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THE  
COMING OF THE GREAT QUEEN,  
A NARRATIVE OF THE ACQUISITION  
OF BURMA.

BY  
MAJOR EDMOND CHARLES BROWNE,  
ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS,  
DEPUTY-ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, MADRAS ARMY ; LATE COMMANDANT,  
MOUNTED INFANTRY CORPS, BURMA FIELD FORCE.

The Great Mother cometh over the sea,  
She cometh with the pure water, the head-water.  
*Karen prophecy.*

For southern wind and east wind meet,  
Where, girt and crowned by sword and fire,  
England with bare and bleeding feet  
Climbs the steep road of wide Empire.  
*Ave Imperatrix.*

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**Dedication.**

GENERAL SIR HARRY NORTH DALRYMPLE PRENDERGAST,  
V.C., K.C.B., R.E.,

THE GALLANT SOLDIER AND SKILFUL COMMANDER WHO ADDED THE FAIR<sup>st</sup>,  
AND FERTILE PROVINCE OF

UPPER BURMA

EMPIRE OF THE GREAT QUEEN,

*THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED*

BY HIS COMRADE AND FRIEND

THE AUTHOR.



## P R E F A C E.

I AM vain enough to flatter myself that this book contains more information on Indo-China generally, and its peoples, than any other publication which has hitherto appeared in print.

It labours under the disadvantage, however, of having been put together in bits and scraps as opportunity has offered over a period of nearly two years, and under the depressing influences of oppressive heat, flies, mosquitos, and the many distractions consequent on official duties.

I should have been glad if I could have been able to sink my own personality a little more than I have done, but I feared by so doing to interrupt the flow of the narrative.

RANGOON,  
*July, 1887.*



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# THE COMING OF THE GREAT QUEEN.

## BOOK I.

### HISTORY OF BURMA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES UNTIL THE OUTBREAK OF THE LATE WAR.

TRAVELLERS and ethnographers of ancient and modern times are pretty well agreed as to the origin of the Burmese people. That they are a branch of the great Mongolian family of the human race is clear from their physical and mental attributes, which also testify to their kinsmanship to the trans-Himalayan tribes.

Sir Arthur Phayre gives it as his opinion that they were formed into a nation by the union of a number of these Mongolian tribes under the influence of Aryan immigrants from Gangetic India, who also introduced Buddhism which remains unshaken until to-day.

That these tribes flooded the fertile valleys of the Irrawaddy in successive waves seems to be proved by the dominance for many centuries of the Mons or Talaings—these latter eventually being driven out by the Burmans.

Early Burmese history is based upon the authority of the Maha Rajaweng, or "History of Kings." Although much of this is naturally romance, the most careful students receive a considerable portion as more or less reliable.

From a remote period there have been three dis-

tinct tribes, if not nationalities, in what is now "Burma," as a portion of the British Empire, viz., the Burmese proper, or the inhabitants of the Upper Irrawaddy, who have in times past established their capitals at Pagan; Ava, and, last of all, at Mandalay; the Peguans, Mons, or Talaings, or people of the deltas of the great rivers Irrawaddy, Sittang, and Salween; and the Arakanese, or inhabitants of the western littoral. Throughout the past ten or a dozen centuries Burmese history is a record of a succession of wars and tumults between these ever restless and insatiable tribes.

At one period we are told of the Burmese supremacy over the "world," at another the Peguans are victorious; and at a third the Arakanese, often assisted by their cousins from Lower Bengal, descend into the valley of the Great River, and sweep all before them.

According to Sir Arthur Phayre's interpretation of the Maha Rajaweng, a northern Indian prince named Abhi Raja, of the same family as Buddha, descended into the valley of the Middle Irrawaddy, and established his capital at Tagoung, on the right bank. This was about the year B.C. 850. "At his death he left two sons, the elder named Kan Rajaghi, and the younger Kan Rajange. They disputed the succession to the throne, and it was agreed that the difference should be settled in favour of him who should first complete a religious building."

By an artifice the younger brother made it appear that he had finished his in one night, and he was declared the winner. He therefore succeeded to his father's kingdom.

.

The elder brother collected his followers and went down the Irrawaddy till he reached the mouth of the Khyengdweng (modern Chinwinde) river, which he ascended, and then established himself in the southern portion of the country now known as the Kubo Valley, at or near a hill called Kalê. The tribes Pyû, Kâurân and Säk are described as then in the land, and Kân Râjâghi made his son Muddusitta king over them.

“ He with his followers went towards the south-west until he reached a mountain in the northern part of Arakan, now called Kyankpûndaung. There he established the capital of his kingdom.”

If there be any truth in all this, it would appear that the Arakanese kings were descended from the elder branch, while the Burmese of the Irrawaddy Valley sprang from the younger of the Mrâmma family.

Either the peoples of these lands were of a much more docile nature than they are at present, or the sway of their kings was too firm to be shaken, for they seem to have held undisputed possession over their newly-acquired territories for a long succession of years.

Thirty-one kings of this dynasty ruled at Tagoung, which appears to have been a wealthy and populous city. It was at length captured and destroyed by an army from Western China, and the dynasty came to an end. But as in more subsequent raids to the valley of the Irrawaddy, the Chinese do not appear to have made any attempt to occupy the country permanently, but to have cleared out when the mischief had been done.

About this time there was another rush of immigrants from Northern India. Their leader, Daza Raja, established his capital on a spot close to Tagoung. This city has been called by geographers Old Pagan, in contradistinction to the more modern and much greater city of Pagan lower down the river.

There is little to be seen of the remains of these cities to-day ; but then, time in the East is a great destroyer.

This second expedition from Gangetic India to the Irrawaddy was inspired by Goadama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist faith, who was alive at this time, in order to re-establish the supremacy of his followers.

Sixteen kings of this dynasty succeeded each other without opposition, after which a general break up seems to have taken place. The outcome of this was the foundation of Prome, a large native city, to-day only a few hours' train from Rangoon, which for many years was a Royal capital.

The legend runs thus, in the words of the above-quoted distinguished writer :—

“ The last king, Thado Maha Raja, having no son, the queen's brother was appointed Ainshêmeng, or heir-apparent, and declared heir to the throne. The king was dethroned by invaders, but whether by the descendants of the former conquerors or by others from the eastward is not stated.

“ He hid himself from the invaders, and his queen gave birth to twin sons who were born blind.

“ The legend runs that the Ainshêmeng, when out

hunting, followed a wild boar so eagerly that he lost his way in the forest. Wandering on he became wearied with the world, and determined to become a hermit. Down the course of the river, far from his country, he lighted on a hill where was a cave close to the present town of Prome, and there he dwelt. The three tribes before mentioned were in this land. In Tagoung, the twin sons of the dethroned king being blind were, according to custom, to be put to death as being unfit to rule. But the queen concealed them until they had become young men. They were then put into a boat and set afloat on the Irrawaddy. While borne along by the stream they received their sight, and at length reached Prome. There they met a daughter of the hermit, whom they saw drawing water from the river, and found that her father was their uncle. The elder of the princes, Maha Thambawa, was then married to his cousin. He was the first of the dynasty established at or near Prome, about 483 years before Christ, according to the Maha Rajâweng. From this ruler the kings of Burma claim descent, though several breaks in the succession appear in the course of time."

For the first six or seven hundred years of the Christian era the Mrâmma family of rulers seem to have remained in power, when an irruption of Shans from the east overran and occupied the valley of the Irrawaddy. Samlongpra, a Shan prince, conquered Kachar, Tippera, Munnipur, and Assam. This success culminated the Shan influence, and about the ninth century the Burmese once more regained sway. It was not until the eleventh century, however, that Anorahta, by

depart by loading their chiefs with presents, set to work to fight amongst themselves. This fratricidal strife resulted in the two elder brothers being killed and the younger remaining master of the situation.

This king, by name Thihatha, made his mark in Burmese history. He was a Shan by birth, and he may be said to have been the first of the race of Shan kings who ruled Burma, his dynasty lasting half a century.

Thihatha shifted the capital to 'Sagain, a place nearly opposite Mandalay on the right bank of the river. The influence of this dynasty extended up and down the Irrawaddy from Mogoung in the north to Prome in the south, and as far west as Munipur. But rebellions and disruptions were continuous all over the country.

About the end of the fourteenth century a prince of uncertain lineage usurped the throne, and he shifted the capital to the left bank at Ava.

He appears to have had some character and skill as a ruler, but he found himself unable to control his troubled and unwieldy possessions. The upper portions fell into the hands of the Chinese, and the Lower Irrawaddy was a prey to robbers and traitors.

His career was cut short by small-pox.

During these times the fertile plains of the delta were constantly overrun by Shans, Siamese and other marauding hordes.

Arakan, although acknowledging in theory the Burmese suzerainty, was really in a state of anarchy during the latter half of this century.

1400-1450.—The first decades of the fifteenth century saw Arakan tributary to Bengal in return for services rendered to the Arakanese by the Bengal princes, in the struggles of the former against the Burmese.

In the Irrawaddy Valley fighting and dacoity went on unchecked. At length a Shan chief named Meng-nân-sê got a firm hold on the kingdom of Ava, and soon commenced to make his influence felt. Tounghoo, once a Royal city, and which for thirty years has been a military cantonment under British rule, first became heard of about this time.

During the fighting and raiding which had convulsed the country for years past, the governor of this province, Soalu, had so successfully controlled his district that he was regarded as an independent prince. He formed an alliance with the King of Pegu, and induced the latter to join him in an attack on Ava.

Arrived at the capital, the Peguan monarch deserted his ally, who had to beat a hasty retreat, and fraternised with the King of Ava.

At this early period of the history of the Indo-Chinese States we hear of women wielding imperial power.

Queen Sheng Soabu of Ava took it into her head to seek a change of consorts in the King of Pegu. She accordingly repaired to the latter city, where she attached herself to the king's household. She became very popular in the province, and when the king died she was invited to rule the Peguans. Her prime favourite was a Buddhist monk who had accom-



panied her from Ava. This person, on his mistress being raised to supreme power, threw off his sackcloth and ashes and assumed the toga of the statesman. The queen gave him her daughter in marriage, and named him her "heir apparent." On her death he became king, and ruled with great success for a period of thirty-one years.

The last decade of this half century witnessed the Chinese armies once more in the Irrawaddy Valley. Having at first successfully repelled the invaders, the Burmese were finally driven to sue for peace at any price, but this does not seem to have been higher than the surrender of the person of the Governor of Mogoung, after obtaining whom they took their departure.

Sir Arthur Phayre is of opinion that these attacks arose from the determination of the Ming dynasty of China to assert a right of sovereignty over the Shan chiefs.

1450-1500.—During this period no events of importance are narrated in Burmese history.

No prince of any power or character ruled the kingdom of Ava, and that country grew weaker and weaker under incessant attacks from the Shans, her old dependents, the Kings of Prome and Pegu, looking on with indifference.

1500-1550.—The Shan attacks on Ava were continued into this century, and the city taken and pillaged. The throne was actually offered to and accepted by the King of Prome, but he in his turn had to fly, and the dethroned monarch was reinstated.

Meanwhile Tounghoo was increasing in wealth and power, and many of the most influential Burmese nobles who had fled from Ava took refuge therein. Tabeng-Shwe-Tî was at this time its ruler. He led an army against Pegu, and took possession of the city. Europeans appear for the first time to have mixed themselves up in these quarrels, a contingent under the command of Ferdinand de Morales, a Portuguese adventurer, fighting on the side of the Peguans.

In this war the Napoleon Buonaparte of Burmese history first made his military skill as a commander known, in the person of Bureng Nyoung, then simply a general, but who afterwards became king of a vast tract of country. The young King of Tounghoo, with this determined leader to back him up, soon began to extend his possessions and make his power felt. The Portuguese had both ships and guns at Martaban, at the mouth of the Salween river, not far from the modern town of Moulmein.

Bureng Nyoung marched a large army against the place, and after a short siege forced it to surrender.

The Portuguese were permitted to escape to their ships, but many of the leading men of Martaban were put to death. The victorious general next prepared to attack Prome, which was then an important principality. He marched across the mountains and laid siege to the city, which was strongly fortified. The King of Ava, desirous of checking the rising power of Tounghoo, despatched an army of Burmese and Shans down the Irrawaddy to relieve the city, while the

Arakanese from the west crossed the hills and directed their march on the same point. But Bureng Nyoung was too much for this triple alliance. Leaving a small force at Prome to continue the investment, he marched to meet an army from the north, which was proceeding partly in boats and partly marching along the left bank of the great river. He attacked and dispersed this army, and, crossing the river on boats and rafts, he moved to meet the Arakanese, whom he also defeated with great slaughter, driving them through the mountain passes westward.

On both of these occasions the wily Portuguese arrayed themselves on his side, sharing the spoil. Prome surrendered, and a governor was appointed to control the kingdom, as Viceroy to the King of Tounghoo.

This was all a terrible shock for the Upper Burmans, and resulted in the reigning dynasty being driven from power, and a Shan prince placed on the throne.

His first act was to despatch an army, composed almost entirely of Shans, against Prome, but Bureng Nyoung, hearing of their approach, once more threw himself upon them, utterly routing them, and chasing the Shans to the gates of Ava.

On his return march he halted at Pagan, where great ceremonials were gone through. His young master was crowned "King of Kings," and the general himself was formally declared heir to the throne.

Pegu was now made the capital of this new king-

dom, and all the Indo-Chinese principalities and powers trembled at the name of Bureng Nyoung.

He next led an army into Arakan, but does not appear to have accomplished much. The Arakans avoided him, and after losing many of his best men through sickness, he returned to Pegu.

Siam, the rock on which more than one Burmese king has split himself, was the land on which this insatiable conqueror now turned his glance. He led a large army thither, but the physical difficulties to be overcome were so insurmountable, the sickness amongst his army was so great, the distance to be traversed, the difficulties in the way of supplies and the activity of the enemy, forced him to retrace his steps before his object had been accomplished, and he had to employ all his skill and fertility of resource during this disastrous retreat to save his army from total destruction. He at length reached Pegu, where he found the young king sunk in drunkenness and debauchery, and all the affairs of State in disorder. He constituted himself Regent, and made every effort to restore the kingdom; but things had gone too far. Exhausted by continual wars, and depressed by the failure of the Siamese expedition, the various viceroys rose in rebellion, and the country generally declared for the local chiefs.

Bureng Nyoung had to fly from Pegu, and sought refuge in his native city of Tounghoo. Arrived here his brother closed the gates in his face, and attended only by a few faithful followers, he retired to the hills, *determined to bide his time.*

1550-1600.—As he had prognosticated, the people soon began to feel the effects of the state of anarchy which prevailed. His great name once more came to his succour, and the Tounghoo nobles invited him to resume the reins of government. Once more a king, his ambitious designs and the magic of his name soon attached to his standard all the adventurous fighting spirits in Burma. His first act was to reoccupy Prome, which opened her gates at his approach. He next flooded the delta with his troops. The Talaing prince who had been placed on the throne of Pegu, fled, and he was once more proclaimed king of that province. On the Upper Irrawaddy a Shan prince sat upon the throne of Ava. Bureng Nyoung determined to unseat him. Hearing of his intentions, the Shan chiefs drew together, and a large army was assembled near Ava to oppose his advance. He advanced northwards in two columns, one along the left bank of the Irrawaddy, a flotilla of boats conveying all the impedimenta, and a second by way of Tounghoo and the Sittang valley. He accompanied this last column in person. To those who know all this country his strategy in this campaign may appear strange. Having directed his march as far north as Yemethen, he turned abruptly westward with his main body, directing his brother with a small column to march due north, and entrench himself in some suitable position south of Ava.

Pursuing his march westward, he debouched on the Irrawaddy, at Pagan, where he was joined by the flotilla and the Irrawaddy army. He next transferred his whole force to the right bank, and marching along





the shore he crossed the Chinwinde River, and appeared before Sagain, which he occupied without resistance. He now directed his brother, who was entrenched at Banya, to issue from his position and attack Ava, whilst he crossed the river in his flotilla and made an attack from the west. The Shan princes were paralysed, and after a feeble resistance the city surrendered.

The Shan King was imprisoned, and Bureng Nyong placed his brother on the throne of Ava as a tributary prince.

The "Great King" was on this campaign accompanied by a body-guard of four hundred Portuguese, dressed in uniform. His short visit to the Upper Irrawaddy convinced him that the Shan chiefs were his inveterate foes, and that no sooner would his back be turned than they would renew their aggressions. He accordingly directed his brother to make preparations for a monster campaign against the Shans, and he promised to return and conduct operations in person. He was as good as his word, for two years later, making a *casus belli* of some disturbances in the north, he led a large army to Ava, here massed his forces with those of his brother, and marched against the Shans. He routed the Kings of Moyoung and Monyin, and pursued them into the snowy regions of the north-east. He then returned to Pegu. He next turned his attention to the Southern Shan kingdom of Zimmé. The terror of his name preceded him, and he overran the country with little opposition, advancing into the heart of Siam. When here news reached him of a rebellion at Pegu,



and leaving his son to continue the campaign, he returned with all speed to his capital. Here he found things in a bad way, and he was constrained to recall the young prince with his whole army. •

Having restored order and set the kingdom on its legs again, he once more led an expedition to Siam. He overran Laos, and penetrated the mountain districts beyond the Mekong. Here he came to grief, losing half his army from cold and hunger, and with difficulty withdrawing the remnants to Pegu.

At no period in the history of Indo-China was Burma so powerful, united, and dreaded as at that of which I now write.

Of the vast territory over which Bureng Nyoung held sway, only a portion of the littoral of the Bay of Bengal still showed signs of resistance to his control. He accordingly resolved to crush this rebellious and insignificant province. Having collected a fleet of fifteen hundred large boats, he despatched it round the coast to the town of Sandaway. Here the army disembarked and prepared to march on Arakan. It was intended that the "King of Kings" himself should join at this place and conduct the march on the capital; but his force was failing him, and he found himself unequal to the task. His health rapidly declined and he died this same year at Pegu, having reigned thirty years.

The wars of Bureng Nyoung indicate the restless spirit of the Burmese people, their persistence in aggression, and their belief in, and devotion to, a loved and trusted leader.

The young king, Yuva Raja, who succeeded his father, was no novice in either politics or war, but was not equal to bearing the weight of the vast territory which his father had ruled. Two of his uncles paid him homage, but other chiefs struck.

He immediately entered on a system of aggression. The King of Ava was disrespectful, and to punish him he led an army up the Irrawaddy. A battle ensued in which, it is said, uncle and nephew had a hand-to-hand fight, mounted on elephants. The King of Ava was defeated and driven from power and the "Supreme King" returned to Pegu.

Siam, the "Loralei" of his father, now riveted his attention, and he led an army thither. But disaster befel him : thousands of his troops died of disease and starvation, and only a few survived to return to their own country.

Embittered by this reverse the king became savage and unmanageable, and put many of his most faithful followers to death. A general break up in the Empire took place. Pegu was almost destroyed and the king put to death, and, "thus," says Phayre, "the great Empire of united Pegu and Burma, which a generation before had excited the wonder of European travellers, was utterly broken up ; and the wide delta of the Irrawaddy, with a soil fertile as Egypt and in a geographical position commanding the outlet of a great natural highway, was abandoned by those who might claim to represent the ancient rulers, and left to be parcelled out by petty local chiefs and European adventurers."

The opening decades of the seventeenth century found Burma helplessly tossed on conflicting billows. Henceforward we shall find Europeans mixed up in all important affairs of State, gradually increasing their influence with periodical checks, as time proceeds.

One Philip de Brito appears to have been the first of these who rose to actual power in Burma. He commenced life on these shores as a servant of the King of Arakan, then transferred himself to the delta, where he became manager of the custom-house at Syriam, near the modern city of Rangoon. He soon became governor of the district. He next departed for Goa, married the daughter of the Portuguese Viceroy there, and returned to his business at Syriam. Being a robber and extortioner of the deepest dye, he soon became unpopular, and his days were numbered. The place was attacked and taken by a force from Upper Burma, and the unfortunate De Brito was "impaled on a stake before his own house, and there lived for three days in intense agony." Almost all his European followers perished with their chief.

This blow to the *kalas*, or foreigners, was a most popular hit for the King of Ava, Maha Dhamma Raja, who was a grand-nephew of the "Great King," and he rapidly obtained the allegiance of Pegu, Prome, Tounghoo, and other smaller States. The Shan States and the Tenasserim Coast next came under his influence. He was acknowledged as a "Supreme King," and received ambassadors from India and China. He was assassinated in 1630, and the Empire once more fell to pieces.

1650-1700.—During the next half-century no ruler of extraordinary influence arose to restore matters, and much anarchy prevailed.

• 1700-1750.—In the beginning of this century the country was overrun by hordes of Chinese, who, having plundered the people and enriched themselves, returned to their homes.

It is a remarkable fact that the Chinese have never displayed any desire to extend their possessions to the banks of the Irrawaddy. They have made frequent raids thither, but have always evacuated the country a few months later, and left it in the hands of native rulers.

In Lower Burma, at this period, a phoongee, or Buddhist monk, had been elected king; but after vainly endeavouring to restore order into his kingdom, he betook him to his yellow robes once more, and retired to the Shan States to count his beads.

He was succeeded by a turbulent villain, by name Bemya Dala, who seized the throne and proved to be too strong to dislodge. Like his predecessor the priest, he, too, was a Shan by birth. He aspired to restore the empire of Bureng Nyong.

He assembled an army and flotilla, advanced up the Irrawaddy and took possession of Ava, which was burnt to the ground. In his strategy in this campaign the king imitated his great predecessor, and it was equally successful. Placing his most trusted general, Talaban, in charge of the kingdom of Ava, Bemya Dala returned to Pegu.

1750-1800.—We have now reached a most inte-

resting epoch in Burmese history—the final subsidence of the Shan and Talaing kings of Pegu and the rise of the Alompras, of whom King Thebaw is a living representative.

Alompra, or Alaunghpra, although never as great a leader as Bureng Nyoung, exercised, perhaps, more influence over the Burmese people.

He was nothing to begin with, merely a hunter, or, even if this be romance, the governor, or *myouk* of a district. It was only after he had become a great king he discovered that he was of royal blood.

He rose to power out of the troubles of his country. After the departure from Ava of the King of Pegu and the greater part of his army, the country became restless and disturbed, and there was a general impatience to the rule of the Peguans. Great resistance was offered to the tax collectors, who had to be escorted by armed men for their protection. The leader in this movement was the head man of Mootshobo (modern Shewaybo), a town about twenty miles west of the Irrawaddy, at a point fifty miles above Ava, now the headquarters of a brigade of British troops. This man by his fearless advocacy of open resistance soon became a celebrity in his own district. It was not long before he made his power felt. With a band of chosen followers he surprised and completely destroyed a small detachment of Peguans sent to enforce the payment of taxes. This success was followed by another more marked, and a few weeks later he successfully resisted a Talaing army led by Talaban, the viceroy, in person.

His fame spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, and he soon found himself elevated from a humble myouk to the exalted estate of a national hero.

He was quite equal to the change in his circumstances. He announced himself to be of royal blood, heaven-born, and assumed all the airs of a monarch. Thousands flocked to his standards. He drove the Peguans from Ava, and proclaimed himself king.

He immediately commenced a campaign against the Shans, and succeeded in completely subjugating the Kings of Momein and Moyoung.

Meanwhile the Peguans were busy assembling a large army to reconquer Ava. He advanced to meet them, but was severely defeated, and Ava once more besieged.

His tactics at this crisis were certainly somewhat strange. He withdrew altogether from Ava, established himself at his native town of Mootshobo, and awaited the development of events.

A detachment was despatched up the Irrawaddy to attack him. This was the opportunity he sought. Collecting all his forces he fell on the Peguans while on the march through dense bush, and scarcely a man escaped. This success re-established his lost prestige, and he soon afterwards appeared at Sagaing at the head of a large army. The Peguans did not await to be regularly attacked. Finding themselves surrounded on all sides by enemies and with a stealthy and determined leader ready to take advantage of any little mishap, close upon them, they withdrew altogether

from the country and returned to Pegu. After a short rest Alompra resolved to lead an army down the Irrawaddy to relieve Prome, which was being besieged by the Peguans.

He took with him a small but enthusiastic force, and in his operations he displayed the same remarkable caution and cunning which had characterised his former campaigns. Having ascertained the point in the besieging lines where the enemy had accumulated their stores of arms and provisions, he resolved to make his attack here. He failed in his first onslaught, but a second attempt succeeded, and the Peguans, after several unsuccessful attempts to dislodge him, broke up and departed.

The glamour of his name filled the whole country, and men of all classes and tribes, thirsting for loot and adventure, flocked round him.

He now for the first time found himself in contact with Europeans—English, French, and Portuguese, who had established factories at Syriam and Cape Negrais. He was wise enough not to run his head against this unseen obstacle without first feeling his way.

A little observation taught him that the two first Powers were at issue in political matters. He accordingly made overtures to that which he understood to be the stronger, the English, and left the French out in the cold. Having established as he thought friendly relations with the *Kalas*, he returned to Mootshobo, which had now blossomed into a royal capital.

He soon found that the white merchants of the

Far West were slippery customers to deal with, for no sooner was his back turned than the two presumably hostile nations joined the Talaings in an attack on his post at Rangoon. But two attempts having failed, the idea was abandoned, and the English resolved to try diplomacy. A mission was accordingly despatched to Mootshobo to kiss the Golden Feet and ask for concessions.

The king received the envoys graciously, and gave the English permission to establish factories at Bassein and Syriam. But he resolved to pay off the Peguans for their share in the late affairs in very different coin.

He got together a force of 20,000 Shans, and with this army proceeded southward to the delta. He drove the Talaings from Syriam and boarded two French ships which were lying at anchor off the place. It transpired that these ships had been sent from Pondicherry to aid the Peguans, and the king, in a fit of passion, put both the captains and the head of the French factory to death. He next led his whole army against Pegu which he took possession of and almost totally destroyed.

The story of the capture and destruction of this city which had been the focus of Talaing power and wealth for twelve centuries, is thus told in Sir Arthur Phayre's work on Burmese history :—

“The rainy season having abated, the troops of his (the King of Pegu's) dreaded enemy began to swarm round his capital. Coming by thousands by land and water they appeared before the city about the middle of October. The Shan contingent, which



had marched down by Tounghoo, occupied Sittang by the end of September, and awaited further orders. The Talaings in the city made sorties and fought with the courage of men of spirit, who struggle for national independence in its last place of refuge. The out-works were all taken though with considerable loss to the assailants, and by the end of October the whole of Alompra's army, including the Shans, had closed round the devoted city. The King of Pegu had no resource left but to appeal to the mercy and religious sentiment of his enemy—an expedient of which several instances are mentioned in the histories of the wars of Burma.

The deeply revered Rahans, the brotherhood who devote their lives to the observance of the law of Buddha, headed by their venerable superior, appeared in the camp of the invader, and in the name of religion besought him to put an end to the war and to live as elder and younger brother with the King of Pegu. In other words, the kingdom was to be held as tributary to the King of Burma.

The chief Rahan in his address, with sincere or artful allusion to the conqueror as a destined Buddha, referred to the satisfaction he would feel in after ages, when that high and holy state had been attained in his last birth,\* and when he could look back with pure delight on a noble act of generosity and mercy which would give relief to millions of human beings. Alompra replied in terms which evaded the appeal to his clemency. In all ages, he said, with a ready assump-

\* The Buddhist believe in an infinite succession of existences.

tion of the exalted character he claimed, Bodhisatwas who reigned as kings had observed the duties and good works incumbent on rulers. He would be careful to follow their example ; to obey the dictates of his heart ; to secure the happiness of his subjects and of all sentient beings. The poor had nothing to fear from him. He would respect and uphold existing laws and customs, and so with respect and friendship he imparted this information to the venerable Rahan.

This reply having been reported to the king, Talaban and other Talaing officers represented that submission would be destruction. It was determined to defend the city to the last extremity. Alompra, to show to the whole country his determination to persevere, built a temporary palace with a lofty seven-storied spire, and, excepting in the capital, was supreme throughout the province. A line of works being drawn round the city, no supplies of food could enter, and all signs of resistance by the garrison had ceased.

The citizens were reduced by famine to the deepest misery. The king assembled his council. They recommended that he should offer his maiden daughter, Maikum, to the conqueror, and again appeal to his mercy. This princess had been betrothed to Talaban, and they were to be married whenever he succeeded in expelling the Burmese Army. In vain he now protested against the proposition of the council, which was supported by the king's brother, the Yuva Raja.

Overborne by this influence he determined to leave the city. With a devoted band of followers, the members of his family being mounted on elephants and

horses, he went forth by night from the eastern gate, and forcing his way through the besieging lines, made good his escape to Sittang. A wail of despair now arose among the citizens. The Talaing king forthwith wrote a humble letter to the conqueror, which was presented by the chief Rahan. He offered his daughter in marriage, that he might secure peace to his people, and prayed that he might be left as tributary in his kingdom. According to the Talaing chronicle this petition was granted, while the Burmese history records the verbal reply as merely expressing the desire of Alompra to promote the happiness of all beings. To a noble who accompanied the chief Rahan he gave two bunches of orchid flowers, saying enigmatically, one as an offering and one for adornment. The message being conveyed to Binya Dala, the trembling suppliant, one nosegay was offered at the great Pagoda ; the other was given to the princess, who placed it in her hair.

Without delay she set out for the camp of Alompra, borne in a palanquin and surrounded by a hundred maiden attendants.

The Yuva Raja, with many Talaing grandees, had preceded her, and they remained as hostages in the Burmese camp. The princess was received in open court, the conqueror sitting on his throne ; she knelt down and made obeisance, and was then conducted into the interior of the palace.

For several days hostilities were suspended. Festivals were held in the city and in the besieger's camp, all of both nations, except a few of the leading men,

believing that the war was ended. From the palace of Hansawadi came some princesses of the deposed royal family of Burma whom Alompra was anxious to gain. Some officers of the Gwé Shans and Burmese who had taken service with the Talaing king were surrendered, and at once put to death. It was next demanded that the king's brother, Binya Dala, his nephew Doabanya, and his son-in-law Soabya, should be given up. They knew the fate that awaited them and the demand was resisted. Alompra, who never intended to fulfil the hopes he had inspired, now no longer concealed his design. He had managed to introduce into the city a band of chosen soldiers, who remained hidden apart from each other, but ready on a given signal to attack the palace. They were discovered and put to death, and again hostilities were resumed. The Yuva Raja who had made himself acceptable to Alompra, appeared at one of the city gates, and called to his relations to come, as they had promised, to the Burmese camp. The famine in the city became more intense; quarrels arose among the royal family; and the wretched king sent secret proposals to surrender, asking only that his life should be spared. The Burmese king now made a night assault on one of the city gates. The defenders fled; the besiegers rushed in, the houses near the gate were set on fire, and amidst the terror and confusion no combined resistance was made. The city was given up to plunder, and the soldiers were allowed to keep as booty all they could lay hands on, except warlike stores, and the jewels, valuables, and equipage which

had been carried away from the palace at Ava. The conquered king was taken prisoner in the palace. Most of the leading men, even Rahans, according to the Talaing chronicle, were put to death ; and thousands of men, women, and children were sold as slaves."

I have detailed the above account of the treatment of his greatest opponent by the first of the Alompras, in order to draw a contrast between this event and the treatment of the last of that dynasty by the British on the eventful day of their fall, the 29th of November, 1885.

Having almost razed the Talaing capital to the ground, Alompra proceeded south, founded Rangoon,\* and from thence returned to Mootshobo. He was accompanied thither by one Ensign Lester, who eventually succeeded in appeasing his wrath against the British for the part they had played in the Talaing rebellion.

He agreed to cede Cape Negrais to the English, as also ground for a factory at Bassein.

His next act was to lead a force into the Munnipur country. So great was the terror which his name inspired that he met with no opposition ; and having established his authority in these districts, he returned to his capital. The news which reached him there was scarcely reassuring, for he learnt that his so lately prostrate foes, the Talaings, with that most wonderful

\* Alompra founded Rangoon to commemorate his victory over the Peguans. The name is made up of *Yan*, quarrel, *Koné*, done, finished.

persistence and restlessness which has always been a leading feature in the Indo-Chinese character, were once more in arms.

• He learnt, furthermore, that the rising had been instigated by the English merchants. He set out post haste for the south, and from all he saw and heard this report proved to be true. Having satisfied himself that the merchants of Negrais had been selling arms and ammunition to the rebels, he attacked the settlement and slaughtered almost all the Europeans.

Strangely enough, John Company took no official notice of this brutal act. Indeed, about this time all his resources were required to govern his rapidly-increasing Indian subjects.

The presence of Alompra and his terrible vengeance on the perfidious *Kalas* had a quieting effect on the rebels, and things soon settled down.

He determined to employ many of these last to fight on his side, a plan which has so often proved to be the most effective means of quelling troubles.

Like so many of his predecessors Alompra determined to invade Siam. The fact that all previous expeditions to this country had failed had no deterrent effect upon him. He was running over with the confidence of success. Assembling a large army on the banks of the Sittang, he marched across country to Martaban. Here he unseated the Talaing governor. He next marched southwards along the coast of Tavoy and Megui until he reached the shores of the Gulf of Siam. Here, not many miles from the capital, he encountered and routed the Siamese Army, and follow-

ing up his victory, endeavoured to seize the city. But he found it secure against a *coup de main*, and he was obliged to invest it. Finding great difficulties in the way of provisions, and knowing that the country would soon be under water, he employed all his diplomatic skill to induce the inhabitants to surrender, but the fate of the Peguans was well known in Siam, and all his overtures were refused.

While still here he was seized with the malady which eventually caused his death, and feeling unable to carry on the command he ordered a retreat, during which he died. His body was preserved and conveyed to Mootshobo, where it was burnt with the funeral rites of a Chekravarti or Universal King.

Alompra is described by Symes\* as above the middle size, strong, and well proportioned: his features were coarse, his complexion dark, and his countenance saturnine. Prone to anger, in revenge implacable, in punishing faults remorseless. "But," says this author, "be the private character of Alompra what it may, his heroic actions give him an indisputable claim to no mean rank among the most distinguished personages in the page of history. His firmness emancipated a whole nation from servitude; and inspired by his bravery the oppressed, in their turn, subdued their oppressors. Like the deliverer of Sweden with his gallant band of Dalecarlians, he fought for that which experience tells us rouses the human breast above every other stimulant to deeds of daring valour. Private injuries, personal animosities, commercial

\* Embassy to Ava in 1795.

emulation, wars of regal policy, are petty provocations compared to that which animates the resentment of a people whose liberties are assailed, whose right to govern themselves is wrested from them, and who are forced to bend beneath the tyranny of a foreign yoke."

Alompra was succeeded by his eldest son, a man of no weight in himself, and troubles at once began to accumulate. A rebellious general seized Ava and a rising also took place in Tounghoo. Having lived to see these disturbances quelled and to receive a mission from the Company at Mootshobo, this prince died and was succeeded by his brother Hsengbynseng, who had made himself a name for ability and daring. To improve on this he at once turned his attention to Siam. He marched an army thither in two columns and invested Bangkok. No attempt was made to assault the city, and all through the rainy season the Burmese stuck to their lines of circumvallation.

At length the Siamese surrendered: the king was killed and his family led into captivity. But no sooner had this task been accomplished after so many failures than the Burmese Army had to be withdrawn to meet a Chinese invasion in the north. Meanwhile Ava had been rebuilt, and the king shifted his court to this ancient seat of Burmese Government.

The quarrel with China rose out of petty frontier squabbles and extended over four years. The Burmese in all these wars acquitted themselves with such bravery and fought with such persistence that the Chinese, notwithstanding their vast resources, finally



abandoned the idea of conquering the country, and peace was restored.

In 1766 the first invasion came by way of Momein and overran the country about Mogoung and Bamc. The Shan Swabwa of Mogoung was at this time hostile to the Burmese, and gave the invaders every assistance.

The army from Ava having defeated the Chinese in the vicinity of Bamo and cleared the country south of their presence, advanced northwards against Mogoung.

Some severe fighting took place in the defiles of the Upper Irrawaddy: the Burmese were always victorious and the Chinese retired north-east thoroughly discomfited.

A second Chinese column had advanced from Thenni on Ava, but this was met by a second Burmese force, defeated and forced to beat a hasty retreat.

Elated by these successes, the King of Ava proclaimed himself to be sovereign prince of the Shan States which formerly had belonged to Burma, but to which the Chinese had for the last century laid claim. As might be expected, this act brought a hornet's nest about his ears.

In the following year the Chinese organised a still more formidable expedition for the subjugation of Burma. At the commencement of the dry season three columns advanced on the Irrawaddy Valley: one by Thenni on Ava, one by the valley of the Tapeng on Bamo, and a third by Shweti on Momeit.

The Burmese main column from Ava encountered

the central Chinese Army in the mountainous country east of the capital, defeated it and pursued the fugitives into south-west Yunan. On the news of this disaster becoming known the two northern columns retreated, and the Burmese were once more masters of the situation.

The Peking authorities, incensed at these successive reverses, directed that in the following year another expedition should start from Yunan against the Burmese. To meet this inroad the King of Ava despatched three armies northwards.

The Chinese had occupied certain towns on the river's bank, but from these were driven, one by one, and the Burmese, following up their successes, contrived to place themselves across their enemy's line of retreat. Finding fortune once more against them and despairing of success in battle, the Chinese generals sued for peace, promising to evacuate the country for good and all.

The Burmese General-in-Chief, an old man, who had long maintained the honour of his country's arms, decided to accept the terms offered without reference to the capital. The Chinese withdrew and the Burmese armies were broken up. When the news of these occurrences reached Hsengbynseng he was furious. Unlike Bureng or Alompra, he never led armies in the field himself. He kept clear of the dangers and discomforts of war, but he took all the glory of success. That his enemies should have been allowed to escape maddened him. He gave orders that the wives of the consenting generals should be

made to sit at the palace gates for three days and three nights, balancing on their heads the presents which their husbands had sent over as the spoils of war. When the brave chiefs who had cast off three successive invasions arrived at Ava, he refused to receive them and gave orders that they should be degraded.

His next act was to send an expedition into Arakan, but nothing much came out of this. After two years of wanderings in the mountain districts of that country the expedition returned. It is worthy of note that although Arakan seems to have resisted for centuries the encroachments of the Burmese on the one hand and the Bengalis on the other, and to have withstood the intrigues of Portuguese and Dutch adventurers, we have had little or no trouble with this province since its annexation to our Eastern Empire in 1826. The people of Arakan to-day are a harmless quiet race, and although curiously fanatical and bitter in their blood feuds towards each other, they are very easy to govern.

A second expedition to Siam ended in utter failure, and is said to have been the cause of the king's death. His son succeeded, but after a reign of six days he was murdered, and Bodoapra, a brother of the great Alompra, seized the throne.

He proved himself to be an inhuman tyrant. Many plots were made against his life and many persons were put to death, amongst others the renowned old chief, Maha Thihathura, who had defeated the Chinese so often, but failed in Siam.

This king shifted the seat of government from Ava to Amarapoora, a site a few miles higher up the

river on the same bank. The change took place in 1783. His troops overran and occupied the capital and chief towns of Arakan. His ambition now soared to the subjugation of Siam, and he resolved to lead an army thither in person.

Being of too arrogant and impatient a disposition to wait whilst preparations were being made for the departure of this army, the various columns started without either provisions or transport of any kind. It was represented to him at the outset that unless a halt were made to set things right all would end in disaster. But he would brook no delay and insisted on pushing on. The Siamese, avoiding a battle, harassed his march, failure and misfortune dogged his steps, and he barely succeeded in escaping alive. Most of his army perished in the mountains and swamps.

Bodoapra's next *rôle* was to devote himself to religion. He commenced building the Mengoon Pagoda, on the opposite bank of the great river to the capital. When partially finished, this gigantic pile of solid masonry was shattered by an earthquake, but is to-day one of the wonders of the world.

The bell which was cast for the Pagoda weighs 80 tons, and is the largest in the world after that of Moscow Cathedral.

It was during this king's reign that the Burmese first collided with the British in the direction of the Bengal frontier. The former crossed into British territory in pursuit of some rebels who had taken refuge there. The fugitives were given up and the Burmese retired.

The Company despatched two officers to Amara-poorra to negotiate a treaty.

The envoys, Captains Symes and Cox, were treated with contumely at the Burmese Court and nothing was accomplished. But this was not all.

1800–1850.—Bodoapra despatched a letter to the Governor-General of India, to the effect that if he allowed rebels from Arakan to enter Bengal he would declare war against the English. Symes was once more sent to Amarapoorra to ask the meaning of this threat. The king, in a fit of dread, denied that he had ordered any such letter to be written; but the envoy was treated with disrespect.

After much trouble he consented to a Resident being appointed to Rangoon. He had scarcely assumed office when the king endeavoured to seize his person as a hostage for our good behaviour on the Chittagong frontier.

For the remaining years of his life Bodoapra was constantly mixed up with the British in frontier squabbles. He invaded Assam and Munipoor and annexed the Rubo Valley. In 1819 he died at Amara-poorra, having reigned thirty-seven years. He was Alompra's fourth brother, and although he possessed much of his great brother's cunning and resolution, he had none of his bravery or military skill.

The next Alompra was Hpagyïdoá, grandson of the deceased monarch, who determined, from the first, to pick up a quarrel with the British. He accordingly sent his armies westward, occupying Assam, Kachar, and Munipoor.

These aggressions ended in a declaration of war by the Governor-General, to the undisguised satisfaction of the Burmese Court, where it was now decreed that India should be added to the Empire of the Alompras. This was in 1824.

The British plan of operations was the following : To drive the Burmese from Assam, Kachar and Muni-poor, but not to advance further eastward. The main attack was to be directed against Rangoon and thence up the Irrawaddy in small steamers and boats to the capital.

The army apportioned for this task consisted of 11,500 officers and men under the command of General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., to be supplied from both the Bengal and Madras Presidencies.

*Bengal Division.* — 13th and 38th Regiments  
(British).

20th Bengal N.I.

Two companies of artillery.

*Madras Division.* — 41st and 89th Regiments,  
Madras Fusiliers (British).

7th Battalion N.I.

Four companies artillery.

One company pioneers.

On May 11th the fleet conveying this army, having rendezvoused at the mouth of the river, proceeded up the stream and appeared before Rangoon. The troops immediately landed, and the Burmese, completely taken by surprise, fled after a feeble resistance, and the town and environs were occupied by our men. The Great Pagoda, a structure of extraordinary natural strength,

was garrisoned and strengthened and converted into a sort of base for future operations.

The time of year chosen for the outset of this expedition was the most detestable imaginable, being a few days previous to the rains, which from the end of May till the middle of October are unceasing, converting the country into a gigantic swamp. But we must presume that the Government had good reason for precipitating matters, otherwise their action is inconceivable.

The general, although much cramped for want of transport, moved out in different directions to reconnoitre. These observations showed that considerable numbers of the enemy were about, but there were no signs of any regular army. A stockade was discovered six miles north of Great Pagoda, and this was carried at the point of the bayonet with a loss of 10 killed and 27 wounded. The enemy had 300 killed. This was the first fight of the war and, as Phayre remarks, "the Burmese had never before encountered European troops, and the fierce dash of these white strangers into their stockade astonished them."

A month passed away before arrangements could be made for any regular advance. The fierce heat of the sun had given place to a perfect deluge of rain.

The country was converted into a swamp, and the tracks—for there were no roads—were little better than quagmires.

The Burmese naturally attributing our inaction to weakness, were daily increasing in numbers. They established a large stockade at Remendine, a few miles

from Rangoon, and now a railway station. A small detachment was sent against them and the attack failed.

As so often happens, after a slight reverse a force far too large for the job was next despatched. Big guns were dragged through the mud, and when the column arrived near the position, it was dark. The troops sat down in the mud and water on this night, and when the morning came, it was found that the enemy had decamped.

Fever and dysentery now broke out amongst our men and hundreds perished. The tinned provisions all went bad and became absolutely poisonous.

Meanwhile the British troops in the north pushed the Burmese from Assam, Kachar, and Munipoor, and, having accomplished their task, went into cantonments on the frontiers.

July came on, the rain fell incessantly day and night, and the sickness increased.

On the 8th of this month Sir A. Campbell attacked and carried the main Burmese position near Rangoon, and for a time things looked like settling down. Fresh stores and troops had arrived, and some sort of transport had been organised. Expeditions sailed up the Sittang and Salween Rivers, and Pegu and Martaban were occupied. But the Burmese forces still blocked the great river. They had taken up a position at Danabyu, occupying both banks, and were strongly entrenched.

A column was sent to attack the main stockade, but it failed in its object and fell back on Rangoon in



disorder. On a second and stronger column arriving to retrieve this reverse, the stockades, as usual, were found to have been abandoned. But the enemy were by no means dispirited; on the contrary, the well-known chief Maha Bundula had just arrived from the north, and things began to take a more lively turn. The rains had ceased and, although the heat was terrific, there was some chance of getting about. Report estimated the number under his command at 60,000, but probably a third of that number was nearer the mark.

He immediately assumed the offensive and proceeded to attack Rangoon.

There were at this time at headquarters only 1,300 British and 2,000 native troops available to take the field. These were cantoned about the Great Pagoda, which had been converted into an impregnable fortress and guns mounted thereon.

On the 6th December the British general, having allowed the Burmese to approach to within striking distance in the open space between the Pagoda and the Royal Lakes, attacked and completely routed them, pursuing the fugitives for some miles. This reverse broke for a time, if not permanently, the belief of the Burmese in Bundula's invincible power, and after making two or three futile attempts to rally his men, the chief fell back on his old position at Donabyu, where he constructed works which would have done credit to a skilled engineer. This may be said to have closed the first Irrawaddy campaign.

The difficulties to be faced having been found

much greater than was anticipated by the Government, a second expedition had been organised to try an advance into Burma by way of Arakan. For this purpose a force of 11,000 men, under General Morrison, assembled at Chittagong. The majority of this force were conveyed in ships down the coast and a portion marched. Arakan was occupied and the Aeng Pass which leads across the hills into the Irrawaddy Valley fell into our hands, but nothing further seems to have been accomplished.

There was a great want of transport, and the troops fell sick in immense numbers.

To return once more to the operations of Sir A. Campbell's force. This commander, having received additions in men and supplies, was ready to take the offensive in February, 1825. His plan was to advance partly by boats and partly by land on Prome. The Boat Column, under Colonel Cotton, consisted of 1,800 British and 1,000 native infantry, with some heavy guns. The Land Column was composed of 1,300 British and 1,000 native infantry, with a battery of horse artillery, the general himself being in command. Cotton arrived first at Donabyu, landed, attacked Bundula's entrenchments, was heavily repulsed and re-embarked his men.

On this news reaching Sir A. Campbell, he hastened to reinforce Colonel Cotton, and arrangements were made to attack the place next morning. A heavy cannonade was kept up for several hours during the night. The morning broke and the entrenchments were empty—not a Burman was to be seen anywhere.

News soon reached the general that this skedaddle was due to the death of the great Bundula, who had been killed by a round shot during the bombardment.

The death of Bundula was a terrible blow to the king and his court, and the news plunged the capital in excitement and confusion. The king reproached his ministers with having egged him on to the ruin of the country, and mutual reproaches ensued. The most influential person at Amarapoora at this period was the king's principal wife, Manoo, who completely ruled the roost at the palace. She it was who had instigated the aggressive policy against the English, which the king himself only undertook with strong misgivings.

She was believed to possess magic power, and was known as "the Sorceress." She was a woman of low origin, and her brother was a retailer of fish at the bazaar. She would not hear of peace, and still foretold victory over the *Kalas*.

At this crisis a man known as the Pagan Mooneyi volunteered to repel the invasion, and he was appointed General-in-Chief. But he soon made it evident that butchery was more in his line than soldiering. He proposed to begin the campaign by murdering all the Europeans who remained in the country after the declaration of war. At first this proposal was agreed to, but on second thoughts the barbarous court dreaded the responsibility and the projector himself fell a victim. He was trampled to death by elephants. The king's half-brother was now appointed Commander-in-Chief, and some attempt was made to restore order into the army.

On the 4th April Sir A. Campbell reached Prome, which he found almost deserted by the inhabitants, and he here went into cantonments for several months, during the rains.

In the following September the King of Burma sent down a deputation to ascertain on what terms the English would agree to quit the country.

The terms offered were, the concession of Arakan, Tavoy, and Mergui, and the payment of two millions of pounds sterling.

After much beating about the bush the king declared that yielding territory and paying money were contrary to Burmese custom ; and hostilities were renewed. Large bodies of the enemy had during the lengthened armistice been assembling about Prome. Reconnaissances showed that they held a strong position astride the road northwards. It was arranged, if possible, to surround them by a night march, three columns converging. But the difficulties were too great for such an undertaking. The columns lost their way in the jungle and only one arrived at day-break. The commander, Colonel McDowell, was killed in an unsuccessful attack, and all the columns had to retrace their steps, pursued and harassed by the enemy. This was a bad commencement to what may be called the third campaign of this war. But the brave old chief was in no way cast down.

Assembling a force of 2,500 British and 1,300 native troops, he personally led them against the main Burmese position, ten miles north of Prome. The gun-boats co-operated from the river. A fierce fight

took place—the men carrying stockade after stockade with the bayonet, and completely defeating the enemy with a loss of between 2,000 and 3,000 men. Our own loss was 12 officers and 160 men killed and wounded.

This victory was a deathblow to Burmese prestige. There was no getting them to stand afterwards, and a few days later the general reached Meaday—nearly opposite our frontier station of Thayetmyo—unopposed. Whilst here negotiations for peace were once more resumed. The parties met in a boat anchored in mid-stream ; but after much parleying nothing was done, and the British once more advanced. They encountered no opposition until Pagan was reached, where a very feeble attempt was made to make a stand, and the army and flotilla pushed on towards the capital.

After all their terrible trials and troubles they were not destined to consummate their victories by that highest aim of conquering armies—the occupation of the enemy's capital. At Yandabo, a small village about forty miles south of Amarapoora, they were met by a deputation from the king. A treaty of peace was signed between the “Two Great Empires,” of which the following are the provisions. The cession to the Company of the provinces of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim, and the non-interference on the part of the king in the affairs of Jyntia, Cachar, and Munipoor. No indemnity was demanded.

Thus ended the first of our wars with the sturdy little red men who are still a thorn in our sides.

The struggle with the British had thus resulted in the territories of the Burmese king being considerably contracted and much of the seaboard gone. This war over, it was the object of the Government of India to induce the king to sign some sort of treaty of commerce by which it would be possible to open up the country for trade. But this, owing to the feeling of bitterness that prevailed against the British, turned out to be a stiff job. For scarcely had our armies turned their backs upon the capital than, as Yule remarks, "the arrogance of the nation had, with marvellous elasticity, recovered all its old exorbitance."

Mr. Crawford repaired to Amarapoora to try to negotiate a treaty, but he failed utterly to accomplish anything. Four years later, in 1830, the king agreed to receive a Resident at his capital, and a Burmese mission was sent to Calcutta to interview the Governor-General.

Major Burney, who undertook to fill this difficult and dangerous post, was a man of high character and great personal influence. He made a good impression on the king, but he failed to appease the queen, who made no attempt to hide her implacable hatred to all foreigners, and especially the English. As the king got more feeble the influence of this woman at court increased tenfold. The ministers, one and all, trembled at her nod. Finding his health failing him, he was only too glad to hand over the affairs of state to more energetic minds, and the queen and her party had it all their own way.

Observing this state of things, the king's brother,

Tharrawaddy, an able and ambitious prince, resolved to attempt to assert his authority before it was too late.

He suddenly fled from the capital, turned up at Mootshobo, the home of the Alompras, from which standpoint he sent out emissaries to set the whole country "a bubbling and a boiling." And the country bubbled and boiled over. The Burmese, credulous and excitement-loving, were then, as, now, always ripe for a row, especially if there was likely to be any loot going. Tharrawaddy, although by no means a bold leader of men, was completely successful. He occupied the capital in triumph, and seated himself on the throne of the Alompras with all the becoming pomp and circumstance of the rightful heir.

He began by murdering and expelling his enemies. The old queen was inflexible and defiant. Having on one occasion defied the king in open durbar, the latter in a passion ordered her to be led forth to execution.

She died with heroic courage after the manner of royal victims. One executioner, seizing her by the long hair, bent back her head until the bone of the throat protruded, when a second, by a violent blow from a thick bamboo fractured the distended part, causing instant death. Not a drop of blood must be spilt.

This woman, who according to Burmese accounts, had something more than human ken, was the grandmother of Soopyah Lat, Theebaw's wife, about whom the reader will learn more anon.

Colonel Burney stuck to his post at the Burmese

capital for seven years, but being at the end of that time broken in health and thoroughly weary of battling against the lying and chicanery of the court officials, he abandoned it and returned to India.

Having been for some time unrepresented, the Governor-General, in 1838, despatched Colonel Benson thither as Resident. But he was treated with utter scorn by the menials about the palace, and never once received by the king. A six months' stay was enough for his patience. Captain McLeod, however, his assistant, still stayed on, and remained at Amara-poor for three years. Little notice was taken of him, and his efforts to make the name of an Englishman respected were not very successful. After his departure the king rejoiced at having freed his presence of the hated *Kalas*.

As he grew older and more feeble his eccentricity increased. He seems to have conceived a great admiration for the "Great Kala Queen," Queen Victoria. When he heard of the war in Scindh he expressed himself willing to send troops to Her Majesty's assistance, adding "I want nothing from Queen Victoria in return but a small feather or some such trifle." In 1845 he became quite insane and had to be put in confinement, his son the Pagan prince ruling in his stead.

The latter began his reign by murdering all his rivals in thought, word, or deed. The Alompra dynasty was well represented by this brigand. His favourite pursuits were cock-fighting, ram-fighting, wrestling, gambling, and debauchery.



During his reign the *Hlwot Dau*, or State Council, was a band of dacoits who plundered and murdered the people. The whole country became plunged into a state of anarchy, and people flocked into Arakan and Tenasserim for protection.

The Talaing population of Lower Burma, who always detested the rule of the Upper Burmans, lost no opportunity of stirring up strife between the latter and the English about Rangoon, which even in those days had become a considerable trading town. The more the merchants protested against the insolence and obstructiveness of the Burmese officials, the more offensive the latter became. At length, in the autumn of 1851, it was decided to send a second expedition to Burma with the avowed object of humbling the Burmese king and court, and dictating terms at the capital.

This expedition was undertaken with much unwillingness, and after all peaceful means of bringing the Burmese court to their senses had failed. The difficulties encountered in the late war and the fearful loss of life from sickness were a sure test of the troubles that were before us ; but they would have to be faced or we must make up our minds to abandon our conquests in Indo-China. This was out of the question. Arakan and Tenasserim had made rapid strides under our administration, and the people in these provinces were happy and contented. Nor would any power have induced them to hand themselves over to be chained and bound by their former oppressors.

The circumstances which led to the actual outbreak of hostilities may thus be narrated. Towards the end

of the year 1851 the Burmese Governor of Rangoon, on the evidence of a native pilot, seized the captain of a British merchantman and put him in the stocks, until he should pay a fine of 900 rupees. Other acts of oppression and insolence followed, and the merchants of Rangoon and Moulmein applied to the Governor-General for protection. This resulted in Commodore Lambert repairing to Rangoon with some British ships of war to settle matters and restore confidence. The Commodore demanded the removal of the Governor of Rangoon, and the payment of 9,000 rupees to the captain for the indignity he had been subjected to. The Burmese court, momentarily scared, agreed to these terms—the Governor was relieved and the money paid up.

On the arrival of the new governor, the Commodore requested him to receive a deputation of British officers. He expressed a willingness to do so ; but on the officers' repairing to his house at the appointed hour, they were treated with the utmost insolence by his servants, who said the governor was asleep and could not receive them. The fiery old sailor was scarcely the man to stand this kind of treatment. He replied by seizing the king's ships then in the Rangoon river and declaring the rivers Rangoon, Bassein, and Salween to be in a state of blockade. Having taken on board the *Hermes* those of the inhabitants of Rangoon who sought the protection of the British flag, the Commodore set sail with his prize. The Burmese opened fire from their stockades and the ships replied, quickly deciding the unequal contest.

The flotilla proceeded to Calcutta, where Commodore Lambert reported to Lord Dalhousie all that had occurred. The Governor-General approved of the strong measures adopted : but still hoping to be able to avoid war, endeavoured to negotiate. This was all to no effect. War was inevitable, and on the 12th February, 1852, it was decided to send a second expedition to Burma.

As there does not appear to have been any particular reason for any precipitate action, it is not easy to understand, after the terrible experiences of the first expedition, why the month of April should have been chosen for the commencement of military operations. But it is possible things had gone so far that there was no means of retiring without sacrificing the lives and property of the Europeans at the trading ports.

Be that as it may, the beginning of April, 1852, witnessed the arrival of the following ships of war in the Rangoon waters. The *Feroze*, *Mozuffer*, *Zenobia*, *Sesostris*, *Berenice*, *Medusa*, *Rockcliffe*, *Sir Thomas Gresham*, *Hempsyche*, and *Atalanta*, had come from Madras ; while from Calcutta had come the *Hermes*, *Tenasserim*, *Enterprise*, *Fire Queen*, *Proserpine*, *Salamander*, and *Phlegethon*. The new steamer *Rattler* had also arrived from Penang with Admiral Austen on board. The land force which had arrived on board the steamers was under command of Major-General Godwin, C.B., and consisted of the following corps : 18th Royal Irish, 51st K.O.L.I., and 80th Regiments, the 9th and 35th M.N.I., 40th B.N.I., six companies of European artillery, three from Madras

and three from Bengal. Total force of Europeans 2,725, Native Infantry 3,400, to which force if we add the sailors who were available for land service, 8,000 men at least could be assembled for the attack on Rangoon.

Before commencing operations against Rangoon, General Godwin decided to strike a decisive blow against the town of Martaban, a large place immediately opposite the British town of Moulmein, the capital of the Tenasserim Provinces. Accordingly, he set out thither with a wing of the 80th Regiment, which was to be reinforced by the garrison of Moulmein—a wing of the 18th R.I.—for the attack on the town. This, the first engagement with the enemy, was a complete success. As soon as the ships arrived opposite the stockades, a heavy cannonade was opened on them : a storming party was formed under command of Colonel Reignolds, 18th R.I. ; they dashed boldly at the place and in a few minutes Martaban was in our hands. The object of this attack was to overawe the Burmese in the vicinity of Moulmein in order to ward off an anticipated attack on that place.

Martaban was garrisoned by a detachment of Native Infantry and the rest returned to Rangoon.

At about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 11th April the British ships of war opened fire on Rangoon on the left bank and Dalla on the right. The enemy replied at first with some vigour and not altogether without accuracy, but their fire soon died away into desultory shots here and there. By 11 o'clock the action was at an end, the fire from the defences was

silenced and the stockade and a great part of the town in flames.

On the Dalla side, however, the Burmese seemed still to stick to their works. A storming party of sailors was formed and despatched thither in boats. Running their boats upon the low mud banks, the "Jacks" quickly formed a somewhat rough array and rushed forward, with a shout, cutlass in hand. Their grim visages evidently sufficed for the enemy, for they abandoned their works and fled without striking a blow. Thus successfully were the first day's operations of the second Burmese war brought to a close.

Shortly after daybreak on the following morning, the ships once more opened fire on the town and the troops landed in two brigades thus : *First Brigade*, 18th R.I. (right) ; 51st K.O.L.I. (left) ; 40th B.N.I. (centre). The Sappers and Miners were placed in rear of the left flank. *Second Brigade*, 9th M.N.I. (right) ; 80th (centre) ; 35th M.N.I. (left).

As soon as all was ready the general put the First Brigade in motion. He proposed to advance by a circuitous route to the east side of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, the colossal mass of solid masonry which formed our principal *réduit* in the first war, and which was now defended by triple stockades, ramparts and ditches.

The Second Brigade was to be in support. It soon became evident that the enemy had anticipated an advance in this direction and were prepared to oppose it. Four companies of the K.O.L.I. covered the advance, accompanied by four guns, Bengal

Artillery. These had not proceeded far when, on reaching the summit of a small knoll, they found themselves in the presence of the enemy. Some guns opened fire on them from the front, while from the jungle on each flank they were peppered by skirmishers. It was soon discovered that the artillery fire proceeded from a work directly on the line of advance, in which, to all appearance, the enemy were strongly posted. It consisted of a white building containing a colossal figure of Gautama. This was surrounded by a wall ten feet high, outside of which was a stockade of equal size, the interval being filled up with earth.

Major Reid, Bengal Artillery, opened fire on this position at a range of eight hundred yards with two guns and was quickly supported by Major Oakes, Madras Artillery, with two more : but sufficient ammunition had not come up, and they were obliged to cease firing before much damage had been done to the works. This was a misfortune, for General Godwin knew well from his experience of the last war in Burma that any hesitation would give the enemy confidence and boldness.

A storming party was formed of the 51st and Sappers and Miners, and Major Fraser, Chief Engineer, closely followed by Captain Rundall, R.E., led the way.

The party advanced slowly, encumbered by five heavy scaling-ladders, the Burmese meanwhile keeping up a brisk fire on them from the wood.

As the enemy grew bolder it was found necessary to ground ladders, unsling muskets and drive them

off. This done they again advanced. Under a heavy fire from the work the party coolly reared their ladders and scaled the ramparts in gallant style. There was no opportunity of using the bayonet, for the enemy evacuated the work and scampered off into the jungle. Our loss was considerable. Lieutenant Donaldson and Captain Blundal were mortally wounded. But the sun did more damage than the bullets of the enemy. Major Griffiths, Brigade-Major and Major Oakes, R.A., both died of its effects on this occasion, the latter almost instantaneously; and Colonel Foorde, Brigadier Warren and Colonel St. Maur were all rendered temporarily *hors de combat*.\*

On this evening the troops encamped on the open plain. They had yet to perform the crowning feat of the campaign, the capture of the Great Pagoda.

The day following the occupation of the "white house stockade" was devoted to preparations for the main attack on the morrow. The troops, notwithstanding the heat, worked with an excellent spirit. Four 8-inch howitzers were dragged up from the shipping, a labour of no small magnitude considering the nature of the ground.

At daybreak the entire force advanced in two brigades. The 80th, with four guns of Montgomery's battery, formed the advance, and with little difficulty reached the desired position, viz., a rising ground about 1,000 yards south-east of the Pagoda defences.

\* Forage-caps with white covers were then the Indian head-dress of our army.

The troops following formed up under fire at a range of 700 yards. The fire from the Pagoda now commenced with no small vigour; missiles of various shapes and sizes dropping upon the columns under the hill.

Lieutenant Laurie, from whose work on the war this little sketch is principally compiled, thus describes the Shwe Dagon as it was at this time. "The hill upon which the temple stands is divided into three terraces, each defended by a brick and mud rampart. There are four flights of steps up the centre of each terrace, three of which are covered over: the east, the south, and the west. Their heavy guns were on the upper terrace, their light ones on the second and third.

"The rampart of the upper terrace being mostly of bricks and mortar is of superior description."

At this strong work then the guns continued to fire for a couple of hours with little apparent effect, and it soon became clear that the place could only be taken by assault.

The untrained defenders of the ramparts cared little for the shot and shell, which seldom took effect, but they had a wholesome dread of cold steel. The assault thus took place. A wing of the 80th under Major Lockhart, two companies of the 18th under Lieutenant Hewitt, and two companies 40th Bengal N.I., formed the storming party. Colonel Coote, 18th R.I., commanded.

Over an open space of 800 yards this force advanced exposed to the fire of the work. Arrived at the foot of the stone steps already referred to, the



leading company, lead on by its officers, made a rush up, followed closely by the whole attacking force.

This was the signal for a wild panic on the part of the garrison, the chiefs leading in a headlong stampede northwards into the shelter of the dense bush.

Our loss in the two days' fighting was 2 officers and 15 men killed, and 14 officers and 118 men wounded.

General Godwin now determined to give the troops a short rest, and efforts were made to prepare for the rainy season which was at hand. In this work they were assisted by the natives, who soon flocked back to the town, and expressed the usual friendliness for their conquerors which the weak so often express for the strong.

After a lapse of nearly a month an expedition was despatched in search of the ex-Governor of Rangoon, who had fled northwards with his beaten troops. It consisted of 500 men of the 18th R.I. and the same number of 35th M.N.I. under Colonel Abthorpe. On the 9th of May the expedition returned to Rangoon not having found any enemy.

On the 12th the force at Rangoon was enriched by the addition of the 67th Bengal N.I. from Arakan.

The rains now set in and with them fever and dysentery. The temporary hospitals were thronged with sick, and medical officers were at a premium.

It was determined, however, to send a force to attack Bassein. The latter was the most important place in South Arakan, and at this time was strongly fortified and defended by a force of 7,000 men.

General Godwin conducted this expedition in person. It consisted of 800 men in all, who were embarked on the *Sesostris*, *Mozuffer*, *Tenasserim*, and *Pluto*.

• The ships anchored off Nigrais Island on the 17th, and on the following morning steamed up the Bassein river. At 4 p.m. the flotilla arrived opposite the town. The defences were about one mile in length, a strongly built mud wall occupying the left of the line, while in the centre was a huge pagoda well armed with guns and *jingals*."

The Burmese allowed the troops to land without the slightest molestation, evidently fearing to bring upon themselves the fire of the ships. General Godwin in his despatch thus describes the attack which followed. "The contest that stamped the operations of this remarkable day with a brilliant conclusion was the attack on the mud fort, most scientifically built and of great extent, which could only have been constructed under a despotism that commanded the labour of its subjects in the short time they had been about it. It was not entirely completed in its details within. The storming party under Major Errington proceeded to the left of the Burmese work accompanied by Lieutenant Rice of H.M. frigate *Fox* and Lieutenant Ford of the Madras Sappers, came upon the mud fort fully garrisoned and well armed. The attack was most determined as was the defence obstinate. It was bravely stormed, but with the consequence of Major Errington and several officers and men being severely wounded. The whole affair was over at a little after 6 o'clock."

In the meanwhile a party of sailors had carried a stockade on the opposite bank of the river, taking six guns. Bassein was garrisoned by two companies of the 51st and 300 of the 9th M.N.I. The remainder of the force returned to Rangoon.

About this time news arrived at headquarters of an attack on Martaban. It was organised by a robber chief named Moungh-shewe-loung, and was so vigorously conducted that had not reinforcements arrived from Rangoon, it must have succeeded. But the appearance of fresh troops was decisive and the dacoit chief decamped with his followers.

Meanwhile a rebellion had broken out at Pegu. The Talaing portion of the troops had mutinied and taken possession of the city, but were shortly afterwards driven out, and order, to a certain extent, restored. The British authorities at Rangoon resolved to take advantage of this mishap in order to get hold of the city. Major Cotton was sent thither with orders to side with the Talaings and drive out the king's troops. He arrived to find all confusion, and had great difficulty in finding out which was which. He succeeded, however, after some sharp fighting in occupying the place and demolishing its defences, after which he returned to Rangoon.

In the beginning of July an expedition proceeded up the Irrawaddy to Prome, at this time a large and populous city. Captain Tarleton, R.N., conducted this exploit, and finding little signs of prepared defence he landed and took possession almost unopposed, capturing twenty guns, many of them of large calibre,

and many war boats, barges, &c. This operation may be said to have brought to a close the first phase of the second Burmese War.

