or upholding the dignity of the British Government. And when, in after ages, men will search in Burma's history for aught "to point a moral, or adorn a tale," they will say, as we do now, and as other candid actors in the Burmese theatre of past events must be compelled to say, it would be difficult to imagine any reply more dignified or suitable than such an irrevocable, immutable, and final decision of the Governor-General.—On Thursday, the 28th December, the Burmese Woongees, with their suite and accompanied by Major Phayre, took their departure in the Hon. Company's steamer "Sesostris" for Rangoon and Ava.

After this important visit, a return Mission from our Government proceeded to Ava* (sometimes styled the Golden City), the results of which, doubtless, under the able conduct of Major Phayre, were highly beneficial to the Eastern world. We can imagine the feelings of regret with which, at the close of the First Burmese War, the British soldier turned his back upon the capital of Alompra, when only three marches from the city. But notwithstanding the patched-up and unsatisfactory treaty of peace concluded at Yandaboo,† it is perhaps as well we did not advance on and destroy the capital; for Ava is as dear to the Burman as London is to the Briton. And our noble forbearance then, as in the Second Burmese War, must have taught the people that even an Oriental despot might be permitted to govern his subjects, if he could govern them well. Under the reigning king it seemed possible that this good government might be secured. He appeared to manifest a friendly disposition towards the British, although we had deprived him of Pegu; and, while sorely feeling the loss of such a fine province, it was now generally believed that he did not authorise the Envoys from his Court to ask its cession.‡ It was

* See Captain H. Yule's "Narrative of a Mission to Ava in 1855."

† February 1826.

‡ It was believed by many, on the Mission departing for Calcutta, that the Envoy would ask back the port of Bassein, and Meng-don, a principality of

a Mission to cement friendship, and it was nothing more. This was the brightest and most satisfactory side of the question, although there was nothing extraordinary in a Burmese king asking back from strangers, since he declared that *he* was not the erring party, the glorious conquest of his ancestors. He was soon said to be improving his kingdom of Ava in trade and in agriculture; the best thing he could do, since the decision had gone forth, "irrevocable, immutable, and final," that Pegu was ours for ever!

It may now be well to state that the condition of our new conquest in Eastern Asia, in 1854, was, considering the time Pegu had been ours, truly marvellous. The sudden rise of Rangoon, from a dirty town, to a flourishing commercial capital, well laid out,—with its picturesque military cantonments, adorned with so many neat houses and excellent roads; its newly erected assembly rooms, with the general look of comfort the town was beginning to wear,—seemed, as it were, a transition from darkness into light. Let us turn to Rangoon at the end of 1854, and, comparing it with what the town was nearly three years before, we may well say, "Look on this picture, and on this." Before, misery and starvation were to be seen in many a countenance, while the small army of "men and boys, the matron and the maid," proceeded to pay their devotions to the god of their ancestors at his celebrated shrine. Now, well dressed crowds, in holiday attire,—the Burmese ladies, fresh from Vanity Fair, shining forth, as Goldsmith has it, "in all the glaring *trickery* of dress," proud rather than otherwise to be gazed at by the English strangers,—wend their way to Gautama's temple. And silently working for the conversion of our new subjects, behold the amiable Protestant missionary, with

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Ava.—To this note we may add (1879) that the present King takes his name from Thee-bau—some seventy or eighty miles to the east of Mandalay—the same way as the late King did from Meng-don. It is the custom to name the princes of the Royal House after Principalities, the revenues of which are generally given them "to eat"—in some cases also, we presume, to drink!

his not less amiable wife, surrounded by Karens, Talaings, and other tribes, paving the way, should peace continue, for the exclamation of delighted surprise from the charmed and arrested traveller, when he shall hear throughout Pegu the "hum of missionary schools," and regale himself with the "lovely spectacle of peaceful and Christian villages."

And again, silently working, behold the disciples of the Church of Rome—the Church, as Lord Macaulay says, "with the principle of life still strong within her." There she is with her funds and her chapels, her persuasive priests, and her wonderful management, silently working in Burma, as she has long done in China; causing us more than ever to say, "When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish."*

And silently working in the region of Science, now comes forth that wonder of wonders, which is now fast progressing in Pegu—the Electric Telegraph. Through this mighty agent the Governor of Bengal will eventually receive intelligence from Pegu in two or three hours. May we hope that the telegraphic message may never be an announcement of the Russians pouring down in Northern Burma! With good roads, and the electric telegraph, if they do come, what need we care if the Indian Army be kept up to the requisite European strength? Then, to the three Presidencies it is simply

"A word—and the impulse is given;
A touch—and the mission has sped:—
Hurrah! 'tis the best conjuration
That Science, the wizard, has done!
Through me nation speaks unto nation,
Till are are united in one."

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* Macaulay's "Essays"—Ranke's History of the Popes.—"During the reign of Louis XIV. several splendid attempts were made to propagate the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and advance the interests of the French nation in the kingdom of Siam; but little is related of Ava or Pegu."

Campbell declares, in his "Pleasures of Hope,"—

"The world was sad!—the garden was a wild!
And man, the hermit, sigh'd—till woman smiled!"

And not the least important light in the picture of civilisation was now the appearance of so many European ladies in Pegu. The resources of the new province were in course of development, regarding which the Mission to Ava would probably furnish us with more information. Coal, it was said, had been discovered on the Irawady, of excellent quality,—a discovery of infinite importance to the Government and steam navigation. Of course, in a few years, Pegu will have its railway. Then there is the new port at the mouth of the Bassein river, new Bassein,* which would do an immense grain trade. Turn what way we wished, the condition of Burma in 1854, more particularly Pegu, was highly gratifying. If dacoits were severely and summarily dealt with, dacoity would soon be rare in the land. But it must ever be remembered that this crime is, like Thuggism in India, indigenous to the country. Many persons hoped for an abrogation of the frontier duties; but the security of a new conquest must be maintained with money, and taxation is the order of the day throughout the world. So much, then, for the condition of Burma, at a time when Government began wisely to think, in the words of Plutarch, that it sufficed not to conquer alone—"Victory must be made profitable."—[The frontier duties were abrogated in 1863.]

NOTES.

Gilding the Great Pagoda.

The Burmese mode of erecting the scaffolding around the Great Pagoda struck us as being most ingenious. Every one assisted in bringing material for the huge frame-work. Even the women, in

* Or Dalhousie, so styled, of course, after the celebrated Marquis. [It is situated some sixty miles below Bassein, near the mouth of the river; but, on account of extensive flowing a few years since, was ruined, and is now (1864) abandoned as a station.]

holiday attire—with the glittering *nadoung* (ear-ring) and the gold chain—came forth to assist in the religious duty. Many females and young children were to be seen wandering from Kemmendine; first with bamboos, and eventually with chatties of water, requisite for cleaning the temple before the operation of gilding. A strong foundation being made, the bamboo framework gradually ascended to a height of more than three hundred feet, to the astonishment of the inhabitants of Rangoon. The huge pile then resembled a temple of wicker-work, admirably preserving the bell-like form of a portion of the structure, beside which the colossal human images used by the Druids of old in their sacrifices would have made an appropriate ornament. The exterior of the temple was not touched by the general framework, allowing space sufficient for a man to perform the operation of gilding, which, from the curious arrangement of the bamboo, he could do in perfect safety. The scaffolding was brought to the base of the *tee* (umbrella); and through a telescope it was interesting to observe what might form a striking picture of the huge pile. First, you beheld the parapet, then the dark fan-like palms, then the old dark base rings of the pagoda, then the bamboo-work (which was eventually covered with mats), then the gorgeous *tee* of Gautama, for the time divested of its gold and silver bells. In the great *tee*, we heard, there were about six hundred silver bells, twenty of pinchbeck, and fifteen of gold. One of the gold bells was found to be six pounds in weight, with a golden leaf,* as usual, attached to the tongue, a present from the late King Tharawadi's daughter. Some of the silver bells weighed seventeen pounds and a half. Each bell was inscribed with the name of the donor, and some of the small gold bells were adorned with jewels. Each bell was attached to the rich gilt *tee* by a hook; and no difficulty was experienced in handing down the bells, which was done by arranging a string of men from the *tee* to the base, a select few who were allowed to touch the precious offerings. On the completion of the gilding, the bells were to be restored to their former position.

The gilding, which was only to extend to the upper portion of the pagoda, was just commencing when the writer left Burma,

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* "Waving golden leaves attached to tinkling bells, rich gold work, all so strictly protected by the golden 'tee,' draw forth admiration."—Narrative.

and the expense, defrayed by a Burmese subscription, was estimated at between forty thousand and fifty thousand rupees (four thousand five hundred pounds). According to Havelock, the glittering coating of the temple was last renewed in 1817, if we recollect right, at a much less cost. [The height of the pagoda, as before remarked, is upwards of three hundred and twenty-one feet. The terrace on which it stands is about nine hundred feet long, and six hundred and eighty-five feet broad; it is elevated above the inferior terrace by a wall fifteen feet high. Shwé Dagon is encircled, at some distance, by smaller pagodas, all possessing more or less beauty. The scene from the upper terrace is most imposing; either by moonlight, with huge grotesque faces peering out upon you; or in the broad day, when the golden summits of the temples are glittering in the fiery sun.]

II.

Sparseness of Population and Health of the Indigenous Races.*

Sparseness of population anywhere is a serious subject. It suggests various trains of thought to the mind. Emigration, caused by bitter want and local distress,—emigration, caused by cruel wars and oppression; increase of mortality from neglect of women and children (the latter in early infancy)—may turn us at once, with regard to emigrants or people forced to leave their homes, to think of the "Deserted Village" of Goldsmith; and again, in the realms of poetry, to "Evangeline,

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* This paper is a portion of a review of Reports on the Health and Population of the Indigenous Races of British Burma, ordered by Colonel (Sir Arthur) Phayre. The writer received the following kind note, when the Chief Commissioner had done him the honour to peruse his paper:—"Accept my best thanks for your very interesting chapter on the Health of the Indigenous Peoples of British Burma. I feel assured that your work will be read with deep interest, and have no doubt will cause the country to be known and appreciated in quarters where otherwise it never would have been heard of."—Under the title of "The Conquest of Pegu," the author had intended to publish his two Narratives in one volume, while at Rangoon, in 1864.

a Tale of Arcadie"; while, with reference to the management of infancy, we turn in prose to where a chief evil existing in Burma has the remedy at once suggested, by simply going back eighty years to wise old Benjamin Franklin, who wrote on early marriages, holding forth their advantages in a rising country to his "Dear Jack":—"By these early marriages we are blessed with more children; and *from the mode among us, founded by nature, of every mother suckling and nursing her own child, more of them are raised.* Thence the swift progress of population among us, unparalleled in Europe." Such was an opinion on the cause of a large population in America by a philosopher, whose penetrating eye nothing could escape, the best informed man of his time. Turning from Franklin, who could write an essay on a whistle, teach the city of Paris, by statistics, the economy of using "sunshine instead of candles"; who could ascertain the nature of lightning by the most simple means, and then treat the subject of population—all with equal facility—we arrive at the second page of the interesting brochure on which we now intend to make a few brief remarks, furnishing also a portion of what is valuable therein, and thus forming what may be considered a fitting chapter in the history of the "Conquest of Pegu."

From the "Report by the Medical Officer of Ramree"* (Mr. Thomas), we learn, with reference to Burmese women and children, that "there is a pernicious practice prevalent among the people of giving unnatural food to infants at a very early age. The natural aliment of the child is the mother's milk, but scarcely is a Burmese child a week old, when boiled rice is taken into the mouth by the mother, or by any other female relative, and is chewed into a pulp, and with this pulp the poor little creature is daily fed."

Another evil is now noticed—want of clothing. "A dis-

* District of Ramree is in Arakan.

regard to cleanliness is an evil also, and the want of proper ventilation in the houses is no less so. Burmese medicine, I may add, is very rude, and all these combined operate with deleterious influence on human life; and although the people of British Burma may have fine houses and plenty of grain food with numerous children born to them, still will the numerical bulk of the nation be affected as long as the people cleave to this" (alluding also to the absurd treatment of the woman and child on the occasion of a birth) "barbarous mode of treating their women and children."

Few people will deny the truth of the remark, that a greater number of children all over the world do not annually die at birth, is in itself a wonder. We read, in one of Dr. Combe's treatises, of the care required in Great Britain to rear even a healthy infant.* We should like to know what he of the present, or Dr. Hunter of the last century would have said to the indiscriminate use of the cold bath, followed up by quick firing, or the "roasting plan," for the mother, and "pulpy chewed rice" for the small particle of humanity just appeared on the stage! Hunter would have called his man John (this was the name of his favourite servant) immediately, and, doubtless, would have said to him, "Hang at every Burmese threshold my three rules for the rearing of healthy children,—PLENTY OF MILK, PLENTY OF SLEEP, AND PLENTY OF FLANNEL!" These the celebrated John Hunter has handed down to posterity. With the observation of such rules, our wonder would no longer increase at the fewness of deaths among Burmese and other children of the East. Colonel Phayre inquires† why the people of British Burma, possessing all those circumstances which are considered favourable to increase of population, are

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* Combe says that "between a third and a half of all the children ushered into the world die within the first five years after birth."

† In his "Memorandum on the Sparseness of Population in British Burma."

not more numerous than we now find them? among the circumstances considered favourable, enumerating "natural fertility of soil, general healthiness of climate, the use of rice as the chief article of food, the non-oppressive character of the Government under which the people reside, and their descent from the same stock as the prolific Chinese." In the Chief Commissioner's opinion, "the following appear to be the most obvious remedies against disease and the number of early deaths, which there is reason to conclude occur among the indigenous races of Burma. These are vaccination, improved sanitary arrangements, the establishment of dispensaries, and instruction of natives of the country in the science of medicine"; and, since the Reports now under consideration were written, "measures have been adopted for commencing the above plan." In fact, the famous saying of the American essayist,* "To think is to act!" has been wisely carried out during our British policy in Burma. And we all know that the grand requisite for a political officer in the East is decision of character, of that nature which the eloquent pen of John Foster has described, without which he is nothing, or, locally speaking, worse than nothing! In the "Report" from the pen of Colonel Fytche,† he writes to the Chief Commissioner:—"In a beautiful and fertile country like Burma, and inhabited by such a robust race, the sparseness of its population must strike the most indifferent person with surprise. The most generally received idea regarding this scarcity of population is, I believe, the great mortality of children between five and fifteen years of age. This, however, I imagine to be a popular error, for since we have taken possession of Tenasserim and Arakan, the country being freed from either internecine or foreign wars, and the people allowed to settle quietly down in towns and villages, the population has increased much more than two-fold;

* Emmerson.

† Commissioner of Tenasserim.

the official returns showing a term of about thirty years as the period within which the population has doubled itself, and which does not by any means compare unfavourably with the increase of either any European or Asiatic race we are acquainted with."

According to this Commissioner, then, devastating hostilities or remorseless wars appear as the chief causes of a scarcity of population for the past, while, from a practical knowledge of the subject, gained by many years residence in Burma, he holds out great hopes for the present, or for the country under British rule. Regarding the "chronic state of internecine warfare" in Burma, one or two facts may be here brought forward. The oppression of the Talaings (or Peguers) by the Burmese is known to the reader of history. The Talaings, long oppressed after their conquest by the Burmese, became special objects of hatred when the British forces unhappily withdrew from Pegu in 1826, leaving the Peguers, our friends during the First Burmese War, to Burman vengeance and cruelty. The subsequent years, till British annexation in 1853, witnessed increasing severities; "and the race is now greatly diminished." But, prior to our first war with Burma, not only cruelty, and oppression, and murder thinned the fertile provinces of the Delta, but emigration did its work in a very considerable degree. This, of course, was caused by cruelties practised. Deing Woon, who delighted in the sight of gibbeted or crucified bodies, it is said, caused the emigration of some twenty thousand families of Peguese into Siam, which, although enduring far better treatment, they feel to this day is not the land of their fathers. It is little more than fifty years since that the condition of the interior of Ava became equally deplorable with that of the river banks. Villages and towns were everywhere deserted; robbers and insurgents ranged about the country, and "many of the harassed inhabitants, at the risk of their lives, openly expressed their wishes that the English would either take the country or allow them to migrate to

Bengal." These facts alone, which we have derived from various sources, prove how much reason upholds Colonel Fytche's argument regarding the sparseness of population in Burma. Turning to the history of British colonisation also, we find a reduction of population from various significant causes. In Virginia, for instance, the first colony in which we settled in America, the tribes were originally strong enough so destroy three separate and powerful bodies of colonists, who acted like brutal invaders, after being received with a welcome. But their thousands of warriors of 1607 were reduced two-thirds in sixty-two years "by our spirituous liquors, by our diseases, by our wars, and by an abridgment of territory, fatal to a people who lived much on the spontaneous productions of nature." In twenty years more they were quite weakened; and, at the end of the next century, nearly all had perished. Wars and a consequent abridgment of territory here producing sparseness of population, again support the views of Colonel Fytche; while it is curious to remark that, by the invasion of Virginia we ruined the population, through the conquest of Pegu we have increased, and are going on steadily increasing it!

