseppe d'Amato appears to have been written originally in Italian. It was translated for publication in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1833, although the translator's name is not provided. However short this account, it provides valuable detailed information mining in royal Burma as well as a few hints concerning Chinese traders in Upper Burma.

M.W.C.

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**Short Description of the Mines of Precious Stones, in the District of Kyat-pyen, in the Kingdom of Ava**

Père Giuseppe D'Amato

The territory of *Kyat-pyen*¹ (written *Chia-ppièn* by d'Amato) is situated to the east, and a little to the south of the town of *Mon-lhá*, (which latter place is by observation in latitude 22° 16' North,) distant 30 or 40 Buman leagues, each league being 1000 *taa*, of seven cubits the *taa*²; say 70 miles. It is surrounded by nine mountains. The soil is uneven and full of marshes, which form seventeen small lakes, each having a particular name. It is this soil which is so rich in mineral treasures. It should be noticed, however, that the ground which remains dry is that alone which is mined, or perforated with the wells, whence the precious stones are extracted. The mineral district is divided into 50 or 60 parts, which, beside the general name of "mine," have each a distinct appellation.

The miners, who work at the spot, dig square wells, to the depth of 15 or 20 cubits, and to prevent the wells from falling in, they prop them with perpendicular piles, four or three on each side of the square, according to the dimensions of the shaft, supported by cross pieces between the opposite piles.

When the whole is secure, the miner descends, and with his hands extracts the loose soil, digging in a horizontal direction. The gravelly ore is brought to the surface in a *ratan* basket raised by a cord, as water from a well. From this mass all the precious stones and any other minerals possessing value are picked out, and washed in the brooks descending from the neighbouring hills.

Besides the regular duty which the miners pay to the Prince, in kind, they are obliged to give up to him gratuitously all jewels of more than a certain size or of extraordinary value. Of this sort was the *tornallina* (toumaline?) presented by the Burman monarch to Colonel *Symes*. It was originally purchased clandestinely by the Chinese on the spot; the Burmese court, being apprized of the circumstance,

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¹ The *Kyat-pyen* mountains are doubtless the *Capelan* mountains mentioned as the locality of the ruby, in *Phillip's Mineralogy*—“60 miles from *Pegue, a city in Ceylon.*” Though it might well have puzzled a geographer to identify them without the clue of their mineral riches.

² Estimating the cubit at 1½ feet, the league will be 10,500 feet, or nearly two miles;—about an Indian *kos*. 

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instituted a strict search for the jewel, and the sellers, to hush up the affair, were obliged to buy it back at double price, and present it to the king. You may ask me, to what distance the miners carry their excavations? I reply, that ordinarily they continue perforating laterally, until the workmen from different mines meet one another. I asked the man who gave me this information, whether this did not endanger the falling in of the vaults, and consequent destruction of the workmen? but he replied, that there were very few instances of such accidents. Sometimes the miners are forced to abandon a level before working to day-light, by the oozing in of water, which floods the lower parts of the works.

The precious stones found in the mines of Kyat-pyen, generally speaking, are rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other crystals of the same family, (the precious corundum.) Emeralds are very rare, and of an inferior sort and value. They sometimes find, I am told, a species of diamond, but of bad quality.

The Chinese and Tartar merchants come yearly to Kyat-pyen, to purchase precious stones and other minerals. They generally barter for them carpets, coloured cloths, cloves, nutmegs and other drugs. The natives of the country also pay yearly visits to the royal city of Ava, to sell the rough stones. I have avoided repeating any of the fabulous stories told by the Burmans of the origin of the jewels at Kyat-pyen.

There is another locality, a little to the north of this place, called Mookop, in which also abundant mines of the same precious gems occur.

Note.—While I am writing this brief notice, an anecdote is related to me by a person of the highest credit, regarding the discovery of two stones, or, to express myself better, of two masses (amas) of rubies of an extraordinary size, at Kyat-pyen. One weighed 80 biches, Burmese weight, equivalent to more than 80 lbs.! the second was of the same size as that given to Colonel Symes. When the people were about to convey them to the capital to present them to the king, a party of bandits attacked Kyat-pyen for the second time, and set the whole town on fire. Of the two jewels, the brigands only succeeded in carrying off the smaller one; but the larger one was injured by the flames: the centre of the stone, still in good order, was brought to the king. I learned this from a Christian soldier of my village of Mon-lhá, who was on guard, at the palace when the bearer of the gem arrived there.
General Remarks on the Coast of Arracan

Captain Laws
H.M.S. Satellite

THE HARBOURS, PRODUCE OF THE COUNTRY, NATIVES, &C.

The province of Arracan extends from the left bank of the Tiknaaf river, in latitude 20° 46' N., and longitude 92° 20' E., to Cape Negrais, in latitude 16° 2' N., and longitude 94° 14' E., and is divided from the Burman territory by the Yeomandong mountains, lying parallel to, and in some places approaching very near, the sea-coast, which is fronted by numerous islands, moderately high and thinly inhabited, the largest of which are Cheduba and Ramree, forming part of a group which were almost unknown to Europeans before the Burmese war of 1824. Amongst them are several good harbours, particularly that of Kyouk Phyoo, which takes its name from the small white pebbles that are washed on the beach during the S.W. monsoon, Kyouk Phyoo meaning 'white stones.' Akyab to the northward and Ramree to the southward are also safe harbours, and both have inland water communications with Kyouk Phyoo, as it has with Mion river, Arracan town (now reduced to a few huts), Jalak, Mai, and Aing, from whence there is a pass over the Yeomandong with a road to Ava, by which one division of the British army returned to Jalak from Melloon after the peace. Sandoway, and even Giva, may also be said to have inland navigation to Kyouk Phyoo, as there is a creek from the latter communicating with Sandoway river.

The comparatively small number of Europeans that has yet resided in the Arracan province, renders it premature to judge of its climate; and though all whom we met spoke favourably of it, it certainly is not free from the diseases common to India. Jalak and Arracan towns have everything in their vicinity to make them unhealthy, being placed in mere swamps, enveloped in thick fogs during the N.E. monsoon, and inundated during the opposite season. Our troops suffered much from dysentery and fever at both during the Burman war; while, on the sea-coast, at Kyouk Phyoo, Sandoway, and Negrais, they were comparatively healthy, those places having a cool sea-breeze with temperate nights nearly throughout the year. But at any distance from the sea, where the land is low, heavy fogs and dews prevail during the nights, with hot days. The S.W. monsoon begins early in May and lasts until the end of October; it usually blows along the coast, except when interrupted (which it frequently is about the full and change of the moon) by strong S. and S.W. winds, accompanied with heavy rain and sea, making it at such time necessary to approach this coast with great caution, as there is no place of shelter between Negrais and Ramree, with numerous dangers between them.
From November to April the weather is fine and the water smooth;—an anchorage may then be found, on a muddy bottom, in from six to twenty fathoms, all the way from the Naaf to Negrais, with with good landing. The rise of tide appears to be nowhere so great as at Kyouk Phyoo (sixteen feet in the springs).

In January and February we experienced little or no current in the offing until to the southward of Cheduba; between it and Negrais it ran south from one to one mile and a half per hour.

The islands on their northern and eastern sides are fertile, producing rice in abundance; also cotton, silk, and indigo; but only sufficient is cultivated for the consumption of the very few in-habitants, who are now reduced to little more than 200,000 in the whole province, almost every Burman, with all that was costly or respectable, having recrossed the Yeomandong when the province was ceded to the East India Company, who, with one regiment of sepoys, now hold the scattered remains of its ancient inhabitants (the Mughs) in perfect subject. It is divided into three districts, Akyab, Ramree, and Sandoway, each governed by a civil judge or superintendent, under the immediate inspection of a commissioner, who usually resides at Chittagong. These judges (officers in the Indian army) have a number of Bengalee policemen; and the one at Akyab, which is much the largest district, has two companies of natives to assist in preserving peace and collecting the revenue, which amounts annually, in the whole province, to about three lacs and a half of rupees (350,000 l.), produced principally by the rental of land, the Company considering themselves the proprietors of the soil. A tax on everything useful or necessary is also imposed to raise this apparently insignificant amount, which barely defrays the expenses, though the garrison only consists of eight companies of sepoys, two of which are stationed at Akyab, two at Sandoway, and the other four with the head-quarters of the regiment at Kyouk Phyoo, where a cantonment has been recently formed, and part of the flotilla employed in the late war, consisting of flats and gunboats, is laid up. The others are at Jergo, or Amherst Island, off the south end of Ramree, where there are temporary storehouses, with a quantity of naval stores, decaying very fast, from want of proper protection from the climate, as also are the boats.

There is a regular dâk established between Calcutta and Arracan province, as far as Sandoway, via Chittagong, Akyab, Kyouk Phyoo, and Ramree: it is from nine to ten days reaching Akyab, and is thence conveyed in boats by the inland communications to the southward, usually reaching Sandoway in four days.

The inhabitants are a hardy, inoffensive race; and, having had little intercourse with strangers, supply all their wants from the immediate vicinity of their houses, which are universally bamboo huts, raised upon piles about four feet from the ground, and generally in some thick jungle near the water, with small patches rice, indigo, cotton, tobacco, and fruit-trees at no very great distance. Fish are abundant, constituting, with rice, their principal food; and this year, for the first time, a cargo of both has been purchased for the Mauritius—the rice at the rate of 1 l. 8s. per ton, and the fish equally low. Poultry is also very numerous at Arracan—eighteen for a rupee, nor is there any scarcity of bullocks or buffaloes. The latter they esteem most, from their being docile and useful in cultivating and treading out rice; and it is difficult to say what other use they make of either, as they neither kill them for food, nor do they use milk or any thing made from it, and were much amused at the Europeans and Hindostanees wishing to get it, asking whether they were not afraid of becoming calves. Their religion, that of Buddha, enjoins them not to take away life; but they do not appear very bigoted so this part of their creed, as they had no objection to part with their oxen or buffaloes, and ate any part when dead, even to
the offal usually given to dogs. We procured excellent ox-beef, with an abundance of vegetables, at Cheduba and Ramree, at the rate of three halfpence the pound: at Kyouk Phyoo, it was the same price; but the cantonment having been so recently formed, it was by no means so good, nor were vegetables easily to be procured, though we got a few of the best oranges I have tasted in India, and I was told they were abundant at the latter part of the year.

Though, in many respects, the people are far from being civilized, in others they surpass the most polished nations. There is rarely a person to be met with who cannot read and write; and records are kept on the palm-leaf, beautifully lacquered in Japan or red, generally on a gilt ground, with dark letters. Their common accounts are written with a chalk pencil, resembling talc, on folds of paper made from the bark of a tree, and then covered with lamp-black, or a smooth board, besmeared with the same substance. They have thirty-six characters in their alphabet, written from left to right; and they hold their pen or pencil as we do, the lines being as fine, and the characters as beautifully formed, as if made with a pen and ink.

Their priests appear entirely occupied in the education of the children, and in every village there are two or three. Their schools are equally open to all; and the only remuneration appears to be a sufficient quantity of food, and the erection of a house, which answers as a residence, temple, and school-room; with generally a small pagoda, having a number of poles and pendants hanging from it, much after the manner represented on the common china-ware. Indeed, all their habits, as well as their persons and dress, resemble those of the western part of China. Celibacy is observed by the priests, who universally shave their heads, and wear a dirty yellow cotton dress; and before any boy can be prepared for admission as a priest, he must publicly declare his own and his parents' free consent. Should he afterwards, however, at any time of his life, repent of his resolution, it is not thought disgraceful for him to say so, and he may return to the common walks of life, and take a wife as soon as he pleases. The only foreigners now in Arracan are the servants of the East India Company, who, both civil and military, spoke of the priests (or pondis, as they are termed) as being an unassuming, well-disposed set of men, never interfering with the concerns of others, unless applied to as arbitrators, when they exercise their judgment with impartiality. The 'Mughs,' in their manners, are perfectly free from the servile hypocrisy of their western neighbours, and equally unlike them as to probity—their words being generally to be taken; and, in dealing with you, they ask the price which they consider the article worth, and no more; though it is to be feared the intercourse which they are likely to have with the natives of Bengal will soon remove these honest traits in their characters. The women dress much after the Chinese fashion, but are by no means secluded, having a full share in all the common intercourse or transactions in life.

At present, except rice, there seem to be no surplus articles for export, though there is no doubt the country would afford abundance, were its resources brought out, which can only be done by a much larger population than it is likely to have for many years, even under the most favourable government. Their imports are very trifling—a few boats coasting along shore to Chittagong, and from thence, by the Sunderbunds, to Calcutta, are sufficient for all their trade to the northward; and a not much larger number to Basseen, and from thence through the Sunderbunds of the Irrawaddy to Ava or Rangoon, are required to bring back silk and other articles manufactured in that country, which are much superior to those made by themselves, and more esteemed than any yet brought by Europeans.
Editor’s Note:

Colonel Heyland’s observations on army horses and cavalry regiments in the final stages of the Third Anglo-Burmese War was originally published as a chapter (XVII) in *History of the Third Burmese War, 1885, 1886, and 1887*, in 1889. The organization of transport and mobile field forces was a significant problem for British forces in the early months of the war. In December 1885, for example:

“[S]ome 199 royal elephants and 300 ponies from the Manipur Cavalry in Mandalay were brought into the Transport Department of the Field Force, but of these half the elephants were without mahouts or only half trained, and half of the ponies were unserviceable. In addition to these, ponies were purchased in Upper and Lower Burma as fast as they were brought in. The Expeditionary Force in its equipment being devoid of animal transport, it was also devoid of gear, so gunny-cloth pads were made for the elephants, and the ponies’ backs were covered with a rough gear on the same principle as that used in the Punjab. In efficient as it was, this improvised transport was found to be a great boon, and enabled moveable columns to march unencumbered with coolies.”


This account thus remains a critical source on an otherwise obscure topic of Burma’s colonial history and Burmese resistance to British imperial expansion.

M. W. C.

Notes on Cavalry Employed in Upper Burma From October 1886 to October 1887

Colonel Heyland

1st Bo. Lancers

Regiments Employed

Four Regiments of Indian Cavalry were employed:
All siledar regiments, excepting the Madras Lancers, who are mounted by Government.

As each detachment reached Rangoon, it was forwarded as early as possible by Irrawaddy flats,—one steamer between two flats to the nearest place on the Irrawaddy to the post to which it was ordered.

As the steamers were only allowed to run at night, some detachments took 10 days and upwards on the river voyage; but, as it was generally feasible to land half or even all the horses at night for a walk, and a roll on the ground, the animals soon recovered from the effects of their sea-voyage.

The distribution of all four regiments at first was as follows:

1st Madras Lancers to the Minbu district to Pagan and Pokoko.

7th Bengal Cavalry to the Mandalay district.

3rd Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry to Yè-u and Shwebo districts.

1st Bombay Lancers to the 3rd and 4th Brigades or the Myingyan and Ningyan (Pyinmana) districts.

**Mode of Employment**

Each regiment was of course at once broken up into numerous detachments of any strength from a squadron to 25 sowars, some detachments being 200 miles or more distant from Regimental Head-quarters; and as these detachments were constantly changed and attached to columns marching through the country, months sometimes passed without the Commanding Officer of the regiment or the Adjutant hearing of...
them; indeed frequently these two officers were separated for weeks from each other by the exigencies of the service.

It speaks well for the discipline of the Native cavalry of the expedition under such circumstances that everywhere they did good service and were spoken of in high terms by all officers, Military and Civil, and by general officers under whose orders they served.

