

## CHAPTER III

### Past Shan-Burmese Relations

Of all the races in Burma, the Shans, the Mons, the Burmese (Arakanese included here) are the most closely associated from the earliest historical times. Chronicles of Burma mention the Shans quite early. Both the Shan and Burmese chronicles claim the founding of Tagaung. From the reign of Anawrahta (1044-1077 A.D.) onwards there is no doubt about the close association between the two peoples. Anawrahta is said to have received homage from several Shan sawbwas. On his return from his holy tooth mission in Tali (Nanchao), Anawrahta was presented with a princess by the Mau king. This incident is often taken to mean that the kingdom of Mangmao was tributary to Pagan. This is doubtful. Giving away one's daughter in the old days did not always mean homage; it often meant intimate alliance. Was Queen Victoria tributary to Russia or Germany when she gave her daughters to their emperors?

Of the Shan homage, it is most likely that Anawrahta received it only from the princelings of statelets along the eastern foothills. Even then the homage was only nominal and the Pagan King had to establish the well known forty three outposts along his eastern frontier adjoining those hills.

We read of Alaungsithu's extensive travels in his domains, and he was credited with visits to some of the nearer Shan States. Yawnghwe and Tawngpeng still have legends to prove that this king visited them. The site where his barge stopped is always pointed out to one on a visit to the placid Inle - it is a whole valley shaped like a boat. In Tawngpeng, legends connected the king's name with the seed of the first tea trees from which all the present tea bushes are supposed to have sprung.

The Shans were credited with having been instrumental in the Mongol invasion of Pagan, and when Narathihapate's reign came to an end, it was not the Chinese who completed the ruin of that kingdom. The Chinese were all for the continuation of law and order, so long as Pagan acknowledged their overlordship. They gave Kyawswa an appointment order, but did not reckon with the three Shan Brothers, Asankhya, Rajasankram and Sihasura (Athinkhaya, Yazathinkyan and Thihathura). The two younger brothers absented themselves from the ceremony at which the great Khan's edict concerning his recognition<sup>of</sup> Kyawswa was read out. The three later put Kyawswa to death. These Brothers by

secret intrigues and "cat-and-mouse tactics" succeeded in convincing the Chinese that they had nothing to do with the death of Kyawswa. When the Emperor learned the truth about Kyawswa's death from the lips of his youngest son, Kumarakassappa, he ordered a small army to restore this son to the throne. The Chinese reached Myinzaing on the 25th January, 1301. The three Brothers put up a stiff resistance. This, together with their secret negotiations and bribes, plus the hot weather, caused the Chinese to retreat. Thereafter the Brothers made haste to stave off further invasion by sending submissive envoys and presents to Peking. The Chinese found it convenient, eventually, to accept tribute and recognise Sihasu, the surviving youngest brother, as "the King of Mien."

The Mongols alleged that the Shans at Kyaukse were in league with those in Northern Siam against the Emperor's authority. If this be true, as seems more than likely, then the swearing of friendship between Mangrai of Chiengsen and Ngammuang of Phayao and Phra Ruang of Sukhothai in 1287, must have been an alliance pact, as suggested by Professor Luce, against the Chinese who at this period were bent on aggression in Southeast Asia generally. Ramakhamheng's journey to Peking 1292<sup>1</sup> was to buy time and Mangrai was the leader in the resistance to the Chinese in North Siam, says Professor Luce. The Chinese campaigns against Chiengmai, which began in 1292-93, ended in the latter raiding Kenghung in 1297. Kenghung was under Chinese protection then. In their subsequent attempts at again invading Chiengmai in the early part of the fourteenth century the Chinese were as unsuccessful as they were with the Shans in Central Burma at the same time, but eventually recorded in their annals that "the southern barbarians of Yunnan came to submit" in February 1347.<sup>2</sup>

Were these "tributes" received at Peking actually sent as homage from a vassal to an overlord, or as gifts from a friendly but smaller monarch to a more powerful one and recorded by Peking officials as homage from a feud? After the unsuccessful Chinese invasions of 1765-69, the Burmese reopened relations with China and sent presents to Peking, but these were represented by the courtiers to the Emperor as homage from a people who had just routed his armies.

One of the chief reasons for the successes of the three Shan Brothers was their control of the rice areas of Kyaukse, which was regarded as the granary of Upper Burma. To reinforce their authority after having got rid of the last of Pagan kings, they intermarried with the remaining members of the royal family, and their descendants held Upper Burma for the next two and a half centuries. This period in the history of Burma is often known as the Shan Dominion or Shan Period.

The youngest of the Shan Brothers, Sihasu, survived the other two. When he became king it became necessary to move the capital from

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1. Wood, W. A. R., op. cit., p. 55 has the date as 1294.

2. Luce, G. H., op. cit., pp. 130, 149, 150, 164, 172.

Myinsaing to a more centrally-situated place. Pagan was no longer suitable now. Ava, at the confluence of the Myitnge and the Irrawaddy, was proposed in 1312, but the astrologers were against it. So Sihasu moved to Pinya, a little south of Ava. Thadominbya, noted as the king who ate a meal on the chest of the corpse of a brigand he had just killed, is remembered for founding Ava in 1365 which was to remain the capital of Burma generally for the next five centuries; hence the term "the Court of Ava" or "the Kingdom of Ava", even after the capital had moved to Amarapura and Mandalay in the nineteenth century.

The Shans at Kyaukse were as good Buddhists as the Burmese, and they regarded the northern Shans<sup>1</sup> as ditthi (heretics). The former left behind dozens of inscriptions, written not in Shan but in Burmese, while the latter left nothing.<sup>2</sup> This would lead one to conclude that the present Shan script, which is regarded by some as the Lord Buddha's own writing, had not yet been invented during the Shan Period in Burma.

The most unproductive period of Ava was between 1385 and 1422, when there was more or less annual warfare between Ava, headed by Mingyiswasauke (1368-1401) and later his son Minkhaung (1401-1422), and Pegu headed by Rajadarit (1385-1423) a descendent of Wareru, the Shan founder of Pegu. Year after year Shan and Burmese levies would swarm southward sacking and burning any town or village that opposed them. The Mon records often referred to the invaders simply as "the Shans". Rajadarit had to ward off some of the invasions by instigating other Shan States to fight Ava, which, in turn, invoked the help of Arakan and caused the Siamese states of Chiengmai, Kampengpet and Ayudhya to keep Rajadarit occupied. At one point the Mong king was so successful that he came up the Irrawaddy, as far as Sagaing. Sometimes, Ava was able to control Prome and some of the Delta areas. But while princes of both sides gloried in the virtues of war, the peasants often had to starve because there was no one to cultivate the paddy fields. Prome and Toungoo paid tribute now to the one, now to the other, but later they grew into sizeable independent states and acted as a buffer between Ava and Pegu.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the Mao Kingdom made war with the Chinese and its king, Songanpha, took asylum with his royal cousin at Ava in 1444. The Chinese followed up and demanded the surrender of the Mao prince. Ava refused at first to give up its political prisoner, but capitulated when the Chinese brought up reinforcement from Yunnan. On learning about his fate, Songanpha killed himself and the Chinese could take away only his dead body, dried in the sun, it is said.

The kings of Ava were often ousted by the neighbouring Shan sawbwas. In 1527 the Sawbwa of Mohnyin occupied Ava and placed on the throne his son Thohanbwa or Sohompha. The only notable event in this

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1. Anything north of Kyaukse or the Koshanpyi in China?

2. Luce, G. H., op. cit., p. 151.

prince's reign was his massacring of some 360 Buddhist monks because he said they led an idle life and could rebel if they wanted to". He then made bonfires of all the manuscripts he could collect from monasteries. This was considered a most barbarous act of vandalism equalled only by that of Alaungpaya when he sacked Pegu in 1757. Such burning of cities has been responsible for the paucity of reliable historical material; it was the practice that no victory was complete unless the conquered city had been fired. No conquering race seems to have escaped this weakness, even in the recent war waged by highly industrialised peoples who considered themselves more civilised.

One bright aspect of this period of incessant fighting was the rise of Burmese literature. This leads one to ask: Was this rise a subtle expression of Burmese nationalism under Shan domination? How Shan was the Shan period? There seems to be little doubt about the answer to the first question. Concerning the second, evidence seems to show that the ruling circles and the fighting men were Shan. At Ava itself sentiments were clearly more Burmese than Shan, but elsewhere the states seemed more Shan in character. Inscriptions of this period were all written in beautiful Burmese, the Shan script having not yet been devised. While the indigenous population was mainly Burmese, it would be natural for the ruling princes to depend on their own Shans for fighting. The number of the fighting men must have been reduced by the endless warfare, and although unending migrating waves of the Shans must have made up for the human losses, a time must come when no replenishment was possible. It seems that this point was reached by the end of the fifteenth century, but the senseless slaughter continued for nearly two generations and at the end of it the virility and energy of the Shans were at their lowest. Warfare, jealousies and lack of organisational ability rendered the various sawbwas incapable of consolidating into one powerful kingdom which might have changed the course of Burma's history. Thus we read of the sawbwas of Kale, Monyin, Mogaung, Yawnghwe, Momeik, Bhano, Mongnai, Hsipaw and Mongpai continuing to play at war with each other, a pastime so dear to their heart, even when a new Burmese power was looming large on the southern horizon - viz. Tabinshwehti (1531-50).

Ava, as capital of an independent kingdom, fell to Bayinnaung in 1555 without much fighting. Sawbwas who called each other royal brothers and uncles or nephews failed to answer Ava's call for help, and it was too late when they realised what was happening.