Doubtless, we have made vast improvement in the way of ordering matters in a new country. This becomes evident from simply reading about Virginia—a country "purchased," in "unexceptionable form," to use the words of Jefferson,* by the English, whose *reserved* districts were "kept from encroachment by the authority of the laws, and who usually had white protectors to watch over their interests." We ponder and inquire, How could almost extinction be the fate of a people who were so cherished? We know of no other answer to this question but that of an improved system of colonisation,

* "Notes on Virginia," quoted by S. Bannister in his "British Colonisation," &c.

or of our manner of conduct after conquest; and this has been admirably exemplified in the conquest of Pegu.

Causes of the decay in numbers in Burma, before we annexed Pegu, now become susceptible of a simple solution:—the whole made clear from the "interesting and useful reports" furnished to the Chief Commissioner—Colonel Fytche believing "that mortality is not greater amongst the people of British Burma than in other Asiatic countries"; and he has no doubt that "the establishment of dispensaries throughout the country, with properly educated practitioners, would considerably decrease the mortality now existing." True enough, he considers that time and civilisation alone must teach the people.

Dr. Donnelly, Civil Surgeon of Mergui, furnishes a very interesting report. He is the grand advocate for properly educated practitioners in the science of medicine. The best of the Burmese students who have passed the prescribed examination, in the opinion of Dr. Donnelly, should be selected to fill all those hospital appointments at present held by natives of India,—who, having few feelings or sympathies in common with the Burmese, never obtain their respect or their confidence,—to take charge of village dispensaries and to act as vaccinators throughout the district. With a few and inexpensive changes, the doctor thinks, we could do much towards lessening the present rate of mortality.

Dr. Marr, Civil Surgeon of Maulmain, likewise strongly advocates the extension of vaccination, and the establishment of dispensaries throughout the country, in charge of properly educated practitioners. Alluding to the mortality of Burmese infants, from causes similar to those we have before alluded to, this medical officer brings forth a curious fact, which we believe may be applied to the children of all Asiatic nations, that they get through the process of dentition with greater facility than European children.

Dr. A. J. Cowie, Civil Surgeon of Rangoon, furnishes a most elaborate and valuable report on the sparseness of population

in British Burma. The learned surgeon takes a very comprehensive view of the subject, worthy of one holding such a situation as his at the great commercial capital. But, on one or two points, we either do not quite understand him, or his opinion appears to be rather sudden. For instance, he cites wars and bad governments as one of the given chief causes for a sparseness of population, the truth of which he proceeds to examine. "Could we attribute sparseness of population," he says, "to successive and great wars, then surely we could expect to find a great preponderance of women over men, which is not the case." Now we are of opinion that men, women, and children, in countries without the light of civilisation, suffer nearly equally by war—internecine wars especially producing the desire of mutual extermination. Warlike gentlemen such as Messrs. Deing Woon, Generals Roung-Roung and Bandoola in the first, and such as Myat-htoon in the second Burmese war, would think little of sparing woman and child in their tiger-like thirst for blood. Doubtless, they frequently thought how much sooner the cause would be won by taking "*all the little chickens and their dam at one fell swoop!*"

No finer touch of human nature is to be found in literature than when Macduff, hearing of the murder of his wife and children, inquires of the messenger—"Did you say *all?*" Nature is nearly the same in all countries; and this pathetic question from the genius of Shakspeare has often rung through the Burman vales and forests!

In 1812, we read, the Viceroy of Pegu "monopolised the supply of coffins"; and very well he might have done so if his cruelty was nearly equal to that of the Viceroy, two years before, who was ordered up to the Court of Ava with a chain round his neck. Opium smoked and spirits drank by the troops, and being too lenient, were the charges against him. He had taken off too few heads since his arrival in Rangoon. A very short time before, this "mild person" had ordered twelve men, women, and children, who had deserted from him

to an obnoxious rival, to be murdered in a manner that we dare not put on paper. The execution of the sentence, however, was prevented by the "urgent entreaties of the British Envoy." Being murdered or starved were too frequently the fate of the poor women and children, during peace as well as war. Children of various ages were frequently brought to Captain Canning (whose mission took place in 1809) whose fathers had been driven to the wars, and whom their mothers entreated him to accept, "*in hopes of procuring for their wretched offspring that sustenance which they were unable to get for themselves.*" We have no doubt, if we could collect records of the oppressive mode of recruiting the Burman armies and of the conduct of the opposing nations* during the wars, quite enough evidence would appear to show that, during at least a century, men, women, and children have suffered dreadfully; especially in Pegu, when the star of Alompra, the hunter, became lord of the ascendant!

Again, the Civil Surgeon commences his report by remarking that "Colonel Phayre has shown us, that the population of British Burma was never more numerous than it is at present." The Chief Commissioner also commences the section, Population, in his Administrative Report for 1862–63, by stating, what deserves the consideration of all rulers, that "the population of British Burma increases rapidly; partly from immigration, and partly, it is to be hoped, from natural causes. The causes of the *paucity* of population in Chin-India remain to be ascertained. Increase appears to be an established fact." Captain Harrison (Deputy Commissioner) writes, regarding the Mergui district:—"There is a fair annual increase to the population, and when more accurate statistics have been collected I think it will be found that the increase amounts to about twenty or twenty-two per thousand per annum, and at

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* Burmese, Chinese, Siamese, and Peguese.

this rate the population would double itself in about thirty-three years." Colonel Fytche also mentions increase. We have had the Tenasserim Provinces about forty years—Pegu not yet twelve; surely, then, on the same principles, there is hope for the new conquest! It appears difficult, therefore, to see cause for remarking, after allusion to "wars and bad governments":—"enough, whether the people increased or not, before the advent of British rule, is not to the point—what is now keeping the increase of the population in check is the difficulty to be solved, for wars can have nothing to say in the matter, and the country can boast of a good and just Government."* If by increase kept in check, non-increase be meant, then the author of the report in question has the authority of Colonel Brown, Deputy Commissioner, Prome, to support him,—"I am of opinion that the *non-increase of the population* of the country is not solely the effect of any one special cause, but that of a combination of influences which are in operation at the same time."† The population of British Burma, however, does not appear to be stationary, but increasing, as already asserted in two cases with statistical proof!

Dr. Cowie informs us that small-pox in Burma is a much milder and far less fatal disease than it is in Great Britain. Regarding this disease, Dr. Marr asserts that "epidemics of small-pox exercise a considerable influence on the population. . . . To children unprotected by either vaccination or inoculation, the disease proves very fatal." For not being vaccinated, while we write, at least in Rangoon, no one can have any excuse; for all are invited to come to the dispensary by the Civil Surgeon, and receive what the genius of Jenner provided for them; and this is announced in Burmese as well as in English, in the public journals. Referring to inoculation,

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* Page 37. † Page 74.

Dr. Cowie brings forward an interesting remark which will be new to many readers :—"Our greatest living Physician says of Lady Mary Wortley Montague—'We owe the actual introduction of the practice of inoculation'—a wise and justifiable measure in the absence of vaccination—into Great Britain to the good sense and courage of an English lady."

Cholera in Burma is only "an occasional visitant," and seldom severe in its outbreaks. It is not endemic, as in many parts of India; and, writes Dr. Marr, "visits Burma at long intervals." Of this destroyer, we have thus two valuable medical opinions, in addition to that of the Chief Commissioner (as regarding its destructiveness), justly coinciding.

Fevers of the country, opium smoking and eating, housing, food, ardent spirits, and a variety of other topics, are all touched on by the fertile pen of Dr. Cowie. Regarding "Ardent Spirits"—to all military officers a most important subject as regards discipline—the Civil Surgeon of Rangoon asserts what should shame many a European who boasts of enlightenment and civilisation! "I have not yet, in all my experience, met with a case of 'delirium tremens' among the Burmese; and I will venture to say, that no other medical man who has resided in this country ever has either. The Burmese are not at all given to drunkenness." Dr. Cowie concludes a most interesting report, extending to fifty-three sections, with the remark, which has been so often applied to advocate the cause of Female Education in India:—"It is through the women that we must expect to reform the Burmese, and they are under the influence of the Phongyees!"

Valuable papers from Major Ardagh (Officiating Commissioner of Pegu), Mr. E. O'Riley, Rev. Mr. Beecher, Dr. Davis, Captain M. Lloyd, and others, also throw light on the sparseness of population in British Burma, forming a valuable collection of statistics, from which also a good idea of the health of the indigenous peoples of the country may be gained.—The Andaman Islands (which came under the Government of British

Burma about March 1864), although extensive, have a population of less than three thousand original inhabitants. These are a singular race, resembling a degenerate race of negroes—five feet in height, eyes small and red, and skin of a deep dull black. They are *not* cannibals, as has been supposed. How they came there is not yet decided. They belong, we believe, to the same race as the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands—not a hundred miles distant. But the affinity between the people of the Andamans and Nicobars is yet to be established by fact.

The story of the advent of the Andamanites is, that of a ship being wrecked while conveying pilgrims to or from Mecca, and depositing its strange "cargo" on these islands. But this would appear to be more possible than probable. Facts regarding the health and population of these curious people are required. Recently a party of officers from Rangoon visited the Andamans, and brought away several items of information, as well as a few specimens of fish and fossils, interesting to the naturalist. Dr. Smith examined some peculiarity about the teeth of an Andamanite.* The scenery of the Islands was considered to be very beautiful in parts; the hospitality of the Superintendent, Major Ford, was great; and the party left the islands for Rangoon, justly reckoning among the "green spots" in memory's waste their visit to the "Cannibal Islands"! —But, to return to the land of Burma.

After receipt of the Reports on health and population, a

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* On inquiring from our learned and obliging friend, the Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, what this peculiarity was, he sent us the following note:—"The peculiarity is this:—The Eye-tooth (Dens Cannia) is placed outside, and on a level with the first Bicuspid. Tops of molars worn flat, as in all tribes that feed on roots." Inquiring, also, regarding some skulls he had brought from the Andamans, Dr. Smith informed us, that the skull is well-developed—belonging, most likely, to "Negrello," or Dwarf Negroes. Another esteemed traveller to the Andamans mentions the absence of the receding or monkey forehead!

valuable little pamphlet—"Queries respecting the Human Race, Addressed to Travellers, By a Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science," fell into our hands. We believe that it was printed by order of the Chief Commissioner, in order to obtain reports on the various subjects from officers in the province. One set of answers, some months ago, had been received from Dr. Mason, which were considered to be "exceedingly interesting"; and which we trust may be laid before that learned body, the Asiatic Society. Regarding this Society, the prophecy of Sir William Jones—the motto of their Calcutta journal—has been well fulfilled:—"The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia; and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature." In their museum in Calcutta (thanks to Mr. Bligh), we saw beasts and birds from Burma; and now, through the researches and energy of the Chief Commissioner and others, they have a flood of light thrown on the various interesting races of the country!

We shall now enrich this rather discursive paper with some already published matter on the sparseness of population, and other statistical information, commencing with Dr. Mason, who has furnished a critique on the Reports. If there be one man more qualified than another, not in the medical profession, to give an opinion on the health of and sparseness of population among the indigenous peoples of British Burma, that man, perhaps, is Dr. Mason, of Toungoo. His valuable statistics cause us regret, when we read (what would support, regarding one race, the views of Dr. Cowie) that the Karens, under the most favourable circumstances, are not increasing. But we think it will interest many to insert the learned Doctor's critical notice entire:—

"It was a happy thought in the Chief Commissioner to propose the inquiries which have produced these Reports. We have thus brought together the knowledge of all the men best acquainted

with the subject, from every part of the country. The Reports contain a miscellaneous mass of information that may be divided into:—

1. Statistics. These all adding to our knowledge of the country, are all valuable.

2. Plans for obtaining more accurate statistics. These are of mixed value: some not being quite practicable.

3. Causes of the sparseness of population. These are somewhat contradictory. Those that are valid are exaggerated. A European does not suffer by exposing his face to the weather, and the body of a native is all face.

4. Proposals to Government to take measures to preserve the population. Perhaps all is here proposed that Government can do; and it is satisfactory to know, from the Chief Commissioner's introduction, that arrangements have been made to carry out the plans proposed.

Still it can scarcely be said that THE cause of the sparseness has been revealed, for most of the causes to which it is attributed exist in Hindustan and China, where the population abounds. We need in the first instance, accurate and extensive statistics, as a basis on which to ascertain the exact state of the question. Since the reports pertain principally to the Burmese, we will contribute an item to the statistics of the Karens in this district.

In 1859 we took the census of nearly one hundred and fifty Christian villages, and found in them about twenty-six thousand inhabitants. In 1860 we required the native Assistants to note the births and deaths in their villages, and to report annually to the Associations.

This they have done ever since, but, as from one cause or another, the Reports have never been complete, we prefer to call the population reported on, in round numbers, twenty-five thousand. The births and deaths for the last four years were reported:—

1860,	Births,	496, rt. 1·90.		Deaths,	700, rt. 2·8.
1861,	„	763, „ 3·05.	„	„	891, „ 3·56.
1862,	„	801, „ 3·20.		„	518, „ 2·07.
1863,	„	659, „ 2·63.		„	644, „ 2·57.
Average,	Birth-rate	2·69.		Death-rate	2·75.

The churches report also annually the number of baptized Christians that have died during the year, and as few are baptized under

fifteen years of age, we thus obtain the death-rate of a class of the population, exclusive of children. The returns for the last nine years are:—

1855	Of 2,010	baptized,	64	died.	Rate	3·1.
1856	„ 2,660	„	93	„	„	3·1.
1857	„ 2,706	„	66	„	„	2·4.
1858	„ 3,739	„	108	„	„	2·8.
1859	„ 4,142	„	190	„	„	4·5.
1860	„ 4,531	„	146	„	„	3·2.
1861	„ 4,907	„	174	„	„	3·5.
1862	„ 5,307	„	120	„	„	2·2.
1863	„ 5,085	„	157	„	„	3·0.

Average of nine years, Death-rate 2·9.

The great difference that is seen in the numbers of different years is not to be attributed to the inaccuracy of the reports. We know that such differences often occur.

These statistics prove very conclusively that the Karens, under the most favourable circumstances, in this district are not increasing.

The high death-rate among the Church members may arise from a large proportion of elderly people being baptized. But it seems to indicate that the deaths in infancy are not disproportionate."

(From the "Toungoo News Sheet," October 1864, an interesting little journal—*pro deo et ecclesia*—edited by Dr. Mason.)

For the sake of variety, we now give a portion of a rather able letter, contributed to the "Rangoon Times," and headed

SPARSENESS OF POPULATION IN BRITISH BURMA.

"Sir,—

I have of late seen several articles treating on the sparseness of population in British Burma, among the rest a very able one by Captain Fitzroy, in the "Gazette" of 27th September 1864.

Granting that he has used the subject with skill, ability, and much information, I would oppose my arguments to his, on the ground that he has been led by appearances and not by facts. For instance, in his first deduction he comes to the conclusion that countries are populous in proportion to the facilities with which

they can produce or acquire food. I would oppose this position, by stating that rather, as land is cultivated in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, and that when the population is contrasted, that seven hundred and seventy-seven Chinese cultivate one square mile, whilst seven hundred and ninety-three Burmese are required to do the same work: it necessarily follows, that the Chinese are more efficient in that work by sixteen. This, of course, is owing to the superiority of the one over the indolence of the other.

Men are social creatures, and in consequence are always found together, so if a settlement is formed of ten families, the houses will be found together, as the centre of their industry; but if the number be increased, then the radii of their industry become so elongated that some are obliged to emigrate to some other centres, and thus another and another sphere of industry follows, yet all will keep together, as close as possible, the one only being separated from the other by his requirements. Thus, if we say that ten is sufficient for one house, then four houses might be set together, at the point where the four houses meet, or they may be the centres of each square, or they may be centres of the side of those squares; and thus we find that each house that is established forms its own area of industry, which separates it from the rest, whilst the general wants of all are supplied at a central position, which forms the town or city, and this town or city will be large in proportion to the number of cultivators. Thus, if fifty cultivators require two blacksmiths, four carpenters, three shoemakers, three tailors, one butcher, one doctor, &c. &c., then a hundred will require twice as many. The land is cultivated because there were men to cultivate it, and not because the land was good. In proof of this, look to the fertile wilds of Australia, America, and Africa, also of our colony of Burma—hence so much land is cultivated in China because there are so many men in the country, and so little is cultivated in Burma because the population is so small. Compare the population of England to its extent, and we find three hundred and thirty-six souls to each square mile, whilst for real purposes of cultivation sixteen men and their families are quite enough to cultivate a square mile; and allowing that four acres are enough for meat and bread to a family for a year, sixteen men and their families, by cultivation, provide food for one hundred and fifty-eight families. Again, allowing the requirements of sixteen

families demand the assistance of sixteen families more, we yet have the food of one hundred and twenty-six families to spare. Now to confine one hundred and fifty-eight families, or say five hundred souls, on one square mile of land, not allowing them any other resources, would of necessity reduce them to idleness, though they would find sufficient food; consequently when seven hundred and seventy-seven men are counted to a square mile, it is not for the extent of cultivation, but from the concentration of trade and other industry among them."