The points connected with the use of cavalry in Upper Burma which appear most prominent are—

(a) The excessive mortality amongst horses (vide tables attached).

(b) The excellent health enjoyed by the cavalry, fighting-men, and followers as a rule throughout the whole year under reference, even when undergoing considerable exposure during the wet season.

(c) The extraordinary moral effect produced by the big horses on the Burmans, accustomed as they are only to 12-hand ponies—"Devils on big horses"—"Kala Tasaymah Muddeeyah Minbo Mah," as they called our Indian horsemen.

(d) The excellent forage nearly everywhere obtainable throughout the year, whether kurbee, or grass, green or dry.

(e) The efficient Commissariat arrangements which never left the horses and ponies without their grain, nearly always the best gram, nor the men and followers without as much of the best rations as they required.

Mortality Among Horses

Referring to (a), the cause of the great mortality amongst horses no doubt will receive or has received the attention of Veterinary Surgeons with a view to the future employment of cavalry in Upper Burma or beyond its frontier, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the prevention of the disease or diseases which has or have killed by this time (16th November 1887) nearly half the 2,092 horses which reached Upper Burma in October 1886 will not be difficult if proved to be due to the use of green fodder, as it probably will be, as it is comparatively an easy matter to feed on hay or dried kurbee at permanent posts, and to export from India compressed forage at a moderate cost as soon as the rail to Mandalay supplements the river way.

It is worthy of notice that the Burmans always feed their ponies and cattle on kurbee (Jowaree stalk) whenever they can get it, chopped very fine, and not given, as in India, simply broken. The Burmans are very skilful in chopping the kurbee stalks into very fine chaff with their dahs, and invariably at the conclusion of a march commence to chop whatever forage is available. Our cavalry and transport drivers might well take lessons from the Burmans in the care of their bullocks and ponies, for indeed a thin animal, the property of a Burman, is rarely, if ever, seen.

The loss amongst fighting-men and followers of the cavalry force by death and invaliding is as follows:—
Numerous instances have occurred of large numbers of armed dacoits becoming utterly panic-stricken at the mere sight of a few horsemen and of their flying without the slightest attempt at resistance. Knowing this, no wonder need be felt on perusing the bulletins recording petty encounters with dacoits, when the slaughter of the latter by a few sowars appears incredible to people unacquainted with the Burman dacoit. It requires a hard heart and strong sense of duty, but neither courage nor skill, to slay or wound with lance or sword any number of terrified, unresisting men when caught flying in the open.

For instance, at Alegun in the Pokoko district on the 12th December 1886, 50 lances attacked over 700 dacoits who had taken up a strong position within a walled enclosure; at the approach of the cavalry at a gallop the dacoits at once took to flight in all directions, and the result recorded was over 200 dacoits killed and wounded, and subsequent enquiries have proved that this number was by no means over-estimated.

Again, on the 1st April 1887, 30 lances and 17 mounted infantry attacked 700 dacoits in a strong walled position at Taungdwingyi, and in pursuit the dacoits suffered very severely with no casualties on the attacking side.

At Tebya on the 5th December 1886, only 30 lances attacked 200 dacoits, killing a large number.

Besides numerous instances in which the strength of the enemy, although great, was not known—

at Yemethin on the 19th December 1886,

near Meiktila on the 1st January 1887,

at Watchokin on the 29th January 1887

and at other places needless to mention, the slight of a few sowars was sufficient to put to flight large bodies of dacoits.
### Monthly Casualties among Horses (Including Officers’ Choppers) in 1st Madras Lancers

*From 1st October 1886 to 1st October 1887.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Died on Return to England</th>
<th>Sick</th>
<th>Other Disease</th>
<th>Killed in Battle</th>
<th>Killed by Indiaman</th>
<th>Total in Battle</th>
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Regiment landed at Bombay—23rd, 24th and 25th September 1886.
Strength in horses left India—478.
Received draft of horses in 1887 of 115.
### Monthly Casualties among horses (including officers' chargers) in 7th Bengal Cavalry from 1st October 1886 to 1st October 1887

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date,</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Horses in action</th>
<th>Horses killed in action</th>
<th>Horses killed in India</th>
<th>Horses killed in battle</th>
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</table>

In May last scene broke out almost simultaneous with Yewecon, Saraccon, and Panjil. So did the insurrection at Zaggin.

Regiment landed at Rangoon—13th and 20th September 1886.
Strength in horses left India—533.
Received draft of horses in 1887 of 50.

### Monthly Casualties among horses (including officers' chargers) in 3rd Contingent Hyderabad Cavalry from 1st October 1886 to 1st October 1887

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date,</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Horses in action</th>
<th>Horses killed in action</th>
<th>Horses killed in India</th>
<th>Horses killed in battle</th>
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Regiment landed at Rangoon—8th, 9th, 10th and 11th October 1886.
Strength in horses left India—500.
Received draft of horses in 1887 of 50.
### Monthly Casualties among Horses (including officers' chargers) in 1st Bombay Lancers from 1st October 1886 to 1st October 1887

<table>
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<th>Date</th>
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<th>Illness or Wounds</th>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Fever and Malaria</th>
<th>Other Diseases</th>
<th>Killed in Action</th>
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Regiment landed at Rangoon—1st October 1886.
Strength in horses left India—52.
Received draft of horses in 1887—al—None.

### Total Monthly Casualties among Horses (including officers' chargers) in the 1st Madras Lancers, 3rd Contingent Hyderabad Cavalry, and 7th Bengal Cavalry, 1st Bombay Lancers, from 1st October 1886 to 1st October 1887

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dead or Wounded</th>
<th>Illness or Wounds</th>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Fever and Malaria</th>
<th>Other Diseases</th>
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<th>Total Deaths</th>
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Regiments landed at Rangoon at the end of September and beginning of October 1886.
Strength in horses left India—226.
Received draft of horses in 1887—al—None.
General Remarks on the Health of Horses of the Native Cavalry of the Expedition

The loss of horses on the voyage from India was great, considering the very short passages from Madras, Calcutta and Bombay to Rangoon, and the fair weather experienced by all. There was a smaller percentage of deaths amongst the horses of the Indian Contingent to Malta in 1878 in the height of the hot weather, when the voyage lasted nearly one month.

2. Overcrowding and deficient ventilation, want of space behind the horses to clean out the stalls, was doubtless the cause of death of 28 out of 2,092 horses of the expedition; at first sight not a large percentage, but in reality very excessive, considering the short voyages and the exceptionally fine weather (a loss to Government of perhaps R 5,000 or R 6,000 or more). Longer voyages, with rough weather, would with the same crowding have caused disastrous results.

3. There has been a marked exemption from colic and diseases of the respiratory organs, as compared with India.

4. There has been a most extraordinary tendency to saddle galls throughout the campaign and more particularly during the hot weather and rains, which is quite unaccountable to the oldest cavalry soldiers. Wounds and sores are apparently much longer in healing than in India; this has been noticed everywhere in Upper Burma.

5. The disease or diseases which has or have proved so fatal to horses during the campaign appears as surra or relapsing fever in the Mandalay districts, kumri (paraplejia) in the Shwebo and Yeu districts, kumri and malarious fevers in the Minbu and Taungdwingyi districts, anthrax and kumri in Myingyan and Meiktila districts.

6. The most healthy places for horses have been Welaung in the Myingyan district, Myotha in Mandalay district, Pokoko and Myaing in the Pokoko district. The total loss in horses as per tables from September 1886 to October 1887 has been 666 out of 2,092, without taking into account drafts of 217 horses received late in the season. No records have been kept of ponies owing to constantly fluctuating numbers caused by frequent exchange of Indian for Burman ponies.

7. The symptoms and post mortem appearances of the complaints called surra and anthrax appear to have been much the same in the Meiktila and Mandalay districts; but owing to the want of a microscope in the former district, the blood has not been examined; while at Mandalay the spirillae in the blood was discovered. However, there is fair reason for supposing that the disease may not be either anthrax or surra, but some blood poisoning closely resembling the latter, but peculiar to Burma and due either to malarial poison or to unwholesome grasses, the virulence of the disease or diseases varying in different districts greatly; at Lajabin the whole of the horses of the detachment of the 7th Bengal Cavalry either died at that post or shortly after they were withdrawn.

8. Of the four Regiments the 7th Bengal Cavalry have lost most heavily from surra and do not report one recovery from this disease; whereas at least 75 per cent. of the 1st Bombay Lancers at Shanmangè and Meiktila have recovered from the disease, which Veterinary Surgeon Fowler classes anthrax.
9. A great many horses appear to have had worm in the eye, and a good many of these cases were also affected with kumri, going some way to prove the theory prevalent in India as to the connection between the cause of the two diseases.

10. It has been noticed that Australian horses have stood the climate of Upper Burma far better than other breeds, but up to the present time no reliable statistics are available to confirm this statement. However, Arabs, Persians, Beluchees, Country breeds, and all other breeds of all ages, colours, sexes, seem to suffer in equal proportion, but certainly disease, whether anthrax, surra or kumri, appears more frequently to select the strongest and best conditioned animals, and officers, both British and Native, have lost a larger proportion of chargers than the other ranks; in the 1st Bombay Lancers, for instance, seven British officers’ chargers and nine Native officers’ horses have died or been shot for kumri or have died of anthrax.

11. Ponies, both Indian and Burman, have suffered very little from kumri, and it does not appear at Meiktila or Shanmangê, Mahlaing, Welaung and Myingyan, that there have been any cases of kumri amongst the Indian or Burman ponies of the 1st Bombay Lancers, although at the first three mentioned places there were nearly 60 cases of kumri amongst the horses, which was all the more extraordinary, as the horses at these places stood under cover in sheds and the ponies generally in the open without even the shelter of trees.

12. Surra, however, in Yê-u and Mandalay districts and anthrax at Pyinmana (Ningyin) has been very deadly amongst ponies both Indian and Burman.

13. Officers of Native Cavalry are generally of opinion that the Indian ponies brought over are far superior as baggage animals to the Burman as regards hardiness, power and pace when laden.

14. For the treatment of kumri, firing-blisters, hot sheepskins and various other remedies have been tried without the smallest result, and there has as yet been no recorded case of a single recovery. The paralysis always appears as paraplegia, but, never as hemiplegia, varies much in severity in different cases; some animals falling shortly after first attack and never again rising without assistance; others with a slight dragging of the hind legs appear no worse for weeks or even months, but are always unsafe to ride even when the paralysis is barely noticeable.

15. For surra at Mandalay doses of strychnia, arsenic and corrosive sublimate have been tried with other remedies without giving a single recovery up to date. At Meiktila the anthrax cases were treated with carbolic acid and tincture of iodine in ½ dram doses of each three times a day; but whether the numerous recoveries from the complaint which existed at Meiktila was due to this treatment or to the mildness of the disease, it is not possible to say.

16. A few cases of horses, ponies and goats dying of convulsions only a few minutes after first symptoms of disease showed were noticed at Meiktila and Shanmangê; in one of these, a pony, a post mortem examination showed a number of small thin worms about ½ inch long, tapering to a point, at one end, each worm imbedded in clot of dark blood in the cellular tissue of the abdominal walls, in the sub-peritoneal connective tissue, in the liver, and, in addition to these, numberless small white worms resembling thread worms were found mixed with the food in the stomach and intestines throughout their entire length.

17. Goats and sheep appear to suffer much from kumri. At Myingyan, Meiktila and other places a very large number of goats were to be seen in September and
October lying paralysed in the hind quarters and only able to move by dragging the hind quarters along the ground.

18. In one instance, a young kid—born of a mother, which had suffered from slight kumri, when two days old, and before it had either eaten or drunk anything but its mother's milk—became completely paralysed, but is now able to progress rapidly, the fore-quarters dragging the hinder part which trails on the ground; this may be an interesting fact to place on record, showing as it does that the germs of the poison which cause the paralysis need not necessarily be absorbed directly from either grass or water. It is noticeable that goats appear sometimes to recover the use of their hind extremities without any treatment, but no authentic case of complete recovery has been brought to notice.

19. The tables attached show the total casualties among horses (not ponies) from each disease, each month separately, and it appears that generally July, August and September are the most unhealthy for horses in Upper Burma, although March and September were apparently the worse months for the Hyderabad Cavalry in the Yè-u and Shwebo districts.

20. All enquiries prove useless to fix the cause of disease upon the water, as horses, whether watered habitually from wells, lakes, rivers, appear to suffer alike; the germs of poison may more likely be found to exist in the grass, and there is strong evidence to support this theory; for instance, it has frequently been noticed that all the animals fed off the same bundle of grass collected by the same grass-cutter have become affected at or nearly at the same time with kumri; and that when the weather and circumstances admitted of proper drying of the grass there was a marked decrease in the cases of kumri for some days afterwards and a decided increase for days after feeding on wet grass.

21. At Meiktila and Shanmangè, where kumri was disastrous, great care was taken under Veterinary Surgeon Fowler's advice to feed on certain upland grasses only, carefully excluding marshland grasses, and under the same officer's advice salt was given daily to all the animals throughout the rains.

22. There have been some fatal cases of sunstroke, of which six occurred at Rangoon on their way with a draft to join the Madras Lancers in the month of April.

Exposure to the sun seems to take much more out of horses and men in Burma than in India; this fact has been pretty generally noticed by most officers.
Editor’s note:

This is the second increment in the two-part series on the letters of James Alfred Colbeck. While the first part covered the years 1878-1879, the present letters include the years 1885-1888, when Colbeck returned to Upper Burma with British forces and served as both mission priest and as acting chaplain for British forces.

M.W.C.

Mandalay in 1885-1888: The Letters of James Alfred Colbeck, Originally Selected and Edited by George H. Colbeck in 1892, Continued

December 18th, 1885
On board Steamer Thooreah, bound for Mandalay

I did not join the Expeditionary Force as I had thought it was possible I should do, so put off ideas of Mandalay for some weeks to come, and came to Rangoon last Friday, not at all prepared to leave for the Royal City, having with me only my handbag with a change, Bible, Prayer Book, &c. The Diocesan Institution of Native Clergy, Catechists, &c., had to be examined, and the Bishop called me to the work. After the examination was over I expected to return to Maulmain, but things have gone farther than I or anyone else expected. King Thibau was brought down in this steamer after the British troops had taken the forts on the river at Minhlah and Mingyhan, and he, his queen, her mother, and some 80 followers, are waiting in a steamer at Rangoon for the decision of the British Government, as to what is to be done with them. They are not allowed to land. The Bishop wished me to go up at once and get possession of the Church, Clergy House, and Schools in Mandalay, so here I am,—Thursday, December 18th, 12-7 noon, the steamer just swinging round in stream.

We have just passed the troopship on which King Thibau and his party are, and also the "Canning," which is getting steam up and is flying the "Blue Peter," so I suppose the Burmese Court will be transferred and packed off to Bombay or a city near it—Rutnaghiry, where they will perhaps be happier than they have been for a long time. Thibau is not so bad as the Press represents him, and most likely the bad advisers he has are mostly responsible for the cruel things which have been done in his name. What the future of Upper Burmah is to be we do not yet know. The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah went up by train to Prome last night, taking with him a number of Civil Officers.

He expects to reach Mandalay about next Sunday or Monday, as he goes single-handed; i.e., has no heavy cargo barges in tow. We have two heavy flats alongside, so we expect to be a week later. The "Thooreah" is the first trading steamer since the outbreak of the war, but we do not expect any opposition from the Burmese, as our troops have taken all the ports along the river, and gunboats patrol the line of communication.
There are a large number of "Dacoits" and Freebooters just on the frontier and round about Mandalay, but I don't expect they will survive long. The fact of Thibau surrendering himself so quietly and not running away to the interior is very fortunate for the British. It will have saved the lives of many brave men.

