



**Note:**

We include below the complete diary portion of John Crawfurd's account of the embassy he headed to the Burmese court in 1826 and 1827, introduced by Crawfurd's dedication. This account was originally published (with the misleading attribution of the embassy to 1827).

*Journal of an Embassy From the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava, in the Year 1827, by John Crawfurd, Esq., FRS. FLS. FGS., &c. Late Envoy. With an Appendix, Containing a Description of Fossil Remains, by Professor Buckland and Mr. Clift (London: Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street. 1829).*

M. W. C.

---

**Journal of An Embassy From the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava**

**John Crawfurd**

Civil Commissioner, Rangoon  
& Envoy to the Court of Ava

To His Majesty King George the Fourth,

May it Please Your Majesty; I humbly hope that a faithful account of barbarous countries suffering under slavery and superstition may be no unwelcome offering to the Sovereign

of the greatest of free nations. In contemplating the unhappy lot of Tyrants, debased and corrupted by the absolute power which they are doomed to exercise, your Majesty may see new reason to be gratified with that constitutional exertion of authority by which you redress the grievances of your subjects, and enlarge the fabric of civil and religious liberty, for the preservation of which the illustrious House of Brunswick was called to the Throne of Great Britain.

May I presume to add that the Dedication of this Work is peculiarly due to Your Majesty, inasmuch as the materials for it were collected in the service of the British Government in India, where a comparison of the condition of the people of the British territories with that of the subjects of the surrounding States, is sufficient to show the beneficial power of the English Constitution, even in its remote and faint influence; and to awaken sanguine hopes of the blessings which await your Indian subjects, when the benefits of that Constitution shall be fully and directly imparted to them under your Majesty's paternal administration.

I have the honour to be, Sire, Your Majesty's faithful Subject,

John Crawford

### **September 1, 1826**

I had resided at Rangoon for above six months, as Civil Commissioner on the part of the British Government, when I received instructions to proceed on an embassy to Ava. My companions were Lieutenant Chester, assistant to the Envoy; Dr. Steward, Medical Officer; Lieutenant Cox, of His Majesty's Service, commanding the escort; Lieutenant de Montmorency, of the Quarter-Master-General's department; and Mr. Judson, of the American Missionary Society, translator and interpreter. I had also the great advantage of the society of Dr. Wallich, Superintendent of the Government Botanical Garden at Calcutta, deputed to accompany me for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the resources of the forests of Pegu and Ava, as well as of those of our recently acquired possessions to the south of the Saluen river.

The *Diana*, of about one hundred and thirty tons burthen, the first steam-vessel which ever appeared in India, and which had proved so eminently serviceable during the Burman war, was appointed for our personal accommodation. We had besides, five Burman boats for the accommodation and conveyance of some of the writers and draftsmen, our baggage, and the presents from the Governor-General to the Burmese Court. The escort consisted of twenty-eight picked grenadiers and light infantry of His Majesty's 87th regiment, and fifteen picked Sepoy grenadiers. The Europeans of the escort were accommodated on board the steam-vessel, and the Sepoys on board the native boats. The object of the Mission is sufficiently described in my Instructions, which will be found in the Appendix.

The heaviest baggage-boats having proceeded up the river some days, and three of what we supposed the lightest, a few hours before ourselves, we embarked on the *Diana*, on the afternoon of the 1st of September, and in the course of the evening weighed anchor and commenced our journey. We rested for the night, at a place called, by the English, Pagoda Point. This is a low tongue of land which separates, just at their confluence, the two branches of the Irawadi, those of Lain and Panlang, which form the Rangoon river. It is nearly visible from the town of Rangoon. As a military position, Pagoda Point is remarkably strong, and an enemy of any military skill or spirit might have fortified and defended it in such a manner, as to have rendered this route the only good one to the upper provinces and capital by water, quite impassable for an invading force. The Burmans, shortly after the arrival of our army at Rangoon, had fortified it after their fashion; erecting a stockade on the Point,—one on the right bank of the Panlang, and one on the left of the Lain river, neither of which streams are here above one hundred and fifty yards broad. Sir Archibald Campbell attacked these stockades, on the 8th of July 1824, with the gun-boats of the expedition, carrying a detachment of European and native troops. The stockades were cannonaded for some hours. This was the practice in the commencement of the war, until it was found that the Burmese wanted courage to face the close attack of the Europeans, and that they invariably took to flight when closed with. After this discovery, the mode followed was to run up to the stockades at once, place the ladders against them, and scale. A few casualties occurred in the advance; but the seating-ladders were

scarcely placed, when the Burmans abandoned their works, and except when accident prevented their escape, an occurrence which happened on a few occasions only, they sustained little loss. From the personal intrepidity of the European troops, and their physical strength, they were peculiarly well suited for this mode of attack. Neither the moral nor physical energy of the Sepoys was found so suitable. In the attack on Pagoda Point, the European soldiers had scarcely landed, when the Burmans abandoned their stockades, and took to flight. The casualties on our side were very few, nor did the Burmese sustain any considerable loss.

On the same day with the attack on Pagoda Point, the 8th of July, took place one of the most important affairs of the Burmese war, an affair which first convinced the Burmans of their infinite inferiority to European troops. The principal Burman force was encamped at Kamarot, a place about seven miles distant from Rangoon, where they had thrown up a series of stockades. The Kyi Wungyi, the commander in chief, whose tardiness in not driving the invaders out of the country was complained of at Court, had been superseded by Thaongba Wungyi, described as a brave but rash man. He had not been above three days in command of the army, when his entrenched camp was attacked at a moment when he was preparing, according to his own belief, a formidable assault on the British lines. The escalade was so sudden, that the Burmese had no time to escape, and a great number of them perished, Thaongba Wungyi himself among the number. The report of this affair at Ava, as was afterwards well ascertained, struck the Court with consternation; and then, for the first time, it seemed to repent of its rashness in entering into the war.

### **September 3, 1826**

At day-break, yesterday morning we left Pagoda Point, and in the course of the forenoon overtook the boats which had left Rangoon some hours before us, as well as a number of Burman trading-boats, that, on account of the numerous banditti which at the time infested the narrow channel of the Panlang branch of the river, were anxious to take advantage of our safe convoy. At five in the evening we reached the village of Panlang (Panleng), the place which gives name to this branch of the Irawadi. Two small branches of the river, navigable during the rains, strike off at this

point: the one running to the East communicating with the Lain branch; and that proceeding to the West, with the river of Bassien. The village of Panlang, at present perhaps not exceeding one hundred houses, is scattered over the several points of land at the bifurcation of these streams. It was the scene of one of the most decisive victories of Alompra over the Peguans, in the year 1755. In February 1825, the place had been strongly stockaded by the Burmese; but, on the approach of General Cotton's division, was abandoned without resistance. Several boats came alongside the steam-vessel; and among our visitors were two chiefs, who had taken an active and friendly part with, us, during the war. One of them said, that it was unsafe for him to remain in the country, and that he had every thing ready to emigrate, along with the English, to our new settlements to the south of the Saluen river. We anchored for the night a few miles above the village of Panlang. This branch of the Irawadi is notorious for being infested with swarms of musquitoes: they were extremely troublesome last night; and our servants, who had no protection against them, did not get a wink of sleep. We met in the course of the day five gun-boats, and took two of them along with us as far as Henzada, having on board a detachment of an officer and twenty European soldiers.

#### **September 4, 1826**

We had taken in tow two of the luggage-boats; which so greatly impeded the progress of the steam-vessel, that we did not reach the Irawadi until this morning at nine o'clock. Its first appearance is not striking; and even now, in the height of the rains, it scarcely appeared a mile broad. The first village, upon its left bank, is Yangain-cham-yah (Ran-gen-san-ra), now a very trifling place, but before the war a populous village.

The Panlang river, from Pagoda Point to the Irawadi, is about sixty miles in length; has a very tortuous course, and varies in breadth from eighty to one hundred and fifty yards. For about half its course, or to the village of Panlang, the influence of the tides is felt during the freshes, but in the dry season as far as the Irawadi itself. The water, however, at all times is fresh and potable even at Panlang. The least depth which we had, in passing through, was two and a half fathoms, and this was only upon some sand-banks near the point where it issues from the Irawadi. Generally we had

from three to four fathoms. In the dry season, the least water upon the sand-banks now mentioned is five feet. This shows that the rise and fall of the river, in this part of its course, is ten feet. The country from Rangoon throughout is a low champaign. As far as the tide reaches, it is covered with a thick forest of moderate-sized trees, among which the most frequent and remarkable are the *Sonneratia Apetala* and *Heritiera Fomes*. Here and there, there were a few grassy plains. As soon as the influence of the tides ceased, the character of the vegetation altered very greatly. The country was then generally covered with a tall, rushy grass, a species of *Saccharum*, among which were scattered trees of from twenty to sixty feet high, without any underwood. Of these trees, the most common and striking were the *Acacia elata*, the *Lagerstroemia reglinæ*, a species of *Butea*, and a species of *Dillenia*. This last was the tree which our countrymen had frequently observed during the war, and, on account of some resemblance in the size and shape of the leaf, denominated bastard teak.

The appearance of inhabitants and cultivation was extremely scanty. Here and there, on the immediate banks, were a few villages of Talain fishermen. The Karian (Karen) villages, somewhat more frequent, were to be seen now and then in the interior only, with a few patches of rich culture about them. The only culture of any extent was that of the banana, of which we saw extensive groves close to the river-side. The fruit was of a very indifferent quality, and the plant very carelessly grown—being intermixed with the tall grass already mentioned to such a degree, that we at first imagined that it was in a state of nature. There can be no question but the soil is fertile and suited to the production of grain, especially beyond the reach of the tides. The situation also possesses great advantages for irrigation. The banks on both sides are obviously a foot or two above the level of the surrounding country: and thus, in the season of the rains, the circumstance may be taken advantage of for watering the land to a great extent. This, in fact, has been done to some degree towards the north-west extremity of the river, where we saw a number of recently cut canals, carrying a full stream of water to fields in the neighbourhood.

**September 5, 1826**

At five in the evening we arrived at Donabew (Danubyu), twenty miles above the entrance of the Panlang river. Here we overtook such of our boats as had not already joined us. A little way below this place, we were overtaken by a dispatch-boat from Rangoon, which it had left on the 2nd. On board of her was a Burmese officer, who had brought a letter from the Wungyi, and future Governor of Rangoon, now residing at Henzada, to the British Commissioners. I had the reply with me, and, at his request, delivered it to this person, who would certainly reach before ourselves. The village of Donabew was by far the largest we had seen, and consisted of one long row of houses, extending along the very brink of the river, which here and elsewhere was full to the level of its banks; although the latter, in the dry season, are twenty feet from the water. Near Donabew was to be seen an extent of rice culture much beyond what I had observed in any other part of Pegu. Below the village, there was one field extending along the river-side for at least two miles, which was in some places a mile in depth. We observed that the practice of transplanting was followed.

At Donabew the British force received the only serious check which it met with during the war. Bandula, the Burman commander, after being repeatedly foiled or beaten before Rangoon, retired to this place in December 1824, and, in the interval between that and the beginning of March following, had erected field-works more formidable and extensive than we had at that time encountered, or indeed did encounter at any future period of the war; and in these he had collected a numerous force. We examined the remains of these works, which were already, in the short space of eighteen months, as much overgrown and obscured by rank weeds, as half a century would have made them in Europe. The principal work was a square fort of earth, supported by palisades; its river face, and that corresponding to it, being scarcely less than a mile in length. The flanks were probably not above half this extent. This fortification, with the exception of the river face, was surrounded by a ditch of tolerable depth, and about twenty feet broad. The river face was protected by a deep *abattis*, which constituted the strongest part of the works. Within, there were dug numerous pits, covered over with trunks of trees, to protect the besieged from the effects of our shells and rockets. A chain of redoubts, extending for half a mile below the fort, connected it with a group of seven or eight temples. The force

which defended these works was estimated at twenty thousand men. Our commanders, unacquainted at the time with the nature of the country, as well as with the movements of the enemy, considered Donabew only as a petty post. Sir Archibald Campbell had consequently passed it with the main column, and proceeded two marches beyond Sarwah, when he received news of our repulse. The capture of Donabew had been left to Brigadier-general Cotton, with the water-column of the force. On the 7th of March, he attacked the place with about seven hundred men. The group of pagodas was captured; but the European troops, who were less steady than usual, were repulsed in attempting to penetrate the *abattis*, and lost their two commanders, the captains of the flank companies of His Majesty's 89th regiment, who were bravely attempting to lead the troops into the works. General Cotton, upon this repulse, retired to a large island in the Irawadi, a few miles below Donabew, and there continued until the retrograde movement of General Campbell brought him to Donabew in the end of March. The place was then regularly besieged, batteries having been erected on the island within a few hundred yards of the north-east angle of the fort. The fate of Donabew was truly characteristic of the rude warfare of the Burmans, and of the character of the government and people. An accidental shell, one of half a dozen discharged as an experiment to ascertain the range of our mortars, and before our fire had regularly opened, killed Bandula, as he lay reclining upon a couch. The Burman chiefs offered the command to his brother, who refused it; upon which the troops forthwith abandoned the place, and dispersed. Bandula's brother fled to Ava, where he found an order ready for his execution; and was, in fact, put to death for refusing the command, as well as for his flight, within a short half hour of his arrival at his own house in Ava.

Bandula, at the time of his death, was about forty-five years of age. Mr. Judson, who had seen him, described him to me as a man of striking features and handsome person. He had a remarkable character for a Burmese courtier: he was said to be honest, and his military reputation was higher than that of any of the Burmese chiefs. He was a strict disciplinarian, and celebrated amongst the Burmans for what, among all the military virtues, they set incomparably the highest value upon,—skill in stratagem. His military fame was acquired in the conquest of Assam, and



latterly by the advantages he gained over our native troops on the Arracan frontier. Flushed with former successes, and totally miscalculating the strength and resources of the new enemy he had to deal with, he assumed the command of the Burman troops before Rangoon with great confidence; but in the sequel did nothing worthy of his former reputation, or indeed any thing to distinguish him from the crowd of ordinary commanders. Like other Burmese leaders, he no where exposed his person; and after his defeat at Rangoon, on the 9th of December, his flight was so precipitate, that he never halted, but to sleep or eat, until he reached Donabew. At this place he maintained discipline amongst his troops by those brutal and rigorous practices which are so congenial to the character of the Government. One of his principal commanders was a commandant of the palace, an officer of high rank. This person, who had been guilty of some breach of discipline, or disobedience of orders, he caused to be put to death, by sawing him asunder,—the body of the sufferer being, for this purpose, placed between two planks.

### **September 6, 1826**

We stopped all day at Donabew, laying in a supply of firewood, and waiting the arrival of the two gun-boats, which had been unable to keep up with us. At day-break this morning, after writing letters and dispatches for Bengal and Rangoon, we proceeded on our journey. We found the stream rapid, running probably not less than four miles an hour, and had no wind to assist the boats. The weather was generally clear, and we had very little rain. When calm, it was sultry, and the thermometer occasionally rose to ninety degrees. More generally, however, it did not exceed eighty-three degrees, and the nights were cool and agreeable. Impeded in our progress by a heavy accommodation-boat which we had in tow, and finding it dangerous, when it became dark, to approach the shore, for the purpose of avoiding the most rapid part of the current, we were compelled to come to an anchor late in the evening, two miles below the village of Lethakong.

### **September 7, 1826**

Struggling against the stream, this morning, between eight and nine o'clock, we struck upon a sand-bank in the middle of the river but got off in half an hour, without injury. Yesterday, the range of hills called in our maps Galladzet,—a name not known, however, to the Burmans,— were in sight, to the east; and to-day both these and branches of the Arracan mountains were visible, the latter lying north-west of us. The breadth of the valley of the Irawadi, even here, is therefore very inconsiderable. From the mouth of the Panlang river, up to Lethakong, both banks of the Irawadi are covered every where with a narrow belt of the tall reedy grass, already mentioned. Behind this belt is a thick and continuous forest of middling-sized trees, commonly from twenty to forty feet high. The most frequent of these was the *Acacia elata*, already mentioned. Last evening, a Myosaré, or Town-Secretary, in a four-and-twenty-oared boat, came down to us from the Wungyi, to ascertain how far we had got, and when we might be expected at Henzada. To-day another dispatch-boat came for the same purpose.

### **September 8, 1826**

We reached Lethakong (Fine-breeze Hill) yesterday, at about twelve o'clock. This is a small village, of which the immediate neighbourhood is somewhat higher than the surrounding land; whence its name, which, at the present moment, was peculiarly inapplicable; for there was not a breath of air stirring, and the village was flooded by the rise of the river, so that the inhabitants were seen wading from one house to another. At this place we were obliged to remain all day, waiting for the gun-boats and our baggage, which had taken a short cut by a narrow branch of the river, which, commencing about five miles above Donabew, joins the Irawadi at the village of Lethakong. We took the opportunity of this delay to replenish our stock of wood. Old teak was obtained for this purpose at a cheap price; and forms so good a fuel, that our engineers gave it a preference to Indian coals. Our servants brought us from the market a supply of fresh fish, among which was the Cockup (The *Coius vacti* of Buchanan Hamilton), although we could not be less now than a hundred and twenty miles from the sea; and this is considered a fish of salt water only. Fish in various forms, and of every species, without exception, which the

country affords, form an essential portion of the food of all classes of the Burmans. The Irawadi and its branches afford an abundant supply, not only of ordinary kinds, but of several delicate varieties. Besides the cockup, one of the best Indian fishes, there is to be found at Rangoon abundance of mango fish (*Polynemus risua* of Buchanan Hamilton), from April to September, and what is called whiting (*Bola Pama* of Buchanan Hamilton) in Calcutta, the Rohu, and the Katla (*Cyprinus Rohita* and *Cyprinus Catla* of Buchanan Hamilton), with the mullet, and abundance of prawns, at all seasons. In some parts of the river, the sable (*Clupanodon ilisha* of Buchanan Hamilton), the richest fish of India, is to be found, but not in abundance; or, more probably, the art of taking it is not understood by the Burmese fishermen.

We arrived at Henzada between twelve and one o'clock. A few miles before reaching this place, we were met and escorted by a war-boat, and four accommodation-boats, carrying two chiefs, with gold umbrellas, and their retainers. One of the chiefs was an Ex-Myowun, or governor, of Bassien; and the other, the intended Akunwun, or collector of land revenue, of Henzawadi, or Pegu. They were importunate in their endeavours to persuade us, on the part of the Wungyi, that we ought to wait at Henzada for a formal invitation from the Court; which might be expected in four or five days, as thirteen days ago intimation of the Mission had been sent to Ava. Between Donabew and Henzada we saw no marks either of commercial or agricultural industry. The villages are small, and very few in number; and some trifling patches of rice culture only were to be seen here and there. From the nature, however, of this cultivation, as well as of the country in which it is carried on, the vestiges of culture are indeed so much obliterated in a single season, by the rapid growth of the tall reedy grass already mentioned, that its amount might in reality be greater than was apparent to us. In a few spots we saw the grass recently cut down, and the ground just prepared for receiving the seed. Thirty-one years ago, Colonel Symes, and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, whose manuscript journal was beside me, found the country in the same uncultivated state as I now describe it: so that the causes which operated to the prejudice of industry and improvement in their time, seem not to have ceased to influence it down to the present day. These causes are, without doubt, bad government in a thousand shapes; for the country seems to possess, in an eminent

degree, the advantages of a fertile soil, a favourable climate, and ready communication. On the banks of the Menam in Siam, as well as those of the river of Saigun in Kamboja, extensive cultivation commences ten miles above their *embouchures*. At the distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the sea, there is still no such appearance in the Irawadi. One would be tempted to believe, from this circumstance, that the Governments of Siam and Cochin China were less favourable to industry than that of Ava. But in reality, after all, I believe there is no great difference between them, the one being as bad as the other.

In the afternoon we paid a visit to the Wungyi, and were received with marked politeness and attention. A war-boat was sent to convey us. A band of music was playing as we landed, and a set of dancing-girls were exhibiting in the place where we were received. We found the great man seated under a temporary canopy erected for the occasion surrounded by five or six chiefs, the principal of whom was the intended Myowun, or Governor, of Bassien. The chief advanced to the door to meet us, and shook us cordially by the hand in the English fashion. All the Burmese chiefs, as well as the English gentlemen, were seated on chairs. The Wungyi was a man of forty-five, as he informed us himself. He was tall for a Burman; and, instead of the squat form which distinguishes the race generally, his figure was slender; his complexion, much fairer than usual; and his features, especially the nose, more distinct and better formed than common: his eyes, however, were Chinese. His manner was cheerful, unconstrained, and not undignified. He had, in short, the manners of an Asiatic gentleman. The name, or rather the title, of this personage was Maong-kaing. He had long been an Atwen-wun, or Privy-counsellor, and was raised to the rank of Wungyi towards the close of the war. In the early part of the contest he was a lieutenant under Bandula, in Arrracan; and was afterwards employed in negotiating the armistice of Nyaong-ben-saik. A curtain, behind the place where he sat, concealed the inner apartments from our view; but towards one end of it sat a handsome well-dressed young woman, full in our view, and without making any attempt to conceal her person. This was one of the junior wives of his Excellency. His principal wife had remained with his children at Ava, as a pledge; according to custom, for his loyalty. Our conversation was of a very general nature, and chiefly consisted,

on the part of the Wungyi, in attempts to persuade us to remain at Henzada, until express leave was received from the Court for our proceeding. The first question put by him, after we were seated, was an inquiry after the health of His Majesty the King of England,—no mention being then or afterwards made of the Governor-General, who had sent the Mission. This little circumstance evinced sentiments in the Burman Government, notwithstanding their defeats and humiliations, exactly corresponding with what I had experienced on the part of the Siamese and Cochin Chinese Governments. These half-civilized nations, notwithstanding their knowledge of the power of our Eastern empire, feel the utmost repugnance to placing themselves on a level with a mere viceroy. In the discussions which took place under the British cannon at Yandabo, within forty miles of the capital, and when the Government of Ava was humiliated to the last degree, the Burman Commissioners, feigning to forget that they were negotiating with the Indian Government, made difficulties about the appointment of resident ambassadors, as provided for in the treaty of peace, alleging the great distance of England from their country! It was necessary to remind them, in language not to be misunderstood, that Calcutta, and not London, was to be the place of residence of the Burman Ambassador.

In my first interview with the Siamese Minister, on my mission to that country in 1823, the servile demeanour of his officers and followers towards him, forcibly struck my companions and myself as highly offensive. In the demeanour of his officers and retainers towards the Wungyi, upon the present occasion, there was in comparison very little to offend. The former sat on chairs, and, in the discussion which ensued, offered their opinions with perfect freedom; and the latter were seated on the floor, in the usual Oriental posture, without exhibiting any constraint or embarrassment. The only exception to this was, the person charged with his Excellency's spit-box, and who, prostrate in the Siamese fashion, held the precious utensil over his head, without venturing to look upwards.

Among the crowd of inferior officers and dependents seated on the ground, some of our party, who had known him well during the war, recognized the Myosugi, or head man of the town and district of Henzada. Of the few Burman chiefs, all of them of inferior rank, who took part with us in the late contest, this

individual was by far the most active. He hoisted a British ensign in his war-boat, put on a British uniform, and frequently attacked parties of Burmans. After the treaty of Yandabo, he repaired to Ava, and made his peace with the King. The amnesty agreed upon in the treaty had hitherto been observed in regard to him; but how long this would continue, it would be difficult to say. He recognized Mr. Montmorency, but did not address him; and I requested that no notice might be taken of him, for fear of exciting the jealousy of his superiors. The secretary of the Lutdau, however, turned round and asked Mr. Montmorency if he knew "that person," pointing to the Myosugi. The latter said he had seen him before, and dropped the conversation (This person, and several other inferior chiefs, who had joined the English during the war, are understood to have been since, under various pretexts., put to death).

### **September 9, 1826**

The Wungyi returned our visit to-day, between eleven and twelve o'clock. He came in great state, in a war-boat of sixty oars, accompanied by three others, and a dozen of ordinary boats. His retinue could not be less than between four and five hundred men. He was received under an awning on the poop of the steam-vessel. He had not been long seated here, when a squall and heavy rain came on. I suggested to his Excellency the convenience of going below, which he long resisted, under the apprehension of committing his dignity by placing himself in a situation where persons might tread over his head, for this singular antipathy is common to the Burmese and Siamese. The prejudice is more especially directed against the fair sex—a pretty conclusive proof of the estimation in which they are held. His Excellency seriously demanded to know whether any woman had ever trod upon the poop; and being assured in the negative, he consented at length to enter the cabin.

He was no sooner seated here, than he entered upon the discussion of public matters; and being prepared with a written memorandum of the principal objects which he desired to introduce, he placed it on the table before him. He was assisted by a secretary of the Lutdau (Literally, the Royal Hall, or Chamber; but properly, the name of the principal Council of Ministers), another secretary, and the Akunwun of Pegu; but the first of these

took the most active share in the conversation. The first matter brought forward was the character of the Talains, or Peguans. Many of these people, who were compromised on account of the assistance rendered to us during the war, had emigrated, or were preparing to emigrate, to our newly acquired provinces to the South; and the matter, not only on account of the loss of subjects, but probably of the opportunity of revenge or extortion, was a subject of great uneasiness to the Burman Government. His Excellency maligned the character of the Talains in no measured language. He charged them with propagating false reports, tending to interrupt the friendship existing between the English and Burmans: and denounced them generally, as being by nature, and from the earliest times, a disloyal, deceitful, and perfidious people. He condescended to narrate, in illustration, two well-known legends, which did not appear to us very apposite, or judiciously chosen; although it was evident that the Wungyi had deliberately selected them for his present purpose. One of these stories related, that in ancient times a *Western stranger* (Kula), seven feet high, had visited Pegu, and challenged the bravest of the kingdom to meet him in single combat. A Talain champion presented himself. When the parties appeared in the field, the Talain said to his antagonist: "I fear you are going to practise some artifice. Some of your friends are lying in ambush behind you, and I see them there." The giant turned round to look, and the wily Talain took that opportunity to cut his head off. This story and the other, which we did not so well understand, were narrated with a very serious air. It was an object of the greatest solicitude with the Wungyi to detain the Mission at Henzada, and prevent its proceeding to the Court, which had from the first shown much reluctance to admit the residence of a permanent diplomatic agent, and especially to the military guard of fifty men, by which such agent, in the terms of the treaty, was to be accompanied. With this view, he expatiated upon the extent of his own authority,—telling us that it extended from the city of Pagan to the sea; and that he was a Wungyi, or Counsellor of State,—Myowun, or Governor, of Pegu, a Generalissimo, and a Commissioner (Literally, bearer of the "great burden"). He said that he was authorised to treat with us upon any subject whatsoever, even to the conclusion of the commercial convention, provided for in the treaty of peace, and "what need therefore," added he, "is there for our going to Ava?" In

reply to this, I answered, that I had no authority to treat directly with His Excellency; that I had positive orders to proceed to Ava; that I did so in accordance with an article of the treaty of peace; and that I had a letter to deliver from the Governor-General to His Majesty. The Wungyi intreated us, at all events to wait until an invitation arrived from the Court, which he expected in a few days. This was answered, by saying, that the intention of sending a Mission to Ava, was publicly made known to the Burman Deputies at Rangoon, full three months before; and that the matter was so well understood at Ava, that a house had been already prepared there for our reception.

A singular and unexpected construction was now attempted to be put upon the Seventh Article of the Treaty concluded at Yandabo, providing for the residence of accredited agents on the part of the two Governments, at their respective capitals. In the English copy of the treaty, the words used were, "at each others Durbars." In the Burman version, the seat of Government is called, "the Burman Royal City" (Mrama Myodau), which one would have supposed sufficiently plain. The Wungyi read one of the memoranda lying before him, which purported to be an explanation of the Seventh Article of the Treaty of Yandabo, and by which it was made to appear, that Rangoon, and not Ava, was the place intended for the residence of the British Agent; or, at least, that it might be Rangoon just as well as Ava, because Rangoon was, according to Burman notions, a Myodau, or Royal city, as well as the capital itself. I explained, that the name of Rangoon had never been mentioned by either party, down to the present moment; and that at the conferences of Yandabo, Ava alone was perfectly well known to every body to be the place intended. I expressed my surprise at the perversion of the Treaty contemplated in this interpretation; and stated, that if it were urged seriously, and the Wungyi did so by authority of his Government, I should think it necessary to request that the embarkation of the British troops might be delayed until a reference were made to Calcutta and Ava. Mr. Judson, who translated the Treaty of Yandabo, and acted as interpreter to the British Commissioners, when its several articles were read over and discussed, warmly expressed his dissent from the interpretation now attempted. The proposal to detain the British force pending farther explanation, greatly alarmed the Wungyi and his friends, who employed various



subterfuges and evasions to explain away the construction attempted to be put on the Treaty, and the subject was finally dropped by mutual consent.

Various other propositions were made by the Wungyi, almost every one of them implying, in some shape or another, an infraction of the existing engagement; but from the reception given to that above mentioned, they were not very warmly insisted upon. By the supplementary Convention concluded at Yandabo, it was stipulated that no Burman force should come within forty *taings*, or about eighty miles, from Rangoon, until the whole British army had embarked. This stipulation, which was much approved of by the Burmese negotiators at the time, as a prudent precaution to prevent the local authorities of the two nations from clashing, became afterwards a subject of much uneasiness, in consequence of the facility which it afforded, in the meanwhile, for the emigration of the discontented, and the danger of insurrectionary movements on the part of the Talains, in the interval between the embarkation of the British troops and the occupation of Rangoon by a Burman force. Various attempts had before been made to evade it; and the Wungyi himself had, about a month previously, made a proposal to the British Commissioners, to share with them the government of the territory within the prescribed limits, and to advance to Rangoon with a force of six hundred men. The proposition was now again brought forward by him, and received the same negative as before. He was informed, however, that an arrangement had been made for putting the Burmans in tranquil possession of Rangoon and its neighbourhood, in order to obviate the dangers which he apprehended; and that for this purpose, due notice would be given of the exact period of our departure, when a Burman force would be allowed to advance, and Rangoon be put in peaceable possession of the Burman authorities on the day of our final embarkation. This explanation was very agreeable to the Wungyi, although it by no means went the length of meeting all the objects which he contemplated.

Upon this, as on other occasions of our intercourse with the Burmese, after the peace, it was found quite unsafe to permit any material deviation from the strict letter of our engagements with them. At the restoration of the Province of Bassien, a more liberal policy on our part was attended by very unpleasant consequences. By encroaching from one step to another, the Burmese had there

gradually occupied the whole province first, and finally the town, so as to leave our small detachment only the ground on which it stood. A party of Mohammedan and Chinese merchants, some of whom had settled in the place during our occupation, and who had prepared their boats to quit along with us, were arrested; and but for the prudent forbearance of Captain Alves, who was in civil charge of the province, serious consequences would have ensued. When the matter was made known to the British Commissioners, they insisted upon the release of the parties arrested, through the Wungyi at Henzada, who immediately complied with their requisition. In the mean time, a heavy contribution had been levied upon them, under various pretexts. From some, arrears of custom-house duties were demanded, during the period that Bassein was in our occupation, although all duties had been taken off. The amount of these contributions was also restored through the demand of the Commissioners. Similar encroachments were even attempted at Rangoon. The opposite town and district of Dalla were claimed for the residence of the Governor and the army which was to accompany him, and heavy contributions began to be levied there in our very sight. A bill was formally sent in, to a British merchant of Rangoon, for the rent of a house belonging to the King, for the two years that the town had been in our possession. When this matter was mentioned to me, I remonstrated with the Rewun (Literally, Water Chief; this officer is the deputy of the Myowun, or Governor)<sup>1</sup> and other Burman deputies then present. They treated the complaint as a fabrication. I produced the bill, bearing the Rewun's signature. They were not at all abashed. They said they were in need of money, and thought this a laudable attempt to *raise the wind!*

The present conference, which lasted two hours and a half, may, I believe, be considered a fair specimen of Burman diplomacy,—importunate, oblique, but childish. The Burmese want the deep artifice and dexterity of the Hindoos and other Asiatics: but as politicians they are not less fraudulent or unprincipled. It is considered wisdom in a Burman negotiator to attempt to overreach his antagonist by every possible artifice. Difficulties are thrown in the way at every step, and in the possible hope of

---

<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, an incorrect etymology. The 'ye' refers to war, not water, and likely indicates that Crawford was making some attempt to learn Burmese, but had not yet gone beyond a limited vocabulary. M. W. C.

gaining some one point or other, and this too even in cases where it might appear to other people wise and prudent to conciliate or accommodate. Defeat by no means discomfits them, nor are they ashamed when their unreasonable demands are seen through, and their machinations baffled. The possibility of success is sufficient to encourage them to advance any proposition, however extravagant; and they seem to be incapable of taking into account the loss of character and consideration which may ensue, and the distrust and; jealousy which must necessarily be excited in their antagonists by this vicious line of conduct.

The Wungyi, throughout the conference, maintained the most tranquil and courteous demeanour; and, notwithstanding the defeat of his projects, parted with us, to all appearance, in perfect good humour. The proposals which he made to us in the conference, were, no doubt, grounded on the general views of the Burman Court. Personal vanity, however, and a desire to display the extent of his authority—which is indeed much greater than that of any previous viceroy of Pegu—before his officers and retainers, had, I think, some share in his proceeding. When I stated that I had no authority to negotiate with him personally, he looked round to his followers, and turned the matter off by saying,

He is only an Envoy (Are-dau-baing, state messenger); he is not a Commissioner (Than-ta-man, one commissioned with state business), and has no authority to treat.

### **September 10, 1826**

Before breakfast this morning I paid another visit to the Wungyi, at his special request. We were received with the same courtesy as before, and with the same ceremonies. Two bands of music, composed of staccatos, flutes, instruments resembling a bassoon, and violins, played during our whole stay. Male and female dancers were also exhibited. Both the vocal and instrumental music of the Burmans is generally more agreeable to the European ear than that of Western India. Upon the present occasion, a young woman sung several airs in so pleasing a manner, as to gain the approbation of all our party; although the accompaniment was far too loud, and often drowned her fine voice. The dancers were all females, and their performance, to say the least of it, was not

worse than that of India. Like it, it consists more of movements of the body and hands than of the feet; and there was little to admire in it, for an European, beyond the display which it afforded of the flexibility of fibre which distinguishes the natives of a tropical from those of a temperate region, and which I have nowhere seen more remarkable than among the Hindoo Chinese races. In these I have seen the elbow joint bent back in so singular a manner, as to appear like a partial dislocation or malconformation of the part.

No public question was discussed at this meeting, except a few words said respecting the presents for the King, and the number and rank of the persons composing the Mission,—points which were adverted to by the Wungyi with a decorum and delicacy very favourably contrasted with what I had experienced on the same subjects in Siam. During our visit, which lasted an hour and a half, the Wungyi conversed very familiarly on every topic which presented itself. He spoke freely of himself and his situation, and without any Oriental fastidiousness,—for that fastidiousness does not belong to the character of the Burmans,—of his wife and daughter. In speaking of the first, who is said to exercise a great influence over him, he called her the Governess (Men-ga-ta, female governor). His daughter, he told us, was his only child, at least by his wife. He said she had been brought up in the palace from a child, and was now one of the Queens,—naming the town from which she took her title, and from which she derived her revenue. This princess is said to be very handsome, and the father is alleged to owe some share of his promotion to her influence with the King. The impression left upon our minds, from our short acquaintance with the Wungyi Maong-kain, was, that he was a man less remarkable for strength of character or talent, than for respectability and propriety of conduct and demeanour. Mr. Judson, who knew him at Ava, confirmed this impression; but added, that his mind was much beyond the ordinary level of that of a Burman courtier. He was one out of four at the Court, who presumed to think in any thing for themselves, or to extend their views beyond the limits of their own manners, religion, or country. Maong-kain is at least not a zealot in religious matters, and observes no more of that of Gautama than is necessary to the maintenance of his place in society. In a corner of the apartment in which he received us, was a mimic temple of Buddha, containing a little marble image of the deity; but this was all that was visible to

us of his religion. He inquired if we all professed the same faith; and, enumerating the different countries of Europe, showed that he had some notions on the subject of European geography. I sent the Wungyi yesterday a present to the value of about three hundred rupees, consisting of articles of British manufacture. He made a return present this morning, consisting of one piece of silk and some coarse mats, the value of which was about one-sixth of that which he had received.

### **September 11, 1826**

At three o'clock yesterday we left Henzada. The name of this place is correctly written in Burman orthography Hansa-ta. It is said to be a word composed of the Sanscrit word Hansa, "the Indian goose" or "ruddy goose" of Latham; and the Burman word *ta*, "lamentation"—a derivation alleged to be derived from the circumstance of a prince having once accidentally shot one on a sand-bank near this place. The hansa, pronounced henza, is not held sacred by the Burmans; but it was the standard of Pegu, as the peacock is that of Ava. Henzada is the largest place we had seen since leaving Rangoon. It extends in a single row of houses for at least two miles on the right bank of the river, and the posts of most of the houses were at present washed by the inundation. From its appearance, it is probable that it does not contain less than three thousand inhabitants. There are but a few patches of rice culture near the place; and it is evident, therefore, that the inhabitants must be supplied with grain from some other quarter, most probably from the culture of the Karians, carried on in the interior, and not visible to us. It was indeed obvious, from their position and the number of small boats near them, that the inhabitants of the villages which we had hitherto seen were chiefly composed of fishermen.

Kiaungzeip, correctly written Kyaong-saik, meaning "convent, landing-place," mentioned by Syme and Buchanan as being a large place, containing not less than two thousand inhabitants, is but a portion of Henzada. The name is now obsolete.

At five in the afternoon we passed the village of Sarwa (Tharawa), smaller but neater than Henzada. It is three miles farther, up, and on the opposite bank. There was little or no

culture near it, although the country behind was clear of large trees to a considerable extent. From five until eight at night we continued struggling to no purpose against the strongest current which we had yet experienced. We then came to an anchor, but in such deep water, and so exposed to the stream and to irregular eddies, that the vessel tossed about violently. We weighed again therefore at eleven, and dropped down to Sarwa, where we continued for the night well sheltered.

### **September 12, 1826**

Early yesterday morning we tried again to pass the elbow of the river where the current was so rapid, and; after struggling against the stream for four hours, succeeded at last, with the assistance of a light breeze. The steam-vessel's rate of going was six miles an hour; so that the rapidity of the current must have been at least equal to this. In passing the same spot in the steam-vessel last year. Sir Archibald Campbell was detained four-mid-twenty hours, and got through the difficulty at last only by towing the vessel. From quitting Rangoon, until the 8th, we had clear sultry weather and calms. On that day we had a return of the monsoon, with rain and southerly winds, and now ascended the river with a strong breeze in our favour. The thermometer, with this change in the weather, fell to eighty degrees in the daytime. This forenoon we passed two war-boats, with a number of baggage-boats. We communicated with them, and found that they conveyed a second Rewun, for Rangoon, with his wife and family.

In the afternoon, we stopped for a couple of hours at the village of Shue-gain, on the right bank of the river. The name of the place is correctly written Shue-kyen, from Shue, gold, and Kyen, to sift; for here, and in some other places in the neighbourhood, a little gold, is obtained by washing the sands of the river when it is low. Two priests, the only ones in the village, paid us a visit. Very much against the rules of their order, we found them great beggars. They asked for razors, handkerchiefs, rice, and I know not what all. The village, which at one time had been considerable, is at present very paltry, not containing above twenty or thirty houses. Our visitors informed us, that it had been in a state of decay for many years, the inhabitants having gradually abandoned it in consequence of the heavy contributions and exactions to

which they were subjected. This is, of course, the real cause of that absence of industry and the poverty which has been so painfully evident hitherto throughout our journey.

In the evening, we passed the villages of Nga-pi-saik, on the west bank, and Re-gyen opposite to it. The first is a petty village, and the three syllables which compose it, mean literally, "pressed fish landing-place." Dr. Buchanan Hamilton renders it "Fish-sauce landing-place," which appears to me to be murdering a Burman idiom, with the view of attaining an English one. This pressed fish, or *Nga-pi*, is a main article of the diet of the Burmans. It is of various qualities and descriptions. In some, the fish is mashed, or pounded, like the *blachang* of the Malays, and the *trasi* of the Javanese, and this description generally consists of prawns. In the coarser sorts, the pieces of fish are entire, half putrid, half pickled. They are all fetid, and offensive to Europeans. Re-gyen means "the water ceased;" in consequence, it is said, either of the tide occasionally coming up as far as this, or from a tradition that it had done so upon some remarkable occasion. This village is in the Province of Sarawadi, at the mouth of a small river navigable in the rains, and by which the teak timber is floated down from the forests of that district, the most abundant, or at least the most conveniently situated for the market, of any in the dominions of Ava. We had not yet seen a single tree of this timber, which, however, grows in abundance, at no great distance from our course, on both banks of the river, especially the eastern. The land column of our army, in its march, passed through extensive forests of it. The Irawadi is here fully more than a mile wide, without a single sand-bank above water. It presented a very different appearance when Colonel Syme and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton went up in the beginning of June 1795. The latter states, in reference to the day's journey which brought him to, Nga-pi-saik, that the sand-banks were so numerous, that by fording a narrow channel, here and there, one might have walked upon them the whole way across. Late in the evening we came to an anchor close to the right bank of the river, and about two miles below Kanaong.

### **September 13, 1826**

At half-past six in the morning we proceeded on our way, sailing within eight or ten yards of the western bank in five fathoms water.

We soon found that we were near a considerable population, from the number of fruit-trees with which the bank of the river was covered. About ten o'clock we reached the large village of Kanaong, and at half-past eleven, the much larger one of Myan-aong where we stopped for the day, laying in a supply of fuel. From at least a mile below Kanaong to the same distance beyond Myan-aong, the west bank of the river is one continued grove of fruit-trees, consisting of the mango, the jack, the tamarind, the banana, the Palmyra, and the religious fig (a tree sacred with the followers of Buddha), with a few cocoa and areca palms. Scattered houses connect the villages of Kanaong and Myan-aong. Through-out the whole distance now alluded to, perhaps in all about twelve miles, the banks of the river are higher than immediately to the north and south of it, and in some situations were two and even three feet above the highest inundation of the river.

Myan-aong was formerly called Loonzay (Lwan-ze), and we found that it was still familiar to the natives under this name. Myan-aong means "speedy victory," and is an appellation bestowed upon it by Alompra, who fixed here his head quarters, when, in the year 1754, he was in the full career of his victories over the Peguans. Myan-aong is the largest place we had seen since leaving Rangoon. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton describes it, thirty years ago, as extending two miles along the bank of the river. Its extent now was scarcely less than this; but, like the other villages, it consisted of little more than a single row of houses upon the very bank. The same writer states, that he saw not less than two hundred trading vessels, of not less than sixty tons burthen each, lying at the place. We saw a good many trading boats, but nothing like this number, nor any of the size alluded to. Both Kanaong and this town are, for the Burman dominions, populous places. We certainly had an opportunity of seeing the greater number of their inhabitants; for men, women, and children, without distinction, crowded to the bank, from curiosity to see the steam-vessel. The character of the Burmans, in this respect, is at least less constrained than that of the Hindoos. All are imbued with a lively curiosity, and the women and children are neither shy nor timid. The former swam about in the river, in the evening, near the vessel, without seeming to be in the least abashed or constrained by the presence of strangers. There was a greater appearance of industry about Myan-aong than at any place we had seen. Buffaloes, oxen, and carts, were



frequent. Still, there was little cultivation observed, and no neatness, comfort, or general indication of prosperity. A few Kyaongs, or monasteries, were to be seen, and a few temples among the trees, but none of any distinction for magnitude or architecture. Two or three good wooden bridges were noticed, but invariably, as every where else, leading to a monastery or temple. Kanaong, with its district, is the assignment for the maintenance of his Majesty's third queen, who takes her title of Princess of Kanaong from it; for this is the custom with all the members of the royal family. In the month of March last, and after the peace of Yandabo, both Kanaong and Myan-aong were burnt to the ground by banditti. Although in a good measure rebuilt already, we saw them therefore under disadvantage. It must however be observed, that the burning of a town constructed of such cheap and wretched materials as those of Ava, is but a trifling calamity, after all, compared with a similar one in countries where industry and property are better protected. The prosperity or decay of a Burman town is quite ephemeral. A short interval of forbearance or protection, under a moderate governor, brings on an appearance of the former; and a period of oppression still shorter, will induce the latter. The prosperity ascribed to Myan-aong by Syme and Buchanan Hamilton, in 1795, was altered for decay in 1809, as stated by Major Canning; who adds, that the town was totally destroyed by fire in the following year. Yet Mr. Judson, who saw the place in 1819, gives a still brighter picture of its prosperity than that of Syme and Hamilton. Many of the houses were constructed of plank, the acme of Burman luxury in domestic architecture; and a row of trading boats extended, with little interruption, from the extremity of Myan-aong to that of Kanaong.

At Myan-aong we obtained a supply of poultry and fish; but could not succeed in getting beef, although abundance of buffaloes and oxen was seen. By the construction which the Burmans put on the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the lives of animals seem to be respected pretty much in proportion to their magnitude, under the belief, I imagine, that the larger the animal, the more advanced towards perfection is the soul of which it is the receptacle. Fish are universally destroyed without scruple; poultry are only occasionally spared; but buffaloes, oxen, horses, and elephants, enjoy almost an immunity. However, some calculation of profit and convenience enters into all this. The Burmans could

not live without fish; therefore, there is a general dispensation for destroying them. They cannot afford to use the flesh of the larger domestic animals as food; and in regard to them, therefore, it is made a merit to observe the law. The same principle does not extend to wild animals, which are regularly hunted for their flesh, hides, horns, or tusks. In the market of Rangoon, there is almost every day to be had abundance of venison, killed by the legitimate laws of the chase.

The officer of Government, whom we met, with his wife and family, on the river, turned out to be the Myowun of Prome, going to Henzada to have an interview with the Wungyi. He had hailed us as we passed him, and informed us that he was the Pri-wun—that is, the Wun, or Myowun, of Pri, pronounced Pyi, which is the proper name, of Prome; and this our Burman interpreters had understood “Rewun,” adding Rangoon upon their own conjecture. On ascertaining who we were, he returned for the purpose of going back to Prome, there to receive the Mission. He now came on board to visit us. I had seen this chief at Rangoon, shortly after the peace, for he was one of a deputation sent down from Ava to confer with the British Commissioners. At the same time, the officer directed by the Wungyi to accompany us to Ava, overtook us and came on board. This person, a man of about sixty, I had also seen at Rangoon before. His name was Maong-Pha, and he was formerly Governor of Bassien.

### **September 14, 1826**

The Myowun of Prome, and the old Myowun of Bassien, our conductor, had intreated us not to quit Myan-aong until the afternoon of this day, apparently with no other view than that of taking upon themselves the direction of our movements, and making a display of such authority as they believed themselves to possess. Our predecessors for seventy years had been so treated. Our situation, however, was too independent for this; and, to show that it was so, we pursued our course this morning at day-break, at least half an hour earlier than usual. I recurred this morning to the account given of Mr. Lester’s mission to Alompra in 1757, and could not help contrasting our present situation with that of our countryman, and our Indian power now and in his time. Our numerous party was now pleasantly and independently conveyed

on the Irawadi by steam navigation, with every convenience, and many luxuries, and having British grenadiers for our guard. Mr. Lester proceeded alone, in a miserable and sinking boat, in the worst season of the year, and subjected to all the insolence and extortion of the Burman authorities. "I meet," says he, "with many things amongst these people, that would try the most patient man that ever existed; but, as I hope it is for the good of the gentlemen I serve, I shall put up with them and proceed."

Upon another occasion, he observes,

This day has been attended with a *hard storm of wind and rain*. I have nothing to eat but salt beef, which has been on the Island *Negrais* four years—the *Bûragmah King* has not been so good as his promise in sending the provisions.

A few miles above Myan-aong, or Loonzay, and on the same side, is a brook, or rivulet, on which is situated the village of Pashin. This rivulet forms the northern boundary of the Province of Bassien, and also of the ancient kingdom of Pegu, west of the Irawadi. The boundary of Pegu, on the eastern bank, is said to be Tarok-mau, or Chinese Point. The district and forests of Sarawadi are included in Pegu. The Peguans, or Talains, do not differ materially from the Burmans, except in dialect; and even this distinction, in a great measure, ceases as we approach the northern confines of their ancient domain; for here the Burmese language prevails, even with the Peguans.

As we advanced up the Irawadi, the number of islands in its bed increased, and it became broader and shallower. It was seldom, indeed, that we had a view of its whole breadth, on account of the numerous islands in its bed. We had one this morning, however, a little above Myan-aong, when the stream appeared to be not less than two miles in breadth. The islands are almost universally uncultivated and uncleared.

After quitting Myan-aong this morning, we had low hills, about one hundred and fifty feet in height, covered with wood, before us, with which we soon came up. The character of the scenery now became totally altered: we had high-land on both sides; and the banks of the river became bold and steep. The

character of the vegetation was also changed. The reedy grass, so often mentioned, the *saccharum spontaneum*, became less tall, rank, and frequent; and now and then there was a good deal of under-wood. The Aracan mountains were very distinct to the north-west. With the commencement of the hilly land begins that of the disembogement of the Irawadi, which, by innumerable ramifications, is connected to the east with the Setang and Martaban rivers, and to the west with that of Bassien, and falls into the sea by a great many mouths, some of them distant from the high land, in a straight line, one hundred and fifty miles. The low and half-inundated champaign, thus abounding in streams and rivers, is the proper country of the Peguan race, as distinguished from the true Burmans.

At three in the afternoon we came to an anchor at Sen-ywa, or Elephant Village; for this was a station of the King's elephants. Here, a good opportunity offering, we completed such a stock of wood as might last us until we should reach Prome. During our short stay. Dr. Wallich's plant gatherers landed, and brought him some new and interesting specimens. Among these I may mention a new *Lagerstroemia*, which he has called *insignis*. The beautiful lilac corolla of this fine plant measured five inches in diameter. Opposite to Sen-ywa is a woody promontory, about one hundred feet high, composed, according to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, of sandstone: its name in Burman is Akaok-taong, or the Hill of Customs. The channel of the river, at this place, is so narrow, as not to exceed three quarters of a mile: it is, however, deep and rapid. In the evening we came to an anchor off the upper end of the village of Nyaong-sare (religious fig scribe); before the war, a station of war-boats. Nyaong-sare is a large village. As we passed along it, very close to the shore, the whole inhabitants, young and old, seemed to be drawn to the bank, through curiosity to see the steam-vessel. They appeared to amount to several hundreds.

### **September 15, 1826**

We left Nyaong-sare very early this morning, pursuing our course along the eastern bank of the river. Pebbles were now for the first time seen; and, soon after, various shelving rocks. Dr. Wallich and I landed for half an hour near the village of Kyaok-taran. The rock which we saw consisted of calcareous sandstone and breccia (The

calcareous sandstone here mentioned is ascertained to be the calcaire grossiere of the Paris basin),—the pebbles in the latter, which was of a very loose texture, were quartz. Among the fruit-trees, near the village, we found about a dozen teak trees, the first we had observed. The flowers were just disappearing, and the fruit forming. Dr. Wallich informed me, that the flowering season corresponded exactly with that of the teak of the botanical garden at Calcutta. These trees were about forty feet high. The soil appeared generally thin and sandy: but in a few spots it was of a better quality; and in the latter were cultivated, in the most slovenly manner imaginable, some indigo and sesamum; which seemed to thrive very well, considering the manner in which they were neglected. The long island, called Shwe-kywan, or Golden Isle, was now between us and the two considerable villages of Peeng-ghee (Pyin-kri, great board), and Sahlaydan (Thalé-tan, either sandy or pomegranate row). About eleven o'clock we passed the large village of Shwe-taong (golden hill), which has the rank of a Myo, or town. The bank is here, at present, from ten to fifteen feet above the level of the river; and so steep as to make it necessary to cut steps in it, in order to reach the water conveniently. Here again we saw the teak, the trees much higher than at Kyok-taran. It is probable that at both places they have been planted for shade and ornament, and are not of natural growth. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton states, that in one part of Shwe-taong he observed some young teak-trees. It is not at all improbable but that those which we now observed, and which were sixty feet high, were the identical plants noticed by him thirty-one years before. We were informed that the teak forests were here three or four miles distant from the river. Shwe-taong, and its dependencies, formed the assignment made to the present King and his father, for their maintenance, when they were heirs to the throne. It has consequently enjoyed some peculiar protection; and is, therefore, comparatively a flourishing place. We saw a good number of boats, some of them trading vessels, drawn up along the bank. We imagined, too, that the people had an air of comfort superior to those of the lower country; but this impression may have arisen from the more elevated, and therefore commodious and cleanly, situation of the dwellings. From Shwe-taong to Prome there is nearly one continuous line of villages, occupying the narrow plain, which lies between the river and a range of

undulating hills, the highest of which do not appear to exceed two hundred and fifty feet.

Opposite to Shwe-taong is Padaong (Pantaong, flower-demanding); like it, having the rank of a Myo, or town. This was a large place before the war with the British; but in November last, being in the occupation of one of our detachments, a night attack was made upon it by the Burmans, and it was nearly burnt to the ground. It now extends in a single scattered row of houses, as usual, apparently for about two miles and a half along the banks of the river. The teak forests in the neighbourhood of Padaong are more extensive and valuable than those on the eastern side of the river; but still they were not visible to us. From Padaong there is a road, or rather a bad and intricate pathway, leading to Aracan. This was the route pursued by Lieutenant Brown, in the month of March last, after the peace of Yandabo. My Burman interpreter informed me, that when he was at Padaong, about ten years ago, the Akunwan, or collector of land tax of Aracan, accompanied by the Raj Guru, or chief Court Brahmin, and astrologer of the time, arrived there, bringing with them a Hindoo girl, who was described as the daughter of a "Brahmin King." This young woman, probably some person of very low caste, was taken into the seraglio of the late King of Ava, and is still living in the palace, the Akunwun, for this piece of good service, was raised to the rank of Rewun.

Quitting Shwe-taong we skirted along the western shore of a long island, lying nearly in the middle of the river. As soon as we had readied its northern end, a very beautiful and picturesque view presented itself, one of the finest, indeed, which I have ever seen. An amphitheatre of hills nearly surrounded us. On our left was the island of Tet-the, well wooded and raised, contrary to custom, for most of the other islands which we had seen, being subject to inundation, exclude the growth of trees, and are covered with nothing but tall grass. Before us was a distant view of the town of Prome. The river was broad, and, from the nature of the surrounding scenery, it had much the appearance of a fine lake.

We rapidly approached the town of Prome with the advantage of a fair wind, and at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon anchored before it. In sailing close to the east bank of the river, immediately before arriving at the town, we encountered a disagreeable object—the place of execution. It was situated on the brow of a hill, under a large tamarind tree. On each side of the

tree there was a wooden rail, on which were the remains of two human bodies. One of these was tolerably entire, and exhibited the malefactor in the attitude in which he had been executed. The legs and arms were stretched out against the rail to the utmost extent; the head had fallen over on the breast, and the appearance of the body showed plainly that death had been inflicted in the horrid mode of Burman execution by tearing open the abdomen. The Myowun afterwards informed us, that these two men were robbers, caught marauding in the rear of the British army when it was retiring, and that for this offence he had caused them to be executed. I am sorry, for the credit of his veracity, however, that this account was not verified on farther inquiry.

In the evening, Dr. Wallich and I landed on the western bank of the river, opposite to the town. The rock was exposed in a great many situations on the shore, and consisted, wherever we examined it, of a calcareous sandstone, of a pale red colour. The hills on both sides of the river are steep, but I think scarcely any where exceeding two hundred feet high. One cliff, which I attempted to ascend, consisted of red clay, in which was intermixed a large proportion of quartz pebbles. The ground was at once so loose and slippery that I could not succeed in scrambling up. These pebbles are probably the *debris* of a breccia, similar to what we met yesterday. I picked up on the shore the first specimen I had met with of the petrified wood, which is known to be so abundantly scattered over the face of the country between this place and Ava. In one spot on the shore I met with some blue indurated clay, and among it one piece of rolled petroleum, of the appearance and consistence of dark-coloured rosin. In many situations, mango and tamarind-trees, with the *Clitoria ternatea*, balsams, and other exotics, were frequent, from which appearance there is little doubt but the bank of the river opposite to Prome must have been once inhabited. At present it is one deep forest, very difficult to be penetrated on account of the prevalence of underwood, and totally destitute of habitation or culture.

While I was on this excursion, the Myowun, who had readied Prome an hour before us, came on board to pay me a visit. I regretted that I had missed, this opportunity of seeing him.

### **September 16, 1826**

A party landed this morning and visited the great Pagoda, the suburbs, and the Myo, or fort. The Pagoda, which is richly gilded all over, and is a fine object in approaching the town, is distant from the river about half a mile, and lies immediately behind the town, situated upon a hill about one hundred and thirty feet high. It is exactly of the same form and construction as the great Pagoda at Rangoon, but a good deal smaller. The body of the temple, or spire, is surrounded by a terrace, containing many small temples, with images of Buddha, and having a wooden arcade all round, the roof of which is, in some places, very curiously and elaborately carved, but both the extent and execution of this sort of work are much inferior to what I observed in the temples of Siam. There are two approaches to the temple by a flight of brick steps, which have a wooden roof over them. The name of the Prome Pagoda is Sandau, or the Temple of the "Royal Hair," from its being presumed to contain, like the Pagoda of Rangoon, some hairs of Gauta'ma's head. In one of the temples on the terrace there is a K'htora, or impression of the divinity's foot, which we visited and were permitted to examine without hindrance. It was a day of worship, being the full moon according to Burman reckoning. These are the occasions upon which the Burmans appear to the greatest advantage. The most respectable of the inhabitants, men and women., then visit the Pagodas from six to seven o'clock in the morning in their best dresses, and bearing offerings chiefly consisting of fruits and flowers. I had frequently been witness to this scene at Rangoon, and it now appeared to at least equal advantage. The two roads leading to the Pagoda were crowded with votaries, whose demeanour was extremely decorous, both here and in the performance of their devotions at the temple. The people were sufficiently cheerful, but they were not noisy, and no grotesque or ludicrous ceremonies entered into their devotions. A number of large and handsome bells were suspended between two posts round the area. Each votary, upon making his offering, or completing his devotions, struck these bells three or four times with some large deer's antlers, which lay on the ground near them. What the object of this part of the ceremony was, I know not. The only ludicrous objects presented in the temple were the figures of menials, or servants, representing porters or slaves, receiving, upon a dish placed on the head, the offerings of the pious. These,



we observed, were often made of a red sandstone, which is said to be abundant near Prome.

The town of Prome is situated on the right bank of the Irawadi, on a narrow plain lying between the hills and the river. It is composed of the Myo, or fort, being a common square stockade, resembling that of Rangoon, but larger; and of two suburbs, the one lying east and the other west of it, along the banks of the river. As at Rangoon, the suburbs, consisting each of one long street, appear to contain the principal population. The Myo contains two streets, running parallel to each other, and to the river. In these the houses are but few and scattered, and the principal part of the area is occupied by gardens, or rather by patches of ground, occupied by fruit or ornamental trees, or coarse esculent vegetables, such as gourds, pumpkins, and cucumbers, the whole overgrown with rank weeds, and without order or neatness. Behind the town are several marshes. Over one of these is a long wooden bridge, the best I had seen in the country.

Prome is at present a thriving place, and I should suppose, from appearances, fully more populous than Rangoon. It may be estimated, without exaggeration, to contain not less than ten thousand inhabitants. We found the whole bank of the river lined with small trading vessels. The gentlemen of our party, who had seen it last year, when it was in our occupation, and when many of the inhabitants had deserted it, were forcibly struck with the improvement in its condition which they now observed. A great many new houses had been built in the interim, and the monasteries, which had been mutilated or destroyed, were now repairing or reconstructing. All this, as in other cases, depends much upon the personal character of the Myowun, who in the present instance was a respectable and moderate man. A Mohammedan merchant of Rangoon, who had been here a month, assured us, that he had paid strict attention to the amnesty stipulated in the treaty, and that no one had been oppressed or persecuted by him on account of his conduct or opinions during the recent hostilities. Whatever feeling the Burman Government may entertain to-wards us, it is certain that the people bear us no resentment. When we visited the Pagoda this morning, amidst crowds of the inhabitants of Prome, we met nothing but smiles and good humour—civility, and respectful attention. An European was no longer an object of wonder or curiosity, as during the first

mission of Colonel Syme; and many of the people whom we met seemed anxious to recognise us as old acquaintances. Our native servants were treated kindly when they landed; and the European guard even with pointed attention, especially by the Myowun himself. Mr. Judson, who had visited the place in 1819, was now much struck with the change in the demeanour of the people, which, at that time, was by no means respectful towards strangers, especially Europeans. As an example, it may be stated, that we were now encouraged to visit every part of the Pagoda unceremoniously; while towards him they expressed much dissatisfaction at his not taking off his shoes before he ascended the long flight of stairs which leads from the bottom of the hills to the terrace, evincing altogether, as he thought, a sullen and inhospitable disposition.