[The writer now is off to China, England, and Bengal; turns to the book of Genesis; lays a great stress on love displayed to parents as a cause of increase, and the breach of the Divine command to "honour thy father and thy mother" as certainly producing a decrease of population in a country. He touches also on early destruction of children in Burma, and great mortality among mothers in child-birth.]

He sums up the reasons for the sparseness of the population in British Burma, which are, he says,—

"1st. The father and mother do not want children.

2nd. Many mothers die from unskilled treatment during child-birth.

3rd. Children die from want and neglect.

4th. Epidemics carry off large numbers, in which the native physicians give great help.

We may before long add that no small number will be carried off by drink. Drunkenness is a well-known hindrance to increase.

I would propose two points of inquiry to the Government.

1st. Is the population of Bengal greater now than it was ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty years ago?

2nd. Why are there so few children in Rangoon between the ages of ten and fourteen years?

Yours truly,

WITNESS."

In concluding the subject, it may be remarked that we do not go along with the above writer in all he has advanced; but,

doubtless, there is *reason* in him; and as, in this enlightened age, the opinion of every well-wisher of a country meets, or should meet, with respect, so we value what he has written, in addition to the various reports so briefly touched on in this paper. Since these were written, measures of a remedial nature have been adopted and commenced, at the instigation of the Chief Commissioner. Throughout the country, doubtless, everything beneficial to the native races will soon be in train for increased health, and consequent increase of population, as has for many years been the case, with reference to peace and commercial prosperity, among Europeans and others in British Burma.

STATISTICAL NOTE.

The total population of Rangoon, according to the census taken on December 24th, 1869, is set down at 96,942, or an increase of 24,267 in three years, the population at the last enumeration being 72,675. These comprise—Burmese, 52,732; Talaings, 9,183; Shans, 2,219; Chinese, 3,440; Natives of India, 28,946; Malays, 103; Arakanese, 139; Armenians, 162; Europeans and East Indians, 1,619; other races, 128; total males, 61,978; females, 34,964; grand total, 96,942. It was in 1872 considerably upwards of 100,000. The following are the principal towns having a population of 10,000:—Rangoon, 100,000; Maulmain, 53,653; Prome, 24,682; Bassein, 19, 577; Akyab, 15,281; Henzada, 15,285; Tavoy, 14,467; Shwé Doung, 12,411. In 1871–72 there were only 6,058 police employed in British Burma = 1 policeman to every 423 persons, and to upwards of fifteen square miles of country!*

* This fact says much for the peaceful character of a population of over three millions. The increase of population in Arakan and Tenasserim has been wonderful. In 1826 they were annexed, with populations respectively of one hundred thousand and seventy thousand. In 1855 Arakan increased to three hundred and fifty thousand, and Tenasserim to more than two hundred and ten thousand. "Within thirty years," says General Fytche, "the population of both provinces had trebled under British rule." The maritime population of British Burma has been reckoned at a million.

III.

A Brief Review of the Progress of Trade, and Sketch of the Prospects of Pegu.*

Commerce.

To this the present prosperity of Pegu is entirely due; and it will, no doubt, prove interesting to review briefly the progress of trade in this province, during the brief period it has enjoyed the privilege of being under the British rule, and the probable future, in a commercial point of view, of this most rapidly flourishing of Her Majesty's dependencies in the East.

There are, at present, only two places of export by sea in Pegu—Rangoon and Bassein. The following is an abstract of the exports and imports from Rangoon for the past nine years, from which it will be seen that the tonnage of the vessels has been nearly doubled, that the value of the exports has been nearly five times increased, and that the import and export duties have likewise been increased from one hundred and fifty-six thousand to eight hundred and forty-eight thousand rupees within that period. The only check to the further progress of the country is the obstructiveness of the Burmese Court.

Official Year.	Import Tonnage.	Export Tonnage.	Merchandize Imported.	Merchandize Exported.	Import Duty.	Export Duty.	Total Duty.
	Tons.	Tons.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
1855-56	138,881	131,546	10,692,024	3,704,487	110,186	46,490	156,676
1856-57	133,745	133,059	11,154,255	5,354,791	122,353	52,604	174,957
1857-58	217,884	195,606	13,514,981	8,318,317	143,004	110,427	253,431
1858-59	167,378	174,428	12,743,744	8,566,817	178,240	96,456	274,696
1859-60	116,879	133,062	12,532,845	7,210,536	293,704	124,357	418,061
1860-61	131,029	126,616	13,231,628	7,830,281	365,354	223,212	588,566
1861-62	172,663	169,916	14,026,757	12,387,682	402 029	408,616	810,645
1862-63	167,096	172,983	14,668,775	13,305,236	290,156	399,439	689,595
1863-64	252,813	226,252	16,901,034	17,343,437	272,737	575,309	848,046

* From Notes received October 4th, 1864, from a "merchant king" at Rangoon, who, at the author's request, furnished the information.

The exports of rice from Bassein have increased in much the same proportion, but the imports at that port are but trifling.

Rangoon, by its position—being only about twenty miles from the entrance of the eastern branch of the Irawady, which is deep and broad enough to enable ships of almost any size to sail up to the town,—is particularly well placed for commercial purposes; and, even to a stranger, it is apparent that no site could be better adapted for an almost endless increase of traffic, with hardly any other assistance than what Nature has so liberally provided. Several ships, drawing over twenty-five feet of water, have sailed safely to sea without steam; but one or two powerful boats are much wanted, to prevent detention to the vessels by contrary winds, and such, doubtless will soon be forthcoming.

Rangoon is behind in facilities for repairing vessels, such having either to go on a rather rough gridiron, exposed to the tide-way, or to go on a slip dock without gates in the Government dockyard, on both of which the ships have either to be scuttled, or float with every tide. A new patent slip is, however, projected, and, when finished, will prove of much use to vessels requiring repairs,—the river being so convenient for vessels in distress to run to, from any part of the bay.

The Bassein river is also a very safe one; but the town being situated about seventy miles up, and there being no steamer on the river, renders it more tedious to the navigation when the winds are adverse. A tug steamer is, however, expected soon to be stationed there.

The communication between Rangoon and Upper Burma being open at all seasons by river, its trade must necessarily increase in a far greater proportion than Bassein, which can only be supplied with produce from the western part of Pegu, the direct river communication with the upper country being only open during the rains.

The principal articles of export from Rangoon are rice,* timber, cutch, cotton, and petroleum; and from Bassein, rice only; but the qualities of the land are such, both in Pegu and Upper Burma (but more particularly in the latter), that tea, indigo, and coffee could, in addition, easily be grown to advantage,—the want of labour, and the greater want even than labour, for that can be supplied, though it may be at considerable cost—the want of a class of men with sufficient skill and energy to superintend such cultivation—being the only causes why so much rich land has been left untilled.

The condition of the natives engaged in agricultural pursuits in Pegu has so much improved during the past ten years, that numbers of Burmese, Karens, &c., are yearly coming from beyond the frontier; but those from the Burmese territories can only bring their families by stealth; and nothing would be more acceptable to the natives of Upper Burma, except to those actually in power, than to see the British Government extend as far as the Irawady is navigable; for, notwithstanding the extremely heavy taxes with which Pegu is burdened, the condition of all classes is fast improving, and forms a striking contrast with the poor cultivators of Upper Burma, who are kept in poverty by the cruel exactions of each petty governor, and from the King's monopolies compelling them to sell their produce at a low fixed rate, whatever the market value may be. Under the British rule, it is truly difficult to fortell to what extent the productions of the country would grow, rich as it is in every source of prosperity, both mineral and agricultural.

Of the present exports the rice is entirely grown in Pegu; the petroleum produced in Upper Burma; and the timber, cutch, and cotton found in both places.

* In March, 1870, we learned that the memorial forwarded to Lord Mayo by the mercantile community of Rangoon, on the subject of the rice duty, had been translated into Burmese.—During the late terrible famines in Bengal and Madras (1875-76-77) a very large quantity of rice was exported from British Burma.

The treaty of 1862 with the Court of Ava, has had no results, except in the sacrifice of the British frontier duties to the Burmese, and the general opinion is, that the King will not reduce any duties, or give up any monopoly, it having been left optional with him to do so.

Any improvement in the means of bringing produce from China, or the independent Shan States, would give an immense impulse to the trade of Pegu, the only regular communication as present being by trains of laden mules and oxen, the principal route for which is from Western China to Bamo and Mandalay. A railway is proposed from China to some point on the Irawady, from which steamers would ply to Rangoon, and the King of Ava has granted a concession of ground, &c., for such; but great fears are entertained that the obstructiveness of the Burmese character, when in power, will prevent the object being carried out by the only apparently possible routes, which are through Upper Burma. It is indeed a great pity such a fine country, with such great prospects, is saddled with a Government like that of Ava; and, with a willing people, it is to be hoped the protection of the British flag will soon be given to the whole of Burma.

The Government have sold the Irawady flotilla to a private firm, but the steamers only ply to the frontier, and are all old-fashioned vessels. The trade with Mandalay is, therefore, left to one steamer belonging to the King, and to native boats. There are two new steamers for the King, of large size, now about ready, however, and a few more would pay well, as the delay and risk of transit in native craft are very great.

The Government Dockyard has lately been leased for one year to a private firm for two thousand rupees per mensem, after the expiry of which term it will probably be advertised for sale or lease for a long period. The cost of it to Government, however, is far above its present value, either to themselves or to a private company.

[Since the above was written, important changes in Pegu have taken place, into which there is no intention of entering here. Disturbances in Upper Burma,* bringing forth the energetic action of the Chief Commissioner, and of Major Sladen, the Resident at Mandalay, cast shadow and sunshine over the country,—the whole of which, sooner or later, must become British. When our forbearance has become sufficiently tried,—and that it would be sorely tried Lord Dalhousie seemed to prophesy,—then necessity and the welfare of millions must impel us onward—NOT THE LOVE OF ANNEXATION!]

NOTE (October 1879).

REVENUE AND COMMERCE.

Probably the finances of British Burma are far more pliable than those of any other Asiatic country; certainly infinitely more so than those of India, where the tremendous wants—local, military, and political—are continually eating up the finances, without any apparent further development of resources for imperial or commercial profit. The success which has hitherto attended our Chin-Indian possessions in finance as well as in commerce, as has been repeatedly urged in these pages, would be tenfold were the resources of the country fully developed, a larger population secured, and all monopolies, instead of harmless princes and princesses, massacred in Upper Burma. Liberal commercial relations with that golden region are now all that we require to make Pegu a wealthy "Princess among the Provinces," when she could stretch forth a helping hand to her ever needy Indian sister. China owes her religion to India; Pegu owes her deliverance to us who possess India; therefore, both China and British Burma—or say Pegu—are bound to assist India!

About six months ago we read some remarks on the development of a provincial system in British Burma, to the effect that provincial contracts with that country (and Assam) had been revised and greatly expanded with effect from the beginning of 1878–79. A

* Middle of August 1866, the following telegram was received in Calcutta:—"King of Burma's brother killed. The King in prison. Rebels in possession of country surrounding Mandalay, and Mandalay itself. Europeans safe." Thus runs the world away in Upper Burma, when we least expect it.

new feature in the arrangement was that, in place of a fixed allotment, a share of the net reserved imperial revenues had been assigned, so that the provincial finances would participate in any improvement of those revenues. With the exception of the army, the wholly imperial portion is not important. The salt and customs revenue levied in Bombay, Calcutta, and Upper India "cannot be divided among the several provinces from whose consumption those revenues are obtained. But in Burma there is no such obstacle. Consequently, the Government of India has been able to make with that province the most complete provincial contract yet existing." Only a few items were retained as wholly imperial. The greater portion of the revenue and expenditure were made "wholly provincial." It was believed that some judicious public expenditure in Burma would yield especially valuable financial results. With an increase of provincial resources, we might now look for these to the Chief Commissioner. And, doubtless, ere long, when the question of Upper Burma is settled, great financial improvement will be observable.

A comparison of the Local Estimates, which were prepared upon the old basis with the estimates recast by the Government of India upon the new basis, may be of interest to Indian financiers:—

	BRITISH BURMA.			
	Local Estimates.		Revised by Government of India.	
	1878-79.	1879-80.	1878-79.	1879-80.
	£	£	£	£
Revenue . . .	401,300	407,800	945,900	967,300
Expenditure . . .	416,900	511,100	892,600	1,019,900
Surplus . . .	...	...	53,300	...
Deficit	15,600	103,300	...	52,600
Closing Balance . .	87,300	16,100	156,200	143,600

This table shows the addition of £159,600 to the provincial and local revenues of British Burma—"the effect of the measure in two years." In a few years, under able management, the country, no doubt, in both finance and commerce, will do credit to its original benefactor, Sir Arthur Phayre, who may be said to have created Pegu and consolidated British Burma! Some months ago, his successor, General Fytche, wrote, with reference to Lord Dalhousie's famous remark, that we held "in

the easy grasp of our hand the kernel of the Burmese Empire":—"And this kernel (Pegu), I may remark, with its extraordinary commercial and producing activity, pays more than double the amount of revenue, rated on population, of that provided by any province or presidency of India, and, after all provincial expenses are paid, yields a handsome surplus to the Imperial exchequer." And, again—Its line of frontier with Burma, "though far from being a 'scientific' or theoretically perfect one, has its outposts connected by electric telegraph, and is easily accessible from its base both by rail and river." The General did not advise our passing this frontier, in case we might be led into the expense of annexing the whole country up to the borders of China; but at the time he wrote King Theebau had not, through his bad conduct, brought about the portentous event of our Resident being obliged to quit Mandalay! We really think the Chinese and the surrounding tribes would aid us in any attempts to better the trade and condition of Upper Burma. China knows how ill her young tributary or vassal has behaved; and the Chinese, with the hope of mutual advantage, would soon surrender their natural "extreme jealousy" to rapid commercial gains! The net revenue of British Burma for 1877–78 amounted to 160,14,328 Rs., being an increase of 3,18,801 Rs. over that of 1876–77.* In the Revenue Report, the steady and progressive increase in the prosperity of the province was considered satisfactory. The great want was also said to be "a larger" population, and until this is secured, it is clear that the resources of the province can never be properly developed, or the full amount of revenue obtained which it is capable of yielding. Instead of a total net revenue of 176,17,351 Rs., there might easily be double that amount. The population of British Burma already being over three millions, if we could only get two or three more millions under our rule, Burma would have nearly as large a commerce as a fourth of that of the whole of India; for, with a small population of three millions, we have exports and imports amounting to nearly thirteen millions and a half sterling,† more than four times the population. "If the commerce of India," says

* In 1875–76, according to General Fytche, the gross revenue and receipts, imperial, provincial, and municipal, amounted to £2,004,813, giving an incidence of taxation of 13*s.* 3¾*d.* per head.

† For trade of British Burma 1878–79, the total value of which had risen to sixteen crores of rupees (sixteen millions sterling), see *Addenda*.

General Fytche, in his excellent work on "Burma," bore the same proportion to population, it would be ten times greater than it is; that is to say, it would be about nine hundred and fifty millions instead of ninety-five!"—Again, British Burma contrasts favourably with India in "the value of the imports being much nearer to that of the exports."

IV.

From Mandalay to Momien.*

[The following paper, on Dr. Anderson's interesting book, appeared in the "Academy," April 8, 1876; and as the matter contained therein is so intimately connected with remarks made in the present work, the writer deems it unnecessary to make any apology for its insertion here.]

The Royal visit to our Indian Empire has of late drawn so much attention from the British public that we now trust some study and thought may be given to Chin-India, or at least that portion of it styled Burma Proper or Independent, the comparatively new capital of which is Mandalay, where reigns one of the shrewdest, best-informed, and most whimsical kings in Eastern Asia—the King of the Golden Feet and the Golden Ears, who has recently ordered, according to Burmese custom, the courts and public offices in his capital to be closed for forty days, during the all-important ceremony of "boring holes in the ears of the princesses."

Even the two expeditions to Western China, of 1868 and 1875, from "Mandalay to Momien" forming the grand base of operations, and, though unsuccessful, displaying so much energy and bravery on the part of our countrymen, have been well-nigh cast into the shade; the hearts of wealth-seeking British merchants have become sick and weary with disappointment; but we trust that all such clouds may be looked on as of insignificant result in a prospect bright and advancing. Dr.

* "Mandalay to Momien: A Narrative of the two Expeditions to Western China, of 1868 and 1875, under Colonel Edward B. Sladen and Colonel Horace Browne," by John Anderson, M.D., &c. London: 1876.