. On the 27th July Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, arrived in Rangoon. He held a levee, issued a flattering proclamation to the troops, and started for Calcutta on the 1st of August.

Inaction followed, and fever and dysentery had it all their own way.

At length the decision of Government reached the general, who was informed that he was going to be strongly reinforced and to advance, if necessary, to the Burmese capital.

The new organisation included three brigades of Bengal and three of Madras troops. The Bengal Division was commanded by Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B., the brigades being under Colonels Reignolds, Dickinson, and Huyshe.

Brigadier Steel, C.B., commanded the Madras troops, the brigades being under Colonels Elliot, McNeil, and Forde. The latter commanded also the whole of the artillery.

General Godwin retained the supreme command. The whole of the above forces had not arrived when, on the 6th September, general orders announced that active operations were to be recommenced without delay.

On the 27th one entire brigade left Rangoon for Prome, whither the general himself repaired. As the flotilla approached, the enemy's guns opened fire, but none of the missiles reached the ships. The troops

landed unopposed, and on the following day nothing was to be seen of the foe.

On the 9th November the second brigade arrived to reinforce the army at Prome, and the command devolved upon Sir John Cheape, General Godwin returning to Rangoon, whence he set out for Pegu with a strong party of all arms.

The difficulties to be encountered were considerable. The ships could not approach the place, and there was apparently no reliable information as to a suitable landing place, the result being that the pioneers had to cut a path through some miles of dense bush. Arrived at the city, however, only a feeble opposition was met with. It was garrisoned by 200 Madras Fusiliers and the same number of Native Infantry, the remainder returning to Rangoon.

No sooner had the main body departed than the little garrison found themselves surrounded by thousands of their persistent little enemies, who gave them no rest day or night for some weeks. Two gun-boats were sent from Rangoon to their assistance, but these were attacked by the enemy on the river and forced to return.

General Godwin himself finally had to lead a force of 1,300 men to relieve the place. The enemy retired at his approach and took up a position in an open plain a few miles north of the city. But from this they also fell back, and after a few days' indefinite wandering in the jungle, the force returned to Pegu which was strengthened and strongly garrisoned.

The Governor-General's proclamation now arrived annexing Pegu to our Eastern Empire.

The troops of the King of Burma who still remained in the province were to be "driven out forthwith."

Let us now turn our attention to Sir John Cheape's army at Prome.

Save the temporary excitement of having to repel a rather well-organised and formidable night attack made by the enemy, this force had been condemned to weary inaction. No forward movement was ordered, and little appears to have been known of the enemy's whereabouts or intentions.

Early in January, 1853, a land column started from Martaban under Brigadier-General Steel, C.B., with the object of penetrating the close country in the Sittang Valley and advancing as far as Tounghoo. It was thus composed : one troop Ramghur Native Cavalry, 450 Bengal and 150 Madras Fusiliers, 400 of the 10th B.N.I., 400 5th M.N.I., one company Madras Artillery, one company Sappers and Miners.

This force left Martaban on the 14th January and took the road northward to Beling. After a thirty-four days' march Tounghoo was reached. No opposition of any kind was met with, the people everywhere expressing their pleasure at being delivered from the yoke of the hated Upper Burmans.

Our troops now met with one of those nasty disasters which are almost inseparable from our little wars.

A notorious dacoit leader, Myat Toon, having established himself at a point about forty-five miles northwest of Rangoon, refused to submit and was said to have a considerable following.

An expedition composed of 185 sailors, 62 marines, 300 67th B.N.I. with two three-pounder guns, under command of Captain Lock, C.B., Royal Navy, started from Rangoon to dislodge him. "

Arrived at a place on the river about twenty-five miles from the chief's stronghold, the party landed and started off with apparently undue precipitation.

For some miles they trailed along in single file, and while in this formation the head of the column found themselves in contact with the enemy who had constructed a strong breastwork across the road. All attempt to get into attacking formation failed. Captains Lock and Price were killed ; the guns were abandoned, and the party fell back in confusion, losing in their retreat to the river over a hundred men killed and wounded.

On this news reaching Prome, Sir John Cheape himself resolved to conduct an expedition against Myat Toon. Considering the circumstances of the case, it was altogether too strong and unwieldy for the work to be done, being composed of over a thousand men of the 80th, 51st, 18th Regiments, 67th B.N.I., Sikhs, and a few Irregular Horse.

As the advance of Lock's force had been reckless and imprudent this one overdid the caution plan. The heat was severe and cholera broke out on the march. At one period the civil officer stated to the general that he had no means of finding the correct road and suggested to return. But this was out of the question ; and after a wearisome day's march, the party found themselves on the identical spot from which they had started many hours before.

At length by sheer perseverance the chief's stronghold was reached. It consisted of a long, low breastwork on the far side of a dry river bed.

. The advanced party, 80th and Sikhs, tried to form up for attack, but the thickness of the jungle prevented this and much confusion ensued. The 18th R.I. were the next on the ground, but their numbers only tended to increase the general turmoil. Two guns and some rocket tubes had been dragged to the front and opened fire at a range of twenty-five yards. Meanwhile, the fire from the breastwork was most lively. Missiles of various shapes and sizes were flying through the air. Rough iron and leaden balls, pieces of glass, necks of bottles, great lumps of granite, and even brass images were falling like hail amongst the men. Finding that there was a path which led round the position, the general directed a party to endeavour to penetrate the work in this direction. It was gallantly led and succeeded in ousting the enemy, not, however, until several of our men had fallen. The dacoits disappeared into the jungle and were seen no more.\*

The gang seemed to have dispersed after this.

Our loss was most severe, 140 killed and wounded, including several officers, and 100 died of cholera.

The attack on Myat Toon may be said to have been the last episode of the second Burmese War ; although civil officers had much trouble to contend

\* I think I am correct in saying that Lord Wolseley received his *baptême de feu* at this action, and that he led the storming party and was severely wounded.



against for some years in hunting down restless bands of dacoits.

The province of Pegu was now fairly conquered, and the newly-elected King of Ava was solicitous of peace.

After much lying and chicanery on the part of the Burmese officials our terms were agreed to, and the Governor-General once more arrived in the country, sailed up the Irrawaddy, and himself fixed the position of the two white pillars which were henceforward to separate the Empires of the "Great King" and the "Great Queen."

The result of the many reverses which the Burmese met with in Lower Burma was, as might be expected, a row at the capital. The Mendoon Prince was suspected of treason and attempts were made to lay hands on him. But he contrived to effect his escape, fled to Mootshobo, and set up an independent court and government at the ancient seat of Alompra. The Burmese, who apart from their contempt for a defeated ruler dearly love a change, gladly hailed the new comer.

He was invited to march on Amarapoora, where it was said he would be enthusiastically received. He did so, and, after some delay outside the capital, the gates were thrown open and he was proclaimed king.

He proved himself to be a wise and moderate ruler, was altogether averse to the war policy, and at once made known his desire to cultivate friendly relations with the British. With this object in view early in 1854 he despatched a mission to Calcutta to interview

the Governor-General. It was well received, and his Excellency promised the envoys that a return mission should wait on His Majesty at Amarapoora in the following year.

Accordingly, on the 1st August, 1855, Major Phayre, at the head of several officers and men of science, started from Rangoon for the capital of Upper Burma. Captain Henry Yule, R.E., accompanied the envoy as secretary.

About the end of the month the mission reached Amarapoora, and was well received.

Although the ostensible object of the mission was complimentary, the envoy had in view the negociation of a commercial treaty which should remove obnoxious impediments to free trade up and down the great river. But here he found himself at issue with the other party. The king wanted nothing of the sort; and while exhibiting a marked desire to avoid heat or unpleasantness in his communications with the English envoy, he showed more inclination to "fence and skirmish" with the subject than to come to any conclusion.

The question of importation of arms being mooted, the king expressed his abhorrence of the idea of at any time attempting to use arms against the British or others from whom he had obtained them.

Mr. Oldham, the geologist to the expedition, expressed his desire to visit the Ruby Mines, but the monarch did not rise to the idea, remarking that during the rainy season to go thither would be certain death. Yule's graphic account of the court formalities undergone during the reception of the mission by this king

in 1855, certainly stands out in strange contrast to the scene I witnessed myself on the 30th of November, 1885, thirty years later.

“At last the king’s approach was announced by music, sounding, as it appeared, from some inner court of the palace. A body of musketeers entered from the verandah in rear of the throne, and, passing forward, took their places between the pillars on each side of the centre aisle, kneeling down with their muskets (double-barrelled pieces) between their knees, and their hands clasped before them in an attitude of prayer. As the last man entered the golden lattice doors behind the throne rolled back into the wall, and the king was seen mounting a stair leading from the chamber behind to the summit of the throne. He ascended slowly, using his golden-sheathed sword as a staff to assist his steps. This is, doubtless, in some degree a royal etiquette, but Camaretta asserted that the jewelled coat worn by His Majesty actually weighed nearly one hundred pounds. The queen followed close upon her husband. The king, after standing for a second or two, slightly dusting the *gudhi* with a small *chowree*, which he carried in his left hand, took his seat on the left side of the throne, resting his elbow on the velvet cushion which was placed for that purpose, covered with a white napkin. The queen seated herself on the king’s right, and a little in rear, assisting to hand in the golden spittoon and other appendages of a Burmese dignitary which were presented by female attendants from behind. Between their Majesties, in front of the throne, stood a large golden figure of the Sacred Henza on a pedestal.

“ After the queen had finally taken her seat, she fanned herself diligently for a few moments, and then fanned her husband, whilst one of the girls from behind brought her a lighted cheroot which was immediately placed between her royal lips.

“ From the distance at which we viewed the king, he seemed a somewhat portly man, having features of a much more refined character than are common among his subjects, exhibiting, indeed, the national physiognomy, but much subdued. His expression was good and intelligent—his hands delicately and finely formed. His dress was a sort of long tunic or surcoat of a light-coloured silk apparently, but so thickly set with jewels that the fundamental material was scarcely discernible. His cap or crown was a round tiara of similar material; in shape like an Indian morion, rising to a peak, crowned with a spike-like ornament several inches high, and having flaps or wings rising over each ear. Over the forehead was a gold plate or frontlet. This crown is called *Thara-poo*. The queen was not seen to such advantage. This was partly owing to the character of her head-dress, which would have been a very trying one to any lady. It was a perfectly close cap covering ears and hair entirely, and rising above into a conical crest, strongly resembling in form a rhinoceros horn, with the point curved forward into a volute. Close lappets fell along the cheeks. The rest of Her Majesty's dress had rather an Elizabethan character. The sleeves and skirt appeared to be formed in successive overlapping scalloped lappets, and the throat was surrounded by a high collar also

scalloped and vandyked, and descending to the waist. At the waist she wore a stomacher or breastplate of large gems. Both cap and robe were covered and stiffened with diamonds, or what appeared to be such. The queen is her husband's half sister, as has always been the custom in the royal families of the Burmese race.

“One of the young girls who appeared at the lattice door in rear of the throne, dressed somewhat after the fashion of the queen, was, we understood, the king's daughter. Another pretty little girl, with white flowers in her hair, who peeped in occasionally to get a glimpse of the *kalas*, was said to be a child of the heir-apparent residing in the palace.

“When the king had fairly entered we all took off our hats, which hitherto we had kept on, and, at the same time, the whole of the native assembly bowed their faces to the ground and crossed their hands in front of them. The two rows of little princes who lay in file before us doubled over one another like fallen books on a shelf, and the two Atwen Woons who sat near us grovelled forward in this frog-like attitude to a point about half-way to the throne, as if to establish a ‘repeating station’ between the king and us. Some eight or ten Brahmins in white stoles and white mitres encircled with gold leaves, then entered the screened recesses or pews near the throne and commenced a choral chant in the Sanscrit language. This was succeeded by a similar chant in Burmese, sung by one of the Brahmins also. Transcripts of these hymns were afterwards furnished to the envoy by one of the Brah-

mins. The Sanscrit is merely a string of names of the chief Hindo gods, sages, and sacred creatures, whose benediction is invoked on the king's head. The concluding stanza ascribes its composition to Kalidasa.

*May the dangers and enmity which arise from the ten points be calmed and subdued, may the affliction of disease never attach itself to thee, and in accordance with the blessing declared in the sacred Pali ; may'st thou be continually victorious ! May thy life be prolonged for more than a hundred years, and may thy glory continue until the end of the world ; may'st thou enjoy whatever is propitious, and may all evil be far from thee, O ! King !*

## II.

*The glorious reputation diffuses itself like the scent of the sandal wood and exceeds the refulgence of the moon ! Lord of the celestial elephant ! of the excellent White Elephant ! Master of the celestial weapon ! Lord of Life and Great Chief of Righteousness ! Lineal descendant of the Mahadha-mayadza, like unto the Kings of the universe who governed the four great islands of the solar system and were versed in charms and spells of fourteen descriptions, may thy glory be prolonged and thy life be extended to more than a hundred years ! May'st thou enjoy whatever is propitious, and may all evil be far from thee, O ! King !*

## III.

*Great Chief of Righteousness, whose fame spread like the fragrance of sandal wood and exceeds the glorious light of the moon, in whom is concentrated all glory and honour, who with Her Majesty the Queen, the lineal descendant of anointed Kings, happily governest all. May thy rule extend not only to the Great Southern Island (the Earth), which is tens of thousands of miles in extent, but to all the four grand and five hundred smaller islands ; may it equal the stability of the mountains of Yoh-gan-toh, Myen-mo, and Haimagaree, and until the end of the world may thou and thy descendants continue in unbroken line unto the royal son and royal grandson, that thy glory may endure for countless ages ; and may thy royal life be prolonged for more than a hundred years, O ! King !*

## IV.

*May our King be continually victorious. When the Divine Buddha ascended the golden throne, all created beings inhabiting millions of worlds became his subjects, and he overcame all enemies ; so may kings by hundreds of thousands and tens of thousands come with offerings of celestial weapons, white elephants, flying horses, virgins and precious stones of divers sorts, and do homage to the golden feet, which resemble the gems of the lotus, O ! King !*

When the chants were concluded our friend the Tara-Thooghi, or chief justice, who was close on our left, read from a parabeik (or black note-book) an address to the king stating that the offerings which His Majesty proposed making to certain pagodas at the capital were ready, and one of the officials uttered, " Let them be dedicated." The music was then renewed.

The chant of the Brahmins, accompanied by the ceremony of A-beit-thiet (literally a pouring out of water on a solemn occasion) may be considered as specially preliminary to this religious act of dedicating gifts to the pagodas, and the whole of a solemn inauguration of the proceedings of a royal sitting.

The Governor-General's letter was then taken from its cover and read aloud by a Than-du-gan, or " Receiver of the Royal Voice." The lists of presents to the king and queen were then read by the same official. The cases had been arranged along the other colonnade. The railway model which Mr. (now Sir) Macdonald Stephenson had put at the disposal of the envoy for presentation, was the only one of the presents which was actually exhibited in the hall. It excited a good deal of interest among the Burmese.

All these readings were intoned in a high recitative, strongly resembling that used in the English cathedral service, and the long-drawn *Phyá-á-á-á!* (my Lord), which terminated each reading added to the resemblance, as it came in exactly like the Amen of the liturgy.

Three questions which custom prescribes were then put to the envoy, as if from the king. His Majesty, however, did not move his lips, though it was thought that he intimated his will by an inclination of the head. The questions were actually put by the *Atwen Woon*s who had taken up their position half way to the throne.

*Atwen Woon.* "Is the English ruler well?"

*Envoy.* "The English ruler is well." The *Thandau-gan* in a loud voice: "By reason of your Majesty's great glory and excellence the English ruler is well, and therefore, with obeisance, I represent the same to your Majesty."

*Atwen Woon.* "How long is it since you left the English country?"

*Envoy.* "It is now fifty-five days since we left Bengal and have arrived and lived happily at the royal city."

*Than-dan-gan.* "By reason of your Majesty's great glory and excellence, it is fifty-five days since the envoy left the English country, and he has happily arrived at the Golden Feet, therefore with obeisance."

*Atwen Woon.* "Are the rain and air propitious so that the people live in happiness and ease?"



*Envoy.* "The seasons are favourable, and the people live in happiness."

Presents were then bestowed on all the officers of the mission. Major Phayre received a gold cup embossed with zodiacal signs, a fine ruby, a tsalwé of nine cords, and a handsome *putso*; other officers a plain gold cup, ring, and *putso*, or ring and *putso* only.

The king then rose to depart, the queen helping him to rise and then using his sword to help herself up. They passed through the gilded lattice; the music played again, the doors rolled out from the wall, and we were told that we might retire.

On another occasion the king remarked to the envoy, "I believe your English kings have existed for two hundred years, or more, have they not?"

*Envoy.* "The English nation, your Majesty, have had kings to reign over them for fourteen or fifteen hundred years."

*K.* "My ancestors have come in regular descent from the Maha-tha-Mada" (the first king who ever reigned on earth).

The envoy here said to one of the Atwen Woons, "Which of the royal cities did the Maha-tha-mada build?"

The Atwen Woon stared at him without replying, but a Woon Donk said, "Oh! that king reigned in Myit-tsye-ma-detha (the middle land, India)."

*K.* "Our race once reigned in all the countries you hold. Now the *Kalas* have come up close to us."

On various other occasions the king received the

envoy, always courteously, but he continued to fence with the treaty question. Every subject was grateful to him but this one. He resolutely resisted all attempts to induce him to put his hand to paper, always remarking, "When the two great nations are on such friendly terms, what is the use of a treaty?"

So the mission of 1855 departed from Amarapoora, having spent some six weeks at the capital, during which time a fund of information about the country and people was accumulated which is truly amazing.

For the next few years affairs in Upper Burma jogged on quietly enough, and peace was taken advantage of to shift the royal city from Amarapoora to Mandalay.

His Majesty proved himself to be the most rational and enlightened ruler who had hitherto held sway on the banks of the Irrawaddy. The "fad" of his life was the recovery of his lost child—the fair province of Pegu—and to the day of his death he never altogether abandoned hope that he would one day be able to call Rangoon his own city.

In 1862 Colonel Phayre once more proceeded to the Burmese Court. His object was very much the same as on the previous occasion, viz., the conclusion of a commercial treaty. "The main object in view," writes General Fytche, "was the abolition or reduction of the frontier duties for the purpose of opening up a new trade with Upper Burma, and, if possible, with the countries beyond. The British Government agreed to abolish the duties on their side within a year. In return the Burmese Government agreed to do the

same, if so inclined, within two, three, or four years. This was a one-sided arrangement, but it was considered necessary to educate the Burmese in the principles of free trade."

Accordingly the treaty of 1862 was concluded on this basis. British subjects were at liberty to trade in any portion of His Majesty's dominions, and a representative of the British Government was to reside at Mandalay to smooth down all difficulties and explain any misunderstandings which might arise.

The working of this treaty soon turned out to be as bad as possible; indeed, it can scarcely be said to have worked at all. The British Government abolished the duties on their side; the Burmese took no action in the matter whatever. "The king," says Fytche, "had been glad to dismiss the English envoy in the hope of some day abolishing the duties. In like manner he dismissed the English representative at Mandalay. He stated evasively that he was only waiting for further reports, and that he would take an early opportunity of settling the question. In this way three or four years slipped by, and in 1866 the frontier duties were still levied by the Burmese authorities.

The British merchants at Rangoon were exasperated at this delay to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and continued to urge the Government to enforce their fulfilment.

Furthermore, every article of produce in Upper Burma was a royal monopoly. No Burmese subject could sell grain, timber, cutch, or other commodities,

except through royal brokers, or by the express permission of the local authorities.

Other difficulties also arose which might have led to serious consequences. The king appeared well disposed towards the English, but his officials were still imbued with the old arrogance in their dealings towards foreigners, which two disastrous wars had failed to efface. Two British officers who had been sent into the interior to explore the upper source of the Salween river were stopped and sent back by the Burmese authorities, in direct violation of the treaty. Obstacles were thrown in the way of any attempt to explore the upper valley of the Irrawaddy in the direction of Bamo. Above all, an English gentleman was severely beaten in the streets of Mandalay for refusing to sit or kneel, whilst a Burmese official of inferior rank was passing by. But all these complications were allowed to be explained away.

In 1866 another mission was determined upon, but before it could start, an insurrection broke out in Upper Burma which plunged all things in confusion. The king had favoured his brother, the Kanoung-Meng, who had assisted to place him on the throne, at the expense of his sons. He had appointed his brother to be Jeng-shé-Meng, or Crown Prince, and had placed his sons entirely under the latter's control. The sons complained of the harsh treatment of their uncle, and two of them formed a conspiracy against him.

The king had left the palace in the city, and had gone to a summer palace some miles away. On the 2nd August, 1866, when the Woongees and other

officials, with the Crown Prince as president, were assembled, holding council in the temporary *Hlwot-Dan*, situated close to the palace gates, the two princes suddenly rushed in with about thirty armed followers. The Crown Prince and one of the ministers were killed on the spot, and the assembly were seized with panic. The murderers penetrated into the palace enclosure. The king, warned of their approach, managed to make his escape and fled to the city, whence he was pursued by the rebel princes. Here, however, his guards rallied, and the king was protected against the violence of the rebels. Captain (now Colonel Sir Edward Sladen) was present in the Summer Palace when the outbreak occurred, and only just escaped with his life to the British Residency. There he found a crowd of terrified Europeans and natives assembled to seek protection under the British flag. Sladen remained at Mandalay for seven days after this event, but finding all things in a state of confusion and anarchy, and having been informed by the king that he would not hold himself responsible for the lives and property of the Europeans, he embarked with the latter on board a Flotilla Company's steamer and left for Rangoon. The insurrection was suppressed, but the rebel princes, having seized one of the king's steamers, escaped into British territory."

The old king once more found himself master of the situation ; and, although at the end of the year Colonel Phayre proceeded to Mandalay with the object of inducing His Majesty to put his name to a treaty, he failed altogether in his mission.

In 1867 Colonel Fytche, who had succeeded Colonel Phayre as Chief Commissioner of Burma, proceeded to the Burmese court with the same object in view. Something was really accomplished on this occasion; at least, certain promises were made and a treaty signed.

This treaty provided for the utmost freedom as regards commercial intercourse between the people of the two countries; for the permanent residence of a political agent at the Court of Mandalay, who was to be the medium of all official communications between the two Governments; and for the establishment of a court in which the political agent had the power to adjudicate in all cases in which British subjects were alone concerned, and in which a Burman official of high rank was to sit on the same bench for the adjudication of all civil cases in which Burmese and British subjects were concerned.

Moreover, under this treaty the king gave up his more oppressive monopolies, and measures were taken for the opening of the old trade route with Western China, by which in former days a considerable trade had been carried on.

His Majesty seems to have made an excellent impression on the envoy, for he tells us in "Burma: Past and Present" that "the king is doubtless one of the most enlightened monarchs who has ever sat on the Burmese throne, and his reign has not been disgraced, like his predecessors, by wanton atrocities and wild excesses. He is polished in his manner, has considerable knowledge of the affairs of State,

and the history and statistics of his own and other countries."

Only a few years after this event the author of this work found himself quartered with his regiment, the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, in the land whose history and traditions he has endeavoured to relate in the foregoing pages.

Having served for two years at Rangoon, we were moved in wings to the two frontier stations of Thayetmyo, on the Irrawaddy, and Tounghoo, on the Sittang. To be at the former lively spot was my fate, and finding little to occupy myself with during the rainy season of 1871, I started with a brother officer, long since gone to his rest, poor fellow! on a little trip to the Upper Irrawaddy. Our object was to spy out the nakedness of the land, so that in case of war, which was then talked of as a not very far-off certainty, we might be authorities on the subject.

Yule had described every shed as far as Amarapoora, but Mandalay was not built when he wrote in 1855, and he had not visited the Upper Irrawaddy at all. As far as I knew then, and know still, no plan of Mandalay had been made according to our scales, and no report, in a military sense, been written on the river between the capital and Bamo. So I resolved to make one. We also had, I might add, dim visions of ruby rings which it was said "the Great King" occasionally bestowed on itinerant subjects of the "Great Queen of the West." But our skipper on the river steamer informed us that our chance of seeing the mighty monarch was not particularly good, as he was

getting old and crotchety, and seldom saw any visitors.

Our journey up the great river at this season of the year (August) was uneventful, and as pleasant as the weather would permit. When it was not raining the sun shone forth with terrific force, and seemed to penetrate the zinc roof of the little steamer. The river was in full flood, and at certain points where the land was low-lying the water assumed the appearance of a vast lake, the channel becoming altogether indistinguishable.

We only steamed by day, anchoring at night, and in an eight or nine days' journey reached the capital. After some fuss and delay we were allowed to land—the bumptious officials being very curious to know who we were and what we wanted—and proceeded to the Residency. I might add that we had been joined at Thayetmyo by a naval officer, who was also bent on saluting the “Golden Feet.” The Resident, who was as cautious as he was silent, asked us to dinner, but regretted that it was not in his power to get us an audience of the king, nor an order to visit the palace. This looked blue for my little project; but I was quite determined to get into the palace, and if I couldn't enter by the great gate, I resolved to use a golden key and get passed in by some side passage.

This last most undesirable method was, however, rendered unnecessary through the instrumentality of Dr. Marks, of the S.P.G. mission, whom I learnt was an unofficial power at the Burmese capital. I here met this truly wonderful man for the first time. He



said he would see us through if we would trust him. My companion, however, refused to go without official authority, and so the Indian navy officer and myself put ourselves under the wing of the good missionary, and trudged off under a flaming sun for the palace.

The broad streets were then, as they were when I next entered the city with General Prendergast's army last year, the receptacles of unutterable filth, and dogs and pigs jostled one another over the carrion. I thought I should have been very ill from the abominable smells, but the doctor only laughed, and said he was quite accustomed to that sort of thing. He seemed to know everyone, Burmese officials and all, and acknowledged their salutes with the dignity befitting a man who was the friend and adviser of their omnipotent master. We entered through many gates, and passed the lazy guards as they squatted and smoked, their rusty muskets deposited somewhere hard by. At length we found ourselves in a sort of gilded audience chamber, adjoining the royal apartments.

Here we waited and waited and waited. Numerous little Burmans came in to have a stare at the *Kalas*. The doctor said they were all the king's sons (he claimed to be the father of seventy sons, which from a Burmese point of view was a fine feather in his cap), and we were introduced and shook hands with them all. Theebaw, he has since informed me, was one. Many of the princes were at this time attending Dr. Marks' school, but they were all removed later on by the king, in order to punish the former for refusing to bring one of His Majesty's sons to England, with

the avowed object of asking the "Great Queen" to return the province of Pegu.

At length we were told definitely that His Majesty was too ill to see us, so there was nothing left but to submit. But I had the satisfaction of thoroughly exploring the palace, and poking my nose into all the gun sheds and armouries in the place.

After a terrible hard day of it I got back to the house at which we were spending the night, pretty well played out. The next morning we set out city-wards, and, as on the day previous, I was once more "the chiel" taking notes of all I saw. My prismatic compass, which the Burmese regarded with profound suspicion, was not much required, as the whole city is built square, the walls running due north and south, east and west. We climbed to the top of Mandalay hill, situated outside the north-east angle of the city. It was then, as now, thickly wooded, and crowned by many picturesque temples. From this eminence the whole country for many miles is spread out like a panorama under the eye of the observer; the mighty river, with all its windings, and arms, and creeks; the rugged cone-shaped hills away to the west; the clear, hard-cut line of the Shan mountains due east; the vast expanse of alluvial flats, now one great lake, which stretch for miles northward, and southward, and eastward; the square city below, with its interminable suburbs, its broad and lofty ramparts, adorned at short intervals with finely-carved steeples, its broad esplanade, and magnificent moat, struck me at the time as being a sight well worth going so far to see.

Our next expedition was to visit the Mengoon Pagoda, which, it will be remembered, was commenced by one of the Alompra kings and never completed. It certainly is a gigantic mass of solid masonry, and the bell is one of the wonders of the world.

It was now time for us to take our departure northwards. We transferred ourselves to a steamer of smaller draft but with powerful engines, and prepared to negotiate the defiles of the Upper Irrawaddy.

Our journey to Bamo, a distance of about 200 miles, was accomplished with only one or two mishaps in the way of sandbank delays, in about a week. The scenery throughout was interesting, and in the second or middle defile, grand and imposing, precipitous rocks towering overhead clothed in dense bush.

We carried on small trading transactions at villages on the way up, and the inhabitants gave one the impression of being at peace with all mankind. Most of the trade was done by Chinamen, who in their busy activity were a marked contrast to the lazy and listless natives. The Bamo of 1871 was exactly, I should say, to a single hut the Bamo of Christmas 1885, when it was to be my fate to visit it again under such changed conditions. There was one element wanting, however, on my second visit, and in that, it may be said to our discredit, we had retrogressed, viz., the existence of British influence in the person of a political agent.\* In those former days we lunched with our representative at his residence some little distance from the town, and heard the news of his doings with

\* Captain (now Colonel) Spearman.



GREAT BILL AND RUINS AT MENGON.



the wild tribes in this remote region ; but in these later days the residency was a ruin, nothing being left to mark the spot but charred posts ; while the garden and compound so neat then was now overgrown with jungle shrubs.

But the British influence, which was buried with our last political agent,\* was not to remain long in the grave. It has risen again, and now Bamo is a commodious little military cantonment with fine barracks built of best teak.

The only episode which at present occurs to me connected with my first journey to Bamo, was a slight uproar consequent on the truly British conduct of the engineer of our little steamer.

This gentleman, a gigantic Scot, having thoroughly explored the town and its defences, was anxious to take with him some memento of his visit. Considering that he had a perfect right to anything he saw, he did not take into consideration the dignity of the Burmese soldier, and attempted to possess himself of a sword belonging to one of the guards at the gate of the stockade. The result was a row. Our friend was seen strolling leisurely towards the steamer with the sword or *dah* in his hand, followed by a great crowd, some armed, howling and gesticulating no end. We enquired the cause, and the Celt became his own accuser. “ A jist wanted to git a guid dah,” he said, “ so A went into the gaird-room awa’ the itther side o’ the toun, and, says I, ‘ one o’ ye soldiers gie me a dah,’ and they would na, so A took one. The blaggards

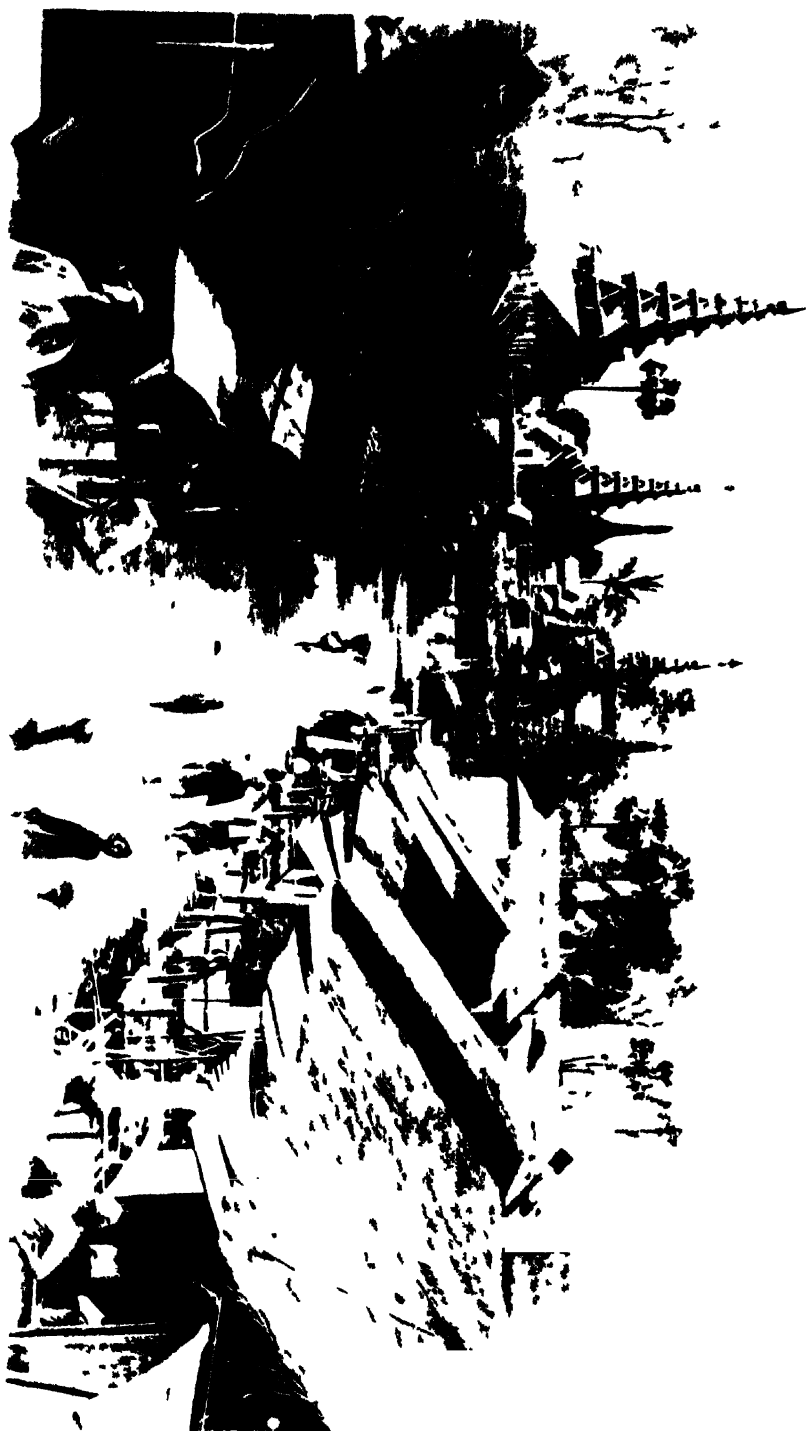
\* Mr. Cooper, who was murdered by one of his own guard.

then attempted to lay hands on me, and A jist sent them flying and walked off with the dah." The skipper suggested that a very good way out of the difficulty would be to give a couple of rupees to the individual who professed to be the Bo, or officer. This was done with wonderful effect, and the soldiers of Alompra strutted off apparently quite pleased with the result of their protest.

After a few days' stay at Bamo, we returned to Mandalay, thence to Thayetmyo. I got a slight fever, and no wonder, for the heat on board the steamer was a caution; but on the whole enjoyed the trip immensely, and had compiled the wherewithal for an ample report which afterwards appeared in the journals of the United Service Institutions of England and India.

At this period I may say safely that there was no outward or visible sign of impending complications with Upper Burma. The merchants of Rangoon were most prosperous, and the rule of the Mendoon prince was acknowledged to be an improvement on that of any of his predecessors. But even at this period among the Burmans in Upper Burma, the Shans and other bordering tribes, the "Coming of the Great Queen" with huge armies was regarded as an inevitable event in the not very far distant future.

The common impression of those who saw the most of the people of Upper Burma at this time was that our advent would be hailed with delight by all but *the official classes, and especially by those who had* had an opportunity of visiting those districts which were under British rule.







Such was the state of Burma in 1872 when I took my departure for Madras, thence to England, never dreaming for an instant that there was the remotest chance of my ever setting foot on her shores again.

Events at the Mandalay Court from the time above referred-to to the late outbreak of hostilities, indicated a general tendency towards eventual complications.

As the memory of her past misfortunes faded and became more remote the exorbitance of the palace officials expanded.

In 1875 frontier disturbances brought us to the eve of war with Upper Burma, and this was followed by a rebellion which was not suppressed without considerable bloodshed at the capital.

Being quartered at Aldershot at the time, I was invited to lecture on the subject of Burma at the United Service Institution, Whitehall Yard. Several of the leading papers commented on my remarks, one which has been lately the most vehement advocate of annexation, stating that they regretted to hear a British officer advocate coercive measures against a weak State because it chose to be a drag on the progress of our Eastern trading undertakings.

But this difficulty was also tided over, and affairs jogged along somehow till 1878, when the old king breathed his last breath.

During his dying moments speculation was rife as to who would be his successor. The officials at the palace were quivering with excitement, and rival

candidates were actively engaged in pushing forward their own claims.

At this game of brag a woman won. The rightful heir was the Myoungan Prince, but there were influences at work to prevent his election.

For some years past the leading spirit, for evil it was said, in the palace was Sinbyumaryin, a daughter of the celebrated Queen Manoo, who ruled the destinies of Burma during the last days of Pagidau, and who, it will be remembered, was executed by Tharrawaddy. She was now old in age, but young in the spirit of intrigue.

She had no male issue, but two daughters, the elder of whom she resolved to make Queen of Burma.

For years the old king had hated this woman, and seldom saw her ; but he was perfectly sensible of her power at court. He was aware that she had given her daughter Soopyah Lat in marriage to one of his sons, Theebaw, and he also felt convinced that she intended, if possible, pushing her son-in-law forward as his successor. He particularly disliked Theebaw, whom he suspected of not being his son at all,\* but he knew that all the priestly influence was on his side. In his dying moments, he naturally fell under priestly influence, while the queen mother worked heaven and earth to organise a party of action. She secured the adhesion of the prime minister and

\* Theebaw was christened by his brothers the "Phoonghee Prince," as court gossip stated that his father was a Buddhist priest.

several of the most influential men about the palace, and gave out publicly that if she gained the day no mercy would be shown to her opponents.

The king, in his last breath, nominated Theebaw as his successor, and the latter was proclaimed with becoming pomp "The King of Kings." His two elder brothers, expecting to be murdered, fled to the British Residency for protection, and were given passage to Rangoon.

Now followed a manifesto to the effect that the new king was to govern by means of a council, that all monopolies were to be abolished, and that henceforward peace and prosperity were to reign undisturbed from the British frontier to Bamo.

It had been quite an established custom for Burmese kings, having established themselves on the throne, to render themselves secure thereon by ridding themselves of all probable rivals. Theebaw, egged on by his wife and mother-in-law, was not going to depart from this time-honoured custom. He accordingly ordered, or permitted to be enacted, a brutal massacre of his blood relations—eighty-six of whom were put to death under circumstances of fearful barbarity. Mr. Shaw, the Resident, protested against this brutality ; but he was not listened to, being only feebly supported by his own Government.

The British lion on the other side of the frontier growled savagely and lashed his tail, the bristles standing like bayonets on his back ; but his master held on to his chain saying, "Not yet, great heart. not yet!"

The storm blew over; his rivals were under the sod, and Theebaw, the last of the Alompras, sat firm upon his throne. The queen mother's influence was now all-in-all at Mandalay, and ministers trembled at her nod. The king lived almost entirely in the interior of his palace among women, and did not exercise much influence outside its limits.

There is little doubt that war was only avoided this year by the heavy calls on our military forces necessitated by the Zulu and Afghan Wars. It is remarkably fortunate that we never entered upon a war with Burma at this particular time, as it would probably have resulted in a puppet being set up at Mandalay, and the country being allowed once more to drift into anarchy.

But we certainly ought to have strengthened the Resident's hands, sent him a suitable escort, and taken up a firm though not necessarily hostile attitude. Nothing of the sort was done. The Burmese question was allowed to slide. Isandula horrified the Empire; and the pessimists prophesied immediate war with Russia as the outcome of the Afghan campaigns. All this news reached Mandalay, and the disintegration of the Empire of the Great Queen was talked of at the palace as a coming event. So the officials became proportionally bumptious and arrogant.

Poor Shaw died at his post, and Colonel Horace Browne, who was regarded as the ablest and most resolute officer in the commission, was despatched to the Burmese capital. But he would not brook the treatment he received, and his stay was very short.

Mr. St. Barbe,\* a young Bengal civilian of considerable talent and great personal attractions, was next deputed to Mandalay. He, too, found himself in a false position. Not only was he insulted daily, but his life was in imminent danger every time he quitted the Residency.

The Europeans took fright, and many natives left the city. The Resident next received orders to depart, and the Residency was abolished at the Burmese capital. The political agency at Bamo had previously ceased to exist. This was in 1880; and no sooner had the abominable incubus of British influence vanished altogether from Upper Burma, than another horrible massacre occurred at Mandalay. The object of the crime seems to have been to appease the offended *nats* and stave off an epidemic of small-pox. Five hundred victims were secured amidst a general stampede from the city, the greater portion of whom were sacrificed to the offended gods.

In the spring, one of the exiled princes made his way into Upper Burma from Calcutta and endeavoured to assemble a following; but nothing came of this attempt to oust Theebaw.

In the following year domestic troubles overtook the "Phoonghee King." His young wife, Soopyah Lat, presented him with a son-and-heir amidst great rejoicings at the city. The child died, and the "King of Kings" was exceedingly angry with the fates. His next offspring was a daughter, which did not mend

\* Since killed by dacoits in Lower Burma.

matters. While the queen was still in the doctor's hands her unfaithful spouse gave out that he intended nominating one of the numerous princesses about the palace as his queen, throwing over poor Soopyah Lat. But this could not be allowed. The queen mother threw her weight into the scales and the poor little aspirant to queenly dignity was brutally murdered.\* Soopyah Lat was forgiven on condition that no more daughters were brought into the world.

Meanwhile the Government of India looked on sullenly, much displeased, but unwilling to act. The king sent an envoy to Simla to ask for a treaty, but he was coldly received and returned to Mandalay angry and humiliated.

Early in 1885 the inexorable fates bore me safely over the treacherous Bay of Bengal, and landed me for the second time on the historic shores of Burma. Fourteen years had elapsed since I had last grilled under a Burmese sun, since I had streamed and steamed with perspiration in that vapour-bath the city of Rangoon, and since I had paid double its value for every article of food or clothing. Almost the whole of that period had been passed far from the land of the "cypress and myrtle," if that term may be allowed to apply to India. I confess I dreaded the idea of Burma again; indeed, we all did. The Scots Fusiliers, so proud in their glorious traditions, so jealous of their smartness and soldierly bearing, looked with no hopeful eye on the prospect of being posted for the next two or three

\* This is one of the numerous court stories we heard at Mandalay.

years in two clearings in the jungle on the banks of Burmese rivers. One thought cheered us, but it was a very vague and faint hope which none but the sanguine shared—there was just an off chance of a row in Upper Burma, “When,” said we, “we shall be exactly on the spot.”

Our poor fellows had but recently arrived in India from South Africa, where they had taken a very conspicuous part in the Zulu, Seccoconi, and Boer Campaigns. They had marched about those everlasting wilds for three years. Several officers and a very considerable number of men had been killed and wounded in action, and more still had died of disease, and “What ’ave we got for it all?” I once heard a Tommy Atkins say as he “bucked” to a lot of bystanders, “What have we got for it? Well! we’ve got one blessed medal, and £1 compensation for clothing.” I firmly believe if at that moment the gallant fellow had been called upon to volunteer to go over the whole thing again *for nothing*, neither the medal nor the pound, he would have jumped at the idea. A great soldier once said to me, in quite an unofficial spirit, “My view of brevets for service is that it gives the country an opportunity of pushing on good men; the *reward* for going on service is contained in the pleasure it gives any keen man to feel that he is on service.” If promotion and brevets for service were done away with to-morrow, I do not for a moment believe that it would make officers a whit less keen to bleed for their country. The “bit of ribbon” they do like; but if it was an understood



thing that *no promotions* were to be given it would, on the whole, be a popular measure. What men do feel is to see an enormous shower of honours for one campaign and none at all or very few for another ; this makes them angry.

To proceed with my story. My gallant corps after their three years of South African wanderings were keen for service once more. Many of the old lot were gone, but there was a strong element of them in the ranks.

I found myself this time at Tounghoo on the Sittang River, a really pretty but uncommon dull little hole. The hot weather was not so bad for Indian hot weather, although wooden houses, or rather sheds, are terribly good conductors of heat ; but the rains at Tounghoo I shall never forget to my dying day. It rained this year, they said, more than usual, urging that they were nothing to the rains of Arakan and Moulmein. I can only say that I shall never forget those "dark days" on the banks of the Sittang. There was nothing on the face of the earth to do, it being far too wet to think of parades. The damp turned everything blue-mouldy, your boots rotted, your books and photographs became covered with spots. The air throbbed with animal life, the roar of their myriads reverberating monotonously. Creatures there were of every conceivable shape and size, from the compass of a pin's point to an enormous beetle. There were fellows like crabs and fellows like crocodiles and fellows like giraffes, all to be seen hopping about your damp table-cloth with fantastic gyrations ;

and all green, green like the young tender leaves and the fresh wet grass. All green but one, and he the most irrepressible and persistent of man's tormentors on earth, I mean the common fly. The same on the window pane of the English homestead, the same in the pestilential valleys of the "Dark Continent," the same in all lands and in all climates, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. This gentleman is not so very spry when the rain is at its height, it makes him, perhaps, feel a little chilly ; but his time for full enjoyment is during the intervals of dry hours. Then, in company with his no less persistent but more poisonous young brother, the mosquito, he disports himself wherever he thinks he is least appreciated, and where he can inflict on man a maximum of annoyance at a minimum of risk to himself. The mosquito is a venomous little wretch, especially if he takes a fancy to you ; but he is clean, which is more than can be said for the "blue-tailed fly," who a few moments previous to his visit to your strawberry jam, or the tip of your nose, was possibly perched on the carcase of a dead cat. The mosquito is an epicure, in his way ; he only likes nice people ; and if, dear reader, you find that you can sleep without mosquito-curtains in the East, you may safely conclude that you are by no means nice.

But life in Tounghoo, too awful to us as it was, coming from the largest military station in India, was joyous to that of the solitary Assistant Commissioner, police officer, or the engineer, who lives and works on for months at a time without speaking one word of

English, or seeing a single white face. And yet we thought we were decidedly to be pitied, and received letters of condolence from our friends at being so entirely banished from the world. But unlucky as we considered ourselves at being outlawed to Tounghoo, this was only from a soldier's point of view. Civilians coming in from jungles and swamps regarded it as quite a large station; and I remember being very much amused at hearing a young fellow who had just arrived from some awful swamp in Upper Burma, where he was employed in the timber trade, talk of how much he was enjoying his "run up to town," meaning to Tounghoo. A tumble-down old shed, with the roof full of holes, was our "gymkhana," where we met every now and then to witness or partake in pony racing, the great sport of Burma. In addition to this we had our "paper chases" once a week, when, astride of plucky little twelve-two ponies we slushed along through mud and water, and over all sorts of fences for a couple of miles.

The rains had commenced to abate; we had slight interims of sunshine, when we sat and streamed with perspiration; the races were in prospect, and the first snipe had been shot. Being of a somewhat sanguine disposition, the outlook cheered me. I had secured a miniature chaser, twelve-two, but with loins and quarters like an English cob, and one or two more likely ones were in my eye, so in spite of the damp heat and the mosquitoes I began to think there were *worse places than Tounghoo*. I had a wooden house *all to myself, and I had just got out some nick-nacks*

when a telegram was put into my hand one morning, which ran thus: "Major E. C. Browne is directed to proceed immediately to Thayetmyo, and report himself for duty at that station."

So there were to be no races, and no snipe, or very few in comparison, and no more of Tounghoo for me. I fancied at the time I was sorry to leave. After eight years of almost continuous bucketting, I was beginning to sigh for a little rest, or this is what I fancied at the time.

I had many consolers, whom, I fear I must confess, cared not so much for me as for the death-blow the withdrawal of my ponies would be to the forthcoming race meeting.

The railway from Tounghoo to Rangoon was not completed for passenger traffic at this time, but I managed to get down by hook or by crook, by goods trains and in Mr. Matthews, the Chief Engineer's private carriage. It rained for all the forty-eight hours I stayed in Rangoon, whence I took train to Prome and steamer to Thayetmyo. I thus found myself back on the identical spot of the round earth at which I had spent about ten months of my military career so many years ago. I found very few changes. New barracks had been built for the men, but the officers lived in the same thatched huts which had been probably rigged up for their reception more than a quarter of a century before. Although I was now in the proud position of commanding headquarters of the Scots Fusiliers, I shared one of these, the only one vacant with anything *like decent stabling, with one of our youngsters who*

had somewhat similar tastes to myself, and shook down for a season.

The rains were much less here than at Tounghoo, and the station, on the whole, was brighter. The garrison was very much the same, with the addition of one battery of artillery. We had lots of parades, and even small field days every week, for our Brigadier was a man of devouring activity after thirty-seven years' continuous Indian service without one visit to his native land of old England, and we got up a very decent little race meeting. I won the steeplechase of the meeting with my little cob, beating the Rangoon crack, and, with intervals of the dumps, I was beginning to think that there were worse places than Thayetmyo. But another change awaited me. I was offered an appointment in the Adjutant-General's department at Rangoon, and started off thither to fill it.

This was in the middle of October. But had nothing hitherto occurred to disturb once more the oft-times troubled waters of Burma politics? Most certainly, yes. For the past half-year the "French Question" had been agitating the minds of the English residents in the country, and so long ago as the previous spring the interference of France in Mandalay affairs had commenced to attract general attention. Forsooth, they must have a representative there, and they must have a treaty of commerce. England at this time was not represented at the Court of Mandalay, and diplomatic relations had for some time been anything but active with Upper Burma.

So, I suppose, the French thought it would be a

favourable opportunity to get the thin edge of the wedge in with the ultimate hope, no doubt, of converting Burma into a second Ton-king.

This intention was disavowed by M. de Freycinet, and it is probable that that astute minister never for a moment believed that there was the remotest chance of the great English cock allowing so small a bird as France in the East to crow on a dunghill so very adjacent to his own. Strangely enough, I think I know the source from which this wild enterprise sprang. When I was in Paris in the spring of 1880 I attended a meeting of what was called "La Société de Cochinchine." The meeting took place in the private apartments of the Marquis de —, in the fifth story of a very lofty house, I think in la Rue de Quatre Septembre. It was not largely attended, and someone read a paper on Indo-Chinese affairs. A well-known Indo-Chinese explorer was present whose name I did not catch. A short discussion followed the paper, but I thought it was somewhat constrained, and the noble Marquis complained of the paucity of information produced generally, after which we adjourned to another room where we smoked and chatted for half an hour. As far as I could collect the Society was a sort of private Intelligence Department not ostensibly supported by Government. It professed to watch French interests in Indo-China, and by collecting information and compiling reports thereon, to keep the Government coached up on the subject.

I have often thought since that the feebly supported attempt to establish French influence at Mandalay was

the outcome of this Society's investigations. The Government not improbably said to this body, "If you can get a footing in Upper Burma without bringing us into conflict with England, we shall say you deserve well of your country." But of course the project failed.

M. Haas, a very courageous and honourable man, was deputed to Mandalay, and worked like a Trojan to accomplish his end. But his task was an utterly hopeless one. He went up the river full of hope, and returned after a couple of months dejected and broken-hearted. It is not known exactly what were the objects of his mission, and probably his instructions, for he must have had some, are buried with the poor man's reputation. The French Government, when faced in a perfectly frank and conciliatory spirit by John Bull, were obliged to admit that his interests in Burma far exceeded their own, and the question for the time gave place to matters of more importance in Europe.

But the Indian Government were instructed to take sure and certain steps to prevent the possibility of a recurrence of such a state of things. And it was determined by that august body that Theebaw should be treated to an ultimatum which should once for all place on a permanent and unmistakable footing the relationships to each other of "the two Great Empires." But at the time of which I write, the "unenlightened" in Burma only heard rumours and reports of possibly coming events. There was no doubt that things were working up for a row, but on two previous occasions a similar cloud had blown over.

Colonel Sladen, writing in September, had placed

the situation very clearly and forcibly before the Indian Government.

“Have we,” he wrote, “still cause against Theebaw which justifies intervention, and, if necessary, forcible interference? The answer will depend upon a correct appreciation of the following facts :—

“(I.) We have twice been forced into war by Burmese aggression and misrule, and on both occasions the country became ours had we chosen to occupy it by right of conquest.

“(II.) On the first occasion the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were ceded to us by treaty. On the second occasion we annexed the province of Pegu, and the then king was plainly informed in the annexation proclamation, that ‘if he failed to renew his former relations of friendship, and if he recklessly sought to dispute the possession of the annexed territory, the Governor-General would again put forth the power he held, and would visit with retribution aggressions, which, if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burman State, and the ruin and exile of the king and his race.’

“(III.) The king or his successor has failed to renew his former friendship, and we have again been compelled to withdraw our Resident from the capital, and stay further direct relations with the Court, because the condition of things there is so barbarous and insecure and the attitude of the Government so intractable, that we cannot consent on the one hand to countenance massacres and misrule, or on the other to invite insult and risk the lives of our political officers.



“(IV.) After refusing the treaty we offered King Theebaw at Simla in 1882, he has thought proper to make political capital out of our forced retirement by forming alliances with European States which have no interests in Burma, and whose presence on the scene is only intended to encumber our action, and even menace our possessions in British Burma. As a consequence we already find ourselves in the false and anomalous position of having a powerful ruling State on our borders intriguing against us and ready at any moment to bring about a mischievous state of affairs which may involve us at any moment in serious complications with European foreign Powers.

“(V.) At the present moment our hand is being forced by the fact that the French have already established a political agency at Mandalay, and a French Consul now resides there for the purpose of representing French interests, though it is obvious to everyone that no such interests (unless they are of a very remote or clandestine character) have any present existence in Upper Burma.

“(VI.) On the other hand British interests, both in a political and commercial sense, do exist, and are very closely allied to those of Upper Burma. These interests are so jeopardized at the present moment that some immediate step is necessary to preserve the integrity of our dominions and protect British commerce.

“(VII.) And not only are the interests of our own province seriously affected by anarchy and misrule in Upper Burma, but the interests of humanity are

infringed by the continued excesses of a barbarous and despotic ruler.

“On all these grounds I contend that immediate active interference is indispensable for the purposes of (1) maintaining our political superiority, (2) of arresting grave complications which are imminent at the present moment, and (3) of securing good government in Upper Burma.

“I maintain that these objects can only be successfully and permanently attained by annexing the whole of the country known as Upper Burma. At the same time I am well aware that Government will not resort to so final a step without first of all exhausting every other course of action and being guided by results.

“What are these other courses? First, we may return to the old state of things, a treaty with Theebaw and the re-establishment of a Resident at his capital; or second, we may ask Theebaw to treat with us on our own lines on pain of being superseded by a prince of our own selection, or third, we may ask him, and in case of his refusal, the prince of our selection, to accept a British Protectorate. This is the extreme limit of possible action, short of annexation.

“Let each course be considered. A treaty and Resident on the old lines would be proof of political imbecility. The experiment has been repeatedly tried and has always signally failed. It may be tried again on a former basis, that is under a more stringent treaty, giving the Resident extended powers, and allowing him a strong escort at the capital.

“Well, as long as all conditions were favourable, diplomatic relations of a kind could be carried on for a time by these means ; but there would be no real security against the periodical scares and uncertainties which are inseparable from the conditions of Burmese rule.

“History would be sure to repeat itself. Revolutions might be less imminent, perhaps, owing to Theebaw’s wholesale extermination of the royal family, but upstart scions of the race would still be found to revolt against tyranny and carry out the traditional laws of the constitution which justify their putting in a claim for supreme power. Then there are the princes in British territory, who are only held back by our restraining hand from making a dash for their rights and seizing the crown and the kingdom.

“These dangers and uncertainties, it may be said, are of a kind which may happen anywhere or in any country. Granted. But the constitution of Burma and the temperament of its people favour this possible and probable development here to an extent which is unknown in almost any other part of Asia. I shall return to this subject further on, but it will suffice for present purposes if I record my honest conviction that the treaty and Resident system on the old lines is no cure for the present situation, and would result sooner or later in the usual *fiasco*. The alternative course is the compulsory treaty to be followed up by a protectorate.

“We shall get this if we go to work in the proper way, and have made our preparations, but not other-

wise. But having got it, what is the kind of protection offered, and how is the country to be governed? If it is to be the Indian system, a state of semi-sovereignty, it cannot and will not answer in Burma. The Burmese people are imbued with an almost superstitious veneration for the royal family. As long as the dynasty lasts this veneration will continue. A protectorate on the Hyderabad system might succeed if accompanied by a military occupation of the country by British troops, and the appointment of a Resident or Chief Commissioner, who would exercise control over the entire executive and legislative departments of the State. But even this kind of protectorate would be attended by immense risks and difficulties, owing to the presence on the scene of a *de facto* sovereign of the reigning dynasty, and the impossibility of getting the people to bury their instincts or sink their loyalty so far as to suffer any other authority to exist on an equality with a prince of the royal blood.

“Although the Burmese would gladly hail our advent and accept our rule if we came prepared and single-handed, nothing but the strongest coercive measures would restrain them from open hostility or sullen opposition so long as a king of their own race was present and exercised an influence over their feelings and conduct. Such a king of our nomination might be sufficiently interested on his own behalf to try at least to exercise his influence in the cause of the protectorate, but in this he would fail, and I regard the state of things that would then inevitably ensue with the most serious misgivings. I speak advisedly on

this point and from experience, having for a long time past studied and learnt the true feelings of the people. The old king has often said to me, when I tried to advise him against spending his money on a superabundance of expensive war material: 'I must appear to be strong in the eyes of my people. If they did not believe in my power they would be dissatisfied and put some one else in my place.' My reply was: 'But, your Majesty, the possession of war material which you cannot use (this refers to arms of precision which he had ordered in any quantity) does not give you this supremacy.' King: 'True: you and I know this, but they don't. They will have their way and I cannot prevent it.'

A protectorate, then, of the ordinary kind seems to be prohibited, because it would involve a *de facto* king with semi-sovereignty under command of a protecting Power, a state of things which I believe to be almost impracticable as applied to the peculiar conditions of the Burmese constitution, and the ultra-loyal susceptibilities of the Burmese people. Still it may be tried, and if only our arrangements provide that all members of the royal family shall be pensioned, deported, or otherwise kept in the background, the success of the experiment will be proportionally insured. The protectorate will then involve (1) a military occupation (partial); (2) the entire administration of the country by British officers; (3) the deportation of all surplus members of the royal family. And it will differ from annexation in name only. Nevertheless, we are forced, as it were, to take the risk and accept the far less satisfactory results

of a protectorate, because 'annexation' is an offensive term, and the policy which advocates it is condemned as unjustifiable and out of date. At the same time it is a policy which the people pray for, and which the exigencies of humanity and of the present political situation very earnestly call into requisition.

"Annexation would be simple in accomplishment, and, under judicious arrangements, the occupation of the country ought to be nothing more than a quiet military parade. A protectorate, on the other hand, is complex. The Burmese will never stand it. It will savour of instability, uncertainty, and unrest. The people will not be with us if called upon to serve two masters, though they will join us, heart and soul, if we clear the way for them by deposing all royal claimants, and assume the chief sovereignty in our own hands."

These, then, were the views expressed by one of the best living authorities on Upper Burma, although it is believed that there were many responsible dissenters therefrom in the country.

We shall be able to watch in the course of this narrative the gradual development of events, and in what manner Colonel Sladen's ideas and prophecies manifested themselves.

When I left Thayetmyo for Rangoon only rumours of war were afloat, but I doubt if anyone believed that there would be any more than a good deal of talk and a small military display. Simla kept things very dark. One ugly rumour reached us of some idea of leaving the regiments quartered in Burma stationary, and

transferring all the troops from the sea-going steamers on to the river flats.

The plan commended itself to the mind of the military economist, but it was monstrously rough on the unfortunates who were ignored. The last night I dined with the dear old regiment as "one of them," I said in chaff, although, I confess, I very much feared that something of the sort would happen, that "the expedition" would be entirely composed of troops from India, and that the Burma Division would not be touched.

This remark elicited a howl of indignation, and I believe that if I had not been the guest of the evening and the senior officer present, they would have pelted me with biscuits and fruit. Little we thought on this evening that this arrangement was all cut and dry, and was soon to be put into practice. So I departed for Rangoon, with a choky feeling in my throat, to do five years on the Indian Staff—for better or for worse—wondering if I should ever again return to those glorious colours, with their scroll of undying victories, whose fortunes I had followed for over twenty years in many lands—by field and by flood. If the fortune of war favoured the reunion, the *latest*\* "scheme for promotion" was against it. I had received my majority on the same day as seven others, and I was the bottom of the seven ; so the outlook was bleak, if not altogether the "blackness of darkness."

When I reached Rangoon, "The Autumn Meeting" was the universal topic of conversation. People

\* The *newest* Warrant was then not thought of.

thought of nothing else, and every morning crowds of ladies and gentlemen assembled on the picturesque course to see the miniature racers get their gallops.

I had brought with me from Thayetmyo four ponies, all supposed to possess some special qualification. One was a chaser, one was a hurdle racer, and two were flat racers. They were "our stable," my pal's and mine at Thayetmyo, and they were the hope of the station. They had been regularly galloped and fed on oats and hay with the utmost care. And now their coats shone like floss silk, and the muscles stood out in bold relief on their powerful chests and quarters.

It is the custom at Rangoon for everyone to assemble at the "Gymkhana" when the day's toil is o'er and the Indian sun, having done as much harm as he can for some twelve hours, has retired to rest. The place resembles a huge restaurant. There are drinking bars and billiard-rooms, and ball-rooms and reading-rooms, and card-rooms immediately connected with the establishment; and outside there is a beautiful cricket ground and half-a-dozen lawn-tennis courts, and the band plays twice a-week, and there are *ayahs* and babies innumerable. But there is one feature in these social assemblies which, perhaps, for India, is remarkable: the men keep studiously to the bars and billiard-rooms and the card-rooms, and the ladies confine themselves to the ball-rooms and the reading-rooms with vengeful pertinacity. And so there are no flirtations and no scandals and no (at least, hardly any) *marriages* in Rangoon.

In the restaurant and billiard-rooms assemble every



evening of the week—Sunday only in degree excepted—a hundred or more gentlemen of all ages, professions and callings, and not a few nationalities. At least one “red” or “yellow cocktail” must be sucked through a straw, the latest telegrams must be read, and the affairs of the Empire set right before the assembly thins, and men shout for their traps and drive off to dinner.

A very strong element in Rangoon is the “German element.” There is quite a large German community amongst the subjects of the “Great Queen” at Rangoon. When I say community, I by no means intend to indicate that the Germans keep to themselves. Not at all. They in every way make common cause with the English. They excel in music and other accomplishments, and are always ready to perform without fuss or ostentation. They will play on any piano, and sing to any accompaniment with unmoved countenances, although undergoing intense torment. It is astonishing with what tact and dignity the Germans have ingratiated themselves into Rangoon society.

I remember, during my former tour of Burmese service, having a conversation with a German who had served in the 1866 campaign. The Franco-Prussian War was raging at the time. He had been to a review of the little garrison of Rangoon, of which my regiment was the most prominent feature.

“Your regiment, Sir,” he said, “is a very fine regiment: a magnificent body of men—almost the finest I have ever seen. A glorious army, the British Army—wonderful traditions. Now, Sir, I’ll tell you what I think; but, perhaps, I ought not to say so; I

think this : that after all our late victories, with equal numbers, you'd beat us to-morrow."

"Well," I said, "if we did it would be only after a tough fight ; and I hope we shall always be on the same side."

"Oh ! I hope so," he said, "and I think so. You see, we are the same race—both Teutons."

There were two topics of conversation which animated the Gymkhana assemblies during the early days of October, 1885. One was the prospected war with Theebaw, and the other was the Races.

But the hushed and mysterious prophecies of the political wiseacres were drowned in the uproar created by the sporting prognosticators, who outnumbered them ten to one. "Oh ! damn the war," quoth the latter, as *jaurum*-coated, breeches and gaitered, deer-stalking-capped and fox-terrier-dogged, they sucked away at their cocktails through long straws ; "the question now before the House is what to put your money on for the ' Hunt Cup ? ' "

The thoughtful brows of the clever Bengal civilians of the Secretariat might be discerned amongst the crowd. And right good fellows they were : by no means weaklings—just the reverse. When pumped by some keen subaltern, weary of inaction and thirsting for a row, they imparted *no* information with a most skilful display of candour. "Well, you know, the truth is there has been a good deal of correspondence going on between the Home Government, the Indian Government, and our office on the subject, but these sort of things are constantly recurring. I see the

‘Pioneer’ says there will be war.” Then the young diplomat, determined not to be treed, deftly changes the subject to the all-absorbing topic of the races, for which he has two ponies entered. “By the way, I hear you have a three-pound saddle; I wish you would lend it to me for the St. Leger;” and having got his answer, he slides off amongst the crowd.

Throughout the length and breadth of our mighty Empire—on whatever shores the flag of England proudly waves—alike in the abodes of snow and ice, and on the sun-parched plains of the Asian and African continents—wherever there are Englishmen there are racecourses and races. There are men who ride and men who bet, and men who do both. And the “races” are the most attractive and important event of each year’s course of pleasure and recreation. Some are made and some are marred, and some break their bones, if not their necks; and wives become widows, and children orphans, and whole families are brought to beggary, and great names are dragged in the dust. And parsons preach against racing, and statesmen and orators condemn it; and even “the fair” oftentimes express their disapproval of the betting which must of necessity be its inevitable concomitant; but all “go to the races” as surely as that all-important event comes off.

The love of racing is grounded on that instinct in man’s nature which impels him to witness, in order to admire, individual prowess in man and animals; and it is a prominent characteristic of the stronger and more energetic nations of mankind. Therefore it will always continue to be a sport amongst Englishmen, and will

develop or fall away in direct proportion to the power of the Empire or the progress of its decay.

As Burma is a great country for ponies, Rangoon is a great racing centre. There are two race meetings in the year—the Spring Meeting, which takes place generally after the commencement of the rains in May, and the Autumn Meeting, at the end of the rains in October. The latter is the principal event of the year, and enormous sums of money change hands. On the evening preceding each day's racing, lotteries are held in the Assembly Rooms, and sportsmen and "sporting men" meet to take tickets, buy and sell racers in the lotteries, make books, and discuss eventualities.

The scene at the Assembly Rooms on a lottery night is illustrative of the variety of "peoples, nations, and tongues" who own the sovereignty of the "Great Queen" in Burma.

"The Rooms" consist in one long, lofty room with a stage at one end. The building serves the threefold purpose of a theatre, a ball-room, and a banquetting hall. To-night, the eve of the first day's racing, it is arranged for the latter entertainment. There is a long table, running parallel to the stage, and two much longer ones at right angles stretching almost the whole length of the hall. In the centre of the table near the stage stands the race secretary. Before him is his lottery box. He is surrounded by his assistants, clerks, writers, and so forth. In his hand he holds a wooden hammer which he uses frequently with reverberating effect on the table. With this instrument he calls the assembly to order, and "knocks down" the horses to

the highest bidder. The space between the tables and in all parts of the room is crowded with men. The more methodical bookmakers are seated at the tables and engaged in apparently profound calculations of the "chances." There are British officers in mess dress and civilians in evening dress, for the lotteries commence at 9.30 p.m., and everyone has dined—and some men in shooting jackets and some in *jaurum* suits. There are lots of Germans, some Greeks, several shades of Eurasians, Chinamen, baboos of Bengal and Madras, Parsees, and last, but by no means least, Jack Burmans. Many of the latter cannot speak a word of English, but they manage somehow to do their business. They squat about on chairs and forms and smoke, smoke, smoke, perfectly at home and at peace with all the world, in the happy consciousness that the secretary, although he has sometimes a hasty tongue, is an English gentleman and will do them every justice; and in the full enjoyment of that glorious liberty which Britannia bequeaths to her children.

