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A SHORT HISTORY OF BURMA

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S. W. COCKS



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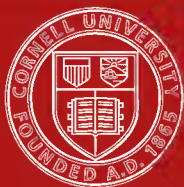
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A SHORT HISTORY OF BURMA



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THE ANANDA PAGODA. (PAGAN.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF BURMA

BY

S. W. COCKS, M.A.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
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PREFACE

IN this brief History of Burma I have tried to give a clear account of what is really known of the early period, together with some notice of the traditions which possess historical interest. From the point at which the records become trustworthy I have endeavoured to put clearly and concisely all that the young student should know, without burdening his mind with unnecessary details. I hope that a work dealing with a country which has received so much attention in recent years from the traveller, artist, and *littérateur*, may not be without general interest.

The discussion of disputed points, whether of fact or chronology, has been avoided. Different versions of the Maharazawin, the Burmese Chronicles of the Kings, vary considerably. Generally I have accepted the dates assigned by Sir Arthur Phayre, to whose works I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness. In certain cases, where the Chinese accounts as given by Mr. Parker seem more trustworthy, I have preferred the dates as well as the facts given in the Chinese chronicles. For the later period I have relied mainly on Gray's *Alaungpra Dynasty*, the *Gazetteer of British Burma* (1880), and the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma* (1900). It is worthy of notice that Siamese chronology differs considerably from the Burmese, but the dates of the Burmese chronicle agree very closely with those given by European travellers such as Ralph Fitch and Caesar Fredericke, the former of whom saw the departure of the expedition

against Ayuthia in 1587, while the latter saw the return of the Burmese army from Siam in 1569 or 1570.

The transliteration of Burmese names offers many difficulties, and I lay no claim to consistency in this respect. Modern Burmese almost invariably pronounces *r* as *y*, and I have generally followed the modern practice, while retaining such stereotyped English forms as Rangoon, Ramri, Tharawadi. In proper names of the earlier period, especially those of Sanskrit or Pali derivation, I have generally preserved the *r*. The reader who bears in mind this fact, and the phonetic rule of the Burmese language that the second of two consecutive consonants is assimilated to the first, will have no difficulty in identifying Mintara with Mindaya, Daraka with Dayaka, Min Khaung with Min Gaung, Minkyinyo with Mingyinyo, and so on.

My thanks are due to Mr. Maxwell Laurie, M.V.O., I.C.S., President of the Rangoon Municipality, for permission to copy the old prints in the possession of the Municipal Committee; and to Mr. C. Duroiselle, Professor of Pali in the Rangoon College and Librarian of the Bernard Free Library, for permission to photograph the portrait of Mindon Min from the copy of Yule's *Mission to Ava* in the Library, as well as for other courteous help. Proofs were read by Mr. J. G. Covernton, M.A., F.R.N.S., Director of Public Instruction, Burma, of whose valuable advice and assistance I have gratefully availed myself; and by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, who most generously placed at my disposal the results of his own extensive knowledge and researches in Burmese history.

The illustrations are from photographs by Messrs. Watts & Skeen, Rangoon.

S. W. COCKS.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

IN this edition the original work has been carefully revised and in great part re-written. In the earlier portion, Chapters I. to III., and in the later portion, Chapters XIII. to XXII., there have been numerous excisions of unnecessary detail, some minor corrections of fact, and some modifications of language for the sake of clearness and simplicity. The history of the middle period, from the downfall of the Pagan monarchy to the rise of Alaungpaya, has been entirely re-written and condensed from fourteen chapters to nine. The language has been simplified, and though nothing essential has been omitted, a mass of detail has been sacrificed with the object of making a very difficult and confused period intelligible.

S. W. C

RANGOON, *November*, 1918.

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INTRODUCTION.

BURMA as a British province extends from 10° to 28° of north latitude, and at its widest point from about 92° to 101° of east longitude. It includes the territories known in former times as Burma, Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, and the greater part of the Shan States. Geographically Burma Proper is the valley of the middle Irawadi, an area with boundaries well defined on the west, less clearly defined on the north and east, and very vaguely defined to the southward. To the north and east Shan tribes, loosely confederated or at war with one another, maintained generally political independence, becoming occasionally tributary to a strong Burman king, or recognizing the supremacy of China. To the west the Arakan Yoma, or mountain range, formed an almost impassable barrier between Burma and Arakan ; and, in spite of their common descent and language, only rarely, and at very long intervals, did the people of the two countries acknowledge the sway of the same king. The delta districts and the Tenasserim coast were inhabited by an entirely different race, the Mun or Talaing people, and the climate differs considerably from the climate of Burma Proper. But the change from the comparatively dry climate of Upper Burma to the heavy rainfall of the delta is gradual ; and the intermediate zone with Prome as its centre was from age to age

the battle-ground of the rival Talaing and Burmese kingdoms.

The eastern frontier of the Talaing kingdom was formed by the Salween river and low hills. Further south the Tenasserim Yoma, still the boundary between the British province and Siam, constitutes a more definite dividing line, but is easily crossed at various points. No navigable or fordable river ever formed a satisfactory frontier between warlike nations, and the Salween proved no exception to the rule. When the Burmese warrior kings were bent on conquest their ambition found its easiest outlet to the southward. Stopped by the sea they turned eastward, Siamese territory was violated, and reprisals were made. In the course of five centuries of almost continuous war between the Talaing and Burmese power Siam was repeatedly involved in the struggle. Its capital, unsuccessfully besieged on half a dozen occasions, was sacked three times, and Burmese troops penetrated into Lao territory, east of the Mekong.

Arakan, on the other hand, protected by the Yoma, enjoyed almost complete immunity from Burmese aggression. The Arakanese kings, it is true, in the eleventh century acknowledged the supremacy of Anawrahta and his immediate successors, but their dependence on Burma was nominal. Three centuries later the Arakanese, distracted by the strife of rival claimants to the throne, invited Burmese intervention, and the kings of Arakan were for fifty years the puppets of Burma or of Pegu. But the country resisted all attempts at conquest until its disordered state in the eighteenth century opened the way to successful invasion. So, while the troops of Burma overran the territory of alien races a thousand miles from Ava, they were baffled by their neighbours and kinsmen whose capital lay less than a fortnight's journey from Ava across the

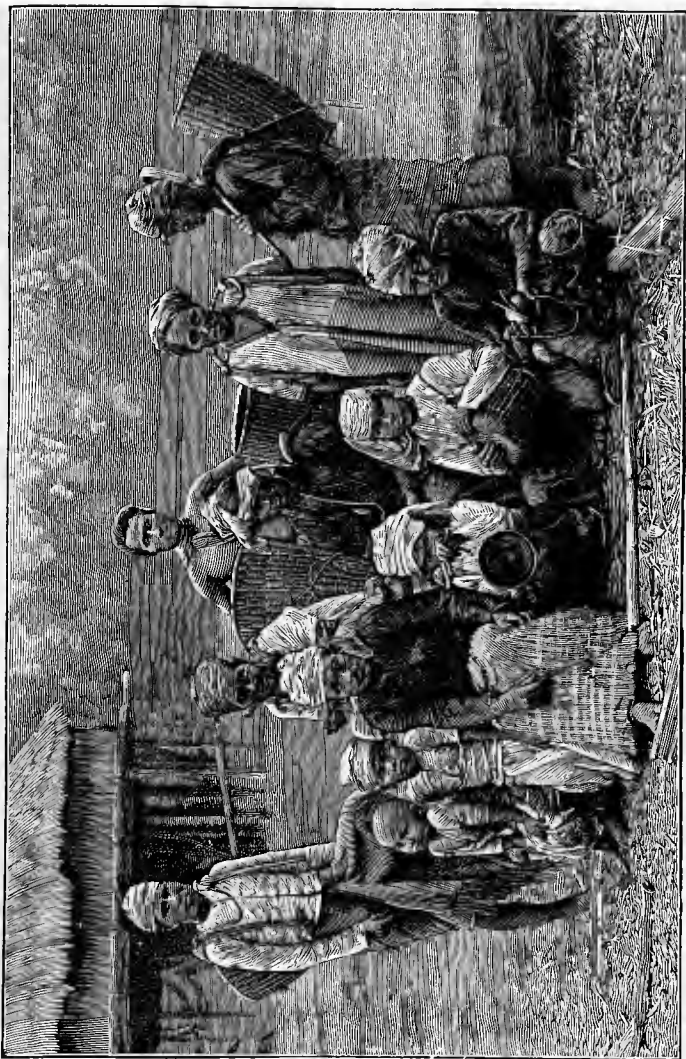
mountains. Yet at no period of its history would Arakan have offered serious resistance to a determined attack by sea.

Another example of the influence of a mountain range in determining the course of history is furnished by the Pegu Yoma. This is a low range of hills starting a little south of the volcanic Mount Popa and running nearly due south to Rangoon. It is on the last spur of these hills that the Shwe Dagon pagoda is built. The range separates the valley of the Irawadi from the valley of the Sittaung. At no point is it more than 2000 feet high, though the rock-formation makes it difficult to cross. Its flanks can easily be turned at either end by a land army. Yet this low range formed an effectual screen between the main track of the warlike expeditions along the Irawadi and the peaceful strip of country on the banks of the Sittaung. Once in the twelfth century the importance of the little outlying province of Taungu was recognized by the appointment of a Burmese governor. Once in the twelfth, and once in the thirteenth century, it was visited by the ruling kings of Burma and of Pegu respectively. In the fourteenth century the heir-apparent of Pagan was appointed governor. At the end of the fourteenth, and again at the beginning of the fifteenth century, expeditions from Ava against Pegu advanced along the Sittaung valley. But for the most part it lay undisturbed, and an independent state grew up owning a nominal allegiance to Ava. This state rapidly developed during the period of mutual exhaustion caused by the wars between Burma and Pegu, and before the middle of the sixteenth century sent forth a king who conquered the whole country and united the rival kingdoms under one monarch of Burmese race.

Prome was in early days the seat of an ancient dynasty which afterwards settled in Pagan. During the period following the dissolution of the first Burmese empire at the

end of the thirteenth century, Prome was again the capital of an independent kingdom. But its position between the two great rival states, Pegu and Burma, was fatal to freedom, and from the middle of the fourteenth century its king or governor was generally tributary to one or other of the combatants. It occasionally enjoyed a brief period of independence under a governor who maintained himself in successful revolt against his suzerain and allied himself with the rival monarch, when the struggle had left both temporarily exhausted. But such brief independence was enjoyed by many other provinces which have no real claim to be regarded as sovereign states. Yamèthin, Tavoy, Tenasserim, Martaban, and even Myaungmya, supply similar instances. Three of these—Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Martaban—were always loosely held, and fell from time to time under the sway of Siam. It was no mere accident that Tavoy and Tenasserim, with Arakan, were the first provinces to be detached from the Burmese empire when the final dissolution began.

Of the many races inhabiting Burma the Mun or Talaing race is probably the oldest. They are a branch of the Mon-Khmer race and seem to have come down with the first wave of migration from the highlands of China, and settled in the low country about the mouths of the Irawadi, Sittaung and Salween rivers. Their ancient capital, Thaton, at that time a seaport, was colonized in prehistoric days by kings from Telingana, a district on the east coast of India north of Madras. By a not unnatural confusion the whole people came to be known by the name Teleng or Talaing, which was strictly applicable only to their kings, but the Muns themselves are said not to have recognized the name. Chinese records of the year 1604 speak of the Telengs. "Talaing" is the nearest possible equivalent in Burmese. The tradition



KAREN VILLAGERS.

which attributes the invention of the name to Alaungpaya in the eighteenth century, and quotes it as a specimen of his sardonic humour, will not bear examination. He is said to have changed the name to "Talaing," meaning "the downtrodden," from a Mun word "laing" meaning "to tread upon," by a pun on the name Teleng. But they could never have been known to the Burmans as "Teleng," for that form is impossible in Burmese. They must have been known either as Mun or Talaing. Nor does the word "laing" exist in the Mun language except in combination; much less does it mean "to tread upon." This tradition assumes that Alaungpaya knew the word "laing," but was ignorant of its real meaning: a very considerable assumption. Another ingenious explanation connects the word Teleng with the Malay word Kling, the Hindu Kelingana, and so with the Kols or aboriginal inhabitants of India.

The next migration was probably the Tibeto-Burman migration. In very early times tribes moved down from Eastern Tibet along the valley of the Brahmaputra into Assam and Burma, and their descendants became the Chins, Kami, and Burmese. The first entry of the Tai or Shan race is difficult to trace. Soon after the first Tibeto-Burman migration, or, as some think, even before that time, the Tai race passed down from Central Asia along the valleys of the Mekong, Menam, Irawadi and Brahmaputra, and settled in the country about those rivers. Their first settlements in Burma seem to have been in the valley of the Shweli river. They were probably driven down by the disturbances which followed the great rebellion in Southern China at the beginning of the first century before Christ. A second movement of Shans took place in the sixth century. One branch subsequently passed into Assam, which they conquered in the thirteenth century, and founded the



KACHINS.

Ahom dynasty there in the year 1540 A.D. The main stream settled in the plateau to the east of the Irawadi and spread down into Siam. It is curious that the Siamese

aspirate the name, making it T'ai, which they say means "free."

The last migration was that of the Kachins, who are one race with the Chingpaw or Singhpo. They appeared about Bhamo in the seventeenth century and spread westward into Assam at the end of the eighteenth century. They are thought to be descendants of people left behind in the high valleys by the first Tibeto-Burman migration of prehistoric times, and so are connected with the Burmans, Chins, and Kami. They are a warlike race, and would possibly have overrun the whole of Upper Burma in time but for the advent of the British power.

Next to the Burmese and Shans the Karens in their various tribes are the most numerous and most widely dispersed race in the country. Their traditions point to an early migration, in the course of which they crossed "a river of sand," which is by some identified with the desert of Gobi in Central China. At a later period they continued their southward movement, and about the second century A.D. they seem to have been settled in Upper Burma. Three or four centuries later they spread over the mountains between the Irawadi, Salween, and Menam, as far south as the sea. More than any other race in Burma they hold themselves aloof and apart, although their villages are scattered all over the delta interspersed amongst the Burmans, and they rarely intermarry with the latter.

CHAPTER I.

TO THE FALL OF THE PROME MONARCHY.

Prehistoric Period. Like many other ancient chronicles the Burmese *Maha-raza-win*, or *Chronicles of the Kings*, opens with an account of the creation. This finished, it proceeds to describe the foundation by kings from India of a monarchy at *Tagaung* in Upper Burma. The aboriginal tribes then in the land were called *Kanran*, *Pru* or *Pyu*, and *Sak* or *Thet*. They afterwards took the name of *Brahma* or *Mramma*, by which the people is still called. This name was never applied to the Arakanese, who claim to be the older branch of the race. The Arakanese pronunciation is certainly an older form than the Burmese. and their claim is probably well founded. The Burmese language is closely allied with the Tibetan and Nepalesè, and a common origin is certain. The early migrations from Eastern Tibet have already been referred to in the Introduction.

Early Tradition. In very early times a king, *Abhi-raza*, from *Kapilavastu* in *Oude*, the home of *Buddha*, was forced by dissensions with neighbouring chiefs to leave his country, and came with an army into *Burma*. There he established a kingdom and built *Tagaung* on the Upper *Irawadi* for his capital. At his death his two sons, *Kan-raza-gyi* and *Kan-raza-ngè*, both claimed the throne. To

settle the dispute it was agreed that he who should build a pagoda the quicker should be made king. Kan-raza-ngè in one night erected a structure of bamboo and lime contrived to look like stone, and was declared the winner. His brother, with his own followers, descended the Irawadi to the mouth of the Chindwin river, which he ascended as far as its confluence with the Myittha. Here he turned westward and occupied the southern portion of the Kale valley. When his rule was established, he left his son to reign over the tribes of his new kingdom, while he himself proceeded south-west into Arakan, and founded another kingdom near Mount Kyaukpadaung. The date assigned to this event is 825 B.C.

Fall of Tagaung. Kan-raza-ngè and thirty-one of his descendants ruled in Tagaung. The Maha-raza-win states that the last of these kings, Beinaka or Bhinnaka by name, was overthrown about the year 700 B.C. by an invasion of Chinese, called in the chronicle Tarok and Taret. The invasion probably took place six centuries later, and the invaders were Shans from the hill country east of the Irawadi, driven downwards by the pressure of the great rebellion in China in the first century B.C. The king fled south to Male on the Irawadi and died there. His followers at his death split up into three divisions. One followed the track of Kan-raza-gyi and reached Kale, where the descendants of Muddusitta, son of Kan-raza-gyi, were still reigning. Another division took refuge in the Shan country, and the third remained with the queen Naga-hsein.

Old Pagan. The Shan invaders did not stay long in the kingdom of Tagaung, but were driven out by Indians from the north-west. A king named Daza-raza entered Burma and settled in Mauriya, which some place in the Chindwin valley, others east of the Irawadi. From there he went to Male, married Queen Naga-hsein, and built a

new capital at Old Pagan close to Tagaung, which also he shortly afterwards occupied. Here sixteen of his descendants are said to have reigned. The last of these was Thado Maha Raza, who had no son. Accordingly Prince Khepaduta, brother of the queen, was declared Ein-she-min (Lord of the Eastern House) or heir-apparent. Before he succeeded to the throne, however, an invasion took place, probably of Shans from the east, and the royal family fled to the forest. There the queen brought forth twin sons, who were born blind, and concealed them lest they should be put to death. When they grew to manhood, being unfit to rule, they were put on board a raft and sent adrift on the Irawadi. During the journey down their sight was miraculously restored by an ogress (Biluma). The memory of this miracle is said to be preserved in the names of two villages, Mopon and Myedè, close to the town of Allanmyo, the old frontier station of British Burma. These were the first words uttered by the young princes on receiving their sight: Myedè, "the earth is inside," and Mopon, "the sky covers it like a lid."

Prome and Tharekhattara. Before this invasion, the heir-apparent, Prince Khepaduta, pursuing a wild boar in the forest, had lost his way, and being unable to retrace his steps, at last gave up the attempt to return to the palace. Wandering southwards along the river he came to the place where Prome now stands. There he found a hill with a cave in which he took up his abode and became a hermit. A doe living in the forest close by having miraculously given birth to a human child, the hermit adopted the child as his daughter and called her Bedari. When the two young princes, his nephews, reached Prome on their raft, they met the Princess Bedari drawing water from the river. As they talked with her they became aware that her father was their lost uncle, and decided

to settle at Prome with him. The elder prince, Maha Thambawa, married Bedari and founded a kingdom with its capital at Prome. After a reign of six years he was succeeded by his brother, Sulathambawa, and then by his son Dottabaung. Dottabaung removed the capital to a site five miles east of Prome, where he built the city of Tharekhettara—"the field of fortune" or "the sacred field." It was known also as Rathemyo, "hermit-town," in memory of the hermit prince. Dottabaung is said to have been a good king; but having on one occasion seized land which belonged to a monastery, he was punished by misfortunes of various kinds, and was finally drowned at sea in the whirlpool of Nagarit, near the mouth of the Bassein river.

Burma during the period of the Prome Kingdom. Of the history of Prome or Tharekhettara nothing is really known. The dynasty came to an end early in the second century of the Christian era. The rule of the Prome kings did not extend very far north or south of their capital. Upper Burma was probably occupied chiefly by Shans, who are said to have established a powerful kingdom called Pong, about which nothing is really known. In the south the kingdom of Thaton was flourishing under kings from India. It has already been stated that the Shans were settled along the Shweli river nearly a hundred years before the Christian era. It seems probable that in very early times they settled along the upper Mekong and Salween, and, perhaps driven out by the Chinese, passed later into the country about Mogaung and the valley of the Shweli. The Chinese annals show that such a movement took place about the beginning of the first century B.C., and it is likely that the fall of the Pagan or Tagaung kingdom was due to this movement. All that can be said of the early history is that the tribes which called themselves Pyu, Kanran and Thet were ruled by kings from India, who

gave them some degree of civilization and taught them agriculture and the simple arts. The same process was going on, as will be seen later, amongst the Mun or Talaing people in Lower Burma. The kings of Upper Burma crossed from India by land through Bengal and Manipur. Those who colonized Thaton came by sea from the Madras coast. Communication with India by sea gradually increased while the land routes were less used.

End of the Prome Kingdom. Civil war brought the kingdom of Prome to an end. Towards the close of the first century A.D. the last king of Prome, Thupinya, was on the throne. A quarrel is said to have arisen between the tribes Kanran and Pyu, in which the Pyu tribe was victorious. During this quarrel they were attacked by the Talaings from the south and by the Arakanese from the west. King Thupinya died during the war, and his nephew, Thamokdarit, with his followers of the Pyu tribe, was driven from the country east of the Irawadi and crossed the river at Padaung. On the west bank they were attacked by the Arakanese and fled northwards, leaving the enemy to sack Tharekhettara before they returned to Arakan. After wandering for many years Thamokdarit and his followers settled at New Pagan and founded the capital of the great Pagan monarchy. From this time onward the name of the whole people becomes Mramma, and the tribal names, Pyu, Kanran and Thet, drop out of use, though the Chinese history continues to use the name Pyu for another 900 years.

CHAPTER II.

THATON AND PEGU.

Talaings. The Mun or Talaing people, who occupied the delta of the Irawadi and the eastern parts of Lower Burma, probably belong to one of the races that spread over South-Eastern Asia even before the period of the great Tibeto-Burman migrations. They called themselves Mun, but they were called Teleng by the Chinese, and Talaing by the Burmans. As in the case of Upper Burma, an uncivilized people received rulers from India, who introduced order and founded a kingdom at Thaton, which at that time was a sea-coast town. These kings came in very early times from Telingana on the Coromandel coast, and it is from that name that the word Talaing or Teleng is derived. In the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon the country was known as Suvanna Bhumi or Golden Land. About 240 B.C. two missionaries, Sona and Uttara by name, are said to have come from Ceylon to Thaton and converted the people to Buddhism. Very little else is known of the early history of the kingdom, though a list of 59 kings who reigned at Thaton is found in the Talaing chronicles.

Foundation of Pegu. Buddhist tradition states that Buddha, in one of his early incarnations, beheld, appearing above the surface of the sea, a small patch of sand, on which two golden geese alighted; and the Master thereupon prophesied that on that spot would one day be founded a famous city. This prophecy was fulfilled about the year 573 A.D., when Thamala and Wimala, two sons of the ruling king of Thaton, collected followers and founded on the sacred spot a city which they called Hansawadi or Hanthawadi, from the Sanscrit *hansa*, a goose (Burmese,

hintha). This city, called also by the Talaing name Pegu, became the capital of the great kingdom. The old dynasty still ruled in Thaton. The ancient books recording the history of the kingdom of Pegu were destroyed when the kingdom was conquered by the Burmans, and only a list of kings remains, ending with the name of King Titha, who ruled from 761 to 781 A.D. But it is believed that Buddhaghosa brought the Tripitaka or Buddhist Scriptures to Thaton about the year 450 A.D. From that time onward the disputes between Buddhists and Brahmins must have become more acute, and the country was probably much disturbed by their quarrels. Buddhist doctrine finally won the day. About the time of Buddhaghosa's visit Talaing was reduced to writing. It was probably some 500 years later that Burmese, like Talaing, borrowed an Indian alphabet. The letters were originally square, but the round form was necessarily used when palm leaves were introduced and the letters engraved with a metal style.

From the reign of King Titha down to the fall of the Burmese monarchy at Pagan, five hundred years later, the Talaing history is a blank.

CHAPTER III.

THE PAGAN MONARCHY.

Foundation of New Pagan. After thirteen years' wandering King Thamokdarit founded New Pagan in the year 108 A.D. He was not directly descended from the old kings of Tagaung. That race had come to an end in Prome two centuries before, and the last king of the dynasty, then ruling in Prome, adopted a son from whom

Thamokdarit was descended. There was, however, living at Male in the Upper Irawadi a young man named Sawdi, a direct descendant of a younger brother of the blind twins who had been put on board a raft and sent down the Irawadi to Prome. Thus Sawdi was of the old blood royal. When Pagan was founded he left Male and came down to the new capital, where he lived in the house of a peasant of the Pyu race, and so is sometimes spoken of as Pyu-minti or Pyu Sawdi. He found the people of the new kingdom suffering from a plague of savage animals and flying monsters, which devoured men, women and children. Without delay he set to work and destroyed them, and the king married him to his daughter, declaring him at the same time Ein-she-min. On the death of the king, however, he did not at once succeed to the throne, but allowed a hermit called Rathekyauing to rule for fifteen years. Sawdi became king at the death of the hermit.

The New Era. Sawdi is said to have ruled seventy-five years, and died in the year 243 A.D. He was a warlike king, and fought the Chinese with success. His kingdom included much of the country that the Kings of Tagaung and Old Pagan had held. After his death there is no important event for nearly four hundred years. Then King Thinga Raza began to reign. He had been a monk before he became king. In his reign the calendar was corrected, and the modern Burmese era began in March, 639 A.D., when the sun entered Aries.

Dragon-Worship. One of the chief worships which went on side by side with the practice of Buddhism, as in China at the present day, was dragon-worship. This worship, introduced from India, had become so popular at the beginning of the tenth century that it threatened to destroy Buddhism. Saw Rahan, a usurper who seized the throne in the year 924, set up an image of the dragon in a

beautiful grove, built temples and monasteries, and supported the priests, who were called Ari. They lived in monasteries, but they drank liquor and led wicked lives.

Anawrahta King. Anawrahta is the first great Burmese king. He reformed religion, conquered the Talaing kingdoms of Thaton and Pegu, and recovered much of the territory in Upper Burma that belonged to the old Tagaung monarchy. His queen was the daughter of an Indian prince of Wethali in Arakan. He hated the dragon-worship, and desired to restore the pure Buddhist doctrine. This he only imperfectly understood; but a great teacher, Arahan, came from Thaton as a missionary of Buddhism. He appeared before the king, and preached the law of Buddha with such effect that the priests of the dragon-worship were expelled from their monasteries, and replaced by Rahans from Thaton, who taught the true religion.

Conquest of Thaton. Though the true religion was established, there was no copy of the Tripitaka in Pagan. Anawrahta therefore sent to Manuha, king of Thaton, for a copy of the holy books which had been brought there by Buddhaghosa. Manuha refused the books, and Anawrahta at once collected an army, sailed down the Irawadi, and crossed to Thaton. The king of Thaton had little territory and no army, but the city was well defended by fortifications, and had to be reduced by famine. When it finally yielded it was razed to the ground; all holy relics, books, and images were carried off; King Manuha and his family were made pagoda slaves, and all the nobles and skilled workmen who might be of any service in Pagan were taken captive thither (*circa* 1050 A.D.). It was at this time that the Talaing records were destroyed, so that the history of the Talaings down to the restoration of the Pegu monarchy at the end of the thirteenth century is very meagre.

Mission to China. Having obtained a copy of the sacred books, Anawrahta was eager to obtain a sacred relic also. Four hundred and eighty years before he came to the throne, a tooth of the Buddha had been taken to China by a Persian ambassador. This tooth Anawrahta wished to get, and he marched with an army into Yunnan. The ruler of Nanchao, an independent Tai kingdom in southern Yunnan, met the Burmese king, and presented him with a golden image which had touched the sacred tooth. With this he had to be content. On his return journey, Anawrahta met and married a Shan princess. The adventures which ended in his marriage are told in a popular zat or drama.

Mission to Ceylon. The king still tried to get a relic of the Buddha to deposit in the Shwezigon pagoda, which he was then building at Pagan. A bone was said to be enclosed in a pagoda at Tharekhettara, but when the pagoda was opened no relic was found. Finally the king sent to Ceylon for the sacred tooth which is preserved there, but again the mission failed. This time, however, the envoys brought back a piece of ivory which was said to have grown out of the tooth, and this was carried with much ceremony to Pagan.

Anawrahta King of all Burma. Anawrahta came to the throne in 1010 and ruled forty-two years. He is said to have conquered the powerful Shan kingdom of Pong and to have taken tribute from Arakan. He was thus the first who ruled over the whole country which we now call Burma. He did much to encourage Buddhism, and he was the first of the great pagoda builders. His empire lasted more than two hundred years. Then it was overthrown, as we shall see later, by the Chinese, and Shan chiefs ruled over many separate kingdoms in Burma.

Embassy from Ceylon. The king who succeeded

Anawrahta was killed in battle against an army of rebels from Pegu, and in 1057 Kyansittha, a younger son of Anawrahta, became king. During his reign the King of Ceylon sent an embassy to Pegu. Under the rule of Indian kings Buddhism had almost died out in Ceylon, while in Burma it had become firmly established. So when the Sinhalese king wished to restore Buddhism he sent to Burma for help and advice.

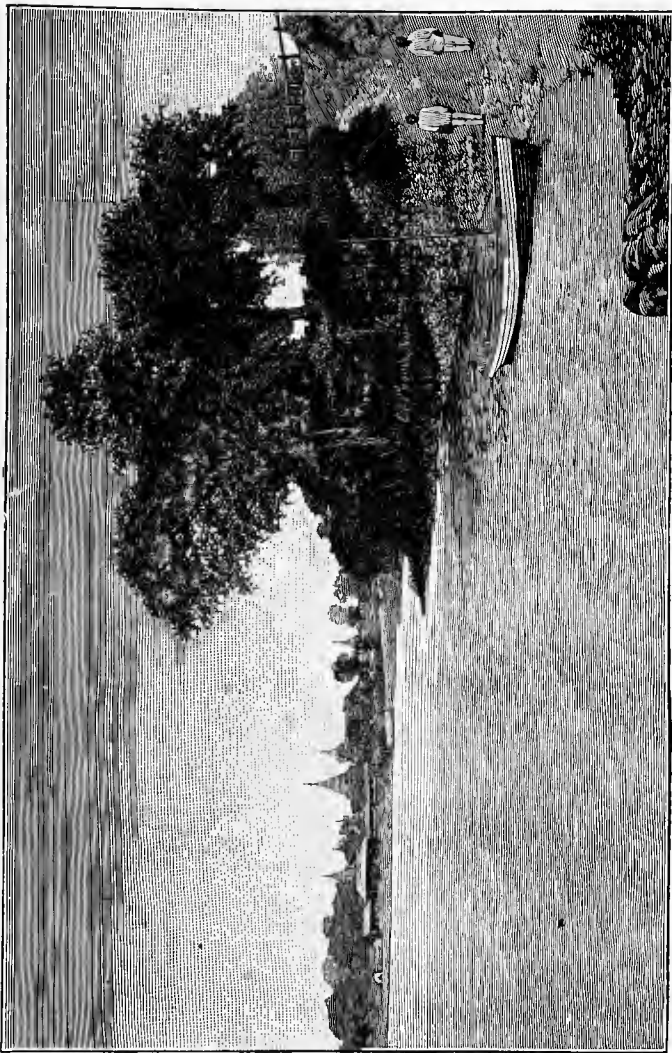
Alaungsithu King. Kyansittha was succeeded by his grandson Alaungsithu. The new king devoted himself to reforms, improved the administration of the law, and regulated weights and measures. He travelled much, visiting Arakan and Bengal, where he married the daughter of a prince of Pateikkaya. Only one war broke the peace of Alaungsithu's long reign. An Arakanese prince was living at the Burmese court. His grandfather had been killed by a usurper, and his father had fled to Pagan. He asked Alaungsithu to restore him to his kingdom. In the year 1102 a Talaing expedition went by sea to Arakan, and a Burmese army marched by land through the passes of the Yoma. The Talaing force was defeated, and the Burmans retired. In the following year, however, the Arakanese were defeated, and the prince was restored to the throne of his grandfather. In return for Alaungsithu's assistance he undertook to restore the Buddhist temple at Gaya in Bengal, and fulfilled his promise about two years later, as is shown by an inscription on a stone tablet at Gaya.