Anderson, by his handsome, well-timed, entertaining and instructive volume, has done much to renew the interest felt not long since in the destinies of Upper Burma, and the chance of British progress in Western China. Before proceeding briefly to examine the work of the ever-zealous medical officer and naturalist, it may be remarked that our position in *Burma*—the only correct way of spelling the word—is a very remarkable one; and this fact has not been sufficiently brought home to the British nation, for on its proper consideration our success in the land of the Golden Foot, and in lands beyond, greatly depends. It is just fifty years since Mr. Crawfurd, in his "Embassy to Ava," informed us that he suggested the policy of keeping possession of Rangoon; thus shutting out the Burmese from the navigation of that grand artery the Irawady, and placing us in a commanding military attitude, which would have relieved us from all apprehension of annoyance from the power of these people. One of the ambassador's shrewdest reviewers could not agree with him on this point, and was disposed to think that we had done much better. Hemmed in as they then were between Arakan and Martaban, we had little to fear from any annoyance they could give us. Indeed, the reviewer was rather surprised at such a proposal from Mr. Crawfurd, who, in the same breath almost, said that "the conditions of a convention with them ought to be strictly reciprocal; and the letter and spirit of the engagement such as would tend to develop the resources of both countries." We cannot think that to stop them up "like rats within their holes," as the critic said, would be the most likely mode of producing this desirable reciprocity, or of developing the resources of the Burmese. When we conquered and annexed Pegu, nearly four-and-twenty years ago, our ideas of the vast resources of the upper region of Burma were very vague indeed. We knew, from reading, that it boasted gold, silver, and copper, and that it was rich in precious stones; facts since entirely corroborated by Captain

Strover's "Memorandum on the Metals and Minerals of Burma (1873)"; but, for every practical purpose, Upper Burma was, and seemed likely to remain, almost an undiscovered country. Even the great master of annexation, Lord Dalhousie, talked and wrote of it as "a worthless rind." Having secured Pegu, and consequently the entire delta of the mighty Irawady, why should we increase our responsibility and expenditure by annexing what can be of no advantage to us *at present?* But, should "the force of circumstances" ever compel us to do so, then, said the Governor-General, in one of his brilliant despatches—"Let us advance!"

Lord Dalhousie knew little or nothing of the most convenient road to Western China being through Upper Burma, and that through Bhamo (or Bamo) the richest side of the "celestial" regions could be tapped. The romantic dreams of the most sanguine have never come up to the reality which we may reasonably expect when there is a clear passage from Yunnan to Rangoon. But even had such knowledge been then available, it did not occur to many who were interested in Burmese affairs, that our having secured possession of Rangoon—which future Liverpool of Chin-India, or Bombay of the Chinese and Burman Empires, Crawfurd so ardently desired—would prove the grand obstacle in the way of opening commerce with Western China. We had taken up, in the opinion of the king, one trade-monopolising position; and so the Golden Foot naturally seemed determined to take up the other. And thus began the difficulties which have been encountered by fearless and enterprising travellers and explorers, who deserve all honour for having, through the "impassable," endeavoured to pave a road.

In the preface to his goodly volume, Dr. Anderson informs us that public interest in the subject of "the overland route from Burma to China," called forth by the repulse of the recent mission and the well-known tragedy which attended it, suggested its publication. He hopes that his account of the

expedition of 1868, in which he bore an important part, will be acceptable to clear the way for the simple narrative of the mission of 1875, commanded by Colonel Horace Browne. The difficulties in both cases were very great, and such a concise and authoritative statement of them will assuredly do much good by putting us on our guard for the future. We may say that the two expeditions to Western China were most fortunate in the selection of the accomplished writer to whom were entrusted the scientific duties of medical officer and naturalist. An excellent map of the routes traversed, and another of South-Western China, showing routes traversed and proposed, followed up by a plan of Momien (Teng-Yue-Chow), confront the reader as he turns to the first chapter of the narrative, "Mandalay to Bhamo," which abounds with interesting, if not altogether new information. Rangoon is here most appropriately mentioned as the port of the great water highway of the Irawady, boasting a trade which, during fifteen years, had increased in annual value to two million five hundred thousand pounds. The commercial community of British Burma's capital had long directed their attention to the prospect of an overland trade with Western China, so as to avoid the long and dangerous voyage by the Straits and Indian Archipelago, with a view to a direct and easy interchange of our manufactures for the products of rich and fertile provinces like Yunnan and Sz-Chuen. There was, and is, no better way, in Dr. Anderson's opinion, than by the river Irawady and the royal city of Mandalay. And here it is important to note that—

"Although before 1867 but four English steamers with freight had ascended the river to the capital, harbingers of the numerous flotilla now plying in the Irawady, it was known that a regular traffic existed between Mandalay and China, especially in the supply of cotton to the interior, which was reserved as a royal monopoly."

General Albert Fytche, in his "Four Years' Administration of British Burma," informs us that when he was entrusted with

the chief commissionership, as successor to Sir Arthur Phayre, in the early part of 1867, one of his chief objects was to open up "a friendly intercourse with the king," and endeavour, through Major Sladen his assistant at the Court of Mandalay, to remove all suspicions, and convince the Burmese Government that our only object was to promote the material interests of the two states by mutual concessions. At that time so little had been accomplished in the way of developing the trade with Upper Burma that we need not wonder at only four merchant steamers having made their way to Mandalay. There was evidently something wrong in the framing of the Burmese treaty of 1862, in which the Government of India desired Sir Arthur Phayre to include, if possible, the re-opening of the old caravan route from Western China by the town of Bhamo, and other important concessions. The first object was to be effected by the king's sanction to a joint Burmese and British mission to China. But this proposal, on which the success of our enterprise then and hereafter appears to have rested, was not accepted. A direct trade with China might be carried on by us through Upper Burma, subject to certain conditions; and, in 1863, Dr. Williams—our former Resident at the Court of Mandalay—after a journey of twenty-two days, reached Bhamo, with the object of testing the practicability of a trade route. The Bhamo routes were considered by this other distinguished "political" medical officer and traveller as politically, physically, and commercially, the most advantageous. Dr. Anderson informs us that for twelve years, from 1855, the Burmo-Chinese trade in Bhamo, which represented five hundred thousand pounds per annum, had almost entirely ceased—perhaps owing to the effects of the Mohammedan rebellion in Yunnan. To solve the question of such ruin in a grand local trade, the Chief Commissioner, General Fytche, projected the expedition, which brings forth the suggestive, pleasing remark from the writer of the present volume, that "the enterprise might be deemed one of hereditary interest to the descendant of that

enterprising merchant-traveller, Mr. Fitch, who has left an account of his visit to Pegu in 1586." This, on reference to a narrative, we find to be the same Ralph Fitch who with John Newberry in 1583 led a great scheme of English adventure, which had for its object the reaching of the Persian Gulf (by way of Aleppo and Bagdad), and sailing thence by Ormus, in order to reach the shores of Malabar; and who narrates, with excusable ignorance of the wonders of Hindu mythology and archæology, that, on beholding the numberless temples and idols, some were "like a cow, some like a monkey, and some like the devil!" The proposed expedition was sanctioned by the Government of India in September 1867; and it was arranged that the departure of the mission, in which Dr. Anderson took so conspicuous and interesting a part, should take place from Mandalay in January 1868. This laudable enterprise, under Colonel B. Sladen, may be justly considered the first important step in carrying out the views of the merchants of England in a quarter where it was considered new fields of commerce for manufactures and produce might be obtained, thus helping to maintain the "commercial status" of their country.

Mandalay reached, the minute description of this Burmese city and its suburbs will well repay perusal; for we see at once that it is the work of a graphic writer and attentive observer. In fact, through the aid of this volume we may consider ourselves in the land of the Golden Foot for a time—the land of remarkable *fauna*, of gorgeous and fairy-garden-like *Flora*, and of valuable minerals, and with various productions to be utilised but barely yet discovered. It is also the land of a curious, lazy, but ingenious people, whose contemplative deity, Gautama—the Burmese incarnation of Buddha—governs their daily actions.

The fortunes of this now famous expedition were pretty well known to many readers long before the appearance of the book now under notice. They may be briefly summarised in the

following manner; but it may be well at first to state, in the words of the author, that—

"the city properly called Mandalay, with its palace and countless pagodas, lies about three miles from the Irawady, on a rising ground below the hill Mandalé. It was founded, on his accession in 1853, by the present king; and one of his motives for quitting Ava, and selecting the new site, was to remove his palace from the sight and sound of British steamers."

The old capital has been admirably described by Colonel Yule, and other writers before him, such as Colonel Symes, Major Canning, Captain Cox, and Drs. Leyden and Buchanan, who have contributed towards throwing a light on our knowledge of the Burman Empire. Dr. Anderson's "Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan, *viâ* Bhamô," was first published at Calcutta in 1871, and the greater portion of the present Narrative is devoted to a detailed account of matters set forth in that most interesting document. First, there was the departure from Mandalay, in the middle of January 1868, of Major Sladen, Captain Williams, and the author in the King of Burma's steamer, which also had on board representatives of the commercial community of Rangoon. Notwithstanding the public declaration of the Burmese Government that no steamer could possibly ascend the Irawady so far north as Bhamo, Bhamo was reached with a steamer of only three feet draught without any difficulty in the river navigation, and the expedition was thus brought nine hundred miles from their starting-point at Rangoon, and three hundred miles above Mandalay. On January 22nd they had left the beautiful scenery "through which the Irawady threads its course," and came in sight of the town of Bhamo, situated in latitude 24° 16′ N., and longitude 96° 53′ 47″ E. on the left bank of the river, two or three miles below the mouth of the Tapeng. The region between the borders of Yunnan and the Irawady at Bhamo had next to be crossed, which region—the former battle-ground of Burma and China—is said to be the site of the nine Shan States mentioned by Du Halde. The treachery of the Bur-

mese soon became apparent, which the fearless Sladen was resolved to defeat by securing the aid of the Kakhyen chiefs, and—it was the period of the Panthay insurrection in Western China—by opening communications with the Panthay (Mohammedan) commander at the Yunnan frontier city of Momien. This was a most important movement on the part of Sladen, as the very object of the expedition was to find out the exact position held by the Kakhyens, Shans, and Panthays, with reference to the former traffic between Bhamo and Yunnan. Notwithstanding that the Burmese and Chinese (friends and enemies by turns, and neither long) were opposed to the further advance of the party, they came after a variety of adventures, on May 26, in sight of the walled city of Momien, distant from Bhamo about one hundred and twenty miles, and the nearest frontier city in Yunnan. The town was being continually harassed by forays of Chinese partisan bands in the neighbourhood, which compelled Major Sladen to think of a return, as he could not proceed with any safety in the direction of the Panthay capital of Talifoo. Then came the adventurous return, commenced on July 13; and the result of the expedition was a vast deal of information gained, but no commercial or political effect. As another attempt to explore the trade routes to Western China, in 1868, we may here mention that the enterprising and intelligent explorer, Mr. T. T. Cooper, endeavoured "to pass from the head-waters of the Yang-tsze-Kiang to the northern frontier of Assam," but without success.*

* He got nearly as far as Sudya. This excellent and affable public servant eventually, after proceeding in 1876 to India from England, in connection with the Grand Delhi Durbar, was murdered in April 1878, while Political Agent at Bhamo, by a Burman; but no political importance was attached to the deed. Regarding the Assam route, General Sir George Balfour, M.P., informed the writer that he preferred the one from Assam (Sudya) to Sz-Chaen, in his opinion the province of S.W. China of greatest importance. Referring to the adventurous Chin-Indian traveller, Mr. Cooper, Sir George said he little knew how close he was to our settlement. "I cannot vouch for the fact that the Chinese thought he had come from India." It is to be hoped some other enterprising explorer will soon arise to emulate Cooper! The mountain difficulty *must* be overcome!

Among the excellent illustrations in Dr. Anderson's detailed Narrative will be found one of "Kakhyen Women," very truthful and life-like, from a photograph by Major Williams; an excellent view of Mandalay, furnished by Colonel Sladen; and various well-executed sketches, with the photograph of "a posturing girl" at Mandalay, by the author—evidently a man of various and useful attainments. His book—which we cordially recommend as the best yet published on the subjects treated—also contains the invaluable addition of an index, with appendices including a Note by Professor Douglas on the deities in a Shan temple, and a vocabulary, English, Kakhyen, and Shan, which will amuse as well as instruct. It is curious to observe that, although the words "oily," "pretty," and "beautiful," are nearly all alike in the Kakhyen and Shan dialects, there is no word for "ugly" to be found therein, although it appears in the wilder vocabulary of the Hotha, Shan, Leesaw, and Poloung. Once more turning to Bhamo, where Captain Strover, in 1869, was assistant political agent, we have been informed by a high authority that the importance of this town has been somewhat over-rated as a trade-mart—even in its most palmy days, when a Shan queen reigned one hundred and forty years ago, the annual revenue of the district not exceeding fourteen lakhs of rupees (one hundred and forty thousand pounds). Here, where a well-informed writer states "Burmese and Chinese influences commingle," we hope yet to see an exchange-mart for the silk, copper, gold, drugs, and textile fabrics of Western China, and for British and Burmese staples.

Regarding the second ill-fated expedition, the narrative of which will be found in the last five chapters of the present volume, Dr. Anderson writes that, in 1874,—

"Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, decided to send a second expedition to penetrate China from Burma, and pass through, if practicable, to Shanghai. To avoid possible misunderstandings, and to make it plain to the Western Chinese mandarins

that the foreign visitors were of the same nation as the English who lived and traded in the treaty-ports, her Majesty's Minister at Pekin was instructed to send a consular official, duly furnished with imperial passports, to meet the mission on the frontiers of China."

Mr. Ney Elias, gold-medallist of the Royal Geographical Society, was geographer. The fate of the young, brave, and most promising member of the consular service, Mr. Margary, is too well known to be repeated here; but many details of this second British mission—subsequently followed by Mr. Grosvenor's to Yunnan, under a British escort—are given by the author in a manner which must commend itself to all well-wishers of the commercial enterprise and of the glory of England.

NOTES.

Trade Routes from Burma to Western China.

No better signs of a growing British interest in the golden and flowery lands could have been evinced than the public meeting held in February 1870, in Westminster, to vote a resolution on Captain Sprye's project for opening up trade with the "west of China and intermediate Shan States of Burma by the direct land route from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung"; and trade with China (in connection with Major Sladen's official report of his expedition to explore the trade routes to China *viâ* Bhamo, in February 1868, printed at the British Burmese Press in 1869) forming the subject of a clear and exhaustive leading article in one of the London daily journals.* The latter authority, with reference to "the recent discussion as to the mode in which commerce should be conducted between England and the highest population on earth's surface," considers that such "has lent peculiar interest to a report of recent exploration, which is in itself most fascinating." The report, it was believed, would be shortly laid before Parliament. The easiest way to

* The "Daily Telegraph," April 21st, 1870.

the great markets of China may yet form a leading subject of debate. "The object of the movement," says the journalist, "was to ascertain the practicability of a route which would place fifty millions of the most flourishing and active inhabitants of the Celestial Empire within a fortnight or three weeks' reach of the Bengal Gulf, and thus diminish by one-fifth the time and labour consumed in bringing Chinese products by the eastern sea-board." The expedition started from Bhamo, a town nine hundred miles from the mouth of the Irawady, "which is navigable for ships of average burthen all the way." The Dutch and English had trading stations at Bhamo just three centuries ago. "The old tracks of commerce have been obliterated simply because the King of Burma's Ministers have sought to feed their own public and private revenue by forcing trade to follow the long land route from Yunnan to Mandalay, that they might extort ample protection fees from the caravans." From the western frontier of China the distance by caravan to Bhamo is but five or six days; thence down the Irawady by steamer, twelve days more, which "immensely greater facilities of conveyance" Major Sladen is said to have "practically opened." In parting with the explorers, the London journalist highly eulogises Major Sladen, to "whose undaunted courage and exhaustless invention of tactics, science and commerce owe so much," and Dr. Anderson and Lieutenant Bowers, his "loyal and able assistants." It was to Colonel Fytche (Chief Commissioner) that the arrangements for the above expedition were entrusted, and he persuaded the King, during his mission to Mandalay, to take considerable interest in it. "On the return of the mission from Momien," the General writes in his new work, "with a view to strengthen the belief in the reality of our intentions to endeavour to resuscitate trade, and to maintain communication with the Kakhyen and Shan chiefs, and the Panthay Government, an English political agent was at once appointed to Bhamo; which contingency had been provided for in my treaty of 1867 with

the King of Burma." We must not omit to mention in connection with the trade routes to South-west China, the visit of the Burmese Embassy to England in 1871–72. The Burmese Envoy Extraordinary made a special visit to Halifax, famed for its Chamber of Commerce. The council presented him with an address, alluding to the fertile lands of Burma as affording great inducements for the spread of commerce and agriculture. They now wished the Golden Foot to open up a commercial highway to the unlimited resources of Western China. The Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from His Majesty the King of Burma replied :—"In reference to the question of trade routes through Burma to Western China, I need merely repeat what I have said in other places, that His Majesty the King of Burma is most anxious to promote, by every means in his power, any matured and feasible plan which has this object in view. But in regard to the route to which you advert, commonly known as Captain Sprye's route, I would remark that as the line passes through an insignificant portion of the King of Burma's territory, the responsibility of opening it out cannot fairly be laid upon His Majesty." *

It may here be interesting to say a few words regarding

The Shan Tribes.

The Shans, or Shyans, are divided into many tribes. The population used to be little short of three millions, of which vast number a considerable portion owed allegiance to the King of Ava. They are considered to be the parent stock of both Assamese and Siamese.