But now the time has come for action. The work of filling up the lottery papers is over as regards certain races, and the drawing and selling the horses is about to begin. The secretary brings his hammer down on the table several times.

"Silence," he shouts, "gentlemen, silence, please. The lottery for the Grand National Steeplechase is filled. Now I am going to draw the horses. Please keep silence." He now puts his hand into a box and takes out a number which he announces at the pitch of his voice "No. 136." His assistant puts his hand

into another box and takes out a horse. "John Small," he bellows. It is now the clerk's turn. He hastily looks at No. 136 on the paper before him, and he finds, "Ah Sin," which historical name he announces in stentorian tones to the great delight of the owner—a fat Celestial with a long pigtail and a vacuous expression in his oblong eyes, who, however, remains outwardly unmoved. He is perfectly aware that John Small is a favourite, and will sell for a "pot," but he never allows his face to betray his emotions. And so the drawing proceeds until the last horse—there are seventeen starters—has been disposed of.

The excitement of the evening is now about to commence, the horses are going to be sold by public auction. Be it known to our readers who are not conversant with Indian lotteries, that speculating in this way is a very dangerous game, and many men with both money and brains, have, to use a slang term, been "broke" over it. Some of our cleverest men have driven their minds into the subject of "bookmaking," but how few have succeeded? After a life of toil and constant excitement, torn asunder by hopes and fears, without any assured position amongst men, brought into contact with many of the vilest of mankind; how few, I say, realise a sufficient fortune to pass their declining years in competence and comfort? What chance, then, has an amateur, like myself, who only goes in for racing just to pass a few hours in the year, of making bookmaking pay? I fear very little. The lottery system has its merits, the chief of which is that the loser is a debtor to *the public*, and not to any indi-

vidual, so that if he comes to grief he can blame no one in particular.

But it is a dangerous game nevertheless, especially for men who have not a considerable fund of ready money to fall back on, and that they can lay their hands on at a day's notice. Otherwise the practice is absolutely dishonest. You play for other men's money on the chance of winning, and if you lose you know you can't pay up.

There is too much of this sort of thing going on in India, although, it must be confessed, it is better than of yore. A man pays 600 rupees for a horse. If the horse wins he wins the lottery, which is probably worth 3,000 rupees ; but if he loses, which the chances are he will, he has to pay 1,200 rupees or a hundred pounds, about—600 to the lottery and 600 to the man who drew the horse therein.

Now in Rangoon I have known a pony to sell for over a thousand rupees on several occasions and lose the race after all. So a man who "plunges" at all in the lotteries can without difficulty, on a run of good or bad luck, win or lose a thousand pounds at a meeting, which in these hard times is a fair week's work for the Anglo-Indian whose private fortune is in most cases limited.

To sell the horses successfully at a lottery requires special gifts which, like the faculty of being able to make a happy speech at a wedding breakfast, few men possess. He must be prompt, inflexible, persuasive, witty, versatile. He must have a quick eye and ready tongue. He must reprove, exhort, control. He must know his hearers well, even to their minutest idio-

synocracies, and be thoroughly known of them. And above all he must be quick at his work and, having hustled his audience along *volens volens*, squeezing out of them the highest price obtainable, bring his hammer down and finish the job.

"Come on, now, gentlemen," he shouts, "who'll bid for John Small? Great pony. Winner of, well, I don't know how many races. Who'll bid for the Thayetymo crack? Ah Sin, what are you at? Wake up, MOUNG HPO. Now, a hundred rupees at a time, gentlemen. Fifteen hundred rupees in the lottery! Bid up, now. Fifty rupees for John Small. Sixty rupees for John Small. Seventy. Eighty. One hundred rupees for John Small. One hundred rupees for John Small. COME on, gentlemen; bid up, bid up. Don't keep me here all night. Come, fifty rupees at a time; he's worth five hundred at least. One twenty rupees for John Small. Thirty. Forty. Fifty. Sixty. Seventy. Eighty. Ninety. Two hundred rupees for John Small. Do keep silence and let me hear my own voice. Two hundred rupees for John Small. Going for two hundred rupees!" The latter part of the bidding has been entirely confined to two individuals, Ah Sin, the drawer, whose object it naturally is to bid up the horse as high as possible; and MOUNG HPO, a wealthy Burman and city magistrate, who is a keen sportsman. The Celestial owes the judge a grudge, for the latter has only a few days previous given a civil suit against him. The quick eye of the secretary perceives that there is a certain amount of rivalry between them. "Come on," he says, "MOUNG HPO, you are not



going to be done by a Chinaman ; a city magistrate, too.”\* The great man winces under the roar of laughter which this remark calls forth, and regarding his rival with a look as much as to say “ the judge has spoken,” he says decisively “ Two hundred and fifty rupees.” The withering look is lost on his rival. The dreamy eyes are fixed on vacancy. He seems only intent on watching the wreaths of smoke curl upwards as they emerge from between his dry lips. He simply bends his head slightly forward, and the secretary shouts “ Two sixty.” The judge feels disconcerted. He shifts uneasily on his seat, and he imagines that the eyes of the assembly are upon him. But his dignity must be upheld at any cost, so he comes out with a very decisive “ Three hundred rupees.” Ah Sin remains immobile, and the hammer comes down on the table with a whack. The heathen Chinese has scored. He *must* win three hundred, his enemy the judge may, and most probably will, lose six hundred. And so the night works on far into the small hours of the morning, and they buy, and sell, and laugh, and chaff ; and all go home buoyed up with hope that the morrow will see their combinations crowned with success.

The morrow has come. It is 3 p.m., and a flaming sun, still high in the heavens, strikes down on the Rangoon racecourse with terrific force. There is a vast assemblage on the course, scarcely fewer than 20,000 persons—a picturesque crowd, with their gay colours and merry countenances. There must be

\* This picture is only drawn as an illustration of a lottery scene : the Race described hereafter actually took place.





RACE STAND AT RANGOON.

thousands of women present, for the Burmese ladies are not only lovers of races, but in many cases "owners" themselves. It is a perfectly orderly crowd, and to behold it the mind is at a loss to conceive how these jolly, happy-go-lucky little fellows can go on so persistently getting shot as they have done in wars, always forced upon us, both past and present.

The Grand Stand is quite an imposing structure, or rather group of structures. It is made of finely-carved teak, and is of Indo-Chinese architecture. It is all smart and new, and its many gables and spires shine in the sun.

There are long rows of temporary stables, each stall with its little racer. The ponies run in three classes: (1) the Indian arabs and country-breds; (2) the half-breed Burmans; and (3) the pure Burmans. In times past, before the Rangoon meeting became what it is to-day, attempts were made to bring these classes together by means of weighting; but the result has always been a failure, and the plan has been abandoned. There are separate races now for each class.

But the Grand National is now on, and there are seventeen starters announced on the board. "I say, George," says Tiny Jones, of Rice Brothers, to his pal, as he goes "bucking" about the Grand Stand, "won't there be some smashers in this race? You bet! Seventeen starters! Why, there has never been such a thing seen here before." One or two young wives look rather pale at the remark, and wish they were not quite so interested in the race.

As I am tightening up my girths and overhauling

my gear in the paddock previous to mounting, who do I see close by, wistfully watching my movements, but our friend of last night, the Burman judge. He has evidently found out that on my pony and myself rest his chances of winning six thousand, or losing six hundred rupees. He is rather fearful of the result. He is well off for a Burman, but six hundred is a lot for him to lose, and all through that villain, Ah Sin, too ; but what a chance ! To win six thousand ! where would Ah Sin be then ? His scrutiny of John Small seems to please him muchly. He surveys his mighty chest and crest ; his kindly, but now kindling brown eye ; his round hard quarters ; his clean, sinewy legs ; his bright bay coat, shining like floss silk in the glare of the sun. And now I feel he is having a sly look at me. Presently he goes off, apparently well pleased, and after a couple of ineffectual attempts to get into the pigskin—for John Small is “bad to mount”—I swing on to his back, and jog along towards the starting-post. It is exactly opposite the Grand Stand, on the far side of the course. The steeplechase course is once and three quarters round the flat racecourse, and inside the latter.

I confess to always having experienced a certain feeling of nervousness, or whatever that decidedly unpleasant sensation of foreboding evil may be styled, before the start in a race. It can scarcely be dread of danger, for I have felt the same thing on going to the wickets first at cricket, and before firing the first shot at a Wimbledon rifle match. But hitherto I have never found that it interfered an iota with the per-

formance of the difficulty to be overcome, and by contact with which it has vanished.

As one gets older, especially if one has served much in bad climates, this feeling of nervousness must increase, and, I take it, when it becomes so marked that a man finds that it paralyses his action, his nerve may be said to have "broken down." I confess on this occasion I am not troubled more with nerves than the last race I rode on this same course fourteen years before. The fact is I have my work cut out to sit on John Small's back. It is like being perched upon a well-blown football. He is too much of a little gentleman to kick or buck, or doing anything vulgar, but he is "titupping" all over the course, and bounding forward and whirling round all for pure fun, and regardless of the tissue which he may yet require for his last few strides. The heat and all this abominable nonsense has got us both into a white sweat before the race begins, and I find myself officiously shouting to a young fellow some hundreds of yards away who is approaching at a slow walk, to come up and let us get away.

What a squash we are! How shall we ever get started. There are three or four professional jockeys from Bengal, and there are a couple of Rangoon "boys," who practise the same game. There are four or five gentlemen who have ridden before, and two or three who have never done more than follow the Rangoon Beagles or scour along in a paper-chase, and there are two or three native jocks.

Some of the two latter classes have already handed

over charge to their horses, for the animals seem to be doing exactly as they please. The Burmans are amusing themselves by starting off on little spurts on their own account, and the sun is frightfully hot, and there is some rather unparliamentary language being used, especially by the starter, who is very hot and very puzzled, and very angry. "Look here, Mounng Mat, if you do that again I will send you off the course," he shouts. "I say, Sir, do you know that your infernal mare has kicked my pony; just look out, will you?" "I say, Timkins," expostulates a youth, "you have taken my inside place; come, that won't do, you know." The little sharp-nosed "pro" thus addressed, remains unmoved, however, merely remarking over his shoulder, "Tain't possible, Sir, not for everybody to 'av 'is own place: least ways not in a squash like this 'ere; specheally (and he turns round to me confidentially) when they don't know 'ow to keep it when they've got it."

At last, after a lot of humbug and useless delay, the starter lowers his flag and the race has begun. Quite half the ponies have got clean away with their riders, but it matters little, for the pace is so hot to start with that we are most of us in the same box. Luckily we are moving up the, to the eye, imperceptible incline which is known on this course as "the hill." This gives us a better chance of steadying our animals before the big fence at the turn is reached.


The first fence is, as usual, a hurdle, and a proper stiffun, too. We all know that liberties are not to be taken with Rangoon hurdles, and we all strive to get

a clear spot to take off. There is a good deal of hustling, one or two more unkind expressions, and, amidst a great clattering of irons, everyone is clear over. We are now *en route* to the "double," a very big fence indeed for ponies—a broad firm bank with a ditch on both sides.

There must be some "crowners" here, or experience is at fault. I give my little lion his head slightly in hopes of being able to get sufficiently in front to get a clear take-off, but it is no go, the others also increase their speed, and I find I must be satisfied to keep in the ruck a little longer. John Small is a "rusher," not a very safe style of fencer as a rule, but he has never yet given me a fall. The bank is slightly over the incline, and now, here goes! I steady him slightly, then lower my hands and let him have his head. He increases his pace to full speed; with a great bound he lands on the top of the bank, and with a second he clears the far ditch by at least six feet. Half-a-dozen are over in the same bunch, and as we sail away I glance over my shoulder to find that only one horseman has come to grief. The riderless pony, having fallen and rolled over his master, now joining the race once more. The next fence is a mud wall only three foot three inches, but a stiff jump with a ditch on the near side. The whole cavalcade clear it without error or fail. We are now approaching the Grand Stand where are the water jump and the ladies. But before we reach this in our headlong flight, the stone wall has to be negotiated. There is no denying it. There it is before us. Three feet three inches, built up of



solid masonry, not a loose brick to be seen, and one foot thick. No liberties allowed. "Now, gentlemen," says Timkins, not half liking the look of it, "git 'old of your 'orses 'eads." I am riding alongside of Captain——, R.A. His little chesnut takes off too near, strikes heavily, and horse and man roll over in a heap of bricks. Everyone hopes he is not hurt, but no one looks back. Forrard, forrard, forrard! I am aware that if my little chaser has a weakness in a cross-country gallop, it is in his dislike for water. He had not improbably been nearly drowned in some flood, when a little foal six years ago, poor little man. So I check his evident desire to take a front place at the stand jump, and haul him back on his horses. He must go over in the ruck and not be noticed of the ladies. The fifteen still on their legs clear the water in fine style and sweep past the multitude. The fence at the corner is the "in-and-out," two mud walls bushed up, and about ten paces apart. There is a lot of very crooked going here as some try to cut off a corner, but the whole lot get over somehow and we move along to the "post and rails." It is made of teak plants one inch thick and nine inches deep. We are still altogether, you might cover us with a blanket. We all get over but one, whose pony striking, and falls heavily. We now commence to climb the hill for the second time, the same fences being before us with the exception that after the mud wall, we get on to the flat racecourse, the last fence, a hurdle, being near the winning post. Before starting, I had been strongly advised by an excellent judge to ease my pony up the



hill the second time round : "for," said he, "he is too fat ; you have brought him out too fat." I felt it was only too true, although, of the two, I believe John Small was at this period of the race less blown than his master. We were all getting played out by the heat, which was terrific. So I catch hold of his handsome little head and ease him up the hill. He is very sulky at being thus held back. He strikes the hurdle a savage whack just to annoy me, and when we reach the big double the whole field is in front of us ; he is a bit slow at the fence, and we lose a length or two. There is now at least ten lengths between John Small and his foremost adversary, a fact which I can see he observes. He quite realises the situation. He knows that he has got to overhaul and beat that leading pony before the latter reaches the Grand Stand, which is only about a quarter of a mile distant. I feel that I have not done him justice, but we must only do our best now. So I just speak to him and slacken my grasp of the reins, and with ears cocked and flashing eye he begins the work of "coming through his horses." Passing like an arrow one or two stragglers, he soon comes up with the ruck, although, in his eagerness to make up for lost ground, he carries away a big lump of the mud wall, and very nearly comes down. He is now only half a length behind the three or four who lead the van. The last hurdle is before us. One or two riders now begin to flog, and I think some who ought to know better, so as we approach the hurdle, the poor little ponies are fully extended and very much blown. But I maintain it is a great thing to be in front at a

fence, especially when there is likelihood of accident or being fouled by a beaten animal ; so I push him into a space between two ponies, and about six of us, three of whom are professionals, charge the hurdle abreast. Three ponies crash right into it, coming tremendous "purlers," one professional breaking his collar bone. My pony pecks badly, but recovers himself and, oh joy ! I am leading by half a length. But the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. A few strides from the winning post two ponies came alongside, both bestrode by gentlemen, poor Harry Shubrick of the Somersetshires, who has since met a soldier's death in the dark jungles of Ningyn, and young —, a sporting Rangoon lawyer. And now a fierce struggle takes place for the front place. Whips and spurs are applied with vigour. I carry no whip myself as it offends John Small's dignity, but I fear I spur the poor little fellow's reeking flanks cruelly, and all three little chasers, with dilated eyes and outstretched necks, every muscle and fibre brought into play, amidst loud cheers from the stand and enclosures, rush past the judge's box. "All three a dead heat," I hear a voice exclaim, and as a matter of fact none of us know who has been the winner. We pull up our exhausted steeds ; there is a slight pause, and then the numbers of the winners are run up on the inexorable board facing the stand. The bitter end has come. Chorister 1, John Small 2, Sheway Yo 3.

Ah Sin has had his sweet revenge, and the Burman judge has dropped his coin. Gone are six hundred hardly earned rupees from he and his heirs for ever.

Such, then, is a specimen of a Rangoon steeplechase, and I confess that I have never seen the like in my experience of such matters in many lands.

Another week has glided by, the October meeting of 1885 is an event of the past, and speculators thereon con over the figures in their banker's books, some with feelings of remorse and bitterness, and some with undisguised gratification.

November has begun, and the war clouds are gathering with ominous roar over the doomed palaces of the Alompras. The "Great Queen" is coming to subdue the land.

That early this month an ultimatum had been despatched to King Theebaw, giving him the choice between accepting war or of placing himself virtually under the wing of the British Government for the future, everyone in Rangoon was well aware. We also knew that military preparations on an extensive scale were being made for an expedition to Upper Burma. We knew full well that the Burmese Court would never believe we meant to fight, and would accordingly evade and temporise. Furthermore, we knew full well that if once an army was put on to the flats of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, that great trading body would convey it to Mandalay.

Like all the rest of us unfortunates in Lower Burma, from our veteran chief to the smallest drummer boy, I was most anxious to see the show, and I now set to work, in accordance with the practice of that much maligned body of officers stigmatised as "medal hunters," to do my level best to be somewhere in at

the death. We had all been given to understand that we might "sit tight," and that our services would not be required. Everything was to be done in India. The expedition was to be equipped there, to be despatched to Burma in steamers, transferred from the steamers to the flats, and conveyed up the great river into Burmese territory. Had the prospect of coming events foreshadowed any increased press of work on my department of the staff—had I been, for example, in the Quartermaster-General's branch—I honestly believe I should have been satisfied to have accepted my hard fate unmurmuringly, and worked on for the public good; but I knew that my work would be reduced, and that in all probability there would be no difficulty in obtaining a substitute just as well qualified as myself. So I wired away hastily to every friend in power who I thought would be inclined to help me, prepaying every message, but it was all waste of money. I was nowhere in a contest for place; those on the spot beat me to fits. Simla referred me to Ooty, and Ooty to Simla. I urged my claim on the ground of local experience and personal knowledge of the seat of war, but I never got any more satisfactory reply than that "my name had been noted." At length the long-expected nomination to the chief command was announced, Major-General Prendergast, V.C., C.B., a Mutiny hero, and far the most distinguished officer of the Madras Army.

My hopes went up at this, firstly because he was a personal friend, and secondly because I had only just left his command at Hyderabad, and he knew that I

had interested myself in collecting information about Upper Burma. So I sent the usual message, "Glad you have got the command of the expedition; please remember me." His reply did not give me much hope; it ran thus: "Hope you will come with us; wire Military Secretary, Madras." I had done this twice already, and been told my name had been noted. But I sent off another, with the same result. The telegrams from Calcutta and Simla announced, day by day, the various appointments to the staff, scarcely a single soul of whom had ever set foot on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and as they were all mopped up one by one, each announcement causing me a little pang of bitterness, I began to despair of outside help, and was driven to the conclusion that my only chance of joining the expedition was to invent an appointment for myself.

The weather was still steaming—indeed, October and the beginning of November in Burma is the worst time of the year. One night, while tossing restlessly under my mosquito curtains at the club chambers, a happy thought suddenly flashed across my mind, and like Gilead P. Beck, of Empire City, I felt that I had "struck ile." I knew that there were forty or fifty young gentlemen connected with one or other of the numerous Rangoon firms who were keen followers of our pack of beagles, and went very pluckily over some of the stiff paper-chase courses in the neighbourhood of the city.

That evening at dinner I had heard some of them say that the war would stop all business for some time

to come. Furthermore, I concluded that there must be a score or two of mill artizans, factory hands, and sailors in Rangoon, who, if supplied with saddles and bridles, and carbines put into their hands, would ride well enough to move from one point to another without falling off. I knew from the telegrams that there were no cavalry ordered—not a mounted man, not a saddle or bridle. As far as we could make out, the generals were to walk. So I resolved to raise a body of mounted men for service in Upper Burma. I knew there would be numerous difficulties in the way. I felt quite sure that I should be snubbed, discouraged, and should probably have to pay for a great part of the undertaking out of my own pocket ; but these were minor considerations, they would not shake my resolution a whit. One thing of course I must obtain, the approval of the idea by General Prendergast. The papers said that the latter was to leave Madras for Rangoon at noon on the following day, so that if I wanted to catch him I must be sharp about it. I was up betimes, and off on my redoubtable little chaser to interview several of the most likely spirits in the place. They one and all jumped at the idea. They would equip themselves, bring their own ponies, pay their own expenses, and what not ; so I galloped off to the telegraph station and wired, “ Can raise fifty volunteers in Rangoon to serve as mounted men with expedition, to be ready to move in eight days.” The reply was very cautiously worded, but it was good enough for me to begin working on. It said, “ General approves of idea of mounted corps. Consult with Major-General, Burma Division, as to

best material, &c." This I did, but without any definite result. The general approved of the idea, but seemed to think that there would be great difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. He interviewed Mr. Bernard, who with characteristic enthusiasm quite entered into the affair. He said a portion of the mounted company of the Rangoon Volunteers might go, and that he would give me two officers of police to assist in organising a body of mounted Burmans, who he believed, if judiciously led, would do good service. So things looked up on this first day of my undertaking. But this by no means satisfied my avarice. I pointed out to my general that there were at least fifty men of my own regiment who were good riders, having served in the mounted infantry in South Africa for some years, and that fifty more could be got from the Somerset-shires. It was settled that the question of regulars should stand over until the arrival of General Prendergast, and feeling quite convinced that he would give me every support, I ordered equipment for a hundred men from Calcutta and Lucknow. Of course every firm with whom I entered into a contract broke it, and there were many delays.

General Prendergast arrived at last. He approved of everything I had done, and said, "I hope your corps will be five hundred strong before we are long up country." My services were placed at the disposal of General Prendergast, and those of two or three other officers who were to assist me.

I will draw a veil over the work of the next ten days. I scarcely sat down for a moment, and I lost



my temper more than once. I had transferred myself with three officers and a hundred men to Thayetmyo, where we were to be taken by our steamer a day or two later. I had with me only about half of the men I had originally calculated on, many of the best of them being taken to accompany a land column, moving from Tounghoo to Ningyan ; but the men present were perfectly equipped in every way, including the Burmans, who were smartly dressed in blue jackets, red turbans, karkee breeches, and gaiters, and armed with hog-spears. The volunteers had dwindled down to fourteen, but they were all good men and true, and full of fight. Their much trusted adjutant, Captain Filliter, was with them, but he was struggling against fever, and looked like a ghost. Lindsell had got his South African troop of mounted infantry, and Couchman was toiling from daylight to dark as quartermaster and adjutant.

Our ponies were, on the whole, disappointing, many of them not up to weight, and, with the exception of some which I bought myself, and was helped to collect at Rangoon, were a poor lot. Still, here we were at last, thank Heaven, after the scares of recalls, &c., under which we had passed. But I was not happy yet, being still at the end of the wire, and the *Talifoo*, my steamer, had not arrived.

#### NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION.

On the 14th of November, 1885, the third and last Burmese War may be said to have commenced.

The ultimatum had been delivered to King Theebaw—or at all events to his ministers ; and on the 13th



CAPT COUCHMAN'S PARTY OF MOUNTED INFANTRY AT BAMO



of November the general had received a message from the Government of India to the effect that he was to advance on Mandalay as soon as possible. On this day he had arrived at Thayetmyo, and his preparations for an advance were almost complete.

Accordingly, on the following day, H.M.S. *Irrawaddy* and the launch *Kathleen*, under the command of Commander Clutterbuck, R.N., made a forward reconnoissance up the river, where it was reported a king's steamer, with flats, was cruising about. The reconnoissance found the steamer about twenty-eight miles from Thayetmyo, and immediately engaged her. A few rounds from the machine-guns cleared her decks, and the "Jacks" were soon on board their prize.

She was towed down to Thayetmyo, where she arrived just as the vessel which brought me from Prome reached the landing. Her captors were not in sight, and as the king's flag floated from the mast, some of the more credulous on our steamer suspected that she was coming to attack our fleet on her own account. As she approached, however, the "Peacock" of Burma was hauled down, and the "Jack" of England proudly substituted. It was a little theatrical display, and it had its effect. The cheers rang out and were taken up from ship to ship. The cheer was spontaneous. It was not so much a cheer of triumph as one of those shouts to which fighting men are wont to give vent when they find themselves in the presence of action. The soldiers cheered because the "war had begun."

Now a word on the composition of the force which

had been placed under General Prendergast's command for the occupation of Mandalay.

It consisted in all of about ten thousand officers and men formed in three brigades—two from Madras Presidency, and one from Bengal, and constituted as under :—

*First Brigade.*

Brigadier-General Foord.

2nd Battalion Liverpool Regiment.

1st Madras Pioneers.

21st Madras Infantry.

25th Madras Infantry.

*Second Brigade.*

Brigadier-General White, V.C., C.B.

2nd Battalion Hampshire Regiment.

12th Madras Infantry.

23rd Madras Infantry.

*Third Brigade.*

Brigadier-General Norman, C.B.

1st Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

2nd Bengal Infantry.

11th Bengal Infantry.

*Artillery.*

9 | 1st Cinque Ports Division R.A.

*Hazara Mountain Battery.*

*Bombay Mountain Battery.*

*Two floating batteries armed with 70-pounder gun  
and 6·3-inch howitzers.*

*Naval Brigade.*

Captain Woodward, R.N.

Crews of H.M.S. *Woodlark*.

„ „ *Turquoise*.

The Head-quarter Staff was composed of—

Colonel Bengough, Chief of the Staff.

Colonel Carey, Commanding R.A.

Colonel Sandford, R.E.

Major McNeil, D.A.Q.M.G.

Major Symons, D.A.A. and Q.M.G.

Captain Aldworth, A.D.C.

Deputy-Surg.-General McNeal Donnelly, P.M.O.

Lieut.-Colonel Laughton, A.C. General.

Major R. Hill, Director of Transport.

Lieut.-Col. Begbie, Superintendent of Signalling.

This army had been placed on the frontier of Upper Burma, and was in readiness to advance in less than a month from the date of the decision of Government to despatch an army to Burma from India—a feat in military administration which it would be difficult to surpass. But we were organised and equipped simply for the attainment of a limited object. We had men and guns sufficient to sweep away all opposition from the river's bank, and destroy or capture all the chief towns thereon ; but having neither cavalry *nor transport*, were scarcely in a position to effect the conquest of a country as large as France, or to pursue *the king should he decide to abandon his capital*.

The whole flotilla now moved forward, but I still \*

awaited the arrival of the mounted infantry-ship, the *Talifoo*. We had one parade—the only time we were ever destined to be together. The volunteers and mounted infantry worked by themselves, and as the majority had had previous training, looked a workmanlike little body of men.

The Burmans underwent their first day's training as irregular cavalry under the direction of Mr. Fforde, who spoke their language like a native ; they seemed to enjoy the work immensely. The rapidity with which they took the whole thing in was astounding, and gave promise of good work when the time should arrive for their employment in the field. One advantage these little fellows had over all our newly-enlisted horsemen,—they could all ride well, and, perched on their brand-new red-cloth saddles, with big toe well in the stirrup, were quite at home. After two or three hours of this work, I returned to my wooden abode to be welcomed by the following cheerful telegram from Rangoon. "Obliged to load your steamer and flats with arsenal stores and coals." This was a facer. Poor Couchman, who had just stretched his 6 feet 2 inches of bone and muscle on a camp bed, forgot that he had a sprained knee, sprang to his feet and shook his fist at an imaginary Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, who fortunately was separated from the irate giant by some two hundred and fifty miles of land and water. A still more disconcerting telegram arrived a few minutes later, and as I found myself vainly endeavouring to serve two masters, the authorities of the British

Burma Division, and the authorities of the Field Force, I resolved to repair my communications with the latter with as little detriment to the public service as possible. There were steamers arriving at Thay-etmyo every day, so I proposed to break up the corps and put a few men and ponies on each steamer. After much hurry and no small delay—together with some obstruction—and a good deal of kindness from the commanders of already overcrowded vessels, the whole lot were embarked, and all were present to join in the triumphal entry into Mandalay.

I have since been blamed for the want of system by which the embarkation of my men was effected. This, however, is all now a thing of the past, and I need only say that the adverse criticisms came from those who were unaware of the difficulties under which I laboured. I found myself on board the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamer *Ashley Eden*, steaming up the river with all the power that could be got out of the engines, in what we now feared would be a hopeless effort to come up with the fleet before the attack on Minhla; indeed an attack, rumour said, had already taken place, but we hoped it was only a prelude to a bigger one. The captain was a keen man who did his own work, and munched his meals while still directing his ship. He was as anxious to come up with the fleet as the youngest amongst us. It rained in torrents all day, and the banks of the river had a deserted, dreary look. Not a soul was to be seen on land or water.

I was not particularly comfortable, as my "boy" (a



big, fat, self-sufficient Madrasee), had contrived to be late for the steamer, and I was without any kit whatever ; a condition in which I remained for some weeks, and, had it not been for the generosity of my companions, I should not have had a very pleasant time of it either as regards warmth or cleanliness. But one blanket goes a long way in the East, and you can do at a pinch on two flannel shirts.

The *legitimate* occupants of the *Ashley Eden* were the Hazara Mountain Battery and the 23rd Madras Infantry. The guns were worked by big powerful mules—animals that climb hills and clamber over the rocks like goats. The men were Sikhs and Punjaubees—great, tall, powerful fellows with muscles on their arms like blacksmiths. In this regard they were a strange contrast to the mild Hindoo of Southern India, whose spindle-shanks were so well shown off by that most tell-tale leg-gear, the *puttee*. The 23rd were a very smart Madras regiment—the best shots in the Presidency—and looked and acted like soldiers. There were at this time with the corps a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and four subalterns.\* I think when it is taken into consideration that the Madras Army is not recruited from warlike tribes, but, on the contrary, from an agricultural, rice-eating people, of poor physique, and much attached to their homes and families, it is very creditable to all concerned that these regiments are as fine as they are. Hitherto Government has acquiesced in the enormous “following” of old

\* Three out of four are since dead. Cochran, killed ; Laing and Angelo died of fever.

men, women, and children who drag about the country after a native regiment. Each man has not only his wife and children, but also a great tribe of relations to provide for out of his pay, which is by no means a fortune. It is difficult to legislate for the eradication of an evil of such long standing as this old Madras custom, but something was attempted in this direction during Sir Frederick Roberts' tenure of the Madras Command. This same regiment, the 23rd, was apparently the first to introduce, with any show of success, the system of messes amongst the men, as practised in British corps. Regular cooks had been appointed, and the younger sepoys lived in such comfort that they were not driven to marriage as the only means of having their rice cooked.

As the afternoon wore on the rain slackened a little, and before dark the weather got quite clear. But there was yet no sign of the flotilla. The rule on board these steamers is to anchor before dark and remain anchored all night ; but our skipper, like ourselves, was anxious to hear the news, so he steamed on for an hour after nightfall by moonlight when, on coming to a bend of the river, the whole flotilla of steamers burst upon our view.

It was an exhilarating sight. All the steamers, with their accompanying flats crowded with men, were drawn up in two lines ; numerous lights gleamed on their decks, while on their zinc roofs the signallers "flashed" away messages from ship to ship with untiring zeal. The little launches puffed and buzzed away between the lines of their big brothers, con-

veying passengers hither and thither. On the left bank loomed the "beetling height" on which stood Kolegone Fort, and on the right bank was Minhla a humble, straggling village partly hidden in bush; and a glorious moon shone over all, illumining the shining river, and lighting the path of the armies of the Great Queen.

We slid up the stream, and anchored at a point indicated to us by the occupant of one of the aforesaid launches. I got into this launch, and was conveyed to the head-quarter steamer, the *Thanbyadine*, a long, narrow craft of low draught, with no flats tacked on to her. I clambered on board, and was soon amongst many friends. Everyone was in high spirits; the Minhla forts had been captured with small loss—the main body of the enemy had, however, evacuated the Kolegone fort, and retreated without waiting for our surrounding movement to develop. The staff had had a hard day's work. One of them had come off badly out of the fighting, Major McNeil, A.Q.M.G., having been hit on the knee, and rendered *hors de combat* for the rest of the campaign.

Of course the Job's comforter was not wanting in this assembly of staff officers. "By Jove, old fellow," he said, "what a chance you missed by not being here. With fifty mounted men, you could have clean cut off the retreat of the main body. Your fellows would have been awfully useful—just the thing we wanted. . . . You'll never get such a chance again." "Bosh, my dear sir," quoth a bright-eyed doctor, "of course he

will get plenty of chances ; these little Johnnies mean to fight, and these young gentlemen of the Volunteers will have their fill of fighting before we reach Mandalay."

This was no time for vain regrets, so I sat down beside an old "pal" and heard a graphic account of what I had missed.

What was at this time known as the Minhla forts—since demolished—constituted the first fortified defensive line designed to oppose an enemy's progress up the Irrawaddy from British Burma. The principal fort, Gwe-Gyomg-Kamyo, or Kolegone, was situated on the left bank, on a commanding knoll close to the river at a point forty-four miles from Thayetmyo. It was well constructed by European engineers, and armed with numerous guns. It completely commanded the river for some miles, and had the ordnance been of modern type, and well served, would have rendered the approach of any vessel a perilous affair. Nearly opposite this fort, on the right bank, was the town of Minhla—a considerable native place. There was also a fort here which surrounded the Woon's Court and offices.

Having reconnoitred this position, General Prendergast resolved to land his troops some miles lower down on both banks and advance by country paths, if possible, on both places simultaneously. In order to divert the enemy's attention from these operations, he directed the armed steamers to engage in an artillery contest with the forts at long ranges.

In pursuance of these instructions, the First Brigade landed at 10 a.m. at a place called Patanago, about

seven miles below Kolegone fort. This brigade was ordered to move round the back of the low hills which here run parallel to the river, and gain a position east of the fort, from whence a direct advance was to be made.

The Second Brigade supported the First.

On the right bank, a force composed of the 2nd and 11th Bengal Infantry, and the 12th Madras Infantry landed at about 11 a.m. at Maloon—a village six miles below Minhla, and started to move on that place by the intricate foot-paths, and through the dense bush which prevail here.

The First Brigade, followed by the Second, succeeded in gaining the position indicated, viz., a white pagoda on a rising ground, after about two hours' severe marching.

On the first appearance of our troops, thus occupying a position in their rear, the garrison of the fort, already disconcerted by the fire of the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen*, were panic-stricken, and, evacuating the place, fled in wild confusion in a northerly and north-easterly direction.

The fort was occupied, and some half-dozen Burmese soldiers were found badly wounded therein.

The troops operating on the right bank were in better luck. By noon they were well on the road to Minhla; moving along three more or less parallel pathways in the direction of their object. The jungle was intensely thick, and in some places great delays occurred, making it impossible to impart unity into the advance.

The action was commenced by the skirmishers of the 12th M.I., who found themselves checked by a hot fire from a defensive position in thick bush. Some delay occurred here, as the enemy's exact position did not appear clear. At length, the 11th supporting the 12th, a resolute advance was made, and the Burmese, hustled out of their position, fell back on Minhla.

The 2nd Bengals were meanwhile moving on the left of the general line of advance. The 11th and 12th were pretty well mixed up. Desultory fighting now took place, the enemy pluckily disputing the advance, but unable to check it. During this work, Lieutenant Drury was killed, and Major McNeil severely wounded. At length a small party of about a dozen men and three or four officers reached a point due west of the fort. An immediate rush was made up the ramp which led to the *terreplein* of the work. Lieutenant Wilkinson was up first, and got severely cut about the head, but none of the others were touched. There were about 500 men in the place, half of which number threw down their arms and gave themselves up, and the remainder rushed out by the river gate. Here they ran right into the jaws of the troops, and were shot down in dozens.

Our loss was 1 officer and 4 men killed, and 4 officers and 27 men wounded.

*Having listened with much interest to this story, I swallowed half-a-glass of whisky and water, and letting myself down into the launch, went puffing away over the moon-lit waters to my hard couch on the deck of*

the *Ashley Eden*. Arrived there, I found that some of my fellow-passengers had got quite different stories of the day's doings, and perhaps more accurate ones; who knows? No two witnesses of an action ever yet gave the same account of what they saw. Unfortunately, for the cause of truth and justice, the first report of an event—which is generally false or exaggerated owing to the circumstances of excitement under which it is related—is almost always believed ever afterwards.\* The more matured account is scarcely ever looked at. It may be true or it may not be; but it is dry and dull, and therefore is generally disregarded by the public. That man-making and man-marring autocracy the Press, have their wicked will in this regard. "Gineral's despatches, indeed," says Blubber Smith, the tavern politician at the Blue Bull, Whitechapel; "all got up, bless yer. For a true account o' a haction give me a noospaper correspondent. There aint no polishing up this, nor leaving out that, 'cause it tastes nasty; there aint no prejudice one way nor t'other—not about the like o' 'im, you bet!"

After a short delay, caused by the necessity of arranging for the garrisons of the captured positions, on the morning of the 19th the whole flotilla advanced. We felt sorry for our comrades, dropped on those bleak shores, but this is a thing inevitable in all wars. The detachments were composed of guns of

\* A friend of mine has a saying that "if you only let a lie have twenty-four hours' clear start you may save yourself the trouble of contradicting it."

the Bombay Mountain Battery, the Liverpool Regiment, and 2nd Bengal Infantry. To be left on the line of communications is regarded as a great misfortune by soldiers, as it generally entails months of inaction ; but in this case they have had plenty to do, and have done it right well.

This campaign has strangely reversed all previous experience in this regard, and some of the troops who were pushed 800 miles up the river to Bamo and Mogoung have had less fighting than many of their comrades who formed the original garrison of Rangoon. This is a quaint case of the fortune of war.

All orders and messages were communicated from ship to ship by means of signallers, irreverently styled "flag-waggers." Perched on the zinc roof of the steamers they worked incessantly, and never flinched under the fierce rays of the sun or the heavy showers of rain which, ever and anon, drenched them to the skin. It still continued to rain heavily for hours daily, which made things the reverse to cheerful ; and cholera, the direst of all diseases, made its appearance amongst the troops.

Scarcely a soul was to be seen on the banks on this our second day's journey up the great river. We anchored in the same order as on the previous night at Membo ; since the head-quarters of a Commissioner and a Brigade. A large steamer, the *Doowoon*, joined us with some detachments of my own men on board. It now became the head-quarter vessel, with the addition of the greater portion of the mounted corps, and I transferred myself thereto. If there was



any landing to be done at short notice we were now well placed, being always to the front and unencumbered by flats. The volunteers seemed very fit, and notwithstanding their hard fare—a change from the Pegu Club, Rangoon,—were in capital spirits, thoroughly identifying their fate with that of the redoubtable “Tommies” around them. Not a murmur did I hear. This was at one of those happy periods of every campaign when anything and all things please, when everything is fresh and full of interest, and the heart is buoyed up by high hopes, if not by noble aspirations. If to-day has been uneventful, surely to-morrow will be fruitful of adventure. The waiting and the weariness and the long months of inaction had no part in our life during these early days.

Another day—and another wet day too—we steamed ahead with many stoppages, but saw no sign of the foe. Fears were openly expressed that there would be no more fighting; and this night we drew up and anchored at Yenangyoung, near which town are a number of earth-oil wells which have been worked steadily for many years without any very marked success.

The trade in earth-oils, it is said, has been damaged by the importation of kerosine, which is far superior. The former is now principally used for preserving wood from the combined effects of weather and white ants.

Another morning dawned—the steam-whistle of the *Pioneer* steamer uttered three piercing shrieks, and





PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION TO MANDALAY

in a very short time we were once more under weigh. It was decidedly a score to be on board the head-quarter ship. We were not obliged, like our less fortunate friends, to keep in any particular place. The *Doo-woon* could go where she pleased. Now she was far ahead—even abreast of the cheeky little *Kathleen* as the latter went puffing along, armed with her Gardner gun and manned by fifteen blue-jackets, and feeling quite equal to engage single-handed Theebaw's whole army—and now she was bringing up the rear; while, far ahead of her, crawled the great chain of steamers, remarkably resembling a procession of enormous blackbeetles.

The Intelligence Department this day reported that information had reached them that the enemy were posted in great strength at Pagan, where it was probable a decisive action would be fought. This seemed not improbable, and our spirits went up at the prospect of some work.

Another detachment of mounted infantry had come up and joined us, and I was beginning to feel more happy. We forged ahead all day, battling with the mighty currents. On the whistle of Captain Woodward's ship blowing "the halt," we would shoot ahead to see what was up, and again "tread water," whilst, one by one, the whole fleet steamed past us. Hitherto there had been only one mishap. A gun-*barge*, with two 6·3-inch 'howitzers, had gone to the bottom, and one steamer coming on behind the fleet had stuck in the mud with no more baneful effect than *the intense annoyance of the troops on board.*

On this night we pulled up off Sillaymyo, where we got *pucka* information of the presence of the Burmese troops at Pagan. Those who knew the country—and very very few they were—naturally supposed that Theebaw's general had ensconced himself under cover of the succession of ready-made fortresses which the ruins of the pagodas naturally form, and from which he could only be dislodged after a severe struggle, and heavy losses on our side. So, fully persuaded that we were in for a fight, we left Sillaymyo as soon as the fog had cleared, and moved forward to Pagan. At about two o'clock we hove in sight of the city, and steamed on in full view of it for a couple of hours. It would be difficult to imagine a more curiously-interesting sight than the ruins of Pagan to-day. As I have already stated, I had seen it before, and had studied it, both from an historical and architectural point of view. Indeed, so much reference has already been made in the early pages of this work to this ancient city, that the reader, to a certain extent, must feel at home now that we are there. Fifteen years had elapsed since I had seen it, but, excepting the fact that it was wonderful in its extent and the variety of its architectural remains, only a dim vision of it remained in my mind's eye.

It was truly a lovely November noon as we now forged ahead. The rain had cleared the atmosphere, and the air had that peculiarly fresh and crisp feeling which is characteristic of the early days of the Eastern winter. Every speck on the blue hills far away seemed discernible to the naked eye.





SCENE IN UPPER DEFT OF IRRAWADDY.

Perched upon the zinc roof of the *Doorwoon* were several staff officers, binoculars in hand, busily engaged in trying to discover some sign of human life amongst the countless domes and spires of the temple-studded plain. But nothing moved. It looked like a weird city of the dead; and it was so. Someone remarked what a grand place it would have been to have defended. Artillery would have done little damage to the solid masses of masonry which would have afforded safe cover from fire. For a close defence it was still better adapted. Each temple and pagoda was a fort in itself, with as many as three tiers of fire—and there were hundreds of these, each flanking its neighbour.

As I made no reference to these interesting ruins in the cursory sketch of my first journey to Upper Burma, given in the foregoing pages, I propose to devote a word or two to the subject here. Pagan was a royal city for over four hundred years, viz., from A.D. 840 to A.D. 1286; but only for the last two centuries was it supreme in Indo-China, and it was during this latter period that most of the temples—and all the great ones—were built. The architecture of the various temples is by no means exclusively Indo-Chinese; on the contrary, many, especially the larger ones, bear the impress of Indian craftsmanship.

Yule, who spent several days here, goes most minutely into the subject.\* He estimates the number of temples at from 800 to 1,000. There are several types, each representative of a certain school of art. The bell-shaped pyramid of solid masonry. The same



raised over a square or octagonal cell containing an image of Buddha. The bluff knob-like dome of the Ceylon Dagobas, with the square cap. The Pumpkin Pagoda. The cruciform vaulted temple. Three gigantic temples dominate their lesser brethren, as St. Paul's dome towers above his neighbours.

The loftiest is called the "Thapingu." It stands on a high platform, and is surrounded by a number of smaller *kyoungs* or spires.

The "Gaudapalen" is another conspicuous object which catches the eye of the spell-bound traveller. It much resembles some great European cathedral.

Another colossal ruin is the "Dhamayangyi." It is encompassed by a brick wall 250 yards square. Yule remarks on the brickwork, which he says is the most beautiful imaginable.

We seemed to have reached the northern limits of the city, when a stoppage occurred in the fleet, and the *Doowoon* once more shot ahead to ascertain the cause. Through our glasses we could see the *Kathleen* steaming down stream with all speed—evidently charged with some important intelligence. "Well done, little *Kathleen*," remarked an officer, "Trench has run them to ground." Woodward signalled a moment later. "Enemy in sight; entrenched on left bank." We could see the bluffs overhanging the river's bank upon which Alompri's soldiers were posted to oppose our advance.

It was late in the day to have effected a landing, and long before any turning movement could have been accomplished it would have been dark. What

happened was this: Captain Woodward was directed to advance with his armed steamers and floating batteries, and engage in an artillery contest with the enemy on the bluff. He had under his command—in addition to the *Irrawaddy* and the launch *Kathleen*—the *Gnawoon* under Commander Carpenter, R.N., and the *Pulow* and *Ataran* which towed the two floating batteries, armed with the great guns. The batteries were the invention of Colonel Carey, R.A., who displayed great skill and ingenuity in their construction on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities. So the big guns were christened by the men “Mother Carey’s Chickens.” Whether the possession of these noisy and ponderous young birds were an advantage or a disadvantage to our Chief is a matter on which opinions differ. If he had no big guns he could never have been accused—and most unjustly accused, moreover—of allowing three Burmese armies to go away with their arms. He would have been obliged to have attacked and destroyed them with infantry. But then he would not thereby have fulfilled his instructions to “move up the river and occupy Mandalay *with as little bloodshed as possible.*”

The *Doowoon* goes as close as she can without interfering in any way with Captain Woodward’s little squadron.

And now let us watch the little one-act drama about to be played under our eyes. Through the clear air we descry the muzzles of the enemy’s guns protruding from the embrasures of the batteries on the bluff.

There are two of the king's steamers distinctly visible, but they appear to be sunk, and are lying over in the water close to the lofty bank. The armoured vessels now move cautiously forward. One would think they were going to bombard Cronstadt, so carefully are they manœuvred. The flag-waggers now redouble their efforts, as messages fly from ship to ship.

Surely they must now be within range. Yes, the *Irrawaddy* swings round and a white puff of smoke issues forth. The action has begun. The floating batteries move up into line, and the great guns, belching forth flame and smoke, hurl their iron messengers of death at Jack Burman's devoted head. Screeching and whistling they tear a passage through the pure air of the evening. "Boom" goes a shot; there is a pause; then a great column of smoke rises out of the thick bush; then a sharp report comes back to us over the waters.

But what are the defenders at all this time? Well, they are hard at work serving their guns. We see white puffs all along their position, and the reports reach us in little "pops." Firing heavily, Captain Woodward pushes steadily on. The shells strike the bluff, and bursting with a report twice as loud as that of Jack Burman's artillery, raise great clouds of red dust high into the air. As the range becomes closer the practice improves. The little puffs become less frequent and more fitful, but their continuance shows that these little red gunners are still at their guns. Then they cease altogether.

The declining rays of the setting sun shed a golden light on the sleepless waters as they pass ever onwards on their passage to the sea, and flood with a red glow the wooded heights, perched upon which, only an hour previously, this little army of savages had resolved to do, or die, in defence of their King and Country. But seventy-pounder shells bursting all round them have upset alike their nerves and their patriotism. In a word, they have bolted, leaving their guns in the hands of the victors. It is now nearly dark. We see the blue-jackets on the roofs of the king's half-sunken steamers, and Captain Woodward—these sailors are never satisfied—wants to know if he may land his men, and take the guns. We suppose the Chief must have granted permission, for in the fading light we see the sailors swarming up the heights, and disappearing. No enemy was found there alive or dead. The guns, eleven in number, were thrown over the cliff into the river.

On this day, the 22nd November, we had reached a point 144 miles from the British frontier—which may be deemed satisfactory progress.

We remained anchored at Pagan part of the next day, and detachments of the Bombay Mountain Battery, Liverpool Regiment, and 11th Bengal Infantry were disembarked to garrison the place. The camp was fixed on a commanding height. The surrounding scenery was pretty and interesting, but I thanked my stars I was not to be one of them. Three months in an entrenchment in South Africa, which had once been my fate, made me feel that I had done my share of

that sort of thing for life. As we had orders always to be on the watch, to sleep in our boats, and fall in one hour before daylight; and, as no enemy ever appeared, even against the most distant skyline, I have always regard these three months of "sitting tight" as by no means a happy experience. Still it had to be done, and these fellows had their turn now. They seemed cheerful enough, and glad to stretch their legs on *terra firma* again. The best part of one of our three brigades had now disappeared.

During the afternoon we made a further advance, but only for a few miles, when we drew up and anchored for the night. But now we were no longer on board the head-quarter steamer. A further addition to the mounted corps had arrived from Thayetmyo the day before, and the staff began to consider the relative advantages and disadvantages of our room, and our company. They decided for the former.

The men occupied much of the space which was required for the numerous army of clerks appended to the different departments; and the ponies, some of which were given to kicking, rendered the passages insecure, and, by their nocturnal stamping and squealing disturbed the slumbers of these aspiring Moltkes. So I was informed that a whole flat attached to the *Thurreeah*, one of the finest steamers in the fleet, was now at my disposal, and would be brought alongside the *Doowoon* for the reception of my men and horses. The change was made in next to no time, the ponies trailing over the planks laid across as if they had been at the work all their lives.

The skipper of the *Thurreeah* was known as "the Commodore." He appeared to be a lame man ; had a shock head of red hair, and a shrill voice, and he evidently did not regard the advent of about a hundred kicking and biting ponies as an unmixed blessing. However, he was a thoroughly good fellow, and did his best to make my officers and men as comfortable as possible. He was a personal friend of some of the volunteers, and expressed much sympathy with them in their self-imposed discomforts. Indeed, I had to restrain his generosity in this regard with unpalatable firmness. I fear he did not altogether credit my evidence that they were quite satisfied with their field rations ; but as a matter of fact they were. His "any amount of beer, whisky, and soda, &c.," which he was anxious to give them, was accordingly declined, with thanks, much to his surprise. He did not approve of the volunteer movement when carried into the field of offensive warfare. "These men," he urged, "bear valuable lives, and if they get killed, or lose their limbs, who is to compensate them or their friends ? What are they to gain in any case ?" "Oh !" I replied, "they don't expect to gain much ; they come of their own free will to see a little real soldiering. They will certainly get a medal, and possibly a little prize-money." "Well," he said, "they are fine fellows, and show a good spirit. I wonder if I shall get a medal ?" And away he toddled to his work.

The next morning, shortly after we had made a start, the Hampshire Regiment, and some Sappers, landed at a place called Kounyuwa, demolished a

battery, and took possession of some guns. Information was obtained here that the whole Burmese Army, under Hle-thin, the Atwin Woon, was assembled at Mingyan, a large town about twenty miles further on, where they had been occupied for some days in entrenching themselves. So we steamed on full of hope. The country very much resembled that through which we had already passed—the open bits being limited to the vicinity of the villages—everywhere else jungle.

We were pretty well to the front in the *Thurreah*, although it was a falling-off after the general's ship. We had a distinguished brigadier on board with no end of ribbons on his coat, so we were safe not to be forgotten. Towards evening we hove in sight of Mingyan, and there was a great deal of stopping, blowing whistles, &c., &c., and the Commodore was in a fine rage.

Some of us climbed on to the zinc roof, and began to ply our field-glasses. Mingyan appeared to be a large town, and there were numerous spires and *kyoungs*. The banks of the river were alive with men, and on the high ground at the back of the town masses of troops were visible, the huge gold umbrellas of their leaders gleaming in the sun.

“This, it would appear, was the only Burmese Army that was ever assembled, but, judging by their position and the ground they covered, it could not have exceeded a few thousand in number.

“I hope,” said a keen young sub by my side, as

us land and attack, and not use those confounded 'Mother Carey's chickens.' They kill no one, and only frighten them away."

Luckily the gallant C.R.A. was not present to hear this disparaging remark about his pets, but I thought the youngster had hit the right mark on the head. His wish was not to be fulfilled. No order came to us to push up to the front, and presently the big guns began booming forth. Those hungry tars were once more monopolising all the play. The guns were enfilading the Burmese batteries, which appeared low down near the bank, and across the sandy bed of a dry arm of the great river. We could only descry their position by the white puffs of smoke which issued from the batteries.

As the armed steamers slowly advanced, one battery after another was silenced, and the enemy could be seen scuttling into the long grass and high standing corn, but all moving towards the main position on the north side of the *nulla*.

Night was beginning to close round us, so we came to a halt and anchored. Not so the Naval Brigade. If Captain Woodward ever received any signal to hold hard, he must have failed to appreciate its meaning, for as it grew darker the fire from the ships increased. Not satisfied with silencing the batteries, the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen* ran right up under the entrenchments and engaged in a lively contest, using case-shot, Gardners, and musketry, while the Burmese opened a musketry fire on them all along their entrenchments at close range. Meanwhile



"the chickens" continued to play their own game, the great shells bursting like exploding powder-magazines far away inland. The fire continued till some time after dark, then gradually subsided. Two blue-jackets only were wounded, so the Burmese fire must have been pretty wild.

I think we all felt convinced that not a Burman would be in sight on the morrow. They would scarcely wait for a taste of the breech-loaders. The peril they had undergone would probably be good enough for them.

Elaborate orders came round, detailing arrangements for the big fight which was to come off on the morrow; and, although I was firmly convinced that the enemy would, in accordance with their custom, evacuate the place during the night, I was proud to see that the mounted corps was designed to take an important part in the proposed day's doings.

Carey's noisy fledgelings could not even roost till daylight, or let others sleep, for before dawn they began kicking up a row again. This, however, stopped somewhat precipitately, and all was quiet.

The morning came, and we steamed up to our appointed landing-places. But where was the foe? Where were the busy clusters of kerchiefed heads? Where were the gold umbrellas which shone under the declining rays of yesterday's sun? Alas! all gone. Not a soul was to be seen along the lines of deserted entrenchments. We landed, got on our ponies, and had a look round. Not a shot was fired, and only a few villagers were to be seen. Some of these

last actually assisted us to cut some grass for our ponies.

The Burmese entrenchments were most ingeniously constructed, and gave excellent cover from a fire from the river, but could of course have been rolled up by a flank attack. A line of low hills ran at the back of these lines, and parallel to them, which seemed to facilitate a surrounding movement; but my own belief is that they were too sharp to allow of anything of the sort, unless it was undertaken at night. There were a few dead found about.

After an hour or two on shore, some sturdy-looking villagers came to stare at us, and seemed willing to lend a hand to anything in quite a cheerful spirit. This conduct is very characteristic of the Burmans. There is an impulsiveness and a mental and moral elasticity about them which is most quaint. They are friendly, confiding, obliging, and cheery at, say, 6 a.m. This is not altogether free from genuineness whilst it lasts; but an hour later the same half-dozen who have thus volunteered to lend a hand will, if only the idea come into—or be put into—their heads, elaborately crucify you, laughing away lustily at your agonies.

Before we re-embarked I was troubled to collect the numerous ponies which I had lent (on receipt) to different commanding and staff officers. With the exception of my own there were scarcely half-a-dozen in the whole army. However, I got most of them together, and another start was made for Mandalay.

The detachments left here were almost exactly

similar to those at Pagan, viz., Liverpool Regiment, 11th Bengal Infantry, and Bombay Mountain Guns. We had now only two brigades for the finishing operations, scarcely too many if Mandalay was to be defended. One of our three British regiments had disappeared, and all the Bengal Infantry.

On this evening the fleet anchored off Yandabo, the place where the Treaty of Peace was signed which brought the first Burmese War to a close in 1826. Fogs in the mornings now caused us considerable delay, it being impossible to get under weigh before eight o'clock.

We were only a good day's steam from the Ava forts and lines, which it was said would be resolutely defended. There could be no doubt that affairs were approaching a crisis.

At Mingyan the Intelligence Department ascertained that the army assembled there had fallen back on these positions, which was quite within the bounds of possibility, as, owing to the bend in the river here, the land journey from point to point is little more than half the distance of the river route.

So, all expectant, we steamed ahead for hours without encountering any more formidable obstacle to our advance than some floating barges filled with stones which had evidently refused to sink.

About four o'clock, however, a king's state barge, resembling somewhat a Grecian war-boat of the olden time, was seen approaching ; a white flag on a pole at her stern fluttered in the breeze. This looked like no fight, but no one much believed it meant anything more than an attempt to gain time.

The *Kathleen* went forward to meet this primitive man-of-war, and taking her somewhat unceremoniously in tow, tugged her up alongside the headquarter-boat. A halt of some duration now took place. We had guessed the game rightly on board the *Thurreak*. It was simply to ask for an armistice until all things were prepared to receive us at the capital. The barge contained two great Mandalay functionaries : (i) Myoung Shoay-ak-Kyouk Myoung, Atwin Woon, the Minister of the Interior ; (ii) Oo-shoay-ak Watima Soot, Woondonk. These gentlemen were invited on board the general's steamer, and ponderously produced a royal letter which, translated by Colonel Sladen, ran thus :—

“ Dated 4th decrease of Tasoungmon, 1247.

“ *From His Excellency the Prime Minister to the Commander-in-Chief of the English War-boats.*

“ 1. Although the treaty negotiated at Simla was not concluded, the Burmese Government were under the impression that the former friendly conditions would still prevail, and they would not therefore believe that the English Government would make war on Upper Burma.

“ 2. The Burmese Government have always had at heart the welfare and prosperity of the English people. They have all along protected the interests of the Irrawaddy Company's teak trade, and the present interests of all British subjects.

“ 3. We are desirous of still further protecting

British interests as far as lies in our power, both at present and in all future time.

“4. The last letter forwarded by the Government (the ultimatum) contained very important political matter, and our sovereign regrets that the time allowed was too short to admit of serious deliberation. The English Government ought to have known that the reason why the Burmese Government did not freely concede all the demands made, was because we were not allowed sufficient time for deliberation.” \*

Twelve or fourteen paragraphs followed, almost the same expressions being used as in the foregoing, and concluding with these words : “ We now desire that hostilities should cease, and we trust the English Government will meet us half-way, and enter into a treaty by which friendly intercourse may be resumed between the two countries.”

To all this the general replied that it was quite out of his power to accept any offer or proposal that would affect the movement of the troops on Mandalay, and that if King Theebaw agreed to surrender his person, his army, and his capital, and that if the European residents in Mandalay were discovered to have been unmolested, he would respect his life and the lives and property of his family. He also said that the reply to this announcement must reach him by 4 a.m. the following morning.

As a guard, I presume, for this mission, a king's steamer, armed with guns and the bulwarks barricaded,

\* They asked for time to consult France, Germany, and Russia.

appeared coming down the river. Her decks were crowded with soldiers, and she flew the king's peacock flag. She gave us a wide berth, and nearing the shore must have been in quite shallow water. The cheeky little *Kathleen* puffed up to her and stood watching her ready to pounce, as a bulldog watches a bull. Presently Colonel Sladen, with six or eight blue-jackets, boarded her and summoned the crew to surrender, but the majority preferred jumping into the water and swimming, or wading ashore.

On this night the fleet anchored at a place seven miles below Ava, and once more orders were issued for the fight on the morrow. A rough and, considering the scant information at his disposal, fairly correct sketch of the country was prepared, and sent round by our ingenious and indefatigable chief of the staff, Colonel Bengough, and I received orders to gallop for a bridge, and hold it against all comers; so there might yet be a chance for some work for us, and not uninteresting work either, as the bridge was the enemy's only line of retreat.

Our brigadier sent for commanding officers to explain to them their orders, and issue his own. Some instructions had been laid down for the assault on the Ava Fort, which was to be stormed by a party of a gallant regiment. The report quoted said: "The ditch can be crossed by throwing across two-inch planking." This was too much for the gallant colonel, who exclaimed, "What the devil does he mean? (the writer of the report). Cross on a two-inch plank! Does he think me a rope-dancer?"

Another morning dawned cold and chill; a dense, white fog obscuring all view.

At about 8 a.m. the three whistles announced the "farrard" once more, and the great chain of steamers were soon breasting the current. But we had not gone far when another of those confounded golden barges was seen approaching. This naturally meant more delay, but no one for an instant thought that any check in the general advance would take place. The barge, however, drew up alongside the *Doowoon*, and the messengers produced the following letter:—

"No. 1. Sent by Royal Order.

*"From the Hlot Dan to Bo Hmoo, Atwin Woon; Pen Myo-sa Maythit, Atwin Woon; Kyouk Myoung, Atwin Woon; Wet Ma Soot, Woondonk; Pendalai, Woondonk.*

"When the English ships arrive you are on no account to fire on them. Let all the troops keep quiet. Publish this everywhere. The king concedes unconditionally to all the demands made by the Commander of the English forces as contained in his letter of yesterday's date. You are to let the English Commander know this as quickly as possible."

The general now transferred himself from the *Doowoon* to the *Palow*, Captain Woodward's ship, and the latter steamed rapidly ahead. This was all a mystery to us, and, having strained our eyes to see what was up, we walked about the deck, moodily wondering how events would develop themselves.

After what seemed to be an endless wait, the welcome three whistles were heard once more. But now our advance was very slow and tedious, and our signallers could get no information out of the leading steamers. As Ava became more and more distinct, we could see numbers of Burmese troops manning the fort, and the earthen entrenchments known as the Ava Lines, at the back of which were thick woods. White flags were everywhere to be seen. As someone remarked, "The brutes must have cut up all their table linen." Above Ava we descried a line of apparently half-sunken vessels right across the river, evidently intended to bar our advance. The view as we approached was certainly very lovely. This is, to my mind, by far the prettiest and most interesting portion of the Irrawaddy scenery, although, of course, some of the upper defiles are more imposing. Our course was almost due east, owing to a bend in the river here. The Sagain Hills, a succession of lofty bush-clad cones, crowned with snow-white temples, seemed from this point of view to close the passage of the river, which really passes round their southern extremity. As we slowly advanced, the landscape opened out, and straight in our front the rugged blue line of the Shan mountains cut hard against the clear sky. The sites of other ancient seats of royal power, little by little, came in view. Sagaing, on the right bank, nearly opposite Ava, and, higher up, on the left bank, Amarapooṛa appeared embosomed in thick woods, the earthworks of the great wall being about all that remained of the city. Our ship had now passed by the spot where I had been directed to land



my men, and we were almost abreast of Ava Fort. Here there was a pause in the proceedings. The armed ships were in our front, and were sulkily basking on the waters opposite the forts waiting for orders. To judge by their attitude, the Burmese soldiers along the entrenchments seemed like ourselves—"waiting for orders."

At length the signal came—"On the ships opening fire the troops will land at once." As this signal was passed along there was bustle and excitement on board the various vessels of the fleet. Our skipper fixed a spot on the bank close under the fort, and he said, "Now, on the first shot, I'll run you in there." Some waited in hopeful anticipation for the "boom" of the first cannon. As I could see that all the fighting would be storming a succession of forts and earthworks in dense woods surrounded by water, I had determined not to land the ponies, but fight on foot,\* and we were all ready to jump on shore the moment she ran alongside. The "boom" of the first gun never came! What did come was a message, which ran thus:—"Land, and take over the arms which will be surrendered to you." So he ran her in, and in a moment or two the volunteers and mounted infantry were swarming up through the long grass of the high bank. The fort was found to be empty, and some of the men pulled down the two red flags which had been hoisted only about half an hour before by the Burmans, and substituted the "Union Jack." Gradually troops joined

\* Where the "bridge" was shown on the sketch there was a large lake.

us from other landing-places, and we formed up in quarter column.

The work of taking over the enemy's arms was now being proceeded with under the personal supervision of the political officer, who was radiant with delight. A bloodless victory was a diplomatic victory for him. General White's brigade, higher up the river, was engaged in the same work at Sagain and Thabyadan.

All the afternoon guns, swords, and spears were piled in heaps on the open space nearly opposite the fort. I have never seen any return to show the exact number of guns surrendered by the Burmese army on this day, but I should say they must have been at least two or three thousand stand. I am very doubtful from what I saw of the enemy's numbers on shore, and what I was told by men who viewed their position from other points, if more than four, or at the outside five thousand musketeers were assembled to oppose us on this day. In fact, we actually obtained possession of almost all the serviceable artillery and three-fourths of the muskets of the king's army assembled to defend his capital. For argument's sake, let us see what would have happened in another case—I mean in the case of our attacking, and dispersing the army. The preliminary fire of the guns would have made the forts too hot for the defenders, as their guns were practically useless; and all the fighting would have been confined to a running action through thick woods, amongst pagoda walls and ruined buildings. Not a soul amongst us knew the ground. The enemy, on the other hand,

knew every inch of it, and, according to their universal custom, would have kept their backs—so long as they continued to fight—turned to their lines of retreat, and, after a resistance, short or long, in proportion to their losses, they would inevitably have bolted through the morasses, thick bush, and long grass to the eastward, and taken their arms with them.

After a hard day's fight, we might have secured a couple of hundred stand of arms, those of men killed and wounded in action, but no more. I am quite sure that since that day I have been asked the same question two hundred times. It has been put to me at Rangoon; it has been put to me in India; and it has been put to me in England. "Why," they ask, "did you allow the whole Burmese army to escape with their arms at Ava? Your action in doing so has caused all this bother with dacoits." My answer has always been the same. "We did nothing of the sort; we took all the arms we could possibly lay hands on, and only a few stragglers made off with their arms." But this answer never satisfied anyone, because, I fear, my statement was not quite credited. "Well, all we can say," they objected, "is that we were told, or read somewhere, in some paper, that General Prendergast's army abstained from disarming the king's troops at Ava;" and so the matter is disposed of. But, as I have already explained, it is altogether contrary to the facts of the case, and utterly without foundation. On this night we again re-embarked, not in the best of humours. This was poor sort of soldiering.

A passage had been discovered by Commander

Carpenter, R.N., through the obstruction in the river, and orders were issued for a general advance and occupation of Mandalay on the morrow. The morrow came and brought with it another day's hopes and speculations. After the mists had lifted from the river the fleet of steamers got under weigh and passed, one by one, through the opening in the obstruction across the river.

The battlements of Thabyadan frowned on us as we passed; the surly cannon protruding from the deserted ramparts; while from the flagstaff which yesterday bore the banner of the Alompras, the flag of England fluttered in the breeze.

We were entering an enemy's capital—scarcely an occurrence in everyday life. It had over 150,000 inhabitants, foreign to us in race, language, and religion, and yet there were no visible signs of resistance. What could all this mean? Was it really that these people, weary of the extortion and corruption of their own rulers, and sighing for the freedom and universal prosperity of their more fortunate brothers of the south, were now assembled to welcome to their capital, with open arms, the soldiers of the "Great White Queen?"

The train of vessels drew up alongside the shore at a point on the river due west of the walled city, and from whence several parallel roads lead direct thereto, and the disembarkation was immediately proceeded with.

It was about midday and the sun was flaming hot. As at Mingyan and Ava, I was on this day "rushed"

for mounts. I could not supply half the applicants, who produced written orders, so that if I pleased some I got myself disliked by others. Being sensible to the claims of a representative of the great British public, I lent a pony, saddle and bridle, to a "correspondent." His choice was unfortunate, for the animal, finding the weight inconvenient, immediately bucked him off. The attempt was repeated with a like result, or rather a worse one. I did not witness this drama ; but a few minutes later the gentleman approached me leading the pony. His helmet was broken in, and he limped badly, but he bore a cheerful countenance. "Thank you, Sir," he said, "for the pony ; but I prefer to walk."