Here is one version of how Ava fell:

"The Shan records agree with the Burman that their loss of Ava was due to mutual jealousies and lack of co-operation. Hso-hom-pha (Tho-han-bwa) incurred the hatred of the Burmans by his cruelties. He may not, however, have been so impious as the Burmans make him out to have been. There may have been occasion for his hostility in dealing with the Buddhist monks, if Burman monks took part in insurrections and their monasteries were the favourite haunts of conspirators, as was sometimes the case at the time of British occupation. This

could not justify his expulsion and massacre of so many of that religious fraternity, but it does suggest what may have been the occasion of his enmity! The Shans seem to have supported Hso-hom-hpa's immediate successor, but when his son, a prince from the comparatively unimportant state of Mongpai, with the title of Mongpai-Narabadi (Mobyemin), ascended the throne of Ava, the northern Shans refused tribute or to help him in any way. The end might have been foreseen. Surrounded by Burmans already aggrieved and bursting with race-pride, and who had never taken kindly to the rule of the Shan invaders, he soon found his position untenable! He fled to Bayin Naung who, according to Shan accounts, promised to re-establish him upon his throne. Bayin Naung marched northward, conquered Ava (1555), and sat on the throne himself for a short time. Putting his brother on the throne of Ava, he returned to his capital in Pegu before the rainy season!<sup>1</sup>

Within three years from 1556 to 1559, the Shan states of Hsipaw, Mongmit, Monzin, Mogaung, Mongpai, Samka, Yawnghwe, Lawksawk, Nawngwawn, Mongkung, Mongnai and Chiengmai became tributary to Pegu. In 1562 Bayinnaung set out with a huge army, consisting of divisions from all the vassal states, to conquer the Koshanpyi - the Chinese Shan States of Mongmau, Hsikwan, Mongna, Sanda, Hosa, Lasa, Mongwan, Kungma and Monglem. The first four were the first to be reduced, followed by submission of the remaining! In November 1562, Kengtung sent tributary presents and a daughter, and the Peguan king reciprocated with white umbrellas, a crown and the five articles of royal regalia. Hsenwi submitted later.

In all his conquests, Bayinnaung's tactics had been the same. There had been no serious fighting and no town or city seemed to have been fired. The king of kings would appear before a walled city with a mighty host commanded by various vassal princes, including his son, the crown prince, and his brothers, and the besieged would submit without offering any resistance. Then the relatives of the ruling prince who had submitted would be sent down to Pegu and housed in quarters appropriate to their ranks. Some of the ladies would be taken into the royal harem. The oath of allegiance was administered to every prince who became a vassal! A large number of people were also deported, partly to populate the Lower Burma and partly to serve the royal hostages of the vassal states!

Bayinnaung claimed to have reformed Buddhism in many of the Shan States. It is also said that he put an end to the funeral sacrifice in which the favourite elephant, horse and slaves of the dead sawbwa were slaughtered and buried with him!<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cochrane, W. W., The Shans, pp. 76-77.

2. Hmannan, ppt 316-363t

Concerning the number of animals and human beings sacrificed at the dead ruler's grave, Mr. Harvey says that at the funeral of a big sawbwa, as many as 10 elephants, 100 horses, 100 men and 100 women might be sacrificed.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether a Shan state, however large, could have afforded so many precious animals, even if 200 slaves could have been expended.

The Shan levies, not available to Tabinshwehti, swelled Bayinnaung's army and enabled him to conquer Siam with comparative ease. In both his campaigns against Ayudhya in 1563-64 and 1568-69, each division of the king's army had some Shan contingents. We learn from the (Burmese) Hmanan Yazawin that during the 1563-64 invasion, the army under the Prince of Ava had Shan contingents commanded by the Sawbwas of Mongmit and Hsipaw; the Prince of Toungoo had his Shan levies commanded by the Sawbwas of Mohnyin and Mogaung; the Prince of Prome's army had the Mongnai and Onbaung Sawbwas and their men; the Crown Prince's army was served with Shan contingents commanded by the Sawbwas of Yawnghwe and Hsenwi. Similarly in the second invasion of Siam, Shan contingents served in Bayinnaung's armies under the Sawbwas of Mogaung, Mongmit, Mohnyin, Bhamo, Ohnbaung, Yawnghwe, Mongnai and Kengtung, together with the Lao levies from Lannathai (Chiengmai).<sup>2</sup> The Shan chronicles also speak of their States' participation in the Burmese invasions of Ayudhya.

The Hmannan and other Chronicles are full of instances of co-operation between the Shans and the Burmese both in peace and in war. Of course the Shans were very much the junior partner, but everybody was junior except the king and the point is that the Shans were loyal to their suzerains in Pegu and Ava, and whenever a recalcitrant Sawbwa gave trouble, other Sawbwas would answer the royal summon and put down the wicked member. No less than during the Burmese invasions of Ayudhya in the sixteenth century, the great invasion of 1764-67 was also greatly helped by the Shan armies. Thus we learned that an army of 20,000 started from Kengtung to invade Siam in 1764. The Chinese invasions of Burma in 1765-69 could not have been successfully driven back, without the Shan participation on the defender's side.<sup>3</sup>

During the first Anglo-Burmese war of 1824-26, in the battle before Prome (November 1825), we have the following contemporary account of some of the Shan participation:

Eight thousand men of his corps d'armee were Shans, who had not yet come in contact with our troops, and were expected to fight with more spirit and resolution than those

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1. Harvey, G. E., History of Burma, pp. 166, 343.
  2. For those preferring to read the English translation, see Relationship with Burma, Pt. I, being selected articles from the JSS, Vol. V, pp. 24, 55-56.
  3. Harvey, G. E., History of Burma, p. 255.

who had a more intimate acquaintance with their enemy! In addition to a numerous list of Chobwas and petty princes, these levies were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank; who were believed, by their superstitious countrymen, to be endowed not only with the gift of prophecy and foreknowledge, but to possess the miraculous power of turning aside the balls of the English, rendering them wholly innocent and harmless. These Amazons, dressed in warlike costume, rode constantly among the troops, inspiring them with courage and ardent wishes for an early meeting with their foe, as yet only known to them by the deceitful accounts of their Burmese masters.

In the ensuing battle between human courage and modern armament, the Burmese and the Shans died side by side for their sovereign at Ava, some 400 miles away!

The gray-headed Chobwas of the Shans, in particular, showed a noble example to their men, sword in hand, singly maintaining the unequal contest, nor could signs or gestures of good treatment induce them to forbearance - attacking all who offered to approach them with humane or friendly feelings, they only sought the death which too many of them found. Maha Nemiow himself fell while bravely urging his men to stand their ground, and his faithful attendants being likewise killed by the promiscuous fire while in the act of carrying him off, his body, with his sword, Wonghee's chain, and other insignia of office, were found among the dead. One of the fair Amazons also received a fatal bullet in the breast, but the moment she was seen, and her sex was recognized, the soldiers bore her from the scene of death to a cottage in the rear, where she soon expired!..

While this was passing in the interior of the stockades, Sir Archibald Campbell's column, pushing rapidly forward to their rear; met the defeated and panic-struck fugitives in the act of emerging from the jungle, and crossing the Nawine river: the horse-artillery was instantly unlimbered, and opened a heavy fire upon the crowded ford. Another of the Shan ladies was here observed flying on horseback with the defeated remnant of her people; but before she could gain the opposite bank of the river, where a friendly forest promised safety and protection, a shrapnel exploded above her head, and she fell from her horse into the water; but whether killed, or only frightened, could not be ascertained, as she was immediately borne off by her attendants!l

The Shans did not encounter the British before this battle at the Prome. The three Shan ladies were from Laikha and the two killed

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1. Snodgrass, Major, Narrative of the Burmese War, pp. 231-235.

were the wives of the Sawbwa.<sup>1</sup> From enquiries made, the present-day Laikha seems ignorant of these remarkable deeds of its courageous daughters.

No Mons or Shans seem to have participated in the Second Anglo-Burmese War of 1852-9. By the time the third war of 1885 came, misrule by King Thibaw had caused the whole of the Shan States to revolt openly. Active Shan participation of affairs in Mandalay seems to have ceased with the death of King Mindon, upon which nearly a hundred royal children were put to death in the customary succession blood bath. The Shans then fell to fighting among themselves. True, the royal annals continued to mention events in the Shan States or to record tributes received, but the relationship between the court and the Shan Sawbwas was neither as close or cordial as before.

Before this rift, the Shan sawbwas had a definite place in the order of things at the palace. Most sawbwas and some of the more important myosas have their titles suffixed with the word raja or yaza, while the king suffixed his with rajadhiraja (king of kings). Very often the Shan sawbwas were referred to as newin bayin (sun-set king) while the king was nedwet bayin (sun-rise king), for obvious reasons.<sup>2</sup> Sawbwas would be summoned to attend the coronation of a new king and the annual kadaw pwe at the capital.