Death of Alaungsithu. As the king grew old, his two sons, impatient no doubt to succeed to the throne, gave him much trouble. He appointed the elder, Minshinsaw, governor of the northern part of the kingdom, with headquarters near the site of the modern Amarapura. This prince began to make the Aungpinle tank, near

Mandalay. Alaungsithu also caused the tank at Meiktila to be repaired. The younger son, Narathu, in the absence of his brother, suffocated the king under a pile of clothes and seized the throne in 1160 A.D.

Narathu King. On hearing of the death of his father, the elder prince, Minshinsaw, sailed down the river to Pagan in order to make himself king. His brother Narathu pretended to welcome him as the rightful heir, and led him to the palace, where he was at once consecrated king, but was put to death by poison during the following night. Narathu then seized the throne, and caused his father's old servants and followers to be murdered. He went so far as to slay the queen with his own hand. Her father, the Pateikkaya prince, swore to avenge her death, and sent eight of his own men to Pagan disguised as Brahmin priests. Narathu allowed the Indians to enter the palace under the pretence of giving him their blessing. There they fell upon him, and having killed him killed each other. Narathu is therefore known as Kula-kya-min, or the king whom the Indians overthrew. His reign had lasted only four years, 1160 to 1164.

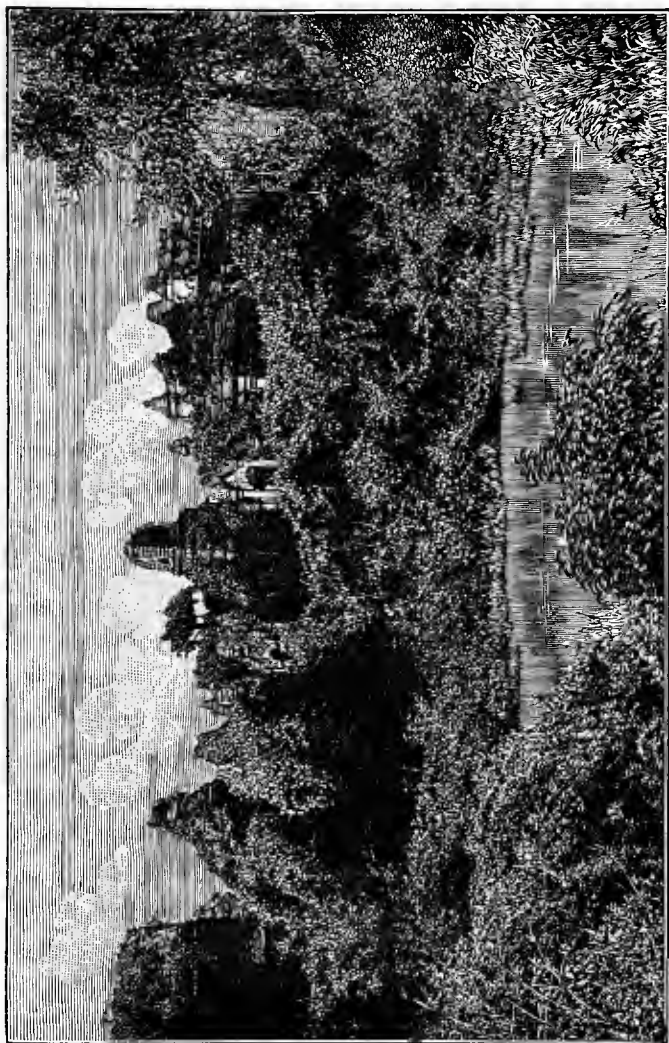
Narabadisithu King. The Kula-kya-min left two sons. One of these, after reigning three years, was put to death by his brother, who became king in 1167 with the title Narabadisithu, and ruled for thirty-seven years. During his reign there was much intercourse between Burma and Ceylon, where Buddhism had been restored, and a warlike king, Parakrama Bahu, was on the throne. Four great Rahans or priests came from Ceylon to Burma to teach certain new Buddhist doctrines. The friendship between the two countries was marred by one short war. The king of Ceylon at the court of Pegu kept an ambassador, whose expenses were, in accordance with Burmese custom, paid by the Burmese king. For some reason the Burmese



THE LAKE AT MIRTLA.

stopped payment of these charges, and seized certain Sinhalese ships carrying royal envoys. The king of Ceylon then sent an army, which landed in the delta and took the Governor of Pegu prisoner. The Sinhalese records state that the king of Pagan apologised and promised tribute. This affair shows that the Burmese Empire was growing weak. In this reign Taungu became a separate province under a Burmese governor, and the king himself visited the province.

Pagodas at Pagan. In the year 1204 Narabadisthu died and was succeeded by his son, Zeyatheinkha, who ruled in peace for twenty-three years. He was the last of the great pagoda-builders. All the most famous pagodas of Pagan were built between the reigns of Anawrahta and Zeyatheinkha except one, the Mingalazedi, built by Tarokpykemin. The Shwezigon pagoda, which was meant to contain the sacred tooth demanded first from China and afterwards from Ceylon, was commenced by Anawrahta and completed by Kyansittha. The Ananda pagoda, the most beautiful of all the Pagan pagodas, was also built by Kyansittha. His successor, Alaungsithu, built the beautiful That-pin-nyu pagoda. The Dhamma-yan-kyi pagoda was built by Kula-kya-min. King Narabadisithu built the Gawdapalin and Sulamani pagodas. Zeyatheinkha built the Bawdi pagoda in imitation of the Buddhist temple at Gaya. All these pagodas are Indian in style, but differ in certain ways from Indian temples of the period. They remain as evidence of the wealth and power of the Pagan monarchs and the skill of their architects.



RUINS AT PAGAN.

CHAPTER IV.

DOWNFALL OF THE PAGAN MONARCHY.

Affairs in China. Anawrahta's empire fell to pieces in the reign of Narathihapate, great-grandson of Zeyatheinkha, who came to the throne in 1248. He is usually called Tarokpyemin, or "the king who ran away from the Chinese." During his reign the Mongols, under their great general Kublai Khan, conquered China. Kublai Khan first took Yunnan, then proceeded north to China Proper, leaving in Yunnan a general called Uriang Kadai (1254 A.D.). When the conquest of China was complete Kublai Khan wrote a letter to Burma (1273 A.D.) asking that some prince of the royal blood should be sent to do homage. Two years later a Shan chief, who had shown the Mongol commander the three roads into Burma which united at Old Bhamo on the Taping river, was seized by the Burmans and punished. Some Mongolian envoys also were detained by the Burmans. But two years passed before war broke out.

War with China. In the year 1277 the Burmans attacked Kangè between Bhamo and Momein or Tengyueh, but a small Mongol force under the governor of Tali, the Chinese frontier province, defeated the Burmese in several battles on the Taping river. A second force of Mongols under Nasruddin came down later in the same year, but retired on account of the excessive heat, and there were no great battles for several years. Then in the year 1283 Nasruddin himself marched into Burma with a Mongolian army in two columns. One column advanced along the river Taping by Manwaing, taking two hundred boats; the other proceeded by land

and joined the first column at the Burman stockade of Ngasaungyan, which the Chinese call Yungchang. The Burmans were defeated and fled, but took up a second position on the east bank of the Irawadi opposite Male. Here they were again attacked and defeated by the Mongols. Envoys were now sent to sue for peace, and in the year 1285 a Mongol embassy was sent to arrange terms. These envoys were put to death for insolent behaviour in the presence of the king, who then, according to the chronicle, fled to Bassein. Some months later he returned to Prome, where his son, Thihathu, governor of Prome, put him to death.

Sack of Pagan. The chronicle relates that before the flight of the king the inhabitants of Pagan by his orders pulled down six thousand temples of various sizes to obtain materials for strengthening the fortifications; but, nevertheless, the Mongols sacked Pagan and pursued the king as far as Tarokmaw, some distance below Prome. This account was perhaps invented to explain the name Tarokmaw or "Chinese promontory." Nothing is said in the Chinese record of the sack of Pagan. It is almost certain that the Mongols did not descend the river far below Old Pagan. According to the Chinese account, a Burmese envoy who was sent to offer the king's submission met the Chinese general at Tagaung. If Pagan was indeed sacked, the destruction must have been the work of Shan auxiliaries or of the Burmese troops themselves. At this time the great pagoda built by Tarokpyemin was no doubt plundered for the sake of the numerous golden images which he had deposited in it.

Pegu Revolts. In the year 1273 a Burmese officer in Pegu, who had married a Talaing wife, headed a Talaing rebellion. He made himself king, but was shortly afterwards murdered by his brother-in-law. This man was in

turn murdered by one Tarabya, who became king. In Martaban a Shan merchant from Siam made himself king, with the title of Wariru. These two joined forces and defeated the Burmese troops at Dalla. Then Wariru quarrelled with Tarabya and they fought. Tarabya was beaten and taken prisoner, and afterwards put to death. Wariru ruled over Pegu from 1287 to 1306, with his capital at Martaban. In Pagan, Kyawswa, son of Tarokpyemin, ruled over what was left of the empire.

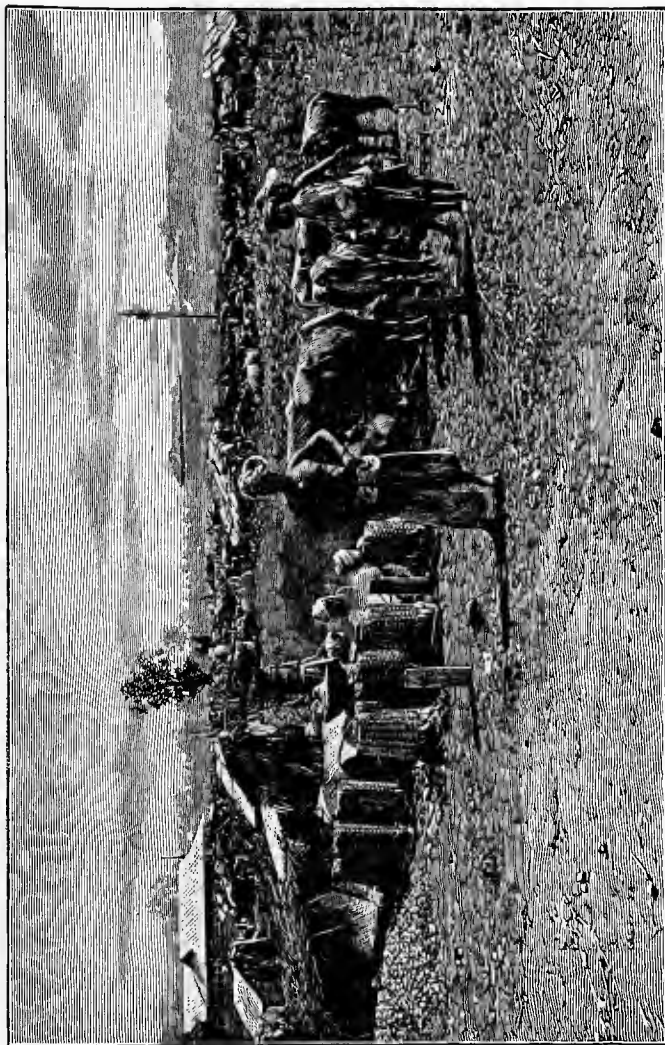
Causes of the break up of the Empire.

History shows that the empire of Anawrahta was not strong enough to resist attack. So long as peace lasted the government of the country was simple. But the central power was weak, and the king had very little control over the provinces. The villages managed their own affairs, and were no doubt fairly happy if their governor did not tax them too heavily. When the Chinese and the Shans made war on the Burmans, the king was unable to unite the country to resist the enemy. The provinces fell away, and the fragments of the empire became separate kingdoms under Shan chiefs. The Shans have never combined and formed a great state. The next attempt to make Burma one kingdom took place more than two centuries later when Burmese kings from Taungu conquered the whole country.

CHAPTER V.

THE PERIOD OF SHAN DOMINION.

The Shan Brothers. About the year 1250 a Shan chief named Thingkabo, having quarrelled with his elder brother about their inheritance, fled to Burma and



SHAN TRADERS AT BHAMO.

settled in Myinsaing to the south of Ava, where there was already a Shan colony. He had three sons, Athengkharā, Razathingyan, and Thihathu; and one daughter, who was married to another Thihathu, son of Tarokpyemin. The three sons obtained great wealth and authority in Pagan, and were all appointed governors of districts. As the power of the Burmese kings declined, the power of the Shans increased. When the Pagan monarchy was overthrown by the Chinese, each of these Shan governors became independent and began to extend his power.

The Shan Kingdoms. In 1298 the Shan brothers seized Kyawswa at Myinsaing, where he had gone to attend the consecration of a monastery, and forced him to become a monk. Burma was at this time a Chinese dependency, in name at any rate. In the year 1300 a Chinese army was sent to restore Kyawswa to the throne. To settle the matter the Shans put Kyawswa to death and bribed the Chinese generals, who led their army back to China. The Shan brothers now ruled along the middle Irawadi, and a Shan was ruling in Pegu. To the north and east, as far as the Chinese border, were many independent Shan chiefs. Arakan alone was not governed by Shans. As if to prove their independence the Arakanese in 1333 invaded Burma, and carried off the governor of Thayetmyo and his family.

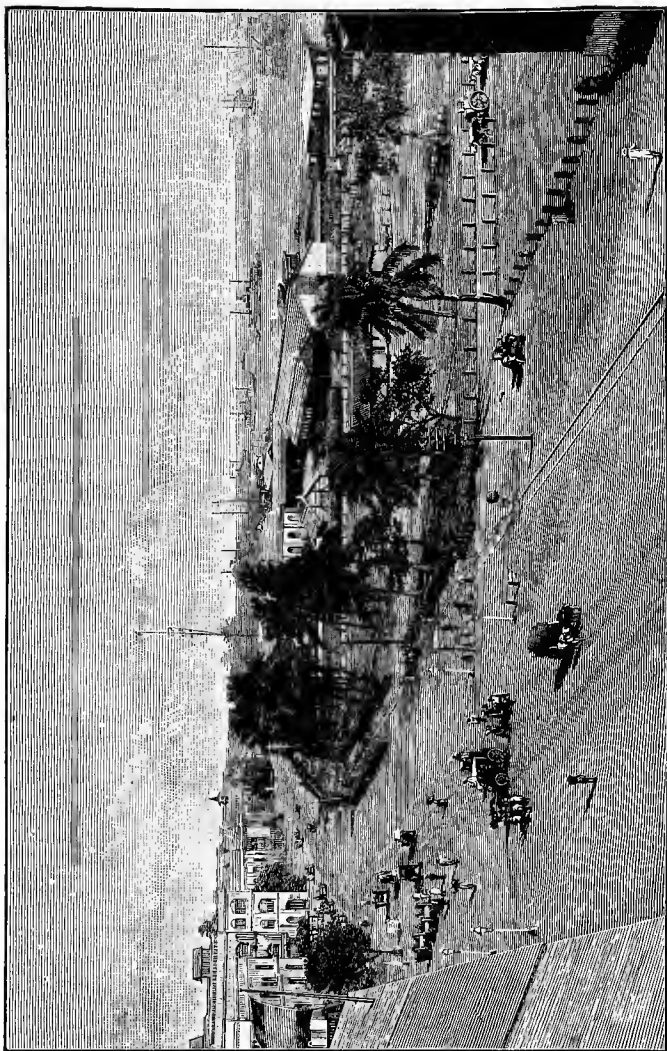
End of the Shan Kingdoms. For fourteen years the three brothers lived at peace with one another. Then in 1312 the second brother died, and the youngest, Thihathu, poisoned the eldest. He was now sole king, and made a new capital at Panya near Ava. But the Shans were never able to manage large kingdoms. Thihathu allowed his son to rule as king of Sagaing over the country as far north as Manipur, and his stepson was made governor of Taungu. After several kings had reigned in Panya and

Sagaing the end of these separate kingdoms came in the year 1364. One Thadominbya, descended on his father's side from the old Burmese kings of Tagaung and on his mother's side from the Shan kings of Sagaing, was appointed by his stepfather, king Thihapate of Sagaing, to be governor of Tagaung. The Shans of Mogaung attacked and captured Tagaung, and Thadominbya fled to Sagaing. There Thihapate put him in prison. The Shans pursuing Thadominbya reached Sagaing, and Thihapate fled. The Shans sacked Sagaing and Panya and returned home, taking the king of Panya prisoner. The people of Sagaing were angry with Thihapate because he had run away. They now joined Thadominbya, who put his stepfather to death, seized Panya, and became sole king of the middle Irawadi. He made his capital at Ava, and permitted a descendant of Tarokpyemin, who was king of Pagan without any real power, to continue to rule as his vassal.

Wariru, King of Pegu. How Wariru made himself king of Pegu has already been told. He ruled nineteen years in peace, except for one unsuccessful attack which was made on him by the Shan brothers. They wished to take a white elephant of which Wariru was the fortunate owner. In the year 1306 two sons of Tarabya, whom he had spared when he put their father to death, killed him and then took refuge in a monastery, whence they were dragged by Wariru's followers and slain. Wariru's brother ruled four years in Pegu, and was succeeded by his wife's nephew, a Talaing, Zaw-aw by name, who married the daughter of the king of Siam. But war broke out between Pegu and Siam because the chief of Zimme (Chieng-mai) attacked a town on the Bilin river. The provinces of Tavoy and Tenasserim were taken from the Siamese. But when Zaw-aw died (1323) and his brother Byinnyaranda became king and moved his capital from Martaban to

Pegu (Hanthawadi), the Siamese recaptured these two provinces.

Byinnya-u King. Byinnyaranda was killed in a battle while he was trying to conquer Prome, which had become a separate kingdom in the break-up of the Pagan empire. In the struggles for the throne which followed, Siam took a part and was badly beaten. In 1348 Byinnya-u, son of Byinnyaranda, became king. He had a white elephant, and took the title of Sinbyushin (Lord of the White Elephant). On his accession he made Martaban again the capital, and put Pegu in charge of a governor. This man now revolted, and while the rebellion was being subdued the white elephant died. The loss of the elephant was regarded as a serious matter, and the king at once set about searching the forest for another. During his absence his cousin, Bya-taba by name, revolted and seized Martaban. The king fled to Dunwun, where for six years he held out against all attacks. The town was finally captured, and the king retired to Hanthawadi (Pegu). Making this his capital, he ruled over the northern part of the kingdom, while Bya-taba ruled in Martaban. It was during this civil war that cannon were used for the first time in Burma, Martaban being defended, though unsuccessfully, by cannon against the assault of Bya-taba. Civil war continued to the end of the reign. The king was persuaded by his favourite queen to set aside his eldest son and declare her son heir to the throne. The elder prince refused his consent to this arrangement and fortified himself at Dagon, opposite the stockade of Della. Here, aided by Mahomedans from India with a flotilla of war boats, he resisted the army which the queen sent against him from Pegu. While the struggle was still in progress the king died, and the rebel prince became king with the title Razadirit in the year 1385. During his



RANGOON. THE RIVER FRONT.

reign began the series of wars between Burma and Pegu which lasted four hundred years and exhausted the whole country.

NOTE.—Dagun, or Dagon, was the name by which Rangoon was known before the time of Alaungpaya, who changed the name to Rangoon, “end of strife,” to commemorate his subjugation of the Talaings. An older city is said to have been founded on the same site in the year 746 by Ponarika Raza (King Brahmin Heart), the king of Thaton, whose son Titha was converted from Hinduism to Buddhism by the miracles performed by Badra Devi, the pious daughter of a Peguan merchant. He afterwards made her his queen. This older city was variously called Aramana, Kamanago, or Ramanago.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KINGDOMS OF AVA AND PEGU.

Foundation of Ava. Thadominbya determined to build for himself a new capital, and selected for its site Ava, at the confluence of the Myitnge and Irawadi. Here he planned a city adorned with a palace and pagodas, and defended by fortifications. The name given to the new capital in royal proclamations was Ratanapura, or “City of Gems.” Leaving his ministers to finish the work, the king marched southward to reconquer the old Burmese kingdom. While fighting at Sagu he caught smallpox and died before he could reach Ava. To prevent his queen from becoming the wife of his successor he cruelly sent on ahead a servant who slew her. His reign had lasted only three years, 1364 to 1367.

Mingyi Swa Sawkè King. At the time of Thadominbya's death the district of Amyin, near the confluence of the Chindwin and the Irawadi, was governed by Tarabya Sawkè, great grandson of Tarokpyemin. He was now chosen by the nobles as king with the title Mingyi Swa Sawkè. Like Thadominbya he wished to rule over the whole country. In a few years he had reconquered the valley of the Irawadi southward as far as Prome, which he captured. While Byinnya-u ruled in Pegu peace was preserved between Pegu and Ava. But when Razadirit came to the throne the king of Ava plotted with the governor of Myaungmya to attack him.

War with Pegu. At the end of 1386 two Burmese armies marched against Pegu, one from the north by way of Taungu and one from the west by way of the Irawadi. The governor of Myaungmya did not send the help he had promised, and the second Burmese army was defeated at Hlaing, forty miles to the west of Pegu. In the following year, though Myaungmya sent troops to help the Burmese, Razadirit defeated his enemies and pursued them to Prome. He then conquered Martaban in 1388, and Myaungmya in 1389, and ruled over the whole of Lower Burma from Prome to Martaban in peace for fifteen years. In the year 1400 Min Khaung, son of Mingyi Swa Sawkè, became king in Ava and the war began again in 1404.

Reincarnation of a Talaing Prince. Some years before, according to the chronicle, Razadirit's eldest son, who was falsely accused of plotting against the king in order to seize the throne for himself, had been executed. Before he was led out to his death he prayed that if he were innocent he might at once be born again in the Burmese nation, and punish the Talaings who had unjustly slain him. Soon after his death the wife of Min Khaung bore a son, Min-re-kyaw-swa, who was believed by all to be the re-

incarnation of the Talaing prince. At the early age of seventeen he commanded a Burmese army, which again and again defeated the troops of Pegu.

Arakan intervenes. The renewal of the war was really caused by the Arakanese. During the war between Pegu and Ava the Arakanese sided with the Talaings, and King Thinsa made a raid into Burmese territory. Min Khaung, being at peace with Razadirit, was determined to punish Arakan, and sent an army to invade the country in 1404. But Razadirit, with an army and a fleet of boats, sailed up the Irawadi to Sagaing. There he was persuaded by a Buddhist monk of great learning and piety to give up the war in order to avoid bloodshed. He returned to Pegu without attacking Ava. But two years later he attacked Prome and, having failed to capture it, made peace with the king of Ava at a meeting on the platform of the Prome pagoda. The boundary between the two kingdoms was to be Tarokmaw.

Peace broken again. The peace did not last long. Min Khaung invaded Arakan again as soon as he had peace with Pegu. But a Talaing army was sent to help the Arakanese, and defeated the Burmans. Two Burmese invasions of Pegu in 1407 and 1409 were also defeated, and Min Khaung returned to Ava weary and dispirited. His son Min-re-kyaw-swa, who was believed to be Razadirit's dead son reincarnated, took command of the army in 1410, being then seventeen years old. He invaded Arakan and captured Myauk-u, but Talaing troops repulsed him at Sandoway, and he returned to Burma.

War with the Chinese. After the death of Tarokpyemin the Chinese treated Burma as a dependent state. Chinese officers were stationed at Sagaing and Panya, and tribute was paid to China. The Shan state of Theinni, which was under Chinese protection, fought with

Burma, and the Sawbwa was killed. The Chinese sent an army to punish the Burmans, but Min-re-kyaw-swa drove out the Chinese and conquered Theinni in 1412. Again the Chinese interfered when the Burmese punished two Shan chiefs who had attacked the state of Myedu, which was under Burmese protection. The Burmese captured the wives and children of the two chiefs and took them to Ava. A Chinese army came to Ava and demanded the prisoners. This was refused. Then, the chronicle says, it was agreed that one man should be chosen by each side to fight and settle the matter. The Burmese champion, a Talaing captive, slew his opponent, and the Chinese army returned.

Death of the rival Kings. The Talaings naturally were not idle in the meantime. They attacked Prome while Min-re-kyaw-swa was fighting the Chinese; but when he returned he drove their armies back to the delta and captured Dalla. In the year 1416 he was killed in battle in the Bassein District. The following year the war came to an end for a time, and the Burmese troops withdrew from the kingdom of Pegu. The rival kings were weary and old, and their people were poor and worn out by the long wars. Min Khaung died in 1422 and Razadirit in the following year.

CHAPTER VII.

ORIGIN OF THE TAUNGU DYNASTY.

The Province of Taungu. Taungu, situated mainly in the valley of the Sittaung, but comprising also a hilly district populated by Karen tribes, lay, roughly speak-

ing, between the same parallels of latitude as the province or kingdom of Prome. But as it was not on the direct road between Burma and Pegu, it was not so important as Prome. On two occasions, however, Burmese armies advanced on Pegu by way of Taungu. So it was certain that the kings of Pegu and Ava would some day fight for Taungu as they had fought for Prome. The population of the valley was mixed, Burmese settlers coming from the north, Talaings from the south, while the Karens lived in the hills. The province is said to have been twice visited by ruling kings before the days of the Shan monarchy at Pagan; once by Narabadisithu, king of Pagan, at the end of the twelfth century, when a Burmese governor was appointed, and a second time at the end of the thirteenth century by Wariru of Martaban. Wariru then took the ruling chief captive, but his two sons succeeded to his power and built a fortress on a spur of the hills which projects into the plain. From the position of this stronghold the name Tanugu, or "mountain spur," is derived, and the old name was retained even when the city was moved down into the plain. About the year 1315 Thihathu, king of Panya, sent his stepson to govern Taungu.

Growing independence of Taungu. No doubt the Talaings, as well as the Burmese, began at this time to see the importance of Taungu. But in the exhausting wars between them neither nation had any real power in the province, and its governors did as they pleased, though they were in name subject to the kings of Ava. Many Burmans fled to Taungu to escape from the government of the Shan kings. So a Burmese state grew up in Taungu, and its kings at length became rulers of the whole of Burma.

Relations of Taungu to Pegu and Ava. The new kings of Pegu and Ava soon renewed the war,

The brothers of the king of Pegu plotted against him and asked for the help of Ava. After much useless bloodshed both kings died in the same year 1426, the king of Ava being killed in battle by Shan rebels and the king of Pegu being poisoned. The next king of Ava, Mintara, was a Shan chief, though his mother was of the Burmese royal blood; and many Burmese nobles, disliking his rule, went to Taungu. Sawlu, the governor of Taungu, was treated by Mintara as an equal. He hoped with the help of Pegu to make himself king of Ava, but the plan came to nothing. After his death in 1437 Burmese or Shan governors ruled in Taungu. Attempts to conquer the province were made from time to time both by Pegu and Ava. Ava twice succeeded, and appointed a new governor subject to the king. But the new governor soon became independent in his turn. At last, in 1485, Minkyinyo became ruler in Taungu, having murdered his uncle, the governor. He defeated an attack by the Talaings, and the king of Ava recognised him as an independent king. Then he began to prepare for war with Pegu, but he died in 1530, before his preparations were finished. His son, Tabin Shwehti, succeeded him.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD OF THE CHINESE AND SHAN WARS.

Conflict with China. The history of Ava in the fifteenth century is a confused and wearisome record of war against the Chinese and Shans. In the year 1439 Mintara died, and was succeeded first by his son, who reigned three years, and then by his brother, Bayin Nara-

badi. During Narabadi's reign there was constant war. China claimed that she was the supreme power in Ava and the Shan states, which were her vassals. When the Shan chief of Mogaung quarrelled with both the Burmese and the Chinese, he was seized and taken to Ava. The Burmese refused to give him up, and the Chinese invaded the country by way of the Taping valley twice in four years. The Shan chief poisoned himself, and his body was delivered to the Chinese; but one of his two sons was afterwards captured by the Burmans, who kept him prisoner. Other invasions followed; and finally, after ten years of war, the Burmese handed over the Shan captive to the Chinese in 1454. The rest of the reign was taken up with war in the Shan states and Taungu. The king's eldest son rebelled, and in the fighting Narabadi was wounded. He fled to Prome, and died there in 1468.

Break-up of the Kingdom of Ava. During the next two reigns Ava broke up into a number of separate states. Salin, Yamethin and Prome all revolted, and the Shan state of Myedu followed their example. The kingdom of Pegu, which had long been at peace with Ava, attacked both Ava and Taungu. It was as a reward for defeating the Talaing attack that Thirithudhamma, king of Ava, declared Taungu an independent state (see Chapter VII.). Immediately after his death in 1501 Taungu joined Prome in attack on Ava. Shan troops from Hsipaw defeated the invaders. The Shan chief of Mohnyin, Salon by name, occupied Myedu and Tabayin in 1501, and in the course of the next twenty-five years conquered the middle Irawadi valley. He made his son Saw-han-pwa (Tho-han-bwa) king of Ava in 1526.

Shans capture Prome. The new king disliked the Burmans and was disliked by them. During his reign large numbers of Burmans migrated to Taungu. With

the help of his father, Salon, Thohanbwa conquered Prome and made the son of the ruling king governor. He hoped to conquer Taungu next, for he saw that the new state which had grown up was a strong and dangerous enemy. Its king was already preparing to attack the kingdom of Pegu, and if Pegu were conquered Ava would be next attacked. But Minkyinyo died in 1530, and the fight was delayed.

Pegu from 1423 to 1453. On the death of Razadirit, his son, Byinnya Dhamma Raza, became king of Pegu. The new king's two brothers quarrelled about the succession to the throne, and each in turn got help from the king of Ava. In 1426 the king of Pegu was poisoned. The elder of the brothers became king; but the younger, who had been made governor of Martaban, established a separate kingdom there. There was peace between Pegu and Ava for seventy years, though Sawlu of Taungu tried to persuade Pegu to join in an attack on Ava about the year 1430, and both Pegu and Ava interfered in the affairs of Taungu. Between 1446 and 1453 three kings ruled in Pegu. The last of these, Hmawdaw by name, put to death all the princes of Razadirit's line, and was murdered by his angry subjects in 1453.