The name which we give to this town is evidently a corruption of that applied to it by the Mohammedan residents in the country, and which is Pron. According to Burman orthography, the correct name is Pri, always pronounced Pyi, since the Burmans, with very few exceptions, convert the consonant *r* into the consonant *y*. This place, or rather one lying about six miles to the east of it, is reported to have been the first and the most ancient seat of Burman government. According to Burmese chronology, it was founded by King Twat-ta-paung, a descendant of Gautama, in the 101st year of the sacred era—the 249th of the grand epoch, or 443 years before Christ. For seventy years the descendants of this prince reigned, sometimes at Prome, and sometimes at Maj-ji-ma, understood to be some part of India,—probably Magad’ha or Behar. At the expiration of these seventy years, the seat of government was fixed permanently at Prome, until the year 107 before Christ. Prome, according to this statement, was the seat of Burman government for 336 years. The ancient town was named Sa-re-k’het-ta-ra, which, I presume, is a Pali or Sanscrit word. According to Burman interpretation, it means a bull’s hide, and refers to a story similar to that which is related of the foundation of Carthage. Lieutenant De Montmorency had visited the ruins of Sa-re-k’het-ta-ra, now called Ra-se (a saint, or hermit), last year. All that remained of it was a broad earthen wall, of a quadrangular form, and five or six feet in height. The area contained no relics of antiquity, and was overgrown with forest.

Mr. Chester, Mr. Judson, and Dr. Stewart, returned the Myowun's visit after breakfast. In the morning, the Myowun of Shwe-taong arrived at Prome, and in the course of the forenoon came on board. This person is steward of the King's household; literally, "Lord of the Kitchen," a distinguished office. Our soldiers, however, called him "the Cook." He was a little man, and his appearance did not bespeak much talent or energy. He was one of the Kyi Wungyi's lieutenants before Rangoon, and commanded the party which repulsed Colonel Smith and a detachment of Sepoys, with considerable loss, at Kyaikalo, at an early period of the contest in 1824. He commanded also the attacks made on the post of Kemmendine (Kyi-myen-taing), near Rangoon; in the same year, the most spirited and persevering made by the Burmans during the whole course of the war. Afterwards he was beaten at Padaong, and much more severely near Prome in December last. In conversation, he gave us to understand, that his troops did not want courage; but that they had neither the arms nor discipline of ours, and on this account *only* were unable to contend with us.

The Myowun of Prome came on board in the afternoon, and brought, as a present, a quantity of very bad wax candles; and a large supply of custard-apples, a fruit, for the production of which the neighbourhood of Prome is celebrated. This was in return for a present of ten times the value, which I had sent him in the forenoon. He was extremely anxious that we should prolong our stay at Prome a few days, and mentioned that himself and the Myowun of Shwe-taong were each preparing two war-boats to accompany us, for the protection of our baggage, as far as Meeaday, the confines of his province, as the country to Ava was much infested by robbers. We promised to stay a day longer, and in the evening our baggage-boats came up. The Myowun of Prome, Maong-kun-thaong, we found to be a person of pleasing and unostentatious manners. At Court he was said to possess considerable influence, having a daughter one of the junior queens, and a first cousin second Queen. The latter is known by the title of Princess of Maithila, the name of a township lying north of Tongo, borrowed, it will be observed, from the ancient Sanscrit appellation of the district of Tirhoot, in Behar; the whole of which province is classic land with the followers of Gautama.

### **September 17, 1826**

We took a walk this morning to a distance of two miles inland, from the town, and observed one good road for wheel-carriages. Carts, of a much better construction than those of India, were frequent. The cattle, all oxen, were large, and in excellent condition. They are generally of a reddish-brown colour—rarely black, and seldom or never of the white or light grey, which is so very general in Northern India. They are almost all horned, and without a hump. The Burmans treat their cattle humanely, and never over-work them. The country behind Prome is composed of a series of little hills, with occasional valleys of some extent. One of the latter was planted with rice, exhibiting the largest culture of this grain which we had yet observed. The soil of the hills is very light, being formed of the *debris* of sand, stone, and breccia, both of which we observed in an advanced state of decomposition, in sections of the hills formed in making a road last year for our artillery. A hill, on which a battery of eighteen pounders had been erected by our army, commanded an extensive prospect of the neighbouring country, which was generally uncultivated, and covered with a low forest. It was evident that the country, at no distant period, had been much better cultivated than at present; for, in the tract we passed over in our walk, we discovered several plants almost in a wild state, which are common objects of culture, such as indigo, gourds, and two or three species of millet. But the most striking proof of former industry was afforded by the remains, a short way from the town, of an embankment, to all appearance a mile in length, and which, with the neighbouring hills, formed a Tank, constructed seemingly for the purpose of irrigation. It was now out of repair, and contained no water, although it was the height of the rainy season. The people treated us in our walk to-day with the same kindness and civility as yesterday. Not a rude or offensive word or gesture escaped from any one. At the bottom of the range of hills, in a very pretty spot, shaded by some noble tamarind trees, which are frequent near Prome, we passed through the burying-ground, which contains the bodies of many of our countrymen who had fallen at Prome, from wounds or sickness, during our long residence there of seven months. The graves were unmolested.

**September 18, 1826**

Notwithstanding that heavy rains had fallen for some days after we quitted Henzada, and that southerly winds and occasional showers still prevailed, the river had fallen at least six feet. The commencement of this fall our Burman pilot dated from the 10th instant. It is ascertained, indeed, that the river rises and falls several times during the months of August and September. This implies heavy falls of rain in the upper country at considerable intervals, and would seem also to indicate that the source of the Irawadi is not very distant, nor the body of water, that is affected by such temporary or local causes, very great.

At half-past three yesterday afternoon we quitted Prome. Although many of the inhabitants had seen the steam-vessel during the war, a more lively curiosity was evinced now, to view her under weigh, than I had ever before observed in any eastern people upon any occasion. The banks of the river, the boats, which were moored to the shore, the verandahs of houses, their tops, and many parts of the stockade, were crowded with people, anxious to see the spectacle. We soon passed the stockade, which, besides the ordinary wooden palisades, has two brick bastions of a rude form, and in a dilapidated state. One angle of the stockade is upon a high point of land jutting a considerable way into the river. On the opposite shore, a hill projects into the river also, leaving the breadth of the stream not above eight hundred yards. This was a strong position; but the Burmans were panic-struck after the affair of Donabew, and permitted Sir Archibald Campbell to occupy Prome without opposition.

At six in the evening, we came to a narrow part of the river, not exceeding six hundred yards in breadth. On the eastern side, the hills terminate in the promontory of Napadi (Nat-padi, rosary of the Nats). There is a corresponding promontory on the west side, being the termination of a lull, called Po-u-taong, full two hundred feet high. A little farther up the river than these promontories, and in the middle of the stream, is an island. In the possession of an enemy of any military knowledge or courage, this would have proved a difficult or impregnable position. After the expiration of the armistice of Yaong-ben-saik, the Burman force, to the amount, according to the estimate of our scouts, of more than fifty thousand men, began to close in upon Prome, and the principal body occupied the narrow pass of the river which I have just

described; the Kyi Wungyi, the chief commander, being posted on the western bank, and the Sa-dau-wun, or steward of the household, on the eastern. The position of the Kyi Wungyi was forced on the 2d of December last. The European troops advanced upon this occasion with such impetuosity, and the works were so precipitately abandoned by the Burmans, that only eleven of the enemy lost their lives in the stockades. They fired upon the assailants until the latter had reached the works, and then ran away. This was their constant practice, especially in the last campaign. The Kyi Wungyi himself, as upon former occasions, was one of the first to quit the field. This indeed seems to be the established practice of the Burman leaders; and even Bandula, as already stated, was no exception. Thaongba-wungyi, who commanded at the seven stockades on the 8th of July 1824, behaved gallantly, and lost his life. When the King heard this, he is said to have exclaimed, "Why did not the fool run away?" If such be the precepts of the Monarch and the example of his generals, it is hardly reasonable to expect that the soldiers should stand and fight for them. On the 5th of December last, the position of the Sa-dau-wun was forced and abandoned with equal precipitation as the other. By an unexpected accident, a portion of the Burman troops was on this occasion surrounded, and three hundred of them lost their lives. The other portion of the Burman force had been routed at Simbike, on the 1st of December, by General Cotton. Simbike was a stockade eleven miles distant from Prome, situated on the left bank of the Nawaine (Na-wen) river, a small stream which falls into the Irawadi, a little above the town of Prome, and on the same side. The place was taken by a similar assault, and after a similar defence, with the other positions. Two hundred of the enemy were left dead in the stockade; for here also, by an unlooked-for accident, part of the enemy were hemmed in, and unable to effect their escape. Among these was Maha Nemiau (Nemyo, descendant of the Sun), the commander, a fine old man, seventy-five years of age. The troops which defended Simbike were of the people called by the Burmans, Shans; the same who are called by the Siamese, and after them by Europeans, Lao, or Laos. They composed the same force which a few weeks before had beaten four battalions of Sepoys, at the stockade of Watigon (Wetti-kan, boar's tank). Their courage at Simbike does not appear to have been fortified by this success.

In reference to the actions now alluded to, a singular fact has been ascertained, which affords a curious specimen of the superstition, credulity, and folly of the Burmese and their Government. Finding that all their ordinary efforts to make head against the invaders were unavailing, they had recourse to magic; and among other projects of this nature, sent down to their army before Prome, all the women at Ava who had the reputation of having a familiar spirit, in order to put a spell on the foreigners, and, as it was said, *unman* them. These females, who rather labour under some mental derangement than are impostors, are called by the Burmans Nat-kadau, or female nats. They profess to hold an intercourse with the demigods of that name, and to be inspired by them with supernatural powers. The presence of such persons was known to the British army; and among the wounded, after the action at Simbike, there was found a young girl of fifteen or sixteen years of age, dressed in male attire, believed to be one of them. Her sex was recognised, and attention was paid to her; but she expired in half an hour after being taken prisoner. Lieutenant Montmorency told me, that he had seen this poor creature; that she had received wounds in the neck and head, and held up both her hands, making a *shiko*, or Burman obeisance, to every one that from pity or curiosity came to see her.

We anchored last night ten miles above Prome. This morning, at eight o'clock, we passed the village of Kama (Pali, desire), on the western bank, which formed the line of demarcation between the English and Burmese armies during the armistice which took place at this time last year. A road, not much frequented however, leads from hence to the Aracan mountains. At ten o'clock we passed the village of Nyaong-ben-saik (holy fig-tree landing-place), the spot where the conferences were held between the British and Burman commanders, which led to the armistice just mentioned. The fig-tree which gives name to this village is conspicuous upon the extremity of a point of land, its roots being now washed by the water of the river. Behind Nyaong-ben-saik is an extensive plain,—for here the hills, which all the way from Prome approached to the very water's edge, recede for several miles. At one o'clock we came again to a narrow part of the river, which on the right bank takes the name of Palo, and on the left that of Puto. Both were strongly fortified by the Burmans, after their manner, subsequent to the defeats sustained in the first days

of December; but they wanted the resolution to defend them, and abandoned them without the slightest attempt at resistance. The works on the left bank were five miles in extent, and some of them were still standing. Early in the evening we came to an anchor at Tong-taong (lime-hill), a little village which may be considered as a sort of suburb to Tharet-myo. We landed at this place, and made a short excursion into the village and its neighbourhood. The banks here are high, and the place lies north of a hill about three hundred feet high. The land surrounding the village is elevated and undulating. On the river side the rock was exposed, and consisted of the same calcareous sandstone and coarse breccia, which we had observed at Prome. This was also the case at the promontory of Napadi, and in an intermediate situation, which we examined early this morning, but the name of which I did not ascertain. The high hill, however, appears to consist of primitive limestone, and gives name to the place. Heaps of this material were found near the villages, close to the kilns, where it was to be burnt. The soil of the undulating ground appeared sandy, with here and there an intermixture of gravel, and having but a very thin covering of vegetable mould. I should not have thought it fertile; but, in this matter, practice is our only guide. We found indigo, sesamum, and *croton juncea*, or Indian hemp, growing in these situations vigorously, although much neglected. The indigo was four feet high, and the sesamum at least six. In one valley, nearly level with the river, we observed a Tank, or rather small natural lake, and close to it some good fields of rice, which it appeared to irrigate. Grazing near the village was a large herd of black cattle in high condition, indicating that the pasture was of a good quality. Leading from the village into the country were two tolerably good cart-roads. These, the inhabitants informed us, communicated with Maintom, Padain, Taing-tah, and Ngape, places which have the rank of towns, or Myos, and are all of them situated at no great distance from the foot of the Aracan mountains.

In the course of this day's journey, the hills, never at any considerable distance, often form the bank of the river: when this was the case, the stream was narrow, deep, and clear of islets. When they receded, it widened, and the bed of the river abounded in islands covered with the *saccharum spontaneum*. The villages were few, and far distant, and the general impression conveyed was that of a country little cultivated and thinly inhabited. The



hills are universally covered with a forest of considerable size. In this, from Prome inclusive, upwards, the teak-tree, tolerably frequent, could be recognised by its blossoms occasionally coming down almost to the water's edge. At any other than the flowering season, we should not have been able to detect it. Accordingly it had not been noticed by the officers of the army, or other travellers who had passed, when the tree, which is deciduous, was not only out of flower but leaf. We did not expect to find the teak-tree so thinly interspersed in the common forest, until we had an opportunity of determining, by personal examination, that this was the case in the hills before Prome. In what is properly called a teak forest, the teak prevails over all other trees, sometimes nearly to their entire exclusion.

### **September 19, 1826**

We left Tong-taong early this morning, and soon reached the village of Tharet (the Mango), which is situated on the west bank, and has the rank of a Myo. This was one of the largest places we had yet seen, and to all appearance the most thriving. A great number of boats were moored along the bank. Judging by the concourse of people who came down to gaze at the steam-vessel, it must contain several thousand inhabitants. The houses, as every where else, consisted of a light and frail fabric of bamboos, grass, or palm-leaves. Such a house is seldom with more than forty current ticals, or 4*l.*, and it is a splendid mansion that costs 400 or 40*l.* With very few exceptions, there exists no substantial structures in the country, except those which are dedicated to religious purposes. The insecurity of property forbids that the matter should be otherwise. If a Burman becomes possessed of wealth, temple-building is the only luxury in which he can safely expend it. Hence the prosperity of a place, which is never more than temporary, is to be judged of in this country, not by the comforts or luxuries of the inhabitants, or the reputable appearance of their habitations, but by the number, magnitude, splendour, and actual condition of its temples and monasteries. On these are wasted substantial materials, labour, and even ingenuity, equal to the construction of respectable towns and villages, calculated to last for generations.—Tharet and its dependencies form, with the district of Sarawadi,

the assignment for the maintenance of the King's only full brother, who takes his title from the last-named place.

At half-past eight o'clock we passed Meeaday (Myédé, land within), on the east bank of the river. This place is considered by Burman travellers to be half-way between Ava and Rangoon. It is but a small village in comparison with Tharet, but has also the rank of a Myo. This was the headquarters of the Burman army for six months, and the place of their eventual retreat after their defeats near Prome. Here they were attacked by fever, dysentery, and the spasmodic cholera. These and the wounds received in the late actions carried off great numbers. The ground was highly offensive when our troops passed it, and on the banks and islands were found many recent graves, for there was no time to burn the dead. This place, like the other positions of the Burman army, was strongly stockaded on both sides of the river; but the Burmans again fled at our approach, and offered no resistance. In the afternoon we had before us the wooded island of Loongee (Lwan-k'hi), and at five o'clock we anchored opposite the little village of Ang-lap (middle fish-pond). On the opposite bank of the river (the island intervening), is the village of S'han-baong-wé (elephant boat whirlpool), which is prettily situated on a projecting point of land. The scenery altogether in this situation is exceedingly romantic. Colonel Syme and his companions were particularly struck with its beauty, and longed for the pencil of Mr. Daniel to delineate it; but it did not appear to us that there were objects in it sufficiently distinct and prominent to constitute the subject of a fine landscape.

At Loongee, Dr. Wallich and I landed on a promontory where the rock was exposed. This was about fifty feet high. On the shore we found the calcareous sandstone as before. On examining the cliff farther up, I found the lowest stratum to be a slate clay much decomposed. Above it was the sand-stone, and above all a hard calcareous limestone. In the thick wood in the valleys, several of the common fowl, in a wild state, were seen, and the crowing of the cocks all round was incessant, showing that this species of game is very plentiful. A party which went to the village saw a hare, the first that had been observed, for this animal is not found in the delta of the Irawadi. The banks of the river to-day had been somewhat lower than yesterday; the hills encroaching less upon the river, the river itself being wider, and the islands more

numerous. Villages were more frequent, but still the country appeared very poorly inhabited, and the marks of culture were trifling in the extreme.

### **September 20, 1826**

This morning we passed Mi-kyaong-re, a considerable village on the east bank of the river. From this place there is a road for wheel-carriage to the town of Tongo on the Setang river, and nearly in the parallel of Prome. The distance is but ten days' travel for caravans or carts. At twelve o'clock we readied Melloon, pronounced Malun, but written Melwan. Immediately, on turning a sharp elbow of the river, which is here only six hundred yards broad, we came upon Melloon on the west, and Patanago on the east bank, fronting each other, where the stream expands to a breadth of nine hundred yards. During the negotiations which terminated in a renewal of hostilities, the British army was encamped at Patanago, and the Burman entrenched at Melloon, the river only separating the adverse parties. The Burman army, alleged to amount to twenty thousand men, was commanded by Prince Memiabo (Men-myat-pu), a half-brother of the King, and a youth without any experience. Under him was the chief Kaulen Mengyi, one of the Burman negotiators, a suspicious niggardly old man, who had never commanded an army before, or even had any knowledge of the art of war as practised by the Burmans themselves. Mr. Judson, who was taken out of irons and sent down from Ava to Melloon, to act as interpreter to the Prince, had an opportunity of observing personally the miserable manner in which things were conducted, and the dismay and consternation with which the Burmans had been seized. Old Kaulen Mengyi meted out the gunpowder to the soldiers in person, as if he had been making disbursements from the public treasury; and his parsimony was conspicuous in every department, while he neglected all the essential objects of the war. Mr. Judson had received from the Burman government, for himself and two followers, the sum of twenty ticals, which with much economy lasted for a month. Kaulen Mengyi, upon being petitioned, in official form, for another supply, told him that his habits were extravagant; and appointed a Burman officer to control his expenditure.

We landed on the spot where the Burman works had been escalated. The greater part of these were still remaining. They had consisted of a double abattis and an earthen wall of no great height, crowned by a palisade. This surrounded a conical hill of easy ascent, and about one hundred feet high, to the extent of two thousand yards. There was no ditch. Nothing could have been more unskilfully chosen than this position, for the Burman army was exposed from head to foot to the artillery from the opposite bank, and the only protection it had against our shells and rockets, the practice of which was excellent throughout the war, consisted in pits covered by planks, in which the besieged hid themselves. Similar pits, indeed, were found in almost all the stockades which were taken, for the dread of our artillery was extreme. After a cannonade of two hours, our storming party crossed the river in boats in broad day; and as soon as it had gained the foot of the works, these were, as usual, abandoned without resistance, the Prince and his Lieutenant, being among the first to give the example of flight. The principal loss sustained by us, took place in crossing the river; but it was very trifling, for the fire of the enemy was as disorderly and ill-directed as usual. An officer who had the best means of ascertaining this last fact, informed me, that at Donabew, after their success, and when they were in high spirits, the Burman artillery-men, independent of not levelling their guns properly, or at all, did not fire any one piece oftener than once in twenty minutes. In passing over the ground within the stockade, we saw the skeletons of several of the Burmese warriors, who had been killed in the action, lying neglected among the rank weeds. The performance of funeral obsequies among the Burmans is, under all circumstances, dictated less by a regard to the memory of the dead, than the belief that it is a work of religious merit in the survivors.

Maloon is a very poor place, and is described as having been so thirty years ago, in the journal of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, who observes, that the number of temples is out of all proportion to the population. This was still the case; and it may be safely asserted, that the temples and monasteries were more numerous than the houses. We found three new temples, two of them richly gilt. One of the latter had been built by a Myosugi, or chief of the district of Melloon, and the other by a Burman merchant; the third was built, during the war, by the Prince Memiaboo, when in command of the

army. We passed through the village, and found the inhabitants, as elsewhere, suffering from a scarcity. The price of rice was five ticals of flowered silver, or about thirteen shillings per basket, of half a hundred weight, which was from three to four hundred per cent. beyond the price of ordinary seasons. Little or none, however, was procurable at any price. The poor inhabitants, generally, had recourse to wild roots as a substitute. We saw several baskets of fresh roots of a wild *arum*, brought from the marshes, and some that had been prepared. In coming up the river, we observed, in several places, the same root under preparation. It is first sliced, then macerated for a couple of days, after which the women tread it in tubs with their feet, and when it is dried in the sun it is fit for use. We noticed that another root, still less palatable, was also had recourse to, but were unable to determine what it was. During the two years that the war continued, no scarcity was felt, although undoubtedly agricultural labour was greatly interrupted by the flight and dispersion of the inhabitants, the depredations of marauders, and the conscriptions which were raised. It was not until two or three months after the cessation of hostilities, that a general scarcity began to prevail throughout every part of the country, with the exception of the districts ceded to the British Government. From this it may be inferred, that there had existed in the country a stock of corn considerably beyond the average consumption of the inhabitants. Independent of this general cause of distress, the people of Melloon suffered peculiarly during the war. Mr. Judson, in his walk, met a group of the inhabitants, and had a long conversation with them, in which they informed him, that the levy raised in the district had been engaged with our troops at Donabew, on the 7th of March, and suffered severely in that affair, not one-half of those who had joined the army having ever returned.

In the evening we crossed over to Patanago, which is still smaller than Melloon. Close to it is a narrow lake, two miles in length; and we were informed that a second, of larger extent, exists at no great distance. In the cold season, these lakes had been covered with a multitude of ducks and other water-fowl; but these, which are migratory, had not yet made their appearance. A short way above Patanago is a cliff, which exposes a section of the rock and soil. The rock is calcareous sandstone in strata, nearly horizontal. The greater part of it is so decomposed, that I found it

difficult to get specimens sufficiently hard for preservation. Intermixed with the softer strata, and alternating with them, were thinner strata of a hard and tough rock, which I suspect to be calcareous limestone. I found none of the blue slaty clay upon this occasion which I met below the sandstone at Loongee. The soil was composed, of sand and yellow clay, intermixed with large pebbles of flint, white quartz, and common quartz. On the Meloon side I traced the sandstone to the highest hill. From Prome, up to this place. Dr. Wallich had been eminently successful in his botanical researches, having discovered several new *genera*, and many new species.

Meloon and its districts constitute the estate of the Prince of M'het,kha-rá (Pali?) one of the King's uncles. Here the old Myowun of Bassien overtook us.

### **September 21, 1826**

We quitted Melloon by break of day this morning, and at a place called Myen-ka-taong, a few miles above it, on the same side, a little pagoda was pointed out to us upon an elevated cliff on the very verge of the bank, and threatened every season to be carried away by the river. This had in itself nothing remarkable; for it was but one out of a great many similar pagodas crowning the tops of the most conspicuous hills and eminences on both sides of the river, ever since entering the hilly country; but it was connected with an era in Burman history, and this gave it some interest. At the spot where it is erected, a Burman king of Pagan, of the name of Chau-lu, or Sau-lu, is said to have been assassinated by one of his generals. On looking into a chronological list of the Burman kings, with which I had the good fortune to be provided, this prince is stated to have ascended the throne in the year 1030 of the Christian era, and his successor in 1056, which last is probably the date of his death. Monuments to the memory of the dead are not very frequent amongst the Burmans, and those in commemoration of remarkable events still rarer. When a monument is erected over the ashes of the dead, it is in the ordinary pyramidal form, and ought not, according to the priests, to be crowned with the *Ti*, or iron umbrella. However, there is a difference of opinion on this point between the priesthood and the Court—the people taking part with the former. The affair is

generally compromised by making the structure at the same time a monument to the dead, and consecrating it to Gautama; so that, in fact, the priests gain their cause, as there is nothing in such a building to distinguish it from an ordinary zidi, or temple.

In the course of the day, we passed the village of Myan-kwan, a very considerable one on the east bank of the river and Ma-kwé, one of the largest and finest we had seen on the same side. A temple, on a hill near this last, has the reputation of containing the bed of Gautama: the name of it is Mya-thalon, or, "the temple of the emerald bed." On the opposite side of the river, and farther up than Ma-kwé is another large village, called Menbu (Men-pu). The Irawadi is here at least two miles broad, and in its bed are many low islands, covered with long grass nowhere to be seen on the banks of the river, which are far too high to be ever inundated—a circumstance apparently necessary to the growth of this plant. The higher ranges of hills on both sides of the river had ceased—that on the western, at Melloon; and that on the eastern, a little sooner; but the country was still hilly in its general aspect. For the last two days, the teak had disappeared from the forest, of which the trees were now generally of a more stunted growth and less luxuriant foliage. In the evening, the range of Aracan mountains was distinctly seen running north and south. They did not appear to be above fifty miles distant, and we estimated the most elevated portions to be about six thousand feet in height. North-east of us, the high, conical, and insulated mountain of Poupa was seen for the first time.

### **September 22, 1826**

At ten o'clock we passed the large village of Wet-ma-sut (the boar dry), which consists of three portions, and lies on the east bank of the river. A few miles below this place, the aspect of the country is remarkably altered. The banks of the river are naked, steep, and indeed generally almost perpendicular. The land consists of a succession of little hills, crowded upon each other, with frequent ravines, and no plains or valleys. The trees are of stunted growth, and thinly scattered, leaving the bare sand frequently exposed. At Wet-ma-sut we examined the rock, and found it, as before, composed of sandstone. At one o'clock, a strong current being against us, we reached the village of Re-nan-k'hyaung, usually

pronounced Ye-nan-gyaung. This compound word means literally "odorous water rivulet;" but Re-nan is the term applied to the petroleum, or earth oil, of which this village is the mart. About two miles before reaching Re-nan-k'hyaung, Dr. Wallich, Dr. Stewart, and Lieutenant Coxe, landed, and walked along the narrow beach until close to the village, and succeeded in procuring some interesting and remarkable specimens of petrifications. Some of these resembled stalactites, and were only incrustations of sand, of the form of the substance which composed the matrix, being of a soft and loose texture. By far the greater number consisted of masses of wood of considerable size, impregnated with chert, or horn-stone. In these, not only the external form, but the appearance of the fibre and bark, are often accurately preserved. All these specimens of petrified wood were more or less impregnated with iron. The most curious petrification, however, which we met, was obtained by Dr. Wallich—a fossil bone, which, from its appearance, we judged at the time to be the lower part of the femur, or thigh-bone, of an elephant. The cells of the bone, like the fibre in the wood, was accurately preserved. At three in the afternoon, our whole party proceeded to the celebrated Petroleum Wells. Those which we visited cannot be farther than three miles from the village, for we walked to them in forty minutes. The cart-road which leads to them is tolerably good, at least for a foot traveller. The wells occupy altogether a space of about sixteen square miles. The country here is a series of sand-hills and ravines,—the latter, torrents after a fall of rain, as we now experienced, and the former either covered with a very thin soil or altogether bare. The trees, which were rather more numerous than we looked for, did not rise beyond twenty feet in height. The surface gave no indication that we could detect of the existence of the petroleum. On the spot which we reached, there were eight or ten wells, and we examined one of the best. The shaft was of a square form, and its dimensions about four feet to a side. It was formed by sinking a frame of wood, composed of beams of the *Mimosa catechu*, which affords a durable timber. Our conductor, the son of the Myosugi of the village, informed us that the wells were commonly from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty cubits deep, and that their greatest depth in any case was two hundred. He informed us that the one we were examining, was the private property of his father—that it was considered very



productive, and that its exact depth was one hundred and forty cubits. We measured it with a good lead-line, and ascertained its depth to be two hundred and ten feet; thus corresponding exactly with the report of our conductor—a matter which we did not look for, considering the extraordinary carelessness of the Burmans in all matters of this description. A pot of the oil was taken up, and a good thermometer being immediately plunged into it, indicated a temperature of ninety degrees. That of the air, when we left the ship an hour before, was eighty-two degrees. To make the experiment perfectly accurate, we ought to have brought a second thermometer along with us; but this was neglected. We looked into one or two of the wells, and could discern the bottom. The liquid seemed as if boiling; but whether from the emission of gaseous fluids, or simply from the escape of the oil itself from the ground, we had no means of determining. The formation, where the wells are sunk, consisted of sand, loose sandstone, and blue clay. When a well is dug to a considerable extent, the labourers informed us that brown coal was occasionally found. Unfortunately we could obtain no specimens of this mineral on the spot, but I afterwards obtained some good ones in the village. The petroleum itself, when first taken out of the well, is of a thin watery consistence, but thickens by keeping, and in the cold weather it coagulates. Its colour, at all times, is a dirty green, not much unlike that of stagnant water. It has a pungent aromatic odour, offensive to most people. The wells are worked by the simplest contrivance imaginable. There is over each well a cross-beam, supported by two rude stanchions. At the centre of the cross-beam, and embracing it, is a hollow revolving cylinder, with a channel to receive a drag-rope, to which is appended a common earthen pot that is let down into the well, and brought up full by the assistance of two persons pulling the rope down an inclined plane by the side of the well. The contents of the pot are deposited for the time in a cistern. Two persons are employed in raising the oil, making the whole number of persons engaged on each well, only four. The oil is carried to the village or port in carts drawn by a pair of bullocks, each cart conveying from ten to fourteen pots of ten viss each, or from 265 to 371 pounds avoirdupois of the commodity. The proprietors store the oil in their houses at the village, and there vend it to the exporters. The price, according to the demand, varies from four ticals of flowered silver, to six ticals per 1000 viss;

which is from five-pence to seven-pence halfpenny per cwt. The carriage of so bulky a commodity, and the brokage to which the pots are so liable, enhance the price, in the most distant parts to which the article is transported, to fifty deals per 1000 viss. Sesamum oil will cost at the same place, not less than three hundred ticals for an equal weight; but it lasts longer, gives a better light, and is more agreeable than the petroleum, which in burning emits an immense quantity of black smoke, which soils every object near it. The cheapness, however, of this article is so great, that it must be considered as conducing much to the convenience and comfort of the Burmans. Petroleum is used by the Burmans for the purpose of burning in lamps; and smearing timber, to protect it against insects, especially the white ant, which will not approach it. It is said that about two-thirds of it is used for burning; and that its consumption is universal, until its price reach that of sesamum oil, the only one which is used in the country for burning. Its consumption, therefore, is universal wherever there is water-carriage to convey it; that is, in all the country watered by the Irawadi, its tributary streams, and its branches. It includes Bassien, but excludes Martaban, Tavoy and Mergui, Aracan, Tongo, and all the northern and southern tributary states. The quantity exported to foreign parts is a mere trifle, not worth noticing. It is considered that a consumption of thirty viss per annum for each family of five and a half persons is a moderate average. If it were practicable, therefore, to ascertain the real quantity produced at the wells, we should be possessed of the means of making a tolerable estimate of the inhabitants who make use of this commodity, constituting the larger part of the population of the kingdom.

With the view of collecting data for this estimate, I made such enquiry into the nature of the trade as my short stay would admit. The number of boats waiting for cargoes of oil was correctly taken, and found to amount to one hundred and eighty-three, of very various sizes, some carrying only one thousand viss, and others fourteen thousand. According to the Burmese, whom I consulted, the average burthen of the vessels employed in this traffic, was considered to be about four thousand viss. The number now mentioned is not considered unusual; and it has been reckoned that, one with another, they complete their cargoes in fifteen days; they are therefore renewed twenty-four times in the

the course of the year; and the exportation of oil, according to this estimate, will be 17,568,000 viss. Deducting a third from this amount, that is, the quantity estimated to be used for other purposes than burning, and we have at the annual consumption of thirty viss, for a family of five and a half individuals, a population of 2,147,200.

Of the actual produce of the wells, we received accounts not easily reconcilable to each other. The Burmans, less perhaps from a disposition to impose than from incapacity to state any facts of this nature with precision, could not be relied upon, and we had no registers to consult. The daily produce of the wells was stated, according to goodness, to vary from—thirty to five hundred, the average giving —about two hundred and thirty-five viss; and the number of wells was sometimes given as low as fifty, and sometimes as high as four hundred. The average made about two hundred; and considering that they are spread over sixteen square miles, as well as that the oil is well known to be a very general article of consumption throughout the country, I do not think this number exaggerated. This estimate will make the consumers of petroleum for burning amount to 2,066,721.

In the narrative of one of my predecessors, Captain Cox, the number of wells is given as high as 520, and the average daily produce of each well is reckoned at 300 viss, which makes the whole annual produce 56,940,000. Calculating as before, this produce will give a population of 6,959,331. This is a much higher estimate than my rough data afford; but even this, it will be observed, gives but a very low estimate of the probable population of the empire. Calculations formed from such crude materials, and which would be justly disregarded where means of gaining more accurate information are within reach, have their value in a country in which exact details are never procurable upon any question of statistics.<sup>2</sup>

Re-nan-k'hyaung is but a petty village. It is situated in a narrow dell on the river-side, the sand-hills forming a sort of amphitheatre behind it. About a mile below it is a small village where coarse earthen pots are manufactured for the petroleum; and a short way above it a second village, which is also a port for exportation. At this last we counted twenty-three boats.

---

<sup>2</sup> More accurate details were afterwards obtained in Ava, and will be given in the sequel.

**September 23, 1826**

We left Re-nan-k'hyaung at daylight, and at the distance of about three miles above it came to the Pen river, a little stream which here falls into the Irawadi on its eastern bank. There is a village of the same name at its mouth. At two o'clock, favoured by a strong southerly breeze, we reached Pa-k'han-nge, or little Pa-k'han, a very pretty village, and of considerable size. Opposite to it, on the western bank, is a straggling village, which is four miles distant from the larger one of Sembeghewn (Sen-p'hyu-kywan, white elephant island), and has the same name. This is the best and most frequented route from the banks of the Irawadi to Aracan, and that by which Major Ross, with a battalion of Sepoys, and a large portion of the elephants and cattle of the army, proceeded in the month of March last. The route within the plains was no more than six days' moderate march; so that the direct distance to the foot of the hills does not probably exceed forty miles. The late King constructed the excellent road which leads to the Aracan mountains. The principal town of this district, called Salen, or Chalen, is about twelve miles from the Irawadi. An interesting account of this town and its district, which constitutes at present the estate of the King's brother-in-law and favourite, has been given by an officer of Major Ross's detachment. Round the town are the remains of a fortification, the brick walls of which are still, in some situations, fifty feet high. This is said to have been constructed when Pagan was the capital of the empire, not less than fifteen hundred years back, which would correspond with the reign of a prince named Pok-san-lan, who ascended the throne in the year of Christ 324. The district of Salen proved to be by far the most populous and cultivated which had been seen by the English since entering the Burman dominions. Numerous villages were observed, and in some places the rice culture extended as far as the eye could see. This advantage it seems to owe to the Salen river, which is dammed by the inhabitants for the purpose of irrigation, and fertilizes the country in its whole course. It is probable, that wherever such streams exist in other parts of the country, population and agricultural industry will be found to prevail; but I do not imagine they are numerous, judging from the small number we have observed falling into the Irawadi. The banks

of this river itself, before it commences its disembogement, are generally too steep and hilly to allow of the neighbouring country being cheaply irrigated from it; and this circumstance, independent of the insecurity of property, will go a great way towards accounting for the general absence of agricultural industry which we had hitherto observed. Even the boasted culture and population of Salen, which, not only from the statement of the English officers, but from its being the estate of the favourite, we may presume to be one of the finest in the kingdom, will bear no comparison with some of the choice districts of Bengal. In the printed account, it is stated to contain six hundred square miles, and to have a population of two hundred thousand inhabitants, which gives about three hundred and thirty-three to the square mile; whereas some of the Bengal districts have four, five, and even six hundred inhabitants.

At five in the evening we reached Sillah Mew (Sa-lé), on the east bank of the river. From Wet-ma-sut up to this place, after which it narrows, the Irawadi has a great breadth. In some situations, to all appearance, it was not less than four miles across. In this part of its course, it is full of large islands. The principal channel, all the way from Melloon, had been close to the eastern bank; and we had, therefore, little opportunity of observing the western. We landed at Salé, and inspected the village and its immediate neighbourhood. A great part of it had been destroyed during the war, and it had not yet recovered. The inhabitants, indeed, had at one time abandoned the place, and returned only three months ago. Notwithstanding this, they showed no symptoms of timidity, but came down in numbers to the bank to see the steam-vessel; and a crowd of them accompanied us in our walk, behaving in the most kind and respectful manner. Joy at the return of peace, indeed, and a deprecation of all war, seemed to be the universal feelings of the lower classes throughout the country. Salé contains 200 houses, and its population, therefore, may amount to 1000 or 1200 inhabitants. It is the principal place of a considerable district, situated on both sides of the river, the portion on the western bank being by far the most fertile—an observation which applies to all the country, from Wet-ma-sut to Salé. Salé has a neat appearance, and differs from the villages farther down, in having the houses built on the ground, instead of being raised on posts. Near the village, as usual, are several

considerable temples and monasteries. Immediately above it are the ruins of a brick fort, which, we were told, was constructed by the Burmans to resist the last invasion of the Talains; yet it has an appearance of much greater antiquity. Close to it is a stone with an inscription, standing on its end, and resembling a rude tombstone in a country churchyard in England. This is of sandstone, and the inscription not legible. There is enough, however, to show that it is not the character at present used by the Burmans. The country around is eminently sterile, consisting of little else than sand, on the surface of which are strewed large pebbles of quartz, and fragments of petrified wood. The inhabitants complained that little or no rain had fallen, and apprehended a famine.

We counted eighty trading boats at this place, some of them the largest we had seen. The trade consists in palm-sugar, terra japonica, onions, capsicum, and cotton. Salé has always been a place of considerable traffic. It was the only one in the country where the shopkeepers were in the habit of coming to passing travellers to hawk their goods. This mark of prosperity was now no longer visible.

### **September 24, 1826**

At half-past three in the afternoon, we reached Paghm-mew (Pagan). In our journey we had a range of hills along the west bank of the river, from two hundred to four hundred feet high. The eastern bank was much less elevated, and here a low country, with occasional gentle swellings, extended, as far as the eye could see, to the south-east. Inland from Pagan, there is an insulated range of rugged and bleak-looking hills.

The rock formation, wherever we had an opportunity of examining it, consisted of nothing else than sandstone and breccia; the soil being composed of the *debris* of these materials, with little or no vegetable mould. The hills were but partly covered with trees, and these were little better than brushwood. In the narrow belt intervening between the hills and the river alone, the soil being somewhat better, trees of considerable size were to be seen, such as the sacred fig, the tamarind, palmyra, and mango.

As we approached Pagan, we had a view of the last field on which the Burmans had tried the fortune of war with our troops. A Chief of the name of Zé-ya-thuran (Jaya-sura, bold in victory, Pali),

of the rank of a Wundok, had long importuned the King of Ava to put him in command of the army. When the hard conditions, of the treaty concluded at Patanago were announced to the Court, the King, who was reluctant to comply with them, was at length brought to yield to the wishes of Zé-ya-thuran, who accordingly received the command of the army. He took with him such troops as could be collected at Ava, and with these and the fugitives from Melloon, posted himself to the south of Pugan, where the extensive Pagodas and other ruins of this ancient capital commence. Zé-ya-thuran, whose force was supposed to amount to sixteen thousand men, instead of acting on the defensive, in field-works or stockades, like his predecessors, attempted a mode of warfare apparently more judicious—that of opposing our army, step by step, by desultory attacks and bush-fighting, for which the extensive ruins of Pugan, and the low woods on the bank of the river, which characterised the scene of action, were well suited. But the Burman troops refused to fight, and took to flight on the first assault. A post on the bank of the river was entered by our troops at the charge. The Burmese, who occupied it, precipitated themselves into the river, and here three hundred of them are said to have been bayoneted or drowned. Zé-ya-thuran fled to Ava after his defeat, and had the indiscretion, on his first audience of the King, to ask for reinforcements, and to tender fresh promises of victory. The King, provoked at his assurance, and angry with himself for having broken off the negotiations, which he felt must now be renewed to a disadvantage, ordered his vanquished general for immediate execution. Zé-ya-thuran was disliked by his fellow-courtiers, and odious to the people as a notorious oppressor. In the hour of need he had therefore no one to befriend him. He was dragged from the Hall of Audience by the hair of the head and conducted to prison, where he remained only one hour, when he was led to the place of execution, and beheaded. Mr. Judson told me, that he happened by accident to be present when he was dragged to prison, and afterwards when he was taken to the place of execution. The Burmese jailers and executioners, for they are one and the same, are all pardoned criminals; and upon this occasion displayed the most savage ferocity, knowing it was safe to do so towards a man who had not only incurred the King's displeasure, but against whom also the public hatred was particularly directed. In leading him to the prison, he was dragged

along the ground and stripped naked, the executioners disputing with each other for the different articles of his dress. When led to execution, he was pinioned as usual, and for a distance of two miles was goaded with spears, and otherwise maltreated to such a degree, that he was nearly dead before suffering decapitation. Immediately after dinner we landed, and strolled for two or three hours among the ruins of Pagan, the most remarkable and interesting remains of antiquity in the Burman dominions, and for twelve centuries the seat of government. We ascended one of the largest temples, and from this had a commanding prospect of the surrounding country and ruins; the latter extending for at least eight miles along the bank of the river, and being in depth often three or four miles. In this space, the number of temples is quite surprising. When the Burmans themselves talk of things that are countless, it is a favourite figure to say that they are as numerous as the temples of Pagan. They are of all sizes, and in various states of preservation. Some have been restored, and are still used as places of worship; others are tolerably complete, though neglected; but many are mere ruins, and a considerable number are but heaps of mouldering brick. In the evening, when I returned to the steam-vessel, I found the old Myowun of Bassien waiting for me. He had with him the royal order for the approach of the Mission to Ava. This was, according to custom, a narrow palm leaf, about three feet long, pointed at both ends—a shape which marks a royal mandate, and the forging of which is an act of high treason. The following is a literal translation of this document.

Ne-myo-men-k'haong Kyan-the.<sup>3</sup> In regard to conducting to the golden feet the English chief, he being an envoy who has come from a far country, you are to proceed along with him, sending a boat and people at the end of every two stages, saying what day you left Henzada, and at what place, and by how many stages you have arrived, and how many more stages will bring you to the presence.—The writing of the Great Wuns.

### **September 25, 1826**

---

<sup>3</sup> The name of our conductor, the ex-Governor of Bassien.



We repeated our visit this morning to the ruins of Pu-gan. This place is stated, in Burman chronology, to have been founded by a king named Sa-mud-da-raj (This is a Pali corruption of the Sanscrit words Samudra raja, or red king,--a name which suggests the probability of a foreign lineage) in the year of the grand agra 799, of Gautama 651, of Salivana, called by the Burmans Sumundri, 29, corresponding with the year of Christ 107. It was destroyed in the year of Christ 1356, but appears to have ceased to be the seat of government in favour of Chit-kaing thirty-four years earlier. In this long interval of one thousand two hundred and fifteen years there reigned fifty-seven kings, giving an average to each reign of more than twenty-one years. These reigns, long in a barbarous state of society, would seem to imply that order and tranquillity generally prevailed while the seat of government was at Pagan; and that this was the case may perhaps appear probable, from the frequent mention made in the chronological list of sons and grandsons succeeding fathers and grandfathers, and brothers succeeding brothers, while there were but few changes of dynasty.

The oldest of the temples pointed out to us, dated in the reign of King Pyan-byá, or from 846 to 864. Nine temples are ascribed by tradition to this prince; but all of them small, in a ruinous state, and without any interesting relics. The first temple which we visited had the appellation of Thapin-nyu, or "the Omniscient," which is an epithet of Gautama. It is one of the finest, has been restored, and is occasionally used as a place of worship. A short account of this will suffice to convey a notion of the style, character, and extent of all the large temples, for the whole of these are upon the same model. They are built of brick and lime; and the freestone, which is so abundant in the country, and apparently so easily worked, is generally to be seen only in the pavement of the ground-floor and court-yard, or in the construction of stairs. The bricks are well burnt, and commonly about fourteen or fifteen inches long, and eight broad. The form of the temple is an equilateral quadrangle, having on each side four large wings, also of a quadrangular form. In these last are the entrances, and they contain the principal images of Gautama. Each side of the temple measures about two hundred and thirty feet. The whole consists of four stages, or stories, diminishing in size as they ascend. The ground story only has wings. The centre of the building consists of

a solid mass of masonry: over this, and rising from the last story of the building, is a steeple, in form not unlike a mitre, ending in a thin spire, which is crowned with an iron umbrella, as in the modern temples. Round each stage of the building is an arched corridor, and on one side a flight of stairs leads all the way to the last story. We ascended by this flight, and found it to consist of a hundred and sixty steps, giving a height which may be estimated at eighty feet. The whole height of the building, including the spire, we were informed by our guides, was a hundred and thirty-five cubits, or about two hundred and ten feet. Round this temple, like all the rest, there is a court fenced by a brick wall, with gateways. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this temple, as well as of almost all the other buildings of Pagan, is the prevalence of the arch. The gateways, the doors, the galleries, and the roofs of all smaller temples, are invariably formed by a well-turned Gothic arch. It had been alleged, that the art of turning an arch has been lost by the modern Burmans. There is no foundation for this opinion; for, in the vicinity of Rangoon, I have seen several very good arches in buildings of recent structure. The truth is, that their modern buildings, consisting generally of masses of solid masonry, or of wood, necessarily exclude the use of the arch. The temple of Thappin-nyu contains some modern images of Gautama, of an enormous size, composed of common brick and plaster, gilt over, but very rudely and clumsily executed. Its construction is ascribed to Alaum-chao-su, a prince of Pagan, whose reign commenced in 1081, and ended in 1151 of Christ.

From the temple of Thapin-nyu we proceeded to another large one, called, after Ananda, the favourite disciple of Gautama. This is in a much more complete state of repair, and the spire has been lately gilt over. These improvements were effected by the father of his present Majesty, and were in progress during Colonel Syme's visit to the country. As a place of worship, it has the highest reputation of any of the temples of Pagan. We found here a number of persons at their devotions, and among them a party of men and women of respectable appearance, who had come from Ava for this express purpose. Each angle of this temple was found to measure two hundred and twenty-five feet, and the spire was reported by our guides to be one hundred and seven cubits, or one hundred and sixty feet and a half in height. The temple contains many huge images of Gautama, of the usual structure and form,

but no relick of antiquity. Its building is ascribed to Kyan-Thak-sa, who reigned in Pagan from 1056 of Christ, to 1081. He was the grandfather and immediate predecessor of Alann-Chau-sù, who built Thapin-nyu.

Not far from the temple of Ananda there are some good Kyaungs, or monasteries, here, as in other places, built of wood, and tiled: connected with them is a small building of masonry, the inside of the wall of which is covered with rude paintings, representing the Burman hell, called Nga-ra, probably a corruption of the Pali Naraka, and of the country or paradise of Nats. The punishments in the first are various—all of them physical; such as having the entrails torn out by vultures—decapitations—knocking the brains out with a hammer, and similar evils. Ease—idleness—high seats, and numerous attendants, are, to judge from the paintings of this place, among the principal joys of the paradise of Nats. According to the Burman creed, the Nats, like all other beings, are liable to evil and to change; the only exception is in favour of those admitted into Nibban, where there is neither joy, nor grief—pleasure or pain; a state, which if it does not amount to absolute annihilation, approaches as near to it as can well be imagined.

In passing from the temple of Ananda to the next, and close to an old and massy gateway, which belonged to the ancient fortification of Pagan, we came upon the first inscriptions which we had seen. These were on two square columns of sandstone, each about seven feet high above the ground, and much like the massy posts of a gate, although they had certainly not been used for this purpose. The four sides of these pillars were completely covered with writing, which appeared quite distinct and perfect. The character is not legible to the present race of inhabitants, or at least we could find no person at Pagan who could understand it. A person lately deceased, it was stated, made himself master of it; and his son, now at Ava, is said to have inherited his knowledge. The Pali writings of the Burman priests and laity are in the common character of the country, in which they differ from the Siamese, Kambojans, and, I believe; Cingalese, whose sacred writings are invariably in the ancient Pali character, or, as it is frequently denominated, that of Magad'ha. The only exception amongst the Burmans is one short book of a few leaves, commonly written on sheets of ivory. called Kamawa; and the form of the

character in this instance, although essentially the same, varies a good deal from that in use among the Siamese.

The next temple which we reached has the name of Baúd'hi, a Pali name of the sacred fig. This is of the same general form as the rest, but wants the wings, and is altogether much smaller. It is in good order, and is a neat and pretty building, having at a little distance mud) the look of an English village church. On the outside of it frequent images of Budd'ha appear in niches, and the spire especially is crowded with them. We thought this the best specimen of Burman architecture we had any where seen. The accompanying drawing will convey a better notion of it than I can give in writing. We had been informed, that in a portico of this temple had been collected a great number of stones with inscriptions on them. These accordingly we found, and to the number of no less than fifty-three. These stones were always small slabs of sandstone, exactly resembling, as I have said of those which we saw at Sa-lé, a tombstone in an English country churchyard at the head of a grave. Some were mutilated, and in others the character was a good deal defaced or obliterated; but in general, both material and character were perfect. The writing appeared exactly the same as in the two columns already mentioned, some allowance being made for variety in handwriting. I may also add, that it appeared to me to be the same with that which is found in ancient inscriptions in Java. The character is even not so remote from the modern Javanese, but that I could make out several letters without difficulty. After the experience we have had of Indian inscriptions, it is not to be expected that much useful historical information would be obtained from those of Pagan, if they were translated. Among so many, however, we might reckon on finding a few names and dates to corroborate the accounts which the Burmans give of their own story, or even some facts to illustrate their ancient manners, religion, and institutions. The temple of Baúd'hi, according to the tradition given of it, is the most recent of the ancient structures of Pagan, having been built by Zé-ya-sinha (Jaya-sin'ha, Victorious Lion, Pali), who reigned from 1190 to 1212. This prince is surnamed Nang-tonug-mya-mang, or the King of many-ear-jewels.

We proceeded from this temple to a small one named Shweku, or the golden gourd. This is distinguished from the rest, by being built upon a high terrace; and it therefore makes, though

small, a very good appearance. It has no wings, but a porch leads to it, and it consists of a single chamber, the roof of which is a dome, having over it a spire, as in the larger temples, an ornament indeed inseparable from all these buildings. In the wall of this temple, before entering the chamber, we saw the only inscription in modern Burman which we met with. It is, as elsewhere, written on sandstone. The character differs a little from that at present in use, and the language is somewhat obsolete; but these presented no great difficulties, and Mr. Judson easily made a translation, which is as follows:

In the year Má-k'ha 913, on the 2095 year after the Omniscient God passed into *Nibban*, in the reign of the elder brother and monarch, Lord of the World, he emancipated the disciples—the inherited property of the monasteries throughout his dominions.<sup>4</sup> He also caused that the duties should be levied at the receipts of customs, and landing-place, according to established usage. If any Kings, or Nobles, or Landlords,<sup>5</sup> shall levy beyond the accustomed rate, let them be said to have destroyed Gods, religion, the priests, and the people of the land.

On referring to the chronological list, the prince referred to is ascertained to have been Na-ra-pa-ti-gan, a king who reigned at Ava from the year 1551 to 1554 of Christ. The year alluded to as the first of his reign, and the inscription was, no doubt, intended to commemorate, one of those professions of justice and liberality which Eastern monarchs are accustomed to make in the beginning of their rule. The inscription is dated one hundred and ninety-eight years after the destruction of Pagan. In this interval it may be presumed that the common Burman character, nearly in its

---

<sup>4</sup> Crawford's original note: Prisoners of war and others, are frequently condemned to be hereditary slaves for the service of the temples, and this class of persons seems here to be alluded to. According to this practice, we found at Rangoon a large body of Talains under a chief of their own, who were considered slaves to the Shwe-dagong Pagoda.

<sup>5</sup>Crawford's original note: Kye-sa, the term here translated landlord, for want of better, is the same at present in use, and means, literally, "eater" or "consumer" of the district, or land; by which is intended, the public officer, or favourite, for those whose maintenance the town, district, or rather allotment of land, is assigned by the Government.

present form, began to supersede the recondite character of the sacred language.

On each side of the door, and within the chamber, we found two long inscriptions on stones in the wall. These stones were covered with a black shining varnish, with the exception of the character, which was very distinct. This, like all but the last mentioned, was Pali. We had first imagined the stone to be black marble, but on examination it proved to be only sandstone shining from the recent varnish.

After quitting this temple, we came accidentally to a small ruinous one, not distinguished by any particular name. It consisted of a single arched chamber. Here alone the doorway, instead of being arched as in the rest of the temples, was formed of blocks of freestone, both lintel and posts being composed of this material. Here I was a good deal surprised to discover decided evidence of the Brahminical religion. In niches, on the outer side of the wall, were several small figures in sand-stone, which were generally too much mutilated to be easily identified. One, however, was evidently Hanuman, the monkey general of Rama. Within the chamber were two good images in sandstone, and sculptured in high relief. One of these was Vishnu, or Krishna, sitting on his *garuda*; and the other Siwa, the destroying powder, with his *trisula*, or trident, in one hand, and a mallet in the other. They were lying neglected on the floor. Our Burman guides pointing to the tallest figure, that of Siwa, said that he was a Nat, or demi-god, under an interdict for slaying cattle. The Nats, according to the Burmans, are an order of beings superior to mankind; of which some are mischievous, and others beneficent. Such of the Hindoo gods as are known to them are considered to be Nats, some good and some bad. In short, they seem to have made as free at least with Hindoo mythology, as the Mohammedans have done with that of the Jews and Christians.

This temple afforded the only evidence of Hinduism which we observed at Pagan, with the exception of a small oval tile found at a large temple, which I did not visit, caned Gau-da-palen (the throne of Gau-da, a celebrated Nat), in size and structure similar to that of Thapin-nyu. This has upon it a figure of Budd'ha, in relief, under which was an inscription of three lines, in the Deva Nagari character, which I suppose to be Sanscrit. (The inscription was afterwards examined at Calcutta by Mr. Horace Wilson, but

although the writing was good legible Nagari, the meaning could not be made out. The language therefore was certainly not Sanscrit, or even Pali, but in all likelihood some provincial dialect of India).

The temple containing the Hindoo images which I have just mentioned, is ascribed to 'Nau-ra-tha-chau, whose reign commenced at Pagan in the year of Christ 997, and terminated in 1030. If these images were the principal objects of worship in the temple, as is probable, and not warders, a situation in which they nowhere else appear at Pagan, it may be strongly suspected that the Budd'hism of the Burmans, eight hundred years ago, differed materially in form from that which is at present established; and that it was intermixed with the Brahminical worship, as is suspected to have been the case in Java. The Hindoo form of the temples at Pagan, and the existence of writings in the Ueva Nagari character, would seem, at least, to give support to such a conjecture.

The last temple which we visited is called Damma-ran-kri, the etymology of which I have not been able to ascertain. This temple is the largest which we saw, and had certainly been the finest; but it was now in a state of much dilapidation, although still frequented as a place of worship, and having some coarse modern figures of Gautama in the wings, one of which represented the deity reclining at full length, his head resting on a pillow, an attitude which is much less frequent than the sitting posture. The form of this temple was the same with that first described, but it was much larger, each angle measuring two hundred and seventy feet. The masonry was carefully and skilfully executed; and to strengthen the corners, there were throughout, at regular intervals of about six feet, blocks of hewn freestone. A strong well-built brick wall, twelve feet high, still perfect in many places, surrounded the court-yard. In this wall, fronting the doors of the temple, there are four massy and handsome arched gateways. Every thing connected with it, in short, conveyed the impression of a superior order of building. In the gallery of the ground-floor we found two large stones, containing inscriptions in a character similar to all the others. The building of this handsome edifice is ascribed to a king who reigned in Pagan from 1151 of Christ to 1154, and who is commonly known in Burman story by the epithet of Kula-kya. Kula is a term applied by the Burmans to the inhabitants of every

country lying west of their own, whether European or Asiatic, and, in the sense in which they use it, is not very remote from the word Barbarian, as it was applied by the Greeks to strangers. Kya is, to fall, or be dethroned; and it is stated that the epithet is derived from the circumstance of this prince having lost his life and throne by the hands of a foreigner from the West, and, we may suspect, most probably by those of some Hindoo adventurer.

There are some circumstances connected with these curious remains, which require a few words of explanation. The antiquity ascribed to them may at first view be doubted, when the perishable nature of the materials of which they are composed is considered. It must be remembered, however, that those that are in the best state of preservation have been carefully attended to, and bear evidence of having been repaired or restored. The materials also are excellent of their kind; and the arch, which so frequently prevails, is well suited to give them stability. The climate also, although a tropical one, is, from the nature of the soil, well calculated to give durability to buildings. The temples may be said to stand on a rock; and such is the sterility of the soil, that the buildings have suffered little or no injury from trees or smaller vegetables insinuating their roots or branches into the walls. In tropical countries generally, the greatest destroyers of neglected buildings are the banyan, the sacred and other fig-trees; but among the ruins of Pagan we did not see a single example of these plants having insinuated themselves. From demolition by the hand of man, these temples have been sufficiently secured by the superstition of the people, who still profess the same religion with their founders.

The vast extent of the ruins of Pagan, and the extent and splendour of its religious edifices, may be considered by some as proofs of considerable civilization and wealth among the Ancient Burmans; but I am convinced there is no foundation whatever for such an inference. The building of a temple among the Burmans is not only a work of piety, but the chief species of luxury and ostentation, in which those who have become possessed of wealth either by industry or extortion, are permitted to indulge; and at Pagan we have the accumulated labour of twelve centuries so expended.

In returning home, after spending four hours among the ruins, a small temple was pointed out to us on the bank of the



river. This, to which we paid a visit, has nothing remarkable in its form, and is evidently now a modern structure in very good order. It was stated to us however by our guides, that the original temple on this spot was the first ever built at Pagan, and that it was constructed by Phru Chau-ti, the third king of Pagan, whose reign began in the year of Christ 167, and ended in 242.

We left Pagan at three o'clock, but having to make the circuit of a long sand-bank, we did not reach Nyaung-ngu (Fig-tree promontory) until sunset, although the latter place is not above three or four miles distant from the former. Nyaung-ngu is but a continuation of Pagan; occasional houses and numerous temples occurring all the way between them, and the last even for a mile farther up the river. We landed, but as the evening was fast closing, we had time only for a very short excursion. We proceeded inland to hill, on which we perceived the ruins of a temple or monastery. This eminence was about one hundred feet high, and composed of breccia. A flight of steps, consisting of blocks of sandstone of great length, led to it. The building, which had stood upon the hill, was a confused ruin, of which nothing could be made. It was said to have been a monastery. The face of the country was prettily diversified with swelling grounds, and near the town were, as usual, many fine fig-trees, tamarinds, and palmyras. There was a good deal of cultivation, divided into small fields, surrounded by a hedge, composed of the dead branches of a thorny tree, the Indian plum, or *zizyphus jujuba*. The soil, both here and at Pagan, is singularly sterile, consisting of little else than sand and gravel, with occasional fragments of petrified wood. Even at this season the surface was covered with very little vegetation, but the little grass there was seemed of a good quality. At Pagan we had seen in the morning the peasantry at work in the fields which lay among the ruins: their labour was harrowing,—the implement used consisting of a large rake, dragged, by from three to four oxen abreast, which were managed by one man sitting on a cross-beam raised on two stanchions over the rake, his weight thus giving more effect to the operation. The objects intended to be cultivated in these fields were cucumbers, pumpkins, and sesamum.