A Shan camp appeared not far distant from the ancient walls

* On February 28th, 1873, a deputation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce waited on the Secretary of State for India (His Grace the Duke of Argyll), to urge the completion of the survey of a line of railway from Rangoon to the frontier of China. The deputation was introduced by Mr. Whitwell, M.P.; Mr. Baines, M.P., explained. Mr. Haigh, of the Huddersfield Chamber, and Mr. T. T. Ormerod and Mr. John Crossley, of the Halifax Chamber, also spoke. The Duke was not averse to the survey, but was bound to object to the expense of it "falling on Indian revenues."

of Toungoo. These descendants of Magog—it is presumed they are such—originally from Chinese Tartary,* or, it may be, leaving the country of Japheth and proceeding to the more southern possessions of Shem;—the descendants of Shem who inhabited the mighty region of Thibet, from whose mountains the Burmese are said eventually to have poured down—these descendants of what Patriarch you will, who flourished after the flood when "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech," are apt to strike one as carrying a strange interest along with them, retaining as they do much of that simplicity in habits which was peculiar to the elder world. They had some very fine bullocks, with other merchandise, which they were about to expose for sale in the Maulmain market. The import trade from the Shan States—which lie along the eastern frontier of Northern Burma—into the capital of the Tenasserim Provinces, not along ago consisted of cattle (cows and bullocks), elephants, ponies, gold leaf, lacquered boxes, cotton cloth, and other valuable articles of traffic, amounting annually to little less than three hundred and twenty thousand rupees (thirty-two thousand pounds), while about a lakh of rupees worth (ten thousand pounds) of our manufactures found their way to them. There are Siamese Shans and Burmese Shans, the former having no affection for the latter; but both we believe to be equally hostile to the throne of Ava. Independence seems to be the ruling principle of all the Shans. We read, not long ago, a sensible opinion, that a good understanding should exist between the British Indian Government and the Shan States with regard to reciprocal acts of accommodation and courtesy. Zimmay had thrown off its allegiance to Ava and boasted a considerable army, including two hundred and fifty elephants; the writer, therefore, thought the political connection between us and the Shan States should be placed on some sure footing.

* The Tartars to this day are a wild and wandering race, living in encampments of moveable tents, which they carry from place to place. The Shans may have been a more civilised tribe, fond of traffic.

Productive Capacity of the Shan Countries.

Town of Bamo, and Trade.

With a view to strengthening the commercial interests of England in Chin-India, the author of this work thinks a few notes regarding the Shan Countries, north and east of Ava, will be of use at the present time. They are from an excellent paper by Lieutenant-Colonel S. F. Hannay, published in the Records of the Bengal Government, 1857.

The productive capacities of the regions inhabited by the Shan tribes are great, particularly Siam and the territories east and north of it. In Siam proper, great impulse has been given to industry by the Chinese settlers on the rich delta of the Menam river, and sugar, cotton, with rice and pepper of a superior quality, form most important items in the extensive export trade between Bankok and some of the maritime Chinese ports, and more particularly the island of Hainan.

Vegetable Productions.—The lower ranges of the hills bounding the Menam, Cambodia, and their tributary streams, are covered with forests, with valuable timber such as teak and rose-wood; besides various drugs, spices, dye-woods and gums. Among the latter may be reckoned gamboge, cardamums, saffron, red-wood, and sandal-wood. Large quantities of stic-lac are produced, both in the lower Laos and the Shan States, west of the Salween river, under Burma, which find their way to Rangoon and Moulmein (Maulmain). The tea-plant is extensively cultivated by the Polongs, in the hilly region of the Moongmeet and Senvee Province, under Burma; and it may here be worthy of notice that the tea-plant of the Polongs is identical with that of Assam, both being distinct from that of China. The Polongs are the manufacturers of leing or lepek, a preparation of the tea-leaf which is much esteemed by the Burmans and eaten on all occasions as a condiment, sometimes fried in oil. It is the young twigs and leaves of the tea-tree subjected in large masses to a half state of fermentation; and

when the process is complete, it is packed into large bamboo baskets and taken to Burma proper (Upper Burma), where it is exposed for sale in every bazaar, from Ava to Rangoon, and is thus visible in masses about the size of half-a-dozen bricks, lying generally on a board, being of sufficient compactness to allow of the vendor cutting off with a dhá or large knife as much as may be purchased. Tea also, of a coarse Bohea kind, is manufactured by the Polongs; this is brought in round hard balls cemented together, by paddy starch-water, and also in a loose state in large baskets, the latter principally by land on ponies or mules, and both are sold at a very cheap rate.

To the above vegetable productions may be added fibres of the most useful kind to the people themselves, amongst which is the pan, identical with the grass cloth plant of China and rheea of Assam. Silk is also produced by the Shans, though the best kinds come from China.

Minerals.—The Shan territories are rich in mineral. In Siam proper and the tributary states of the Laos there are ores of tin, antimony, lead, and abundance of iron. In the north-east corner of the Province of Moongmeet is situated the celebrated Bandwen, or silver mine, which belongs to the King of Ava, but it appears to be worked by the Chinese, who probably rent it either from that monarch or from the dependent Shan Toobwa (Chobwa), or Prince, in whose territory it lies. Of its productiveness little can be said, as the Burmese are jealous of foreigners knowing about their supplies of this metal.

About twenty-five miles south of the town of Moongmeet, and sixty north and east of the Burmese capital (Ava), are situated the celebrated ruby and sapphire localities, called Mogaut and Kyatpen, and not *Capellan* as hitherto written, and supposed to be in the kingdom of Pegu. In Colonel Hannay we have another witness to the fact that the mineral resources of the Shan territories immediately north of Ava are not so well known, little being done by the Burmese to bring to light the natural riches of their country in this respect. [It has

been already mentioned that eighty miles nearly east of Mandalay, about fifty miles south-west of Theinnee, is THEEBO, with hilly spots, and that from the latter place the present Golden Foot takes his name, probably inheriting his extravagant notions from the wealthy nats (evil spirits), from a country so rich in minerals, continually surrounding him !]

The situation of the Chinese Mart of BAMO, on the Upper Irawady, is thus described :—It is also styled Manmo, and is in lat. 24° 12′ and 97° of E. long., on the left bank of the river. It is the modern capital of the old Shan province of that name, extending north as far as lat. 25°, bounded on the east by the great black mountains of the Chinese, which separate the Burmese territories from Yunnan. It is interesting to note that this residence of a Burmese governor and his under officers appears to have had a double influence—the district and its land revenue having been (1857) in the hands of one of the Queens of the King of Ava, a sister of the Tapan Rajah of Assam. The amount of revenue, including the duties at the principal and inferior marts, used to be three lakhs of rupees (thirty thousand pounds). Bamo was thus described in 1836 :—" I find that this is a modern town, erected on the banks of the Irawady, for the convenience of water carriage between it and Ava. The old Shan town of Manmo, or Bamno, is situated two days' journey up the Tipan river, which falls into the Irawady, about a mile above the new town of Bamo or Zee-theet Zeit, or new mart landing place. This modern town is situated on high unequal ground, and the bank toward the river is from forty to fifty feet in height and composed of clay. With the exception of Ava and Rangoon it is the largest place I have seen in Burma, and not excepting these places I certainly think it the most interesting. . . . I felt as if I were almost in a civilised land again, when I found myself amongst fair-complexioned people, wearing jackets and trowsers, after being accustomed to the harsh features and parti-coloured dress of the Burmans. The people I saw were Chinese from

the province of Yunnan, and Shans from the Shan provinces subject to China. Bamo is said to contain one thousand five hundred houses, but including several villages which join it, I should say it contained two thousand, at least two hundred of which are inhabited by Chinese. Besides the permanent population of Bamo, there are always a great number of strangers there, Chinese, Shans, Polongs, and Khykhyens (Kakhyens), who either come to make purchases, or to be hired as workmen. There are also a great number of Assamese, both in the town and the villages, amongst whom are several members of the Tapan or Assam Rajah's family."—The Chinese import trade with Bamo is great in the month of December. Save for the floods, there might be constant intercourse with Yunnan. Among the articles imported into Burma are raw silk, rich China silks, velvets, and gold, all of which are taken to the capital. The transit of cotton is periodical, and large boats are employed in it.

V.

The Value of Upper Burma.

In a country—the old Burmese Empire—where all rank was official, a royal monopoly of riches was only considered natural. To the northward of Ava, there were (and, doubtless, are still) mines of gold, silver, and precious stones—rubies and sapphires of the finest description—but, as all mines throughout the kingdom formed one of the numerous royal monopolies, and were only worked at particular times, by special order from the Golden Foot (one of whose titles is—"Proprietor of the Mines of Rubies, Gold, and Silver"), the nation derived little benefit from their existence. No specie, however plentiful it might be, was permitted to be exported; and this formed one great drawback to the trade with Ava. "The merchants, unable to carry off all their profits or returns in produce, were often under the necessity of suspending their sales, even when

the demand was greatest, and the native merchants ready to pay for their goods in silver or gold, or to smuggle the money into vessels, at a great risk of seizure and consequent forfeiture." —Vast sums were annually expended in building and gilding pagodas, in which images of Gautama, made of solid gold, were frequently buried. It was difficult, after the capture of Rangoon, and our occupation of other strongholds, to keep the Europeans from breaking into the pagodas to discover this treasure. In the large gilt wooden images—some of them not unlike those of Assyria—frequently splendid rubies were found. If this were the case in Lower, what might we not find in Upper Burma? Truly the mineralogy of the country is rich, abundant, and various; and, if properly worked under British protection and enterprise, would pay off at least half of the whole debt of India within the present century!

*Gold.**

It has been generally supposed that Upper Burma is not rich in itself as regards this metal, but there would seem to be good grounds for supposing that it exists very extensively. In former years the gold used in the country was imported from China to the extent of some four hundred or five hundred viss annually, but the imports have considerably decreased since the commencement of the Mahomedan rebellion in Yunnan, and now do not exceed two hundred viss per annum, the deficiency being imported from Rangoon. It is an article that is greatly used in the decorative art, and appears to be generally plentiful.

In the Mogoung district there would seem to be a gold-field

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* From a valuable Memorandum by Captain G. A. Strover, Political Agent, Mandalay, on the Metals and Minerals of Upper Burma. The Chief Commissioner had called for a Report on the mineral resources of the country, April 1873.

that, if properly worked, would prove very productive. Some years ago, a Mr. Golding, of Australian experience, contracted with the King to work one square mile of this field for a sum of twenty-five thousand rupees annually, for ten years, but unfortunately the district proved to be malarious and Mr. Golding succumbed to fever; he, however, pronounced the fields to be equal to any in Australia, if not better. I am not aware that he succeeded in procuring much gold. Since then no attempt has been made on the part of the Burmese Government to work the mines.

To the north-east of Mandalay, in the Shan States, there is another field of gold. My information tends to show that here again, with energy and enterprise, considerable quantities of gold could be extracted, and the mines prove very productive; but the locality at present is malarious, and but little gold is procured.

At Thayet-pein-yua, near the Myit-Nyay, on the road to Pyoungshoo, to the south-east of Mandalay, the gold quartz is found in abundance, the reefs cropping up from the ground, and there is reason to believe that very valuable gold-mines are in existence, and could be worked and developed with little trouble. A Shan lately procured from here a piece of quartz, three and a half pounds in weight, that produced exactly two and a half ticals of gold.

In the Yaw district, to the south-west of Mandalay, gold is obtained in fair quantities in the alluvial deposits; it exists at Sagaing, Kannee, Sein-joo, and is also obtained from the Kyeend-ween river, and, indeed, it is procurable from the sands of most of the streams between Mandalay and Mogoung. The natural conclusion from this profusion of gold in the rivers and streams of Upper Burma is that it exists in large quantities *in situ* somewhere, and, as I have explained, this is the case, and doubtless there are more deposits that have not been discovered.

Silver

Is found in many localities in the Shan States to the east of the Irawady river, but the most prolific mines are those situated at Bawyine, Kyouktch and Toung-byne, near Theebau, to the north-east of Mandalay. It is mixed with lead, and is, in fact, a rich argentiferous galena. One mine, the Kampanee, will yield as much as forty ticals of silver and twenty-five viss of lead from one basket of the ore, while the poorest mine gives four ticals of silver and thirty viss* of lead. Other mines exist, such as the Bandween, Bandweengyee, and Sagaing. The metal is also found in other towns unmixed with lead. The supply of silver obtained hitherto has been sufficient for the requirements of the country in conjunction with the imports from Yunnan.

Copper.

This metal is found in the Shan States, but is not worked. It is also found at Kolen-myo and Sagaing; at Bawyine and Kolen-myo the malachite appears to be of a rich description. The copper resources of the Shan States do not appear to have been ever utilised to any extent, and the deposits, which seem to be abundant, remain as nature placed them. The Sagaing mines were worked in former times by Chinese, but many years have elapsed since they were abandoned. The surface ore is not promising. Most of the copper used in Upper Burma is imported from China. It is plentiful in the province of Yunnan.

Iron.

Iron abounds in the Shan States, and the district of Pagan, to the south of Mandalay, is noted for it. A manufactory exists on a rough and ready scale in this district at Pohpah-Toung, but the out-turn is inconsiderable. To the west of Sagaing, for miles up the Irawady river, the ore abounds—a

* The *Ticcal* is a Chinese weight, of about 4¼ ounces, and the viss an Indian, of about 3¼ lbs.! (*Note*, 1879.)

rich hematite. His Majesty is now procuring iron-works from England, and will before long have a large foundry, with all the requisite machinery, erected and at work at Sagaing. The surface hematite alone will feed it for years to come, if worked.

Two mining engineers are now awaiting the arrival of the works, and expect to proceed to Sagaing soon to commence operations.

Lead

Is found in abundance in the Shan States, and is extracted from galena. Considerable quantities of this metal could be obtained if such were desired. At present moderate supplies are procured, sufficient for the requirements of the land. It is also imported from Yunnan.

Tin.

This metal exists in the Shan States to the south-east of Mandalay, but the mines have never been worked. The tin consumed in the country now is all imported.

Platinum

Is said to exist in the Shan States, and it seems probable that it does exist, but I have no reliable information on this point.

Graphite

Is found to the east of Nat-taik in large quantities on a low range of hills near the village Nyoke-toke. It is not utilised.

Coal.

This mineral is known to exist at Thingadaw, about seventy miles above Mandalay, on the western bank of the Irawady; at Shuaygoo below Bamo; at Meimbaloung in the Shan States east of Mandalay; to the south-west of Mandalay in the Yaw

district, at Yaignaw, east of Nat-taik. It is found at Pagan and Shimpagah, and it is probable that it exists near Menhla and Yeynaugyoung. At Thingadaw the coal has been extracted, but it is of an inferior description, and more resembles lignite than the true mineral coal. An attempt was lately made here to ascertain the productiveness of the coal-beds. It is nearly certain that plenty of coal exists in the locality, and a few more borings would probably prove this. The coal-bed in the Shan States, at Meimbaloung, contains the true mineral coal, and consequently a valuable coal. It has been inspected by an experienced mining engineer, and highly approved of as equal to the best English coal. There is little doubt that the beds are extensive, but unfortunately the distance inland is great, and no easy means are available for transporting the coal to the low lands; indeed, the only method at present is by floating it down mountain streams and rapids on rafts, which entails considerable risk and loss of coal. European skill and enterprise would soon make a safe route of one description or another if really required by the Government; *it remains at present, with neighbouring wealth, where nature placed it,* awaiting "development in times to come."—May the time for such development soon arrive!*

VI.

Summary of Events from 1826 to 1879, with a Sketch of King Theebau's Progress.

The royal house of Burma has long been distinguished for surprises as well as monopolies. From the golden capital of the "Lord of Earth and Air," wondrous tales have proceeded; and within it, all of a sudden, changes and "deeds of dreadful note," from time to time, have taken place, excelling in inten-

* Jade and amber, sulphur, saltpetre, rubies, sapphires, garnets, &c., salt, and petroleum (the valuable and useful mineral oil), nearly complete Captain Strover's interesting list. Six years ago the total supply of earth-oil in Upper Burma was nearly 11,000 tons per annum. On the whole, Upper Burma would seem to have "a grand future" in store for it!

sity all that we have read of in the history of other Asiatic kingdoms. Kind British advice has always been thrown away on such absolute and arrogant monarchs. Alompra, upwards of a century ago, although hard pressed during the conquest of Pegu, despised our assistance, and would have nothing to say to us; and the great founder of the reigning dynasty died, destined to have successors under whom there would be frequent revolts and massacres, and who would some day give us much anxiety and trouble.

A French writer of celebrity has well and truly said, that we preserve the memory of bad princes, as we record fires, plagues, and inundations. Shakspeare, in "King John," alluding to the evil purposes of kings, deems it their curse to be surrounded by slaves who servilely execute their orders, even to breaking into "the bloody house of life"—

> "And, on the winking of authority,
> To understand a law, to know the meaning
> Of dangerous majesty" . . .

when it has resulted from the king's humour rather than from deliberate consideration. To be thus charitable at the commencement of a rapid sketch of a genuine Burman monarch's progress, and give King Theebau* the full benefit of the word "humour," is all that can be advanced in his behalf; while even that vanishes when we think, with regard to this King, of the poet's truthful lines:—

> "How oft the sight of means to do ill-deeds
> Makes ill-deeds done!"