The column which went by water from Rangoon took possession of Mandalay within 15 days after crossing the frontier above Thayetmyo, and the city is now in the hands of our soldiers. No real set battles have been fought, but two or three smaller fights have occurred, to the great slaughter of the poor Burmese soldiers. I was glad to hear that strict orders were given to our troops not to fire upon the Burmese after they turned to flee.

This no doubt has saved many of their lives, and once in the city the English General (Prendergast) required all arms and war munitions to be given up by Burmans. In spite of this there was looting and rioting for a night or two by half-mad Burmese soldiers.

Just now I believe there are 8,000 or 10,000 of our troops in and about Mandalay, and they have just been trying to settle where the camp or cantonment is to be.

We have no news as to the Church, whether it is safe or in ruins. I rather expect to find all being used as barracks for the soldiers, and if so, cannot say much till other shelter is provided for them.

I am reminded again of my experiences 12 years ago. We have on board the French Consul and several merchants, who have taken this opportunity of making their way to Mandalay. To show the difference between English and native rule, let me tell you the facts regarding this steamer.

Upper Burmah is still in a state of war, but this trading steamer was no sooner advertised than heaps upon heaps of cargo were promised and shipping orders asked for King Thibau arrived, and ought to have been sent away the next day. Some delay took place, and then the rumour was spread abroad that our Government was going to send him back to Mandalay. This caused shippers to back out of their orders, so we go up with hardly any native passengers and only half cargo.

The French Consul is to be pitied. Perhaps you know the French thought to make something of Upper Burmah. They expected to get a French Bank in Mandalay, and several houses of business, and to exclude British Merchants. They were to make a railway too. One Consul managed badly, and another was sent; but before he reached Rangoon on his way, the war had broken out, and King Thibau and his Court were on their way, deported to Rangoon. The Consul presented his credentials to the local Government, but they declined to receive them as there is now no Court or King of Burmah. He however goes up to Mandalay to see what he will see.
January 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 1886
In camp with Hampshire Regt. E. of Mandalay.

I am here to do the Chaplain's work, as he has gone out for a few days with one of the flying columns. Last Sunday I preached at the parade service in the Palace from the steps of the throne. It was an interesting and novel spectacle. Civil and military officers, gunners and infantry; the soldiers all armed, and standing through the whole service. It seemed singular to find oneself preaching in such a place, and to such a congregation; and yet it did not distract me, all seemed too real for fancy to build up. "Truth stranger than fiction" once more; and what perhaps added to it, was the roar or cry of an elephant somewhere near.

The Palace, or rather Grand Throne Room, is a gorgeous building standing on a high platform of brick, and terraced up, then the room itself is raised step by step to allow gradations of rank to be marked; and just where the soldiers were standing, are a number of splendid teak posts painted vermillion, and gaily ornamented with gold leaf up to the very roof some 40 feet above. This was the place where the highest Ministers of the country, each one at a post, used to lie with their faces to the ground, when the King took his seat upon the throne. The throne itself is more like an altar, and though I spoke of steps of the throne, there is no way of getting up from the Court. The entrance is through golden doors at the back, which slide on wheels to allow the King and Queen to pass in. They sit a man's height above everybody, and have before them a curious collection of little images, representing angels, courtiers, fairies, &c., in the act of worship or reverence.

From the throne, the way is open right through the Court, Palace gate, and City, a clear view right East, till the Shan hills intercept the view. After the parade service we went to a small Golden Pagoda or rather Monastery, outside the Palace itself, where there was a celebration of the Blessed Sacrament. This is a beautiful structure, all of wood, covered with gold leaf, and with silvered glass in regular patterns; here and there round doors, arches, statues, &c., &c., &c., glistening most beautifully as the sun shines upon it. No wonder the Burmans think their Kings almost divine.

It is a copy on a smaller scale of the Monastery in which Thibau received his education, and so was kept particularly sacred in the days just gone by. This morning I have preached and said the service in the open air to such of the Hampshire men and Welsh Fusiliers as are left in camp off duty. Everybody comes fully armed, as this is one of the outposts to guard the city from the rush of the Shans.

The troops were on two sides in the shade of another Grand Golden Monastery, the erection of the late King; and I stood on the steps facing West, with a big drum for a reading desk and pulpit. Again I have simply to say I did not feel it strange. One has got accustomed to curious circumstances now, I suppose.

Just as I write I can hear shots firing in various parts, and a rumble like a distant engagement. Since Thibau left several pretenders have sprung up, who are giving our soldiers a lot of trouble.

There are said to be 15,000 men on three sides of Mandalay advancing towards us, and it is to catch these that three columns of our troops were sent out Friday and yesterday, January 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd}.
I want the country to become quiet, and hope the British Government will place my little friend Tait Tin Oo Zun on the throne. He is the son of the Nyoung Yan, whom you will remember. The father died in Calcutta last April. The mother and sister of the Nyoung Yan have been saved. They sent for me as soon as they knew I had come up, and I have had a pleasant interview with them.

When I came up to Mandalay this time I lived for a while in the house of a Mussulman gentleman named Moola Ismail. He was collector of taxes under Thibau, and is immensely rich. His house is more like a fort than a dwelling, and he has, I am told, 75 servants living in the place, and 30 wives of his own somewhere.

He is not here just now, and the wives have another house all to themselves, I fancy. The suite of rooms he puts at our disposal are very nice, and grandly furnished, so far as mirrors and carpets go. His cook seems quite up to pleasing European tastes, but I did not stay longer than I could help, as the Church, Clergy House, and School will not get into order unless one is on the spot. They are very little damaged and can soon be put all right, and at little cost. Just now, however, that part of the town has a bad character, and there are no troops quartered close, and it is detached from other European houses, so it was considered hardly safe.

My follower and I got a lot of spears and dahs (swords) from the loot of the palace, and two guns, so we took up our quarters and slept there. We shut up all we could, and laid the arms ready for use close beside us, and after commending ourselves to God the Father's care and protection, lay down to sleep.

What with rats, bugs, and firing guns about us, it was a difficult matter to get off quietly. Once I awoke with a start—a gun was fired off close to us. I jumped up and looked out of the window, but could see nothing.

We soon heard a big scuffle; it was a robbery in the next Compound. Five shots were fired. Two of the bullets came whizzing in our direction, so I thought it better to keep under cover. I could not tell who was firing—friend or foe. At last all was quiet again, and we went off to sleep once more. Without showing cowardice it is a trying time, and one is glad to welcome the morning sun again.

The poor Burman peasantry are having a bad time of it. Our troops on the march disarm everyone they meet, and of course this takes weapons from honest people and leaves them to the mercy of skulking vagabonds, who hide their arms during the day and pillage at night; but so it must be for some time. Any Burmans found pillaging are shot, after a trial; but probably there have been mistakes made in hurry and excitement. It is, however, Burman preying on Burman that is causing the greatest distress in the land.

Last night some of our men in camp here seized about 20 rogues of Burmans, but according to orders did not chain them, and what do you think happened? One big Burman got up in the night and darkness, knocked the sentry over, and made his escape. To-day too, just as the Colonel of the Regiment (Col. Bell-Kingsley) and I were waiting at the temporary Church for Holy Communion, up comes a sergeant and saluted:

"So-and-so has caught a Dacoit—what is to be done with him, Sir?"

I rather expected the Colonel to say something dreadful, but he said quietly,

"Put him in guard, and let him be examined afterwards."
The General has given strict orders against unnecessary firing, day or night, and none are to be shot unless caught in the act of violent robbery.

It is guerilla warfare that is going on now, and we hear dropping shots all the day long. Very few men are hit, so it is not very likely that the Burmans will hit me. I felt a little bit more safe when I came into camp last night, and enjoyed an unbroken sleep from 10-30 to 6, which is rather more than I have had of late.

It is amusing to see what shifts we have to put up with Regimental messes you know are often grand and showy in time of peace, but when I came in yesterday the Colonel said:

"Mr. Colbeck, have you got a plate, knife, spoon, and fork?"

They have one each, and none over, unless an officer is sent away on duty, and then even he may take his away with him. Only 80 lbs. baggage is allowed to officers on the march. I am glad to be of some use to the soldiers. It is a wild, rough life for them, and does not tend to make them quiet, sober Christians. One very good order has been passed here,—no one is allowed to sell any liquor to either soldiers or officers in the city, and I have not seen a drunken soldier since I came up.

January 5th 1886

Of all the curious situations for writing, my present one is the most curious I have ever had. I am in the cock-loft—I don't know what other name to call it—in the Clergy House, with Mark Dooroosawmy, my faithful companion. The loft is about 12ft. square and 20ft. from the ground, like a belfry chamber, and we have shut up the one door downwards with a heavy trap-door, so as not to be surprised before we know it. I am sitting on the floor legs under me, writing on a chair, note paper on a book propped up by a box of percussion caps, and under me is a spear which used to belong to some sergeant or other non-commissioned officer in Thibau's army, while close at hand is a naked "Dah" or sword, and a loaded gun, also lately the property of one of his braves. We protect ourselves a little in this way, but our surer trust is in our God, to whom we trustfully commit ourselves.

You know the reason, of course. The third Burmese war has come, King Thibau and his capital taken, and the war ought to be ended now, but, alas, it is not. By some mistake we allowed 5,000 Burmans to take their arms away, and they are every now and then attacking our outposts, and being joined by hundreds of bad characters, who are simply on the look out for plunder.

There are, however, two rebel Princes in arms against us, and perhaps as many as 15,000 men to subdue or break up yet, so you see the country is a long way from being pacified. Telegraphic communication is altogether cut off. The Dacoits or rebels know how to cut the wire, and so though expeditions go along the telegraphic line to restore it, their backs are no sooner turned than the line is cut again.

I have left the camp again and come to my own place. It is better so, as I can superintend what is going on. The Church looks just what it did seven years ago, except that all the furniture is gone, and it wants cleaning and renovating owing to the long neglect.
Great destruction of property has been going on in the Palace, beautiful mirrors, lamps, and candelabras smashed, beautiful Mosaic walls and inlaid doors disfigured, partly by accident, partly wilful, partly by our people, partly by Burmans; but of course this is inevitable where there are thousands of soldiers going about for "loot."

I think nights are getting quieter now, patrols of 50 men go about the streets all night, and all Burmans are disarmed and ordered to keep within doors after dark; but last night I could not go to sleep, mosquitoes biting, and rats actually gnawing at my hair and rushing about us like mad. We sleep on the floor, having no cots.

The "last post" bugle has sounded, and the police guards are rapping their sticks in their quarters to shew they are wide awake.

January 7th 1886

This note is written under rather better circumstances, I have a chair and table, and am not cramped up as I was when I last wrote. We have had two quiet nights, awfully quiet in fact.

The Naval Brigade has come back from Bhamo, so we have a few more troops and guards in town, perhaps this will help to keep things quieter.

The Bishop telegraphed to me yesterday, i.e., I got the telegram yesterday. He wants me to open an English school at once. Rather fast, I think, between two fires the Burmese people are shaking for their lives.

Some of them fear the Dacoits, and they also fear the British soldier. I am afraid a lot of mistakes will be made in shooting prisoners. But you will be pleased to hear there is a hospital for the Burmese wounded. The poor fellows could not understand it at first, but they are very grateful now. After the battle of Minhlah a lot of Burmese wounded were put on board the steamers, and as some died on board their bodies were wrapped up in their clothes and beds and put overboard. The terrified survivors thought our people were punishing them by casting them one by one into the water, and trembled lest it should be their turn next. I have been through the hospital and talked with the poor sufferers. I told the English doctors they were doing more good to pacify the country and teach the Burmese what we are, than almost anybody else—perhaps than everybody else.

There has been a proclamation that Upper Burmah is annexed to the British Empire, but I do not think that means that we are to rule it ourselves. I think it only means that the Queen Empress is supreme, here, and she will see that justice is done—it may be by her own officers or by a dependent King and Court. I wish the latter, as I think it, will be the easier and more ready way of getting peace and quietness. I have other reasons of a secondary kind. The new King, if he is sent, will most likely be the little lad Tait Tin Oo Zun, who I befriended in 1878. His grandmother and aunt have now, I hope, reached Rangoon in safety.

The old lady gave me a photo, of herself, but I handed it to a friend near who evidently wanted it, and he took it as a memento of his visit to Mandalay.
January 11th, 1886

I was kept awake last night. Random shots were going off pretty well all about us, and I, as captain of our little cock-loft fort, have some responsibility. We have taken into our service in one way or another about 10 men of those who live in our Compound, so they get regular pay (sixpence a day), and do what work is to be done in putting the Church to order, &c.

Now mark this, a few nights ago, when suspicious characters were seen near us with arms, my people at once gave me information, and I sent it to the nearest military guard. The suspicious characters knew this and cleared off. On another occasion, when shots were fired close to us, several of our men turned out to come to our help, but finding it was not in our Compound, went to sleep again. It was not anxiety which kept me awake last night so much as excitement at hearing the accounts of two engagements.

On Saturday a party of our soldiers went to reinforce Sagain, a place about 16 miles from Mandalay. They arrived all right; but three officers, strolling down from the fort to the steamer, were surrounded by mounted Burmans. One young lieutenant was shot (Armstrong).

A Dr. Heath took him up in his arms to carry him off, when the Doctor was shot dead, and the enemy cut his head off. Captain Smyth helped Armstrong till our men from the fort came up, and the enemy made off, It was the fighting to punish this deed that caused the firing yesterday.

On Saturday a party of our men from the camp where I was last Sunday, went to clear out dacoits from a village where three Europeans had been lately killed. They did this with loss in wounded—Captain Lloyd and two European soldiers. On their return towards Mandalay the sick convoy was attacked, and might have been cut off but for a brave native officer, who repaired a half-destroyed bridge under heavy fire. The convoy then passed safely to Mandalay. This native officer was mortally wounded, and four other Sepoys wounded.

A pretend Prince has been caught with his mock Court, and some women who were called Princesses. He has been issuing royal orders and pillaging villages, causing loss of life, so that I expect he will be shot. He has no real claim whatever to the name of Prince. Perhaps a year or two in jail with hard labour and a good whipping would be as good, only he might be troublesome when he got out. If we only pension these rebels and take care of them in nice places in India, a large crop of pretenders will soon spring up. Already there are three Princes in the field against us. The poor people of the country are perplexed what to do.

I visited a second Burmese hospital on Saturday, and found a young dacoit shot through the leg by our men. He told me he was compelled to join under fear of death, and had only joined once. What he fears is that when he is cured he will be tried for dacoity and condemned to death,—that will not be, I think. A sadder case was that of a cheery old lady who was shot by Our men through mistake. Dacoits were in the village, and she and her family were escaping, our men not seeing distinctly, fired upon them, and the old lady's arm was shattered, and is now amputated close to the shoulder. She is doing well.