Sawbu and Dhammazedī. There was still living in Pegu the princess Sawbu, now an old woman, daughter of Razadirit and widow of Thihathu, son of Min Khaung and late king of Ava. The people of Pegu begged this princess to become their queen, and she consented. To help her to govern the country she chose a priest of Ava who had come to Pegu with her after Thihathu's death. He became a layman, married the queen's daughter, and was declared Ein-she-min, taking the name of Dhammazedī. On the death of Sawbu in 1460 he became king, and ruled in peace for thirty-one years at Pegu. He was famous for his

wisdom and piety, and envoys came from neighbouring states and even from Ceylon to do him honour. When he died he was buried with the rites usual in the case of great emperors, and a pagoda was built over his bones as over those of a saint.

Pegu under Byinnya Ran. In 1491 Dhammazedī's son, Byinnya Ran, became king. He ruled for thirty-five years, and his reign was almost as peaceful as his father's. The armies of Pegu moved twice only. The first time was when a feeble attack was made on the kingdom of Ava by way of the Irawadi. The second expedition was against Taungu. Minkyinyo had built a fort to protect his capital, and the Talaings tried to capture it. The attack was defeated before the arrival of the Burmese troops sent to the help of Taungu. This failure was unfortunate for Pegu. The king of Ava now recognised the independence of Taungu (Chapter VII.), and the two states were on friendly terms. But Taungu regarded Pegu as a bitter enemy, and Minkyinyo prepared for war. Both he and Byinnya Ran died before the war broke out.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TAUNGU DYNASTY IN PEGU.

Tabin Shwehti conquers Pegu. Minkyinyo ruled in Taungu from 1485 to 1530. He was a descendant of Tarokpyemin, and the Burmans who disliked the rule of Thohanbwa migrated to Taungu in order to be under a Burmese king. Thohanbwa was very cruel to the Burmese monks, and this cruelty also caused large numbers of Burmans to leave Ava and settle in Taungu during Minky-

inyo's reign. Minkyinyo's successor, Tabin Shwehti, a boy of sixteen years, continued the preparations for war on Pegu. He took four years to get ready, and then in 1534 marched on the capital. The Talaings, led by Shans, fought bravely, and the invaders were driven out. In 1536 they again attacked and captured Dagon, Bassein and Myaungmya, but again failed to take Pegu. Finally in 1538 Pegu was captured, and the king, Taka-yut-bi, fled to Prome, where his brother-in-law was ruling.

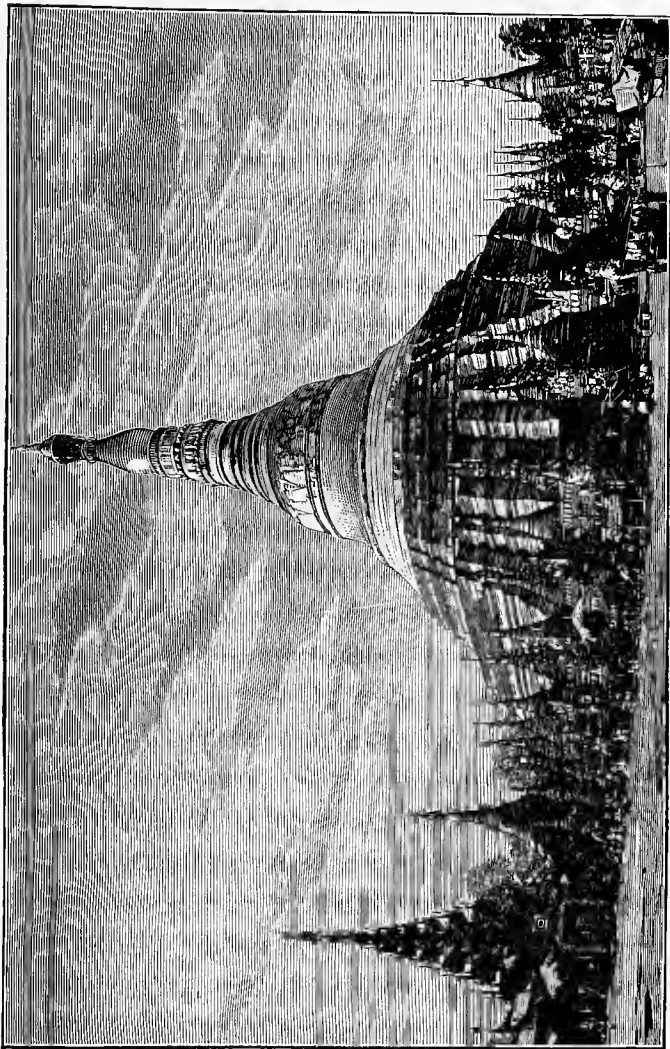
Attack on Prome. The king of Pegu was pursued to Prome by Bayin Naung, who was the brother-in-law of Tabin Shwehti, chief general of the army, and heir to the throne or Ein-she-min. The king, with a flotilla of boats, sailed up the Irawadi, and Prome was besieged. Thohanbwa of Ava was afraid that if Prome fell Ava would be in danger. So he came to the assistance of Prome with an army of Shans. Before any serious battle took place Tabin Shwehti heard that the viceroy of Martaban was preparing to oppose him. He therefore withdrew his army from Prome and hastened to Martaban. Neither the king of Prome nor the king of Ava was willing to help Taka-yut-bi to regain his kingdom. With a few followers he left Prome, and died in the jungle on his journey southward in 1540.

Capture of Martaban. At this time Martaban was an important port trading with Europe. The viceroy was a brother-in-law of Taka-yut-bi. He had allowed the Portuguese to build a factory or trading station there. They supplied him with ships, guns and men to defend Martaban against the armies of Taungu. The town was protected by a moat and a rampart. On the other side of the river was a strong stockade. Tabin Shwehti tried to persuade the viceroy to give up the town by promising him money and a high position. The viceroy refused, but the commander of the stockade was induced to join the enemy and hand

over the stockade. A Portuguese naval officer and seven hundred men also joined the army of Taungu. After a siege lasting seven months Martaban was captured, plundered and burned. Tabin Shwehti promised to spare the viceroy's life, but shamefully broke that promise and put him to death with all his family. (1540 A.D.)

Capture of Prome. Tabin Shwehti left an army on the Thaungyin river to protect his kingdom against Shan attacks and returned to Pegu. He placed new *htis* or canopies on the great pagodas at Pegu and Dagon. In this way he made known his claim to be king of the Talaings. At the same time he took care not to offend them, for he wished to make Ava and Pegu one kingdom under a Burmese king. When he returned to the attack on Prome in 1541 he found that Min Bin, king of Arakan, had sent an army to help Thohanbwa and his Shans in the defence of Prome. Both Shans and Arakanese were defeated, and Prome was besieged. Portuguese gunners served in Bayin Naung's army, and took an important part in the fighting. The city surrendered in June 1542. The king and queen, with three hundred of the chief men, were cruelly put to death. Tabin Shwehti returned to Pegu, where he cast an image of Gautama in pure gold; perhaps he was sorry for his savage treatment of his prisoners at Martaban and Prome. A brother of Bayin Naung was left to govern Prome.

Death of Thohanbwa. In the same year as Prome fell Thohanbwa was murdered by his own subjects. His cruelty, especially to the monks, angered both Burmans and Shans. Once he planned a general massacre of priests, and three hundred and sixty were killed, but more than a thousand of them escaped to Taungu or the Shan hills. The new king of Ava, a Shan, tried to capture Prome in 1544. Bayin Naung defeated him and drove him back



THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA, (RANGOON.)

to Ava. At Pagan Tabin Shwehti was consecrated king, and Bayin Naung was declared Ein-she-min. The rulers of Prome, Taungu and Martaban did homage to Tabin Shwehti. The king for a time paid attention to the affairs of Pegu, and amongst other useful works made the road from Pegu to Taungu, known as the Minlan or King's Road.

Invasion of Arakan and Siam. Had Tabin Shwehti been wise he would have tried by good government to make his new kingdom prosperous and contented. But he was not satisfied with what he had got. In 1544 a Talaing army invaded Arakan and took Sandoway, but could not advance northward to Myauk-u, the capital. In 1546 Tabin Shwehti himself went to Arakan in command of an army. He defeated the Arakanese, but failed to capture Myauk-u. Learning that the Siamese had invaded Tavoy, he made peace with Min Bin and returned to Pegu. The invasion was a small affair and easily repulsed, but the king determined to punish the Siamese and to conquer their country. His chief friend at this time was a wicked and shameless young Portuguese, nephew of the captain of his Portuguese gunners. The king's cruelty at the capture of Prome and Martaban showed an ill-balanced mind. He was now maddened by drink also, and would not listen to wise counsel. So at the end of the year 1548 he crossed the Salween and marched to the Menam, then along the river to Ayuthia.

Tabin Shwehti's downfall. With heavy losses the Talaings fought their way through difficult country to Ayuthia. The city was too strong to be taken before the rainy season made the country a swamp, food was scarce and many were sick. By the advice of Bayin Naung the king determined to retreat. The Siamese followed the retreating army, and killed large numbers by

their constant attacks. By a lucky chance the king of Siam's son-in-law was taken prisoner. The Siamese thereupon agreed to let the Talaing army retire to their own country in peace if the prince was given back to them. This was done, and the army reached Pegu within six months after setting out. The king gave himself up to drink and vice, and Bayin Naung governed the country as regent. In 1549 a son of Byinnya Ran, Thameintaw Rama, who had become a monk, threw off the yellow robe and declared himself king. Bayin Naung attacked him and his followers and pursued them into the western part of the delta, leaving the Talaing governor of the Sittaung province, Thameinsawdut by name, in charge of the king. This man persuaded Tabin Shwehti to go out into the jungle and see the capture of a white elephant. There he had the king murdered. The people of Pegu rose in rebellion and drove out the garrison with their commander, Thihathu, half brother of Bayin Naung. Thihathu occupied Taungu and Thameinsawdut became king in Pegu.

Tabin Shwehti's failure. For two hundred and thirty years Ava and Pegu had been governed by kings of Shan race. Their rule was unpopular, and caused large numbers of Burmans and Talaings to take refuge in Taungu, where a Burmese kingdom grew up. Though the Talaings naturally preferred a Talaing king, they would have accepted a Burmese king in place of their Shan rulers. Many of the chief Talaings went over to the Burmese side during the sieges of Pegu and Martaban. The people were tired of war, and would gladly have let Tabin Shwehti govern them in peace. But he was unwise and forced them into ruinous wars against Arakan and Siam. He was defeated, the Talaings rebelled, murdered him, and chose a Talaing king in his place. His successor, Bayin Naung, as will be seen in the following chapter, made the

same mistakes. So the attempt to restore the empire of Anawrahta failed.

Europeans in Burma. For hundreds of years trade between Europe and the East was carried on by way of the Persian Gulf and across Asia Minor, or by the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez. When the Turks conquered Asia Minor the merchants of Western Europe began to look for another road to the East. The great trading nations were the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. They bought silk, muslins, carpets, ivory and gold from the East, but above all spices and pepper. The Portuguese were the first to find the way to India by sea round the Cape of Good Hope. The great Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, landed in Calicut in 1498. In a few years the Portuguese had settled in Cochin and St. Thome near Madras. In 1510 they took Goa, which they made their capital in the East, and in 1511 they captured Malacca. In 1535 they were settled in Bombay and Diu. They hated Mahomedans and made friends with the Hindus. At the capture of Pegu, in 1538, a Portuguese ship, which had come from Goa to trade in Pegu, helped the Talaings. About this time the governor of the province of Martaban allowed the Portuguese to settle in the town of Martaban. These took part in the fighting which ended in the capture of Martaban by Tabin Shwehti in 1540. In 1586 Ralph Fitch, the first Englishman to visit Burma, came to Pegu. He had travelled across Asia Minor and down the Persian Gulf to India. He visited the court of Akbar, the great Indian emperor, at Agra, and then journeyed by Bengal and Chittagong to Pegu and Malacca. On his return to England he told all he had seen of the riches of India, and English merchants determined to have their share of the trade. The East India Company was formed in the year 1600 to trade with the East. Four years before, the first

Dutch ships had sailed round the south of South Africa and landed in Java. The Dutch fought the Portuguese and in a few years took most of their Indian possessions from them. But they in their turn were driven out of India by the English, who had become the greatest naval power in the world.

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF BAYIN NAUNG.

Bayin Naung conquers Taungu and Prome. Learning what had happened in Pegu, Bayin Naung gave up the pursuit of Byinnya Ran's son, Thameintaw Rama, and retired with a few followers to the hills east of Taungu. Thameintaw returned to Pegu, where he captured and killed Thameinsawdut and made himself king in his place. But by the end of the year 1550 Bayin Naung had come down from the hills, taken Taungu and Prome, and conquered Burma as far north as Pagan. Then he returned to Taungu and prepared to invade Pegu.

Conquest of Pegu. In 1551 he attacked Pegu with a small but well equipped army. He defeated Thameintaw after a hard fought battle, and the city of Pegu surrendered. He then pursued Thameintaw, who fled to Martaban by sea in a canoe but was captured three months later and put to death. Bayin Naung spent the next two years in Pegu, where he built the great palace which European travellers of that time praised so highly. He made preparations also for the conquest of Ava.

Conquest of Ava. In the year 1553 Bayin Naung's son led an army up the Irawadi valley as far as Tarokmyo,

fifty miles north of Pagan. There he found large forces of Shans, and advanced no further. In the following year a fleet of war boats went up the river, while Bayin Naung with the main army and 400 Portuguese, armed with muskets, marched by land to Yamethin. There he divided his forces. One portion he sent under his brother, the viceroy of Taungu, to Panya. He himself, with the bulk of the army, joined the fleet at Pagan. While the fleet sailed to Sagaing, Bayin Naung with his army marched along the west bank of the Chindwin, crossed it at Amyin and marched to Sagaing. Attacked on both sides, by Bayin Naung on the north and the viceroy of Taungu on the south, the Shans entrenched at Panya were driven into Ava, and the city was easily taken. The king left his brother Thadominsaw to govern Ava, and returned to Pegu in 1555. He sent offerings to the sacred tooth at Kandy, regilded the pagoda at Taungu, and laid the foundations of the Mahazedi pagoda at Pegu.

Conquest of the Shan States. A quarrel broke out between the Shan chiefs as to who should govern in Hsipaw. This gave Bayin Naung the chance to interfere. He collected an army, and in 1557 and 1558 subdued Mohnyin and Mogaung on the Irawadi, and Hsipaw, Mone and Zimme on the Shan plateau. He reformed some of the Shan religious practices. He forbade their custom of sacrificing animals and slaves at the funeral of a chief, because it was contrary to Buddhist teaching. He also forbade the slaughter of animals by his Mahomedan subjects or strangers. Many foreigners were persuaded by him to become Buddhists. He pressed on the building of the great pagoda at Pegu, in which he deposited sacred relics, with golden images of Buddha and his disciples and of the royal family.

Invasion of Siam. In 1563 Bayin Naung repeated

the folly of Tabin Shwehti. He picked a quarrel with the king of Siam, because some Siamese had fought with the Burmans on the frontier, and he demanded one of the white elephants of Siam. This was not given, so he invaded the country. Ayuthia was captured in March, 1564, and the king, his queens, and one of his two sons were taken prisoners to Pegu, together with three white elephants. The elder prince was left to govern Siam as a Burmese province. Bayin Naung then returned to Pegu, where a rebellious had broken out, leaving his son Nanda Bayin in command of the army. He found that the rebels had burned down many new buildings in the capital. These he restored, and built for himself a new palace of great splendour which took three years to finish.

Rebellions in Pegu. Bayin Naung had very soon to leave the capital again, for the chiefs of Zimme and of Linzin (Luang Prabang) on the Mekong were giving trouble. Again he was recalled to Pegu by a rebellion headed by a Shan prisoner. Narabadi, king of Ava, who had been taken captive to Pegu in 1555, asked for troops and dispersed the rebels. Bayin Naung on his arrival pursued the rebels to Dalla and captured thousands of them. In the meantime Nanda Bayin had captured the chief of Zimme, and the Linzin chief had fled across the Mekong (1565).

Second invasion of Siam. Bramahin, crown prince of Siam, was ruling in Ayuthia as the vassal of Burma. His father, the late king, had become a priest, and was allowed to return to Siam. The king's second son died, and the queen with her daughters also returned to their own country. The late king now threw off the yellow robe, and with his son revolted. Bayin Naung led an army at the end of the year 1568 from Martaban into Siam. He defeated the enemy who were attacking Pitsalauk, and laid

siege to Ayuthia. The city was taken through the treachery of a Siamese noble, who opened the gates to the Burmese. The old king poisoned himself, and Bramahin was put to death. Bayin Naung then set out in pursuit of the chief of Linzin, who had attacked his army at Ayuthia. He failed, and returned to Pegu at the end of 1570, having lost the greater part of his troops. In the following year the Linzin chief was killed while fighting in Cambodia.

Invasion of Arakan. The attempt to conquer Siam had failed, and the demand for Shan troops for the war on the Mekong against the chief of Linzin caused a revolt in Mohnyin and Mogaung. Of the rebel chiefs one was killed and the other captured after much trouble. The rebellions in Pegu showed how tired of war the people were. Nevertheless, the king determined to conquer Arakan, and in the autumn of 1580 a fleet of over a thousand ships with 80,000 men set sail. They were attacked near Cape Negrais by Portuguese ships, which captured a few of the Burmese. The rest landed and encamped at Sandoway to wait for the king. Bayin Naung intended to travel by land across the Yoma to Sandoway. But he fell ill and was unable to leave Pegu. In November, 1581, he died, and his son Nanda Bayin, now king, recalled the army to Pegu. European travellers who visited Pegu in Bayin Naung's reign wrote glowing accounts of the wealth and splendour of the court and city of Pegu. They could not know the misery and poverty of the people, worn out by continual wars.

Burma and Ceylon. In the reign of Bayin Naung there was much friendliness between Pegu and Ceylon. In 1555 the Burmese king sent offerings to the sacred tooth, and in 1574 the king of Ceylon sent a Sinhalese princess to be one of Bayin Naung's queens. Two years later a ship arrived at Bassein carrying a tooth of Buddha. Nobles



THE SHWE-HMAU-DAW PAGODA. (PEGU.)

from the court of Pegu were sent to meet the ship with a costly golden casket in which they carried the sacred relic to the capital.

CHAPTER XI.

BREAK-UP OF BAYIN NAUNG'S EMPIRE.

Rebellion of Ava. Uncles of the new king were ruling in Prome, Taungu and Ava. The prince of Ava tried to persuade his brothers to rebel against Nanda Bayin. The plot was discovered, and a number of the king's officers, who were suspected of treachery, were put to death with their wives and children. Gaspero Balbi, a jeweller of Venice who was travelling in the East, was at Pegu in 1583 when the executions took place. He states that 4,000 persons were burned to death on a big wooden platform. In the following year Nanda Bayin led an army to Ava and defeated his uncle at Panya. The two kings fought on elephants, and according to Balbi the king of Pegu had his elephant killed under him, but in the end killed the king of Ava. Others say that the king of Ava escaped to China and died there.

Invasions of Siam. Phra Naret, King of Siam, had come to Pegu to do homage to the new king, and had been ordered to follow with his army to Ava. Instead of doing so he returned to Siam, taking with him a number of Talaings. Nanda Bayin determined to punish him, and between 1586 and 1593 four expeditions were led against Siam, one by Nanda Bayin himself and three by his son. All four were defeated with heavy loss, and in the last one the crown prince was killed. These troubles affected the king's mind, and he behaved like a madman. On suspicion

of treachery he put many of his officers to death, and persecuted and slew the Talaing monks. Thousands of Talaings crossed to Siam, as the Burmans had in former days migrated to Taungu. These Talaing migrations continued till the British annexed Pegu. Phra Naret invaded the country by way of Martaban. The Siamese history states that he captured Pegu. But an army coming from Taungu drove him back to his own country, whither many Talaings accompanied him.

Revolt of the Provinces. In 1595 Ava, Prome and Taungu revolted. Razagyi, King of Arakan, sent a fleet under the command of his son Min Khamaung to avenge the invasion of Arakan by Bayin Naung. In 1596 this fleet seized Syriam, the chief port of the empire, and the Arakanese troops marched on Pegu, which was besieged by the army of Taungu. Phra Naret also came with an army from Siam, but he was too late. Before he arrived Pegu had been taken and sacked, and the kings of Taungu and Arakan had shared the plunder. Nanda Bayin was taken prisoner to Taungu and there put to death. Phra Naret, however, took possession of Martaban and Tavoy, and appointed Talaing rulers to govern these provinces in his name. An Arakanese garrison was left in Syriam. The province of Pegu remained without ruler. War and famine had killed nearly the whole of the inhabitants. Crops had been destroyed, and there was such scarcity of food that men ate one another. Thus another attempt to make Burma and Pegu one kingdom had failed, and again because the kings had not the wisdom to leave Siam and Arakan alone.

Rise of Ava. In the fighting at Pegu Ava had taken no part. Its prince, a half-brother of Nanda Bayin, was busy making himself master of Upper Burma. The prince of Prome was murdered while he was preparing to make war

on Ava. Phra Naret advancing against Ava in 1605 died at Zimme, and his troops returned home. In that same year the prince of Ava died, and his son Maha Dhamma Raza succeeded him. For two years the new king was occupied in settling the Shan states under his rule. Then he turned his attention to Lower Burma. In 1608 he attacked Prome, and after a siege of eight months took the city. Two years later he conquered Taungu. Natshin, who was ruling there, agreed to govern the province as the vassal of Ava and gave hostages. But he had already made an alliance with De Brito, the Portuguese governor of Syriam; the latter objected to the new arrangement and prepared to attack Taungu.

Rise of De Brito. Between 1510, when they took Goa on the west coast of India, and 1600, the Portuguese had become very powerful in the East. They had trading stations at Cochin, Martaban, Malacca, in Ceylon, and in the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Their ships sailed the Eastern seas, and they made large profits not only by trade but by open piracy. Their troops had fought against Tabin Shwehti as well as for him, and had served in Bayin Naung's army. Many Portuguese were in the service of the king of Arakan. One of these, Philip de Brito, was appointed in 1600 agent of King Razagyi in Syriam, which Min Khamaung had seized in 1596. But he determined to make himself governor, and drive out the Arakanese. With the help of the Portuguese in Syriam he seized the fort and the Custom House and expelled the Arakanese commander of the garrison. Then leaving one Ribeiro in charge, he sailed for Goa. The Portuguese viceroy agreed to help him with ships and men, and gave him his niece in marriage. De Brito was appointed captain-general in Syriam and returned with a squadron of six ships.

De Brito, Governor of Syriam. During De Brito's absence the Arakanese commander returned with fresh troops, and with the help of the Talaings besieged Syriam. But Ribeiro held out till help came from Goa, and the Arakanese retired. Then he persuaded the Talaings to accept De Brito as their ruler. Thus when the captain-general arrived he was well received by the Talaings. His former master, Razagyi, exchanged polite messages with De Brito and accepted a rich present from him. At the same time Razagyi allied himself with Natshin of Taungu for an attack on Syriam, and sent Min Khamaung with a large fleet and army. The Portuguese defeated the fleet and captured Min Khamaung, who was well treated by De Brito. A second and larger expedition was sent, which defeated the small Portuguese fleet, but could not take the city. At last peace was made in 1604. Min Khamaung was set free on payment of a ransom, and the forces of Arakan and Taungu were withdrawn. Natshin of Taungu made an alliance with De Brito, and the governor of Martaban gave his daughter in marriage to De Brito's son Simon.

Fall of De Brito. The Portuguese in the East had two chief objects, to make themselves rich and to convert the people to Christianity. Thus De Brito desecrated the pagodas built by Bayin Naung in order to get the golden images and jewels buried in them, and forced thousands of the Talaings to become Christians. The people were naturally discontented and ready to turn against him. When Natshin of Taungu submitted to Maha Dhamma Raza, De Brito with the help of the governor of Martaban attacked Taungu (1612 A.D.), and took Natshin prisoner. Maha Dhamma Raza without delay marched on Syriam and besieged it long before De Brito was prepared for the attack. The Arakanese also sent a fleet,

hoping to regain the port for themselves. But the Burmese defeated them and took all their ships. In April, 1613, the Talaings admitted the Burmese army into Syriam by night. The chief Portuguese leaders were executed, and De Brito, as a punishment for desecrating pagodas, was transfixed on a pole in front of his own house, and died after three days of agony. His son Simon was captured in Martaban and put to death. His wife, with other Portuguese, European and half-caste prisoners, was taken to Ava. Natshin died. The governor of Martaban agreed to hold that province as a vassal of Ava. The king of Siam sent an army to reconquer Martaban, but after advancing to Ye it returned without fighting.

CHAPTER XII.

TEMPORARY RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Reign of Maha Dhamma Raza. After the fall of Syriam the king of Ava encamped outside Pegu. It took four years to make the city once more suitable for the capital of the kingdom. In these four years Maha Dhamma Raza reconquered the whole of Bayin Nung's empire, but left Siam and Arakan wisely alone. He appointed viceroys to govern the provinces and made Pegu his capital. He preferred good government to conquest, and from 1616 to 1628 there was peace in Burma. In the government of the country he used officers of various races, Burmans, Shans and Talaings. At the gate of his palace he hung a bell with an inscription in Talaing and Burmese, inviting all who had any grievance to strike the bell so that the king might hear. His fame spread abroad, and envoys

came from Bengal, Delhi, where Jehangir was king, and from the Sultan of Achin in Sumatra. He sent an envoy to Goa to explain his capture of Syriam, and offered to help the Portuguese against Arakan. The viceroy of Goa sent a mission in return, but nothing more was done. Trade was encouraged, and English trading stations were established at Syriam, Prome, Ava and Bhamo. The Dutch also had a factory at Bhamo, but they behaved so badly that a few years later both Dutch and English were expelled. Maha Dhamma Raza was murdered in 1628 on account of "an unutterable crime committed by his son." The murder took place in the palace on the west bank of the Pegu river, hence the king is known as "the king who passed away on the west side" (Anauk-bet-lun-Mindaya).

Thado Dhamma Raza King. On the death of this good king his son, Min-re-deippa, who was governor of Zimme, was at once consecrated in his place. His mother was a person of low birth, and he was not well liked. Thado Dhamma Raza, brother of the late king, was viceroy at Prome, and another brother ruled in Ava. These two united against Min-re-deippa and removed him. Thado Dhamma Raza became king (1629 A.D.) and ruled for nineteen years. His reign was disturbed by two rebellions, one of the Talaings and one raised by his nephew, son of the late governor of Ava. The nobles who joined in the latter revolt were cruelly burned to death with their wives and children. The king made Ava his capital, and to commemorate the return to Ava he built near Sagaing the Kaung-hmudaw pagoda on the model of the ancient dagobas of Ceylon. In it he buried a golden image of Buddha weighing as much as the king himself. At his death in 1648 his son Bintale succeeded him.

Wars with China. The Chinese emperors regarded Burma as a vassal state (see Chapters VI. and VIII.).

Chinese officers were stationed in Burma to receive the tribute due to China. But it is fairly certain that from the time of Bayin Naung no tribute was paid, and the Chinese did not try to compel the Burmese kings to pay it. After the wars in Narabadi's reign (Chapter VIII.) there was peace between Burma and China for two hundred years. In 1643 the last of the Ming emperors of China, overthrown by the Manchus, killed himself. His son Yunhli fled to Yunnan and made himself king there. He demanded taxes from the Shan states on the frontier, which were under Burmese rule. Bintale therefore sent an army against him, but Yunhli defeated it (1651 A.D.). In 1658, however, a Manchu army came down to Yunnan and he fled to Teng-yueh. On payment of one hundred viss of gold to the Burmese king he was allowed to settle with his followers at Sagaing. In the following year the Chinese who were driven out of Yunnan by the Manchus plundered Upper Burma and attacked the city of Ava. The attack was beaten off mainly by the Christian gunners, descendants of the captives taken at Syriam by Maha Dhamma Raza.

Pyi Min succeeds Bintale. The Chinese troops had destroyed the crops and there was a famine. Rice was sold at a high price, and the people believed that the officers of the court had bought most of the supply in order to sell it at a big profit. They blamed the king for this and rebelled. The king's brother, who was governor at Prome, headed the rebels and seized the palace. Bintale and his family were drowned, and his brother became king with the title of Maha Pawara Dhamma Raza (1661 A.D.). He is generally known, however, as Pyi Min or Prome King. He determined to seize Yunhli, who, he thought, was hoping to conquer Burma. So he summoned the Chinese to meet him at a certain pagoda and take an oath of loyalty. A quarrel arose and the Chinese were killed, except Yunhli

and his family. Shortly afterwards a Manchu army entered Burma and marched down to the Aungpinle lake near Ava. The general demanded that Yunhli should be given up. In order to avoid war Pyi Min handed over Yunhli and his family, who were taken to China. Yunhli died or was put to death in Peking. While these events were happening at Ava, the Talaings, with the aid of the Siamese, rebelled and seized Tavoy, Martaban and Zimme. They were soon defeated, and Pyi Min ruled in peace till 1672.

The Empire breaks up. During the next forty years the empire, under weak kings, began to fall to pieces. The Manipuris conquered the Kale-Kabaw valley, and Zimme with other frontier states became independent. Sinbyushin ruled from 1714 to 1733. In his reign an Arakanese army captured Prome and advanced up the Irawadi as far as Malun, then retired. He tried in vain to reconquer Zimme and the Kale-Kabaw valley. For a time he resided at Pegu, where the bad government of the viceroys was making the Talaings discontented. He was followed by his son Dibati, in whose reign the Manipuris twice invaded the country and plundered the people. In their second raid in 1738 they reached Sagaing, but were unable to take the town. The governor of Pegu thought this a good opportunity to make himself king, but the Talaings slew him. Then Dibati sent his uncle to Pegu as viceroy. But a colony of Shans living near Pegu rebelled and marched on the city. The Talaing chiefs joined them; they slew the viceroy and made one of the Shans, an ex-monk, king, with the title of Mintara Buddha Kethi (1740 A.D.)

Pegu independent. The army which Dibati sent to Pegu to reconquer Pegu had to be recalled to repel another Manipuri attack. So the new king of Pegu was

left in peace. The Talaings, however, were not content with this, and, against the king's advice, attacked Upper Burma by way of the Irawadi. The Talaing army was defeated with great loss (1743 A.D.). Taungu was next attacked by the Talaings and taken. But while the army was thus engaged, the Burmese governor of Prome took Syriam. There he destroyed the British factory established by the East India Company in 1709. The Talaings soon drove him back to Prome, which they captured. In 1746 the Talaings advanced up the river from Prome. They were heavily defeated by the Burmans and driven back. Mintara now resolved to give up his kingdom. With his queen, daughter of the chief of Zimme, he retired to Zimme. His father-in-law did not welcome him, and for some time he wandered in the Lao country. Then he was allowed to return to Zimme and end his days there.