The troops now fell in by brigades on the broad space between the water's edge and the lofty earthen *bund* which runs parallel to the stream as a protection against periodical floods. It was arranged that columns should enter the city, as far as possible, simultaneously on all four sides, concentrating round the palace enclosure which was situated in its centre. So many were the demands for mounted men, that I had some difficulty in retaining an officer and twenty men as a personal escort for the general, whose staff I joined myself.

A little after midday the bands struck up and the march began. We advanced by what is now known as the A road. It does not lead straight to the city, and it becomes necessary to make a turn at right angles to the left, and then again to the right, in order to reach the south gate.

After about an hour's march along thoroughfares at least fifty yards wide, covered with refuse and filth of all sorts and infested by pigs and dogs, the walled city suddenly broke upon our view. I had seen it before years ago ; but it had since been much beautified, and I confess I had not retained a correct idea of its extent and grandeur. There was an amplitude and vastness about the whole thing which was refreshing. The lofty red brick walls, crowned at intervals with graceful and finely carved spires ; then the broad green grass space beneath, which has since been converted into a racecourse ; then a lovely moat of clear, placid water, eighty yards wide ; then a road fifty yards broad which environs the city outside the moat. The circumstances, too, were grand and momentous, even more so than the scene. There was a glorious uncertainty about what would happen next which always has its charm. We were told that we should find the city gates thrown open ; that the soldiers would lay down their arms and the king surrender himself ; but we were quite prepared for a very different reception. No one really knew what was going to happen, and it was quite on the cards that when we were well under the walls, we should be greeted by volleys of musketry. For all this we were perfectly prepared. But nothing happened. We crossed the handsome bridge, and defiled through the " King's Gate " with as little concern as if this foreign capital had been in our possession for a hundred years. There were very few people about the broad streets, within the walls, and those who we saw squatted in the doorways and stared at us with

impotent indifference. At the gates, some of the soldiers remained in the guard-rooms, but they at once surrendered their arms when called upon to do so, and helped to pile them into lots. I was directed to take my mounted men round the walls outside, in case there should be any effort made to carry off the king in the last moment, but no such ruse was attempted. We rode round the eastern and northern sides, and re-entered the city again by the gate in the centre of the latter, and eventually pulled up outside the palace stockade already referred to.

Here all the troops were now assembled and the men were allowed to fall out. I entered the gate and joined the general's party assembled outside the great gate of the king's palace. No one seemed to know what the next move would be, as that would depend a good deal on the political officer who was at this time in His Majesty's presence.

After some time Colonel Sladen appeared. He seemed much moved by his audience with the king, and urged upon General Prendergast the desirability of giving him another day of freedom. "He is quite calm and resigned," he said, "but he wants time: he wants as much time as we will give him." After some discussion, the general agreed to give the king another day; but he impressed upon Colonel Sladen the necessity of making it quite clear to His Majesty that he must be ready to surrender himself by noon on the following day. A guard of two regiments, the Hampshires and Madras Pioneers, was placed in the palace, and strong guards were posted on each of the city

gates. The remainder of the troops returned to the ships. An attempt has been made to give the public the impression that there was widespread disorder throughout the city and suburbs on this night, and that many lives were lost and much property stolen; but there is little ground for such assertions. The palace was in charge of General White, who exercised the most minute personal supervision over his command, and although there may have been some slight disturbances in the suburbs, there was much less violence done to the persons and property of the inhabitants than might have been expected under the circumstances. Some valuables were, doubtless, removed from the palace by some of the female attendants of the court who were allowed to go in at the special request of the king and queen, but I am exceedingly doubtful if articles of any great value were removed by these women. Many accusations have been levelled at the officers and men who were located in the palace on this day, and afterwards. The common cry was—and is still—that the women looted the palace, and that, on their way out with their spoils, the soldiers looted the women. Now let us see how much truth there is in this report, which I affirm is false.

A few months ago, when on tour of inspection at Tavoy, where the exiled "Queen Mother" has her residence, I paid Her Majesty a visit. When she became aware that I was one of those present at the closing scene of her political life, she was most affable, and talked away for about an hour. She readily gave my friend and myself all the information we required.



It is rather a delicate matter to cross-question a queen, and we had to be very careful. Her daughter, Soopyah Lat's sister, was by her side, both the ladies sitting curled up on dining-room chairs facing us.

She ran over with extraordinary volubility, and minute attention to detail, all the circumstances connected with the deportation of the royal family, for the benefit of my friend, who is, perhaps, the most widely known Englishman in Burma, and is regarded by the people, rightly or wrongly, as a "go-between" in communications with the natives and the British Government. I elicited the following information from her majesty's statements.

She had heard that there had been some disturbance inside and outside the palace on the night of our entrance into the city ; but they knew nothing of it in the royal apartments. She did not hear that the English soldiers had misbehaved, or looted the palace. She had lost one box of valuables, but she did not know who had stolen it. She still held the key of the box. When asked direct if the report that the women who had been allowed into the palace had gone away with heaps of jewelry was true or false, both the queen and her daughter burst out laughing, the elder lady remarking—"the women were only servants of the lower sort ; they were allowed in principally to fetch their own little property. They did not know where any of the royal jewels were kept, and they did not come into the royal apartments."

This statement, I consider, demolishes all the humbugging yarns that from time to time have ap-

peared in public prints about the disappearance of the fabulous treasures of the Burmese capital. The vast wealth of the Alompra Princes, as represented by jewels, was a myth. They never existed at any time, as subsequent events have proved.

I can say honestly that the spirit of loot was not rife in General Prendergast's army ; at least, if it was, I never saw it manifest itself. All we took were a few spears and Burmese flags, and these only by permission. A Madras sapper found a handsome necklace, and delivered it to his officer, and many other similar cases occurred. I believe that a better-disciplined, or more self-restrained army never entered a foreign capital.

Orders were issued on this evening for a second, and triumphal entry on the morrow.

The different columns started about 10 a.m., by the same routes as were taken on the previous day ; the troops entering by the different gates to their rendezvous outside the palace enclosure. The general and his staff assembled at the grand entrance to the palace, and there awaited the intimation of the political officer that the fallen monarch was ready to surrender his person. We waited, it appeared to us, an interminable time ; until indeed, even the marvellous equanimity and calmness of the general showed signs of giving way. Like a true soldier and gentleman, as he was, he desired nothing less than that any action of his should show want of respect, or feeling, for the king in his present delicate and painful position.

At length Colonel Sladen appeared and said that the king wanted another day's law. To this the

general gave a very firm negative, and the former re-entered the palace gate. He shortly afterwards returned with the announcement that the king would receive the general.

The great gates were now thrown wide open, and the Hampshire Regiment marched in. When the leading files reached the foot of a flight of stone steps which led to the hall of audience, the men were halted and a line formed with ranks facing inwards with fixed bayonets, from this point to the outer enclosure of the palace grounds. Through these ranks the captive monarch must pass.

The procession was now formed at the aforesaid main entrance. It was headed by the eight principal ministers. I thought, considering the circumstances, their manner and bearing was dignified and self-contained. There were one or two rather good faces, and one or two decidedly bad ones. They were all dressed in the finest of white linen—white kerchiefs encircling their brows. The most remarkable characters amongst them were the Kenwoon Menghee—a little, fussy old man who had been prime minister for many years, and the Tinedar Menghee, whose name, both before and after the annexation, has been so much before the public. If the latter has committed half the crimes he has been accused of, he must be a unique villain. He was supposed to be war minister under Theebaw, and certainly exercised some real power in the country. He was stigmatised as the “head dacoit.” In appearance he was a short, stout, comfortable-looking man of about forty.

All being ready, the procession moved off, headed by the political officer. We crossed the palace yard, and reached the foot of the steps, on each side of which were two enormous gilt cannon, at least twenty feet in length. Slowly the fat ministers ascended the steps. We passed through the Hall of Audience,\* with its gilded pillars, at the far end of which is situated the king's throne. Leaving the throne on our left, we threaded our way through a labyrinth of passages and buildings—through gilded saloons and halls all ablaze with mirrors, at length descending a flight of steps and entering a garden with paved walks, tanks and fountains of water, fairly-sized trees and walled enclosures.

Having passed through two or three of these enclosures, we came in sight of a little summer-house at the far end. In the verandah sat a young Burman, apparently quite unconcerned, and behind him squatted a couple of women, one old and scraggy, and the other young and not ill-looking; while two or three other women peeped through a half-open door at the back. This must evidently be the "King of Kings" himself, for Colonel Sladen, removing his hat, bowed low, and the white-robed ministers prostrated themselves until their brows kissed the cold earth at their feet. The fat-cheeked lad remained unmoved: but on closer inspection his face bore unmistakable evidence of the dread which had taken possession of his soul.

The guard of soldiers was drawn up not far off;

\* This is surmounted by a lofty spire which is called "The centre of the universe."

and now the general advanced, and bowed respectfully to the king.

The young woman was no other than Queen Soopyah Lat, and the old lady, her mother, who had so long enjoyed the reputation of being the instigator of all the massacres which have disgraced Theebaw's reign. She was small and withered, and one failed to detect in her looks the evidence of the resolution, sagacity, and daring with which she has been credited. The scared eyes of the women wandered restlessly from Colonel Sladen to the general, and thence to the guard and their gleaming bayonets.

A long conversation now took place between Colonel Sladen and the king, all of which was interpreted to the general. It ran somewhat thus :—

*Sladen* : This is the English general, your majesty. He has come to request you to keep your promise of yesterday, and to surrender yourself to his charge.

*King* : Will the general spare my life, and the lives of my family ?

*Sladen* : Certainly, your majesty, he will treat you with great respect and consideration, and will allow you to take anyone you please with you, together with your personal property.

*King* : Will the English soldiers protect me from my own people ?

*Sladen* : The general will see that you are surrounded by soldiers on your way to the ships.

A pause followed this.

*Sladen* : Are there any of your ministers whom your majesty would desire to accompany you ?

There was here a slight stir amongst the magnates referred to, who all this time had remained prostrated with their hands clasped, and their faces on the ground.

*King* : When I go into captivity those who love me will follow me, but those who like themselves best will stay, and look after their own property.

Sladen now addressed the ministers, asking them if any would desire to accompany the king to Rangoon. After a pause one old fellow rose slightly, and expressed his willingness to accompany his master, and later on another mumbled something. The king meanwhile regarded them with a somewhat scornful, incredulous look in his small eyes. He then shook his hand angrily, intimating that he would have nothing to say to any of them.

*King* : You must come with us, Sladen, as you are an old friend.

*Sladen* : I regret this is impossible, your majesty. My duties will detain me here.

As the day was wearing on, the general impressed upon Colonel Sladen the necessity of persuading his majesty to prepare for his departure. He did so, but the king showed no signs of moving. Colonel Sladen then pointed out to the king that the general wished to treat him with every respect, but that he could not agree to any further delay.

*King* : How much longer will I be allowed, then ?

*The General* (looking at his watch) : Ten minutes.

On this the general once more bowed to the king and moved away. We spread ourselves over the gardens and grounds, and waited events.

The young white elephant was an object of attraction. During the proceedings above described, he was screeching away with all the power of his lungs ; why, no one seemed to have any idea. His gilded shed was out of sight of the king's garden abode, nor could he have seen or heard the procession pass through. He now eyed us mistrustfully, and was evidently by no means inclined to be friendly. The old white elephant occupied another part of the palace enclosure, and was also very angry at our intrusion. His keeper had fled, and as the animal was very savage no one could be got to take his place. With the exception that these creatures had a leprousy whiteness about the trunk they differed no way in colour from other elephants.

There was a magnificent swimming-bath, which we inspected ; couches and beds were arranged round it, under cover. We can imagine the royal Burmans during the late king's reign bathing together in this cool reservoir, and smoking their cheroots and dozing on the beds and sofas about. If this state of things ever existed it was so no longer ; all Theebaw's brothers and sisters had been murdered, or forced to fly the country.

The whereabouts of the general was clearly visible by the presence of the " Union Jack," which Captain Lindsell, commanding the escort, bore aloft, and not a step was our Chief allowed to move without this visible emblem of British nationality.

The ten minutes had become an hour, and yet there was no sign of a move on the part of the royal household. Transport had been provided for the

king's property, and hospital doolies were in readiness to carry the many ladies of his suite.

At this juncture a very excited individual, a native of India, appeared upon the scene. He was the bearer of news for the general. His story was that the city was in an uproar, and that an attempt would be made to rescue the king. No one believed the story; it was one of those scares which are always afloat in stirring times.

The royal party were now seen moving towards us. They were walking along the paved path which led from the little summer-house. Theebaw, his wife, and mother-in-law were in front, the women clasping the king's hands; then followed two or three ministers, and the political officer; about twenty women and girls, some with babies in their arms, some dressed in their gayest colours, some with roses and orchids in their hair, and all carrying boxes containing their earthly goods, closed this unique procession, which moved at its own pace through the many-chambered palace, along the winding corridors, and through the gilded saloons all ablaze with mirrors. It entered the Hall of Audience, passed the throne, and stopped at the head of the steps already referred to, which led to the ground level where the soldiers were formed up. These stood in their ranks below—silent and grim—their bayonets glancing in the sun. No wonder there was a check, but it was not for long; a few kind, reassuring words were spoken and the procession passed onwards through the ranks, and reached the outer gate.



Here were two small carriages. The king, his wife, and the old queen mother entered one, and some lesser personages entered the other. The ladies of the court turned up their little flat noses at the doolies, and preferred to walk ; the guards, composed of my own men and the Welsh Fusiliers, closed round the carriages, the bands struck up, and the brigade moved off.

The day was already far spent, and even had we been able to proceed without checks to the river's bank, it would barely have been reached by sundown ; but, as it was, there were many stoppages. The roads were awful, and the bridges and culverts in a rotten state. To make things worse the head of the column took the wrong turning, making a difference of a couple of miles in our march. Night came on and the carriages trundled along over ruts and stones. The crowds increased tenfold with the darkness, but it was a suburban crowd and quite harmless. Still a rush might have been made and the traps overturned, when anything might have happened ; but nothing did, and we at length, with much satisfaction, came in sight of the lights of the steamers. As I rode alongside of the king's carriage I couldn't help calling to mind the fate of the Delhi Princes.

We all pitied the poor little " maids of honour," as we called them. They walked the whole way, and some of them were by no means in a condition to undergo such trials. They were utterly exhausted when we reached the steamer, but had pertinaciously stuck to their bundles. Strangely enough, they had chatted merrily with the soldiers on the way

down ; Tommy Atkins, not understanding a word, grinning a grim reply. The poor girls were really very frightened, and thought that by practising their winning little ways on these great rough-looking men, the latter would be more likely protect them.

One episode caused some laughter. All Burmese women smoke ; if anything, they are greater smokers than the men. On her way down her majesty the queen thought she would tranquillise her nerves with a weed. She had a tobacco leaf, but no light. With characteristic frankness, she put her fair head out of the *gharry* window, and asked the nearest soldier for a match.

“What does she say ?” said the man. She held up her cigar to express her desires, and quite a rush took place to supply the required light. She honoured someone, smiled, and began puffing away.

The steamer was reached, and the whole party crowded on board. The saloon was positively crammed with women. The king went straight into his cabin on arrival. Every comfort was provided for him ; he was left entirely unmolested, and on the following morning the *Thurreeah* left for Rangoon.

Thus fell the last of the Alompras. They had arisen amidst blood and flame ; they sank almost without a struggle.

Out of the wars and tumults which convulsed this portion of the East during the beginning of the last century, Alompra, the hunter, had arisen. He was of poor parentage, and his trade was despised, but his personal prowess surmounted all difficulties. He cast

off the yoke of the Talaing Empire, and made of Burma a free and united State, embracing almost the whole of Indo-China. He died, and his descendants succeeded one another with a rapidity which points to the instability of their power. Each accession was followed by brutal massacres as the only means of removing rivals. The dynasty was preserved, but the prince who could obtain the largest following placed himself on the throne. As a necessary consequence of this system the Empire began to totter, and States proclaimed their own independence.

Foreigners appeared upon the waters of the great river. They first conquered with fire and sword, and then ruled with wisdom and justice. They were the subjects of the "Great Queen" who ruled the world. To their laws all were alike subject, and life and property were safe in their keeping.

The star of the Alompras paled under the fierce expanding rays of this resplendent sun, and has now set to rise no more.

#### EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE FALL OF MANDALAY.

On the last day of November, and almost exactly a fortnight after the expedition had steamed across the frontier, its mission had been fulfilled. What were the orders given to our general on the eve of his departure from Thayetmyo?

"Mandalay must be occupied, and Theebaw dethroned. You should announce this definitely to the Burmese authorities and population. You will be informed hereafter whether Upper Burma is to be

annexed. If so, the Commissioner will go to Mandalay and assume civil control.

“Meanwhile, it seems desirable that you should leave in any important fort, or other place taken and garrisoned by you, a civil officer, who should, under the orders of the commandant, enter into communication with the local Burmese officials, and through them pacify and administer the country, giving assurances that Theebaw will not remain in power.

“The immediate objects of the expedition are the occupation of Mandalay, and the dethronement of King Theebaw.”

And so we had carried out our orders to the letter, and with “as little bloodshed as possible” on either side.

“So far you did right well,” wrote an old Staff College “pal” to me some months after, “but why did you then proceed to sit tight and do nothing?” My answer was very much the same as to the friends who accused us of allowing the Burmese to go away with their arms. I said, “We did nothing of the sort.”

Now, to those who have read the letters and telegrams which appeared in one or two of the leading English papers relative to our action in Upper Burma at this period, the story of our misdeeds will still be quite fresh.

Giving the war correspondents credit for being impressed with a sense of the accuracy of their statements, I can only say that I am at a loss to understand how they arrived at their conclusions, having due regard for the circumstances passing around them.

After my South African experiences, I have always had a great respect for these gallant fellows. Few men have been more abused, and perhaps none have been more praised. Had I not been brought up to the profession of arms, I think I should have chosen the life in preference to any other, so far be it from me to infer that our newspaper correspondents, as a class, do not use their utmost endeavours to supply the public with sound information. I feel quite sure that they do so. Of course they are anxious to know everything ; that is only natural, and in their zeal for their employers, they sometimes—not often—ask for too much, are refused, and there is friction and, on occasions, bitterness. If no news is sent, their masters are not pleased, and if events are passing not, perhaps, exactly under their eyes, which are of general interest, they must get their information second-hand, and wire it off as expeditiously as possible. They labour under great difficulties, especially those who have not made their names, and are anxious to do so. They cannot afford to wait. I remember during one of those wearisome halts on the march to Ulundi in 1879, asking Archibald Forbes what he found to write about during these “wait for the wagon” days on the Upoko River. The great correspondent was busily engaged mending holes in his pony’s back. After a pause, he flopped a piece of wet rag on the nasty raw place, saying significantly, “I don’t write at‘all.” But it is a hard lot that of a war correspondent ; he must be a hard man, possessing sleepless energy and great courage. In most cases he is the soldier’s friend, but can be nasty

enough if thwarted in his desires, or treated with contumely. But in this he resembles the rest of mankind. If he be a good man he can do an infinity of good, but if he allows himself to be carried away by his feelings he may do irrevocable harm.

I fear at this time there were those in camp who were saying bitter things against us in the English papers because we did not advance through a desert without supplies ; but I assert that the utmost activity prevailed among all the departments of the staff, although, it must be admitted, a certain amount of inactivity on the part of a portion of the troops was rendered unavoidable by the absolute impossibility of obtaining transport.

The officers of the commissariat converted old hulks and sheds, which had hitherto been the receptacles of filth, into stores, and worked in these unhealthy places for twelve hours daily. In addition to the transport staff, any young officer who could speak a few words of the language was attached to the department, and worked loyally to get together some transport animals. With escorts of five or six mounted infantry, they scoured over the country, and picked up royal elephants, and ponies, which had been allowed to stray about uncared for. Picquets and outposts were established on all the main roads leading to the city, and guards placed on all the principal buildings, and in the main thoroughfares, to preserve order.

My own men also worked loyally. On some occasions, having been patrolling all day, with very little

food, they had to dismount their exhausted ponies, and patrol on foot during the night. Unaccustomed to ride, many were suffering from fearfully galled legs, but they never murmured. The Burman portion of my command under their own officers, Messrs. Fford and Law, patrolled the city by night and day, keeping order, and arresting robbers. On the third night of our arrival, two of these police were severely wounded in an encounter with dacoits outside the city, but, owing to the courage and presence of mind of Mr. Law, succeeded in driving off and dispersing the band.

The general himself visited every part of the city and suburbs, and all important points in the surrounding country, accompanied only by an escort of twenty mounted infantry, which after a few days was reduced by one half. No British general ever worked harder than Sir Harry Prendergast at this early period of our occupation of Upper Burma.

Excepting a few hundred Madrassesees, our only means of transport, now that we were no longer on the river, consisted of 2,000 Punjaubee coolies, which Captain Cather, R.E., had brought with him from Upper India. These poor wretches, turned into beasts of burden, toiled all day under their heavy loads, and, very ably organised as they were, did good service. Cholera had broken out amongst them, and some laid down, and died by the way. This dire disease had made its appearance on every steamer in the fleet, and daily threatened to assume the form of a fearful epidemic. Fortunately the troops were got off the

ships in time, but there were great difficulties in housing them. All the country round which was not built over either by private houses or Buddhist temples, was more or less under water, and it would have been dangerous to have pitched tents thereon. The only healthy locality lay at the north-east corner of the city under the lofty isolated elevation known as "Mandalay Hill." All this country was a forest of temples and sacred edifices, and was the abode of the monks.

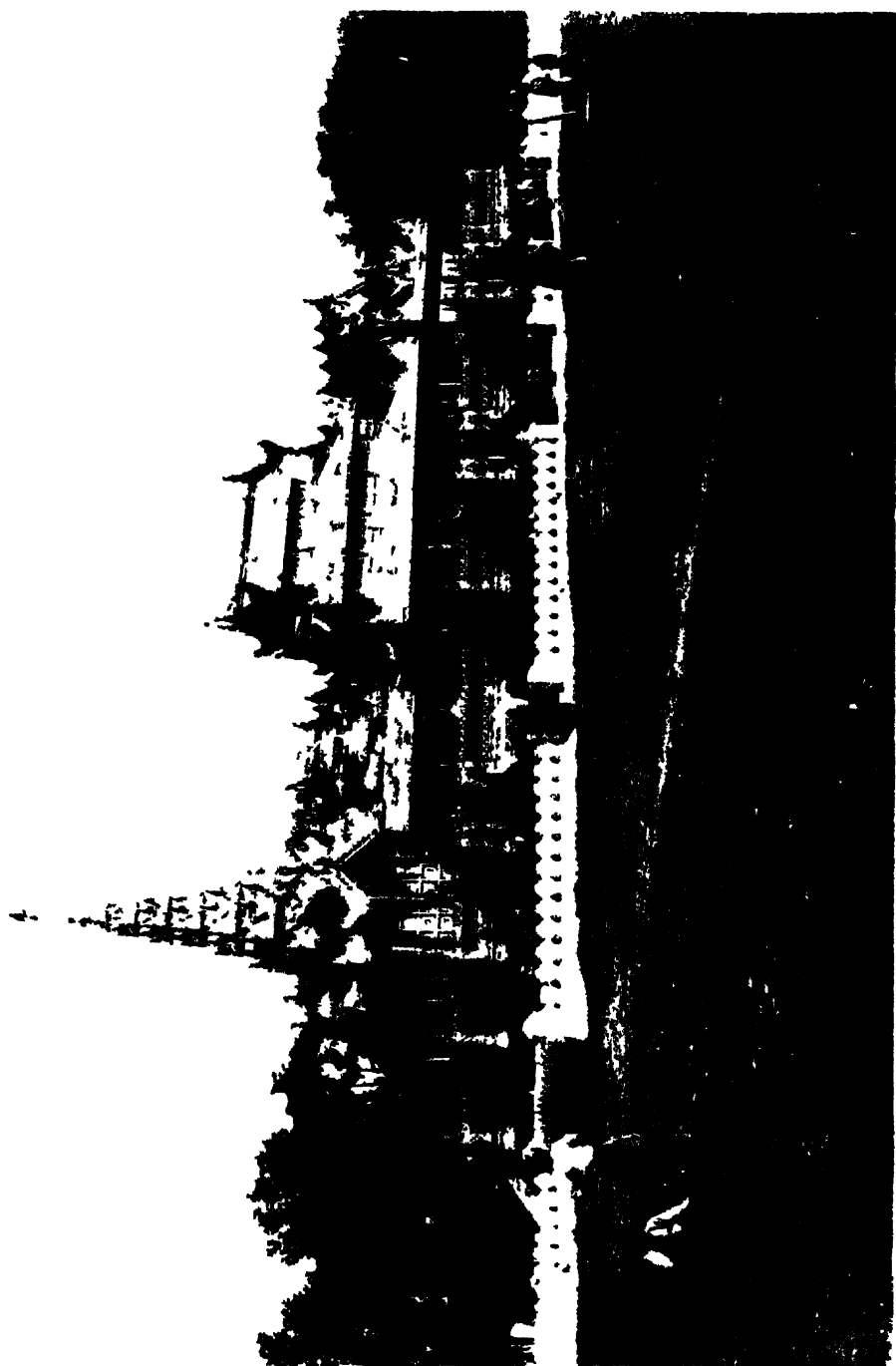
So we were on the horns of a dilemma. We were particularly anxious not to offend the susceptibilities of the *phoonghees*, who are a gigantic power for good or evil in the country, and it was absolutely necessary to get the troops off the ships and away from the river at once. At first the archbishop and his advisers strenuously resisted the idea of allowing the soldiers to occupy the monasteries, but at length gave way to the persuasive eloquence of Colonel Sladen, who promised him that the men should only occupy the monks' dwelling-wards, and that the churches should remain untouched. So matters were at length squared, and all, except a guard and the Welsh Fusiliers, shifted their quarters to the neighbourhood of the monasteries. The latter regiment was despatched up the Irrawaddy to pay a visit to the site of Mootshobo, the birthplace and capital of the first Alompra—where it was reported there was a gathering of malcontents, and I sent some of my mounted men with them as scouts. The city was reached unopposed, and nothing was seen of an enemy. The party having made a circuitous



march, returned to the river at Kyouk Moun—*a* village forty miles north of Mandalay on the right bank.

Before moving my men from the disease-saturated river's bank, a great calamity had occurred to the Burma field force in general, and to myself in particular—the Rangoon Volunteers, who had so loyally volunteered for service when there was a sudden call for mounted men, had been recalled by their employers, and had taken their departure for Rangoon. The general issued a flattering order, thanking them for their services, expressing his admiration for the spirit which had prompted them to desire to serve their country in the field, and wishing them a hearty farewell. I made this second deduction from my command a pretext for renewed efforts to induce the authorities to support the idea of a large increase of the mounted infantry. Instead of being increased to "five hundred strong" it had decreased to less than fifty. The men and ponies were much overworked, and sore backs were only too prevalent. Everyone agreed that they ought to be raised to some hundreds—we could have improvised saddles out of those made by the Burmese—but no order could I get issued on the subject. The real difficulty was the ponies. If I could state that the ponies were ready, an order would be issued for the men. It was in a word a fight between the transport officer and myself, in which, in face of the great demand for transport, he beat me; but I had no intention of letting the matter slide. I was daily expecting about a hundred more saddles and bridles which I had ordered from Calcutta, and I still hoped





that a grant of money might be allowed for the further development of my project. There were some columns sent out to scour the surrounding country, but with the exception of a small village scrimmage, nothing in the way of fighting occurred.

So we cast in our lot for a few days with the shaven and yellow-robed monks of Buddha, who we found very good fellows. Strict orders were issued that none of the men should enter any of the temples or interfere in any way with the property of the priests, and I think these orders were obeyed. The monks finding "Tommy" a friendly, companionable sort of fellow, soon became quite chummy, and when the men returned in the evening after a long day's work, they would find water ready drawn for them and sometimes milk and eggs.

The old bishop, who occupied a finely-carved *kyoung* not far from the officers' "mess," came to see me two or three times, and we had long conversations by means of an interpreter. He was very difficult to pump, and most cautious in his utterances. He was anxious to know what our plans were, and how long we proposed to stay in Upper Burma. I always told him that there was not the slightest chance of our ever evacuating the country again; but I don't think he believed this. Of course, he said, the advent of the English would be bad for the Buddhist religion, as its head and high priest and its most bountiful patron, the king, would be no more; but as regarded civil government, and suppression of disorder and so forth, the English would be better than the Burmese government.

He said the presence of my men ensured the absence of dacoits and robbers, which was something ; but that he hoped all the officers would never be absent at the same time, as the soldiers might do damage, or kill the monks. This remark was too prophetic, as the only trouble there was during our stay here took place when all the mounted infantry were out but two privates, who immediately proceeded to get into mischief.

Before quitting this locality (for a few days after my arrival here I was ordered to accompany the expedition to Bamo), I must say something more on the subject of the Worship of Buddha in Burma.

Writing in 1855, Colonel Yule estimates the population of the Burmese capital, then Amarapoora, as 80,000 souls, of which 20,000 were phoonghees. The immense encouragement given to these "loafers" by the old king may not improbably have accounted for this almost incredible proportion ; but certain it is that to-day their numbers in and about Mandalay cannot be much less than 10,000. The most marvellous thing to my mind is that this forest of magnificent temples is the work of the last quarter of a century. The actual outlay even with impressed labour must have been immense.

True, the money required for the erection of Buddhist temples, and for their exterior and interior adornment, does not all come out of the revenues of the State. The late king, Theebaw's father, who was a great patron of the church, spent enormous sums in this way. In fact he set the fashion, and all classes, rich and poor, followed it.

When a Burman desires to lay up for himself treasures in Heaven, he builds a pagoda—if he be rich—and if he be poor, he purchases and presents to the monks little gilt images for the interior adornment of the churches. These are by no means all representations of gods or of the sublime Gautama, but of grotesque demons gyrating in ecstasies of intense pleasure, or pain. If money is not forthcoming, a little rice, and even flowers, are laid as an offering at the feet of the great image.

The kings of Burma have always been the patron saints of their subjects ; and, after they have “shuffled off this mortal coil,” they have verified Hamlet’s sneer, and have lived in history, or been forgotten, in proportion to the number and magnificence of the temples erected in their lifetime.

The “old king,” as Theebaw’s father is always called, exerted himself to the utmost to live in history. The result is now before us. As we stand on one of the upper terraces of a magnificently-carved, gilded temple, as large as an English cathedral, we view on all sides a number of more or less similar structures, with their countless pinnacles and spires. Some are of polished teak ; some are all golden ; some are pure white. The quantity and character of the carving alone is amazing, while those constructed of solid masonry show a care and elaboration of design and execution which points to the fact that even in these, the days of her decline and fall, Burma owns some artists of no mean ability.

. Most of the temples are surrounded by high

masonry walls. In one enclosure, about four hundred yards square, there are seven hundred small pagodas, all built on the same pattern. These contain tablets inside, on which are written the records of the Buddhist faith. In the centre of the square is a lofty one of solid masonry covered with gold leaf.

Not far from this enclosure is the newest and, indeed, the most extensive building in this group. It consists in an enormous square edifice constructed in successive terraces of masonry, getting shorter and shorter until the summit is reached. It is not quite finished, and now, probably, never will be. It is called "The Incomparable." The interior is even more magnificent than the exterior. It is entered by many small gilt doors, which open into two extensive halls the full height of the building. Each is supported by eighteen handsome pillars covered with gold leaf, and suspended from the ceiling are about an equal number of enormous stained-glass chandeliers, evidently of European manufacture. Entering from the eastern side, straight in front of the observer is a colossal image of Gautama, about thirty feet in height, and gilded all over. It is reared up against the dividing partition, and there is a round hole in the centre of the forehead. This, previous to our arrival, contained a large diamond, which was removed, the monks say, by dacoits on the night of the 29th November. The other hall is similar to the one described, but faces west, and is incomplete in every respect.

As, I opine, a natural result of all this waste of money and treasure, there was at this time at Mandalay,



IMAGE OF GAUTAMA IN THE INCOMPARABLE PAGODA.





and throughout all considerable places in Upper Burma, much real distress. The alarm created by our arrival on the scene naturally tended more to increase than diminish this.

Thousands of coolies were employed by us in road-making and sweeping the streets, and received payment at the end of each day's work. This system—so new to poor Jack Burman, who was never in the habit of receiving the worth of his hire—became very popular, and, if we only had had the money to lay out in this way on our first arrival, much after trouble would have been warded off. But we had only a very limited sum for this kind of work.\*

On one occasion, while riding from my camp to the city, I witnessed a little scene which was quaintly illustrative of the new spirit which our advent had

\* A good story is told, illustrative of the way the labourer received his hire at Mandalay in the good old days. It was determined to employ a host of coolies in repairing the moat and ramparts some years back. The old king ordained that they should each receive one rupee a-day—a price much higher than the usual pay for such labour. Great doubt was expressed as to whether this amount would ever reach the labourers' horny palms. One of the young queens expressed herself solicitous for the poor coolies, and volunteered to pay them daily with her own fair hands. So she sat herself in royal state in a specially-erected turret outside the walls, and daily paid away rupees. Those who were allowed to come forward got rupees, but the great majority were pushed back, and went away with the hope that on the morrow they might be one of the lucky ones. It leaked out at the palace that the lady was making a pile, and a general, fearing lest her strength should be overtaxed, volunteered to help her. She reluctantly consented. A minister was the next volunteer, and the billet soon became the most popular one at Mandalay.

invoked. The occupation of the *kyoungs* by the army was evidently regarded by the masses as indicative of the overthrow of the power of the priests ; while the introduction of a system of payment for labour was regarded as a further sign of the emancipation of the poor from their chains. Half-a-dozen phoonghees, much encumbered by their robes, were gingerly mending a drain which communicated from their monastery to the moat. Unaccustomed to the work, and thoroughly hating it, but evidently foiled in their efforts to obtain unpaid labour, they set about it with no small reluctance. Only one very old man, evidently a wayfarer, too feeble to resist their importunities, had they been able to impress into the labour, and his movements showed unmistakable signs of a desire to "bolt," should opportunity offer. I pulled up my horse for a moment, and looked on. The old fellow, seizing an occasion when the holy men were thoroughly absorbed in bricking the drain, looked up at me appealingly, and, holding out the palms of his withered hands, shook his head with a woeful grimace, as much as to say, "Help a poor old man, forced to work against his will, and—no pay !"

Before the departure of the Bamo Expedition broke up the brigades which had taken part in the original occupation of Mandalay, it was determined to organize a day's racing for the benefit of the sporting Burmans of the city. The fortnight which had elapsed since our arrival had made a great change in the attitude of the inhabitants. Numbers had returned to their houses, and "young bucks" mounted on smart ponies gal-

loped about unrestrained. There were lots of ponies now for sale, and many officers purchased good ones at comparatively low prices. Cloth Burmese saddles were in use. So we collected a few hundred rupees, cleared the space between the city wall and the moat, of stones and filth, got half-a-dozen hurdles made, and turned out a capital racecourse one mile in length. We then put up notices on the city gates, and in all public places, that there would be races on a certain day at which all comers would compete in friendly rivalry, and that prizes would be given for the first, second, and third pony in each race.

As I had prophesied, the thing was a great success, and had a most excellent effect. Large crowds assembled to read the notices, and dispersed in high delight at the prospect of an exhibition of their favourite sport.

On the appointed day the population turned out *en masse*. The walls and ramparts presented a most striking and interesting spectacle, for, assembled thereon in thousands, were the inhabitants, male and female, all arrayed in holiday dress of gay colours. On the course itself, on the road beyond the moat, and perched on the house tops were many spectators; all come to see the show.

As each event came off it was greeted by loud applause, and unrestrained manifestations of appreciation. The races in which the officers competed, especially the hurdle race, evoked much mirth and laughter, which rose to fever pitch when someone tumbled; but it was the purely Burman races which

took best. The multitude yelled with delight as they saw their fellow townsmen—their MOUNG-PHOS and HPO-TCHAYS, the young bucks of the capital—with hair streaming in the wind, big toe well in the stirrup, as flog, flog, from start to finish, they dashed past in the glorious race.

But now this great day is over. Old Sol is dipping to rest, and the officers and men are wending their way to their different camps in and around the city. The vast multitude is slowly melting from the lofty battlements, and is streaming along the broad streets homeward bent, all laughing, chattering, and joking—men and women, and boys and girls—on the one common topic of the day—the races.

As may be supposed, there were many malcontents in and around the city, and once or twice our picquets had been fired on at night.

The Burmese ministers, who were still allowed to carry out the civil administration under the direction of Colonel Sladen, made light of these attacks, stating that they were made by small bands of dacoits, with whom they had always had to cope. They denied that the disturbances had the slightest political significance.

So the expedition started for Bamo, under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Norman, who was then with the Welsh Fusiliers, awaiting us at Kyouk-Myoung; but accompanied by Sir Harry Prendergast, and the headquarters of the army.

As events developed themselves, it was, perhaps, unfortunate that the headquarters were moved from

the capital at this time. But we are not all prophets, we cannot foresee what is going to take place this day week, and everything was done for the best. The Commander-in-Chief thought that by personally interviewing the chiefs of the towns and villages on the Upper Irrawaddy, and by assuring them of our goodwill, that risings might be nipped in the bud, and the people be chary of listening to mushroom agitators. Up to this time there had been no movement of any importance in the southern portion of the country, nor had our detachments been molested at the various town on the river.

So on board the *Colonel Fytche* I found myself with thirty mounted infantry on the 18th December *en route* to the confines of the "Flowery Land." There is always a pleasant feeling in going on, especially when all is uncertainty ahead. The quartermaster-general's arrangements pleased me not at all.

The expedition was thus constituted :—

Naval Brigade (crews of H.M. ships *Turquoise* and *Woodlark*).

Hazara Mountain Battery.

Half battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

„ 25th Madras Infantry.

1 company Engineers.

30 mounted infantry.

I had been rather jubilant the day previous to our departure to learn that I was to occupy one flat of the *Pulu's* load, while the naval brigade were to take up the other. In two ways this was desirable : firstly,

that the officers were good fellows ; and secondly, that they would most probably have the lion's share of anything that was going on. But in the last minute it was found impracticable, and I was informed that I must board the *Colonel Fytche*, which was the hospital ship of the fleet. This was horrid, especially as one flat was crowded with coolies who could be "winded" for at least half-a-mile. But it had to be faced so we made the best of it. One consolation I had—one can generally find some such in every situation—if disease broke out among my men, there were plenty of doctors to cure them.

Our skipper—about the tenth whose acquaintance I had made so far—was a fair, cool, blue-eyed man, a person admirably designed for navigating the waters of the Upper Irrawaddy where, at this season of the year, the time is spent partly in shaving bad places and partly lying ensconced on sandbanks. He did his best, but when once he found his steamer stuck fast he always hummed the same air—"Wait till the clouds roll by." Then he would proceed to "haul her off."

The river, already much fallen, was getting lower and lower every day. Many gave it as their opinion that it would be impossible to get the steamers up the river at this season. Each vessel had a Burmese pilot, who lived on the banks, and had been employed for years in this work ; but as the sands are continually shifting even these sharp little fellows are often at fault.

There were a good many stoppages on this first day's journey, which did not give promise of the success of the expedition ; and when the fleet of five

steamers anchored for the night, Mandalay was still in sight. The pilot informed us that we had done nine miles.

About daylight next morning we started off once more, but before many hours we stuck hard and fast on a bank, and were left behind by the fleet, which disappeared out of sight.

We felt depressed ; the imperturbable skipper with the prominent blue eyes whistled his favourite air and gave directions for the interesting process of "hauling her off," a process with which for the next few weeks we were to become only too familiar. I will now proceed to describe it.

The skipper, betaking himself to his "jolly-boat," proceeded to examine the depth of the water by means of a graduated rod, marked off in feet, painted alternately black and white.

As soon as he had succeeded in discovering the real channel of the river, which appeared to be a task of no mean difficulty, he had solved the first equation in his problem, and he returned to the steamer.

His next step was to place in the boat a small anchor with sixty or seventy yards of rope attached ; one end being made fast on the steamer. He next ordered the crew to row out, and drop the anchor in the already discovered channel. This done, the rope was made taut, and the second process completed.

Seventy yards of cable were then laid in the boat with the big anchor attached. The boatmen proceeded to haul the boat along the already extended rope, paying out the cable the while. When the



channel was reached the anchor was cast, and the crew on board the steamer, having previously adjusted the spokes to the capstan, began to haul away. The boat was now brought back, made fast astern, and all hands put their power to work. The crew, mostly Chittagonians, whirled the capstan round and round, hopping over the chains and chanting their songs. The great cable wound itself, link by link, round the iron trunk, but ne'er an inch did the steamer move. Her nose was pointed at the same identical tree on the bank which it had pointed at on our first sticking.

On these occasions one of four things must take place: the anchor may hold and the vessel may be hauled into the channel and thus got off; the anchor may drag, effecting nothing; the cable may part; both the anchor holding and the ship refusing to budge, or the efforts of the crew or the steam steering-gear may fail, and come to a standstill.

On the occasion in question the second contingency occurred. The anchor dragged, and the whole proceeding, an affair of hours, had to be begun again.

But it was now nightfall, and our philosophical skipper proposed food and refreshment all round, signified his intention of getting her off "some time before morning," and disappeared into his cabin humming his favourite air. There were many speculations as to what would become of the fleet and if they had got anything on, or not. \*

By way of cheering us, our host told us an amusing story of a fellow skipper of his who ran his ship on a bank at this season of the year, and of how the river fell

and fell until she was high and dry. "But," said he, "—— was a thoughtful fellow in his way. He had provided himself with plenty of vegetable seeds which planted, soon sprung up, making a first-rate garden, on the produce of which he lived until the following rainy season."

The *Kalassies* howled all night as they hauled away on the capstan, and in the morning we were once more afloat.

We steamed ahead, and about midday came in sight of the rest of the fleet at Kyounk Myoung, where the Welshmen were assembled to meet us. A wing joined the expedition, two companies were directed to proceed to Mootshobo and support the Woon to preserve order in his district, and two returned to Mandalay. The result of the change in the arrangements was beneficial to us, as we were no longer on the hospital and coolie ship, but alongside the naval brigade, who were the best of campaigning comrades. In addition to soldiers and sailors, we had on board the *Pulu*, and her two flats, Mr. Melton Prior, of the "Illustrated London News," and Mr. Pigott, Reuter's Agent. The skipper could not "mess" us, so that we had to shift for ourselves.

On Christmas Day we put our bits of tinned meat together, the tars knocked up a long table, and we drank "absent friends" in whisky and water out of bone and silver cups. In camps and on transports, wherever, thousands of miles from home and beauty, England's sons assemble to feast as well as they can on Christmas Day, flagons are drained to this toast.

In the hurry, excitement, and uncertainties of active service, men seldom think of anything but their work and themselves. This toast takes a man out of himself and wafts him back over oceans and continents until in imagination he sees those absent friends once more.

On this evening the Jacks had arranged to have a "sing-song." The soldiers of course were invited to join. Most of the songs were sentimental, as usual ; all about sweethearts, wives, and mothers. Some of the choruses were excellent, and must have astonished the little fishes in the great river who were unaccustomed to their sleep being disturbed by such midnight revels.

The best of it all was that there was no liquor going. Each man had had his single tot of rum—and no more. Oh ! if some wise military administrator would invent a new canteen system ! At present every regiment is supplied with a magnificent grog shop where men are permitted to drink themselves silly every day. I confess the question is the most perplexing one of the day. If you have no canteen, the men will drink filth in the town ; if you have a canteen the men get drunk in barracks. If you have no canteen, and put the town "out of bounds," the men commit crimes. One thing is certain, at least so it appears to me, that drunkenness amongst soldiers is on the increase, and I think much of it is due to the faultiness of our canteen system. I hope that at no very distant date the matter will be thoroughly gone into. The canteen, in my opinion, ought to be a place

where men could get a pint of beer, or a glass of whisky about meal times, and at no other.

I have been told by sergeants and privates of many years' experience, that there are hundreds of men in every regiment who, if they could get a glass with their pipe in the evening, or after dinner, would never take the trouble to dress, and walk two or three miles to the nearest town to get a skinful of bad liquor. In theory men are not allowed to get drunk at the regimental canteen ; in practice they do so. Most companies are proud of a rich canteen fund.

To resume, for the next few days we passed through the most picturesque portion of the Upper Irrawaddy. In the third, or lower, defile the river was still half-a-mile across, but in the middle defile its waters are contracted to less than half that breadth. In the latter the banks are in many places perpendicular cliffs, a hundred feet or more in height, and clothed in dense bush. The depth of water is immense. Strange to say we came across a shoal of porpoises in this defile, which must be about 700 miles from the sea. It is impossible they can be the same as the sea-fish, but they resemble them exactly in appearance and action, and in everything but size.

The naval brigade, in addition to guns, Gardners, and other engines of destruction, had brought with them an electric-light machine. It was adjusted and worked every night on the roof of the steamer. The effect on the natives at the villages on the banks was, as may be supposed, very striking. Had the inhabitants of London witnessed fifty years ago the

effect on the sky of an electric machine, they would most certainly have attributed the phenomenon to the signs in the heavens which are to be the evidences of the approaching end of all things. What wonder, then, that these simple villagers, 800 miles up an Indo-Chinese river, should have regarded the Great Queen's armies as having power beyond mortal ken?

Now the machine is at work, and we are going, as Captain Woodward had it, "to astonish the natives." A great ray of soft light shoots across the heavens from horizon to horizon. A flood of light is cast on a spot in the village, but it is off with more than lightning rapidity to illumine another. It now dashes to the opposite bank, lighting up dark jungle and ragged rocks. It hops, and bobs, and bounces about heaven and earth in most uncanny fashion. Now it settles down to business. The village is illumined, making every object therein distinct and clear. It visits every portion of it and seems to enter at the doors and windows. At first the people rush away, but, finding that in many cases the light follows, they throw themselves down with their faces to the earth.

In a very few minutes the village and river's banks are cleared, the terrified people taking refuge in the bush or at the backs of the houses. But this only lasts a very short time. Curiosity is stronger than prudence. So far the light has struck no one dead, perhaps it may be harmless. So the children, clinging to each other, venture into the glare, then run to their mothers' arms, screaming half with fear

and half with delight. Some of the bigger boys then rush out, have a good stare, and, having dared so much, once more disappear. The ladies seem to gain confidence next to the children. Their curiosity to see what all this means cannot be restrained any longer, so they get together in groups and hide their faces, and scream and giggle. Some of the more "cheeky" ones actually put out their tongues at us and begin dancing and gyrating about. The men last of all moodily emerge from their cover, and still not half liking it, walk cautiously about in groups; and gradually the village is gay.

The general landed at all the principal villages, and talked to the people through Major Adamson of the Commission. They all pretended to be glad to see the English, but complained that they were never secure against dacoits. The weak point of the situation was that we could'nt tell them definitely that we intended to remain for good and all, and so they felt that they were between two grindstones, the *Kalas* and the dacoits—the devil and the deep blue sea.

Once clear of the defiles we encountered much difficulty in navigation. At one time it seemed hopeless. The steamers were constantly grounding, although, it must be confessed that, owing to the skill of our skipper, who was a great judge of the water, we contrived to steer clear of the shallows.

On the 28th we sighted Bamo, but as we approached it became clear that it would be impossible to get nearer than within three or four miles of the town. As it was, all the fleet were aground, but our

own and the headquarter steamer, which drew a foot less water (3 feet 6 inches) than any of the rest.

So we anchored at a point about three miles south of the town and awaited orders. I was directed to have my men ready to land and escort the general to Bamo. It was easy enough to be ready, but as we were half-a-mile from the nearest bank it would not be so easy to land.

However, there are no such things as difficulties in time of war, so we were preparing to get them into the water somehow when the order was countermanded.

Along the great expanse of sand on the east bank a party was seen approaching. There was evidently a "boss" amongst them, for a gigantic gold umbrella was being borne along. The party put off in a boat, boarded the general's vessel, and after some little time departed. Evening was coming on and there was little prospect of the rest of the fleet coming up that night, even if the grounded ones got off at all. The assurances of the Woon were evidently so peaceful that the general resolved to walk forward to Bamo, only escorted by some of his staff. So they got into a boat, were rowed ashore, and strode over the sand-hills until they disappeared out of sight. All went off most successfully. The Woon received them, took them to the soldiers' lines, and the "bo," or officer, was interviewed. He said his men would on no account fight, and only wanted to be taken back to Mandalay. After nightfall the party returned, all well.

Scarcely anything of interest occurred during our

stay at Bamo. A landing place was effected under a high bank about four miles from the town, and some sort of a road made through elephant grass twelve feet in height.

The following detachments were landed :—

Hazara Mountain Battery.

Two companies R.W. Fusiliers.

Four companies 25th Madras Infantry.

Half company Mounted Infantry.

One company Bombay Sappers.

Colonel Carey deposited here two of his lusty young brood, which it took the greater part of the troops two days to drag to the camp. There is little doubt that the discharge of one of these guns would cause a fall of the stocks at Pekin. They are not likely to be disturbed from their present habitation.

Bamo was in no way changed since my previous visit in 1871. There was the long street raised on a brick causeway with insignificant offshoots and water all round. There was the stockade, forming something like the three sides of a hexagon, and enclosing all. Outside to the eastward, was eternal jungle, jungle, jungle.

The lofty range of the Kakhyen Hills about eight miles distant looked quite close. Everything—hill and plain and rock—clothed in dense bush. I rode along the shore northwards to see what had become of the old residency, but found nothing left to mark the spot but a few charred stakes. The last political agent had been shot dead by one of his own guard,



and the house was burnt down a year or two ago when a party of Chinese raiders had got possession of the town. Some distance higher up the Taping river, which rises in the Mountains of Yunan and follows a tortuous course westward, empties itself into the great river. The route from Moulmein to Bamo follows the course of this stream. The inhabitants of Bamo are heterogeneous in appearance—Burmese, Shans, Kakhyens, Yunanese, and Chinese—all rigged-out in their characteristic dresses, may be seen crowding along the main street,

The head Chinaman—a long, cold, clammy Celestial—seemed to treat the “Coming of the Great Queen” as an event which called for no exceptional comment. “The stage,” he remarked, “still remains unaltered; the actors only are changed,” meaning to infer, I take it, that the Chinese inhabitants did not intend to allow our advent to disturb them. They were anxious to know what our plans were, but that was more than we knew ourselves. Theebaw’s soldiers, having been relieved of their arms, became loafers about the town. Every effort was made to induce them to work without effect. They absolutely refused, and continued to solicit a free passage to Mandalay. At length, like the importuning widow, they succeeded; and about 250 of them were shipped on board one of the flats of the *Thanbyadine*, and I was directed to guard them to Mandalay with what was left of my men, now reduced to eighteen rifles.

No attempt was made to start the fleet together. Many mishaps were expected, as going down with the

current it becomes necessary to crack on all steam in order to steer her through the winding channels, and it is no longer possible to be guided by the appearance of the surface-water. Just as we were starting, a steamer arrived from Mandalay. She brought news that the whole country was "up," and that General White was to all intents and purposes besieged.

Being of a somewhat sceptical disposition, I took all this, not with the usual grain, but with a whole salt-cellar full of salt. As events transpired, not so much was necessary.

After many stickings and bumpings we reached Katha, where we found two companies of the Welsh Fusiliers, and the *Kathleen*. The officer commanding had been directed to proceed against some chief who was said to be somewhere to the westward; accounts differed as to the distance. I offered my services with ten mounted men, but they were declined with thanks, and I once more started southwards. This expedition never started. There was a difficulty about transport, and it turned out later on that the chief was a Shan Tsaubwa, who has since been recognised as the Wontho Tsaubwa.

After a journey of nine days, having spent the greater part of the time on sandbanks, we once more sighted the "Hub of the Universe." A more tiresome or irritating period of inaction I have scarcely ever experienced.

The prisoners of war behaved very well, and were clean and quiet. The "bo" informed me that all his men hated Bamo and that they had been very sickly,

thirty having died of fever. We used to employ the sturdiest amongst them for working the capstan. At first they seemed to enjoy it, and shouted lustily, but a little of it went a long way, and we had to go and lug them out from their hiding-places when they were wanted for work. Without the chant I don't suppose they would have put any "go" into the business.

Their "first tenor," a young lad of about twenty, was always deputed to sing the solo and lead the chorus. He stood apart from the others and threw himself into his work with wild enthusiasm. The song, like all Eastern ditties, consisted in constant repetitions.

*Solo singer.* Heelay kyoundy! heelay kyoundy!  
heelay kyoundy! heelay dar!

*Chorus.* Heelay dar!

*Solo singer.* Tounglan! tounglan! heelay dar;

*Chorus.* Heelay dar!

*Solo singer.* Mounng yo! mounng yo! lay, lay! lay,  
lay! mounng yo! lay, lay! heelay dar!

*Chorus.* Heelay dar!\*

And so they hauled and howled away for hours at a time. Being kept awake at night by this hideous riot did not improve our tempers, especially as we knew that we were missing a chance of doing good work about Mandalay, where fighting was going on.

One evening we found ourselves in such a hopeless mess that the question arose as to whether the necessary seeds for planting a garden were forthcoming.

\* I have vainly endeavoured to ascertain what this song means, but as the words caught my ear I recorded them in my note-book.

About sundown we espied a steamer and two flats stuck on a bank ahead of us. The captain, by the advice of the pilot, determined to attempt to pass her, the latter stating that the channel was to the right. But it happened to be on the left, and we settled down properly on the bank. The worst was yet to come. Our steamer in swinging round got right across the other's bows, and there we were in a fine fix. To get off one steamer was sometimes the work of days ; but what would be the end of this ?

It was decided that before anything was done, everyone—the hard-worked and most marvellously long-suffering Chittagonians not excepted—should have food and rest. So the captain of the other steamer came across to ours and had dinner. He was a smart, good-looking fellow, and he interested us much by an account of his own experiences on this part of the river when the war first began.

His steamer was the only one on the river when hostilities commenced, so that his position was not a very pleasant one.

“I was trading up the river,” he said, “as usual, and one morning was alongside the bank at a place called Malay. Not far off was one of the king's steamers, also at anchor. The two Woons of the district were on board my ship taking some breakfast. I noticed nothing unusual until suddenly my arms were pinioned from behind. I tried to free myself, and appealed to the Woons for protection ; but a lot of Burmans now rushed on board, and I was held fast. My chief engineer, the only other European on board,

was also secured. We were then marched, or rather pushed, along to the king's steamer, and shoved down the 'hold,' where it was quite dark, and where there was a fearful stench! For three days and three nights we remained in chains. Twice we were taken out, as we thought, to be put to death! The first time I went through all the agonies of death, mentally. We both thought our last hour had come! We knew that impalement and crucifixion were the most common modes of putting people to death in Burma, and we thought we were in for one of these most horrible deaths. When we got up on deck we saw that the steamer was alongside the bank at rather a lonely-looking place. We were led on shore and taken to a place where there were some trees. It was raining in torrents, and we were soaked to the skin, and nearly famished with cold. Here a consultation took place between our guards and some people on shore. I am quite sure that this was to have been the place of our execution. The suspense was awful; I shall never forget it to my dying day! At length they evidently 'funked' the consequences, and we were led back to the steamer, and pushed down the hold once more. They gave us food and water as before; but we were in a bad way. When we reached Myadoung, a large village, we were taken on shore again, and once more we felt anything but comfortable. We were handed over to the Woon of this place, however, who befriended us, and so we got out of the difficulty all right."

After many hours of pulling and hauling, the other steamer was floated, and matters looked more cheerful.

We were equally successful, and went flying down with the current. The three miles of shoals and shallows known as the Henjedee Bar were got over somehow, and on the ninth day after our departure we reached Mandalay. There was a fight going on at Sagaing, and the "boom" of the guns was distinctly audible. I got on my pony and galloped up to the palace for instructions as to the disposal of Theebaw's fallen heroes, and on the way up I met Mr. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner, who I had last seen at Rangoon. He told me he had been some time at Mandalay; that there were several bands of dacoits about, most of which had been broken up. He looked ill and worn, and very different to the hale, vigorous man of two months previously. His illness then was a mere nothing to what he has since suffered, with a courage and devotion to duty which I maintain has never been surpassed by any man; he has remained at the helm, and, in my opinion, as a humble soldier, steered his ship through troubled waters for the past year with a wisdom and firmness which do him the highest honour.

We rode together to Colonel Sladen's office, where it was settled that the Bamo men were to get a small sum of money each—they stated that they had received no pay for several months—to be set at liberty, and informed that if they would report themselves again after a short absence they would receive lucrative employment. So they were discharged, and I never heard of them again.

I got my men off the steamer, and we went into the same camp which we had occupied before our depar-

ture. The phoonghees seemed glad to see us, as they said there were many dacoits about, and that shots were often fired into the enclosure at night.

The question of annexation was now understood to have been settled, and a proclamation was issued which conveyed a somewhat ambiguous meaning in English. "During Her Majesty's pleasure" was an expression which might certainly leave room for hope of our eventual departure in the native mind. My friend, the bishop, came to see me, and said he hoped we would stay until things were settled down and the country quieted ; but when I told him that we would stay until the end of the world, he smiled incredulously.

We found on our return that a squadron of Madras cavalry had arrived and taken up their quarters in the next enclosure to ourselves. We heard a great deal of the expeditions which General White had despatched against the dacoits in different directions, and of course were told that we had missed a fine chance of distinguishing ourselves by having gone on the expedition to Bamo. The general and headquarter staff, after having experienced many stoppages on the sandbanks, arrived a couple of days later.

The present would be a suitable occasion for a general review of the strategical situation as it presented itself to Sir Henry Prendergast on his return from his expedition to the Upper Irrawaddy.

There could be no room for doubt that "Her Majesty's pleasure" meant for ever ; and it had therefore become necessary to take measures to bring the

country under complete subjection with as little delay as possible.

If we spread out before us a map of Indo-China, we shall see that Upper Burma is, speaking roughly, a rectangle, the long sides of which are five hundred miles and the short two hundred, comprehending an area of a hundred thousand square miles. Except on the south and south-west, it is everywhere surrounded by independent tribal States.

The Irrawaddy, rising in the mountains far to the northward in the regions of perpetual snow, and having acquired volume from countless streams and rills on its southward path, has assumed the proportion of a mighty river by the time it has reached the upper portion of this great rectangle.

From Mogoung, which may be said to be the north-easterly corner of Burma, to Bamo, steamer navigation has not yet been effected ; but from thence to the sea, a distance of little less than eight hundred miles, trading steamers have been at work for years. This river, then, is the great highway of Burma. On its banks dwell a very large proportion of the population, and, with the single exception of Mootshobo, which is sixteen miles to the westward, all the capitals of the kingdom have been founded on its shores.

Besides the Irrawaddy, this strip of country is watered by several rivers of no mean importance, most of which, rising in the north, pour their waters into the parent stream. The first in importance is the Chindwin (Kyendweng of the old maps), which, taking a course nearly parallel to the Irrawaddy for some



hundreds of miles from its source, joins the latter some miles below the present capital. As regards trade and communication the Chindwin taps the north-western portion of the country, and is navigable by small steamers for about two hundred miles of its course for a few months of the year. The principal towns on its banks are Kendat, Mengyen, and Aloun.

Of lesser importance are the Shweli, which flows through Western Yunan and the country between Bamo and Momeit; the Nugit Nge, and Panboun, the former flowing south-west, the latter north-west, and joining the Irrawaddy at Ava; the Moo, which waters the country between the great river and the Chindwin; the Munipur, and the Sittang. The latter is of little use as a means of communication north of the old British frontier.

Throughout the length and breadth of this vast territory, it would not be going too far to say that there are no roads; certainly not from a civilised point of view. There are tracks more or less marked from place to place, but they are little used except during the dry season.

There are three great trade routes leading from Burma through the Shan States into Western China, and for centuries these have been the only channels of communication between the two countries. The first of these is from Bamo viâ Manwayne and Momein to Tali-foo and Yunan-foo. The second is from Mandalay viâ Theebau and Thinni, across the Salween, and thence viâ Mainton into Yunan. The third from Kyankse or Yemethen through the Nattick Pass to

Nyoungwe and Moné to the Jacaw ferry on the Salween, and viâ Kiang Tung, across the Cambodia into Yunan.

As regards inland towns, in the north-western portion of the aforesaid rectangle is Wonthoo—the centre of a semi-independent Shan principality; Momeit, the chief town of the district, wherein the ruby mines are situate. Toungwenghee—a large town about forty miles east of the Irrawaddy at a point seventy miles north of an old frontier, and the centre of an extensive rice-growing country; Kyoukse, Yemethen, Hleindeh, and Nyngyan, all considerable places on a line from Ava to Tounghoo.

Such then was the country that was to be brought under our complete control. In order better to be able to discuss the nature of the task before us, let us consider it under three heads: viz., (1) What had already been accomplished towards the end in view? (2) How much remained yet to be done? and (3) What were the means available for the task? Unless I am mistaken, I have heard men say, and have seen in print that up to the period of which I write (the beginning of January) nothing had been done by the army but the “pic-nic” up the river, and the peaceful removal of Theebaw; and that after this the army slept. Let us see.

Six weeks after the declaration of war, the capital had been occupied, and the king made prisoner. Strong garrisons provided with one month's provisions had been placed at all the important towns on the Irrawaddy from the British frontier to Bamo—a

distance of five hundred miles. Two thousand cannon of sorts and *seven thousand muskets* with large quantities of ammunition had been captured from the enemy. An expedition had been despatched up the Chindwin as far as Kendat. The country round Mandalay, Mingyan, Pagan, and Minhla had been traversed by our troops, and wandering bands of malcontents had been defeated in a large number of successful actions, and although the—for a time—apparent ubiquity of the insurgents necessitated the employment of very small parties against them, not one reverse had been experienced.

In the southern portion of the country, frontier disturbances had been successfully grappled with, and Ningyan and Toungwenghee and the surrounding districts had been occupied after several successful actions entailing small losses on our side. On the western bank, what has since been known as the "Bo Sheway's country" had been occupied, and traversed from end to end, and dacoit bands broken up. Moot-shobo, a great centre of disaffection, had fallen into our hands, and that district was settling down, owing to the vigour of Major Williamson of the Welsh Fusiliers, who with only two companies completely defeated the enemy in several small fights.

A force had been posted at Katha to watch the Wontho Tsaubwa, who was threatened with hostilities unless he agreed to come in.

Civil government had been established at all places which had hitherto been occupied by the army.

So much, then, for the work which had been done



A FEW OF THE ARMS TAKEN AT MANDALAY ON NOVEMBER 29TH. 1885.



during the first six weeks of our occupation of Upper Burma. Let us now see what remained to be accomplished before we could hope to be able to call this country our own.

Beginning in the north—it would become necessary to despatch small expeditions to Moyoung and Wontho, in order to explain by the presence of our troops that we intended to permanently occupy the country. To occupy the Ruby Mines district. To place military posts at the more important towns on the Chindwin, of sufficient strength to patrol the country ; and break up dacoit bands. To strengthen Major Williamson in the Mootshobo district. To traverse the country between the Irrawaddy and the Chindwin by movable columns. To despatch a strong force from Ava to co-operate with Colonel Dicken's brigade from Ningyan, and open up the country on that line. To explore the Yan country, which lies to the west of the Chindwin.

All these military movements would become necessary before civil government could possibly be set on a firm footing, even if there were no hostile feeling in the country against us. But this was by no means the case. There was evidently a large portion of the population who were decidedly averse to our remaining in permanent occupation, and were resolved to try and drive us out.

So the above was the task that lay before General Prendergast ; but let us examine the means at his disposal for its accomplishment.

Of the three brigades, with two mountain batteries and one light field battery, which had formed his

original force, one brigade and one battery had to be stationed at the different posts between Thayetmyo and Mandalay. On the Upper Irrawaddy, the garrisons of Mootshobo, Katha, and Bamo had absorbed the second of the three British regiments (minus one company), a mountain battery, and half a native regiment.

At Ningyan, on the Ava-Toungthoo line, Colonel Dicken had one elephant battery, one native battalion, and half a British battalion. At Toungwenghee Major Law had two guns, one company of British, and two companies of Native troops. In the Minhla territory (Bo Sheway's country) Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton was operating with one company of British, and one company of Native infantry.

Thus at headquarters under the immediate control of the general were :—One field battery ; one company sappers ; one squadron cavalry ; one company mounted infantry ; one British battalion ; three and a half Native battalions. But this brigade, which was under Brigadier-General White, had been fully occupied during the last days of the old year, and first of the new, in coping with the dacoit bands which had appeared at different places in the Mandalay district as if by magic, and, considering the numerous guard duties necessary in order to maintain order and confidence in the city, the troops were, if anything, overworked. The rising, however, had received a severe shock, and the bands appeared to have dispersed, or, at all events, lost confidence. From the above it will appear quite clear to the reader that if the country was to be brought into subjection, reinforcements of considerable strength

must be despatched to Burma. But General Prendergast was not the man to make difficulties, or to suspend his action at a critical time. He resolved to do as much as possible with the troops at his command.

In view of the many calls on the Mandalay force, the column which had been previously detailed to move southwards to Ningyan had to be countermanded. This was a great misfortune, and led to much trouble afterwards ; but there were absolutely no troops available for the purpose. The immediate necessities were faced. Three small columns were despatched into the district south of Ava, and between it and Mingyan, to break up the following of the Myentzein Prince, which was threatening to assume the proportions of an army. Mootshobo, Katha, and Sagaing were strengthened. Two posts were occupied in the district north of Mandalay, and one to the east. Two columns were despatched across country to march to the Chindwin, and form posts thereon. In little more than a week the garrison of Mandalay had dwindled down to fragments of regiments, composed of one or two companies, the bands, and colours. But the immediate effect was good : the strengthened posts renewed their exertions ; the Myentzeni Prince narrowly escaped capture, and fled into the Shan country, and there were everywhere indications of a tendency to settle down. But of course a considerable portion of the country had yet to be visited and explored. The above, then, was the military situation in the middle of January, 1886.



I shall now proceed to touch lightly the political side of the question.