### **September 26, 1826**

The country before us, and on each side, appeared now nearly an open champaign, with a few insulated hills, or short hilly ranges, scattered over it here and there, at a long interval from each other. Among these by far the most remarkable was Paopa, which, in some aspects, had much the look of a volcanic cone, but this disappeared when we came abreast of it. I should conjecture that this mountain cannot be less than five thousand feet high. The Aracan range of hills was daily in sight, and diminished greatly in height as we advanced northwards. At twelve o'clock we were abreast of Pa-k'hok-ko, on the western side of the river, a place of considerable extent and population. The inhabitants poured out to the bank to see the steam-vessel, and formed such a concourse as we had nowhere seen unless at Prome. Pa-k'hok-ko is a place of great trade, and a kind of emporium for the commerce between Ava and the lower country; many large boats, which cannot proceed to the former in the dry season, taking in their cargoes at this place. We counted one hundred and fifty trading vessels, of which twenty-one were of the largest size of Burman merchant-boats. The articles exported consist of silk and cotton cloths, but especially the latter, which is extensively manufactured in the vicinity; terra-japonica, sesamum-oil, palm-sugar, gram (*cicer arietinum*), and tobacco. Ten miles inland from Pa-k'hok-ko, is the town of Pungangyi (Puk'han-kri), or great Puk'han, a populous place, surrounded by a brick wall, and containing some remains of antiquity; among others, some inscriptions on stone, said to be similar to those of Pagan. Pa-k'hok-ko, and the domain annexed to it, lately constituted the estate assigned to Maung-shué-nyan, a celebrated actor. This person, a native of Rangoon, gained the present King's favour by his professional talents, his quickness at repartee, and his accomplishments as a buffoon; and he received a title of nobility, with an estate, as marks of royal favour. During the war, he had a small command, but disgraced himself by a precipitate flight. He was in the stockade where Thongba Wungyi was killed on the 7th of July 1824. After this, he fell into disgrace, quarrelled with some of the principal courtiers, and was discovered to be an atrocious oppressor, having put several persons on his estate to death. The King discovered his mistake in promoting him, imprisoned him twice as a correctional punishment; but finding him irreclaimable, he deprived him of his estate, and confiscated his personal property.

In the evening, we came to an anchor under an island about two miles below a village on the western bank, called Nga-m'hyanga (the little fish-hook).

### **September 27, 1826**

At half-past eleven o'clock this forenoon we were abreast of Tarup-Myo, or Chinese Town, which is distant from the river, on its eastern bank, about two miles: the spires of its temples only were visible. At twelve o'clock we passed the confluence of the Irawadi (Irawati) and Kyen-dwen rivers. The prospect afforded by their junction is not, as we expected to find it, imposing. Both rivers are here confined to a comparatively narrow bed; and the tongue of land which divides them is so low and covered with reeds, that it may be easily mistaken for an island, and consequently the smaller river, the Kyen-dwen, for a branch of the larger one. The proper orthography of the Kyen-dwen is Kyang-twang, pronounced Kyen-dwen. I may take this opportunity of explaining one difficulty in rendering Burman words into Roman letters. The sound given to a final consonant is regulated by rules of euphony, which are perfectly regular, but it is necessary to know them. Colonel Wood, the officer who gave the name as it now stands in our maps, took the sounds as he heard them. *I* after *an*, or *ng*, is pronounced as *d*. After the name, the word river, or *mit*, would have been given to him by the natives. In this case the final *n*, or *ng*, of *twang*, is sounded as *m*; and hence the name, as written down, abounds in errors. Another example is afforded in the Burman word for Chinese, just mentioned, which is correctly written *Tarut*, but may be pronounced also *Tarug*, or *Taruk*, or *Tarup*, according to the consonant which follows it. In these cases consistency cannot be attained, except by adhering to the original orthography of the words as written by the Burmans themselves, as far as this is practicable, through the use of Roman letters, and an approximation to it may be made in almost every case. The words *Kyang-twang-mit* imply, the river that is within the country of the people called *Kyang*, this nation chiefly inhabiting its banks. This stream is also known by the name of the *Thanlawati*, or, perhaps more correctly, *Sanlawati*, if it be a Sanscrit name, which is likely. We were now in a flat country, the nearest ranges of hills, to the east, being at least thirty miles distant, and the Aracan mountains,

to the west, not less than fifty in the nearest part, and sixty or seventy in the most distant. The villages and cultivation were here very considerable, but still the appearance of industry was not striking, and, judging from the prospect on the banks of the river, the soil, although better, was still thin, sandy, and remote from fertile. Of the cultivation, the most remarkable feature is immense groves of palmyra-trees, grown for the manufacture of sugar, which, judging from the vast number of these palms, must be an extensive article of consumption. The price at Pa-k'hok-ko, which is the great mart for it, does not, on an average, exceed ten current ticals per hundred viss, which, in English money and weights, is less than a penny a-pound.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we reached Yandabo (Ran-ta-po), near which we stayed two hours, laying in a stock of wood, sufficient for our consumption to Ava. Here, for the first time, we met a country extensively cultivated and clear of forest, extending from the banks of the river to a low range of hills lying south-east of it. This is the place at which the conferences were held, and the treaty of peace concluded, in February last. The large tree was pointed out to us, under which was the tent of the Commander of the British army, and in which the negotiations were conducted. The place will be memorable in Burman annals. The Burmese Court changed its tone as our army advanced upon the capital. When our troops first landed at Rangoon, it spoke of the affair as a predatory excursion, and was in great haste lest the invaders might escape. Before reaching Prome, it refused to negotiate. At this place it entered into an armistice, to gain time. After its defeats in December last, it at length consented to negotiate; but the negotiators insisted that the conferences should be held in a Burman vessel lying in the river between the two armies. It was evident that they had not yet been sufficiently humiliated, and therefore fortunate, that at this period they broke the treaty. At Yandabo, Sir Archibald Campbell dictated that the conferences should be held in his tent, and every point demanded was yielded without difficulty; the customary equivocations and procrastination of the Burman statesman yielding on every occasion to a threat to advance the army. At this period the Burman Court made a faint attempt to hide its humiliation from its own subjects. The instalment of the money paid at Yandabo was first brought down clandestinely at night, and the inhabitants

directed, at the peril of their lives, to keep within doors, that they might not witness the shame of their Government. Even this subterfuge was at length abandoned; and before the instalment was completed, the money was openly brought from Ava in broad day. The Burman, peculiarly a Government of fear and violence, seems to have little hold of the affections of its subjects, and the support of its authority chiefly depends upon its maintaining a character of infallibility. Much of its system of administration consists in a juggle to impress this character upon the minds of its subjects, and its assumed preeminence is perhaps founded as much upon policy, as upon national vanity and miscalculation of its own strength. Under such circumstances, it may seem surprising that no formidable insurrection broke out during the progress of the contest with the British. The countries actually occupied by our army, submitted, indeed, peaceably to our rule; and, had we determined on permanent conquest, would in all likelihood have been easily maintained. Against the sovereign, however, humbled as he was, there was but one plot at Court, and the evidence even of this is doubtful. The case alluded to was as follows: The Pakan Wun, or Governor of Pakan, had, towards the conclusion of the war, become a favourite: he was vested with the command of the army, and nearly with the powers of a dictator. He was a man of bad character, and the same who contemplated the murder of the European and American prisoners. By his insolence in his new elevation, he incurred the enmity of several members of the royal family, and of the officers of Government who plotted for his destruction. It was given out that he aimed at the throne, and that certain insignia of royalty had been discovered in his house. In less than an hour he was deprived of his dignities, his property was confiscated, and he was beheaded. The forbearance evinced by the people and chiefs during the war, is, I am told, ascribed mainly to the popular character of the King, who is universally considered by them as a man of good dispositions, having the happiness of the people at heart, although from weakness often misled by bad counsel. A very moderate share of merit, indeed, seems to be sufficient to make an Asiatic prince popular.

In the evening we anchored a short way above the village of Samai-kom. This is a place from which cotton is exported for the Chinese market, and here and at several other places within the district of Tarut salt-petre is manufactured: the price on the spot is

fifteen current ticals, or about thirty rupees the hundred viss, which is greatly dearer than the same article in the market of Calcutta.

### **September 28, 1826**

After passing Samai-kom, we came to the termination of the largest island which we had met in the Irawadi, and which extends all the way from the confluence of the two rivers to the place we were now at: it is called Ala-kyun, or middle island: it is high and generally cultivated. After this the Irawadi expands to a breadth which was at present not less than four miles: it is full of low islands, evidently inundated during the highest rise of the water,—therefore uncultivated, and covered with the same tall grass which we had traced, under similar circumstances, throughout our whole progress: the *saccharum spontaneum*.

At one o'clock we passed Ra-patong, a village on the east bank. This was the spot at which the Burmans contemplated making their last effort, had the British army not been arrested in its progress by the Treaty of Yandabo. Mr. Judson told me, that on his way down, he here found the Burman force encamped, under the old Chief Kaulen Mengyi, who had been defeated at Melun. The Chiefs, he said, were quite dejected and dispirited, and their troops did not exceed one thousand men, composed principally of their personal retainers—in disorder, and without equipments. Our march to Ava, had it been necessary to advance, would have been easy, and through a country much superior to any which the army had passed over.

We reached the village of Kyauk-ta-long (single rock) about four o'clock in the evening, where we stopped for the night. A few miles below Kyauk-ta-long we found a deputation sent from Ava to meet us. The chief of it was a Sare-d'haukri, commonly pronounced Saye-d'haugyi, which means a Royal Secretary of the Lutd'hau. This was a person of some rank, wearing a gold chain of nine strings, and having a title of four syllables, I mention these particulars, because such matters are of high importance with the Burmans, and chiefly determine the rank of parties. The smallest number of chains is three, and the greatest for a subject twelve, the immediate ones being six and nine. Four-and-twenty strings to the chain are worn by the royal family only. With respect to the

number of syllables in a title, although much depends upon this, still some small allowance also is made for sense; and it is especially of importance that the title should commence with the Pali word, Maha, or Great, when a subject is referred to; or Thato, of which I do not know the meaning, when the individual is a member of the royal family. The late King's title (of his own selection, of course), consisted of twenty-one syllables; and as no word in the Burman language exceeds two syllables, and the greater proportion are of one only, it may readily be imagined what an assemblage of virtues and high qualities it must have embraced. The Saye-d'haugyis was Men-ten-si-thu. He was accompanied by two other chiefs, the old Governor of the province of Myit-sin, and the "North Comttiandant of Horse." They came on board, after ascertaining, by a previous message sent from the shore, that the promised Envoy was present. The conduct of Men-ten-si-thu and his associates was extremely civil and decorous: they put few questions, and no improper ones, and showed none of the importunity to which I had been too much accustomed at Siam, and even Cochin China, under similar circumstances. A writer sat behind the officers of the deputation, and the chief dictated a report to him on the spot, which, when we arrived at Kyauk-ta-long, was immediately dispatched to Ava by a horseman.

### **September 29, 1826**

Last night and this morning we made excursions into the country about Kyauk-ta-long. Several roads for wheel-carriages lead from it,—one of them to Ava: these are of a deep sand, and so narrow that two carts cannot pass abreast. The country on both sides of the river had been far better cultivated in the course of our journey to-day, than we had yet seen it. Still, a hilly range ran not far from both banks of the river, leaving the amount of level ground for cultivation very inconsiderable. These hills at Kyauk-ta-long came almost to the river-side. We ascended them, and found them from fifty to one hundred feet high, composed of sandstone in various states of induration, with embedded breccia and indurated clay, some of the last of a slaty texture. The rock had a more distinct stratification than we had before observed, the strata from the river side appearing at an angle of about fifteen degrees. Nothing in a

tropical climate, at least, can be imagined more bleak and barren than these hills.

The bare rocks, even in this season of general verdure elsewhere, are constantly visible, and in the interstices between them the sand and gravel give birth only to patches of brushwood. The narrow valleys are however cultivated, and in these were growing rice, cotton, and sesamum, but in a very scanty soil. We met large flocks of very fine black cattle returning from pasture. The males are generally emasculated, and these alone are used for labour, the females being exclusively reserved for breeding. They are seldom milked, as the Burmans generally do not use this article for diet. This circumstance may probably account for the general superiority of the Burman cattle over those of Bengal. They are fed upon rice, chopped straw, and oil-cake; but, considering the scantiness of the vegetation, they must be poorly off in the dry season. During that time, I am told that the leaves of the fig and other trees are had recourse to for fodder. The price of a pair of bullocks at Kyauk-ta-long varies, according to quality, from thirty ticals up to one hundred, each tical of one rupee, or two shillings. A cow does not cost above eight or ten ticals, and a bull may be had at from five to nine. At Kyauk-ta-long, and a few other places close to the capital, *ghee*, or clarified butter, for the consumption of strangers residing at Ava and Rangoon, is prepared in small quantity. The principal place where this is done is the village of Ngazwan, four or five miles below Kyauk-ta-long, on the same side of the river. Many of its inhabitants are a colony of Hindoos from the Coromandel coast, dressing as Burmans, using the Burman language, but still following the religion of their own country. On the opposite side of the river to this Hindoo colony, I may notice that there are five or six villages of Catholic Christians under a pastor, who was called to us Don Joseph, and who is an European Italian. These Christians were carried off by Alompra, when he took Syrian in the year 1757. He placed them here, where they have continued ever since, dressing in the Burman costume, and chiefly occupied in Cultivating the soil. Having put the steam-vessel in such order as to make a respectable appearance on our arrival at the capital, we quitted Kyaak-ta-long at half- past ten o'clock this morning. The officers of the Burman deputation showed the utmost anxiety to detain us until an answer should be received to their dispatch, and farther instructions obtained from the Court. I



wished to show them that the Mission came as a matter of right, in virtue of the treaty, and that no order could be expected but one inviting us to proceed, which we should certainly meet on our way. After we had proceeded a few miles, the expected instructions met us. The following is a translation of the written order, which shows the minute attention paid by the Burman Court to the trifles of etiquette:

Men-ten-si-thu, Royal Secretary, &c. It is necessary that the Chiefs and Officers who have arrived at Kyauk-ta-long should be received suitably. Let them wait where they may have arrived on receipt of this, and let the old Governor of Myit-sin and the North Commandant of Horse be sent up to report the day, the hour, and the place of their arrival.

Being assured that preparations were making to give us a handsome reception, and that a second deputation, consisting of officers of superior rank, was coming down to meet us, we came to an anchor, at half-past one o'clock, off the east bank of the river, at a place pointed out as a suitable one by the Burman deputies. This was at a small village named Paok-to, about six miles from Ava, and facing a stupendous temple, called Kaong-m'hu-d'hau, on the opposite bank of the river: this differed in shape from all we had seen, being something between that of a bell and a bee-hive, with a small cupola at the top. Kaong-m'hu means, in the Burman language, "good act," or "meritorious deed," and has become an appellative for any religious building. When, for example, inquiry is made respecting the foundation of any particular temple, it is a common phrase to say, "Whose deed of merit is this?" or words to that effect. The present temple means the royal deed of merit, so called *par excellence*. The scene which now presented itself was extremely picturesque and imposing: at six miles' distance from us we had the spires and temples of Ava on the east bank of the river, and those of Sagaing on the west. To the southeast, behind Ava, we could plainly distinguish four ranges of hills, gradually rising one above another: the nearest did not appear to be above ten miles from Ava; but the most distant seemed at least fifty or sixty miles off, and these last were to all appearance higher than any portion of the Aracan range which we had seen.

**September 30, 1826**

We made excursions into the village yesterday afternoon and this morning. The country is here a low champaign, running from the bank of the river, for at least fifteen miles, to a low range of hills to the east. The whole of this plain was in a state of culture, with the necessary exception of some lakes; two of which, not far from the river, we visited. The soil, as before, was thin and sandy, perceptibly undulating, and of course improving in fertility on the borders of the lakes. The peasantry were engaged in their labour, and we found them extremely civile communicative, and not wanting in intelligence. I conversed with them chiefly through my interpreter, Maongno, a Burman of Rangoon, who had acquired some knowledge of English and Hindi at Madras, and who, with much intelligence, had a very conciliating manner. The land produces rice towards the lakes, and in the higher grounds various pulses. Three crops of rice are generally produced yearly, and always two. The best crop is obtained with the assistance of the periodical rains: this is of white rice of the finest quality. The next two crops are obtained by the assistance of irrigation from the lakes, and consist of coarse red rice, used only by the peasantry, and little esteemed. The produce of rice for the seed sown, appears at the highest to be twenty-five fold, but, on an average, does not exceed ten. This is the lowest production in this grain which I have ever heard of. In Pegu, the produce seldom falls short of fifty, and often comes up to eighty-fold. In some of the lands now alluded to, the husbandry followed is, to take a crop of rice in the wet season, and a crop of pulses in the dry. Under this management, the average produce of rice is fifteen-fold; and when the pulse sown is the *Cicer arietinum*, the pea given as common food to horses throughout the Bengal provinces the produce is as much as forty-fold. With pulses less productive, but more esteemed for food, several species of *Phaseolus* and *Dolichos*, it is no more than fifteen or twenty-fold. We measured one field, which was to be sown with one of the pulses most esteemed, for food in India, the *Phaseolus max*. The owner told us that he expected it would yield three hundred viss of grain. This would give five hundred and fifty viss, or about one thousand four hundred and fifty-seven pounds per acre. The unproductiveness of the soil is in some measure balanced by the little labour required in tilling it, on account of its

loose and sandy texture. The implements of husbandry consist of a plough and harrow, both of them extremely rude, and, with the exception of the ploughshare, which is of iron, and commonly imported from China, all of wood. The most substantial parts of these implements are of the timber of the *Mimosa catechu*. The plough is considered worth two current ticals, or four shillings; and the harrow, a rake of from four to eight teeth, according to the nature of the soil and the grain cultivated, about half as much: these are drawn by a pair of bullocks, the most expensive part of the husbandman's stock, and which, according to our inquiries, were worth forty ticals. The ground commonly receives a harrowing before it is ploughed, by which means the scanty vegetation on the surface of a loose soil is removed, which amounts to a good weeding. Rice is first sown in beds, and afterwards transplanted; which is contrary to the usual practice of the lower country, where it is sown broad-cast, and not afterwards removed. One of the cultivators informed us that the field he was tilling was the property of his father, and had been inherited by him from his ancestors. It was at present, he said, mortgaged along with the contiguous field, altogether estimated at one acre, for the sum of sixty ticals; the mortgagee receiving no interest, but being put in possession of the land, and deriving all profits from it from the date of the loan,—the ground to be forfeited in three years if the debt were not liquidated. He also said that no portion of the produce was paid to the King, nor to the person who held the domain as a temporary estate. In lieu of a land-tax, he added, that the latter personage assessed each family in the village at an arbitrary rate, which, for the same family, varied from fifty to one hundred ticals yearly, besides *corvéés*. Another husbandman informed us that the ground he was engaged in cultivating was the property of another; that he rented it, and paid the proprietor half the produce, himself supplying seed, cattle, and implements of husbandry. When I came on board, the Sayedaugyi told me that the village of Pauk-to was one of thirty constituting the district of Tapé; that it paid its lord ten thousand ticals yearly,—five thousand of this arising from the rent of five lakes, of which we saw two, and the remainder from the tax on families. From this amount, he makes a present to the King amounting to a tenth, but sometimes to twice as much; for in this, as in every thing else, there is nothing determinate, which is one of the main evils of the Burman Government. The peasantry, on

estates given away, like the present, are sometimes called upon for extraordinary contributions to the crown, besides the revenue paid to the lord. Thus, when the King out of caprice changed the seat of government from Amarapura to Ava, each family paid one hundred and fifty ticals to assist in constructing the fortifications and palaces of the new city. By far the largest proportion of the land of the kingdom is given away in estates to the royal family, public officers, and favourites. The rest is a royal domain,—the King standing in the same relation to it that the lord does in other cases. This, I believe, may be considered as a fair statement of the condition of the tenure of cultivated land, at least in the most populous parts of the kingdom. The lord of the domain of Tapé is the Akyok-won, which, for propriety's sake, may be rendered Keeper of the Wardrobe, or Chamberlain; but Akyok literally means a tailor,—and the joint words “Ruler of the Tailors.” This personage, however, is not only chief of all the tailors in his Majesty's employ, but of the goldsmiths, the cutlers, &c., and he is also charged with the care of the royal wardrobe,—of scenic dresses, masks, &c.: in fact, he is a person of considerable rank and importance. The lakes, which we visited, are, as already stated, fisheries of considerable value. They abound in small shell-fish, some of which are used by the inhabitants as food: these, dead and alive, are found abundantly on the shores; and being left when the water recedes, no doubt contribute greatly to fertilize the banks. In the cold season the lakes are much frequented by water-fowl, which are generally birds of passage. We saw a few ducks and geese even at this early period of the season, besides great numbers of curlews. There is little in the botanical department which can escape the activity and skill of Dr. Wallich. He here discovered a new aquatic genus of the family of *Hydrocharides*, nearly allied to the European plant which has given name to the natural order. He named the genus *Abildgoordia*, in compliment to the memory of his friend and preceptor, Professor Abildgoord, of Copenhagen.

Last night, a Wundauk<sup>6</sup> and three Sayedaugyis arrived as a deputation from Ava to receive us, and, immediately after my

---

<sup>6</sup> Crawford's original note: From *Wun*, a burden, and *tauk*, a prop; which may be rendered, in English, assistant, or deputy; the Wun-tauk being, in fact, a deputy to the Wungyi. The letter *t* is here euphonicly pronounced *d*, as in many other cases.

return from our walk, they came on board in three royal barges, covered all over, not excepting the oars, with gold, and having each forty rowers. These boats are themselves exceedingly neat and handsome, but the rowers were not uniformly dressed.; and, upon the whole, this parade made by no means so good an appearance as the royal barges in Cochin China. The Wundauk and his associates were received on the poop of the steam-vessel. They put very few questions, and their demeanour altogether was unexceptionably frank and civil. They requested us to move up to Ava as soon as we were disposed, and that they would accompany us, expressing regret that we had disappointed them of the pleasure of meeting us at Pagan, as it was the intention of the King to send them so far, had we not come up so expeditiously. The Wundauk himself was a young man, of about eight-and-twenty, one of the handsomest Burmans I ever saw. He had been promoted to this high rank, which is equal to that of an Atwen-wun, and next to that of a Wungyi, on account of his father, Maong-shwemen, who was also a Wundauk, and killed on the 7th of July 1824, along with Thongba Wungyi, in the action of which I have already given some account.

At ten o'clock we quitted Pauk-to, and at noon arrived at Ava, anchoring opposite to the house constructed for our reception. An Atwen-wun (from *atwen*, interior, and *wun*, a burden. The word may be translated Privy Counsellor; while the term Wungyi may be rendered Secretary of State) came on board almost immediately, to compliment us, and attend us ashore to our house, where a Wungyi was ready to receive us. The Atwen-wun in question proved to be Maung-pa-rauk, the same who had signed the treaty of Yandabo, but who now discharges the office of Kyi-wun, or Lord of the Granaries. Our party landed, and entered an inclosure formed by a bamboo railing. At the front gate of this we were met by the Wungyi Maun-lá-kaing, who handed me to a large temporary house in the centre of the inclosure, where chairs were ready for us. The conversation which ensued was not of a very interesting nature; but, upon the part of the Burman chiefs, it was dictated by a spirit of conciliation and politeness. As usual, they inquired first after the health of the King of England, and of the Royal Family in general. On our side, we inquired after the health of his Burman Majesty, after that of the Queen, the young Prince, and the favourite Princess. Inquiries after the female

branches of their families, it should be observed, are considered by the Burmans as marks of civility; in which respect they differ entirely from the inhabitants of Hindostan and other countries of Western Asia, among whom such questions would be considered as betraying the utmost indelicacy. The Burman chiefs informed us, that "the glorious King," as they repeatedly called him, had directed the house we were now in to be constructed for our accommodation; and that he desired we would be at our ease and happy, since friendship was restored between the two countries. They told us, that a guard of eighty men, twenty to each of the four gates of the inclosure, were appointed to keep the populace from intruding upon us. All this preparation was a show of keeping up the usage of the Burman Court, and indeed that of all the nations to the eastward of Hindostan,—of placing foreign ambassadors under a certain restraint, until a public presentation. This was intimated with much delicacy; and it seemed that the rule, in regard to us, was not to be much insisted upon. Maung-lá-kaing, so called from his estate, was the same Wungyi who signed the treaty of peace; and the choice of the two officers who brought this event about, seemed an indication of good feeling on the part of the Court, and was, at all events, certainly dictated by good taste. Maung-lá-kaing was a feeble-looking old man, and extremely emaciated. His manners were gentle, affable, and courteous. He told us his age, which was fifty-eight, although he seemed to us full seventy. He asked all of ours: there is no incivility in doing so among the Burmans; on the contrary, to question their new acquaintances respecting their age implies that they take some interest in their welfare. After sitting for half an hour, the Burman chiefs left us, and we inspected our new habitation: it consisted of one large house in the centre, surrounded, at the distance of the railing, by five smaller ones, with a large open shed for the accommodation of the Burman officers and attendants;—these temporary dwellings were all raised, according to the custom of the country, on posts a foot high, and had bamboo floors, walls of plaited bamboo, and roofs thatched with grass. Some of us preferred continuing on board, but the younger members of the party took possession of the house; and I sent the European guard ashore, where their comfort could be more attended to.

When we arrived, a great concourse of people, notwithstanding the attempts of the officers to keep them away,

had crowded down to the bank to see the steam-vessel and the strangers. Their behaviour, as we passed through the crowd in landing, as well as before and after this, was entirely decorous and respectful. Indeed, not a single indication had occurred of an unfriendly or hostile spirit, on the part of the people, from our quitting Rangoon until our arrival at the capital. Among the spectators were a great many priests; although the indulgence of curiosity, laudable or otherwise, is a thing expressly forbidden by the rules of their order.

We performed the journey from Rangoon to Ava in thirty days, and might have made it in about twenty, without difficulty, had we not been detained for the first few days by towing a heavy boat, and halted frequently. The distance, according to Colonel Wood's map, is four hundred and forty-six miles. According to the vessel's log, we ran two hundred and sixteen hours; and taking our average rate of going at five and a-half knots, with an allowance of three knots an hour for the current, the actual distance travelled will have been live hundred and forty miles. At the height of the freshes, a war-boat, proceeding day and night, has been known to go to Rangoon in four days. In the dry season, a war-boat, proceeding in the same manner, will come from Rangoon to Ava in eight days, and in the season of the rains in ten.

### **October 1, 1826**

The Burmese chiefs yesterday informed us, that the King had issued orders for supplying the Mission with every necessary, and that he would not allow that we should be put to any expense. He had ordered, as we understand, four thousand ticals to be disbursed for our current expenses—a large sum, according to Burman notions. To carry his orders into effect on this head, a crowd of officers were in waiting, among whom were a Sarégyi, or principal Secretary; an Athong-saré, or Comptroller of expenses; an Amin-d'hau-ré, or Barrister of the Lut-d'hau; a Ta-ra-ma-thu-gyi, or Assessor of the City Court, or Rong-d'hau; and a She-ne, or Barrister of the same Court. Fruit, milk, and butter, were supplied in large quantities; and poultry, sheep, and beef, in defiance of religious prejudices.

### **October 2, 1826**

Although our residence was watched by a Burman guard, we were not precluded from going abroad, and therefore made morning and evening excursions into the fields in our neighbourhood, where the farmers were at work preparing the land for the cold-weather crops: these crops consisted of onions, capsicums, tobacco, maize, and pulses. We found the cultivators communicative and intelligent, as I have before mentioned. The result of our inquiries was as follows:— the common land measure is denominated Pé, and is a square of twenty-five bamboos to a side, each bamboo being of seven cubits: at this rate the Pé contains seven thousand five hundred and sixty-nine yards, or three hundred and nine square yards more than an English acre and a half. One Pé of land planted with tobacco seedlings, will yield, in good soil, from four hundred to six hundred viss of tobacco leaves; but the crop is an uncertain one. This tobacco, which is of middling quality, is worth from thirty to fifty current ticals. The produce in maize is reckoned from sixty to one hundred for the seed; which is very small, this being the most productive of all the cereal grasses. The return in pulses is averaged at fifty-fold. Of rice, it was only given at twelve-fold. Some of the cultivators whom we interrogated were themselves the proprietors of the land, and others rented it. We found the yearly rent to be, according to the quality of the soil, from three to six ticals of flowered silver, each worth about 2s. 9d. sterling. When rent is paid in kind, it amounts to from one-fourth to one-half of the gross produce, according to the quality and circumstances of the soil. The land is rarely sold, but often mortgaged. The usual period is for three years; the mortgagee being put in possession of the land, and deriving all profits from it from the period of making the loan, but receiving no interest. The sum which can be raised by mortgage upon a Pé of land varies, according to its quality, from twenty to sixty ticals of flowered silver, or in sterling money from 2l. 15s. to 2l. 15s. All these lands are close upon the river-side. Notwithstanding the comparatively high prices now quoted, a considerable extent of unreclaimed land lies close at hand, and not two miles from the walls of the city. This is generally lower than the cultivated land, rather marshy, and covered with brushwood, consisting chiefly of a species of *combretum*, with narrow leaves. If too moist for cultivation, as is no doubt the case, a very trifling capital would suffice to drain it; as there is



a lake close at hand, and the river not half a mile distant. The peasants informed us that there was enough of land without it, and that the weeds and bushes grew up too rank and fast to allow of its being cultivated with advantage. They stated, that any one might clear and cultivate it, enjoying the profits; but that they were liable to be dispossessed when the proprietors presented themselves; from which we inferred, that all the lands in the vicinity of the capital were appropriated. The lands which we examined are the estate of the Sito-myan-wun, or the Master of the King's Stud. Five villages are appropriated to this personage, containing between them about four hundred and fifty houses, or families. With respect to the tax on houses or families, some are altogether exempted from the payment of taxes to the Myo-sa, or lord; and others pay from six to twenty ticals of flowered silver. Upon what principle this various assessment is made we could not learn. Most probably it is dictated chiefly by favouritism. Its inequality is, at all events, an obvious evil. Within the estate there is a small lake, which we understood to be the hereditary property of one of the villagers. The fishery of it is very poor, and will not rent for more than forty ticals of flowered silver a year. In our walk down the banks of the Irawadi we encountered a river, about fifty yards broad, called the Myit-tha, which runs to the south of the city: it unites with another, called the Myit-nge, which falls into the Irawadi, above Ava. In this manner the site of the city is an island. The Myit-nge, literally the Little River, is in the Pali named Dutawati. Boats going up and down the Myit-tha pay no toll; but there is a ferry at the spot, which we visited this morning, where a small toll is paid of, according to circumstances, one-eighth or one-sixteenth of a tical. We saw goods, passengers, and carts transported in considerable numbers. The toll rents for sixty ticals a year. Half the brick, mortar, and labour in any of the considerable Pagodas would have made an excellent bridge over this river; but such is not the mode in which Burman capital is expended.

In our excursions we met many persons going to the market of the town with their goods and wares, the greater number of whom were women carrying heavy burdens on their heads. The principal articles, we observed, were cotton, fire-wood, and a variety of coarse esculent greens, evidently not the result of cultivation, but culled from the marshes or forests. Among other

articles, we noticed considerable quantities of natron, which in this country is in general use instead of soap. The price of this was given to us at half a current tical the basket, of sixteen viss, which will make about 2s. 6d. the hundred weight.

On our return from our walk, we found Dr. Price on board, who had come to pay us a visit. This gentleman is a native of America, a physician, and also a minister of the Baptist Mission. He had been near six years in the country, was married to a Burmese lady, had studied the Burman language, and spoke it with extraordinary facility. Like all other European and American residents in the country, he was imprisoned and fettered during the war; for no logic could convince the Burmans, but that all men with white skins had a common political interest. In their utmost need, however, they did not fail to apply to this gentleman and to Mr. Judson for advice and assistance; and it was in a great measure through their influence in surmounting the unspeakable distrust, jealousy, and, it may be added, incapacity of the Burman chiefs, that the peace was ultimately brought about. Dr. Price was now in favour with the King, had received a title from him, and attended the daily levees at the palace. Through him the disbursements were made on account of the Mission, as far as regarded the slaying of animals,—a task in which no Burman connected with the Government could, with any regard for his character, engage.

The first evening of our arrival, two Chinese, natives of Canton, came on board, offering their services as provisioners and brokers. These persons spoke English, and had made voyages to England, to our principal settlements in India, and to the European ports in the Malay Islands. These industrious people are to be found in every part of the East, where there is room for the exercise of their useful industry, and, wherever they are found, are always superior to the inhabitants of the countries in which they sojourn. There are a great many residing at the Burman capital, and some of them natives of parts of China, never seen in the European settlements in India. We accepted the services of our visitors; but yesterday they were told that they were infringing the laws of the country, and ordered, at their peril, to discontinue their visits until after our presentation.

**October 3, 1826**

The Kyi-wun, or Lord of the Granaries, paid us a visit this morning. He made some difficulty about coming on board, wishing that I should go on shore and meet him at the house constructed by order of the King for our reception. As I was not residing there, but on board, and as the place itself was meant only as a temporary residence, I declined doing so in conformity with the custom of the country. The Atwen-wun then came on board, accompanied by two Secretaries of the Palace (The name or title of these officers is Than-d'hau-sen, which means, "voice royal descend." They are Secretaries to the Privy Council, of which the Atwen-wuns are members), and the Commandant of the Guard of Swordsmen (This officer is named Shwe-da-m'hu, which literally means, "Chief of the Golden Sword." He commands that portion of the King's Guard which is armed with swords), and Don Gansalez de Lanciego, a Spanish gentleman, who had resided in the Burman dominions thirty years, and who, before the war, held the situation of Akau-wun, or Collector of Customs, at Rangoon, the only appointment under the Burman Government which has been occasionally held by a foreigner.

The history of this gentleman, who was now about fifty years of age, was sufficiently varied and singular. He was by birth a Spaniard, and born of a noble family. When a boy he was sent to Paris, where he received his education, and continued to reside for many years. At the commencement of the Revolution he came out to the Isle of Bourbon, of which his maternal uncle was governor. From this place, along with a number of young men of family, he fitted out a privateer to cruize against the English trade. After leading this life of adventure, hardship, and danger for several years, the privateer was driven into the river of Bassein by stress of weather. Here Mr. Lanciego left her, and eventually found his way to Rangoon, and became a trader. He afterwards married the daughter of Mr. Jhansey, an Indian-Portuguese, who was for many years Intendant of the Port of Rangoon, and whose other daughter is his present Majesty's fourth Queen. From Rangoon, Mr. Lanciego went to the capital, became a first-rate favourite with the present King, then heir-apparent, and through his influence was appointed Intendant or Collector of Rangoon. When the Burmans resolved upon a war with the British, which he always deprecated, he was on his annual visit at Ava with the produce of the customs

of Rangoon, The personal attachment of the King, his known partialities to the French interest, and his family relation with the sovereign, did not exempt him from the universal suspicion which fell upon all Europeans. One or two letters from English merchants at Rangoon reached him, confined wholly to matters of business. This was enough. He was clapped into a dungeon, in letters. One or two other letters from the same quarter, and of a similar tenour, arrived. The enemies of Mr. Lanciego now framed a plot against him. He was represented as holding a correspondence with the English, and persons were found to swear that his emissaries had been seen in the enemy's camp. The King issued the order that he should be examined "in the usual manner." He was accordingly sent for from prison, put to the torture, and his property confiscated. At the peace of Yandabo, but not until then, he was released, but his property was not restored, and he had ever since been excluded from the palace; the only justice done to him. being the acknowledgment of his innocence, and the punishment of his false accusers. It seems that his services were now thought necessary in the ensuing negotiation: and he was to-day, for the first time, to be admitted to the palace. This accounted for his visit to us, in company with the Burman officers. I was happy to think that the presence of the British Mission should, even indirectly, hold out a prospect of improving the situation of Mr. Lanciego, a gentleman who was represented, by all who knew him, as a man of honour and probity. His situation was the more to be pitied, since he was not permitted to quit the country, either alone, or with his family. He knew, in fact, too many of the secrets of the Burman Government, and this excited their keenest jealousy and apprehension.

Our Burman visitors of rank now, and upon former occasions, were becomingly and neatly attired. The lower garment, covering the waist and loins, was a silk tartan, and this alone was Burman manufacture. The rest of the dress, consisting of a vest, a loose mantle, and a turban, or rather handkerchief binding the head, consisted of white English cotton cloth; the mantle and turban being of the description called book-muslin, a favourite, article of consumption with the Burmese. Over the left shoulder, and hanging under the right, the massy gold chains of their orders of nobility made a good appearance. The Kyi-wun was of a very dark complexion, and very far from being handsome; but his

manner was animated, he was a great speaker, and desirous to please. He aimed indeed at being an orator, and favoured us with several specimens of his skill; when he had any thing particular to say, he stood up, rested his hands upon the table, and, thus prepared, commenced his speech. The following is a specimen, as rendered to me by Dr. Price; it being premised, that the object of his address was to express a hope that the peace subsisting between the two nations might be perpetual. "The most glorious Monarch, the Lord of the Golden Palace, the Sun-rising King, holds dominion over that part of the world (The word is Jam-pu-di-pa, in Pali,--corrupted in the Burman into Zam-pu-dik) which lies towards the rising sun: the great and powerful Monarch, the King of England, rules over the whole of that portion of the world which lies towards the setting sun. The same glorious sun enlightens the one and the other. Thus may peace continue between the two countries, and for ever impart mutual blessings to both. Let no cloud intervene or mist arise to obscure its genial rays." The Kyi-wun was by no means sparing in panegyric, and dealt it all round to our party with a liberal hand. He was equally solicitous to become the subject of our praises, and put a number of direct questions with this view; implying less tact and discretion than might have been looked for in an old courtier. The subject of business was introduced, after much preparation. The first point touched upon was that of the presents from the Governor-General to the King. This was done with delicacy and moderation, instead of the indecorum and rapacity which I had experienced on the same subject from the courtiers of Siam. It was simply hinted by the Kyi-wun, that he would like to gratify the King's curiosity by mentioning to him the names of two or three of the most curious articles. I named two or three, and voluntarily furnished a complete list of the whole. The Kyi-wun then asked me when the British army was to quit Rangoon. I answered, that when I left that place the whole of the second instalment due by the Burmese Government had not been discharged; that the period of payment had been exceeded on the part of the Burman Government by three months; and that Sir Archibald Campbell, if he found it convenient, might delay the embarkation of the troops for three months also, without any infringement of the treaty. He said, "Among friends there is no necessity for so strict a punctuality." In reply, I remarked that we had assumed a strict adherence to the

conditions of the treaty as the rule of our conduct, and would continue to do so. The Kyi-wun referred to the conversations which had passed on this subject between the Wungyi-Maung-kaing and myself at Henzada; asserting that, according to the report made to the Burman Government by the Wungyi, I had assured him that I had written to Sir Archibald Campbell, requesting him immediately to embark the troops. I explained that so unreasonable a request had not been made of me, and that such an assurance had never been given. He changed the conversation immediately to some other topic, and I did not insist upon continuing it.

The appearance of a British Mission at Ava, although specifically provided for by the Treaty of Peace, had excited a good deal of uneasiness on the part of the Court, and much alarm among the people. Our little party of less than thirty Europeans had been magnified by rumour into some hundreds, and from such a force the capital itself was scarcely thought to be safe—so deep an impression had the superiority of European arms produced upon the nation at large! In reference to this subject, the Kyi-wun observed with some adroitness, that it would be agreeable to his Majesty to know the particular purpose of our “friendly visit.” Aware of the alarm which existed, I had been anxious for an opportunity of explaining the objects which the Mission had in view, and said at once, that we had come for the purpose of presenting a friendly letter to the King, and of making a convention for regulating the commerce of the two countries upon terms of reciprocal advantage, as provided for in the Treaty of Yandabo; and that we had no other, object whatever. The Kyi-wun, his associates, and their followers, received this declaration with a joy which they could not conceal. An involuntary and general exclamation burst from the whole party, as if they had been relieved from some mighty load. The Kyi-wun compared the declaration now made with the official statements he had received from Rangoon and from Henzada, as well as with the rumours which had readied the Government from other quarters. Without such corroboration, our assurances would have had little weight; for Burman courtiers, eminently destitute of candour and integrity themselves, are little disposed to attribute these qualities to others.

After visiting every part of the steam-vessel, and examining the machinery, the deputation left us in very good humour, having

made a visit of at least three hours. I sent Mr. Chester and Mr. Montmorency to accompany them ashore, as a mark of attention.

### **October 4, 1826**

We continued our walks morning and evening into the country, prosecuting our inquiries respecting the state of agriculture. A considerable portion of the land in the neighbourhood of the capital is the property of the King, clearly distinguished from that which is the property of individuals. We were to-day informed, that his Majesty had of late years made several purchases of lands, and some of them were pointed out. This seems to leave the existence of a private right in the soil clear and unquestionable. Land which belongs to private persons, it appears, never pays a land-tax, either directly to the Crown, or to public officers, holding it as an estate. Crown-lands, on the contrary, as far as our experience went, always pay a tax; but this seems nowhere to form a subject of direct revenue to the State, as the lands in question were, in every case in which we had observed them, held as a temporary domain by some public officer, member of the royal family, or favourite. The rents of the lands which we examined this morning, for example, were assigned for the maintenance of the young heir-apparent's establishment of elephants. Some inferior grounds which we noticed, and which belonged to the King, produced only one crop a year, and this of pulse, at the rate of twenty-five baskets, or about three hundred viss the Pé. These were rented at two ticals and a half of what is called twenty-five per cent. silver, each of which is worth about one shilling and tenpence sterling. Better lands were rented at from three to six ticals. At present the fences. Which are only dry bushes of the prickly *zizphus jujuba*, and meant only to protect the crops against cattle, are all removed, and heaped together for future use. The fields were all divided by low dykes of a few inches high, which served the double purpose of boundaries, and of keeping the land duly watered when necessary. In some dry lands, which we examined in the course of the morning, and which are not fit for the production of rice, although for other purposes they are reckoned good, the ground was preparing for crops of Indian corn. One of the farmers of this land stated that he expected that the produce of one Pé in Indian corn he would be able to sell for from one hundred and sixty to two

hundred ticals of coarse silver, each tical worth about one shilling and tenpence of sterling. A portion of the same land was preparing for pulse (*Cicer arietinum*). The owner stated that he expected a return of from fifty to sixty-five fold. One Pé of his land required eight viss of seed, and the produce he estimated at from twenty to twenty-five baskets, of sixteen viss each. In the vicinity of the capital, as in other parts of the upper provinces, the common palmyra, or *borassus flabelliformis*, is extensively cultivated. This tree, in good soil, comes to maturity in thirty years, but in an indifferent one it takes forty. The male and female trees are nearly in equal proportion. The first afford juice for three months in the year, and the last for eight, the daily produce being the same for both. The unproductive months are in the rainy season. During the time they are yielding, each tree gives daily at the rate of from five to six viss of juice. This is sold by the owner at the rate of one-eighth of a tical of ten per cent. silver per viss, or about threepence sterling. Near the capital no sugar is manufactured, the juice being sold for consumption as it comes fresh from the tree, the most profitable means of disposing of it. We inquired into the wages of agricultural labour, and found them to be from forty to fifty ticals a-year, each tical of one shilling and tenpence sterling: with food, but no clothing. It is considered that a labourer requires twelve baskets of rice a-year, of fifty-six pounds each: the basket being worth at Ava about a rupee and a half. He gets besides, *ngapi*. vegetables, and spiceries, being always fed with his employer and family. The whole expense of his food is not reckoned less than three rupees and a half a-month, making his actual wages about seven rupees. This is more than double the wages in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, or of any native city in Hindostan or the Peninsula; a proof that the supply of labour is less in proportion to the demand in Ava than in India, and that the condition of the labourer is more comfortable, since there is no great difference in the cost of the necessaries of life.

### **October 8, 1826**

We had little or now rain since our arrival. The periodical rains, indeed, generally cease at Ava in the middle of September, although they continue a month later in the lower provinces. We had the weather hot, and the sky cloudless The nights and



mornings, however, were pleasant. At sunrise, the thermometer, for some days back, had been at 78 degrees: in the course of the day it rose to 88°, and was occasionally as high as 92°. The air at the same time was dry and pure, and favourably contrasted with the damp and sultry atmosphere of Calcutta at the same season.

The cultivators in our neighbourhood were very busy ploughing and harrowing. We counted Yesterday morning twenty ploughs and harrows at work within the space of a few hundred acres. The harrow, it appears, is very much used for breaking and pulverizing the soil. as well as for removing grass and weeds. The plough, with the assistance of an iron share, the only respectable part of the implement, and which, as I have already said, is imposed from China or Lao, turns up the soil well, but does not cut deeper than four inches. In the common husbandry of the country, manure is never used, and indeed I believe in no case except occasionally with betel-wine gardens. Reaping is performed with the sickle; corn is separated from the straw by the treading of oxen; and the straw is carefully preserved for fodder. The cultivators, who are generally either the proprietors or renters of the fields they till, for hired servants are not often had recourse to, we found at their labour every morning before sunrise. Their toil is interrupted at ten o'clock, and in the heat of the day no out-door labour is performed. They are at their work again at three o'clock in the afternoon, and continue at it until sunset, so that they labour for about seven hours a day.

In our walks to-day and yesterday we found that wheat was cultivated in the vicinity of Ava in considerable quantity. The land on which it is grown appears to be the same as that in which Indian corn and pulse are produced, that is, dry lands, incapable of producing rice, because they cannot be flooded. The produce was given to us generally at such high rates as seem almost incredible. It was stated at as much as forty, fifty, and even sixty-four for the seed. The most moderate estimates made it from ten to twenty-five seeds. The lands on which wheat is grown are under water during the height of the inundation, and no other crop is taken from them in the course of the year. The grain is sown broadcast, and ripens in from three to four months. Wheat is called by the Burmans *G'hyun Sampá*, and *Kula Sampá*; words which mean wheat-rice, and Western foreigners' rice. The word *G'hyun* is from the Hindi, or mixed modern dialect of Hindostan,

and not Sanscrit. It may probably be inferred from this, that wheat has been introduced among the Burmans in times comparatively modern; and it proves, at all events, that it is not an indigenous grain. The Burmans do not use it as bread, nor to any great extent in any way. The most frequent mode of using it is to boil the entire corn, and then mix it up with coarse sugar and oil, to make sweet cakes. In the market of Ava, the price is about one-third less than that of rice, or from one rupee to one rupee and a quarter for a basket, or from two shillings to two shillings and sixpence sterling per Winchester bushel. This is as low as the market-price at Patna, from which the principal supply is derived at Calcutta, both for consumption and exportation. Specimens of the grain were brought to us in the course of the morning: it is large, plump, and heavy, and the bread made from it, which we have used since our arrival, is well tasted, and remarkable for its whiteness. We compared the grain with the Patna wheat which we had along with us, and it was greatly superior both in size and colour. The only objection to it which we could observe was, that it was mixed with a few grains of barley. This last grain is not known to the natives: and when we pointed it out, they imagined it to be unripe grains of wheat. It was introduced, therefore, in all likelihood, with the first seed wheat, perhaps some centuries back, and accidentally propagated ever since through the carelessness of the natives. It is evident, from the lower price of wheat than rice, that the lands near Ava are better suited for the growth of the former than of the latter; and it seems remarkable, therefore, that it does not constitute the chief-bread corn of the inhabitants. This however, as already mentioned, is by no means the case; for all their prejudices run in favour of rice, to which they are fully as much attached as the inhabitants of the Delta, to whom wheat is unknown except as a foreign commodity. Considering the excellence of the Burman wheat, the cheapness with which it is grown, the facility of water communication to the sea, and the convenience of the port of Rangoon, it ought, under favourable circumstances, to be a material article of exportation; but it is the policy of the Burman Government to prohibit the export of every species of grain, and there is little hope of any improvement in this respect.

**October 10, 1826**

We had yesterday a visit from the Kyi-wun and his associates, the two Secretaries of the Palace, accompanied by Mr. Lanciego. This last gentleman, as we suspected, had been admitted to the palace. In discussing the terms of a commercial treaty, his assistance was indispensable, for there was not another individual at the capital who had the slightest knowledge of the external commerce of the country. One of the Wungyis as if by accident, introduced the name of Mr. Lanciego to the King, stating that he was excluded from the palace, as he had been in fetters. The King simply observed, "Who has excluded him? What prevents him from coming?" On the faith of this hint he was presented last night. It is necessary to explain, that no one who has been once in fetters can appear in the royal presence without a special sanction. He is considered as having been dishonoured by that punishment, whether guilty or innocent, and therefore an unfit object to appeal in the King's sight. A hint of the Royal approbation is considered a sufficient purification. The present visit was ostensibly one of ceremony, but in reality of business. The following is the substance of what took place during a conversation of several hours. We desired to know when we should be presented to the King. The Kyi-wun observed, that this was a matter of much importance," and would be discussed with all proper attention to form and ceremony, and that in the meanwhile the commercial treaty might be settled. I readily embraced the proposal of discussing the terms of the commercial treaty, without loss of time; and said that I had already prepared the draft of such a treaty, in English and Burman. The difficulties encountered on former occasions in negotiating with officers of the Burman Government not duly authorized, induced me to request that any person or persons appointed to negotiate with us now, might be vested with full authority to treat. The Burman officers replied, that the negotiators, on their side, would be vested with such powers as were given at Yandabo. He first proposed this day as the first for entering upon the negotiations, but afterwards suggested that the 11th would be more convenient. He explained, that on that day business would be transacted, and that the three following days would be devoted to the annual exhibition of boat-races, at which his Majesty and Court would all be present, and to which we were invited. The negotiation, he continued, would be renewed on the 15th and 16th, shortly after which the Mission would be

introduced to the King. In fact, it was determined that we should be presented on the first day of the new moon, which is a Burman festival, at which the public officers and tributary princes offer presents to his Majesty. I acquiesced in this arrangement, unaware, at the time, of the object which the Burman Court had in view.

The Kyi-wun and his coadjutors, not satisfied with the assurances made to them at our last meeting, that the Mission had come for no other purpose than to present a letter and presents to the King, and to conclude a commercial treaty, again begged to know whether we had any farther demands to make. I reassured them on this subject, and begged them to be satisfied with what I had already said. The Kyi-wun then entreated that I would, in confidence and "as a friend," mention to him the principal heads of the draft of the treaty to which I alluded. I answered, that the terms were moderate, and the document very short, consisting of seven articles only. As the Burman negotiators would come better prepared to enter upon the actual negotiation, I saw some advantage in exhibiting the document, and therefore produced it. The Burman officers read it one after another in their own language, and Mr. Lanciego in English. Objections were offered to two or three of the articles; but as no doubt they would afterwards be urged in a more public manner, it is not necessary at present to enumerate them. The majority of the provisions of the treaty, but not the most essential, seemed to be approved of. The Kyi-wun begged to have a copy. This I refused. The draft was then reperused by each individual officer separately, and finally read aloud. The Kyi-wun then formally returned thanks for our being so obliging as to furnish him with the perusal of the draft. He added, that the Burman Government, on its part, had several propositions to offer, to which we might probably object; and that, under such circumstances, he hoped no offence would be taken at any objections which might be urged by the Burman negotiators against propositions brought forward by us, I answered, that I hoped every point would be freely discussed on both sides; that the Burman Government would, of course, bring forward any propositions they might think proper; and that I would enter into negotiation upon them as far as my powers extended: I added, however, that if they were not of a commercial nature, they ought not to be mixed up with this particular subject, for which a

separate and specific arrangement had been made in the Treaty of Yandabo.

The Kyi-wun, before coming on board, sent me a present of a small ruby ring, and sent another to Mr. Judson, still smaller. On coming on board, he made each of the gentlemen, seven in number, a present of a gold cup. Mine weighed eleven rupees and a half, and those of the other gentlemen nearly seven each (It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that all presents of this description are regularly delivered over to the Government, according to an useful and necessary regulation).

### **October 12, 1826**

According to the promise held out in the interview which I had with the Kyi-wun on the 9th, the Burman Commissioners came to our residence at twelve o'clock yesterday. The apartments occupied by Mr. Chester had been prepared for the conference: carpets had been spread, chairs and tables placed, and every thing was in readiness. We went ashore immediately upon their arrival, having previously ascertained, by sending Mr. Judson, that they were vested with powers to treat. We found that they had taken their places under a large open shed, commonly occupied by the Shwé-da-mhu, or. Chief of the Guard of Swordsmen, and other officers in daily attendance. The house which we had got ready for them, because the dwelling of Mr. Chester, was objected to by the Burman officers, although the very place where we had been received by the Wungyi and Atwen-wun on the first day of our arrival, and selected by themselves for that purpose. Upon this point the Burmans are punctilious to an absurd and very troublesome degree. No chief will enter the house of an inferior, or even of an equal; for to do so, either implies a derogation of dignity, or an extraordinary condescension. The King never enters the house of a subject, not even of his brothers; although with the latter he is familiar, and will often be seen walking arm-in-arm in the courts before their dwellings. A Wungyi never enters the house of an Atwen-mni or Wun-dauk, the next persons in rank to him, and so on in succession. We conformed to this prejudice, and accordingly made difficulties about meeting the Burman Commissioners under the shed where they wished to hold the conference. I insisted that they should come over to receive us,

which they readily complied with; and meeting us half-way from the house, they conducted us to the shed, where we were all seated upon chairs, and the conference commenced. The principal Burman officers, seven in number, were habited in their dresses of ceremony, and wore their chains, and other badges of nobility. Their dress consisted of a crimson velvet cloak, with loose sleeves, having abundance of gold lace, and of caps of the same fabric and colour, in form not unlike those worn by the Armenians, and covered with a profusion of gold ornaments. In front of this cap there was a thin gold plate, on which were written, in large characters, the titles of the individual. Mr. Lanciego appeared upon this occasion officially, and, like the Burman officers, was habited in a velvet cloak; but instead of the cap he wore a round hat, ornamented after the same fashion. This was not in keeping with the rest of the dress, and, in truth, had a very grotesque appearance. The fact was, that Mr. Lanciego, in consideration of his European prejudices, was allowed to wear his hat; but as to the gold ornaments and orders, these were far too important to be dispensed with. The Burman full dress, as now described, is extremely cumbersome and inconvenient, especially the cap. The negotiators, on the present occasion, groaned under the load of their honours, and during the conference repeatedly complained of the inconvenience.

The Burman officers were, first, two Atwen-wuns, appointed Commissioners to negotiate the treaty: one of these was the Kyi-wun, and another, the senior of the two, Maong-M'ha. the Wun, or Lord, of Sau. After these came a Wundauk, who was followed by a Than-d'hau-sen, or Secretary of the Palace; a Than-d'hau-gan ("the Royal voice-receiver"), or reporter; a Nákan-d'hau ("the Royal Listener"), or King's listener; and an A-we-rauk (Literally, "from a distance arriving.") The office of this person is to examine petitions, and persons coming from distant parts), or examiner: writers or secretaries sat behind the principal officers, and from the dictation of the latter appeared to take down a minute account of every thing that transpired. The senior Atwen-wun generally spoke for the rest, and came prepared with a set of written questions, which he put with great formality. The first inquiries made regarded the health of the Governor-General, that of Lady Amherst, and of his Lordship's family generally. This was the first occasion on which the name of the Governor-General was introduced. He was styled now, and

throughout the conferences, the English Chief, or Prince (for the word may mean either), who rules India (India Taing' Ko-ok-so-thau-Englit-men). Whatever might be the real opinion of the Burman Court, the results of the late contest with the British power in India, and the necessity of treating with it upon equal terms, made it now very anxious to consider the Governor-General as exercising an independent sovereign power. Inquiries after the health of his Majesty and the Royal Family, the nobility, and officers of the Government of England, followed—the Burmans, in all this taking it for granted throughout, that matters must be exactly on the same footing with us as with themselves. The standing question respecting the age of the parties was as usual prominent; on one occasion it was omitted; but the senior Atwen-wun, afterwards recollecting himself, apologized for this unintentional want of politeness. His Majesty the King was throughout called King of Wi-lat, a slight corruption of the Arabic term for a foreign country, and commonly applied by the Asiatic nations to Europe especially. The Burmans know little of the other potentates of Europe, and have a vague notion that the King of England rules over the greater part of it.

Notwithstanding that the discussion of the Commercial Treaty was the immediate object of the meeting, it was evident that the Burman officers did not come prepared to enter upon a serious negotiation, but had distinct views, of which I had received no intimation from them. These regarded the appointment of the Mission, the letter of the Governor-General, &c. On these subjects the following conversation ensued:<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Crawford's original note: Throughout the whole of the negotiation, notes were carefully taken down on the spot. On our parts, the questions, whenever this was practicable, were written down, and handed to the interpreters for translation; and the questions and answers of the Burmese negotiators were taken down, generally word for word as they were rendered into English. Mr. Judson, in general, interpreted, occasionally assisted by Dr. Price, and, in a few instances, by the Burmese Maong-no, whom I have before mentioned. Mr. Judson's qualifications were of the first order; for, without reference to his unquestioned honour and integrity, he understood the Burmese language, his subject, and the character and manners of the people thoroughly; and was besides a person, in every respect, of distinguished good sense and intelligence. The letter B. in the Minutes, stands for Burmese; and E. for English. The senior Atwen-wun was generally the spokesman [in the present edition, B. has been replaced by "Burmese" and E. by "Crawford"].

BURMESE: When did you receive your orders to come upon the present Mission?

CRAWFURD: On the 11th of August.

BURMESE: When did you quit Rangoon?

CRAWFURD: On the 1st of September.

BURMESE: You have a letter from the Governor-General, have you not?

CRAWFURD: Yes.

BURMESE: Will you permit us to see the letter from the Governor-General to the King?

CRAWFURD: I came here to-day, by appointment, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with officers accredited by his Burman Majesty. I beg to know whether you have written authority to enter upon such a negotiation?

BURMESE: Yes, we have such an authority with us; and we take this opportunity of expressing our happiness at being deputed by his Majesty to conduct this negotiation.

Several expressions of civility or compliment here passed on both sides.

CRAWFURD: Have you authority to request a perusal of the Governor-General's letter; for this was not the object of the meeting, nor was the matter at all intimated to me?

BURMESE: We are vested with such authority—we dare not make the request without authority. We come in our official dresses, and this is a warranty that we are vested with full authority.

CRAWFURD: I will not deliver the letter of the Governor-General, nor permit it to be opened or read; but I will exhibit it in its



envelope, and allow a Burman translation of it to be copied in my presence.

The letter of the Governor-General was, after this, brought from on board the steam-vessel by Lieutenants Cox, Montmorency, and Mr. Judson, and, preceded by orderlies and Hircanahs, introduced, the English gentlemen and Burman officers standing up to receive it. The strict punctilio of the Burmese in all such matters rendered this piece of etiquette necessary. The letter being laid upon the table, and a Burman translation exhibited, a secretary proceeded to make a copy, standing to his task, at the table; as to bring the letter down from its elevation would have been contrary to Burman etiquette—a kind of derogation, both to the dignity of the writer of the letter, and, what was of more consequence, of the party to whom it was addressed.

BURMESE: Is the Governor-General's letter written upon paper or parchment?

CRAWFURD: It is written upon richly illuminated paper of the same quality as that made use of when the Governor-General addresses the King of Persia and other Princes, with whom he is in correspondence.

BURMESE: What is the nature of the seal affixed to the Governor-General's letter, and in what language is the inscription upon it?

CRAWFURD: The seal affixed to the Governor-General's letter is the principal seal of the Government, and the character is Persian, which is used by us for convenience, as being generally understood (The use of the Persian language in our correspondence with some of the Asiatic Governments is no doubt a great absurdity, and a compliance with the local usages of India wholly uncalled for, I recollect seeing, upon one occasion, a Persian letter addressed by the Governor-General of India to a native Prince, who wrote for answer that there was no one in his dominions who could translate it. Had the letter been written in English, as it ought to have been, there would have been no difficulty in getting it translated).

The letter of the Governor-General was here removed with the same forms as upon its introduction.

CRAWFURD: I now propose that we should enter upon the more immediate business of our meeting.

BURMESE: We assent.

CRAWFURD: The meeting was especially agreed upon for the purpose of negotiating a commercial arrangement, as provided for in the treaty concluded at Yandabo.

BURMESE: We have perused attentively the Burman translation of the Governor-General's letter, which is suitable and friendly. Having finished this important matter, we propose that the discussion of the Commercial Treaty should be postponed until another day.

CRAWFURD: I cannot accede to this proposal. The meeting was agreed upon only for the purpose of discussing the commercial arrangement, and it has not even been entered upon.

BURMESE: Since you are desirous of entering upon the negotiation to-day, we assent.

CRAWFURD: I have brought the written powers which I hold from the Governor-General to treat, and am ready to produce them. I wish to see your powers, and that copies should be exchanged.

The credentials of both parties were here produced, translations made, and copies exchanged. The powers of the Burman negotiators, who were the two Atwen-wuns, were from the King, in the confidential or interior department, and not from the Lut-d'hau, or public department. The following is a literal translation:

Let the Atenwon the Lord of Sau, Men-gyi-thi-ri-ma-ha-nanda-then-kyan, and the Lord of the Revenue, the Atwen-won-mengyi-maha-men-l'ha-thi-ha-thu hold a conference in the embassy tent (than-tê) with the Ambassadors, who have

readied the Royal Presence<sup>8</sup> with gifts<sup>9</sup> from the King of Wilat. In the year 1188, the ninth of the increase of the moon Tha-ten-kywat (10th of October). The Na-kan-d'hau (he that listens to the King), Chief of the Pyau-kyi (great drum), Nemya-men-l'ha-kyan-ten, Interprets.

In this document, the presents are represented as coming from his Majesty the King, and not from the Governor-General; a mere subterfuge of the Court to save its pride. Viewing it in this light, and being aware that any discussion of the point would be accompanied with serious delays and difficulties, I offered no objection. The treaty, if finally concluded, must of necessity be in the name of the authorities constituted by law, and this I thought would be sufficient.