Byinnya Dala, King of Pegu. To succeed Mintara the master of the elephants, by name Byinnya Dala, was chosen. He was a native of Zimme who had risen from humble rank to a high position at court. He appointed Dalaban commander-in-chief of the army, and said he would make himself king of all Burma. Dibati, king of Ava, sent messengers with tribute to China in 1750 and 1751 to ask for help. The Chinese sent officers, with an escort of a thousand men, to Ava, but these returned without giving Dibati any promise of assistance. The king himself did little or nothing to prepare for war. After preparations lasting five years, Byinnya Dala's army under Dalaban set out for Malun in the autumn of 1751. In the army were a number of Dutch and Portuguese, and many of the Talaings had guns bought from European ships that traded with Syriam. The expedition reached Ava without difficulty, and besieged it. In March, 1752, the city surrendered, and the king was taken prisoner to Pegu, where

he was well treated. Ava was destroyed by fire, and the Burmese kingdom seemed to be at an end. Yet at that very moment a Burman officer, less than a hundred miles from Ava, was making plans which in five years brought about the final overthrow of the Talaings.

CHAPTER XIII.

RISE OF ALAUNGPAYA.

Alaungpaya's rebellion. At a village in the Tabayin district there lived a subordinate Burman official (kyegaing) who declined to accept a king from Pegu and resolved on armed resistance. So he gathered about him a band of followers. When Dalaban in accordance with his instructions sent out detachments to collect the revenue for the Talaing king, a party of fifty men arrived at an adjacent village, and the officer in charge summoned the kyegaing to appear before him. The latter obeyed, but came with a party of armed men equal in number to the Talaings, whom he surprised and destroyed. He then wrote to the governor of Ava saying that the Burmans had attacked the Talaings in a fit of sudden anger and that he had been unable to restrain them, that he was sorry for the accident, but he could not prevent it. He set to work to fortify his native village in case his explanation was not accepted; and when a larger force was sent against him he ambushed them in the jungle and defeated them. A second detachment suffered the same fate, and refugees from Ava rallied round the Burmese leader, who bore the name Aungzeya, "the Victorious," but is generally known in history as Alaungpaya or Alaungmindaya, "The Great

Pretender." His native village was Moksobomyo, "the town of the hunter chief"; it is now called Shwebo.

Alaungpaya's success. Alaungpaya was now joined by large numbers of his countrymen, who were impressed with his ability and good fortune. To mark the national character of his rebellion he gave orders that Burman and Shan troops in the army of Pegu were to be spared in the hour of victory, but Talaings were to be slain. In spite of his successes and the growing numbers of his followers, the rebellion was not regarded at Ava as a very serious matter, and the Crown Prince returned to Pegu with the greater part of the army and flotilla on receipt of a report that Siam was threatening invasion. Dalaban, however, thought it advisable to take measures to stamp out the rebellion, and in May, 1752, he advanced on Shwebo in person at the head of a detachment. His attack failed; and having built and garrisoned a stockade to the north of Shwebo, in order to intercept the supplies which Alaungpaya drew from the district of Tabayin, he withdrew. His retirement was harassed by the Burmans, and the stockade was captured by Alaungpaya a few days after his departure. Dalaban was recalled and an officer from Taungu was sent in his place, with one of Dalaban's colleagues as his second in command. But the change did not improve matters, and successive defeats gradually weakened the Talaing forces.

Alaungpaya takes Ava. The captive Dibati's son, who was hiding in the mountains, now proposed to take advantage of Alaungpaya's success, and joined him with a force of several thousand men. But when Alaungpaya made it clear that he had no intention of fighting merely in order to put the prince on the throne, the latter escaped to a stockade at Madaya where a few Shan troops still held out. When this was captured by Alaungpaya, the garrison,

including the Burmese prince, fled to Momeit. Alaungpaya made his designs clear by building for himself a palace at Shwēbo, which he proposed to make his capital with the name of Ratanatheinga. He claimed to be descended from the ancient Burmese royal race, and he was universally accepted as the national sovereign. The expulsion of the Talaings from Ava first claimed his attention. His younger son, Maung Lauk or Thado Minsaw, was put in command of a flotilla which descended the river to Ava in December, 1753. Before the investment of the capital was complete, the commander of the Talaing troops, being assured that the inhabitants of the city would join the attacking force, withdrew by night and made good his retreat with little loss. The Burmese troops occupied the city, and Alaungpaya with his chief officers came down and took possession. Maung Lauk was appointed governor. A temporary palace was erected outside the walls, and orders were issued for the restoration of pagodas and other sacred buildings injured in the course of the war.

The Talaings again invade Burma. Within two years from the fall of Ava in 1752 almost the whole effects of the Talaing conquest had disappeared. The only permanent result was the creation of a new dynasty in Burma. It was, however, likely that Pegu would make an attempt to regain what had been lost, and in order to be free to deal with Pegu, Alaungpaya lost no time in settling the affairs of the Shan states. He proceeded up the river in his state barge, and summoned the Shan chiefs to appear and swear allegiance to him. The chiefs of Momeit and Bhamo obeyed the summons, but he had to be content with messages of loyalty and obedience from Mogaung and Mohnyin. To the south Prome was already in the hands of the Burmans, so that the Talaing army which set out early in 1754 was confronted with a more

difficult task than that which faced the expedition of 1751. The second expedition was equal in strength to the former one, and was again under the command of the Crown Prince and Dalaban. The same route as before was taken, the army going by land to Prome, where it met the flotilla. A division was detached to blockade Prome, and the main army proceeded without opposition as far as Tarokmyo. There it encountered and defeated a Burmese force under Alaungpaya's sons, Naungdawgyi and Maung Lauk. The elder returned to Shwebo to entreat his father's forgiveness for the reverse, while Maung Lauk entered Ava and made vows and offerings in order to propitiate the Nats and retrieve his ill-fortune.

Relief of Ava and Prome. Maung Lauk was now besieged in Ava, but Alaungpaya made no immediate effort to relieve the city, and contented himself with watching from Shwebo the course of events. Once, however, when a flotilla reconnoitred the upper waters of the Irawadi, he left Shwebo and drove the enemy back with heavy loss. Dalaban, following up the reconnaissance, was forced to retreat. This incident made the Talaings cautious, and they were besides hampered by want of supplies. Before the rains arrived to complete their discomfort, Maung Lauk, in May, 1754, sallied from Ava and drove the investing force from its positions. The flight which ensued was only checked at Prome. Here Dalaban collected his scattered forces, while the Crown Prince pushed on to Pegu. Alaungpaya did not wish to enter Lower Burma in the rainy season, so he merely sent a strong detachment which compelled the Talaing general to retire to a position near Shwedaung, eight miles further south, and thus relieved the starving Burmese garrison.

Prome again attacked. The king of Pegu fully realized the importance of recapturing Prome, and prepared

another army with Dalaban as general. Before the departure of the expedition, the captive Burmese king, Dibati, was put to death on the charge of having taken part in a conspiracy against the king of Pegu. At the same time the other Burmese prisoners were slain. These murders angered the Burmese subjects of Pegu, and in Prome, Danubyu, and other places where Burmans were numerous, massacres of Talaings followed. When the expedition reached Prome the siege was at once renewed. Detachments were posted on the Nawinchaung and further north to prevent the relief of the city by Alaungpaya, but the assault was not pressed with vigour. Alaungpaya started down the river, and coming into contact with the Peguan outposts at Malûn captured several war-boats; the army on the east bank drove the Talaings out of their entrenchments on the Nawinchaung, and Prome was relieved in January 1755. The besieging army still held a fortified position south of Prome, defended by a strong garrison armed with guns. The first attacks were repulsed, and some weeks elapsed before a determined assault, directed by Alaungpaya himself and attended with great slaughter, carried the position. A great store of provisions, ammunition and guns was captured.

Capture of Rangoon. In April 1755 Alaungpaya continued his journey down the river. He captured Lûnhse, which he renamed Myanaung or "speedy victory," and took Henzada, Danubyu, and Dagon. At the last-named place he marked out a site for a new city, and to show his confidence in his own success called it Rangoon, "the end of strife." Bassein had been occupied earlier in the year without much difficulty, but Syriam, the chief port, and Pegu, the capital, still remained to be captured. The rains now put a stop to all serious military operations in the delta, and in September Alaungpaya was recalled to

Upper Burma by the news of a Shan rising. Shan supporters of the Burmese prince, Dibati's son, had invaded Burmese territory from Mogaung. Alaungpaya crushed the rebellion, dethroned the Sawbwa, and definitely annexed Mogaung to Burma. Thenceforward the ruler of Mogaung was appointed from Ava.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALAUNGPAYA MASTER OF PEGU.

English and French in Burma. The invasion of Pegu brought Alaungpaya into contact with the English and the French. About the year 1600 the Dutch and English both began to trade in the East, and the Portuguese were gradually driven out. Seventy years later French traders arrived and formed settlements in India. After the capture of Syriam in 1613 by Maha Dhamma Raza English and Dutch traders replaced the Portuguese in Syriam, but were expelled some years later on account of trouble in the trading station at Bhamo. In 1709 a British resident was appointed in Syriam to look after the interests of British trade. The island of Negrais had been occupied by the British in 1687 and a factory established at Bassein. When Alaungpaya's troops occupied Bassein British property was respected, and guns and gunpowder were supplied to the Burmans by the British agent there. At Syriam there was a French as well as a British factory, and both French and British ships were in the river when the Burmese attacked that place. The chief British agent, Mr. Brooke, favoured the cause of Alaungpaya, while the French supported the Talaings. But since the security of both

French and English depended on the favour of the ruling prince, both were desirous to be on the side of the final victor, and their conduct was not always free from suspicion. The French expected the final victory of Alaungpaya, and their chief agent visited Alaungpaya's camp, where he was well received. At the same time Captain Jackson of the "Arcot," a British ship which had recently arrived in the river, received letters from the Crown Prince, then at Syriam, and began to show sympathy for the Talaing cause.

English and French assist the Talaings. The news of the rising in the Shan states, and Alaungpaya's consequent departure for Upper Burma, made his success appear very doubtful, and both English and French now began to favour the Talaings. In an attack on the Burmese position shortly after Alaungpaya's departure, both French and English ships took part. Mr. Brooke disapproved of their action and ordered all the English ships to Negrais except the "Arcot," which was to remain at Syriam for repairs. In spite of these events Alaungpaya granted the English permission to establish a factory at Rangoon as well as at Bassein, but resolved to destroy Syriam. Even while the British officers were negotiating this matter with Alaungpaya at Shwebo, British and French ships joined in another attack on the Burmese camp. On this occasion, however, the Talaings seized the ships and put troops on board who compelled the crews to fight, though there is little doubt that Captain Jackson of the "Arcot" connived at the plan. When Alaungpaya reached Syriam again at the beginning of 1756 the British ships had all been withdrawn, and only one French ship remained with the French agent on board.

Capture of Syriam. After a siege of six months Alaungpaya succeeded in capturing Syriam in July 1756. The French agent gave himself up early in the siege and

was kept a prisoner. The British subordinates of the factory, who had been imprisoned by the Talaings, were released. Soon after the fall of the town a French ship laden with military stores arrived in the river from Pondicherry, and Alaungpaya compelled the French agent to write a letter to the captain ordering him to bring his ship to Syriam. When he found that these stores were intended for the Talaings, he put to death the agent as well as the captain and officers of the ship. The stores, together with a large quantity of material found in the fort, he seized for his own use. A number of French and Portuguese who were captured in the ships or in Syriam were sent up country, where their descendants still occupy a number of Christian villages between the lower course of the Chindwin and the Irawadi. These villages were permitted by the Burmese kings to enjoy the services of a Roman Catholic pastor.

Siege of Pegu. While Alaungpaya was in Upper Burma settling the country after the suppression of the Shan rising, he had arranged for the despatch of a Shan force to assist in the attack on Pegu. Two months after the fall of Syriam this force was at Sittaung, east of Pegu, and a month later the capital was closely besieged. An appeal for mercy made to Alaungpaya by a deputation of monks was without effect. In three months the city was starved into submission. By the advice of the council of nobles the king's daughter was offered to Alaungpaya in order to win his good-will. The princess was betrothed to Dalaban, who, having opposed this plan in vain, left the city by night with his family and a few followers, broke through the Burmese lines, and escaped to Sittaung. Alaungpaya made an ambiguous reply to the envoys, but the Talaings chose to regard his answer as favourable; and the princess, preceded by the Crown Prince and many nobles, and accompanied by a hundred attendant maids, was

received into the camp of Alaungpaya and conducted to his temporary palace.

Capture of Pegu. Hostilities were now suspended, and many Burmans and some Shans in the city surrendered to Alaungpaya and were put to death. The surrender of the king's brother and son-in-law, who had held commands in the army at Prome, was demanded and refused. The Crown Prince, who had been detained in the Burmese camp when he accompanied the princess thither, was sent to one of the city gates to summon his relatives to leave the city, but the designs of Alaungpaya were suspected, and none accepted the invitation. Finally the city was captured in a night assault and given up to plunder, the king being taken prisoner (May 1757). Most of the leading citizens, including the monks, were massacred, and thousands were sold into slavery. Dalaban, who had escaped to Sittaung, was afterwards captured and entered the service of Alaungpaya, with whom he remained until the king's death.

Expeditions against Tavoy, the Shans, and Manipur. After the capture and destruction of the Talaing capital, Alaungpaya proceeded southwards and conquered Tavoy and Mergui, which were in the possession of the Siamese. He left Burmese garrisons there, and having appointed Burmese governors in Martaban and all the delta districts, returned to Shwebo. On his way up the river he met, near Danubyu, an officer from the British settlement at Negrais, to whom he gave a royal order securing the British in the possession of Negrais and granting them a site for a factory at Bassein, though he severely criticised the behaviour of the British ships at Syriam. In the following year, 1758, he made an expedition into Manipur. The Raja of that state, who had invaded Burma in 1738, had been dethroned eleven years later by his son and had fled to Burma. In 1754 Manipuris had

again invaded Burma, and Alaungpaya now announced his intention of settling the succession in Manipur. His army met with no opposition, for all the inhabitants sought refuge in the hills. The fortifications of the capital were destroyed; and after receiving the submission of one or two minor chiefs, the king returned to Ava.

Rebellion in Pegu. The next year, 1759, a rebellion broke out in Pegu, and Alaungpaya set out for Lower Burma in the middle of the rains, having sent an army on ahead. The governor of Pegu had practically extinguished the rebellion before the king reached Rangoon, but suspicions of British interference were aroused by the arrival of the "Arcot" in Rangoon during the rebellion. The agent on board, Mr. Whitehill, was arrested and sent to Alaungpaya at Prome, and released only on payment of a heavy ransom. When the king reached Rangoon his suspicions seemed to be confirmed by false reports, spread by an Armenian named Gregory and a French agent, Lavine, from motives of jealousy, to the effect that the British at Negrais had sold arms and ammunition to the rebels. He therefore issued orders that the settlement was to be destroyed. A treacherous massacre was planned, in which the whole of the company's servants at Negrais, including ten Europeans and about a hundred Indians, were murdered. A few escaped and reached British ships in the harbour, and others were taken prisoners to Rangoon.

Invasion of Siam and death of Alaungpaya. Like several of his predecessors, Alaungpaya brought his career to an end by a foolish attack on Siam. This country had since the days of Nanda Bayin been the refuge of conquered and discontented Talaings, who were at this time raiding Tavoy, now a Burmese province. The Burmese governor had declared himself independent and required punishment. Finally, the Siamese king had refused to give

Alaungpaya one of his daughters in marriage. For all these reasons the king determined on an invasion of Siam by way of Tavoy, and in December 1759 he left for Martaban accompanied by his son Maung Lauk. At Martaban he put to death the Talaing governor, who was suspected of treachery. On the arrival of the army at Tavoy, the governor of that place gave himself up and was executed. The Siamese advance guard was met near Tenasserim, but the first serious engagement occurred near Meklong, which Alaungpaya reached by the coast route, having crossed the peninsula south of Tenasserim. The Siamese were defeated, and the Burmese army advanced to Ayuthia and besieged it. It was important that the city should be captured before the rain should set in. But Alaungpaya was not prepared for a long siege, and the city was too strong to be taken by assault. He therefore pretended that he came as a Bodhisatva to preach the law of holiness, but the Siamese ridiculed his claims. Within a week of his arrival at Ayuthia the siege was abandoned, and the army retreated northwards along the Menam Valley as far as Raheng, then turned westwards and passed by way of Myawadi into Burmese territory. The march was greatly harassed by the Siamese, who inflicted considerable loss on the retreating army. The chief reason for this sudden and rapid retreat was the seizure of the king by mortal sickness. He was borne the whole way in a litter ; but, before he could reach Martaban, he died at Taikkala in May 1760. His body was carried through Pegu and Rangoon to Shwebo, and there burned with the honours due to an emperor.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY.

Naungdawgyi king. It had been the wish of Alaungpaya that his six sons by his first wife should each succeed to the throne in turn. Three of the six did actually rule. The eldest son, Naungdawgyi, had remained in Shwebo as heir-apparent and regent when his father and his younger brother, Maung Lauk or Myedu Min, went on the expedition to Siam. He succeeded to the throne without opposition. But the commander-in-chief of Alaungpaya's army, Minhla Raza or Min Khaung Nawrahta, rebelled and led the forces under his command to Taungu. The governor of that province tried to arrest him, but he evaded capture and marched on Ava, which he occupied without much difficulty. The king sent him a message from Shwebo inviting him to come to the court and to have no fear, but he distrusted the king's sincerity and declined. The king therefore led an army to Sagaing, which he made his temporary capital, and laid siege to Ava. A siege of four months produced a famine in the city; and seeing that surrender was inevitable, the general escaped with a few horsemen to the jungle, where he was shot (December 1760).

British Envoys at Sagaing. It was while the siege of Ava was in progress that Captain Alves, who had been in command of one of the English ships at Negrais and had witnessed the massacre on the island, arrived with letters from India demanding reparation for the murder of British subjects. The Burmese replied that the British had taken part in the rebellion at Pegu and had brought punishment upon themselves. Compensation was refused, and the envoy was treated with discourtesy. At the same

time the king confirmed Alaungpaya's concession of a site for the British factory at Bassein, and ordered the release of certain British subjects who had been taken at Negrais and imprisoned in Rangoon.

Rebellion in Taungu. Death of the king.

On the death of Alaungpaya the Talaing general Dalaban had taken service with the king of Zimme, and in the following year, 1761, he invaded Martaban. The king of Burma was at this time engaged in the siege of Taungu, where the governor, his uncle, had shut himself up and declined to appear at court when summoned. Dalaban appeared to meditate an attack on the besieging army, but eventually retired to the country between the Salween and Thaungyin. Taungu having been captured and the governor pardoned, the pursuit of Dalaban was undertaken. He was captured, together with his wife and children, and the capital of Zimme was occupied in 1763. The end of Dalaban is uncertain, but the chronicle states that his life was spared. Naungdawgyi died in November 1763.

Sinbyushin king: attacks Siam. Maung Lauk or Myedu Min became king with the title of Sinbyushin or "lord of the white elephant." He at once reorganised the kingdom, appointed new officials in all parts of his dominions, and gave orders for the restoration of Ava, which was a more convenient capital than Shwebo. He also made preparations for an attack on Siam to avenge his own and his father's defeat four years before. A large force was stationed in Zimme under Thihapate, and another in Tavoy under Maha Nawrahta. The northern force was first to move in the cold season of 1764. The territory of Zimmè was thoroughly subdued, and an advance made on Linzin. The king of that country marched out to meet the Burmans, but was defeated and submitted. The Shan states in the neighbourhood of Lagun, where Thihapate fixed his head-

quarters, were also subdued, and the army was thus secured against any attack in the rear during the final advance, which began in the rainy season of 1765. The several columns met with considerable resistance from local chiefs before they assembled again at Pitsalauk. Following the valley of the Menam, Thihapate repulsed a Siamese attack with heavy loss, and took up a position to the east of Ayuthia five months after leaving Lagun. Meanwhile Maha Nawrahta remained at Tavoy till the middle of October, then, crossing the mountains north of Mergui, he followed the coast route taken by Alaungpaya, but from Meklong marched north-west and advanced on Ayuthia by way of Kamburi. He defeated the Siamese in a severe engagement to the west of Ayuthia and encamped near the city to wait for Thihapate. On the arrival of his colleague he moved his camp to the north of the city and joined forces with him.

Capture of Ayuthia. The Siamese made another desperate attempt to beat off the Burmese forces, but were again badly defeated. The Burmans now drew a line of entrenchments round the city and prepared to reduce it by famine, since it was too strong to be taken by assault. The Siamese hoped that the advent of the rainy season would bring relief, and many of the Burmese officers advised Maha Nawrahta to retreat to higher ground before the river should flood his camp. Both generals, however, decided to remain where they were, and made preparations to meet the rise of the river by collecting boats and building embankments, and by occupying such portions of high ground as were not covered when the floods came. These measures proved successful, and although the Siamese attacked various isolated detachments of the Burmese army, they failed to achieve any solid success. When the floods subsided the earthworks were restored, and the investment became even closer than before. Maha Nawrahta

died shortly after having refused to grant terms to the king of Siam, but the siege was not relaxed and reinforcements arrived from Ava. In a general assault in April 1767, the garrison being too enfeebled by famine to resist, the city was captured and destroyed by fire. The queen and royal family were taken prisoners to Ava, and large stores of war material and vast treasures were captured. The fate of the king, Ekadatha Raja, is uncertain. His brother thought he recognised his body amongst the slain, but another account states that he escaped to the hills. The Burmese army was at once ordered back to Ava, where fears were entertained of renewed Chinese invasions. A quarrel had arisen out of a commercial dispute, and two invasions had already been repulsed.

Manipuri invasion. Ava again the capital. Sinbyushin himself took no active part in the Siamese war, but busied himself with the punishment of the Manipuris and the removal of his capital to Ava. The Manipuris had planned an invasion of Burma and obtained a promise of help from the East India Company. Six companies of Sepoys were sent from Chittagong in 1763, but sickness and heavy rains forced them to return before they reached Manipur, and the Raja of that state undertook the invasion unaided in the following year. The king determined to punish the Manipuris himself, leaving the conduct of the Siamese campaign to his generals. In 1764 he sent an army to Kani on the Chindwin, and travelling by river joined his troops there. He invaded Manipur and captured the Raja and many other prisoners, who were brought down to Ava, which the king reached in April 1765. Exactly a year later the restoration of Ava was completed, and the king moved with his court down to the old capital, which once more became a centre of native industry and foreign trade.

Causes of the Chinese war. The war with China arose out of two trivial quarrels. A Chinese merchant was arrested by the governor of Bhamo for disrespectful behaviour and sent down to Ava, where he was released. On his return to Bhamo he complained that in his absence his bales had been opened and goods stolen. He failed to obtain compensation, and when he went back to China he laid complaints both in Tengyueh and Yunnan. This was in the year 1765. Not long afterwards another dispute arose in Kengtung over the payment of money for goods sold by a Chinese merchant, and in the fight which followed a Chinaman was killed. In this case also the merchant concerned failed to obtain the compensation which he demanded, the surrender, namely, of the murderer or of a substitute, but was offered compensation in money. He returned to Yunnan and there lodged a complaint with the governor of the province. The latter, acting on the advice of certain Shan chiefs who were present in Yunnan, having fled there to avoid punishment for offences against the Burmese government, demanded the surrender of the murderer or his substitute for punishment. No reply was received, and Kengtung was invaded. The Sawbwa had been at Ava when the trouble first arose and had taken no active part in the dispute. He now, under compulsion, joined the Chinese. A Burmese force under the general Letwèwinhmu marched to Kengtung in December 1765, and drove the Chinese army across the Mekong with the loss of its commander. The Sawbwa was allowed to return to his capital, and a Burmese garrison was left there. Another garrison under Balaminhin was stationed on the Irawadi at Kaungton below Bhamo.

Second Chinese invasion repulsed. In 1766 a Chinese army advanced into Burma from Tengyueh (Momein), and one division attacked the fortified post at

Kaungton ; but, failing to carry the position by assault, the commander entrenched himself and waited for reinforcements from the main army, which lay to the north. Meanwhile a Burmese force under Maha Sithu advanced by the west bank of the river on Mogaung, the governor of which seemed to be intriguing with the Chinese, and another detachment under Letwèwinhmu advanced by the river to Bhamo. The general relieved Kaungton, drove the Chinese from their entrenchments there, and dislodged a force which had occupied Bhamo. He followed up the enemy and inflicted other defeats upon them, driving them from all their positions near the river and destroying the boats they had collected for the voyage down to Ava. The other Burmese army under Maha Sithu had been equally successful. He had occupied Mogaung, strengthened the defences, and returned to the Irawadi before the Chinese could cross the river. There he surprised the enemy by a flank movement and cut to pieces one division of their troops ; the Burmese musketeers inflicted great loss also on their cavalry. The remnant of the expedition retreated into Chinese territory. A third Chinese column appeared in Burmese territory late in the campaign, marching by way of Theinni. Maha Thihathura, who was in command of a force stationed in Kianghung during the Siamese war just then concluded, advanced from the east, while Letwèwinhmu bore down upon the invaders from the north, and the Chinese, taken in both flanks, were driven back with great loss. The victorious Burmese troops arrived in Ava a few weeks after the fall of Ayuthia, and were joined two months later by the troops from Siam (July 1767). Burma resumed control of the Shan states along the Taping river. The Chinese prisoners were brought down to Ava, where they were given a special quarter of the city to live in and encouraged to marry Burmese wives.

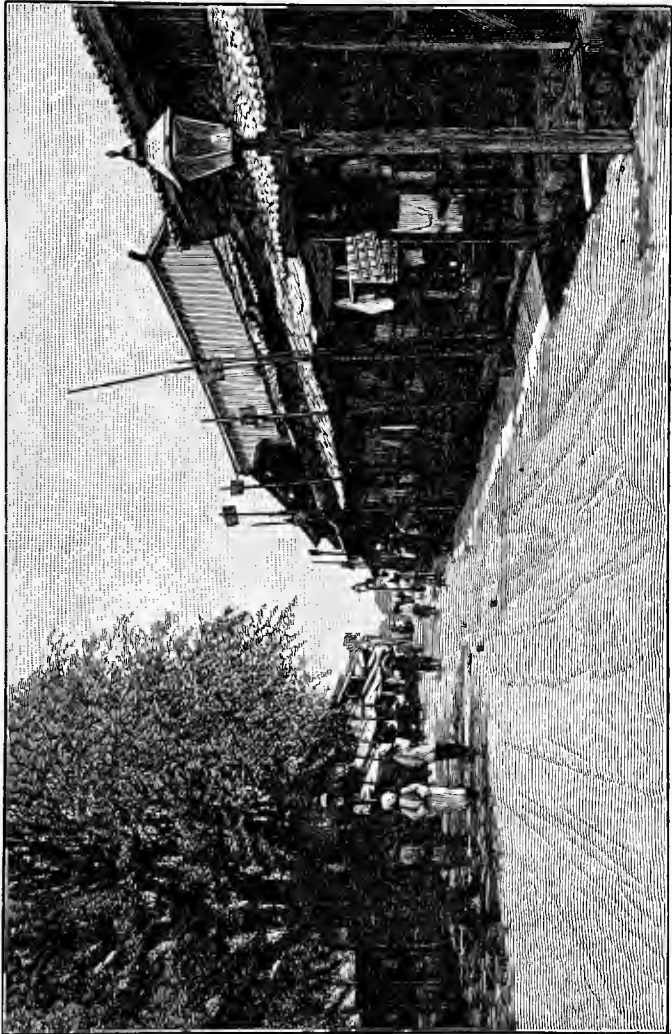
Third Chinese invasion. The Burmese resistance to the Chinese troops, who greatly outnumbered them, had been most successful, and reflected great credit on both the soldiers and their leaders. Their success was to no small extent due to the artillery, which was served by Christian gunners, descendants of the captives from Syriam. The Chinese refused to accept their defeat as final, and in the cold season of 1767 another Chinese army invaded Theinni, while smaller columns marched against Bhamo and Momeit. The Sawbwa of Theinni submitted without resistance, and the Chinese built a stockade for the protection of their stores, intending to use Theinni as a base of operations. The Burmese army marched to meet the enemy in three columns; one moved direct on Theinni by way of Hsum Hsai and Hsipaw, another to the east of Theinni in order to cut the enemy's communications, and a third northward to hold in check the invaders advancing along the Shweli on Momeit. The plan was well conceived and proved successful. The first column under Maha Sithu was met by the Chinese who had advanced towards Hsipaw, and was overwhelmed by superior numbers. Maha Sithu retreated along the valley of the Myitngè, followed in a very leisurely fashion by the Chinese. Meanwhile the second column under Maha Thihathura had entered the city of Theinni and blockaded the stockade to which the Sawbwa fled for protection. Detachments of Burmese troops captured another Chinese stockade at Lashio and seized the Taku ferry on the Salween, thus completely cutting off supplies. The commander of the garrison at Theinni, seeing no chance of escape, committed suicide, and the garrison, reduced by desertions and weakened by famine, surrendered. Leaving a garrison in Theinni, Maha Thihathura hastened after the Chinese column that had defeated Maha Sithu. The latter

had taken up a position at Lonkapyingyi and was holding the Chinese force at bay. While the Chinese general was hesitating whether he should continue his advance or return to Theinni, Maha Sithu attacked him by night and defeated him. He retreated northward, and was joined by the divisions which had marched on Bhamo and Momeit. Maha Thihathura now united forces with Maha Sithu, and before the end of the year the Chinese troops had been driven across the Salween.

Fourth Chinese invasion. Free for the moment from fear of the Chinese, Burma was alarmed by an earthquake, which badly damaged many pagodas, including the Shwezigon at Pagan and the Shwedagon at Rangoon. To avert disaster new htis or canopies were placed on these two pagodas, and many gold and silver images were deposited in the treasure chambers. The danger took the form of a fourth Chinese invasion, this time by the Taping Valley and Bhamo route. One detachment marched on Mogaung, while another set to work to prepare boats for a voyage down the Irawadi; the main body took position in a stockade at Shwenyaungbin, twelve miles east of Kaungton. A determined assault was made on Kaungton by river and by land, but Balaminhin again repulsed the attack and inflicted great loss on the enemy. Meanwhile Thihathu, commander of the king's artillery, had been sent off from Ava before the end of September, 1769, to repel the attack on Mogaung, and a second army under Maha Thihathura followed somewhat slowly by river to Bhamo, the elephants and cavalry accompanying him along the east bank. When he reached Tagaung he received news of the state of affairs at Kaungton and sent on ahead reinforcements, which inflicted considerable loss on the Chinese flotilla, occupied an island near Kaungton, and built a stockade below it, thus controlling operations

on the river. When the main army reached Bhamo, Maha Thihathura made his headquarters on this island; the cavalry and elephants, with a division of infantry, were placed under command of the Letwèwinhmu, and a detachment was sent off to the north-east to cut the Chinese communications. Letwèwinhmu, marching on Kaungton from the east, defeated the Chinese, and the northern column also achieved its object. Half the Chinese forces retreated up the Taping Valley; the remainder were compelled to take refuge in the great stockade at Shwenyaungbin, which was carried by assault, large stores of arms and ammunition being captured. The general, with the unwounded portion of his troops, escaped and joined the retreating army on the Taping.