During the early days of our occupation, there existed at the capital of Upper Burma two very diverse opinions as to the best and surest means of preserving peace and order, pending the decision of the British Government as to whether the country was to be annexed, or a protectorate established. Colonel Sladen held one opinion, and, although his views were logically correct, and backed by his great experience of the country and people, they were acquiesced in by few, and were in direct opposition to those held by the majority. But it by no means follows that they were incorrect. That he was an uncompromising opponent of "half measures" is proved by his expressions on the subject before the outbreak of hostilities. In the paper already referred to, he says :—" It will suffice for present purposes if I record my honest conviction that the treaty, and resident system on the old lines is no cure for the present situation, and would result sooner or later in the usual *fiasco*. The alternative course is the compulsory treaty, to be followed by a protectorate. But having got it, what is to be the kind of protection offered, and how is the country to be governed ? If it is to be the Indian system—a state of semi-sovereignty—it cannot and will not answer in Burma. The Burmese people are imbued with an almost superstitious veneration for the royal family. 'As long as the dynasty lasts, this veneration will continue. A protectorate on the Hyderabad system might succeed, if accompanied by a military occupation of the country by British troops,

and by the appointment of a Resident, or Chief Commissioner, who would exercise control over the entire legislative and administrative departments of the State. But even this kind of protectorate would be attended by immense risks and difficulties, owing to the presence on the scene of a *de facto* sovereign of the reigning dynasty, and the impossibility of getting the people to bury their instincts, or sink their loyalty, so far as to suffer any authority to exist on an equality with a prince of the royal blood. A protectorate, then, of the ordinary kind seems to be prohibited, because it would involve a *de facto* king with semi-sovereignty under the command of a protecting power—a state of things which I believe to be almost impracticable as applied to the peculiar conditions of the Burmese constitution and the ultra-loyal susceptibilities of the Burmese people.” As a prelude to these arguments, Colonel Sladen writes :—

“ I maintain that these objects ”—(1) of maintaining our political superiority ; (2) of arresting grave complications which are imminent at the present time ; and (3) of securing good government in Upper Burma—“ can only be successfully and permanently attained by annexing the whole of the country known as Upper Burma.” But although the political officer held these views, he recognised that he was only a servant of the great British public with whom “ annexation ” was an ugly word. He was perfectly willing to try any method which his Government should decide to adopt. From what I understood at the time, he argued thus : “ Let us, as far as possible, govern and preserve order

by means of the persons who were in power before our arrival. Do not by any means dissolve the Hlot Dau ; but I will myself preside at its sittings, gradually infusing British influence and power into its councils. Make this council responsible for the maintenance of public order, both at the capital, and in the districts, and support their efforts with the troops. To this end let them work with our own civil officers. Deport the Tinedah Menghee ? Certainly not ! He is the strongest man in the kingdom. I propose to utilise this man as Gordon would have desired to have used Zebehr Pasha, to assist me to control the storm, until the country is thoroughly quieted down, when, if he elects to serve the British, he may be rewarded for his work. They say he is a villain. Perhaps he is ; most men in his position in Burma are little better ; but he is strong, so I will keep him by me."

Nine-tenths of the military officers, most of the civilians, and all the non-professional classes held other opinions. The majority were for the dissolution of the Hlot Dau, the deportation of the Tinedah and all late king's suspected ministers, and the establishment of martial law.

The irresponsible civil element, which each steamer from Rangoon fed, loudly demanded violent repressive action against malcontents or suspected malcontents, and, had their suggestions been carried out, the probable result would have been a panic in the city.

On the arrival of Mr. Bernard at Mandalay in January as Chief Commissioner, he took the reins of

government into his own hands, and, although one of his first acts was to deport the Tinedah, he was by no means at issue with Colonel Sladen on all points. The latter continued to work under him for twelve hours daily with unabated zeal, and eventually only retired from Burma, the scene of thirty years of distinguished service to his country, because he had reached the age of fifty-five, and thus ended his stewardship.

The Chief Commissioner had before him a stupendous task, but, perhaps, the most interesting that can ever fall to a man's lot in life. He had to make a new country. The Viceroy recognised this, remarking, "If I were not Viceroy of India, I should like to be Mr. Bernard." He set himself to work with devouring zeal. Finding that the Hlot Dau was a drag on the action of his civil officers, he dissolved it once, and for ever. This must have come sooner or later, so perhaps it was as well that it should be done at once. But the question was, had the Commissioner a staff of officers sufficient to carry on the government of this vast territory, even if the districts were sufficiently settled for civil officers to work without imminent peril to their lives? It is easy to be wise after the event, but it is now quite clear that he had not. Still they were all he could get at the time, and not being a man with Oliver Twist's faculty of "asking for more," he resolved to try the experiment. Profuse and generous to a fault in his private expenditure, he was jealous of the public purse, and was, perhaps, oversanguine as to the prospects of an early settlement of the country.

The police organisation may be said to have been in embryo ; indeed Mr. Fford had been able to make few additions to the fifty mounted Burmans who had originally formed a part of the mounted corps.

Still the Inspector-General of Police had arrived from Rangoon, and the work had been commenced. It was now clear that we would not budge from this country until the mud which we had stirred up by our sudden advent had settled down, even if it were determined not to annex. There was no doubt on this question in the military mind, and a more lavish expenditure of money was demanded on all hands.

As regards the attitude of the neighbouring States, the Shans had regarded affairs on the Irrawaddy with no small alarm ; while on the borders of their numerous petty principalities troublesome parties had raided into Burma.

The Chinese throughout Burma, and in the south-western portion of Yunan, professed friendship to our Government, but, owing to the wild and anarchical condition of the tribes in the hill districts between Burma and Western China, little reliance could be placed in their action from day to day.

With regard to royal aspirants, and dacoit leaders, none of any importance were afoot. The power of the Myentzein Prince, if he ever had any, had already been broken. He was a mere shadow. Bo Sheway was being chased about the Minhla Nepeh country by a small detachment under Colonel Hamilton, and had so far not had the courage to fire a shot. Hla Oo was not known of, and Buda Yaza and the Kerneudine

Prince had not made their names in the Nyngyan district. Some outbreaks had occurred in Lower Burma which caused great alarm at Rangoon, and the troops had to be employed against the malcontents in many districts.

Such was the state of affairs in Burma when it became generally known that the Viceroy was coming in person to Mandalay to form his own judgment on the spot. This announcement pleased all parties, as it was hoped that his advent would put an end to the uncertainty which still prevailed as to the ultimate outcome of the war.

To be personal once more, the arrival from India of a fresh consignment of saddles and bridles inspired me with hope that my offspring, the mounted corps, so weakened by reductions, would once more be restored to youthful vigour. So I worried the authorities with the result that rolls were called for all men, European and native, who could ride. Large numbers of men volunteered, more indeed than I had equipment for. Many of them had already been trained as mounted infantry. Some commanding officers kicked against letting their already-attenuated battalions be further reduced ; but others, seeing the necessity of the case, fell into it cheerfully, and offered the services of some of their best officers. So I was sent for and requested to state what steps I next proposed to take. I knew my answer would be received with a groan, but it had to be faced. "The next thing to do," I said, "is for you to furnish me with the funds to purchase, say, one hundred ponies." "But," said they, "where's

the money to come from ? We are already at our wits' end for money : go and have a talk with the Director of Transport, see if he can buy the ponies out of the grant we have just sanctioned him." I knew what this meant, but I went accompanied by a high staff officer who was as keen as myself to see the movement supported. We found the above referred-to much harried official surrounded by papers covered with figures, and immersed in a problem of how he was to furnish two thousand ponies "for immediate service" as transport animals by the disbursement of a sum of money only barely sufficient to buy half that number. So it is unnecessary to say that I got no change out of my old enemy, and rival, the head transport officer, and had finally to be satisfied with a reply that I was to wait "a day or two." I waited and waited, but no money could I get : the cash chest was empty, or the key had been lost.

Meanwhile the press for mounted men became daily greater. The few men I had left, and the handful of Madras Cavalry, had to be employed over and over again, and often our camps consisted of two or three sick ponies, and one private as a guard. The cavalry horses began to give way. The rest of the 2nd Madras Cavalry had been ordered by telegram, but weeks yet must elapse before their arrival.

Small columns continued to scour the country for twenty or thirty miles, and as a rule met with little opposition. The men were in capital health ; could ride thirty miles a day, and then get off and climb mountains.

As the heat of the weather increased and the jungle became more open, the more evident became the efficacy of those mounted troops. But it was finally resolved that in consequence of the resolution of Government to send two more squadrons of cavalry to Burma, which I need scarcely say required no ready money, no further expense could be sanctioned for mounted infantry.

We had now reached the beginning of February, and, owing to the energy of the military authorities in every direction, things showed signs of settling down in the country. True, several districts had not yet been visited, but these were all more or less remote, nor, judging by our experience in bringing under civil rule Lower Burma, was it thought that it would be necessary, once the main strategical points were occupied, to march troops into every village in the land. I maintain that everything was done which it was possible to do with the means at our disposal to guard against reaction, and nip risings in the bud, except, perhaps the organisation of large bodies of mounted infantry, and that the subsequent troubles were due to an unpremeditated effervescence of popular feeling, which it would have been impossible either to foresee or to guard against. The more troublesome and restless of the younger men, egged on by the priests, took advantage of the rainy season, when the jungles were thick and paths impassable to set a "dacoit movement" on foot, in order, I believe, to try and worry us out of the country. It was never really formidable; but unless the Government had



taken drastic measures, and poured troops into the country, it would [have dragged on for years, and probably upset the neighbouring States.

At Mandalay itself all was now in preparation for the reception of the Viceroy, and the Commander-in-Chief of India. Thousands of coolies were employed in improving the main road from the shore, and the principal thoroughfares of the city. A sort of young Crystal Palace was getting taller and taller, day by day, on the landing place, and some hundreds of Chinese carpenters hammered away night and day to metamorphise Theebaw's barbarously splendid palace into modern reception rooms for Lady Dufferin and suite.

A week's work had wrought a magical change here, and if the "King of Kings" and poor Soopyah Lat, could have beheld the scene of their happy honeymoon, they would scarcely have believed their eyes.

The lofty spire which, less than three months ago, had crowned at once the "centre of the universe" and Alompra's throne, now overshadowed the offices of the field paymaster and chief engineer. The gilded courts—then thronged with white-robed ministers—contained to-day the small tables of the scribbling baboos. Along the mystic passages, and through the mirrored saloons, where princes and princesses had strolled in gentle dalliance, now resounded with the hurried tramp of sunburnt warriors; while the great hall, wherein the maids of honour had talked scandal, and gobbled up their rice, now re-echoed the laughter of British officers, as they discussed

three times a-day the anything but palatable food which the headquarter mess caterer was able to lay before them.

The great man came at last, and the army at Mandalay had the pleasure of seeing in the flesh the accomplished statesman and diplomatist, who had, in times gone by, waked by his eloquence the echoes of the Rocky Mountains ; who had held his own against the wily plotters of the Russian capital ; and who had "bested" the "unspeakable Turk."

With the Viceroy came our popular chief, "Sir Fred.," whose cheery presence is always welcome in every camp where British soldiers are assembled.

The bits and scraps of regiments lined the streets, which were gaily hung with flags and bunting, and through the ranks of the soldiers the imposing *cortège* proceeded from the steamer to the palace.

Before leaving the shore, the Viceroy addressed a few words to the heterogeneous assembly which thronged the above-mentioned temporary reception hall. He talked a good deal, and said very little. The splendour of the procession ought to have impressed the multitude, who had never previously seen a horse more than thirteen hands or any vehicle larger than a small pony-cart. His Excellency and Lady Dufferin rode in a handsome carriage drawn by four magnificent English horses, and all his body-guard, tall, stalwart Sikhs, clad in long scarlet coats and jack-boots, bestrode a like breed of animal. He took up his abode for the next few days in the palace, and held a levée. The ceremony took place

in the great Hall of Audience, and the Viceroy, standing on the landing at the foot of the throne, bowed to each individual as he passed, whatever might be his nationality. The king's musicians attended, taking up their accustomed places under the arches with as much unconcern as if no change had taken place in their rulers. The music consisted in banging away on gongs and cymbals, and uttering shrill, although not altogether discordant sounds.

On the following day Colonel Sladen organised a grand *pooy* in the palace; and on the platform arranged for the audience, Lady Dufferin received as many Burmese ladies as could be induced to pay her a visit. It was quite a study of human nature to see these poor creatures—many, indeed, loaded with jewellery—squatting round, and having a long, long stare at the great *Kala* lady, whose gentle and kindly manner seemed to exercise a fascination over them. Meanwhile the play proceeded on the broad stage below, where lovers and parents and murderers and executioners wriggled their bodies about with eel-like pliancy. The musicians chanted their wild songs, and the actors, half singing and half talking, worked out each his or her part in the stirring tale, where love and passion, murder and revenge, enchained in turn the breathless beholders.

Some days had passed, and yet no proclamation had been issued by the Viceroy, and, as it was known that he was in communication with Home Government, great anxiety prevailed lest the word "annexation" should choke the Cabinet in the last moment. But we were not kept long in suspense. It leaked out

that it was to be all right, and Lord and Lady Dufferin left the palace for the shore, where it was expected he would announce the final resolution of the Government. All the city magnates assembled to hear his parting expressions, including the late king's ministers, to whom he addressed the following words :—"Gentlemen, I bid you good-bye. I thank you heartily for the friendly feeling you have shown me, and I have been very glad to make your personal acquaintance. *You have now become British subjects under the rule of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress*, and I have no doubt that you will serve Her with loyalty and fidelity. The country having passed under the direct administration of British officers, I must call upon you to give them your hearty support. Their highest desire and endeavours will be to promote the happiness and well-being of Her Majesty's Burmese subjects, to restore tranquillity amongst them, to develop the resources of the country ; to respect the customs ; to place its religious property and establishments under protection of the law ; and to advance the well-being of all classes as good citizens. These objects cannot fail to be as dear to you as to them. It is the intention of the Government to make as much use as possible of native officials and native assistants in carrying on the work of administration, and to treat native gentlemen of position and dignity like yourselves—with all the consideration that is your due. Your experience and acquaintance with affairs will enable you to render considerable service to the British Government in the new positions which will be offered to as many amongst you

as can be employed with advantage, in return for whatever favours may be conferred upon you. I am sure that I shall be able to count upon your rendering faithful and effective service to your new Sovereign."

With the Viceroy departed also His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and we were left once more to our own devices.

The whole of the forces in Burma had been placed under command of Lieut.-General Sir Harry Prendergast, and I found myself once more on the head-quarter staff. The mounted corps thus died for want of nourishment. Had the movement met with support, and been allowed to develop at this time, much trouble which has since occurred would have been prevented. The sluggish marches of our heavily-loaded infantry, through swamps, and along narrow paths, soon proved to all who tried this mode of pursuing the dacoits that unless the system was changed every village in the country would have to be occupied before any good could be effected. The daily increasing heat came hard upon the men, and many halts had to be made to pick up exhausted stragglers. I say a thousand mounted infantry at this time would probably have nipped the botheration in the bud by seizing the leaders before their petty successes had "got up their names."

The hope which, some months before, an announcement in the Field force orders to the effect that the Government of India had sanctioned the mounted corps and my appointment as commandant, had inspired me, was never destined to be realised ; but to

prove that this was not due to any fault of my own, I will quote my general's opinion of the work I had done.

On my resuming staff duties, he directed Colonel Bengough, his chief of the staff, to write me the following letter :—

“Sir Harry Prendergast desires me to write and express his appreciation of the zeal and ability displayed by you in personally organising and equipping the mounted corps, and of the tact with which you succeeded in welding into a harmonious whole the somewhat heterogeneous material of which it was composed. The little force has done right good service, and the record of it will not be forgotten by the general.”

When any scheme for organisation, which has been indisputably based upon sound theories, fails in its practical development, few enquire the cause. But everyone asks the question, “Who devised it and carried it out ? and should a second attempt be made, as it has been in this case, to reconstruct the fallen edifice on the old plans, and under more favourable conditions, experience has proved that it is not altogether unwise to select a new overseer. So I suppose the Indian Government acted wisely in forgetting my name in the new organisation. As a sequence to the proclamation of annexation, the civil and military departments underwent re-organisation. The “Field Force” was amalgamated with the British Burma Division, and the whole army, under the designation of the “Burma Forces,” was placed under the supreme

command of Sir Henry Prendergast ; Major-Generals Gordon and White continuing to command their respective divisions in Lower and Upper Burma.

Having given directions to General White as to the formation of fresh posts on the Chindwin, and other districts in his command, the lieutenant-general next turned his attention to affairs in Lower Burma, and along the line from Tounghoo to Mandalay, which had so far been only partially occupied by the column despatched thither in the previous November by Major-General Buck, then commanding in Lower Burma.

A few days in Rangoon, spent in arranging for the suppression of small troubles in the Bassein and Tharrawaddy District, were all General Prendergast could spare for the Lower Province. He next departed for Tounghoo, rode through to Ningyan, and thence on to Yemethen, inspecting all the posts personally, and forming new ones. His presence gave confidence everywhere, and quite a new spirit was infused into the hitherto rather neglected and isolated force which had done such good service under Colonel Dicken.

He was preparing for the opening-out of communications with Mandalay, viâ Kyonkse, northwards, and Myngyan, westwards, when the fatal message of recall reached him. The Home Government had been unable to endorse the arrangements recommended on the spot by one of the foremost generals of the age, and England's greatest satrap. Sir Henry Prendergast received this terrible blow to his hopes with the same chivalrous fortitude which had characterised his

whole military career. On his return ride by night and day, along a hundred and fifty miles of jungle paths, he never relaxed in his zeal for the public good. He reached Rangoon once more, and, universally regretted by all with whom he had come in contact, civil and military alike, he turned his back for ever on the land where he had so recently reaped fresh laurels and added vast territories to the Empire of the Great Queen. Whatever may have been the causes which thus prompted the Government to remove this distinguished soldier from an important command at a critical time, the effects of his removal have been only too apparent.

He had been originally selected for the chief command because of his personal knowledge of the country and people, and his tried soldierly instincts. As far as he was allowed to go, he had done his work admirably under very difficult circumstances. Since his occupation of the capital, in November, 1885, after three or four small engagements by the way, until his departure in April, 1886, he had worked incessantly to consolidate his successes, and the troops under him had been kept constantly on the move. His extraordinary physical strength enabled him to remain in the saddle the entire day, and do all his writing and office work at night, without showing any outward signs of fatigue. Always cheerful, cool and self-possessed, never acting on impulse, ever seeking to understand both sides of any question brought for his decision, but very determined when once committed to any line of action ; utterly unselfish as he was entirely



without fear ; young in years, ripe in experience, and an uncompromising progressist in military art—this noble soldier was no unworthy representative of the British General Officer of our day. Receiving his baptism of fire at the battle of Mohamra in Persia, it was during the dark and fiery days of the Mutiny that young Harry Prendergast made for himself a lasting fame. The fortune of war converted the young “sapper” into a leader of horse and foot. He was twice severely wounded in action, and thrice specially mentioned for “distinguished bravery.” Many years of immunity from active service followed, but he was rapidly promoted, and appointed Commanding Royal Engineer to the Abyssinian Expedition, 1867, where his skill and energy once more came into play. His promotion has been, perhaps, too rapid for his interests ; for now, as a man of a little over fifty, he has reached the exalted rank of full general in the army.

Why such a public servant should be permitted to eat out his heart in inaction at a remote Indian hill station, while there are armies to be commanded, and colonies to be governed throughout the length and breadth of our wide empire, passeth man’s understanding.

His courteous manner, his fine person, his frank and resolute bearing, his intimate knowledge of affairs, single him out as a noble representative of the authority of the Crown in some of our colonies where, if accounts be true, so much friction has occurred of late between governors and governments.

With these words of farewell to my late chief, I

bring this simple narrative to a close. It tells the story of the rise, the culmination, and the fall of a succession of kingdoms, and dynasties, during centuries of confusion and anarchy. Of the advent of Western nations, and the gradual diffusion throughout Indo-China of European civilisation and laws. Of the dominance of the Alompras, and their barbarous system of rule and government. Of two successful wars, and the gradual incorporation of successive portions of Burma into our Eastern possessions. Of a third war, the final fall of the house of Alompra, and the supremacy of the British over the whole of Burma.

To such important questions as the following, I shall now endeavour to reply.

1. Is the accession of this new territory to our already-extended Empire likely to result in good or evil, profit or loss to ourselves?

I reply that the annexation of Burma has been for our good, and, if it be possible to foreshadow human affairs, is likely to "pay." I ground this statement on the following facts:—(i.) Order, and a firm and consistent government have been substituted for a chronic state of anarchy. (ii.) By the annexation of Upper Burma, Lower Burma will reap the benefit of there being no longer an Alsatia wherein every brigand can find a safe refuge. (iii.) There is no longer any chance of our finding ourselves at issue with the French in the East. (iv.) Obstructions to trade have vanished, and a new field for mercantile enterprise has been opened up. (v.) By the acquisition of this new country, an opportunity is afforded us of employing large

numbers of educated Englishmen—the best men on earth—who would probably otherwise be idle.

2. But how about the dacoits, and when is the country going to quiet down ?

I say to this that all authorities out here agree that it is simply a question of time. For three or four years there will probably be more or less fuss and movement going on, but it can't last, as there is no longer any fuel to feed the fire. A state of dacoity never more than local will probably continue until some system of employing the young men of the country has been devised.

3. What about the Shans, and other hill tribes ?

Whatever they may have been in the past, the present race of Shans are by no means warlike, and are principally traders in a small way. They always disliked the Burmese, and profess to be glad to come under our protection. There are about forty Tsaubwaships, all more or less independent, and there appears to be little prospect of any combined action on their part. Their attitude for some years will probably be more or less mistrustful, but under just, consistent treatment there ought to be no trouble from the side of the Shan States. The other hill tribes will in time get accustomed to our rule, as the Karens and Chins have already done ; but they will always, from their nature, be wild, and their adherence uncertain.

4. How will the acquisition of Burma affect our relations with China ?

I think beneficially ; and that is the general opinion of such men as Bishop Bigaudet, and others who have

spent their whole lives in Indo-China. The Western Chinese, although troublesome at times, profess to be glad to have us as neighbours, and as they are keen traders, we shall probably hit it off together. It is to be hoped that at no very distant date the frontiers of the two empires will adjoin. This would, perhaps, be the best means of providing for the future. Geographical buffers, for so long supposed to be in the interest of peace, have been the cause of most of the wars in the world's history.

To the above material queries, the philanthropist may add one :—

Will our advent bring blessings and peace to these people themselves ?

Time can only answer this question. If riches and personal comfort, protection of property, just laws, incorruptible judges and rulers, are blessings as a set-off against Utopian dreams of freedom, then Jack Burman has a happy future. In the minds of those who, like myself, saw Mandalay, and other towns in Upper Burma, during the rule of the Alompras, no doubt can exist as to our advent being for the benefit of the Burmese.

Poverty, filth, and serfdom—their baleful consequences pervaded all I saw. No law really existed except the law of force. The people cringed at the feet of those who had the power to ruin or condemn them unheard, and no man—outside the governing pale—could call his property, or his life, his own.

But to-day, notwithstanding many drawbacks, such as a disastrous fire and a still more disastrous flood, Mandalay presents a very different aspect. New roads

have been made, and are well kept. New houses, many of them *pucka*, have sprung up all over the city to replace the miserable wooden sheds which had previously existed. Money seems to have sprung up from the soil, in which it had probably lain hidden for generations. The men and women have a brighter and more independent look, and they dress better. There is a feeling of security in the country which I don't suppose was ever known before.

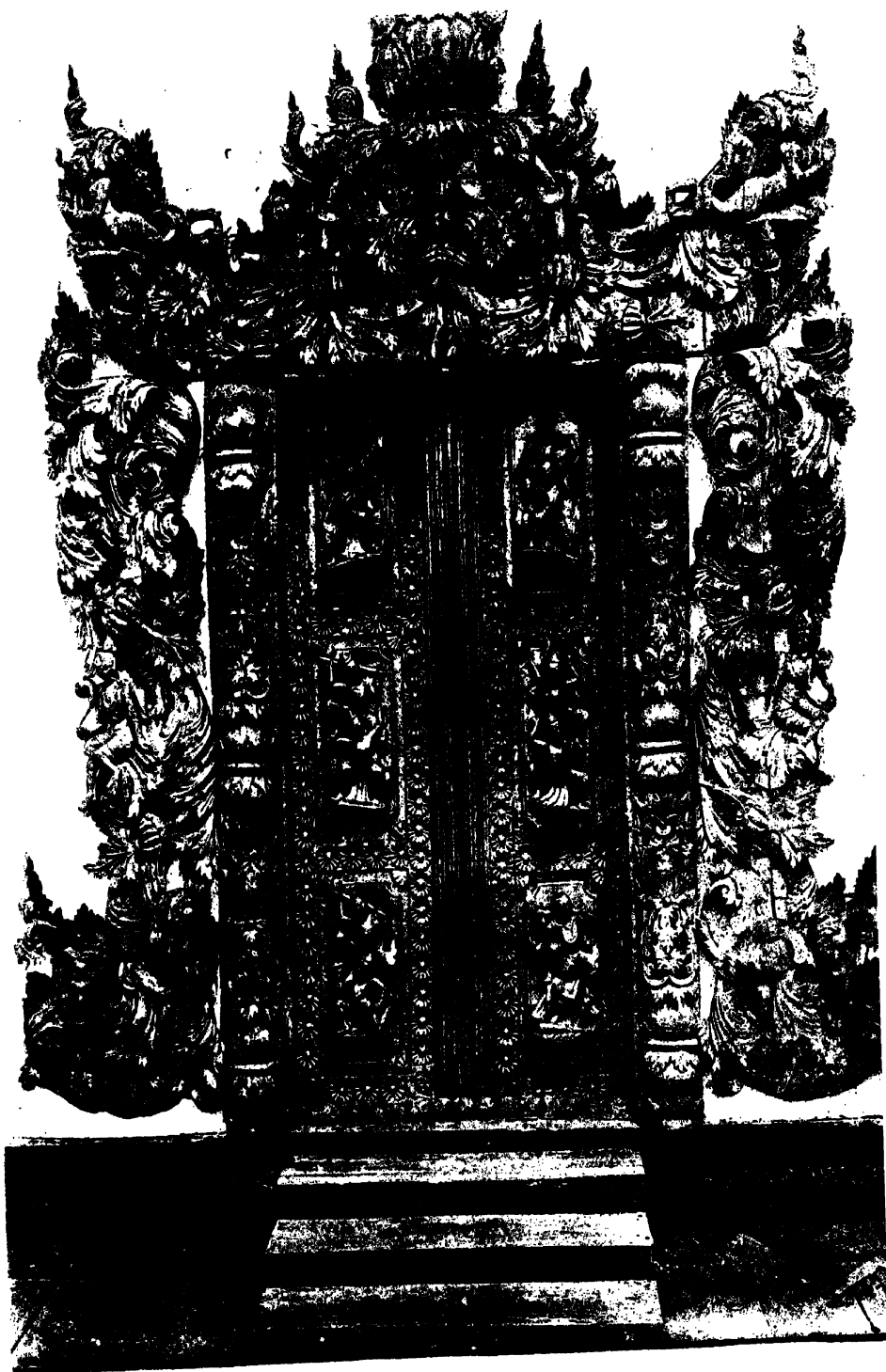
One woman—the wife of a great Burman—who had lost almost all her property, which had been looted by dacoits, remarked to me when I asked her how she liked the presence of the English, “Well, at any rate, one is not likely to be murdered in one's bed now.”

This is the result of two years' occupation of the country during a period of unlooked-for trouble and unrest. In a few years Mandalay will be a second Rangoon, and other important centres of trade will spring up on the banks of the great river, and on the line of the railway which is making rapid strides towards completion.

Let him who doubts that we are ruling Burma for the good of the Burmese visit Rangoon, and see a crowd on a feast-day. Let him see the richness of their dress, and their general air of affluence and independence. A happier or more well-to-do crowd does not exist on earth. My own belief is that, here as elsewhere, wherever our soldiers and sailors carry our flag, on whatever spot we set our foot firmly, we govern for the material good and prosperity of mankind.

And it is because this is my rooted conviction that





AN ENTRANCE GATE OF THE INCOMPARABLE PAGODA, MANDALAY.

I ever hope and pray that no disastrous scheme for a "stand-still" policy will ever meet the approval of a British Parliament. We cannot halt under the fierce light which beats upon our path; we must go forward—not recklessly or aggressively, but when expediency demands that we should do so—or else we must fall back.

Let us advance, then, with unfaltering steps, facing manfully our mighty responsibilities, and thus fulfil our destiny upon the earth.

"We've sailed wherever ship could sail,  
We've planted many a mighty State;  
Pray God our greatness may not fail,  
Through craven fears of being great."

#### HISTORY, FLUCTUATIONS, AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF TRADE.

From remote periods, and with ever-recurring fluctuations, trade has been carried on between Upper Burma, the Shan States, and Western China, and the seaports of Rangoon and Moulmein.

Most—but by no means all—of the traffic has been confined to the waterways of the Irrawaddy, Sittang, and Salween.

Caravans of goods from the above-named countries have long since travelled to the delta ports by land route (1) along the left bank of the Irrawaddy; (2) viâ Yemethen, Ningyan, •and Tounghoo; (3) viâ Southern Shan States to Moulmein. Two main causes have been influential in stimulating this trade within the present century—the acquisition of Lower



Burma by the British, and the foundation of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.

For the last quarter of a century wonderfully little change has taken place in the quantity of merchandise arriving in Lower Burma from the north and east by the caravan routes. These communications are open only during the dry season and, as the distances are great, more than one trip is seldom attempted in the year. The trade by river has, however, steadily increased, with a few bad years, since our annexation of Pegu in 1853, and, under present circumstances, is likely to make further progress.

The principal imports to Lower Burma to be enumerated are : cattle, ponies, lacquered ware, raw cotton, cotton twist of native make, piece-goods of Mandalay manufacture, fruits and nuts, grain and pulse, wheat, cutch, hides, sticklac, metals, petroleum, silk goods, jadestone, sugar, tea, tobacco, timber, and rubies.

Taking the last few years, this trade is thus reviewed :—

*Cattle.*—Most of this trade comes from Upper Burma and the Shan Country. The animals are by no means of a bad type, and decidedly superior to Indian cattle. The beef in Burma is much appreciated, and is of excellent quality.

During the dry season of 1878–9, 16,000 head of cattle were imported from Upper Burma, and 8,000 from the Shan States. Since then the trade has unaccountably fallen off, only reaching a total of 3,000 in 1884–5.

*Ponies.*—The trade in ponies has, to a great extent,

kept pace with the cattle trade. In 1878-9 there were 3,000 ponies sold in British territory, but subsequent years have shown a marked falling-off.

By some the decrease in the trade of cattle and ponies is attributed to the bad prices realised by the traders; but it is more likely to have been influenced by the obstacles thrown in the way of the trade by the late king's government, and by the general feeling of insecurity which has prevailed in Upper Burma of late years. Stallions, or mares, were formerly never imported, but many of the latter are now amongst the droves.

*Lacquered Ware.*—This trade has shown a steady decrease of late years. It consists of boxes, drinking cups, and articles of household use. From 1880 to 1885, the average value of these imports was 200,000 rupees a-year. There is a large manufactory of these articles at Seh-gya in the Shan States. Earthenware and glass of English make have of late years taken the place of this ware in Lower Burma, and thus seriously affected the industry.

*Raw Cotton.*—Large quantities have been imported from Upper Burma, the Shan States, and Western China for the decade preceding the late war. In 1880, amounts to the value of 1,160,000 rupees, and 1883 of 763,000 rupees, were imported; but subsequent years show a considerable decrease.

*Cotton Twist of Native Make.*—This is made in large quantities in Mandalay and other towns in Upper Burma, and imported by the flotilla down country. It is used for wicks, net-making, &c.

*Piece-Goods of Mandalay Manufacture.*—In 1880 amounts to the value of 440,000 rupees were imported, but the trade has suffered by the importation of English dry goods, which are readily purchased by the natives.

*Fruits and Nuts.*—These consist of tamarinds, limes, mangoes, oranges, bale-fruit, plums, ground-nuts, plantains, and walnuts. This trade is carried on entirely by river. In 1879 it amounted to 60,000 rupees.

*Grain and Pulse.*—Average last few years 400,000 rupees.

*Wheat.*—This grain has for many years past been grown in the Irrawaddy Valley. It thrives in the alluvial soil left by the recession of the river after the rainy season. From 1879 to 1885 the value of wheat sold increased from 50,000 to 150,000 rupees.

*Cutch.*—There has of late years been a great demand for this grain in Europe. The value of the imports in 1880 reached 600,000 rupees, and in 1884–5 669,924 rupees, thus showing a slight improvement.

*Hides.*—This trade has greatly increased of late years—owing, probably, to the relaxation of the Buddhist law of “Kill not at all”—and it has gone up from 200,000 rupees in 1879–80 to 1,000,000 in 1885.

*Sticklac.*—A sort of dye, which has been replaced, in a great measure, by English dyes. It is imported principally from the Shan States, and is used for dyeing silk.

*Metals.*—Images of Gaudama, bells, knives, bowls, and spoons, gongs, pagoda-crowns, betel-nut cutters.

This trade remains pretty steady. There are many manufacturers throughout all parts of the country, so that most things are obtainable locally. Mandalay has been the great centre of this industry.

*Petroleum.*—The great wells at Yenangyoung on the Irrawaddy, and at other places, show no signs of exhaustion ; but the demand has fallen off owing to the importation of kerosine, which is vastly superior for lighting purposes. The earth-oil is still much used for preserving wood from the joint effects of weather and white ants.

*Silk Manufactures.*—Men's and women's dresses and priests' robes. Much of this work is carried on at Mandalay, and other large towns. The trade has been decreasing of late owing to importation of European silks ; falling from 1,500,000 in 1879 to 743,500 rupees in 1885.

*Jadestone.*—This trade is carried on exclusively by Chinamen. Stones to the value of 400,000 rupees were imported in 1885.

*Sugar and Jaggery.*—Jaggery is made from the juice of the toddy palm, and is used in making vinegar, distilling spirits, and preparing sweetmeats. This trade is on the increase.

*Pickled Tea or Letpet.*—This is made principally in China and imported into Burma. It is an article of luxury amongst the Burmese.

*Tobacco.*—This plant is<sup>o</sup> cultivated in all parts of Burma, and is sold in all bazaars.

*Timber.*—Since the Bombay Burma Company has had the working of the king's forests, this trade has

steadily improved. The value of timber floated down the Irrawaddy and Sittang from Upper Burma has been in 1882-3, 2,051,009 rupees; in 1883-4, 2,320,459 rupees; in 1884-5, 3,101,039 rupees. The principal teak forests are in the neighbourhood of the Sittang and Chindwin rivers.

*Exports from Lower Burma to Upper Burma, the Shan States, and China.*

Cotton twist, yarn, and piece goods, earthenware, betel-nut, rice, and paddy, manufactured metals, kerosine oil, dried fish, tinned provisions, salt, raw and manufactured silk, refined sugar, and woollen goods.

*Cotton Goods.*—Trade has of late years been fair, but last reports, previous to the disturbances, show a slight falling-off, although realising 2,616,776 rupees.

*Earthenware.*—The demand has kept pretty steady, averaging about 250,000 rupees' worth per annum.

*Rice.*—A complete failure of the rice crop in Burma is unknown, but only sufficient is grown in Upper Burma for consumption. In 1883-4-5, a scarcity in the king's dominions stimulated the inland trade, and large quantities were imported from the Lower Province.

*Metals.*—Sheet brass and copper, bar iron and steel, have always been imported into Upper Burma, to the average value of 200,000 rupees annually.

*Provisions.*—European tinned provisions, and enor-

mous quantities of dried fish (*N. guapé*), which with rice, forms the principal food of the people, are yearly imported into Upper Burma. Trade in spices, sugar, and woollen piece-goods has steadily increased of late years.

*Trade with Foreign Countries.*

(See also Tables on pp. 260–261.)

*The United Kingdom.*—Imports building materials, candles, coal, cotton twist, cotton piece-goods, earthenware and porcelain, provisions, liquors, machinery and mill work, matches, metals, railway plant, salt, silk piece-goods, woollen piece-goods, &c. In the year 1884–5 the imports of coal, provisions, matches, salt, and piece-goods showed an increase; all others a decrease, leaving a balance decrease of 342,480 rupees.

*Exports.*—Caoutchouc, rice, cutch, hides, timber. Cutch and teak show an increase; others a decrease. Balance decrease of 97,474 rupees.

*France.*—The imports are silk piece-goods from Marseilles; and the exports, rice to Rouen and teak to St. Nazaire, both on the increase.

*Germany.*—The imports are cement, liquors, metals, and salt, and the exports, teak. The trade with Germany shows no increase of late years.

*Holland.*—Small quantities of gin imported. Trade almost ceased.

*Italy.*—The imports of glass ware, provisions, and silk piece-goods increased, but exports of rice fallen off.

*South America and Buenos Ayres.*—Rice trade on the decline. Ship loads of stones imported for metalling roads.

*Ceylon.*—Rice and timber trade fair.

*China.*—Carried on by sea viâ Straits Settlements and viâ land routes from Western China to Irrawaddy and Sittang rivers. It consists mostly in exports of silk and woollen goods.

*Straits Settlements.*—Considerable quantities of silk, piece-goods, sugar, tea, tobacco, silk, seeds, metals, liquors, hardware, fruits, earthenware, coffee, candles, &c., are imported yearly to Rangoon, and show a steady increase.

*Other Countries.*—Coal imported from New South Wales, kerosine oil from New York, and cotton goods from Trieste.

*Trade Prospects.*—To prophesy on the future of any trade is always mere speculation; but certain causes may be generally expected to produce certain results. Thus the monopolies placed on articles in Upper Burma by the late king having been removed, the chances are the trade in those commodities will look up. The Burman is, above all Her Majesty's Eastern subjects, the most ready purchaser of European goods; his vanity, and love of dress inducing him to lay out all his spare cash in decorating his body. Hitherto, the poverty prevailing in Upper Burma precluded the mass of the inhabitants from indulging in luxuries in the way of European silks, &c.; but, with a secure government and improved communications, the people will soon become better off, and free, to give rein to their

passion for dress. Lower Burma is still capable of an enormous increase of production. It only wants population, which is yearly increasing. .

The future of the rice trade is a most momentous question. In the last quarter of a century the Rangoon merchants have had their good years, and their bad. Large fortunes have been made in rice alone, but the less sanguine now say that the days of bumper seasons are gone for ever. Another year like the past, 1885-6, would certainly shake terribly some of the great Rangoon houses, but we must hope that such another will never come. The rice crop, which had been unusually good, had suffered much damage by a fall of rain in February, when the crops were newly cut. In these days of fierce competition it is no easy matter to wait. Accordingly large ship-loads of very indifferent rice were loaded. Furthermore, it was damp when stored, and fermented in the holds of the ships on the voyage. The result was that importers complained, and enormous losses occurred.

The system of turning out "white rice," that is, preparing the rice for consumption at the Rangoon mills, has lately been tried with considerable success, and the number of mills for this purpose is likely to increase.

The future of the trade in rubies, since our acquisition of the ruby mines, is a matter for much speculation. The locality where these valuable stones are found is situated in the hill districts of Momiet, about eighty miles north-east of Mandalay. The actual zone of mining operations comprehends only the townships of



Mogouk, Kathay, and Kyapyen. The first is the principal centre of the mining industry, and the two latter are smaller places distant about seven miles from it. The hills vary in height from 1,000 to 6,000 feet, and from all accounts the districts are fairly healthy.

In Theebaw's time the right to farm the mines was leased out to the highest bidder for about two lakhs per annum. In addition to what he could make out of the mines, the lessee was permitted to impose a house tax on the miners. The arrangement was that all rubies of more than 2,000 rupees' value were the king's property, and the consequence was that these were nearly always either broken up, or smuggled away. All rubies found had to be offered to the lessee, who had a right to purchase them at 25 per cent. below their real value, this being fixed by a council of valuers. The rubies when thus purchased had to be packed and sent to Mandalay. The owners had to pay a tax for opening the packets, and commission on the sale of the stones. Even with this system, so plentiful was the supply of rubies that large fortunes were made by the Mandalay ruby merchants.

There are three distinct methods of mining employed. The first is only used by wealthy men, as it requires a large amount of labour, but it is the most extensive method, and by it the best stones are obtained. Large, deep cuttings are made in the sides of the hills, which are composed of a mixture of red clay and sand, and into these cuttings a stream of water is led. This is a very easy matter during the rains, but in the dry weather

streams have to be diverted and carried round the hills to the required spots : these diversions are sometimes three or four miles long, and occasionally the water is carried across valleys on most ingenious bamboo aqueducts, sometimes over 100 yards long. After a time the water is turned off, and the soil over which it has flowed is turned over with spades, and the rubies picked out by hand, the mud having been washed away and the stones remaining. These cuttings are worked for many years, and at last go to a depth of perhaps thirty feet. When they become very deep, the soil is simply dug out and washed in a stream of water at the surface in baskets, the stones being then picked out by hand.

The second method is digging out the sand and gravel which is found in the natural fissures between large rocks. These diggings may run in any direction and are sometimes of great length or depth ; and from the sides or end of the original digging, shafts are pushed out in every direction in which the soil is met with, and carried on until rock is encountered. Very fine rubies are got by this method, but it cannot be carried on during the rains on account of the poisonous gases which are met with in the diggings.

The third method is by digging wells. The wells are generally dug near the beds of streams, and the deep ones are lined generally with straw and timber to prevent the sides falling in. The shallow wells are worked by one family, or even by a man and his wife : they are dug to a depth of four or five feet only, and the gravel raised in a basket on the end of a long bamboo, which is pivotted on an upright stake driven

into the ground, and has a counterpoise weight at the other end. The rubies are generally found in a seam of foul-smelling mixture of mud and gravel.

Hitherto the principal traders have been Panthays, who bring up piece-goods, &c., from Mandalay on pack mules, and return to the city with rubies.

As the rights of these Shans, who have for years been the hereditary lessees of the mines, are not likely to be interfered with, the question of opening up a trade in rubies will not be settled off-hand. But if the view taken by those who have had the best opportunity of examining the locality, and interrogating the miners be not too sanguine, the trade in rubies ought to be a solid pecuniary gain to the Government.

The question of starting tea gardens in Burma has lately been raised, and will probably be tried as an experiment before the end of the present year.

The following statistics from the Government Reports show the state of trade before the late war :—

#### *A. Trade viâ Suez Canal.*

The subjoined table shows the proportion of the foreign trade of the province carried viâ the Suez Canal during each of the last five years :—

	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Imports	2,56,76,379	2,08,68,351	2,61,16,499	2,71,18,605	2,36,44,127
Exports	2,13,66,940	2,14,01,420	1,84,22,745	2,71,31,853	1,66,22,826
Percentage of total foreign trade—					
Imports	67·65	63·37	70·15	71·22	63·98
Exports	32·57	32·55	26·20	41·27	31·44

The decline indicated by the export figures for 1884-85 is accounted for by the depression in the rice trade of that year.

### B. *Merchandise Imported.*

The following table shows the value of the merchandise, both dutiable and free, imported during each of the past five years from foreign countries on private account :—

*Value of Private Foreign Import Trade.*

	1880 81.		1881 82.		1882 83.	
	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.
Dutiable	2,07,17,896	78.29	2,45,30,181	74.48	26,31,582	7.08
Free	82,30,037	21.71	84,02,828	25.52	3,45,95,852	92.92
Total	3,79,56,933	100.00	3,29,33,009	100.00	3,72,30,434	100.00

	1883 84.		1884 85.	
	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.
Dutiable	25,38,726	6.67	27,63,426	7.48
Free	3,55,30,250	93.33	3,41,00,408	92.52
Total	3,80,74,982	100.00	3,69,53,834	100.00

In consequence of the change in the import tariff in March, 1882, the figures for only the last three of these five years can be compared.

*Agricultural Implements.*

	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
From United Kingdom ...	24,318	39,604	29,859	9,339	22,263
„ Straits Settlements ..	220	325	508	1,149	860
„ other countries ...	...	80	20	...	25
Total ...	24,538	40,009	30,387	10,488	23,148

These consist chiefly of mamooties from the United Kingdom. The increase in 1884-85 is mainly due to large importations made in January, 1885, of over 11,000 to replenish stocks. Large numbers of reaping-machines were imported.

*Apparel.*

	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
From United Kingdom ...	3,62,631	3,27,391	4,17,565	6,15,068	5,84,165
„ Straits Settlements	2,42,791	2,00,563	3,05,262	3,57,625	3,70,981
„ other countries	573	3,258	1,370	59,594	48,293

Notwithstanding the largely-increased importations in 1883-84, the total value of the imports under this head in the year of report showed a continued activity in the trade in finery.

*Arms, Ammunition, &c. (including Military Accoutrements).*

	1880-81.		1881-82.		1882-83.	
	lbs.	Rs.	lbs.	Rs.	lbs.	Rs.
Fire arms and parts thereof ...	...	7,645	...	7,442	...	16,317
Gunpowder, sporting ...	25,575	23,575	40,429	38,941	34,500	38,072
„ other sorts	..	9,092	...	16,894	...	26,183
Total ...	...	40,312	...	63,277	..	80,572

1884-85.

	lbs.	lbs.
Fire arms and parts thereof		18,007
Gunpowder, sporting	15,830	32,977
„ other sorts	18,768	10,287
	22,156	
Total	61,689	61,271

The imports of sporting gunpowder during the year were double those of the year immediately preceding, but only were equal to the average of the quantity brought in during the previous four years. Gun-caps, cartridges, and cartridge-cases comprise the bulk of the articles grouped under the head "other sorts." The imports of these were as follows :-

	Caps No	Cartridges No	Cartridge cases No
1880-81 ...	2,603,500	31,050	66,000
1881-82 ...	3,265,500	42,484	90,050
1882 83 ..	3,453,750	125,930	96,098
1883-84 . .	1,754,000	22,994	126,900
1884-85 ...	2,039,350	71,100	83,970

The firearms received consisted of :

	Guns	Revolvers
1880-81 ...	52	54
1881-82 ...	87	60
1882 83 ...	249	217
1883 84 ..	311	256
1884-85 .	331	97

Of the quantity imported in 1884-85, ninety-nine guns and fifteen revolvers were the property of private persons, the balance belonging to licensed vendors.

*Candles of all sorts.*

	1880-81.		1881-82.		1882-83.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
From—						
United Kingdom	3,86,240	1,38,065	7,62,113	2,43,038	6,45,808	2,24,007
Germany	32,812	9,438	67,188	22,680	..	...
Straits Settlements	2,98,201	95,725	1,98,320	63,928	2,30,818	77,785
Other countries	..	...	..	...	...	...
Total ..	7,17,253	2,43,228	10,27,621	3,29,646	8,76,626	3,01,792

	1883-84.		1884-85.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
From—				
United Kingdom	8,16,151	3,03,685	6,40,186	2,53,917
Germany ..	12,848	6,000	25,782	10,900
Straits Settlements	16,992	6,113	3,686	1,393
Other countries ...	12	4	..	..
Total .	8,46,003	3,15,802	6,75,654	2,66,210

The unprecedentedly large importations of kerosine oil, which is now almost exclusively used for lighting purposes in every household, materially affected the trade in candles during the year of report. The Straits' trade in candles, which in former years held the second place, has almost died out—direct importations from Europe showing a better chance of profit.

*Coal (including Coke and Patent Fuel).*

	1880-81.		1881-82.		1882-83.	
	Tons.	Rs.	Tons.	Rs.	Tons.	Rs.
From—						
United Kingdom	82,340	14,65,629	68,939	11,83,990	87,903	13,80,817
Germany ...	2,358	40,081	7,979	1,34,348	3,075	46,365
Australia ...	1,752	30,743	..	...	3,937	58,692
Other countries ...	332	5,201	905	15,030	1,348	20,358
Total ...	86,782	15,41,659	77,819	13,33,368	96,263	15,06,232

1884-85.

From—	Tons	Rs	Tons	Rs
United Kingdom	67,727	10,73,202	52,323	14,80,003
Germany	890	14,540	1,234	20,755
Australia	13,369	1,97,481	12,702	2,12,042
Other countries	442	6,887	1,006	18,579
Total	82,428	12,92,200	67,265	17,41,279

More coal was imported during the year for railway purposes, and more coke and patent fuel were also received to meet the requirements of the Rangoon Steam Tramway, the total quantity of fuel alone being 212·27 per cent., and the value 262·22 per cent. in excess of the figures for 1883-84.

*Cotton twist and Yarn*

	1880-81		1881-82		1882-83	
From—	lbs	Rs	lbs	Rs	lbs	Rs
United Kingdom	4,402,482	36,96,198	3,624,741	31,75,034	4,350,272	36,51,040
Other countries	21	12			51,020	46,884
Total	4,402,503	26,96,210	3,624,741	31,75,034	4,401,292	36,97,924

1883-84

1884-85

From—	lbs	Rs	lbs	Rs
United Kingdom	3,055,803	25,02,428	3,012,926	24,01,081
Other countries	189,920	1,78,300	281,550	2,52,292
Total	3,245,723	26,80,728	3,294,476	26,53,373

There was but little difference in the value of the twist and yarn trade of the year under review and that



Countries.	1880-81.			1881-82.			1882-83.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
United Kingdom	Rs. 288,98,825	Rs. 376,04,919	Rs. 665,03,744	Rs. 239,25,844	Rs. 321,01,327	Rs. 560,27,171	Rs. 276,13,926	Rs. 347,91,349	Rs. 624,05,275
France ..	5,687	2,99,115	3,04,802	27,637		27,637	39,798	1,12,125	1,51,923
Germany ..	4,83,055	2,75,789	7,58,844	5,84,562	7,08,072	12,92,634	6,07,407	3,91,419	9,98,886
Holland ..	1,77,693	97,396	2,75,089	70	16,228	16,298	1,67,853	60,450	2,28,303
Italy ..	1,91,843	2,29,720	4,21,563	1,08,806	98,200	2,07,006	27,097	..	27,097
Spain ..	..	..	..	360	1,43,120	1,43,480	700	1,44,785	1,45,485
Cape of Good Hope	2,386	1,21,057	1,23,443	9,878	97,407	1,07,285	12,504	1,19,192	1,31,096
Mauritius ..	140	75,045	75,185	26,037	37,348	63,385	1,160	87,002	88,162
South America ..	232	8,33,431	8,33,663	50	10,19,559	10,19,609	3,227	13,30,424	13,33,651
Arabia ..	35,834	..	35,834	61,587	..	61,587	65,113	..	65,113
Ceylon ..	11,624	10,14,374	10,25,998	18,073	6,27,940	6,46,013	1,03,603	8,22,591	9,26,194
China ..	1,350	30	1,380	175	8,610	8,785	1,035	1,43,605	1,44,640
Siam ..	15,449	3,41,443	3,56,892	12,832	3,50,390	3,63,222	9,082	2,60,947	2,70,029
Straits Settlements	72,61,723	112,19,398	184,81,121	75,48,127	150,00,982	225,49,109	72,82,144	160,01,128	232,83,272
Sumatra ..	1,833	1,30,900	1,34,733	1,707	188,281	1,90,048	280	1,05,269	1,05,540
Australia ..	35,405	52,179	87,644	775	6,260	7,035	67,953	2,10,098	2,84,951
Other countries ..	831,794	133,14,798	141,46,592	6,06,429	153,43,430	159,49,859	12,27,492	157,39,763	169,67,255
	379,56,933	656,09,594	103,566,527	32,933,009	657,47,160	986,80,169	372,39,434	703,26,138	1075,56,572

Countries.	1883-84.			1884-85.			Increase on totals of the year 1883-84.	Decrease on totals of the year 1883-84.	
	Imports.		Total.	Imports.		Exports.			Total.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.				
United Kingdom	283,03,350	254,00,460	537,00,810	257,24,910	247,60,404	504,85,314	..	32,24,505	
France	80,351	22,223	1,02,574	88,148	1,40,870	2,35,027	1,32,453		
Germany	6,53,304	2,33,008	8,86,072	5,55,160	1,25,128	6,80,288		2,06,684	
Holland	12,085		12,085	1,000		1,000		11,085	
Italy	80,035	2,43,070	3,30,011	1,01,900	95,813	1,97,803		1,33,108	
Spain	1,130	1,50,402	1,60,522	000		000		1,59,622	
Cape of Good Hope	5,008	2,18,057	2,23,065	12,004		12,004		2,10,161	
Mauritius	30	44,473	44,503	6,190	40,859	47,049	2,546		
South America	82	20,12,030	2,01,274	0,280	11,53,121	11,62,401			
Arabia	73,345		73,345	42,550		42,559		8,50,320	
Ceylon	80,884	11,00,640	12,80,533	33,820	13,90,002	14,30,521	14,99,888	30,786	
China	2,100	3,40,850	3,42,050	3,100	2,52,007	2,50,157			
Siam	7,771	1,01,273	1,00,044	14,780	1,01,718	2,00,507	7,463	86,799	
Straits Settlements	77,37,050	120,85,081	204,22,720	82,14,005	108,35,170	190,49,135		13,74,585	
Sumatra	350	08,315	08,665					68,665	
Australia	2,02,088	200	2,02,888	2,13,101	200	2,13,391	10,503		
Other countries	8,27,001	220,08,045	237,35,046	10,30,700	138,74,737	158,05,500		79,30,440	
	380,74,082	057,34,387	185,00,309	310,53,834	528,71,688	808,25,522		139,83,847	

of the year preceding it. It is said that a portion of the stocks remaining from the imports of 1882-83, when the trade was apparently overdone, have not even yet been worked off. The bulk of the imports from "other countries" consisted of twist shipped at Trieste.

#### DACOITS AND DACOITY.

In common with his half-brother, the Goorka, to whom he bears a remarkable physical resemblance, the most prominent of the Burman's moral characteristics is his predatory instinct. His desire to lay violent hands on his neighbour's property outweighs with him every other consideration, human or divine. Far from being regarded as a disgrace to a lusty young fellow to have been engaged in a raid on a neighbouring village for purposes of loot, one who cannot boast of having done something of the sort is regarded by his friends, male and female, something as we regard a man who as a school-boy was never engaged in a fight, or who has reached middle age without ever having fallen in love—as, in fact, what Carlyle would have stigmatised a "puir sort o' mon."

The Burmese word for dacoity is *dahr-mia*—from *dahr*, a sword, and *mia*, many—a band of men armed with swords. Thus it is clear that in the Burman mind this reprehensible pursuit is regarded as a sort of military display rather than in the light of anything like mean or petty thieving, which is not common amongst the Burmese. My belief is that the dacoit instinct is inborn in every child, whose imagination is stimulated

during youth by dacoit stories and dacoit scares which enthrall and fascinate his early days. The idle life in the villages where the rice crop is sufficient to feed all and to spare—where the little work that is done generally falls to the women's lot—favours the development of these mischievous teachings. So it happens that when news is brought to a village that some old woman in a neighbouring district has accumulated a bag of rupees—the whereabouts having been ascertained—an enterprising spirit is never wanting who is willing to beat up recruits for a raid. This requires no extraordinary courage or leadership. If it is in Lower Burma, there is only one danger—the police—but there is never any resistance on the part of the villagers themselves; and if in Upper Burma, before the war, the visitors were treated with as much respect and consideration by those who had been unable to “bolt,” as Dick Turpin and his followers, or the more modern Australian “bushrangers” were treated by villagers of our own race, when they suddenly appeared at the tavern bar. The dacoits, like the bushrangers, are only inclined to be nasty if opposed, but their demands acceded to, they depart, as a rule, without doing any harm to life or limb. It must be understood that I am now treating the dacoit question from a time-of-peace point of view. Later on I will treat of it, as developed into, what has been from time to time, and especially of late, a state of general upheaval, disturbance, and hostility.

The ordinary dacoit band often consists of as few as six braves, and seldom exceeds a dozen. There are,

perhaps, two muskets amongst the party. These are generally discharged in the air as a warning to the villagers that the robbers are approaching, and that all who are wise may make themselves scarce—a hint which is readily taken. With loud shouts, and much waving of dahs, the band then rushes into the village. The women, as a rule, remain to receive them. The money is demanded, and, if obtained, then off they go ; but if any hitch occurs just as likely as not the village is set on fire. The women are never interfered with.

The news of such a dacoity probably a day later permeates to the nearest police station. In nine cases out of ten, the police—Burmans before the war, but now being mostly supplied from India—instead of acting at once, communicate the fact to the nearest officer they can find, and measures are taken to sift the matter.

The officer repairs to the village, partly by jungle-paths, and partly by boat, and proceeds to collect evidence. But what chance has he of getting any ? “The dacoits had come at night.” “No one saw them.” “They had done no harm.” “They were Upper Burmans,” and so forth. All this time there are numbers of people in the village who know them perfectly well, and can conduct the officer to the very house in which their leader is exulting over his spoil. But no one dare give information. The mark of Cain would be on his brow. He would have few days to live. *On what is known in Ireland as the “informer,”* the Burman has no mercy. To betray a man into the hands of authority is a sin against religion, not to say

against morality. In every village there are three or four men who are called *Loogyis*, or elders. They are generally the oldest, and most looked up to. They are called in to preside at a marriage, or divorce, or to discuss any question of religion or etiquette. They are generally devout Buddhists, and believe that in order to have a good time of it in the next existence a certain number of "merits" must be heaped up. To build a pagoda, give offerings to the church; to do the bidding of the priests, and so on, are "merits." Now, "demerits" far outweigh "merits"—and to kill, or cause pain directly or indirectly, is a "demerit" so grievous that to atone for it would take many years.

Thus, if the men who know everything that goes on give information as to a dacoity, some one is caught, flogged, imprisoned, or hung. Pain has been given, and those who have caused it are frowned on by the Heavenly King.

This superstition, *plus* the more practical vengeance of the friends of the betrayed, makes it a matter of extreme difficulty to trace crime in Burma. Furthermore, there is a natural sagacity, and capacity for telling lies, with all the appearance of truth, in the Burmese, which puzzles the most practised dacoit hunters.

Some little time ago I met a young Assistant-Commissioner who I knew had been much harried and worried by the prevalence of dacoities in his district. *Often entirely alone he had worked for many months through the entire rainy season, riding and walking along jungle paths, wading through swamps and going*

long distances in country boats. His escort seldom exceeded two Burmese policemen, who might or might not have stood to him at a stress. I said, "Well, you look as if you had been having a bad time of it; what have you been doing with yourself?" "Hunting dacoits," he said; "steadily at it for nine weary months; and the worst of it is, I never caught one."

To illustrate his difficulties in obtaining information, and also as an illustration of the marvellous courage and zeal which has been shown by all the civil officers in the late troubles, I may repeat the following story which he told me :—"It was the middle of the rainy season when I got information that a dacoit leader who had been giving an awful lot of trouble, was at a certain village about twenty miles distant. I determined to go alone this time, but arranged to have a boat waiting for me at a certain creek. I arrived at the boat about midnight, and getting in directed the boatman to paddle me to the village. Finding that the whole country was under water, I made the man leave the line of the stream and work on through the jungle. A little after daylight we approached the village, and suddenly came upon two men in a boat. On seeing me they abandoned the boat, and tried to escape into the jungle. I let drive one shot with my revolver, and shouted that if they didn't stop I should shoot them. On this they pulled up short, and came back. One was a middle-aged man, and the other was still in his 'teens. I suppose I talked to these two for half an hour, and they gave me all sorts of information about the whereabouts of the dacoits, and said that the man I was in search of

had left the district. I could not induce them to accompany me to the village. Arrived there 'no one knew' anything about the dacoit leader. By the merest accident I found out by talking with a child, that that same morning the *Bo* had left the village, but no one else would corroborate this evidence. I had let my man slip through my fingers. Two months later I managed to communicate by messenger with the ruffian in question. I had been authorised to offer him a free pardon if he would come in. He replied that he would not venture into my clutches, and that I might remember having shot at him in the rains, and swallowed all the lies and deceptions he had practised upon me. So I have utterly failed to get hold of him."

It was told to me at second-hand by an officer who had come from a district of Upper Burma, that the following clever deception was practised upon a *very sharp* civil officer by a Burman dacoit. The Commissioner, accompanied by a small body of troops, was in pursuit of a dacoit leader who evaded him in will-o'-the-wisp fashion. As usual, the officer was accompanied everywhere by a faithful henchman, a Burman, who carried his gun on the march, and did all odd jobs in camp. This man fell sick, and had to be left behind at a certain village. Before the party started on the following morning, a very smart, active fellow turned up from the village, and volunteered his services as gun-bearer to the officer, and they were accepted. He turned out to be a capital fellow, and was most active in obtaining information, but his "tips" always turned out to be myths. One night he disappeared with the gun and



twenty rounds of ammunition, and on enquiry it was found that he was the man they were in search of.

Some remarkable illustrations of the vengeance wreaked by dacoits on the heads of "informers" occurred some time ago in a district of Lower Burma. A villager, very well-to-do, had given information which led to the apprehension of a well-known dacoit. Without waiting to hear what was the result of his trial, a small party of his friends, seizing an opportunity of the absence of the police, turned up in the village. They dragged the terrified wretch out of his house, and thus addressed him :—

"You were the cause of — being apprehended. Now we are going to burn you alive. You can either be burnt in the village or outside ; which will you choose ?" His wife came forward and offered them a thousand rupees in silver if they would spare his life ; but they would not. He was taken out, and burnt to death without further delay. It is unnecessary to say that no more information could be got out of this village.

Another instance in the same district occurred almost simultaneously with the above. A villager had been induced by a reward to give information as to the whereabouts of a band of dacoits. He had received for this 250 rupees, a fact which he hoped would not become known. But it soon leaked out, and on the following night half-a-dozen dacoits accosted him. They first of all demanded to know what he had done with the rupees. He tried to deny the charge, but, seeing that it was useless, he produced the money. The dacoits took the money, and, in order to guard

against the possibility of further trouble in the same quarter, they cut off his head and stuck it up on a pole, *pour encourager les autres*.

Another remarkable story characteristic of these strange people appears amongst my notes. The event took place in British territory. A notorious dacoit having been captured was sentenced to be hung. The district officer, desiring to read a lesson to the population in general, sent messengers round the country to announce that the event would take place at a certain hour at a named village. At the time appointed he himself arrived on the ground to witness a sight which filled him with amazement and concern. The whole country side were assembled *en masse*, from the old and decrepit to the smallest baby in arms, to witness the event. The thing had been made into a sort of festal occasion. The women were decked out in their gayest colours, and there were musicians, players, &c. It resembled, in fact, from all accounts, in a remarkable degree the execution scene in "Shamus O'Brien," without its dramatic finale, "Now," said my informant, with a shrug of his shoulders, "what can you do with these people?"

The above stories illustrate the difficulties in the way of those whose duty it is to cope with the normal state of restlessness amongst the Burmans, and to protect law-abiding people from the bands of roaming "ne'er-do-weels." But it must not be supposed that these difficulties are insurmountable. They are by no means so. Wherever our authority has become firmly established, so great is the respect of the Burman for his rulers that very rarely is any attempt made to resist

the district officers. On the news reaching a village that any European, be he Assistant Commissioner, or police officer, is approaching, all shady characters clear out ; and even in the case of this officer being alone, or escorted by a couple of policemen, seldom, or ever does the boldest band of dacoits venture to attack him. A young Bengal civilian, who has lately left Rangoon for the upper province, owes his life to this respect which even the dacoits have for the *goyiaghyl*, the great white man, in Burma. Just after his assumption of office in a disturbed district, he started off with some policemen to try and capture a band of dacoits who had become the terror of the district. Arrived at the bank of a forest stream he was fired at from the thick jungle on the opposite bank. He immediately drew his revolver, and, calling on his policemen to follow, drove his pony through the shallow water. Arrived on the opposite bank, he looked round to collect his men for the attack when, to his horror, he found that he had only his pony-keeper and three policemen with him ; his other brave followers having decamped to a man. The dacoits now rushed forward and fired at close range. The pony-man and the pony and two policemen fell, and the officer was shot in the foot. He turned round, and recrossed the stream, taking up his position behind a tree, his faithful attendant remaining at a respectful distance. The dacoits came all round : his revolver stuck and would not work, and, as he said to me when telling me the story, "I thought my last hour was come!" He pointed his revolver at them, and shouted to them to go away. There was

nothing to prevent their killing him then and there, but they did not. They allowed him to limp off along the ravine without further molestation. It is to be hoped that by no hasty or premature legislation, the outcome of pandering to the shallow clamourings of weak-kneed philanthropists, will this inherent respect for the superiority of the European be removed from these people's minds. As it is a great power for good, and smooths the rocky path of the pioneers of western civilization, it will be well to let it remain as long as possible.

It is well known to that small fraction of the news-reading portion of the human race who have taken a passing interest in the "Burman business," that ever since the occupation of Mandalay, in November, 1885, by General Prendergast's army, in actions small and great which have taken place in the field—and there have been something over two hundred—our opponents have been styled "the dacoits." The idea of this term is to produce the impression that the men who shoot at us and fight us are not our enemies alone, but the "enemies of order," and their own people. Many who have had to do with these troublesome and persistent fellows object to the term "dacoit" as inapplicable, and in their reports of small jungle fights, term them "the enemy," "the rebels," "the insurgents"—according to their bent. That they have not been dacoits in the sense treated on in the early pages of this chapter, must be clear to all. The ordinary dacoit avoids the myrmidons of the law, be *they clad in scarlet, karkee, or blue ; but "the dacoits,"*

the very name of which makes our wives and sisters in dear old England turn pale, very often attack us, and still oftener await the deadly hail of the breech-loaders, and the bursting shells, until, having put in a couple of volleys, they have laid many a good man low.

The term "rebel" will scarcely bear universal application. Some of the leaders in Upper Burma never owed us any allegiance, so they had none to pay. Bo Sheway has fought against us steadily from the outset. He is no more a rebel than Alompra was when he rose and cast off the Talaing yoke. Nevertheless it is perfectly true that he was a "dacoit" in the time of the late king.

An "insurgent" is an individual who resists the execution of civil laws, although not necessarily endeavours to overthrow a government. This term would certainly apply to the disturbers of order in Lower Burma in the spring of 1886. They could scarcely have hoped to upset our rule, but they endeavoured to plunge the country in anarchy.

"Enemy" was certainly wrong, for after the date of the proclamation of annexation, the whole Burmese race had become British subjects, *nolens volens*. So, perhaps, the Government has taken the easiest way out of the difficulty and termed all opponents to order "dacoits."

There can be no question as to the existence of a strong political sentiment in Upper Burma after the overthrow of Theebaw's government. This was fed by sham princes, discontented courtiers and priests who, as a rule, had no fixed plans of action. There was a vague notion that they would like to

have a successor to Theebaw ; but had one been appointed, they would have been the first to have plotted against him. The Burman in his rude state is the most credulous and gullible of the human kind. You have only to tell him that you are something strange and uncanny, and he will believe it. The sham princes and inspired phoonghees traded on this idiosyncrasy. They generally assumed a name indicative of God—inspired royalty. They never fought themselves, but urged others to, and were the first to bolt when things began to look serious. In reverses they were regarded as martyrs, and if the smallest atom of success crowned their plans they became immediately converted into heaven-born geniuses. Bo Sheway's fortunes have varied much. During the first winter and spring he was merely a dacoit, and did not pretend to be anything else. A small column was sufficient to keep him running about from village to village, and for months not a shot was fired. At one time he was reduced to two followers and a goat, and lived in daily terror of being betrayed into the hands of Mr. Phayre, the ubiquitous civil officer of the district. He went so far as to offer to surrender, but that officer refused to accede to the terms demanded, and warned him to give himself up unconditionally. The column was withdrawn as the troops were required for work elsewhere. Freed from this incubus he was enabled to assemble a few followers once more. Phayre, hearing that he was beating up for recruits at a certain village, took with him some sepoy and native police, and proceeded to

attack him. The chief gained here the success which has made his name. No one knows exactly what took place, as natives are never to be believed. Phayre was killed, together with two policemen, and his body fell into the hands of the dacoits. The story went forth that the great *Kala* governor had fallen a victim to Bo Sheway's skill, and as a matter of course many now flocked to serve him. Some time after this a strong detachment was sent against him with two guns. In a jungle fight of some hours the British lost heavily, and the affair was anything but a success. So the district got into a ferment. The rains came on. Further detachments were sent after the chief, but he gave out that he would never stand and fight again as he might be surrounded, but would harass our marches, and wait for sickness to do the rest. And he has kept his word. After many deaths from sickness, and the chief's ambuscades, enormous reinforcements have been sent into his country which ought to break up his following. It has been very much the same story with Buda Yaza, Hla Oo, and others, and, unless they are actually caught up, they will turn and give trouble again.