At Minhlah, two poor little children were found clasped in each others arms, shot through by one bullet. Such is war. Does it not make one shudder and cry to God for “Peace in our time, O Lord.”
February 7th, 1886

I am in a rather singular position just now, as I am a kind of general visitor of the Buddhist Monasteries. The Chief Civil Officer has given me a letter in Burmese, addressed to all Hpoongyees, Abbots, and "Religious," requesting them to give me information, and in case they have anything to bring to the notice of Government, to send it through me. Of course this is only to prevent their property or persons being illtreated or insulted by the new comers of various nationalities, and for the preservation of Pali MSS., some of which are of great interest to scholars in Europe. I have charge now of the Royal Library in the Palace, and am to set to work cataloguing as soon as possible. There is a Russian Professor here, and it was perhaps partly to take care of him that I was so readily put on by our officers. My dear old teacher, Dr. Rost, of the India Library, London, will doubtless be very glad to hear we have saved the Palace Library. It was being sold bit by bit for Prize Money, but I suggested to General Prendergast that it would be a graceful act on the part of the army to make a present to our Universities at home, instead of making mincemeat of the books. He at once agreed. Whether London India Library, Oxford, or Cambridge, or all three will receive the offer, is not yet settled. Strange as it may seem, the books will be of more value to learning and science in London, than in Mandalay or Rangoon. The old King would not allow even copies to be made of his books. I picked up a pretty gold book,—palm leaves, and written with an iron stylus, and found it was a book of meditation and devotion, belonging to the Princess of May Doo, who became Queen May Doo, one of the wives of King Bah Gyee Daw, who fought against us in the 1st Burmese War. The book is dated Burmese Era, 1194, i.e., A.D. 1833. Another book was a part of an illustrated life of Gaudama. The King Min Dohn ordered his Royal artist to paint the pictures; but one day when the King was present in the studio, and the painter lying on the floor painting as usual, a Royal page of 14 years pinched the artist, and at last he got so enraged that he picked up the King's spittoon and brought it with a crash on the page's head. There was a great hullabooloo, and the youngster's head was broken. The King was very angry at this insult to his Majesty, and the painter was at once ordered to jail. He would have been killed, but being a man of genius, and the Burmese Head Hpoongyee begged for his life—so after an imprisonment of five months he was released, but he never got into favour again, and the pictures were never finished. I expect to come across some curious books; two I have already seen are "The Praises of the King," and "The Praises of the Queen Mother." These books were chanted in the presence of those whose names they bear as a sort of soothing lullaby.

The Viceroy is to be here next Friday, if all be well, and will stay for a few days. If you wish to tell him anything particular you had better telegraph, or cablegraph, or heliograph, or semigraph; we do all the graphs here except cablegraphs. There is nag-wagging-on all the hills to the troops in the valleys, and they flash signals at night with powerful lanterns, and so keep themselves well informed of all that goes on round about. A lot of troops are out to-day again, and more go out to-morrow; they want to catch two or three of the rebel princes, then the country will be quieter, I hope. The Burmese officer who fought hardest is to come to see me on Tuesday morning. He is called the "Royal Hand," because he has such a tremendously big palm and strong hand, and once killed a prisoner with a slap from his open hand. He was Governor of Minhlah, where the first big fights took place, and now Thibau has gone he wants to be put into work again under the British Government.

Lady Dufferin comes with the Viceroy, and two or three other ladies, of the Palace is undergoing great alterations for them, though they are to be here only
February 11th, 1886

I am not at present going to say much about the Viceroy's State Entry, unless the ceremonial is so grand that I get let off in a flowing mood and cannot stop; as our good Doctor would say, “cacoethes scribendi;” but the military authorities have issued a programme which is a pattern and model to all ceremonialists, ecclesiastical, civil, or otherwise. It regulates dress, position, action, time, order, everything that can be thought of, and is so clear that any contretemps ought to be impossible, and time enough is given to everybody concerned to learn his part thoroughly, and pace over the ground so as to know where he is to be at the right moment.

The preparations will have an excellent effect upon the Burman mind, and the Viceroy will doubtless worthily fulfil his honourable office as representative of our Queen Empress, whom God preserve long to us. I remember Min-dohn-Min's and Thibau Min's “Twet-daw-moo-thee,” (State functions, &c.) but the Viceroy and Governor General will surpass them, and one grand benefit conferred upon the town and city will be the possession of an excellent road right from the Strand to the south gate of the city. The road was there before but in inferior condition, and the bridges were narrow and sometimes impassable. Now the road is wide, bridges enlarged, strengthened, dust laid, gravelled and rolled, so that should it be my lot to return to Maulmain and stand again for the Municipality, I shall have in mind the beau ideal of excellence, so far as roads go, and provided funds are forthcoming, may expect to earn the grateful thanks of future generations, as they save the tongues, heads, and ribs, and their gharry springs and temper by travelling in comfort and safety.

Now let me tell you of two or three little discoveries in the Palace.

Considering all things it was singular to find a portrait of our Queen. This was sent, I forget whether in 1866 or 1871, with an autograph letter. Both letter and portrait are now taken good care of. The Queen's portrait is a very good one, handsomely framed in very heavy wood, with purple velvet and gold fittings. Col. Sladen was against the presentation, and most people think he was right. There were also portraits of other European Sovereigns, but none of them so well got up as our Queen's picture. I hope none of them will be sold.

Another interesting piece of spoil came into my hands on Tuesday, February 9th. I opened an old box, looking for Pali books again, and found a lot of rice pot covers and “Kun thee nyat,” i.e., betel nut cutters; and what seemed to be like a lady's writing case and blotting book. It was rather pretty, glass backs, with floriated gold borders, and a water fountain in Mother of Pearl. Opening it, inside was crimson silk; then, ah then!—What do you think? A Burmese document on stiff paper with gold margin, signed “Dalhousie.” This made me look eagerly, and I found it was the State despatch which settled the British boundary after the 2nd Burmese war. It is worth giving a copy. Don't think I am translating. After finishing the Burmese I turned over two leaves and found the English copy. Here it is:—

To His Majesty the King of Ava,
A.C.—In the letter which the Governor General in Council has had the honour of receiving, your Majesty expresses a hope that territory may not be taken, but only the expenses of the War. Your Majesty further declares your desire that a treaty of peace should be concluded between the States.

The Governor General in Council reminds your Majesty, that when hostilities were first commenced he declared his readiness to renew relations of friendship, on payment being made of the expenses of the war.

The Court of Ava refused to listen to that offer. The Court of Ava refused all reparation for the wrong it had done, for its violation of public treaties. For many months the Court of Ava waged war against the British Government, in maintenance of acts which your Majesty admits to have been unlawful and unjust.

Wherefore the Government of India has found it necessary for its own interests, and for the security of its subjects, to deprive the Court of Ava of the power thus to injure and do it wrong. To that end, the British Government having conquered the Southern Provinces of the Burman Kingdom, established its frontier to the northward of Meaday. When the Envoy, whom your Majesty had authorised to negotiate for peace declared his readiness to sign a Treaty in conformity with the Proclamation, the Governor General in Council, sincerely desirous that peace should be restored, consented to accept a frontier in the neighbourhood of Prome. But your Majesty's Envoy then faithlessly receding from the declarations he had previously made, refused to sign a Treaty of Peace. Whereby the British Boundary should be fixed at Prome. Accordingly he was informed that the Government of India had finally fixed the Boundary of the British Territories at six miles to the north of Meaday, as described in the document which was delivered to him.

From this Boundary the Governor General in Council is resolved never again to recede. If your Majesty desires that peace should be restored between the two great nations, your Majesty will forthwith cause a Treaty to be signed whereby each State shall retain the Territories which it now holds, and which have already been described, while peace and friendship shall be again restored.

If your Majesty shall refuse to sign such Treaty, and shall seek to molest the British Government, either by your own acts or by those of your subjects in the peaceable possession of the Territories it has conquered, the Governor General in Council again declares to your Majesty, that while sincerely desirous of peace, he is fully prepared for war.

The consequence of such renewal of war, your Majesty cannot fail to anticipate.

The Governor General in Council therefore expects that for the sake of your own interests, and for the safety of your State, your Majesty will direct the immediate execution of a Treaty of Peace accordance with the terms which were offered to your Envoy, the Egga-maha-na-pe-dee, at his first conference with the British Commissioners.

These, and these only are the terms which the Governor General in Council will now consent to grant or to accept.

May 21st, 1853. "DALHOUSSIE."
The English copy is nearly in pieces but has not been pasted together. It has a cross mark at the fatal "six miles." The Burmese copy has been worn to pieces, but it has been pasted over at the back and gummed to a stouter piece of paper, with an additional piece where the pages fold together.

The English, as you can see, reads well, as though Lord Dalhousie were saying to himself "We'll have no more nonsense." The Burmese reads as though the writer were about to burst into a passion, but made a violent effort and restrained himself.

The despatch got to Ava at a very unfortunate time for the Burmese Government. I handed the document to Colonel Bengough, who will give it to the Viceroy I suppose.

All the Pali books are now gathered together in one place, the old Royal Library, and after the Viceroy has gone, steps must be taken to catalogue them. The Hpoongyees of various monasteries have buried their books and will keep them so, for risk of fire, thieves, dacoits, &c., till quieter times. This accounts for the small number of books in some of the libraries.

February 21st, 1886

The day after the Viceroy and Lady Dufferin entered Mandalay there was a State Council held at the Shore. The Viceroy sat on the throne, and asked the ministers of King Thibau all kinds of questions;—how they ruled the country under the King. He gave them a piece of warning, and said the British Government would reward those who served the Queen-Empress faithfully and loyally, but would be quick to punish those who offended, broke their promises, or misused their power.

On Saturday, February 13th, Lady Dufferin received the wives and daughters of the Burmese Mingyees (Ministers) and other ladies of Mandalay. They were not obliged to lie on the floor on their knees and elbows like frogs (that was the old custom in the palace), but were treated like ladies should be. This scene you will find in the Illustrated London News.

On Monday, February 15th, there was a grand sight. All the officers and gentlemen, English, French, Italian, German, and American, and a number of the native gentry, Burmese, Chinese, and Mussulmans, went in procession before the Viceroy, each as his name was called out, passed before the Governor General, and made a bow which the Governor General returned.

Some of the Burmans seemed frightened, and some went past without paying any salute (not from unwillingness, but from bewilderment); but they were quickly called back again. I thought some would have liked better to be sitting down in their old style, but that is not our English custom. The Chinese did their bowing very well, all their heads were nicely shaved, and their cues (or pigtails) were let down behind their backs, their mark of respect.

When the native officers of the Indian army came forward there was a very interesting little ceremony—the English Officer commanding each regiment introduced his native officers—Subadars and Jemadars—each marched up to the Viceroy, with turban on, saluted with the right hand in military style, and held his sword so as to let the Viceroy touch the hilt with his right hand. This custom, as you know, means that the officer will serve the Viceroy faithfully, and only bear and wield
the sword in his cause. Lord Dufferin had a very grand uniform: a helmet with gold ornaments and white plumes; scarlet tunic, with sparkling stars, crosses, orders, and decorations. He looked and stood like a king, smiling upon his many visitors and subjects.

Next day the Viceroy gave back to the Burmese Head Hpoongyee—the Tha-tha-na-baing—the images of Gaudama, which the Kings of Burmah have for generations been setting up one after another in the Palace. Some of them are like rough blocks of stone covered with gold, with barely any shape for their eyes, ears, and mouths. Some were said to be all gold, others had rubies and diamonds set about them. The Viceroy gave them all back to the Tha-tha-na-baing to show that our Government will not oppress or persecute the Buddhist religion, and anyone who likes to follow it may. After this event we all got ready to say good-bye to the Viceroy and Lady Dufferin. The band played "God save the Queen." The procession of carriages, officers, and cavalry, formed and went out of the east gate of the Palace, through two long lines of soldiers with glittering bayonets, right down to the shore, where the Viceroy went at once on board the steamer "Mindoon." There was a salute of 31 guns as the Viceroy stepped on board that evening, and another at 6-30 on Friday morning as the ship left the shore.

Now the Viceroy has come and gone. All Burmans are British subjects, right up to Mogoung, and I hope they will soon be peaceful and prosperous.

March 7th, 1886

There is a good joke (too rough) about the Viceroy's speech here on Feb. 17th. It was telegraphed down, and arrived in Rangoon in two parts, the second before the first, two days after the Viceroy got there.

I cannot write much to-day, as I have got a stye in my left eye, which bothers me, and it was made worse by a terrible dust storm we had last. Friday—a regular Simoon, except that it was from the north, and blew dust instead of sand. It was fearful. I was at the shore half the day, waiting for the Bishop, having gone down on a false alarm of his arrival. I stayed in camp with the 1st Madras Pioneers till dusk, and then made up my mind to return. Just as I ordered my bullock cart out, smoke was seen, and I thought I would wait to, see the Bishop, though he would not go up to town that night. I strolled down to the beach with three or four of the officers, when we noticed a peculiar cloud to the north, and I recognised the signs of a little cyclone, such as we often had at Mandalay in old days. I thought it would burst and have done in half an hour, but did not reckon on the dust. The "Dowoon," the Bishop's steamer, got within half a mile or so when down came the storm, with a peculiar, tremulous rattle, and we were all half-blinded at once by the dust. We were half-suffocated, and had to grope our way. Major Fenwick and I stuck close together till we were blown apart. Then he took shelter on the ground under a huge log, and I sat under a stone heap, expecting to be covered with stones. When the wind shifted a little the noise among the broken stones was horrible. It sounded as though 100 boys were pitching boulders into a pit. I cleared out sideways, and got under the lee of a bamboo fence, which cut the wind and gave me breathing. I tried many a time to face the tempest, but it was no use, so I remained there an hour and a half. Major Fenwick got up, and, knowing the geography of the place, staggered backwards about 100 yards into the Commissariat Godowns, where he found some of our late companions sheltering. He kindly sallied out to find me, and, having done so, we linked arm in arm and backed against the wind into the Commissariat Godowns, and stayed till the storm abated. The dust was frightful,—eyes, ears, noses, hair, full as full could be. We got
dinner with the Pioneers at nine instead of seven, and, with a martial cloak wrapped round me, I went on board the “Sir William Peel” for the night. The wreckage piled up around the bows of the steamer was extraordinary—logs, bamboos, mats, &c., &c., piled one on top of another, extending yards in front of her bows, and chains like drift ice in the Arctic regions, and the Calassies were standing far out on it, hacking and chopping away to free the cables from the extra strain. I felt queer and full of sand, but soon got to sleep, and went early the next morning to meet the Bishop, in a cassock not fit to be seen. I lost my cart, bullocks, driver, and boy, they had been a few yards away from me, but the wind and dust had hid them and they could not find me, so they made the best of their way home, and got to the Clergy House, at 9-30 p.m.

APRIL 18TH, 1886

A gun was fired on Monday morning, April 12th, at five minutes past seven o'clock, to tell when the Burmese new year began, but there was not so much water throwing as usual. I did see a few girls dripping wet and like drowned ducks, and some of them drenched Col. Lowndes, Mr. Moylan, and other gentlemen passing by. Most of the people had no mind for such fun, and I am sorry to say that a wicked few were even then plotting to burn down the whole city.

We had been warned that there would be a “rising” at the new year, but nobody attached much importance to the warning. On Wednesday night, April 14th, some well known dacoits came into the city, and during the night and early next morning, they set the City, Palace, and Town on fire in six different places.

Men with white flags, on which were stitched red ogres (Beloos), planted these flags close to the King’s Bazaar, and told the people about that they had come in front of the Burmese army, which would shortly advance and drive all the British out. A number of desperate men got over the city wall and set fire to the houses near the south gate. They burned the Treasury, the Palace, Post office, and the Commissariat stores, and set fire to the place where the artillery keep their bombshells and ammunition; our soldiers had to take the shells and cartridges out of the burning building or there might have been worse mischief. The rebels also tried to fire the beautiful Pagoda Chapel, which I described before. One of the sentries saw a man under the chapel with a lighted torch, chased after him, and caught him and saved the building. I am sorry to say that several of our soldiers were killed and wounded in the confusion.