The Chinese sue for peace. The attack on Mogaung had been foiled by Thihathu, and the Chinese generals, seeing no hope of success at any point, proposed terms of peace. They put the blame for the war on the Sawbwas of Theinni, Bhamo, Mogaung, and Kiangyong, whom they proposed to yield to the Burmese in exchange for the Chinese officers taken prisoners in the war. The relations of the two countries were to be restored to the footing on which they stood before the war, and the Chinese army was to be allowed to retire unmolested. Maha Thihathura's officers urged him to press his advantage and utterly destroy the invaders, who were at his mercy. The general pointed out that the Chinese, defeated in three successive invasions, had entered upon a fourth, that their resources were far greater than the resources of Burma, and that if he refused terms now the war would certainly be renewed by China. In defiance of the wishes of the king, who had ordered the complete destruction of the invaders, the general made peace (December, 1769), and the Chinese army was escorted across the frontier.



STREET SCENE IN MODERN BHAMO.

Many died on the homeward journey from fatigue and famine.

Reception of the news at Ava. The news of the wise arrangement which had been made by Maha Thihathura was received by the king with great anger and disgust. He showed his resentment by sending Maha Thihathura a woman's dress, as befitting a general so devoid of spirit; and the families of the chief officers, including even Maha Thihathura's wife, sister of the principal queen, were made to stand for three days in the street at the western gate of the palace, bearing on their heads the presents which had been sent to Ava by the Chinese generals. The officers, on their return to Ava, were banished from the royal presence and from the capital for one month. The prudence and wisdom of Maha Thihathura's action in opposition to the king's commands was proved by the course of events. From this time onwards, although disputes occurred with reference to the sending of missions between Ava and Peking, the peace between China and Burma was never broken. In the treaty it was laid down that letters were to be exchanged between the rulers of Ava and Peking every ten years. The Chinese believed, or affected to believe, that the Burmans still accepted Chinese suzerainty and had promised tributary missions. Complimentary missions from Ava were certainly sent at irregular intervals, and Chinese provincial missions came chiefly on commercial business from Yunnan. Perhaps an occasional mission was sent from Peking; one such is said to have reached Ava in 1823, and to have demanded in strong language a white elephant and a royal princess as tribute.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY (*Continued*).

Affairs in Siam. On the withdrawal of the Burmese forces from Siam in 1767, a Chinaman named Hpaya Tak Sin gathered together a body of troops and greatly hampered the Burmese retirement. His success attracted other followers, and in the absence of any member of the royal family, who had all been taken in captivity to Ava, he usurped the throne and made his capital at Bangkok. He subdued several of the Shan states which had fallen under Burmese dominion and the Lao state of Vieng Chang. The prince of this state appealed to Burma for protection. Sinbyushin was not indifferent to what was happening in Siam, and, after the Chinese war was concluded, he sent Thihapate in 1771 with a mixed Burmese and Shan army to Zimmè, where Thadominhtin was governor with a Burmese garrison. This man not only refused to obey or assist Thihapate, but behaved so insolently towards the Shan chiefs that three of them withdrew. Meanwhile a force composed chiefly of Talaings under Kamani Sanda, governor of Martaban, which was to advance by way of Tavoy and Mergui across the peninsula, mutinied and pursued their chief with a small Burmese escort as far as Rangoon. There they besieged him in the stockade until he was relieved by the approach of a detachment from Myanaung. The Talaings fled and joined their countrymen who during Alaungpaya's reign had taken refuge in large numbers in Siam.

Invasion of Manipur and Kachar. On the north-western frontier also the king was unsuccessful. He sent an army up into Manipur to destroy the fortifications

of the capital, which the ruling chief was repairing after their destruction by Alaungpaya. No serious opposition was encountered, and much plunder and many prisoners were taken. Carried away by their desire for spoil, the invading army pushed on into Kachar and Jaintia. In the mountains of Kachar a division of ten thousand men were cut off and killed or starved to death. After an absence of two years the survivors returned to Ava with their prisoners.

Execution of Byinnya Dala, king of Pegu. Meanwhile the king had determined to visit his dominions in Lower Burma and place a new hti on the Shwe Dagon pagoda. He travelled in state down the Irawadi, taking with him the captured king of Pegu, who had lived a prisoner in Ava for seventeen years. The journey occupied three months, for the king stopped to worship the great pagodas on his way. At Rangoon he adorned the Shwe Dagon pagoda with a magnificent jewelled canopy. He then accused the ex-king of Pegu of stirring up the Talaings to revolt, and after the semblance of a trial the wretched captive was publicly executed (1775 A.D.). The king returned to Ava.

Unsuccessful invasion of Siam. At the end of the rainy season in 1775 Maha Thihathura was ready to march into Siam with an army of Burmans and northern Shans. Starting from Martaban he reached Raheng, where his second in command, an officer named Zeya Kyaw, quarrelled with him over his plan of campaign and returned with part of the army to Martaban. The general pushed on and occupied Pitsalauk, but being defeated near that place was forced to retreat. The next year Zeya Kyaw returned to the army, but the king, Singu Min, who succeeded Sinbyushin in June 1776, ordered the withdrawal of the Burmese troops from Siamese territory, put several officers

to death for cowardice and insubordination, and disgraced Maha Thihathura. This general was restored to his command by Bodawpaya.

End of Sinbyushin's reign. Sinbyushin survived his return to Ava little more than a year. The end of his reign was disturbed by rebellions. The mutiny of the Talaing troops has already been referred to. It is said to have been caused by the oppressive behaviour of the governor of Martaban towards the wives and families of the soldiers who were on active service. A second insurrection was headed by the king's brother, governor of Amyin, because the king, in defiance of Alaungpaya's will, had declared his own son, Singu Min, heir-apparent, instead of the next brother in order of seniority. The rising was easily suppressed, and the prince's life was spared only on the entreaty of his mother. The third revolt, a rising of Manipuri prisoners in Ava, was quickly crushed. The character of the king deteriorated in the course of his reign. The ability which marked his arrangements and his choice of generals for the campaigns against the Siamese and Chinese is absent from the conduct of the later invasions of Siam and Manipur. He was probably tainted with the melancholy madness which appeared in the later kings of the dynasty, and his execution of the king of Pegu was perhaps an indication of his mental breakdown; but he died before the disease was fully developed.

Reign and deposition of Singu Min. On his accession Singu Min at once put an end to warfare, and devoted his time to visiting the various pagodas of importance. To discourage plots against the throne he had his younger brother and his uncle, the fourth son of Alaungpaya, put to death. The fifth son, Badon Min, was kept under observation at Sagaing. But a powerful faction in the capital supported the claims of Naungdawgyi's son,

Maung Maung, maintaining that, if the orders of Alaungpaya were not to be carried out, then the son of the eldest of Alaungpaya's six sons had a better claim than Singu Min. The king's habit of leaving and entering the palace with very few attendants and without warning gave the conspirators their opportunity. While Singu Min, with the chief ladies of the court, was on a pilgrimage to the Thihadaw pagoda near Kyaukmyaung, Maung Maung and his followers came one night to the palace and demanded admission in the name of the king. They were admitted and forced their way without much difficulty to the royal apartments. Badon Min, who was no doubt aware of the plot, came to Ava with the other surviving sons of Alaungpaya, and Maha Thihathura assumed command of the troops. Maung Maung at once called together all his uncles and offered them the kingship in turn according to the will of Alaungpaya. But they suspected a trap and feared that any one of them who accepted would be at once removed by the prince's supporters. Accordingly they swore allegiance to him. It soon became evident, however, to the ministers of the palace that Maung Maung, who had been brought up in a monastery, was unfit to rule, and his followers turned to Badon Min. The latter at once declared his right to the throne under the arrangement made by Alaungpaya, entered the palace with an armed force, and put Maung Maung to death after a reign of a week (1781 A.D.). The new king is variously known as Sinbyumyashin, Mindayagyi, or Bodawpaya, but most commonly by the last name.

Death of Singu Min. On hearing of the usurpation of Maung Maung, Singu Min started down the river; but the news of the usurper's success caused him to hesitate and delay in the neighbourhood of Singu. Most of his followers deserted him, and at last he boldly came down to Ava and entered the palace alone by night.

When challenged by the guard he answered, "Singu Min, lawful lord of the palace." The gates were opened, and he was cut down by one of the nobles of the court, the father of his favourite wife, whom he had drowned some time before in a fit of jealousy. According to another account he was made prisoner, and, together with his children and the attendants who remained faithful to him, was burnt to death by the orders of Bodawpaya. The latter also put to death all those who had had a share in the conspiracy which put Maung Maung on the throne, though the plot was one in which he undoubtedly took part. But cruelty and perfidy were two of the new king's chief characteristics.

CHAPTER XVII.

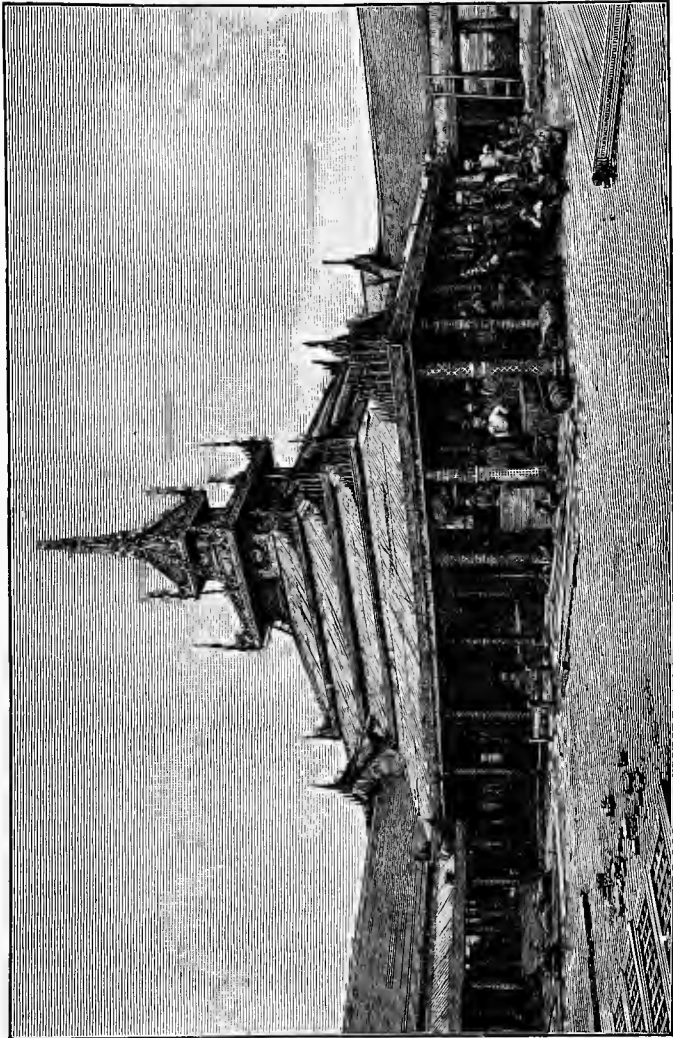
REIGN OF BODAWPAYA.

Plots against Bodawpaya. Bodawpaya's treatment of his fellow-conspirators gave rise to other plots. Maha Thihathura, whom he had restored to his command of the troops, was concerned in one of these plots and was executed. A second plot in December, 1782, was formed to put on the throne Myatpon, who was said to be the son of Dibati, the last Burmese king, put to death by Byinnya Dala twenty-eight years previously. Aided by a small force of Shans and Karens he boldly forced an entrance into the palace-yard by night and secured the guns. In order to alarm the occupants of the palace and terrify the guards, he compelled the Christian cannoneers to fire blank cartridges. This merely had the effect of arousing the guards, who made huge fires round the palace and kept off the conspirators until daylight, when they were overpowered

and put to death together with three of the cannoneers who had fired the shots. Myatpon escaped, but was soon afterwards captured and executed. Bodawpaya burnt alive a large number of people, including some monks, who were suspected of complicity in the plot. Very soon afterwards a rebellion of Talaings occurred in Lower Burma. A fanatic fisherman, who had dreamed that the kingdom of Pegu was to be restored, persuaded large numbers of his countrymen to believe in the fulfilment of his dream, and before the rebellion was suppressed the governor of Rangoon had been murdered.

Removal of the capital to Amarapura. To atone for his sin in having put to death monks and other innocent persons, Bodawpaya built the Aungmyelawka pagoda at Sagaing and put many valuable offerings in the relic-chamber. He also determined to remove his capital from Ava, which had witnessed so much bloodshed in the last eight years, and transfer it to a new site about six miles further up the river Irawadi. Here he built Amarapura, "the city of the immortals," and entered into possession of his new palace in May 1783. His eldest son was created Ein-she-min. One of his younger brothers remarked on this occasion that Bodawpaya, having succeeded to the throne in accordance with the commands of Alaungpaya, now violated them; for this remark he was executed.

Conquest of Arakan. For six centuries Arakan had been independent of Burma, though it had occasionally been the battleground in some of the struggles between Burma and Pegu. But every powerful Burmese king had hoped to reconquer Arakan, and at this time there seemed to be an unusually favourable opportunity. In the century preceding Bodawpaya's invasion no less than twenty-five kings ruled in Arakan, of whom eight were usurpers, and



THE ARAKAN PAODA NEAR MANDALAY.

in only four cases did the son of the ruling king follow him in direct succession. In the year 1782 Maha Thamada, as he proudly called himself after the first king of the Buddhist tradition, had come to the throne, but he had little control over his people, and Bodawpaya prepared for an invasion in force. Three divisions, each commanded by one of the king's sons, were to cross the Yoma by various passes between Salin and Kyangin, and to occupy Ramri, Cheduba and Sandoway in conjunction with a flotilla which was collected at Bassein and sent round by sea. The plan was carried out in the cold season of 1784, and the opposition of the Arakanese was overpowered. Their fleet was defeated at Laungkyet, and the Burmese forces entered the capital, Myauk-u. The Arakanese king was captured a month later in the jungle. The princes and the bulk of the army returned home, leaving ten thousand men to garrison the country, and Min Khaung Gyi was appointed governor. Numerous prisoners, including the king and queens and their chief ministers, were taken back to Burma by the Taungup pass. The spoils included a great gun thirty feet long and of eleven inches calibre, which was taken by sea and river to the capital, and now stands in front of the palace at Mandalay. But the most important trophy of all was the great Mahamuni image cast by Chanda Suriya about 150 A.D., and long coveted by the Burmans. The image was deposited in the Arakan pagoda, which was especially built near Amarapura to receive it.

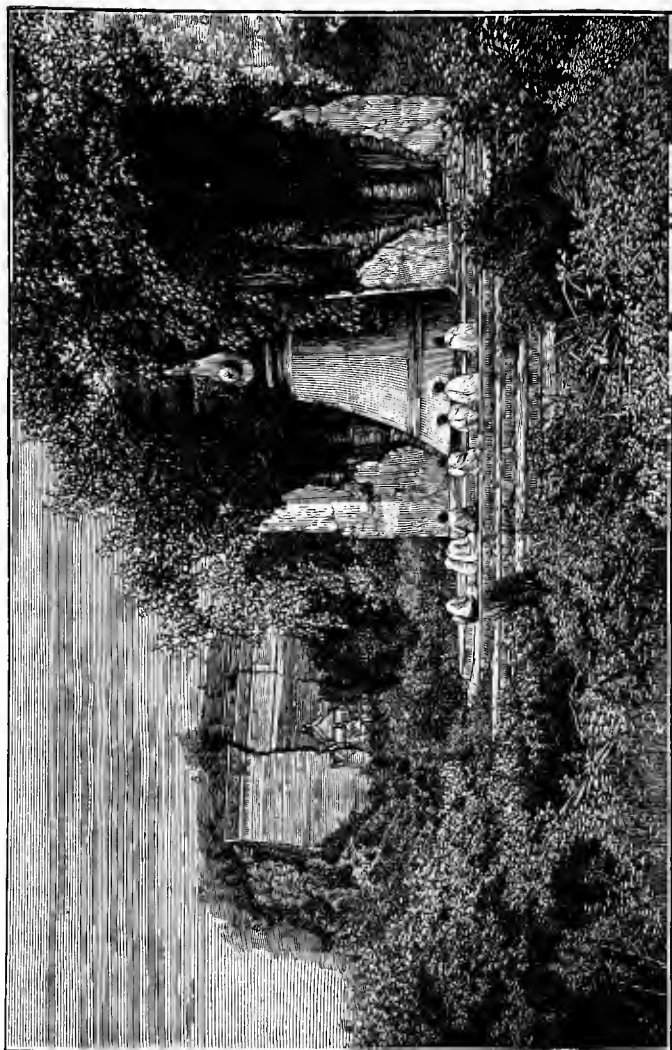
Invasion of Siam. Early in 1785 an expedition sent by sea occupied the island of Junkseylon (Salang) in preparation for an expedition against Siam. But the Siamese drove the Burmese out of the island with great loss, and Bodawpaya prepared an expedition of 100,000 men, which was to invade Siam in six columns later in the year. The troops assembled before the end of the

rainy season at Tavoy, Zimmè, and Martaban, the main army being stationed at Martaban. The king himself joined the main army, leaving the Ein-she-min as regent. Min Khaung Gyi had been recalled from Arakan to arrange transport and explore the route of the king's proposed march on Kanburi, but before his arrangements were complete he was put in command of the division at Tavoy and the king set out. The transport broke down, and before the army had crossed the watershed near the source of the Ataran river the men were in great difficulties from want of provisions. In the hill country they were attacked by the Siamese with great vigour. The king vented his wrath on Min Khaung Gyi, who was sent for and executed at the Three Pagodas. The army of Tavoy had in the meantime (January 1786) been cut to pieces, and on receipt of the news Bodawpaya fled back to Martaban, leaving his broken armies to make the best of their way home. After leaving Martaban he halted at Pegu, and again at Rangoon, where his queens met him to worship at the Shwe Dagon pagoda, for his warlike ardour had been succeeded by a fit of religious fervour. Then returning to Amarapura he received a Chinese ambassador in accordance with the treaty of 1769, and sent an envoy to China. A Siamese attack on Tavoy in the following year was unsuccessful, but the Burmans did not retaliate. In 1791 the Burmese governor intrigued with the Siamese and handed over Tavoy to them, but it was recaptured a year later.

The Mingun Pagoda. The king now devoted his time to a stupendous act of piety, the results of which are still to be seen at Mingun on the Irawadi above Mandalay. He determined to build a pagoda bigger than any in existence, and collected materials at Mingun. In November, 1790, he removed his court to Mingun that he

might personally superintend operations. Workmen were collected from different parts of the kingdom, and so many villagers were forced to leave their agricultural pursuits to work on the pagoda, at a time when the crops needed all their care, that great scarcity prevailed in many districts. So much discontent was aroused that the enterprise had finally to be abandoned after less than a third of the total height of the pagoda had been reached. A comparison of the ruins with a small model built near the spot shows that the pagoda when complete was to have been about 500 feet high. It was very badly built, and the lower portion of the structure would probably never have borne the weight which was meant to be imposed upon it. The completed portion was wrecked in the earthquake of 1839. The great bell, weighing over eighty tons, which was cast at this time is still to be seen at Mingun. While Bodawpaya was busy with this enterprise, at the end of the year 1791 Martaban and Tavoy revolted from Burmese rule, and Tavoy was occupied by the Siamese. The first attempt to relieve it in the year 1792 failed, and the officer in charge of the relieving force was put to death. It was not till December of that year that the Ein-she-min with a considerable force expelled the Siamese.

Arakan and the British. The conquest of Arakan brought the Burmese Empire into contact with the British power in India, and ultimately led to the first Burmese war and the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim. For the time being, however, hostilities were postponed for various reasons. The British East India Company was still mainly a commercial company, and only abandoned its trade in part in the year 1813, completely in the year 1833. Moreover, the Company was engaged in almost constant warfare in India from 1744 onwards, and had no desire to engage in conflict with powers outside India. Finally,



THE MINGUN PAGODA AND BELL.

England was at war with France in Europe and America, and this struggle, which tried her resources to the utmost, came to an end only in 1815. These facts explain the forbearance of the British government in its dealings with Burma.

Disturbances in Arakan. It was bad government that led to the first disturbances in Arakan. The distracted country would have welcomed a strong and just government. But Bodawpaya forced thousands of the Arakanese to leave their homes and work on the Mingun pagoda and other works of merit, while his officials oppressed those who remained at home. Local chiefs rebelled, and thousands of the inhabitants took refuge in the British territory of Chittagong. Amongst these, three rebel chiefs sought British protection, and Burmese troops sent in pursuit crossed the Naaf river and entrenched themselves in British territory. A detachment from Calcutta compelled the Burmese to withdraw, but the three rebel chiefs were afterwards handed over to them (1794 A.D.). In the following year Colonel Symes was sent on a mission to Amarapura to negotiate a treaty with Burma, but he was received with great discourtesy and no treaty was concluded. The only concession granted was the appointment of a British agent in Rangoon to safeguard the interests of British trade. The unfriendly attitude of the king was encouraged by a report, spread by a French agent, to the effect that the British were being worsted in the war with France, and that a French fleet was on its way to India, while four French ships were already cruising in Indian seas. The following year, 1796, Captain Cox was sent as agent with presents for the king. The latter did not come down to Amarapura, but sent for the agent to Mingun. Captain Cox spent nine months in Amarapura, where the officers of the mission were stoned. He left for Rangoon at the end

of the rainy season of 1797 and returned to India at the end of the year, having accomplished nothing.

Attitude of the Burmese government. During the years 1797 and 1798 the troubles on the Arakan frontier continued. Burmese troops pursuing fugitive Arakanese again entrenched themselves in British territory, and successfully resisted an attack by the Chittagonian police. They were withdrawn by the orders of the king, but he demanded the expulsion of thirty thousand fugitives who had settled in Chittagong to escape from Burmese rule. The governor-general merely promised that the refugees should not in future be allowed to raid into Burmese territory. Two years later the governor of Arakan wrote to the governor-general of India again demanding the surrender of the fugitives, and threatening invasion in case of refusal. The insult was overlooked, but in 1802 Colonel Symes was again sent to Burma to demand that the king should withdraw the letter sent by the governor of Arakan, and to negotiate a treaty. The envoy was again discourteously treated. For forty days the court took no notice of his presence and left him on an island near Mingun where corpses were burnt and criminals executed. No treaty was made; and the only disavowal of the Arakan letter was an oral communication in the king's name by the governor of Pegu. In 1803 Captain Canning was sent to Rangoon as agent, but the enmity of the local officials made his position so difficult that he left after a brief stay. He again came to Burma in the year 1809 and remained six months. On this occasion he was better treated, but no reply was given to the governor-general's letter, and nothing was done to settle the various questions outstanding between the two governments.

Chinbyan the Arakanese rebel. In the year 1811 an Arakanese chief, Chinbyan by name, driven into

British territory, used the hills of Chittagong as his base in a series of raids on Burmese frontier posts. To put matters right the governor-general sent Captain Canning again to Burma to disclaim all previous knowledge of these incursions, which had been secretly carried out. The explanation of the envoy was declared to be satisfactory, but in the meantime Chinbyan again took refuge in the district of Chittagong, and only tactful negotiations between the governor of the district and the Burmese general sent in pursuit prevented a violation of British territory. The king now became more insistent in his demands for the surrender of Arakanese fugitives, and even went so far as to order the arrest of Captain Canning, who had not proceeded beyond Rangoon, intending to hold him as a hostage for their surrender. But the envoy escaped on board his ship, and the arrival in Rangoon of another British ship with guns put an end to these proceedings. Captain Canning soon afterwards left the country. Chinbyan again established himself in the hills of Chittagong, and the British authorities, unable to hold him in check, allowed Burmese troops to cross the frontier and attack him in 1814. He died in the following year.

Bodawpaya's intrigues in India. Bodawpaya, like his father, believed that he was a future Buddha, and professed a great interest in works of merit and all matters of religion. Between the years 1806 and 1816 a number of missions were sent to India to obtain Sanskrit books, Buddhist relics and images, and plans of Buddha Gaya and the sacred tree. A deputation was also received from Ceylon, and promises of support were given for the Buddhist religion, which was fast being corrupted in the island. It was not till the year 1815 that the British government discovered these missions to be plotting with the Mahratta confederacy against British rule. Three envoys who

arrived in Calcutta in 1817 with the usual demand for the surrender of the Arakanese fugitives, and who asked for permission to travel to Lahore in search of religious books, were detained in Calcutta. In the following year the governor of Ramri demanded in the name of Bodawpaya the cession of Dacca, Chittagong, and Murshidabad. The overthrow of the Mahratta confederacy by Lord Hastings, 1817 to 1819, put an end to these schemes. But Assam offered another opening for Bodawpaya's ambition.

Bodawpaya interferes in Assam. In Assam, which was nominally governed by a Raja, the chief power had for many years been really in the hands of three ministers, called Gohains. The ruling Raja in 1793 tried to regain the supreme power for himself, and was driven from the throne; but the British, to whom he appealed, restored him. A later Raja in 1809 made a similar attempt and plotted with one of his provincial governors against the chief minister. This plot being discovered, the governor fled to Calcutta and asked for assistance, which the British government was then unable to furnish, so he appealed to Bodawpaya. The king seized the opportunity of interfering in Assam, and sent an army of 6000 men. In the meantime the chief minister of Assam had died, and the Raja, Chandra Kanta by name, no longer needed help; accordingly he dismissed the troops with presents. A few years later, however, a conspiracy deposed Chandra Kanta, who fled to Bhutan, and a Burmese army under Kyawgaung was sent to restore him in 1816. This done, a detachment under Maha Thilawa was left in Assam. But Chandra Kanta quarrelled with the Burmese, whose designs he began to suspect, and the British government, also becoming suspicious, supported him. While matters were in this position Bodawpaya died, May 1819.

Affairs in Manipur. Bodawpaya also found an occasion for interference in Manipur, which had been left undisturbed by Burma since Sinhyushin's invasion in 1764. In 1799 a contest for the throne arose between the sons of Jai Sing, the late Raja, and Chorjit Sing became ruler. To secure the support of the king of Burma he sent presents to Amarapura and one of his daughters also. His brother Marjit also sought the favour of Bodawpaya, and bringing presents in 1806 took up his residence for a time in Amarapura. Seven years later he again appeared at the Burmese capital, and this time found Bodawpaya willing to listen to his complaints. The Raja was summoned to appear at Amarapura to answer his brother's accusations. On his default a Burmese army was sent into Manipur, and the Raja was defeated and fled for refuge into Kachar. Marjit was placed upon the throne, recognising Bodawpaya as his suzerain, and the Kale-Kabaw valley was ceded to Burma as a reward for the king's aid.

Bodawpaya's work and character. Certain acts of Bodawpaya deserve notice, though the reasons for them were not entirely good. In the second year of his reign he ordered a complete list to be made of the villages, circles, townships, and provinces in the kingdom, with their boundaries, the number of families in each village, and the taxes payable by each village. But it does not appear that the list was used, as it might have been, to check extortion and peculation by minor officials. In fact the immediate object of it was to enable the king to levy a special contribution, which caused much murmuring and discontent, for the purpose of repairing pagodas and other sacred buildings. In order to earn merit for himself he repaired the two artificial lakes at Mandalay and Meiktila. The former, the Aungpinlè, had been commenced by Alaungsithu more than six centuries before. The Meiktila tank

was older still, and had been repaired by Alaungsithu. On these two works, as on the Mingun pagoda, thousands of men from all parts of the country were employed. Their service was compulsory, and this forced labour was one of the chief causes of revolt in Arakan. Arrogant, selfish, and cruel, Bodawpaya was nevertheless a successful king, but his success was largely due to the ability of his generals and his own good fortune. The invasion of Siam, in which he took an active and prominent part, failed through his hasty and ill-considered action. His adventures on the north-west frontier of his empire would probably have been attended with equally disastrous results, had not the British power been hampered by wars with the native Indian states and with France. But his good fortune did not fail him, and the disasters which his intrigues should have brought upon himself were reserved for his successor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REIGN OF BAGYIDAW.

Bagyidaw king: makes Ava his capital. Bodawpaya's eldest son, the Ein-she-min, had died about ten years before his father, and his son, the Sagaing Min, had been consecrated heir-apparent in his place. This prince, generally known by the name of Bagyidaw, now succeeded Bodawpaya. His accession was marked by the usual plots or rumours of plots, and two of his father's brothers, who were governing the provinces of Prome and Taungu respectively, were put to death, together with many other suspected persons. Shortly after his accession a fire broke out in which a great part of Amarapura,

including certain of the palace buildings, was consumed, and the king determined to remove the capital back to Ava. Three years elapsed before the new palace on the old site was completed, and the court moved to Ava early in 1823. It was afterwards pointed out that now, for the first time since the fall of the ancient kingdom of Tagaung and the founding of New Pagan, the capital had been moved down the river, and this reversal of the usual order was held to be the cause of the disasters which befel the kingdom in this reign.

Events in Assam. The real reason of these misfortunes was the adoption by Bagyidaw of the foolish policy begun by his grandfather. The British in India had no desire to extend their power, but the Burmese king persisted in forcing a conflict in Assam, Manipur, and Arakan. In Assam, where Chandra Kanta had quarrelled with his Burmese allies, the British supported him in order to keep the Burmese out of the country. Maha Bandula was sent with reinforcements to Maha Thilawa, who had written to the governor-general warning him not to give any assistance to Chandra Kanta. The latter was defeated and expelled from his country. Assam was declared a Burmese province, and Maha Thilawa was left in charge, while Bandula returned to Burma with a portion of the troops in 1822. The Burmese demanded the surrender of Chandra Kanta, who had taken refuge in British territory, but their demand was refused. Amongst other outrages which they committed by way of revenge at this time, they landed on an island in the Brahmaputra and pulled down the British flag, but evacuated the island soon afterwards.