It is certain that much ingenuity has been displayed by the Burmese in the war, showing their natural sagacity, and aptitude for jungle fighting. On one occasion a commander, hearing that a body of dacoits were stockaded at a place some miles from his camp, made a forced march in order to surprise them. He was unfortunately encumbered by a convoy. This he left halted under a guard at some distance from the *object of his march*, and rapidly pushed on with the

main body of his men. Not a shot was fired at him as he threaded his way through the dense jungles. He reached the stockade which the dacoits, after a few shots, evacuated. He was struck by the feebleness of the resistance, as the position was strong, but bivouacked his men and sent messengers back with orders to bring up the wagons. As the convoy was dragging its weary way along the muddy path in dense forest, fire was opened on it, mules, bullocks, and elephants went nearly mad, and several men were killed and wounded. Having caused all this turmoil, with a sort of ironic suddenness the devils vanished. On another occasion, knowing that a party of soldiers were approaching along a narrow road in thick bush, they, selecting a bend in the path, laid their muskets so as to sweep the line of our advance. The advanced party were allowed to get quite close, when the hidden marksmen let drive, knocking over five out of the eight, and vanishing shortly afterwards, out of sight.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty with which throughout the business officers commanding parties have had to contend, is to distinguish on arriving at a village, which is known to be a hotbed of disaffection, between the dacoit, and the peaceful villager. A very common stratagem to deceive us has been employed ever since the Burmans discovered that we spared all who we could not prove were dacoits.\* On our march to a village we would be often shot at by totally invisible marksmen, and, arrived there, our enemies of only a few minutes before, having run round by some bye-path, hidden



their arms and ammunition, and put on a smiling face, would come out to meet us, carrying water, and sometimes milk and fruit for the thoroughly-pumped and savage Tommy. An officer of my own regiment\* told me a very remarkable dacoit story. He was despatched with twenty-eight men to attack a body of dacoits in a certain village in Upper Burma. With more daring than discretion, he rode on in front of his men with two Burman police, and found the place strongly stockaded and bushed up, so that, as he described it, "a rat could have scarcely got through." He rode up to one of the gates, notwithstanding the expostulations of his guide. He told the policeman to call on the villagers to open the gates, as the *goyiaghyi* (the great white soldiers) were coming. A man came forward and tried to open the gate, but was pushed aside by some one inside, and the gate was barred up with stones. Finding this state of things, he rode back and met his detachment. Arrived once more in the village, he surrounded it by his men, placing them in double files at long intervals, and sent back a mounted messenger for reinforcements. After waiting for two hours, his patience gave way. He went once more to the gates of the village, and called on the inmates to open. A long altercation took place inside, and at length the gate was opened. Taking three soldiers with him he walked into the village and moved through several clusters of huts. There were lots of men about, none of them armed; but their attitude was suspicious. Not a word could be got out of anyone.

\* Lieutenant Churchill.

At length a very terrified old man sidled up to one of the policemen, and told him that unless the *Bo* (officer) left the village, he would be shot. So he moved out, and an attempt was made to shut the gate once more, but it was guarded by two of the soldiers. The officer now determined to attack the village, breaking in at the gates, if unopposed, seizing suspicious characters, and searching for arms. But the dacoits, evidently imagining that something of the sort was going to happen, commenced the action, and a sharp fusillade was opened from the stockade. One of the first shots wounded the young commander very severely in the knee, which has stretched him on his back for many months. He directed the men to rise from their cover and break in at the two gates. There was a general rush and they stormed the village, which was also set on fire. A number of arms were found, and several dacoits were shot and bayoneted, and not improbably some who did not belong to the band.

This story shows how impossible it has been to get information of the presence of dacoits in villages. Whether this has been due to sympathy or fear, Heaven knows ; probably, as in Ireland, a little of both. In every village and town large numbers of young men have been pressed into the work ; but my belief is that they seldom want pressing. I remember once questioning an old village *Thoogyi* as to what had become of the young men of the village. He said they had been pressed to join the gang which we were after, and that his two sons were amongst the number. The dacoits, he said, threatened to kill him unless all his

guns were given up, and if he dared to give any information of what direction they had taken; so all we could get out of him was a wave of his skinny hand in the direction of pathless rocky hills and dense bush.

It is common this side of the Bay of Bengal to talk of the Burmese as a cowardly race, but I don't think that imputation has been justified by our late experiences. Their callousness when brought face to face with the great King of Terrors is incredible. If they find that they are to be shot, or hung, they become at once reconciled to the inevitable. Three men were brought up for execution on a certain occasion, and an unfortunate, and very horrible, accident occurring in carrying out the sentence of one, the other two laughed heartily. I once witnessed a dozen men being flogged. The flogger was a powerful European, and his "cat-o'-nine tails" was a stout rattan cane—every stroke from which produced visible results on the victim's naked back. They were men of varied ages and proportions, but they all took their licking like men—not one wincing or uttering a sound. After my South African experiences of "flogging parades" and the faintings and groanings that accompanied them, I confess I was surprised at Jack Burman's pluck.

My own belief is that these people don't feel pain like a full-blooded European. They live on dried fish and rice, and their blood is thin and sluggish. But this can be only surmise at the best. The fact that they stand punishment manfully shows that they are capable of effective action if well directed.

Although the dacoits when caught have always

met death with fortitude, they have shown great terror at the prospect of imprisonment or banishment.

It is difficult to determine the origin of this deep-seated dread. It may be that having fallen into our hands, and finding that they are not to be killed, they may think that a worse fate awaits them. Intensely cruel to their own prisoners, often putting them to excruciating torture, utter brutes in this way themselves, they may expect that they are being reserved for a like fate. The explanation may be that they share this common dread of the unknown and the unseen. Every Burman has heard that we transport our prisoners to the Andaman Islands, and it is a "black country" in their imaginations. A near relation of Bo Sheway surrendered himself many months ago, and was sentenced to a short term of imprisonment at the Andamans, where he was told he would be set at liberty. He had awaited his trial patiently, and had he been sentenced to death he would probably never have murmured; but transportation had for him unseen horrors which he could not be got to face. He refused to move off with his escort, kicking, and even biting everyone within reach, and had eventually to be tied with ropes, and carried along. Some dacoits had been taken red-handed, and been brought into one of our camps. Two or three were shot, others flogged and released, and several were detained for transportation. These were the gloomiest of all, and begged to be killed, or released. One fellow actually succeeded in evading his sentence. He had got hold of a soldier's boot-lace, and with this he strangled

himself during the night. I should scarcely have been able to credit this story if the witness to the dead man in the morning with the boot-lace drawn so tight that it had actually penetrated the skin, had not been an officer of my own regiment whose veracity is unimpeachable.

Because the Burmese would never stand when once the men had been launched at them with the bayonet, is no proof that they are cowards. In the history of European wars there are few authenticated cases of bayonets being crossed in action, and these may be said to have occurred in street fighting. If troops get sufficiently close to a line of defences easily scaled, and charge resolutely with the bayonet, the enemy will probably be driven out. The lines of Tel-el-Kebir would have been carried all the same had they been defended by the best troops in Europe ; but had there been any method in Arabi's soldiering, our front line would never have been allowed to approach to within striking distance unmolested ; and even if such were possible, his reserves in rear should have given our broken troops a bad time of it. It must also be remembered that the Burmans have been only armed with old muskets, which, once discharged, take a long time to load again, so they have generally fired one volley, and decamped.

Attempts will probably be made at no very distant period to organise battalions of Burmans for service over here. It must come to that in time. Is there any chance of such an experiment succeeding? Those who know the Burmans much better than I do are of opinion that with time and trouble it could be success-

fully accomplished. Unless every word of Burmese history be false, the Burmese of past days have done great deeds under leaders in whom they believed. Bureng Myoung could not have extended his conquests far and wide unless good men were forthcoming to carry his plans into execution, and the story of the successful struggles of the Ava troops against three successive invasions by the Chinese shows that the Burmans, when well led, are game to fight. They are wonderfully active and hardy, can live on next to nothing, and are so free from political sentiment that they could be easily got to keep order by shooting down their own countrymen. For the sort of fighting that they would ever be likely to be called upon to do, they would probably prove themselves very effective material, and with practice make quick shots.

When these people have thoroughly realised that they are henceforth, and for ever, the subjects of the Great Queen, a wonderful change for the better will come over the spirit of their dream.

### THE BURMESE WOMAN.

Most readers will have heard strange descriptions of the Burmese woman. Like her more civilised sister of Japan, she is certainly a character ; and, in the face of many domestic cares, unjust laws made by men for their own personal comfort and security, and terrible bodily suffering, a more cheery little body is not to be met with on earth. As to her store of that highly-prized, and, as some consider, indispensable attribute of

her sex—beauty—she has none on't. Her height is 4 feet 6 inches, or thereabouts ; she has a bad figure as a rule, with square shoulders, flat breast, angular hips. Her nose is flat, her eyes narrow, her mouth large, her complexion muddy. Her movements are ungraceful ; she waddles like a duck as she walks. Thus far great mother Nature has been unkind to her ; but she possesses ample masses of black hair, always carefully oiled and dressed, which she loves to adorn with roses and orchids ; she has a sunny smile and, to those who understand her language, a boundless flow of conversation. She is an admirable housewife ; fertile of resource, economical, thrifty ; a great bargainer and barterer ; clean and tidy in her ways, and, even in the too many cases, alas ! when she knows full well that she is only the temporary holder of her lord's affections, loyal and faithful in her conduct. But even when cast off she is by no means cast down. A little money to start a little fruit or cigar stall at the market, or in default of this, petty barterings in the bazaar, seems to make her quite happy and contented. Every mother understands that this will probably be the fate of her female offspring ; so from earliest youth they are taught business, the parent often leaving the child entirely alone to run the little stall, while she watches from a distance to see that all goes well.

Like all womankind, the Burmese woman has a weakness for dress. She loves to decorate her body, and to look as well as she can. Her dress is remarkable for its simplicity, consisting, on ordinary occasions, of a square piece of cotton or silk tied round the waist, and







folded tightly across the breast. It is open more or less in front, so that, as she walks, she exposes one of her legs to halfway up the thigh. Some of the richer and smarter women wear an outer dress, which is more decent, and put a silk handkerchief round their necks. Her feet, when she can possibly afford it, are sandalled. It is considered as a great indelicacy for an unmarried woman to expose any portion of her breast, and so particular are they in this regard, that by drawing the dress tightly across the bosom in early womanhood the figure is permanently spoilt.

The Burmese girl is carefully nurtured and watched by her mother up to a certain age ; she is then sold to the highest bidder, possibly a friend or relation in the same village--possibly a complete stranger. In theory the man thus brings the dower and comes to live in his father-in-law's house ; but of course this is not carried out in practice, as a man with several daughters would soon have to increase his accommodation. The truth is there is little real affection from our high-toned point of view between mother and daughter. The old Burmese woman is as hard in soul as she is parched in body, and whatever affections she may have possessed are dried up at five-and-forty. The common idea is that Burmese women are particularly fortunate as regards their civil freedom in comparison with other Eastern women. In a certain sense this is the case. The Burmese woman is more the companion of her husband than is the Indian. The Mussulmans cover their women up so that they can scarcely be seen ; the Hindoos and "no caste" Indians of the poorer

classes make their wives work, and care very little what they do so long as a certain amount of money comes into the house, and the rice is properly cooked for their meals ; but husband and wife scarcely ever exchange words unless they be words of anger or reviling. It is not so with the Burmese. It is quite a common thing to see a man and woman walking together and chatting merrily, the man generally laughing heartily at his companion's jokes. I don't think I have ever seen anything like this in India. Men and women alike are inveterate smokers, and it may possibly happen that the tranquilising, friendly weed may have the effect of mutually stimulating friendly commune between husband and wife.

But it must not be supposed that the Burmese woman has, from a civilised point of view, even a fair time of it. On the contrary, she has a very bad time of it indeed, and is much to be pitied. As I have said before, I believe the girls are well brought up ; taught to be busy and useful ; but once they become the property of a man, any little happiness which may have been allotted to them in life is at an end. The reason for this is that the Burman, whenever he finds himself master, is a bully and a tyrant.

Although, according to the teachings of Buddha, polygamy is contrary to law, few men keep only one wife who can afford to maintain two or more. Opinions differ as to the number of wives Theebaw had ; some say twenty, some say two ; but there is no question as to the fact that his father, the Mindoon Meng, had hosts. Dr. Marks, the celebrated missionary and

founder of St. John's College, once asked the king seriously how many children he had, when the latter replied with quite a bewildered expression on his face, "How can I tell?" It is only natural that his example should be followed by stars of lesser magnitude. The Burmese General, Sheway-Lau-Bo, when arranging for his departure from Mandalay, grumbled at only being allowed to take seven wives with him to his place of temporary exile in Lower Burma, which number the Chief Commissioner considered sufficient. I travelled round the coast with him. He used to count over his male children to me with pride, patting their heads condescendingly. He scarcely seemed to know the names of his wives. He was anxious to know if I was in the habit of bringing my wives with me when I went to war, and shook his head incredulously when I said that I had none to bring.

Great men in Burma think nothing of women, regarding them simply as a means to an end, and ordinary men, the *profanum vulgus*, who can only afford the luxury of one wife, take very good care that she does not remain idle. Once the Burman has reaped the harvest, and stored up sufficient rice for the year, he relapses into utter idleness. All household cares are handed over to his wife, who in sickness and in health is expected to minister to his comforts. He is always an idler and gambler, and often a dacoit; but if his wife either dares to lose her looks, or health, or shows a passing *penchant* for a country cousin, she is unceremoniously brought before a judge and divorced.

But it is in child-bearing that these poor creatures

are the greatest sufferers. If they survive to anticipate a second offspring, the event is looked forward to with absolute terror; and with good reason. In the first pages of his able paper on Burmese midwifery, my friend, Dr. Pedley, thus introduces the subject, to which he has devoted many years of careful study.

“ In Burma, midwifery is far more backward than in some other parts of the East. Astrology, charms and enchantments, curious combinations of lucky numbers and letters, with the use of the more or less active drugs found in all Indian bazaars, form the store of knowledge of the Burman doctor. He has not an idea of anatomy, physiology, or hygiene. The ordinary midwife is a quack whose conceit and ignorance it is difficult to surpass. The procedure and treatment during, and after labour have been reduced to a system which is adhered to by the Burmese and the kindred surrounding tribes, and is, as far as I can learn, peculiar to these regions. It surpasses in its severity, and its disastrous results, that of any other people. The midwives are generally from the poorest and lowest class, often advanced in years, and whose right to practise is chiefly founded on the fact that they have been mothers and grandmothers of many. So long as everything is natural, and the labour rapid, they may not do much harm; but even then their procedure is such as to do as much harm as possible.

The expecting mother lays in a large store of firewood (one or two hundredweight). If she cannot afford to buy this she collects it during months before

her delivery. If the husband can afford it, and there is room near the house, a temporary hut of bamboos and mats is erected, and this is used as a lying-in chamber, and the woman remains there until convalescent. There is no notion of choice with regard to the sanitary surroundings of the woman, and though it is almost impossible to shut fresh air out of a bamboo hut, every effort in that direction is made with regard to the lying-in woman, chiefly with the object of preventing the entrance of smells of cooking operations, all such odours, according to Burmese notions, being fearfully injurious, illness and death often being attributed thereto.

“ In one corner of the room a flat fireplace is prepared by putting a layer of bricks on planks and covering these with sand. On this a wood fire is made and water in a large earthen pot set boiling. There is no chimney and the smoke is often stifling.”

Having described the frightful agony to which the patient is unnecessarily put during delivery, the learned doctor goes on to say, “ she is then (after delivery) laid on a low cot or couch of bamboos, or on a mat on the floor near to the fireplace, upon which wood is piled and a smouldering fire kept up, or earthen pans of burning embers are brought to the bedside. The smoke is often very distressing. Hot bricks wrapped in rags and bags of hot sand are placed about the body, and twice a-day the patient is made to squat over steam arising from hot bricks. The abdomen is also freely exposed to the fire. The belief is that the heat thus penetrates to the internal parts .

and heals them. Hot water in large quantities is swallowed and all food must be hot. Soap containing a small amount of animal matter and a large amount of garlic, black pepper and salt, are given. The application of heat is kept up for seven days. On the eighth or ninth day the woman is surrounded with a larger supply of hot bricks and covered from head to foot with thick cloths, the thick curtains are closely drawn round the bed, and she is for some hours submitted to a severe vapour-bath until drenched with perspiration. The heat is then lessened with a large quantity of cold water." This rough treatment, carried on in the most oppressive climate on earth, leaves the patient utterly exhausted, and many a young mother sinks under it to rise no more. And even if she survive such an ordeal she has a dried-up, withered look ever afterwards.

Burmese native law is founded on the code known as Damasat. It is supposed to have been the joint production of the two brothers Menù and Menò—the Heaven-inspired sons of the Emperor Mahasamatà. By these laws women's rights are, in a measure, respected; but justice is meted out to the weaker sex with but a scant hand, the amount of compensation for wrong done to a woman, or the amount of punishment for any fault committed by her, being almost entirely dependent on the wealth and position of her relations.

The inspired law-givers devote many articles to the relations between husband and wife, but previous to marriage women appear to have no rights apart from those of their parents; indeed, even after marriage, so

slender are the matrimonial bonds that the father and mother may demand back their daughter in the event of the man not paying up her dower.

“If a girl who has been married to a man by the consent and will of her parents afterwards desires to be separated from him, her husband may take possession of her dower, and even sell her for a slave.”

The idea of betrothal is thus dealt with by the Damasat : “When a girl promised in marriage to a man dies before the solemnisation of the nuptials, the parents ought to use their endeavours to unite their second daughter with their proposed son-in-law, and even to employ menaces to induce her compliance.”

In the case of separation of a husband and wife, the law provides that the sons remain with their father and the daughters with the wife. Should, however, a daughter elect to follow her sire, he can sell her as a slave, giving half the produce of the sale to her mother.

The laws relating to the division of property in families are elaborately gone into in the code, and, if adhered to are somewhat reasonable.

“If it should happen that a woman, after giving birth to seven daughters, should have a son, the inheritance must be divided in the following manner : The son, although the last born, must have the same as the eldest sister, the second and third daughters have two shares each more than the fourth and fifth, who have a share and a half more than the sixth and seventh, and the latter are to receive one share each,” which reads like an arithmetical conundrum.



The laws are very much down on a girl contracting a love marriage, or marrying without consent of her parents, or—in other words objecting to be sold by them.

“When a girl contracts marriage contrary to her parents’ consent, the property does not go to her husband at her death, but to her parents; and if a woman has married twice, once with and once without the consent of her parents, her dower then belongs to the children of the first marriage to the exclusion of those of the second.”

“If a man has had several wives and only one son, his goods at his death go his only son, and the surviving wives have nothing.”

The laws provide that the husband should have complete control over his wife, and sanction his administering personal castigation in the event of her misconduct.

“A man may punish his wife in the following cases: 1. if she is accustomed to drink wine; 2. if she is careless of her domestic duties; 3. if she encourage any gallant; 4. if she is fond of running about to other people’s houses; 5. if she is often standing at the door or window of the house; 6. if she is petulant or quarrelsome with her husband. In like manner it is lawful for husbands to punish those wives who are very extravagant in dress, or in eating; those who show a disregard for modesty or a too great curiosity in looking about them; and those who, by reason of their beauty, or of the property they have brought for their dower, are proud and overbearing.”

The man law-givers having thus disposed of the

liberty of the women proceed to frame stringent rules against their fellow-men attempting to meddle with their neighbours' wives. In order to stop the Lothario half-way in his career of mischief, they invent a punishment by fine which they term "half the fine of adultery," and which, if introduced into modern society, would create a panic, and produce a powerful effect.

Says the law:—"If a man touch another's wife with his hands, or if he go to visit her when her husband is not at home, or walk with her in lonely places, or talk much with her, or place himself in the doorway, or on the stairs, or go into her bedchamber, he may be made to pay half the fine attached to the actual commission of adultery. But still it must be observed that there must have been something in the character of the man to excite suspicion."

"If a man find a person whose character warrants suspicion is accustomed to give betel, and make other presents to his wife, or passes jokes with her, he may bring him before a judge and force him to pay half the fine for adultery."

"If the husband may command his wife not to visit at certain houses, not to frequent lonely places, &c., and if she will not obey, he may accuse her as guilty of a crime."

"When a man is guilty of adultery with another's wife, and it is proved to be the first time, he must pay the ordinary fine for adultery; but for the second time he is only to pay half the fine; and if he is guilty a third time he is free from all penalty."

The following law is a species of trial by ordeal :—

“ When a woman accuses a man of having violated her person, and he denies it, he must be made to take the oath. If within seven days after no one of the misfortunes described in the oath befalls him he is acquitted, and the woman must pay a certain sum in punishment for the calumny.”

The following can scarcely be regarded as even-handed justice :—

“ If a rich man violates the wife of a poor man he must pay the ordinary fine ; but if a poor man violates the wife of a rich man, the penalty will be the forfeit of his liberty.”

The only “ pull ” that the wife gets in these laws, as far as I can detect, is one of doubtful application in real life.

“ It is not reckoned a crime for a married woman to revile, or even to beat a man who, by promises or blandishments, attempts to draw her into sin ; and if the man retorts, he *may* be condemned to pay the woman the usual fine.”

This is, indeed, a great concession in support of the weak. Yet another law concedes a boon to the maiden whose lover has proved faithless.

“ If a young man, to induce a girl to marry him, gives her a ring or any other pledge, but afterwards marries another woman, he cannot demand back what he has given.”

These articles are extracted from Father Sangermano's “ Burmese Empire,” written more than eighty

years ago, and have undergone no material alteration since our acquisition of the country.

One noble outlook there is for the Buddhist woman who leads a pure and spotless life on earth. Her faith tells her that in the "next existence" she may be a man! In this glorious hope she lives, and is enabled by it to bear her burden of sorrow uncomplainingly.

One of the funniest of Burmese fancies is the dread in the minds of the men of women's supremacy. For this reason men have a rooted dislike to sleeping in the lower rooms of a house when there is a woman in an upper chamber. Some years ago a Mandalay prince was on a visit to Rangoon, and was asked by a leading merchant to pay him a visit at his house. The prince arrived with a suitable following, was received outside by the gentleman, and invited to ascend the stairs to the drawing-room. He could not do this without passing through a lower room which he hesitated to enter. Looking up at the house he asked .Mr. ——— which room the ladies were in, and, on the window of the drawing-room being pointed out to him, he ordered three of his servants to form a human ladder of their bodies, and by this means he climbed in at the window.

History does not relate whether he took the same perilous route on leaving the house.

## BOOK II.

## OUR NEIGHBOURS IN THE FAR EAST.

O'er these vast regions see a varied throng  
 Of thousand unknown nations crowd the coast ;  
 The Laos both in lands and numbers strong,  
 Avas and Birmahs in their mountains lost.

*Camoens. Las. Can. x, cxxxvi.*

The Karens.

The Shans.

The Yunanese.

The Kachins.

The Chins.

The Siamese.

The Annamese and Tonquinese.

*Conclusion.*

The Indo-Chinese Question.

## THE KARENS.

Of the numerous tribes who inhabit Indo-China, the Karens are, after the 'Burmese, perhaps, the best known. They dwell in the hill districts bordering the Sittang Valley, and are to be found, here and there, in batches as far east as the Cambodia. There seems to

be no doubt that they are a branch of the Tai or Shan family, and that they originally hailed from the north.

Mr. Logan, who has made these people his study, gives it as his opinion that they belong to the Western, or Thibetan branch of the Himalaic alliance. That they have kept apart from the Burmese for so many centuries, in language, tastes and religion is strange, as the natural result of their proximity to so powerful a nation would be their adoption of its language and faith. They have been oppressed and bullied, but have stuck tenaciously to their tribal characteristics. The first to fall under the influence of the missionaries, English and American, large numbers have been converted to Christianity.

Physically, there is no marked difference between the Karens, and other Indo-Chinese tribes. Their average height is probably about 5 feet 4, and weight about 9 stone. They are stoutly-built little fellows, with thick, bandy legs. They are darker than the Burmans, with sharper and harder faces. They have a wild and unkempt look, but their faces are full of a sort of questioning intelligence.

The women are not ill-favoured, but being short and podgy, have, as a rule, bad figures.

"The Karen," says Dr. Mason, "is the antipodes of the Burman in every respect. The manners of the Burman are polished and winning, of a Karen cruel and repulsive. Flattery is so foreign to his thoughts, that he has no word for it in his language;" and General McMahon,\* who quotes the above great

\* "The Karens of the Golden Chersonese."

authority, goes on to remark that the Karen rarely exhibits feelings of surprise, joy, gratitude, or admiration, like the more demonstrative Burman, nor is he endowed with a feeling for art like the latter, who decorates his carts, boats, houses, monasteries, &c., with elaborate carvings.

These differences in tastes are not to be wondered at, when we take into consideration the circumstances and surroundings of the two races for centuries, the one rich and dominant, owning a king and a religion ; the other poor, down-trodden, and despised.

In order to get on comfortably with the Karens, especially those who dwell in the hill districts, it is necessary to have some knowledge of their language, but a good Burmese scholar can generally find his way about amongst them.

The Karen language was not reduced to writing until so late as 1832, when Mr. Wade, an American missionary, constructed an alphabet of twenty-five consonants and nine vowels. Burmese letters have been used with some success. There are numerous dialects, some so diverse that they almost amount to different languages.

The Karens at no period of their history seem to have possessed a king, or any settled form of government. Chiefs they have had, and have to-day of more or less local status, but as a rule each village is a miniature republic, with its own little parliament of two or three elders, whose power to do good or harm is very limited indeed. In Karenee, or the country of the Red

Karens, very much the same system prevails, although the influence of certain chiefs is more powerful. Their hatred for the Burmese is intense, they feign even to despise them ; in retaliation, it must be supposed, for the contempt with which they have always been regarded by their oppressors. They seldom or never intermarry with the latter, which is strange, when the casual nature of the women of both races is taken into consideration. The women, however, not infrequently ally themselves with Chinamen, and even with Shans, and, as in the case of the Burmese, the male children follow their sires, and the female their mothers in every respect.

General McMahon devotes many pages of his book, "The Karens of the Golden Chersonese," to their religion and mythology, and, after perusal of this and other writings on the subject, and some conversations with Dr. Vinton, and other high authorities, I confess to be by no means clear as to what they believe, and what they do not believe.

McMahon, who for many years governed the Toungoo district, wherein are very many Karen settlements, not satisfied with his own observations, quotes almost every authority who has expressed any views on the subject. He states that they believe in a Supreme Being, God eternal. In ancient times they were in God's favour, but by reason of their sin He had withdrawn His benign influence from them, hence their troubles on earth.

Dr. Vinton corroborates this statement, and says that they furthermore assert that at a remote period



they possessed the book of divine law, which was lost or removed by evil spirits, leaving only a few pages. These relate to the Creation, and follow remarkably closely the story of the beginning of the world in our own Bible.

\*Every object of nature, say the Karens, has its lord ; thus, all bodies celestial as well as terrestrial, every human being, all animate beings, as well as things inanimate which can be brought into practical use, have their guardian spirits. The air they breathe, too, is thickly peopled with ghosts of the unburied dead, and the spirits of their departed ancestors crowd round them. They have the God of the Sun, the God of the Moon, the God of the Earth, the mighty ocean, the trackless desert, the lofty mountain, the wide river, or the yawning chasm, which from the natural awe they inspire, demand reverence ; the spreading banyan tree, the rice field, the vegetable garden, or the hill clearing, which minister to their wants, have each and all their tutelar deities, which, as subordinate beings to some greater power must be propitiated.

As regards their views of the future, McMahon writes : " The spirits of the dead resolve themselves apparently into four classes—

" The first consists of the *Plupho*, or inhabitants of Hades. They are the shades of those who have died natural deaths, and have been decently buried. They go to their proper country, and renew their earthly employments. As the North American Indian, with

his dog and bow, seeks food in the beautiful hunting-ground of the world of the departed, so the Karen, with his axe and cleaver, may build his house, cut his rice, and conduct his affairs as before.\*

The second are the *Sekhahs*, or ghosts of infants, or of persons who from accident have not been buried, and, debarred thereby from entering Hades, wander about the earth, and occasionally show themselves to men. These ghosts are supposed to be harmless, and are consequently not propitiated with offerings.

The third are the shades of those who have died violent deaths, and are known as *Therets*. These vampires are supposed to seize the *Las* of men, causing mortal disease. Hence they must be appeased to induce them to free the *Las* they have seized.

The fourth, known as *Tah-mus* and *Tahkas*, are the spectres of wicked men, of tyrants, of unjust rulers, and of those who have expiated their crimes by an ignominious death at the hands of justice. These also remain on earth, and torment the *Las* of men. After they leave the body, they appear in the form of horses, elephants, dogs, crocodiles, serpents, vultures, and ducks."†

It is clear from all this that the Karens have no religion, although many myths and superstitions. They have readily caught at Christianity, and many thousands are Christians. They very rarely embrace the Buddhist faith, indeed,\* it must be said of the worshippers of Gaudama that little effort, if any, is made to convert souls from the error of alien beliefs.

\* Mr. Cross.

† Dr. Mason.

Buddhists, on the other hand, never, or very rarely indeed, become Christians.

Dr. Vinton tells a good story of a Karen who had formed one of a band of armed men whom he had himself led against some dacoits during the late troubles. The man of the gown thought himself quite justified in drawing the sword at a crisis in defence of order, and especially as the dacoit leader was a Buddhist priest. The Karen in question was a brave fellow, but unlike all the rest of the reverend doctor's little army, he was a Buddhist. In the fight which took place, the dacoits were driven off after a severe tussle, and in going round to tend the wounded the reverend gentleman found his refractory friend, the Buddhist Karen, lying groaning on his back in a pool of blood. "What," said he, "you're wounded, are you?" "Yes, sir," said the fellow dolefully, pointing to the deep gash across his naked back, "as I was in the act of shooting a dacoit, the *phoonghee* cut me down with his sword. That cut," he added, "has taken all the Buddhism out of me."

As far as can be ascertained from the earliest authorities, both native and European, the Karens, and other wild tribes in Indo-China, the story of the creation of the world has from time immemorial been handed down from father to son. Certain it is that the first missionaries who landed on these shores ascertained that the non-Buddhist tribes had a notion of a God over all, a tradition of the beginning, and of a universal flood. Their version of the creation of man follows wonderfully closely the Biblical text. God

having created the earth, began by giving life to many millions of creatures all exactly suited to their environments. Finally he created a human couple after his own image. He placed them in a magnificent garden abounding in exquisite fruit and flowers. Only the most beautiful animals were permitted to enter therein. The trees groaned with yellow fruit. All were different, and all were apparently equally perfect. The Lord's first act was to conduct his children round the garden, and to explain to them the value and use of all the different fruits ; at length he came to the most beautiful tree of all on which the ripe fruit hung in tempting clusters. "This," He said, "my children, is the tree of death ; he that eateth of it shall surely die. The earth and all that therein is is thine ; only of the fruit of this tree ye may not eat." The Great Spirit then vanished, and the youth and his consort found themselves alone in the midst of this earthly paradise. As they still gazed in spellbound awe on the tree of the forbidden fruit, a python suddenly appeared before them. At first they were terrified, and would have fled, but the serpent spoke softly to them, and appeased their fears. The young couple listened in wrapt attention to his wondrous tale. He told them their own thoughts and hopes, and declared himself to be the equal of God. He explained to them that the Creator feared him because he had discovered the secret of His power, which lay in the fruit of the forbidden tree. "Eat thereof," he said, "and ye, too, shall be gods."

On this the man flew into a rage, reviled the serpent, and went away. But the woman remained

gazing in rapture at the magic tree. The serpent at length prevailed ; the woman partook of the tree of death, and fell into the demon's power. Feeling that she was lost, her only thought was to save her lover. She pleaded in vain, but the serpent was inexorable. He determined now to work on their conjugal affection. He caused the wife to draw her husband to the foot of the forbidden tree. But the man refused to eat. Then the serpent assuming fearful proportions, threatened to devour his wife, whom he loved with an overpowering passion. On the one hand was his God's commands, stern and inexorable—"Thou shalt not eat thereof : he that eateth thereof shall surely die"—and on the other his love. In his agony he called on his God to save his darling from the power of the serpent, but He heard him not, and his love prevailed over the fear of the wrath of God and sin and death, and he ate of the forbidden fruit, and man became mortal.

It may be that the evil done to mankind on this occasion by his weaker helpmate may account for the rough treatment which she has ever since received at her lord's hands in these wild regions of the earth.

It would appear inconsistent in a people who believe in a God, or great power for good, to spend their lives and property, as the Karens do, in propitiating evil spirits, but it is not entirely so.

Their theory is that the good God has withdrawn his favour from them, but they hope for its return.

They have a legend which neatly illustrates this idea. I find it in my diary as "The tiger story." A

man with a wife and several children lived in a lonely jungle place. It was necessary for them to go some distance daily to till the little rice crop which was to keep them going for the year. They had also a sow with a litter. One day during their absence a tiger appeared, and, having eaten a couple of the little pigs, took his departure, promising to call again. This event caused great concern in the little family. If the man and his wife remained at home to protect the house the rice crop would not be reaped, and they would starve; if they went to the fields the tiger would devour the pigs, if not the children. So they built a high platform between two trees out of the tiger's reach, and arranged that the little ones of both families should remain up there during their absence. The tiger came, and was much disappointed to find nothing for him to eat. Finding his prey out of reach he tried the game of brag with excellent effect. He threatened to spring up on the platform and devour the whole party unless the children threw him down a little pig. Not knowing his power, and fearing that he would effect his purpose, they threw him over a pig, which he ate. He now asked for more, and continued his importunities until the old sow herself had vanished down his capacious maw. When the parents returned they were furious, and reviled the children, but the latter replied, "We continued to feed the tiger because we feared him; but all the while we kept our eyes on the path."

So say the Karens, "So long as God hides his face from us, we must propitiate the devils."

It is remarkable that although the unconverted Karens never pray themselves, they believe in the efficacy of prayer. Dr. Vinton gave me a remarkable illustration of this. He had assembled a number of headmen of villages to discuss "matters political," as he expressed it, but really to arrange for a fight against the dacoits. The most influential chief present was not a convert—he had refused to listen to the teachings of Christianity, but was withal a fine, plucky fellow. As the missionary, in his practical American style, was about to proceed to business, the old chief suddenly stopped him, with the remark, "You have forgotten to open the meeting with a prayer!"

The Christian Karens, who have fought so well on our side against Burmese rebels for the past year, generally pray before committing themselves to an action. A gentleman who was in pursuit of a body of dacoits with a small force of armed Karens gives the following account of his experiences:—"We came upon the enemy in a dense jungle, and I was getting my men together for a charge, when an old fellow asked permission to say a prayer previous to the action. Down he knelt on the narrow path, and all the rest with him, and prayed thus: 'Great Lord! strengthen us to fight, that we may kill and utterly destroy our contemptible foes. Steady each man's aim, and sharpen his sword; for what are their rusty muskets to our quick-firing guns? what matter their superior numbers against our bravery? what power have their rotten, wooden gods compared with thine, O Great Jehovah?' Then he rose, and, with a wild shout,

plunged into the bush followed by the whole party. Each man took his own line, and I lost all control. The dacoits bolted, leaving three of their number dead, their heads being triumphantly laid at my feet."

The Cromwellian puritanism is probably the outcome of the teachings of the American missionaries, who are almost all Baptists.

The general status of the women amongst the Karens is scarcely so good as amongst the Burmese. The system of betrothal in early youth is carried to excess and used as a binding power amongst the various clans. The young men, as a rule, do not draw their wives from their own, but from neighbouring villages, so that in the case of "rows" amongst the clans the women are a sort of hostage for the loyalty of the men.

Some time ago a young Karen who had distinguished himself as a scholar, and had actually been to Calcutta, fell desperately in love with a schoolmistress at one of the missions. They were about to get married when the lad's father appeared on the scene from some jungle village, and "forbade the banns" on the ground that he had betrothed his son in early youth to a girl in a neighbouring village, and that he must stand to his bargain. The young scholar had to give up his new love and see his father through.

The Karens, both male and female, are very blunt and unceremonious in their address. There is no *shakoing*, i.e., the Burman custom of prostration at the feet of a superior, or bowing and scraping, which is an improvement on the obsequious humbug of most



Easterns. I have seen them standing upright and talking frankly with all sorts of officials, from Commissioners downwards. On one occasion, when I was sitting with a gentleman who was regarded with great respect by the Karens, a rather good-looking young woman with an infant at her breast, entered; she prattled out her story laughingly without the slightest sign of fear or doubt on her frank features. It was to the effect that her husband had been wounded by the dacoits and had been taken to the hospital. She wanted to have him released from thence and allowed to be taken home, "for," said she, in an appealing way, "I can cure him much better than the doctors."

I believe that the present thoroughly loyal and satisfactory condition of the Karens, who dwell in British territory, is due in a very large measure to the work done amongst them by English, French, and American missionaries for the past half century. Before I came to Burma, and saw the Karens, I was to a great extent impressed with the conviction that missionaries, however good their intentions, noble their sacrifices, and unbounded their zeal for doing good, had always been a drag on the political officers all over our great Empire. It has certainly not been so with the Karens. The instruction imparted to them at the mission schools has done much to remove barbarous customs, and open their minds to their best and truest interests. The Americans have been the principal workers, and they certainly do not labour in vain. The nature of their teaching is uncommonly practical. The Karens build their own mission houses, churches, &c., and support

them. They are their own to the last nail. The boys and girls get a most practical education—are taught the Burmese and English languages and instructed in all useful duties. They don't get religion *ad nauseam*, and are allowed a good deal of liberty. The girls stay at the schools in some cases for as long as ten years, until they are well into womanhood, when they go out as village teachers. The American missionary in this country is no mere philanthropist, he is a man of action—morally and physically. Often alone amongst savage and treacherous tribes, with his life in his hand, he has to act promptly, if he would act at all, and in the late troubles he has more than once not scrupled to cast aside his gown and draw the sword. But, in eulogising the acts of our cousins, the doughty sons of the Great Republic who preach the Protestant religion in Indo-China, it must not be supposed that they outshine their fellow-workers, the Roman Catholic missionaries. It is by no means so. For the most part Frenchmen, these latter lead a life of fearless adventure and self-denying toil. At their head is a man whose name is a household word in many languages, from Yunan to Singapore, and from the Irrawaddy to the Cambodia, an honoured name—Monseigneur Paul Bigaudet, Roman Catholic Bishop of Burma. For over fifty years he has laboured, and labours still in the good cause of "peace on earth, good-will toward men" with unflinching courage and devotion.

Although to-day bent with age, and withered from the effects of half-a-century of exposure to a tropical

sun, his deep-set eyes still glow with the fire of enthusiasm, his brain is as clear as a bell, and his words on all subjects, human and divine, are full of weight and wisdom. What a life has this man to look back upon? Not his the luxuries of friends and home; not his the comfort and security of a great city and the support of law and order; not his the invigorating breezes, the blood-making, strengthening diets, the fair flowers and fruits of beauteous France. Fatherless, motherless, wifeless, childless, homeless, this heroic old soldier of Christ has spent his life in the forest, and on the mountain, floating in boats on rivers and lakes, wading through unhealthy swamps. Scorched by the fierce sun by day, wet and half-famished by night, his food has been anything which he could pick up at the little village which he has made his temporary resting-place. Defying all things alike which have crossed his duty's path—savage tribes, wild beasts, disease, threats and warnings, reverses and disappointments, deceptions and treacheries—his sword, his shield and buckler, his defence and only hope in peril, the simple little cross which hangs upon his breast.

The Red Karens are an independent tribe of wild hillmen who dwell in the country to the east of the old British frontier. Physically they are not different to the neighbouring hill tribes, but being more inaccessible to civilised influence, are wilder and more uncertain in their action. The best authorities think they are the same family as the other Karens, although there are differences so marked between the languages that some consider them to be altogether distinct.

According to their own vague traditions, they originally travelled westward with one of the many Chinese hordes which from time to time have invaded Burma. When the Celestial wave receded, they remained high and dry upon the wooded heights where they now dwell. They were neither Burman nor Shan, and have had many struggles with both before they were eventually permitted to settle down in their present salubrious abode. They are still barbarous, although by no means so bad as when we first made our appearance in the districts adjoining their home. Many English and American missionaries have visited them from time to time, and two British civil officers, Mr. O'Riley and Captain Lloyd, were well received by them.

According to McMahon, Mr. O'Riley, during his visit to Karennee in 1856-57, ingratiated himself with the Red Karens by his tact and affability. "A treaty of friendship between the two countries," he writes, "as well as a brotherhood of Mr. O'Riley and the chiefs Kephogyre and Kephoguó, was ratified according to the custom of the country, on the occasion of O'Riley's visit.

"The ceremony of interchange of fraternity entails on the performers the necessity of sucking a portion of each other's blood from a puncture in the arm, or by infusing a drop in water and drinking it. And Mr. O'Riley, during previous tours among other tribes, found it necessary to conform to this custom, as without it the tribe refused permission to pass their lands, and he should have been necessitated to draw blood by a sharper process, and so closed their chance of

friendship for ever. Hitherto, in similar cases, Mr. O'Riley had been fortunate in being allowed to nominate a substitute for this process, but on his proposal to follow precedent on this occasion by appointing his native assistant, he was informed that, though such agency might be allowed in the case of inferior chiefs, when such great men were concerned the interchange of each other's blood alone would suffice.

"To Mr. O'Riley's great relief, 'it was stated that the flesh of a bullock killed and eaten by both parties, each receiving one of the horns of the animal, was a rite considered by them of equal weight with that of the blood-draught, and usually performed by them when a number of persons became friends and brothers.' He therefore joyfully consented to this ordeal, which implied that, 'like as they had partaken of the bullock's flesh which had entered their bodies, so might their friendship remain in each other's hearts, and there steadfastly abide so long as the horns continued crooked.'"

These people are not easily tempted from their mountain retreats, and are poor traders. In this way they are unlike their neighbours, the Shans, with whom they live on anything but amicable terms. They make their own knives, axes, swords, spears, hoes, bangles, silver ornaments, earthenware, bits and bridles, saddles and stirrups. They also weave coarse but durable articles of apparel.

McMahon extracts some interesting facts relative to the social customs of the Red Karens from the researches of O'Riley, Richardson, Mason, and other

travellers who have lived amongst them. A birth, it would appear, is celebrated by a feast to which the neighbours are invited when the mother is convalescent. When all are assembled in the house, the mother takes the child on her back and leaves the room, whence she is supposed to go to a paddy field. As a rule, however, she goes a few yards from the house, digs with a hoe, pulls up some grass and returns. By this she pledges herself to work for the child.

“When the feast is over the relations give presents to the child.”

The marriage ceremonies appear to be somewhat more elaborate than is customary amongst semi-barbarous peoples.

“When the augury of the fowl's bones decide on the auspicious time a great feast is made at the bridegroom's house, at which excessive licence as regards eating and drinking appears to be the rule. In the midst of the feasting, and in the presence of the whole company, the bridegroom offers a cup of spirits to his bride, who drinks it up, and then asks her ‘is it agreeable?’ The next day the bride returns home and makes a similar feast, to which the bridegroom and his friends go. It is now her turn to offer the cup to him, and when he replies to her question ‘is it agreeable?’ that ‘it is very agreeable,’ the two are regarded as married.”

Another funny custom is related on the authority of Mr. Bunker, the American missionary at Toungoo at the present time.

“During the carouse the bridegroom takes a hoe,

and leaves the house followed by the bride. He digs the earth with his hoe for a little, and the bride standing behind him follows his example, thereby acknowledging that she must work equally with her husband, and be subject to his orders.

"After this the bride, attended by the company, takes a small bamboo bucket to a spring and draws therefrom half a bucket full of water, the bridegroom filling the bucket ; the bride then returns to the house behind the bridegroom bearing the bucket of water. This last act signifies that she will be subservient to her husband."

The great King of Terrors is generally regarded with more concern by the friends and relations of the dying man than by himself.

The "undiscovered country" is his own country. He expects to come into a new existence almost at once. But his relations believe that his condition in the new life will depend upon the amount of goods which he takes with him to the grave. He is generally laid in a hollowed-out tree, and buried deep in the earth. A little earth is not thought sufficient. Valuable articles are thrown into the hole, such as rice and pots for cooking it, cloths, guns, swords, knives, axes, hoes, &c., in accordance with the wealth and position of the dead man's relations. Even, say the missionaries, a slave and a pony are sometimes tied outside the grave, but if not required, they generally contrive to free themselves before morning.

So much property does the dead man take away with him to the other world, that his friends have little left for themselves.

Although I have thus treated of the Karens as two tribes, as it were, there is every reason to believe that as the difference in their language, although considerable, is only dialectical, they are to all intents and purposes the same people.

The remoteness of Karennee, and the fact that the dwellers in these hill tracts have never had the advantages of their brethren in Burma, may be taken as quite sufficient to account for their moral differences which are by no means well marked.

Like the Karens in our territory, and totally unlike the Burmese, the Red Karens are remarkable for cunning and caution. They are slow at making friends, and very suspicious and silent. But they never forget an injury or wrong, and will wait patiently for years to pay off an old debt.

Some years ago a party of these wild fellows hailing from some village on the banks of the Salween, turned up at the Karen Mission at Rangoon. Unceremonious to a degree, they walked up the steps of Dr. Vinton's house, and accosted the good man in his own extensive varandah. He was glad to see them, but for the life of him could not ascertain what they wanted. To his numerous questions they gave no reply that at all satisfied him. They never took their eyes off his face for an instant, and were perpetually asking him his name. At length he lost patience with them and tried to bow them out ; but in vain. After a long delay, an old fellow, who was evidently their leader, asked him if he would write his name on a bit of paper. This he did, writing it in English, Burmese, and Karen. The



old fellow then carefully tore off the paper on which the Burmese and Karen characters were written and, having folded up the bit with the English on it, unceremoniously led the way down the steps into the garden. Here they all sat round in a ring, and the old man after much fumbling and unrolling of old cloths, produced a dirty little bit of paper which he proceeded to compare with the signature just given them. A great discussion now arose, and much talk and hilarity. The more they compared the signatures, the more they rejoiced. At length all seemed satisfied, and running up the steps, they each in turn grasped the missionary's hand with the utmost warmth. They then became quite at home, and explained the object of their journey. A Christian Karen had travelled into their village and told them all sorts of wonderful stories about the white men, and more especially Dr. Vinton himself. He had said to them "travel into the white man's territory, but never believe that you have found the great teacher until you find a man whose name is written like this." On saying these words, he had torn off the doctor's signature from an old document and presented it to them.

There is little doubt that the whole of the Karen country will at no distant date come directly under our Government. It is what the people themselves want. Several missions from West Karennee have waited on the Deputy Commissioner of Toungoo of late years, to beg that the British Government would annex the country, and this will probably soon be done.

The effect of education on these people has been to remove the more barbarous traits in their character, and to make them a useful and law-abiding people.

On more than one occasion in the past half-century their credulous nature has brought them into trouble with their masters. Certain prophets, said to be inspired, declared themselves to be gods, and collected large followings, but were soon suppressed. The probability of any recurrence of this state of things seems now to have vanished.

At the meeting at Government House only the other day to celebrate the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress, a large number of Karens were present in the hall. When the Commissioner announced that those who had memorials to Her Majesty would be good enough to read them, a very pompous little Karen stepped forward with a large parchment spread out before him. He had a face like the portraits of the elder Robespierre, and he read the following memorial in as good English as any in the room could muster :—

**“TO HER MOST IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE QUEEN-  
EMPRESS OF INDIA.**

**“THE HUMBLE MEMORIAL OF THE UNDERSIGNED  
KAREN INHABITANTS OF BRITISH BURMA ON  
BEHALF OF THEIR NATION.**

**“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY :—**

**“Your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Karens of Burma,  
rejoice with your Majesty in this the year of Jubilee,  
and praise the Almighty Father for his manifold mercies**

in vouchsafing to your Majesty to behold this fiftieth year of your Majesty's beneficent reign.

"Your Majesty's reign has been for the full fifty years one of prosperity and progress to the Karens in a greater degree even than to the other races in Burma. They therefore heartily rejoice that the Almighty Father has led your Majesty even to the year of Jubilee, and they heartily pray that the same loving hand may grant to your Majesty length of days, to bless the human race, as in the years gone by.

"Your Memorialists remember with thanksgiving the years of the British rule over them, beginning from the year 1826, when some of them came under British protection, and from 1853, when nearly their whole race came under the just rule of your Majesty. These years have been to them years of blessing and of peace as a race. Before these years their people were ground into the dust by oppression and wrong, and in these years their people have been freed from bad government and from religious persecution. Under your Majesty's reign their people have been peculiarly benefited in a two-fold manner both temporally and spiritually.

"As regards the temporal benefits of this transitory life, the hearths and homes of your Memorialists' race have been safely guarded and protected. Equal rights have been granted to them in common with the other races subject to their Great Queen. For the further advancement of their race, your Majesty's Government, which has much at heart their well being, has in common with many European and American mission-

aries, who are labouring for their advancement, founded schools for the common education of their race in arts and sciences.

“As regards spiritual benefits, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Karens, have by tens of thousands embraced the Christian faith, and they now worship without hindrance the Lord Jesus Christ. Your Memorialists are grateful also for the religious toleration granted now to all, even those of their race still left in the ancestral faith.

“Your Memorialists' ancestors foretold to them by tradition that such a reign of prosperity and advancement would once more be accorded to them, the children of the wild, the children of the despised. In such expectation your Memorialists' fathers awaited its coming, and when it came across the sea in 1852, their race stood shoulder to shoulder with your Majesty's soldiers, and freely shed their life-blood to bring your Majesty's just and benign rule to be enjoyed by their children. The story of the past year will show that now, as then, your Memorialists' people do not shrink from sacrifices made to assist your Majesty's good government, and even from shedding their blood for it. Your Memorialists' people do this not from hatred for other races, but from loyalty to your Majesty, based on gratitude for the good government established by your Majesty's authority in Burma.

“Your Memorialists' people endeavour to teach their sons and daughters to lisp your Majesty's name with love and deep reverence, in order that when they attain manhood and womanhood, they may be loyal to your

Majesty's name, and stand as firmly as their fathers and forefathers have done, and freely sacrifice all, even to their lives, in return for the deep debt of gratitude for the many benefits they have received under your Majesty's reign—a debt which a nation's life-blood would not fully repay.

“Your Memorialists would humbly pray that they may again be permitted to express as a race, their joy in this year of Jubilee of your Majesty's reign, and to express also their earnest prayer to God the Jehovah, that he would graciously establish your Majesty on her throne for many years to come, and that He would grant that these coming years may be **HAPPY YEARS OF PROSPERITY AND PEACE.**

“And your humble Memorialists, as in duty bound  
“**WILL EVER PRAY.**

“Dated at Rangoon, Burma, in the year of Jubilee of Her Most Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress of India, on the sixteenth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.”

The Durbar at an end, a long stream of gentlemen of several nations, castes, and colours was threading its way along the garden path which led to the gates outside which the carriages were drawn up. I was walking between a brother officer and a very tall gentleman in civilian garb. I remarked that the Karens were close to us, drawing attention to the “side” of the little man with the Robespierre face who strutted on ahead of his admiring followers in the





full consciousness of having made an effective speech. My tall companion seemed more amused than impressed by his self-important bearing, and, addressing him somewhat brusquely, said, "Hullo! old chap, did you write all that fine speech yourself, or did some one do it for you?" The little man made no reply, never even deigning to raise his eyes. "Speak loud, Sir," said one of the Karens, in excellent English, "he is deaf." The tall man repeated the question in a louder and, perhaps, a little more diffident tone. The little man, after a short pause, said very deliberately, without regarding his questioner, "Well, if I didn't write it, I wonder who did?" "Of course he wrote it," said several Karens at a breath, "wasn't he eleven years in America?"

### THE SHANS.

The Shans or Tais\* are the most numerous of the Indo-Chinese races. They people in a more or less degree the vast tracts of country to the north, north-east, and east of Burma.

They are found from the confines of Assam to the borders of Yunan, and from the south-western borders of the latter province of China away down to the south of Siam. Indeed, according to many ethnographers, both the Siamese and Cambodians are Shans in race and origin. Perhaps their only distinctive mark is their language, which is identical throughout, with a few dialectical differences.

From the north and north-west of the Burman

\* The term *Tai* simply means "free."



boundary, the Shans have of late years gradually but steadily been receding before the wave of Kakyen influence—the latter people virtually being in possession of all this part of the country to-day. From the south the growth of the kingdom of Siam has been of late steadily absorbing the lesser Shan States, and it is probable that this same power will work further north unless checked by either China, or ourselves.

The Shanland of which I propose to treat may be said to be an almost square tract of country intercepted between Yunan on the north, Siam on the south, Burma on the west, and China (Yunan), Annam, and Tonquin on the east.

Roughly speaking, this country may be estimated at comprehending 80,000 square miles, with a population of 3,000,000 or thereabouts.

Before proceeding to describe the various petty States herein enclosed, let me refer cursorily to the history of the Shans.

Mr. Holt Hallett, in his "Historical Sketch of the Shans," quotes La Couperie as an authority that the cradle of the Shan race is the Kinlung Mountains, north of Tsü-chüan and south of Shenshi in China proper; while McMahon,\* referring to the great river system of these regions, says, "These rivers and their valleys were evidently the primeval highways by which the peoples of Farther India came down from the dreary and inhospitable margin of the great central plateau to their present dwelling-places."

In B.C. 400 the Shans seem to have reached as far

\* "The Karens of the Golden Chersonese."

south as the present capital of Upper Burma, for we learn that at this time they founded the principalities of Theebaw, Thinni, and Moné, and spread themselves over the country on both banks of the Shemeli River. From thence they appear to have spread eastwards and southwards, over-running the whole eastern portion of Indo-China.

About 1220, the principal northern Shan States were ruled by one sovereign, known as the Man Emperor. Much of the province of Yunan, which has since become attached to China, was under Shan control at this time, and, at the end of the thirteenth century, their influence was firmly established as far south as Bangkok.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, the Man Empire split up, and the royal influence was confined to Zimmé alone.

Disintegrating influences, gradually increasing, seem from this time forward to have set in, and for centuries the country, weakened by want of any central power, a prey to the inroads of Burmese from the west, Chinese from the north and east, and torn by internal dissensions, became broken up into a number of petty principalities whose existence depended on the good will or apathy of their all-powerful neighbours.

Such are the Shan States to-day. Yule, writing in 1855, divides them into twelve States. A re-arrangement has, however, recently<sup>a</sup> taken place, and instead of twelve there are more like forty States under separate rulers. Yule's arrangement of dividing them into Trans-Salween and Cis-Salween States still holds.

good. That great river, rising in the mountains of Tsū-Chüan, tears its stormy path through the centre of the Shan country. About the Trans-Salween States little is yet known, but since our establishment at Fort Stedman in the south-west portion of the Cis-Salween States, much information has come to light about the Shans.

It has been determined to hold this portion permanently, and from our position here to make some attempt to extend our influence amongst the Shans.

So far, the States opened up are the Tsaubwaships of Mobyé, Naung-yewé, and Myelat. The plateau of Naung-yewé, on which the residency is situated, is about 3,000 feet above sea-level, and forms the basin of a fine lake, fifteen miles long by five broad. The plateau is open and rolling, but its sides are steep and covered with forest. The lake is fed by a broad and sluggish stream, which enters at its northern extremity. The direction of the valleys in this portion of the country is north and south. Some of the peaks reach a height of 7,000 feet.

The tribes inhabiting this country generally are described as Shans, Danus, Darraws, Taungthus, and Taungyohs. The Danus resemble the Karens, and so do the Darraws, although their language is different. The last-mentioned tribes—the Taung-thus and Taung-yohs—claim to be distinct tribes, but from all accounts there is little to choose between them.

The Shans proper avoid mixing with the hill tribes with whom they are not always on the best of terms, and stick to the valley of the great lake.

The clothes worn by the men of this portion of the Shan States consist in dark-blue cotton jackets and trousers. The hair is interwoven with a gaudy silk kerchief, and when out of doors the usual big straw hat is worn. The women dress very like the Burmese, but the colours are more sombre. Below the knee they generally wear a brass garter, and sometimes when at work in the fields a cloth gaiter, which is kept up by the garter.

The manner of cultivation resorted to by these primitive agriculturists is thus described by an eyewitness of the other day :--“ To prepare the soil for a dry crop, about an acre is ploughed up in ridge and furrow by one man driving and guiding a single-shod plough, drawn by a buffalo. The plough consists of a well-trimmed naturally-bent handle and body in one piece ; the share is of wrought-iron about five inches broad, and made to cut three or four inches into the soil. By the end of three weeks the ground has been cross-ploughed three times ; after this the women break up every clod with long-handled wooden mallets ; the couch grass is then either raked or harrowed together. All the mould is then collected by women with hoes into little heaps of two feet diameter, and on the top of each heap are put some couch grass and cow dung. This is then covered by a few of the coarser clods ; the ashes and mould are scattered and left till the first shower of rain, when the crop is sown.” In this way rice, tobacco, and wheat are grown. The dwellers around, and on the lake, do little in the way of cultivation. They subsist to a great extent on fish and wild,

fowl, at securing both of which they are most clever. Fruits and vegetables are much cultivated in these southern Shan States, such as pine-apples, tomatoes, beans, plantains, papai, &c. The people are keen traders, and are less apathetic than the Burmese in their desire for gain.

A young staff officer\* of my own regiment, who is with the Shan column, thus airs his views of things in general in the southern Shan States. His letter gives a simple but interesting account of the spot chosen as the centre of British power amongst the Shans :—

“ To commence with, I do not believe we are within miles of the proper thoroughbred Shan at Mainsauk, the fort where our troops are. The people are not nearly as fair-skinned as one has been led to suppose Shans are, and I can't help fancying they are the descendants of the different Burmese armies which from time to time have invaded the Shan States and intermarried with Shan women. The fort and residency of Mainsauk are situated on the lower slopes of the hills. It is about half-a-mile from the Enlay lake, a large piece of water fifteen miles long north by south, and five miles wide east by west, and taking up the whole of the valley. The water is clear, but full of weeds, on which the people contrive to build small floating villages. The chief amusement, or rather trade, of the villagers is fish-spearing—a game at which they excel. The fort is of earthwork, 150 yards square, with a *rédut*. There are two block-houses on the peaks to

\* Lieutenant Scudamore.

the eastward. The residency is in the centre—a temporary wooden structure of most primitive construction. The situation is pretty, the scenery on the spurs resembling that in Surrey or Hampshire.

“ The Shans, if they are Shans here, are not up to much, and just as great cowards as the Burmans. I think the Dunoos and Thungthoos are much better men than the inhabitants of the valley. Every village in this country has a *réduit* on a neighbouring hill to fly to in case of an alarm. Blood feuds appear to be common amongst these tribes. The fighting is, however, not of a very bloody character. They open fire with their rusty old matchlocks at impossible ranges, and approach very cautiously. Should anyone get hurt by accident, the battle at once ceases and the contending parties become friends once more. One of our little columns came across two clans fighting as above. They acknowledged to having been at it for thirteen days with a total of one casualty. They were glad to take the British officer's advice to stop the war, and the chiefs on both sides joined in a big carouse. I think the men in the Myoungwe district welcomed our advent. This part of the country has been in a very disturbed state, several Tsaubwas having set against the Myoungwe Tsaubwa for not joining the Limbin Prince ;\* in fact the old gentleman was almost besieged on our arrival. I had two long talks with the old man. He appeared to be a shrewd, long-headed ruler, and is certainly respected about here. His palace is a mixture of ruin and oriental splendour

\* This man is now a prisoner in Rangoon.

—this Durbar hall being a fine, boarded room, supported by pillars. Within a railed enclosure is a gilded throne, and all the walls and pillars are hung with spears, gilt shields and bows and arrows; while all the rest of the building is tumbling to pieces. His armoury consists of a number of useless muskets and two or three good guns—one an elephant gun of Dickson's—while a lot of Ely's green cartridges are lying about.

“The old man welcomed the troops most hospitably, always had a table covered with Shan delicacies ready for the officers in his hall, and treated me to mixed biscuits and tea with condensed milk. He built bamboo houses for the men, and did everything he could to help us.

“Want of supplies has been our great difficulty. No crops appear to have been planted last year owing to the disturbed state of the country, and there is nearly a famine in the district.”

The above is surely a satisfactory description of the attitude of the southern Shans towards ourselves, and would appear to verify the prophecies of certain of our advisers who said that our difficulties in that direction were not formidable.

My information about the northern Shan States is in some degree fragmentary. It is principally compiled from personal descriptions given to me by officers who have accompanied the little columns which have lately penetrated to Tounzé and Theebaw, and from a series of letters on the subject which have appeared in the “Pioneer.” In December last year,

the Theebaw Tsaubwa visited Mandalay with a large following, and was well received by the British authorities. His district lies to the north-east of Mandalay, and is the most important of the northern Shan States, after Thinni. The Tsaubwa had been to Rangoon, and knew all about the English, and it is not improbable that he may have been pushed forward by some of his brethern to try and find out our plans and intentions with regard to Shans.

He stayed for a month at the capital of Upper Burma, and appears to have made the most of his time in observing all things. He was particularly struck with a Gardner gun which he saw worked, and remarked on the futility of making war on a people who had such terrible instruments of destruction. He possessed a keen sense of his own importance, but appeared to fear making any promises, or taking any responsibility on himself, insisting that all his ministers and assistants should be present at all the conferences he had with the authorities. He confessed that he feared lest his people should think that he was not representing their interests properly. He was accompanied back to his capital by a small British column. The place contains about 1,000 houses, but there are ruins which point to former greatness; indeed it is said that a former Tsaubwa became King of Ava. The climate is salubrious; slight fevers and eye diseases alone being talked about.

It was remarked that although the chief seemed to be a real power in the State, there was little *outward* respect shown him like that shown to all royal persons,



amongst the Burmese. He had a rough-and-ready way of administering justice, which appeared to be quite understood by his people.

All this country is still suffering from the effects of some years of disturbance and internecine strife, and provisions are almost unattainable. Thinni, the largest of the Cis-Salween States, lies between the Thebaw district and Yunan. The country consists for the most part of mountain and forest, but the occasional patches of cultivation in the neighbourhood of the villages are a test of the fertility of the soil. Thinni, like Theebaw, has seen better days, and the ruins of the ancient city cover a space equal to that which Mandalay occupies to-day. But by the petty squabbles of the last quarter of a century, and the continuous and increasing troubles from Kakhyen inroads, the State has become broken up into several small Tsaubwaships. This appears to have been the work of the late King of Burma's father, who found that a single power was a menace to the central authority at Mandalay. At present the eastern portion of the State is ruled by a member of the old ruling dynasty—Nawpwa. Thinni proper is under his son-in-law, Kun San Tan Hon, who is described as a man of ability.

Central Thinni is divided into twenty-four small States, while in the south are more small semi-independent districts. Of late years, a struggle has been going on between the followers of the old Tsaubwa and his son-in-law, the object of the former being to break up all the small Tsaubwaships and concentrate all authority at his own capital. To this Tan Hon and many

others object, and fighting is still going on. Whichever side gains the day it does not seem likely that this part of the country will be quieted down for some time to come unless we lend a hand, which would be a doubtful policy until the Shans get accustomed to us as neighbours, and begin to regard us as their new masters. The worst of it is, the only trading route from Western China direct on Mandalay passes through the heart of the Thinni State. Besides Thinni and Theebaw there are amongst the northern Cis-Salween States, Toungbain, which consists of lofty highlands of from 6,000 to 7,000 feet in elevation. This little State appears to have escaped the devastation which has befallen its larger neighbours, owing, no doubt, to its inaccessibility ; but its population, composed of Paloungs, with a strong Kakhyen element, which is yearly increasing, are not likely to prove very agreeable neighbours just at first. If treated with patience and good sense, and shown consideration like that extended to the Theebaw chief and his followers, they will soon come willingly under our wing. This is a great tea-producing State, and silver mines exist at a place called Bowdwingyi.

A writer, giving his opinion on the spot, says that however undesirable it may be to interfere with the affairs of the Shan States, the force of circumstances must alone compel us to take an active interest in their affairs ; and leaving aside all political considerations, commercial interests alone would compel us to ensure peace and security in a territory through which a large amount of Upper Burma trade must pass.

It is probable that the authorities are in possession of still more recent information about the northern Shan States, and it will most probably transpire that the presence of a settled and strong government at Mandalay has already had a pacifying effect upon the "Kilkenny cats" of Thinni; and our offer to come in and make friends, will be accepted by the principal rivals for power.

Of the Trans-Salween States the most northern is Kaingma. This State paid tribute to Ava, but not annually. It is much under the influence of China, and will not improbably become Chinese in the new arrangements.

Next comes Maing-leng-gyi, about which little is known. Some of the hill tribes are wild and ungovernable, and no attempt has been made to approach them. The hills are said to be rich in ore. This State is in the habit of paying tribute to China triennially.

The second largest town, and centre of Government in the Shan States, is Kaing-Hung. It is situated on the right bank of the Cambodia, and is as much Chinese as Shan. It sends tribute to Ava triennially. Under the Kaing-Hung chief were twelve petty Tsaubwas, some of them in Chinese territory. The city is not walled, nor is there any fort. The palace is a prominent and important building.

The tribute paid to Ava was an honorary one, consisting of a gold cup and silver flower, with pieces of silk and tinsel, a pair of shoes; salt, tea, and gilt candles from each of the twelve feudatory Tsaubwas. The Tsenwifua's homage is of the same sort, with

the addition of two ponies. Kiang-Tung is the most extensive and important of the Shan States. The town is situated midway between the Mekong and the Salween, and the territory extends right across this tract of country, embracing several petty Tsaubwaships which were once independent. Kiang-Tung is fortified by a brick wall and moat. Altogether the town is described as by no means populous or imposing in appearance, and even the palace of the governor is outwardly the reverse of splendid.

The proposed railway from Moulmein to southwestern Yunan would probably pass through Kiang-Tung. The last of the Tsaubwaships enumerated by Yule is Kiang-Khen. The town is on the right bank of the Mekong, and is small and unimportant. It is said that some years ago the people of this State begged to be taken under Chinese protection, but the offer was declined.

"The Tsaubwas of all these principalities," says Yule, "even where most absolutely under Ava, retain all the form and appurtenances of royalty. They assume to themselves a multiplicity of wives, like their lord at Ava; like him they espouse their half-sisters, to preserve the purity of the blood-royal, and doubtless would justify the practice by a claim of descent from the house of Sakya; they have their Ein-shé-Men, or Cæsar, their Atwen Woons, Thaudautseus, Nakhangyis, and other officials of the court. Their palaces have the reiterated roof, the *pyathat*, or storied spire and sacred *htee*. They have also the *yajapalen* or kingly

throne; the white umbrella, with the rest of the five ensigns of royalty. But these latter they possess only as the Vicar of Wakefield's daughters possessed their crown pieces—they are theirs, but they must not be made use of. The existence to this day of these numerous Reguli with all the paraphernalia of royalty, explains, and to a certain extent justifies, the statements of the old travellers that Tshenbyo-Myayen, the King of Pegu, had six-and-twenty kings for his vassals.