The King wore a salwe of 24 strands; the Crown Prince, 21 strands; Princes of the blood and Shan sawbwagis, 18 strands; other members of the royal family and Shan myozas, 15 strands; ministers, 12 strands. When the Kinwun Mingyi visited England in 1872, he took with him as Burmese Orders from Mindon a salwe of 21 strands for the Prince of Wales and one of 12 strands for Mr. Gladstone the then Prime Minister.<sup>3</sup>

At home in their own states, the sawbwas and myosas had their royal paraphernalia prescribed for them by the court of Ava as to how many tiers or roofs their haws should have, how many white or gold umbrellas, what types of dress or crowns or hats, how many articles of royal regalia, etc. Royal words and phrases used at the court were addressed to them by their subjects and other Shans and non-official Burmans. In his own State, a sawbwa had the power of life and death over his subjects and in this Ava seldom interfered. A sawbwa might refer or cause to be referred to himself the Pali title of raja or maharaja or any other high sounding terms, but the supreme Burmese title Bawashin mintaragyi (Lord of life, the great and just king) was always reserved for the king at Ava, as was the term cherang daw or cheyin daw (literally, royal feet; figuratively, the royal presence). In Burmese language the sawbwas refer to their sons and daughters and

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1. See extracts from Dr. Richardson's Journal of the 22nd Feb.; also Yule, H., Mission to the Court of Ava, p. 300.
  2. See titles of King Thibaw and those of various Shan Chiefs in Appendix III.
  3. GUBSS, I.2.134.

relatives in royal terms, such as thadaw, thamidaw, nyidaw, naungdaw, amadaw, nyimadaw, swedaw-myodaw (meaning respectively, royal-son, -daughter, -elder-brother, -younger-brother, -elder-sister, -younger-sister, -relatives). In Shan the words are prefixed with sao, e.g. saolook (son or daughter), saolan (nephew, niece or grandson and granddaughter), saopi (elder brother or sister), saonawng (younger brother or sister). For relatives the Western Shans use the Burmese swedaw-myodaw. The Khun Shans use direct Pali words, rajaputta, -putti, rajanatta, -natti, khattiya rajawongsa, etc. Several royal words in Western Shan have been borrowed from the Burmese, while Kengtung from the Siamese.

It has been stated earlier that although the Burmese kings claimed suzerainty over the Shan States definitely from the time of Bayinnaung, Burmese control, and then only of cis-Salween States, became effective only during the second half of the eighteenth century - from the time of Alaungpaya or Hsinbyushin. How it was brought about and the exact dates could form a good research project for diligent Shan scholars; but we have a pretty good idea of what the set-up was like during the early part of the nineteenth century.

However that may be, it is quite indisputable that the Kings of Burma received tribute and controlled successions in the Southern Shan States long before they had any permanent control in Hsen Wi, where their first exercise of authority was no earlier than A.D. 1604 or 1605, when the Mao Shan Kingdom came to an end. From that time the Tai were never free from Burman interference, however little the suzerainty may have been acknowledged in the remoter States to be of practical effect. In the Southern States it very soon became an active and oppressive reality, dwindling gradually to the eastward and to the north-east, but for many years constantly creeping on, notwithstanding the enterprise of the Chinese from the other side. In these three centuries at any rate, the power and prosperity of the Tai principalities steadily declined. They were worn down not only by the aggression and rapacity of the Burmese and Chinese, and by the intestine wars, in which there is abundant proof that they always indulged, but by the advances of the Kachins. Whether these hillmen were crushed out by the Chinese, or whether over-population forced them to migrate, it is certain that for the last two centuries they also have passed south-eastwards and have driven the Tai from much territory between China Proper and Burma, until Shan names of mountains, streams, and villages are the only remaining witnesses of former occupation. The once powerful States west of the Irrawaddy now only possess a meagre and much Burmanized population, while the border principalities to the east from Hsum Hsai to Yawng Hwe, and in a lesser degree even to Mong Nai, have suffered almost as much from the deliberate policy of the Burmese Kings and have only survived because they had the mass of their fellow-countrymen behind them.

No connected history of these two, or two and a half centuries can be written because there was no cohesion or connection. What details have survived must be picked out under the heads of the various States. The Burmese policy was not by any means directed to maintain peace and quietness. The sons or brothers of the ruling Sawbwas were always kept at the Avan Court, not only as hostages for the good behaviour of the Chief of the State, but that they might be reared under Burman influence and withdrawn from sympathy with those of their own race, so that when they in time came to rule, their loyalty to the suzerain might be ensured; moreover, the policy was to foster feuds between the different Sawbwas, and rival aspirants were left to settle their claims to the succession in a State by force of arms. The victorious claimant might be confirmed as Sawbwa by Royal patent, but he would not be, unless he was able to pay for it, and when the civil war was over, his forces were too exhausted to permit him to resist Burman demands. If a Chief seemed so prosperous that he might become impatient of Burman control, conspiracies were fostered against him. Such troubles were easily managed among a hot-tempered people, such as most hillmen are. There was probably never a time when the gates of the temple of Janus were closed, when there was peace in all the Shan States. Consequently there were permanent bands of marauders or dacoits, collected from all parts who were always ready to take the opportunity for indiscriminate plunder which the disturbed condition of some State might offer. In this way it was not uncommon for a prosperous and populous district to be utterly deserted for a time owing to these internal troubles, and the State of Hsen Wi, which till the middle of the century was the most powerful of the States, is the most notable example. Besides all this, or rather in consequence of all this, there were frequent, more or less extensive, rebellions against the royal authority. Some of these were soon put down. Some, like that in Hsen Wi, dragged on for years. The extraordinary thing was, and it was pointed to as the justification of the Burman policy, that other States always willingly supplied armed contingents to suppress the rebel for the time being. Such risings were always put down in the same way. Towns and villages were ruthlessly burnt and everything portable was carried off. It is little wonder therefore that the greatest of the modern Shan capitals would hardly form a bazaar suburb to one of the old walled cities.<sup>1</sup>

These conclusions of Sir George Scott must be taken with a sense of perspective. Neither the Shans nor the Burmans reading this need get alarmed. They are quoted not to degrade the Shans or to rouse feelings against the Burmans. Nor can we dismiss them as a fabrication

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1. GUBSS, I.1.280-282g

of a die-hard foreign imperialist. It is good to see ourselves in other people's eyes. The Shans in North Burma spread out too thinly in an area too large for them to control effectively. Interstate warfare, disease and disunity have combined to reduce them to the present straits. A Shan normally does not concern himself with others' danger and when the danger reaches his own home he finds his neighbour looking on unconcerned and he is forced to move to the next village.

For a king to bring up his tributary chiefs' children was considered magnanimous; it was a good insurance against rebellion and lawlessness; a Shan sawbwa would have done the same thing in the king's place - in fact some sawbas are still bringing up children of their favourites. If the king favoured a claimant who had his ear first, he was just playing favouritism which was the fashion all over the world. The Shans treated each other in the same way in cases of risings by subordinate chiefs. The various Burmese princes and chiefs of provinces and states in Burma Proper also behaved in much the same way, for it was considered better by far to be sovereigns with their own States, no matter how small, than to submit to their neighbours, and at the same time acknowledge only Ava as centre of the universe. Burmese kings put down risings in Burma Proper just as ruthlessly. So did kings of Siam within their own domains. The Siamese complained of Burmese barbarity when Ayudhya was sacked in 1767. The Laos complained of the same thing against the Siamese when the latter sacked Vientiane in 1827. The Laos of Luangphrabang and those of Wiengchan behaved towards one another as the Siamese did towards both. These things were taken for granted. The Burmese or Shan chronicles describe without jeering or bitterness the ups and downs of the two peoples.

From the foregoing one is tempted to assume that the general conditions in the Shan States, or in Burma Proper for that matter, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries must have remained unchanged, and that description of the Shan States as given by eye-witnesses Captain McLeod and Doctor Richardson in 1837 must be fairly close to what they were in the seventeenth century, as well as to what the British saw on their annexation.

At this time, 1837<sup>8</sup> the Burmese centre of administration in the Shan States was at Mongnai. The head of the Burmese setup, supported by three to four hundred soldiers or levies from Burma, was the bohmu mintha, who resided mostly in Mandalay but who would come up to see his charge occasionally. The bohmu mintha's deputy was the sitkedawgyi or, as normally called, sitke. Other sitkes were stationed in the more important States and had to report to the most senior sitke residing permanently at Mongnai. From here the Burmese controlled all the Shan States from their boundary with Burma in the west to the trans-Salween States of Kengtung, Kenghung and Monglem in the east, from Mongmit and Hsenwi in the north to Mongpai and Mawmai in the south, i.e. up to the Karenni border. Whether Chiengmai and Chiengsen were controlled from Mongnai when they were within the Burmese dominion is open to

doubt, but it is known that Chiengsen had been a Burmese stronghold until the Siamese finally expelled the Burmese from there in 1802.

It is not known when the Burmese headquarters were first established in Mongnai, but a "complete list of bohms and sitkes of Mongnai from 1802 to 1882 will be found in the Appendix."<sup>1</sup>

The effectiveness of the Burmese administration depended on how far away a state was from Mongnai and from Ava. In the trans-Salween States the control was nominal, although the sitkes were there, while in the cis-Salween States it was quite firm. How the Burmese garrison and the resident and his followers supported themselves in Mongnai will be found under Chapter IV.<sup>2</sup> During the time of Mindon, the chief activity of the Burmese political agents was to collect the Thathameda tax for the treasury at Mandalay. Earlier, it may be assumed, the sitkes saw to it generally that orders from the Central Government were carried out and the annual tributes paid in regularly. Apart from these and the demands made by the sitke and his entourage, including the garrison, the sawbwas were given an entirely free hand to deal with their own subjects. Oppressive measures by a sawbwa on his own people were rare because they often had the effect of causing the people to migrate to neighbouring States, and this the sawbwa dreaded.

Succession of sawwaship was usually hereditary, but appointment orders came from Ava which were normally in accord with the wishes of the people and of the previous ruler, unless some of his relatives managed to collect a sizeable following and make himself heard at the court. On receiving the orders the sawbwa would have a coronation ceremony. A mahadevi was also appointed by Ava and she took her place at the side of her husband at the coronation ceremony, or a separate ceremony would take place proclaiming her the mahadevi.

There seems to have been no authentic system of precedence in the Burmese times beyond the principle that the sawbwas of bigger states were respected more than those of the smaller ones, sawbwas taking precedence over myosas and the latter over ngwegunhmus. Some of the ngwegunhmus were not as well off as the Burmese thugyis. The rulers of the undivided Hsenwi used to take precedence over other sawbwas, followed by Mongnai, in the seating priority before the audience at Ava. Kenghung and Kengtung seem to have taken the lead after Hsenwi had been plunged into chaotic embroilment by various claimants. Age and favouritism sometimes counted in the seniority of sawbwas' places. At the time when the Mongnai Queen was one of King Mindon's favourite wives, the Sawbwa of Mongnai not only sat above all other sawbwas, but also had his territory much enlarged.