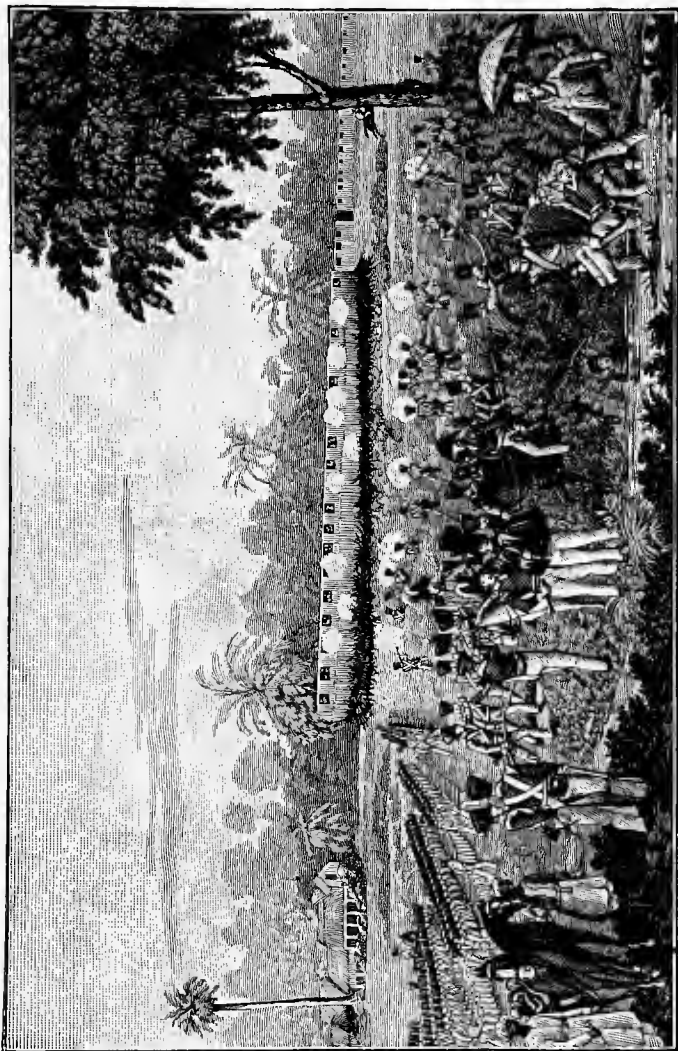
Manipur. In Manipur, Marjit, the tributary king, evaded the homage due to Bagyidaw on his accession, and six months later the Burmese king sent a force to depose

him (1819 A.D.). A garrison was stationed in Manipur, and many thousands of the inhabitants were carried off in captivity to Burma. In these operations Maha Bandula first distinguished himself, and was therefore chosen three years later to command the expedition to Assam. Marjit fled to Kachar, where his brother and rival Chorjit had already established himself, having expelled the Raja Govind Chandra, who appealed in vain for British aid. Marjit and his other brother, Gambhir Sing, now expelled Chorjit, while Marjit's son made raids into Manipur and forced the Burmese garrison there to shut themselves up in their stockade and wait until reinforcements arrived to relieve them. The British now decided to support Govind Chandra and aided the exiled chief with subsidies of money and irregular troops. At the beginning of 1824, Burmese columns entered Kachar from Assam and Manipur in defiance of the British, and, though defeated in the first engagement, managed to hold their own against the native troops opposed to them. They retired, however, in the following year.

Arakan. The same vexatious policy was pursued in Chittagong. In the years 1821 and 1822 the elephant party employed in the Ramu hills south of Chittagong was twice captured and held to ransom by the Burmese, who also claimed the small island of Shapuri at the mouth of the Naaf river and annoyed British subjects by searching the boats that entered the river. A small British police guard placed on the island was attacked by the Burmans in 1823, and a regular detachment of Sepoys had to be sent to garrison the place. A gunboat was also stationed at the mouth of the river. The commander of the gunboat was enticed ashore by a deceitful message, seized, and taken prisoner to the city of Arakan or Myauk-u, but was released a few days later. In this year Maha Bandula was de-

spatched at the head of 6000 men to Arakan, with orders to advance on Chittagong, and war was formally declared by the British in March 1824. A British force of 1000 native troops and police, with levies of Arakanese fugitives, was stationed at Ramu on the Naaf river. In May a Burmese force of 4000 men under the governor of Arakan was despatched by Bandula to attack the British troops, who were driven out of their entrenchments with great slaughter. Of nine officers six were killed and two wounded. A serious war, long inevitable, had already begun in earnest ; for on the 11th of May, six days before the engagement at Ramu, the British had occupied Rangoon.

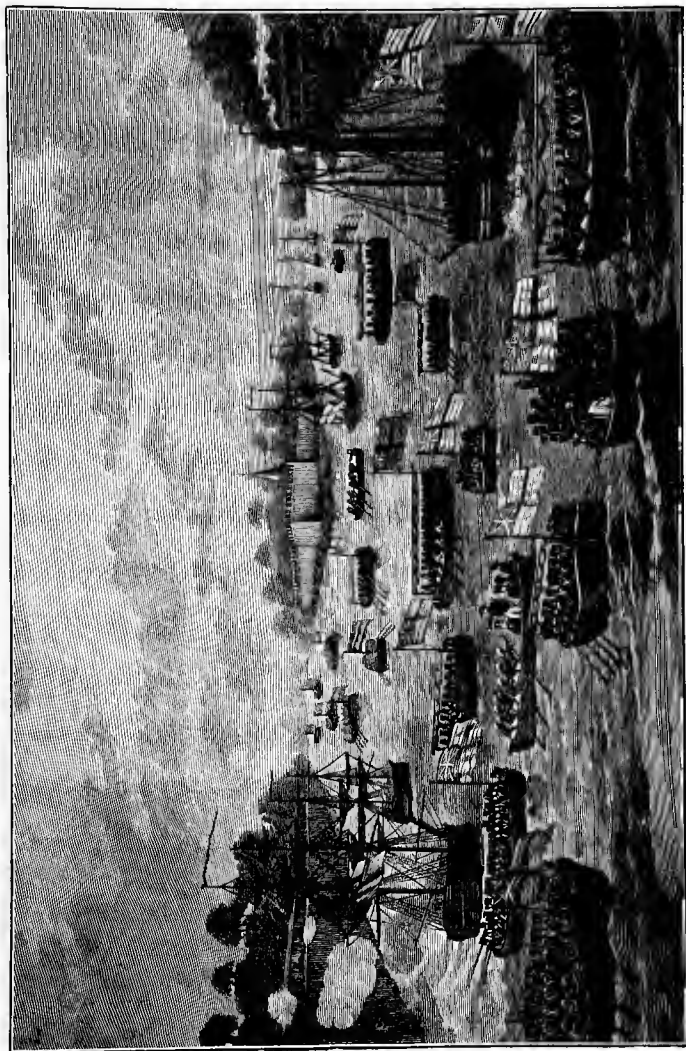
Rangoon captured. In determining the plan of campaign the British had very little information to guide them. The account written by Colonel Symes of his visit in 1795, with the map of the Irawadi prepared at that time, was all the trustworthy intelligence available ; and no doubt the strength of Burma was very much over-estimated. It was wisely decided that operations in the north and west should be confined to the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam, Manipur, and Chittagong, while the main attack should be directed against Rangoon and the valley of the Irawadi. A force of 11,000 men, native and European, under Sir Archibald Campbell, convoyed by three men-of-war, arrived in the Rangoon river early in May 1824. On the voyage through the Bay of Bengal detachments were sent to occupy Cheduba and Negrais. The governor of Pegu was dead, and the Yewun was left in charge of the province till the arrival of a successor. On the approach of the ships on the 11th of May the Yewun arrested all the European residents of Rangoon, most of whom were dining with an Armenian merchant named Sarkies, and shut all but a few of them in the custom-house. Just as they were being brought out again for execution,



ATTACK ON THE STOCKADES NEAR RANOOON, MAY 25TH, 1824.

the British ships opened fire on the Burmese stockade, and the guards fled, leaving their prisoners to their own devices. By the orders of the Yewun all the Burmans left the town, and when the British troops landed in the evening they found it deserted. Four Europeans who had been confined in a dark cell on the platform of the Shwe Dagon pagoda were not discovered till the following morning. Five days later the stockades at Kemmendine were captured, and a fortnight afterwards two stockades at Kyawzaung to the north of Rangoon were carried at the point of the bayonet, rain having wet the powder and made guns and muskets useless. This was the first time the Burmans had met European troops, and the impression made on them in this first fight was such that they rarely again waited to come to close quarters with Europeans. The Kemmendine stockades had not been garrisoned by the British, and the Yewun reoccupied them and increased and strengthened them. An attempt to capture them without the aid of artillery failed, but when the guns were brought up the Burmans abandoned the position after the outworks had been captured, and the British occupied it (June 10th, 1824). The rains had now set in, and dysentery and fever attacked the British troops with such severity that the advance had to be suspended, until the arrival of fresh supplies and the recovery of the sick made a renewal of operations possible.

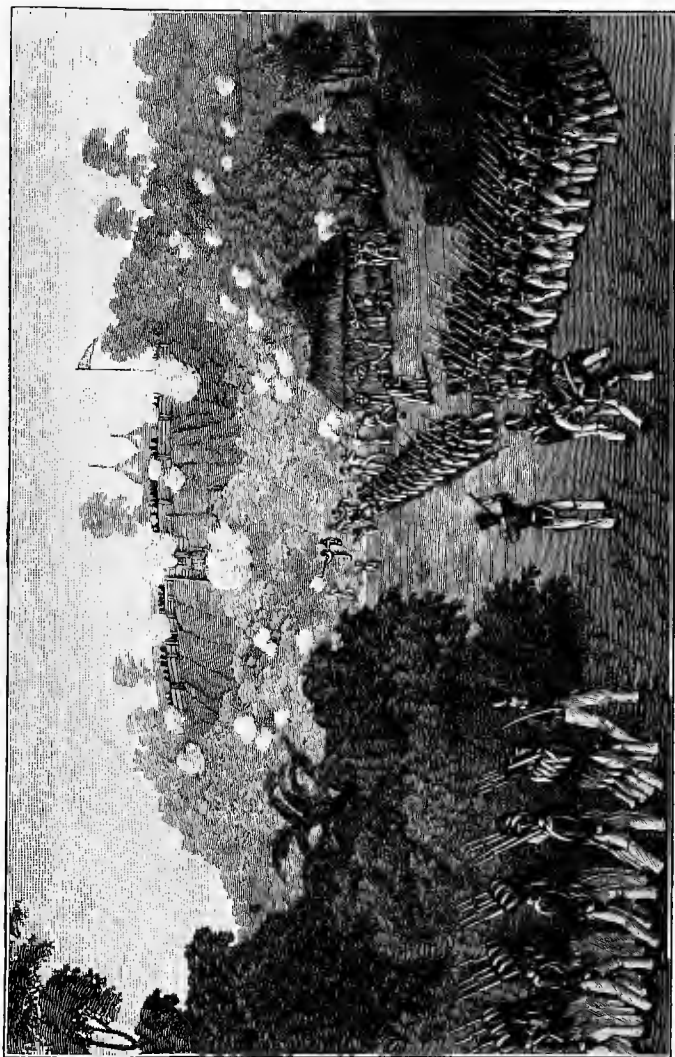
Capture of Syriam, Tavoy, Pegu. The Thonba Wungyi now took charge of operations in Rangoon. He built a strong stockade at the junction of the Hlaing and Panhlaing rivers seven miles above Rangoon, and other stockades opposite to the first on the east bank of the river at Kamayut. Before these were complete the British general successfully stormed them. The Thonba Wungyi and a large number of his troops were slain. Syriam was next captured, and before the end of the rainy season Tavoy and



ATTACK ON THE STOCKADES AT PAGODA POINT, JULY 8TH, 1824.

Mergui also fell ; Ye, Martaban, and Pegu were occupied before the end of the year.

Bandula at Rangoon. Meanwhile the serious position of affairs in Rangoon had caused the king to recall Bandula with most of his troops from Arakan. Armies were stationed on the rivers to oppose the British advance ; one at Danubyu under Tharawadi Min, the king's brother, another at Htantabin on the Hlaing river under the Kyi Wungyi. The stockade at Htantabin was, however, destroyed by the British in October, though an attack on another stockade at Kyaikkalo, twelve miles from Rangoon, failed. A column sent to make a second attack on Kyaikkalo found it deserted. Bandula, having strengthened his army by the addition of fresh troops raised in Ava, now arrived at Danubyu and superseded Tharawadi Min. The Kyi Wungyi was removed from his command for his failure at Htantabin, and Bandula remained sole commander. Maha Thilawa had been recalled from Assam and was with the army at Danubyu. Bandula advanced with all his troops at the end of November and took up his position north of Rangoon on the first of December. His army of 60,000 men, 35,000 of whom were armed with muskets, extended from Kemmendine to Pazundaung, and his whole front was protected by earthworks. To this force were opposed 1300 European and 2500 native troops, with twenty guns mounted on the pagoda platform. The remainder of the troops were sick, or absent with the expeditions in Pegu and Tenasserim. The British troops held the Kemmendine stockade on the west, and the White House, a mile from the great pagoda, on the east of their line. A week's fighting ended in the defeat of the Burmese with great slaughter. The main attack on the pagoda was repulsed with very heavy loss ; the left wing of the Burmese force was totally defeated, with the aid of the gunboats in



STORMING OF THE FORT OF SYRIAM, AUGUST 5TH, 1824.

the creek, on the open ground between the Royal Lakes and Pazundaung; and the stockade at Kemmendine resisted vigorous assaults which cost the enemy many lives. A Burmese force entrenched at Dalla was dislodged, and a stockade at Kokine, which Maha Thilawa had occupied, and where Bandula joined him, was captured. Maha Thilawa fled to Hmawbi. Bandula with 7000 men retreated to Danubyu, and the rest of the army dispersed (December 1824).

The War in Assam and Manipur. In the north the British operations had been equally successful. The Burmese force in Gauhati was driven out, before the beginning of the rains, in March 1824, and in October, when the rains were over and military operations became once more possible, they were shut up in Rangpur and compelled to surrender. Two thousand Burmans were allowed to return home. In Manipur and Kachar the task which confronted the British was one of great difficulty. The Burmans were strongly entrenched on the Barak river in considerable numbers, and the British force had to be increased to 7000 men before the enemy withdrew into Manipur. The nature of the country made it impossible for regular troops to follow them, and it was not until June 1825 that an irregular force of Manipuri and Kachari fugitives under Gambhir Sing entered the capital of Manipur. The Burmese garrison had in the meantime been recalled to repel the advance of the British up the Irawadi.

Occupation of Arakan. The unexpected difficulties which had checked the advance along the line of the Irawadi induced the British to attempt an advance from Arakan over the Pa-aing pass, the most northerly of the routes by which Bodawpaya's troops had invaded Arakan. An army of eleven thousand men, including two European regiments, was assembled in Chittagong under the command of General Morrison, and, escorted by gunboats,

advanced along the coast and crossed the Naaf river. After a two months' march the army reached Myauk-u, which was captured on April 1st, 1825, the day before the capture of Danubyu (see next paragraph). The garrison left by Bandula made good their escape. It was found, however, that any advance by the mountain-passes was impracticable. The troops began to suffer much from fever and had to be cantoned along the coast; the grassy plains where Akyab now stands were thus occupied for the first time.

Capture of Danubyu and death of Bandula.

Shortly after the repulse of Bandula's attack on Rangoon reinforcements arrived from India, and Sir Archibald Campbell was enabled to begin his advance up the river. His army moved in two columns, one proceeding by river under General Willoughby Cotton, the other by land under Campbell himself. A small flotilla of gunboats accompanied the expedition, and transports with stores, mortars, and heavy guns. The total force did not amount to 5000 men. Cotton advanced without difficulty as far as Danubyu, where Bandula was strongly entrenched; but there he failed to carry an outwork of the position at the Danubyu pagoda; and having embarked his troops, retired to an island a few miles down the river. A Burman messenger was despatched to Campbell, who had already reached the Irawadi at Tharawaw and had proceeded two days' march beyond that place to Ywathit. He at once turned back, crossed the river at Tharawaw, and marched on Danubyu, which he reached fourteen days after leaving Ywathit. After a week spent in preparation of batteries and trenches, fire was opened on the fort, and Bandula was killed. His brother was offered the command, but refused it and fled to Ava, where he was executed half an hour after his arrival for cowardice and desertion. The garrison evacuated the fort in the night, and a large quantity of guns and

ammunition fell into the hands of the British (April 2nd, 1825).

Parties at the court of Ava. The king, to use his own phrase, was in the position of a man who had seized a tiger by the tail and was afraid to hold on and afraid to let go. The leaders of the war party were the chief queen, Nanmadaw Mè Nu, and her brother, the Minthagyi Maung O. This queen, a concubine who had been promoted on the death of the real queen, was the daughter of a police magistrate, and was supposed to have attained her high position by witchcraft. She was commonly known as "the Sorceress." Her brother had once been a fish-seller in the bazaar, and was nicknamed "the fishmonger." As the queen's brother he took precedence of everybody at court except the king's brother, Tharawadi Min, and his pride, cruelty, and avarice made him universally hated. The death of Bandula was a great loss to this party, especially since Tharawadi Min, who had been in command of a division in the delta, now returned to Ava and joined the peace party. But the Minthagyi saw that the rise of Tharawadi Min meant his own downfall, and urged the king to continue the war. The Pakan Wungyi, who had been imprisoned for a time together with the European residents of Ava, offered to lead an army against the enemy and proposed to sacrifice the European prisoners to celebrate his appointment to the command. The prisoners were sent out to the place selected for their execution at the Aungpinlè lake, but were saved by the discovery, in the Pakan Wungyi's house, of royal emblems, which seemed to show that he aimed at royal power. He was trampled to death by elephants, and the king's half-brother Minmyabu was chosen to succeed him, with the Kyi Wungyi or "lord of the granaries" as his second in command.

Negotiations for peace. The war had ceased

to be popular with the common people, who found the British troops friendly. The inhabitants of Rangoon had returned to their homes, and the people of Prome, which was occupied without opposition in April soon after the capture of Danubyu, did the same. The governor of Prome had by Minmyabu's instructions ordered the town to be deserted and set on fire ; but only about half of it was burned, and the arsenal with stores of gunpowder escaped. The peasants furnished the British army with supplies, and the troops went into cantonments there until the end of the rains. The steady progress of the British troops and their fair treatment of the inhabitants of the country made it difficult to obtain recruits for the Burmese army. The authority of the king seems on this occasion to have so far broken down that bounties had to be given to induce men to enlist, and even the Shan contingents were paid ; while the scum of the streets of the capital was enrolled in the new regiments. A force of some 15,000 men was collected at Myedè during the rains, but in September, before the war was renewed, an armistice of forty days was arranged, and the Kyi Wungyi met Campbell and Cotton in conference at Nyaungbinseit. The British demanded the cession of Arakan, Tavoy, and Mergui, and the payment of two crores of rupees. The Kyi Wungyi asked that the armistice should be prolonged until he received the opinion of the court on this demand, but before the armistice ended he wrote saying that the cession of territory and the payment of indemnities were not in accordance with Burmese custom, and the war was resumed.

Defence of Prome. During the negotiations the headquarters of the Burmese were at Malun. On the renewal of hostilities their armies, strongly reinforced, took up positions for an attack on Prome. Ten miles to the north was a force of 30,000 men, and Maha Nemyo, with

11,000 men, chiefly Shans, was encamped on the Nawinchaung at Wettigan, twenty miles to the north-east. The Kyi Wungyi guarded the west bank of the river. Maha Nemyo's force threatened the British flank, and a night march was made to attack him. The three British columns lost touch with each other in the dark, and having attacked singly were repulsed with considerable loss. The Burmese troops occupied Shwedaung, south of Prome, and Sinbaik, on the Nawinchaung, eleven miles to the north-east of the city, and also attacked a British post at Padaung. A new detachment on its way from Rangoon drove them out of Shwedaung, and the attack on Padaung failed. A few days later Campbell, with 2500 European troops and 1500 natives, attacked the Burmese main position at Natpadi and carried it by assault. The Kyi Wungyi's force on the west bank was dislodged a few days later. The Shan contingents dispersed to their homes, and the Burmese retreated northward, leaving Myedè to be occupied without opposition. The day before the assault on Natpadi, the stockade at Sinbaik had been captured and Maha Nemyo killed. Amongst the wounded in this action was a young girl in male attire, and another woman was found amongst the slain. These were Shan women, the wives of one of the Sawbwas (chiefs) who were supposed to be expert in magic, and who had been sent down with other witches from Ava to put a spell upon the foreigners.

Negotiations at Malun. It was thought that the Burmans would now be more disposed to listen to proposals for peace, and a letter was sent to the commander-in-chief by the hands of a Brahmin, the Raj Guru, who had been sent by Bagyidaw to India in the first year of his reign to intrigue with the native princes, and had been detained by the Government of Bengal. Robertson, of the Civil Service, had been brought from Calcutta

to negotiate a peace, and had brought with him the Raj Guru as interpreter. As might have been expected, this man behaved treacherously throughout the negotiations, gave the Burmese information, and advised them to continue the war. When the British army reached Patanago, opposite Malun, negotiations were opened, and a treaty was signed in January 1826. A truce of fifteen days was made to enable the king to confirm the treaty. At the end of that time no reply was received, and Minmyabu's stockade at Malun was stormed. Amongst the documents found there were the letters of the Raj Guru and the signed treaty, which had never been communicated to the king.

Battle at Pagan. Amongst the prisoners at Ava were Judson and Price, the American missionaries, and some British officers who had been captured in the fighting. Judson had been released and sent down to Minmyabu at Malun as interpreter, and he was now sent with Price and the British officers to meet Campbell and Robertson, and to learn what terms they had to offer. The British forces had continued their advance and met Price near Yenangyaung. The king's enquiry was communicated to them, and a reply was sent to the effect that the terms laid down in the signed treaty were the most favourable that could be offered, and that the army would await the ratification of the treaty at Pagan. But the war party at Ava was still obdurate, and the Minthagyi and the queen overcame the recommendations of Tharawadi Min. Another general, calling himself Zeyathura or Newinbayin, offered to lead an army against the foe, and his offer was accepted, Minmyabu and the other generals being superseded. Unfortunately for the new general it was found impossible to raise more than about half the number of troops he demanded, but he nevertheless proceeded to Pagan to await the arrival of the British. Not anticipating

a battle there Campbell arrived with only a portion of his force, less than 2000 men in all, but at once attacked and defeated the Burmese. Newinbayin fled to Ava, where he was received in audience by the king, and had the hardihood to ask for fresh troops and make fresh promises of victory. He was ordered out for immediate execution, and was tortured to death before the place of execution was actually reached.

Treaty of Yandabo. The British forces were collected at Pagan and marched on to Yandabo, some forty miles from Ava, and the presence of the enemy almost at his gates induced the king to accept the treaty as amended at Malun. The terms included the cession of the provinces of Assam, Arakan, Tenasserim, and Martaban east of the Salween river, the payment of an indemnity of one crore of rupees, and a promise to abstain from interference in Kachar, Jaintia, and Manipur. Siam was to be included in the peace as an ally of the British. The Burmese commissioners, who were accompanied by Price and Judson, brought with them the first instalment of the indemnity, twenty-five lakhs of rupees. It was agreed that the remainder should be paid in three instalments, and that the British army should occupy Rangoon until the payment of the second instalment was made in the following year. A commercial treaty was also promised for that year. The treaty of Yandabo having been signed on February 24th, 1826, the British troops withdrew to Rangoon. The capital of the new province of Tenasserim was fixed at Maulmain, on the site of the ancient Hindu city of Ramapura.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE TREATY OF YANDABO TO THE
ACCESSION OF THARAWADI MIN.

Crawfurd's treaty. Later in the year 1826 Crawfurd was sent from India to negotiate a treaty of commerce in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Yandabo. Throughout the negotiations the behaviour of the Burmese commissioners was shifty. They tried to evade their obligations under the Treaty of Yandabo, and endeavoured to secure a remission or postponement of the indemnity in return for the commercial treaty. They went so far as to modify clauses in copying the draft treaty, and even proposed to Judson that they should offer Crawfurd a bribe. The commercial treaty, which was signed on November 23rd, contained no concessions of any importance, except the royal consent to the appointment of a British Resident in Ava. The first Resident, Major Burney, was not sent until 1830. At the end of the year 1827 the second instalment of the indemnity was paid, and the British troops were withdrawn from Rangoon to Tenasserim. Mr. Crawfurd as Civil Commissioner took up his residence at Amherst.

Last Talaing insurrection. The Talaings, who had enjoyed their temporary freedom from Burmese rule, were not disposed to submit again without a struggle. A number of Talaings, suspected of attempting to set fire to Rangoon, were buried alive in a well together with their wives and children, and this act of barbarity was the signal for revolt in January 1827. The rebellion was headed by Maung Sat, governor of Syriam, and was joined by many Karens. The main body of the rebels attacked Rangoon; Dalla also was occupied, and a detachment was sent against

Bassein. The Burmese, who had shut themselves up in their stockade in Rangoon, sallied forth and put the Talaings to flight. Maung Sat took refuge in Dalla, and sent a detachment up the Panhlaing creek to cut off Rangoon from reinforcements coming from Ava, intending to renew his attack. But troops from Ava broke through and defeated the rebels, large numbers of whom escaped with their leader to Tenasserim.

Destruction of Martaban. The protection given to the rebels who took refuge in British territory may have been the pretext for the raids which were made into Tenasserim. Martaban, directly opposite Maulmain, was the base of operations of armed bands, which constantly crossed the river and plundered and ravaged the newly-acquired British territory. Remonstrances were made to the Burmese authorities, but in vain, and the incursions continued until the British governor took the matter into his own hands. He sent to Martaban a British force which captured the town and burnt it to the ground in November 1829.

Major Burney, Resident at Ava. In 1830 Major Burney was sent to Ava as British Resident, with instructions to enquire what the Burmese would offer in exchange for the Tenasserim provinces, which the Indian government, under orders from the East India Company, desired to relinquish because they were not self-supporting. The Burmese claimed that Tenasserim should be given back to them in exchange for the fourth instalment of the indemnity, which was still unpaid. This demand was refused. The indemnity was not paid up till 1832. A Burmese mission was sent to India to appeal to the governor-general, and wasted three years following Lord William Bentinck about Northern India.

Manipur and Burma. Another question which was

left to Major Burney for decision was the dispute between Burma and Manipur for the possession of the Kale-Kabaw valley. During the war Gambhir Sing had been paid by the British government to maintain troops in Manipur, and had enjoyed the services of two British officers. On the conclusion of peace he was informed that he must carry on the government at his own expense and without assistance. He had, at the end of the war, received the Kale-Kabaw valley as part of his kingdom, but the Burmans were able to prove to Major Burney that Marjit had ceded the valley to Burma in 1813. The government of India allowed the justice of the Burmese claim, and the Kale-Kabaw valley was recognised as Burmese territory in 1833.

Madness of Bagyidaw. The loss of the maritime provinces weighed heavily on the mind of the king, who brooded over his troubles and in time developed the insanity which seemed to be hereditary in the family of Alaungpaya. In 1831 he became unfit to take any part in public affairs, and a council of regency was appointed, consisting of his brother, Tharawadi Min, his brother-in-law, Maung O the Minthagyi, and two other ministers. Tharawadi Min soon withdrew from the council in disgust, and the queen and her brother, the Minthagyi, were left masters of the situation. At the end of the year Major Burney took leave and did not return until the cold weather of 1833.

Rebellion of Tharawadi Min. The position of Tharawadi Min had become intolerable. Against his advice the war had been prolonged and the price of peace had thus been increased. The king was unfit to rule, and the prince felt that he should now govern. Yet he found himself one of a council controlled by his two enemies, whom he blamed for the disasters to the country. He therefore began to make preparations for revolt. He gradually assembled a strong bodyguard and collected 8000 muskets. Armed

bands of dacoits were in his pay in different parts of the country. Peace was undisturbed for four years, but in 1837 the Minthagyi tried to arrest one of Tharawadi Min's followers in the prince's own palace. The Minthagyi's men were driven off, but Tharawadi Min fled to Sagaing and thence to Shwebo, where he gathered together his followers. Major Burney followed him there, and with difficulty made him promise not to sack Ava or put anybody to death if the ministers made their submission. He returned to Ava, which opened its gates to him, and there a few days later he announced that Bagyidaw had abdicated. He then took possession of the palace as king. Bagyidaw was well treated, but kept in seclusion. The queen and the Minthagyi were thrown into prison and were executed in 1840. Bagyidaw died in 1845.

CHAPTER XX.

THARAWADI MIN AND PAGAN MIN.

Accession of Tharawadi Min. In 1837, the first year of his reign, Tharawadi Min rid himself of one possible source of danger by putting to death Bagyidaw's son, Sakya Min, on a charge of treason. He made his capital at Amarapura after a brief residence at Kyaukmyaung. During his stay at Kyaukmyaung he left Ava in charge of Maung Taung Bo, the Pakyi Wun, who was a notorious blackguard and dacoit.

British Mission in Ava. During the seven years of Major Burney's residence in Ava the Burmese government had become reconciled to the conditions of the treaty of Yandabo. The king had written letters and sent envoys

to the governor-general, whose authority he had the wisdom to recognise. But Tharawadi Min, on his accession, repudiated the Treaty of Yandabo, and refused to recognise Burney's official position or the authority of the governor-general. He demanded direct communication with the English sovereign. Burney at once retired to India together with the whole of the mission. In the following year, 1838, however, Colonel Benson was sent as Resident. He was delayed some time in Rangoon for want of boats to take the mission up to Amarapura, and on the journey he was insulted by minor officials. When he arrived in Amarapura his official position was ignored, and a residence was assigned to him on a sandbank which was covered during the rainy season by the overflow of the Irawadi. He returned to India in the cold weather, leaving Captain M'Leod, the assistant resident, in charge. As the king refused to allow the removal of the residency to a more suitable site, the mission withdrew in 1840.

Rebellion suppressed. In 1838 a rebellion in Lower Burma was headed by a pretender declaring himself to be the Sakya Min, who had been drowned a year previously. The rebellion was suppressed with great cruelty. On one occasion forty men, women and children were burnt alive in a bamboo hut. Two years later, in 1840, a Shan rising gave the king an excuse for a further slaughter of his rivals. He pretended that the ex-queen and Minthagyi were concerned in the insurrection, and put both to death together with their followers. The queen was trampled to death by elephants, but that was the least barbarous mode of execution employed against the prisoners.

Insanity of the king. The hereditary madness of his family began to appear in the king during the year 1841. He developed a taste for a curious form of amusement. He would take a dagger, and, having caused any one of

his followers who happened to be at hand to bare his back, he would score a chess board on the unfortunate man's flesh with gashes of the steel. He made a sudden visit to Rangoon in 1841, causing some apprehension in the minds of the British government, and the garrisons of Arakan and Tenasserim were strengthened. On his return from Rangoon he went to live in an isolated palace on the Made Chaung, where Mandalay now stands. His sons found their opportunity in the king's madness. The Prome prince was the first to act. In the year 1845 he seized the king and kept him in confinement. But the king contrived to escape and the prince fled for safety to the Shan states. The Tarokmaw prince, who next seized his father, was more successful, and kept him a close prisoner till his death in the following year. The Pagan Min, however, became regent, and proceeded to establish himself in the usual way by killing off all possible rivals.

Pagan Min seizes the throne. In 1846 the Prome prince was captured in the Shan hill-country and brought down to Amarapura. There he was accused of conspiring with one of Tharawadi's queens to usurp the throne. Both were executed together with all their immediate relatives, except the daughter of the queen and Tharawadi Min. The insane king died not long afterwards and Pagan Min became king. Without delay he seized the Tarokmaw prince and all his household and put them to death. He then entered upon seven years of dire misrule, which ended in the loss of the whole of Lower Burma. He was a man without intellect, knowledge, or capacity of any kind. Avaricious, brutal, and degraded, he had no interest in any but the coarsest pleasures and pursuits. For two years his chief counsellors and instruments were two Mahomedans, Maung Baingzat and Maung Bein.