CRAWFURD: I have prepared the draft of a commercial treaty in terms of perfect reciprocity, which I imagine will be mutually beneficial. I will cause it to be read if you desire it.

BURMESE: We wish, if you please, to have a copy of this document.

CRAWFURD: I will furnish a copy. You will have the goodness, at the same time, to furnish me with a copy of such proposals as you have to offer.

BURMESE: We prefer that the articles which you propose should be discussed. If they contain any stipulations not mutually beneficial, such may be rejected. If any thing has been omitted, the want may be supplied. We are desirous that nothing should be urged on either side which is not for the common benefit.

The draft of the Commercial Treaty was perused by the Senior Atwen-wun; the Second, the Kyi-wun, had, as before observed, perused it at the interview of the 9th.

---

<sup>8</sup> Crawford's original note: Literally, "under the sole of the Golden foot Royal" (Shwe-bawa-d'hau-auk)

<sup>9</sup> Crawford's original note: The word here used is Let-saung, the appellative for a present or gift of any kind.

BURMESE: I have carefully read the draft over, and myself and colleague will duly consider the subject, and hereafter furnish a counter draft with such alterations and additions as we consider expedient.

CRAWFURD: My powers are chiefly directed to the conclusion of a commercial arrangement, as especially provided for by the Treaty of Yandabo. I therefore beg, if you have any propositions to make unconnected with that subject, that they may be produced in a separate and distinct form.

BURMESE: Some of the propositions made in the draft of a treaty with which you have just furnished us, go beyond what is contained in the Treaty of Yandabo. You will not, therefore, object to our tendering propositions which may infringe upon the Treaty of Yandabo.

CRAWFURD: The draft which I have submitted is in accordance with the Treaty of Yandabo, which, as I have already said, expressly provides that a commercial arrangement should hereafter be entered into. As a general principle, I have to observe that the Treaty of Yandabo cannot be altered.

BURMESE: The British commanders at Yandabo had simply authority to negotiate a peace. From the perusal of your credentials, we are led to suppose that you have authority, to modify that agreement, or to make any farther arrangements you may deem necessary for the good of the two nations.

CRAWFURD: I will say nothing farther upon the subject until I have seen your propositions: when I have, I will give a separate and distinct answer to each, according to my instructions. Having proceeded thus far in the business, I believe it was understood that we should meet again after an interval of three days.

BURMESE: Yes, three days are to be devoted to amusement, these being the annual festival of boat-racing; two days then will be devoted to business, and on the succeeding one you will be presented to his Majesty. As his Majesty desires that you should be

present at the boat-racing, suitable accommodation will be made for you for this purpose.

After this conversation, the conference, which had lasted four hours, although little real business was transacted, broke up.

### **October 13, 1826**

When the waters of the Irawadi begin permanently to fall, a festival is held yearly for three days, the chief amusements of which consist of boat-racing: this is called in the Burman language Rethaben, or the Water Festival. According to promise, a gilt boat and six common war-boats were sent to convey us to the place where these races were exhibited, which was on the Irawadi, before the palace. We readied at eleven o'clock. The Kyi-wun, accompanied by a Palace Secretary, received us in a large and commodious covered boat, anchored, to accommodate us, in the middle of the river. The escort and our servants were very comfortably provided for in other covered boats. The King and Queen had already arrived, and were in a large barge at the east bank of the river. This vessel, the form of which represented two huge fishes, was extremely splendid: every part of it was richly gilt, and a spire of at least thirty feet high, resembling in miniature that of the palace, rose in the middle. The King and Queen sat under a green canopy at the bow of the vessel, which, according to Burman notions, is the place of honour; indeed, the only part ever occupied by persons of rank. The situation of their Majesties could be distinguished by the white umbrellas, which are the appropriate marks of royalty. The King, whose habits are volatile and restless, often walked up and down, and was easily known from the crowd of his courtiers, by his being the only person in an erect position, the multitude sitting, crouching, or crawling, all round him. Near the King's barge were a number of gold boats, and the side of the river, in this quarter, was lined with those of the nobility, decked with gay banners, each having its little band of music, and some dancers exhibiting occasionally on their benches. Shortly after our arrival, nine gilt war-boats were ordered to manoeuvre before us. The Burmans nowhere appear to so much advantage as in their boats, the management of which is evidently a favourite occupation. The boats themselves are extremely neat, and the

rowers expert, cheerful, and animated. In rowing, they almost always sing, and their airs are not destitute of melody. The burthen of the song upon the present occasion, was literally translated for me by Dr. Price, and was as follows:

The golden glory shines forth like the round sun; the royal kingdom, the country and its affairs, are the most pleasant.

If this verse be in unison with the feelings of the people, and I have no doubt it is, they are, at least, satisfied with their own condition, whatever it may appear to others.

Some time after this exhibition, the state boats of the King and Queen were also sent to exhibit before us. These, like all others belonging to the King, are gilt all over, the very oars or paddles not excepted. In the centre of each was a throne, that of the Queen being latticed to the back and sides, so as partially to conceal her person when she occupied it. They were both very brilliant. According to the Burmans, there are thirty-seven motions of the paddle. The King and Queen's boats went through many of them with grace and dexterity, and much to our gratification and amusement.

Towards the close of the day, the King sent us a repast of confectionary, fruits and other eatables, served with much neatness, and in vessels of gold; to indicate that the favour was bestowed personally by his Majesty. The culinary art, as practised by the Burmans and other Hindu-Chinese nations, is much more agreeable to the European palate than that of the natives of Hindostan. Upon the present occasion, there was but one article decidedly objectionable,—a dish of crickets fried in sesamum oil! The chiefs who brought our refreshments were two persons of some note, from being much in the King's favour. The first was an elderly person, by birth a Siamese: his offices are named Rok-the-wun and Zat-wun, which mean, Chief of the Puppet-shows, and, Manager of Theatricals, This gentleman is represented as a first-rate buffoon, and, in consideration of his drollery, the King indulges him in such freedoms as would cost the rest of the courtiers the stocks or the bamboo, if no worse. The second personage was the player whom I mentioned, in a former part of this Journal, as having been promoted for his skill as an actor, and his readiness at repartee. It seemed that he was now restored to

the King's personal favour, but had not got back his estate. He gained his livelihood, we were informed, by means of bribes received for begging off criminals; for it is seldom that anyone suffers death or other severe punishment in this country who has funds to purchase immunity; and the favourite, therefore, has a wide field for the exercise of his influence. He wore the highest chain of nobility given to a subject; but his manners were flippant and undignified, and he was described as being utterly unprincipled. He was disliked by the courtiers, but feared by all of them. We were not much disposed to receive such a person with attention; and there being no spare chair, he was obliged to continue standing. The Atwen-wun, much superior to him in rank, observed this, and said, "Is there no chair for the King's favourite?" but the hint was not taken.

### **October 14, 1826**

We appeared at the boat-races again yesterday, being conducted as the day before. The amusements were exactly the same, and the King and Queen were of course present; for they never land from their water-palace, as the great vessel I have described is sometimes called, from the commencement to the conclusion of the festival. The boats are matched in the races two and two, no greater number ever starting. The King's boats are matched in pairs against each other, and sixty pairs start during the races. The boats of the nobility run against each other, and the chiefs frequently sit in their own boats; but of this exhibition they are not fond, except when confident of victory, for the loser is generally made a butt for the merriment of his friends and companions. The prizes consist of money, dresses, and, for the poorer classes, rice. The boats run with the stream for the distance of a taing, or two miles, and the goal is a vessel anchored in the river opposite to the King's barge. They are all pulled by paddles, each boat having seldom less than forty. Their speed is very great, and I should suppose they would outrun our fastest wherries. The matches appeared to excite great emulation in the parties immediately engaged, and much interest in the spectators, composed principally of persons about the Court and their retainers, all of whom were in their boats. Both on this day and yesterday there were very few spectators on the shore. The interest of the festival,

indeed, appeared to be confined to the Court, and it seemed to excite little curiosity in the people. The King, hearing that we had been gratified at seeing the evolutions of the gilt boats, sent to-day thirteen war and three state-boats to manoeuvre in our presence. The repast was sent as before, and on this occasion, in testimony of his Majesty's satisfaction, a double allowance; the Burmans appearing to mark their favour to their guests, like the Greeks of Homer, by the quantity of food they set before them. Besides the ordinary collation, there was also sent for each guest a separate supply of betel, fine tobacco, and *lapet*, or Burmatt tea. This last article is dressed with sesamum, oil, and garlic, and its taste in this state is not unlike that of olives. This is the produce of the Burman territories, growing on the hills north of Ava. It appears to be a true but coarse tea (*Thea*), with very large leaves. At our return home in the evening there was a heavy squall, and this morning we understood that three persons overtaken by it in the river were drowned.

### **October 15, 1826**

In compliance with the urgent desire of our Burman friends, for our curiosity had been already sufficiently gratified, we again appeared yesterday at the boat-races: they were only distinguished from those of the two preceding days by the procession which closed them. A little before sunset, the King and Queen, with their infant daughter, and the heir-apparent, stepped into their state boats, surrounded by a number of gilt war-boats, upon the signal of three cannon being discharged: they were accompanied by between fifty and sixty boats of the principal nobility. The procession rowed up the river and back again in a circle three times, when the King and Queen returned to their barge, and three discharges of cannon proclaimed that the festival was concluded. The procession passed within one hundred yards of us, and we had a very good view of it. The Atwen-wun and other chiefs who were on board- with us at the time, threw themselves on their knees as the King passed, raising their joined hands, as if in the attitude of devotion. The Burmans understand the arrangement of such pageants, as that which we had now witnessed, extremely well. The moment chosen was the most favourable for effect. The setting sun shone brilliantly upon a profusion of "barbaric gold,"



and the pageant was altogether the most splendid and imposing which I had ever seen, and not unworthy of Eastern romance.

In the course of yesterday forenoon, Dr. Price, who was with us on the river, was sent for to the L'hut-d'hau (The word is correctly written L'hwat, but is pronounced as I have given it in the text), by the Wungyis, the principal of whom were, the Kyi-wungyi and Kaulen-mengyi; the former the unsuccessful commander of the army during the greater part of the war, and the latter the well-known negotiator of the abortive Treaty of Patanago. He returned in about two hours, and said that he was requested to state, that, in consequence of his Majesty having directed an exhibition of fireworks on Monday, for which due preparation would be requisite, it would be necessary to postpone the appointed meetings of the 15th and 16th, to discuss the Commercial Treaty. It had been agreed upon at an early period, after the Supreme Government had resolved upon sending an embassy to Ava, that the Mission, during its stay at the Burman capital, should occupy the house of Dr. Price, which is on the Sagaing side of the river, opposite to the palace; and, with the view of preparing it, this gentleman had received from the British Commissioners at Rangoon an advance of one thousand rupees. We had signified our wish to take possession after our introduction, and no objections had been offered. We were now, however, informed by Dr. Price, that the Wungyis objected to the house at Sagaing, on the cogent ground that it was more elevated than the King's barge, as it lay in the river, and that such a spectacle would not become the King's dignity. I begged Dr. Price to state to the Wungyis, that his message upon so material a point as putting off the conferences would not be received by me, as he was not vested, with, any official character, and as the Burman Government had not intimated that he was to be the channel of any communication between us. The Kyi-wun, accompanied by a Palace Secretary, paid us a visit in the evening, and after sitting an hour and a half, at last entered upon the subject of postponing the conferences. This, the known object of which was to perplex the negotiation by procrastination, a favourite expedient with the Burmese, was the first decidedly unfavourable example which had occurred of the conduct of the Burman Court; and I thought it absolutely necessary that it should not be quietly acquiesced in, hoping that an early disapprobation might either check or prevent the

recurrence of practices which had been invariably followed by the Burman Government in former times, and proved so vexatious and embarrassing to all my predecessors. The Kyi-wun began by, asking whether we desired to be present on Monday at the exhibition of fireworks. The answer given was, that there was time enough to settle this matter at the conferences of the 15th and 16th.

After much circumlocution, he then stated, that he and I were pledged friends; that the King had conveyed to him his orders to make preparation for a display of fireworks, and that consequently, being his friend, I ought to make no objection to the arrangement. I answered, that certain days had been appointed to hold conference for the discussion of matters which related to the interest of the two countries, and I was confident the King would never give orders to postpone matters of such moment for a display of fireworks, or any such matter of mere amusement. I endeavoured to impress upon him the necessity of a strict adherence to engagements,—telling him that promises, appointments, and treaties, were held by men of honour among us and other European nations, as binding as oaths; and that those who broke them, or departed from them, on slight grounds, justly forfeited esteem and confidence. As a serious example of the evil effects of breach of engagement, I referred to the misfortunes which had followed the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of Patanago. The Kyi-wun admitted “the beauty (as he called it) of strict attention to engagements, but thought that among friends some latitude ought to be allowed.”

Referring to the attack upon Melloon, which followed the breach of the treaty, he said,

Of what use was this to you, and was your conduct in this matter suitable? If you had waited a day longer, the King’s ratification would have come down.

The answer to this was,

You had due warning; a violation of engagement was committed, and through it you lost two battles, and the provinces of Mergui, Tavoy, and Yé, and part of Martaban; but I beg this subject may be dropped, as we are now

friends. I referred to it only to show what might be lost by want of punctuality to engagements.

I added, that if it were inconvenient to the Burmese chiefs to keep their appointments in any case, it was only necessary to state real grounds for doing so, which would be considered by us perfectly satisfactory; and that I was convinced the conferences would not again be postponed on slight pretexts. The Kyi-wun replied, that he was ashamed, and sorry for the part he had been obliged to take. Dr. Price acted as interpreter between us, with the occasional assistance of Mr. Judson, whose attention was principally engaged in discussing the same question with the Palace Secretary. This person had said to him,

I thought you were as one of us,-like Price. In former times, you received the King's favour. You are acquainted with our disposition and our ways, and *how good a people we are.*

A ray of the King's favour, in the opinion of the Burmans, binds the person upon whom it shines to everlasting gratitude, let future mal-treatment and injustice be what they may. They could scarcely have forgotten, that this very King had imprisoned Mr. Judson for eighteen months in fetters without any cause whatever, confiscating his whole property, and restoring the value of it afterwards only through compulsion.

### **October 16, 1826**

Although no promise had been given of appearing at the display of fireworks, repeated messages were sent to me in the course of yesterday, to say that the King expected our presence; and that if we did not go, the Wungyis would be at a loss to know what apology to offer to his Majesty. If I did not go myself, I was requested to allow some of the gentlemen of the party to do so. It was necessary to mark our disapproval of the manner in which the conferences had been so wantonly trifled with; and I therefore refused to go myself, or to permit any of the gentlemen to attend. In the evening, word was brought to me that the Atwen-wuns requested that the conferences might take place for this day, as previously agreed upon.

Yesterday I visited the outskirts of the town, and this morning rode round it, which occupied exactly two hours, the road being all the way nearly under the ramparts. I shall take another opportunity of giving as full an account of the city of Ava as my materials will admit. In the meanwhile, I may mention that it is between five and six miles in circumference, and surrounded by a brick rampart. The north-east angle is separated from the larger part of the town by a brick wall, and constitutes a second town, which contains the palace and public offices. In the external wall we counted twenty-one gates. On a painted and gilded board, on a post fronting each gate, there is an inscription, containing the name of the gate, and the date of its construction. This is a literal translation of one of these inscriptions:--

In the year 1188 (1823), on Monday the first of the Wane of the Moon Ta-baong.—The Ta-nen-tha-ri (Tennasserim), gate of the Royal Golden City named Ra-ta-na-pu-ra.<sup>10</sup>

The gates are generally named after places,—such as the Hen-za-wadi, or Pegu gate; the Yo-da-ya; or Siamese gate; the Mok-ta-ma, or Martaban gate, &c. The list contains several names little known to European geography, although apparently familiar to the Burmese. These are generally tributary states of the kingdom, chiefly of the country of Lao. The western and southern faces outside the walls are nearly destitute of population; but at the northern and eastern sides, the first bounded by the Irawadi, and the last by the “Little River,” or Myit-ngé, are well inhabited suburbs, and a large market. In our ride we met a number of the King’s elephants: several of them were large and fine animals, but generally they were ill-fed and in bad condition: they were of all ages and sizes, some not exceeding three or four months old.

### **October 17, 1826**

The Burman negotiators, according to appointment, appeared yesterday, and the conference commenced at twelve o’clock. They were accompanied by two Palace Secretaries, but the Wun-dauk was not present. The Burman chiefs had note-books before them,

---

<sup>10</sup> Crawford’s original note: Ratnapura, in Pali or Sanscrit, means the “city of gems.”

containing the Burman version of the draft of the treaty, which I had given in, with observations upon each article.

The senior Atwen-wun began the conference, by reading the seventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo, providing for a commercial convention.

BURMESE: Does this agree with the English copy?

CRAWFURD: It agrees in substance with a literal translation from the Burman which I hold in my hand, and this generally with the original English.

BURMESE: Besides what is stated in your credentials, we find that the letter of the Governor-General also mentions that you are the person appointed to make the arrangement consequent upon the article just read.

CRAWFURD: I am ready to enter upon the discussion with you.

The senior Atwen-wun read the first article of the draft of the treaty given in at the last meeting.

BURMESE: This article relates to two matters,—the one to ships coming and going, and the other to persons coming and going. Do the persons referred to here mean merchants, or others generally?

CRAWFURD: The persons alluded to here are merchants and traders, and no others. There is no ambiguity in the English version; should there be any in the Burman, it may be rectified.

JUNIOR ATWEN-WUN: Let the friendship between the two nations be more fast than ever. This subject occupies me so much at present that it deprives me of sleep.

The original Burman draft was here altered, so as to make it quite clear that merchants alone were meant in it. The senior Atwen-wun then read the second article.

BURMESE: I understand by this article, that every one is to be allowed to export gold and silver from this country. This is contrary

to the ancient usage of the kingdom. Gold and silver do not appear to us to be properly articles of merchandise, and therefore they ought not to be included in a treaty of commerce.

CRAWFURD: Gold and silver are considered as articles of trade by all the nations of the world. Whatever is received in commerce as an equivalent for merchandise is necessarily an article of trade, and is properly included in a commercial treaty.

BURMESE: It is not said in the second article, that the gold and silver to be exported, shall be gold and silver to be exchanged for merchandise, but any gold or silver.

CRAWFURD: What other gold or silver can be meant? What merchant can get gold and silver to take away without giving an equivalent for them, either in the shape of what is commonly called merchandise, or of some other valuable consideration?

BURMESE: If this be the case, let it be inserted in this article, that no money is to be taken away except in exchange for goods.

CRAWFURD: This will not answer, and will give rise to perplexity and difficulty. One man may import goods and dispose of the money to another, who may be inclined to send the money out of the country, although this last person did not himself import the goods for which the gold was received. One merchant may act as an agent for another and receive a commission for the goods he disposes of. He has contributed to forward the commercial interests of the two countries, and therefore ought in justice to be allowed to export the fruits of his labour. By your proposal, both these persons would be precluded from exporting gold and silver.

BURMESE: It is not our custom to let gold and silver leave the country; every thing else, such as copper, lead, yellow arsenic, &c. you may freely export.

CRAWFURD: During the explanations which took place respecting the seventh article of the Yandabo Treaty, between the British and Burman Commissioners, it was agreed that the Treaty of Commerce to be made between the two nations should be

reciprocal. We permit you to export gold and silver from all our territories; you should therefore do the same thing by us.

BURMESE: It has never been the custom to bring gold and silver into this country from yours. It has never been our custom to allow gold or silver to be exported. This is a subject of great importance. We wish therefore for more time to consider it.

CRAWFURD: I wish to take this opportunity of expressing myself more at large respecting this question. Without the free exportation of gold and silver, no considerable trade can be, or ever has been, carried on between two great countries. The nations of Europe among themselves permit the free export and import of gold and silver. The Chinese, the Siamese, the Persians, and the Arabs, permit it. Are you richer than these nations, because you prohibit it? Do you expect to lose your wealth by allowing gold and silver to be exported, when you see that other nations have not done so? If you prevent the exportation of gold and silver, their prices will be lower with you than in other countries, and you will only pay higher for all foreign commodities. You say that gold and silver has not been imported from our country. The cause of this is, that it cannot be imported to a profit, because it is lower priced in your country than in ours. Other goods that will bring a profit must therefore be imported. If you permit the free exportation of gold and silver, they will sometimes be lower and sometimes higher with you; and sometimes lower, and sometimes higher with us. Sometimes they will be exported from the one country, and sometimes from the other. Merchants will then find it easy to carry on business. The trade will greatly increase; the two nations will derive mutual advantage. You will receive our manufactures cheaper, and the King's revenue will be vastly increased. The Americans import very little into Bengal but Spanish dollars. They have voluntarily carried on the trade for many years, and of course have derived benefit from it, or they would not have done so. There are two American gentlemen now present; you may consult them on this subject. There are some nations in the world that have little or nothing to export but gold and silver, and yet they conduct a large trade. If the nations in question, like you, were to prohibit the exportation of gold and silver, they would have no trade at all. Their gold and silver would be of little use to them, and their

nobles and people would be deprived of many of the conveniences of life, which they now get from other countries.

BURMESE: We shall take these matters into consideration, and beg you to furnish us. with a copy of the remarks you have now made, in the Burman language.

A copy of the notes containing these remarks was, for the purpose of translation, handed to Dr. Price, who acted as interpreter to the Burmese negotiators.

The senior Atwen-wun read the third article of the Commercial Treaty.

BURMESE: For friendly considerations, we agree to this article; but we prefer, that instead of the length, the breadth of the vessel should be taken in estimating the measurement, and that that should be determined at eight cubits. We, agree to the exemption from pilotage, but must insist upon the vessels giving notice to a pilot.

CRAWFURD: I agree to the alterations proposed, with the exception of that regarding the measurement, which I will take into consideration, and furnish ,a modified article at our next meeting, in accordance with the suggestions now made by you.

The senior Atwen-wun read the fourth article.

BURMESE: This article, as it stands, is worded somewhat obscurely, according to our judgment. We agree to it according to the explanations with which you have furnished us, but we decline giving a, final answer until the next meeting.

The senior Atwen-wun read the fifth article.

BURMESE: Does this article refer to a commercial treaty, and ought it properly to be inserted in one?

CRAWFURD: It refers exclusively to merchants, and is the proper subject of a commercial arrangement. To obviate any objections on



this subject, I will insert the words “merchants” and “traders,” in lieu of “ subjects.”

BURMESE: In this article it is stated that “the price of the goods and effects of merchants may be taken away.” This would imply the exportation of gold and silver, to which we have not assented.

CRAWFURD: I will modify the article thus far, until you have assented to the second article.

BURMESE: With respect to the removal of families, we wish to take farther time to consider this question.

The senior Atwen-wun read over the sixth article.

BURMESE: We do not conceive that this article comes under the head of a commercial treaty.

CRAWFURD: This is true; but still it is an article that will be beneficial to both parties.

BURMESE: You have admitted that this does not come under the head of a commercial arrangement; we think, however, that it may be necessary towards cementing the friendship between us; but, as upon this subject we have several matters to propose on our side, we wish to take time to deliberate.

The senior Atwen-wun read over the seventh article.

BURMESE: As we are great friends already, and as we wish to be greater still, we agree to this article. We now beg to say, that we have gone over the different articles of the draft you gave in, and have given our opinions upon such as our minds are made up upon. We wish you, however, to consider that nothing is as yet finally arranged or decided upon.

CRAWFURD: I consider this to be the case on both sides.

BURMESE: You are to be presented to the King to-morrow. Suitable boats will be sent down to receive you and the presents.

We will send either elephants or horses for you to the landing-place, as you wish; but we think elephants most suitable. The boats will be sent for you immediately after breakfast.

CRAWFURD: I beg you will have the goodness to state when our next meeting is to take place.

BURMESE: The festival, which commences to-morrow, will last for three days. We wish to have the fourth day for deliberation, and on the fifth we will meet you here.

The conference broke up at five o'clock, the Burman negotiators retiring apparently well satisfied with the result. A good deal of desultory conversation and explanation took place during the discussion of the different articles in the draft, which it was found impracticable to note down at the time. Every thing material, however, has been noticed.

The King had proceeded yesterday to the Temple of Kaung-m'hu-d'hau, six miles from the palace, and across the river, where the fireworks were exhibited. It rained heavily all night, and his Majesty, who did not return till three o'clock this morning, was overtaken in the storm. Word was brought us of this ill the morning, and we were informed that in consequence our audience was put off till to-morrow.

### **October 19, 1826**

It rained all day yesterday and the night before last, and at breakfast-time we received a message from the palace, to say, that in consequence of the badness of the weather, the audience would be put off until this day. The river since our arrival had fallen about twelve feet, and for four or five days previous to the present rain it had fallen at the rate of a foot in twenty-four hours. During the rain, however, its decrease was arrested, or was nearly stationary; a fact from which it may be inferred that the source of the river is not distant, nor the body of water above Ava considerable, as otherwise the stream could hardly be affected by so partial a fall of rain.

During a moment when the weather promised to hold up. Dr. Stewart and I crossed the river, and visited the town of

Sagaing, directly opposite to Ava, and in former times, twice over, the seat of the Burman Government. We passed through the town, and went as far as the range of hills between two and three miles behind it; but as the rain recommenced almost immediately, we had little opportunity for observation. The town is a large, straggling place, where the houses are thinly scattered among groves of fruit-trees, with temples and monasteries innumerable. A considerable portion of the inhabitants are Cassay captives, or their descendants. This race is easily known from the Burmans, by their more regular and handsome features, which have a good deal of the Hindu cast. These people are not, however, genuine Hindus, but, as if it were, a mixture between these and the Burmans: their complexion is fairer than that of the inhabitants of Bengal, and a few of the young women whom we now saw were really handsome. That portion of the range of hills behind Sagaing, which lies next to the town, is composed of a coarse blue and white marble, and furnishes the material of all the lime which is used at the capital and its neighbourhood.

### **October 20, 1826**

Yesterday, Dr. Wallich and I made a long water-excursion, which carried us round the town and its suburbs, which we thus determined to be situated on an island. We first dropped down the Irawadi for about half a mile, and entered the Myit-tha, a small stream, which carried us to the south-east angle of the town, where it joins the Myit-ngé, or "little river," which last was now from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards broad, and very deep. It is, in fact, according to Dr. Wallich, equal in size to the river Goomty in Hindostan. Its origin is in the hills at no great distance. As far as the Myit-ngé the current was against us; but after entering this, in our favour; so that, in reality, the two streams which I have named proved to be only two branches of the same river. The larger branch, the Myit-ngé, winds to the east, and afterwards to the north-west, until it joins the Irawadi immediately above the town. The peninsula formed by this bend has a canal across it, which commences a few hundred yards below the origin of the Myit-tha, and joins the little river about half a mile before its junction with the Irawadi. Over the Myit-tha there are two good substantial wooden-bridges, lately constructed by the Queen's

brother. There had also been a bridge over the Myit-ngé, but it was swept away by the floods of the periodical rains some years ago. On the western face of the town there is no suburb, and on the southern there are not many houses; but on the northern and eastern side there is a very large suburb. The mouth of the Myit-ngé may be considered the proper port of Ava. Here we found many of his Majesty's gold and war-boats, and several large trading vessels, from fifty to sixty tons burthen. The country in every direction was universally cultivated, and fine groves of fruit-trees were abundant. The impression left upon the mind of Dr. Wallich and myself, regarding the extent of industry and amount of inhabitants, was not, however, favourable. There was no bustle, no activity, but a stillness and tranquillity, without animation.

### **October 21, 1826**

The Mission was yesterday presented to the King. After breakfast, ten or twelve boats were sent down to convey ourselves and the presents. Among these were two gold ones, as they are called. To this part of the arrangement no objection whatever could be offered. We left the steam-vessel at twelve o'clock. The Shwe-dam'hu, or Chief of the Guard of Swordsmen, and the old Governor of Bassein, in their dresses of ceremony, accompanied us. The presents went on first, conveyed in two large boats, towed by others, and having also on board the European guard. The gentlemen of the Mission and attendants followed. We reached the river-front of the Palace about one o'clock, where we were received by four Saré-d'haugyis, or Palace Secretaries. After the presents were landed and arranged, the procession moved forward, the presents going first. These, which were carried on litters by Burman porters, were followed by the Governor-General's letter, conveyed by a native servant of the Mission, attended by two Herkaras, or Hindustani runners, on an elephant. Seven other elephants conveyed the gentlemen of the Mission. The Burmese officers who accompanied us, as well as those who received us at landing, in all six in number, were also each mounted on an elephant. The guard was drawn out upon the shore, and presented arms as we passed. After this, Lieutenant Cox took them straight back to the ship. We had been assuredly the Burmans, that it was contrary to usage to admit the *armed* military of any foreign power

within the walls of the town, and I would not by any means permit them to enter unarmed. It was thought best, therefore, that they should not even go as far as the walls of the town. The following account of the etiquette of the procession, and of some of the circumstances which accompanied our introduction, will be rendered intelligible by consulting the accompanying plan of the town and palace. We entered the inner town by the Le-thá gate, one of the two commonly used by the King (One of the gates is called "the dead gate," because funerals pass through this alone; from which circumstance, it is under a kind of stigma. Criminals, and persons under accusation, are also led through the same entrance). Passing through a short street, we came to the western side of a high wooden palisade, which, in a quadrangular form, surrounds the Palace and its different buildings. From the western side of this palisade, we passed along the southern, at the termination of which we were requested to dismount from our elephants, and complied. The Saré-d'haugyis, and other Burman officers, now preceding us, we moved on in the same order as before. We had not gone far, when these officers requested that we would take down our umbrellas, as a mark of respect to the Palace, which we were approaching. I paid no attention to what they said, but desired the gentlemen not to comply; and we moved on, until reaching the centre of the eastern face of the palisade, where there is a gate fronting the principal entrance of the Palace, opposite to the nearest side of which is the Rungd'hau, or Hall of Justice. The Saré-d'haugyis, without our being aware of their intention, led us beyond the Rungd'hau, where it was previously arranged that we should rest, to the gate of the palisade fronting the Palace, and here requested us to make a *Shi-ko*, or Burman homage. I had previously caused it to be intimated to the Burman officers, that in no place, or under any circumstances, should any of the gentlemen of the Mission make an obeisance, except to the King in person. As soon, therefore, as I ascertained what it was that the Saré-d'haugyis wanted, I turned round quickly, and, followed by the other gentlemen, entered the Rungd'hau, where I requested that the particular Saré-d'haugyi, who addressed us on the subject of making an obeisance to the Palace, should be reprimanded for his presumption. This was done by the other officer, who seemed to think that he had officiously exceeded his authority, as well as broken a promise made to us. We seated ourselves in the front of

the Rungd'hau. This is a lofty wooden building, supported by several rows of pillars of the same material, and without walls, like all similar public buildings among the Burmans. It is a plain structure, without carving, gilding, or any sort of decoration, and both for extent and appearance much inferior to the similar place where we had rested before being presented to the King of Siam, in the Mission to that country in 1823. We were detained at the Rungd'hau for two hours and a half, evidently for the purpose of allowing the Burman princes and officers to pass, and with the hope of dazzling us with a spectacle of which they themselves evidently entertained a very high notion. The junior courtiers passed first, according to their rank; they were followed by the seniors in the same order, and last of all came the princes, according to the rank allowed them at Court. The first of the latter who entered was the Prince of Pugan, a cousin of the King. The next was the Prince of Sandowy, better known to us by the name of Memiabo; a corruption of his name, which is correctly written Menmyat-pu. This, as I before mentioned, was the person who acted as Generalissimo of the Burman forces towards the conclusion of the late war, and after the disgrace or failure of his elder brother, the Prince of Sarawadi. He was half-brother to the King, and, from all accounts, a young man of no energy or talent. He was always accompanied by the Wungyi Kaulen Mengyi as his lieutenant; and this chief was, in reality, the effectual commander. These were followed by the Princes of Mendong and Mekkara: the first a half-brother; the second, uncle to the King. Next came Menthagyi, the Queen's brother; and the last, as the highest in rank, was the Prince of Sarawadi, the King's only full brother. The Prince of Sarawadi had ten gold umbrellas; and the Queen's brother, ranking next to him, eight. The officers and princes were each preceded by a certain number of their followers: they were seated in canopied litters open to the sides, and their elephants and led horses followed them. The Government officers used their umbrellas as far as the gate of the Palace; here they dismounted, leaving their umbrellas, litters, and retinue outside, with the exception of one or two attendants. The princes of the blood entered the Palace gate in their litters, with their umbrellas spread, but left their retinues outside, including armed followers, which they alone were permitted to have. The number of retainers which accompanied the different chiefs was in proportion to their

respective ranks and consequence. The most numerous retinue by far was that of the Queen's brother, which amounted to at least four hundred: among them I observed twenty or thirty men carrying firelocks, and clothed in the jackets of English sepoy, which, from their appearance, I imagine to have belonged to the provincial battalion of Chittagong, of whom a number had been taken prisoners on the Aracan frontier.

Having observed that even the lowest of the chiefs in rank were permitted to use their umbrellas as far as the Palace gate, and were conveyed thither in their litters, while their elephants and horses were allowed to advance as far as the front of the Rungd'hau; and contrasting this with the treatment observed towards ourselves, I thought it my duty to expostulate, on the spot, with the chiefs who had conducted us; and through Mr. Judson and Dr. Price, gave them to understand, that the conduct they had pursued was unjustifiable, unbecoming, and contrary to the promise held out when the arrangement for our presentation was agreed upon. In the meanwhile, I was told that farther exactions and demands were contemplated; and I therefore informed the Burmese chiefs, once for all, that no obeisance whatever should be made by us except in the King's presence, and that our shoes should not be taken off until we were upon the point of entering the Palace. They were also distinctly given to understand, that if any attempt were made to dictate to us in such matters, we should immediately return, and decline the honour of being presented altogether. Many efforts were made, notwithstanding, to induce us to make an obeisance upon the first view of the throne; and we were assured that such homage would not be paid to the mere walls of the Palace, as the King himself would unquestionably be present, and fronting us just as we should enter the gate of the enclosure. Our previous information convinced us that there was no foundation for this assertion; and being firm in our refusal, the Burmese officers at length desisted from farther attempts to over-persuade us. The procession moved on from the Rungd'hau, preceded by a Nakand'hau. I had requested a gold or silver salver to carry the letter of the Governor-General, which was refused. An old wooden one was brought, of which the gilding was defaced. This was declined, and I therefore requested Mr. Montmorency to carry the letter, and to walk by my side in the procession. The Palace, besides the palisade, is surrounded in every direction by an

inner wall of brick, which is double on the eastern or principal front; so that in this direction there are three gateways. At each of these the procession halted, and at each the Na-kand'hau prostrated himself, hoping we might be induced to follow him by making an obeisance. Nothing, however, was said to induce us to do so. My predecessor, Colonel Syme[s], had been compelled, by the same class of officers, to make repeated obeisances long before he reached the Palace. In dictating these the Burmese officers exhibited a degree of insolence which was not observed in our case. To rid himself of their importunity, he was obliged to threaten returning back, and to decline being presented altogether.

That portion of the Palace which contains the Hall of Audience, consists of a centre and two wings; the first containing the throne, and directly fronting the outer gates of the enclosure. The building is entirely of wood, with the exception of its many roofs, which are covered with plates of tin, in lieu of tiles. Over the centre is a tall and handsome spire, called by the Burmans a Pyat-thad, crowned by the *ti*, or iron umbrella, which is an exclusive ornament of the Temple and Palace. The Hall of Audience is without walls, and open all around, except where the throne is placed. The roof is supported by a great number of handsome pillars, and is richly and tastefully carved. The whole fabric is erected upon a terrace of solid stone and lime, ten or twelve feet high, which constitutes the floor: this is so smooth, even, and highly polished, that I mistook it at first for white marble. With the exception of about fourteen or fifteen inches at the bottom of each pillar, painted of a bright red, the whole interior of the Palace is one blaze of gilding. The throne, which is at the back of the hall, is distinguished from the rest of the structure by its superior brilliancy and richness of decoration. The pedestal on which it stands is composed of a kind of mosaic of mirrors, coloured glass, gilding, and silver, after a style peculiar to the Burmans. Over it is a canopy richly gilt and carved, and the wall behind it is also highly embellished. The Palace is new, not having been occupied altogether above two years and a half; so that the gilding and ornaments were neither tarnished nor defaced, as we often found to be the case in other places. Although little reconcilable to our notions of good taste in architecture, the building is unquestionably most splendid and brilliant; and I doubt whether so singular and imposing a royal edifice exist in any other country.



It has the same form and proportions with that described by Colonel Symes, at Amarapura; but is larger, in the proportion of one hundred and twenty to ninety.

There are three entrances to the Hall of Audience, by a flight of a few steps,—one at each wing, and one at the centre; the last being appropriated to the King alone. We entered by the stair which is to the right, at the bottom of which we voluntarily took off our shoes, as we had from the first agreed to do. We passed through the hall, and seated ourselves where our station was pointed out, in front of the throne, a little way to the King's left hand, the presents being directly in front of the throne. The King made his appearance in about ten minutes. His approach was announced by the sound of music, shortly after which a sliding door behind the throne opened with a quick and sharp noise. He mounted a flight of steps which led to the throne from behind with apparent difficulty, and as if tottering under the load of dress and ornaments on his person. His dress consisted of a tunic of gold tissue, ornamented with jewels. The crown was a helmet with a high peak, in form not unlike the spire of a Burman Pagoda, which it was probably intended to resemble. I was told that it was of entire gold, and it had all the appearance of being studded with abundance of rubies and sapphires. In his right hand his Majesty held what is called in India a Chowrie, which, as far as we could see, was the white tail of the Thibet cow. It is one of the five established ensigns of Burman royalty, the other four being a certain ornament for the forehead, a sword of a peculiar form, a certain description of shoes, and the white umbrella. His Majesty used his flapper with much adroitness and industry; and it occurred to us, who had never seen such an implement but in the hands of a menial, not with much dignity. Having frequently waved it to and fro, brushed himself and the throne sufficiently, and adjusted his cumbrous habiliments, he took his seat. The Burman courtiers, who were seated in the usual posture of other Eastern nations, prostrated themselves, on his Majesty's appearance, three times. This ceremony, which consists in raising the joined hands to the forehead, and bowing the head to the ground, is called, in the Burman language, Shi-ko, or the act of submission and homage. No salutation whatever was dictated to us; but as soon as his Majesty presented himself, we took off our hats, which we had

previously kept on purposely, raised our right hands to our foreheads, and made a respectful bow.

The Queen presented herself immediately after his Majesty, and seated herself upon the throne, at his right hand. Her dress was of the same fabric, and equally rich with that of the King. Her crown of gold, like his, and equally studded with gems, differed in form, and much resembled a Roman helmet. The little Princess, their only child, and about five years of age, followed her Majesty, and seated herself between her parents. The Queen was received by the courtiers with similar prostrations as his Majesty, and we also paid her the same compliment as we had done to the King. When their Majesties were seated, the resemblance of the scene which presented itself to the illusion of a, well got up drama, forcibly occurred to us; but I may safely add, that no mimic exhibition could equal the splendour and pomp of the real scene.

As soon as his Majesty was seated, a band of Brahmins, who are the soothsayers of the Burman Court, began to chant a hymn, which continued for two or three minutes. In what language it was, or on what subject, we could not ascertain. These persons stood behind the throne, a little to his Majesty's left; so that we had but an imperfect view of them. They wore white dresses, with caps of the same colour, trimmed with gold lace or tinsel. This part of the ceremony being over, the first thing done was to read aloud a list of offerings made by his Majesty to certain Pagodas in the city of Ava. The names of the temples were specified, and it was stated that the offerings were made because the temples in question were "depositories of relics of Gautama,—representatives of his divinity, and therefore suitable objects of worship." This was done by a Than-d'hau-gan, or Reporter of the Palace. The list was read or rather sung, from a book which he held before him.

It is necessary that I should here explain the time and occasion taken by the Burman Court for our presentation. It was the Burman Lent, or Fast, at the beginning and termination of which, as well as at the new year, the tributaries and public officers make offerings to the King, and "ask pardon" for all offences committed in the intervening period. These festivals, which continue for three days, are distinguished by the epithet of Ka-dau, which word means "pardon asking." Our presentation was evidently put off from day to day, that we might appear among the crowd of suppliants asking forgiveness for past offences! The

conviction of their defeat and humiliation was, I may safely say, universal amongst the Burmans of every rank; it was obvious in their demeanour 'and their apprehensions; yet so excessive was the vanity of the Court, that it was gratified, or at least its pride was soothed, by getting up a show, what must have appeared, even to itself, little better than a farce.

The presentation of offerings commenced with those of the Princes of the Royal Family, which was succeeded by those of the Saubwas, or tributary Princes of Lao. Then came those of the merchants, or, as they are called by the Burmans, "the rich men;" and last of all, those of the Governor-General. A list of each was drawn out on a slip of palm-leaf stained yellow. A Than-d'hau-gan, or Palace Reporter, read the lists with an audible voice, sitting in front of the throne, but ^ at a considerable distance. The following is a translation of the address made at each presentation. I select that of the Prince of Sarawadi, to show the nature of the offerings tendered by a person of his rank. The epithets bestowed upon the King in this case are the same as in all common addresses:

Most excellent glorious Sovereign of Land and Sea, Lord of the Celestial (Saddan) Elephant, Lord of all White Elephants, Master of the Supernatural Weapon (Sakya), Sovereign Controller of the present state of existence. Great King of Righteousness, Object of Worship! On this excellent propitious occasion, when your Majesty, at the close of Lent, grants forgiveness, your Majesty's servant, the Prince of Sarawadi, under the excellent golden foot, makes an obeisance of submission (shi-ko), and tenders offerings of expiation, viz. a golden pyramid, a silver pyramid, golden flowers, silver flowers, a golden cup, a silver cup, some fine cloths, &c. &c. &c.

When the Governor-General's presents were presented, the address was exactly in the same language; with this exception, that for the words "Your Majesty's servant," were substituted "the English Ruler of India."

When the name of each suppliant was pronounced, the party took a few grains of parched rice between the hands and made the customary prostration, being the acknowledged token of homage and submission. This ceremony, although insisted upon with

Colonel Symes and the gentlemen who accompanied him, was not proposed to us, and we made no acknowledgment whatever when the reading of the list of the Governor-General's presents was completed. We were indeed ignorant at the time of all that was said, from our want of acquaintance with the language. Dr. Price, who acted as my interpreter, did not explain to me what passed, and probably did not himself comprehend the nature of the language made use of, from the rapid manner in which the ceremony was gone through. When the list of the Governor-General's presents to the Queen were read, all that was prefixed to it was "The presents offered to her Majesty the Sovereign Queen by the English Ruler of India."

The arrival of the Embassy from the Government of India was then announced. His Majesty did not address us in person, but an Atwen-wun who sat before us, read from a book the following questions, as if coming from the King. Are the King and Queen of England, their sons and daughters, and all the nobility, well? Have the seasons been favourable in England? How long have you been in coming from India to this place? These scarcely required any other answer than a respectful acknowledgment. After this, betel, tobacco, a gogplet of water, with a gold cup to drink from, and lapet, or Burman tea, were sent in separate vessels, to each of the English gentlemen. This mark of attention, which was not conferred upon any one else present, we were carefully informed was by the immediate order of the King. We acknowledged it by a bow, and touching the fore-head as before.

The presentation of offerings being finished, his Majesty conferred a few titles, which were loudly proclaimed by heralds through the hall. Among the persons honoured upon this occasion, was a certain native Portuguese, who was an officer of the Burman mission to Cochin China in 1823: he had been taken prisoner at Tavoy, on his return from Cochin China, and detained at Calcutta during the war. Notwithstanding the handsome and liberal treatment which he and his companions had there received, his hostility to the British was inveterate. The King, I was told, listened to him, as he is too apt to do to all flatterers of whatever rank or condition, and he had been very active in giving the most unfavourable possible picture of the British power and policy in India. Among other statements calculated to mislead, he represented the office of the Governor-General of India as being

exactly parallel to that of the Myo-wun, or Governor, of a Burman district. I had this information from such sources as left me no room to doubt its accuracy.

His Majesty, as he was about to leave the hall, directed presents to be made to the English gentlemen of the Mission. These consisted of a ruby, a piece of silk, and some lackered boxes, for each person. Those given to me might be worth about one hundred deals, the others a good deal less. Mr. Judson was altogether left out in the distribution of presents. We could understand that he was deemed a Burman subject—a person who had received favours, and therefore who was acting in his present situation contrary to his allegiance!!

The Governor-General's letter was not exhibited, nor was even the Burman translation of it read or alluded to. Mr. Montmorency held it during the audience, and towards the conclusion delivered it into the hands of a Nakand'hau by my direction.

The King continued in the hall about three-quarters of an hour, and then retired. When he and the Queen got up, the courtiers prostrated themselves as when they entered, and the English gentlemen made a respectful bow to each; after which they put on their hats, to signify that the compliment of uncovering was intended for their Majesties alone. Their Majesties had been evidently uneasy under their cumbrous dresses, particularly their crowns, for they frequently put up their hands to adjust the latter, and relieve their heads from the load that seemed to oppress them.

The princes and public officers were all habited in their court or state dresses, which, as, I before stated, consisted of purple velvet cloaks, with highly ornamented caps of the same material: each had his chain of nobility over his shoulders, and his title blazoned on a thin plate of gold affixed to the front of the cap. The princes were distinguished by dresses of superior splendour, and especially by the form and decoration of their caps. The dress of the Prince of Sarawadi was particularly brilliant. The courtiers, according to their rank, were seated more or less near to the throne. The nearest to it was the Prince of Sarawadi; for the heir-apparent, having as yet, on account of his youth, no public station assigned to him, did not attend. The inferior courtiers were scattered over the body and wings of the hall: this might have made their number appear fewer than they really were. It struck

us, however, that the attendance was not numerous, and certainly it by no means equalled the crowd assembled at the Siamese Court. The spectacle, upon the whole, was sufficiently imposing. Yet, notwithstanding the better taste of the Palace, and the superior dresses of the Burman courtiers (for those of Siam, when I saw them, did not appear in their dresses of ceremony), the pageant was less calculated to affect the imagination than that exhibited by the Court of Siam, where the demeanour of the courtiers was more constrained, the crowd of suppliants more numerous, and the manners of the sovereign himself unquestionably more imposing—authoritative and dignified. The Siamese Court, in short, seemed more consonant to our preconceived notions of the pride, the barbaric magnificence, and wild despotism of an Eastern monarch.

His present Majesty was about forty-three years of age, of short stature, but of active form. His manners are lively and affable, but his affability often degenerates into familiarity, and this not unfrequently of a ludicrous description. A favourite courtier, for example, will sometimes have his ears pinched, or be slapped over the face. Foreigners have been still more frequently the object of such familiarities, because with them freedoms may be taken with less risk of compromising his authority. The King is partial to active sports, beyond what is usual with Asiatic sovereigns,—such as water excursions, riding on horseback and on elephants, elephant catching, &c. Among his out-door amusements there is one so boyish and so barbarous, as not easily to be believed, had it not been well authenticated:—this is the practice of riding upon a man's shoulders. No saddle is made use of on these occasions, but for a bridle there is a strap of muslin put into the mouth of the honoured biped. Before the war, the favourite horse was a native of Sarwa--a man of great bulk and strength, with shoulders so broad and fleshy as to make his Majesty's seat perfectly safe and comfortable. When the English arrived at Sarwa, this person had a brother there who submitted to their authority. This treasonable proceeding becoming known at Court, the favourite was degraded and put in irons, as well as deprived of a title and assignment of land which he enjoyed for his services. His Majesty has at present no human vehicle of this description. I ought to observe, that the practice of riding on a man's shoulders

is not peculiar to his present Majesty, but has often been practised by other full-grown persons of the Royal blood.

The King's natural disposition is admitted to be kind and benevolent, and, considering the temptations by which he is surrounded, he has certainly been guilty of few excesses. In point of talents, he is greatly inferior to his immediate predecessor, and, indeed, to most or all of the princes of the house of Alompra. His perception is indeed sufficiently quick, but his curiosity, which is restless, is too easily gratified. With an easy temper, and with too little firmness or strength of mind to think or act for himself, he is readily led by the ruling favourite of the time. He is well acquainted with the popular literature of the Burmans, and reads, or rather hears a great deal read to him. He has a smattering of the Pali, has studied astrology, is a great adept in alchemy, has a turn for mechanical pursuits, and a better taste in architecture than is usual with a Burman. For theology he has no great inclination, and seems to content himself with doing what he considers absolutely necessary in religious matters, but no more.

The Queen is about two years older than his Majesty, has a good person and a dignified address, but was never handsome. She appeared to us to be the reverse; but the distance and the dazzle of gold, of ornaments, and rich dresses, prevented any distinct view of her features. She is, by birth of low origin, being the daughter of a chief gaoler,—not however one of those who are pardoned malefactors. When the present King was heir-apparent, she was taken into his seraglio as a concubine, and soon acquired a powerful influence over him, which, instead of diminishing by time, has ever since increased, and at present she and her party may be said to exercise the principal share in the government of the country. The lawful wife of the King, and the mother of the present heir-apparent, was the daughter of the King's uncle, the Prince of Prome. This lady died a few days after the birth of the heir-apparent; her death, it is alleged, having been hastened by her husband's neglect and the ascendancy gained by her rival. The late King and all the royal family did every thing in their power to discourage the present connection; but the opposition which the King has experienced on this point, has only tended to confirm him in his attachment. He seldom goes abroad, or shows himself to his subjects, without being accompanied by the Queen. On the most solemn occasions, she sits with him upon the throne; and in public

processions, her vehicle is carried side by side with his. When they are spoken of, the customary form of expression is not “the King” or “the Queen” separately, but “the two Sovereign Lords.” So great is her power over him, and so unaccountable does it appear, that her enemies charge her with the practice of magic; and some of the royal family, it is said, familiarly speak of her under the name of “the sorceress.” None of his Queens ever sat with his late Majesty on the throne during his long reign, nor have I been able to ascertain that it was ever the practice of the Burman kings before his present Majesty’s accession. In an Eastern country, at all events, it is certainly a singular spectacle. When the last Chinese Embassy received an audience in the year 1823, her Majesty then appeared upon the throne,—an invasion of Oriental usage which must have been a subject of wonder to a ceremonious and punctilious nation, who themselves keep the sex in a state of entire retirement and seclusion. To the Burmans themselves, however, the matter does not seem so extraordinary; for, with them, generally speaking, women are more nearly upon an equality with the stronger sex, than among any other Eastern people of consideration; yet they have never, that I am aware of, been raised to the throne, or directly exercised any political authority. Her Majesty’s disposition is less amiable than that of the King, and her temper more austere and haughty. In pecuniary matters the King is thoughtless, or liberal; but the Queen, frugal and parsimonious. Although considerable allowances must be made for the personal character of the King, the history of her advancement plainly shows that her Majesty is a woman of superior mind. This however is not the common opinion among the Burmans, because with them she is unpopular: they consider her as a violator of national manners, and attribute, as I have already said, her whole ascendancy to the practice of supernatural and unlawful arts. There is one class however, and a very material one, with which her Majesty is popular,— the priesthood. She is devout, and, in the sense in which they are interested, charitable. She builds pagodas and monasteries, makes frequent gifts to the established temples, bestows largesses upon the priests, and is attentive to all the external forms of religion. The King has had but two children by her Majesty,— a prince who died a few months after his birth, and the young lady whom we saw upon the throne with her parents. The Queen, to strengthen and preserve her influence, proposes to



give this princess in marriage to the heir-apparent. The marriage between half-brothers and sisters, although unknown among the people, and repugnant to their feelings, has been common, it appears, among the blood royal from time immemorial.

After sitting a few minutes we retired, putting our shoes on at the head of the stairs, where our servants were waiting for us. The same officers accompanied us as when we entered. Upon descending into the court before the palace, we had an opportunity of examining more leisurely the scene that was here presented, which consisted of an exhibition of dancing-women; buffoons and tumblers in masques and masquerade dresses; puppet-shows, state elephants, led horses, with state carriages, and palanquins. The tumblers appeared agile and expert; they were chiefly disguised as monkeys and other wild animals, and amused the company by ludicrous gestures, scrambling up poles, letting themselves fall from them, and similar feats. Some of the elephants were very noble animals; but our attention was chiefly attracted by the celebrated white elephant, which was immediately in front of the palace; it is the only one in the possession of the King of Ava, notwithstanding his titles; whereas his Majesty of Siam had six when I was in that country. The Burman white elephant was rather of a cream than a white colour, and by no means so complete an Albino as any one of those shown to us in Siam. To the best of my recollection, however, it was larger than any of the latter: it had no appearance of disease or debility, and the keepers assured us that its constitution was equally good with that of any of the common elephants. This animal was taken in the year 1806, when young, in the forests of Pegu, at a place called Nibban, which is about twelve miles distant from the old city, and was now about twenty-five years old: it is the only white elephant which has been taken in the Burman dominions for many years, with the exception of a female caught, two years before it, in the forests of Lain. Several of a light tint, but not deserving the name of white, have been taken within the last twenty years.

I had here an opportunity, as well as in Siam, of ascertaining that the veneration paid to the white elephant has been, in some respects, greatly exaggerated. The white elephant is not an object of worship, but it is considered an indispensable part of the regalia of sovereignty. Royalty is incomplete without it; and the more there are, the more perfect is the state of the kingly office considered.

Both the Court and people would consider it as peculiarly inauspicious to want a white elephant; and hence the repute in which they are held, and the anxiety to obtain them: the capture of a white elephant is consequently highly rewarded. The present one was first discovered by four common villagers, each of whom received two thousand five hundred ticals in money, and offices, titles, and estates.

While we were at Ava, a report was brought that a white elephant had been seen; but it was stated, at the same time, that its capture and transport on a sledge over the cultivated country would be accompanied by the destruction of ten thousand baskets of rice. His Majesty is said to have exclaimed more with the enthusiasm of an amateur, than the consideration of a patriot king, "What signifies the destruction of ten thousand baskets of rice, in comparison with the possession of a white elephant?" and the order was given for the hunt.

The lower orders however, it must be observed, perform the *shiko*, or obeisance of submission to the white elephant; but the chiefs view this as a vulgar superstition, and do not follow it. When the present elephant was taken, the event was considered a joyous one; and the late King, who was fond of money, taking advantage of the circumstance, issued an order to the tributaries and chiefs, to ask pardon of the white elephant (*Ka-dau*), accompanied of course by the usual presents which his Majesty deposited in his coffers.

The establishment of the white elephant is very large: he has his *Wun*, or Minister; his *Wun-dauk*, or deputy to that officer; his *Saré-gyi*, or Secretary, &c. with a considerable endowment of land for his maintenance. In the late reign, *Sa-len*, one of the finest districts in the kingdom, was the estate of the white elephant.

Having seen two Albino monkeys in Siam, we asked if his Burman Majesty was possessed of any. An ugly cream-coloured long-tailed baboon was brought out for us to inspect; but in whiteness it bore no comparison to those of Siam.

After inspecting the curiosities of the court-yard, we returned home by the same route by which we came. Our elephants had been so ill-comparisined and uncomfortable, that we declined riding them, but caused them to accompany us to the river-side. In coming in, there was a considerable assemblage of people to view the procession; but by no means a great one—not a fifth part, I

should imagine, of that assembled on a similar occasion at Siam. They were all dressed for the occasion, and their demeanour was decorous, decent, and respectful in the highest degree. They sat down, as we passed along, in the posture deemed most respectful by the Burmans; and not a word was spoken, or a sound heard. I could not help contrasting their behaviour, in this respect, with the noisy and boisterous conduct of the Siamese populace. The difference must originate in national character, and not in the circumstances of our different political relations with the two people; for the conduct of the Burman populace towards Colonel Symes' Mission was equally respectful as towards ourselves, at a moment when the Burmans had nothing to apprehend from an opposite behaviour, and when they were as independent of us as the Siamese at the period of my visit to that country.

Constables with long rods in their hands were stationed on each side of the procession, to keep the populace in order; but there was little need for their services, and we scarcely perceived them until after our arrival at the Rungd'hau, when they became more necessary in preserving order among the followers of the different chiefs, who were assembled in great numbers between the Rungd'hau and the Palace gate, and disposed to be noisy but not disrespectful. The nature and history of the office of these constables form one of the ugliest and most odious features of the Burman Government. They are denominated in the language Pakwet, which means "the cheek branded with a circle." They are, in fact, most frequently atrocious malefactors, pardoned in consideration of their performing for life the duties of constables, gaolers, and executioners, for all these offices are united in one person. They receive no pay or reward for their services, and must live by their wits; that is to say, by the extortion and impositions practised upon their unfortunate prisoners. Besides the ring on each cheek, a mark which implies the commission of a capital crime, these guardians of the peace are to be seen with such epithets as the following tattooed upon their breasts, "man-killer," "robber," "thief," &c. The chief of these persons was pointed out to us, and was soon recognised by Mr. Judson as the person who had the principal charge of the European and American prisoners during the war. This was an old man of sixty, lean, and of a most villanous countenance. He was by birth of the tribe of the Kyens, had murdered his master, and had a large circle on each cheek,

with the Burman word *Lu'-that* or "man-killer," in very large letters on his breast. The Pa-kwet are held to be infamous. Even in the execution of their office, they are not permitted to enter any house, nor in any case to come within the walls of the Palace. When they die their bodies cannot be burnt, nor the usual funeral rites performed, but they are interred like those of lepers and others held to be impure.

The military display made by the Burmans on this occasion was truly contemptible. Along the roads which we passed, files of soldiers were drawn out in single ranks, each file at the distance of ten or twelve feet. The arms consisted of alternate spears and muskets. The soldiers, who were with-out uniform, and indeed naked, with the exception of a scanty lower garment, and a small handkerchief round the head, sat down, having the stock of the muskets on the ground, and the muzzle a little raised from it, and supported by two cross-sticks. The appearance of the men showed that no selection had been made: they literally appeared no better than so many day-labourers, of all sizes, ages, and appearances, taken at hap-hazard from the common bazar. The Siamese soldiery, bad as they were, and grotesque as was their uniform, were better armed and accoutred, and in every respect made a better appearance. As to the troops of Cochin China, the Burman soldiery are just as far below these, as they, in their turn, are inferior to the best disciplined troops of Europe. This morning, when preparation was making for a similar festival, I counted the number of firelocks, which, widely dispersed along the two sides of the palisade which we had passed the day before, had then the appearance of being numerous: they amounted exactly to one hundred and eighty.

In passing out of the gate which we had entered, we observed a few cannon. One brass gun lying on the ground inside of the gate was of great size; but its walls were superfluously thick, and its calibre did not seem to exceed that of a twenty-four-pounder: this was a trophy brought from Siam. On the rampart on each side of the gate there was one nine-pound cannon on swivels. These two were all the guns we saw mounted. Outside the gate, and lying on the ground, there were five English ship-guns; I think, twelve-pounders.

**October 22, 1826**

The audience having been so frequently put off, I imagined that the appointed conference would have also been postponed, and I did not expect the negotiators on the day named. Yesterday morning, however, word was sent to us, that they were desirous of being punctual, and would come as agreed upon. They came accordingly at twelve o'clock. Before entering upon business, many questions were put to us respecting our reception at the Court, and the things we had seen. The Burman chiefs expressed a confident hope that we were pleased with our reception. On this point, I replied, that I would give my opinion fully, and in a public form, towards the close of the conference. They knew that I had visited the Court of Siam, and a great object with them was to obtain a favourable answer to the comparison which I should draw between that and the Burman Court. No essential point connected with the wealth or strength of the two nations was at all touched upon. The principal topics were the comparative splendour of the two Palaces, of the Court, of the courtiers, and of the King. They were especially desirous to know, whether the King of Siam had, or had not a white elephant. On the first-mentioned topics they received such replies as gratified them; but on the important subject of the white elephant, it seemed, under all circumstances, not necessary to withhold the truth from them. They were sensibly mortified when I informed them, that the King of Siam had six white elephants instead of one, and that I had actually seen four of them. They asked, whether the Siamese elephants were equally white with that which I had been yesterday. I replied, that the Siamese elephants were all whiter. They seemed to doubt the accuracy of my information, and began a sort of cross-questioning. They begged to know when I had visited Siam; who was King at the time; his age; his successor, &c. &c. I satisfied them with precise dates and circumstances. They dropped the subject, and their silence evidently implied that they were chagrined, that every circumstance of the parallel drawn between themselves and the Siamese should not have received a flattering answer.

Business commenced by the senior Atwen-wun putting the following question:

**BURMESE:** On the first of the moon, we discussed the different articles of the draft which you laid before us; some we agreed to,

and we rejected others. You then promised to furnish us with an amended draft, according to what had been agreed upon before the next meeting.

CRAWFURD: I certainly did not promise to furnish such a draft, or you should have had it. To the best of my recollection, the subject was not even alluded to. My notes taken on the occasion do not contain any memorandum of such a promise, nor do I think that the interpreters on either side can state that it was made.