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1. Appendix IV.

2. Pp.

Durbars were held at Mong Nai only very irregularly and most often when the ruler of some State had died, though it does not appear that this was enforced by any customary law, or that the opinion of the assembled Chiefs as to the succession was asked, or had any weight if given. The assemblages were held in the Lum, the building referred to by Dr. Richardson. In this there was a long raised platform running east and west in the centre of the audience hall. At the western extremity of this the Bo-hmu Min sat on a dais facing the east. In front of him sat the Wundauk, who appears to have accompanied the Bo-hmu when he paid his visits from the capital. Behind the Wundauk sat the Sikke-gyi, then the Nakhans and other subordinate officials, and at the eastern end were ranged the body-guard. To the left of the Bo-hmu Min, below the platform, was a square enclosure fenced with red cords. In this the Sawbwas arranged themselves at their pleasure, or according to mutual agreement, the Mong Nai Sawbwa occupying the post of honour, that nearest to the Bo-hmu. The Sawbwas were nearly in a line with the Wundauk, that is to say, a little to the left front of the Bo-hmu. Beyond them and facing the Nakhans were the Myozas, also in a red-fenced enclosure, like that of the Sawbwas. Behind these enclosures were others, in which were gathered the Amats, and Myozayes - the officials of the Sawbwas behind the Sawbwas and those of the Myozas behind their masters. The Ngwekunhmus, if any were present, took rank with the Amatgyis of a Sawbwa.

At the Palace in Mandalay the Shan chiefs sat straight in front of the throne behind the Princes of the blood and the Ministers of State, who took station left and right of the throne, otherwise the arrangement seems to have corresponded with that in the Mong Nai assemblages. It is stated that the Sawbwa of Mong Nai in King Mindon's time (father of Hkun Kyi, the first Sawbwa under British rule) in right of being one of His Majesty's fathers-in-law, sat occasionally with the Princes of the blood, but only by special orders and not as of right.<sup>1</sup>

Conditions of the Shan States and the Burmese influence therein in 1837 were vividly described by McLeod and Richardson, whose writings will now be quoted at considerable length, and readers not interested in these details may turn to the next chapter straight away.

Captain W. C. McLeod and Dr. D. Richardson were sent in December 1836 by Mr. E. A. Blundell, the Commissioner of the British Tenasserim, to open "the gold and silver road of trade" between Moulmein and the Shan States through Chiengmai. Richardson had made three trips previously to Chiengmai and Karenni. On this occasion McLeod and Richardson set out together on the 13th December, 1836 from Moulmein. They parted company near Mainglongyi on the 26th December. McLeod reached Chiengmai on the 12th January, 1837 but was

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1. GUBSS, I.1.289-90.

considerably delayed there because the authorities were most reluctant to let him proceed to Kengtung, as relations between the two States were at their worst, culminating in the Siamese invasions of Kengtung in 1852-54. McLeod persevered and managed to leave Chiengmai on the 29th January and arrived at Kengtung on the 20th February! The following extracts are from his journal:

20th February ..... As I was anxious to be introduced to the Tsobua with as little delay as possible, I requested that some officer might be sent to settle this point. In the evening the Minister, Puniah (or Paya as it was pronounced) Wang, called on me, attended by a train of officers and other followers, and brought several trays of fruit, &c., as presents. He is the factotum here! His wife was a sister of the Tsobua's late wife, and his daughter is married to the Tsobua's eldest son; so he may be supposed to have considerable influence! He tried to impress on me the honour done me by his visit; that he had come at the Tsobua's express order, who had long been most anxious to establish a friendly connection with the English, and had endeavoured to open a communication with them; that he had never before called on any other officer, however high his rank! He was very angry and sore about the reply from Zimme to their propositions about the road, which was not even couched in civil terms, as well as the detention of the officer there. This person had been set on to Ava with the presents (four elephants), all given by the Tsobua's own relations at that place, none by the Government.

The Tsobua's eldest son, Chou Maha Phom, has been appointed from Ava Aing She Meng (Lord of the Eastern House) or Crown Prince, a title or appointment which confers on him certain privileges and power only little short of those enjoyed by the Tsobua himself.

The Tsobua has three sons, the eldest about 25 years of age, the second, Chow Patta Wun, about 18 years of age, and a younger one, at present in a monastery, of 12. He has two or three daughters, one of whom is married to his nephew, and one engaged to the late Kiang Hung Tsobua's son! Unlike most chiefs the Tsobua is content with one wife; all his children are by this one ....

22nd February ..... Agreeably to the arrangement made yesterday, I was introduced to Tsobua to-day! At about 12 o'clock some officers came to escort me! On arriving at the gate of the palace inclosure, the officer with me asked me whether I would dismount, as no person ever entered it on horseback; knowing their customs, I immediately complied with his request!

On entering the gate I could not help observing the total absence of care and neatness in the compound. It was overgrown

with grass, and the out-houses in a dilapidated state, and the whole surrounded by a brick and mud wall of 8 feet high. The Palace itself, a shabby-looking pile of wood, raised about 15 feet from the ground, on high pillars. After ascending the steps, and on reaching the door of the hall, the Tsobua's two sons came forward and led me to a seat in front of the Tsobua, where carpets had been spread for me and my followers. The interior of the building was very richly gilt, forming a strong contrast with its exterior. The throne stood at one end within a railing, very elegantly curved and gilt, with two white umbrellas on each side of it, and folding doors leading to it from the back, as in the palace at Ava.

The Tsobua, however, was seated on a handsome low gilt couch in front of the throne, surrounded by a number of men holding swords in gold scabbards at a respectful distance. His two eldest sons and nephew were seated on the ground on his right, and the officers ranged in lines on each side in front.

I was much struck with the grandeur of everything compared with what I had seen at Zimme. Though many Tsobuas are permitted to have thrones, white umbrellas, and other emblems of royalty, yet they cannot make use of them personally. The Tsobua when he goes out has eight gold chuttas carried round him (the number allowed to the Tsekia Meng King's eldest son at Ava), but he dare not use a white one. The hall was crowded, the officers well dressed after the Burmese fashion, but the rest of the people with Shan jackets and blue trousers.

The Tsobua is a remarkably fine tall man of about 55, but blind, which I did not know till afterwards, for when speaking to me he looked directly at me. He evidently thinks and acts for himself. He spoke in Shan, but understands Burmese perfectly. He addressed me immediately when I was seated, saying that he was truly glad to find the English were willing to establish a friendly intercourse with him; that he had long wished it, and had been disappointed that no officer had ever before visited him, as we had been in the habit of going to Zimme for a long time; that he had attempted to communicate with us, as I might have heard, but the jealousy of the Zimme people would not permit it; that they did not wish us at all to have any communication with them; that fear alone had induced them to permit me to pass through their country at present. He asked about the Dakhong road, as he had understood it was intended that I should travel by it. The officer from Zimme who was with me, related the whole affair perfectly correctly. The Tsobua said that he had sent to Ava, and with the King's permission intended to make another effort to have the road thrown open; that matters of

commerce and of war were distinct, the merchants passing through could do no harm! I made an excuse for the conduct of the Zimme people, and told him I hoped the Chou Hona, on his return from Bangkok, would comply with our wishes and permit all merchants a free passage.

The Commissioner's letter was then read by a Burman writer, and the Tsobua listened attentively to its contents. He said his wishes were precisely the same as those conveyed in the letter; he was an advocate for a free communication with all the surrounding countries, and would joyfully render every assistance in his power to bring about so desirable an object!

He prayed for a continuation of that peace he had so long enjoyed with the Siamese through our means, though he now regretted to see symptoms of a breach on their part! That he had repeopled many of the deserted towns, and would continue to do so, but he feared the Siamese would not long remain quiet, except we interfered!

23rd February ..... In the evening I paid Paya Wang a visit; he resides immediately at the back of the Tsobua's palace in a good large wooden house, built like those of the chiefs of Zimme, but not kept particularly clean. He said it was necessary, that I should attend their consultation about my proceeding to China, or if I would visit the Tsobua the next day, he had no doubt the point would be then decided! He informed me, that the Burmese Tseitke, who has been withdrawn lately, is at Mone, or Monae, as the Shans call it; that the Meng myat bo, or Bo wun meng tha, as he is also called, a half brother of the King of Ava, who has the government of all the Shan States tributary to Ava, has his Yum dau or royal court at that place, where a Burmese Tseitke is stationed; that all the Shan States are obliged to report to and receive orders from him, and that intelligence of my arrival and the object of my mission has already been sent to him!

25th February ..... I should think that the town contains about 600 houses. The palace stands in the centre of the town; to the southward and westward of it are low hills and swamps; this portion is totally uninhabited! The roads to the north are narrow, and the houses, which are very poor, are widely separated from each other. In some places near the fort and some new monasteries, as if the road were not narrow enough, people were digging pits in it, and with the mud making bricks. It is a miserable place, and I could never have fancied an inhabited place, the residence of a Tsobua, in such a wretched state. The pomegranate and the custard apple are the only fruit trees in the place. Peas, beans, &c. grow here in abundance.

There are some good kyomngs or monasteries, and places of worship, decorated with gilt ornaments, and the walls painted;

they are in every way superior to similar buildings at Zimme. This is partly accounted for by the work having been done by Chinamen. The priests, too, are stricter in the discharge of their religious duties, and do not parade the streets for amusement; the only point in which they are said to be rather lax is eating after mid-day.