With their help and guidance he ordered some six thousand public executions or murders during their two years of power. Then the anger of his long-suffering subjects rose to such a pitch that to save himself the king threw the blame on his Mahomedan favourites and handed them over to the people. They were tortured for three days in the most horrible manner before they succumbed (1848 A.D.).

Oppression of British traders. In twenty years the lessons of the war of 1824-26 had been forgotten. In spite of the treaties, unjust charges were levied from British ships, and in 1851 the British government had to take action. The governor of Pegu at that time was Maung Ok, appointed by Pagan Min at the commencement of his reign. He arrested Mr. Sheppard, captain of a British ship, on a charge of murder. The captain was tried and acquitted but fined, then promptly re-arrested on a charge of embezzlement. On this charge also he was acquitted but fined again, the total fines exceeding nine hundred rupees. The members of his crew also were thrown into prison, and money was extorted from all of them, one man being beaten as well. Shortly afterwards another captain, Mr. Lewis, was arrested and fined on a frivolous charge laid by two Bengali coolies. When seven of his crew deserted and he appealed to the Burmese authorities, the deserters were arrested, but the sum of two hundred and fifty rupees was demanded before they were handed over; even on payment of that sum only four men were produced. Mr. Lewis was next arrested on a charge of murder, which Maung Ok offered to dismiss on receipt of two hundred rupees. Lewis had the courage to refuse, and was released. He was again arrested, however, and fined two hundred and eighty rupees. One of his petty officers was then arrested on a charge of embezzlement, and the ship was detained until a sum of two hundred rupees was paid for his release. Shep-

pard and Lewis both drew up claims for compensation, and presented them through the British government.

The British government interferes. Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general, supported the claims of the two captains, and despatched Commodore Lambert with a squadron numbering six ships in all. The commodore received two letters; one, addressed to Maung Ok, demanding compensation and pointing out the serious nature of the violations of the treaty; the other, addressed to the king, demanding the removal of Maung Ok and threatening war in the event of a refusal. This second letter was to be sent only if Maung Ok declined to grant redress. The governor proved impracticable. He forbade communication between the ships and the Europeans on shore, and laid a plot to seize the officers when they came ashore to present the British claims, intending to hold them as hostages until the warships were withdrawn. This plot was discovered, and the letter addressed to the king was sent on. The king's reply was friendly in tone. Maung Ok was removed from his governorship, but he was allowed to depart with every mark of honour. His successor, Maung Hmon, brought with him 30,000 troops to Rangoon, while a force of 20,000 men was sent to Bassein under the command of Maung Nyo, and another force of 30,000 men under Maung Bwa to Martaban. The new governor confirmed Maung Ok's order prohibiting communication with the ships in the river on pain of death. A deputation of officers, which went ashore to present the letter demanding compensation, was kept waiting throughout the heat of the day on the plea that the governor was asleep. Finally they left without seeing him, and he sent a letter to the commodore, stating that the officers were intoxicated and had used violent language. Lambert declared a blockade of the river and seized a royal ship moored off Rangoon.

The Burmese batteries which opened fire on the British ships were soon silenced, and the ships dropped down the river, one being detached to blockade Bassein. The commodore went to Calcutta for further instructions (January 1852).

British ultimatum. To give the Burmese another chance of avoiding war, a second letter was sent by the governor-general demanding an apology and compensation. The ships carrying the letter under a flag of truce were fired on, but silenced the Burmese forts. The reply of the Burmese government was of an evasive nature. On the 18th of February an ultimatum was despatched demanding compensation for the wrongs done to Captains Lewis and Sheppard, an apology to the officers insulted by Maung Hmon, and the payment of ten lakhs of rupees to cover the cost of preparations for war made by the British government. The Burmese had two evil counsellors who both assured them that the first war had exhausted the resources of the British and that they would certainly not undertake a second war. Accordingly the ultimatum was ignored, and in April, 1852, the war began. The first act of hostility was committed by the Burmese, who again fired on a ship carrying a flag of truce, which was sent by General Godwin to ascertain whether the Burmese government meant to yield to the British demands.

Capture of Martaban, Rangoon, and Bassein. General Godwin pushed on the war with great vigour. A detachment of 1400 men, aided by gunboats, carried Martaban by assault on the 5th of April, and five days later the fleet anchored in the Rangoon river below the Hastings shoal. The following day the squadron proceeded up the river, shelling and storming seven stockades on the way, and anchored off Kemmendine. An attack arranged for the 12th failed, two officers being killed by sunstroke and

three disabled by the heat before noon ; but the White House stockade east of the pagoda was captured. On the 14th the attack was successfully carried out, and the Shwe Dagon pagoda was captured after a severe struggle. Rangoon thus passed finally into the hands of the British. The Burmans fought with great courage, and the loss on both sides was heavy. Attempts made by a Burmese force to recover Martaban were repelled by the British garrison, and on hearing the news of the fall of Rangoon the Burmese troops retired. A final attempt on Martaban was made by Maung Shwe Lon on May 19th, but failed. Meanwhile four ships, under Commodore Lambert, had been despatched to Bassein, which was captured after forty minutes fighting on the 18th of May.

Pegu captured and lost again. The war was not popular with the Lower Burmans and Talaings, who sided with the British whenever the Burmese troops were withdrawn. The Shans, too, refused to send their contingents for service. A body of Talaings under Maung Ta rose against the Burmese government, and with the aid of the British occupied Pegu on the 3rd of June. The Talaings were left to garrison the town, but a week later the Burmese recaptured it in a sudden assault and fortified it strongly against a British attack. General Godwin was unable to send troops at once to recover Pegu, and it remained six months longer in the hands of the Burmese.

Prome occupied and abandoned. At the beginning of the rainy season in 1852, one British steamer reconnoitred the Irawadi nearly as far as Prome, and early in July a flotilla of four ships advanced up the river. A body of 1500 Burmans, stationed at Kanaung, was shelled by the ships, which anchored a few miles higher up at Myanaung. The next morning the British came across the main Burmese army of 7000 men under Maung

Gyi, son of Maha Bandula, who had taken his father's title but did not inherit his courage or skill. The flotilla passed Maung Gyi's force and pushed on to Prome, which was abandoned by the governor, Maung Waing. More than twenty guns were captured, and all except four were sunk in deep water. The British force was too small to occupy Prome and retired down the river. The Burmese troops were encountered crossing the river at Akauktaung, and in the engagement which took place a few war-boats were sunk with a quantity of warlike stores, and five guns were captured. A few days later twenty-eight guns left behind by Maung Gyi were captured at Akauktaung. The squadron reconnoitred again up to Prome and found that Maung Gyi with 2000 men was at Rathemyo, the remainder of his troops having deserted.

The governor-general in Rangoon. Capture of Prome. In his despatch to England after the capture of Rangoon, Lord Dalhousie discussed various alternative plans for dealing with Burma, and recommended the permanent occupation of the Province of Pegu as the only security for the good behaviour of the Burmese. The Court of Directors of the East India Company and the Queen's government concurred. Lord Dalhousie himself paid a brief visit to Rangoon in July and August 1852, to discuss his policy with General Godwin on the spot. After his departure, preparations were made for an advance in force on Prome, and at the end of September the flotilla set sail. On the 9th of October the troops disembarked at Prome. The Burmans expected the attack to take place on the south and west, and the Shwesandaw pagoda was strongly fortified on those two sides. But the British landed to the north of the town and attacked the pagoda from the east. The Burmans abandoned their positions after a short resistance, only one man being killed on the

British side. Maung Gyi, whose troops at Rathemyo now numbered 18,000, surrendered, and his army dispersed. For a few weeks these troops caused trouble by plundering villages along the river, and had to be broken up by British columns, which captured two stockades the enemy had built opposite Prome. One British officer was killed at Akauktaung.

Capture of Pegu. Attention was now turned to Pegu, and before the end of November the British captured the town and the Shwe-hmaw-daw pagoda after two days' fighting. A number of Talaings assembled in Pegu, and together with 200 British and 400 native troops were left to garrison the town. The Burmese general, Maung Kyauk Lon, invested the place with an army of 8000 men, and reinforcements of 240 British troops with fresh supplies of ammunition could not force their way through. The garrison was hard pressed when General Godwin with 1200 men proceeded up the Pegu river, sending a column by land along the west bank. The Burmese were driven off without any serious engagement.

Annexation of Pegu. Captain Arthur Phayre was appointed governor of the Province of Pegu, and on December 20th, 1852, he published the proclamation of the governor-general declaring Pegu a British possession and calling upon the inhabitants to submit peacefully to British rule. The king of Burma was warned that, if he resisted, his whole power might be destroyed and himself exiled. In a letter sent to the king the terms of the proclamation were repeated, and a period of one month was allowed for the conclusion of a treaty of peace.

Deposition of Pagan Min. The letter which was addressed to Pagan Min was delivered to his successor, Mindon Min. The latter, a half-brother of the king, was a man of peaceful disposition, religious habits, and enlightened

character. His popularity aroused the jealousy of the brutal Pagan Min, and, fearing for his life, Mindon Min fled with his brother to Shwebo on the 17th of December, 1852. Pagan Min prepared to fight for his throne, and recalled the troops who were still carrying on the war round Prome. By the 1st of January, 1853, Mindon Min's troops were in possession of the suburbs of Amarapura. After seven weeks had been spent in intermittent fighting, the Magwe Mingyi seized the king's advisers, and Mindon Min's troops in the confusion secured the city and the palace. When the usual executions were over, Mindon Min came down from Shwebo. Pagan Min was kept in honourable captivity, with a small court of his own. He died of small-pox in 1881.

Subjugation of Pegu. The pacification of Pegu was not a long or difficult task. The Martaban land column under General Steel cleared the country of disbanded troops and dacoits, from Taungu to the Tenasserim frontier. Another column under Sir John Cheape was sent out against Maung Myat Tun, who with a large force was harassing the west country. This leader, after destroying Zalun and Danubyu, retired to a strong position on the Kyaukzin creek not far from the Pantanaw river. The position was discovered only after a tedious search. The enemy, to the number of 4000 men, were strongly entrenched. After a fight of two hours' duration a storming party, led by Ensign Wolseley (afterwards Lord Wolseley), carried the entrenchments, and the Burmans fled (March 19th, 1853). There was now an end of organized resistance, and the British were left in undisturbed possession of the Province of Pegu south of a line, drawn due east and west six miles north of Myedè, which was laid down as the boundary line between Upper Burma and British territory.

CHAPTER XXI.

MINDON MIN.

Mindon Min king. The new king had opposed the war, and he strongly resented the tone of the letter which had been addressed to Pagan Min, his predecessor. He therefore refused to sign any treaty, but he forbade any attack on the British; and peace was formally declared six months after the annexation of Pegu. In 1854 the king made an attempt by means of diplomacy to recover Pegu, and in December an embassy was sent to Calcutta with Captain Phayre as interpreter. The embassy was well received and brilliantly entertained, but Lord Dalhousie refused to consider the restitution of Pegu. This reply was a great disappointment to Mindon Min, but he concealed his chagrin and devoted himself to the task of governing justly what remained to him of the empire of Burma. He regulated the taxes by abolishing the old custom of assigning districts for the maintenance of princes and ministers. Only the Ein-she-min, the king's brother, was so provided for. In the remaining districts, except the Shan states, a tax at the average rate of ten rupees per household was levied, and from the revenue so collected all officials received monthly salaries. The tax collectors were strictly enjoined to collect the tax justly without oppression. This beneficent measure alone would entitle Mindon Min to the praise which he has won as a just and merciful ruler.

Phayre's mission. In 1855 Major Phayre proceeded to Amarapura to negotiate a commercial treaty. The mission was met at Minhla by a deputation from the Burmese court, and both English and Burmans were entertained by Mackertich, the Armenian governor of



PORTRAIT OF MINDON MIN.

Minhla, who in spite of his foreign extraction won great popularity amongst the Burmese. He accompanied the mission to Amarapura. There nearly six weeks were spent in the exchange of diplomatic courtesies and the amusements customary at the Burmese court, but none of the objects of the mission were achieved. The king could not be persuaded that the proposed treaty conferred any advantage on his own subjects, and he declined to sign a treaty which he thought discreditable to himself as a ruler. We must admire his principle though we cannot confirm his judgment. The treaty was eminently fair and advantageous to both nations. The king's natural good sense was, however, shown in his advice to Mackertich and Major Allan, the Deputy Commissioner of Thayetmyo. He pointed out the importance of friendship between the frontier officials, and the necessity of judgment and moderation in their administration ; for fools might start a quarrel which baffled the wisdom of the wisest to compose. The most important fruit of this mission was Captain Yule's comprehensive work on Burmese natural history, topography, customs, and administration, entitled *Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava*.

Mandalay the capital. In February, 1857, the building of a new capital at Mandalay was begun in accordance with omens and dreams which had appeared to the king, and the court moved to Mandalay in June, the king and his queens being accommodated in a temporary palace. In April, 1858, a mission from the United States, with a letter from the President expressing a desire for friendly relations with Burma, was received in Mandalay. In this year rebellions against British rule took place in Shwegyin and Bassein districts, headed by men who claimed to be of royal race, but they were promptly suppressed. Disturbances in the Shan states created by rebellious

Sawbwas were quelled by Mindon Min without difficulty (1861 A.D.). The transfer of the government to Mandalay was completed in 1860.

The commercial treaty. Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were combined in 1862 into one province under Major Phayre as Chief Commissioner, and one of the first acts of the new administration was the negotiation of a commercial treaty with Mindon Min. It was agreed that after the expiration of one year frontier duties should be reduced by both parties, that British subjects should be allowed to trade anywhere, and that a British representative should reside in Mandalay. In point of fact the treaty was ineffectual, because the king through his agents had obtained a monopoly not merely of oil, teak, and precious stones, but of all the chief articles of commerce, and private traders were unable to purchase except from the royal agents. Four years later Major Phayre again visited Mandalay in an endeavour to get the frontier duties lowered in accordance with the treaty and to secure the abolition of monopolies and freedom of trade, but his efforts were fruitless.

Rebellion in Mandalay. At the beginning of the Buddhist Lent in 1866, a rebellion broke out in Mandalay headed by two of the king's sons, the Myingun and Myingondaing princes. The Kanaung Min, brother to the king, was heir-apparent, and the king's sons resented his power and determined to remove him as an obstacle to their own succession. While the king was residing in the temporary palace at the foot of the Mandalay hill, the conspirators in a sudden attack slew the Ein-she-min, but failed to capture the king, who escaped with his own immediate attendants to the palace. The conspirators followed and tried to force an entrance. While they were so engaged the Ein-she-min's men came upon them and

drove them from the immediate precincts of the palace. Before the next morning the royal troops had assembled, and the rebel princes were driven to the river, where they seized a steamer and retired to Myingyan. They spent a month in plundering the riverine villages, before they were compelled by the approach of a column of royal troops to take refuge in British territory. On arrival in Rangoon they were detained there. The Myingun prince succeeded in escaping, and for a time made raids on Burmese territory from Karenni. Being expelled by a Burmese force, he was again obliged to take refuge in Rangoon. Here his brother had caused a riot, and both princes were sent to India.

Rebellion of the Padein Min. Meanwhile the Ein-she-min's son, Padein Min; had fled on the day of his father's murder to Shwebo. The men of Tabayin, Pyinsala, and Tantabin, in the Crown Prince's territory, joined him, and he acquired very soon a formidable following. Detachments from other places in his father's domain marched on Mandalay from the south, while the prince advanced from the north side. The king's troops were defeated, and the city was almost completely invested. The king offered to resign in order to avoid bloodshed, but the chief queen dissuaded him. In a short time the forces of the Padein prince were defeated and dispersed, and the prince himself was captured and confined in Mandalay. A few months later he and all the other prisoners were executed by order of the Hlutdaw (see Chap. XXIV.) without the knowledge of the king, on a charge of again conspiring against the throne. Captain Sladen, the British Resident, who met the prince on the way to execution, rode off to the palace and obtained a reprieve from the king in person, but arrived too late to save the royal victim (May 15th, 1867).

Second commercial treaty. In 1867 Colonel

Fytche succeeded Major Phayre, whose able administration had brought prosperity and order to Lower Burma. In October, when the rains were over, Fytche arrived in Mandalay and concluded a new treaty with Mindon Min. Frontier dues were fixed at five per cent., with the right of revision of rates at the end of ten years. A British Resident was to be maintained at Mandalay. Free trade in gold and silver was permitted. The monopolies were reduced to earth oil, timber and precious stones. The Burmese government was to be allowed to buy war materials in British territory, subject to the approval of the Chief Commissioner. The extradition of criminals was agreed upon. With a view to opening up trade with China, Colonel Sladen surveyed the routes north of Bhamo, but could not penetrate beyond Tengyueh (Momein), owing to the disturbed state of the country. Two years later Captain Stover, the first assistant political agent at Bhamo, was more successful. He established friendly relations with the Shans and Kachins, and with the governor of Tengyueh.

Rebellions in Upper and Lower Burma. Bassein was disturbed in 1868 by a rising and an attack on the local treasury. One Maung Kyaw Tha had received letters which declared him to be the king's nephew and authorized him to assume the governorship of Bassein. The letters were no doubt forgeries which imposed on a credulous fool. The attack on the treasury was for the moment successful, but the Deputy-Commissioner, Mr. Beddy, drove off the rebels and captured the ringleaders. In Upper Burma a conspiracy against the king, planned by the Katha prince and his mother, was discovered before it spread beyond the palace. The guilty persons were forgiven at the intercession of a Buddhist monk (May 1870).

The royal monopolies. Sir Ashley Eden became Chief Commissioner of British Burma in 1871. He at once

urged the king to abandon the royal monopolies, which rendered the treaties of 1862 and 1867 ineffective. As the king was already getting into difficulties through large purchases of goods which he was unable to sell again, he agreed to remove the restrictions on trade. But the promise, if carried out, was afterwards broken; for six years later this question was again raised by the British authorities, who desired another revision of the treaties.

Foreign missions. The year 1872 was made memorable by the arrival at the Burmese court of letters from Queen Victoria, the Prime Minister of England, and the Viceroy of India. These were crossed on their way out by a Burmese mission to the English court, headed by the Kinwun Mingyi. The object of the mission had not been notified to the political agent in Mandalay, and the envoy, afraid that he might not be favourably received in England, visited the courts of Italy and France on his journey. In Paris he negotiated a treaty which the Burmese king afterwards refused to ratify, because it gave the French the right to mine for precious stones in the Ruby Mines district, though these were a royal monopoly. In spite of the irregularity of the mission it was well received at the English court. Later in the year an Italian envoy visited Mandalay and ratified a commercial treaty with the Burmese government. At the end of December, 1873, a French mission came to Mandalay to obtain a ratification of the treaty concluded by the Kinwun Mingyi. This was refused, as already stated. The Kinwun Mingyi afterwards proceeded to Paris with an amended treaty, but the French government refused to accept a treaty lacking the clause granting to French subjects the right of working the ruby mines. In February, 1875, a mission was sent to India to discuss the question of the Karenni boundary. The Burmans had been in the habit of raiding into that territory,

and the chiefs had entreated British protection. Late in the year the matter was settled by Sir Douglas Forsyth, the emissary of the Viceroy, in consultation with the Burmese government at Mandalay, and the Karens were secured against aggression.

Character of Mindon Min. The remaining years of Mindon Min's reign are not marked by any event of note. He fell ill of dysentery in the rainy season of 1878, and died on the 1st of October after an illness of two months. He is famous for his humanity and his high standard of honour and truthfulness. Except in the matter of monopolies, the evils of which he did not understand, and which were forced upon him by the cost of maintaining the splendour of his court, all his measures were intended to promote the prosperity of his kingdom and the best interests of his subjects. He abhorred bloodshed; but while he never ordered the execution of a criminal, he allowed his ministers at times to order executions without his express sanction, and refrained from punishing these violations of his principles and his prerogative. His lack of the martial qualities which characterise most of the kings of the dynasty was not a serious defect, so long as the British power protected his kingdom. Had his successor followed in his footsteps, Burma might have enjoyed a long era of prosperity under Burmese rulers. But the succeeding reign summed up all that was worst in the history of the Alaungpaya dynasty without exemplifying any of the nobler qualities of the race. Mindon Min's toleration and broadmindedness were shown by his patronage of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for which he built a church and a school in Mandalay. Some of his sons, including Thibaw Min, attended the school to learn English from the missionary in charge, the Reverend Doctor Marks. Though he assisted a Christian mission, he was a staunch Buddhist To secure

the continuance of the Buddhist religion he had the text of the Law engraved on 739 marble slabs, and each of these was placed in its own shrine round the Kuthodaw pagoda in Mandalay. He also convened, in 1871, a great meeting of over two thousand monks, who rehearsed the Bidagat Thonbon or Three Baskets of the Law. Accordingly he received the title of Convener of the Fifth Great Synod. No such synod had been convened for nearly two thousand years, the last having met in Ceylon 455 years after Buddha's attainment of Nirvana ; that is, about ninety years before Christ.

CHAPTER XXII.

REIGN OF THIBAW. THE BRITISH ANNEXATION.

Thibaw's accession. The difficulties which generally attended the choice of a new king were increased in the case of Mindon Min's successor by the unusual number of the king's sons. Mindon Min foresaw the rivalry of the various claimants, and had not dared to nominate any one of them Ein-she-min, fearing that by so doing he would practically sign the death-warrant of the prince selected. When he fell ill, Sinbyumayin, the Alèmandaw queen (Queen of the Middle Palace), who was the daughter of the notorious Nanmadaw Mè Nu, and whose influence had become supreme since the death of the chief queen eight months previously, summoned the royal princes in the king's name to the palace. Two of them, the Nyaung Yan prince and the Nyaung Ok prince, suspecting a trap, took refuge at the British Residency and afterwards in British territory. The others obeyed the order and were put under arrest. The mothers of the unfortunate princes

appealed to the king, who ordered their release, and the Metkaya prince was granted an interview. The king now appointed the Nyaung Yan prince, the Thonze prince, and the Metkaya prince viceroys with separate charges, and permitted the younger princes and their relatives to attach themselves to whichever viceroy they chose. But the Alèmandaw queen had other views, and as soon as the princes left the palace they were again arrested, and their female relatives were confined to their apartments. The Kinwun Mingyi and other ministers concerned in the plot prevented the issue of the king's order for a triple regency. To divert suspicion from the real intention of the conspirators, Thibaw was amongst those arrested, but he was soon released. The Alèmandaw queen had selected him as her nominee to the throne because he was in love with Supayalat, one of her daughters. Aided by the Kinwun Mingyi she secured the unanimous approval of the ministers, who all, like the queen herself, foresaw that Thibaw, a weak and inexperienced youth brought up in a monastery, would be more manageable than any of his elder brothers. He was crowned king on the death of Mindon Min, and the coronation was followed by the arrest of many princesses. The intention of Thibaw was merely to keep the princes and princesses in confinement, but the Alèmandaw queen and her daughter Supayalat obtained his consent to their execution. They were murdered to the number of seventy and buried in a big trench outside the palace enclosure in February, 1879, four months after the king's accession.

Thibaw's Queen. Supayalat was the second of the three daughters of the Alèmandaw queen. The eldest daughter of Mindon Min, Princess Salin Supaya, who had been selected as queen of Mindon's successor, finding Thibaw in love with Supayalat, became a nun. Thibaw married Supayalat and her elder sister Supayagyi. The fierce

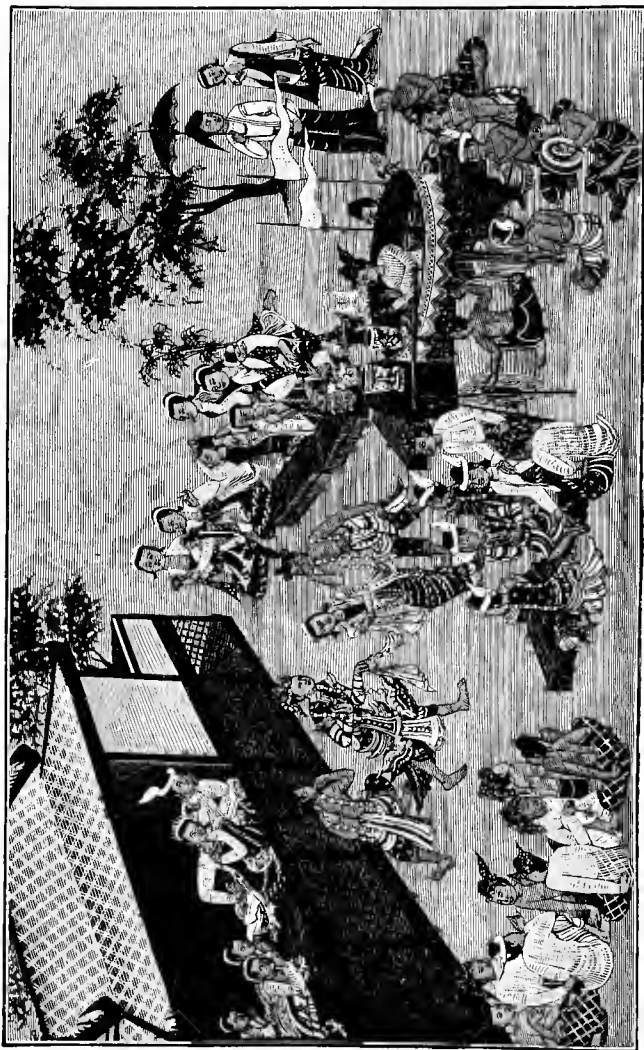


THIBAW AND SUPAYALAT.

jealousy and domineering temperament of Supayalat, however, prevented him from entering the apartments of the senior queen and from marrying other wives in accordance with Burmese royal custom. The only inferior wife whom he contrived by much scheming to introduce into the palace, during Supayalat's illness, was put to death by the orders of Supayalat as soon as she regained her influence over the king. She concocted a charge of conspiracy against the ministers who had lent the king their assistance in deceiving her, and they were thrown into prison, where three of them were executed.

Relations with the British. At this time relations between the British and Burmese governments were strained. During Mindon Min's illness fresh outrages had been committed upon British subjects. Colonel Wyndham, while preparing for a balloon ascent in Mandalay, was ill-treated in a barbarous fashion, and Captain Doyle of the Flotilla Company was put in the stocks for having walked across a part of the river embankment which was considered sacred. The official who put Doyle in the stocks was reduced and also sent to prison. In Colonel Wyndham's case and some cases of minor importance no redress was obtained. The British Resident, Mr. Shaw, protested without effect against the barbarous massacre of the princes, and in October, 1879, the British Mission was recalled from Mandalay. After the massacre of the princes the Kinwun Mingyi was dismissed from office, and Supayalat became for several years Thibaw's supreme adviser.

Plots against Thibaw. The exiled princes made efforts to assert themselves. The Nyaung Ok prince attempted a rising on the Thayetmyo border in June, 1880, but was obliged to take refuge in British Burma and was reconveyed to Calcutta, whence he had escaped. Four



THIBAW AND SUPAYALAT AT A FWE (From a Burmese Painting.)

years later the Myingun prince also escaped from Benares to Chandernagore, thence to Colombo, and was finally interned in Pondicherry. There he began to organise a rising with the help of the Shan chiefs, many of whom were disposed to favour his cause. The French authorities, however, put him under arrest. They were the less inclined to allow the plot to proceed because, since the departure of the British mission, the French agent in Mandalay was working to undermine British influence and to secure concessions from Thibaw

State of Upper Burma. The raid of the Nyaung Ok prince had serious consequences. The Burmese government claimed damages to the extent of Rs.55,800, and was referred to the civil courts. The extradition of the prince and his followers on a charge of dacoity was refused, because international law forbade the surrender of political offenders. From this time offences against British subjects in Upper Burma became increasingly frequent, and demands for redress were generally ignored. New royal monopolies were created in violation of the commercial treaties, and trade was thereby hampered and disorganized. The lawlessness of the court and the weakness of the government were reflected in the condition of the whole country. Bands of dacoits roamed at will everywhere, and some of them shared their plunder with the Taingda Mingyi and other ministers. The Sagaing bands invited the royal troops to fight with them at Myimnu. The Shan chiefs were engaged in civil war. The peace of the British frontier was constantly menaced by marauding bands, and the persistent efforts of Burmese missions to enter into alliances with European powers threatened political complications of a serious kind. An attempt to negotiate a new treaty at Simla in 1882 was ineffectual; the draft treaty approved by the Burmese embassy was rejected by the king.

Causes of the third Burmese War. A crisis occurred in the year 1884. Certain officials had been sent to gaol in Mandalay for complicity in the intrigues of the Myingun prince. Other guilty officials, fearing that they might be betrayed by the captives, planned their destruction. They treacherously arranged for the secret liberation of certain prisoners, and, coming upon them as they were leaving the prison enclosure in which they were confined, raised the alarm of a gaol outbreak and fired upon them. Hearing the shots the troops rushed down to the prison, and a general massacre took place, the building being set on fire. Similar outrages were perpetrated in the town gaols. In all some three hundred persons were killed, including the few remaining members of the Royal family. Orders were issued that the dead should remain unburied for three days. The heads of some were impaled on bamboos as a warning to traitors, and scattered trunks and limbs were left lying about the cemetery. At the end of three days they were thrown into shallow trenches. While the horror caused by this massacre was fresh in the minds of the British, information was received that a treaty with the French had been signed in Mandalay and sent to Paris for ratification. The terms of the treaty included the building of a railway with French capital from Mandalay to Tong-King and the establishment of a French bank, which was to advance money to the king at twelve per cent. interest per annum, to manage the ruby mines, and to enjoy a monopoly of the trade in pickled tea. The interest on the railway loan was to be secured by the transference to French control of the river customs and earth-oil dues. The British government found an opportunity for intervention in the oppressive dealings of the Burmese government with the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation. A sum of twenty-three lakhs of rupees was claimed from the

Corporation on account of duty on teak exported or of fines inflicted by the courts without any proper hearing of the Corporation's defence.