When the rebels outside Mandalay saw the fire and smoke, they took it as a signal, and prepared to attack the east side of the city and Palace. Three hundred of them attacked our military post of Yankintoung, about three miles east. They killed two or three native soldiers in a sudden attack, but were very soon driven back, leaving twelve of their men dead. The men who planted the Beloo flags were mostly captured, and the party at the south gate was chased after it had got over the wall and moat. The cavalry followed up the pursuit past Amerapoora, and brought back several prisoners. So except destroying the property of their own people, the dacoits did very little damage.

I am sorry the Palace suffered, because discontented Burmans will say, “They cannot even take care of the place their soldiers live in; how then can they govern the whole Kingdom.”
Of course that is nonsense, really, for any wicked fellow might cause more mischief than a thousand wise and good men could set right.

Another extraordinary and absurd thing during the day, was the attempt of three young Burmans in the city to frighten a postman, and cut his letter bag from him. He had a spear in his hand and a soldier was passing by, so they drove off two of the Burmans and took the third prisoner; he seemed only about 18 years of age, and had evidently been eating opium. In the fight he had got roughly handled, and was covered with blood when I saw him handed over to the military authorities in the Palace.

On Tuesday night, April 15th, we had an alarm on our side. There is a regiment of Madras soldiers close to us, some of them even in our own Compound. The dacoits were reported coming, so all in the Clergy House were armed, and a watch was kept by one or another of us all the night. At 10 o'clock there was a great rushing, yelling, and howling of dogs and men.

The Sepoys gave the alarm and we all got ready, but it was only a false alarm. An hour after this the dacoits attacked a house to the south of us; some of our soldiers went and drove them off, killing two, and wounding several, and taking some prisoners; we kept ready all night, for the firing was close upon us, but there was nothing more to be done. On Friday, there were two alarms of fire, but not very serious; and to-day, as far as I know the town has been perfectly quiet.

No Burmans are allowed inside the Palace without passes now. Where the people have gone to who lived in the part of the city which has been destroyed, I cannot tell. I measured one place which had just been turned out, the embers still smoking, and people raking them about, to find, if possible, little bits of unconsumed property. This place measured 600 ft. by 300 ft., and had been covered with houses. This was one fire out of six the same day. It is hard to say how many houses were destroyed; lots of people took out bundles of their property and carried them away, so we hope many of them have saved what they valued most. No people were burned to death in these fires; but a medical man attached to the native army, who was passing by, was cut down by the dacoits and killed. An hour afterwards a friend and I were at the spot, and some officers rode up to see if we were armed, saying no Europeans ought to be without arms. We had none, but when we got into the Palace, I picked up an old carbine, unloaded, and as we drove back, stuck the muzzle out of the Gharry door, to satisfy our kind warners and others that we were armed.

We had another fire on April 30th, even more dreadful and destructive than the fires earlier in the month, and much nearer to us. The fire broke out about midnight, and was so bright that it lighted up the whole country for miles around. We thought it was steadily sweeping in our direction, and all Government stores, ammunition, &c., were taken out of the School-room the soldiers use as a barrack. Showers of burning embers came over us, and a great canopy of smoke, but we were providentially saved from fire, and were most thankful. In the suburbs of the city, a place a mile and a half in length, and from half a mile to three quarters in breadth, was devastated by the fire, and it was calculated that over 4,000 houses were burned down. This was not, I believe, the work of dacoits, but an accidental fire. You may imagine how the people suffered.
May 30th, 1886

The rains have now come, and so we are cooler and happier. The cholera came, but only attacked two new bodies of men, and probably they brought it with them from Assam or Bengal, their last station.

I have just had made over to me one of the old King’s sons, Pyimmana Mintha, a nice little lad of 13 years. His mother, the Kyay Myin Queen, is a very nice lady of 35, and begs me to take great care of her boy—her only child. The Prince’s grandfather is one of the old Burmese ministers, 83 years of age, and spared by Thibau, I suppose, because he was so old. This boy is the only Prince allowed to stay in Mandalay. Of course he is only a Prince in name now; but if he does well in school, and is a gentlemanly youth, our Government will do a good deal for him, I am sure. He was formally made over on Thursday last, but brought yesterday by his mother, who had despatched half-a-dozen servants some hours before to put his little room into proper order,—white and yellow silk bed curtains, tied with green velvet; white mattresses and sheets, with velvet pillow, water goblets, and triple-faced mirror, and other pretty nic-nacs to fit him up. To-day three loads of food have come for him, morning, noon, and evening, and his mother did not forget me either.

I hope some of this state will be dropped soon—it must be. But he is decidedly a little gentleman,—lecturing his attendants in a strange, kind, old-fashioned style. I had only two chairs for the old grandfather (the Mingyee), the Queen, and the Prince. I wanted the mother to sit on one chair; the old man sat on one, of course. The little Prince would not sit on the chair till his mother told him, and she sat more comfortably on a fine carpet I have on the floor. His mother smelt (not kissed) him very lovingly twice before she left, and I was pleased to see him go on his knees and bow to the ground before her as she was going away. I don’t think he will give me any trouble. The old minister said “Check him, reprove him, beat him, to make him a wise, good man.” His mother says when he has passed his English examination, let him be a Doctor.

Our Government would be delighted at this, for Burmans fight shy of learning surgery and anatomy, and he might lead the way to a change.

May 31st, 1886

The little Prince is in school, and seems to like it. It was a very proper answer he gave me the other day.

I said, “Can you read?”

He said, “Yes.”

“What do you read?”

He answered quite naturally, “The Books of the History of the Kings, and the Affairs of State.”

Very proper reading for a young princeling.

Our Government promises a general amnesty to all rebels, insurgents, or dacoits, who give themselves up and bring in their arms for the next few days,—really June 1st is stated, but the period will be extended, so I hope lots of deluded
creatures will come to terms and save their lives. They must have a bad time of it in
the forests now, for like Robin Hood and his men, they have to shift from place to
place, and if ever they seem to make a settlement anywhere, our troops are at
them at once. There has been, and will be fighting with the wild Kachyins, near
Bhamo, with losses on our side, officers and men, and we are just expecting to
hear of heavy fighting on the Assam frontier, where last week a party of dacoits
drove an escort of 100 men of ours back, wounding two officers, and killing and
wounding some fifteen men. Nothing has occured of this sort near Mandalay for
some time. You will be glad to hear that I am again able to help sufferers. Lots of
old Queens and Princesses were badly treated by Thibau, and ill-provided for by
our Government. I have taken the trouble to find out and represent several cases to
Government with good effect, and the ladies, so long as they remain unmarried,
will get pensions of from 50 to 150 a year, which is at least better than nothing. The
young Princess will get a good education if they care for it, and government
appointments afterwards if they work for and deserve them. Old Ministers of State
under Mindohn and Thibau will get pensions too, I suppose.

The confusion as to property here” is of course very great, sometimes half-a-
dozen claimants for the same piece of property, house or land. I don’t “know what our
officers will do. Happily for us the Church Compound has not been encroached upon,
and we have only to put up our fences and hold on, hands, claws, and teeth, against
all comers.

The Prince’s servant or guardian is his uncle. He was a Royal Herald under
Thibau, and second in command of the Burmese troops who fought against us at
Mingyan, as the fleet came up. He says none of them imagined they could beat us,
but the King would fight, and the Ministers had to talk as though they would quickly
annihilate our army.

July 3rd, 1886
In Sagain Fort

This is the place where the big fight was expected, when our troops came up in
November last, and where the disarmament of the Burmese soldiers took place. Just
across the river, which here is 2,500 yards wide, is the fort of Ava, and between the
two the Burmese had sunk a lot of boats, steamers, &c., to block up the passage for
our transports, but there was no fighting at all then.

The fort is now occupied by about 200 of our troops, 120 Europeans, and
about the same number of Madras Sepoys. I came down yesterday from Mandalay,
and am staying over Sunday to hold services, and also intend crossing over to Ava
fort. This evening, we, i.e., the officers, got up a kind of entertainment for the men,
who have very little amusement, and are not allowed far from the fort. The officer
commanding the fort gave a recitation; I gave some account of the History of Burmah
and my adventures in Mandalay. I think the men will come all the readier to the
parade services if they hear from the padre first that he can do something besides
preach to them. There are very few sick men here, no very bad cases, and no deaths
from sickness have taken place either among British or Madras troops since the fort
was occupied. Just outside the gates are three nicely kept graves, one of young
Lieut. Cockeram, killed in action some miles away; another, that of Surgeon Heath,
who was shot dead while trying to carry off a wounded comrade, Lieutenant
Armstrong, when they were attacked by dacoits between the fort and the ships, only
half-a-mile apart then. The dacoits were hiding in the jungle, and rushed out upon a
small party of officers leisurely walking down to the shore.
Things are very quiet here now, there are no bands of dacoits within 12 miles, but we made a longer ride than we ought to have done this morning, into the country, without arms, the officers thought so too, so next time they will go better prepared.

I have left them alone at Mandalay this trip, so I hope they will show well when I return, and give me confidence in leaving them again on duty like this. It is awkward when we clergymen leave our posts, even for one Sunday. We cannot say to the next Vicar or Rector “Please take my duty on Sunday,” because everybody is generally so full of work, and lives so far from his neighbouring priest. We missionaries can take Chaplain’s duties sometimes, but they cannot help us much in our Burmese work. Last Sunday I had six services and four sermons by myself, with two celebrations,—8, 9-30, 11, 12, 4, and 5-45.

September 18th, 1886

I am quite anxious to know what sort of a story you have heard about the inundation. The Times Correspondent here maintained that hundreds of lives were lost, but I stick to the smaller number, and I have got into hot water in consequence. The local correspondents have sent fearful accounts, putting the loss of life at 1,000 or even 2,000. The Official Government Report puts down the loss at 13, or a few over that. My report was sent in first—“Loss of life under 25.” The Burmese Tha-tha-na-baing has reported later much as I reported; so we have the Government and clericals on one side, and the newspaper correspondents on the other in a drawn battle. Some will believe one, some the other.

We did expect a regular outburst of fever, dysentery, and perhaps cholera, as the water subsided, but up to the present in our compound nothing of the kind has taken place; nor, so far as I can hear, is there anything uncommon in the health of the city and town in general. You see that both in its immediate and after results the flood has been much less of a calamity than we feared it would be.

The water has risen again, and is rising, but it rises very slowly now, so there is no fear of much damage being done.

September 27th, 1886

Our Government has been giving rice and three-farthings a day to about 5,000 people drowned out by the water. One day, when the people were assembled in great numbers, the rain came on heavily, and the people, crowded together, rushed through a gate just then thrown open. The front ranks, old men, women, and children, were thrown down, and the multitude behind streamed over them, not knowing what had happened. Two old men, two children, and eight women were killed outright; two more died from the trampling on them within an hour or two; and six more were hurt, but are better again. It was the sudden panic and rush to get food and to get out of the way of the rain. This morning I was in a crowd of the poor people, giving them little notes or tickets to entitle them to relief, and they got uncomfortably pertinacious; but we made them all sit down quietly on the ground, and then there was no danger. Until a few days ago relief was given to all who asked, but now the ticket system has come into force there will not be so many people applying. But is it not hard? A rumour has been spread about that the rice is being distributed by order of King Thibau. It is very annoying. Another rumour was that he had sent 65lbs of gold to rebuild a grand Pagoda near Mandalay, the fact being that our Government had
captured some Rs.6,000 value of gold, but, as it belonged to the said Pagoda, they
professed willingness to give it up into the hands of the Trustees of the Pagoda, to be
spent on the Pagoda. Our Government, as you know, is very careful not to interfere
in the matter of religion, unless it is a cover for treason, disloyalty, or vice.

I will in another letter give you little bits of my experience lately in another kind
of work—helping the distressed—but I fear I shall come in for knocks and reproof
from some people, who will say I am interfering in things that do not concern me.

October 11th, 1886

I would tell you how the poor Queens have found me out, and how I sometimes help
them. There were some 30 or 40 Queens, great and small. So long as the old King
lived they were well cared for, and had each of them State allowances, and a larger
or smaller retinue of servants—in fact, were royally cared for. From time to time they
received large presents from the King, who seems to have been very good to them,
as they all speak very affectionately about him still, and the wise among them saved
up these presents till they had quite a little treasure chest.

When the King's illness became very severe several of them, to provide for
the future, quietly committed their savings into the hands of persons they thought
they could trust; and when, after the long, hard time of imprisonment in Thibau's
reign, the British Government was established here, and the Royal ladies set at
liberty and granted small pensions, they plucked up courage to ask the persons to
whom they had intrusted their property to give it back again, but with little good result.
I am no lawyer, but lots of the Queens and

Princesses came to me for advice and help, for several of them I have helped
to get back their landed property, and just now have helped one—a nice lady of 53—
to make her case in court for Rs.20,000, in one quarter, and Rs.90,000 in another. I
believe you know a little what lawyers' fees are, and really it does not seem to need a
lawyer's skill to see where justice lies in these cases, so I have advised them, too,
without lawyers' fees. The pleas set up by some of these trustees are as follows:—

"I acknowledge 1 received the money, or jewels from you, but I gave it to your
mother while you were in prison." (The mother is dead.)

Another says: “Yes, I got your gold, jewels, and other property to the value of
Rs. 10,000, but I gave it back to your daughter, the Princess So-and-so, one day
when she was by herself in the Palace, and I do not know what she did with it.”

These are fine excuses indeed. They might be true; but are probably not true
in the least. Our Government officials have a fine task before them in searching out
all the truth in these cases. You may imagine what lying and perjury goes on in the
Courts, and all the more if the Judge does not know the language in which the parties
are being examined.

I have had several presents offered to me or to the Church, but I have
deprecated them. One man for whom I had written a letter, came after his release from
prison, bringing a roll of Rs. 150 in his hand. Another, a woman whose husband was
released after bail was given, offered me a cart and two bullocks.

This morning I had a present sent from one of the Queens of a beautiful silver
box, with a Burmese string of beads of sandal wood most delicately perfumed; “a
pretty present for your table." But I could not take if, it would be too much like bribery and corruption, and in helping them for pity's sake my own hands must be kept clean.

If any one finds fault with a Missionary for helping in this way, I shall answer, "Consider the topsy-turviness of Mandalay just now,—the people hardly know whether they are Burmese or British subjects,—and whether they are on their heads or their feet; and in particular, these Queens and Princesses are not more accustomed to the ways of the world than a flock of good sisters of charity from a convent would be."

To-day I am asked to do another strange thing, i.e., to dacoits last December. The bones have just been brought in from the place where he was shot. Some are missing. His mother and sister have got a coffin made, and want to have all the bones they can find buried in consecrated ground. It is natural they should wish this. The poor lad was one of our choir boys here in 1874. He went out with several European companions last December; they were met by some 200 or 300 Burmans, and had a fight for three hours, when all were shot down except one, who was afterwards killed. The bodies were thrown into a river and floated towards a Monastery, the Hpoongyee of which got George Calogreedy's body buried, till the floods washed open the grave, and now the bones are being picked up and sent into Mandalay.

November 22nd, 1886

Reports have got about that we are to be attacked in the Clergy House, and that the design is to hurt me. I don't know what I have done to cause this, perhaps it is all nonsense. We had a guard two nights last week but nothing happened, we sleep a little more wakefully perhaps, but cannot, of course, keep awake the whole of every night. This sort of thing is, of course, a little bit trying and anxious.