All these States are under the real or nominal supervision of the Bo-mhoo-mentha, whose presidency or seat of administration is at Moné. He generally, however, resides at Ava, only visiting Moné occasionally. His duties are conducted in his absence by a deputy who is obliged to leave his family at court as pledges for his loyalty. The Tsitké-dangyi (deputy) has various subordinate officials under him at Moné, and either one or two inferior Tsitkés are posted at the court of each Tsaubwa, in the capacity of residents.

The amount of authority exercised over these States by the Burmans varies nearly with their distance from Ava. Over those nearly in contact with the King's it is—or used to be—exercised with oppressive vigour. Over Kiang-Hung and Kiangma it cannot be more than the peaceful policy China permits. The tribute from these remoter States is, as we have seen in the case of Kiang-Hung, little more than an honorary token of fealty. Similar presents are made by all the other princes at the *Kadan* or Beg-Pardon festivals, with more or less frequency,

according to the custom established in each case; those near the Burman border offering them twice a year, viz., at the new year and at the end of the *Wa*, or Buddhist Lent, but these nearer States are also subject to arbitrary exactions of unlimited amount, and are saddled with a number of hungry Burmans, who make such spoil of the natives as they can.

All the travellers whose journals I have consulted, speak in unconscious unison of the bitter feeling with which the Burmese are regarded by all the alien tribes which are in any way subject to their authority. And they speak with a like unanimity of the high character which was ascribed to the Chinese for justice, moderation, and good faith. The domestic administration of the Tsaubwas themselves appears to be generally of a milder and more paternal character than that of Ava. The princes and nobles show much more of breeding and refinement, as distinguished from the commonalty, than it is usual to see in Burma, where there is little distinction of this kind to be observed. The blind Tsaubwa of Kiang-Tung is described by Macleod as a very noble gentleman. The Tsaubwaship is hereditary in the royal family of each principality, but the individual successor to the throne is appointed from Ava. He is generally designated beforehand as Ein-se-Men, a dignity conveying considerable powers to the prince as a sort of Cæsar in the State. In the principalities of Kiangma, Muang-lem, and Kiang-Hung, there is some joint arrangement between Ava and China, the successor being named by one government and confirmed by

another. Sometimes, however, the two governments have granted their nomination to different individuals, and wars of succession have ensued. Indeed, such feuds and petty wars seem to have been very common among all these little States, and have doubtless tended greatly to throw them under the power of their more united neighbours.

“As in all the Indo-Chinese countries, there seem to be traces over these States of greater wealth and population than now exists. Deserted cities are frequently spoken of ; and all the apparatus of royalty about the faded courts of the princes seems to support a bygone period of greater opulence and power than the present.” Although this was written thirty years ago, it is quite new now. As regards character, manners, and customs, and present condition of the independent Shans, my information is in bits and scraps. Dr. Anderson has given an interesting account of the Shans of the Hotha Valley, in Yunan, and Mr. Colquhoun and others have written about the Siamese Shans of Zimmé, but no traveller, it would appear, has seen much of the Shans, so lately tributary to Burma, and who will henceforth be under our protection. Crowds come to Burma every year as traders in ponies, cattle, &c. ; they all appear to be a quiet, inoffensive people — curious, silent, and observant. They are distinguishable from the Burmese by their wild and unkempt appearance, and the enormous straw hats which they wear. Dr. Cushing, who paid three visits to their country, moving right across to the Cambodia, on two of which he was accompanied

by his wife, speaks in the highest terms of their civility and the hearty welcome with which his little party were greeted. He does not think that there is much fight in the Shans, or that they are likely to be troublesome neighbours. He did not gather from the men of power with whom he conversed at Kiang Tung and other Trans-Salween cities, that there was any desire on their part to become Chinese subjects. They loved not their masters, the Burmese, and still less their would-be masters, the Siamese. To remain independent would appear to be their desire. As regards colour, and general physique, writers whose journals I have read are by no means at one. The tendency is, of course, for the colour to deepen as the south is approached, although it is certain that the Mons, or Talaings, are fairer than the Upper Burmans, and Colquhoun talks of some of the women of Southern Yunan and Zimmé as being almost as fair as Europeans. I noticed people in the streets of Bamo with distinct colour in their cheeks, but this was the case with only a few, evidently immigrants from Yunan, or Tsü-Chüen.

Anderson, writing of the Shans of Yunan, says : "The Shans proper of these valleys are a fair race, somewhat sallow, like the Chinese, but of a very faintly darker hue than Europeans, the peasantry, as a rule, being much browned by exposure; they have red cheeks, dark-brown eyes, and black hair. In young women and children the waxy appearance of the Chinese is slightly observable. The Shan face is usually short, broad, and flat, with prominent molars,



a faint obliquity and contraction of the outer angle of the eye, which is much more marked in the true Chinese. The nose is well formed, the bridge being prominent—almost aquiline, without the breadth and depression characteristic of the Burman feature. The lower jaw is broad and well-developed, but pointed chins below heavy protruding lips are not infrequent. Oval faces, laterally compressed, with retreating foreheads, high cheek-bones and sharp retreating chins are not infrequent : and the majority of the higher classes seem to be distinguished from the common people by more elongated, oval faces, and a decidedly Tartar type of countenance. The faces of the women are appropriately broader and rounder than those of the men, but they are more finely chiselled, and wear a good, natural expression, while their large brown eyes are scantily adorned with eyebrows and eyelashes. They become much wrinkled by age, and, judging from the numbers of old people, appear to be a long-lived race.

In their ordinary attire the Shans are almost uniformly dressed in sombre dark-blue, the dye being obtained from the wild indigo. In full dress, however, the women display an appreciation of colour which would delight an artist. The peculiar head-dress, like an inverted cone, has been alluded to. It consists of a series of long blue scarves a foot broad, and of a total length of forty or fifty feet, wound round and round the head in a huge turban towering upwards, with a backward slope, like that of the Parsee head-dress. The folds are arranged in a crescent over the

forehead with most exact precision; the free end embroidered in gold and silk, and sometimes adorned with silver pendants, hangs gracefully down the neck. The hair, left uncovered in the hollow of this structure, is adorned with silver hair-pins, the heads of which are richly enamelled to represent flowers and insects. The jacket of blue, or green, and sometimes pink, is short and loose, with a narrow and erect collar. Thin square plaques of enamelled silver fasten it at, and below the neck, to which are sometimes superadded three rows of large round silver bosses enriched with birds and flowers enamelled in various colours. The loose sleeves are folded back from the elbow, displaying massive silver or silver-gilt bracelets. A tight thick shirt of cotton cloth, deeply bordered with squares of embroidered silk or satin, close-fitting leggings, and embroidered shoes, complete the toilette—a richly variegated cloth being sometimes worn as a girdle. A Shan lady thus attired is incomplete without a silver flask-shaped scent-bottle, about three inches across, adorned with silver studs and pendants, terminating in round silver bells which jingle as the wearer moves. Silver *châtelains* are also worn, and a needle-case formed of a silver tube, enamelled and studded, enclosing a cushion which is attached to the waist. Silver neck-hoops, ear-rings, and rings which deserve particular description complete the adornments of a Shan *belle* who, however, is seldom seen without her long-stemmed pipe with its small bowl of glazed clay. Two essentials of a Shan's equipment are his *dahr* and tobacco-pipe."

The Shans are Buddhists, but, from all accounts, not devout ones. Most travellers speak of their laxity in their religious duties. Large sums are not spent on the temples, as in Burma; and amongst the priests immorality is said to exist. The converse of the saying that "the nearer to the church the farther from God" appears to be the case in Indo-China; for, most certainly, the farther you go from the headquarters of the church, which hitherto has been the seat of the "King of Kings" and his bishops, the slacker, less numerous, and less zealous are the priests.

As regards ceremonials of marriage, burial, and other manners and customs, the Shans differ little from the Burmese, who have apparently set the fashion in these matters for some centuries.

In Shanland, as elsewhere, John Chinaman works steadily on—marries his local wife, accumulates his pile, and often, but by no means always, returns home to spend it in peace and comfort.

I now propose to speak on later Shan politics as the outcome of recent developments of events in Burma. No sooner had Theebaw ascended the throne of the Alompras—which auspicious event took place in the autumn of 1878—than troubles began in the Shan States; indeed, so universal was the discontent and restlessness of the Shans that a general armed rising was apprehended by the Mandalay authorities. Fortunately, however, the States had too long been dis-united, and, being mistrustful of each other, no general movement could be set on foot. All the tribes were at one as regarded their hatred of the Burmese

and their rule, but they had not the power effectively to throw off their yoke. The Burmese authorities appear to have acted somewhat promptly on this occasion. Troops were marched into the States of Thinni, Theebaw, Moné, Mobyé, and other Tsaubwaships, and the risings were suppressed, the Tsaubwas being ousted, and Burmese governors placed in power, so that the position of the tribes was now worse than before. The sole aim of the corrupt governors was to enrich themselves at the expense of the peasantry, and to send all surplus "takings" to Mandalay. For some time, things quieted down; the troublesome Tsaubwas fled across the Cambodia, determined to bide their time and seek an opportunity of re-establishing themselves in power. Accordingly, no sooner did the news spread of the fall of Theebaw, and the advent of the British, than they resolved to once more make a bid for office. The news of our arrival at Mandalay, and the sudden and effective way the power of the king had been broken was received almost as soon as it occurred. As the waves of rumour spread eastwards from village to village the simple and credulous Shans were transfixed with wonder and alarm. Our little force of eight thousand men was magnified into some millions, and our ships and boats were said to cover the great river for hundreds of miles. Theebaw was down, the Burmese ministers were at the feet of the English general, and the excited Tsaubwas were sharp enough to see that their time for action had arrived. Several returned and seized their former seats of government, where they were, as a rule, welcomed by the people. This,

state of things only took place in the Cis-Salween States, the great Tsaubwas of Kiang Hung and Kiang Tung remained firm throughout and, probably strengthened by their Chinese connection, suffered the changed circumstances to influence their action not a whit.

One of our first acts on reaching Mandalay was to despatch messengers to the Shans, assuring them of our good will, and on the proclamation of annexation being issued in the following February, envoys were sent to all the Tsaubwas, defining our policy towards themselves, and inviting them to place themselves under our protection. Autonomy was promised to them, provided that an annual tribute was paid as a hostage for their good behaviour, and in return for our protection and support. We begged them to renew trade relations with Burma, and promised at an early date to send a friendly mission into their territory.

To these expressions of good will and protection, I understand all the Tsaubwas of the Cis-Salween States replied in terms of gratitude and friendliness. They expressed their willingness to pay whatever sums had been demanded by the Burmese Court, to afford protection to all caravans, and to cultivate cordial relations with their new masters.

The Trans-Salween chiefs had not replied up to my last news, but it is possible they never have received the messages, or, more probably, are biding their time. In these more remote regions there probably is, and will continue to be for some time, con-

siderable mistrust as to our actions and motives, and it will take time to restore confidence.

The visit of Theebaw Tsaubwa to Mandalay, and the friendly reception he met with there, will not improbably produce a good effect, and one by one it may be expected that the leading chiefs will come in. But all this will take time. The task before us is difficult and delicate ; but the prospect is not alarming, and the obstacles in our path will melt away by contact. This is our task : to influence and bring under control, without the employment of physical force, and without actual contact, a vast population of semi-barbarians, under a multiplicity of rulers, whose several interests and ends are by no means identical. But, judging from our past experiences, this work will be speedily and successfully accomplished.

### THE CHINS OR KHYINS.

This word is applied to the most numerous and important of the cognate Mongolian tribes who dwell in the hill districts, from Assam in the north to Cape Negrais in the south and eastward ; according to some authors,\* into Yunan and the borders of Annam.

They have given their name to the second largest of Burmese rivers—the Chindwin—and possess marked characteristics which distinguish them from other tribes.

\* It may be concluded that the Chins are a West Irrawaddy tribe.

The majority of these people have now become our fellow-subjects, but many are still beyond the pale of our immediate influence, having their home on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, about the head waters of the Irrawaddy and Chindwin rivers, which country is said to be the cradle of their race. They have no written language, but the following quaint tradition accounts for their appearance in this vale of tears :—\*

“ In the beginning of the world, after the sun and the moon and the stars had appeared, the earth by its own inherent power of productiveness brought forth a woman, who was called Hlee-neu. She laid one hundred eggs ; these eggs she hatched in cotton-wool, and from them sprang one hundred human beings, the progenitors of different races of men. She then laid yet another egg which was exceedingly fair to see, being coloured and variegated as if by the hand of a skilful painter. In her affection for the last-laid egg, instead of placing it in cotton-wool she preserved it in a metal vessel. Here it failed to hatch ; so thinking it was addled she threw it on to the roof of the house, saying, “ If it is destined to be hatched, let it go and take its chance of finding a protector.” The egg fell from the roof on to some rubbish in the gutter, and with it was carried away the eaves-droppings into a stream, down which it floated until it lodged in a yanlik tree. There it was seen by a bird called by the Khyins *ashe-enu*, who, taking a fancy to it, sat upon it and hatched it. It produced a male and female, who

\* “ History of the Thayetmyo District.” Col. Horace Browne.

are the progenitors of the Chins. After the boy and girl were born they were separated. When the boy grew up, as he had no mate he made a bitch his wife. The Chin girl also grew up by herself, and was carried off by a bear, who placed her in a tree and kept her there. From this captivity she was delivered by a bee, who came to her and directed her to tie a piece of cotton to his tail, by means of which he guided her to where the male Chin was living, in the valley of the river called by the Chins Ashe-eu, by the Burmese, Khyinweng (Chindwin). In commemoration of this, when children are born a piece of cotton is tied to their hands. The man wished to make this woman his wife, but the woman objected because the bee had told her that they were brother and sister. To settle the dispute they went to their mother, Hlee-neu. Her order was that, as the man had married a bitch, the bitch should be sacrificed and the man should marry the woman; that their sons and daughters also should intermarry, but after that the brothers' daughters should marry the sisters' sons. Then arose the Chin customs of offering up a dog to the household spirits, and of giving the daughters of brothers in marriage to brothers' sisters' sons. Hlee-neu loved her youngest-born son, but before she found him she had already partitioned off the world amongst her other children, and there was nothing but inhospitable mountain ranges left for the Chin. Those she assigned to him, and she gave him also elephants, horses, and cattle, and directed her Burman brother to look after his education. This Burman brother, however, turned



out to be a very wicked and unscrupulous guardian. He pretended to educate Chin-yaing-ba, but he showed him nothing but the blank side of his slate, so that he never learnt a single letter. Before he put him on an elephant, he rubbed the elephant's back with cowhage, which so sore tickled the poor Chin's bare skin that he refused to have anything to do with such animals in future, and gave them all to his elder brother, the Burman. The buffalo, too, the Burman managed to deprive him of. When he tried to ride it the Burman's wife put herself in the way and got knocked down. The Burman complained to Hlee-neu, who decided that the buffalo should be given over to the Burman in compensation for injury done. Ultimately, of all the animals which had been given to him, goats, fowls, and pigs were the only ones which remained in his possession.

"The grasping Burman did not even permit his brother to remain in undisturbed possession of his mountain home. When the boundaries of the different countries were marked out, the Burman took care to mark his with permanent objects; but the Chin set up no marks save some twisted knots of grass. These were burnt up by the jungle fires, and then, as the Chin had no marks to show, he was ordered to live wherever the Burman allowed him. Thus his race has never had a country of its own, and wanders still over the mountain ranges of Burma."

Although in many respects resembling in a remarkable manner most of the wild tribes in this part of the world, the Chins have a language and mode of life

peculiar to themselves. It is quite possible that these tribes may at some period have spoken a common tongue, but as must be the case with all unwritten languages, where everything goes by the ear, they became in the lapse of time entirely different, and to all intents and purposes separate tongues, though the differences at first were dialectical only.

Dr. Forchhammer, the well-known Pali scholar, says that the wild Chins who inhabit the country north of Mogoung—and between Assam and Yunnan—are divided into thirty-six clans, and that each clan occupies a mountain tract separated from the neighbouring clan by an intervening valley or river. Those valleys are the debatable ground, and the tribes are in a perpetual state of warfare with each other. The strong for the time being live in the valleys; the weak take to the hills, until possibly a successful descent reverses the positions. Each of these clans is divided into families, and has a chief or head, but his office is only temporary for defensive or aggressive warfare. In personal appearance the Chins very much resemble the more rough type of Burman. The men never tattoo their legs and bodies, which custom is universal amongst the dominant race. There is, however, an abominable custom of tattooing the women's faces. The origin of this barbarity is said to be due to a desire on the part of the men to retain their own women by rendering them too hideous for the harems of the wealthy Burmans, as well as to be able to recognise them from the Burman generally. The custom strangely enough is not in vogue amongst any,

of the other hill tribes about. The men are somewhat small, but wiry and hardy. They are silent and suspicious, and, like all crushed races, fearful of committing themselves. The description given by writers who have lived amongst them of their quaint ways and suspicious bearing would answer equally well for the wilder of the Karen tribes.

The Chins are, it may be said, exclusively cultivators of the soil. They cultivate rice and other grain in small quantities, only sufficient for their own consumption ; but their principal energies are driven into the production of *K'haung*, an intoxicating fermented drink. This, according to Colonel Browne, is the essential feature of Chin oblations, and, indeed, of Chin life generally. For this blessing the Chins consider themselves indebted to their great mother, Hlee-neu. During the infancy of her numerous progeny, Hlee-neu made a tank of milk for their sustenance. When the milk dried up, there sprang up in this tank paddy, the thitkhyo plant, pepper, bringal, the paitetni, and garlic. In the neighbourhood of this tank there lived a porcupine. He drank some of the milk, and in consequence thereof his hair did not grow like the hair of other animals, and he became covered with quills. When their mother's milk dried up, it was feared by the Chins that the strength they had derived from it might decrease. To prevent this, they were directed to prepare from the products of the tank a decoction to resemble the milk it had contained. The result was *K'haung*—the orthodox receipt for the preparation of which is :—" Take the bark of the thitkhyo,

the root of the *bringal*, the bean of the *paitetni*, peppercorns, garlic, and the entrails of a porcupine, mix them up in rice-flour and make into balls. Cover these up for three days, and then expose to the sun until they become wort. Then take parboiled rice and mix the wort with it. Place in a pot, bury the pot in a heap of paddy, and uncover after several days. Then add water according to taste, and the divine *khaung* is ready to be sucked up through tubes. In taste it resembles Hlee-neu's milk, and by drinking it a man's strength is increased. On account of its excellence, it must be always offered to the *nats*."

The system of cultivation adopted by the Chins and others of the Arakan hill tribes is described by Colonel Hughes as most wasteful.\* "A piece of rich virgin soil is selected on which there is a growth of timber or bamboo jungle, the latter being preferred, as when the bamboo grows luxuriantly the soil is said to be the best. Except, perhaps, the larger trees, which are girdled, the jungle is all cut down by January and allowed to dry under the hot rays of the sun in February, March, and part of April; it is then set fire to, and on the rich surface thus formed are sown—or rather scattered—paddy, a few pumpkins and other vegetables, and cotton seed. If the rains are favourable and set in early, all the seed sown germinates, and by the end of November this miscellaneous crop will have been gathered, the paddy or rice being reaped in September, and the cotton later on."

But of late years the Chins, like the Karens, have

\* "Hill Tribes of Arakan." Colonel Gwynne Hughes.

been gaining confidence, and slowly but surely descending from their inhospitable hills to the more fertile valleys, where they have taken their share of good and bad with the Burmese. Our advent has set free many thousands of Chins, who hitherto were confined to the hills by their dread of their Burmese oppressors.

Amongst the Chins, women are little respected, and are made to do all the hard work. Whatever laws there are exclude poor weak woman from any share in the good things of this world. If nature has been unkind in denying them beauty, man has been unkind in seeking to render as short-lived as possible the inestimable gift of woman—youth.

Hughes says that constant labour makes them soon grow old, and that they are coarse and uninteresting, with painfully-ugly high shoulders, which is the result of carrying up-hill heavy loads of paddy, cotton, firewood. The loads are fastened round the forehead by a string. This practice makes them knock-kneed and anything but graceful movers. They are said to be faithful wives, as long as the connection lasts, but that is generally not for long, as divorce is easily obtained—a desire for a change, or incompatibility of temper, being a sufficient cause for separation. A woman has no appeal against the infidelity of her lord. In the case of a woman becoming a widow she may be claimed by her late husband's brother. A woman is not supposed to share any of the rights in the benefits accruing from family oblations to the spirits—at all events, only indirectly through her male re-

lations. The female members of a family have no share in the property of the family.

The ordinances of Hlee-neu with regard to marriages are these:—Chin girls are given in marriage by their brothers—not by their parents. When a girl is born she is specially assigned to one of her brothers, or if she has none, to one of her father's sisters' sons, whose consent has to be obtained by anyone who aspires to her hand. Even after marriage her husband has to treat his wife's brother with inordinate respect. If the husband visits the brother-in-law, he has to take with him a present of *khaung* and when the brother-in-law visits him he must treat him to *khaung* and pork. If his circumstances do not enable him to do this, he has to make the most profound apologies. Girls are affianced early to one of their cousins—the correct thing being to marry into one's own family. Should this engagement be broken off, which often happens, the man, if he is in fault, forfeits to the girl five pots of *khaung*, a bullock worth thirty rupees, a pig three feet in girth, a spear, a fork, a bag and a piece of cloth ornamented with shells. If the girl is in fault she forfeits a brass dish, worth fifteen rupees, a silk cloth worth five rupees, a silk belt worth five rupees, and a silk turban worth eight annas.

When a marriage is contemplated, whether the parties have been previously affianced or not, their friends are invited to drink *khaung* at the man's house. A pig is then slaughtered, and a liver placed on a brass dish for the inspection of the wise men. If there are

\* Colonel Horace Browne.

any marks upon the liver the marriage is postponed, and the ceremony has to be gone through on another occasion. Should the signs be unpropitious on the third occasion, the marriage is broken off, and the man who has undergone the expense receives from the girl's parents, in order to wipe away tears from their eyes, a turban, a dress, and a girdle. Marriages are celebrated in the bride's house. The bridegroom's friends bring pork, and the bride's friends provide fowls. The bridegroom provides the pot of *khaung* over which the marriage ceremony is performed. A bamboo having been neatly peeled is slit at the top, and a cross-stick inserted. This is fixed in the pot of *khaung*. On each side of the cross-stick the parties seat themselves—the bridegroom's on one side and the bride's on the other. The two parties are bound to drink fair, *i.e.*, no one must cross over to the side allowed to the other party. If anyone does so he forfeits a pot of *khaung* to the company.

Before the *khaung* has had its effect upon the company, an elder on the bridegroom's side proposes that the marriage be performed according to the commands of Hlee-neu. The elder on the bride's side then recites the decision of Hlee-neu on the application made to her by the first Chin man and woman. The bridegroom then has to make presents to the brother of the bride, and the one to whom she specially belongs, and to ascertain that he is satisfied. If he is not satisfied the points of difference are submitted to the elders. As soon as the brother has signified his satisfaction by eating of the pork provided

by the bridegroom, the celebration of the marriage is complete, and the bride belongs to the bridegroom. The marriage presents are then bestowed. The orthodox portion to be provided by the bride's parents consist of a gong, a brass dish, a brass bowl, and dresses, bullocks, and household implements according to their means. The presents which should be given to the bridegroom are cloth and bags ornamented with shells, a *dhalwé*, a spear ornamented with tassels, and a cross-bow, with quiver and arrows. Presents of turbans are made to the marriage guests, who are also feasted on pork, fowl, and *khaung*. None of the bridegroom's party are allowed to touch the pork, and the bride's party must not eat the fowls. If this rule is broken by any of the bridegroom's party, the offender has to forfeit a pig and a pot of *khaung* to the company. If broken by the bride's party, the offender forfeits a fowl and a pot of *khaung*.

After the marriage has been consummated, the husband gives security to his wife's brother that he will treat her properly, *i.e.*, that he will not beat her so severely as to break a bamboo over her, to draw blood or maim her, nor will he cut off her hair. If she misbehaves herself, he is permitted to chastise her moderately. Should he afterwards chastise her immoderately, he has to go and make peace with her brother. The brother, if he is not satisfied, can take his sister away from her husband. The woman also gives security that she will behave to her husband as a wife should do. In evidence of the compact a notch is cut in a tree. Should the wife afterwards desert the



husband, her sureties have to find him another wife. If she commits adultery she forfeits the whole of her property to her husband, and the adulterer forfeits two gongs worth thirty rupees, a bullock, a brass dish, a *dhalwé*, and a piece of blue cloth. If a man takes a second wife he has to obtain the consent of his first wife's brother, who if he is not satisfied can deprive him of his first wife."

The above, then, are the general unwritten laws which, in theory, govern the relations between the sexes, but of course they are by no means of universal application.

In what is called "The Customary Laws of the Chin Tribe," written by the Burman author, Maung-Tet-Pho, there are many laws referring to women. This code not only propounds the law but gives the reason, each proposition being followed by the query, "Why is this?"

In the case of there being an equal number of brothers and sisters in a family, each brother has the right of control over each sister respectively; and even if there be only one son and a number of daughters, he exercises control over all his sisters.

"On the death of a woman, the widower has a right of marrying his deceased wife's younger or elder sister. Why is this? Because this rule is intended to preserve the blood relationship as well as to protect the children from being placed under the control of a strange woman, and to prevent the property of the deceased being alienated to a stranger."

"On the death of a son after marriage, if the father

has no more unmarried sons, or he himself has no wife, he has the right of marrying his daughter-in-law provided he obtains her consent."

The laws relating to marriage, betrothal, and divorce are numerous and lengthy.

If a married woman misbehaves, her husband has the choice of chastising her with a rattan, cane or divorcing her, retaining all her property. "Why is this?" asks the law. "Because she breaks her formal promise made at the time of their marriage not to be unfaithful to her husband."

If a wife is disobedient or troublesome, her husband has the right of chastising her three times with a rattan cane, and the wife shall not say that her husband beats her severely. "Why is this? Because she is disobedient to her husband and quarrels with him so that he cannot forbear."

Each family is supposed to have a "family *nat*" or "evil spirit," and when a woman marries she comes under the "family *nat*" of her husband, and once under his control it is a very difficult matter for her to emancipate herself; hence so many family marriages.

"The hard-working Chin women," writes Dr. Forchhammer, "do most to increase the amount of family property; so far they are considered a useful acquisition; but they have no account with the *manes*; no transfer of property to the latter can be made through women. A suitor must give presents to the brother protector of the girl. These presents cannot be considered as a bribe; they are only compensation for the loss of a hand in the household.

which helped to increase the family property. At the giving of a girl in marriage, the compensation paid for the girl is in proportion to what her family will lose in the future acquisition of property through her departure, and what the family of her husband will gain through her labour.

Since they have come directly under our control the Government have been exerting themselves to ameliorate the condition of women amongst the Chins. For example, the custom of tattooing their faces is much discouraged.

Death and burial amongst the Chins is made an occasion of feasting, if not of rejoicing. Bullocks, buffaloes, pigs, and fowls are slain for the feast, and as a sacrifice to the spirits in order to make secure the deceased's journey to the paradise of "Gna-thein." The corpse is placed on a stretcher and carried to the burning place with a fowl tied to its big toe. The fowl's business is to peck at and frighten away a large *tanktai* (gecko) which infests the road to "Gna-thein." At the burning ground the fowl is killed and burnt with the corpse.

The bones of the deceased are afterwards plucked out of the embers, washed in *khaung*, rubbed over with turmeric, and placed in a pot, where they remain for some time—a year or more—until they can be taken to the family burial-ground where they are finally deposited. These burial places are few in number, and great reserve is shown by the Chins with regard to their localities. There is a very extensive one in Pudien in Upper Burma, to which

the relics of many Chins who die in British Burma are carried. The removal of the relics to the burial ground is made the occasion of a second wake. Many animals are slaughtered and much *khaung* is made. Any particular animal which may have been a special favourite of the deceased is sacrificed on this occasion. At the burial place a substantial wooden post is fixed on the ground, and this is rudely carved with effigies of Chins, elephants and horses."\*

The Chins have no religion, at least they do not believe in the existence of a Supreme Being who controls their actions, and metes out to them reward and punishment in a future life. Like the Buddhists they believe in a future state, but not in a hell, only in a heaven, where they will join their departed friends in an abode of eternal bliss. Their idea of this is a plentiful supply of *khaung* and pork, and freedom from disease, pain and death. They are *nat*-worshippers. Each family has their private *nat*, or spirit, whose power to do evil is unlimited, and whose rapacity is without bounds. It must therefore be propitiated, hence the continual sacrifices and offerings. In addition to the family *nat* there are *nats* of the trees, hills and houses, all of whom claim their share of the good things of this life under pain of death and earthly calamity. Every sickness or misfortune is attributed to their influence, and fires, floods, and pestilences come and disappear at their bidding. The self-denial exercised to load benefices upon the *nats* may be regarded as other-worldliness, as the

\* "History of Thayetmyo District."

Chins firmly believe that in the happy land of Gna-thein they will receive it all back with interest. Although there are many converts to Christianity amongst the Chins, they have not shown the same readiness to lend an ear to the teaching of the missionaries as their cousins the Karens.

Slavery, in that form of the evil prevalent throughout the whole of Indo-China, exists amongst the Chins. It is, according to Hughes, of three kinds :—

War captives, or those taken in raids. Debtor slaves. Slaves who have become so voluntarily, or who have been made over as slaves by their relatives in payment of gambling debts.

The war captives have the worst time of it, and are bought and sold from tribe to tribe, until many of them have forgotten their original owners, and who their parents were. In some cases these are ransomed by their friends, who pay—according to the wealth or status of the latter—from 100 to 1,000 rupees. Muskets, spears, cattle, &c., are also received as ransoms for war captives.

From all accounts the Chins are remarkably honest in matters of debt, and this is especially the case in their gambling transactions, it being no uncommon thing for a man to mortgage himself, or one of his family, for a term of years. Defaulters in this respect are regarded with great contempt, if allowed to live at all amongst the Chins. \*

The laws of inheritance are treated on most exhaustively by Maung-Tet-Pho. They are rendered frightfully complicated by the quaint relationships

which result from the system of marrying "in and in." The following conundrum is one of many cases :—

Article 110. A widower with sons and a widow with daughters marry and beget children. The husband dies and the widow marries her deceased husband's son by a former marriage. The law of partition is as follows : the separate marriage property belonging to the deceased father shall be divided into two parts ; his sons by the former wife shall have one part, and the other part shall be given to the sons by the second wife. The daughters of the latter by a former husband shall not be entitled to a share in the said property. No partition of the step-mother's separate marriage property shall take place during her lifetime. After her death, and if partition of the shares in the estate between the daughters and parents had already been made on her taking a second husband, the said property shall be divided equally between the step-mother's daughters by the former marriage and the sons by the subsequent marriage. If no such partition had been made on her re-marriage, the property shall be divided into four shares, three shares being given to the step-mother's daughters by the former husband and one share to the sons by the latter. The step-father shall not claim a share in this partition.

And so the Article goes on to provide for every conceivable contingency as the outcome of such family connections.

The most peculiar law in the code is that which provides that in a family of sons it is the bounden duty of the youngest to stay at home and watch over,

his parents ; all others may go where they please. As a reward for his filial affection he receives at the death of his parents an extra share of the family estate as well as *all* the personal property of his father, such as guns, spears, pipes, cymbals, cups, &c., and in addition his mother's jewelry.

In addition to the Chins there are several other tribes of lesser importance who dwell on the extensive mountain range known as the Arakan Yomas. They are Looshais, Shandoos, Konesows, and others. These are all more or less of the same type of mankind ; wild, raiding, restless clans. The Looshais we punished in 1870, and since that time they have kept pretty quiet ; but between a line drawn from, say, Chittagong\* to Mandalay, to as far north as the Brahmaputra, there are a multiplicity of semi-independent hill tribes who, by the annexation of Upper Burma, have come under our control. But, judging by our experience of the Arakan tribes, they are not likely to give any very great trouble. Colonel Hughes, and other officers with whom I have conversed, say that they are not difficult to manage, and very grateful for small favours. They have a great reverence and respect for the white man, and hail with delight the advent of their rule, *vice* that of the much-hated Burman. They are, habitually, the reverse of treaty-breakers ; and stick with great fidelity to their promises.

The following is their mode of vowing eternal friendship : a bullock is tied by two ropes, the con-

tracting parties hanging on at the end of each. The individual who has been appointed to administer the oath now calls upon the parties to keep their vow, and prays that whoever shall first break it shall suffer death and torment like the victim between them. He then plunges his spear into the bullock, slaughters it, and taking some of the blood, sprinkles it on the foreheads of the parties. Like the somewhat similar ceremony of drinking one another's blood as a sign of friendship amongst the Karens, the contracting party on the British side has, on some occasions, begged to be allowed to name a deputy for this last phase of the ceremony of taking the oath.

By a process of steady, firm, and good government, all these new neighbours will gradually come under our control. But it will take time to do all this; and if in the immediate future petty squabbles and differences arise, necessitating minute punitive expeditions, the public must not take these as an indication that in annexing Upper Burma we have not done the right thing.

#### THE KAKYENS OR KACHINS.

The country of the Kakyens intervenes between Upper Burma and the Western Chinese province of Yunan. Originally dwellers on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, they have during the present century been gradually gaining ground southwards, until they are now in possession of all the mountainous districts to the north-west of the Upper Irrawaddy. The Shans have given place to them in these hills. Neither war-



like nor enterprising, they are a fidgety, troublesome tribe, and know only two persuaders—a good thrashing or bribes.

Physically resembling the Karens and other hill tribes, they are distinguished by a separate language and claim no relationship with other cognate Mongolian tribes. There are two types of Kakyens described by Dr. Anderson, and these may be observed in the streets of Bamo during the trading season; the one with pointed chin, aquiline nose and prominent molars—the other, and more common type, with the eyes wide apart, broad nose, thick lips, and broad square chin; the hair and the eyes dark brown and the complexion a dirty buff. The specimens which I saw at Bamo answered the latter description. They were for the most part sturdy thick-legged fellows. The men were dressed in blue jackets and wide trousers of a like material. Some of them wore bangles round their legs. They had a variety of head-dress, and all looked dirty and unkempt. The women wore jackets like the men with a sort of skirt secured round the hips and extending only to the knees. Round their waists, which were bare, they wore girdles of slit bamboo. Their dresses were trimmed with bits of metal, shells and beads. Some of the young women cut their hair quite short and wear no head-dress, but the older ones wear turbans of sorts.

The Kakyens have no regular religion. They have certain superstitions regarding evil spirits or *nats*, which resemble very much the notions entertained by all the wild non-Buddhistic races in Indo-China.

Strange to say, unlike the Chins, Karens, &c., they have not taken to Christianity, and Buddhism is rare, if known at all, amongst them.

"The objects of worship," says Anderson, "are the *nats*, benign or malignant; the first, such as Sinlah, the sky spirit, who gives rain and good crops; Chan and Shitah, who cause the sun and moon to rise. Cringwan is the beneficent patron of agriculture, but the malignant *nats* must be bribed not to ruin the crops. When the ground is cleared for sowing, Masor is appeased with pork and fowls, buried at the foot of the village altars; when the paddy is eared, buffaloes and pigs are sacrificed to Cagat. A man about to travel is placed under the care of Muron, the *toomsa*, after due sacrifices requesting him to 'tell the other *nats* not to harm that man.' Neglect of Mowlain will result in the want of *compraw*, or silver, the great object of a Kakyen's desire, and if hunters forbear offerings to Chitong, someone will be killed by stag or tiger."

At every season of the year, therefore, and under every imaginable pretext, some spirit—nearly always an evil spirit—is propitiated with offerings to keep evil afar off. The similarity of these superstitions to those of the Karens would point to a common origin for the two tribes, although the complete difference in their languages would be an argument against this conclusion.

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As regards the relations between the sexes, the women are treated worse by these barbarians than is the case with any of our new neighbours. They are

made to do all the manual labour, are not allowed to feed with the men, and are accounted as beasts of burden. Notwithstanding these hard facts there is no lack of formalities to be undergone on such festive occasions as births, marriages, &c., &c.

\*The day after the birth of a child, the household *nats* are propitiated by offerings of *sheroo* (an intoxicating drug), and by the sacrifice of a hog. The flesh is divided into three portions, one for the *toomsa*, another for the slayer and cook, and the third for the head of the household. The entrails, with eggs, fish, and ginger, are placed on the altars, all the villagers are bidden to the feast, and *sheroo* is handed round in order of seniority. After all have drunk, the oldest man rises and, pointing to the infant, says, "That boy, or girl, is named so and so."

The same authority gives the following graphic account of a death and burial which is of special interest :—

"When a Kakyen dies the news is announced by the discharge of matchlocks. This is a signal for all to repair to the house of death. Some cut bamboo and timber for the coffin, others prepare for the funeral rites.

"A circle of bamboo is driven into the ground, slanting outwards so that the upper circle is much wider than the base. To each a small flag is fastened, grass is placed between the circle and the house, and the *toomsa* scatters grass over the bamboos, and pours a libation of *sheroo*. A hog is then slaughtered, and

\* "Mandalay to Momien."

the flesh cooked and distributed, the skull being fixed on one of the bamboos.

“The coffin is made of the hollowed trunk of a large tree, which the men fell with their *daks*. Just before it falls a fowl is killed by being dashed against the tottering stem. The place where the head is to rest is blackened with charcoal, and a lid constructed. The body is washed by men or matrons, according to sex, and dressed in new clothes. Some of the pork, boiled rice, and *sheroo* are placed before it, and a piece of silver is inserted in the mouth to pay ferry dues over the streams the spirit may have to cross. It is then coffined, and borne to the grave amidst the discharge of firearms. The old clothes of the deceased are laid on the mound and *sheroo* is poured on them, the rest being drunk by the friends around. In returning the mourners strew ground rice upon the path, and when near the village they cleanse their legs and arms with fresh leaves. Before re-entering the house all are lustrated with water by the *toomsa* with an asperge of grass, and pass over a bundle of grass sprinkled with the blood of a fowl, sacrificed during their absence to the spirit of the dead. Eating and drinking wind up the day. Next morning an offering of a hog and *sheroo* is made to the spirit of the dead man, and a feast and dance are held until late at night, and resumed in the morning. A final sacrifice of a buffalo in honour of the household *nats* then takes place, and the *toomsa* breaks down the bamboo fence, after which the final death dance successfully drives forth the spirit which is believed to

have been still lingering round its former dwelling. In the afternoon a trench is dug round the grave, and the conical cover already described is erected, the skulls of the hog and buffalo being fixed to the posts.

“The bodies of those who have been killed by shot or steel are wrapped in a mat, and buried in the jungle without rites. A small open hut is erected over the spot for the use of the spirits, for whom also a *dah*, bag, and basket are placed. These spirits are believed to haunt the forest of *munla* like the Burman *tuhsais*, or ghosts, and to have the power of entering into men, and imparting a second sight of deeds of violence.

“Funeral rites are also denied to those who die of small-pox, and to women dying in childbirth. In the latter case the mother and her unborn child are believed to become a fearful compound vampire. All the young people fly in terror from the house, and divination is resorted to to discover what animal the evil spirit will devour, and another into which it will transmigrate. The first is sacrificed, and some of the flesh placed before the corpse; the second is hanged, and a grave dug in the direction to which the animal's head pointed when dead. Here the corpse is buried with all the clothes and ornaments worn in life, and a wisp of straw is burned in its face, before the leaves and earth are filled in. All property of deceased is burned on the grave over which a hut is erected. The death-dance takes place to drive the spirit from the house in all cases. The former custom appears to have been to burn the body itself, with the house and

all the clothes and ornaments used by the deceased. This also took place if the mother died during the month succeeding childbirth, and, according to one native statement, the infant also was thrown into the fire with the address, 'Take away your child;' but if previously anyone claimed the child, saying 'Give me your child,' it was spared, and belonged to the adopting parent, the real father being unable at any time to reclaim it."

The ceremony of marriage amongst the Kakyens is as elaborate as if the tie was dissoluble, and as if the bride was to be the happy and petted consort of her lord. The "go-between," who we hear of amongst most Indo-Chinese tribes, does not appear in the arrangements for Kakyen marriages; but young men seem to be used to carry out the theatrical side of the courtship, if such a word can be applied to the preliminaries to the nuptial tie.

According to Malthus, women are treated brutally, or with respect, in direct proportion to the savagery or civilisation of the nation or tribe to which they belong. Thus amongst the South Sea islanders, who are supposed to be the lowest type of mankind, when young men want wives they make a raid on a neighbouring village. A man having determined upon his choice, begins by half killing her with blows and ill-treatment, and when she is thoroughly exhausted and reduced to submission, he bears her off in his arms to his own hut. Amongst the Kakyens, strange to say, this idea of abduction exists, although only the idea.

"The ceremony of marriage," says Anderson, .

“ besides the religious rites, combines the idea of purchase from the parents with that of abduction so frequently found to underlie the nuptial rites of widely separated races. An essential preliminary is to get the diviner to predict the general fortune of the intended bride. Some article of her dress or ornaments is procured and handed to the seer, who, we may suppose, being thereby brought *en rapport* with her, proceeds to consult omens, and predict her *bedeen* or destiny. If suspicious, messengers bearing presents are sent to make proposals to the girl's parents, who specify the dowry required, and agreed to by the envoys. All being adjusted, two messengers are sent from the bridegroom to inform the bride's friends that such a day is appointed for the marriage. They are liberally feasted and escorted home by two of her relatives, who promise to be duly prepared. When the day comes five young men and the girls set out from the bridegroom's village to that of the bride, where they wait till nightfall in a neighbouring house. At dusk the bride is brought thither by one of the stranger girls, as it were without the knowledge of her parents, and told that these men have come to claim her. They all set out at once to the bridegroom's village. In the morning the bride is placed under a closed canopy outside the bridegroom's house. Presently there arrives a party of young men from her village to search, as they say, for one of the girls who has been stolen. They are invited to look under the canopy, and bidden, if they will, to take the girl away; but they reply, ‘It is well, let her remain where she is.’

While a buffalo, &c., are being killed as a sacrifice, the bridegroom hands over the dowry and exhibits the trousseau provided for his bride. A wealthy Kakyen pays for his wife a female slave, ten buffaloes, ten spears, ten dahs, ten pieces of silver, a gong, two suits of clothes, a matchlock, and an iron cooking pot. He also presents clothes and silver to the bridesmaids and defrays the expense of the feast. Meanwhile the *toomsa*, or officiating priest, has arranged bunches of fresh grass, pressed down with bamboos at regular intervals, so as to form a carpet between the canopy and the bridegroom's house. The household *nats* are then invoked, and a libation of *sheroo* and water poured out. Fowls, &c., are then killed, and their blood is sprinkled on the grass path, over which the bride and her attendants pass to the house, and offer boiled eggs, ginger, and dried fish to the household deities. This concludes the ceremony, in which the bridegroom takes no part. A grand feast follows. Besides the ordinary fare of rice, plaintains, dried fish, and pork, the beef of the sacrificed buffalo and the venison of the barking deer, all cooked in large iron pots, imported from Yunan, are the viands. Abundant supplies of *sheroo* and Chinese *samshu* prepare the guests for a dance.

“The orchestra consists of a drum formed of a hollowed tree-stem, covered at both ends with the skin of the barking deer, a sort of jew's-harp of bamboo, which gives a very clear, almost metallic tone, and a single or double flute with a piece of metal inside a long slit which the performer covers with his mouth ;



he also accompanies the strain with a peculiar whirring noise produced in the throat. The marriage feast ends, like all their festivities, in great drunkenness, disorder, and often in a fight."

On a husband's death his widow becomes the property of his eldest brother. Chastity is not a prominent feature of the Kakyen woman's moral attributes. Great licence is winked at before marriage, and immorality among young girls is not regarded as a disgrace. Should, however, a husband find his wife going wrong with another man, he is quite justified in killing them both.

The Kakyens, when wandering about, have a gipsy-like affection for their neighbour's children, and they are adepts at kidnapping. For this reason the Burmans and Shans are shy of letting them approach too near to their villages.

The Kakyens, although wild and nomadic, have a great reverence for their hereditary chiefs or Tsaubwas. In this way they resemble the Shans. Districts are under the rule and government of chiefs who are little despots in their way. Their office is rigidly hereditary, the successor being invariably the younger son, as is the custom among the Chins. Each family pays a certain tax to the Tsaubwa, such as a bag of rice each season, and, on any festive occasion, a present of meat or fowl. As a rule these chiefs interfere little with their flocks, provided these offerings arrive regularly ; but if not, they hear of it.

Some of these Tsaubwas are great traders, and are very well to do. They levy blackmail on all caravans

and travellers, and, should either the one or the other fail to salute the chief and pay tribute, a different return route would be advisable, as the omission is never forgotten.

The above, then, are the people whom it is above all things our interest either to propitiate or bring under control at the earliest possible date.

The re-opening of the ancient trade-route from Bamo to Western China has been for years the subject of much talking and writing. It passes through the heart of the Kakyen hills. Many English travellers have passed along it, and two or three Government expeditions have penetrated almost to the Chinese frontier. Margery, Cooper, Baber, Gill, Colquhoun, Sladen, Browne, and others have passed along this route. Margery was murdered; Sladen effected nothing; and Browne had to turn back. Bamo was occupied permanently by British troops in January, 1886, and of course it has been the object of the Government of India to carry on successful negotiations with the Kakyens. One or two small expeditions started into the hills last rainy season (1886), but were far from being a success, and everyone was prostrated by fever on their return. So the hill tribes have since been left alone, and encouraged to come into Bamo, and trade. Things here are looking up. Many come in and, tempted by the high pay given for labour, hundreds are employed in road-making and other occupations where skilled labour is not required. It is doubtful if the "let-alone" policy is not the best with

the Kakyens for the present ; at any rate, until the Burmese malcontents are settled. The chiefs might then be subsidised and an arrangement come to with China that a similar policy be adopted towards those on the Yunan border. This would probably settle the matter, and the trade would gradually reopen itself.

### THE YUNANESE.

Yunan, about which I now propose to write, is the south-eastern province of the Chinese Empire, but the majority of its inhabitants are Chinese neither in tastes, feelings, or traditions. It has been the scene of internecine strife for many centuries, and is still suffering from the effects of the "Panthay Rebellion" which lasted from 1862 till 1876.

Information about Yunan ought certainly to interest the general public, as it is through this province that we now hope to open trade relations with Central China. True, a buffer still exists between the two mighty engines : it consists of Kakhyen and Shan tribes, without organisation or regular government, who, at no very distant date, must inevitably merge into one or the other of their all-powerful neighbours.

As regards its position, physical features, &c., Mr. Colquhoun writes :\* "The Province of Yunan is the most south-western of all the provinces of China. It forms an extensive, uneven, highland plateau in which the main ranges have a trend north and south. Between these ranges, which vary in height from

\* "Across Chrysè."

twelve to seventeen thousand feet in the north, to seven or eight in the south, are numerous deep defiles through which run some of the largest rivers in Indo-China. Amongst these the most notable are the Mekong or Cambodia, the Salween, and the Shewéli. There are lakes of considerable extent. Fertile plains and valleys are numerous.

“In the north the country is wild, broken, and almost uninhabitable on account of heavy mists, fogs and rains. In the tangle of mountains there are few valleys to arrest the eye; the population is wretchedly poor and sparse, living chiefly on maize, for the country is too mountainous for the production of rice. The south and south-west are altogether different. The mountain ranges which in the north and north-west rise above the snow-line, towards the southern borders subside greatly, and give place to undulating tracts and plains which increase in their extent and level character towards the Gulf of Siam.

“The country at first presents to the untrained eye the appearance of a confused sea of mountains, amongst which it is hard to detect any general trend of the ranges or the existence of table-lands, but a more intimate acquaintance shows, that the leading or main ranges have one fixed bearing, namely, north and south. From east to west mountain ranges are crossed, but between these lie large plateaux and valleys parallel to the main ranges, and contiguous to these are smaller valleys and plateaux. The climate of the south is very different from that of the north. The season of the rains lasts for three or four months, from the end of

May till the middle of September, but the monsoon is not heavy. In the dry season a steady breeze prevails except in the lowest valleys. The temperature may be characterised as agreeable and healthy."

Garnier,\* Gill,† and Baber,‡ who directed their researches more to the northern portion of this province, do not describe Northern Yunan and Ssü-ch'uan as being so hopelessly barren and unfertile as this. Gill talks of "smiling Ssü-ch'uan," and says the wild mountaineers of this country are content and well-to-do. The poverty which existed at the time of his visit, 1878, he attributes mainly to the effects of the rebellion of the Panthays or Mahomedan Yunanese which had devastated the country.

Colonel Yule's description of the physical geography of Ssü-ch'uan and Yunan is somewhat picturesque: "The great plateau of Thibet," he says, "here (at Ta Chien) droops southward as far as lat. 23°, and below that sends out a great buttress or lower terrace, still ranging 6,000 feet and upwards above the sea, which embraces—roughly speaking—nearly the whole of Yunan. In the descent from the higher to the lower terrace, and for a long distance both above and below the zone of most southern declivity, this region of the earth's crust seems in a remote age to have been cracked and split by huge rents or fissures all running parallel to one another from north to south: for, not only the valleys of those great rivers of which we have

\* "Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine."

† "River of Golden Sand."

‡ "Travels and Researches in Western Climes."

said so much, but the gorges of their tributary streams exhibit this parallelism."

The upper waters of the great Yang-Tsū-Chaing which takes its rise almost as far west as Calcutta, rushes through one of these mighty gorges on its way to the Pacific. Unlike its lesser brethren, the Irrawaddy, the Salween and the Mekong, it turns eastward in the neighbourhood of Yunan-fu. In this portion of its course it is called the Kinsa, or Chin-sha-Chaing, which Captain Gill interprets as "the River of Golden Sand."

As regards the history and populations of Yunan, Garnier and Yule are the only authorities that have gone into the subject at all thoroughly. It would appear from the former's elaborate volumes that, on the fall of the Han dynasty, during the second century, the Chinese Empire was broken up into three kingdoms. The western one comprehended the provinces of Chen-si, Siū-ch'uan, and I'y-tchou. The Emperor Heout-tchou gave the government of this last province to Prince Tchou-Konolang, of which Yunan was the capital.

This part of the country was then, as now, composed of diverse races, and rebellion and troubles followed. The original Mongols of the mountains were driven northwards, and founded new States. It was during the third century that the Laotian principalities were formed in North China; in the seventh century there being no less than six in Yunan alone, and it was as much as the central authority at Peking could do to keep them in order. About the ninth

century internecine strife in the heart of China was taken advantage of by these tribes to shake themselves clear of the Celestial yoke ; but in the following century a Chinese army over-ran the country and subdued it. This was accomplished with no small difficulty, but the real task which presented itself to the Peking authorities, was to govern the conquered people.

"In 1319," says Garnier, "in spite of the administrative reforms of the Yuens in the province of Yunan, the people of this province proved so difficult to govern, that the Court at Peking allowed them to elect their own chiefs." This system, however, was short-lived ; and, after a few years, the country had to be conquered over again. During the fifteenth century constant wars desolated Yunan, and it was not till 1448 that this province finally resigned itself to the domination of the Chinese.

As regards the origin of the Mahommedans of Yunan, Bishop Bigaudet is of opinion that they are the descendants of the followers of Genjhis Khan, and his son Kublai, who invaded this country in the thirteenth century. Yule says they are as much Shan as Chinese in blood, and other writers seem to agree, that excepting their abhorrence of pork, they have none of the characteristics of the followers of the Prophet. Baber tell us that they are precisely the same race as their Confucian or Buddhist countrymen, that they never practise circumcision, that they do not observe the sabbath, are not acquainted with the language of Islam, do not turn towards Mecca in prayer, and possess none of the fire-and-sword principles of propagandism.

Dr. Anderson,\* who paid two visits to Yunan in 1868 and 1874, interested himself to discover the origin of the Mahommedan population therein.

During his visit they were still supreme in the country. The Chinese yoke had been successfully cast off, and Sultan Suliman reigned at Tali-foo. He collected in conversation with the Nadji and the Governor at Momien that their forefathers came from Arabia to China 1,000 years ago in the reign of the Emperor Tung-Nuontson, who had sent his chief minister, Kharzee, to Tsecyoog to implore help against the rebel Oung-loshan. Three thousand men were accordingly sent, and the rebellion was crushed by their assistance. Their former compatriots refused to receive them back, as having been defiled by a residence among pork-eating infidels, so they settled in China and became the progenitors of the Chinese Mohammedans. The same authorities informed the inquirer that these events had not taken place in Yunan, but in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, from whence the Mohammedans had migrated to their present quarters at no very remote period in the past. Marco Polo mentions encountering many Mahommedans during his travels in China.

"How strong a position this sect has obtained under the reign of Kublai," says Anderson, "appears from Marco Polo's statement that the provincial governments were entrusted to Tartars, Christians and Mahommedans. The invasion of Burma and the sieges of Singan and Fun-ching were entrusted to

\* "Mandalay to Momien."



Mahommedan generals. The story of Bailo Achmed, the great minister of finance, is the most striking illustration of the Mahommedan influence, although the discovery of his crimes brought the Khan's anger upon the Saracens, and led to their being prohibited the practices as to marriage and slaughter of animals enjoined by their religion. This check could only have been temporary, and as we find Mahommedans filling high places of trust, both civil and military, it can be fairly conjectured that, after the conquest of Yunan, these enterprising soldiers and traders established themselves in the colonies planted in the new province."

This appears to be a very sensible conclusion as to the origin of what are now called the Panthays. In the country about which I am writing they appear to have found pleasant pastures, for they have continued to increase and multiply, bringing with them, in religion and customs, no inconsiderable portion of the indigenous population. They have on several occasions been embroiled with their much-despised, but all-powerful lords of Peking, and a little success appears to have egged them on to ruin. Their last and—most assuredly—final attempt to throw off the Celestial yoke was for many years successful ; and many persons well-informed were of opinion that the Chinese Government was determined to suspend hostilities and leave them to themselves. Had the Panthays treated their beaten foes, and the people who tacitly resisted their aspirations, with less brutality they might have had a chance ; but their barbarities enraged the Chinese, and

Yunan was retaken and over-run, thousands of the faithful were slaughtered, and mosques and temples were reduced to ashes. Chinese authority is now firmly established in the province, although it is said the irrepressible followers of the Prophet still retain their aspirations of freedom.

"As far as appearance goes," says the above-quoted writer, "there are strong traces of descent from a non-Chinese and, we may say, Turkish stock visible amongst the present Mahommedans of Western China." Garnier remarks that "the Mussulmans of Arab origin are tolerably numerous, and many are to be met with who manifest very markedly the principal traits of Arabs, some preserving the ancestral type in great purity. But the majority cannot be readily distinguished from Chinese, except by their superior stature, greater physical strength, and more energetic physiognomies. Although they only contract matrimonial alliances with those of their own creed, they commonly take Chinese women as concubines. Hence a large infusion of Chinese blood, notwithstanding which they have preserved almost all the warlike qualities of their ancestors."

Mr. Cooper describes a merchant who called upon him as a "splendid specimen of the Yunan Mahomedan standing over six feet; his countenance was singularly haughty and noble, and his manner peculiarly gentle and dignified. His long black moustache and hair, hanging in a huge tail almost to the ground, are also particularly noticed. The leading men met with by us at Momien were well-made, athletic, and of

a goodly height, the governor standing six feet three inches. They were fair-skinned, with high cheek bones and slightly oblique eyes, their cast of countenance being quite distinct from the Chinese. In fact, the general type of face recalled that of the traders who come down to Calcutta from Bokhara and Herat. They generally wore moustaches, but depilated the rest of the face, while their long hair was coiled in the folds of huge white turbans. The only other distinctive article of dress was a bright, orange-coloured waistband which usually supported a silver-mounted dagger. As a rule they abstained from intoxicating drink, and also from the use of opium or tobacco; but some were lax in these particulars. Our strict Mussulmans rather despised them for laxity in worship as well, and the native doctor, who was a fanatic, declared that they were not true believers at all.

“On the whole, the conclusion which may be fairly arrived at as to their origin is, that to the descendants of a possibly Arab stock have been added a considerable number of Turkish immigrants, who, in truth, constitute the main origin of the Mahommedan population of Yunan. A number of Chinese proper have from time to time been added to this community, which in all places seems to have included the wealthiest and best class of the population.”

A large proportion of the population of Southern and South-Western Yunan are slaves, pure and simple, and generally quiet, fairly industrious, and law-abiding peasants.

The Kakhyens are a power in the hill tracts of

Western Yunan, and, unlike the Shans, are idle, restless, and difficult to control.

About three months ago, when the dacoit movement was at its height, a large caravan of Yunanese traders arrived after dark on the bank of the Sittang opposite to Toungoo. Their appearance soon cleared the neighbouring villages, and news was brought across the river that a large band of dacoits fully armed, had taken up a position on the left bank. Luckily Colonel Hughes, the Deputy Commissioner, was not a very "scary" individual, and before ordering out the troops, sent reliable messengers to reconnoitre the enemy's position. The messengers reported that the dacoits were there right enough, two hundred in number, with three hundred mules. As a bag of rice tied round the loins is the only impedimenta of the most luxurious dacoit, the Commissioner concluded that they must be traders, and gave no alarm to the military authorities. Early next morning, a party of these travellers from afar arrived in cantonment and proceeded to take stock of everything and everybody. Their manner was fearless, cordial, and cheery. They said they had passed through many dangers during their journey from Tali-fu, but that now they knew they were safe under British protection.

We paid them a visit in their camp a day or two afterwards, and as I had then commenced to collect information about Yunan, I fear I pumped the head "boss" most unmercifully. Their interpreter spoke Burmese only, so poor Colonel Hughes had to translate for my edification. The interpreter had an Arab

face, and an, acute, intelligent look. He said he, and almost all the caravan, were Mahommedans. They had, in previous years, been in the habit of going to Mandalay, bût, hearing of the war, were afraid to take that route. They had come to load up their mules with English goods, and had brought some twenty thousand rupees in cash for payment. A more heterogeneous crowd I never beheld. There was the thorough-going opium-eating Chinaman of the great cities; there was the Tartar, flat-nosed, narrow-eyed and thick-legged; there was the tall and fair-skinned Panthay, the silent, watchful Shan—all were sturdy, powerful fellows, with muscular limbs, and devil-may-care, fearless expressions. They all crowded round our little party, and examined us minutely, though by no means rudely. Many of them looked for the first time into the frank and fearless eyes of Englishmen, and saw nothing to displease them there. They appeared much interested at the sight of the one lady who had joined our party, and regarded her, from a respectful distance, with undisguised admiration.

We can picture to ourselves these wild mountaineers, returned to their wives and their little ones midst the snows of Seü-ch'uan, relating the story of their travels to the banks of the Irrawaddy. How they had seen and talked with the subjects of the Great White Queen; how the men were friendly and frank and honest in their dealings, and how the women were *all* tall and graceful, gentle-voiced and soft-eyed. The mules of this caravan, although they had been on the march for many weeks, were all in excel-

lent condition. There was not one sore back amongst them. The pack-saddles were kept on entirely by balance, there being no girths, and were prevented from getting too far forward by a species of kicking straps which passed round the animals' flanks. To every division of mules there was an appointed leader selected generally for his size and strength. His head was profusely adorned with feathers and ornaments, not forgetting, as Gill remarked on a similar caravan, a bit of looking-glass in the centre of his forehead. Bells were slung round his neck which tinkled merrily as he trotted along. We saw a couple of these beasts loaded. The load being carefully balanced, was flopped on to his back in an instant, and no amount of kicking and backing on his part moved it an inch.

The various tribes which inhabit the western frontier of China are classed by the Chinese writers as Lolo Man-tyu, Sifan and Thibetan, but these are for the most part north of Yunan. Even Colonel Yule, the most intelligent and patient of living ethnographers, is shy of giving his opinion about the peoples of these regions, in consequence of the want of material to go on, and different travellers propound their own theories on the subject. In Southern Yunan, Colquhoun talks of Lolos, Yeou-jens, Pou-las and Pais, each tribe having a distinguishing dress. The women, he says, are in many cases very good-looking, with straight noses and fair faces. The ladies, like the Burmese, Shans, &c., are allowed to do pretty much as they please and are not bullied and crushed. The report of gallantry towards the poor little things on the part

of their lovers is not, however, verified by Colquhoun's researches. "On asking an old gentleman," he says, "for information regarding the Lolo custom of tree-climbing undergone by the bridegroom to gain his bride, the old cynic smiled, shook his head and said—"There is no such custom here: our young men would not take the trouble: they get their wives easier than that." What all travellers remark on, and what is strangely conspicuous in this—and throughout the whole Indo-Chinese States—is how little the Chinese appear to have inter-bred with the aboriginal tribes.

In the absence of their own countrywomen, the Chinese condescend to ally themselves with ladies of alien races, but never intermix with their relations. There is always a Chinese quarter to every town in Burma. The male progeny follow in the steps of their sires and are Chinamen to the backbone, but the poor little girls are not very highly regarded. Agriculture in Yunan has never been very much developed. The crops consist principally of rice, as elsewhere in the East. In the north, buckwheat is grown in considerable quantities; also maize, sugar, tea, and tobacco in small quantities. The southern and western portions are, however, most rich and fruitful. The plains are thickly populated, and rice, maize, peas, beans, opium, tobacco and sugar are cultivated. In the beautiful valleys abound many English fruits and flowers, such as apples, pears, plums, peaches, chestnuts, roses, rhododendrons and camellias of great variety and beauty. Quite one-third of the land under cultivation is devoted to poppy. In the east and south-east the

country is thinly populated, and by no means rich and fruitful. The principal towns of Yunan have been visited by a variety of European travellers from the time of Marco Polo to that of the brave and adventurous, but ill-fated Captain Gill.

Yunan-fu,\* the capital, is situated in the centre of the north-east portion of the province, on the northern shores of the great sheet of water known as the Tien-Chi Lake. Although nominally the chief town in Yunan, it is neither rich nor important, a fact which is doubtless due to the sterile and unproductive nature of the surrounding country. The route from Yunan-fu to the town of next importance in Northern Yunan, Tali-fu, is described in Margery's journal as mountainous and difficult to traverse. The hills are covered with pine trees, and the population sparse and miserably poor. The city of Tali-fu, which is interesting as the seat of power and principal stronghold of the Mahommedan rebels, who kept their old masters the Chinese at bay for fourteen years, lies on the western shores of another extensive lake, thirty miles long and five or six broad. It is said to have been once a rich and populous place, but much is now in ruins. Yule is of opinion that its position is strategically important. "It is," he says, "a focal point from which many roads converge, and for ages has been the base of operations, military and commercial, from Western China to Burma." Before the tide of Chinese conquest spread so far west, it was the capital of the Shan kingdom.

\* The present Viceroy of Yunan, Sen, is said to be a man of character, and hostile to the English. •



Mr. Grosvenor, who visited it after Margery's murder, describes the city as picturesquely situated in the midst of a plain three miles in length, "the lake at its feet, the snowy mountains at its back." Like other cities in this country, it is built in squares, the main wall being about five miles round. It is supplied with provisions from the rich valley which lies between the mountains and the lake, while the latter contains an abundance of excellent fish. From Tali-fu, there is a fair road direct on Bamo. The principal towns on this line are Yung-chang-fu, Momein, and Manwyne. They are all square towns, and are situated in valleys of more or less fertility. These places are still suffering from the effects of the Panthay rebellion: the population being poor and sparse. Manwyne is the border town between China and the Shan States. It was the scene of Margery's murder.

In Southern and South-western Yunan there are many fine towns: Kui-hua may be cited as a typical one in this part of the province. Colquhoun tells us that the streets are paved and broader than in most Chinese cities, that the houses have stone foundations and tiled roofs, and flowers are placed in the windows and doorways. The inhabitants are of divers races—Lo-los, Yeou-jens, Pou-las and Pais, each with their quaint and original national costume. Linnan, Yuan Kaing and Puesh are all considerable towns, the latter being celebrated for its tea, which is the choicest and most expensive in China.

The mineral wealth of Yunan is universally acknowledged to be immense. Copper is found in

large quantities in the neighbourhood of Yunan, and is sold in the markets of Kouang-tong, Kouang-se, Du-hou-pe, Du-hou-nan and Kong-tcheon. The mine of Uan-pao-chen furnished in 1870 271,500 lbs. of copper. Other great copper mines exist in other parts of the province—twenty-one in number, according to Garnier—but some of them are little worked. Silver is also plentiful in the province of Yunan, but the mines are but indifferently worked. Garnier dwells much on the difficulties of discovering the metal, and says: “L’argent est de sa nature un métal tellement secret qu’on ne parvient à le trouver que par de grands travaux.”

The principal mines are to be found in the departments of Lin-ngan, Ioug-tchouen, Tchou-tong, Li-kiang, Gun-tchang, Chunning, Tchou-hiong, and Tali. Gold has been found in small quantities in some of the river-beds of Yunan, which would indicate its presence elsewhere; and Garnier mentions mines at Kin-cha-Kiang, Ma-Kang and Houang-tsao-pa, but no European seems to have been permitted to visit the locality of the precious metal. Lead and iron are found in great quantities in the mountain of Yunan, but the mines are little worked.

Colquhoun informs us that the Chinese officials are not in favour of extensive mining operations, and no mine may be opened without an express edict from the Government. The ostensible reason given for this want of desire to develop the mineral wealth of the country, is the turbulent characters who assemble in the vicinity of new mines, but there is little doubt that

it is really due to dread of an influx of Europeans and the international complications arising therefrom.

Let us now approach the important subject of trade in this province. As has been already pointed out, the exports are by no means extensive, and except in the west and south-west, little trade is carried on with the outer world. This is mainly due to the want of proper communications. The wants of the people are great, and they eagerly purchase European goods where opportunity offers. The principal export is opium, which is transported in large quantities to Eastern China. The only import of any importance are cotton goods of European manufacture, which arrive in caravans from Burma, through the Shan States, or from the east up the great rivers.

The question of trade routes has been exhaustively gone into by Colquhoun, but has only been lightly touched by the other travellers whose works have been quoted in this book. For many years it was held that the only available route through Burma to Western China was from Bamo, viâ Manwyne to Tali-fu, &c., but recent investigations prove otherwise. Colquhoun points out that there are five trade routes available :—

1. By the Yang-tse-tang from Shanghai.
2. By the Canton river from Canton.
3. By the Songca river from the Tonquin gulf.
4. By Bamo route.      •
5. By some route from British Burma.

The object of his expedition was to penetrate through the country which lies between South-western

Yunan and Moulmein, but circumstances compelled him to abandon this design. He is still convinced that this is the best and most practicable line by which to tap the richest portion of Western China. The itineraries of Baber, Gill, and Garnier point to the difficulties of the Bamo line, and the unfeasibility of attempting to construct a railway thereon; firstly, by reason of the physical difficulties to be overcome, and, secondly, because of the want of population, and the unproductive nature of the country.