We then pause, and ponder on one who has for some months traded in cruelty—a creature without a shadow of remorse—till at length we feel a natural anxiety to behold the spirit of some murdered innocent rush forward, as a Nemesis from the unseen world, to avenge the foul massacre!

If we are wrong, and it be true that, but for the effects of

* Or Thebaw, or Theebaw; but the above is probably the most correct spelling, as nearest to the Burmese *Theebo*, the principality.

drinking, and evil counsellors or agents being by, the murders "had not come into his mind," then we may be too severe; but still we have been enabled to bring forth from Chin-India —what well-meaning but not generally practical temperance philanthropists should make capital of—the important fact of murder and drinking being combined in lands other than our own!

"More massacres!"—"The King still drinking!"—Such, from the beginning of 1879, has been an occasional burden of the telegrams and letters which have arrived from Mandalay. The thirst for blood and gin appeared to be equally unquenchable; and the proverbial wish of the Dutchman, in the old song, regarding his depth of draught of the national spirit, had at length found a counterpart in that of King Thebau. The progress of such a man is worth recording.

Hogarth's "Rake's Progress," with all the terrible ideas which surround it, is, perhaps, about the mildest edition of this king that could be conceived. Allowing for the difference of civilisation of the two countries, we mourn over the dissipated and cruel Asiatic, with so many grand opportunities—legion in comparison with those of Hogarth's rake—and think what good he might have done—what firm and profitable relations he might have established with the British Government—how, in short, he might have become a noble character, with all the "divinity"—in Burma the kings are intimately related to Gautama! *—"which doth hedge a king!" Before chronicling such a progress, let us give a brief summary of various important events. It will suffice for our present purpose to commence with Phagyi-dau, one of Thebau's ancestors, a haughty and overbearing king, whose arrogant conduct forced on the First Burmese War. The influence possessed over him

* The head of the Burmese religion—an incarnation of *Buddha*, which signifies "wisdom," "enlightened." Strange enough, Gautama is a saint in the Roman calendar. Pity that the King is sometimes so unworthy of his patron!

of his queen has been attributed to sorcery; and, in the latter years of his reign, he suffered much from hypochondria, and at length became insane.*

It is important to remark at the present time that the "vital clause" in the Yandaboo Treaty of 1826 was that referring to the establishment of a Resident or Envoy at the capital. In 1830, when Major Burney was sent to Ava as Envoy, he reported unfavourably of the proposal to have a permanent representative at the Burmese Court. It was, he very shrewdly thought, with such regal material on the throne, sure to produce irritation, and, perhaps, eventual disaster.

The efforts made to open up good relations, or "a genuine and sympathetic intercourse with the ruler" (above mentioned) were abortive. The King had neither the sense nor the inclination to understand the value of commercial intercourse with the British. "Although averse from the shedding of blood," we read that one of his principal amusements was, Saul-like, "to fling his spear at or among those courtiers who came under his displeasure."†

We now come to his brother Tharawadi, who, with the usual fraternal affection of the Burmese Royal Family, deposed Phagyi-dau and placed him in confinement, in 1837. Tharawadi was the younger son of the Crown Prince, who had never reigned, and seemed to possess all the ability requisite for a great ruler and worthy descendant of Alompra. As Prince, Tharawadi had seemed a friend to the British, boasting of his "love of humanity and of a peaceful rule." But as King, he was "of a different turn of mind"; eventually detesting "wise counsel," and especially the presence of all foreigners in his capital. At that time, Colonel Burney deemed it prudent to "withdraw himself from the presence of the tyrant"—which withdrawal was censured by Lord Auckland. During the next

* See General Fytche's "Burma, Past and Present," vol. i. p. 83.

† See an excellent article in the "Times," 11th of April, "The Kingdom of Burmah."

few years he consolidated his power by the murder of all his most formidable relatives.

Diplomatic intercourse with King Tharawadi closed when that worthy man and excellent officer Captain (now General) McLeod withdrew from Burmese territory, early in 1840. In 1841, Tharawadi assumed a decidedly hostile attitude towards the British Government, ignoring the Treaty of Yandaboo, and threatening to drive us out of Arakan and Tenasserim. This, of course, had produced great excitement in Calcutta. Like his predecessor, the King became insane. Plots were formed against him; and, strange to say, in the very year in which his full brother died (1845), he was deposed and confined in the palace of Amarapúra, the "new capital" which had been founded by Bhodan Prau (Phra), the third son of Alompra.

Tharawadi was succeeded by his son, the Prince of Pagan, or Pagan Meng. After the Second Burmese War, Pagan Meng was deposed. As has been well observed, the triumph of the British army was the knell of this sovereign—the "Cock-fighting" King, as he was called in Burma. For seven years he was in every sense "wickedly mad." He was succeeded by his younger brother, Prince Mengdon Meng. As King he refused to sign a treaty of peace, which caused Lord Dalhousie, after the Second Burmese War, to define his own boundary of the newly conquered territory. But Mengdon was a vast improvement on his late predecessors, and showed a decided turn for trade and business; and, notwithstanding his monopolising tendencies, with his love of the old "Burman custom," his reign was of considerable advantage to Burma. His practical reforms brought him not a few enemies; and his rule, as usual, was not free from internal sedition. In 1866, during a rising, many princes of the royal house were executed.*

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* "Although the dynasty of Alompra has been maintained for more than a century, the kingdom has been constantly exposed to palace revolutions."—"Burma, Past and Present," vol. i. p. 211.

During King Mengdon's reign, also, most important events as regarded our relations took place. Elsewhere (No. 1, Paper on Burma) we have alluded to the complimentary mission in 1855 sent to Calcutta by the King of Burma. Then came a return mission to Amarapúra, in the middle of the same year, under the present Sir Arthur Phayre (then Colonel). The Burmese capital was eventually transferred from Amarapúra to Mandalay (founded by Mengdon in 1860); and, in January 1862, the three divisions of Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were formed into the Chief Commissionership of British Burma. Up to 1873, the Chief Commissioners appointed were Sir Arthur Phayre, Major-General Fytche, and the Honourable Ashley Eden. The Chief Commissioner's power extends along the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal from Chittagong to Siam in 10° N. lat. British Burma is geographically divided "into Arakan, the valley of the Irawady, the valley of the Salween, and Tenasserim."* And when we consider that he has the control of an extensive province, with one thousand miles of frontier, it will be seen that the Chief Commissioner is an Asiatic sovereign not to be despised! Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Chief, concluded the Treaty of 1862; but although the British Government abolished the duties on their side of the frontier, the Burmese did nothing whatever. It was our grand object to educate the Burmese in the principles of free trade. The King was always waiting for a more convenient season to carry out *his* idea of trade reform. It should be kept in mind that in 1855 the King had objected "to any treaty which would recognise the loss of Pegu." He said to the Envoy, "If a treaty is made there must be *mutual advantage!*" Mengdon, not seeming inclined to sign the treaty, was informed by Colonel Phayre that "without a treaty no gunpowder or warlike stores would be permitted to pass up the river Irawady;

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* "Annals of Indian Administration in the Year 1871-2," p. 79.

but that if a treaty were concluded, a confidence would be established according to Western ideas, and commodities of all descriptions would be permitted to pass."* The main object of the first mission had been to establish friendly relations, and to make another attempt to conclude a definite treaty with the King, which fact was broadly stated to His Majesty. The King refused to sign, but friendly relations were established. After 1862 other obstacles to free trade arose, the principal of which was that nearly every article of produce in Upper Burma was a royal monopoly. Burmese merchants could not sell "grain timber, cutch, or other commodities, except through royal brokers, or express permission of the local authorities."

The next important event calculated to disturb British relations was—although the King was well-disposed towards us—the insult offered to two British officers, while exploring the intricate and dangerous Salween river, by arrogant Burmese officials. They were stopped and sent back, "in direct violation of the treaty!" An English gentleman was also beaten in the streets of the capital.

Another mission was to have started for Mandalay early in 1866, but it was checked by the insurrection in Upper Burma, during which the Crown Prince was assassinated. Captain Sladen was at this time the British representative at Mandalay; and it is curious to remark at present—when so many great events are on the gale—that "during the insurrection, the Burmese considered themselves more secure on the premises of the British representative than in their own houses!" †

Captain Sladen—one of the bravest and most energetic officers we have ever had in Burma—remained at Mandalay for

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* For this information General Fytche refers to the splendid work, by Colonel Yule, C.B., of the Engineers, (who was Secretary to the Mission,) entitled "Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava," pp. 97–98. See "Burma, Past and Present," vol. i. p. 208.

† "Burma, Past and Present," vol. i. p. 213.

seven days after the outbreak; but, as the King could not guarantee either the safety of the lives or the property of the European residents, he embarked with nearly the whole of them in a "British merchant steamer," and proceeded to Rangoon. It should be recorded that the King, without permission, had been employing this steamer against the rebels headed by the two rebel princes; but this can easily be excused from the danger the Golden Foot was subjected to. The insurrection was suppressed; the rebel princes, having seized one of the King's steamers, came into British territory, when "Colonel Phayre took the necessary steps for preventing them from committing further mischief; and they were required to reside at Rangoon, under the surveillance of the British authorities."

When the rebellion had passed away, about the end of 1866, Colonel Phayre again proceeded to Mandalay. Nothing of great importance apparently resulted from this mission, which must have been considered a disheartening failure by the very able and ever zealous Chief Commissioner. The King, true to his cloth, would not reduce his frontier duties, nor forego any one of his monopolies. Thus, at the end of a splendid career in Burma, and having, through the care of the rebel princes, relieved the King from danger—probably saved his life—our Chief met with the usual Burmese or Oriental ingratitude on this last occasion of his strong endeavour to put common sense into the head of the Golden Foot, a sovereign by no means wanting in ability.*

It has been remarked that King Mengdon, when (some twelve or fourteen years ago) the overthrow of the Panthays —Mahomedans of Yunnan, South-west China—brought Chinese arms into his vicinity, intrigued "with the representatives of the celestials in Yunnan." There was also a disagreeable

* Eventually, on return to Europe, General Sir Arthur Phayre's great services were rewarded with the Governorship of Mauritius.

question, in recent years, concerning the Karen frontier; but, notwithstanding these escapades in the reign of Mengdon, and the probability of the wild tribes on our frontier, nominally under his control, promising to become a permanent source of trouble and annoyance, "so long as the late King lived it was clear that no cause for just umbrage would be given to us." His death, early in October 1878, produced a period of barbarity and uncertainty at Mandalay, of which it is most difficult, at present, to see the end.

We have not yet alluded to a most important mission, with General (then Colonel) Albert Fytche as Envoy, in September 1867; but there are a few points in it which, in these unsettled and warlike times, may be of interest, before turning to the progress of King Theebau.†

The new Chief Commissioner was appointed in March 1867, and, in the following May, his Burman Majesty appeared to be about abolishing some of his monopolies and reducing the frontier duties; but the good news, made public through proclamations, was considered to be simply a blind. Then another conspiracy took place at Mandalay, in which Captain Sladen, who had resumed his duties at the capital, greatly distinguished himself. The Princes of the Blood were about to be executed. The Resident immediately went to the King, and got a reprieve with which he galloped off, but was too late to save all the victims. The eldest son of the Crown Prince was already in the agonies of death; but the younger brothers were saved by the gallant English representative. Strange enough, the King said he was unaware that the execution had been ordered by his ministers, and "warmly thanked" Captain Sladen for his interference. This was very properly accepted as "a proof of

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† A complete account, with the official narrative, of this mission, will be found in General Fytche's valuable and beautifully got up work, "Burma, Past and Present"—a work containing more general information than any other we have read on the subject of Burma.

the friendly relations which were growing up between the British Government and the King of Burma." But yet there was room for suspicion that a good deal of Machiavelli hovered about this sort of conduct; and, perhaps, Mengdon would not have made a bad Chin-Indian model of a "Prince" for the great Florentine to work on! Truly, "the present state of political relations with Burma" had "no connection whatever with the old diplomacy of the eighteenth century." The voyage of the mission was made in two steamers, the "Nemesis" and "Colonel Phayre," and leaving Rangoon on the 20th of September, they arrived at Mandalay, seven miles above Amarapúra—which old capital, with Ava, they passed on the left bank of the river—on the 7th of October. It almost seemed as if the gallant new Chief Commissioner had gone with his "Nemesis" to avenge the insults offered to his great predecessor by the King in not acceding to his requests! However that may be, the reception was a brilliant one. Mandalay had, for this occasion, cast away her bloody garments, and put on holiday costume. The Envoy was of opinion that Mengdon was "one of the most enlightened monarchs that ever sat on the Burmese throne," but, since his accession to the throne, he had been educated in a political school "perhaps the worst in the world." He boasted that he had never ordered an execution since his reign began, but left it all to his ministers; the Envoy was likewise of opinion that the King's reign had not been disgraced, like his predecessors', by wanton atrocities and wild excesses. The natural question then comes to be, From whom did King Theebau learn his jovial and severe lessons of drinking and murder? The King asked the Envoy for arms and steamers, "on which point, as he had been informed on several previous occasions by Sir Arthur Phayre, the English Government was inclined to be liberal." He wished to guard against rebellion; but, as a selfish Buddhist potentate, he cared nothing for the "well-being of his subjects." This hardly agrees with our ideas of an "enlightened" king.

After a discussion about the steamers required, when His Majesty was informed by Colonel Fytche that there were many varieties of steamers suitable for river navigation, the King said —"I also want eight thousand rifles; you have already assented to my having two thousand, which I am now getting from Dr. Williams; and if you let me have eight thousand more, I shall have ten thousand men well armed with rifles, and they will always remain near me at the capital."

To this Colonel Fytche replied, "that the rifles could be furnished, but that the kind of rifle wanted should be settled."—After some remarks on smooth-bores and breech-loaders, the King turned on his sofa to leave, saying, with a political sagacity which even Napoleon or Talleyrand might have envied, "Sladen, I am sorry you have been sick. I shall send you something to-morrow to make you well," and with that withdrew.* Could any Sovereign of the West have shown more courtesy than this?

The weak point in the treaty duly signed on the occasion of this mission, and which treaty had great mercantile advantages in largely increasing our exports to Upper Burma, is the latter portion of the eighth article, in which it is stated that "the Burmese Government shall further be allowed permission to purchase arms, ammunition, and war materials generally, in British territory, subject only to the consent and approval in each case of the Chief Commissioner." Had the Calcutta Secretariat—we presume the Foreign Office—before the ratification of the treaty, suggested some more stringent

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* See vol. ii. p. 274. A copy of the signed treaty will also be found, with the Official Narrative, in the Appendix to "Burma, Past and Present." The eighth article of the treaty runs thus:—"In accordance with the great friendship which exists between the two Governments, the subjects of either shall be allowed free trade in the import and export of gold and silver bullion between the two countries, without let or hindrance of any kind, on due declaration being made at the time of import or export."

wording, or, what might have been better still, struck out the latter portion of the article altogether, leaving, without expressing it, the question entirely to the Chief Commissioner's good will and discretion, we respectfully venture to think that King Mengdon's mind would have been relieved from some doubt on the subject of arms. John Bull in his policy, East and West, too frequently injures himself by an excess of good nature. To have made obtaining arms conditional on a time of peace, also, would not have done; for it is just in these so-called times of peace in Burma and China, as in a few enlightened countries of Europe, that war and rebellion may be nigh at hand! It is the old, sad story; we need not seek it, but, until some radical change takes place in the relations of States, we must continue to be prepared for war!

We are not aware that the King ever got all the arms or stores he wanted; perhaps he had not the money to purchase them; but, some seven or eight years ago, after the expedition to the Looshai country, the present writer remarked elsewhere that our difficulty with regard to a then probable outbreak in Upper Burma was not lessened by a knowledge of the fact from Mandalay, that in order to put down local disturbances, and perhaps be able to resist the Chinese, the Russians, or the English, the King of Burma was "very anxious to arm his soldiers with rifles, and obtain rifled cannon" (1872). Had Mengdon been on the throne at the present time, he might have had more fear than ever as to China, on hearing of the restoration of Kuldja—which the Czar never had any right to take away—the adjustment of the so-called Russian Western Mongolian frontier—the forced payment of five millions of roubles to Russia by the Chinese, and the possibility of a Chinese army descending on Upper Burma to make up the losses sustained by the Celestials from Russian intrigue! On the other hand, it was believed that his successor had formed an alliance with China.

Let us, while writing at the end of September 1879—having just heard of a desperate outbreak and massacre at Herat (and consequently that "key" running more risk than ever of a "Russian *coup de main*"), following so soon after the insurrection and massacre at Cabul—now return to King Theebau.

Of the early days of this Chin-Indian potentate we know little or nothing; but it may be presumed that, unlike his traditionary prototype, Gautama, he was never contemplative, but always inclined for action. It is not difficult to picture him, when sowing his wild oats, enjoying the most harrowing *pooay*—Burmese drama—taking a rare pleasure in the society of "posture girls," and being very savage (if it be usual for princes to play) at the Burmese game of football. Determined to prove himself a worthy descendant of his grandfather, King Tharawadi, at the commencement of his regal career, he was said to "habitually carry about the spear with which his savage relative was wont to deal out death to those of his attendants, ministers, or menials who displeased him." Like Tharawadi, he was well educated, and at one time liked the English. The person of the King of Burma is thus described:—"He is little over twenty, and has been barely four months on the throne" (February 1879). "He is a tall, well-built, personable young man. He is very fair in complexion, has a good forehead, clear steady eyes, and a firm but pleasant mouth. His chin is full and somewhat sensual looking, but withal he is a manly, frank-faced young fellow, and is said to have gained self-possession, and left the early nervous awkwardness of his new position with great rapidity."