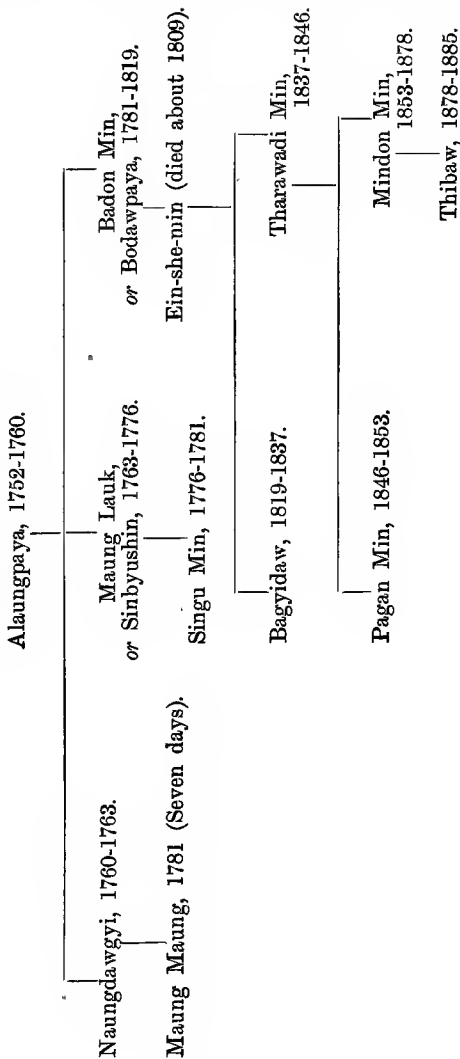
British ultimatum. The Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, having failed in his efforts to get the dispute with the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation referred to arbitration, an ultimatum was despatched under orders of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, by special steamer to Mandalay on October 22nd, 1885, and a reply within the space of three weeks was demanded. The ultimatum stipulated (1) That an envoy from the Governor-general should be received in Mandalay, and the dispute with the Corporation settled with his assistance; (2) That all action against the Corporation should be suspended until his arrival; (3) That a diplomatic agent from the Viceroy should be received under suitable conditions in Mandalay. It was added that in future the foreign relations of the Burmese government would be controlled by the Government of India. The Kinwun Mingyi, as leader of the opposition, suggested acceptance of these terms; but the king, acting on the advice of the Taingda Mingyi and the majority of the ministers, rejected them, and issued a proclamation defying the British and threatening to drive them into the sea.

Thibaw surrenders. The British government had made preparations in anticipation of the king's refusal to comply with the ultimatum, and on the 14th of November, five days after the receipt of the Burmese reply, the frontier was crossed by the gunboat *Irawadi*, and the general advance began. The stockade at Sinbaungwè was captured on the 16th, Minhla fort on the 17th, Pagan was occupied without opposition on the 23rd, and Myingyan on the 25th after a short bombardment. On the 26th a Burmese envoy met the expedition with a letter proposing

an armistice. General Prendergast replied that he was prepared to grant a cessation of hostilities if King Thibaw surrendered with his army before four o'clock on the following morning. The advance was continued on the 27th, and Ava was reached. A message had been received there from Mandalay forbidding resistance, and the Burmese troops laid down their arms. On the 28th the army landed at Mandalay, and the next evening the king formally surrendered. He left Mandalay with his two queens and the queen mother on December 3rd, and sailed from Rangoon on the 10th. He was first of all removed to Madras, and later to Ratnagiri, on the Bombay coast, where he died in 1917. The Taingda Miugyi, who was largely responsible for the massacres of the reign and had been always hostile to the British, was deported to Cuttack. Upper Burma was formally annexed by proclamation on January 1st, 1886. From that date the history of Burma is merged in the history of the Indian Empire.

Pacification of Upper Burma. The rapid march on Mandalay and the complete success of the British plans had one untoward result. The bands of soldiers who had been summoned to fight for their king found themselves without king before they had struck a blow. They formed themselves into companies under the leadership of princes or pretenders, dacoit chiefs, or monks professing miraculous powers, and swelled the number of robber bands which had infested the country during Thibaw's reign. The suppression of these bands and the final pacification of the new province involved five years of continuous and strenuous effort, and the loss of many valuable lives. By the end of 1890 the country was tranquil, the railway was opened as far as Mandalay, and the military police battalions had been considerably reduced by the transfer of men to the regular army. Only a few isolated dacoit

248. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY.



leaders with few followers still evaded pursuit, but the last of these was not captured till six years later.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ARAKAN.

The Arakanese speak a dialect which is mainly Burmese with the old pronunciation in use before the consonant *R* was weakened to *Y* and the syllables *ang*, *ak*, etc., softened to *in*, *ek*, etc. But in the course of centuries the Arakanese dialect has been modified by the addition of words of Indian origin, as the race has been modified by a large admixture of Indian blood. The histories of Arakan and Burma are quite distinct, except during the short periods when Burma established a suzerainty over Arakan in the reigns of Anawrahta and some later kings. The country was finally conquered by Bodawpaya at the end of the eighteenth century. During the seven centuries between the reigns of Anawrahta and Bodawpaya, Arakan occupied a far less prominent position in Burmese history than Siam. But community of race and language gives Arakan some claim to be considered part of Burma, and it is proposed in this chapter to give a very brief connected sketch of Arakanese history.

The country of Arakan comprises the strip of land along the Bay of Bengal, from the Naaf estuary to Cape Negrais. It is bounded eastward by the Arakan Yoma. The early legendary history of the country bears a strong resemblance to the early Burmese legends. The Arakanese annals open with the deluge, and describe the foundation of the first capital at Ramawadi, somewhere in Sandoway district.

This city is said to have been founded by the Kanran tribe from Upper Burma. At a later period a king, born miraculously of a doe, founded the city of Dinnyawadi, a name which was afterwards applied to the whole kingdom. Many centuries later Kanrazagyi and his followers came from Upper Burma and established a kingdom with a capital near Kyaukpadaung. A thousand years later still, in the second century A.D., Chanda Suriya was king. During his reign a famous image of Buddha was cast, to which miraculous powers were attributed. Buddha had attained Nirvana more than six centuries before this time, but the Arakanese place the date of Chanda Suriya's reign much earlier, in order to make it appear that the image was cast during the life-time of Buddha and was an actual likeness. A tradition still survives that when the image, which was cast in three pieces, was put together, the head piece did not fit accurately, and Buddha himself touched it and made the joint perfect. This image, known as the Mahamuni image, was coveted by Anawrahta; who invaded the country in order to obtain it. Bodawpaya ultimately carried it off to Amarapura.

Some sixty years before the reign of Chanda Suriya, when the kingdom of Prome came to an end by civil strife, an invasion of Burmese refugees was repelled by the Arakanese, who in their turn invaded Prome and sacked Tharekhettara. But from the time of Chanda Suriya down to the year 976 A.D. nothing historically certain or important is recorded. In that year Shan invaders entered Arakan and held the country for eighteen years, during which period they robbed the inhabitants and carried off from the temples everything of value. Anawrahta, who came to the throne of Burma soon after the retirement of the Shans from Arakan, next invaded the country, compelled the Arakanese to acknowledge his supremacy, and exacted tribute. During the reign of Kyansittha, son of

Anawrahta, in Pagan, Min Bilu of Arakan was deposed by a usurper, and his son took refuge in Burma. This prince's son, Letyaminnan, was restored by Alaungsithu, grandson and successor of Kyansittha, and Arakan was again subordinate to Burma for some years from 1103 onwards.

An invasion of Talaings is recorded about the year 1243, which seems to shew that, before the revolt of Pegu in 1273, the governors of the delta districts had taken advantage of the weakness of Tarokpyemin and his difficulties with China, and had made themselves independent. The Shan kings of Panya invaded the country some fifty years later, according to the Arakanese accounts; but in 1333 the king of Arakan, a son of Min Bilu, carried off Min Shin Saw, the governor of Thayetmyo. He released him about ten years later. During this period Arakan was in the utmost disorder, and usurpations were frequent. In 1373 the Arakanese are said to have asked Mingyi Swa Sawkè, king of Burma, to nominate a king for Arakan, and he selected his uncle, Sawmungyi. The latter was soon driven out, however, and the country again fell into the greatest confusion. In 1389 Arakan became involved in the war between Burma and Pegu, and took the side of the Talaings. The son of Laukbya, the rebel king of Myaungmya, having taken refuge in Sandoway, was handed over to Razadirit, and king Thinsa shortly afterwards made a raid into Burmese territory. Min Khaung, to punish this raid, invaded Arakan in 1404 and again in 1406, and Min Saw Mun, king of Arakan, fled to Bengal in the latter year. There he remained under the protection of the king of Bengal for over twenty years. In the interval Arakan became a battle-ground for the armies of Pegu and Burma, and each king in turn placed his own nominee on the throne of Arakan, the last ruler of the series being a Talaing. Nazir Shah, king of Bengal, in 1430 undertook

to restore Min Saw Mun, and after one failure succeeded. Min Saw Mun founded a new capital at Myauk-u or Arakan city (Myohaung), and ruled as the vassal of Bengal.

The brother and successor of Min Saw Mun, known as Min Khari or Ali Khan, rejected the suzerainty of Bengal and annexed part of the territory of Chittagong. His son, Ba Saw Pyu, who came to the throne in 1459, captured the Chittagonian capital. Then followed a period of murders and usurpations. Min Bin came to the throne in 1531, the year following the accession of Tabin Shwehti to the throne of Taungu. The Arakanese king foresaw the invasion of his own kingdom and made preparations for its defence. The capital was fortified, and an army was sent south to oppose the invaders. Another army was sent to help in the defence of Prome in 1541, but it was routed by Bayin Naung. In 1544, through the treachery of the governor of Sandoway, Tabin Shwehti's troops occupied that town but could not advance northwards. Two years later Tabin Shwehti himself appeared in Arakan and drove the enemy before him as far as the walls of Myauk-u, which was too strong to be captured by assault. The two kings came to terms, and the governor of Sandoway was pardoned for his treason. The Burmese army then returned to Pegu in 1546. A Burmese army, sent by sea against Arakan, encamped at Sandoway in 1580, but was withdrawn a year later on the death of Bayin Naung.

To avenge the last invasion, Min Razagyi, king of Arakan, sent a fleet in 1596 under the command of his son, Min Khamaung, to assist the rebels who were destroying the Burmese empire. The Arakanese prince captured Syriam and left a garrison in the fort. A Portuguese menial in the royal household, Philip de Brito, whose ability had enabled him to rise to a position of trust, was appointed the king's agent at Syriam, and by treachery secured the fort and

held it for a time as a Portuguese factory, but soon conceived the idea of becoming ruler of Pegu. The first attempt to recover Syriam was unsuccessful, and Min Khamaung was captured. A very heavy ransom was paid for his release. De Brito was overthrown by the Burmese in 1613, and cruelly put to death.

Another Portuguese adventurer, Gonzales by name, became famous at this time as a leader of Portuguese pirates, large numbers of whom lived by plundering the coasts of Bengal, Chittagong and Arakan, and Asiatic vessels at sea. These pirates had their headquarters at Dianga, twenty miles south of Chittagong. The Arakanese king, Min Razagyi, stormed Dianga in 1607 and slaughtered most of the inhabitants. Gonzales was amongst those who escaped. Two years later he seized several small islands at the mouth of the Megna, and married the sister of the governor of Chittagong, who, having quarrelled with his brother, the king of Arakan, fled to the islands of the pirates for refuge. Gonzales had him poisoned, and seized his treasure. Razagyi was now forced to make alliance with Gonzales to repel an attack by the governor of Bengal, who was bent on recovering the territory which the Arakanese had seized. The Mogul troops were driven back, and the Arakanese strengthened their hold on Chittagong. Gonzales now treacherously murdered the Arakanese captains at a conference and seized their ships. The arrival of fresh troops from Bengal forced the king to retreat to Myauk-u. Here Gonzales' nephew, who had been given as a hostage to Razagyi, was put to death, and Gonzales, by way of revenge, made a raid up the Kaladan river. Min Khamaung became king in 1612 and determined to crush Gonzales. The latter made an alliance with the Portuguese viceroy of Goa, who sent a fleet against Arakan in 1615. Gonzales joined it, but the Arakanese, aided by some

Dutch ships, repelled the attack. About two years later Min Khamaung attacked the pirate stronghold on the island of Sandip, at the mouth of the Megna, and destroyed it. Most of the pirates were killed; Gonzales escaped, but was never heard of again. Min Khamaung next invaded Bengal and extended his conquests as far as Dacca. The Arakanese still remember with pride his useless victories in the outlying provinces of the Mogul empire, and regard him as a national hero. He died in 1622.

Thiri Thudhamma Raza, son of Min Khamaung, succeeded him and ruled for sixteen years. He exacted tribute from Dacca and interfered in the affairs of Burma. In 1629 he sent an army to assist Min-re-deippa, whose uncles had combined to deprive him of his throne, but the assistance arrived too late. The army carried off to Arakan the bell which Maha Dhamma Raza hung at his palace gate. When the British conquered Arakan in 1825 this bell was taken to India by a native officer.

The succeeding reigns were marked by no event of importance, until Sanda Thudhamma came to the throne in 1652. During his reign Shah Shuja, defeated in the struggle for power by his brother, Aurungzeb, fled to Arakan for protection. The Indian prince, having refused to give his daughter in marriage to the Arakanese king, was put to death with all his family. Aided by the Portuguese the Arakanese plundered Bengal as far as Dacca, but the governor of Bengal induced the Portuguese by presents of money and land to leave the service of Sanda Thudhamma and ultimately defeated him. Chittagong, which had been first captured by Ba Saw Pyu in 1459, lost again fifty years later, and again recaptured by Min Bin about 1548, was now besieged by the governor of Bengal and taken in 1666. The Arakanese were thus finally expelled from the country north of Ramu. Sanda Thudhamma died in 1684.

Those followers of Shah Shuja who had not fallen in defence of their master were taken into the service of the Arakanese king as a bodyguard of archers. They were increased in number by the addition of recruits from India, and during the period of disorder which followed the death of Sanda Thudhamma they elected and deposed kings at their will. In twenty-two years they appointed ten kings. Then an Arakanese, Maha Danda Bo, gathered a number of adherents and broke their power. In 1710 he made himself king with the title of Sanda Wizaya. During his reign incursions were made into the territory of Bengal, and an army invaded Burma and occupied Prome, but in neither case was any permanent result achieved.

Sanda Wizaya was deposed by his son-in-law after a reign of twenty-one years. The only events of importance from this time to the conquest of Arakan by Bodawpaya in 1784 were the great earthquakes in 1761 and 1762, which were believed to foretell the downfall of the kingdom. The state of the country may be inferred from the list of kings who followed Sanda Thudhamma. In a hundred years twenty-five kings came to the throne, and of these eight were usurpers. The country was ripe for conquest and offered no formidable resistance to Bodawpaya; but the substitution of Burmese for Arakanese rule was of little advantage to the kingdom of Arakan, and thousands of Arakanese sought refuge in British territory. Finally, during the war of 1824-1826 Arakan was occupied by the British, and at the close of the war it was transferred to the British crown. Under British rule it has enjoyed a century of peace and prosperity, and during the interval between the first and second Burmese wars many Burmans entered Arakan by the An pass from Upper Burma to escape from the misrule of the Burmese kings.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT UNDER THE
ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY.

THE basis of the Burmese system of government was the despotic power of the king. Theoretically the land was his property and his subjects were his slaves, obliged to serve him in war, to maintain his court in royal state, and to pay such taxes and special contributions as he might demand. His subjects could not leave the country without his permission, and such permission was given only for a temporary purpose. Women were not allowed to leave the country at all, and this prohibition applied to the daughters of European residents by Burmese mothers.

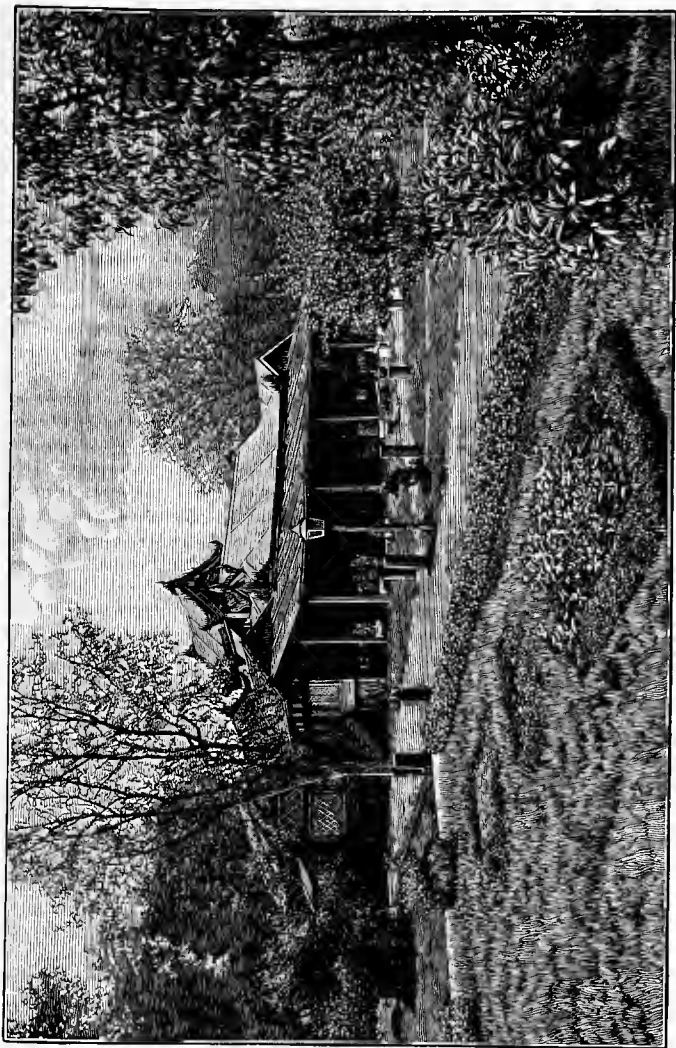
In the work of government the king was assisted by two councils and numerous officials. The first of these councils was called the *HLUTDAW*. It consisted usually of four *wungyi*s, but the number was occasionally raised to five or even six if a *wungyi* had to be despatched on special duty, as governor of a province, for example. This council met in a special building in the palace enclosure. The king was its nominal president and was often present at its meetings. In his absence the *Ein-she-min* or a specially nominated prince generally presided. Each *wungyi* had an assistant or *wundauk*, who sat in the council, and there were eight or more secretaries. Every royal edict was issued through the *hlutdaw* and required its nominal sanction. Each *wungyi* exercised judicial functions, and the supreme court of appeal was the *hlutdaw* collectively.

The second council was the *BYÈDAIK*, formed of the four *atwinwuns* or ministers of the palace. Nominally inferior to the *hlutdaw*, they acquired great influence through their

constant contact with the king, and advised him on all matters which were submitted to the *hlutdaw*. Like the members of the *hlutdaw*, the *atwinwvins* exercised judicial powers both singly and collectively. They had a large number of secretaries to report the proceedings of the *byedark*, note the king's orders, and report on petitions. Certain secretaries also were deputed to attend the meetings of the *hlutdaw* and report to the king.

For purposes of government the country was divided into provinces, called by the name of their chief towns and governed by a *wun*, who was the supreme judicial, executive, military, civil and revenue officer. He corresponded with the *hlutdaw*, to which he was nominally subordinate. The *wun* was very often of the royal house. Under him were the *akunwun* or tax collector, an *akaukwun* or collector of customs, and in the maritime provinces a *yewun* or port officer. The districts and villages were governed respectively by *myothugyis* or town-headmen, and *ywathugyis* or village-headmen. Before the minor officials only civil cases were tried; serious criminal cases were tried by the *wun*. In each provincial town was a civil court under a civil judge or *tayathugyi*; in the capital was a *tayamathugyi* or civil chief judge, but much of his power was usurped by the two councils. In each provincial court there was also a *sitkè* or police magistrate, who was responsible for the preservation of order. The *myowun* of the capital had police jurisdiction in the neighbourhood of Amarapura, Ava, and Sagaing. Piracy was so prevalent on the Irawadi that a special *yewun* or *myitsinwun* was appointed in charge of the river police with power of life and death.

In addition to these higher officers there was a host of minor officials in charge of the forests, ordnance, revenue, etc. Each of the four chief queens had her own ministers



THE HLUTDAW OR PRIVY COUNCIL CHAMBER, MANDALAY.

and household. When a district was assigned to a royal prince or favourite, or to an official in lieu of salary, the person to whom the district was assigned, called *myosa*, appointed his own subordinates to collect his revenues. Before the reign of Mindon Min officials were paid no salaries, but collected what they could from the taxpayer. Every lawsuit of any kind offered opportunities for the extraction of heavy fees, and taxes largely in excess of the amount required by the government were levied in order to provide for the officials who gathered them. Appointments were revocable at the will of the king, though *myothugyi*-ships tended to become hereditary. Every official therefore made the most of his opportunities for plunder. It is not surprising that under this system justice was perverted and police duties were negligently carried out. Robbery and piracy were frequent, and dacoits very often paid toll to high officials in order to secure immunity from punishment. Only monks were exempt from these extortions and from the duties incumbent on the rest of the nation. Even the outcastes—pagoda slaves, burners of the dead, lepers, incurables, maimed and mutilated persons, and others—were under the jurisdiction of the *lesowun*, who assessed their villages for taxation and extorted money from persons of wealth, whom a scar or a patch of leucoderma might bring under suspicion of being leprous and render liable to confinement in the settlements of outcastes.

The army. No regular army was maintained, but troops were levied for an expedition as occasion arose. The number of the levy was fixed by royal mandate, and each governor was ordered to supply his quota. The villages were divided into groups of houses, and each group had to supply one or more men. Those were selected for preference who had wives and families to leave behind as security for their good behaviour. Cowardice or insubor-

dination might be punished by the imprisonment or execution of the soldier and his family. Those who were unwilling to serve could purchase exemption by contributions to the war fund. Each soldier received a certain amount of rice and money proportionate to the time which the expedition was expected to last. This was provided by the group of houses to which he belonged. If the expedition was prolonged the villages might be called upon for a fresh contribution; little of that, as a rule, reached the army, and the soldier in the field lived by plunder. Arms and ammunition were provided from the royal treasury, usually on the most meagre scale. Many of the troops were armed only with the spear and the dah which they carried in ordinary civil life. In some districts special customs grew up. Some of these are described by Colonel Yule. Prome is said to have provided 1500 volunteers, who were always ready for service and were maintained at the public expense. When it was found necessary to have a small permanent force at the capital, certain villages were charged with the duty of providing contingents, and were exempt from all other service and taxation. Certain townships along the river were called upon to furnish war-boats as well as men.

Badly armed and badly led, the Burmese soldier fought bravely and proved himself superior in war to all his immediate neighbours. He acquitted himself creditably against Indian regular troops, but failed, as others have done, to face British bayonets. But the natural bravery and dash of the Burmese soldier was balanced by lack of discipline and combination. At the time when Bandula was making his bold stand against the British power, and performing feats of which the Burman still boasts, evasions of military duty were so frequent that the ordinary methods of conscription broke down, and recruits had to be bribed

with bounties of one hundred and fifty rupees to undertake military service. The recruits so obtained were for the most part rogues and vagabonds from the streets of the capital.

Revenue. The only regular revenues were import and export duties, and the produce of the royal monopolies, namely mines, earth oil, and teak. These were sometimes assigned in part to members of the royal family or ministers. The mines were also sometimes let out on contract, but every ruby or sapphire worth over one hundred rupees had to be deposited in the royal treasury. Under the later kings were added regular taxes on fisheries, fruit trees, ngapi, salt, etc., and the royal monopolies were extended so as to include most of the regular articles of commerce. This extension of monopolies formed one of the chief points of dispute between the British and Burmese governments. When an expedition was on foot, a pagoda to be built or repaired, or a canal or tank to be dug, a special cess was levied on the whole country. From this cess the capital and the districts immediately attached to it were exempt. The cess took the form of a house tax, and the amount was fixed according to the object for which it was intended. Each levy was made the occasion of extortion by the district officials. The Karens of Lower Burma enjoyed a special position. Each tribe or village was assessed according to the estimated number of families it contained, and a fixed poll tax was paid annually at a much higher rate than the irregular cess levied from the Burmese. In return the Karens were granted freedom from military service and all forced labour, such as the building of pagodas or the digging of tanks and canals. Not until Mindon Min's reign was any attempt made to apply a similar system to the Burmese. Extortion was nominally prohibited, but the prohibition was rarely enforced. A governor accused of

extortion could generally purchase freedom from punishment by making over his gains to a powerful minister or a favourite queen. Those districts which were assigned to a minister or a member of the royal family paid to him a tithe of their produce over and above the ordinary taxes and cess.

Society. There was no hereditary nobility, no class of hereditary officials in Burma, to check the absolute power of the king. Every official, from the highest to the lowest, was removable at the royal pleasure. And every subject of the king, except a slave or outcaste, might hope to attain the highest position in the state. Even the slave, provided he were not attached to the service of a pagoda, might earn his freedom and share the chance of power. The element of chance lent zest to life; for the Burman is by instinct as confirmed a gambler as the Chinaman. A degree of oppression which in many countries would have provoked a national rising, in Burma produced only brigandage or occasional attempts at usurpation. The usurper had no intention of introducing reforms, but merely hoped to compensate himself and his supporters at the expense of his fellow-sufferers. Even the atrocities of Pagan Min in the capital were endured for three years before his subjects rose and demanded the lives of his brutal favourites. The massacres of princes of the blood, which so often followed the accession of a new king, and which reached their culminating point in Thibaw's reign, did not affect the subjects of the king, who felt themselves in no personal danger. The Buddhist prayer for deliverance from "the three calamities, the four states of punishment, and the five enemies," classes officials with fire, water, robbers, and ill-wishers. But in a country where life is maintained with very little effort, and there is little incentive to accumulate wealth, the rapacity of the governor

was tolerated by the mass of the population. The restless few hoped to join, and often succeeded in joining, the official class. In the country districts communications were not easy and the population was scattered. An organized rebellion would therefore have been difficult. In the capital and its environs the odious cess was not levied, and the people enjoyed better administration and greater powers of appeal against injustice. So that where a rising on a considerable scale would have been possible, the temptation was absent. And there seems to be no doubt that, down to the end of the eighteenth century at anyrate, the peasantry of any country in Europe might reasonably have envied the lot of the Burmese cultivator, in spite of all that is said above.

Some writers have emphasized the non-progressive character of the Burmese. Mr. G. H. Parker says: "The history of Europe and even of China exhibits from era to era the progress of art, literature, popular and municipal rights and institutions, maritime and manufacturing enterprise, invention and discovery, court luxury, aristocratic refinement, philosophy, public buildings, histrionic displays, and innumerable other matters of human interest. But the native-ruled Burma of to-day was, until we took it, precisely the Burma of the T'ang dynasty (ninth century A.D.) unless perhaps retrograded and more corrupt. The Burmese of the kingdom of Ava, like those of to-day and those of earlier times, did little and left little, if anything, for the benefit of mankind in general." And Colonel Yule remarks: "It is curious to see how exactly the description of Pegu given by Master Caesar Fredericke as it existed in 1567 corresponds with the present state of Amarapura." The accusation is true in the main. The history of Burma is a recital of incessant wars, not an account of progress. What would have been of absorbing

interest, the history of the gradual spread of Buddhism and its victory over rival creeds, has been lost. But the arrested development of civilisation is a fact of common remark in all Oriental countries. In Burma there were special reasons for lack of progress. The incentives to exertion which in cold climates rouse even the laziest to some display of energy are in Burma entirely absent. In Europe a certain amount of gear is essential to the mere preservation of life. In Burma the roughest shelter and a shred of clothing suffice. In Europe, and even in India, crops are obtained by dint of severe labour, and provision must be made against years of scarcity. In Burma the slightest scratching of the soil is sufficient, and famine is almost unknown. The ambition which prompts the European of ample means "to scorn delights and live laborious days" is alien to the Burmese character and religion, and under the political and social conditions of Burma would have been futile. There was no hereditary aristocracy, so that it was impossible to found a family. By Buddhist law a man might not make a will; his property was divided according to fixed and elaborate rules amongst his surviving relatives. Even the power of accumulated wealth was therefore denied him. A sumptuary law inspired by fear of rebellion forbade the Burmese subjects of the king to build houses of stone or brick, which might be used as fortresses in times of civil disturbance. The Burman was thus prevented from displaying his wealth and taste in magnificent mansions; nor was it prudent to store treasures of jewelry or art in wooden buildings open to any thief who chose to enter by night, and liable to be consumed in one of the periodic fires that lay waste Burmese towns. Such display, too, would have marked out a man as a suitable object for spoliation by the king or his officials. It remained therefore for the wealthy Burman to limit his

display to some ostentation in dress, and to spend the balance of his fortune in the building of pagodas and in other works of merit, so securing for himself progress towards Nirvana. At least his methods were consistent with the Buddhist doctrine, which he repeated regularly before the image of the Master ; “ All is vexation, impermanence, unreality.”

Under the Burmese kings the accumulation of wealth, except in the royal treasury, was impossible for the reasons given above. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of subjects was limited by the Buddhist law of inheritance to the period of a single life, and restricted in amount by the king's rapacity. Only the king therefore could undertake works for which considerable capital was required. The great pagodas and monasteries, the artificial lakes and irrigation canals, disprove to some extent the accusation of the critic quoted above, who is himself constrained to admit the excellence of Burmese architecture. There are not wanting signs that under the influence of western ideas the Burman is learning to reconcile his religion with progress, and his future may justify the intense interest which he inspires in those Europeans who know him best.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CHIEF EVENTS.

Foundation of Kyaukpadaung in Arakan,	B.C. 825
Destruction of Tagaung,	} between B.C. 600-550
Foundation of Old Pagan,	
Foundation of Prome,	B.C. 483
Downfall of the kingdom of Prome,	A.D. 9
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Chanda Suriya king of Arakan,	146
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Foundation of Pegu (Hanthawadi),	573
Burmese Era inaugurated by Thinga Raza,	639
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Alaungsithu king of Pagan,	1085
Alaungsithu invades Arakan,	1102
Talaing invasion of Arakan,	1243
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Ava founded by Thadominbya,	1364
Razadirit king of Pegu,	1385
Min Khaung king of Burma,	1400
Shans sack Ava,	1526
Min Bin king of Arakan,	1531
Tabin Shwehti king of Taungu,	1536
Tabin Shwehti captures Pegu,	1539
Bayin Naung, king of Taungu, conquers Pegu,	1551
Bayin Naung captures Ava,	1554
Bayin Naung captures Ayuthia,	1564
De Brito seizes Syriam,	1600

Thado Dhamma Raza king of all Burma,	1632
Chinese invade Burma and attack Ava, -	1659
Pegu revolts from Burma,	1740
Byinnya Dala king of Pegu,	1746
Talaings capture Ava,	1752
Alaungpaya seizes Ava, -	1753
Alaungpaya captures Rangoon,	1755
Alaungpaya captures Pegu, -	1757
Alaungpaya invades Siam,	1760
Chinese wars,	1765 to 1769
Bodawpaya conquers Arakan,	1784
Symes' first embassy,	1795
British declare war on Burma,	1824
British capture Rangoon,	1824
British conquer Arakan,	1825
Treaty of Yandabo,	1826
Second Anglo-Burmese war begins,	April, 1852
Annexation of Pegu,	December, 1852
Yule's embassy,	- 1855
Mandalay made the capital,	1860
Thibaw king,	1878
Massacre of the princes,	1879
Third Anglo-Burmese war,	1885
Upper Burma annexed, -	Jan. 1st, 1886

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