The fort stands on high ground at the foot of the range of hills passed by us on the march, and which run to the north and north-east. On the north-western side are fields extending from three to eight miles, bounded by high mountains; on the other sides are swamps and low hills. The wall on the southern face has been lately extended, in consequence of an order from Ava, directing that all Tsobuas shall surround their capitals with walls 6,000 cubits in circumference. The wall, which is about 15 feet high including the parapet, consists of a double wall of brick and mud of about two feet thick, with the space between them filled up with earth. In many places the weight of the earth during the rains has brought down portions of the wall, and parties of Chinamen are at work repairing these breaches, the inhabitants paying them for their labour. This industrious race furnishes the only artisans in the place. Many of them come in search of work, be it what it may, during the dry season, and after collecting a little money together they return to their homes. But to return to the fort; it has 12 gates, four or five of which are on the eastern face, but it has no bastions or embrasures for cannon. The wall, following the conformation of the ground, presents a most irregular fortification. I did not see a single piece of ordnance in the place. Swamps supply the place of a ditch, and where these do not exist, a cutting has been made in some places to the depth of 30 feet from the foot of the wall through the hilly ground to a level with the swamps, but no water enters it. Finally, its position is not strong, having the hills to the southward equally high, if not higher.

The extent of the Kiang Tung territory is at present considerable, reaching from the Salween to the Combodia river, and embracing many states formerly governed by different Tsobuas, many of whom with their followers are now at Zimme and other Siamese places. Of these, the principal are the Tsobuas of Muang Niong, Kiang Then or Tsen, Muang Lem, Muang Lap, &c. To the eastward it is bounded by the Me Khong and the territory of the Kiang Khieng Tsobua; to the north-east, by the Kiang Hung territories; to the northward, by Muang Lem; to the westward, by the Salween; to the south-west, by some towns belonging to Mone; and to the southward, by Zimme, &c. The town stands in  $21^{\circ} 17' 48''$  north latitude, and about  $99^{\circ} 40'$  east longitude. Water boiled here at  $208\frac{1}{2}$  Fahrenheit.

The average range of the thermometer during my stay here, was at -

	In the House	In the Sun
6 A.M. -	42°	-
9 " -	64°	80°
12 " -	74°	98°
3 P.M. -	82°	110°
6 " -	76°	-

I always find a fire at night necessary.

Kiang Tung is a great thoroughfare for the Chinese, who pass through it and spread themselves over its territories, or proceed to Mone and other Shan states on the western bank of the Salween.

They import the same articles as they do to Zimme, with the addition of woollen cloths, carpets, thick cotton cloth, warm and fur jackets, and salt. For this last article, the inhabitants are entirely dependent on them

Their exports consist chiefly of cotton and some tea from this and other districts to the north! Many of the traders who do not proceed further than this, are well known here, and have agents to prepare cotton for them before they arrive; this is sent off, the head merchant remaining behind to make his arrangements for a second supply, and his mules return from China bringing nothing but salt. Even some of those who go to Mone make two trips in the season. Those, however, who only come from the towns on the border of China, make three or four trips.

The merchants, during the first or second journey, frequently sell their cotton on the road, but never during the last trip; some must be taken home to be worked up during the monsoon, when all communication with these states cut off! They likewise export to the frontier towns of China coarse cloth, which they purchase from the Ka Kuis and other hill tribes; this is entirely carried by coolies. ....

It is stated here that the last war between China and Ava originated in a quarrel amongst some boys, which ended in an affray, in which a Chinaman lost his life; the Chinese would have life for life, the Burmans or Shans declined to satisfy them in that manner, but offered the price of blood, which was refused by the Chinese, and an army was in consequence sent towards Ava by them. The peace was brought about by the intrigues of the commanders on both sides, by which the kings of each nation considered either that he had conquered the other, or that the other acknowledged his superiority, and in submission sent tributary offerings...

The men here are not tall, generally rather dark, with broad faces, and small noses, though not flat; the chiefs, however, are fine tall men, fair and appear a distinct race altogether, one might almost say Chinese. They dress in the glazed dark blue Shan jackets, and wide blue trowsers; the Chinese jacket, both of cloth and fur, is common amongst them. They preserve their hair long, and wear a turban like the Burmans, and in the day-time when going about, a Chinese hat. The only ornament worn by the Chiefs is a gold bangle. The betel utensils are here of gold or silver, according to the person's rank, carried in a Shan box as in Burmah. They do not chew the betel leaf and areca nut to the same excess as the Siamese, perhaps because it is not a produce of the country; they have, nevertheless, succeeded pretty well in getting black teeth. There is not an areca nut tree in the whole territory, and they are entirely dependent upon the Zimme and Labong people for it. The price is here four ticals for a bundle of nuts, which contains 288 nuts cut up, and strung on strips of the bark of a certain jungle tree. A cocoa-nut sells for half a tical; it is also brought from the lower provinces.

The women are looked upon here in an inferior light to what they are in Burmah. Many of those who brought trays on their heads to me were the daughters of the first officers of the place, and were hardly noticed by the men. They are rather a short race, not fair, and broad featured; they wear a petty coat like the Siamese Shans, both in texture and make; a jacket is a part of their dress, and on their heads the young women carry a loosely-folded cotton handkerchief, having the appearance of a turban; and the elder women, when moving about in the sun, a small neat hat, made of bamboos delicately cut, which they place on the knot of hair at the back of their head. Amongst those who travel leggings are common.

There are a good many Burmans here; those belonging to the Ava Government at present consist but of six men. The others are traders from Mone and Ava, whence they bring English piece-goods, which are in demand here.

28th February ..... He regretted that the deprivation of sight prevented his looking at an English officer. He told me that his blindness first commenced in the beginning of 1824, at Ava. He had been under the treatment of many Chinese doctors; one had couched one eye, and he saw distinctly with it for 20 days, when he consented to have the other eye operated upon; but, instead of finding the same relief as on the former occasion, he was seized with a violent pain in his head, became sick, and totally blind. He entreated me to inquire if he could be cured, and, if so, to ask the Commissioner to send a doctor up, whom he would reward handsomely.

McLeod left Kengtung on the 1st March for Kenghung, much against the sawbwa's inclination. He reached his destination on the 9th to find that the state had just had a civil war to determine who should succeed the late Sawbwa Maha Wang. He had intended to proceed to Yunnan but the Chinese were suspicious and told him to return whence he came, stating that the proper trade route to China was via Canton "where British ships were constantly arriving." Also, messages arrived from Kengtung requiring his return there, as ordered by the Sitke at Mongnai. He therefore left Kenghung on the 26th and reached Kengtung on the 31st March.

31st March .....!..... In the evening an old Burmese woman, who is a favourite in the place, came to tell me that Dr. Richardson was detained at Mone for orders from Ava, and appeared mysterious respecting some communication received concerning myself, which she said I would hear in due time. This old woman, when I was here before, appeared to take great interest in the success of my mission, and in the impression made by me on the people here; she frequently brought me the news from the palace, and was anxious I should not call on any officers of Government. Hearing that I had paid the minister a visit, she came and entreated that I would not demean myself by calling on any of the others; that I must keep up my dignity; that I was only to go to the Tsobua, for though Puniah Wang never called on any officers deputed here by other states, that he had on me, to show how highly they thought of me; that by making myself too common the Tsobua's son would not visit me.

A criminal was sentenced to be executed, having committed numerous thefts and cruelties; the priests, headed by Tsobua's youngest son, rescued him at the gate, though not without giving many hard blows; the young prince's presence prevented the jailors and their gang exerting themselves: the culprit was taken to a monastery, his head shaved, and he himself admitted into the priesthood, so that he is now exempt from all punishment.

2nd April ..!t..... Received a letter from Dr! Richardson at Mone, dated 6th of March; it was brought by some of the Tseitke's people. At about nine o'clock at night the Puniah, who had recognised me on my arrival, came to me with a message from the Tsobua, saying he wished to see me that night privately, as he had something particular to communicate; I accordingly proceeded to the palace accompanied by my writer and interpreter. We were taken to the back of the building, where all was still; after passing through many dark passages and rooms, we found ourselves at the back of the hall of audience!

Here were the Tsobua, his eldest son, and Puniah Wang! The apartment was only lighted up by one wretched oil light.

The object of this secret interview was to renew the propositions of the morning in more distinct terms, he being fearful then of being too explicit. He was anxious to form an alliance, both offensive and defensive, that we should assist him when called upon, and we were to consider his country as ours, and he would bind himself faithfully to obey us in all matters. What I have mentioned will suffice to show the drift of the conference, which lasted a considerable time. He was quite prepared to place himself under our protection, but I did not countenance the proposal, and was cautious not to give him any encouragement or to commit myself in any way. He spoke in the warmest terms of gratitude of the King, but he has a strong dislike to Mengthagyi and others at Ava. Before my departure the Tsobua called Puniah Wang, and whispered something to him, and then walked to a large chest, and taking from it a sword with a golden scabbard, gave it into his son's hands to present to me. The Tsobua, addressing me, said that it was a Shan custom, when a friendship, such as had been formed between us existed, to exchange arms in testimony of the sincerity of each party; he hoped, therefore, that I would accept the sword and keep secret what had passed between us. The only thing I could offer in return was a double-barrel pistol of curious workmanship, and which I knew he was anxious to obtain; I accordingly told him that I would deliver it to Puniah Wang. On my way home I observed to the Puniah that the Tsobua appeared to be greatly attached to the Burmans; he replied that he was much so to the King, but that his Majesty is now considered as not taking any interest in the Shan States, and the consequence is, that the Burmese Tseitkes lord it over them.