Two more Chaplains have come, so my calls to outside work are less, and likely to be less. I shall be more of a stay-at-home bird so far as military are concerned, and until the country is more quiet, we shall not do much far away from the head-quarters of the mission. The Commissioner of Mandalay, Mr. Burgess, has just made the offer of a treat to our boys, so we shall have it (D.V.) next week.

November 28th, 1886

G. H. arrived here on the 27th, two days late, so we were not able to meet him in grand style as arranged. Is it not strange and nice that Dean Gott's kind present of a Communion Case came into use the very day after it got here, and for the purpose of ministering to the dying. We shall have our second service of Intercession at 4-30, and feel brave and strong, knowing how many faithful ones are praying for us and other workers for God, throughout the world.

December 13th, 1886

I have a nice piece of duty to do here to-day, that is, to distribute a number of Christmas puddings. The Bishop and Mrs. Strachan have had 100 made in Rangoon, and are sending them about to young officers on detachment duty, far away from the regimental messes, so that these young fellows will not feel utterly forgotten on Christmas Day.
It is very kind and thoughtful on the part of the Bishop and Mrs. Strachan, is it not?

December 19th, 1886

Everything is livelier and better just now, tending towards peace. The troops are better in health, and are more able to march about. Dacoits have been attacked successfully in many places, and in one affair 200 of them out of 700 were killed. Dacoit leaders in various places are giving themselves up and bringing in men and arms. The two chief rebels still at large are likely to be brought in soon. One, who is a brave old chief, and who has not shown cruelty to his enemies, will probably be pardoned when captured, and put into authority to hunt down the rest. The other, if caught, will probably be shot or transported for life, as he has been so cruel and wicked.

The Christmas watchword is "Peace." So may it be.

January 1st, 1887

We had a fine affair the other day, close to us. The Commander-in-Chief (Sir Frederic Roberts), now in Mandalay paid a State visit to the Buddhist Tha-tha-na-baing (or Archbishop). There were six Generals and 100 or more other officers present, the Tha-tha-na-baing and 13 Sadaws (or Bishops), and scores of Hpoongyees.

The two great men complimented each other, of course, and then they got to business. The Tha-tha-na-baing said the country was much quieter since General Roberts had taken rule in hand, and if he would stay a little longer all would be quiet. He wanted the British to be careful not to injure the Buddhist faith, but to cause it to be stronger than ever, and begged Government Officials to prohibit sale or destruction of Monastic property. The assembled Sadaws said they wished to have the Commander-in-Chief's authority for a proposed proclamation. If they got the authority they would send out Hpoongyees to preach submission and quietness all over the country, and so bring the people round. The General said he hoped the Tha-tha-na-baing would do all, he could for peace and quietness.

I am not writing a newspaper letter, so you must not think you have got hold of the Times newspaper. I expect the Times will contain a full description of the whole affair.

The Burmese Interpreter got fogged in his head, and could not get on properly. General White came and asked me to interpret for the Commander-in-Chief, which of course I did with pleasure; and I translated the address presented by the Tha-tha-na-baing and the proposed proclamation. I do not know whether our Government will sanction the issue of the proclamation, as it gives power to the Tha-tha-na-baing to correct and punish all Buddhist Ecclesiastical persons, and to dispose of all questions affecting religious property.

The Tha-tha-na-baing is a nice old man of 63 years, and gave the Commander-in-chief a good homily on his duty as a ruler. He said: "I have four words to say, and wish you to take them as principles of your government. They are Myitta, Garuna, Mudita, and Upayka."
MYIT-TA is love—the love and kindness you should show to all people under you.

GA-RU-NA is mercy—regard all people as your own flesh and blood, your own children.

MU-DI-TA is beneficence— that which causes gladness to those about and subject to you.

U-PAY-KA is discrimination and moderation in dealing with those who offend, remembering that they are fated to be bad, so do not punish them as though they could help it.”

The General received all this excellently, and answered suitably, so the old man said he and the Sadaws would pray that he might live to a good age, have abundant honours, and freedom from all sickness. We were all photographed immediately after the interview, and I translated the letters presented, and took them to the General at Tiffin next day.

The Tha-tha-na-baing is coming to see me here to-day at 3 o'clock. He has had another interview with the Commander-in-chief since the State interview, and I believe the Commander-in-chief is anxious to be good friends with him, so as to get spiritual authority on the British side. I was glad to be of some service to the Commander-in-chief, it will all stand to the credit of the Church and S.P.G., I hope. It will show that Missionaries do come in useful sometimes. I should say from what I have seen of Sir Frederic Roberts that he would be polite and courteous to anyone, not merely because he had got service rendered by them.

January 9th, 1887

On the Feast of the Epiphany we had an interesting event—we had six or eight Queens and a host of Princesses in the Clergy House.

I pitied the poor ladies, and so invited them, and more came than we expected. It was a pretty sight. All the ladies were well dressed, and the chief Queen directed the movements of the rest. All sat on the floor, on carpets we had laid for the purpose. That was their custom in the Palace. Besides a magic lantern exhibition we had music and singing. They seemed to like it, but took all in a very ladylike way no gush or effusiveness. I know a good many of them, but one of the elder Princesses, the Sa-beh-nago Min-tha-mee, brought up many of the younger ladies, and formally presented them, making them shake hands.

Thibau's two sisters were very nice ladies, and I am very glad I said nothing about their brother before the whole company, as it might have hurt their feelings.

February 6th, 1887

I must tell you about our welcome to the Bishop. We made our arrangements beforehand, and drilled the boys into order. Telegram at 9 o'clock, Friday morning, February 4th, told that the Bishop's steamer was near, so off H—— trotted, and our mounted boys, some 35 or 40 in number, under the command of their teachers, forming quite a bright cavalcade. I expected to have to drive the Bishop up, so I
borrowed a horse and trap, one of the few in the station at present, and with a smartly dressed footman—livery black, with scarlet facings and slashes—hurried down to the shore, startling the people on the road, who looked a bit astonished to see the quiet English Hpoongyee driving so furiously at the head of a mounted troop of dashing young Burmans.

We got to the steamer, met the Bishop and Mrs. Strachan, who looked, very well, and glad to visit Mandalay; then I took off the Bishop in the trap, and the Chief Commissioner's son, Mr. Bernard, put Mrs. Strachan and two other ladies into carriages, and they drove off to the Palace. The Bishop was amused, astonished, and pleased with his novel bodyguard, and said he had never heard of the like to meet a Bishop before. Part of the boys were to have gone ahead, but as it was very dusty we altered that part of the scheme, and they all fell behind us. The pony I was driving had good mettle and raced away as for a wager, so that I had to hold him in tightly, and he foamed again.

People on the roads looked admiringly on the brightly dressed lads and prancing steeds, and I dare say with their long hair streaming down their backs, and their gay turbans flying back in the wind, they would look many more than they really were. When we got near the Church Compound a lot of the escort broke off and reached the Compound before us; we came over the bridge near the Clergy House, and saw the whole of the boys of the school drawn up in two files along the front road, with banners and flags at the gates, on the trees of the Compound, and on the high Church tower. The finest banner of all was the School Lion banner, it sparkles and glitters like gold in the sunshine; it is really a remarkably fine piece of work. The boys saluted as we dismounted and walked through the files, and then when we had got right through, at the word of command followed the banner up to the school, fell into their places there, and the Bishop came over and made a brief inspection. We then formed into line again and marched to the Church, everybody. Choir and clergy vested. The Bishop sat in his throne to the north side of the Altar, and we sang “All people that on earth do dwell,” said the Lord’s Prayer, and sang again, “God Save the Queen,” all in Burmese. The boys formed outside the Church, gave three cheers, then at the word the riding boys mounted again and followed us in the trap to the Palace, where the Bishop thanked them for their courtesy, and they saluted and returned.

February 27th, 1887
Bhamo

We are here now, as far north and east as our post can carry letters. There is no Church here, but a big barrack-room was cleared and benches provided. Drums made a prayer desk. Everybody came fully armed, as there was a rumour the place was to be attacked by some 8,000 Chinese and Burmans. It was attacked some nights ago, and part of the buildings destroyed, but greater precautions have been taken since.

I was here with the Bishop a year ago. Since then the place has become busier and fuller. Curious Shan and Kachyin people throng the streets, all dressed in blue cloth, with leggings round their fat calves; and the better class of women with silver and gold buckles at the throat, and round-bullet silver buttons on their jackets.

Not very handsome people, but very merry.
Not very clean, but very honest.

At least, if they do plunder, it is by force, not by craft. We have no Mission here, and I don't want the Bishop to establish one here, as there are so many Missionaries either begun or ready to begin. Two R. C. Priests here now two Baptists and others coming. I want the Bishop to send our Missionaries to places where there are no journey from Mandalay, so that we may be able to strengthen each other and often meet. Bhamo and Mandalay are too far apart. We, for instance, left Mandalay February 12th, and got to Bhamo, February 24th, at great cost and difficulty.

To-morrow (D.V.) the Bishop will consecrate the Cemetery here, where 27 British officers and men lie buried, all since we left here last time.

On Friday night last I showed our magic lantern to about one hundred Kachyins and Shans in the American Missionary's house. They had never seen the like, and were, of course, greatly delighted. Though it is almost the end of February, the cold in a morning is very great here; very great as we think, but I dare say you would laugh at our "cold" and say: "What nice mild weather!"

March 6th, 1887

Shwebo

I don't know whether you can find this place on the map, but I dare say you can. It is about 60 miles north of Mandalay, on the right or west side of the river Irrawaddy, about 17 miles from that river, and is the head-quarter station of a brigade of troops. It was in days gone by the Royal city of Aloungpayah the founder of Thibau's dynasty, and we are now in the stockade just outside the walls of the ancient city. I have not been in the city yet, duty has kept me to camp, but I must go through the place before we leave on Tuesday for Kyouk Myoung.

We arrived in Kyouk Myoung i.e., the river station for Shwebo, on Friday last, at about 1 o'clock, having previously telegraphed our movements from the station Katha, higher up the river. I hurried ashore to make certain that transport animals and an escort were ready, but found no saddles had been provided. At last we got a Burmese saddle and bridle for the Bishop's pony, and he mounted pretty comfortably, though not in very grand trim, as the saddle was old and worn, and the stirrups held up by somewhat rotten string. I was less fortunate, and with a blanket over the pony's back, his halter for a bridle gagging his mouth, and my legs dangling down on each side without stirrups, off we set, at about three. Our baggage went in a cart, and our boys walked, or rode in the cart; our escort of three Sepoys stayed with the baggage. After four miles some Burmese riders overtook us and wished us to press on with them, we were half-a-mile ahead of our escort, but we thought it better to decline. I got one of the Burmans to exchange ponies with me and give me his with a decent saddle and bridle, and then I felt much more comfortable.

We went slowly, as our escort was slow, and at dusk had only got some seven miles, when we came to a Police stockade and made our stay there for the night, making the best dinner we could without knives, forks or spoons. I drank my soup out of the manufacturer's soup tin, but it was just as nice, and our sleep in the head and face; then on to our original steeds again our first escort left us, and we had now three Sowars, or Hyderabad cavalry men, well mounted, with shining lances. It looked as though we were a couple of ecclesiastical prisoners being
brought in, our mounts were so poor and our escort so grand. However, five miles further on we were met by another Hyderabad lancer and syce with two beautiful ponies, properly saddled, which the Colonel in command at Shwebo had kindly sent on to meet us; so after another four miles we entered Shwebo in pretty decent order and condition.

The road was very wild and solitary, there were only two villages in the 17 miles, and in one cutting of the new road we met a gang of prisoners being marched in under a guard of soldiers. All the wounded, sick, or convoys of stores or provisions, or mail bags, have to be sent under escort of troops.

We were kindly received to breakfast, and after a good rest went round to the mess houses of the South Yorkshire Regiment, the 1st Bengal Infantry, the Hyderabad Cavalry, and the Station mess. Later on I visited the hospital and found some "Leeds Loiners," and Kirkgate men; some "Leeds Irishmen" too. We had choir practice with band instruments helping, and it did us all good to hear the Yorkshire voices singing the old familiar hymns once more. A medical man of the Indian service said, "Hearing those hymns has given me six months more life, I have not heard a hymn or a prayer for so long." We were glad to find so few serious cases of sickness in the hospital, but there has been a great deal of sickness of one sort or another in this station from time to time; and one little cemetery, just outside the stockade in which, we live, is quite full of graves; not South Yorkshire men, but men of regiments who were here last year. There are only about 100 men of the South Yorkshire Regiment in Shwebo just now, we met 300 of them just as we were leaving Bhamo, and several hundred others are scattered about at small military posts to the north and west of the place, keeping the country in order, and ready to suppress any attempt at-rebellion or dacoity. Colonel Burnaby is in command of; the regiment, and the. Adjutant is Captain Sir E. Johnson. They tell me the chief recruiting ground for the regiment is Leeds, Bradford, Batley, and Dewsbury, and the Depot at Pontefract; so I have no doubt friends of the men would be glad to hear that they are doing well, and keeping on the whole very free from sickness; here at present. Till now the heat has not been great, but the thermometer got up to 95° in the hospital yesterday, and the latter part of this month and beginning of April will shew much greater heat no doubt.

To-morrow, D.V., the Bishop will consecrate the full cemetery, and on Monday, at 5 o'clock in the morning, we intend to set off on our return journey, rest for the great heat of the day in the Police stockade midway, and then press on to get to Kyouk Myoung before dusk.

A ride of 17 miles is not much, but when you have to keep with your baggage cart on very bad roads it is a little tiring. Police stockades do not provide any food, crockery, or beds; you have to take with you what you want, or do without. I don't think tired men know much difference between feather beds and teak planks; but if you can have dinner after a tiring ride you feel more comfortable and content as a rule.

The Police stockades are thus constructed:—A central hut or house, made of thick bullet proof planks, loop-holed for rifles, and then at a short distance on all sides a strong fence of bamboo stakes, forming a defence through which an enemy cannot break; this is often protected on the outside by a fringe of sharp pointed bamboos, which effectually prevent anyone scaling the stockade from the outside. The garrison is about 40 men, military police, fully armed with Snider rifles, and able to hold the post, at all events for a few hours, against any force the dacoits are likely to be able to bring against it. The purpose of the stockade at Ohn-bouk, at which we stayed, is
to protect the line of communication and telegraphic route between Shwebo and Kyouk Myoung, and to be a halfway house for convoys which cannot get through, in one day.

The walls of the ancient city here are very extensive, and the old moat is still filled with water in some parts. A line drawn outside the moat and city is said to be about 12 miles. I fancy that is an exaggeration, but will, as far as I can, test it for myself to-morrow.

The country just about Shwebo is very flat and good for cavalry operations, that is why the Hyderabad 3rd Cavalry are stationed here; they have done good service, and broken up many dacoit bands; their charge with the deadly lance terrifies the dacoit, and he usually bolts for his life directly he sees them charging on him.

We shall soon have been a month away from Mandalay, and the Bishop is anxious to get back to Rangoon now, but happy that we had last Sunday in Bhamo, and to-day here at Shwebo among the troops.

March 9th, 1887
On the Steamer Okpo, Kyouk Myoung

We had the consecration of the cemetery on Monday last, and in the evening subscribed for sports for the men. There was some splendid riding and “tent pegging.” Small flat pieces of wood, say 12 inches by three inches, chalked over, one end pointed, are stuck in the ground; a lancer comes up at full gallop and picks this peg up by sending the point of his lance right through it, and carries it off in triumph. There was also a fine charge of a small Squadron of cavalry on an imaginary battery, and a lot of men (mounted bare-back) at the word of command made their horses lie down flat and fired over their backs. A practical result of this training was shewn in an engagement near Kaulin, some 40 miles north-east of us, the other day. It is horrible to think of—the lancers charged a lot of poor foolish Burmans, and six of them could not wrest their lances back again, the points had gone right through the poor wretches, and they clung on in their death agony to the poles of the lances, and had to be shot through the head before the lances could be pulled back. This is war, or one of the horrible realities of war.