He was by some considered to have a strong will of his own, was not always the victim of his ministers, and showed no fondness "for any diminution of the royal prerogative." Here we have some good materials for a king; but we know appearances to be deceitful. After the death of the old King (October 3rd), it was the opinion in Mandalay that the accession of King Thebau was entirely due to harem intrigue. The Nyoung-

an Prince was the favourite in the succession. Mengdon had desired it, and his election would have given satisfaction to the people; but the Nyoungyan Prince was married, which at that time was his misfortune. "The mother of the ladies who have the honour of being King Theebau's wives, intriguing with the ministers, so managed matters that the Nyoungyan Prince, and his brother, the Nyoungoke, speedily found it expedient to flee with their families from the palace. This they did, and taking refuge in the British Residency, were, after a time,* sent down to Rangoon, and thence to Calcutta." Theebau, or his mother-in-law, fortunately for them, could not induce the two princes to return to the palace. We now arrive at the first "damned spot" in the royal progress. Towards the end of February news from Burma was received in Calcutta of the commencement in earnest of a new *régime*. Instead of constitutional reforms taking place, under an educated monarch, Theebau had proved himself to be a ferocious barbarian. Over "sixty relatives" (the number was found afterwards to be exaggerated), male and female, of the late King were said to have been executed in the palace and prisons, and Mandalay had become the scene of a reign of terror. Trade was paralysed. A monster, reminding us of Nero or Caligula, had appeared on the throne of the Golden Foot. It was indeed the beginning of a terrible end, and came home, especially in Mandalay and Rangoon, to "men's business and bosoms" with a rare intensity. The British Resident at the capital, Mr. Shaw (successor to Colonel Duncan), had of course, strongly remonstrated with the King on his barbarity, and was exerting himself to prevent further murders. It was wisely considered that the Government, having its hands full with Afghanistan, would not care to precipitate a war with Burma unless British interests were directly menaced; but it was thought that, if the King's progress were marked by similar

* About the middle of February.

brutal conduct, a collision would, sooner or later, become inevitable. The Indian Government, meanwhile, had sent instructions to the Resident "to obtain protection for the King's surviving relations." Another "fell swoop" might be expected at any moment. Although horrible to write it, still, in an age desirous of every information, it may be remarked that, according to Mongolian tradition, no blood of any member of the royal race must be spilt. "Princes of the blood are executed by a blow, or blows, on the back of the neck." Princesses are put to death by a blow in front "instead of the back of the neck."* The bodies are then sunk in the river Irawady, not "usually burnt," as remarked by another writer. On the present occasion, we believe, they were buried in a pit. To show that the Government were fully alive to the importance of the situation in Upper Burma, it may here be remarked that, additional troops being asked for, they were at once granted; and, early in March, the 54th Foot and Madras troops embarked at Calcutta for Rangoon. The whole reinforcements ordered were nearly double the ordinary strength of garrisons in British Burma. The number of victims to the King's madness was now reported to be forty, instead of eighty or sixty. At this time it was telegraphed from Calcutta (March 9th), "The Rangoon and Irawady State Railway, one hundred and sixty-one miles long, and running three trains daily each way, connects Rangoon with Prome,† whence outposts at Thayetmyo and Toungoo are distant respectively forty and sixty miles, and at Mandalay about two hundred and twenty miles. There is a

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* "Burma, Past and Present," vol. i. p. 217 (*note*).

† This railway "was pushed on rapidly during 1876–77, and was publicly opened to traffic on the 1st of May 1877. It connects Rangoon and Prome, a distance of one hundred and sixty-three miles. Its opening has caused a very appreciable increase of population in the tracts through which it runs."—From an admirable "Statement" drawn up in the India Office, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, August 1878.

telegraph from Rangoon to Mandalay, but the line beyond the British frontier, maintained by the Burmese authorities and working irregularly, is now interrupted."

Early in March also, in reply to Earl Granville, in the House of Lords, Viscount Cranbrook, with reference to the "precautionary measure of sending reinforcements to Burma, said the telegram from the Viceroy was in these terms:—"In compliance with strong recommendation of Chief Commissioner, Rangoon, and Resident, Mandalay, we have reinforced the garrison of British Burma by two regiments Native Infantry and one British."

The situation in Burma had assumed a really serious aspect. But the extensive military preparations going on at Mandalay were not so likely to produce King Thebau's downfall as his surrounding himself with advisers known to be hostile to the British Government. As was well remarked, the ill-advised Prince, having committed a shocking outrage on humanity, appeared to be making warlike preparations, "perhaps under the delusion that he may recover Pegu." But, like most Orientals, he had miscalculated his opportunity. Still, we had now lamentable experience enough to teach us not to undervalue any enemy whatever! By the middle of March it was considered that the Chief Commissioner, with the 54th Foot from Calcutta and the 43rd from Madras, with the native regiments from both Presidencies, was able to protect British territory in the event of aggression; but the position of the Resident at Mandalay, and other Europeans there, was, doubtless, critical in the extreme. Still, some were bold enough to think that the King and his advisers were "not so utterly lost to all sense of prudence as to precipitate their own downfall by rushing into hostilities with us." The "savage madman at Mandalay" was even talked of in the streets of Lahore. From that quarter we first learned that at Thayetmyo there was already a field battery, and at Toungoo a mountain battery, while a garrison battery was ready to take up the equipment

forwarded. There would, therefore, be no lack of field artillery, "while the defensive works at both the above outposts, as well as at Rangoon, were well armed and manned." Having again mentioned Toungoo, the present writer is led to think of twenty-five years ago, when, not long after we had taken possession of the now rising town, he was suddenly ordered to proceed with his detachment of artillery (guns and rockets) to the northward. An advanced infantry force, under Captain Geills, had met with determined opposition—the commanding officer was mortally wounded—while the frontier line was being marked out, some forty miles from Toungoo.* We then heard of a strong stockade at Ramathayu, another forty, or perhaps sixty, miles further north. This post must be the same as Yemethen, in the maps of the present day, or Ramethen; and, in the event of a column invading Upper Burma from Toungoo, it would only have to proceed direct north to Yemethen, and thence, in the same direction, passing Ava and Amarapúra, to Mandalay—about two hundred and fifty miles, or less. With the flotilla of attack from Prome or the frontier town of Meaday, and the advance from Toungoo resolutely performed, King Theebau, should he give us trouble, would find himself in a critical position. This slight digression from the royal progress may be excused on the plea that "the King is still drinking!"

Later news informed us that King Theebau was constructing fortified works, and making various warlike preparations; also that the Burmese inhabitants of Rangoon had been summoned to return to their own country. Non-compliance with this order was to be punished by the execution of their families! The "Times of India" remarked, regarding the recent massacre:—"It is strange that, when the people of Mandalay carry their indignation against the atrocities of the King to

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* See "Pegu," p. 407.

the length of expressing their desire for British intervention, and the slaughter of so many influential personages must have alienated the ruling classes, a revolution does not break out." And again, at the conclusion of the summing up—This butchery "of the butcher's own relations is an atrocity fully equalling any recorded in history, and shows to what frightful lengths unlimited and irresponsible power may carry a human being."

At the time of recording this progress (September 1879), and the period of our Cabul troubles—which, through the determination of the Indian Government and the valour of our troops, must be only temporary—it is of interest to think of what the King said to Mr. Archibald Forbes,* on his visit, early in the year, to the Burmese Court. "Whence does he come?" asked the Golden Foot, at the interview. "From the British army in Afghanistan, engaged in war against the Prince of Cabul," replied Dr. Williams, the interpreter. "And does the war prosper for my friends the English?" "He reports that it has done so greatly, and that the Prince of Cabul is a fugitive." Theebau may, before this last question, have been thinking even of the Afghans as allies; for, strange to say, history records that sixty-five years ago the Burmese asked the Sikhs in the far north-west to co-operate with them in driving the British out of India! The King made a remarkable speech during the above interview, which makes us think of the truthful saying, that "the Devil can cite scripture for his purpose." One of the ministers being absent, Theebau asked where he was. On being told, it being "Court day," he was in Court, the King replied, in quite a Charles-the-Twelfth fashion, "It is well. I wish the ministers to make every day a Court day, and to labour hard to give prompt justice to suitors, so that there be

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* The well-known correspondent of the "Daily News." This important visit is quoted in the "Homeward Mail," March 29th, 1879.

no complaint of arrears." The "law's delay" was a more fearful crime, in the eyes of Theebau, than murder! O, poor Human Nature, what variety there is in thy composition! Had King Theebau moved in another sphere, unshackled by "Burman custom," his progress would have been different, and he might have become a fair specimen of an Eastern ruler! With reference to a remark of the Russian "Golos" in March last, that our first negotiations for peace in Afghanistan were due to "military disasters," one of our best public writers thought that in all the lucubrations of the "Golos" it seems to have been overlooked that, with the prospect of another Burmese war before us, in addition to South African military requirements, prudential motives, and not the prowess of the Afghans, would suggest some sort of compromise with their ruler." He concludes in the following remarkable strain:—"As regards the finances of India at the present moment, a war with rich Burma would certainly be more agreeable than a financially barren victory in Afghanistan." Notwithstanding assurances to the Resident of future tranquillity, the King appears to have gone on fortifying Mandalay, and, doubtless, to have gone on drinking. A Burmese Envoy (or Agent) also had been despatched to the Indian Government. It seemed that there was as yet "no good ground for interference." The Viceroy would only think of war as "a last resource," and even then, with our hands so full, that "last resource" might be delayed, to the heartfelt regret of Rangoon, Calcutta, Glasgow, and other commercial centres. That something would have to be done ere long was undeniable. Trade was at a comparative standstill, and there was no security for peace in British or Lower Burma while Upper was ruled by such a very strange sovereign as King Theebau. In the event of military operations, it was remarked—"Nothing like the protracted struggle of the two former Burmese wars need be anticipated, for it seems clear that King Theebau has completely alienated the affections of his subjects, and an invading army (British force) would be re-

ceived with welcome, as a new era of prosperity would dawn on Burma were Thebau dethroned and the Nyoungyan Prince (a refugee in Calcutta) established in his place and made a feudatory of the Indian Government." The King was reported to fear some such action on our part, and had despatched secret agents to Calcutta to assassinate the Nyoungyan Prince. Surely such an instance was never heard of before, that of a somewhat talented young sovereign rushing so madly on his fate. It was, indeed, a royal progress with a vengeance!

In one of his drunken fits he might attack us, if not first attacked by us. Such may have been his intention. But, of the reinforcements arrived at Rangoon, it was pleasing to learn that two thousand men, European and Native, with a small naval brigade from H.M.S. "Wild Swan," had been despatched to the frontier. It was not intended to send any ultimatum to the King of Burma. The policy seemed to be to wait for the movement of the Burmese troops massing at Meuhla, some thirty miles above our frontier. About the end of March, intelligence was received that a deceitful quiet prevailed at Mandalay; and King Theebau, since the despatch of reinforcements, was reported to be in a conciliatory mood. The Burmese ministers were uneasy, as well they might be; and, to make matters worse, Theinnee, the chief of one of the Burmese tributary (Shan) states, was contumacious, and disregarded the order of the head that wore a crown, summoning him to Mandalay. In the first week of April the situation was "practically unchanged." But some four thousand of the King's troops were stated to be on his side of the frontier.

It was alleged that King Theebau had sent a mission to Pekin, acknowledging the suzerainty of China (of which he is a vassal), and invoking help against us. Trade at Mandalay continued paralysed, and anxiety regarding the safety of the Europeans there continued unabated. The Nyoungyan Prince, as if to profit by the situation, had gone to Rangoon in disguise; but he was detected, and promptly shipped back by the

Chief Commissioner (Mr. Aitchison) to Calcutta. Complications on the frontier were reported, in consequence of some powerful chiefs (we believe Shan) having declared that they would no longer pay any allegiance to the King of Burma. Mr. Shaw's steamer was lying, with steam up, in constant readiness for his departure, "in case of necessity." It was thought that, in the event of his departure, the Burmese war vessels at Menhla might intercept the Resident. The British Government had proclaimed that it desired no rupture, and would permit none, "unless forced by overt acts of insult or aggression."

The trading community at Calcutta, "with characteristic impatience," were anxious for definite action. The remaining events of some importance, early in April, chiefly consisted in arrangements for King Theebau's coronation, and the fact of several Shan chiefs, who had visited his Majesty, having been thrown into prison. The brave Shans,* it was thought, previously disaffected, would rise to a man. This would be a most telling point in our favour, in the event of future operations. If we can only secure the loyalty of the Shans, we become at once, in a great measure, the masters of Upper Burma.

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* We have great faith in the Shans; and the heroism of the Shan ladies—to which allusion has already been made in the First Burmese War—is perfectly captivating. In addition to what has been said of their military ardour, two little incidents are worth recording. The fearless Amazons fought with their *chobwas* (chiefs) and petty princes, as has been noticed, against us in the first war. They were not only credited with the gift of prophecy and fore-knowledge, but with the possession of the miraculous power of turning aside the balls of the English. One of them, before Prome, received a fatal bullet in the breast, but the moment she was seen, and her sex recognised, the soldiers bore her from the scene of death to the rear, where she expired. Another of them was observed flying on horseback with "the defeated remnant of her people," but before she could gain the opposite bank of the river, a shrapnell shell exploded above her head, and she fell from her horse into the water; "but whether killed or only frightened," writes Major Snodgrass, "could not be ascertained."

By the middle of April several steamers were in readiness at Thayetmyo to convey our troops beyond the frontier in the event of war. New ministers were in the ascendant; and, although the Burmese Government "wished for peace," it declined to settle the "shoe question." This has long been a *vexata questio* in Burma and other countries of the East; and would be settled at once if we could only get them to understand that, although "Burman," it is not European "custom." On the conclusion of the first war, while Mr. Crawford's mission was at Ava, Captain Lumsden of the Bengal Horse Artillery could not get his boots to come off, so was allowed to enter with them on. A horse artillery man without his boots (they wore jacks and leathers in those days) is almost as deficient a picture as a Golden Foot without his golden umbrella (*tee*), or a bishop without his lawn! The cultivators of the soil were now leaving, and no preparations were being made for sowing the crops. Never was Upper Burma in a worse state. Chaos was everywhere. Large masses of Burmese soldiery were said to be moving towards our frontier garrison of Toungoo, which was about to be reinforced.

Looking at the matter boldly, there can be no doubt that Burmese policy has always been hostile to England. Mengdon wished it to be known that he was entirely independent of the British, notwithstanding the loss of Pegu; and "at Rome and at Teheran, by his embassies, let it be clearly known he was anxious to obtain outside help."

Italians and Frenchmen at Mandalay have had their share of royal favour. If we do not, for the sake of peace in Eastern Asia, so effectually settle Upper Burma—if possible, without annexation*—before very long, Russians, and even Germans (on account of China) will probably be found "doing business" at the capital of the Golden Foot! There is a great game of

* It has been well said that if the late king had possessed a seaport, war would have occurred long ago. "We should have had to choose between the annexation of Upper Burma and a foreign protectorate."

chess being played all over the world; and Britannia must not allow herself to be checkmated.

We now return to King Theebau. Although twenty-five thousand men were reported to be on the Burmese frontier, there was a more pacific feeling at Mandalay, in producing which the terrible heat of the weather probably had the chief effect. Murders had been discontinued, owing to the energy of our Resident and of the Italian Consul. The number of executions, therefore, had fallen far short of that originally intended "by the bloodthirsty tiger, Theebau." From conversations with Burmese it was ascertained that the King had prepared a list of one hundred and fifty victims, "and had even gone into the details of those who should be killed on such and such a night." Of the royal family alone—wives, sons, and daughters of the late King—no less than forty-five persons were said to have met their fate. The people at the capital were beginning to discover that their property and lives were at the mercy of "a barbarous despot." With reference to previous remarks in this summary, it may be stated that a shrewd writer, on hearing that King Theebau had informed his counsellors that heretofore fear had prompted his yielding to the English demands, and that henceforth he would neither hear nor speak of proposals for an accommodation with England,* declared:—"It is all very well to ridicule the 'Golden Foot' when, seemingly playing the rôle of Macbeth, he determines to hang all that talk of fear, but this sudden change may not be the result simply of a tyrant's whimsicality. It looks rather as though he had just received 'Celestial' promptings, and it might not be difficult after all to connect a sequence of events which at present seem far apart." Theebau might prove to be the tool of "a greater potentate" already becoming conspicuous as the "third factor" in Asian affairs. By the end of April, information was received in London that the

* This assertion was afterwards officially denied by the Burmese Ministers.