McLeod left Kengtung on the 4th April, arrived in Chiengmai 15 days later, on the 18th, and started on the 11th May his return journey to Moulmein which was reached in 17 days on the 27th.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, on parting company with Captain McLeod, Dr. Richardson had headed north and reached Mainglongyi on New Year's day of 1837. The route was familiar to him, as he had been through it in 1835 on a mission to see Papawgyi at the latter's request. On this trip Richardson's passage through Karenni was uneventful; he stopped at "Dwam Tulwee" for a few days to see his old friend, the Karenni Chief, Papawgyi, with some presents which he thoughtfully brought with him. He left the Karenni territory on the 13th February and after a halt of one day at Kandu reached Mawkmai via Banhat on the 17th. From here on we will quote his journal liberally:

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1. Parliamentary accounts and Papers, C, vol. 50, 1807, pp. 14-104 - Journal of Captain McLeod.

20th February (Monday) Mok-mai ..... Went into the town to wait on the Tsoboa this morning, and was requested to dismount at the gate; I was not asked to take off my shoes. The Tsoboa is a man about 26 years of age; he succeeded his father (who was killed during the late war) about five years ago, but has only within the last few months received the royal order for his investiture, and authorising him to assume the ensigns of royalty. The father of one of his wives (the thoogyee of Ban-hoat) told me that the debts he incurred in making presents to people of influence about the court to procure it prevent his taking advantage of it, and the only mark of royalty about his house, which is rather a good one of wood and mats, is the frame of a window, which opens behind where he sits into an inner room, being gilt; there were two small chairs and a small cotton Bengal sitringee in his room. He was married to the daughter of Monay Tsoboa about four months ago, and has eight other wives and four children, the eldest about 10 years of age. He spoke very little, and nearly all the conversation that passed in a visit of an hour was with the tsetkey. His jurisdiction is bounded west by Thataung (which pays a tax in silver to the king of Ava, and has also for some years paid to the Kareans), the Salween to the east, the Karean-nee south, and Monay to the northward, and is said to contain 30,000 houses, which must be very much above the number; judging from the size of the three valleys of Kundoo, Ban hoat and this, which are the only level parts of his territory we have seen, there may, perhaps, be 2,000; his contingent is 500 men. Many of his people have gone to live altogether amongst the Kareans for safety and quiet, and a majority of those left pay them tribute. I learned here for the first time that the tsoboas are quite independent of each other; but as the town of Monay is the largest and most central of the Shan towns in this direction altogether under the control of Ava, the Burmans have fixed the head quarters of the force they have in the Shan countries at that town. The Bohmoo meng tha Meng myat boc (General Prince Meng myat boo, a half brother of the king's son of a Shan princess), the general who commanded at Melaun during the late war, is, and has been since the peace, governor of all the Shan countries from Mobie nominally, but really from Mok-mai, south, to the Chinese frontier, north, and from Nat tike, the top of the pass from the valley of the Irrawaddee up to the Shan country, west, to three days beyond the May Koong (Broad River), or Great Cambodia River, east. He himself generally resides in Ava, but visits his government occasionally, in one of which visits he rode from Monay to Ava in three days. His deputy, who constantly resides in Monay, leaving, as usual, his family as pledges in Ava, is the Tsetkay daughee, who has several officers under him; and there are at the court of each of the other tsoboas two tsetkays, also appointed from Ava. These tsetkays, particularly the chief one, lords it over the tsoboas; to him the chief authority belongs, and all the

external relation of the country is committed; and the royal orders are sent to Monay, from whence they are forwarded by the tsetkay; but the Monay Tsoboa has no authority to call any of the others. The lesser tsoboas have no tsetkays, and are looked upon as merely myo tsas ....

Richardson reached Mongnai on the 22nd.

22nd February (Wednesday) Monay ..... In the evening a seray, or secretary, came out to my tent; he mentioned to the people outside, though not to me, that he had been sent by the Tsetkay. He was dressed in a handsome and heavy fur jacket, with the hairy side in, though the thermometer in the tent was about 86°. I discovered afterwards that this was a sort of official dress with all the Government officers here, though I should think anything but pleasant in these latitudes. He questioned me as to what I wanted here, and wished to know why I had not brought letters to the Tsetkay, &c. I told him my visit was a disinterested one, for I wanted nothing but to open the gold and silver road, that the people here might exchange what they did not at present want with our people for what they did, to get the protection of the Government here for our people, who might hereafter come on the same errand, to assure them of the good feeling towards them at Maulmein, and to promise protection and facilities for traders to their people visiting it, &c. I explained again the reason of my coming unprovided with letters to the Tsetkay by the fact of the Commissioner at Maulmain not being aware of the existence of such an officer, &c. My visitor had served in the late war; he had been a sort of aide-de-camp to the old general of the Shans, Maha nay myo, &c.; had taken part in the affair at Wattigam, and bore a part at Zimbike, when the old general was killed, with several of the Shan Tsoboas and two of the three wives of the Laygea Tsoboa who, dressed in male attire, were, for some superstitious cause, expected to have done good service against our troops at the seven stockades near Rangoon. The Burmans suffered most severely here; the Shans, who had not engaged us before, were not prepared to run away soon enough. He gave a sad description of their sufferings from cholera and starvation for many days after the storming of their stockades. His visit lasted about an hour and a half. We parted great friends, and he continued during my stay most attentive and friendly. I explained to him before leaving that it would be inconvenient to wait on the tsoboa to-morrow.

25th February (Saturday) Monay ..... On arriving at the yeum, I proceeded upstairs without any notice being taken of my shoes, but was stopped outside the plank about a foot high (coon-tsen) which surrounds the centre pillars of the yeum, and requested to seat myself there. Close to me were all my own people and the people of the town; inside the plank before mentioned were the Tsetkay daughee, Meng myat

boo's representative (and governor in his absence of all the Shan States); the royal Tsetkay, an old man whom I took for the Tsoboa, two Nakans, and two Bo-dha-ghees. Meng-nay-mo, seated himself by me. I beg now personally to explain to the assembled chiefs that my bringing a letter directly to the Tsoboa must be attributed entirely to the chief at Maulmain not being aware that any authority higher than the tsoboa was resident in the country, though perfectly aware that he was a vassal of the King of Ava, and hope that a mistake so trivial as the mere wrong address would have no weight against our good intention, that of increasing and strengthening the friendship which has existed between the English and the King of Ava for so many years, by joining with the ruler in the Shan countries, whoever he might be, to open the gold and silver road by the nearest route, between this place and our possession on the coast. I then expressed a wish to deliver the letter to its address, and held it out towards the second tsetkay, a little fat old man I had mistaken for the tsoboa, when the Tsetkay daughee took it from my hand, told me the Tsoboa was not present, and commenced conversation in a most insulting and overbearing strain, which he kept up during the whole interview. He told me I had trespassed in coming here without an order from Meng myat boo; and the king, through Barney (the Resident), asked sneeringly and incredulously if the Maulmain Woonghee did not know the constitution of the force here; told me I know nothing of Burman customs, or I would have not come here without authority. I told him he had deceived me with the promise of the tsoboa being at the yeum, otherwise I should not have come there. As for my right to come here, I referred to the treaties of Yandaboo and Ava, the latter particularly stipulating that traders, on whose behalf I was come here, should be allowed to enter the Burman dominions at any part, and proceed in any direction without let or hindrance. I explained to him that it was always a custom with us to send an officer with traders opening a new route, to ensure them protection, and as a surety to the people of the countries passed through or traded with, that they were fair traders and responsible people, coming with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government, not to mention the long friendship of the two countries, and the kind reception of their people on visiting Maulmain. He said he had never promised that I should see the tsoboa today; pretended he knew nothing of the Ava treaty, and said that of Yandaboo made no provision for my coming here. After a good deal more in this strain, I asked him, as he had received the Tsoboa's letter, whether I should be allowed, and when to proceed, as therein requested!" He denied the Commissioner's letter contained such a request; when I begged him to show me the letter, and pointed out the paragraph, he said, "Oh, you may go; you may go." I said I was sorry that my reception had led me to think they did not wish to see me, and that the sooner I started for Ava the better. The senior

nakan, who was seated opposite, now addressed me with much civility, and asked me whether I did not wish to see the Tsoboa. I said, most certainly, but that it depended on the Tsetkay daughée, to whom the king had given the chief authority here, and he did not appear to wish me to do so; this he seemed to take as flattery, for he said, "Ah, these are proper words." The nakan again said, "Why, you have just come here, and are already talking of leaving us; you must stay a little amongst us; it will be proper to get permission from Ava before you proceed." I replied, "it was my wish, and the intention of the Commissioner, that I should cultivate the friendship of the chiefs here; that, had there appeared any wish to make my reception more pleasant, I should have had no wish to leave so soon, but I had as yet no reason to suppose I was welcome, though it was impossible for me to wait for permission from Ava, which, considering the friendship of the two countries, I could not see the necessity. I was, besides, afraid my people might suffer at the setting in of the rains, as they had no cover at night." The Tsetkay, laughing insultingly, said, "Oh, he calls himself Tsia woon (physician), and yet he is afraid of dying." ....