A Roman Catholic Chaplain (Rev. Father Wallace) has joined us, and we marched more or less together to the half-way house, the police stockade at “Ohn-bouk;” that is the proper way of pronouncing it, though our people have changed it into the sound “Am-boak.”

We stayed there during the heat of the day, and started again at 3-30, getting into Kyouk Myoung at 5-30. We walked our ponies, but this time more comfortably, with good English saddles lent by the officers. We expected a somewhat rough night's lodging, but were pleased to see in the distance a big steamer coming down. I had wished to engage a Burman boat and drop down the 40 miles to Mandalay during the night, but of course the steamer was preferable; and here we are still, not knowing when we get off, but very comfortable. Bath and dinner is refreshing after hot journeys, and really it is hot again, 105° in buildings at Shwebo, one day. I do not fancy it was so hot yesterday, but we felt it a little as we jogged on with the sun at our backs, from 3-30 to 5 o'clock.
We have got no pilot, and we -hear there are five steamers stuck aground on
the place we stuck three-and-a-half days as we came up, so perhaps we shall stick
fast too. If we do I shall have to get the boat I thought of and drop down. There is one
objection, and that is there are some dacoits still lurking about, and they might give
us trouble. The Bishop is disposed to start a Mission at Shwebo, and I think it will be
a good place.

We went into the old city. Hardly anything left of the grandeur of the palace
and city, except the walls. It was, however, interesting to see the grave of
Aloungpayah, the founder of the late dynasty. There was a grand feast held in
Shwebo every year after the Buddhist Lent, and its centre was the celebration of the
glory of Aloungpayah at his grave. I suppose that is a thing of the past now.

The Police Officer gave me (for the Bishop) two fire-arms, captured from
dacoits—one a flint-lock carbine, which we found loaded and crammed with one big
bullet and four slugs; the other was an old horse pistol, also flint-lock. Just imagine
the Burmans with these rubbishy weapons trying to resist our soldiers with rifled guns
and Martini-Henry rifles. Of course some of the dacoits have better weapons, but
hundreds of them have only such guns as I have described above, which I should be
very sorry to have to fire off, even without bullets. I should think friends would suffer
more than enemies.

August 25th, 1887

I have this week got some big statistics of the Buddhist religion, or rather of the
Buddhist monks. In Mandalay there are:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tha-tha-na-baing, or Pope</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadaws, or Royal Chaplains</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahans, or Monks, of over 10 years' standing</td>
<td>3,447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thamanes, or Monks, of less than 10 years' standing</td>
<td>2,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,968</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monastic Communities, 121; Monastic Houses, 985; and the population of the
city is about 175,000.

In the whole of Upper Burmah, outside Mandalay, and not including the Shan
States, which are semi-independent, there are:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaing-chokes, or Archbishops</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaing-okes, or Bishops</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaing-douks, or Archdeacons</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyoung-a-chokes, or Abbots</td>
<td>16,825</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So that in all there are, I suppose, at least 50,000 monks wearing the yellow
robe. Is not our task a great one to fight against this host? What but Divine help
could give us even the faintest prospect of eventual success or present advantage?
Yet the hugeness of the system is one of the reasons why we can attack it here and
there with success. I suppose really until Christianity is felt more as a social power—I
mean among the Burmans—they will not care much to interfere, and we have the
advantage of position now. We are rising; they have begun to feel that they have
fallen in power and in public estimation. The Monarchy was the greatest stand-by of
the Buddhist religion here, and now not a shadow of Royalty is left to the nation.
November 21st, 1887

I have just returned from a visit to Madaya, where we are building a small Mission House and House for native Catechist. The house is up and roof on, it only wants the walls now.

Perhaps you wonder how they can build houses without walls. They put the posts up and add mat walls made of split bamboos. The house is entirely of bamboo, except perhaps the upright posts. Sometimes not a nail or bit of iron in the whole structure, the parts are firmly tied together by cane ties,—but we shall have nails in ours for more firmness and stability. The floor is raised perhaps three feet from the ground, to give dryness and ventilation; made of split bamboos, quite springy, like a cane chair, not so finely woven of course. All frame work round doors, windows, roof, &c., of bamboo, covered with bamboo tiles. Yes, you can call them so, for they are split bamboos placed one over the other to keep the rain out. We shall have ordinary thatch—grass thatch—like old farm houses in England. When floor and roof are finished, the workmen make the walls of bamboo, strip, by strip, and weave fancy designs in their work, so that if well done the house looks quite pretty. The bamboo is a wonderful tree palm. At Madaya I saw a vegetable-like thing in the market and asked what it was—young roots of bamboo for cooking purposes. The bucket for drawing water is probably made of bamboo, and bamboo oil, bottles with bamboo leaf stoppers are often used on rough journeys. Goads for the oxen of course, and sticks for tickling up the boys are very common. I suppose we could find 101 uses of the graceful bamboo palm. It is sometimes as high as a hundred feet, and then the six inch diameter shoots are capital for masts and spars of the native craft, as light and as strong as you could wish.

At Madaya, about 17 miles from Mandalay, there are sometimes two or three young Englishmen. I have visited lots of young Englishmen in out of the way places, and find that those, who though far away from civilization and society still keep to refined and gentlemanly habits, are the best for doing good work, not only as servants of Government, but as Christians. A man who can afford it, and has the opportunity of doing it, yet neglects to wear collars and a decent coat, or that dispenses with the bath or table cloth, I look upon with some degree of suspicion. “Anything will do here” is a fatal maxim. You have no idea what a lot of difference clean, tidy habits make in the respect earned from Burmans. Untidy houses or offices mean confusion and disorder, arrears of work, and give opportunities to subordinates to make much mischief, perhaps to run away with Government money. In this case the officer in charge of course is responsible.

I have been now for more than a year one of the Government examiners, at the central board in Mandalay. All the young officers, in fact everybody entering Government Service for Revenue, Law, Police, or Forest Service, has to come before the committee at least twice. This has given me a good insight into what is required for the examinations, and I have determined to bring out a book to help the candidates. If it had been done a year ago hundreds of copies would have been sold, which would no doubt have proved helpful. It would also perhaps open the way for a bigger book on the Burmese language to be done when I return (D.V.) from furlough.
January 9th, 1888

We have had a grand and glorious Christmas—beautiful weather, numbers of friends, plenty of work, feasting: and playing, and, above all, most happy Church services and Sacraments.

Perhaps we have told you how people have been flocking in to us, not to be kept out, and how the Catechumens were increasing. All the regular Catechumens were brought together in one class, for the week before Christmas, and had morning and evening instructions in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, as usual; and a very happy time it was, though very hard work, as the school examination was going on at the same time.

Christmas Eve came, and the Church decorations were very pretty. We have heaps of youngsters about us who will do what we tell them, so they helped in the Church, and very successfully too. On Christmas Eve, 4 p.m., we were ready, andformed our choir for Processional. The Military Chaplain, and a number of his steady soldiers, guildsmen, and Bible-class men joined us, and we had a very hearty service. The baptisms, 31 in number (20 men and 11 women—the eldest 67 years and the youngest 16 years), were, of course, by immersion in the baptismal tank, which is let down into the floor of the Church.

It was an affecting sight to see the people ranged round the font, and to hear them repeat altogether the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and to hear their general and individual answers to the questions of the service. Both H—— and I felt it very much, and at times were likely to break down in the service out of pure joy and gladness. The Chaplain said the service was most impressive, and so did a Baptist. Missionary who was in Church during the service. I hope all came from the right motives, and that they have found a blessing. It was indeed a day of joy to us, and so was the next day. We had no mid-night service here. We thought it best not to have it though some English people wanted if. Our work of the week before had been very hard and close, and the baptismal service was a long one, as it had added to it full Evensong with Processionals, and was not over till after six o'clock.

Christmas Day.—Mattins and sermon (English) at 8 a.m., followed by celebration in English and Burmese. Just at the end of Mattins I left the choir, put on the vestments,' and then the choir went round the Church singing "O come, all ye faithful." The Burmese Christians took this as a sign, and trooped in to make a very big congregation—such indeed as had never been seen in Mandalay Church, I suppose, since it was built.

There was no sermon in this service, so it did not appear long. There were 56 communicants, and the offertory amounted to Rs.252, but with other offerings of the day and season, we had more than Rs.650 for the Church and work this Christmas season, I do not like to keep Christmas offerings in the place where they are offered, so we are sending Rs.76 to Lady Dufferin's Medical Fund for the women of India, and Rs.76 to the Shwebo Medical Mission. Other amounts we are bound to keep as they are specially offered for local work.

Burmese Mattins came at 11-30, and there were 130 Burmans and Shans present. It was a grand and enjoyable service, and what is more the people seemed to feel it so. We have now, thank God, a real Burmese congregation, and by God's blessing it will goon increasing.
In the afternoon we rushed off to get a little rest at the house of Colonel and Mrs. Laughton—very Dear people, and most helpful and kind to us—and returned just in time for the boys' dinner, then for English and Burmese mixed Evensong—nice, warm, happy service again—after that to dinner at Mr. Burgess', the chief local authority here under the Chief Commissioner, and after dinner we were glad to sing and play all the Christmas hymns and carols we could lay hands upon.

Such was our happy Christmas. I have said, and say again, that it was the most Christian and Christmas-like Christmas that I have ever spent out of England, and it was as easy as could be to imagine oneself back again in a grandly decorated and crowded English Church at home among dear friends.

At the New Year came the School Feast. It was simply grand, astonishingly grand, for Mandalay. Our English visitors could hardly believe Burmese boys capable of doing what they did. Order, attention, behaviour, singing, &c., all excellent. The Burmese Christians, of course, came to the feast, and must have felt, more than ever, that they have found a home and a strong organization in the Christian faith.

Is not this cheering! It would make a Missionary of the dullest Christian, I should think. But you know all this joyful work tends to keep me back till H——is more competent to take up all the threads and reins, or until another Missionary is sent to help him in it.

There is more than we two can do, and if I go away how will the half get done? I should like two young Missionaries to come out and be with me for this year; then I could leave them to do the work and take my furlough in peace, for I really want it at last. I am in my 15th year of expatriation now.

February 26th, 1888

I have just got my war medal, clasp and ribbon, and have worn it to the great admiration of our lads. The clasp bears the inscription, “Burmah, 1885-7.” The medal has the Queen's head on one side, and on the other, Victory with wings, crowning a Greek or Roman warrior with laurel. He is seated on spoils of armour, and holds a drawn sword in one hand and the scabbard or sheath in the other.

I am off to Madaya to-night, to inspect and arrange our new purchase of houses and land there, and to set the Catechist to his work in the village. We shall, I hope, have the first Celebration there on Tuesday morning, when probably there will be some 12 or 15 Christians gathered together from the villages about, who are to make Madaya their centre of gathering for the present.

Madaya ought to be an important station for us soon, and we will do our best to make it so. Neither H——or I have been good for much this week, what with a pony kick, sunstroke and fever,—but we are better. I go at night to avoid the heat, which just now is great. It is a very slow journey up by boat, the men have to pole up all the way.
February 27th, 1888
Mission of the Holy Spirit, Madaya

Here I am, after an easy journey, only it was a disturbed one, as we now and bumped up against a bridge or another boat. I had two blankets with me, so was beautifully warm, and made my cassock and Communion Case into a pillow; when I awoke we were nowhere in particular, but I heard the “Reveille” sounding from the bugles of some military post.

We were resting under the bushes, and my boatman had laid himself on the deck for a sleep as well, so the boat was in the possession of two sleepers. I got to Madaya Mission House at about 6-30 a.m., and to my surprise found 70 Shan dacoits or ex-dacoits in possession of our new house; this was not very pleasant as they are a dirty, untidy set of men. Hereon hangs a tale. A large party of police was ordered to go and capture a gang of 200 Shan dacoits who were said to be prowling about. They came upon the gang, and surrounded a village by night. A little firing took place. One poor woman was shot right through the body as she was running away, and these 200 men were captured with 43 guns and a full number of dahs and spears; But it turns out they were not dacoits at all, but are soldiers of the Tsawbwa of Thibau, whose sons are in our school at Mandalay, and had been sent by him to take possession of a village which our Government had told him to keep order in. Our police have made a mistake, and invaded Shan territory, so these men have to be set at liberty, their arms restored to them, some compensation paid, and the whole thing patched up.

What of the poor woman?

I am afraid you must try to make up your minds not to see me this year. It is not that I wish to stay and disappoint you, but because the work here is just now so active, and requires the presence of a fully-qualified Missionary, otherwise it will greatly suffer and be checked. If things go on as they are doing now we shall want a bigger Church before long, or have to split up the day for more services. My longing for a real genuine Burmese congregation is satisfied. We have it, and now want another, and yet another.

Please look on all our work here as your own, and rejoice that it has been permitted me to see it so develop before I go home.

How very different from the aspect in 1874 or 1879!

Note: Four days after writing this letter the writer entered his rest.
The Politics of State-Business Relations in Post-Colonial Burma

Kyaw Yin Hlaing

Supervisor: Benedict Anderson

Focusing primarily on the problems prevailing between the state and various societal groups, scholars and journalists have depicted the interactions between the state and society in post-colonial Burma as a series of zero-sum games. With regard to state-business relations, the existing studies have suggested that the pattern of state-business relations was quite different under the three different regimes which Burma experienced since it gained independence from the British in 1948. This dissertation, however, attempts to contribute to a better understanding of state-society relations in Burma in general and state-business relations in particular, by arguing first that state-society relations in Burma cannot simply be reduced to a collection of zero-sum games, and second that despite the remarkable variations in the formal political and economic institutional order of each regime, crony capitalism has always thrived and continues to serve as the bedrock of state-business relations throughout the postcolonial period. Regardless of their ideological orientation, all post-colonial Burmese governments depended on the business sector to finance and support their efforts at governance. In a similar vein, business people had to foster and maintain good connections with state elites in order to successfully run their businesses. The business sector was never strong enough to capture the state apparatus and make it serve its interests. Rather, a weak state and a weak business sector exchanged favors through the mechanism of informal patron-client relations in order to ensure their mutual survival. In this way, the interactions between the state and the business community in post-colonial Burma mutually empowered their respective positions in society. This dissertation also attempts to probe the underlying factors that led to the persistence of cronyism as the basic pattern of state-business relations throughout Burma's entire post-colonial period Business Firms in District Towns by Line of Business and Nationality of Ownership (in Percentage). In so doing, I argue that the persistence of cronyism as the basis of Burma’s post-colonial state-business relations can be attributed, on the one hand, to a lack of sufficient technical and fiscal capacities and the problems prevailing in the ‘legitimacy renewal mechanisms’; of the post-colonial regimes and, on the other, to the wider socio-political and economic environment which did not favor the emergence of the business class as an independent political actor.
Organizations

The Cornell Burma/Myanmar Research Group

An Update on Burma/Myanmar Studies Activities at Cornell University

The CMRG was formed in 2003 by several Cornell graduate students as an interdisciplinary association to promote Burma/Myanmar studies and related research at Cornell University. The current members of the CMRG include Cornell faculty and graduate and undergraduate students affiliated with the departments of Asian Studies, History, Political Science, Anthropology, Classics, Music, Economics, Comparative Literature, and Linguistics, the field of Asian Religions, and the South and Southeast Asia area programs. Our activities include sponsoring formal and informal presentations and workshops led by visiting scholars and Cornell faculty and graduate students, designing and directing seminars and reading groups, sponsoring cultural events and screening Burmese language films, encouraging the study of Burmese and Pali as well as Shan, Mon, and other regional languages, and, particularly, facilitating advanced Burma/Myanmar related research for members of the Cornell community. In addition, we maintain BURMA-L, the CMRG mailing list, which serves as electronic forum for the exchange of information relevant to Burma/Myanmar research at Cornell, and the CMRG website, which contains links to useful information on Burma/Myanmar studies and research resources at Cornell and elsewhere. We encourage Burma/Myanmar scholars to contact us if they plan to be in the greater New York State area to discuss a possible visit to Cornell. For further information about Burma/Myanmar studies at Cornell please visit the CMRG website http://www.people.cornell.edu/pages/dcl33/cmrg.html or write:

Christian Lammerts
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Ithaca, NY 14853
USA
DCL33@cornell.edu
Seminars

SOAS Burma Lectures

The Legal System in Early Burma

Tilman Frasch
(Manchester Metropolitan University)

January 2004

According to leading authorities on Burmese history, the origins of modern Burma were laid very early in the history of the country, mainly under the kings of Pagan (c. 1050-1300 C.E.). This kingdom, it is claimed, was based upon codified law, which was universal and impersonal, while its administrative staff held specific offices for which they were trained. Focusing on the legal system, the paper attempts to challenge this established view by looking afresh at the sources from which the picture seems to emerge. It will be argued that the administration of justice neither shows signs of a clear structure (e.g. with specified offices such as boards of judges, attorneys of state or courts of appeal) nor that the existing law books (dhammasats) were of any importance therein.