The physical difficulties to be faced in constructing a line from the southern portion of British Burma through the Shan country to South-western China would assuredly be formidable but, in Mr. Colquhoun's opinion, by no means unsurmountable; and by its means communications would be opened with a rich and thickly populated country. But such projects, however feasible, can scarcely, we fear, be accomplished in the immediate future. We must first subdue, bring into order, and civilise our newly acquired province of Upper Burma before we can have leisure to look to wider fields of enterprise. A railway is always a civilising influence. It unites rulers and ruled into a common bond of union. The same iron horse whisks them along to their destinations, and puts forth his mighty strength, no less for the rapid transit of the poor peasant than for the Judge, the General, or the great High Priest. Contiguity engenders mutual confidence, and the wild hillman soon finds that he has nothing to fear from the dwellers in the cities of the plains.

One step further have we gone towards the confines of the Flowery Land. Perched on the highest peaks of the mountain, only a few miles from Bamo, our outposts may fancy they discern to-day the mystic land of China, with its teeming peoples, its mighty cities, its golden temples, its fabulous history, its learning, its wealth, and its power. Yet another eastward stride, and John Chinaman and John Bull will shake hands across the rugged line of demarkation which separates the Celestial Empire from the Empire of the Great Queen.

#### THE SIAMESE.

To the ordinary English reader, the term "Siamese" is not altogether unfamiliar; not indeed, I fear, because he or she knows on what portion of the earth's crust these queer people dwell, but because once upon a time two creatures were being exhibited in our great cities known as the "Siamese Twins." But the kingdom of Siam is, nevertheless, now that Burma is no more, the most important factor in the Indo-Chinese question.

All ethnologists are agreed as to the Siamese being of Tai or Shan origin. The word "Siam" is simply a corruption for the word "Shan." It would appear that the Portuguese and French settlers who first established themselves on these shores, called them "Sian," hence the term "Siam."

The Siam of to-day consists of a square block of mountainous, well-watered country, from the southern portion of which a long tongue of land known as the

Malay Peninsula, extends southwards for several degrees of latitude.

Only a portion of this peninsula, however, is under even the nominal rule of the Siam<sup>ese</sup> Government, their influence extending along the eastern portion only as far south as the 5th degree of latitude, or level with the British settlement of Penang.

Siam has an area of about 300,000 square miles with a population of 6,000,000, or thereabouts.\*

On the north are the independent Shan States, lately tributary to Burma; on the west British Burma; on the east, intercepted between Siam and the China Sea, are Cambodia, Annam, and Tonquin.

The population of Siam is from the nature of the locality heterogeneous, being composed of Chinese, Shans, Laos, Cambodians, Karens, Malays, and Mons or Talaings. Bangkok, the capital, is situated at the mouth of the Menam River, and is a prosperous place of 250,000 inhabitants. The distinguishing characteristic of Bangkok is that much of the city is built on rafts on the water securely anchored to the bottom. This unique mode of house-building is said to have been originally resorted to by the inhabitants to escape a pestilence, and certainly the town has escaped such visitations of late years. The revenue and expenditure of Siam are each about £1,200,000. There is at present a British Consul at Bangkok, and we have also got a representative as far north as Zimmé, on the northern border.

The chief products of the country are rice, gums,

\* This is mere conjecture, for no reliable estimate has been made.

teak, sandalwood, rosewood, fruits, and precious stones. The annual value of exports is about £40,000, and of imports, £50,000, which latter consist in shirtings, linen, glass, hardware, cutlery, &c.

The system of government in Siam is an absolute monarchy with what is styled a "second king,"\* whose functions are not very clearly designated. He is supposed to be the head of the army, but from all accounts his interference in military affairs ends with the supposition.

The whole country is divided into forty-one States, each ruled by a governor whose power is more or less absolute.

The Siamese own a history and tradition, of which they profess to be proud. From this it appears that she dates her birth as a kingdom to as far back as the middle of the fourteenth century. Previous to this date the Cambodians, now effete, held sway in this portion of Indo-China. Certain tribes say they being much harried by wars and troubles to the north of Zimmé, migrated south, and built a city which they called Thép-maha-makhon. This town was soon after abandoned because of a pestilence, and Arguthia founded. Both these places were on the Menam River, and not far north of the present capital.

To Arguthia flocked the many-tongued peoples of Indo-China—Laos, Cambodians, Peguans (Talaings) and Indians. Fifteen kings reigned here in regular succession. The monarchs successfully repelled all foes and extended their own territories until, in 1556,

\* Office is now abolished.

an invasion from Pegu successfully over-ran Siam, and Arguthia fell into the hands of the enemy. This disaster was mainly due to the treachery of the king of Northern Siam, who joined the Peguan hosts in an attack on his southern colleague. As a reward for this service rendered, the Peguan conqueror placed the northern king, Maha-thammaraja on the throne of Siam, as a sort of viceroy. The deposed king and the whole of the royal family were taken prisoners to Pegu, with whom went also Prince Naret, the Viceroy's eldest son, as a hostage for his father's loyalty. On the death of the King of Pegu, Naret took advantage of the confusion consequent on a change of sovereigns to effect his escape, and reached Arguthia in safety. This was made a *casus belli* by the Peguans, and an army was once more despatched to Siam. The expedition proved a disastrous failure, however, and the Siamese remained masters of the situation. Naret succeeded his father, and became, according to the royal chronicler, "one of the mightiest and most renowned rulers Siam ever had."

In 1767 the Burman King, Alompra, having broken the Talaing power, and destroyed Pegu, extended his conquests into Siam. He captured Arguthia, which was partially destroyed, placed a garrison therein, and returned home, which he was never destined to reach alive. A deliverer from the Burman yoke arose in the person of one Pin Tat, a Chinaman, who, having first made his name as a successful robber, assumed the rôle of patriot, retook



Arguthia, swept the Burmans from Siam, and was proclaimed king. He seems to have resembled his great contemporary, Alompra, in almost every particular.

He shifted the capital to Bangkok for strategical reasons. His right hand man was one Constantine Phaulkon, a Greek, who is said to have constructed many useful public works. But the latter's success and popularity caused the envy of court rivals. He was accused of intriguing to hand the country over to the French, and was assassinated, it is supposed, by a royal order.

Pin Tat, having shown much aptitude for statesmanship and war, and extended his conquests far and wide, appears to have gone off his head and put many persons to death. He was succeeded by two of his generals, one of whom ruled supreme, the other as a second king. These were the ancestors of the present dynasty.

Sir John Bowring having applied to the late king for some account of his family, received the following reply, which I quote for the benefit of those of my readers who may have a fondness for solving conundrums.

*" His Excellency Sir John Bowring, Knighted Doctor of Laws, the Governor of Hong Kong, &c., &c.*

" Respected Sir,—In regard to the particular narrative or ancient true occurrence of the present royal dynasty reigning upon Siam, I beg to say what I knew from statement of our parents and ancestors, and other

tolerable and corresponding families whom I have been present of in considerable space of time when they have been living or alive.

“ The first family of our paternal ancestors, it is said, have been inhabitants of the city of Hanswatty (proper Sanscrit name), the capital of Pegu, written by Bishop Pallegoix in corrupted sound or pronouncing of Sanscrit name Hongsawadi, upon the time of reign of the king of that city Pegu, named Jumna-ti-cho by Peguan name, and ‘Dusadr Sawijay’ by Sanscrit name (marked in book of the Bishop Pallegoix, with figure 1). This family became officers of State; employed as a part of military service to that king who has conquered Argudia on about Christian era 1552, have placed the Siamese king of Northern Siam, who has been alliaed to him, upon the throne of whole Siam, at Argudia, in name of ‘Phra Maha Dharmma-ragatdhiraj’ (marked 2 in the book in which the corrupted name printed); and the king marked 1 has taken the son of the Siamese king marked 2 to Pegu for security. As Siamese king promised to be dependant of the Pegu on that time, the royal son accompanied the king marked 1, named Phra Naresr (printed in book Phra Narit, and marked 3), who has been or was at Pegu during the living time or reign of the conqueror, in demise of whom he observed the Governments of Pegu, being in great distress in complex opinion to establish the successor of the expired king for about half a month, has conciliated many families of the inhabitants of that city in his power and took them with him, plied from thence, returned

to his native land, Siam, and proclaimed independency to the Pegu again, the aforesaid family or party of military officers of State then have alliayed with king Phra Naresr, marked 3 ; on his returning to Siam has accompanied him and took their residence at Argudia, which was bestowed them by that king.

“ A large Buddha's image was constructed at a place of worship near their residence ; remained until the present day with some ancient inscription.

“ After the time of the King Phra Naresr, marked 3, the particular narative statement of this family is now disappeared to us until the time of reign of Phra Naraya (printed in book Phra Narai, marked 4), reigned at Argudia and Lawoh about the Christian year 1656 to 1682. On the reign of this king two brother, extraordinary persons, have been descendants of the said family ; became most pleased to the king who has appointed the older brother in place or office of the lord of the foreign affair, in name or title of ‘ Chan Phya Phra Khlang,’ who has been at presence of the receipt of the French embassy visited Siam upon that time, and the younger brother Phya Phra Khlang, named Mr. Pal, was appointed head of Siamese embassy to France, of return of friendship with the French Government, and met with the being wrecked, lost of the ship at Cape of Good Hope, when he with his suit remained during considerable while, and afterward became to France, met with favorable treatment of the French Government upon that time, and returned to Siam, when his older brother was died. The King Phra Naraya has appointed him (Mr. Pal)

the head of embassy in the office of his elder brother, the lord of foreign affair, 'Chan Phya Phra Khlang ;' from this person extraordinary our ancestors were said to be descendants ; but their office and affairs in royal service were not continued in generations during a few reign of their Majesties Siamese King who succeeded his Majesty the King Phra Narayn, until the time of his Majesty Bhumindr Ragatdhiraj, marked 5, reigned upon Siam since the Christian era 1706 to 1732, in which the first person being father of the first king and grandfather of the royal father of the present, king (myself) and late king (my late brother) of Siam was an extraordinary son of a family descended from aforesaid lords of foreign affairs, who removed their situation at Argudia for happiness of lives, and situated their place at Sakutrang, a port in small river, being branch of great river, at the connected realms of Northern and Southern Siams at about latitude N.  $13^{\circ} 15' 30''$  more little, and long.  $99^{\circ} 90'$  E. : the said extraordinary person was born there, and became man of skill and knowledge and ability of royal service, came from Saketrang to Argudia where he was introduced to the royal service and became married with a beautiful daughter of a Chinese richest family at Chinese compound or situation within wall of city and in south-eastern corner of Argudia, and became pleased of the kings marked 5 and 6, and appointed in office of the preparer of royal letters and communication for northern direction (*i.e.*, for all states or regions of both dependencies, and in dependency to Siam at northern direction), and protector of the

“ So, upon that time there were three kings presented in Siam, viz., Supreme King, ‘Phya Tark, King of War, or grandfather, and the latter said King of Northern Siam.

“ On the year of Christian era 1781, when two brother kings were sent to tranquil Cambodia, which was in distress or disturbance of rebellion, the King Phya Tarsing, marked 7, remained here. He came mad or furious, saying he is Buddh, &c., and put many persons of innocents to death, more than 10,000 men, and compeled the people to pay various amounts of money to royal treasure, with any lawful taxes and reasonable causes; so here great insurgents took place, who apprehended the mad king and put to death, and sent his mission to Cambodia, and invited two Kings of War and of Northern Siam to return here for the crown and throne of whole Siam and its dependancy.

“ Our grandfather was enthroned and crowned in May, 1782, in name of ‘Phra Budyot fa chulatoke,’ marked in book 8; his reign continued twenty-seven years; his demise took place on the year 1809 in which our father has succeeded him.

“ His coronation took place on August, 1809; his reign continued happily fifteen years; his expiration took place in the year 1824, in month of July.

“ His royal name ‘Phra Budh Lord Suh nobhaluy,’ marked 9 (names of these two kings were printed in book, by Bishop Pallegoix, Pheen din ton’ and Pheen din klang). These names improper as they were very popular and vulgar, are Pheen din ton’, *i.e.*, former or

first reign ; Pheen din klang, *i.e.*, middle or next reign only, not royal tittle.

“ Our elder brother, the late king, succeeded our royal father ; his coronation took place on August, 1824. His name was Param Dharwik rajahdhiraj (proper Sanscrit), and in Siamese name Phra Nangklau chau yu Acca. His reign continued twenty-six year ; his demise took place on 2nd April, 1851 ; then my succession of him concluded, and I was crowned on May 15th of that year. My name in Siam is Phra Chomklau chau yu Nua, and I bear the Sanscrit name as ever, signed in my several letters—

“ S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,

“ in contact that are

“ SOMDETH PHRA PARAMENOR MAHA MONGKUT.

“ Rex Siamensium.”

The writer of the above lucid historical sketch died in 1878, and was succeeded by his son, the present king.

The office of second king has ceased to exist in Siam since August 1886, when it was abolished by royal proclamation.

As regards the character of the Siamese, Sir John Bowring quotes a M. Brugrière, a French missionary who lived amongst them for many years. “ The Siamese character,” he says, “ is gentle, light, inconsiderate, timid, and gay ; and they are fond of cheerful persons. They avoid disputes and whatever produces anger or impatience. They are idle, inconstant, fond of amusement ; a nothing excites, a nothing distracts

their attention. They are great supplicants ; everything attracts them, and they unhesitatingly ask either for trifles or articles of value. This characterises all classes ; a prince of the blood will ask for snuff, for a pencil, a watch, a jug ; but they are quite willing to be supplicated in return." And yet another authority, who says, "they are gentle, cheerful, timid, careless, and almost passionless. They are disposed to idleness, inconstancy, and exaction. They are liberal almsgivers, severe in enforcing decorum in the relations between the sexes. They are fond of sports, and lose half their time in amusements. They are sharp and even witty in their conversation, and resemble the Chinese in their aptitude for imitation."

The Siamese, in common with all Buddhists, eat little flesh, living principally on fish, eggs, rice, &c. They seldom touch strong drink, but take quantities of tea and coffee.

Like the Burmans, they are perpetually either smoking or chewing betel nut, both of which habits they acquire in extreme youth. The tobacco is usually rolled in a leaf, and smoked thus, but some of the opulent smoke long pipes. They are cleanly in their habits, spending much of their time in the water. The women love to array themselves out in gay colours, and adorn their hair with flowers. The ladies do not appear any more free to marry the men of their choice than the Burmans. "Marriages," says Bowring, "are the subject of much negociation, undertaken not directly by the parents but by 'go-betweens' nominated by those of the proposed bridegroom, who

makes proposals to those of the intended bride. A second repulse puts the extinguisher on the attempted treaty; but if successful, a large boat, gaily adorned with flags, and accompanied by music, is laden with garments, plate, fruits, &c. In the centre is a huge cake or cakes in the form of a pyramid, painted in bright colours. The bridegroom accompanies the procession to the house of his father-in-law, where the lady's dowry, and the day for the celebration of the marriage are fixed. It is incumbent on the bridegroom to erect, or occupy a house near that of his intended, and a month or two must elapse before he can carry away his bride. No religious rites accompany the marriage though *bonzes* are invited to the feast, duration and expense of which depend upon the condition of the parties. Music is an invariable accompaniment. Marriages take place early. I have seen five generations gathered round the head of a family. I asked the senior Somdetch how many of his descendants lived in his palace. He said he did not know, but there were a hundred or more. It was indeed a frequent answer to the inquiry in the upper ranks, 'What number of children and grandchildren have you?' 'Oh! multitudes: we cannot tell how many.'

"Although wives and concubines are kept in any number according to the wealth or will of the husband, the wife who has been the object of the marriage ceremony called the *Kham-màk*, takes precedence of all the rest and is really sole legitimate spouse, and she and her descendants are the only legal heirs to the husband's possessions. Marriages are permitted beyond



the first degree of affinity. Divorce is easily obtained on application from the woman, in which case the dowry is restored to the wife. A husband may sell a wife whom he has purchased, but not one who has brought him a dowry. If the wife is a party to contracting debts in her husband's behalf she may be sold for their redemption, but not otherwise. On the whole the condition of women is better in Siam than in most oriental countries. The education of Siamese women is little advanced. Many of them are good musicians, but their principal business is to attend to domestic affairs ; they are as frequently seen as men in charge of boats on the Meinam ; they generally distribute alms to the *bonzes* and attend the temples, bringing their offerings of flowers and fruit. In the country they are busied with agricultural pursuits. They have seldom the art of applying the needle, and the Siamese garments almost invariably consist of a single piece of cloth."

The torturing process of roasting the patients in child-bearing, referred to in the chapter on the "Burmese Woman," is in vogue in Siam, and seems to be universal throughout the whole of Indo-China.

The ceremony of burial is thus treated on in "Siam," the author quoting Bishop Pallejoix as an authority.

"When a Thai is at the point of death the tala-poins (priests) are sent for, who sprinkle lustral water upon the sufferer, recite passages which speak of the vanity of earthly things from their sacred books, and cry out, repeating the exclamation in the ears of the

dying—‘arahang! arahang!’ (a mystical word implying the exemption of Buddha from concupiscence). When the dying has breathed his last breath the whole family utter piercing cries, and address their lamentations to the departed. ‘Oh! father benefactor! Why leave us? What have we done to offend you? Why depart alone? Oh! misery! Oh! inconstancy of human affairs.” And they fling themselves at the feet of the dead, weep, wail, kiss, until grief has exhausted its lamentable expressions. The body is then washed and enveloped in a white cloth; it is placed in a coffin covered with gilded paper and decorated with tinsel flowers; a dais is prepared, ornamented with the same materials as the coffin, but with wreaths of flowers and a number of wax lights. After a day or two the coffin is removed, not through the door but through an opening specially made in the wall. The coffin is escorted thrice round the house at full speed, in order that the dead, forgetting the way through which he has passed, may not return to molest the living. The coffin is then taken to a large barge, and placed on a platform surmounted by a dais to the sound of melancholy music. The relations and friends, in small boats, accompany the barge to the temple where the body is to be burnt. Being arrived the coffin is opened and delivered to the officials charged with the cremation of the corpse, having in the mouth a silver tical (2s. 6d. in value) to defray the expenses.

“The burner first washes the face of the corpse with cocoa-nut milk; and if the deceased has ordered that his body shall be delivered to the vultures and

crows, the functionary cuts it up and delivers it to the birds of prey which are always assembled in such localities. The corpse being placed on the pile the fire is kindled.

“When combustion is over the relations assemble, collect the principal bones which they place in an urn and convey them to the family abode. The garb of mourning is white, and is accompanied by shaving of the head. The funerals of the opulent last two or three days; there are fireworks, sermons from the *bonzes*, nocturnal theatricals, when all sorts of monsters are introduced. Tents are erected within the precincts of the temples, and games and gambling accompany the rites connected with the dead.”

The Siamese are very ceremonious, and the relationship between the powerful and the weak and the rich and the poor is that which is supposed to exist between the master and slave—the one cringes at the feet of the other. There is one law for the rich, and another for the poor. The king and the royal family receive almost worship.

Like the Burmese, both men and women are passionately fond of finery, jewelry, &c., and spend all their money in adornments. There is no very great difference in their dress from the Burmese. From all accounts the women are more careless than the latter, and it is quite customary for married women to go about without any covering whatever above the waist. This is very rare in Burma.

The Siamese are Buddhist in religion, but by no means so devout as the Burmese. So countless are

their superstitions and fancies that any fixed faith is not very conspicuous. They believe in amulets, charms, talismans, in certain dates and numbers ; in magicians, demons, ghosts, and so forth, although belief in these things is strictly against the teachings of Gaudama.

Colquhoun mentions the laxity of the monks in Siam, and says he constantly saw them in company with women, and saw women about, and in the monasteries. I have never seen this in Burma.

The education of the people is in the hands of the monks, who are not so devoted to their work as the Burmese.

As regards marriage and divorce, the Siamese have four classes of wives, viz. : 1st, the wife of royal gift who takes precedence in rank. 2nd, the legal wife who has been married according to legal form. 3rd, the wife of affection. 4th, the slave wife. Sir John Bowring, however, remarks that he only observed two kinds, the first wife, and subordinate, or subsidiary wives.

" Marriage," he says, " is only allowed beyond the seventh degree of blood affinity : a widow may marry her deceased husband's brother, and a widower his deceased wife's sister. The opprobrium of incontinence attaches to a woman after her fourth marriage ; and her rights of inheritance are limited to the dowry she brought her husband and property personally acquired. The age of marriage for men is twenty, and women fourteen. As regards sovereigns they may marry sister or daughter to preserve the race. A wife may be pawned by her husband as a security for debt." ;

Siam is a country, so to speak, of slaves and slavery, but the chains of the victim are not made so tight as to eat into the flesh. Slaves in Siam are only slaves in an oriental sense. Even if they are "bought with a price," this slavery consists in the hardship of having to work for their daily bread.

In their amusements the Siamese much resemble the rest of the Indo-Chinese races. They love cock-fighting, kite-flying, plays, shows, processions, boat-races, and so forth. Of the other races referred to above, viz., the Chinese, Laos, Karens, Talaings, or Peguans and Malays, who go to make up the population of Siam, it would be well to make a passing reference. Of these, the Chinese are the most numerous and wealthy; indeed, they monopolise the greater part of the trade in the country. Here, as elsewhere, they are the same thrifty, hard-headed, hard-working passionless John Chinamen of all times and places. They do not, as a rule, bring their women from China, but marry local wives. They keep much to themselves, and almost always have their "quarter" in every town. The Laos are simply Shans, who dwell in the valleys of the Cambodia. They are said to still retain certain idiosyncracies which distinguish them from the Southern Siamese. Bishop Pallejoix and also Sir John Bowring speak highly of these people. They are a docile and inoffensive tribe, and given to much practice of music. "The Laos organ," says Bowring, "is a collection of sixteen fine and long bamboos, bound by a circle of ebony, where there is an opening for expiration and inspiration of the breath, which causes the

vibration of a number of small silver tonguelets placed near a hole made in each bamboo, over which the fingers run with great dexterity. I have seen the Laos women of the highest rank sent for by their lords to gratify my curiosity. They have crawled into the presence, and with bowed heads waited tremblingly for the commands of their husband. Their dress is more graceful than that of the Siamese women, especially their mode of arranging and adorning their hair, which was sometimes ornamented with fragrant white flowers. They wore the *paque*, which is the universal costume of Siam : a sort of light scarf passed over the shoulders and covered the breast, and a handsome silk tissue encircled the waist. No shoe or sandal was on the feet and the legs were uncovered to the knee, though there seemed to be an anxiety to conceal the feet beneath the knees when they crouched down. Almost all the opulent nobles have wives from Laos, many of whom would be considered pretty. They are of diminutive stature, singularly meek expressions, liquid eyes, and graceful movements. They have the art of obtruding the elbow forward, which is deemed an aristocratic accomplishment among the Siamese ladies, who frequently take occasion to exhibit the subtile action of their arms, and which could only be produced by very early training."

The Malays are a race quite distinct from their neighbours in language, religion, and pursuits. They dwell all along the peninsula from which they take their name. They are bigotted Mussulmans, and are uncertain and difficult to manage. As regards their history,

there seems to be little doubt that they have an Arab origin. Bishop Bigaudet, who lived amongst them for many years, assures me that there be no doubt on this point. He says they are the descendants of Arabs of Yenam, who appear first to have landed on the Island of Sumatra, and from thence made their way to the mainland of the peninsula. They are silent, industrious, obstinate, and revengeful. They make excellent sailors, and are much employed on British ships. They have intermarried with the Chinese and Siamese, the progeny being always followers of the Prophet. This people gave us some trouble fifteen years ago in Perak, and are fighting the Dutch to-day in Acheen in a war commenced at the same time as the Ashantee expedition, and which has dragged on ever since. They are generally under the control of local rajas.

The once great and glorious kingdom of Cambodia occupies to-day only a little corner of Indo-China. Overshadowed on the west by Siam, and on the east by the French in Cochin China, this little State can barely be said to exist. That it was once a great centre of power and wealth is testified by the remains of the ancient capital of Angkor which is amongst the wonders of the world.

Mr. Vincent who visited this place in 1871 writes of the principal temple thus: "In style and beauty of architecture, solidity of construction, and magnificent and elaborate carving and sculpture, the great *Nag Kon Wat* has no superior, certainly no rival standing at the present day. The first view of the ruins is almost overwhelming, one writer says. The ruins of

Angkor are as imposing as the ruins of Thebes or Memphis, and more mysterious; and another, M. Mouhot, "one of these temples (*Nagkon Wat*), a rival of that of Solomon, and erected by some ancient Michael Angelo, might take an honourable place beside our most beautiful buildings. It is grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome.' At a first sight, one is most impressed with the magnitude, minute detail, high finish and elegant proportions of this temple, and then to the bewildered beholder arise mysterious after-thoughts, Who built it? When was it built, and where now are the builders?"

The Cambodians are now completely effete, and know nothing of art or industries.

The people of Cambodia much resemble the Siamese, and the king and court take their "form," to a great extent from the Bangkok magnates. The "Madras Officer," who Bowring quotes, talks of the king's 300 wives as "the best looking girls he had seen in the country." Many of them, he said, had soft regular features, and were it not for the disgusting habit of blackening their teeth and shaving their heads, only leaving a small tuft of hair on the top of the head, they would be called pretty. They had fine figures with graceful lines and plump developments.

The following is a description of a Cambodian marriage, given by Mr. Vincent, a young American whom I came across on his "globe-trotting" tour in 1871, in the pages of "The Land of the White Elephant."

The marriage was a "swell" one, and took place in



the king's palace. "The bride," he says, "was not particularly interesting as regards personal charms: she was young, however, and dressed richly and in good taste. Besides her silk *panoung*, she wore a gold embroidered scarf upon her shoulders, also gold rings upon her fingers, bracelets upon her wrists and armlets above her elbows. The bride took up her position near the bridegroom, both sitting on the floor, but not looking towards each other, in fact throughout the entire ceremony they both were passive and *nonchalant*. The marriage ceremony proper now began. A number of wax candles were brought on a salver and then lighted by one of the nobles. The silver waiter was then passed round before the company eight times, each one in turn saluting the couple and wishing them good fortune by waving or blowing the smoke towards them, thus expressing something like the old English custom of throwing the slipper after a newly married couple, the band of string and reed instruments playing the meanwhile.

"Two large velvet cushions having been previously placed before the bride and bridegroom, and upon them a large sword, the leader of the *lacon* (theatricals) now came forward and went through, for a few moments, a most fantastical sword exercise. Dishes had been placed before the unsusceptible couple upon the floor with covers upon them, which latter the *lacon* man removed during his flourishes, disclosing to view some cooked fowls and ducks: nothing was eaten, however. Next the hands of the expectant couple were bound together and to each other with silken

threads by the women attendants, probably some near relations. Thus were they truly joined together in Buddhistic wedlock.

The Cochin Chinese and the Annamese are one. In what is now known as French Cochin China, the natives are rapidly acquiring French ways and habits, and adopting not only their virtues but their vices.

### THE ANNAMESE AND TONGKINESE.

Annam occupies the southern, and Tongking\* the northern portions of the eastern littoral of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. On the northern boundary is China ; on the west and south-west the Shan States of Burma, Siam, and Cambodia. The territories of both States cover an area of little less than a hundred and fifty thousand square miles, of which Annam is by far the larger portion. Hanoi, the capital of Tongking, is situated on the Song-Koi river at about eighty miles from its mouth in the Gulf of Tongking, and contains 150,000 inhabitants. It was founded in A.D. 767, and was at one time the capital of all this portion of Indo-China. The native population of Hanoi is swelled by Chinese, Manillamen, and Malays.

Hué, the capital of Annam, is described as a purely native city, and the seat of royalty. It was the capital of the ancient Ciama Kingdom of Marco Polo, and is situated on an arm of the sea about twelve miles inland. The French captured the city in 1882. The

\* The French call the province Tonquin.

king fled, and a puppet was set up pledged to "pull" with the French Resident. So Hué is now the headquarters of the French Protectorate in Annam. There are other towns of more or less importance along the coast and in the delta of Tongking, but the country inland is by no means thickly populated, and little attempt is made to govern or influence the wild tribes. There are no great rivers in Annam; but the country near the coast is well watered by countless little streams which, descending from the mountains inland, empty themselves into the China Sea. The principal river in Tongking is the Song-Koi, or Red River, which, rising in the mountains of Yunan, flows by many mouths into the Gulf of Tongking. It is navigable for steamers for no great distance above the capital. •

By a cursory glance at the map of Indo-China, it would certainly appear that the French, by the acquisition of Tongking, have now got the key to the trade of South-western China, and are better posted to tap the markets of Yunan than we are at Bamo; and yet they do not seem by any means satisfied with their new enterprise, nor unanimous in their approval of the policy which prompted it. Although the Annamese can scarcely be said to be our immediate neighbours in the Far East—being separated from us by Siam and other independent States—they might at any time become so. Furthermore, they complete the long roll of Indo-Chinese tribes, and interest us as being to all intents and purposes the subjects of our friends and rivals—the French.

The Tongkinese claim to be the elder branch and ancestors of the Annamese, who, previous to the arrival of the French, ruled the roost. They begin their annals as far back as B.C. 2879. They appear to be a race of bastard Chinamen, and were called Giao-chi by the latter, because their big toes were strikingly separated from the others. For the first thousand years of the Christian era, all this country was under Chinese rule and government, but in the beginning of the fifteenth century a deliverer arose in the person of one Lé Loi, whose fabulous strength and valour are sung to the present day. He cast off the Celestial yoke, and drove all the Chinamen out of the country. He founded the great Lé dynasty, and made Hanoi his capital. This kingdom lasted—with a few changes in the dynasties—from Lés to Macs, from Macs to Trinh, until the end of the seventeenth century, when it split up into two—Tongking and Annam. The Lés ruled at Hanoi, and the Nguyens established their royal city at Hué. The northern province soon fell under the influence of China, and was forced eventually to accept her suzerainty. The southern province followed the example of the northern, and both remained under the influence of China, but were hostile to each other.

This state of things continued throughout the eighteenth century. Meanwhile Europeans, principally French and Spanish, gradually began to obtain a footing in the country. The French Roman Catholic missionaries were the pioneers of the movement, and

boldly preached the Gospel throughout this vast tangle of forest, mountain, and morass with great success. Many thousands became converted to Christianity. But here, as 'elsewhere, they found themselves mixed up with the strife of contending factions.

On one occasion we hear of a French Bishop, Monseigneur Pigneaux de Behaine, advocating the cause of a runaway prince, and demanding French bayonets on his behalf. But the young Republic had her hands full at this time, and nothing much was done. Then followed a persecution of the fathers. Many were murdered, and their followers fled panic-stricken. As a punishment for these crimes, a French fleet was despatched to Annam. Saigon was captured, and several ports along the coast of Annam were bombarded.

This was in 1858, at which time France was also at war with China, and only a small garrison was placed in the captured city which had no small difficulty in holding its own against surrounding foes.

In 1861 the garrison was reinforced, and what is now known as French Cochin China was annexed. But Hué, the Annamese capital, remained unmolested, and King Tu Duc sat firm upon his throne.

The French next turned their attention towards Tongking. Their new acquisition was separated from it by some hundreds of miles of sea coast, rocky and surge-lashed, which could at no time be a very desirable or accessible possession ; but with Tongking it was different. Posted here, France was on the confines of China, and a new field for commercial enterprise was

open to her. But the opportunity could not yet be seized. The great war with Germany had broken out, every available man was required, and the project had to be postponed.

In 1872, under pretext of suppressing piracy, a frigate bearing a French flag steamed up the river to Hanoi. The mandarins were furious, and called upon the commander to withdraw. But he declined ; and things began to look serious.

The authorities at Saigon now directed Lieutenant Garnier, who had distinguished himself as an explorer in Yunan to proceed from Hong Kong to Hanoi on a special mission. He arrived in November, 1873, and, finding the mandarins hostile, resolved to use force to stamp out all opposition. He seized the citadel by a *coup de main*, and proceeded to attack several other neighbouring strongholds. His fire and dash paralysed the slow-thinking, slow-acting mandarins, and all went down before him and his handful of troops. But the whole affair was a flash in the pan. The mandarins called on the aid of the Black Flags, Garnier was killed, and his party met with reverse.

As the outcome of all this, the government at Saigon got alarmed, and M. Philastre, a civilian, was despatched to Tongking with orders to "square" matters somehow and, if possible, peaceably. This he did ; but scarcely "with honour." He yielded at every point to the mandarins, and ordered the evacuation of Tongking by the French troops. A treaty was eventually concluded, by the provisions of which France,

was allowed to have a Resident at three places in Annam and Tongking, free commerce was agreed to, and France in return promised to assist in the suppression of piracy.

For ten years after this treaty was signed, Tongking was never heard of in the great world. Meanwhile, the Residents had a bad time of it, and had to bear a great deal.

In 1882 another expedition was decided upon. As has been the case in so many of our own little wars, the first expedition proved too weak for the work to be done, met with reverses, and had to be strongly reinforced. With an honest desire to confine her aggressive measures to Tongking, the Republic, to her ineffable disgust, found herself steadily drifting into a war with China. The Chinese Ambassador at Paris expressed the utmost friendship for his French friends, but he assured them that China had no control over the Black Flags. He said plainly that should the Republic persevere in pursuing them northwards, she would have to break a lance with the "Middle Empire."

Meanwhile the French troops fought gallantly and, capturing city after city, approached the Chinese frontier. Numerous Chinese regular troops had already enrolled themselves in the ranks of the Black Flags, and their numbers were daily increasing. The question was taken up by the Paris press, and in the Chambers, with the utmost bitterness. The Ferry Ministry was dismissed, and it was resolved to put a stop to the campaign in Tongking; so certain points in the

country were occupied, and the majority of the troops withdrawn.

At Hué, the Annamese capital, things had been very nicely arranged by the French. A small naval expedition had taken possession of the city after an unimportant engagement. The forts which guarded the approaches were bombarded by the gun-boats, and the great men of Hué came out to meet the French admiral, and tender their submission. King Dúc Dúc fled, and the conquerors placed his nephew on the throne. A Resident, with an escort of five hundred men, remained at Hué. The French claimed the protectorate of Annam, and this state of things prevails to-day. But of course the Annamese are every year coming more and more under French influence, and the people of Annam and Tongking seem quite to have recognised that the white men are in virtual possession of the country.

The French capital of Tongking, Haiphong, situated near the mouth of the Song-koi river; is said to have made rapid strides since the French Residency was established there only four years ago, and many fine buildings have sprung up. There is a good system of drainage, and the wharfs and warehouses are constructed on the newest principles. The Chinamen, however, monopolise the greater portion of the trade of the place, and here, as elsewhere, are a drag on the commercial prosperity of the European merchants. Having thus given the above little historical sketch of what the French now love to call their "Eastern Empire," I will return to the characteristics and



peculiarities of the native. It would appear to be a splitting of straws to draw any marked distinction between the Tongkingese, Annamese, and Cochin-Chinese. Mentally, morally, and physically—they are much of a muchness.

The Tongkingese, according to the author of "France and Tongking," belong to the yellow race, the Indo-Chinese stock of the Annamese family which occupies a place midway between the Chinese and the Malayan branch. "Like their brethren of the south, they are brachycephalous, with a low forehead ; this being always the narrowest part of the skull. The facial angle is, however, fairly good. The exterior angle of the eye is certainly not so much tilted as the Chinaman's. The cheek-bones, on the contrary, are much higher than the Celestial's. The nose is a very bad feature ; it is very broad, and the depression above is so great that there is practically no bridge at all. One cannot avoid the idea, in fact, that an Annamese nose is the sort of thing one might make with three fingers and a piece of bread. There is a slight tendency to prognathism, but not so strongly marked as in Cochin-China. This appearance is often fortuitously exaggerated amongst the women of the lower class. In order to prevent their huge hat from blowing off on a windy day, they pass the ribbon across their under lip and throw the jaw downwards and forwards. Constant habit often makes them do this, even when they have no hat on, and the result is a semi-idiotic and altogether hideous appearance, especially when the teeth are black, and the gums red with

betel juice. The chin itself is usually short and well shaped, but the ears are very large and project in a most unsightly way. The teeth are large and, as already hinted, are dyed black with a kind of lacquer by almost all, except the children and unmarried women. The effect is singularly disgusting, and from a little distance suggests the idea that they have no teeth at all. The limbs are well shaped, but the feet are very ugly. There is absolutely no instep; they are large and apparently the same thickness all over, as if they were cut out of a plank of wood. The hands are also very long and narrow, and the finger joints are obtrusively knotted. As with the Chinese and Siamese, it is a mark of rank to allow the nails to grow long, and the women very often tint them rose colour with far from comely results. Like almost all Eastern nations, the set of their legs is altogether spoilt by the way they are carried in childhood by their mothers, straddled across the hips. This, with a peculiar wide setting of the hip joints, and the size of their feet, make them walk in a very ungainly way—the feet being very much turned out. The chest and stomach are very much thrown forward; the legs are not bent, and the feet scarcely lifted off the ground. In the men this gives the idea of a kind of swagger; in the women a lack of modesty. The men seldom manage to grow a beard before the age of thirty, and then it is but a poor thing. The moustache is very scanty, and the bristles which grow on the chin and underlip could be counted without any extraordinary effort of patience.”

The above minute description of the physical attributes of the Eastern Indo-Chinese has, it is hoped, brought them vividly before the eye of the reader. The mental qualities of these people are described as of a low type, for education is confined, in a great degree, to the privileged classes. In this respect the people of Annam and Tongking bear a marked contrast to the Burmese and Chinese, amongst whom education is almost, if not quite, universal.

The system of competitive examinations for all the Government billets prevails, but the mandarins contrive to confine the competitors to their own class, more or less. Where their own interests are concerned the Annamese are cunning and sagacious enough, and are not unwilling to work, but there is little private enterprise amongst them. Dwelling for centuries under the overpowering shadow of an all-devouring neighbour, they possess no confidence in themselves, and even the mandarins, who are accustomed to authority and power, are timid and unstable in their actions. Morals are at a low ebb amongst the Annamese. The girls of a family are regarded as of such and such value to their parents in accordance to their beauty and attractiveness, and great licence is allowed both before and after marriage. Religious ordinances are little regarded, except perhaps that of ancestor worship, which will be referred to hereafter. To say they are Buddhists is to insult that renowned belief; but they claim to be such. Without education and with slack religious principles, the mass of the people have degenerated into flocks and herds of

human beings, with little interest in life. So the mandarins rule, and the people cringe and bend. "The mandarins," says Scott, "are terribly dissolute, and the ordinary villager, when he gets a chance to drink at a feast, goes on until he can drink no more, or until the supply of *shum-shum*, or rice arrak, runs out." The men are idle, as a rule, and the women are made to do the lion's share of the work; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, these ladies are extraordinarily prolific, and the population is much congested in many portions of the country.

Men and women dress very similarly, wearing blue trousers and coats, and small turbans. When out of doors both sexes wear hats made of straw or palm-leaf, resembling candle-extinguishers, which are supposed to serve the double purpose of protection from sun and rain. They seldom change their clothes, and generally sleep in their day dresses, hence the growth of skin diseases and vermin.

Ceremony is much attended to in the social gatherings of the people, and many grotesque formalities are in vogue.

There has never in modern times been a military spirit amongst the Annamese, nor has any attempt been made to organise trained bands of fighting men.

At Hué and Hanoi certain bodies of men, grotesquely clad in bright-coloured uniforms, with wondrous helmets on, have done the duty of guards to the State functionaries for centuries, but they seem to have been indifferent as to whom they guarded, and

unwilling to make any sacrifices for their masters for the time being.

Their military exercises consist in a succession of grotesque gyrations, and in much flourishing of spears and muskets. Their spear fights are always a centre of interest, and attract vast crowds, but the gladiators fight with buttoned weapons, and no harm is possible.

Money transactions are carried on in Annam mainly through the instrumentality of a little rubbishy zinc coin, with a hole in it, called the *sepèque*. "They are cast, and not struck like European coins. Sixty of them make a *Tein*, ten *tein* make a *quan*, and when one has the whole six hundred they are only worth nine pence. These are tied together in a string with a bit of bamboo which has an unhappy knack of breaking, and then it takes half an hour to gather a franc off the floor. Ten *quan* are tied up in a bundle like a brick to form a *chuc*, and when one has this it becomes necessary to hire a coolie to carry seven and sixpence. The coolie gets a bamboo pole, fastens the *chuc* to one end and the brick to another, and carries it over his shoulder. In addition to this the dismal *sepèque* is,—absurd as it may appear,—liable to most extraordinary fluctuations in value as compared with silver. If we had had a small fleet of ships, it would have actually been impossible to have passed a small sum through the exchange. Latterly, copper has been very seldom introduced into the *sepèques* composition. The consequence is that to its other drawbacks, the Annamese coin adds the objection of being very brittle. One cannot pile any number of *quan* on one another with-

out the certainty of breaking some of the detestable little coins. Then the bamboo strings have all to be undone and fresh *sepèques* strung on. It is small consolation to be told after all this that they are made on a perfect mathematical system, and that twenty-seven of them, placed edge to edge, make up the Annamese limit of measure."

As has been already remarked, the Annamese are very slack in their religious observances. They build few temples, spend little in alms and offerings, and seldom dedicate their lives and property to the church. In theory they are Buddhists, but appear to follow that form of the faith known as Shamanism. Their heads are crammed with fancies and superstitions, and they believe in all sorts of omens and signs. Two mentioned by Mr. Scott are worth noting. On a baby sneezing, his relations call out *Coim Ca*!—"rice and fish"—the idea being to call back its spirits. To sneeze once means wealth; twice, trouble.\* Another funny notion:—if a cock crows at mid-day it is an indication that the young ladies of the household are going wrong, and causes great confusion and flutterings amongst them.

As the Annamese firmly believe in the power of the spirits of the departed, and are regular ancestor-worshippers, death and burial are ceremonies of great solemnity. The ceremony of burial is an elaborate performance, often extending over weeks. Coffin

\* The significance, malign or otherwise, of sneezes is not confined to the Annamese. Irish peasants, for instance, always call down a protective benediction on the sneezer.

making is reduced to a science in Annam, and no expense, or time, or art are spared to encase the deceased in a secure resting-place. One of the quaintest acts on the part of the relations is the manner in which the certainty of death is ascertained. A mite of cotton-wool is suspended by a silk thread before the mouth so that the slightest breath will move it. If it does not move, death is regarded as certain. Cloths are then placed over the mouth to prevent the entrance of evil spirits, who, where death is, are supposed to "stalk abroad." The dead appear to be kept for long periods before burial, although it is not, quite clear how this is managed. A tremendous parade is made of the funeral. Relations, friends, and priests, with bands of musicians, accompany the deceased to his last resting-place. This is anywhere on the property of the relations which may be chosen, as there are no public graveyards, and, in the case of a poor man, it is by the roadside. On the *Tet*, or first day of the new year, all the populations of the towns and villages turn out, *en fête*, to visit the tombs of their departed friends, and a day of half rejoicing, half mourning, ensues. As the ordinary clothes worn are black or blue, mourning is white in Annam. It is said to be worn religiously for two years after the death of a parent, when it is burnt, and the mourner is free to be a worldly being once more.

The ceremony of marriage is also very elaborate in Annam and Tongking, although it would not appear any very heavy responsibilities, mental or moral, are entailed thereby. Where there has been no betrothal,

marriages are arranged by a third party, or "go-between," who undertakes, for a consideration, to make all the arrangements. It is a matter of no importance whether the bride and bridegroom have ever set eyes on each other or not. Even the happy pair seem to regard this as a matter of very secondary consideration, and to fall into any arrangement which the "go-between" proposes. The lad knows that his bonds are no bonds at all, and the lass is simply an automaton. But the ceremony itself is very interesting, and unlike that of any of the tribes I have already referred to.

After describing the preliminary negotiations, Mr. Scott thus tells us all about a marriage ceremony :—  
" At length the marriage day comes. There are more presents, among which must be a white goose and gander. The *Mai Dong* has also to deliver over to the girl's father the 'marriage money,' usually amounting to about £4. Parents who value their daughters higher are supposed to draw down bad luck upon the couple. Then the marriage contract is drawn up on red paper. It is signed by the chief parties, by the parents, and is also, in cases of respectable burgessess, embellished with the village seal. The actual ceremony is not very impressive. It takes place in the bride's home. Candles are placed on the family altar along with the usual plate of betel. The girl's father delivers a speech, in which he announces to his forefathers that he is marrying his daughter, Hugen-Tran (the Pearl of Jet), aged so many years, to Ngüü, the son of Doan-nhü-hai. He invokes an-



cestral approbation, and long life for the happy pair, and then, with the young man's father, prostrates himself four times before the altar. The two mothers go through the same prostration. Then it is the turn of the bride and bridegroom; but after they have shown due regard for the ancients of the family they have to "knock their heads" before both the fathers, both the mothers, and a goodly number of their more elderly relations. Then the ceremony is over.

All then go in procession to the bridegroom's house, the newly-married couple at the head, under festive umbrellas, the bridegroom with his two best men, the bride with her two maids, and the box with her *trousseau*. The road is barred by children with a red thread, reminding one of the "gold and silver cord" of Burma. As in Burma, its safe removal must be paid for. The entrance to the town is sprinkled with red dust. Inside, the ancestral altars are revered as in the bride's home, and the unfortunate pair have to "knock their heads" again. After this they are conveyed into the nuptial chamber, which has been carefully prepared and garnished beforehand with red candles, incense-sticks, tea, wine, sweet-stuff, and finally, thirty-six quids of betel. Their conductor is an old gentleman who has been selected because of the luck he is supposed to bring. He lights the candles and the joss-sticks, pours out a libation and invites the favour of To Ba Nguyet, the spirits of the red threads (symbolising the marital bonds) and of the lady of the moon. Then they drink wine together. The bride offers a cup to her husband, and says "Drink that our

union may last a hundred years. In everything I must obey you, and I will not venture to contradict you." The husband drinks and returns the compliment, saying "Drink this wine. May we live a hundred years together. You must obey my father and mother, and live on good terms with my relations; be faithful to me in everything, and never deceive me." Then they set to work to get through the betel and the jam and the tea, after which formidable task they go out to the marriage party, who have been regaling themselves outside. That finishes the matter, but for the next three days neither husband nor wife may leave the house, nor separate for any length of time. Then the wife goes to work, and the husband takes it easy."

Accounts differ as to the effect on the Annamese of association with the French. Some have become corrupted, but the majority must have changed for the better.

The commercial prosperity of the country has increased, but then the natives enjoy little of this; it is mopped up by the Chinese.

The imports are English cotton goods, opium, Chinese medicines, tobacco and tea. The exports, rice, raw silk, tin, lacquer, oil, &c. A very beautiful description of inlaid mother-of-pearl work is manufactured in Tongking, and exported to Europe. Trade so far has not been quite so brisk as was hoped.

The "Black Flags" who made their name in the Tongking affair, are an organisation of Chinese freelances, who, it would appear, have no existence offici-

ally. They are one and all Celestials, but the Pekin authorities profess ignorance—or indifference—to their action. A late arrival from Yunan states that many of those who fought against the French in 1884, were sent to the scene of hostilities by Sen, the new Governor of Yunan, who is described as being bitterly hostile to Europeans. In the war they really did not do much, and, except in the case of the disaster when Rivière was killed, kept at a very respectful distance from the French troops. The accommodating nature of their patriotism is illustrated by an event which took place late in the campaign. A batch of two hundred, finding themselves entrapped, unhesitatingly laid down their arms and surrendered. They were asked if they would serve on the side of the French, and they consented at once. A young French officer was put in command of them, and they are said to have done their duty right well.

The native regiment which had some time previous to the late war been raised at Saigon, and is known to-day as “Les Tirailleurs Annamese,” received its baptism of fire in the war, and was always well to the front. On one occasion, when attacking a town in brigade, the “Tirailleurs” got in first, and opened the gates for the Turcos. The corps is well supplied with good officers, and is in process of expansion. The little, squat, yellow soldiers have quite assumed the airs of their masters, and strut about the streets of Saigon, and in and out of the cafés, chatting, smoking, and drinking absinthe with the *infanterie de marine*.





## THE INDO-CHINESE QUESTION.

When the dense clouds which to-day overhang Eastern Europe shall have melted away, the attention of Englishmen will not improbably be turned to their interests in Eastern Asia, with a view to the settlement of what may be termed the Indo-Chinese Question. It has been with the object of throwing light on the path of those amongst my countrymen who desire to know something of our doings in the Far East, that the foregoing pages have been written.

We have seen that after over half-a-century of complicated negotiations with the Court of Ava, entailing three wars, the Burma question is at an end. I have endeavoured to show that this consummation is for the material welfare of the Burmese themselves, as well as for the glory, and commercial prosperity of the British Empire. The incubus of the sham power which sat enthroned at Mandalay, with its rotten, crumbling government, its corrupt ministers, and its oppressive and retrograde laws, has been removed; and a strong and stable government has replaced it. By this step we have escaped the danger of a collision with a great, and at present friendly European Power, and our relations with China have been put on a firmer footing. As the result of less than two years' continuous activity, the enemies to order in the new province have been induced to settle down, and the "dacoit movement" is virtually at an end. Two most important questions have at length been put at rest in the minds of the Burmese: firstly, that we are so much stronger than

they that further resistance is useless ; and secondly, that it is our determination to stay, and administer their affairs for ever. These two facts established without doubt, my belief is that no further trouble need be expected, either from the side of the malcontent Burmese, or from the Shans. With respect to the first of these, the influx of enormous bodies of troops, British and representative of almost all the races of India ; a number far exceeding all the dacoits in the country, thoroughly disciplined and armed with breech-loaders, can have left no atom of doubt in the minds of the people that resistance must be vain ; while of the second, the appearance of permanent barracks, springing up all over the country, the material for the construction of which is brought from afar, clearly indicates our intention to take up our quarters for good and all amongst them.

The promptitude of the Government in setting on foot the railway to Mandalay, and the activity displayed in road-making and the laying down of telegraphs, has already borne fruit. The greatest blessing of all, and the most effective preventive of crime—the employment of the people, has been thus begun, and, while it lasts, will do an infinity of good.

The question has lately been raised of colonising Upper Burma. Of course the great obstacle to the commercial prosperity of the country, both Upper and Lower Burma, is the paucity of the population. Many thousands of natives of India have gravitated to Lower Burma during the last quarter of a century, but they have received little encouragement, and have generally

crowded the "slums" of the principal seaport towns. That an extensive scheme of colonisation for Upper Burma could with advantage be set on foot, few seem to doubt. My belief is that if encouraged with small grants of land, thousands of Punjaubis and Sikhs would flock into Upper Burma; then settle down with their families in a climate very much resembling their own, and be a great support to Government in the future.

Whenever there is anything to be got cheap, depend upon it John Chinaman will not be far off; indeed already, having sniffed advantage from afar, he is beginning to appear on the scene. The wretched, weak-kneed Madrassesees are no use for colonising our new province: they have no stamina, and are too home-sick to remain any time away from their beloved paddy fields in the Southern Indian peninsula.

That there are "bumper years" yet to be realised by some of the great Rangoon houses, few outsiders doubt. The acute southern Scotchmen who direct them, however, are by no means sanguine. The days of rice in Burma are, they say, gone for ever, and the prospect of making fortunes by the sale of dry goods is still remote.

They have had a bad time of late, and although the past rice season has been a marked improvement on the two previous ones, there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of a return to the old state of things.

Let us now glance cursorily at the condition of the tribes on our new frontiers.



Of the Chins and other tribes of the like characteristics which dwell in the hill tracts on the old frontier between India and Upper Burma, I have nothing to add to what has been stated in the chapter on this subject. The great success which has attended the efforts of our political officers to gather the Arakan hill tribes—mostly Chins—into our fold, and to make them loyal subjects, gives reason to hope that a few years will see us in peaceful occupation of all this country, and on friendly terms with the hill tribes.

Turning to the east and north-east of our new province, we find the Kakhyens or, as they are called, the Kachins. As has been already pointed out, they are a wild and predatory race, with gipsy, kidnapping propensities. They are persistent robbers, and can only be propitiated by bribes. The worst of it is that they are an increasing race, and, although never likely to be strong enough to do more than perpetrate petty raids, it is to be feared that they may give much trouble from time to time, and it may become necessary to give them more than one severe lesson. The disadvantage of sending expeditions eastward from Bamo consists in the proximity, and at present undefined position, of the Chinese frontier. If it be true that Governor Sen, of Yunan, is hostile to us, complications with China would not unlikely be the outcome, as was the case with the French in Tongking. Should it happen that the trade route through the Kachin hills cannot be re-opened in consequence of the disturbed state of the tribes, something will have to be done. Joint action with China would be the first plan to sug-

gest itself ; but whether such an arrangement would be feasible or not, must be left to the judgment of those who know best the oily and slippery Celestial diplomatists at Peking.

The Shans, and their future, their manners and customs, their actual numbers ; powers of concentration and real attitude towards us, are the most common topics of discussion, and the most "threshed out" in our local papers in Burma. So much diversity of opinion is there on this subject amongst men who ought to know, that the collator is driven to dread his own conclusions after hearing the evidence for and against. When we first went up to Mandalay in the winter of 1885-6, if a little stand was ever made against our troops, it was always attributed to Shans. The common idea in the army was that the Burmans were cowards, but that the Shans were good men and true. My own belief was at the time that this was an error. If there was any warlike spirit abroad in the country, it was amongst the Burmans, and not amongst the Shans, who were not a nation, and had no national pride. Subsequent events have, I think, proved that the Shans are a peaceful, trading, simple people, and are the reverse to warlike. As a proof of this they have for years been receding before the Kachins in the north, while in the south they live in bodily terror of the little hostile hill tribes known as the Red Karens. All accounts go to prove that the country west of the Salween is in a state of desolation owing to the general anarchy which has been created by the squabbles of rival chiefs, who appear to have been wandering about

with bands of men living on the wretched villagers, and carefully avoiding a collision of any kind lest someone should get hurt. Already our appearance in the western portion of Shanland has had a quieting and reassuring effect, and many of the bands have dispersed to their homes, and commenced looking after their crops.

The Shans from time immemorial have been accustomed to look to some great controlling power, either from Burma on the west or China on the east ; but the influence for good exercised over them in either the one case or the other was *nil*.

It is not being too sanguine to hope and prophesy that these poor people will be glad to look to the Great Queen as their mistress and protectress.

As for the Karens they are at present the "pets" of our Government. At the commencement of the late disturbances they applied for arms, and asked to be led against their old enemies the Burmans ; but as the Chief Commissioner did not rise so readily to the idea as some of the Karen supporters seemed to think he ought, there was a great complaint made at the supineness of the Government in thus hesitating to use so useful a weapon. Arms were issued later on, and no doubt the Karens justified all confidence placed in them, and did good service in suppressing dacoity. The hesitation manifested at the outset in distributing large quantities to the Karens was most probably due to a desire on the part of the Commissioner to avoid, as far as possible, intensifying the bitter feeling which already existed between the two tribes, and to his

resolve of putting down the insurrection by the employment of troops and police. The Karens have suffered a severe loss in the death of their best friend and most enthusiastic defender, Dr. Vinton. His father was their teacher and champion, and the son was a no less enthusiastic advocate of Karen rights.

As far as it is possible to foresee Indo-Chinese politics, we ought always to be able to reckon upon the Karens to stand by us in any trouble which may from time to time crop up on our eastern frontiers ; but to be too free in issuing arms to so excitable and uncertain a people would scarcely be a very wise policy. As a reward for their loyalty, many might be enrolled in the police, and there is no reason why a battalion or two might not be raised for military service. But the success of the latter scheme would certainly fail unless the thing was taken up in a business-like way, *i.e.*, unless the men were trained and instructed by regular officers and non-commissioned officers. Any attempt to do the thing on the cheap, and from a civilian point of view, by putting six or seven hundred half-savages under a single police officer who has not himself been educated to train and command men, must of course end in a *fiasco*. In order to give a chance of success to an experiment of forming an Indo-Chinese battalion for military service, there ought to be an officer, and five or six specially selected non-commissioned officers, to every hundred men. The language question would soon be got over. Only offer the inducement to young officers now serving in Burma, of extra pay and chances of promotion in the new battalions, and the

language tests will be got through in a very few months.

The French declare that they have made a capital corps out of the Annamese, who were said to be the most cowardly and degraded of the Indo-Chinese races, so there can be no possible reason why we should not do still better with the Burmans and Karens.

The Siamese, and other tribes who own their suzerainty, number almost a third of the Indo-Chinese peoples. As has been pointed out in the chapter on the Siamese, they have no marked characteristics. They are neither warlike nor enterprising, which accounts, no doubt, for the absence of the many disturbing influences which have for centuries agitated their western and northern neighbours.

It is difficult to understand how they have increased their territory both northward and eastward, unless it is due to the complete anarchy which has existed for years amongst the various Shan tribes who inhabit these regions, and who are more or less indifferent to whom they pay their yearly mite of tribute ; be it to China, Burma, or Siam.

For the present Siam is quiet and shows outward signs of remaining so ; but she is impotent for either offence or defence, and would fall an easy prey to any Western nation.

The French have for many years mixed "their mouths" for the acquisition of Siam, but they are at present farther off than ever. The king leans much more on the British Government for succour and advice than on the French ; and unless we deliberately throw

him and his successors over, Siam will become more and more British, and should her people find themselves at any time threatened by a great Power, such as China or France, they would, without doubt, put themselves under our protection.

The power of Siam in the Malay Peninsula is almost *nil*; while year by year the Malays are becoming more civilised, and the native Rajas more friendly towards Europeans.

We have a consul at Bangkok, and also a political officer at Zimmé, so that British interests are well represented on the Menan River.

On the Mekong, or Cambodia, the greatest of Indo-Chinese rivers, it is otherwise. French influence is undoubtedly in the ascendant here, and there is every prospect of an attempt being made ere long to make this river the boundary line between the French Protectorate and Siam; thus considerably reducing the young king's responsibilities. This arrangement, if it is ever brought about, will still leave the Siamese government much more country than they can make any pretence of looking after; but as the influence of the French over the great extent of sea-board and inland tracts which are coloured blue on the map is little more than nominal, the addition of this new slice will not mend matters.

Notwithstanding the somewhat precipitate abandonment of the campaign in Tongking which followed the overthrow of the Ferry ministry, the French have continued to keep a firm hold on that province, as well as on Annam. The local chiefs have not in all cases

been interfered with, but as there is really no military spirit, and only a very faint and conditional patriotism, amongst the mandarins, European ascendancy is steadily increasing.

It would be a wise man who could foresee the future of the French "Eastern Empire." Successive governors have held very diverse views as to the best means of developing the resources of the country, and infusing ideas of European progress into the Annamese.

The policy of repression which was inaugurated at the outset has long since been abandoned, and has given place to a much more liberal system of government. Paul Bert did not live to see his schemes for a modern Utopia take any real form, and from all accounts, the men who had to apply his theories to actual government in Indo-China had a bad time of it.

It is not an uncommon thing to find good, if not great men, who have spent their lives in European political and philosophical life, and who suddenly find themselves transplanted to the uttermost parts of the earth to govern half-savages, holding delightful views on equality amongst colours and castes, and on the application of European methods of government to, well, say, the more uncivilised Asiatic tribes. Rules and laws are most easily framed, but Lord help the unfortunates whose duty it is to see that they are not transgressed every day, and all day long! Every Eastern State must undergo three processes before there is much chance of its being ruled on a European system. Firstly, it must be subdued by force of arms,

and this work should be most thoroughly complete ; secondly, the people should be ruled and controlled by the conquerors, substituting civil for military authority, and employing, as far as possible, the people of the country as preservers of the peace ; thirdly, a judicious selection from amongst the people themselves should be installed in positions of authority, and if found to be reliable, promoted to high offices. But this must take time : it cannot be rushed, as we may see by the perusal of the history of our own eastern colonies.

With respect to the present state of the French colonies in Indo-China, accounts differ in a remarkable degree.

The more sanguine of the visitors whom I have met say the country is steadily going ahead, and compare Saigon favourably with Rangoon,

. In Tongking, they say, much has been done, and that a swamp at Haiphong has in three years become the site of a smart town, wherein a brisk trade is going on. Other travellers take a pessimist view of the colony. Saigon, they assert, is merely a military cantonment, and there is nothing going on in the way of trade. Tongking is in a poor way.

One fact only seems certain, that the French by their usual policy of imposing heavy import duties are doing their best to strangle the commercial prosperity of the country in its infancy.

The important question of the opening up of the trade between Western China and Europe is greatly affected by the acquisition by the French of Tongking, and by ourselves of Upper Burma.



It may thus be put : Who are best placed to tap the markets of Yunan, and open up new fields for trade in European goods—the French at Tongking or the British at Mándalay and Bamo ?

Were the Songkoi, which rising in the heart of Yunan, empties itself into the China Sea at Haiphong, a river anything like the Irrawaddy, the French would win at a walk, and we should not be in it ; but it is far otherwise. It is not navigable for steamers for many miles north of Hanoi, and its upper waters are checked by shoals and rapids which render even boat navigation a slow and dangerous process.

Furthermore, pirates abound along its banks, and the Chinese authorities in this portion of the country show little inclination to encourage trade enterprises on the scale which Europeans desire.

Still, as a matter of actual distance, the French have the advantage, and based on the sea there would appear to be a fine chance of carrying on a brisk trade with the interior. But somehow things are not looking up in the colony. M. Georges Lieusson, a French gentleman, writing about Tonquin, talks of the Chinese swallowing up all the business of Haiphong, and says ; “ Il se passera au Tonkin ce qui a lieu déjà en Cochinchine où seuls la modiste, le coiffeur, le cabaretier et le photographe français parviennent à lutter avec avantage.”

It is to be hoped that Tonquin has a better future before it than this. It would indeed be a misfortune if the colony should be allowed to languish and collapse after all the trouble that has been taken to subdue it,

and establish European influence therein. Something is now being done to cheer the place up, and some good buildings are making their appearance both at Haiphong and Hanoi. So it would appear that our activity in Upper Burma is making the French in Tonquin "sit up."

The question of our trade with China from the valley of the Upper Irrawaddy is still open, and will remain so until an arrangement with China is come to on the subject.

The French are working heaven and earth to cut us out, with the "Heathen Chinee," and their envoy at Peking is at work negotiating a fresh treaty.

The arrangements proposed by China after the downfall of the Ferry ministry were dead against French interests in every regard, and were not agreed to by the Republic.

The opium trade was prohibited; only a slight reduction of duties imported into Tonquin was agreed to; and only two places on the Chinese frontier were opened up for trade, one in Kwangsi and one in Yunan. On the other hand, almost every village in Tonquin had its Chinese consul, and Chinese traders mopped up all the business there was going on. The new French proposals aim at an improvement in this state of things.

The following are their demands :—

1. That the consuls be removed on the dual grounds that they are the head centres of secret societies, and that they are not permitted in the British Empire.

2. The removal of the salt monopolies.
3. The removal of the law prohibiting trade in opium between Tonquin and China.
4. That goods passing through Tonquin should be admitted without delay into the Chinese ports.
5. That two additional places on the Chinese frontier be opened up for trade with Tonquin.

It would appear that the Chinese authorities have, after much pressure, acceded to two of these five demands, viz. : that the opium trade be permitted, and that the desired two places be opened up.

The latter is undoubtedly an important concession, and if the French are able to take advantage of it, ought to give them the pull over us in this part of the world; but as the production of opium in Tonquin is, so far, nothing to speak of, the former boon is somewhat remote. Furthermore, it is not expected that even should the opium be grown more extensively, it will equal in quantity or quality that produced in India.

So as matters stand at present the French have, as I have said before, scored clearly by the provisions of the new treaty. It is for us to ask for a corresponding concession. China cannot refuse it. It is to our mutual interest to keep friends with each other. John Chinaman well appreciates this fact. He may not love us at heart, but he loves other foreigners less. We are strong and we are useful to him; and that is enough.

Mr. Colquhoun and other writers who have for years zealously watched affairs in China, are now of opinion that increased trade advantages should be con-

ceded to us by China without delay. They seem to propose that we should demand the port of Nanning, a town seven hundred miles up the Canton river, from which point we could tap the markets of South-eastern Yunan, in addition to those of the extensive provinces of Kwangsi and Kwee-chan. The above-named explorer also covets Wu-chan, a city of 30,000 inhabitants situated at the junction of the Fu and Canton rivers, which, if occupied as a treaty port, would give us a clear advantage over the French in Southern China. The great obstacle to trade all over China are the exorbitant duties levied on goods; from these the native traders suffer in common with the foreigners. As time goes on, they must be lightened. They are a twofold nuisance to us; they stifle us in China, and they drive millions of Chinese traders into our empire, where they threaten to eat us up like locusts.

Our present position in the Far East cannot be better summarised than in words of Mr. Colquhoun's recent letter to the "Times":—With France already possessing one-third of Indo-China and eagerly seeking to oust our trade from the south of China; with Russia, rapidly pushing forward her railway across the Siberian wastes in the north, intending by branch lines to attract the trade of the northern provinces; with Germany, France, and America striving their utmost to anticipate us in the introduction of railways and other industrial enterprises into China, containing half the population of the world, it is surely time for us to bestir ourselves and use the vantage-ground we possess in Burma and its Shan States. The execution of a

railway to Ssu-mao would not only enable us to compete with France in Yunan and Ssu-chuan, but would insure the commencement of a Chinese system of railways from Ssu-mao, which would eventually permeate the western half of China and tend enormously to the expansion of British commerce. Such railways, having their origin at Ssu-mao, would naturally draw the materials for construction from British markets through our port of Moulmein, and thus greatly benefit our home industries. Unless British energy is dead, we shall push on our connection with China. Otherwise we must make up our minds to see the trade of Southern China drawn to French ports where prohibitive protective tariffs are enforced with the avowed object of excluding our trade."

Whatever may be said to the contrary, there is no room for doubt that our late acquisitions in Indo-China have improved our relations with the Celestial Empire. For many hundreds of miles our frontiers are contiguous, and day by day our interests become more and more identical. The common enemy threatens us both from his geographical position. He stretches his octopus claws over thousands of miles of land and water from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean. He looks down on India and China alike with covetous eye. If the long-looked-for Muscovite hordes ever resolve to measure their strength with that of the Eastern armies of the Great Queen, from whence will they come? Through Southern Afghanistan to break themselves on the rocks, and to confront a great British force in the Peshin Valley? Never. Or to

entangle themselves in the passes between Cabul and Peshawar? No more likely. If they ever come, they will come from the north. They will have to impinge on China to do this, and with China and England hand-in-hand they will never come, or, if they do, it will only be to meet inevitable ruin and disaster. China has plenty of arms, and she has the money to buy any amount more. She has half the populations of the world. But she is hard up for leaders in war. With a thousand British officers to command her soldiers, and one Chinese Gordon to direct their path, what a mighty engine of destruction she could bring into the field?

John Chinaman thus addresses John Bull: "Me very glad you come too near us, Johnny. Now we coming plenty friend. Each help other to make plenty money. Each help other to fight all de world. Shake hands, Johnny!"

THE END.

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