27th February (Monday) Monay ..... I have sent the Shan interpreter to-day to the tsetkay to say I object to being seated outside the coon-tsen, with my own coolies and the people of the town within half a foot of me, convinced that with the disposition evinced by him, nothing is to be gained by concessions, indeed no Burman can have an idea even of a perfectly independent gentlemanly compliment. I desired him in the first instance to go to Meng-nay-myo, as he has been the channel of communication hitherto, to say I was sure he was anxious to promote the objects of my mission as I was; but as in the matter of the tsoboa's presence at the yeum, and bringing the presents there at once, the Tsetkay denied that such a promise and request had been made with his knowledge, I thought it better that I should communicate direct with himself. His reception was civil, both by the Meng-nay-myo and the tsetkay, who paid me some compliments, and told him that as they were situated here, a very few Burmans amongst a conquered and distinct people, the customs were necessarily different from what they were in Ava; that the tsoboa, whom I should meet to-day, was never allowed to come inside the coon-tsen; he told the man to say that he would send to let me know when they were ready; as the tsoboa was to sit outside, of course I could make no further objections. At half-past nine the person came to intimate that the military officers were assembled, and I started. Meng-Nay-Myo joined me on the road, and we rode together to the yeum, where I found the same chiefs I had met on my former visit, and seated myself as before after about half an hour's conversation, during which the tsetkay told me they heard of my intended visit here, a month ago, through some

Shans who had seen me at Mein-lun-ghee. The Tsoboa came with four gold chattahs, and about 50 or 60 men armed with muskets, dhas, and spears, and a number carrying thanleats. When the old gentleman came in I bowed to him, which he returned, and seated himself close beside me. The morning was cold, and, either from that cause or agitation, he trembled considerably. I again explained the mistake of the letter (which had been returned to me by the tsetkay), and delivered it to him. The list of the presents was read over, and they were laid before him. He said the contents of the letter were already known to him, that they were good, and he was glad to see me here; but it would be best, he thought, for all parties that the presents and a copy of the letter should be sent to Ava, with a request for instructions from the king to allow me to proceed, to which an answer would be returned in about 20 days; in the meantime I must remain here. He was the king of Ava's slave, and afraid of rendering himself liable to punishment (yazawot) if he allowed me to proceed. I remonstrated, with all the arguments I could think of, against such delay, but in vain; there was a good deal of conversation on general subjects, particularly on geography (on which subject they are the most curious, and as ignorant as it is possible to be on any subject, believing in the Mee Mho Hill (Mount Meroo), and four large islands, &c.), in which the Tsoboa took a part. The whole conversation to-day was conducted in a mild and gentlemanly style, and so indeed were all the remarks of the tsetkay, whom it was difficult to believe the same person whom I had conversed with here only two days before. The Tsoboa is a man of perhaps, 68 years of age, of the common height of Burmans, fair even for a Shan, though those on this side of the Salween are much darker than to the eastward, notwithstanding they are a few degrees further north; his manners are mild and gentlemanly; his son and son-in-law, the son of the Laygea Tsoboa, both fair and rather stout young men, were seated behind him; neither of them took any part in the conversation. I was requested to furnish a list of the people with me, to be sent to Ava tomorrow, before I left. The tsetkay had the letter to Ava, which was to accompany the Commissioner's letter and presents, read to me; near the end of it the tsoboa's name and mine occurred in juxtaposition, and the term "the slave of the King of Ava" followed; so that there was some doubt as to which it applied. I stopped the person reading, and had the passage read again, much to the amusement of the tsetkay, who at once saw the ambiguity, and laughed heartily at my suspicion. By the message who took the Government letters I wrote also to the Resident at Ava.

From now on the relations between Richardson and the sitke were very friendly. While waiting for orders from Ava, he spent some of his time visiting the sitke and various members of his staff, all on a friendly basis. The objection of the sawbwa and the sitke to Richardson proceeding to Ava without instructions from the capital

was understandable. Government was absolute and highly centralized in these matters, and little responsibility and initiative were left to local officers. Some of Richardson's entries tell us about conditions in Mongnai in those days.

5th March (Sunday) Monay ..... Called to-day on Meng-nay-myo, and met at his house the Kien-toung Tsetkay, a Burman of course, Panya Pan, and another Shan chief, who went from Kien-toung last year to Zimmay, with an intention, it is said, of coming to Maulmain; they did not, however, to-day allude to such an intention, and as the authorities here are said to disapprove of his having gone to Zimmay, I did not mention the report. Captain McLeod arrived at Kien-taung on the 18th ultimo, and saw the tsoboa on the 20th. It does not clearly appear whether he has been detained there or not, but letters were dispatched by the tsetkay early this morning, with orders to detain him till the return of the messenger who is sent to Ava to report his arrival, and to furnish him with everything that he may want in the meantime. The messenger to Kien-taung was ordered to travel night and day. The distance of Kien-hun-ghee from Kien-taung is only nine days for an unencumbered man, and about 15 for elephants. The officers I met to-day expressed themselves in the most friendly terms, rejoiced in the prospect of a free and friendly intercourse, and spoke in the warmest terms of approval of the spirit that prompted the mission of Captain McLeod and myself to this part of the country. The house of the officer I visited to-day, which is just rebuilt after a very extensive fire which consumed most of the town last April, is the largest in the town, consisting of five different roofs, three parallel to each other, and two across these ends, with an open platform between the end and centre ranges, and also between the northernmost centre range and the other two; these ranges are all on the same floor, which cannot be less than 100 feet square; the materials and the workmanship as good as the Burman carpenters' work generally is. The houses in general are small, low, and mean; and the whole town, which is long and narrow, and so crowded with bamboos that only a very small portion of the houses can be seen at one time, may contain about 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants; about 2,000 of these are Burmans. The tsoboa sent out people to-day to build tays (temporary houses) for myself and the people, but as there is little chance of rain for the month I am likely to be here, and delightful shade from the magnificent large bamboos, I preferred remaining in my tent, and the people have been comfortably halted in three houses, at each side and behind it. I have tied my chattah to the corner of my tent, and though I have made a considerable advance in the estimation of the people since my arrival, this has much increased my consequence; they are not yet accustomed to consider themselves at all an inferior people to us, either in power or civilisation. Before the war they

considered themselves as infinitely superior to all the world; they have not lately sought to engage the Chinese, but they are all aware that they have always come off conquerors when they did engage them.

8th March (Wednesday) ..... Called on the first nakan today; he is a man of about 50 years of age; he went to Ava with his father, who was of the royal family of Cnandaporee or Wintian, the zenzen of the Burmans, when he was a child, and remained about the palace till six or seven years ago, when he got his present appointment. Nearly the whole of his family was destroyed by the Siamese when they took the town of Wintian, eight or nine years ago. He expressed himself as much pleased with my mission here, well disposed towards us, and anxious to facilitate the intercourse between Maulmain and this place! He congratulated himself on not having been employed during the war, which he says was of little advantage to anyone. From his house I went to that of the second nakan; he had just come from the yeum, where a royal order for the instalment of the Loye Lung Tsoboa, or myotsa, had been read; he was engaged at chess with some of his children and people! His house is small and mean, little better than a thooghee's of one of our small villages, and himself and everything in it in the same style, and miserably dirty. He had very little to say for himself; my visit was therefore short; he, however, told me the force of Burmans in the Shan states is about 10,000 men. In my way home I called on Meng-nay-myo; and in the evening he returned my visit, bringing two of his little children with him. He mentioned that on the day before our attack on Wet-yea-kan (or Wattigam) a large reinforcement of Shans were sent to it, who lost their way, and at nightfall bivouacked in the jungle close to the stockade, without being aware of its vicinity, and came up in the morning as unexpectedly to their own as our people. A report is current here to-day that a messenger arrived last night in six days from Ava, with a royal order telling the tsekay not to be alarmed, but keep the country quiet; and intimating at the same time that the Sarawattee Prince had quarrelled with the Queen, and left Ava for Mauktsoobo with 500 or 600 men.

10th March (Friday) ..... Passed the day at home, but was visited by some people from the tsoboas, the only Shans I have yet been able to communicate with; they all spoke Burmese, as do most of the Shans in large towns here; they complain much of the oppression and insolence of their Burman rulers; the members of the tsoboas' family are frequently insulted in the streets if they go out without their gold chattahs or attendants.

The Burmans, who are very numerous here, live entirely on the natives, contribute nothing to the expenses of the country, or to the occasional royal exactions of money, the

levying of which is the province of the tsoboa; many of them, styled keun-dau-myo, not even called soldiers, have no means of subsistence but preying on the natives, and many acts are committed with impunity by them, which are severely punished by the Shans, who complain they are looked on as little better than dogs. Much alarm is said to have been excited by the Prince of Sarawatee having left Ava, of which there is no doubt amongst the people, though the chiefs still endeavour to conceal the fact from me.

14th March (Tuesday) .....". The tsetkay's son came out again to-day, and mentioned the fact of the disturbances at Ava, which are now talked of with less reserve. Report says that the Bohmoo meng had taken a part with the Prince. A report also had been brought by some merchants that the tsoboa of Thienee had been beaten to death with clubs by his Shan subjects at a poe, to which he had gone with a few followers! He was the son of the last tsoboa (a perfect savage) by a Burman woman he saw only for a few days at Neung Eue. After his birth the woman married a Rangoon man, where the boy followed her, and was loose in the country for some years; he then came to Ava, and entered himself amongst the young Prince's followers; his father dying without other known children, he was raised to the tsoboaship about six years ago. He was a confirmed bad character, and living about the Palace in Ava had learned, with the vices of the capital, drinking and opium-smoking, to consider himself more as a Burman than a Shan, and had imbibed the Burman contempt for the latter, by his oppression of whom he had succeeded in making himself so detested that his death as related was the consequence. It is not at all known here who will succeed him. One of the family is said to be amongst the Kakchens (the wild tribes between the Shan country, Ava, and China, so called), of whom many are subject to Thienee!"