BURMESE: We understood you so.

CRAWFURD: If you are desirous now of having a copy, it may be immediately made for you.

The writers of the Atwen-wuns began immediately to make a copy, which occupied a long time. In proceeding to copy the sixth article, the following conversation took place:

BURMESE: We did not assent to the sixth article, which is not of a commercial nature. We wish, therefore, that it should be struck out in the present draft.

CRAWFURD: I agreed with you, that this article is not strictly of a commercial nature; but as you allowed that it might be useful otherwise, it was admitted. I now assent that it should be struck out at your desire.

The amended draft was now read, article by article. In reading the title, the following observation and reply were made:

SENIOR ATWEN-WUN: We wish you to add here the name of the King of England, as well as of the Governor-General.

CRAWFURD: I will not listen to this proposal. You may make what alterations you think proper in the titles of his Burman Majesty, but I am the best judge how the Government I represent is to be designated. I beg you clearly to understand, that the Government of India exercises sovereign power, as far as you are concerned; can make peace, and can make war. You have already made one

treaty with it, and therefore there can be no difficulty on the present occasion. This is, at best, but a dispute about words.

The first and second article of the amended draft were agreed to, as well as the third article, altered as in the annexed draft. Upon the fourth article being read, the following discussion took place.

BURMESE: What river, or rivers, do you allude to in this article?

CRAWFURD: There is no particular river specified; but that which is especially in view, is the Than-luen, or Sa-luen, which, by treaty, is your eastern, and our western boundary to the south.

BURMESE: Although the Than-luen river is stated to be the boundary, yet a cession only was made by us of the provinces of Tavoy, Mergui, and Yé. Molameng, and other places to the eastward of the Sa-luen, are parts of the thirty-two districts of Martaban, and no cession is made of any portion of that province. It is also provided, that any disputes on this subject shall be hereafter settled by Commissioners, according to *ancient limits*. The Sa-luen river ought not therefore to be inserted here.

CRAWFURD: I beg to read to you the fourth article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

The fourth article of the Treaty of Yandabo was here read.

CRAWFURD: By this article it is expressly stated, that the Sa-luen river shall hence-forth be the boundary between the two countries; that is to say, that it is to form the line of demarcation which shall determine the limits of the territory of each. What is on the west side belongs to you, and what is on the east side belongs to us. If there should be any dispute respecting islands in the Sa-luen, this is to be settled by Commissioners appointed for that purpose. That the river is the boundary admits of no question. This was fully explained to you at the time by the British Commissioners. In answer to some objection of yours, Sir A. Campbell pointed with his hand to the map, after informing himself previously on the subject, and said, "This is to be the boundary," and you assented.

The record of the conversation that took place now exists, and is before me. One of the Burman Commissioners is present, and knows this very well. Mr. Judson, who acted as interpreter, is also present, and can afford you any explanation that you require. You might as well say that the ridge of the Aracan mountains is not the boundary between the two nations in another quarter, or that any part of the territory lying west of these mountains is to become a subject of dispute, to be settled by Commissioners.

BURMESE: It is evident that the persons who negotiated the treaty-anticipated some dispute on this subject, by appointing Commissioners.

CRAWFURD: It is customary with all European nations, in making a treaty of this kind, to appoint Commissioners to fix the exact line of frontier. If the Sa-luen river was not to be the boundary, why should it be mentioned in the fourth article? I repeat, that this was all settled at Yandabo; and that one of you, gentlemen, was present at the conference. I decline entering farther into this discussion at present, as it is of a political, and not of a commercial nature.

BURMESE: Still it will be necessary to make some alteration in the fourth article of the treaty.

CRAWFURD: No alteration whatever is called for, as no river in particular is mentioned. If you have any thing farther to say upon this subject, let it be introduced hereafter. Have you any thing farther to state regarding the commercial treaty?

BURMESE: We particularly wish to have the river specified in the fourth article of the treaty excluded.

CRAWFURD: It is not necessary. The article, as it stands, will answer for any river or rivers, whatever they may be. Have you any thing farther to say on, the subject of the commercial treaty?

BURMESE: We have something to say on the subject of Munnipore.



CRAWFURD: This is introducing a political question, which you yourselves have expressed a wish should be avoided, until the settlement of the commercial arrangement.

The circumstances which attended our introduction to his Majesty, appeared to call for a distinct remonstrance, and in conformity with what I had intimated to the Burman chiefs at the opening of the conference, I addressed them in the following terms through Mr. Judson. My notes were prepared during the intervals of the conference and handed over to the interpreter, who had time to translate and consider them before he spoke. The language as it now stands is nearly a literal translation of what he delivered in Burman.

CRAWFURD [through Judson]: The principal business of this day's conference being over, I take this opportunity of addressing you respecting some circumstances of an unpleasant nature which occurred yesterday. This embassy, you are aware, came to the Burman Court from a great Government exercising sovereign authority. The presents which we brought were offered as marks of friendship only. When you recollect the issue of the late war, was it not generous on the part of the Governor-General to send an embassy and presents in this way? Was it not conferring a favour? (Here the junior Atwen-wun very readily replied, "Yes, yes.") The Mission was conveyed to the Palace on elephants miserably equipped, compared to those on which your own officers of all ranks rode. We were made to dismount at the corner of the palisade of the Palace. Your own officers rode in their litters to the very gate. Your officers of every rank made use of their umbrellas to the very gate of the Palace. We were rudely requested to take ours down long even before reaching the Rungd'hau. A Saré-d'haugyi wanted us to make an obeisance to the Palace when we were not near it, although I had repeatedly caused it to be signified that we should make no obeisance except to the King in person, and your officers had acquiesced in this arrangement: this was an act of gratuitous rudeness. I beg that the Saré-d'haugyi may be reprimanded. The list of the Governor-General's presents was read along with the list of presents from Saubwas and others. There was great impropriety in this, which cannot escape yourselves. I mention all these matters, that they may never happen again. I am

convinced they were unknown to his Majesty, or they would not have occurred now.

BURMESE: It is the uniform custom of the country, in the case of embassies from China, Cochin China, and Siam, that the ambassadors dismount at the corner of the palisade. All these points of etiquette are settled by the King's order. There was no intentional disrespect in the present case. All the Government officers desired to treat the ambassadors handsomely. So far as the Saré-d'haugyi has behaved improperly and disrespectfully, it is his own affair, and we will take measures for seeing him punished.

Arrangements were after this made for visits to be paid by us to the Heir-apparent, the Prince of Sarawadi, and the Queen's brother: the first on the twenty-third; and the other two, successively on the following days.

### **October 23, 1826**

We were presented this forenoon to the Heir-apparent, and conveyed from the steam-vessel by the King's boats, in the same manner as upon the occasion of our audience of his Majesty. Mr. Lanciego, who was now restored to the King's favour, conducted us to the young Prince: this was an arrangement made to obviate the chance of our being incommoded in matters of ceremony, by the officiousness of the Than-d'hau-gans or others. The Prince's palace, if I may use such a word for a very homely dwelling, was in the inner town, a few hundred yards from the south-west angle of the palace enclosure. We rode thither on horseback, declining the incommodious and shabby conveyance by elephants, which was again tendered to us. Besides our own horses, a number were supplied sufficient for the accommodation of our principal attendants. At the dwelling of the Heir-apparent, we were received in a Rung, or open hall, where we were not detained above twenty minutes, when we were formally summoned, by a written order, into his Highness's presence. We ascended a short flight of wooden steps, at the bottom of which we took off our shoes, and were ushered into a hall filled with a crowd of well-dressed chiefs, wealthy natives, and some of the principal Mohammedan and Chinese merchants. The floor was spread with carpets, and we

were requested to seat ourselves immediately in front, and within a few yards of the throne prepared for his Highness. In a few minutes the folding-doors behind the throne were thrown open, and the Prince was seen in an adjoining chamber seated upon a gilt couch, cross-legged, and under a pair of mirrors. This was intended for effect, and was certainly not unsuccessful. In a few minutes he got up, with a sword in his hand, walked briskly forward, and seated himself on the throne in the front hall. He was very richly dressed in a vest of gold brocade, with a turban of gold-sprigged muslin. He wore two or three necklaces: one of these was a good string of pearls; and another a necklace of rubies, chiefly composed of small stones, but having in the centre one jewel of this class of very large size, and to all appearance, of considerable value. His fingers were covered with rings, chiefly rubies and diamonds. The sword-scabard was also richly studded with the same gems. The throne was a couch highly ornamented, and was a handsome piece of furniture. The Prince was a fine lad of about fourteen, and had hitherto evinced a kind and mild disposition. He was much agitated, but notwithstanding acted his part with great propriety. Behind him there was a crowd of women of all ages, some of them his attendants, but the greater number the wives and daughters of chiefs who had come from curiosity. Among them was to be distinguished an elderly and venerable matron, the nurse of the Prince, whose countenance and demeanour evinced the utmost anxiety for her charge's success in this exhibition before strangers. He put the two following questions to us, for which he had evidently been prepared, in a voice which showed that the age of manhood had not yet arrived: "How long have you been on your voyage from Rangoon? Are the ambassadors all in good health?"

The list of our presents was read. The Prince accepted and ordered them to be taken away. Several other persons present also made offerings to his Highness. Betel, tobacco, and lapet, were presented early, and in due course, refreshments of fruits and sweetmeats. The Prince had his Wun, or Minister, who of course was the chief person. Through him we were told that we were at liberty to put any questions to his Highness which we might think proper. It was suggested that the Prince's age would be a proper one, and this was asked accordingly: we took occasion to follow it up by some personal compliments to his Highness, which we were

given to understand would be expected. Before retiring, the Prince directed presents to be made to us: these consisted of a piece of silk and a lackered box to each of the gentlemen, an additional box and a small ruby-ring being added to mine, to which was afterwards joined a Burman saddle, given to the Prince at the moment for this purpose by one of the chiefs. We retired soon after this, and returned home. In the court, before the Prince's house, there was an exhibition of dancing-girls and puppets, both as we entered and retired, and the din of Burman music was uninterrupted from the moment of our arrival until that of our departure. The issue of this visit was gratifying to us, and, I am told, gave satisfaction to the Heir-apparent and his friends. In the way of ceremonial, we complied voluntarily with every thing that was proper or even expected of us, and the public officers found that their officiousness was superfluous when we were left to ourselves.

Through the influence of his step-mother, the Prince's establishment is at present kept upon a very humble footing. Through the same influence, still more than on account of his youth, he as yet occupies no ostensible place under Government, and is only called Heir-apparent by courtesy; not having yet been invested with the title, which is the practice of the Burman Government. The proper title of the Heir-apparent of the Burman Empire is Ing-she-men, which literally means "lord of the east house;" but the origin of this title I have not been able to ascertain. The present Prince is sometimes called Rung-ran-men, or "lord of Rungran," which is the name of the district assigned to him for his support; but the most common name by which he is known is Sakya-men (Sakya is a Burman or rather Pali corruption of the Sanscrit word Cha-kra, a wheel or circle; and hence, according to the Buddhists, the universe, or the system of the world), which the Burmans translate "lord of the world." In consequence of some auspicious prodigies which took place at his birth, particularly an earthquake, his great-grandfather, the late King, thought himself justified in giving him this name. The more credulous among the Burmans interpreted the omen and title literally, and did not hesitate to believe that he was doomed to be the future conqueror of Hindostan, and that it was especially his destiny to destroy the British Empire in that country! Some of his followers spoke openly to Mr. Judson on the subject, when the latter, not knowing his

person, one day inquired who the young Prince was that was passing. "That," said they in reply confidently, "is the Prince who is doomed to rule over all your Kula countries," meaning the nations of Western Asia and Europe. This was little more than one year before the commencement of the late war.

In returning home, we passed through a *fashionable* market in the inner town, to which the wives of the Burman grandees are accustomed occasionally to resort for their amusement. As I went along, my attention was struck with the figure of a tall and venerable-looking person, whom I took at first for an Armenian, for he was in the Oriental costume. I was soon undeceived, however, by one of my companions. The individual in question was an Englishman, a native of the town of Windsor, born a gentleman, and brought up in the naval service of the East India Company. It is alleged that, for some offence against the penal law, he fled from Calcutta about forty years ago. He had ever since resided in the Burman dominions, often in situations of public trust under the Government, but now out of employ. We afterwards found that he had been waiting for hours to see us. He was imprisoned in fetters during the war, along with the other Europeans, without any charge whatsoever being made against him. His complexion alone, as in other cases, was the principal evidence upon which he was found guilty.

### **October 24, 1826**

Our promised visit to the Prince of Sarawadi was performed this morning. We proceeded to his house, which is in the outer town, and close to the Tennasserim gate on the river face, and arrived there at about one o'clock. The fly of a large marquee was pitched in the street, and adjoining to the front of the house: this, which was laid with Chinese carpets, and where we had the convenience of benches to sit upon, served the purpose of an ante-room. In this place we were detained nearly an hour, when we were ushered into a spacious hall, a few steps raised from the ground, and forming the front part of the Prince's palace; a tolerably good Burman wooden house, with a tiled roof, but destitute of all that appearance of neatness and propriety, which, according to our notions, is necessary to comfort or convenience. We were seated on carpets, in front of a handsome couch, which the Prince was to

occupy. He appeared, in a few minutes, by a door leading from the inner apartments. The visit, on his side, was intended to be unceremonious and friendly. He came, therefore, without any state-sword, and in a neat undress, seating himself exactly in the position we were in. He asked after the health of his Majesty the King of England, or of the Governor-General, for the expression made use of in Burman might bear either interpretation. The words were Englit-men, which may equally mean the English Ruler, or the King of England.

He asked after the health of the gentlemen of the Mission, and, as usual, very particularly concerning our ages, telling us his own age in return. He then conversed freely and cheerfully upon a variety of indifferent topics. None of the females of the Prince's family made their appearance, and his suite was moderate in point of number, and very orderly in behaviour. Betel, tea, and refreshments were served to us, as at the Heir-apparent's, and presents, consisting of a ruby-ring, a Chinese straw-hat, and a lackered-ware box, were made to each of the gentlemen of the Mission.

The Prince retired, and in a few minutes afterwards we came away, much pleased with our reception, which was plain, unostentatious, but kind and civil. The Prince is a man of forty years of age. In person and features he much resembles the King, and is of a spare and light, but active form: his features are not handsome, but cheerful and pleasing. His manners are affable and unassuming, without being deficient in dignity. His character is that of a gay, thoughtless, and good-natured man; and in this also he resembles his Majesty; but his talents are of a somewhat higher order. He takes his title, Sarawati-men, Lord or Prince of Sarawadi, from the district which is so celebrated for its teak forests, and which is assigned to him for his revenue. He is much beloved by the King, and is his only full brother, as I have before mentioned. He is at the head of the party opposed to the Queen's influence. During the greater part of the late war, he was commander-in-chief of the armies opposed to the English, but never did any thing to signalize himself, and, in fact, never saw an enemy. It seems, indeed, to be a maxim of Burman tactics, that the chiefs should keep at a respectable distance, and out of harm's way, every one in the degree of his rank; and that the soldiery should be thrust forward to fight "the battles of their country," at

the peril of military executions, without leaders, and without example. The founder of the family appears to have been a leader of a different class, however, and to have owed his success as much to his firmness and personal courage, as to his judgment and sagacity.

This was the day appointed for the ladies of the Burman grandees to pay their homage to the Queen; to make presents, and “ask pardon” for past transgressions, in the same way as their husbands had done before of his Majesty. We were anxious to see a part at least of the ceremonies of a Burmese drawing-room, and accordingly passed by the Palace on our return home. A great number of state equipages, that is to say of palanquins, were waiting at the gate, and with them the ladies’ female attendants, scarcely any of whom were admitted into the palace. These were all in dresses of ceremony for the occasion, and accommodated under temporary sheds thrown up for their reception. Some of the gentlemen who stayed longer than myself, saw a number of the ladies themselves coming out in their court-dresses; the most remarkable part of which is a kind of coronet of gold and black velvet. In all this, every thing was public, and open. The ladies wore no veils, and, in short, no attempt was made at concealment in anyway—a circumstance in the manners of the Burmans which distinguishes them in a remarkable manner from the nations of Western India, but in which they agree with the Siamese, and in a good measure with the Cochin Chinese also. I am not sure, after all, that the Burmese ladies gain much by this freedom, for I strongly suspect that the sex is upon the whole treated with less delicacy and consideration than in Mohammedan and Hindu countries, where the most absolute seclusion is insisted upon.

### **October 25, 1826**

Our public visits were nearly completed this morning, by our introduction to the Queen’s brother. The dwelling of this personage, who in consequence is beyond all comparison the first subject of the Burman Government, is in the inner town, a short distance beyond the palace. This is a good house of brick and lime, with a spacious and convenient court in front. Our reception here was far more splendid than at the palaces of the Heir-apparent and the Prince of Sarawadi, and it was evident that the owner had the

key of the royal treasury at his command. A tent pitched in the street in front of the house served as an ante-room, but instead of benches, we had European chairs to sit upon. We were not detained here above twenty minutes, when we were ushered into the hall prepared for our accommodation: this was the front part of the house. The verandah, or front gallery, through its whole length was shaded by a canopy of scarlet broadcloth, which threw the most singular shade upon every object within, making the candles especially appear as if a phosphorescent light issued from them. At one end of the hall, the King's numerous band of dancing-women, richly and most fancifully attired, was playing; the players were all young females, and some of them very handsome. Two dancing-women, still more richly dressed than the rest, one in male and the other in female attire, were in advance, acting a kind of Burman opera. The hall was crowded with chiefs, and towards the back part of it were a number of their wives and daughters. The Queen's brother himself made his appearance almost immediately. A richly decorated couch, on which he commonly sits, was at the back of the hall; but instead of occupying it, he placed himself upon the floor, on the lowest of two cushions, and exactly upon a level with us. His attitude was the most respectful possible: he was upon his knees, resting himself upon his heels, so as effectually to keep the soles of his feet out of view—a point of indispensable etiquette towards visitors of any respectability. We were quite unprepared for so much condescension. We had reckoned at least upon a cold and haughty demeanour, and even thought it possible that the favourite might display some of the assumption of an upstart, but were agreeably disappointed. His wife and daughter followed him into the hall, and seated themselves to his right hand, but farther back. The daughter was a very handsome young woman, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, and understood to be engaged in marriage to the Prince of Mendong, a half-brother of the King. He asked the same question respecting his Majesty or the Governor-General, which had been put at the Palace, and by the Prince of Sarawadi. It appeared to me at the time, and since, that the form of expression was previously studied and concerted between the parties. He then asked if we were pleasantly situated, begged to know the ranks of the different gentlemen as connected with the Mission, and what particular appointment I held myself, before coming as Envoy to



the Court. After ordering refreshments for us, he retired for a short time, politely intimating that he wished to remove all constraint and put us at ease while we were taking our repast, as he was aware that the position we were in was unusual and inconvenient to us. The chief returned in a short time, renewed his conversation, and then finally withdrew; informing us, that if we wished to view the spectacle exhibiting in the area, we should find chairs and refreshments ready for us under a shed. In passing through the court-yard, on our departure, we stopped for a few minutes, from motives of civility, to see an exhibition of dancing-women. Two of the King's *corps de ballet* were performing, considered the first dancers in the kingdom. They displayed great agility in their way: sometimes they bent their body backwards in such a manner as to touch the ground with the head, and without any assistance from the hands to recover the erect position; but their movements were violent, their gestures ungraceful, and sometimes a little indecent. They sung while they danced, and in both respects seemed as if they were performing for a wager. The presents given to us upon this occasion were to each a small ruby-ring, a broad-brimmed straw hat, not unlike a lady's Leghorn bonnet, and a handsome bamboo betel-box, of Shan or Lao manufacture.

This chief commonly goes under the name of Men-tha-gyi, which may be rendered "the great Prince." This does not seem to be a title but an epithet bestowed upon him by common consent through fear or flattery. The rich district of Salen is assigned to him for his subsistence, and according to the common usage he is sometimes called Salen-men, or Lord of Salen. But besides the income he derives from this estate, he has many other sources of emolument, one of the most considerable of which is a duty of one per cent. upon the whole amount of the Chinese trade. While the King's coffers are empty, he and the Queen are known to have hoarded a considerable treasure; for her Majesty has an assignment upon the whole regular revenue derived from the Chinese trade, besides many other perquisites.

Men-tha-gyi was a few years older than the Queen, and seemed to us about seven or eight and forty years of age. His talents were not of a distinguished order, but sufficiently respectable. His exterior was that of a very ordinary person; his manners were represented as reserved, haughty, and austere. The almost unlimited power he possessed, had, it is alleged, been often

exercised in deeds of oppression, injustice, and cruelty. One striking example of this came under the immediate observation of the European prisoners of war, which was frequently mentioned to me. In the family of Men-tha-gyi, but not in his seraglio, there was a handsome young woman of the Cassay nation: she and a young man of the same tribe, also in the family, had formed an attachment for each other. Men-tha-gyi, who had some pretensions to the young woman's person himself, would not permit their union. The young people eloped, but no person dared to afford them an asylum. They were pursued, arrested, and brought back. The young man was imprisoned in five pair of shackles, put into the stocks, and finally starved to death.. When he screamed from pain and suffering, he was beaten by the gaolers; and after six weeks' endurance, his existence was terminated by a few blows of a mallet over the head and breast. Men-tha-gyi, as the gaolers stated, watched and directed his torture and punishment. The young woman disappeared, and had never since been heard of. This, according to the information of the gaolers, was the second case of the same nature which had occurred. The first took place at Amarapura, about three years before. Men-tha-gyi, before the elevation of his sister, is alleged to have exercised the very humble occupation of a fishmonger: the Queen's mint is even said to have carried a basket of fish upon her head, in the exercise of a still humbler branch of the same calling.

On our return home, we visited the King's pagoda and his water-palace, by special leave. The pagoda is one of the few which resemble in architecture those of Siam. The central building is of solid masonry, with pillars half European and half Hindustani. The materials are excellent, the plaster being almost as smooth, white, and shining as marble. All this excited a suspicion that the workmanship was exotic, and, on inquiry, we ascertained that the architect was a Hindoo from Madras. The same artist, we also discovered, had constructed the handsome terrace of the palace before mentioned. His Majesty is delighted with the temple, and considers it a *chef-d'œuvre* of art. About the central building there is a quadrangular area, surrounding which, and of the same form, there is a covered gallery opening inwards, and having the outer wall covered with drawings as rude as possible. These, which are called "Siamese paintings" by the Burmans, represent the Buddhist Hell and all its punishments; the Heaven of the Nats;

but, above all, the birth, education, adventures, and death of Gautama. Each group has one very necessary accompaniment,—a written description telling what it represents. For the satisfaction of the Oriental Mythologist, I give the following translations of some of these descriptions.

A representation of the birth of the deity, on the way to De-wa-da-ha, near the Long-pa-ni forest; his mother, the Queen Thi-ri-maha-ma-ya, wife of Thod-da-da-na, King of Kap-pi-la-wat, standing upright, and holding a branch of a tree with one hand, and her younger sister with the other; four Brahmas (superior celestial beings) receiving him in a net of gems, and four Kings of Nats (inferior celestial beings) performing the same ceremony with a black leopard's skin, and a silk web of earthly manufacture. He instantly takes seven steps to the north, and utters three words.

A representation of the 'divine infant' receiving a visit from the hermit Ka-la-de-wi, when he placed his feet on the hermit's head, and forced act of an homage from his father, the King.

A representation of his marriage with his cousin, Ya-than-da-ya, daughter of Thop-pa-bud-d'ha, King of De-wa-da-ha; the splendid reception of the bride, and the commencement of felicity, which, though human, rivalled that of the Nats.

A representation of the Prince in his royal chariot, noticing the four omens, thrown in his way by supernatural agency, viz. an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and a priest, from a view of which he first conceived an idea of the vanity of worldly enjoyment, and the necessity of providing for a future state of existence.

A representation of the Prince viewing the sprawling indelicate postures of his sleeping concubines, at which he took such disgust, that without even looking at his sleeping son, Pa-hu-la, reposing in the arms of his wife, he renounced all sensual indulgences, and all social affections, and fled into the forest.

A representation of his combat with Mar Nat, the chief evil spirit, who undertook to oppose his holy undertaking.

A representation of the homage he received from all the celestial host, in consequence of the sacrifices he made, and the victory he obtained.

A representation of his performing austerities six years in the forest of U-ru-we-la.

A representation of the throne of deification which sprung up under the sacred fig-tree.

A representation of the Prince ascending the throne, gaining a final victory over Mar Nat, the chief evil spirit, and all his legions, and obtaining the state of a deity (or becoming god, *Bura-tha-ken*).

A representation, of the homage paid him by all the celestial powers, on his becoming a deity.

A representation of his remaining seven days on the throne of deification.

A representation of three daughters of Mar Nat tempting the deity.

A representation of the King of the Nats erecting a tank for the deity to wash his garments in, with a flat rock to dry them on.

A representation of the deity exhibiting himself in the air, half-fire and half-water, to the conviction of all rational beings.

A representation of the deity's journey to Heaven, which he performed by setting his right foot on the summit of Mount Yu-gan-to, and his left on the summit of Mount Meru.

A representation of the deity's descent from Heaven, accompanied by the celestial host, by a triple stair created for the occasion; the portion on the right hand being of gold, that on the left of silver, and that in the middle of ruby.

Here, as in almost all the modern Burman temples I have seen, the fanes containing the principal images of Buddha are of carved wood, gilt all over. Within the area was pointed out to us a circular fabric with a domed roof: this was the library of the temple, but the doors being shut, and none of the attendants at hand, we were unable to gain admission. Judging from this specimen of the Burman temples, and what I had before seen, I have no scruple in considering that they are generally inferior to those of Siam, both in magnitude and splendour: the images especially are much fewer and smaller. I had not yet seen a single statue in brass, nor do I believe the art of casting them in metal is known to the Burmans, although daily practised by the Siamese. This, however, is accounted for by the abundance of fine white marble of which the Burmans are possessed, and of which their best statues are formed. The richly carved wood of the doors, windows, and roofs of the Siamese temples constitutes their best ornament. In the Burman temples there is nothing comparable to it. While the Siamese are spacious buildings, open, diversified, and richly ornamented within, the majority of the modern temples of Ava are but solid masses of brick and mortar, presenting nothing but a mere exterior to gratify curiosity. I may take this opportunity of observing, that the Burman priests seem to be less numerous than those of Siam: it is not to be inferred from this, however, that the Burmans are less pious than their neighbours. This fact, and the inferiority of the temples, is to be accounted for by the religious charity of the two people being somewhat differently directed. For every temple in Siam there seemed to be twenty in Ava. None but the rich and powerful build temples in the first, and the inferior classes are satisfied with making contributions to the edifices constructed by their superiors. Here, therefore, large temples only are constructed. In Ava every petty chief builds his own temple, and deems this, and not the endowment of monasteries, the principal road to salvation. In Siam, a monastery is a necessary appendage to a temple. In Ava, the monasteries and temples are separate and distinct, and those who have power over the wealth of

the country alone can endow the former. In Siam it is the fashion for every male inhabitant to enter the priesthood once in his life, however short the period. This custom does not exist among the Burmans.

On our return home from our visit to the Queen's brother, we inspected what is called his Burmese Majesty's Water-palace. It is a splendid bauble, composed of two long vessels, joined together by a platform, the prow and stern of each representing a fabulous animal, richly carved and ornamented. Over the vessels there is a house of several apartments, the hall of audience containing the throne, being in front. The many-storied roof of the house is covered with plates of tin, and terminates in a spire of fifteen or sixteen feet high. The exterior of the vessels, the house and spire, are all richly gilt. The whole length of the Palace is one hundred and two feet, and its greatest breadth, including a gallery overhanging the vessels all round, forty-four feet. The Wun-dauk of his Majesty's fleet, a person of no small consequence, accompanied us for the purpose of showing the Palace. This person is the Admiral of all his Majesty's boats, whether of war or accommodation. He informed us that he had a population of fifty thousand persons at his disposal, by which we understood the whole number of inhabitants assigned for the maintenance of the establishment, including those appropriated for the pensions or salaries of the chiefs. The actual number of boats belonging to the King amounts, I am told, to about one thousand.

### **October 26, 1826**

The conference, which had ben appointed for to-day was put. off in consequence of the death of the first Atwen-wun's chief wife, which took place on the night of the 24th. This was intimated to us yesterday, on our return from our visit to the Queen's brother. We sent compliments of condolence to the Atwen-wun, and hearing that it would be well taken, proposed to appear at the funeral; which, according to custom, was to be a public one, and attended by all the principal officers of Government. The place where funeral ceremonies are performed, is to the west of the city, close to the river-side, and not above three-quarters of a mile from our dwelling. About eleven o'clock, word was sent that the procession had left the city, and we proceeded to meet it. A convenient and

comfortable open shed had been spread with carpets, and here we found chairs ready for ourselves, and some chiefs of rank, the principal of whom were the Atwen-wun Maong-za, the Kyi-wun, and the Myo-lat-wun. The procession passed close to the shed, and the Burman chiefs politely explained to us the nature of the ceremony. The following was the order in which it advanced;—The insignia of the Atwen-wun were borne in front; then came presents for the priests, and alms to be distributed amongst the beggars, consisting of sugar-cane, bananas, and other fruits, with ready-made garments. A shabby elephant, on which was mounted an ill-looking fellow dressed in red, followed these. The man in red had in his hands a box, intended to carry away the bones and ashes of the deceased. This, it seems, is an ignominious office, performed by a criminal, who is pardoned for his services. Even the elephant is thought to be contaminated by being thus employed, and for this reason an old or maimed one is selected, which is afterwards turned loose into the forest. A band of music followed the elephant; after which came a long line of priestesses, of nuns, all old and infirm; then came ten or twelve young women, attendants of the deceased, dressed in white, and carrying her insignia. The state palankeens of the deceased and her husband; the bier; the female relations of the family, carried in small litters, covered with white cloths; the husband and male relations on foot, dressed in white, followed in order. The Queen's aunt; the wives of the Wungyis, the Atwen-wuns, and Wun-dauks, with other females of distinction, closed the procession. The body was conveyed to a broad and elevated brick terrace, where it *was* to be burnt. We assembled on this to see the ceremonies to be performed. The coffin, which was very splendid, was stripped of the large gold plates with which it was ornamented, and the class of persons, whose business it is to burn the bodies of the dead, were seen busy in preparing the materials of the funeral-pile. This is a class hereditarily degraded, living in villages apart from the rest of the inhabitants, and held to be so impure that the rest of the people never inter-marry with them. By the common people they are called Thuba-raja, the etymology of which is uncertain; but their proper name is Chandala, pronounced by the Burmans Sandala. This is obviously the Sanscrit name of the Hindoo outcasts. The Chandalas, united with the lepers, beggars, and coffin-makers, are under the authority of a Wun, or governor; hence called Le-so-wun, or

Governor of the Four Jurisdictions. He is also occasionally called A'-rwat-wun, which may be translated, "governor of the incurables." This person is by no means himself one of the outcasts, but, on the contrary, a dignitary of the state. This abominable institution is rendered still more completely so by the mode in which the officer in question is rewarded for his services. Like all other public functionaries, he has no avowed salary, but draws his subsistence from the narrow resources of the degraded classes whom he rules. The villages of the lepers, beggars, and burners of the dead, are assessed by him in the usual manner; and being invested with the administration of justice over these outcasts, he draws the usual perquisites from this resource. A considerable source of profit to him also is the extortion practised upon the more respectable part of the community, under pretext of their labouring under some incurable and contagious disease. The scar of an old sore or wound will often be sufficient pretext to extort money from the individual marked with it, to enable him to escape from being driven from society. If a wealthy individual have a son or daughter suffering from leprosy, or a disease which may be mistaken for it, he will have to pay dearly to avoid being expelled, along with his whole family, from the city. The Chandalas, or burners of the dead, were represented to me as having originated in criminals condemned to death, but having their punishment commuted. They differ from the Taong-m'hu, or executioners, in this,—that the punishment of the former descends to their posterity; whereas, that of the latter is confined to the individual. In a short time the mourners, consisting of the female relations and servants of the deceased, sat down at the foot of the coffin, and began to weep and utter loud lamentations. Their grief, however, was perfectly under control; for they ceased, as if by word of command, when the religious part of the ceremony commenced. It sometimes happens, I am told, that when the families of the deceased have few servants or relations, hired mourners are employed for the occasions.

The first part of the office of the Chandalas was to open the coffin, turn the body prone,—bend back the lower limbs,—place six gilded billets of wood under its sides, and four over it. The Rahans, or priests, had hitherto neither joined the procession nor taken any share in the funeral rites, but were assembled in great numbers under a shed at no great distance. The high priest, or Sare-d'hau,



and another priest, now came forward, and along with the husband took in their hands the end of a web of white cloth, of which the other was affixed to the head of the coffin. They sat down, and the friends and principal officers of Government joined them. The priest, followed by the assembly with their hands joined, muttered the following prayer, or creed, viz.:— “We worship Buddha;” “We worship his law;” “We worship his priests;” and then repeated the five commandments—“Do not kill;” “Do not steal;” “Do not commit adultery;” “Do not drink the wine.” The husband poured water upon the cloth from a cocoa-nut shell, pronouncing, after the priest, these words: “Let the deceased, and all present, partake of the merit of the ceremonies now performing.” The assembly pronounced the words, “We partake;” or, “We accept.” The pouring of water upon the ground is considered by the Burmans the most solemn vow. It is as if it were calling the earth to witness, or rather the guardian Nat, or tutelary spirit of the place, who, is it supposed, will hold the vow in remembrance, should men forget it. Two other priests followed the first, repeating the same, or similar prayers and ceremonies. After this, the company retired to some distance, and fire was set to the funeral pile. Notwithstanding the pomp and parade of this ceremony, it was, upon the whole, not solemn, and indeed in all respects scarcely even decorous. The persons not immediately concerned in the performance of the funeral-rites, laughed and talked as at a common meeting; and the solemnity of the occasion seemed to affect no one beyond the husband, the son, and the female relations. The spectators in general seemed to view the ceremony with some vanity, as a grand national and religious display, but nothing farther. Even the husband, who shed some tears, was not altogether insensible to the pomp and circumstance of the occasion. He turned round to me, and said,

Have you examined my wife’s paraphernalia? There they are behind you; I beg you to look at them. They were all bestowed upon her by the glorious King.

The high-priest, while he was still sitting on the ground, and when he had hardly done with the prayer, turned round, upon observing us, laughed very heartily, and said unconcernedly, “Who are these strangers?” Kaulen Mengyi, the virtual first Minister, who took an

active share in the ceremony throughout, told him who we were, styling him "my Lord." He retired without saying any thing; for to betray curiosity or interest in any temporal matter is considered beneath the rank, and contrary to the duty of the priesthood, who are to be supposed constantly engaged in religious meditation, and holding the vanities of the world in contempt.

After the pile was ignited, we retired to the shed where refreshments were provided for us, and where we were obliged to stay for an hour, until the burning of the body was completed. During the ceremony, we were introduced to the Wungyi Kaulen Mengyi, and the Atwen-wun Ma-ongza. The latter was a highly respectable and intelligent individual. He had acquired some knowledge of geography, and a considerable stock of information upon general questions, chiefly from the conversation of the American missionaries. He spoke familiarly of the Grand Lama, and the Buddhism of the nations to the north of Hindostan. Having never before heard that the followers of Gautama to the eastward were aware of the existence of a form of worship similar to their own among the Tartar nations, I inquired into the sources of his knowledge: they were entirely derived from European information; and he mentioned to me the mission of Captain Turner to Thibet, quoting the Burman year in which it had taken place. Among those who gave us their company under the shed, was an officer called Myo-lat-wun, or "governor of vacant governments;" rather a lucrative office, from the frequent removals which are made. This personage, a corpulent and good-natured-looking man, was husband to the nurse of the little Princess, the King and Queen's only child, and hence his promotion. He had been engaged in the military operations against the English, and entered into conversation with Mr. Montmorency on the subject, who found him a great boaster. He said, for example, that he himself was a match for three Englishmen! I inquired, after coming home, into the achievements of this worthy, and found that he had made but a sorry figure in the war. In one of the engagements before Rangoon, he was among the fore-most to run away, and is said to have saved his life by hiding himself for two or three days in a dry well. He was consequently in disgrace at Court for many months, but had lately been restored to favour on account of his connexion.

**October 28, 1826**

From our first arrival at Ava, we were very desirous of occupying a good, comfortable stone and lime house at Sagaing, on the right bank of the river, and fronting the town and palace: this was the property of Dr. Price; and while that gentleman was at Rangoon, as already mentioned, an arrangement had been made with him for occupying it, and a formal engagement entered into, money having been advanced for its repair. Every obstacle however was thrown in our way by the Burman Government, from what motive it is difficult to say. We at length acquiesced in the objections made, and arrangements were nearly completed for extending and rendering more convenient our present habitation. Two days ago, however, the Burman Government changed Its mind, and of its own accord, proposed our immediately occupying the house at Sagaing. The King was extremely- desirous of seeing the steam-vessel under weigh, and I have no doubt this was one motive for accommodating us. He was *incognito* in his water-palace as the vessel passed up this morning, and had a good view of her. To give her as respectable an appearance as possible, she was decked out with a variety of flags and colours, and the European guard was drawn out on the poop, with side-arms only; for a particular request had been made that they should dispense with their fire-arms; such is the effeminacy and distrust of the Court! In the course of the afternoon we took possession of our new dwelling, which we found, upon the whole, convenient and comfortable.

### **October 29, 1826**

We paid a visit this morning to the widow of the King's father, a prince who died as heir-apparent, and never came to the throne. He was the same person so frequently mentioned in the Journals of Colonel Symes and Captain Cox. He had married first the younger, and after her death the elder of two sisters, his own relations. The King was born of the first marriage. His second wife, of whom I am now speaking, was therefore at once aunt and step-mother to his Majesty. This personage was possessed of no political influence, but was treated with respect, and was wealthy; her dwelling was the best wooden-house we had seen; she was entitled to have it gilded, a royal privilege, but had not gone to this expense. We were received under, a tent pitched for the occasion;

after waiting in which for a few minutes, we were ushered into a spacious hall, supported by thirty-two wooden pillars, forming a kind of portico to the main house. At the back of this was the partition which divided the hall from her Majesty's apartments. In this, and at the elevation of six or seven feet from the floor, there was a window with gilded shutters: these were soon thrown open, and showed us the Princess sitting as if it were in a niche, a venerable and respectable-looking person, about sixty years of age. None of her relations or attendants appeared, but in the same apartment with us was her son, the Prince of Men-dong, whom I mentioned as being engaged to marry the daughter of the Queen's brother, with three or four of her grandchildren, boys from four to six years of age. The youngest of these was son to the late Prince of Tongo, a full brother of the King, who died during the war. This child, after the Ing-she-men, or heir-apparent, was next heir to the throne. The Princess put to us the very same questions, and in the same words, as we had been asked at the heir-apparent's, the Prince of Sarawadi's, and the Queen's brother's. Betel, Burman tea, and refreshments were also brought to us in the same manner. She accepted our presents, and presented each of us in return with a ruby-ring, a lacker-ware box, and two pieces of silk. The visit was not very interesting. The attendance of persons of rank was very small, and none of the officers of Government appeared, except those expressly directed to accompany us.

Dr. Wallich and I walked this morning to the village of Kyauk-Sit (stone-cutters), situated about three miles to the north-west of Sagaing. This is the place at which the marble images of Gautama are manufactured for the whole kingdom. There are about thirty sheds, or manufactories, and at each we generally saw about ten or twelve statues either finished or in progress. The range of hills close at hand, although composed of marble, does not afford any fit for statuary, and the material is brought from a place called Sakyin, where there is an entire hill of pure white marble: this is ten miles distant from the eastern bank of the Irawadi, and forty miles, or twenty taings, above Ava. The blocks of marble, rough-hewn generally into the form necessary to make a figure of Buddha in the sitting posture, are conveyed to the Irawadi by land-carriage. From hence they are brought to Sagaing by water, and from this again by land to the place where the manufacture has been conducted,—from *time immemorial*:—the

only reason assigned to us for incurring so heavy and unnecessary an expense in conveyance. Our inquiries respecting the marble quarries furnish a remarkable instance of the difficulty of getting precise and accurate information among a people so incurious in such matters as the Burmans. Sometimes we were told that the quarries were fifty miles distant from Ava; but no one could tell the name of the place. At other times we were confidently informed that they were in the range of the Sagaing hills, two or three miles distant only. With this last impression, we arrived at the place of manufacture; and it was not until we had conversed with those immediately concerned in the business, that we learnt the truth.

The statuary marble used by the Burmans is a primitive limestone; it is large-grained and highly chrystalized; its colour is a snow-white, with a semi-translucency, and it is capable of receiving a high polish; it is devoid of fissures, and free from streaks and all discolouration. Some of the fragments which we examined in the shops contained a few rare particles of mica; and the manufacturers informed us, that now and then they found in it an ore, which they said was that of lead; but they could not supply us with any specimens. The means used for cutting and fashioning the marble into statues are extremely rude: they consist of an iron chisel, or rather punch, and a wooden-mallet. The prominent parts are smoothed down by the successive use of bits of sandstone, of various degrees of fineness; and the last polish is given with a soft stone, which I believe to be a clay-iron ore. This last part of the operation is very successfully performed by the Burmans. In every other respect, the statues are as rudely fashioned as possible. They are almost all in the same attitude: the form and position of the limbs are the same; the head and features are the same; and there is no room in any respect for the display of taste, fancy, or talent, the whole operation being purely mechanical, and this of the lowest order. The statues of Buddha, in the ancient temples of Java, sculptured of the inferior material of trap-rock, are Grecian forms in comparison to the Burman images. The largest block of marble which we measured was five cubits long by three broad, and its thickness about a cubit and a half. Statues are manufactured of all sizes, from this down to a few inches in length. A block of marble, two cubits long, was valued to us, at the place of manufacture, at fifteen ticals. Another rough block, measuring in

length three cubits, was valued at twenty-five ticals, and when sculptured would cost eighty.

### **October 31, 1826**

I made an excursion this morning into the range of hills immediately behind our residence, accompanied by Dr. Wallich. Our walk took us three hours, in which time we ascended to the tops of some of the hills composing the range, and examined several of the quarries from which limestone is extracted for burning. As far as we could determine, every part of the range is marble. At the foot, and close to the river, the rock contains, embedded, hornblende and serpentine. This, which from its situation is most easily obtained, affords lime of inferior quality. The quarries towards the top of the ridge exhibit nothing but white marble, in a high state of crystallization, and with few extraneous ingredients. It is however in small blocks, often undergoing decomposition, and its colour is less pure than that of the statuary marble brought from a distance: it makes the best lime, which is sold on the spot unslaked, at the rate of twenty ticals of coarse silver for two thousand viss, or about eleven shillings and fourpence per ton. The quantity manufactured is very great, chiefly for the construction of temples. With these the hills are crowded to an inconceivable extent.

Two days ago, we had crossed the Irawadi to its eastern bank, where there is a rocky promontory, called Shwé-kyet-ret ("where the golden fowl scratches"), with some spacious temples built upon it. This exactly fronts the termination of the ridge of Sagaing hills, which is also a bluff promontory; the river between them being very narrow, not, I suppose, exceeding nine hundred yards in breadth. From this spot there is a fine view, at once of Ava and Amarapura; affording, with a long reach of the river and the high range of mountains to the north, a landscape which is extensive, picturesque, and beautiful. The promontory on the eastern bank, which does not appear to be connected with any range of hills on the same side of the river, is, like the Sagaing hills, composed of marble; but it differs in its composition from any limestone we observed on the western side, being tough, hard, and containing, besides hornblende and serpentine, a great deal of disseminated mica, and some embedded crystals of feldtspar. We

made particular inquiry of the miners and lime-burners respecting ores and fossil remains, but could not learn that they ever met with any. The limestone rock, at no place which we had yet examined, bore any appearance of stratification. Both at the bottom and top of the range, it is generally in a state of disintegration, and on the surface under-going considerable decomposition.

The rain which fell on the 17th, 18th, and 19th, caused the river to swell greatly, and it rose between two and three feet. It did not begin to subside again till the 26th, but since that time it fell rapidly. The cold season may be calculated to have commenced on the latter day, when we had the first morning fog, and the thermometer fell to 72°. At day-break, it was now so chill, that the protection of a blanket became necessary. Through the day it was still warm, and the thermometer rose to 84 at two o'clock. The weather was calm, the sky serene and cloudless. At night heavy dews fell.

### **November 2, 1826**

On the 30th ult. the King and Queen, with the principal part of the Court, made a visit to a celebrated Pagoda, at Amarapura, leaving, as was customary upon such occasions, her Majesty's brother in charge of the town and palace, as being the individual most in the confidence of the King. Their Majesties returned very late at night, and the great officers who ought to have received them, were not, it would appear, sufficiently alert: they expected the royal party to return by water, and arrangements were made accordingly; but, contrary to expectation, it returned by land. For this *faux pas*, three Wungyis, all the Wundauks and Atwenwuns, were put into the common prison, in three pair of irons: they were liberated the following morning, at the intercession of Kaulen Mengyi, who happened not to be inculpated. The old Governor of Bassein, and the Chief of the Guard of Swordsmen, when they called upon us after this affair, spoke freely upon the subject, laughed very heartily at the mishap of the Ministers, and seemed to consider the punishment as a very proper, necessary, and suitable one.

I learnt last night, from good authority, that the Court Historiographer had recorded in the National Chronicle his account of the war with the English. It was to the following

purport;—In the years 1186 and 87, the Kula-pyu, or white strangers of the West, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo, their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the King, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country.

### **November 3, 1826**

Yesterday and the day before the Burmese officers were busy in preparing a Tê, or shed, on the river-side, for the conferences: their peculiar notions would not allow them to hold them at our dwelling, where there was ample room, and where all parties might have been more conveniently accommodated. At ten o'clock to-day they made their appearance, and we met them at the Tê, which was not above fifty yards from our door. The Myowun, or Governor of Sagaing, a respectable and intelligent man, sat down with the other officers, without however taking any share in the discussions. The conferences commenced by the Burmese officers producing their own draft of the Commercial Treaty, which was read and briefly explained to me by Mr. Judson. In this the subject of the fourth article of the draft, heretofore discussed, and which related to the trade on the frontier, was omitted.

CRAWFURD: It is impossible for me at present to offer any opinion regarding the document now produced until a translation of it shall have been made. I beg you to furnish me with a copy, and at our next meeting the subject of it will undergo discussion.

BURMESE: We will immediately furnish the copy you require.

A copy of the draft was made and delivered. The Burman Commissioners then produced a paper, containing certain propositions of a political nature: the substance of it was briefly translated by Mr. Judson.



CRAWFURD: I request that a copy of this paper may be furnished to me, and at our next conference I will offer my sentiments on the subject of it.

BURMESE: The copy you require will be furnished.

The writers proceeded to make a copy, which was furnished accordingly. The next meeting was appointed for the 5th.

This conference, although little was done except reading two short papers, occupied about three hours, owing to the time taken up in copying the latter; for with the Burmans, as well as most other Oriental people, writing is a tedious process, and the expedition and expertness with which European manuscripts are transcribed is a matter of wonder to them. I omitted to mention, that at all our former meetings, several spies had been present from the different parties of the Palace, not so much to watch our proceedings as the conduct of their own officers. All public matters are discussed by the Burmans with open doors; a feature of their despotical Government not very easily explained, but I imagine chiefly owing to apathy and carelessness, and certainly, at all events, not originating in any desire on the part of those in authority to allow the people a share in their own government. This custom gives easy admission to spies and informers. Among the worthies of this class, our officers, who were with the army, recognized one man who spoke English, and who had been discovered in our camp as a spy of the Burmese General, Bandula. His detection on this last occasion arose from the drollery of a sailor, who asked him if he would have "a glass of grog:" he forgot himself, made a distinct reply in English, and finally acknowledged himself to be a spy sent by Bandula, particularly to gain information respecting the steam-vessel, on board of which he was discovered. He received no punishment, for severities of any kind were repugnant to the feelings of the British Commander, and the enemy was too contemptible to render them necessary. On the contrary, the spy was taken into service as a groom, in which situation he continued until the army arrived at Melloon, when he quietly went over to his country men. At the conferences, his chief business seemed to be to watch the conduct of Mr. Lanciego, close to whom he placed himself, watching attentively every word that

passed between him and us; yet, I am convinced, understanding very little.

On returning home, Mr. Judson made literal translations of the Burman draft of a Commercial Treaty, and propositions. They were as follow:

### Commercial Treaty

Article 1.—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Ruler (Englit-men), the India Company's Ruler (India Company Baren), and the great country of Ra-ta-na-pu-ra (City of Gems, Sanscrit), which rules over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa,<sup>11</sup> and many other great countries; when English merchants from the country of the English Ruler, and Burmese merchants from the country of the Burmese King, pass from one country to the other, selling and buying merchandise, the warders at the entrances and—outlets, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all English merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade with merchandise, shall be suffered to pass without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries, also, shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports, and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security.

Article 2.—The transportation of gold and silver from one country to the other shall not be prohibited, nor shall duties be taken on those articles. In regard to such exportation, when merchandise of use in one's own country are brought from another country, things sold for gold and silver are to be sold, and things exchanged for piece-goods, and other articles in demand in one's own country, are to be exchanged. And, notwithstanding the exportation of gold and silver has always been prohibited, since now the English and Burmese Governments have formed a grand

---

<sup>11</sup> Crawford's original note: These two words, the first applied to the region east of the Irawadi, and the second, to that west of it, are Pali corruptions of Sanscrit words, meaning, respectively, the country of gold, and the country of copper.

friendship, when English merchants come in boats and ships to Burmese ports for the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary duties, sell the goods which remain, and the gold and silver for which the goods are sold, English merchants may take away. And if they wish to buy and take away goods, they shall be allowed to do so. And the gold and silver taken away without prohibition shall pay no duties. When Burmese merchants also come in boats and ships to English ports for the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary duties, sell the goods that remain, and take away the gold and silver for which-the goods are sold, if they wish to do so. But if not, they shall be allowed to buy and take away without hinderance, and without paying duties, such piece-goods, muskets, flints, powder, and other rarities and articles of use, as they may desire.

Article 3.—Ships whose breadth of beam (entrance of the hold) is eight royal cubits of twenty English inches, and all ships of smaller size, whether Burman merchants entering an English port under the Burman flag, or English merchants entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demands besides the payment of duties and the fees on the passport at quitting, not exceeding ten ticals of inferior silver. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the captain voluntarily require a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at ‘the entrance of the sea.’ In regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight cubits, it shall, with them, be according to ancient custom.

Article 4.—English and Burmese merchants passing from one country to the other, and residing, shall, on desiring to return to their own country, be allowed to do so. They shall not be hindered from going to whatever country, and by whatever vessel, they may desire. They shall also be allowed to sell their goods and property, and take away the value, together with property unsold, wife, sons, and daughters, without hinderance, or any expense incurred.

Article 5.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive all possible assistance; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the rightful owner.

Burmese Propositions:

1. According to the Royal order of the English Ruler, appointing a Commissioner, Crawford is a wise and distinguished man. He is to proceed to the Royal country of the most excellent glorious Burman Monarch, and respectfully there make obeisance and offer presents. And he is to discuss mercantile matters, and whatever may be suitable for discussion. Thus he is commissioned. What Crawford says, the English Ruler says. According to the Third Article of the Treaty of Yandabo, Aracan, Ramree, Sandoway, and Cheduba, must be given up; and according to the Sixth Article, Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, with their territories. According to the Fifth Article, also one crore of rupees must be paid. Of the crore of rupees, or, according to Burman weight, seventy-five thousand, two parts have been paid, and two parts still remain. Thus, in various points, the English Government and the Burmese Government must have formed a grand friendship. The officers of Government, also, in meeting one another, have conceived mutual love. It is suitable to take into consideration the affair of refunding the expenses. Aracan, Ramree, Sandoway, Cheduba, Ye, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, have always belonged to the royal country. In regard to the above said towns and territories, and the business of money, since peace has taken place, measures ought not to be adopted as if the countries were at war. The ambassador Crawford is Commissioner and Agent of the English Ruler. There is ground here for securing in perpetuity a kind feeling between the two countries. As the officers and confidential members of the two Governments are well disposed towards one another, and exhibit proofs of

mutual affection, so it is suitable that we should appropriate and take charge, as we have uniformly appropriated and taken charge of old.

2.--According to the Second Article of the Treaty of Yandabo, which requires, that if Gumbheer Singh desire to return and remain at Munnipore, he shall do so. Gumbheer Singh shall remain quietly and happily at Munnipore. But let him not trespass on the city of Mwe-ren, and other cities and villages west of the Kyen-dwen river, which are Burmese territory. Let not officers and soldiers appointed by the Burmese Government be stationed at Munnipore, nor officers and soldiers appointed by the English Government. Let Gumbheer Singh remain quietly, and take care of his own country as he will.

#### **November 4, 1826**

This morning I rode out with Mr. Chester about four miles on the road to Monchabo and Munnipore, passing through the range of the Sagaing hills. These run in a direction south-east and north-west, and are composed of two distinct ranges, with a narrow valley intervening. The northern range is much the highest, and some of the hills here appear about four hundred feet high. The southern range is low, and probably does not exceed a hundred or a hundred and twenty feet. Two days ago, the fall of the river enabled me to examine more carefully the formation of the high range, where it terminates on the Irawadi. The lowest rock here was found to be mica slate. Lying over it was limestone in different states of disintegration and decomposition. Farther up was found variegated marble, with disseminated black and green schorl. At the top of the hills, as I have already mentioned, the rock is a white and highly crystallized limestone. Proceeding westward, the range becomes gradually lower, and here is found a fine grained blue limestone. This rock, in some situations, is in a state of complete disintegration, appearing like a mass of dry mud and day, with fragments of the limestone disseminated through it. Of the southern range, the higher portion is composed also of blue limestone; but the lower, or northern portion, towards Sagaing, is generally a mass of sand, with a large intermixture of decomposed

limestone rock. In general, this was very soft; but in a few situations it was indurated so as to compose a silicious limestone exactly resembling that which we had found at Lungyi, and other parts of the banks of the river farther down. In one place I found a detached fragment of mica slate, but could not discover the rock itself. It is probable that the sandstone and lime rest upon it.—We found the road running through the valley a very good one, and frequented by wheel-carriages: it leads to Mengwan and Mok-sobo, called by Europeans Monchabo. The first, distant six taings, or twelve miles, from Sagaing, is celebrated for a temple of immense size, built by the late King; and the last, ten taings, is well known as the birth-place and seat of Government of Alompra. We ascended a considerable way up the higher range, from which a beautiful and magnificent prospect of the lower country is presented: this consists of the towns of Ava and Sagaing, the river with its islands, the lake Remyat-gyi'-ang, with the stupendous temple of Kaong-m'hu-d'hau on its banks close below. Both ranges are covered with temples innumerable. Sometimes the sides of the decomposed rocks are excavated to the distance of twenty or thirty yards, and these shafts, cased with brick and mortar, form the principal portion of the temple, the outer wall and a portion of the roof only being visible. In one low temple of this description we found a recumbent image of Gautama, occupying the whole building, and of the enormous length of very nearly seventy-five feet, each foot measuring twelve feet. The soles were sculptured in the manner in which the foot of Guatama is always represented, with a great variety of emblematic and hieroglyphic figures. The temples and statues are generally very ill constructed: of the latter, few were of marble; and the former, although at first sight making a good appearance, were built of very crude materials, and even the most recent were often found in a state of dilapidation. The "religious merit" consists in building a huge, costly, and showy edifice: there is none, apparently, in building a durable one, and very little in repairing or restoring an old one. In the vicinity of Sagaing accordingly, there are to be seen several half-finished structures of enormous magnitude, the founders having died while they were in progress, and no one afterwards thinking it worth while to complete the work. The most remarkable example of this is in the celebrated temple at Mengwan, upon which an enormous expense was lavished, which was an object of solicitude with the

late King for half his life; but which is incomplete, because he died while it was in progress. The country through which we passed is very sterile, and without any other cultivation than fruit trees, and a few patches of cotton and pulses.

Dr. Stewart and Lieutenant Montmorency walked, through the town of Ava this morning, and encountered the procession which, once a month, at the new moon, goes about the city reading a proclamation enjoining the inhabitants to observe certain moral precepts. These, besides the five principal Buddhist commandments, recommend to parents kindness to their children, and to children duty to their parents. The very aspect of the procession announced temporal punishment to such as offended. It was led by the chief Taong-m'hu, or principal hangman, the branded old malefactor whom I have already described,—a rod in one of his hands, and a cord in the other. He was followed by a numerous band of worthies of the same profession, similarly armed. After these came a drum and two gongs, a party of the King's guards, a led horse, an elephant carrying a herald, who read the proclamation, with three heralds on horseback. A copy of the proclamation would have been a great curiosity, but I could not obtain it.

We had heard much of a person said to be covered all over with hair, and who, it was insisted upon, more resembled an ape than a human being; a description, however, which, I am glad to say, was by no means realized by his appearance. Having expressed a curiosity to see this individual, the King politely sent him over to our dwelling some days ago, and Dr. Wallich and I took down on the spot the following account of himself and his history. His name was Shwe-Maong, and he stated himself to be thirty years of age. He was a native of the district of Maiyong-gyi, a country of Lao, situated on the Saluen, or Martaban river, and three months' journey from Ava. The Saubwa, or chief of the country, presented him to the King as a curiosity when a child of five years of age, and he had remained in Ava ever since. His height was five feet three inches and a half, which is about the ordinary stature of the Burmese. His form was slender, if compared with the usually robust make of the Hindoo-Chinese races, and his constitution was rather delicate. In his complexion there was nothing remarkable, although upon the whole he was perhaps rather fairer than the ordinary run of Burmese. The colour of his

eyes was a dark brown, not so intense as that of the ordinary Burman. The same thing may be said of the hair of the head, which was also a little finer in texture, and less copious.

The whole forehead, the cheeks, the eyelids, the nose, including a portion of the inside, the chin-- in short, the whole face, with the exception of the red portion of the lips, were covered with a fine hair. On the fore-head and cheeks this was about eight inches long; and on the nose and chin, about four inches. In colour, it was of a silvery grey; its texture was silky, lank, and straight. The posterior and interior surface of the ears, with the inside of the external ear, were completely covered with hair of the same description as that on the face, and about eight inches long: it was this chiefly which contributed to give his whole appearance at first sight an unnatural and almost inhuman aspect. He may be strictly said to have had neither eyelashes, eyebrows, nor beard, or at least they were supplanted by the same silky hair which enveloped the whole face. He stated, that when a child the whole of this singular covering was much fairer than at present. The whole body, with the exception of the hands and feet, was covered with hair of the same texture and colour as that now described, but generally less abundant: it was most plentiful over the spine and shoulders, where it was *five inches* long: over the breast it was about *four inches*: it was most scanty on the fore-arms, the legs, thighs, and abdomen. We thought it not improbable that this singular integument might be periodically or occasionally shed; and inquired, but there was no ground for this surmise;—it was quite permanent.

Although but thirty years of age, Shwe-maong had, in some respects, the appearance of a man of fifty-five or sixty: this was owing to a singularity connected with the formation of the teeth, and the consequent falling in of the cheeks. On inspecting the mouth, it was discovered that he had in the lower jaw but five teeth, namely, the four incisors and the left canine; and in the upper but four, the two outer ones of which partook of the canine form. The molares, or grinders, were of course totally wanting. The gums, where they should have been, were a hard fleshy ridge, and, judging from appearances, there was no alveolar process. The few teeth he had were sound, but rather small; and he had never lost any from disease. He stated, that he did not shed his infantine teeth till he was twenty years of age, when they were succeeded in



the usual manner by the present set. He also expressly asserted, that he never had any molares; and that he experienced no inconvenience from the want of them. The features of this individual were regular and good for a Burmese. The intellectual faculties were by no means deficient; on the contrary, he was a person of very good sense, and his intelligence appeared to us to be rather above than below the ordinary Burmese standard.

He gave the following account of the manner in which the hairy covering made its appearance. At his birth his ears aloqe were covered with hair, about two inches long and of a flaxen colour. At six years of age, hair began to grow on the body generally, and first on the forehead. He distinctly stated that he did not attain the age of puberty till he was twenty years old.

Shwe-maong was married about eight years ago, or when twenty-two years of age; the King, as he stated himself, having made him a present of a wife. By this woman he has had four children, all girls; the eldest died when three years of age, and the second when eleven months old. There was nothing remarkable in their form. The mother, rather a pretty Burman woman, came to us to-day along with her third and fourth child. The eldest, about five years of age, was a striking likeness of her mother, and a pretty interesting child, without any mal-conformation whatever, or indeed any thing to distinguish her from an ordinary healthy child. She began to teeth at the usual period, and had all her infantine teeth complete at two years of age. The youngest child was about two years and a half old, a very stout fine infant: she was born with hair within the anterior portion of the ear. At six months old it began to appear all over the ears, and at one year old on different parts of the body. This hair was of a light flaxen colour, and of a fine silky texture. When two years of age, and not until then, she got a couple of incisor teeth in each jaw, but had as yet neither canine nor molares. Shwe-maong assured us, that none of his parents or relations, and, as far as he knew, none of his countrymen, were marked like himself.