The Burma Campaign Society

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

The Burma Campaign Society
19 Norland Square
London W11 4PU
Tel: 020 7221 6985
Fax: 020 7792 1757
Email: info@burmacampaignsociety.org

BCS Seminars and Meetings, May 2003-March 2004

12th May 2003

Experiences as one of the Japanese Surrendered Personnel in Java
(The Treatment of Japanese Surrendered Personnel After the Second World War)
Sadao Oba

22nd May 2003
Annual General Meeting

17th August 2003

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 2003

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

14th October 2003

The British Commonwealth Force and the Occupation of Japan
Professor Kosuge

15th March 2004

Burma—The Japanese Invasion in Historical Context
John McEnery

Advertisement statement:

“John McEnery, author of “Epilogue in Burma 1945-48”, fought against the Japanese and remained in Burma after the cease fire in August 1945, serving in due course with HQ Burma Command, Rangoon, and experiencing the hand-over of power back to a Burma Government.

British annexation of Burma began with the First Anglo-Burmese War in 1826. The Japanese invasion in 1942 ended in defeat and was followed by Burmese independence in 1948. The speaker will review the position of Burma prior to the Japanese invasion, internal reaction to the invasion, the breakdown between the Burma National Army and the Japanese, the effect on post-war Burma of the Japanese invasion, the character of the post-independent Burma Army, and whether their invasion by the Japanese helped India and Burma to be the first by almost ten years post-WW2 of the former British Empire countries to achieve independence.”

Britain-Burma Society

Regular meetings are 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 May 2003-March 2004

Thursday 8th May 2003

ELEPHANTS
by Daw Khyne U Mar, BVS, MPhil, MSc

We are fortunate to hear from one of the world's greatest experts on elephants: Daw Khyne U Mar, who until 1999 was head of the Veterinary Division in Burma's Ministry of Forestry, which meant she had in her care 2700 Government-employed elephants, and kept up a stud book of all Government-owned working elephants employed for the last 50 years. More recently, many other countries of Asia have been seeking her advice on the proper care and management of elephants, as the old knowledge dwindles and new problems arise. She gives a PowerPoint lecture on elephants she has known, using a data projector onto the big screen.

Wednesday 18th June 2003

Family Routes
by Wendy Law-Yone

One of the best-known Burmese novelists outside Burma will read from her latest book and talk about how she came to write it. Wendy Law-Yone grew up in U Nu's Burma - her father was EM Law-Yone, the founder and publisher of the Rangoon Nation. Her life has been a varied one - she fell in love successively with German, Russian and French literature, and got herself a degree in Comparative Literature from Eckerd College in Florida. She published two novels in the USA: The Coffin Tree and Irrawaddy Tango. The book she has now been writing is about the "Burma Road", and her researches into the lives of her two grandfathers, one a Yunnanese merchant, the other a British colonial officer.

Wednesday 1st October 2003

The October Reception

A chance to meet up over a glass of wine at the beginning of the Society's year. Although as usual there was no formal speech, Anna Allott gave a little presentation about a number of self-help projects that are now going on in Burma, run by monasteries or other philanthropic institutions.

Thursday, 6th November 2003

First Impressions of a Third Secretary
by Martin Morland CMG

Martin Morland's talk concentrated mostly on his first posting to Burma, at the end of the 1950s, though he did also make some comparisons with his second posting, as British Ambassador to Burma, in 1986-90. U Nu was Prime Minister when Martin Morland arrived, an unknown young diplomat learning the Burmese language and fascinated with this unique country. U Nu was soon succeeded by General Ne Win. Martin had two 3-month periods in Mandalay, and travelled widely in Shan and Kachin States. And in Rangoon too, as junior Secretary he had scope for a rich and varied social life, with a number of international visitors and even a white elephant.

Thursday 11th December 2003
Second Chance in Mandalay  
by Diana Millington  
Up to the age of 16 she knew nothing about her real father, or the childhood she nearly had in Burma, her birth on the run from Japanese soldiers, or even her grandfather who had first come to Burma in 1904. It was only when her husband, Graham Millington, was posted to head the British Council in Burma, in the year 2000, that she was able to follow up some of this history - and to make her own contribution. She was invited to teach English at Paung Daw Oo monastery school near Mandalay. And, discovering how few books the students had at their disposal, she was inspired to build a library as a donation. She tells her story in pictures, via data projector on the big screen.  
Thursday, 5th February 2004

John and Anna Eat Pizza in Rangoon  
by Anna Allott and the Okells  
Some things about Burma never change, and others are constantly in flux, to the discerning visitor. Today John Okell and Anna Allott, who are two of our most popular speakers as well as some of the most knowledgeable and discerning students of Burma, will bring us up to date on the Burmese scene. Both have just returned from Burma and Mrs Okell will also be contributing her impressions of the country.  
Tuesday 9th March 2004

Son of Donnison  
by Professor David Donnison  
Our speaker is the son of Vernon Donnison, who as Chief Secretary presided over some of that unsettled time after World War Two. The period between the 1920s and Independence in 1948 was a period in which the relationship between the British and the Burmese people was transformed, in a multitude of ways, and the Donnison family was in the thick of it. David Donnison puts together his parents' stories from his own memories and their diaries.


**Conferences**

**UHRC Conference: Traditions of Knowledge in Southeast Asia**

The Conference "Traditions of Knowledge in Southeast Asia" was organized in cooperation with the SEAMEO Regional Centre for History and Tradition and was 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.

**Conference Summary**

The UHRC Conference for this year, "Conference on Traditions of Knowledge in Southeast Asia" held in Yangon, 17-19 December 2003, was certainly a success and represents a solid contribution to the field. It consisted of three days of parallel sessions (three sessions per time block) and included papers on various societies of Southeast Asia, although Burma was the most heavily represented. An international assortment of scholars (drawn from North America, Europe, Southeast Asia, Japan, Taiwan, and Australia) presented their current research.

For the benefit of list members who were unable to attend this year, I have sorted out below, by topic, the papers presented on Burma. Please note also that the next UHRC conference will not be held until January 2005.

**Language**

San San Hnin Tun "Traditions of Myanmar Language Instruction"

**Archaeology/Art/Religious symbolism**

Alexandra Green "The Denison University Collection of Burmese Art 'Acquisition and Analysis"

Donald Stadtner "The Fallacy of Pyu Art"

Elizabeth Moore "Ancient Knowledge and the Use of Landscape in Willed Settlement in Lower Myanmar"

Bob Hudson "Myanmar's Early Urban Centres: some Proposals for Computer Mapping and Analysis of Archaeological Data"

Kyaw Win Oo "The Shitthaung Temple of Mrauk-U New Investigations"

Ni Ni Myint "The Tradition of Sand Pagodas in Myanmar"
Rosita Dellios "Mandala From Sacred Origins to Sovereign Affairs in Traditional Southeast Asia"

**Precolonial Myanmar**

Wil O. Dijk "Life in Seventeenth Century Burma (Myanmar) Through Dutch Eyes"

Aurore Candier "Imagination and Knowledge: some Comments on Rumours in the Mid-Nineteenth Century Konbaung Court"

Tun Aung Chain, "The Tradition of Statecraft in 18th Century Myanmar"

Aung Than Tun "Kinwun Mingyi U Gaung: His Life and His Works"

**Colonial Myanmar**

Neil A. Englehart "A Tradition of Knowledge About Myanmar: J. S. Furnivall on Colonial Rule"

Penelope Edwards "Re-Locating the Interlocutor Taw Sein Ko (1864-1930) and the Triangulation of Colonial Knowledge"

**Literature**

Annemarie Esche "The Tradition of Reference Books in Myanmar and the Challenges of the Present Time"

Khin Aye "Zimme Pannatha (Pnnasa Jataka) and Myanmar Literature"

Myint Zan "A Glimpse of Three Persian English and Myanmar 'Religious' Poems Which were Written Centuries Apart"

Khin Muang Nyunt "U Po Kya's Writings: His Fictionalized Historical Research 'Aлаung-daw Kassapa"

Takehito Onishi "Harp of burma and the Southeast Asian Influence on the Modern Japanese Mind"

Thet Tun "The Return of Shway Yoe: James George Scott as a Writer"

Than Htut & Thaw Kaung "Mirrored in Short Stories: Some Glimpses of Myanmar Life and Society in the 20th Century"

**Religion**

Jason Andrew Carbine "When the 'Thread Doesn't Snap: Lineage, Continuity, and Tradition from a Shwegyin Perspective"

Guy Lubeigt "A Country Modeled by Buddhist Traditions"
Benedicte Brac dela Perriere "Ritual as Knowledge and Its Transmission Concerning the Cult to the Thirty Seven Lords"

Yukako Iikuni "The Meaning of Renunciation of Women in a Village"

Waldemar Sailer "Toward a Presentation of a Study of One Footprint"

Kyawt Kyawt "The Observance of Myanmar Traditional Occult Sciences"

Tin Win "Monastic Education and the Beginning of Western Education in Myanmar"

**Economics**

Tin Soe "An Economic Interpretation of Some Myanmar Traditional concepts in the Context of Globalization"

**Warfare**

Sunait Chutintaranond "The Rite of Elephant duel in Thai-Burmese Military History"

**Ethnicity**

Kazuto Ikeda "Various Versions of the Kayin History: Knowledge of the Part Among the buddhist and Christian Kayin"

Takatani Michio "Ethnic Identity and Knowledge of the Shan"

Sun Laichen "Histories of the Gwe. Gueo. Kui Peoples in Mainland Southeast Asia"

**Rakhine**

Jacques Leider "The Min Rajagri Satam of Mahajeya Thein: Making a History for the King."

**Technology**

Sein Myint "The Prehistoric Technology in Myanmar"
Although the deadline for paper submissions has passed, please take note that the BSC conference will take place 22-23 October 2004.

For more information, contact:

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/
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Hosts Eight Day Workshop on Myanmar Issues and Myanmar Views: Searching for a Unified Perspective

31 January to 7 February 2004

Though thousands of words are said and written each year about Myanmar, foreign scholars have rarely ventured into the country to ask the stakeholders in the country’s future what are their views on the pressing socio-economic issues of the day. Moreover, while a variety of international organisations and governments have taken public positions on how to assist Myanmar in its quest to modernise and develop, very little is known about internal Myanmar perceptions of these positions and their consequences.

As a first step at attempting to better understand the current socio-economic issues of Myanmar, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, organised a week long workshop. The workshop commenced in Singapore on 31 January and then proceeded for six days of meetings in Yangon. Seven international scholars from Singapore, the United States, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Japan, experts in Myanmar’s history as well as on issue areas such as education, health, administration, policy formulation, regional development, and international affairs, held a series of meetings with leaders from Myanmar NGOs, peace groups and other organisations in an attempt to understand Myanmar’s issues from within.

The workshop concluded at ISEAS in Singapore where the scholars tabled their initial findings. The information gathered will provide material for future research and analysis in collaboration with Myanmar scholars as well as a volume summarizing the authors’ conclusions. Funding for the event was made possible by ISEAS programme funds and the Sasakawa Peace Foundation of Japan, while the final workshop dinner in Yangon was hosted by the Myanmar-Britain Business Association. The workshop was chaired by Prof. Robert H. Taylor, Visiting Senior Research Fellow at ISEAS and organised by Dr. Tin Maung Maung Than, Senior Fellow at ISEAS, assisted by Dr. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Associate Professor of Political Science at the National University of Singapore.

Robert Taylor
Programmes

SEAMEO Regional Centre for History and Tradition, Myanmar (Burma) Summer Programme

MYANMAR HISTORY FROM MYANMAR PERSPECTIVES

A SUMMER PROGRAMME FOR STUDENTS AND ACADEMICS

The SEAMEO CHAT Summer Programme Myanmar History from Myanmar Perspectives is designed to provide a better understanding of Myanmar history as studied and interpreted by Myanmar scholars. The Programme will run for two weeks from 1 to 14 September 2003 and consists of a course of lectures by prominent Myanmar historians and a field study of Myanmar historical sites with the guidance of a Myanmar scholar.

STANDARD 14-DAY PROGRAMME

Course of Lectures

- Source Materials of Myanmar History
- Myanmar before Bagan
- Bagan: Buddhism
- Bagan: Architecture
- Hanthawaddy: Maritime Trade and Land Empire
- Mandalay: The Court
- Mandalay: The City
- The Anglo-Myanmar Wars
- The Impact of Colonialism
- The Early Nationalist Movement
- The Making of the Myanmar Army

Field Study

- Bago (Hanthawaddy)
- Bagan
- Mandalay

The participation fee in the Standard 14-day Programme is US $ 850. This covers tuition, accommodation in standard hotels and travel by coach for all which SEAMEO CHAT takes responsibility.

The participation fee does not cover international air travel for which participants make their own arrangements.

For programme details contact,

U Myo Aung
SEAMEO Regional Centre for History and Tradition
Pyay Road, Yangon 11041
Fax: 95-1-515175
e-mail: seameo_chat@mptmail.net.mm
The Online Registration form is available at:

http://www.seameochat.org/registration_form.shtml
Fellowships

Announcement of three post-doctoral fellowships at the Lund University.

The Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies at Lund University hereby invites applications for three postdoctoral fellowships. The Centre for East and South East Asian Studies is focused upon research concerning contemporary East and South-East Asia, principally from social sciences and humanities perspectives. Information regarding the Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies may be found at the Centre's website (http://www.ace.lu.se).

The duration of each fellowship is two years, commencing 1 September 2004 and ending on 30 August 2006.

Candidates must have completed all the requirements for the doctoral degree before 1 July 2004, i.e. two months prior to the commencement of the fellowships.

The deadline for applications is 16:00 on Friday 14 May 2004.

Applications should be sent by mail to the following address:

The Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies
Attn.: Professor Roger Greatrex
Box 792
220 07 Lund
Sweden