27th March 1837 (Monday), Monay ..... Waited on the tsoboa to-day, my reception was most friendly; his hoa or palace has a gilded roof of five stories, the pyathat or royal spire, surmounted by a tree (chattah), or gilded iron ornament so called; the hall, in which I was received, about 40 feet square exclusive of a large verandah, which surrounds it; the centre portion, a square of 30 feet, is raised about 18 inches, with four rows of pillars, which support the high roof, three in each row, and 10 feet apart; the innermost four of the two centre rows are gilded, and the yazabolen (throne), which is a very handsome one! is lower and better proportions than those of the Siamese Shan tsoboas, I have seen; the gold appears burnished at the distance at which I sat, though the art of burnishing is not known to the Burmans; at each side of the throne stood a large white muslin umbrella, furled, with two rows of gold plates attached to

fringes near the outer edge; on it were a small gold crown sceptre, a chowree, an ottar daun, and the royal red velvet slippers, forming the five ensigns of royalty (meng-hmeauk tasa gna ba); the only other furniture in the room was a gilded chair, and a common clumsy Burman bedstead; there might be about 100 muskets ranged in different parts of the hall. The tsoboa sat on the raised part of the floor, on a common China carpet; his son Chow Kin Mouang (lord eater of the town, pronounced by the Burmans Keamyne) on his left, and his son-in-law, the son of the Laygea Tsoboa, on his right below, and I had a mat immediately in the front on the same level; his tsetkays, two officers placed here by the Burman Government, his own officers and people, a little behind me; he expressed himself glad to see me here, and hoped I was pleased with my visit, but evidently wished to avoid all conversation on my mission to himself; he introduced me to his sons, and soon changed the conversation to subjects entirely unconnected with Burmah; natural history and geography of Europe; and that part of Bengal mentioned in their sacred books, the 16 countries of Thela. On taking leave he gave me a pair of grey ponies, one of which is a fine large handsome animal; he agrees with everyone else in advising me to wait a day or two for the tribute party from Mien-len-ghee, which is said to have crossed the Salween seven days from this, some days ago! The poverty here is very great and general; theft, common robbery, and murder not unfrequent in this town; the tsoboa alone takes what he wants from the market people, in the bazar in Mok mai; there are five who have that privilege, for in the next seat in the bazar there was one of our people; a poor devil sat down with five eggs to sell; he had no customers for some time, when the tsoboa's people or servant came and took one of his eggs, the four others followed in the same way, and the poor creature rose up without having spoken a word and went away.

No order concerning Richardson could now come from Ava which had been plunged into confusion by the coup d'etat of Prince Tharawadi. Mongnai had been ordered to send to the capital a contingent of 1000 men! The son of the Ye-wun of Rangoon arrived to hasten the despatch of the Mongnai levies. The sitke advised that Richardson should accompany the contingent which the sawbwa now decided to command in person! The whole party started off on the 6th April. Everywhere were signs of insecurity and impending disaster. Robbers and brigands roamed the countryside and preyed on helpless villages. When the party arrived at Mongpawm on the 10th April, the sawbwa there had just been stabbed to death while fishing, by his own brother. Mongpawm village itself contained about 80 to 100 houses and Richardson stated it was under the Sawbwa of Mongnai who proceeded to appoint a myook to look after the place. Contingents from Mongsit, Mongpawm and Laikha joined the party en route. Before they reached Yawnghwe! orders were received on the 14th April at "Say-lay" countermanding the sawbwa's move. Ava had fallen to Tharawadi! The sawbwa however insisted on going forward

a little more to ascertain the situation himself'. But on the 16th it was certain that the sawbwa was returning to Mongnai and he tried to persuade Richardson to return with him saying that the unsafe conditions of the country made it unwise for him to proceed'. Richardson insisted on going forward and said goodbye to the sawbwa in the latter's camp in the evening. The next day, the 17th April, Richardson and his own party' arrived at Yawnghwe. The monsoon had already started - it rained heavily that night.

19th April (Wednesday) ..... Shifted our berth last night into the town, or more properly village, for there are not above 150 or 200 houses of the same miserable appearance as those of Monay, or perhaps a little more so. There is not one good house in the town, and the country villages are worse; they are all very low, and from the walls of many of them being made of thatch, much of it old and discoloured, have a said ruinous appearance. Many here, and indeed throughout the country, have the same low end as the houses of the Red Kareans. The site of the town is a dead level, and, as conjectured, was formerly the bed of the lake, which extended several miles up the valley to the northward of this; it has now shrunk away about three miles to the southward, and fills the end of the valley about 12 or 14 miles north and south, and reaching to the foot of the hills east and west, perhaps, an average of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles; it is fed by the Bora-that, which falls into its northern end, and a few small rivulets from the hills; the only stream it gives rise to is the Mobie River, from its south end, which after penetrating the hills, and flowing underground for some miles, appears again a short way from Taung-ngoo, and then flows into the sea by the Setaung River, the waters east of this all falling into the Salween. Our encamping ground is a vacant space to N.W. of the han; between that and the houses of the tsoboa's lesser wives, of whom there are about 20 or 30 living in the houses of their parents, distinguished by the privilege of attaching planks in the shape of buffaloes' horns, to the end of the ridge pool'. He is said to add two to the number annually, but unless they have children they receive absolutely nothing from him, and then only a bare subsistence'. Even some who live in his house are said to have their food carried to them by their friends'. About 11 o'clock I visited the tsoboa, and remained about an hour; his house, enclosed in an old wooden fence, is mere bamboo; the floor, which is also of bamboos, covered in part with mis-shapen boards'. Though of the same rank as the Monay Tsoboa, he has none of the insignia of royalty, except the gilded frame to the window behind his couch; even his betel apparatus is the same as the commonalty; he is about 45 years of age, very stout with rather a want of intelligence in his countenance. His three brothers were present, and three or four of his sons, of whom he told me he had 20 about 11 years of age and under. I explained the friendly nature of my visit to Monay, and begged him to consider the same sentiments towards himself existed with the

Commissioner at Maulmain as I had been commissioned to communicate to the Monay Tsoboa, I solicited his protection and countenance to our traders who might come here, and promising the same to his people at Maulmain, gave him a musket, carpet, and three or four finger-glasses; apologised for the smallness of my present, as I had not anticipated seeing him, &c. &c. &c.; he has little to say, but was as friendly as I had reason to expect from the strong recommendation of the kind and gentlemanly old Tsoboa of Monay.

20th April (Thursday): 21st (Friday). Neaung Eue .....  
 Visited the tsoboa's brother to-day, who seems a man of more intelligence and energy than the tsoboa. He was formerly exceedingly dissipated; a drunkard and opium smoker, but has for some years quite reformed. He gave some account of the feud between the Tsoboa and his uncle, who seized the throne on his father's death about 14 or 15 years ago. The war (for there were some pitched battles) lasted about two years, in which contest this brother was the principal supporter of the present tsoboa, but the principality has never recovered the waste and destruction, and though it was one of the four at one time embracing the whole of Cambosa-tyne, it is now said only to contain in all 500 houses in the district. They are so weak that the Kareans infest their marches all the dry weather, and carry off all unprotected persons into slavery, unless ransomed by their friends. This year they have been freer from their inroads than usual, which they attributed to my having passed through the Korean country. A more legitimate cause may be found in the vicinity of the British possessions on the coast, where runaway slaves from the Shan countries are of course free, and finding their way thence, or remaining in Maulmain, are lost to their masters, this having gone on for seven or eight years! The Zimmay Shans, who are the chief purchasers, will only buy children, and that at a reduced rate, as cattle, when I first penetrated to Zimmay, which sold at two rupees and a-half, are now selling for 10 or 12; this rendering the slave trade much less certainly profitable, will probably ultimately put an end to it, though it is said there are still nearly 300 persons annually sold into the Siamese territory. Many of the people of this district have voluntarily gone to reside in the Korean territory, which at its nearest point is not more than 30 miles from this, to avoid the grinding oppression of the Burman Government. Since the troubles at the capital they have had a short respite, but there are generally from 80 to 100 Burmans here living on the natives.

22nd April (Saturday): 23rd (Sunday). Neaung Eue  
 ..... Called to-day on Chow Shoe-nee (Lord Red Gold), the second brother of the tsoboa, and remained about an hour, being the market day here, which is held as at Monay once in five days; a crowd of 100 or 200 people followed me to this house,

which was fortunately, however, at no great distance. My reception was friendly; his whole family were present. Saw a good many of the Tavoyers to-day, who form the principal part of the inhabitants of En-lay, Enma, four villages of the lake (though they are not now confined to four); their dialect is so similar to that spoken at Tavoy at this day, that I could immediately detect a Tavoyer, though they must have been here about 662 years, if the tradition be correct that they accompanied Narapadi Say Thoo, or Shoo, King of Pagan, as he reigned there about the year 536 of the Burman, era (1175 A.D.) Many of the traditions of this town are connected with him, in Burman history he is said to have defeated an immense Chinese army which attacked the old city of Kau-tham-bee, formerly the capital of this valley, the extensive ruins of whose walls are still visible two or three miles north of this. It must at that time have stood just on the borders of the lake, and the wooden pillars of his palace are said still to be visible in a calm day at the bottom of the lake, with the chains and posts for fastening his elephants. Five days south-east of this is another considerable town, Thataung, inhabited by people from the old town of Thataung, one of the first capitals of the Pegu kingdom, situated about one day north-east of Martaban, and brought here by Norata meng tsoe, King of Pagan, at a still earlier period, viz., 379 of the Burman era. It is close on the borders of the Karean-nee country, to the chief of which people they are now tributary, as well as to Ava. A messenger from Ava yesterday states the town still to be surrounded by the Prince's army, the country dreadfully disturbed, all the Burman chiefs of the Shan country turned out, a new Bohmoo and Tsetkays appointed.

While at Yawnghwee Richardson gathered much information about the Inle Lake and country to the south of it, including Karenni. On the 16th May, after one month's enforced stay, he received the order to proceed to Ava. He did not find Yawnghwee as friendly as Mongnai, but there was nothing that he could really complain about. He left Yawnghwee on the 18th May for Ava via "Nay gea", (Negga ?), Pwehla, Yengan, and reached his destination on the 24th May.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, C, volume 50, 1867, pp. 104-147 - Journal of Dr. Richardson.