Our draftsman made very faithful sketches of the father and youngest child, to which I refer. After making the party presents, they took their leave of us, extremely, grateful for our attention. Shwe-maong, we found, had been occasionally employed by the Court as a buffoon, having been taught to imitate the antics of a monkey. For these feats, however, the poor fellow does not seem to

have been very liberally rewarded; for, to subsist himself and family, he was obliged to betake himself to the trade of a basket-maker, in which he was now employed. He would have turned his monstrosity to better account in London.

### **November 5, 1826**

The negotiation was renewed yesterday. Business was entered upon as soon as we had taken our seats.

CRAWFURD: The draft of the treaty furnished by you at our last meeting, has been translated. I have carefully perused it, and beg to submit to you the following remarks. The substance of the first article is nearly the same as that in the draft heretofore discussed. Judging from the translation, however, it is less precisely worded. It will, however, be easy to furnish another draft, which will meet both our views. There is another objection: instead of the words "English and Burman merchants," terms must be introduced which will include all the subjects of both nations carrying on trade. This, in our case, is indispensable, as in commercial matters our Government deems its subjects, of whatever denomination, equally entitled with Englishmen to any privilege or immunity.

The second article, which in the draft hitherto discussed related solely to the free export of gold and silver, is materially altered, and, I have no scruple in saying, is totally inadmissible in its present form. The permission to export gold and silver, freely and without duty, should be absolute and subject to no condition of buying or selling. But I more particularly allude to the last clause, which is objectionable on the following grounds.—It is not reciprocal, being all on your side, which is contrary to the principle on which the negotiation has hitherto been conducted—a principle frequently urged by yourselves. It stipulates in your behalf for the free exportation of muskets, flints, and powder. These are not merchandise, but munitions of war. All Governments exercise the right of permitting or prohibiting both foreigners and their own subjects from dealing in them, as they think proper. Your Government does so. It prohibits the manufacture and sale of gunpowder, saltpetre, lead, and fire-arms, even to its own subjects, not to say to strangers. How therefore can you expect that our Government is to permit it to you? The clause I object to stipulates

that you are not only to be permitted to export .the munitions of war now enumerated, and free of duty, but, also all other articles whatsoever. You make no such stipulations for British trade; nor have we required it. Already every article you export from our country pays a smaller duty than the corresponding articles exported by us from yours; and your ships pay infinitely smaller charges. This, to say the least, leaves no room for claiming a total exemption of duties on one side, without any concession whatever being yielded to the other. With respect to your granting a free exportation of gold and silver, I beg you clearly to understand that I do not ask this as a favour, but claim it as a matter of right. The engagement for the free exportation should be reciprocal, and the benefits will be mutual. At the treaty made at Yandabo, and at the conferences which led to it, it was stipulated and agreed upon, that a commercial arrangement should be made on strict principles of reciprocity; and that British vessels should be subject to no trouble or molestation at Burman ports, to which Burman vessels were not subject in British ports. The fulfilment of this condition absolutely requires that British merchants, at Burman ports, should not be molested in disposing of their lawfully acquired property, whatever it may be, in the manner they may deem most to their own advantage. What I have now stated will, I am convinced, be sufficient to convince you of the reasonableness and propriety of my requesting that you withdraw the objectionable clause, and recast the whole article. The third article, with the exception of the verbal alteration, which I have already proposed for designating the description of merchants that are to trade on both sides, and the concluding clause, is unexceptionable. In this last, it is stated, that vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight cubits, shall trade, according to ancient custom. In lieu of this, I propose that the article should run, that such vessels should trade conformably to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo. That article confers certain privileges on British subjects and vessels, which would be in a good measure forfeited, if the trade, as proposed in the clause inserted by you, should be put upon its ancient footing. The fourth and fifth articles are unexceptionable, and I assent to them as they stand in your draft.

These observations were produced in the form of a note, but not regularly given in as such to the Burmese officers in their own

language. It had been studied by Mr. Judson, however, before the conference; and it was read and explained by him to the chiefs, passage by passage. Dr. Price and Mr. Lanciego lending their assistance. A long and desultory conversation ensued, which from its nature it was found wholly impracticable to take notes of. It was well ascertained that the second article of the Burmese sketch of a treaty, which was the chief subject of discussion, had been framed by the ministers of the Lut-d'hau, especially by Kaulen Mengyi. The negotiators either did not understand its purport, or feigned not to do so. I believe, however, the former; for, in the course of the discussion, they evinced, as indeed they had done on every other occasion, an extraordinary want of acquaintance with all commercial matters. Upon the remonstrance made, the clauses which related to the exportation of fire-arms, and the exemption from export duties, were expunged; and the chiefs began immediately to recast the whole treaty, carefully preserving, however, their own peculiar expressions, idioms, and circumlocutions. A new draft, thus amended, was furnished to us in the course of the sitting.

The Burman propositions were then brought forward, and the following paper, which had been prepared in the same manner as the observations upon the treaty, was read by Mr. Judson, and explained by him, Dr. Price, and Mr. Lanciego.

I caused a translation to be made of the propositions which you gave in at our last meeting. I have read them carefully, and I am now prepared to offer you my sentiments on the subject. Your proposals, as I understand them, mean that we should restore to you, without equivalent, the provinces of Aracan, Ramree, Sandaway, Cheduba, Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim; and further, that we should remit the one-half crore of rupees due on the fifth article of the Treaty of Peace. You may well believe that my Government did not contemplate any such proposals when I was deputed to come to Ava; and that they did not consequently vest me with powers to enter upon a negotiation, the object of which would be to cancel some of the chief stipulations of a solemn treaty, concluded not more than four months previous to the date of the orders which sent me hither. I came here by virtue of the privilege given by the treaty to both parties, to

maintain accredited agents at the seat of each other's Government, as well as to conclude a commercial arrangement, which, as you know, is also stipulated for by treaty. It is my duty, therefore, to inform you, that I am vested with no power to remit the payment of the money due, or to restore territory solemnly ceded by treaty. Notwithstanding this, whatever the Burmese Government has to say upon these questions, I will listen to attentively, and duly report for the consideration of my Government.

With respect to the period of paying the money which is due by you, although I am by no means authorized to remit any part of it, I am willing to take upon myself the responsibility of prolonging, for a moderate time, the period of payment stipulated for in the treaty, provided you show good and sufficient grounds which shall warrant me for taking this step; and that a commercial treaty, conformable to the spirit of the stipulation to this effect, made at Yandabo, shall be conceded on your side. But I beg you to understand, that unless such ground can be shown, and such concessions made, the money payment must be punctually liquidated according to engagement. The whole of the third instalment, as you are aware, becomes due within one hundred and ten days from this date; and I will either wait here to receive it, the period not being distant, or the British Commissioners will send ships for it from Martaban to Rangoon, with a proper officer, agreeably to the additional article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

In respect to the question of Munnipoor, Gumbheer Singh is declared by treaty to be the sovereign thereof, and the King of Ava engages 'not to molest him, but let him remain.' Munnipoor is therefore an independent country, and will descend as such to Gumbheer Singh and his heirs, according to the laws and usages of the Cassay people. Whatever territory belonged to Cassay before it was subjugated by the Burmans, or became tributary to them, will in justice belong to it now. If the Burmans be in actual possession of any portion of such territory, they will of course relinquish it. If Gumbheer Singh shall be found to have seized any portion of the original Burman territory, or of any state tributary to the Burmans, he must make

immediate restitution. The Burman Government is bound by the treaty not to interfere with Gumbheer Singh, or his kingdom. The British Government are not so bound; but they have no desire to interfere, and will not do so; but this is a matter which rests not with you and me, but with the Governor-General. It will be expedient towards maintaining peace and harmony between the state of Munnipore and the Government of Ava, and eventually between the latter and the British Government, that a well-defined boundary should be established between the Burmese and Cassay territories. I am prepared, therefore, to discuss with you any plan you may have in view for this purpose; or to propose one myself, should you prefer it.

The Burmese Commissioners made ample notes of the substance of the paper now addressed to them, and the following conversation took place in regard to it:

BURMESE: You state in the paper which has just been read to us, that you will either stay here for the third instalment, or, returning to Martaban, send ships for it to Rangoon. Which do you intend to do?

CRAWFURD: I will be guided in this by circumstances. If a fair and equitable arrangement be concluded conformably to the Treaty of Yandabo, I am disposed to return immediately, that I may make a report to the Governor-General.

BURMESE: Should you stay here, how long are you disposed to remain?

CRAWFURD: As long as I may find convenient. The Treaty of Yandabo provides that accredited agents shall reside at the seat of each other's Government. I will do nothing contrary to the Treaty of Yandabo.

BURMESE: In conformity with the Treaty of Yandabo, we have withdrawn from all interference with Akobat (Cachar) and We-tha-

li (Assam). We think also that you ought to withdraw your officers from Cassay.

CRAWFURD: Have you withdrawn your troops and agents from Cassay as well as from Assam and Cachar?

BURMESE: Yes.

CRAWFURD: How do you know that there are British officers in Cassay?

BURMESE: We have received information that such is the case, from our out-posts. Our letters to this effect are dated in September last.

I had ascertained, while at Rangoon, and still more precisely since coming to Ava, that a public dispatch, addressed by Captain Grant, of Gumbheer Singh's levy, to the Quartermaster-general of the Army, for the information of Sir Archibald Campbell, had been intercepted, opened, and perused by the Ministers of the Lut-d'hau. A copy of the letter in question was one of the enclosures in my last dispatches from the Supreme Government, and this enabled me to bring the matter forward, without compromising the persons from whom I had derived my information. The following conversation ensued respecting it.

CRAWFURD: Have any letters from European officers lately arrived here? At the termination of the war, a British officer in Cassay sent a letter by two Burman officers to the address of Sir A. Campbell, or one of his principal officers; I beg to know what has become of it?

BURMESE: This may be one of the letters to which we allude.

CRAWFURD: It cannot be so. The letter to which I allude was dated the sixth of April last. Your accounts, you say, are dated in September.

BURMESE: The letter to which we allude was in English. It was open, and translated and sent down here in Burman.

CRAWFURD: Have you got the original here now?

BURMESE: No, but we will bring it to-morrow.

CRAWFURD: The letter to which I refer was delivered to two Burman officers by the writer. The officers in question were the same who were sent by the British and Burman commissioners from Yandabo, to announce the conclusion of Peace. You must, of course, know very well who they are. One of you was a Commissioner at Yandabo at the time, and therefore concerned in selecting the officers-in question. Among European and other civilized nations living in amity, the opening of public dispatches and private letters is reckoned an act at once dishonourable and criminal. The messengers who received charge of this letter and opened it deserve punishment.

BURMESE: It was not sealed.

CRAWFURD: That is of no consequence, as it ought, at any rate, to have been delivered. It was intercepted and detained.

The Burman commissioners seldom arrived before one o'clock, and much time was always lost in copying their papers. The present discussion was put an end to by its becoming dark. In the course of it, it was discovered that the letter addressed by Captain Grant to Sir Archibald Campbell was not the only one which had been opened and intercepted by the Burman Government since the Peace. Several private letters appear to have been treated in the same way. Mr. Judson heard one of the Atwens, while we were sitting down, say to an individual near him, "It was you who were ordered to open and translate such and such a letter,—you should be able to render an account of its contents."

The individual in question answered quickly, "I know nothing at all about it."

I have good authority for saying, that Dr. Price, when applied to open and translate the first letter which arrived, positively



refused compliance, and represented the practice to the Burman Government as both discreditable and dangerous.

The old Myowun of Bassein, who still continued to attend us, was in the habit of coming to us generally every morning and evening, sometimes in company with the chief of the guard of swordsmen. He Came this morning to Mr. Judson with a proposal of a very extraordinary nature. The Burman Government had felt the greatest anxiety concerning the result of the propositions given in by them at the last conference, and not withstanding the pains taken to assure them to the contrary, both publicly and privately, and that such a thing is utterly repugnant to their own modes of conducting diplomatic matters, unreasonably believed, or wished to believe that the British agent possessed authority to restore the ceded provinces, and to remit the whole money payment. I was led to believe from this circumstance, and others which it is unnecessary to mention, that intriguers had impressed the Court with a belief that the British Government was desirous of restoring the provinces, and wished only for a pretext. In reference to this subject, the Myowun observed, that the agent of the British Government was hard to deal with, and asked how it would answer to begin by offering him a sum of five viss of gold, or about twelve thousand rupees as a *douceur*. Mr. Judson answered him, that the customs of Europeans were different from those of the Burmans; that such a proposal as that which he made would be considered an affront, and must never again be hinted at. He went away disappointed, but by no means feeling ashamed of the proposition he had made; for the practice of bribery seems to be nearly universal among all ranks of the Burman officers, and no discredit whatever is attached to it, unless when the party is silly enough, or unlucky enough, to be detected.

### **November 6, 1826**

The sixth conference took place this morning. The amended draft of a Commercial Treaty, to all appearance agreed upon on both sides, was read. The following is a translation. Notwithstanding the prolixity and amplification with which some of its provisions are worded, I made no hesitation in assenting to it in its present form, imagining that this compliance would obviate some difficulties.

## Draft of Commercial Treaty:

Article 1.—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Ruler, the India Company Baren, and the great country of Ra-ta-na-pu-ra, which rules over Thu-na-para, Tampa-di-pa, and many other great countries; when merchants, with an English certified pass, from the country of the English Ruler, and merchants from the kingdom of Burma, pass from one country to the other, selling and buying merchandise, the sentinels at the passes and entrances, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade, with merchandise, shall be suffered to pass without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries also shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports, and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security.

Article 2.—The transportation of gold and silver from one country to the other shall not be prohibited, nor shall duties be taken on those articles.

In regard to this subject, when goods are imported from one country to another, they are to be sold for gold and silver, or exchanged for other goods.

The exportation of gold and silver from the Burman kingdom has indeed been hitherto prohibited; but in consideration of the friendship subsisting between the English and Burman Governments, it is agreed, that when merchants, with an English certified pass, arrive at Burman ports for the purpose of trade, they shall be allowed to sell their goods, after paying the customary duties, and take away the gold and silver received in payment, as well as other gold and silver, duty free; or, if they prefer it, such merchandise as they may receive in exchange for their own goods. Burmese merchants also, arriving in English ports for the purpose of trade, shall be in like manner allowed to sell their goods after paying the customary duties, and take away the gold and silver, duty free; or, if they prefer it, such piece-goods, rarities, and articles of use as they may require.

Article 3.—Ships whose breadth of beam in the inside (opening of the hold) is eight royal Burman cubits, and all ships of smaller size, whether merchants from the Burmese country entering an English port under the Burman flag, or merchants from the English country with an English certified pass, entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demand beside the payment of duties, and ten ticals twenty-five per cent. (ten rupees) for a Police passport on leaving. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the master voluntarily require a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at ‘the entrance of the sea,’ In regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight royal cubits, they shall be treated according to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

Article 4.—English and Burmese merchants, passing from one country to the other and residing, shall, on desiring to return to their own country, be allowed to do so. They shall not be hindered from going to whatever country, and by whatever vessel they may desire. They shall also be allowed to sell their goods and property, and take away the value, together with property unsold, wife, sons and daughters, without molestation.

Article 5.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive all possible assistance; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the owner.

The whole of this treaty was agreed to, with the exception of the second article, regarding which the following conversation took place:

BURMESE: We wish again to call your attention to the necessity of our annexing to the second article the clause respecting fire-arms and ammunition.

CRAWFURD: This, as I stated: to you yesterday, is wholly inadmissible. Fire-arms, I repeat, are not an article of merchandise. You have yourselves often insisted upon striking out every thing that was not so. The condition is not mutual. You would insist upon our selling you fire-arms and ammunition, and in your country you prohibit us and all the world from dealing in these articles.

BURMESE: As you reject our proposal on the, plea of fire-arms and ammunition not being articles of commerce, we must reject the clause respecting the free exportation of gold and silver, as this also is not of a commercial nature.

CRAWFURD: Very well. Is the treaty then, in other respects, to be considered as settled?

BURMESE: We wish to take the draft with us, and consider it further. The whole matter will be finally arranged in three days.

CRAWFURD: I assent to this.

BURMESE: You observed yesterday, that you would report "truly" to your Government what might be stated by us in regard to our request for the restoration of the ceded, provinces, and said, that if we could prove our inability to pay the third instalment when it became due, you would take it upon yourself to postpone the period of payment. We have now to state, that the country has been in a state of: war for three or four years, that our treasury is exhausted, and that no revenue has been collected for a long time from the people.

CRAWFURD: In regard to the postponement of the money payment, you will recollect that my promise-was made. on the condition of your executing the Commercial Treaty according to the draft, to all appearance agreed upon at the last meeting. My chief business here was the execution of a commercial treaty, and until

this be done in the manner which I have a right to expect, I must decline entering upon other matters of this description. You will not allow the free exportation of gold and silver, although you engaged by treaty at Yandabo, that our trade should suffer no "molestation or hinderance" at your ports which yours did not suffer at ours. If a British merchant receives gold and silver in your country for the goods which he imports, and you prevent him from taking them away, is not this a hinderance and molestation to free trade of the most obvious nature. It is an infringement of the treaty made at Yandabo, and might authorize me to write to Sir Archibald Campbell to detain the army, as it was there agreed that the trade should be put on the same footing on both sides, that a commercial treaty should be made, and that our troops should not be removed until all the articles of the treaty, as well as the payment of the second instalment, should be fulfilled.

BURMESE: In what have we infringed the treaty?

CRAWFURD: I have just explained that you have refused to execute such a commercial arrangement as had been promised in the Treaty of Yandabo, and the conferences which preceded it. The day before yesterday you solicited from the British Government favours of the first magnitude,—nothing less than the restoration of eight provinces, and the remission of a debt of fifty lacs of rupees. To-day you refuse us a matter of right, what had already been provided for.

BURMESE: As you refuse to proceed to other matters before the execution of the commercial treaty, and as we must refer to our superiors, we wish to understand exactly how long you will postpone the period of paying the next instalments, provided the whole commercial treaty be acceded to on our part?

CRAWFURD: For a time sufficient to enable your Ambassadors to proceed to Bengal, and make your representations, to the Governor-General. I cannot do more, and even this much I venture upon only from knowing the good disposition of the Governor-General towards you, and his unwillingness to distress you, should you be able to prove your inability to pay at the time appointed.

BURMESE: This is nothing at all. Since you say you have no powers, we will apply to the Governor-General himself. There is time enough for making application before the period of payment arrives.

CRAWFURD: The Governor-General is by this time six or seven hundred *taings* from Calcutta, and you will not reach where he is in one hundred and ten days. You could not also be relieved from paying at the time the money is due, merely on account of your proceeding to make an application for this favour.

BURMESE: We will of course pay as agreed upon.

CRAWFURD: The subject of Munnipore is unconnected with the matters just referred to, and I am now ready to discuss it with you.

BURMESE: We wish to postpone this subject for a day or two, as the map which we promised yesterday is not ready.

CRAWFURD: Yesterday you promised to bring the English letters, which arrived some time ago from Munnipore. Will you favour me with them now?

BURMESE: We prefer producing them at the next conference, along with the map and some other papers connected with Munnipore. It was agreed that the next meeting should take place on the 8th instant, and the conference broke up.

### **November 8, 1826**

I visited this morning the temple, which, for distinction, is denominated Kaong-m'hu-d'hau, or "the great act of royal merit," but more correctly Ra-ja-mani-su-la, a Pali or Sanscrit compound word. It lies south-west from Sagaing at the distance of about five miles, and about one mile beyond the manufactory of marble images. The building is a mass of solid brick and lime, and in shape resembles a dome and cupola rising from the ground. It is surrounded with a double wall and extensive area, the portion of the latter nearest to the temple being paved with large flags of sandstone. The body of the temple is immediately surrounded by a

stockade composed of round pillars of sandstone, about five feet high. The whole, as usual, is crowned by an iron *ti*, or umbrella, gilt. Towards the base of the building there are niches all round, occupied by sitting figures about three feet high, made of sandstone, and generally gilt, but in a very slovenly and imperfect manner. These figures, which are one hundred and twenty in number, all represent the same personage, and this seemed to me to be the Indian divinity Vishnu. On the head there is a royal crown, in the right hand an expanded lotus flower, and in the left a triangular javelin. These images are represented by the Burmans as mere guardians of the temple. All the Hindoo deities, indeed, are represented by them, and, I believe, by other followers of Gautama, as no better than Nats, a species of beings of another but superior state of existence to ours, subject, nevertheless, to change, to calamity, and to death. Some are of a malignant, and some of a beneficent nature. It is to these that the protection of temples is entrusted. Sometimes they are represented in the form of human beings, and at others in that of beasts or birds. In a small temple on the eastern side of the great pagoda, there is a gilt statue of Gautama in sandstone, the only representation of him to be seen at the temple.

The "slaves" of the Pagoda, who were our guides, gave the following as its dimensions. It is one hundred and one royal cubits high (A royal cubit measures exactly nineteen inches and one-tenth, English), or one hundred and sixty feet nine indies; and six hundred cubits, or about three hundred and eighteen yards round at the base. The *Ti*, or umbrella, is fifteen cubits high, and ten in diameter at the base. The number of pillars composing the stockade is eight hundred and two. A small temple within the area was pointed out to us, which contained a fine and perfect slab of white marble, covered with Pali writing on both sides, perfectly distinct and legible. Our guides explained to us the most material part of the inscription, which they seemed to read with tolerable ease. It states that the temple was built and endowed by a king of Ava, named Tha-lwan, or Tha-lwan-men-dra-gyi. The date of the writing is, "Monday, the tenth day of the increase of the moon Tautha-len, in the year of the common era 998." This corresponds with the year of Christ 1626; so that the temple was but a hundred and ninety years old. This fabric is altogether a heavy and inelegant building without taste or just proportions, nor is the workmanship

in any respect well executed. Indeed, the temple, it may be said, has little to recommend it to notice, but its enormous bulk. The marble slab alone is perhaps an exception: it is well polished, and, where there is no writing, richly carved: its height above the ground is eight feet five inches; its breadth, five feet seven inches and a half; and it is rather more than eleven inches in thickness. Considering the expense lavished by the Burmans on royal and religious edifices, the abundance of fine white marble which the country affords, and that white is a favourite colour, it seems extraordinary that this material should not be in more general use. No edifice, as far as I had hitherto observed, was constructed of it, either in whole or part; no floors or terraces were formed of it; and with the exception of the statues of Gautama, a few small coarse pillars, and now and then a slab with an inscription, it was nowhere to be seen in a Burman building. The temple, as I have said, is close to the banks of a small picturesque lake about two miles long, and half as broad. A little to the north-west of this, is a much more considerable sheet of water, which is reckoned to be twelve miles in length, by two in breadth. This last is called Rémyak-gyi, or the "lake abounding with grass." Both of them afford fisheries of some value,

In going out this morning we met a number of carts, each drawn by four bullocks, and carrying a load of salt of 300 viss (1095 lbs.) each: they had come from the distance of Ti-tug, which lies about twenty miles to the north of Sagaing, and in the neighbourhood of which is produced a large quantity of the salt consumed at the capital. This is obtained by lixiviating and boiling the earth, which is strongly impregnated with salt at Ti-tug and many other situations in the neighbourhood.

The conferences were renewed at one o'clock. The Burman negotiators began by producing a Burman draft of the Commercial Treaty, with a few verbal alterations, leaving a blank for the second article, concerning the free exportation of gold and silver. In reading the article respecting shipwrecks, &c. the following conversation took place:

BURMESE: With reference to the subject of assistance being afforded in case shipwreck, we wish to know what assistance will in such case be required, and whether we incur any responsibility?



CRAWFURD: We only expect such assistance as one friend would render to another in distress. You will incur no responsibility beyond what is implied in the necessity of your rendering such assistance as it may be in your power to afford.

BURMESE: Will the expenses attending such assistance be repaid?

CRAWFURD: Those who ask for assistance, or stand in need of it, will of course pay the necessary expenses.

After the perusal of the fourth article, the following observations were made:

BURMESE: We object to your amendment, proposing to extend the privileges of this article to the "country people of India," as well as to English merchants?

CRAWFURD: Our Indian subjects must be included. In such cases, we cannot legislate for the few, and exclude the bulk of our subjects.

BURMESE: We cannot, admit of this privilege extending to the natives of India; and the article must be struck out, if you insist upon it.

CRAWFURD: Very well. Then the negotiation of this treaty is now at an end. The treaty, as it now stands, consists of three articles of no great moment. Is this treaty such an one as you promised to make at Yandabo?

BURMESE: Yes it is. In what is it wanting?

CRAWFURD: You engaged that there should be no "molestation or hinderance," and the trade will now be overwhelmed with all sorts of "molestations and hinderances."

BURMESE: Do you approve of the three articles of the treaty that now remain?

CRAWFURD: Yes, I accept of them as the treaty which you are pleased to grant, but it is not such an one as is provided for in the Convention of Yandabo.

BURMESE: Are these three articles conformable to the Treaty of Yandabo?

CRAWFURD: The articles are well enough, as far as they go; but they do not fulfil the stipulations and promises made at Yandabo.

BURMESE: If this treaty be incomplete, what do you want?

CRAWFURD: I want nothing more than the insertion of the second and fourth articles, with the corrections I proposed.

BURMESE: There is little difference between us in the fourth article, and it amounts to this only,—whether it shall include a part or the whole of your subjects. With regard to permitting the families of merchants to quit the country along with them, can this be said to be of a commercial nature?

CRAWFURD: If a merchant come into the country for a temporary residence, as allowed in the first article of the treaty, and shall have a wife and children, is it not a grievous molestation and hindrance to prevent him from taking his wife and children along with him when he quits it.

BURMESE: Agreeably to the seventh article of the Yandabo Treaty, on the payment of the second instalment the troops were to evacuate Rangoon: how is it, then, that they still remain there?

CRAWFURD: You were to have completed the payment of the second instalment on the 4th of June. You infringed the treaty by delaying the period of payment for three months beyond that time. This was the case when I left Rangoon, and I do not know how much longer you may not have done so since. We have surely a good right to prolong the period of our departure an equal time. This is the right by which we now stay. We shall not stay one day longer than you have exceeded the time in which you were bound, to have made good the payment of the second instalment.

BURMESE: The Wungyi and Wundauk, the commissioners at Rangoon, have officially reported to the King that the whole money had arrived at Rangoon within the hundred days, and that much time was spent in smelting, weighing, and paying it.

CRAWFURD: The treaty says, that the money is to be paid to us in one hundred days, and not that it shall arrive at Rangoon within that time. So far the treaty was infringed; but I have farther to observe, that if the Wungyi and Wundauk reported that the whole of the twenty-five lacs of rupees, or even the greater part of it, had arrived at Rangoon, within the specified time, they deceived his Majesty. I was myself at Rangoon, and saw money repeatedly arrive, which was paid over to us, and some, even as late as twenty days before my leaving that place. We were most anxious to go away, and this will appear obvious to yourselves from the following statement. We were not obliged to leave the country for a hundred days from the date of the Treaty of Yandabo, and your payment of the second instalment. Notwithstanding this, the greater portion of the troops were immediately embarked, without even landing at Rangoon. Transports had arrived at Rangoon for the whole army, long before the hundred days had expired; but seeing that there was no prospect of your paying within the time stipulated, we were compelled to send them back, and they had not all returned when I left. This has put us to an expense of several lacs of rupees, which would have been saved had you been more punctual. The Wundauk, and those who were acting with him, were repeatedly urged to complete the payment; but down to the period of my leaving Rangoon, as I have already mentioned, it had not been completed.

BURMESE: You have given no answer to what we said respecting the difficulty of paying and counting.

CRAWFURD: The paying and counting was all your affair, not ours. A hundred days were allowed to you for paying and counting. What would you say to a private individual who owed a debt payable in one hundred days and did not pay for one hundred and ninety, alleging as a pretext the difficulty of counting and weighing?

BURMESE: When will your troops quit Rangoon?

CRAWFURD: All I can say on the subject is, that if the second instalment was completed the day after I left Rangoon, which could not have been, our troops would certainly quit it in three months from that time, and probably much earlier.

BURMESE: Granting, then, that we have exceeded in the period of payment, will you not write down now to request that the troops may be removed immediately from Rangoon, provided we accede to such a treaty as you require?

CRAWFURD: As soon as the treaty corrected by me this morning, and especially the second and fourth articles are signed, ratified, and delivered to me, I will write to Sir Archibald Campbell, stating that every thing has been settled here in conformity to the Treaty of Yandabo, and in a friendly manner; that Rangoon should be delivered to the Wungyi, and the troops embarked, without any regard to the time by which the Burmese Government may have exceeded the period of liquidation of the second instalment.

BURMESE: There is good sense in this answer. We are worthy of each other, and there are now clear indications that there will be a lasting friendship between us. Will you not grant us some more favours in return for any concession we may make on our part?

CRAWFURD: What I promised at a former meeting I pledge myself to perform. I will postpone the period of the payment of the third instalment to one year, provided that the signing of the Commercial Treaty be not deferred to a later date than the 15th instant.

BURMESE: Will you not also put off the fourth instalment to a similar period?

CRAWFURD: I have already taken a heavy responsibility on myself and cannot promise any farther postponement of payment. The payment of the fourth instalment must stand as in the Treaty of Yandabo. It can serve no useful purpose to postpone it just now.

BURMESE: When the King asks us what you mean by saying you will report “well,” as your expression was translated to us, what reply shall we make?

CRAWFURD: Be so good as to say distinctly that what I have stated is, that I will report truly and faithfully what you have requested, and all that has transpired between us. To decide, rests with my superiors: I will say nothing that will embarrass them. What would you say to a Burman ambassador, sent to a foreign country, who pledged himself to “report favourably”—for this is what you mean—on proposals made by a foreign Government of which his own knew nothing?

BURMESE: We wish you to report in a friendly manner concerning our proposal.

CRAWFURD: I will lay a true report before my Government, and this is all you have a right to expect. I never make promises where I have not power to perform, and where every thing rests with higher authority.

BURMESE: We are aware that you will not say what will not be done, and this is the reason we wish for a pledge from you.

CRAWFURD: I will not pledge nor promise any thing on the subject of your proposals. The Governor-General alone will determine upon them.

The conference ended at a late hour, and the Burmese negotiators retired, to all appearance well satisfied.

### **November 9, 1826**

I rode out this morning with Mr. Chester six miles on the Monchabo road, passing all the way between the two ranges of hills composing the Sagaing chain. The limit of our excursion was a small lake at the foot of the hills called Re-ka, pronounced Ye-ga, or the “bitter water.” In the lower range of hills, about half a mile

before coming to the lake, are several small quarries, which have afforded the sandstone that is used for flags in laying pavements, and occasionally in building, at Ava and Sagaing. The Re-ka lake appeared, and the villagers represented that the water did not fall much below its present level, about three quarters of a mile long, and half a mile broad. Cliffs of blue lime-stone formed its banks in several places. The water was a salt brine, but by no means a strong one: it contained, however, a sufficient quantity of the muriate of soda to afford common salt for culinary purposes. At each end of it there are two villages, the inhabitants of which are wholly occupied in the manufacture of this article. The following is the mode of preparing it. The soil on the borders of the lake is scraped together, and conveyed in carts to the villages: it is there placed in large square troughs raised on posts, the bottoms of which are lined with straw laid over a few cross sticks. Underneath the troughs, and attached to either side, are two frames of bamboo and straw, which meet at the bottom, acting as a kind of funnel. Over the earth, placed in the troughs, there is poured a quantity of water, obtained either from the lake or from wells close to the manufacture, but, I think, most generally from the latter. We tasted the water from the wells, which was brackish, but a still weaker brine than that of the lake. The brine falling down from the troughs is farther strained and purified by passing through the straw frames, from whence it is conveyed to pots, and boiled without undergoing any farther purification. Ten baskets of earth, or 1095 lbs. give, according to the statement of the manufacturers, from ten to fifteen viss of salt, each viss of 3.65 lbs. The salt thus obtained appears to be the worst which is brought to the market of Ava, and, it is probable, contains much sulphate of lime and other septic salts. When sea-salt, procured also by boiling, sells in the market for eighteen ticals per hundred viss, or 365 lbs. and the salt of Ti-tug for twelve, that of the Re-ka lake sells only for six. The inhabitants of the village which we visited informed us, that the rainy season was very mild, and that, with the exception of about fifteen days, they were able to carry on the manufacture throughout the year. They told us also, that this lake was the only one from which salt is procured; but that at several places in the neighbourhood it was obtained by lixiviating and boiling the earth in the same manner as at Ti-tug and its vicinity. The revenue of this village, and indeed of the whole district of Sagaing, is assigned

to the young Princess, the only child of the King and Queen. The amount paid by each family of the salt manufacturers is two ticals and a half of flowered silver, besides *corvées* and personal services.

The portion of the Sagaing range of hills which is composed of granular limestone, or marble, is steep, craggy, and with a very scanty vegetation. Proceeding northward, the range is lower, less steep, and the blue limestone is much decomposed. The hills are here covered with a tolerably thick brushwood, and cultivation then commences for the first time, in a narrow valley extending nearly to the salt lake: it consists of cotton and millet in the dry lands, and in the lower parts of rice: the crops appeared very thriving.

We had the pleasure to receive this evening a large packet with newspapers, public dispatches, and private letters from our friends at Rangoon, India, and England. This was the first communication that we had had from Rangoon after a stay of near six weeks. The opportunity was purely accidental; and for the security of the packet, Sir Archibald Campbell had found it necessary to send a party of Sepoys in charge of it. The bare sight of letters, especially those of strangers, excites the utmost suspicion in the minds of the officers of the Burman Government: they cannot resist the temptation of intercepting them, and they never make the least scruple of breaking open seals.

### **November 10, 1826**

The conferences were renewed at one o'clock to-day, and began with the question of Munnipore. The Burman negotiators laid on the table a map exhibiting the frontier between Munnipore and the Burman territory according to their own views. In the course of the conference, maps of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, and Martaban, were also produced: these were all of great size, painted on cloth, and as rude as possible. The maps of the southern provinces were all old, but that of the Munnipore frontier had every appearance of being recently prepared, and, I have little doubt, was fabricated to answer the particular object they had in view,—that of claiming a large portion of the principality of Munnipore. These documents made the Burman frontier extend nearly to the walls of the Cassay capital. The negotiators then read a statement exhibiting that Gumbheer Singh had, since the termination of the war,

appropriated certain districts belonging to the Burman Government, and that British officers were present at Munnipore countenancing his proceedings. This was followed by a very long paper giving a mythological account of the origin of the Burman Empire, and proving "by divine right" the claims of the King of Ava to certain townships on the Munnipore frontier. It was too long, and the language too obsolete to be comprehended by the interpreters without being leisurely studied.

CRAWFURD: You are aware that I possess no authority to decide upon, and that I have no means of ascertaining, the respective claims to territory of the Sovereign of Munnipore and the Burman Government. I beg you, therefore, to furnish me with a copy of the paper just read, of the map which you have produced, as well as of any other documents connected with your claims, that I may be able to lay the matter fairly before the Governor-General.

BURMESE: We will furnish you with the documents you require. It is well that the matter be discussed in Bengal; but in the meanwhile what is to be done, as the two parties are in actual collision?

CRAWFURD: Do you mean to state that actual hostilities are committing on the frontier, between yourselves and Gumbheer Singh?

BURMESE: We do not mean to say the parties are actually fighting; but our people have been so much harassed, that they have retired to prevent hostilities.

CRAWFURD: At the conclusion of the war, Gumbheer Singh was positively enjoined to forbear from all hostilities towards your Government. If any dispute respecting boundaries arise, the natural course to pursue is, that each party should maintain what it was in actual possession of at the termination of the war, until the respective limits of their territories shall be defined by an amicable arrangement. I will discuss any fair proposal which you may have to offer for adjusting the frontier between yourselves and Cassay.



BURMESE: We wish that you would give orders to Gumbheer Singh, to refrain from all, aggression upon our territory, until we have an opportunity of representing the matter by means of our Ambassadors in Bengal.

CRAWFURD: If you wish that I should direct that Gumbheer Singh be not permitted to make any aggression on your territories, and that any dispute shall be settled by the Government of India, through your Ambassadors? I will write immediately to the British Commissioner at Sylhet by way of Munnipore, and request him to give Gumbheer Singh positive orders to remain quietly within his own possessions, pending a reference to the Governor-General.

BURMESE: This is all very well, but Gumbheer Singh has made aggressions since hearing of the peace, and we wish him to fall back to the position he held when he heard of the cessation of hostilities.

CRAWFURD: If Gumbheer Singh has been advancing since the termination of the war, he will be directed to fall back to the posts which he occupied at the time the news of peace reached him.

BURMESE: It would be agreeable to us, if you would also write to Gumbheer Singh, as well as to the Commissioner.

CRAWFURD: I will write also to Gumbheer Singh.

BURMESE: As our forces are not permitted to occupy any part of the kingdom of Munnipore, we wish that your troops and officers should also be removed according to the Treaty of Yandabo.

CRAWFURD: You state that by the Treaty of Yandabo British officers and troops are not to remain at Munnipore: I ask, by what article of the treaty are they precluded from doing so?

BURMESE: Is it in the treaty that they shall stay there?

CRAWFURD: It is not in the treaty that they shall stay, neither is it in the treaty that officers and troops shall occupy Cachar and Assam, or any other country not dependent on the Burmese

Government, but still they may do so without any infringement of treaty. It is specified in the treaty, that you shall not interfere in the affairs of Munnipore; but such is not the case with us. You must therefore state your request upon some other grounds, as you have no claims by the Treaty of Yandabo.

BURMESE: If your officers are present with Gumbheer Singh, this will make him presumptuous. He will appear to be countenanced by you.

CRAWFURD: This is altogether a different ground; but you cannot say that our troops are precluded by treaty from remaining in the Cassay territory. The real state of the case is this: The troops to which you allude are not British troops, but belong to Gumbheer Singh. During the war, the British Government paid him a subsidy for maintaining the troops in question, and lent him two British officers to discipline them. Since the conclusion of peace, Gumbheer Singh has been informed, that the subsidy is discontinued, and that he must carry on the affairs of his Government at his own expense and risk.

BURMESE: That Gumbheer Singh may not presume on the support of the British Government, and conduct, himself with insolence towards us, we wish that the officers in question may be recalled, lest another war should be occasioned by it. The King will endure a good deal from the English; but not from Gumbheer Singh, or any "Black Kula" (This term is most commonly applied to the Hindus).

CRAWFURD: The British Government have no intention whatever of occupying Munnipore themselves, and they will certainly not give assistance in men, money, or advice to Gumbheer Singh, to your prejudice. I cannot order the removal of the British officers from Munnipore, but will request the Governor-General to recall them, that you may have no cause of complaint.

BURMESE: When you say that you will communicate with Gumbheer Singh on these points, do you mean that you will send letters by your own people or ours?

CRAWFURD: I will send letters by an officer of our party, if you choose. After he has executed his commission, he will proceed to Bengal through Akobat and Assam. Gumbheer Singh states, that certain portions of his country are now occupied by the Burmese; and you, on the other hand, state, that large districts belonging to you are forcibly occupied by him. Do you wish that an arbitration should be made by the Governor-General, or that the matter be decided by commissioners nominated by you and us.

BURMESE: We wish to let the matter remain as you have now stated it; that is, that both parties should refrain from aggression.

CRAWFURD: As by the Treaty of Yandabo, Gumbheer Singh is admitted by you to be independent, it will be proper that some principle should be assumed for defining the boundaries of territory between you.

BURMESE: We are willing that that affair should be settled by our ambassadors at Bengal.

The Burman negotiators now read a document respecting the boundary of the Saluen River.

CRAWFURD: I have already a copy of the paper just read, which was given to me by yourselves confidentially, and will give you a deliberate written reply to it at our next conference, when the subject may undergo such farther discussion as you may be disposed to enter into.

The Burman commissioners placed on the table maps of Martaban, Yé-Tavoy, and Mergui, and were anxious to enter upon the subject of the Martaban frontier, which I declined. The subject of the Commercial Treaty was then introduced.

BURMESE: In the fourth article it was your wish, that all merchants, subjects of the British Government, as well as Englishmen, should be included. Are you satisfied to let that article refer to Englishmen only?

CRAWFURD: I wish it to include all British subjects whatever.

BURMESE: Since that is your wish, we will insert “all persons being subjects of the British Government.”

CRAWFURD. This is all I desire, and I am obliged to you for the liberal manner in which you have conceded this point.

BURMESE: According to the arrangement made at the last meeting, we have made the necessary alteration in the fourth article, and hand you a copy so corrected. As we have now granted you “whatever you wished,” we request that you will not only put off the payment of the third instalment, but of the fourth also for a similar period, as, unless this be done, the times of payment will come close upon each other.

CRAWFURD: My engagement with you was to request Sir Archibald Campbell to move the troops from Rangoon, without consideration to the time by which you may have exceeded the period of paying the second instalment, and to put off the period of paying the third instalment for one year from the date of the treaty to be concluded between us, provided you granted a treaty conformable to the stipulations made at Yandabo.

BURMESE: Do you mean that the inclusion of the second article, providing for the free exportation of gold and silver, is necessary to fulfil our agreement with you?

CRAWFURD: Certainly. I was most particular at our last conference in impressing that point upon you, and you seemed then clearly to understand it.

BURMESE: We could wish that, in presenting this treaty to the King, we might be able to say, that the difficulties with regard to the fourth instalment were also removed in a similar manner to the third.

CRAWFURD: I believe you may safely trust to the generosity of the Governor-General. I will write on the subject, and recommend it.

BURMESE: Could you not put off the third payment for one year from the period it is due?

CRAWFURD: As you are so very urgent, I will take upon myself the responsibility of meeting your wishes, by putting off the payment of the third instalment for one year, from the 15th November, 1826; and the fourth also for a year, or until the 15th November, 1828. A regular instrument must be drawn up requiring the payments within those periods.

BURMESE: We agree to this.

CRAWFURD: You, of course, understand that this is conditional upon your granting the Commercial Treaty in the shape I want it?

BURMESE: We understand this perfectly. Will you not make the time from the 24th of February, as in the Yandabo Treaty?

CRAWFURD: I will not. I cannot go a step farther than I have now done.

BURMESE: We request that the next meeting may not take place to-morrow, but the following day.

CRAWFURD: I assent to this. You promised at one of our last meetings to deliver to me certain intercepted letters from Munnipore.

A private letter was here delivered by the Burman Commissioners from Lieutenant Gordon, of Gumbheer Singh's levy, to the address of "Lieutenant Chester, assistant to the Envoy at Ava," dated the 7th September. The letter was stated by the writer of it to be sent open.

CRAWFURD: I request you will have the goodness to hand me also the letter from Captain Grant, delivered to your two messengers who went from Yandabo.

BURMESE: We have it not here, but we will look out for it.

The letter delivered to me upon this occasion, was a familiar epistle from one officer to another, and touched upon no public question. The writer, however, spoke in praise of the climate and country of Munnipore. This was high treason in the eyes of the Burmans, who construed his approbation of these into a desire upon the part of the English Government to stay in the country and occupy it. It appears that this letter reached Ava some days after our own arrival. Both in regard to it, and the public letter from Captain Grant, Dr. Price and Mr. Lanciego had entreated the Burman officers not to peruse or intercept them; but it was to no purpose. The temptation was irresistible; and the Wungyis thought they would not be discharging their duty if they did not make the best of them, since they were in their power.

### **November 12, 1826**

Dr. Wallich and I ascended, this morning, one of the highest parts of the Sagaing range of mountains. The top of the hill, which we reached, contains the Temple of Paung-nya, and is certainly not less than five hundred feet above the level of the Irawadi. From this spot we had a noble prospect, embracing many reaches of the river, the towns of Amarapura, Ava, and Sagaing. On both sides of the Irawadi there are a number of lakes, which we had not observed before. The numerous temples formed a remarkable feature of the landscape. On the Sagaing side alone I counted about two hundred, without being able to enumerate those on the northern part of the range which were concealed from view. This enumeration also excludes all the monasteries and zeyats, a kind of caravanseras, which are not only used for the accommodation of travellers, but also occasionally for religious purposes, such as preaching and disputations. In the dells and ravines of the range of hills, in very romantic and pretty situations, are to be found a great many Kyaungs, or monasteries. These secluded situations are chosen by the priests as favourable to study and meditation; but we saw several extensive ones which had been abandoned, and were told that this was in consequence of the numerous gangs of robbers that haunted the place; and who, from all accounts, were not disposed to respect even the sacred character of the Rahans.

The view of the Sagaing hills themselves, as they are approached, is striking. Almost every remarkable peak is crowned

with a temple, some ancient and mouldering, but the greater number in a state of repair and whitewashed. To a good number of these, the ascent from the very bottom of the hills is by a flight of stairs of solid masonry, with a wall on each side, to serve the purpose of a ballustrade. These are but clumsily constructed; but, being whitewashed, this and their immense extent give them a very remarkable appearance.

On the terrace, which contains the Temple of Paung-nya, we found an inscription on a handsome slab of sandstone, in very good order. The writing is in the ancient character; but the language is Burman, with a little intermixture of Pali. My Burman interpreter, with some assistance from a priest, who happened to be at hand, interpreted it without much difficulty. It purported, that the temple was built in the year of the Burman vulgar era 674, or five hundred and fourteen years ago, by Paung-nya, a nobleman of the Court of Si-ha-Su, King of Ava, and that he endowed it with one hundred Pés of land. No mention is made of slaves, for these could only be given by the sovereign. On the terrace there has been recently collected a large quantity of hewn sandstone, for the purpose of building a "throne," as it is called by the Burmans, for an image of Gautama. This pious work had been undertaken by the Atwen-wun Maung-kyan-nyin-ra, one of the Ministers. This stone, and much of what is used for similar work, is brought from the neighbourhood of Pugan-gyi. It is soft and easily worked, which is probably the chief motive with the Burmans for employing it. We observed that a small temple close at hand, and containing a large image of Gautama, had been recently undermined by thieves in search of the small silver images and other relics and representations of that divinity, which are always deposited in Budd'hist temples. There is no crime more frequent amongst the Burmans, notwithstanding their piety, than sacrilege, although it is punishable with death, and generally a cruel one. Robbery, indeed, in every form, is a frequent crime in the Burman as in all other ill-governed countries. A few nights ago, the widow of an ex-governor of Sagaing had her house, within the walls of the town, broke into, and property carried off to the value of twenty thousand ticals, by a gang of fifty persons. Some of the robbers were apprehended, and the affair was in course of investigation.

The conferences were renewed about one o'clock, and began as follows:

BURMESE: We have come here to negotiate on the part of our King, and you on the part of the Governor-General. It is not the private business of either party that we are engaged in; it is proper, therefore, that nothing superfluous should be advanced. We will deliver to you a paper containing these sentiments before the close of the conference.

The paper was duly delivered as promised, and the following is a literal translation:

The Envoy Crawford is a distinguished, wise, and prudent man, selected by the English Ruler. He has come to the Royal country in the capacity of Ambassador. We also are persons trusted and favoured by the Rising Sun Monarch; and we are selected and appointed by his Majesty, to discuss whatever is to be discussed. The discussions relate not to the personal affairs of the Envoy Crawford, the affairs of his children, or of his wife. We also speak not of our personal affairs, the affairs of our children, or of our wives. It is *our* business to please the golden heart of, the Rising Sun Monarch, and *his* to please the heart of the English Ruler; and thus we are to have regard to the good of both parties. It is proper to bear in mind, that the way to preserve peace between the two great countries, is to keep in view the welfare of both countries and sovereigns, and so to manage the discussion, that there may be no excess, but straightness and right.

CRAWFURD: The sentiments you have now expressed are self-evident, and I agree with you, that they ought to be strictly conformed to. Each party is answerable to his own Government for what he says and does. Will you have the goodness to proceed to such business as you may think proper to introduce?

The Burman commissioners here produced a note, laying claim to the districts of Martaban, on the east bank of the Saluen river.



CRAWFURD: You delivered a note to me at our last meeting on the subject of boundary, to which you requested an answer. This answer is now in course of translation, and you will receive it in a few minutes. The Burman note here alluded to was as follows:

That war between the two great countries might cease, a treaty was made at Yandabo. Of the third and fourth articles of that treaty, the fourth article says, that Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, with their territories, mountains, and islands, are given up; that the Saluen river shall be the boundary; and that hereafter, if disputes shall arise concerning the boundary, they shall be settled as above-said, that is, according to the third article. It is not contained in the treaty, that any part of the territory under the jurisdiction of the city of Martaban shall be taken. We desire, therefore, to know why English officers are settled at Mau-la-myaing, one of the thirty-two townships under the jurisdiction of Martaban?

Mr. Judson arrived with the translation of my note, which, as well as the English original, was put into the hands of the Atwen-wuns, and read aloud by one of the Than-d'hau-thans. It was as follows:

I submit to you, in conformity to my promise, a reply to the note given in by you respecting the Saluen river. You desire to be informed why British troops had established themselves at Molameng, on the eastern bank of the Saluen. I answer, because Mau-la-myaing is part of the territory ceded by his Burman Majesty to the British Government, by the fourth article of the Treaty of Yandabo. In that article it is distinctly said that the Saluen shall be the boundary, or, as it is expressed in the Burman version, that it shall be 'the partition' between us. In your note to me you repeat the same words yourselves. Nothing surely can be meant by an expression so unequivocal, but that the territory which is on one side of the river in question shall belong to you, and that which is on the other shall belong to us. Had the boundary of the Saluen river been *inadvertently* admitted into the

treaty by the Burman commissioners, and had that document been signed and sealed by them, ignorant of the extent of the cession which they were making, the British Government would not be wanting in a disposition to reconsider the question. But no plea of this nature can be urged on your part, as the following explanation will clearly show. Between the provinces of Yé and Martaban there exists no well-defined natural boundary. This appeared to the British commissioners at Yandabo a serious objection. They accordingly sought for the nearest good boundary to Yé that was attainable. Natives of the country were consulted, and they immediately pointed to the Saluen river. The British commissioners accordingly demanded that that river should, be the boundary. A map of the country was produced, and explained, and the boundary of the Saluen clearly pointed out to the Burman commissioners. These officers, aware that the Saluen river ran through the province of Martaban, objected that the assumption of this line of boundary would amount to a cession of all that portion of Martaban which lay to the east of it. Ample explanations were given to them by the British commissioners, and the reasons fully explained why the Saluen was chosen to be the limit between the two countries. After these full explanations, and after having had a day and night to consider the subject, these commissioners deliberately signed the treaty. The Atwen-wun Men-gyi-maha-men-'hla-thi-ha-thu was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Yandabo, and who signed and sealed it. He is now also a negotiator; he is present here, and he knows all this. The teachers (The name given by the Burmese to the Christian missionaries, and the same which is often applied to their own priests), Judson and Price, acted as interpreters for the British and Burman commissioners. They are both here before us now, and will corroborate the statements which I make. I beg you therefore to interrogate them.

In your note you stated that no part of the province of Martaban is specified in the fourth article. When the treaty was made, neither the English nor the Burmese commissioners knew distinctly the townships of Martaban,

which are on the east of the Saluen; and therefore, in order to comprise in one word all these townships, without specifying their names, they said, "Let the Saluen river be the partition between us;" thus fixing on the best, the most obvious, and the most definite boundary for the territories of the two Governments. You farther state, that it is provided in the fourth article, that should any disputes arise concerning boundary, they are to be determined by commissioners, according to ancient limits. When a large and well-known river is expressly stated to be the boundary, what disputes can possibly arise, except such as regard islands situated in the bed of such river, or some alteration in its course, or possible change of its name in particular situations. Should disputes on those points occur, they will, of course, be settled by commissioners, according to the ancient limits of the disputed places as provided for by treaty. It is my duty to inform you, that the construction put by you on the fourth article stands a chance of being viewed by the British Government not as the natural construction which the terms made use of will admit, but as one which appears adduced to create a difficulty. Until the third conference, held with you on the 21st of October, I never heard a doubt expressed respecting the Saluen river being the true frontier between the two nations, or that what was upon one side was necessarily yours; what was on the other, ours. The officers of your Government, residing at Rangoon, who were well aware that we had formed a settlement beyond the Saluen, and who frequently discussed all other public questions with the British commissioners, never expressed a doubt upon this subject. At Henzada I had a long discussion with the Wungyi upon all the questions which concerned the immediate interests of the two countries; but neither did this officer insinuate any doubt concerning our right to the territory on the eastern bank of the Saluen river. The doubt, therefore, was never hinted at till eight months after the signing of the treaty.

In order that my sentiments on this question may not be misunderstood by the Burman Government, I deliver to you a copy of this note in the English and Burman languages, and under my hand and seal.

This note had been prepared with a view to translation into the Burman language, as may be seen from its style, and I have every reason to believe that the version of it made by Mr. Judson was able and perspicuous, for the Burman chiefs offered no objection to the language, and seemed to understand it clearly throughout.

As soon as it was read, the senior Atwen-wun said to his companion, evidently for the purpose of being repeated to me, "There is nothing in this; I will soon refute what he has said;" literally, "rub it out."

He has given his opinion under his signature and seal, as if it were conclusive. We have also our opinion, and who is to decide between us?

The following conversation took place on the subject:

BURMESE: Do you mean to state that the ancient limits alluded to by you in this paper refer to the islands and the course of the river?

CRAWFURD: Most certainly, and to no other.

BURMESE: Do they not rather refer to the towns and places named in the treaty?

CRAWFURD: It is particularly declared in the treaty that the partition or boundary between us shall be the Saluen river.

BURMESE: It is true that the Saluen river is mentioned in the treaty, but you have not explained the point which provides that in the event of any disputes regarding boundaries, reference should be made to ancient limits as in the third article.

CRAWFURD: That is answered in the paper which I have given in.

BURMESE: The Saluen river was fixed on at Yandabo to constitute the boundary of the districts actually named in the treaty according to the information possessed by both parties at the time.

CRAWFURD: The British commissioners were quite aware that by making the Saluen river the frontier, a portion of Martaban would be ceded, and explained this fully to the Burman commissioners, exhibiting to them maps of the country, and affording them every necessary explanation. The latter, as one of the negotiators now present well knows, read the treaty repeatedly over, and signed it, after having had twenty-four hours to consider it.

BURMESE: If the Saluen be the boundary, why is it stated in the treaty that commissioners should be appointed to settle the boundary?

CRAWFURD: The reason of this provision was plain and obvious, and I have already explained it in the paper given in. It was natural that disputes might arise respecting so great a river as the Saluen flowing through a champaign country, which has more than fifty islands in its bed, which is liable to change its course, and which may possibly be found to have different names as it passes through different districts.

BURMESE: Long words will bring on long discussions, and be hurtful to friendship.

CRAWFURD: This discussion was of your own seeking. I have done nothing more than reply to a paper which you gave in to me twice over, once confidentially and once publicly, and answering such questions as you have put to me. I am ready to furnish you with such explanations as I can, but I have no power to decide, as I have often said.

BURMESE: Will you, then, consent to withdraw the paper which you have just given in?

CRAWFURD: Certainly I will not. You called for a formal explanation from me, and I have mentioned only what appeared to me to be a plain statement of facts.

BURMESE: By bringing forward this point, we hope you do not imagine that we have any intention of infringing the treaty. We do not charge you with any such intention.

CRAWFURD: I suppose, of course, you have acted in conformity to the instructions you have received. The Saluen river was declared in the treaty to be the frontier of the two nations. After a full explanation having been given, you still claimed districts on both sides of that river. I was justified, therefore, in saying, that the interpretation put by you on the fourth article, had the appearance of arising in a desire to make difficulties where none existed.

The Burmese chiefs had now entirely altered their tone, and were in the utmost perplexity, scarcely knowing what to say; they appeared very desirous of dropping the subject, Notwithstanding the invitation given to them to take the evidence of Mr. Judson and Dr. Price, no question whatever was put to these gentlemen, nor was any attempt made to deny that ample explanation had been afforded by the British commissioners at Yandabo. Dr. Price, who sat next to them, reminded the Atwen-wun Maung-ba-youk, of the explanations which had been afforded to him at Yandabo. This person feigned, however, not to understand him, and turned away to avoid the subject. After we had got up from the table, I informed him through Doctor Price, that I was sorry to be obliged to bring forward facts that might be unpleasant to him, but that I was compelled to do so by themselves. The reply was, "It is best, after all, that the whole truth should be known." He had at all times scarcely spoken a word, when the subject of the Saluen frontier was introduced, and upon the present occasion his embarrassment and distress were such, that they appeared evident to every one present.

The paper respecting the Saluen frontier which was first tendered to me, was not again brought forward, nor was any use made of a great many maps which it was intended to produce. The Atwen-wuns delivered the following note:

In the statement which the Envoy Crawford has now made, it is implied that something has been said with a view to break, the Treaty of Yandabo. Since it is said in the third and fourth articles of the treaty, that the Saluen river shall be the boundary; that if hereafter disputes shall arise about the boundary, persons appointed by the English and Burmese Governments shall decide correctly, according to ancient

limits, and that the persons so appointed shall be officers of respectability and rank; it was in conformity to the treaty that we said, with a view to ancient limits, that it would be well to understand the territory of Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, because now a part of the territory of Martaban is included. We did not break the treaty in saying this. We spoke uprightly, and with a view to lasting peace.

On the 9th, I received letters from Rangoon, stating that a balance was still due on the second instalment. I thought the present a proper opportunity for bringing forward the subject, and the following conversation ensued:

CRAWFURD: I have letters from Rangoon, stating that a balance of 142,682 rupees of the second instalment is still unpaid, or in dispute, between the British and Burman authorities.

BURMESE: You have stated to us, that if the five articles of the treaty were granted, you would write a letter to the English general, requesting that the troops might be removed without regard to the delay made in paying the second instalment. Do you mean to make this an objection to keeping your engagement? Our Wungyi states that the whole money has been paid.

CRAWFURD: It is a disputed account. I will not withdraw my promise, although I might be justified in doing so, as the payment of the whole money was a matter necessarily understood.

The Commercial Treaty was here again introduced.

CRAWFURD: In the last draft of the fourth article, there is a word substituted for that which was contained in the original draft, on which my engagement with you was made. This alters the whole sense of the Article, making it of no value whatever. I presume, this was a mistake; I beg you to correct it.

The two drafts were handed to the Burman commissioners, and the alteration, or, perhaps more justly, the forgery, was pointed out to them. In the original draft it was stated, that the families of British merchants should be allowed to quit the country

along with them. In the altered draft, the words *to return*, were substituted for *to quit* the country. This would have rendered the condition perfectly nugatory, and left the Burman law practically as it stood before; for no families could leave the country except such as had come to it; and to the departure of such persons, no serious obstruction had ever been opposed. At the last meeting the senior Atwen-wun, in order that it might not appear in evidence against him, used every effort short of pulling it out of Mr. Judson's hand, to gain possession of the original draft. Mr. Judson, from this anxiety, had a presentiment that there was something wrong, and declined giving it up. When the circumstance of the alteration was pointed out to the negotiators, they were evidently annoyed at having been detected; but pretended to consider the words as entirely synonymous. When urged, however, to make the necessary alteration, they declined it, saying it would be necessary to refer the matter to their superiors. I may, indeed, take this opportunity of mentioning, that nearly the whole negotiation had been hitherto conducted on their part under special and detailed instructions on each point from the Lut-d'hau. The Burman negotiators came daily with written instructions, and never decided upon any point, however trifling, without a reference. At the Lut-d'hau, Kaulen Mengyi seemed, from all I could understand, to have been the person who took the principal direction. He was the confidential agent of the Queen and her brother, and expressed no sentiments but what were theirs.

### **November 14, 1826**

The Governor of Bassein and a Saré-d'haugyi called yesterday morning, and, in conversation with Mr. Judson, pretended to be very anxious to know when the Governor-General was likely to return from his journey to the upper provinces of Hindostan. They also said that his Majesty was desirous of sending ambassadors to the King of England, and wished to know whether the Governor-General would provide them with a free passage. I was not present when this conversation took place. Mr. Judson came to me in my room, and reported it to me; and I requested him to say, as from himself, in answer to the last subject, that his Majesty the King of England took no direct cognizance of the political, affairs of India; and that if the Burman Government sent ambassadors to England,



they must do so at their own cost. About one o'clock, the usual hour for the conferences, the Burman chiefs sent me a message, to request that I would excuse them from coming, as it was a great holiday. This, however, was a mere pretext. They were aware of the holiday, and at the last conference had expressly said that they would come notwithstanding; The fact is, that the Government was perplexed and disappointed that it had gained none of the points which it had so unreasonably calculated upon, and that it was as yet quite unprepared to decide upon the propositions which had been made to it.