Secretary of State for India had sanctioned the finally-revised estimate for the Rangoon and Prome Railway, which made provision for six additional miles of branch line; but, while civilisation in Lower Burma was thus becoming so apparent, in the Upper country affairs were in a strange condition. The King had been "drinking heavily"—what he had been drinking we are not informed;—power was slipping back into the hands of late King's advisers; and warlike preparations in Mandalay had ceased, doubtless from the effects of the never-ending royal indulgence. The King, it was said, never appeared in public. But still our diplomatic relations, through Mr. Shaw (appointed a second-class Resident), were being conducted with every courtesy, in the ordinary forms. This was but a poor consolation, while humanity and commercial enterprise were both suffering so wrongfully. So long as Theebau sat on the throne the peace of Burma was sure to hang by a thread; while the unfortunate British mercantile community conceived the bitterest dislike for the Burmese Government, "so hostile to all measures for developing the resources of the country."

Early in May, King Theebau was "still drinking"; the Prime Minister was out of favour; and the masses—perhaps with a meaning which the King did not think of—were for war.

The King was brooding over some scheme of revenge for the rebellious attitude of his maternal grandfather, the Theinnee Chief; and the Theinnee Shan tribes were in open rebellion. There was little, if any, actual change in the position. The following is a good story current at this time:—When the news of the Zulu affair (Isandula) reached Mandalay, Theebau, in a drunken fit, issued orders to invade British Burma *viâ* Prome, and to take Rangoon! Government, and the reinforcements, were too quick for him, when he said he was only making preparations to resist his enemies, the Shans!

At Mandalay the King's troops were being constantly drilled; and it was considered almost certain that Theebau had killed the young son of the Theinnee Princess, "because of the re-

bellion of her brother and other members of the Theinnee Shan tribes." Other murders were reported to have taken place; but the exact truth was not known. However, one thing was evident, that King Theebau's progress in massacre—contemplative as well as actual— was very considerable. "King still drinking—trade at a standstill," even in the middle of May, was the standard telegram; and it was also affirmed that General Elmhirst, an officer of repute, commanding a division in the Madras Presidency, would take the command of an expeditionary force for Upper Burma, in the event of war. We were then, as now, of opinion, that officers who had a good local acquaintance with Burma should be utilised as much as possible in any contemplated operations. Of these a large number could be found, ready at a moment's notice, to further the glory and promote the interests of Great Britain in Chin-India.

King Theebau's progress had now assumed a new phase: he had prohibited all Europeans (foreigners) from entering the palace walls under any pretext whatever. More surrounding tribes* were in open rebellion, and there was a steady secrecy hanging over everything taking place within the palace. Nothing, it seemed, could exceed the uncertainty of our relations with Mandalay. None could predict what "act of ignorant violence" the King might commit if he remained under the influence of the party compromised by the massacres.

Towards the end of May, Mr. Shaw had a long meeting with the Prime Minister; the King, however, was summoning fresh levies, which removed all hope that the crisis would pass away. The cultivators between Prome and Thayetmyo were reduced to a state of desperation. There were no workmen to get the fields ready, or to sow the grain. A cloud seemed to hang over all; but yet it was believed (doubtless with good reason)

* It was said, the Bhama Kachin (Kakhyen) tribes. The Kakhyens form a very large tribe, and are warlike when roused. Their territory extends from the Irawady to China, and from Bamo to Thibet.

at Simla, that affairs were more settled in Upper Burma. A telegram at the end of May brought the intelligence that the King had determined upon war ever since the Resident's remonstrance as to the massacres, and his threat to lower his flag and leave the capital if any more were committed. It was now undoubted that the Theinnee Prince was murdered, and that his mother had been tortured, if not actually slain. It was also said that, although there had been no more "wholesale massacres," several cases of individual murder had taken place, generally by starvation or slow torture.

It will now be of interest to relate that the remonstrance of the Italian Government "against the Burmese massacres and shocking atrocities," which had horrified the world, was most keenly felt by the Burmese Government. Italy was the only country which had formally acknowledged King Theebau and "the ministers had hoped for her support against the British Government!" King Theebau's progress in alienating himself from the entire civilised world appeared to be most rapid. It is hard to believe that, towards the end of the nineteenth century, we should be writing about such a Burmese Caligula. The famous horse of the Roman Emperor, which he styled "High Priest" and "Consul," and which, adorned with pearls and splendid trappings, he kept in a hall of ivory, has at length found a counterpart in the White Elephant* of the Golden Foot, both of which noble and sagacious animals their masters equally disgraced.

Caligula and Nero died about the age of thirty—the former, as every schoolboy knows, having been assassinated, and the latter having killed himself to avoid a shameful death. If King Thebau's jovial fits go on as steadily as hitherto, the pro-

* Held in extraordinary veneration by the Burmese and Siamese—the King and his people deeming it inauspicious to be without one. For an excellent account of this "sacred" animal, see "Burma, Past and Present," vol. i. pp. 249–50.

gress towards destruction will soon be ended; and, like Addison's rake, he will die of old age at two-and-twenty! The Government of India might then be saved all further anxiety and trouble in remonstrance by placing (under certain conditions) either the Nyoungyan Prince or the Lunbin Prince, son of the War Prince (elder brother of Mengdon), who was killed in the rebellion of 1866, firmly on the throne! The last we heard of the "Lunbin" was that he was at Rangoon, studying English. There are, therefore, hopes yet for Upper Burma; but at present we must go back to King Theebau.

"Jolly June," as Spenser hath it, found the King "still drinking." It was announced that he had sent letters and presents to the Viceroy, and asked for a personal interview; but it seemed doubtful whether his subjects would allow him to remain on the throne, or not. The same informant announced that his ministers had left off visiting him, and that his troops were "a mere rabble." The latter remark was highly silly and impolitic, and leads soldiers to undervalue an enemy. After our sad experiences, we should call not even the worst troops "mere rabble"!

For an Eastern or an African campaign, we should even be better prepared for an enemy, with whom Nature makes up for the want of Science, in men, material, and especially the Intelligence department, than if we were going to fight a highly civilised European power. This is the only true philosophy of war in such a vast and splendid Empire as ours!

The mother of the Nyoungyan Prince was heavily ironed; and the King was so terribly violent that none of the ministers dared to approach him. In British Burma, the merchants of Rangoon had memorialised the Chief Commissioner in reference to Burmese affairs. They alleged the existence of "an extraordinary stagnation of trade consequent upon the uncertainty of our relations with Upper Burma, and the insecurity caused by the large additions to the military force on the frontier.

They represented that the trade to Mandalay had, "since the massing of the troops, declined more than half a million," and that there was a decrease in the value of goods cleared at Rangoon for Lower Burma of "a million and a half." It was difficult to imagine "a more disastrous state of affairs." The matter was to be laid, without loss of time, before the Indian Government.

The King was considered to be seriously alarmed at the approach of our troops to his frontiers; and he had appointed "a lot of savage ruffians as his body-guard." Formerly youths of high rank used to hold the office; so the change had greatly annoyed the better class of people. Having had a fresh list of all connected with the royal blood submitted to him, it was naturally believed that he projected another massacre, at no distant period. But it was all set down to the stern fact that Theebau was "still drinking." "What a god-send," wrote an ever lively, instructive, and witty military journalist, "this royal 'horrid example' will be for the teetotal lecturers!"—As we before said, drinking and murder going hand in hand together!

It will naturally occur to every English reader, who has honoured these pages with a perusal, that the position of the British Resident at Mandalay, throughout so many escapades of King Theebau, must have been a very responsible as well as a very difficult and harassing one—calculated to spoil the best temper, and wear out the strongest constitution.

From Simla it had been announced that the Agent despatched by the King, with letters and presents to the Viceroy, had arrived; but his request for a personal interview could not be granted. The conduct of the Mandalay Court in requiring our Resident to submit to certain "undignified ceremonials" would never do; and his visits to the King had been, therefore, suspended. King Theebau had evidently lost his best friend. The difficulty was said to resemble that overcome in China; but where the Emperor of China yielded, the com-

paratively petty potentate of Upper Burma held out. Preparations were still in progress for the coronation of the King. On the 15th of June the amiable, energetic, and accomplished Resident breathed his last. His death was said to proceed from heart disease,* doubtless brought on, or aggravated, by too much worry and anxiety. Like a true soldier, Shaw died at his post, with harness on his back; and, although his end was not surrounded by a halo of tragical heroism, as in the instances of Sir Alexander Burnes and Sir Louis Cavagnari, at Cabul, still England lost in him a most worthy son, "a distinguished explorer, and trustworthy representative of the Indian Government in intercourse with border potentates, requiring tact and personal influence."

Reports of fresh massacres of royal princes were said to have reached the Indian Government. The coronation of King Theebau had passed over without any disturbance. It was now discovered that the King of Burma had been prosecuting "certain intrigues and encroachments" in the Karennee country, inconsistent with the special treaty made in 1875 regarding that important tract of "debatable border-land."

In addition to the late massacres, the "Rangoon Times" correspondent had gathered "from a reliable source" that "the poor mad Prince of Chabin had been put to an ignominious death, having undergone kicking and slapping for several years. It was said that like his grandfather, Tharawadi, he had tried to render himself "invisible"! *Pooays* were numerous; and a royal lottery, encouraging gambling, had been established since early in May. There were numerous royal lottery shops; and the Royal Rake's progress now appeared to be advancing at a more rapid pace than ever.

At the end of June we read that King Theebau's second

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* Afterwards stated to be rheumatic-fever.

queen had succeeded in inducing him to degrade his chief queen, her elder sister.

An adventurer, who was for some time in King Mengdon's service, informed the public that this sovereign was "very anxious on the subject of ironclads and fortifications," and projected iron-works,* "from the furnaces for the smelting of ore, down to the mills for rolling the armour plates." But nothing was done. The city of Mandalay was also described :—"The city, with the palace in the centre, forms a square, and is surrounded by four brick walls, each wall being three-quarters of a mile long and twenty feet in height; nine feet thick at the base, finishing off at the top to three feet, all the slope of the walls being inside, where earth is also packed up to a height of about twelve feet. There are three entrances on either side, and the twelve great doors are shielded on the outer side by blocks of brickwork. These walls are again surrounded by a moat fifty feet wide, the inner edge of which is about thirty-five feet from the city walls. The city, with its walls and moat, is considered by the Burmese impregnable."†

It was pleasing to hear that the Burmese conducted themselves very well on the sad occasion of Mr. Shaw's death, and the funeral was largely attended. The deceased Resident had formerly been British Agent at Ladakh, and his knowledge of Central Asian affairs was very considerable. Colonel Horace Browne, of the Pegu Commission, had left Rangoon to take charge of the Residency at Mandalay, till the arrival of Mr. Shaw's succe o

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* See page 373.

† For a most interesting a..d useful description of the present capital, varying, in some respects, from the above, see General Fytche's "Burma, Past and Present," vol. p. 250–254. The plan of the wall of the city of Mandalay, with its cr ated top, flanking buttresses, and parapet, strongly resembles the great l of China.

‡ Mr. St. Barbe, who had succeeded Mr. Cooper at Bhamo, acted till Colone Browne's arrival.

Early in July, the British public were furnished with a most graphic account of an important military review at Mandalay. It must be kept in mind that the whole force of the Burmese army is generally concentrated at the capital, and at this time it was believed that "the actual influence of the King and his Court did not extend beyond a radius of fifty miles round, and a few miles on either side along the banks of the Irawady." The "Grand Review of Burmese Troops in Mandalay" was, doubtless, a most important local event; but for any purposes of war, of course, it was utterly useless, and no idea of Burmese warfare can be formed except when the enemy are in their jungles or behind their stockades. The ludicrous incidents of this review, at which some five or six thousand men were present, were admirably brought out by the writer*; and, like too many effusions of our highly gifted "Specials" of this railroad age, they deserved a more permanent place than in the ephemeral columns of a journal. From the terrace of Signor Andreino's residence, the view is described as "charming enough." "On our left front on the other side of the city was Mandalay hill, with its white pagodas (reached from the surrounding level by great staircases ornamented with colossal dragons) shining among the emerald vegetation. In the distant east the Shan Hills, gently rounded, lay in a purple shade. On the right rose a jagged peak, which local superstition avers to be the wild abode of the 'nats,' or evil spirits. At our feet was the city wall with its embroidered crest of notches, from behind which rose the roofs of the King's palace, and peaked kyoungs and pagodas innumerable; and then there was the splendid moat, with its brilliant green mantle of lotuses, decorated here and there with the large white flowers that are the true Buddhist's veneration and delight." Such description as

* Special Correspondent of the "Standard," dated May 20th, in issue of July 2nd, 1879.

this would do credit to the pen of a Warburton or a Kinglake. Most of the Marines, he observed, were armed with rifles.* One company had the dhá, "the national knife, which is almost the same as that terrible weapon of the Afghans, the charah." Among the extraordinary costumes, he observed the "gilded hats," worn by "spearmen,"—many of which kind (worn by the King's troops) we picked up at the capture of Rangoon. Signor Andreino (the Italian Consul) had received two letters conveying King Humbert's congratulations on Theebau's accession to the throne. But, at the same time, the Burmese ministers were informed that the late massacres had excited horror throughout the civilised world, and especially in Italy. Although the steamers of the Irawady flotilla at Mandalay, for a time, had left off their "banked fires"—ready in case of rebellion—King Theebau was said still to continue in his dangerous "mad lunes"!

Colonel Horace Browne was now the hero of the hour at Mandalay. On his arrival,† towards the end of June, he had been escorted to the Residency by several Burmese officials, and visits of ceremony were paid him by a few of the grandees of the Court. But no apparent change seemed to have come over the murderous spirit of King Thebau, or that of his executive. No sooner did we hear of the new Resident's arrival, than more massacres by the King were reported to have taken place. This time the victims were the cousin of Nyoungyan, and two sons of Paghan Myoza, supporters of the refugee princes. They had been sentenced to imprisonment in Mogoung, the Burmese Siberia. "Murder," it was said from Rangoon, "was the easier means of riddance."

* The musket was first introduced into the Pegu and Ava countries by the Portuguese. The stout Burman, with his dhá and Martini-Henry, may yet fight on our side in Upper Burma!

† Strange to say, his gun and sword were detained at the Custom-house on this occasion, for a short time, "though foreigners are allowed to land these ordinarily without a pass."

Rangoon, and of course Calcutta, considered the situation extremely unsatisfactory. But, by some, it was thought that matters were improving as regarded the chance of peace. All reports, however, were very conflicting. At first it was said that the King had commenced his extensive military preparations in "terror of the consequences of his barbarity"; and yet, no sooner had the new Resident arrived than more murders were reported. It seemed clear that the Golden Foot was not troubled with that active moral check and companion in life—a conscience!

Cholera, our Indian "Angel of Death," had at length "spread his wings on the blast" at Thayetmyo; and there was some alarm, owing to the crowded state of the troops. The excellent sanitary movement of forming a cholera camp on the other side of the river was at once adopted. While marching in India, we have found crossing a river, at all hazards, prove a valuable check to cholera. This would seem to argue in favour of the disease being of a local character; and, in the early stages, change or movement should, therefore, take place at once.

The King had said that nothing would induce him to agree to a settlement of "the shoe question." We have before touched on this point. It does seem eminently absurd, the political officer of Her Majesty the Empress of India appearing before the Golden Foot without his shoes! Life is too short for such useless etiquette, so we must just make the "Lord of Earth and Air" stoop a little to civilisation, and "the force of circumstances." We recollect being shoeless (or rather bootless) during the year of the great Mutiny (1857), when present at the installation of the Nizam (*lit.* putter in order) of the Dekhan, at Hyderabad. The Mussulmans in the grand audience hall, while apparently keeping the pressing crowd back with their sticks, in case of our being forcibly pushed too near the *guddee* (cushion or throne) of His Highness, had little regard to the safety of our boots, which were eventually

found with some difficulty; while a gallant horse-artilleryman, we believe, lost his helmet altogether. Should, by any chance, King Theebau reform, we trust that he will turn his strict attention to this important question.

Not long after the King's "homicidal fit," disturbances occurred in the country between Mandalay and Bhamo; but the officials and populace at the capital were so much engaged with State lotteries, that the fact of several of the King's servants having been killed, while collecting unusually heavy taxes, caused no sensation. Human life, or "flesh and blood," had become very "cheap" at Mandalay.

At the end of July, it was said that a rectification of the British frontier in the direction of Thayetmyo was looked for at no distant date; the Shans near Bhamo were quiet; and it was rumoured that the very wise step of removing the British Residency at Mandalay to a more secure site had been determined on. The Resident's guard was also to be largely increased.

At this time public attention in Russia was devoted to the future relations between that Empire and China. The "development of commercial relations for the benefit of Russian trade," was the leading cause. As Russia trades with China mainly, if not solely, by land, it was demanded that similar privileges as have been accorded to "maritime trade" with China should be granted to "trade carried on by land." Perhaps most Englishman wish that we would keep a stricter watch over the *Nunquam dormio* policy of Russia in the East. Like the science of geology, it never rests—its law is progress.

In Asia we had now obtained our "scientific frontier," and a vote of thanks was accorded to our victorious army in Afghanistan by both Houses of Parliament. There might now be time to look after a "scientific frontier" for Burma.

It was remarked in London that things were becoming "very 'red' in Mandalay." Perhaps no king was ever so earnestly watched. His "Progress" had become a sort of "household