On the 10th instant, a circumstance took place, which in almost any other country would have been very immaterial, but which was here attended with unpleasant consequences to the Mission. His Majesty, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, is frequently in the habit of going abroad with little pomp or ceremony. On the occasion now alluded to, he was amusing himself on the river-side with an elephant fight. Four or five soldiers of the European escort happened about this time to cross the river, and passed by without noticing the King, or indeed being aware that he was present. This gave high offence. According to the Burmans, the soldiers ought to have squatted down,—thrown off their shoes, and held up their hands in an attitude of supplication. I was immediately waited upon by the chiefs to remonstrate upon the conduct of the soldiers, which was represented by them to be such as would have cost a Burman his head! I had the satisfaction to find, on inquiry, that the soldiers were not in the least to blame; and assured the chiefs, that had they been aware of his Majesty's presence, they would have conducted themselves with every possible respect towards him, and rendered him the same compliment as to their own sovereign. This assurance, however, fell far short of their expectations. I informed them, therefore, that the soldiers should not again be allowed to enter the town, to prevent the possibility of all misunderstanding on the subject. Independent of my assurance, however, they took effectual steps to prevent their doing so, by ordering the gates of the town to be closed whenever persons belonging to the Mission presented themselves. As an apology for this ungracious proceeding, the example of the Chinese embassy was quoted, no individual belonging to which, it was stated, and I believe correctly, was ever allowed to enter the walls of Ava. The King was described to us as

being in a high state of irritation,—going about with a spear in his hand, as is his custom on such occasions, and vowing destruction to his recreant Ministers, whom he charged with all kinds of offences. If I am rightly informed, his irritation arose from a different cause. Upon our first arrival, his Ministers appear to have deceived him with false hopes and expectations, by representing “that the British Mission was sent by the Governor-General to make submissions, and to atone for what had passed, by entering into arrangements for the restoration of the ceded provinces, and the remission of the debt due.” There was a necessity for undeceiving his Majesty at last; and his coming to a knowledge of the real facts was, in all probability, the true cause of the displeasure which his Ministers feigned to attribute to the pretended disrespect of the European soldiers. I should have mentioned also, that offence was taken at the conduct of some of our native followers, and especially of the Lascars, or native seamen of the steam-vessel. The charge against them also was want of due respect when the King presented himself. It was stated that they did not throw themselves, as they should have done, into a crouching attitude; but stood on tiptoe, and stared—far too curiously!

The old Governor of Bassein called again in the evening, and was most anxious to exact from me, as he had often been before, a promise that I would speak “favourably” to the Governor-General respecting the restoration of the ceded provinces. They place implicit reliance upon assurance made to them by any European of character, and eagerly catch at the remotest hint of a promise; so that it became necessary to be extremely guarded in what was said to them. On their side, they are profuse of promises, which they unblushingly deny having ever made, when it suits their convenience. I am not quite sure that they respect us, as politicians at least, for adhering to our word, although they are loud enough in praise of our disposition to veracity. To tell the truth, is one of the five great commandments of their religion; but never was a precept more disregarded. They pride themselves, on the contrary, upon being cunning; and ascribe much more discredit to being overreached, than to being convicted of the most flagitious falsehoods. Mr. Judson informed me, that when he was in prison, he overheard two chiefs, who were subjected to a temporary confinement for some peccadillo, discoursing together

on *moral* subjects. The elder of the two asked the other if he knew the proper definition of an "upright man." The younger professed his ignorance; when the senior added, "Then I will tell you: an upright man is exactly the same thing as a witless man or a simpleton." Maongrit, the senior Atwen-wun, who gave in a formal note at the last conference, recommending to all parties loyalty, disinterestedness, and truth, was detected, in the course of the day, in what was little short of a forgery; and the following anecdote will prove with how ill a grace he appeared as the advocate of loyalty and disinterestedness:—As the British troops were advancing to Prome, he was entrusted, as a Privy Counsellor of the King, with putting that important post in a state of defence. He levied heavy contributions upon the inhabitants for this purpose, appropriated them all to his own use, neglected the fortifications, and Prome consequently fell without resistance into our hands. A superior officer, I believe the Prince of Sarawadi, discovered his notorious malversation and neglect of duty, degraded him from his office, forced him to refund, and placed him in two pair of fetters. In this state he continued for many months. He was at last restored to office through the influence of Kaulen Mengyi, and was now, of course, the devoted creature of this Minister.

### **November 15, 1826**

Close to our dwelling there was the neatest temple which I had yet seen in the country. It was quite unique, being entirely built of hewn sandstone. The workmanship was neat, but the polished stone was most absurdly disfigured by being daubed over with whitewash. The temple itself is a solid structure, at the base of a square form, each face measuring about eighty-eight feet. It is surrounded by a court paved with large sandstone flags, and enclosed by a brick wall. At each corner of the area there is a large and handsome bell with an inscription. To the eastern face of the temple there are two open wooden sheds, each supported by thirty-eight pillars. These were among the richest things of the kind that I had seen in the country. The pillars, the carved work, the ceiling, the eaves, and a great part of the outer roof, were one blaze of gilding. In one of them only there was a good marble image of Gautama, of which the annexed plate is a faithful representation.

Buildings of this description are called by the Burmans Za-yat, or, in more correct orthography, Ja-rat. Some of these are attached to temples, but others are on the public road. Their purpose is both civil and religious. They constitute a kind of caravanseras, where travellers repose themselves. Votaries who repair to the temple to perform their devotions, use them as resting-places and refectories; and it is from them that the priests deliver their orations or discourses. On the west side of the temple there is a long, rudely constructed wooden shed, where are deposited the offerings made by the King and his family to the temple. These consist of two objects only, state palanquins and figures of elephants. The palanquins are the gifts of the late King's wives and concubines, bequeathed by the will of the deceased to the temple. It is among the superstitions of the royal family, that the houses and equipages of the individuals belonging to it cannot, as things too sacred, be used by others after their death. Their costly edifices are constantly allowed to go to decay, and their equipages are presented to the temples. The palanquins now alluded to are litters of immense size and weight, with two poles, and each requiring forty men to bear them. They are all richly gilt and carved, with a high wooden canopy over them. In each of those in the temple there was placed one or more large figures of Gautama or his disciples. The figures of elephants are about a foot and a half high, standing upon wooden pedestals. The material is wood gilt over, and the figure of the animal is very well preserved; for the Burmans pride themselves upon this, as we found when we submitted our drawings of the white elephant to them. These figures, which would be considered as good children's toys amongst us, are annually presented by the King, to the number, I believe, of four, and have increased now to a hundred and eighty, the accumulated donations of five-and-forty years. Why the gifts to this temple in particular consist of elephants, I was not able to learn. In another temple of Sagaing. Which I visited a few days back, the greater number of the offerings consisted of small marble images of Buddha, not about fifteen inches high. Of these, I counted not less than between three and four hundred.

On the river-face of the temple which I have now been describing, there are two large houses of brick and mortar of one story, with flat stone roofs, called Taik by the Burmans, and purporting to be in imitation of European dwellings. These are also

considered Za-yats, or caravanseras. They are comfortless places as can be, the interior being so occupied with stone pillars that there is hardly room to move about. These two buildings were occupied by the Cochin Chinese Mission in 1821, and were proposed for our accomodation; but we declined them, chiefly on account of their dampness and want of light.

The guardian Nat of the temple now described, is Tha-kyamen, or, more correctly, Sakya Men, or the Lord Sakya. He is, according to the Burmans, the second in power of the two Kings of the Nats. Of this personage there is in a small temple a standing figure, in white marble, not however of a very good description, measuring not less than nine feet eleven inches high. The statue seems to be of one entire block.

I have been thus minute in describing the present temple, not only because it is a complete specimen of the best Burman modern architecture, but still more on account of the history of the building itself, which is extremely curious, and places the character of the Government in a very odious light. In a small vaulted building, within the area surrounding it, there is a handsome marble slab, with an inscription on both sides in the Pali character. From this it appears, that the temple is named Aong-mre-lo-ka; which, as far as I can understand, means the "ground or spot of victory;"—that it was built by the late King, in the year 1144 of Burman time, or 1782 of ours, being the second year of his reign;—that he endowed it with four hundred and thirty-seven slaves; and, that he fed and clothed five thousand priests on the occasion of its consecration. His Majesty, in the inscription, vaunts of his own wisdom and power; describes himself as master of one-fourth of the universe, meaning the whole terrestrial globe; and states that one hundred kings paid him homage. The authentic history of the foundation of the temple is less to his Majesty's credit, and, in truth, paints him as an odious and unfeeling tyrant. He was the fourth son of Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty. His first and second brother, and his nephew, the son of the last, had respectively succeeded Alompra. Maong-maong, the son of the elder brother, had been excluded from the throne by his uncle, who first occupied it himself, and then left the succession to his own son, Senku-sa. Men-ta-ra-gyi, the founder of the temple, conspired against the son of his younger brother, raised the son of the elder brother to the throne, and in a few days

seized the throne for himself, and caused his nephew, the legitimate successor of Alompra, to be drowned in the Irawadi. It was to consecrate such deeds as these that he built the costly temple which I have just described, and upon the very spot where his own house, as a prince, had stood, and from which he had commenced his successful rebellion. The persons made slaves were the unoffending inhabitants of the district allotted for subsistence, while a prince, to the nephew whom he had murdered. To make this picture of tyranny complete, it is necessary to understand what is the lot of those condemned to be slaves to a temple. They are reduced, hereditarily and for ever, to the same degraded rank in society as the Chandalas, or burners of the dead. They cannot intermarry with the rest of the people, nor indeed in almost any manner associate with them, and few persons will even condescend to sit down and eat with them. This is a fair sample of the united effects of despotism and superstition among the Burmans.

The perpetrator of these acts was not only an eminently pious prince, but he was a learned theologian, and from a very early period of his reign aimed at the character of a religious reformer. He was in the habit of summoning the Rahans or Pungyis (The two names by which the Burman priests are commonly known) into his presence, and catechising and instructing them in their duties. The result of this was a declaration on his part that he found them extremely ignorant. For the last three or four years of his life, his passion for reform proceeded to very great lengths indeed, and he issued an edict, in which he professed his determination to bring the worship of Gautama back to its ancient purity and simplicity. In this he stated that the Rahans were not only ignorant of their religious duties, but that they lived luxuriously in comfortable convents, that they had fine gardens and good furniture, all which was contrary to the ancient purity of the Buddhist worship; and he blamed one of his predecessors, a prince of Pagan, for having introduced this criminal laxity of discipline. He accordingly ordered all priests, on pain of being reduced to the condition of laymen, to retire from the convents—to live in caves and forests, there to study the sacred scriptures assiduously—to content themselves with clothing sufficient to cover their nakedness, and to eat only at night, and as if by stealth! The priests were by no means prepared to conform to

such austerities, and for about three months there was scarcely one to be seen. His Majesty at this time was in his dotage, and the then Heir-apparent, the present King, took upon him to issue a secret order, permitting the priests to return to their convents, which they accordingly did; and his Majesty's attempts at reform, which continued for nearly thirty years, proved in the sequel completely abortive. It is only surprising that, as they do not appear to have been very discreetly managed, they did not cost the reformer his life and throne. Some have been of opinion that his Majesty altogether disbelieved the popular religion, and that his pretended reforms were a mere cloak for subverting it altogether, but this does not appear probable.

The Burman negotiators did not make their appearance to-day till half-past four o'clock in the evening. This was premeditated. There was but one point which they were desirous to introduce, and they knew that the late-ness of the hour would preclude the discussion of any other.

The following conversation took place:

BURMESE: At Yandabo the war was brought to a close. We ceased from till military operations, and we have completed the second instalment, when your troops ought to have withdrawn from Rangoon. You engaged with us yourself that you would write to the English general, requesting him to withdraw.

CRAWFURD: I will comply to the letter with any promise which I have made. My engagement with you was to write to Sir A. Campbell to withdraw the troops, without regard to the adjustment of the accounts of the second instalment, if you brought me the Commercial Treaty signed and sealed on the 15th instant, this day.

BURMESE: We shall not sign the treaty until your troops shall have first quitted Rangoon; We beg you, therefore, to write to the general; and as soon as authentic accounts shall have been received that your troops have retired, we will sign the treaty and deliver it to you.

CRAWFURD: I have already informed you that I have accounts from Sir Archibald Campbell, stating that the second instalment is

not completed, and requesting me to demand from your Government a balance of 142,682 rupees. This balance, as it was a disputed account, I was willing to take upon myself the responsibility of remitting, to show the favourable disposition of the British Government. Sir Archibald Campbell, I have very little doubt, will evacuate Rangoon immediately, whether the balance be paid or not; but if he does so without an adjustment of the account, you will still be considered liable for the balance. My engagements cease with you to-day, since you have not brought the treaty. I decline complying with your request to write to Sir Archibald Campbell to withdraw the troops before the signature and delivery of the Commercial Convention, as well as accepting this document on the terms you propose. To evince the sincerity of the promise made by me, I prepared an instrument in the form of a convention, binding the British Government to consider the second instalment as completed, as well as to withdraw forthwith from Rangoon. A Burman translation of it is before me, and you are welcome to peruse it. You stipulated at Yandabo to make a Commercial treaty: I heretofore argued for such an one as I thought would be mutually beneficial. I will now take any one you may think proper to give, and I decline farther discussion on the question. Here is a note containing my final sentiments:

Since it is contained in the seventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo, that 'in order to promote the prosperity of the two nations,' an additional treaty shall be made, relative to opening 'the gold and silver road' (A figurative expression of the Burmese language for commerce), and carrying on trade: for the purpose of making such a Commercial Treaty I have come to the Royal presence. If the treaty of five articles, which I ask, be agreed to, the gold and silver road will be opened, and this will, in my opinion, promote the prosperity of both countries. If the Atwen-wuns think that it will not promote the prosperity of the Burman country, I shall not demand it. Give such a treaty as the Atwen-wuns are disposed to make. Let us use our endeavours to perpetuate friendship.

I proceeded to take steps to sign and seal this paper,—a circumstance which occasioned great alarm to the Burman chiefs,



who feared that it contained something which, like the note respecting the Martaban frontier, would have brought the discussion to a close. Putting off the perusal of it, they entreated me not to give it in; thus evincing, in a manner which they could not conceal, their great anxiety to obtain the terms which had been offered to them. The first Atwen-wun had commenced the conference in a noisy manner, almost bordering upon rudeness; but upon the production of the note, he entirely changed his tone, and solicited to be allowed to peruse the instrument which I had prepared, stipulating for the evacuation of Rangoon, and the remission of the balance claimed by the British Government.

This, which was as follows, was handed to him in the Burman language:

Article 1.—With a view to cement the bonds of friendship between the two powers, and for the accommodation of his Majesty the King of Ava, the British Government hereby consents that the payment of the third instalment of twenty-five lacs of sicca rupees, and that of the fourth instalment of a similar amount, due by the Burman to the British Government, according to the fifth and additional articles of the treaty concluded at Yandabo, and payable respectively on the 24th day of February 1826, and 24th day of February 1827, shall not be considered to become due—the first of these instalments, until on or before the 15th day of November 1827, and the last, until on or before the 15th of November 1828.

Article 2.—The British Government hereby consents to forego any claim which it may have on the Burman Government, in as far as regards the second instalment of twenty-five lacs of rupees, due on the 4th day of June last; and it is hereby agreed, that within twenty days of the receipt of this convention by the British commander of the forces at Rangoon, that town shall be delivered over to the Burman authorities, and the British army finally evacuate the Burman territory.

BURMESE: This is all very well, but we wish an article to be added, stating, that if these terms be not fulfilled, neither shall the Commercial Treaty be valid.

CRAWFURD: I agree that such a condition should be added.

BURMESE: I see that when we disagree, the interpreters only are to blame. When they interpret correctly every thing goes on right.

This charge against the interpreters had no foundation whatever. The Atwen-wun made it smiling, and intended it as an apology for any thing unpleasant which might have escaped at the commencement of the conference. The additional article was prepared on the spot, translated, and handed to the chiefs. They immediately commenced a strict analysis and examination of the whole instrument, amplifying and changing the forms of expression; but making no material alteration, except in one particular,—that of extending the period of paying the third and fourth instalments. Pretending not to understand the times specified in my draft, they inserted one year for each instalment, after the period stipulated for in the Treaty of Yandabo; which, by Burman reckoning, would have made the time of payment later by four months than that which I had engaged for. This attempt was immediately checked by Mr. Judson.

CRAWFURD: Have you made the necessary alteration in the fourth article?

BURMESE: The day after to-morrow we will take into consideration the alterations to be made in the Commercial Treaty; and two days after that again, all the papers will be ready to be sealed and signed.

The conference concluded with a speech from the junior Atwen-wun, recommending to all parties such a line of conduct as would tend, in his phrase, “to gladden the heart of the sun-rising King.” This person had not hitherto taken any leading share in the discussions, and was evidently a man of inferior capacity to his coadjutor, as well as less in the confidence of the party in power.

**November 16th, 1826**

Having obtained permission some time ago, although with considerable difficulty, to send our people to the range of mountains to the north-east of Ava, Dr. Wallich's assistant, and two of his plant-collectors, proceeded thither on the morning of the 10th, and after two days' journey arrived at the foot of the hills, which appeared to be twenty or five-and-twenty miles distant from Sagaing. On the 12th, he ascended the hills, which it took seven hours to accomplish. Dr. Wallich's assistant, who had been with him at Nepaul, thought the height not less than that of Siwapoor, near Katmandu, and this is known to be four or five thousand feet above the level of the valley. There are three ranges of hills, and our people went as far as the most distant. The table-land is of considerable extent, and there are several villages upon it, with a scanty cultivation of mountain-rice, some maize, ginger, and other esculent plants. The hills, however, are principally covered with forest trees, from thirty to forty feet high, with very little underwood; The cold experienced was very considerable. Specimens of the rock were collected all the way from the foot to the top of the hills, and proved to be every where compact limestone, white, blue, and red. The Irawadi passes close to the foot of the hills; and along its banks our travellers returned to-day. The part of the country they passed through was much infested by robbers; and yesterday they saw the spot where a man had been a few hours before murdered, on account of a load of rice which he was carrying to Ava. A little of the rice was still scattered about; and the bamboo, on which the baskets were carried, was still lying on the ground.

The Ministers last night reported to the King the progress of the negotiation. His Majesty was highly indignant, said his confidence had been abused, and that now, for the first time, he was made acquainted with the real state of affairs. He accused the Ministers of falsehoods, malversations, and all kinds of offences. His displeasure did not end in mere words; he drew his *Dá*, or sword, and sallied forth in pursuit of the offending courtiers. These took to immediate flight,—some leaping over the balustrades which rail in the front of the Hall of Audience, but the greater number escaping by the stair which leads to it; and in the confusion which attended their endeavours (tumbling head over heels), one on top of another. Such royal paroxysms are pretty frequent, and, although

attended with considerable sacrifices of the kingly dignity, are always bloodless. The late King was less subject to these fits of anger than his present Majesty, but he also occasionally forgot himself. Towards the close of his reign, and when on a pilgrimage to the great temple of Mengwan, a circumstance of this description took place, which was described to me by an European gentleman, himself present, and one of the courtiers. The King had detected something flagitious, which would not have been very difficult. His anger rose; he seized his spear, and attacked the false Ministers. These, with the exception of the European, who was not a party to the offence, fled tumultuously. One hapless courtier had his heels tripped up in his flight: the King overtook him, and wounded him slightly in the calf of the leg with his spear, but took no farther vengeance.

### **November 17, 1826**

The Burman chiefs came, as usual, at one o'clock. A Than-d'hau-than read a copy of the Commercial Treaty, as agreed upon at former conferences; and Mr. Judson held in his hand the copy given in to us in the handwriting of the same Than-d'hau-than. The first, fourth, and fifth articles agreed exactly. In the third article, the words "hinderance" and "molestation," as applied to British ships in Burman ports, were omitted in the draft produced by the Burman negotiators, but were inserted after a short explanation. In the second article, respecting the free exportation of money, the ominous words, "according to custom," were twice over interpolated. It became necessary to remonstrate against the unfairness of making alteration in a document which was the groundwork of the engagement which had been entered into.

CRAWFURD: You have inserted an expression in your draft which is not contained in the original, and upon which I made my engagement with you: no alteration, even verbal, ought to be made without my sanction, unless you desire the engagement should no longer be binding, and that you propose entering; upon a new arrangement.

BURMESE: The words inserted are of no consequence whatever.

CRAWFURD: As this is the case, you will have the less difficulty in striking them out.

BURMESE: We will not strike them out. It is not proper that ancient customs should be changed.

CRAWFURD: Will you be so good as to strike out the expression which you have inserted without my sanction.

BURMESE: We will not strike them out. If you think, proper, you may depart from your engagement.

CRAWFURD: The draft furnished to me is in your own handwriting, and you certainly ought to have made no alteration; but, as the change is not material, I will not object to it.

BURMESE: We made no alteration. The draft is exactly as it originally stood.

I was not prepared for so stout an assertion as this, and had no wish to contend the point any longer. The Atwen-wuns, however, continued the conversation with Mr. Judson, whom they did not hesitate to charge directly with having erased the expression in his copy. Mr. Judson warmly remonstrated, handed over the copy to the Than-d'hau-than who had written it for perusal, and made him acknowledge that the whole was in his own handwriting, and that no alteration whatever had been made. The Atwen-wuns passed the matter over with a laugh; which did not surprise me, after the repeated examples I had of their great *sang-froid* on such occasions.

The subject of the convention, for prolonging the period of the payment of the third and fourth instalments, and for adjusting the accounts of the second, was introduced.

CRAWFURD: The sketch of a convention which I produced at the last meeting, and which you altered and corrected according to your own views, is now before us. Let them be compared, and favour me with any observations you may wish to make on the subject.

The drafts were read, compared, and found to agree *verbatim*.

CRAWFURD: I propose to you to introduce a clause in the third article of this convention, providing, that in the event of the breach of any one article, none of them shall be binding on either party.

BURMESE: We object to this. The penalty should fall on you only, if your troops do not evacuate Rangoon.

CRAWFURD: You must be well aware that the conditions here are not reciprocal, but contrary to the principle upon which all negotiations ought to be conducted between friendly nations. However, to evince my disposition to oblige you, and to show that I have no inclination to create obstacles, I will assent to the article as it stands.—I wish to make a fair copy of the treaty, as it has now been agreed on; and, to prevent any future discussion or disagreement, I prefer making it from your draft.

BURMESE: We object to this. You had better make it from your own.

CRAWFURD: In your copy there are alterations which I have assented to. It will therefore be much better that the copy should be made from yours.

Here a tedious conversation followed upon this subject; and the Atwen-wuns at length were induced, although very unwillingly, to permit a copy to be taken from their draft.

BURMESE: We have some alterations to propose in this convention, which we will submit at the next conference. We beg also to state, that we wish to give farther consideration to the second article of the Commercial Treaty, respecting the exportation of gold and silver.

CRAWFURD: From what you stated to me at the last conference, and from the discussions which have just taken place, I had reason to imagine that this matter was finally decided upon.

BURMESE: We are desirous of giving the second article mature consideration before we put our final signature to the treaty. We have a farther answer to make to the paper given in by you on the subject of the Martaban frontier. We will produce it at our next meeting.

CRAWFURD: I shall be happy to receive the reply you allude to, and record it for the information of the Governor-General. If it contain any new matter, I will furnish such explanations in writing as it may be in my power to afford.

BURMESE: Let the next conference be held the day after tomorrow. We promise then to bring a definitive answer. In the event of every thing being settled to your liking, is it your intention to return immediately, without waiting upon the King; or do you wish to pay your respects to him [Crawfurd's original note: The literal expression made use of was, "Do you wish to look with reverence at the royal golden countenance?"], and amuse yourself for a short time in the country?

CRAWFURD: Whatever may be the result of the negotiation, and whether the particular points requested by me be conceded or not, it is most certainly our wish to pay our respects to his Majesty, and to part with you on terms of friendship.

BURMESE: Shall we report to his Majesty that you desire to wait upon him?

CRAWFURD: Most certainly. I take this to be a matter of course, and intended to have made the application.

Notes upon this last subject were carefully taken down by the Atwenwuns, and read to us; the names of the two interpreters being introduced, to attest the accuracy of their report. This statement was evidently prepared in order to be exhibited to the King, who still continued to be much displeased with his courtiers, and declined giving them an audience.

The following is a translation of the Commercial Treaty and Convention, as read, and apparently agreed upon:

Commercial Treaty.--According to the Treaty of Peace between the two great nations, made at Yandabo, in order to promote the prosperity of both countries, and with a desire to assist and protect the trade of both, the Commissioner and Envoy Crawford, appointed by the English Ruler, the Company Buren, who rules India, and the Commissioners, the Atwen-wun Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-nanda-then-kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwen-wun Mengyi-maha-men-1'ha-thi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by his Majesty, the Burmese Rising Sun Buren who reigns over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries, these three, on the \_\_\_\_ of November 1826, according to the English, and the \_\_\_\_ of the decrease of the moon, Tan-soung-mong, 1188, according to the Burmans, in the conference tent, at the landing-place of Sagaing, north of the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pura, having produced and shown to each other their credentials, with mutual consent signed and sealed this engagement.

Article 1 .—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Prince, the India Company Buren, and the great country of Ra-ta-na-pura, which rules over Thu-na-para, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries, when merchants with an English certified pass from the country of the English Ruler, and merchants from the kingdom of Burma, pass from one country to the other, selling and buying merchandise, the sentinels at the passes and entrances, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade with merchandise, shall be suffered to pass without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries also shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security. And in regard to duties, there shall none be taken, beside the customary duties at the landing-places of trade.

Article 2.—The transportation of gold and silver from one country to the other shall not be prohibited, nor shall duties be taken on those articles. In regard to such exportation,



when piece-goods, and articles of use in one's own country, are brought from another country, things sold for gold and silver are to be sold, and things exchanged for piece-goods and other articles in demand in one's own country are to be exchanged. And notwithstanding the exportation of gold and silver from Burma has always been prohibited, since now the English and Burmese Governments have become friends, when merchants with an English certified pass come in boats and ships to Burmese ports for the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary duties, sell their goods, according to custom, and take away the gold and silver for which the goods are sold, and gold and silver obtained in any other way. And if they wish to buy and take away goods, they shall be allowed to do so; and the gold and silver taken away shall pay no duties. When Burmese merchants also come in boats and ships to English ports for the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary duties, sell the goods, according to custom, which remain and take away the gold and silver for which the goods are sold, and gold and silver obtained in any other way, duty free, if they wish to do so: or they shall be allowed to buy and take away without hinderance such piece-goods and other rarities and articles of use as they may desire.

Article 3.— Ships whose breadth of beam on the inside (opening of the hold) is eight royal Burman cubits, of nineteen and one-tenth English inches each, and all ships of smaller size, whether merchants from the Burmese country entering an English port under the Burmese flag, or merchants from the English country with an English stamped pass entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demands beside the payment of duties, and ten ticals, twenty-five per cent., (ten sicca rupees) for a chokey pass on leaving. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the captain voluntarily require a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at the 'entrance of the sea.' In regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight royal cubits, they shall remain, according to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, without unshipping their rudders or landing

their guns, and be free from trouble and molestation as Burmese vessels in British ports. Besides the royal duties, no more duties shall be given or taken than such as are customary.

Article 4.—Merchants belonging to one country, who go to the other country and remain there, shall, when they desire to return; go to whatever country and by whatever vessel they may desire, without hinderance. Property owned by merchants they shall be allowed to sell. Property not sold, and in the care of Englishmen, or Kulas, subject to the English Government, wives, sons, and daughters, they shall be allowed to take away without hinderance, or incurring any expense.

Article 5.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive assistance from the inhabitants of the towns and villages that may be near the master of the wrecked ship paying to those, that assist, suitable salvage, according to the circumstances of the case; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the rightful owner.

THE CONVENTION—The Commissioner and Envoy Crawford, appointed by the English Ruler, the India Company Baren, and the Commissioners the Atwen-wun Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-nanda-then-kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwen-wun, Mengyi-maha-men-hla-thi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by his Majesty the Burmese Rising-Sun Buren. These three, on the \_\_\_\_ day of November 1826, according to the English, and the \_\_\_\_ of the decrease of Tan-soung-mong, 1188, according to the Burmese, in the Conference Tent, at the landing-place of Sagaing, north of the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pu-ra, with mutual consent signed and sealed this engagement.

Article 1.—Whereas it is contained in the fifth and the additional article of the Treaty of Yandabo, that within one

year of the date of that treaty, the third instalment, and within two years the fourth instalment, shall be paid, with a view to perpetuate the friendship between the two great countries, and to please the golden heart, of the Rising-Sun Buren, the third instalment shall be paid within three hundred and sixty-five days from this day, and the fourth within three hundred and sixty-five days from the time of the payment of the third instalment.

Article 2.—Whereas the Wungyi and the Wundauk say that the Burman Government have paid in Rangoon the second instalment, according to the Treaty of Yandabo, the English Generals shall not say that the first and second instalments are not yet fully paid. Having made the engagement of five articles, this engagement that the English General shall leave Rangoon, and the engagement about putting off the third and fourth instalments, within twenty days after they come to the hand of the Commissioner, the English General,<sup>12</sup> the Chief General now in Rangoon, shall deliver up Rangoon to the Commissioners, the Wungyi, and Wundauk, appointed by the Burman Government, and the English troops shall evacuate the kingdom of Burma.

Article 3.—If the English Governor and Generals remain, notwithstanding the treaty now made, the treaty of five articles shall not stand, but be destroyed, nor the engagement concerning the deferment of the third and fourth instalments.

### **November 18, 1826**

A few days ago, passing along a road close to our dwelling, I met a native of the district of Sylhet, in Bengal, who described himself as having been, during the war, seized by the Burmans, while on business in the country of Assam, and carried off with many others as a prisoner; that is, as a slave: he was very ill for want of food,

---

<sup>12</sup> Crawford's original note: Literally, "the chief wearing the cock's plume," the name by which Sir Archibald Campbell was always known to the Burmese.

and labouring under dysentery. We had him carried to our quarters; but his disease had gone too far, and he died to-day. The conduct of the Burmans, in their predatory excursions, is cruel and ferocious to the last degree, and scarcely any people of Asia have more greatly abused the right of conquest. They are not themselves unaware of the barbarous spirit in which their wars are conducted. "You see us here," said some of the chiefs to Mr. Judson, "a mild people, living under regular laws. Such is not the case when we invade foreign countries. We are then under no restraints—we give way to all our passions—we plunder and murder without compunction or control. Foreigners should beware how they provoke us when they know these things." This was said at the commencement of the late war, and when the Burmese detachments were preparing to invade Cassay, Cachar, and Assam. They appear to have kept their word. Maong-kayo, a Burman chief, invaded Cachar in 1824. I took the examinations, in June 1826, of two of the prisoners who had been made in this expedition. The following, which conveys a frightful picture of the brutal ferocity of this people, is the deposition of one of them; and that of the other agreed with it in every essential point:

My name is Mahomet Ruffy. I am a native of the village of Udarbund, in the country of Cachar. I have been a prisoner of war in Ava. I was seized at my native village, about twenty months ago, by a party of Burmese, belonging to the army of the Chief Maong-kayo. About six thousand persons, including men, women, and children, were seized about the same time. We were all taken away from Cachar. —We were treated with great rigour; we were chained two and two,—got very little food,—were made to carry heavy loads on the march. Women, with infants at the breast, and who, on this account, could not carry loads, had the infants snatched from them, their heads chopped; off before them, and their bodies thrown into the rivers, I have witnessed murders of this description twelve or thirteen times myself. Old and sick persons, who could not carry burthens, were often killed by the Burman soldiers; and their loads, which consisted of plunder, were divided among the other prisoners. The reason that so many persons were seized was, that the Burmans sent numerous parties throughout the country, who

surprised and surrounded the villages, making prisoners of the inhabitants. All the prisoners were afterwards collected and marched off together. After arriving in Ava, we were dispersed all over the neighbourhood, three hundred being sent to one place, four hundred to another, and so on. Another native of Cachar, by name Tareef-gah, and myself, effected our escape from Ava, along with the Bengal Sepoy prisoners, who were lately liberated. I desire to return to my native country, provided I can effect the release of my relatives and friends, who are in captivity.

Among the Burmese, all prisoners of war, whose lives are spared, are condemned to slavery, and generally given by the King as presents to the principal officers of Government. As their fidelity cannot be relied upon,—as they frequently make attempts to escape, and as too many are generally brought at once into the market, the value set upon them is very trifling. An old Siamese woman, who was taken prisoner in her youth, in one of the incursions into Siam, and whose prime cost was a flask of spirits, was pointed out to me at Rangoon. She was sold a second time, I was told, at the enhanced price of five ticals, or 12s. *6d.*!!

### **November 19, 1826**

A person waited, upon me, in the course of the afternoon, in behalf of the Atwen-wuns, to say that they could not, according to their promise, give me a final answer to-day, as neither they nor any of the other public officers had been able to get a sight of the King for five days. They would come, however, they said, if I wished it, lest I might charge them with breach of engagement, or, as they styled it, Halí-kamá, which means, literally, “falsehood,” or “deceit.” I sent word, that the explanation was quite sufficient for not giving a definitive answer; but that I hoped they would come over, as I had a proposition to make, which might possibly facilitate the business in discussion between us. They came immediately upon receiving this message, and the tenth conference commenced as follows:

BURMESE: We promised at our last meeting to give you to-day a final answer on the subject of the Commercial Treaty, and the

other arrangements connected with it; but, from unavoidable causes, we are unable. We hope you will excuse us.

CRAWFURD: I understand that there are some difficulties respecting the second article, which regards the free export of gold and silver. I wish to make these difficulties as few as possible, and therefore I shall be satisfied that silver only shall be freely exported. At Yandabo you engaged that the "gold and silver" road should be opened. I shall be satisfied with the fulfilment of one-half of this promise. Let the gold, therefore, be prohibited as heretofore. You consider it peculiarly excellent, and for this reason I concede the point to you.

BURMESE: As to taking away *silver* from the country, it has not heretofore been the custom; nevertheless, as we are friends, we will permit the exportation of silver on the following conditions:—When English merchants come to the country, let them sell their goods, and with the proceeds purchase the produce of the country, as long as there is any produce to buy. When they cannot procure produce, they will have permission to export silver, on making application to the public authorities to the amount of the balance.

CRAWFURD: It is a maxim with us, that all interference of public officers in the concerns of merchants is hurtful. Merchants dislike it, and trade never thrives when Governments meddle. The plan you have just proposed is full of inconvenience and difficulty, and will never answer. I have already said as much upon this subject as was proper, and it is not fitting that I should insist farther upon it. Let the subject, therefore, be dropped.

BURMESE: In the first article of the treaty, it is provided that both Governments shall look after the concerns of merchants; what you now advance is inconsistent with this.

CRAWFURD: Merchants desire no protection from Government, except a fair administration of justice. The first article of the proposed treaty, to which you have alluded, provides that the two Governments shall afford protection and security to merchants. Surely this can never be construed into a permission to officers to

interfere in the private concerns of merchants—concerns of which all public officers must be totally ignorant.

BURMESE: What you desire, then, is, that English merchants should have permission to carry away gold and silver at their pleasure, received for goods imported by them. This is something new!

CRAWFURD: That is exactly what I want; but there is nothing new in it. It is exactly what is contained in the second article which you have yourselves altered and corrected, and which, in this state, has been in your possession for several days. I have demanded nothing but what is practised in all countries in which trade is understood and cherished.

BURMESE: If you consider the, interference of the officers of Government vexatious and improper, let the matter be settled by the *Poe-zas*, or brokers, of the merchants themselves.

CRAWFURD: The brokers to whom you allude are appointed by the Burman Government, and completely under the control of the local officers. Their acts, therefore, would be exactly the acts of the Government itself. This will never answer. The concession, in the shape in which you make it, is of no value whatever to us, and not worth any sacrifice on our part. Your Government is evidently not prepared to permit the free exportation of gold and silver. Let the subject, therefore, be henceforth dropped; and let it be considered that all my engagements with you, as connected with this matter, are cancelled from this day. You have engaged to make some commercial treaty. I proposed and heretofore argued in favour of such an one as I believed would be mutually beneficial. I will say nothing more upon the subject, but will accept any treaty you think proper to give. I hand you a statement, under my-hand-and seal, containing these sentiments.

The note proposed to be delivered in at the conference of the 17th, was here laid before the Burman negotiators.

BURMESE: We decline taking this paper with your seal to it. We prefer taking a copy only.

CRAWFURD: What objection can there be to the paper having a seal and signature to it? I prefer giving it in this authentic-shape.

BURMESE: We have not said that the free exportation of silver would not be granted. We only said that we could not grant it just now. We beg you, in the mean while, to give due consideration to the proposal which we have just made to you.

CRAWFURD: I have entirely made up my mind with regard to your proposal, and you may consider the reply which I now give as conclusive. I reject it at once, and it is not necessary for you to renew it. Had I contemplated the difficulties which have been made to the free exportation of gold and silver, I never should have proposed the subject at all.

BURMESE: We have now copied the paper given in by you, but we object to receiving the original. It is not good to receive such a document, because it looks as if there was no room for future discussion.

CRAWFURD: As you object to it upon this particular ground, and since you have an authentic copy, I will take it back. I have now been here approaching two months, and it is time that I should return to make my report of what has taken place to the Governor-General. The treaty, with the exception of the second article, is agreed upon, and may be got ready and signed in a day or two. Will you signify my wish to his Majesty, and solicit permission for us to pay our respects to him before we go away? I have ordered the steam-vessel to be got in readiness, and request your assistance in supplying such boats as may be necessary.

To his last communication the Burman officers gave a civil answer in general terms. The proposition respecting the surrender, on my part, of gold in the second article, was carefully noted down, but no answer whatever was given to it. They were in fact not prepared for the subject, and had no authority to speak. They saw, however, that there was some concession in it, and seized upon it from the first moment, as if it were a point actually stipulated for, and not contingent upon concessions to be made on their side. In accordance with this, when the subject of exporting the precious



metals was alluded to in the conversation which ensued, silver alone was mentioned, and gold carefully excluded. I was induced to make the proposition of confining the free export of money to silver, on the following grounds:— gold is in steady demand among the Burmans for gilding and plate, and, from what I can understand, is generally higher priced in the Burman dominions than in our own territories. It is also easily smuggled, and has always been so to a considerable extent by the Burman traders themselves. Under these circumstances, the prohibition to export it would be no great detriment or restraint to British commerce; while it might be a considerable inducement to the Burman Government to concede the main point, the exportation of silver.

### **November 21, 1826**

I received information yesterday evening, from two quarters, that the Burman Government had made up their mind not to grant the free exportation of gold and silver, but that they had another project to offer, with a view of getting the period of paying the third and fourth instalments put off for a time. The proposal, as I understand, had in view the paying of interest for the debt for a limited time. The Burman Government, notwithstanding the mysteriousness of its character, certainly does not possess the art of keeping its own counsel. Every thing of consequence which transpired in the Palace was soon made known to us, and we were generally made acquainted with the different propositions to be brought forward by the Burman negotiators, always a day or two before the conferences on which they were introduced. I was this morning informed that a boat had arrived at Prome with dispatches from Sir Archibald Campbell. Our situation, I have no doubt, had excited some uneasiness among our friends at Rangoon, for the watchfulness and suspicion of the Burman Government had prevented us from writing ever since our arrival; so that no accounts of us could have been received for nearly two months and a half.

### **November 23, 1826**

The old Governor of Bassein and the Commander of the Guard of Swordsmen called twice yesterday with confidential messages from

Kaulen Mengyi. These were of a very extraordinary character. The free export of gold and silver, these chiefs stated, could not be granted, because it was contrary to the laws of the empire. The Burman chiefs, however, took a new ground, certainly one not very easy to defend. They said that the Governor-General had sent an Envoy to cement the bonds of friendship between the two nations, and they asked by what means he, the Envoy, proposed to do this. The Burman Government, they said, were prepared, on their side, to grant four favours, meaning the four articles of the Treaty of Commerce which remained, and they wished to know what the Envoy would grant in return. They fully expected, they said, in return for the favours granted by them, without at all considering that the conditions of the treaty were strictly reciprocal, that they should receive at least a promise not only of restoring the provinces, but of remitting the debt of fifty lacs of rupees. In regard to the provinces, Kaulen Mengyi instructed them to hint that they had not been ceded to us in perpetuity. Such an argument, however, was never afterwards brought forward, nor at any time, indeed, publicly mentioned. The question of paying interest, which had been before suggested by the same officers was evaded upon this occasion. These sentiments were communicated to Mr. Judson only, and were accompanied, as usual, by many compliments to this gentleman. They did not hesitate to declare to him, to his face, that he was a person of the utmost prudence, wisdom, and discretion, and they repeatedly addressed him by the name of Pungyi, or "holy man," the most usual appellation of the Burman priesthood. It was in vain to attempt any rational answer. They had been commanded to deliver a certain message, and, without any regard to its reasonableness or propriety, they thought it their duty to insist upon and enforce it.

In our ride this morning, Mr. Chester and I visited a village of lepers, consisting of about twenty houses. Many of the inhabitants were out begging at a considerable distance above Ava, where rice was said to be somewhat cheaper than in the town itself, and therefore charity more easily practised. About one-half the inhabitants of this hamlet, we were told, were affected with the malady. The disease, which the Burmans call Anú, is very frequent in the country. It is the *Lepra Arabum*, or *Elephantiasis*. We examined several persons suffering under it. The lepers described the complaint as commencing with a white spot generally on their

thighs or arms. The chief seats of the disorder are the hands and fingers, and the feet and toes; but other parts of the body are not exempt, and it occasionally attacks the bones of the nose. The parts affected have a livid look and a mottled appearance, produced by the cicatrices of old sores. When it attacks the fingers and toes, it destroys the joints and nails, and distorts them. The open sores are not numerous, are generally superficial, and, upon the whole, the appearance of the patients, in ordinary cases, is by no means so offensive as might be expected; nor was there any thing disagreeable in their residence to distinguish it from an ordinary village. The affected part, from the description of the lepers themselves, seems to be nearly dead and insensible. They stated they had no pain when not obliged to move, and that their rest was not disturbed. The disorder probably does not much contribute to shorten life, for I have often seen very old persons labouring under it. One of those whom we examined to-day was a woman, apparently seventy, a captive brought from Aracan, and she said that the disorder broke out when she was a girl of fourteen years of age, and that she had been a martyr to it ever since. Leprosy, according to the Burmans, is not contagious, but, in rare cases, may be communicated by actual contact. Even this much, however, is probably not correct; for sound children may be seen at the breast of leprous women, and we ourselves saw abundant examples of sound women married to leprous husbands, and sound children the offspring of leprous parents. We were particularly struck by seeing one little girl about three years of age, in perfect health, clinging close to her father, who was begging by the road-side, and who was a great martyr to the disorder. That the complaint, however, is frequently hereditary, and may be communicated by parents to their offspring, seems to be generally admitted. Like scrofula and gout, however, it is said to disappear for one or two generations, and to break out in the third or fourth. Like these also, it affects some members of a family, and not others. The disorder, although generally incurable, is not always so: we saw several persons in the village above-mentioned, who, by their own account, had recovered from it, and upon whose persons its scars were still visible.

It would be difficult, I imagine, to trace this disorder to any thing peculiar in the climate, the food, or the habits of the people. It occurs in the moist climate of Rangoon, and the drier climate of

Ava; and, generally speaking, the country throughout is healthy. The effectual price of labour is high, and consequently the Burman peasantry are, upon the whole, well fed, clad, and housed. For an Asiatic people, they are an active and athletic race, remarkably free from bodily infirmities; but, above all, they are free from diseases of the skin to so remarkable a degree, as to strike every stranger who has observed them. With respect to the frequency of leprosy amongst them, it ought, however, to be observed, that a stranger who has visited only the principal towns may easily be deceived, and led to consider it greater than it really is, owing to the circumstance of the lepers naturally coming to the vicinity of these for the facility of getting charity. A number of those whom we examined this morning were certainly natives of distant parts of the country.

The Burman leprosy appears to be the same with the worst form of that disease among the Jews, and also with the leprosy of the middle ages in Europe; and it is singular, how nearly alike is the treatment of the unfortunate persons labouring under it, and the prejudices which exist in regard to the subject. Among the Burmans, lepers are held to be unclean; they are expelled from society, and compelled to live in separate villages, which may be considered as so many lazarettos. The Burmans, however, go much farther than either the Jews or our European ancestors. The lepers themselves are not only expelled from society, but the interdict extends hereditarily, and for ever, to their descendants, who are considered as outcasts, ranking with the burners of the dead, or Chandalas, and other impure classes. A leper, or the child of a leper, can only marry with another leper, or the descendant of a leper. When a candidate presents himself for ordination to the priesthood, he is made to swear that he has no taint of leprosy, and even a priest who is detected with the disorder is expelled forthwith from the monastery. The bodies of all respectable Burmans are burnt and not interred. This rite is denied to the lepers, who can be buried only, or as *we* would express it in our own case, they are refused "Christian burial." Leprosy also is considered a sufficient cause for the dissolution of marriages. A leprous wife would be immediately repudiated by her husband, and a wife will part without scruple from a husband who is affected with the disorder. Money however, which can effect wonders among the Burmans, will purchase an exemption for the

wealthy; and the penalties, of course, fall chiefly on the poor. This however, in persons of all ranks, becomes, like almost every other, a subject of the grossest abuse, by affording to the public officers grounds for extortion. A wealthy leper has to pay large sums to the Government and its minions for the privilege of not being expelled from society. A person without, influence, of respectable character, having the scar of a sore of any kind, is liable to be seized by the officers of the Arawun or "superintendent of outcasts," under pretext of being affected with the leprosy. To avoid the scandal of a public examination, or the risk of being driven from society, they are obliged to pay heavy contributions. It was but two days ago, that a case of this kind occurred at Sagaing. An old woman, with the recent scar of a common boil upon her hand, was seized by one of the petty constables of the Ara-wun, and to avoid being dragged before the tribunal of that chief, a heavy fine was exacted from her. The leprosy, as well as every other physical evil, is considered by the Burmans as an infliction for some crime or transgression in some former state of existence. I believe that adultery is the particular offence for which leprosy is the supposed punishment.

This subject leads me to say a few words regarding the barbarous opinions and customs obtaining amongst the Burmans in regard to some other bodily infirmities or defects. Among the lepers, we found in the village a man afflicted with epilepsy. He told us he had been driven from his native village on account of this malady—that his friends would not own him, and that he was consequently obliged to take up his residence among the lepers. A strong prejudice appears to run not only against all natural deformities (and I imagine this is one cause why so few are to be seen amongst the Burmans), but against those labouring under incurable diseases, and even against such as have been accidentally mutilated. There is an indescribable mixture of caprice, folly, and inhumanity, in the different modes in which this is evinced. One who has lost the sight of both eyes, is forbidden to enter the Palace inclosure; but if he has lost the sight of one only, he may enter. The dumb are also interdicted from this privilege, and the loss of an ear or nose is a sufficient disqualification for the same honour. The loss of any limb, even in action, and when defending the rights of his sovereign or country, deprives a Burman of the right of entering the Palace enclosure, and is attended with the inevitable consequence of the loss of

Court favour and preferment. It would be no invidious deduction from these facts to say, that the religion and customs of the Burmese are not calculated to make heroes or patriots. This will account for the extraordinary conduct of some of the Burmese prisoners who were wounded in different actions with us, and who refused to suffer amputation; or tore off the bandages, and bled to death after it was performed. One young man who had submitted to the operation, mistook the nature of it altogether, and, conceiving that this was our peculiar mode of treating prisoners of war, with the passive courage and disregard of life so frequent with the people of the East, presented the sound leg also for amputation! These lamentable prejudices originate from their religious belief. Every physical evil, it must be repeated, is considered by the Buddhists as the punishment, not so much of offences committed in the present state of existence, as of transgressions in some previous migration. They are not considered as punishments for the benefit of the soul of the sufferer, according to the more generous and consoling view taken of such cases by our ancestors, but as inevitable inflictions merited by the individual on account of himself or ancestors, and the necessary results of the present imperfect order of the world. Those afflicted, consequently experience, generally speaking, little compassion or sympathy. There is indeed some merit in bestowing charity upon lepers and other beggars; but it is very trifling indeed, in comparison with that of giving alms to the priests, or making gifts to or endowing temples.

### **November 24, 1826**

I received intimation yesterday, that the Burman negotiators would meet us to-day, and they accordingly came about one o'clock. A short time before their arrival, I was informed that they would come ready to sign and seal such a Commercial Treaty as they had made up their minds to give. I was a good deal surprised at this statement after the procrastination which had been practised; and would have discredited the account altogether, had I not learned to understand, by this time, that the Burman Government is capable of acting upon occasions with a caprice which baffles all calculation. The account which I had thus received proved to be strictly true. The two chiefs made their appearance with the public

seal of the Government, and two expert writers, for the purpose of making fair copies of the proposed treaty, should I accept it. Under the belief that farther discussion would serve no useful purpose, and might even produce an unpleasant degree of irritation, I resolved to accept of the proffered document, provided it contained nothing extravagant or improper.

The conference commenced as follows:

BURMESE: At the last conference you stated, in reference to the Commercial Treaty, that you would insist upon nothing which it would be unpleasant to us to grant. We have now prepared such a treaty as we are disposed to give. If you accept of it, we will cause two copies to be made.

The paper was here given in, and proved to be the draft heretofore agreed upon; the second article, providing for the free export of gold and silver, being omitted; and that clause of the fourth article, now become the third, allowing the families of merchants to quit the country, being struck out.

CRAWFURD: I agree to the treaty as you now present it, and I am ready to sign and seal it. As there were considerable discrepancies between the Burman and English copies in the Treaty of Yandabo, and as, out of consideration to you, the Burman copy has always been acted upon, I propose now that the original treaty should be in Burman only.

BURMESE: We agree to this, but request you will furnish us, at the next conference, with an attested English translation.

CRAWFURD: I will be sure to supply you with the translation you require.

The copyists now began to make drafts of the treaty, which, from the tedious manner in which they proceeded, took up nearly three hours, during which time, little or no other business was transacted. My chief motives for proposing a Burman original copy of the treaty only, I have expressed in my observations to the Atwen-wuns. In addition to these, I may state, that so many

Burman idioms, and so much amplification had been introduced by the chiefs, from time to time, that I found it would be very difficult to make a fair translation in tolerably good English, that would correspond strictly with the Burman version.

BURMESE: The treaty is now nearly ready for seal and signature. You intimated to us at the last meeting, that, whatever might be the result of the commercial negotiation, the friendship between the two nations should not be interrupted. We beg you now to inform us, by what means you propose to cement the friendship you alluded to, and to furnish us with some proofs of it.

CRAWFURD: When the treaty is signed and sealed, I shall be glad to take into friendly consideration any proposition which you have to make. For my own part, my business is now done. I have no favours to ask.

The junior Atwenwun was here upon the point of insisting that the granting of the four articles of the Commercial Treaty were favours conceded by the Burman to the British Government, but was interrupted by his co-adjutor.

BURMESE: Although it be not a subject relating to the Commercial Arrangement, we beg to state that we desire now to renew the question of the postponement of the third and fourth instalments, on the score of friendship.

CRAWFURD: I request you will state to me distinctly what your wishes are upon this subject.

JUNIOR ATWENWUN: A Commercial Treaty has now been signed and sealed, and friendship must increase in consequence. We hope, therefore, that you will agree to put off the payment of the third and fourth instalments, as heretofore arranged.

BURMESE: If you mean to say that you expect me to defer the payment of the third and fourth instalments unconditionally, and without receiving an equivalent from you, I must plainly say, that I will not. The Atwenwuns made a reply to this, in which the



question of paying interest was introduced; but after some hesitation they requested Dr. Price not to translate it.

BURMESE: When we have made up our minds upon the subject of the proposition which we have to offer On this subject, we will solicit another conference.

CRAWFURD: This is putting the conferences off indefinitely. I beg you to fix a day for the next. My business is now concluded, and I wish to return, that I maybe able to report to my Government. It is my intention to leave Ava, if possible, in about seven days.

BURMESE: You, of course, desire to see the King before your departure.

CRAWFURD: Certainly, if his Majesty expresses a wish to grant us an audience.

BURMESE: We beg you will take into your consideration the difficult circumstances of our situation in respect to this point. If you fix on too early a day for your departure, it may not suit the King's convenience to give you an audience within that period.

CRAWFURD: Although the principal business of my mission to Ava is now settled, I beg you to understand, that I shall not, on that account, be the less disposed to give a friendly attention to any fair proposition which you may desire to make.

A civil reply, in general terms only, was given to this observation. The Burman commissioners, from the moment of my accepting the treaty, were greatly out of spirits, especially the senior, who, for the first time, allowed the junior to take a lead in the conversation. The impression which their behaviour made upon us, was, that they had proffered the treaty not in good faith, but as a mere artifice; and that they were mortified and disappointed that difficulties were not made, upon our side, especially on the subject of the fourth article, from which they might have drawn some advantage when their proposition to defer the payment of the third and fourth instalments should be brought forward.

The treaty was signed, sealed, and delivered, about six in the evening. The following is a literal translation:

A Commercial Treaty, signed and sealed at the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pura, on the 23d of November 1826, according to the English, and the ninth of the decrease of the moon, Tan-soung-mong, 1188, according to the Burmans, by the Envoy Crawford, appointed by the English Ruler, the Company Buren, who governs India; and the Commissioners the Atwenwun, Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-then-kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwenwun Men-gyi-maha-men-l'ha-thi-ha-thu. Lord of the Revenue, appointed by his Majesty, the Burmese Rising Sun Buren, who reigns over Thu-na-pa-ran-ta, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries.

According to the Treaty of Peace between the two great nations made at Yandabo in order to promote the prosperity of both countries, and with a desire to assist and protect the trade of both, the Commissioner and Envoy Crawford, appointed by the English Company Buren, who rules India, and the Commissioners the Atwenwun, Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-nanda-then-kyan, Lord of Sail, and the Atwenwun, Mengyi-maha-men-l'ha-thi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by his Majesty the Burmese Sun rising Buren, who reigns over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries:—these three, in the Conference Tent at the landing-place of Ze-ya-pu-ra,<sup>13</sup> north of the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pura, with mutual consent completed this engagement.

Article 1.—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Ruler, the Indian Company Buren, and the great, country of Ra-ta-na-pura, which rules over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries, when merchants with an English certified pass from the country of the English Ruler, and merchants from the kingdom of Burma, pass from one country to the other,

---

<sup>13</sup> Crawford's original note: A corruption of the Sanscrit Jaya-pura, or "city of victory"—a name for Sagaing.

selling and buying merchandise, the sentinels at the passes and entrances, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall, make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade with merchandise shall be suffered to pass, without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries also shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security. And in regard to duties, there shall none be taken, beside the customary duties at the landing-places of trade.

Article 2.—Ships whose breadth of beam on the inside (opening of the hold) is eight royal Burman cubits, of nineteen and one-tenth English inches each, and all ships of smaller size, whether merchants from the Burmese country entering an English port under the Burmese flag, or merchants from the English country with an English stamped pass entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demands beside the payment of duties, and ten ticals, twenty-five per cent. (ten sicca rupees) for a passport on leaving. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the captain voluntarily requires a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at the entrance of the sea. In regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight royal cubits, they shall remain according to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, without unshipping their rudders or landing their guns, and be free from trouble and molestation as Burmese vessels in British ports. Besides the royal duties, no more duties shall be given or taken than such as are customary.

Article 3.—Merchants belonging to one country, who go to the other country and remain there, shall, when they desire to return, go to whatever country and by whatever vessel they may desire, without hinderance. Property owned by merchants they shall be allowed to sell. And property not sold, and household furniture, they shall, be allowed to take away, without hinderance, or incurring any expense.

Article 4.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive assistance from the inhabitants of the towns and villages that may be near; the master of the wrecked ship paying to those that assist suitable salvage, according to the circumstances of the case; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the owner.

### **November 25, 1826**

The Armenian Sarkies Manook, who brought up our dispatch on the 9th, and whose useful services, as interpreter to Sir Archibald Campbell during the war, are well known to those acquainted with the history of the Burman war, did not think it prudent to call upon us until about four days ago, in consequence of the jealousy with which his movements were watched by the Burman Government. He called again to-day, and expressed his alarm at his situation, signifying that his personal safety required that he should return to Rangoon along with us. Spies were set round his house, and although he had brought a large investment of goods, well suited for the market, he was not able to effect sales even to the smallest extent, no Burman merchant daring to come near him. This affords a true picture of the Burman Government. Should any one in such a case, that is, when an individual is labouring under the displeasure or suspicion of Government, presume to purchase goods belonging to him, and they are afterwards discovered in the possession of the buyer, they are declared to be illegally obtained, and in due course confiscated,—the offender being farther liable to fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment, according to circumstances. This is not a matter which happens now and then, but an established and well-known custom, of frequent occurrence. S. Manook had made to the King and his officers presents to the value of 22,000 rupees; but, notwithstanding this, he had not found it safe even to hint at his claims upon the Government, which, according to his statement, amount to above four lacs of rupees, or 40,000*l*. Yesterday we had again the pleasure of receiving another dispatch, from Rangoon,

which came in nineteen days, under the escort of a corporal and four Sepoys. This brought us Indian and Europe letters and public dispatches from Rangoon and Calcutta.

**November 26, 1826**

Yesterday forenoon the two Atwenwuns paid us a complimentary visit at our house, which they had never done before. The object of this condescension could not be mistaken: they were desirous of using every means and every persuasion to induce me to put off for a time the payment of the third and fourth instalments without the payment of interest,—a project which seems now to have been dropped, though at one time eagerly courted. The visit was long, but it was not until towards the close of it that any business was introduced.

The following notes of the conversation that took place were taken down:

CRAWFURD: I received letters yesterday from Sir Archibald Campbell. He was upon the point of quitting Rangoon, and by this time has left it, without staying out the whole time by which you had exceeded the period of paying the second instalment. Everything is amicably settled in that quarter. This has happened as I repeatedly informed you it would. There was no occasion, therefore, I must remind you, of the doubts and anxieties expressed by you upon this point. We never depart from the solemn engagements which we have made.

BURMESE: This is all right. We have information from the Wungyi at Henzada, that he has been invited to Rangoon by Sir Archibald Campbell. The time is now drawing near for the payment of the third instalment. We shall not be able to fulfil our engagement, for we have not the means. We beg to bring this circumstance under your consideration.

CRAWFURD: I communicated my sentiments to you at the last meeting. Have you any new proposal to make ?

BURMESE: What we request is, that you would engage to put off the payment of the third and fourth instalments, in the same

manner you proposed doing, had we assented to the free exportation of gold and silver, as well as given permission to merchants to take away their families.

CRAWFURD: As I mentioned to you before, I have no specific authority to put off the third and fourth instalments even one day. I promised you, however, that if you could show that you had difficulty in making prompt payment, and that you executed at the same time such a Commercial Treaty as was promised at Yandabo, I would take upon myself the responsibility of prolonging, for a moderate time, the period of paying the third and fourth instalments. You have not executed such a treaty; and I have, therefore, now no plea whatever to urge with my Government for taking so heavy a responsibility upon myself as is implied in your proposal.

BURMESE: At a conference some time ago, you held out some hopes to us that you would take it upon yourself to postpone the payment, if we could convince you that we were not able to pay at the time appointed by treaty. The known distress of the country, for a long time back, will satisfy you of our inability to pay at the period agreed upon.

CRAWFURD: I must repeat to you that my engagement was to postpone the period of payment on two sufficient grounds, viz. the execution of the treaty in the form in which I wished it, and your exhibiting evidence of your incapacity to make prompt payment.

BURMESE: Bassein, Dalla, Rangoon, and the other southern provinces, which are the most productive parts of the country, have long been out of our hands, and we have drawn no revenue from them.

CRAWFURD: There is no occasion at present to bring forward any arguments upon this subject. Some days ago you sent me confidentially the Wun of Bassein, with certain propositions respecting the deferment of the third and fourth instalments. I told him, for your information, that, as a favour to the Burman Government, I would take upon myself the risk of postponing

payment upon your conditions. You do not, however, advert to the proposition in question, although it originated with yourselves.

No reply was made to this observation. The Atwenwuns had been sitting one on each side of me. They now changed their places, and along with Dr. Price, the two Than-d'hau-thans, the Wun of Bassein, and the Commander of the Guard of Swordsmen, formed a group, and consulted together for near half an hour without being able to come to any determination. I was afterwards informed that various projects were started and discussed to induce us to prolong the period of paying the money, such as paying interest, and even conceding one or both of the articles heretofore refused; but they finally came to no determination, and concluded by saying that they would renew the discussion upon some other occasion. I renewed the subject of taking my departure, stating that my business was completed. I requested the boats which had been promised, and begged that a day might be fixed for paying our respects to the King, and taking leave. The officers of the Burman Government were aware that we could not quit without boats, and that no one dared to give them without their sanction. They were therefore anxious to throw delays in the way of our departure, hoping they might gain some advantage by having us thus in some measure in their power. They would have considered it a weakness and want of political sagacity not to have availed themselves to the fullest extent of such opportunities. A like conduct was systematically pursued during my mission to Siam; and I may safely venture to assert, that every agent of an European Government to these two States may reckon upon encountering similar difficulties. With a view to procrastination, the Atwenwuns now proposed a number of visits for our amusement, such as one to Amarapura, one to the temple containing the celebrated Aracan image, one to the great tank of Aong-ben-lá, and one to the celebrated temple at Mengwan, which I have before mentioned. To put off time, they would have had a day allotted for each of these places, though some of them are within two or three miles of each other.

We received a visit this morning from a chief named Maong-Shwe-lú, whose office is named "North Commandant of the Palace." This person had always shown a great partiality for Europeans, and was a staunch friend and protector of Mr. Judson during his imprisonment. When Captain Lumsden and the other

officers from the camp of Sir Archibald Campbell visited Ava, they were hospitably received and entertained in the house of Maong-shwe-lú. We received him, of course, with as much attention as was in our power. In manners he was plain and blunt, and spoke with a loud voice.

This, by the way, is a remarkable circumstance with Burmans of all ranks. Even in common conversation, they usually pitch their voice to a high key, as if they were delivering an oration. Maong-shwe-lú, as usual, told us his age: it was sixty-two, but he had not a grey hair in his head, and did not look more than forty. Indeed, from the great number of old people that are to be seen about Ava, there is ground to suppose that the climate is perfectly salubrious, and that longevity is probably as frequent as in any other part of the world.

### **November 28, 1826**

I had another visit to-day from the Atwenwuns, accompanied, as usual, by Mr. Lanciego and the two Than-d'hau-thans. The circumstance of coming to our dwelling, instead of meeting us half-way and formally, at the shed or tent, was intended as a mark of conciliation and compliment. The following conversation took place, and the substance of it was carefully noted down by the Atwenwuns, a matter which was not done at the last meeting:

BURMESE: We are now great friends. We have granted you four articles of the Commercial Treaty; but there is one article to which we have not acceded,—that respecting the exportation of gold and silver. You came here as a commissioner (Than-ta-man, one vested with full powers), and we imagined you had authority to remit the third and fourth instalments of the money-payment due on the Treaty of Yandabo, as well as to restore the provinces which were ceded to you. You have told us that you have no such authority. We think it better, therefore, to withhold permission for the free exportation of gold and silver, until we can make final arrangements through our ambassadors in Bengal.

CRAWFURD: I am satisfied with having done my duty in arguing in favour of such a commercial arrangement as it appeared to me was provided for in the Treaty of Yandabo, and which would certainly



have been equally beneficial to both parties. I do not mean to discuss the subject again; but if you consider it for your interest to renew the topic, it can be done advantageously through your ambassadors in Bengal.

BURMESE: Do you approve of our sending an embassy to Bengal, for the purpose of farther discussing the Commercial Treaty, and for making arrangements for the remission of the money payment, and the restoration of the ceded provinces?

CRAWFURD: You can send ambassadors to Bengal at any-time, either to reside there permanently, or to return, as you may think proper. This is provided for by the second article of the Treaty of Yandabo. The same article gives us a right to send ambassadors to be resident, or otherwise, at the Court of Ava. I certainly approve of your sending ambassadors generally, because I am convinced that an interchange of missions will contribute materially to cement the bonds of friendship. With respect to the particular objects which you state you have in view by sending an embassy, this is your own affair, and I do not presume to offer any opinion upon it. I have to repeat, that I consider my principal business as settled, and I therefore wish that a day may be fixed for my departure.

BURMESE: We suppose you are desirous of seeing the King?

CRAWFURD: I have said so before. We are certainly desirous of having an audience of his Majesty, provided it be agreeable. Will you be so good as to make arrangements for determining the day.

BURMESE: This is a matter of some difficulty, but we will consult our superiors upon the subject. A lucky day must first be found, and then preparation must be made for your reception, tor the King is desirous of receiving you handsomely.

CRAWFURD: I have spoken several times before to yourselves and the inferior officers respecting boats, and they are not yet furnished. It will take some time to arrange and prepare our baggage.

BURMESE: The boats will be supplied without loss of time.

The question put to me, asking my opinion respecting the propriety of sending an embassy to Bengal, and the reply given to it, excited some uneasiness in the Atwen-wuns; and after an interval of at least half an hour, they renewed the subject.

BURMESE: When we requested your opinion respecting sending a mission to Bengal, we wanted only your private sentiments upon the subject. We did not mean that we should act upon your opinion, for we have already decided that an embassy is to be sent. Much, you know, depends upon the manner in which such a question is put, and the tone in which the words are delivered.

CRAWFURD: My public and private sentiments upon such a subject must be exactly the same. The more frequently you send ambassadors to Bengal the better. Missions from you will be considered by us as marks of your friendship. What favours your ambassadors are to ask when there, and what points they are to discuss, are subjects upon which it is impossible for me to offer any opinion.

The Atwen-wuns, having made arrangements for our paying a visit to Amarapura to-morrow, took their departure. I may mention here an extraordinary example of the extravagance of Burman compliment. Turning round to me immediately before going away, the junior Atwen-wun congratulated himself upon his good fortune in having met "so valuable a friend: a true friend," he added, "is not to be met with above once in a creation or existence!" This piece of bombast was delivered with immovable gravity. The Burmans, on such occasions, make no scruple of borrowing assistance from their theological opinions. Sir A. Campbell informed me, that at one of the negotiations, which preceded the peace, and in which the Burmans had no object but that of putting off time and deceiving us until the force was collected, which was afterwards defeated near Prome, one of the chiefs, the Governor of the province of Sarawadi, a little shrewd old man, who was always counting his beads, was loud in his praise of all peace-makers; and assured the commander of the British army, that he in particular would be quite sure of meeting his reward in some distinguished and elevated transmigration, if through his

means the British granted a favourable peace to the Burmans. I was present when Sir A. Campbell saw this person for the first time afterwards, and when he was reminded of the compliment in question: the old man was nothing abashed, but joined very heartily in the laugh which the recollection of this circumstance created.

Dr. Wallich returned to-day from a botanical excursion to the range of mountains lying east of Ava, which he performed with the sanction of the Burman Government...<sup>14</sup>

### **November 30, 1826**

Yesterday we paid a visit to Amarapura, which by land is reckoned to be three taings, or six miles, above Ava; but, I think, by water not more than three and a half or four miles. It is on the same side of the river, but far less conveniently situated for a capital. Before the latter, the stream of the Irawadi is clear of islands, and, in one quarter, nearly washes its walls: all round it in other directions there are navigable rivers, which are extremely convenient. Amarapura, on the contrary, has an extensive island, fronting the town and suburbs, with but a narrow and inconvenient channel between them. There is no river but the Irawadi near it, and from this the walls of the town are now distant about three quarters of a mile, occasioned, I understand, by a change in the course; of the river. We passed through a suburb fully more extensive than any of those of Ava; and, leaving the walls of the town on our right hand, proceeded in a north-west direction towards the hills, on the road to the temple which is so celebrated for containing the image of Buddha, brought from Aracan. On this road, not far from the town, there is a temple of some repute, called Sand'haumuni, built by the late King: it contains the first bronze images which I had seen in the country. These were a figure of Gautama himself and those of four of his disciples; the latter were very well executed. Around the principal temple (an area intervening) were eighty small temples, each containing the image of a disciple of Buddha.

The Aracan temple is distant from Amarapura about two miles, and was a very costly fabric; as usual, with abundance of gilding, carving, and wooden pillars: the latter amounted to no less than two hundred and fifty-two, all massive, tall, and well gilded.

---

<sup>14</sup> This account is published separately in the present issue of the SBBR.

This may convey some notion of the extent of the building. The celebrated image is a sitting statue of Gautama, in bronze, which has the reputation of having been cast in his own lifetime, and is therefore looked upon as peculiarly sacred: it measures seven and two-thirds royal cubits, or about twelve feet, in height: it is gilt all over, as usual: in features it does not much differ from the ordinary figures of Gautama, although, upon the whole, probably these are a little more animated. This image was brought from Aracan in the year 1146 of the Burman era, corresponding with the year 1784. I am told that it was transported from, Aracan by the difficult route of Pa-daong, and not by that of Senbewgioun. To facilitate its carriage, it appears to have been taken to pieces,—a circumstance which does not well accord with the current tradition, that it was cast in one entire mass. It was the principal trophy of the present King's father, as Heir-apparent, when he conquered Aracan in 1783.

A handsome marble slab, similar to others which I have already described, gives an account of the building of the temple, which was the work of the late King, who called it Maha-Myat-Muni (the word "Myat" means, in Burman, "excellent"), after the Aracan idol, which, for distinction sake, is known by the Pali title of Maha-Muni, or "the great saint." He condemned for ever one hundred and twenty families of Aracanese, in all likelihood, the stoutest and most obstinate defenders of their country, to the degrading servitude of slaves to the Pagoda, giving each a Pé of land for subsistence. This was the endowment for the temple. This building is more frequented by votaries than any other which I have seen, owing to the sanctity attached to the image. Those whom we saw were persons of respectable appearance, and by far the larger number, aged women. The resort of votaries brought with it, of course, a proportionate number of beggars, most of whom were persons lame, blind, or very old.

Here, in a long gallery constructed for the purpose, the late King had collected an enormous number of stone inscriptions, from Sagaing, from Pugan, from San-ku, a place about three days' journey beyond Ava, and Ang-le-ywa, in the country of the Shans—places which contain many relics of antiquity. I counted these, and found they amounted to no less than two hundred and sixty. A few of these inscriptions are on marble slabs, but the greater number on good sandstone: they are all of the form which I have already

described; the character is occasionally the old Pali, but more frequently the common round Burman;—the writing, in both cases, is in very good preservation. Such inscriptions as these are only employed to commemorate the founding of temples of the first importance; and the frequency of them, in past times, may be estimated from the extraordinary assemblage of inscriptions here brought together.

To satisfy the curiosity of my reader, I shall give, in the Appendix, two of these inscriptions as they were translated for me by my friend Mr. Judson. They are, as usual with all such productions, mystical and puerile. The only merit which can be said to belong to Burmese inscriptions is, that they all contain dates, with some remote allusion to historical events, and that they afford some slender illustrations of the religious opinions and manners of the people.

The first inscription commemorates the building of a temple in honour of the arrival of a saint from Ceylon, bringing with him certain relics of Gautama. The principal date in it, or 794 of the common Burman era, corresponds with the year of Christ 1432. The founder was a king, whose capital was Ava, and whose reign commenced in the Burman year 788, corresponding with the year of Christ 1426. This circumstance is mentioned in the inscription, and corroborated by the Burman chronological MS. which I have already mentioned.

The second inscription seems to be a grant of land endowing several pagodas and monasteries. The date of this corresponds with the year of Christ 1454.

Close to the Aracan temple there is a large wooden building, containing a single handsome image of Gautama. We were induced to visit this place, for the purpose of seeing some images of brass which were among the trophies brought from Aracan, along with the celebrated idol already described. They consisted of several gigantic statues in the human form, three griffins, and one three-headed elephant. The human figures, all more or less mutilated, were lying neglected on the floor: they were represented in a standing attitude, on pedestals, had crowns on their heads, and might measure in all about eight feet high. These, when the image of Gautama was in Aracan, are said to have represented warders or guardians of his temple. The Burmans call such images “Balu,” a kind of demon or malignant being. One of them had a third eye in

the forehead, and, I thought, might be intended for the Hindoo god Siwa.

Within two miles of the Aracan temple is the tank of Aong-ben-le, which we intended to have visited, but the day was too far advanced. This tank, the only one of the kind that I have heard of in the country, is about two miles long, and one broad, and irrigates an extensive tract of country in its neighbourhood. It was constructed by the late King, and, with the exception of the road from Senbewgioun to Aracan, may be said to be the only considerable work of utility in the kingdom. In returning home, we were desirous of viewing the interior of the fort of Amarapura, but unexpectedly found the gates shut against us. Whether this arose .out of jealousy, or caprice, or an anxiety to conceal from us the "nakedness of the land," we could not find out. This place comparatively so populous as late as 1819, does not now, I am informed, contain more than between two and three hundred houses; the greater number of the inhabitants who did not choose to remove to Ava, having settled in a more convenient situation, in the suburbs, on the river-side.

The fortress of Amarapura is much smaller than that of Ava, but a good deal more regular, and better constructed: it is said to be an exact square. The rampart is of brick, with many small square bastions, in which, and in the curtain, or parapet, there are innumerable small embrasures. The work is surrounded in every direction by a ditch, dry when we saw it. This appeared to us to be about fifty feet broad, and about fifteen deep. Both the scarp and counter-scarp are cased with brick. At the edge of the scarp there is a brick wall, and between this and the rampart a *berme*. There are in all twelve gates, three to a side, to each of which there is a causeway across the ditch. Colonel Syme reckons each side of the fort to measure two thousand four hundred yards, and states that the Burman estimation is four thousand nine hundred royal cubits, which he considers as an exaggeration: it only exceeds his own estimate, however, by two hundred yards nearly, and is probably correct.

I should have mentioned that, in passing through the suburb to the Aracan temple, we called at the house of an Armenian, to see some rubies and sapphires which he had for sale. He produced a few small ones, which we purchased; and told us in confidence, in the Hindustani language, that, for fear of the

Government, he dared not produce some large and valuable ones which he had, but which he would offer to us at Rangoon, to which place he was proceeding in a few days. Any ruby worth more than five viss of silver, or five hundred ticals, is considered the property of the King; and to be possessed of it or to expose it, is deemed a fraud punishable by fine and confiscation.

The lady of Dr. Price, who, as I observed in a former place, was a Burmese, died on the 27th, of an attack of cholera morbus, which was at present prevalent in Ava, but generally not fatal. In her case, the complaint was aggravated by her pregnancy. The disease brought on premature labour, and she sunk in a few hours. Although a convert to Christianity, the funeral ceremony was according to Burman rites, excepting that the body was interred instead of being burnt. The King, as a mark of attention to Dr. Price, whom he considered as his servant and subject, ordered that the funeral should be public, and directed some of the Atwenwuns and other principal officers to attend. The circumstances which accompanied it afforded curious illustration of Burman manners, and deserve to be mentioned. No person dying of cholera morbus, which is considered an infectious complaint, is allowed a funeral with the customary solemnities, but must be interred on the day of death. The body of a woman who dies in labour before the birth of the child, is subjected to a horrid rite. Poor Mrs. Price's case came under both heads; and it was necessary therefore, in order to secure a respectable funeral, that the King should be deceived on both points. A public officer of high rank, a friend of Dr. Price, therefore came forward and declared that the deceased had died in child-birth, and that the infant was born before death. On these assurances, the public funeral was accorded, and took place with all proper solemnity. Funeral expenses amongst the Burmans are defrayed not by the heir or next of kin, but by voluntary contribution among the friends of the deceased. The collections for this purpose are continued for seven days after the decease of the party. This custom was followed upon the present occasion; and the public officers, according to their notions, contributed liberally,—a collection having been made, amounting to one hundred and fifty ticals.

The custom to which I have above alluded, in reference to the funerals of women dying in labour before the birth of the infant, is one of the most revolting rites of Burman superstition.

The belief is, that the souls of women dying under such circumstances would become evil spirits, haunting the towns or villages to which the deceased belonged, if a certain ceremony were not practised to exorcise them. The horrid ceremony in question is as follows:—The husband, with dishevelled hair, and bearing a *Dá*, or sword, in each hand, goes before the coffin, in the procession, from his house to the funeral ground, using the gestures of a maniac, and cutting the air with the weapons in every direction. When the procession has arrived at the place, the case is inquired into by the public officers, and a regular deed of divorce between the husband and the deceased is drawn up. The body is then opened by one of the burners of the dead, the *foetus* extracted, and held up to the spectators. The husband, after this, walks thrice round the coffin, goes home, washes his head, and returns, when the corpse is burned with the usual ceremonies. In parts of Pegu there is some refinement upon this abominable ceremony. The body is opened in effigy, by substituting for it the stem of a plantain-tree, of which the pith is extracted, to represent the infant.

This matter, in common with almost every other, is rendered a subject of extortion on the part of the Government officers. Among the public papers in the court of justice at Rangoon, I found the record of a transaction of this nature, which is worth transcribing, No funeral can take place without the sanction of Government, which, as in other cases, is applied for by petition. A person of inferior condition, a painter by profession, lost his wife in child-birth, and makes the following application:

The petition of the Painter Ngatwantha. Your petitioner's wife having died in a state of pregnancy, he asks permission to perform the funeral writes according to the custom of the country.

Upon this the Rewun, or second governor, gives the following order:—

Order: In accordance with the petition, let the funeral take place agreeably to custom. In the year 1183, third day of the waning moon, Tobhaong, the secretary writes the Rewun's order.



At the bottom of the petition is a list of the charges which the husband had to pay, of which the following is a literal translation;-

	ticals
For permission to open the abdomen	30 0
Fine on the husband	30 0
Fees of justice	30 0
Permission to burn the body	15 0
Principal peace officer, for his attendance	15 0
Executioner for his services	17 8
Secretary for recording the transaction	10 0
 Total ticals	 147 8

### **December 2, 1826**

We had another conference to-day with the Atwenwuns and again, it was at our private dwelling, instead of the public shed. The Atwenwuns sat near two hours, without touching upon any public question; which led me at first to imagine that they had come upon a visit of ceremony only. To introduce business, I began with the subject of our approaching departure, when the following conversation took place :

CRAWFURD: The river is falling fast, and the steam-vessel may have difficulty in getting down to Rangoon, if her departure be much longer delayed. May I beg to know whether the boats, which were promised fourteen days ago, be ready?

BURMESE: We had secured boats, but finding them too small, we are now looking out for others.

CRAWFURD: May I beg also that you will fix a day for our taking leave of the King, provided it be agreeable to his Majesty to see us?

BURMESE: Will you fix a day for your departure from Ava; and if within that period it be convenient to the King to receive you, we will give you notice of the particular day?

CRAWFURD: I intimated my intended departure about fourteen days ago. Will seven days more be sufficient?

BURMESE: Yes: within that time we pledge ourselves to have all your boats ready.

CRAWFURD: As it will be desirable to send the steam-boat away in a day or two, to save time, I beg you will kindly furnish me with a pilot for her.

BURMESE: We wish that you would not send the steam-vessel just now, but keep her for a few days, until you go yourselves.

The real business which brought the Atwenwuns was now introduced—the case of the Burman emigrants into our territories. It was the first time that the subject had ever been hinted at, and I imagine it was now introduced in consequence of some communication from Rangoon or Henzada, for previously the matter did not seem to excite much interest here, or to be well understood. It will be seen from the conversation which follows, that the claim to the eastern bank of the Saluen seemed now to be abandoned.

BURMESE: Now that the principal business of your mission is over, we wish to say a few friendly words to you on the subject of the future intercourse between Martaban and Molamyang. Those persons that are emigrating from our country into yours are bad men; therefore, we hope you will be on your guard against their machinations, and hinder them from doing us harm.

CRAWFURD: That is a matter of which you may rest assured. It is necessarily implied in the peace and friendship which exist between the two nations. It is the business of friends to assist each other, and not to do them harm. I wished to have inserted an article in the late treaty, expressly providing for this, but you yourselves excluded it.

BURMESE: We bring this matter to your notice, in order that, when you arrive at your new settlement, you may take counsel with Sir A. Campbell (None of our officers, during the war, were known to the Burmese by name. All the principal officers were designated Tambo, meaning “general or military chief;” to which an epithet of their own framing was attached. Major Jackson, the Quartermaster-general, for example, a very active officer, was well known under the name of “the Chief with the spectacles;” and the Commander of the Forces was known by no other name than Kyit-tambo, or “the chief wearing the cock’s plume”), and, as far as respects a person called Mendama and others, do as may be suitable and proper.

CRAWFURD: It is the custom among European nations to protect strangers who have sought refuge among them: we do not permit such persons to be claimed as a matter of right. But when they have committed crimes in their own country, we do not encourage them to settle in ours;—on the contrary, we shall be disposed to give them up,—reserving to ourselves, however, the right of doing so, or otherwise. Formerly you did not understand this custom. You insisted peremptorily on refugees being delivered up to you, and you even crossed our frontier in pursuit of them. This, as you know, led to troubles, and must not happen again. In our country we put no restraints upon our own subjects; they are free to go away when they please. We never think of enticing the subjects of other Governments to settle in our lands. If any Talaings or others in our territory desire to return to yours, we will never prevent them. In return, we expect that you will not forcibly detain any natives of our country who may happen to be in your territory.

BURMESE: The custom of the English and the Burmans is different in the matter to which you allude. What we said in respect to Mendama and other Talaings was said in friendship. We do not claim any one.

The present appeared a favourable opportunity for claiming the native prisoners who had been seized by the Burmans in their incursions into Cassay, Cachar, and Munnipore. The terms of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo required, even by the

Burman interpretation, that all persons coming under the name of *Kula-net*, or “black strangers,” should be delivered up. Several thousand natives of Cassay, Cachar, and Assam, I had ascertained while at Rangoon, were prisoners amongst the Burmans; and since my arrival at Ava, I found that, besides these, there were above one hundred and fifty natives of Sylhet in a state of captivity. These were removed to Amarapura upon our arrival. The day we visited that place, they were removed from thence to a distance of three hours’ journey, that they might have no opportunity of representing their case to us.

CRAWFURD: You may be assured that none of your former subjects will be retained by us contrary to their inclinations. If there be now any of our subjects here, we expect, as a matter of course, that they will either be given up, or permitted voluntarily to quit the country.

BURMESE: We have given up all you Sepoys.

CRAWFURD: Have you delivered up all persons taken prisoners during the war, who come under the name of *Kula-net*, whether natives of Cassay, Cachar, Assam, or Bengal? The release of all such persons is stipulated for in the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

BURMESE: We have given up all persons for whose liberty the treaty provides

CRAWFURD: I can furnish you with a long list of natives of our provinces who were captured during the war, and who are now, I fear, in a state of bondage in this country. I am convinced that, when I make this known to you, you will voluntarily cause them to be liberated.

BURMESE: We are of opinion that we have already complied with the Treaty of Yandabo, by rendering up all who were demanded of us.

CRAWFURD: The treaty provides that all persons taken prisoners during the war should be delivered up. You cannot say that this

has been done; for there are many persons here now desirous of returning to their country, and who are prevented from doing so.

BURMESE: We know of none that are willing to go away. Do you mean to say that we are to deliver up such persons also as are willing to stay ?

CRAWFURD: Certainly I do not. Those who desire to stay are very welcome to do so. It is our wish only to afford an opportunity to those who wish to return to their respective countries, to do so. I can name a number now who are very anxious to return. If you will call them before me, it is easy to ascertain those who want to stay, and those who want to go away.

BURMESE: You came here to negotiate a Commercial Treaty, and we do not think it is proper to call these people before you.

CRAWFURD: I am vested with powers to inquire into this matter. You have yourselves discussed with me various subjects, not connected with the Commercial Treaty; and hitherto you had only expressed your disappointment that my powers were not more ample.

The Burman negotiators, at this point, seemed to regret that they had introduced the question of Emigration on the Saluen frontier; imagining that it had been the cause of an unpleasant discussion, which might not otherwise have been agitated.

BURMESE: When we mentioned the subject of Martaban and Molamyang, we did not call upon you to deliver up any one to us.

CRAWFURD: We have long ago delivered up every Burman prisoner taken during the war, in strict conformity to the eleventh article of the treaty, and no doubt you will also do the same. If you are not prepared to deliver them up to me just now, still you must expect that the British Government will ultimately claim them.

BURMESE: We understand perfectly what is in the Yandabo Treaty.

CRAWFURD: I must beg you to read it. There are many persons now here in a state of slavery, who are entitled to be released by the eleventh article of that agreement.

One of the objects of the Atwenwuns' visit to-day was to claim the surrender of a native of Madras, who had joined our party shortly after our arrival. Of this I was informed by Mr. Lanciego, before the subject was introduced. This person had been the servant of an officer in Sir Archibald Campbell's army, and was immediately recognized by Mr. Montmorency as such. He had been taken prisoner between Shwegyen and Setaung, and carried to Ava, where he was ordered to instruct the Burmans generally in the use of fire-arms and cannon! By his own account he had professed his ignorance of such matters; but the Burmans, deeming him contumacious, ordered him into the stocks; from which he was ultimately released, by acknowledging that he was an adept—in spite of himself.

BURMESE: There is a person now living in the Envoy's dwelling, whom we desire to be delivered over to us.

CRAWFURD: Who is this individual? If he be a subject of his Burman Majesty, he will be immediately delivered over. If, on the contrary, he be a native of our country, I expect that you will not make any such demand.

BURMESE: The person we allude to took service with the King.

I now ascertained, for the first time, who the particular individual was that was demanded, for I was not aware that such a person was living among our followers and had never seen him.

CRAWFURD: I have ascertained who the person is that you claim. He is a native of our provinces, and was in service in the British army a few months ago. If he desires to stay here, you are very welcome to him; but if he is anxious to leave it, you will certainly not think of detaining a British subject forcibly.

I took this opportunity, which I thought a favourable one, of bringing forward the case of two deserters from his Majesty's 89th

regiment, who were known to be at Ava. One of these, the elder, was a person of worthless character, who had seduced the other to desert. Mr. Lain, an English merchant, who had been for some months back at Ava, saw them both but three days before our arrival, but had never seen them since; so that, in all probability, they had either been secreted, or removed to a distance. Mr. Lain described them as being ill provided with food and clothes, and very anxious to deliver themselves up.

CRAWFURD: There are two European soldiers now here, deserters from the British army, who were promised to be delivered up at Yandabo. One of these I claim, in consequence; and I desire to see both, that I may ascertain what their own wishes are.

BURMESE: We do not know that there are any such persons here, but we will make the necessary inquiry and inform you. We wish to say a few words more, respecting the native of Madras to whom we have already alluded, as matters of this kind are calculated to breed dissensions.

CRAWFURD: I presume you are satisfied that he belonged to the British army; that he is a subject of the British Government, and that he desires to return to his own country.

BURMESE: This is all very right, but we think the matter ought to have been mentioned to us. The individual in question had engaged to give instructions in certain matters. Our reason for saying so much upon this subject is, that when you are gone, the King may possibly inquire for this person, and we shall be involved in trouble if we cannot render a satisfactory account of him.

CRAWFURD: All that it is necessary to say to the King is, that this individual was a prisoner of war, and intitled by treaty to his release.

On receiving this explanation, the Atwenwuns got up, charged the two interpreters with not translating properly, laughed very heartily, and said they were quite satisfied. In this humour they took leave.

**December 3, 1826**

Through the night of the 1st, a fire broke out in the populous suburb which lies between the walls of the town and the little river, and property to a considerable value was destroyed. The house of the widow of the Saya-wungyi, who had been the King's tutor and favourite, was in great danger; and this old lady, who had the reputation of being very frugal, if not avaricious, irritated at her loss, repaired forthwith to the King, and made complaint that, during the conflagration, the Ministers, and especially Kaulen Mengyi, who was her husband's successor, and of whom she was very jealous, were not at their posts; for it appears that it is their special duty to attend upon such occasions. The King, who was still very much out of humour, summoned the Ministers before him; sent for a sword, drew it, and ordered them, one by one, to come forward and swear upon it that they were present at the conflagration, and assisting in extinguishing it. Kaulen Mengyi came forward and avowed that he was not present; but that he had gone as far as the Rung-d'hau, or Town-hall, to give the necessary instructions upon the occasion. He was immediately ordered to be taken out of the Audience-hall; and, to avoid being dragged thence by the hair of the head, according to usage, voluntarily made as rapid a retreat as could be expected from a man between sixty and seventy, and of a weakly constitution. An order was given that he should be punished after a manner which I shall presently describe. The other Ministers, none of whom were present at the fire, escaped under various pretexts of business or sickness. The punishment now awarded to the first Minister is called, in the Burman language, *Ne-pu m'ha l'han thé* or, "spreading out in the hot sun." The offender who undergoes it is stretched upon his back by the public executioners, and thus exposed for a given number of hours, in the hottest part of the day, with a weight on his breast, more or less heavy according to the nature of the offence, or rather according to the King's opinion of it. It was at first thought that the sentence, on the part of the King, was a mere threat. Not so; the most faithful and zealous of his Ministers underwent the punishment this afternoon, from one to three o'clock, and not as is customary, on such occasions, with culprits of distinction, within the Palace enclosure, but in the public road between the eastern gate of the Palace and the Town-hall, and in



the view of a multitude of spectators. The old malefactor, whom I once or twice before mentioned as being at the head of the band of executioners, superintended the infliction. This person and others of the same class are themselves not intitled to a trial; but may, by the law of the country, be put to death by any of the Ministers, at pleasure, and no questions asked. Here was the first Minister, then, delivered over into the hands of this ruffian, in whose power it was to make the punishment more or less severe. Such are the anomalies of this truly rude and barbarous Government. The stretching and sunning process, I ought to have mentioned, is the punishment of mere peccadillos, and is a very frequent infliction on persons of condition. Kaulen Mengyi had since appeared in the Lut-d'hau, and in the King's presence, and has been carrying on the business of the Government, just as usual. It cannot be supposed, however, but that the ignominy of such a punishment is felt by the person on whom it is inflicted; and consequently those who had seen the Minister since, described him as being low-spirited and downcast.

By the dispatches which I received from Government on the 24th of last month, it was intimated to me that an attempt would be made to open a communication between Calcutta and Ava, by the route of Aracan; and that duplicates of the dispatches which I received by Rangoon would be sent by this new conveyance. The Aracan dispatch had been so long in coming, that I began to give it up, and was of opinion that it had been intercepted and detained like the letters from Munnipore. This, I have not the least doubt, would have been the case but for the remonstrances made on the subject of the latter. It at length arrived this day, having taken in all two months to reach us, of which forty-five days were spent in the route from Akyab in Aracan. Our accounts from Calcutta, received by way of Rangoon on the 24th ult. came in forty-three days, or in seventeen days less than the Aracan dispatch, although they had not the advantage of being conveyed to Rangoon in the steam-vessel.

The two Atwenwuns came over with breathless haste with the dispatch, as if it had been a matter of the first moment to them. Along with it was an open passport in the Persian and Burman languages, the last of which stated; as a very proper precaution to prevent the imputation of a clandestine transaction, that it should first be brought into the King's presence. The

Atwenwuns put their own construction upon this: they said that the passport implied that there were letters for the King of Ava, and therefore that it would be suitable that they should be present when the dispatch was opened. I proceeded to inform them what the nature of the dispatch was; that it contained no secrets whatever; and I explained to them the desire of the Governor-General, to open, with the consent of the Burman Government, a communication between Calcutta and Ava, by the route of Aracan. I stated that I was already in possession of duplicates of the letters which the dispatch contained; and that it was my intention, without any requisition on their part, to have opened the packet in their presence. The Atwenwuns then, with much ceremony, handed the dispatch to me, and requested me to open it, which was done. It contained a joint letter from Mr. Hunter and Mr. Paton, the commissioners in Aracan, very cautiously worded; one from their assistant. Captain Phillips, equally so; a confidential letter from Mr. Secretary Swinton, and duplicates of the Government dispatches received from Rangoon. I handed the letters of the commissioners and their assistant, to Dr. Price, the interpreter of the Atwenwuns, and requested them to make any use they pleased of them. The duplicates, as soon as I ascertained them to be such, I tore up in their presence, to convince them that they contained nothing of importance. The Atwenwuns began, without scruple or delicacy, to take down, in Burman, the substance of the letters which were handed; to them. While I was absent for a moment, bringing the Rangoon dispatches, I left Mr. Swinton's confidential letter on the table. This the Atwenwuns would have laid hold of, had they not been prevented. They observed to Mr. Judson, "Why should not the contents of this also be made known to us, as well as the rest?" When I returned, I gave Mr. Swinton's letter for perusal to Dr. Price, and caused to be transcribed from it the following passage for the use of the Atwenwuns:

I shall be happy to hear that the King has given you a good reception, and that he is as anxious as we are to be on good terms. The golden road must now be open for ever.

Having thus done as much as possible to satisfy them, I informed them that their desire to be informed of what passed

between a Government and its public agent was contrary to the custom of all civilized nations; but that as the Burmans were not aware of this, I had complied with their wishes in order that their Government might be assured that every thing on our part was done openly and in good faith. They pleaded the orders of the King—his belief that there were letters for himself, and the great anxiety he had expressed on the subject of this dispatch. Fortified with this authority, the first Atwenwun proceeded to demand a specification of the contents of each letter, public and private, including the duplicate dispatches. I replied that they had already been furnished with the contents of all the letters which had arrived, with the exception of those torn up in their presence, the contents of which they had nothing to do with, as I was aware of them through another channel. Five natives of Aracan were described as the messengers who had brought the dispatch. I requested they might be sent over to me, that I might reward them for their trouble, and send them back to their own country with answers to the letters I had received, of which answers the Burman Government should be made acquainted with the contents, if desired. They promised to send them in the course of the evening, or on the following morning. In the discussion which now took place, the importunity and indelicacy of the first Atwenwun were so remarkable, that even his coadjutor disapproved of his conduct, and, turning round to Dr. Price, he observed, “ He does not understand good manners; I am ashamed of him.” In the course of the interview, I endeavoured again to impress upon the Atwenwuns the impropriety of breaking seals, and intercepting letters and dispatches; and once more demanded the public intercepted letter from Munnipore, already mentioned. They replied as formerly, that they were looking out for it, and would produce it; but this was a mere evasion, for it was never delivered.

#### **December 4, 1826**

The Atwenwuns, although we did not expect them, came to-day. Their object was to inform us, that all preparations had been made for our departure. The following conversation took place on the subject:

BURMESE: We have apprized his Majesty of your approaching departure. We have acquainted him that we have furnished you with boats, and we have submitted to him your anxiety to have an audience of leave. He has expressed his pleasure to receive you, tomorrow morning, at the Elephant Palace, where there is to be the exhibition of catching a wild elephant, to which you are invited. Boats will be sent for your party, when the signal of three guns announces his Majesty's coming out.

CRAWFURD: We shall be in readiness to attend, I beg again to introduce the subject of the Bengal prisoners, discussed at our last meeting. I confine my demand at present to such persons being natives of the British provinces who were captured during the war, although, by the strict words of the eleventh article of the treaty, all prisoners whatsoever are entitled to their release. I hand you this paper containing my sentiments on the subject.

The paper alluded to was given in, in Burman, and read by Dr. Price. The following is a translation:

By the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo, all English, American, and other white and black foreigners, who were prisoners at the time of making peace, were to be delivered to the English Commissioners and Envoys; and this ought to have been done, in consideration of the friendship existing between the nations. Down to the present time, however, there are many captive 'black foreigners' in Ava not released: some of them are in a state of slavery; such is not agreeable to the laws of right—such is not the custom of those rulers who observe those laws. It is not to be supposed that the Rising Sun Buren knows this. Release all the black foreigners thatr are in confinement, and allow them to return to their own countries. Inflict punishment on those officers who have prevented them from returning. I now deliver to the Atwenwuns a list of some who are detained, and will hereafter transmit a complete list from Bengal. The English Government has faithfully kept the Treaty of Yandabo; they have released all their captives; still more, no Burman is ever forcibly detained in the British dominions, but has liberty to go or stay, as he may choose.

BURMESE: The arrangement for your departure has been made with the King, and this being the case, we are afraid to, enter upon this discussion. We decline receiving the paper which you have given in.

CRAWFURD: It is sufficient for me that I have formally demanded the prisoners. I cannot insist upon your taking the paper, but you have publicly heard my sentiments.

BURMESE: We have listened to the contents of the paper, but we are afraid to receive it.

CRAWFURD: The paper is upon a public subject, and I think it ought not to be declined. Have you any objection that I send it to the Lut-d'hau?

BURMESE: We have no objection that you send it to the Lut-d'hau.

A Mr. Stockdale, an English merchant, who had been for some time in the Burman dominions as a trader, died at Ava in 1823. His property, said to amount to twenty thousand ticals, was seized and appropriated to her own use by her Majesty the Queen, under pretext that Mr. Stockdale had no heirs in the country. This was done contrary to the wish of the members of the Lut-d'hau; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of some European merchants, who were at the time at the capital, Mr. Stockdale's property had been claimed at Yandabo by the British commissioners; but in consequence of the Burman deputies declaring their total ignorance on the subject, and there being no accounts ready to produce, the claim was not prosecuted. I had received, since arriving at Ava, communications from the agents of the late Mr. Stockdale, at Madras and Calcutta, and thought it my duty to bring the subject forward. The following conversation ensued in regard to it:

CRAWFURD: A Mr. Stockdale, a British subject, died at Ava, about three years ago. His property was taken charge of by the Burman Government, and is now demanded by his friends and relations. I

will either receive it here on their behalf, or, if you prefer it, you may send it to Calcutta. Here is a paper stating the case.

The paper in question, which was in the Burman language, was read. The following is a literal translation:

In the Burman year 1185, an English merchant, named Stockdale, died at Ava, and his property was taken possession of by the Burmese Government. His relations and friends have sent letters representing that the Envoy Crawford should claim and receive that property. It is contained in the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, that the property of subjects of the English Government dying in Burma without heirs, shall, according to the custom of 'white Kulas,' be delivered to the English officer residing in Burma. Moreover, Stockdale was a merchant, and not concerned in war, and guilty of no offence against the Burmese Government. It is not proper to oppress such a person, or to take his property without any reason. Petition his Majesty, the Rising Sun Buren, who observes the laws of right, which Kings are to observe, that Stockdale's property may be restored.

BURMESE: The transaction referred to in this paper took place previous to the Treaty of Yandabo, and Ought not therefore to be brought forward. We are ourselves totally ignorant of its nature.

CRAWFURD: This subject, I understand, is very well known at Ava. It is true, it took place previous to the Treaty of Yandabo; but the eighth article of that treaty, according to your own version of it, provides that all debts contracted previous to the war, by Government people or common people, shall be completely liquidated, according to good faith. The property of the late Mr. Stockdale was taken charge of by some person belonging to the Burman Government; it is therefore a debt owing to the heirs of Mr. Stockdale.

BURMESE: The property was confiscated, not taken charge of.

CRAWFURD: How could the property be confiscated? The two nations, at the time of Mr. Stockdale's death, were at peace. It is not alleged that Mr. Stockdale had committed any offence against the Burman Government, and why should the property of a foreign merchant be confiscated? The treaty provides, that all debts should be paid, whether owed by common people, or Government people. The Burman Government is therefore bound by good faith to restore the property.

BURMESE: We will oblige all private persons who are indebted to the late Mr. Stockdale to pay their debts.

CRAWFURD: I know of no private debts owing to the estate of Mr. Stockdale: the only property to which I allude is that which was taken charge of by the Burman Government on his demise at Ava.

The Atwenwuns now recurred, of their own accord, to the subject of the prisoners of war, with the following observation:

BURMESE: The Yandabo Treaty stipulated for the liberation of prisoners. All have been delivered that ought to have been delivered up. It is not proper in you, after so long a time has elapsed, to come now and claim others.

CRAWFURD: It is surely more improper on your part to detain prisoners that ought, in good faith, to have been long ago voluntarily given up.

BURMESE: There are no prisoners here who are anxious to return. Have we prevented any from returning?

CRAWFURD: Yes, you have prevented a great number from returning. Will you promise to deliver up to me all those who express a desire to return? I want no others.

BURMESE: Are there any here now?

CRAWFURD: Yes, a great many. I have furnished you with a list of some of the principal people.

BURMESE: In what place, or in what battles were the persons you allude to captured?

CRAWFURD: It is not necessary for me to tell you in what particular situations the unoffending inhabitants of towns and villages were seized and carried off by you. It is enough that they were taken during the war—that they are subjects of our country—that they are forcibly detained by you, and made bondsmen of. I claim not only the persons named in the list I have given in, but their families, friends, and followers.

BURMESE: We settled all these matters with Sir Archibald Campbell at Yandabo, who made no mention at the time of the persons you allude to.

CRAWFURD: The Commissioners at Yandabo made a treaty with you, providing, without exception, for the release of all prisoners. The fulfilment of this was left to your good faith, according to the custom of nations. Sir Archibald Campbell did not know that the individuals I have named were prisoners, or he certainly would have claimed them. This is no ground for your evading the treaty.

BURMESE: General Campbell has been a long time at Rangoon, and has not demanded these persons.

CRAWFURD: It was but a short time before I left Rangoon, that the master became known to the British Commissioners. I come now to demand them.

BURMESE: We observe, in perusing your instructions, that you are not authorized to treat upon such points.

CRAWFURD: I have full authority to treat upon all such points, as you will see on perusing the copy of my credentials with which I furnished you.

The Burman commissioners here proceeded to read aloud a translation of the Governor-General's letter to the King, and observed, that there was not one word in it respecting prisoners of war. It became necessary to send for my credentials, and to hand



over, for perusal and explanation, the passage which vested me with powers to treat on such matters as that under discussion.

BURMESE: You were selected by the Governor-General as a prudent man, in order to promote the existing friendship. It is not proper in you to introduce subjects that are likely to give offence to the King.

CRAWFURD: In bringing forward this subject, and calling your attention to the fulfilment of the treaty, I am sure that I am taking the best means of promoting peace and friendship between us. A strict execution of the treaty on both sides will be the best means of insuring a lasting friendship. If you are indisposed to enter into the discussion at present, I will not prosecute it any farther; but you may rest quite assured that the British Government will insist upon the delivery of every one of these prisoners, according to the letter of the eleventh article of the treaty. At the last conference I claimed two European prisoners of war, soldiers of the British army, and you stated that you would make inquiries respecting them. Will you be so good now as to deliver them over to me?

The Atwenwuns, after evincing a good deal of hesitation, made the following answer:

BURMESE: We have inquired respecting the persons you allude to, and can hear nothing whatever respecting them.

CRAWFURD: There are just now with Ozana, the Governor of Martaban, several European soldiers, prisoners of war, detained by him in violation of the eleventh article of the treaty. I claim the immediate restoration of these persons, and request that orders may be issued to Ozana to that effect.

BURMESE: You can apply upon this subject to the Wungyi Maong-kaing, the Governor of Pegu.

CRAWFURD: I have no authority from the British Government to treat with Maong-kaing. My instructions direct me to discuss all such matters directly with the Government of his Majesty: will you

therefore give me an order, directed to Maong-kaing, for the delivery of the prisoners?

BURMESE: The Wungyi Maong-kaing exercises the authority of a high commissioner (Than-ta-man), and it would be improper in us to control his conduct. He will make no difficulties about delivering over the prisoners.

CRAWFURD: What difficulty can there be in giving me a letter signifying the wishes of the Government on this subject?

BURMESE: It is not necessary; the Wungyi will do every thing of his own accord.

A respectable Mohammedan merchant, of the name of Mohammed Ally, had first at Rangoon, and afterwards since he arrived at Ava, made application to me, to assist him in the recovery of property to the value of ten thousand ticals, nominally owed to him by a private merchant to whom he had sold his goods. The real facts of the case, however, were, that on the breaking out of the war, the goods of Mohammed Ally, sold to a Burman merchant, and only in part paid for, had been seized and confiscated by the Burman Government, according to custom, as the property of an enemy. Mohammed Ally was evidently entitled to relief and assistance, in accordance with the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

CRAWFURD: I bring to your notice the case of a Mohammedan merchant, named Mohammed Ally, to whom a debt is owing by one Maong-mya. Mohammed Ally is a subject of the British Government, and intitled to assistance by the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo. I hand you a paper upon the subject.

A Burman paper was here given in, of which the following is a literal translation:

A Mohammedan merchant, Mohammed Ally by name, a townsman of Masulipatam, and a subject of the English Government, states, that Maong-mya, a townsman of Ava, owes him ten thousand ticals of silver, and will not pay. I

request that the Burman Government, according to the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, and the first of that Sagaing, will grant protection and assistance, in order that Mohammed Ally may recover his property.

BURMESE: Who is this person Maong-mya? Is it the present Rewun of Rangoon?

CRAWFURD: The person alluded to is not the Rewun of Rangoon, but a merchant of Ava, of the same name.

BURMESE: We think we understand this case, and pledge ourselves that justice shall be done to Mohammed Ally.

The three papers delivered, in at this meeting were left, by the Burman commissioners, on the table. They were evidently anxious to evade the subjects of them, or at least wished to reserve to themselves the power of putting their own construction upon the subject of them. I had not signed or sealed them; for these formalities, on a former occasion, had excited so much apprehension, that I forbore from doing so, in the hope of inducing the Burman officers to take them in any shape. Notes were taken by the Burmese negotiators on the subject of the claims of Mr. Stockdale and the Mohammedan merchant, but no memoranda whatever respecting the prisoners.

### **December 6, 1826**

Our promised presentation to the King took place this forenoon. A suitable number of boats were sent to receive us, and at twelve o'clock we crossed the river, and arrived at the Elephant Palace, which is about a mile below the town, and close to the banks of the Irawadi. The Elephant Palace and its appurtenances is a place appropriated for exhibiting, for the King's diversion, the taming of the wild male elephant. This place is a square enclosure, surrounded every where by a double palisade, composed of immense beams of teak timber, each equal in diameter to the mainmast of a four hundred ton ship. Between the palisades there is a stone wall, about fourteen feet high and twenty thick. On the top of this the spectators are seated to view the sport. The Palace is

situated on the south-west angle of the square, and is upon a level with the highest part of the wall. The enclosure has two entrances; the gates of which are composed of beams, which can be moved at the bottom by means of ropes. The centre of the enclosure is a green sward, in the middle of which there is a temple surrounded by a palisade. This temple is dedicated to a Nat, named by the Burmans Udin-main-so. This personage is said to have been king of a country called Kosambi in Majima Desa, or the "middle land;"—that is to say, Western India, or the country of the Hindoos. He was cotemporary with Gautama; and in his transmigration became, in consequence of his skill in taming elephants, a King of Nats, and the guardian and protector of elephant-hunting.

We were received under a shed which represents the Lut-d'hau, and which is situated on the north side of the enclosure. We had not been here above a few minutes, when we were summoned to the western side of the enclosure, where the gate is, at which the elephants were about to enter. We left our shoes behind us in the hall, and proceeded along the top of the wall, to within no great distance of his Majesty; when we sat down, making our obeisance by touching the forehead with the right hand. A cloud of dust announced the approach of the elephants, about twenty in number: these, with the exception of the captive, were all females, several of them with their young following them. A few of the best broken-in only were mounted. Partly by persuasion, and partly by force, there was seen driving before them a small male elephant, not, as we were told, above thirteen years old: it required at least half an hour to induce him to enter the gate of the enclosure. A very docile female elephant led the way, conducted by her keeper; but the half-tamed females were nearly as reluctant to enter as the wild male himself: they went five or six times half-way in, before they were finally entrapped; and, twice over, the male had run off to the distance of a quarter of a mile from the enclosure, but was again brought back by the females. A message was sent to us by the King, to say, that we were at liberty to stand up to view this part of the sport, but unluckily we were already standing when it reached us.

The elephants having entered, we were requested to come into the King's presence, in which situation we should have a better view of the sport. We walked round accordingly by the

southern and eastern angles of the enclosure, and seats were assigned to us in the same line with, and next to the Princes; not only the most distinguished, but the most convenient situation. We made a bow, as before, and the sport went on. From the smallness of the elephant, there was neither much danger nor amusement in it. The females were withdrawn from the enclosure, one by one; and then the elephant-catchers, who are a distinct race, went into the square unarmed, and provoked the wild elephant to pursue them, which he did with great fury. The keepers took shelter from his pursuit within the palisade, through the apertures of which he lashed his trunk in vain. The elephant-keepers exhibited much boldness and agility; but, from what we saw, I should conceive that they ran very little risk. Accidents, however, sometimes occur. A few years ago, one of the hunters, when pursued by the elephant, tripped and fell: he was killed on the spot by the enraged animal. The King, who was present when this happened, immediately retired, the sight of blood not being fit for him to behold, either as a sovereign, or, a votary of Gautama.

Some goats were put into the square, and these were pursued by the elephant in the same way as the keepers, and with as little effect. These animals eluded his pursuit with the utmost ease; and were so little concerned at his presence, that they soon began to quarrel amongst themselves. When the elephant was sufficiently tired, three huge tame male elephants were brought in to secure him, each mounted by his keeper, who had in his hand a rope with a noose, which one of them, after the second or third effort, succeeded in casting round the foreleg. The animal made comparatively very little resistance, appearing to be quite subdued by the presence of his three powerful antagonists, who, after the noose was fixed, drove him by main force into a pen at the south side of the enclosure, from which he was afterwards withdrawn, and tied to a post by a comparatively slender rope put round his neck, through his mouth, and round his tusks. We saw him in this situation, under a shed, as we were returning home, very restless and sullen. He was so closely tied to the post, that he could scarcely move, and had no power to do any mischief. We were told by the keepers, that the male elephants, when thus secured, refuse food for about five days. It takes six or seven months to tame them effectually, and occasionally as much as a whole year, for their dispositions are very various.

After the elephant was secured, we had an exhibition of boxing,-- not less than five-and-twenty or thirty matches. In these gymnastics, the Burmans display a good deal of strength and agility; but would make but a sorry figure, after all, even among the third or fourth class of our London prize-fighters. The boxers were stripped naked, with the exception of a piece of red cloth tied round their waist; and advanced into the ring, using provoking language and gestures. They closed almost immediately, and wrestled; using in the mean time their hands, feet, and knees with considerable adroitness. The fight consists of three rounds, unless decided earlier by some obvious advantage on one side. An umpire sits in the ring, and decides who is to be considered the victor. The loss of a single drop of blood is the loss of the battle. To determine this point, we observed some curious and minute examinations set on foot; those who had got bloody mouths endeavouring to conceal the mishap. Their detection always occasioned a loud laugh among the spectators. Both parties receive prizes from the King, consisting always of articles of dress, of which the victor of course receives the most valuable.

These were, after all, but bloodless combats, and were evidently not intended to be otherwise; for when there appeared the least risk of mischief being done from the irritation of the combatants, they were carefully parted by the umpires and their assistants. Notwithstanding the partiality of the Burmans to such exhibitions, one of our English battles would, I am convinced, shock and frighten them exceedingly. During the many battles which took place upon the present occasion, no serious accident took place; and I saw but one instance where one of the combatants was temporarily disabled: this was occasioned by a blow with the knee, given by his antagonist, in the mouth, which knocked him down; but it was inflicted with so much dexterity, that we could scarcely perceive how it was done. It excited loud applause, not only in the ring, but among the courtiers.

The behaviour of his Burman Majesty towards our party was not only condescending, but extremely affable. Refreshments, consisting of betel, pickled tea, and sweetmeats, were served to us in profusion, by his orders; and while we were eating, he came up close to us and addressed us frequently. He expressed his regret that the elephant was so small as to afford little sport, and invited us to another entertainment of a similar nature on the following

day. He asked if the art of boxing was understood in England, and was assured by Dr. Price and Mr. Lanciego that the noble science of pugilism was as much practised, and as much admired by the English as by the Burmans themselves. During several hours that we were in his presence, his Majesty never sat for ten minutes in the same place, but moved and strutted about in a very restless manner. He conversed with considerable affability, and, in short, there was no possibility of recognising in him the prince who, a few days before, had spread his prime-minister to dry in the meridian sun for a trifling *faux-pas*. We had, of course, a good view of his Majesty's person: I should suppose he is not above five feet two inches high, which, after all, is not much below the middle size of Burmans; his person is slender, but active; he is what is called bandy-legged to a remarkable degree; his features are cheerful and sprightly, but not very intelligent, and not at all handsome. The most remarkable part of his countenance is his forehead, which slants back to so singular a degree, as to amount nearly to mal-conformation. This is even still more the case with the Prince of Sarawadi, his full brother; and was also the case with the late King. I am told it is a family feature in the descendants of Alompra. He was dressed in a plain white muslin, and had on a profusion of gold chains, crossing both shoulders; the buckles or clasps of these were studded with a few diamonds and emeralds, and some very large and fine un-cut rubies: there was not a sapphire about his person—this stone does not seem to be much valued by the Burmans. The Princes who were present upon this occasion, were the Heir-apparent, the Prince of Sarawadi, the Prince of Mekara, the Queen's brother, and four young Princes, brothers to the King. The Queen did not make her appearance.

The crowd assembled upon the present occasion was by far the greatest we had seen since coming to Ava. Boxing and elephant-catching are favourite amusements with the populace; and these, rather than the presence of the King and Court, had brought them together. There must have been several thousands assembled. The top of the wall was completely crowded, and so was the space between the inner palisade and the wall, as well as that between the temple and the palisade which surrounded it. When the boxing commenced, the populace formed a ring with as much regularity as if they had been true-born Englishmen. This way preserved with much more regularity, with the assistance of

the constables, with their long rods or staves, whom I before mentioned. The King frequently said, when he saw the constables exercising their authority, "Don't hurt them,—don't prevent them from looking on," Not a single female was to be seen among the crowd, although the curiosity of the women leads them to mix with the men upon almost every other occasion. They are not prohibited from attending; but it would be considered not feminine to do so, and contrary to custom, the amusements being considered male sports only.

In respect to the arrangement or police of such places, a whimsical and barbarous custom prevails, which ought to be noticed. If any one come with money on his person, he may be plundered of it by a public officer, or almost any one else, and can get no redress. The same practice prevails in two other places, where it is still more unpardonable, viz. at the principal gate of the Palace, and under the L'hut-d'hau, or principal council-hall, and court of justice. A few years ago, the head man of one of the King's barges was plundered, at one of the elephant exhibitions, of some money which he had about his person. The thief was detected and apprehended on the spot, brought before the King, and ordered to have his head immediately struck off. The Myolat-wun, the foster-father of the young Princess, had the boldness to order the execution to be stayed; and to represent to his Majesty, that the culprit was justifiable by immemorial usage. The King attended to the argument, and he was pardoned.

A regular dinner, in the European fashion, was prepared for us under a shed. We did not return home until about sunset, and of course much fatigued from the disagreeable attitude in which we were obliged to sit during the greatest part of the time.

As we sat in our tent, the royal procession passed close by us, and our conductors threw up the screen to give us a full view of it. The King was mounted on his favourite elephant, on a small box or Howdah. The white elephant which he never rides, went before him. His escort consisted of several hundred musqueteers and spearmen, mixed, in the full military costume of the Burmans. This consists of a jacket, with skirts, close buttoned in front; over the shoulders, back, and breast, there is suspended a kind of ruff, or collar, of detached pieces, of the thinness and stiffness of pasteboard, covered with cloth. This is meant, I presume, for armour. On the head there is a round brass helmet ending in a



peak, and decorated with a wreath of tinsel for the soldiers, and gold flowers for the officers. The Myolat-wun was the commandant of this body-guard. The costume is unbecoming, grotesque, cumbrous, and not less unsuitable to the climate than to military habits.

### **December 7, 1826**

The amusements of this day commenced at eleven o'clock, and took place near the King's water-palace, on a kind of glacis which lies immediately between the river and the walls of the town. It consisted of weaning a young male elephant, and of elephant-fights. The young male elephants are weaned at three years old,—that is to say, they are then separated from their dams and broken in,—a process which appears to be nearly as tedious and difficult as that of breaking in a full-grown elephant taken in the forest. The process which we saw much resembled that of yesterday; but a singular ceremony was performed before it commenced, which deserves mention: it consisted of an invocation to the Nat Udin-main-so, the genius of elephant-hunting, whom I mentioned yesterday. Between the walls of the town and an artificial mount planted with trees, and raised upon a ledge of rocks, jetting into the Irawadi, there is a small elephant paddock, consisting of a single square palisade having two gates. The King sat under a little pavilion on the side of the mount, and directed in person the ceremony to which I allude. A banana tree had been planted in the middle of the paddock, which was removed with great ceremony; and on the spot where it stood, five elderly persons came forward, with a solemn strut and dance, holding in their hands branches of a species of eugenia or jambu, and carrying offerings of rice and sweetmeats to the Nat. I could not learn the exact words of the incantation; but the substance of it was, that the demi-god was informed that a glorious prince, the descendant of great kings, presided at the present ceremony; that he, the demi-god, therefore, was requested to be propitious to it, to get die elephants quickly into the pen, and generally to lend his aid throughout the whole ceremony. About two-and-thirty female elephants, with their young included, were now driven into the enclosure: they were shortly followed by four male elephants, the riders of which had long ropes, with a noose at the end, in their hands. After many

unsuccessful efforts, they succeeded at last in entangling the young elephant that was to be weaned, by the hind leg. This was a matter of great difficulty, for he was protected by the adroitness of the herd of female elephants which crowded round him for the purpose. When taken, he was a great deal more outrageous and obstreperous than the wild elephant caught yesterday. The large mounted elephants had to beat him frequently; and I observed, once or twice, that they raised him quite off the ground with their tusks, without doing him any material injury. The cry which he emitted, on these occasions, differed in no way but in degree from the squeak of a hog that is in pain or fear. He was ultimately confined in a small pen beyond one of the doors of the paddock, where two of the male elephants continued to watch him. He was still very outrageous, and making violent efforts to extricate himself, but all to little purpose.

After some time we were summoned into the King's presence, who was now on board of a large vessel chiefly constructed of bamboo, which is occasionally used by him as a bath. We found him here seated on a common gilded chair. Our reception was not formal, but very polite. We were seated immediately in front of him, at no great distance. He asked Dr. Wallich how he liked his visit to the mountains, what new plants he had collected there, and what was the nature of his employment in Bengal. He made inquiry respecting my visit to Siam, and its object. The answer was, that I had gone there to form a commercial arrangement, as here; and to negotiate for the restoration to his country of a Malay prince, called the King of Queda. The Burman courtiers did not at first understand who this King of Queda was, but recognised him at length under the appellation of Prince of Gita. It was possible that their information respecting him was better than they pretended; for the Court of Ava, in 1823, had carried on an intrigue with this chief, with the view of supplanting the Siamese in the supremacy which the latter had long exercised over his country. The King observed, that he understood that our departure was fixed for tomorrow; and caused it to be explained to us, that it would be agreeable to him if we put it off for a day or two.

It was now signified to use that the elephant combats were about to commence, and we took leave with a respectful bow. Dr. Wallich, upon this occasion, presented the King with a large collection of seeds, and with some fine growing plants from the

Botanical Garden of Calcutta. The circumstance which attended the conveyance of the latter from the spot where we were first sitting to the King's boat, a distance not exceeding a hundred and fifty yards, afforded us a very curious and unexpected illustration of the character of the Burman Government. Four or five public officers of considerable rank were our conductors; and it might have been expected that these persons would have had influence enough to procure from the crowd of idle persons in attendance, a sufficient number, to carry a few plants intended for the King himself, and almost in his own presence. No such thing; they had not authority to command a single individual; and it was only after a considerable delay, and after much intreaty and persuasion, that a few volunteers were obtained. I suggested, as an experiment, the offer of one or two ticals, which, from my experience at Rangoon, I knew would be quite effectual; but, this is the last remedy that would have been thought of by a Burman chief. The disobedience of the lower class, upon this occasion, is easily accounted for: the order did not come through their immediate chief; it was therefore not legal, and, according to universal custom, they were perfectly justified in disregarding it.

The elephant combats took place immediately on the river-side, upon a piece of level ground, in the centre of which there is a stout paling, across which it is customary to fight the animals. There were five combats, but they afforded little amusement. The elephant is not a courageous animal nor is it pugnacious: they have but one mode of fighting,—that of butting with their forehead, and endeavouring to wound each other with their tusks. After a *rencontre* which does not last above a few seconds, one of the parties is sure to run away. In one or two instances they refused to fight altogether over the paling, and they were therefore brought into the open plain. On one of these occasions, the vanquished elephant, after turning round in his retreat, happened to be too near a pond, and being gored in the flank by his antagonist, was thrown in: no accident happened to the riders, nor does there, I am told, upon almost any of these occasions. The guides seemed by no means wanting in intrepidity, and appeared to us to bring up the elephants to the charge with much spirit.

After the elephant combats were over, the King prepared to take his departure. His elephant, one of the noblest animals I have ever seen, having the trunk, head, and part of the neck of a white

flesh colour, and in other respects altogether perfect, was brought up close to the shed under which we were sitting, and he mounted it with great agility, placed himself upon the neck of the animal, took the hook in his hand, and seemed to be perfectly at home in this employment. We afterwards saw the Heir-apparent, a child of thirteen years of age, guiding his elephant in the same way. This practice is, I believe, peculiar to the Burmans; for, in Western India, at least, no person of condition ever condescends to guide his own elephant. There is at least some manliness in the custom; and I should not be surprised to find that the neck of the elephant would be found, on experience, the most agreeable and easy seat to the rider. After the King's departure we repaired to a shed, where dinner was prepared for us, as yesterday. At this entertainment we had walnuts and chesnuts, just arrived from China; and some very good oranges, from Lao. This last fruit does not grow well at Ava; and among the Burmans, what is not good almost spontaneously, is not likely to become so through their care or skill. The junior Atwenwun of the two negotiators did the honours of the feast, and, with three or four other chiefs, partook heartily of our fare. As a mark of attention, when we were done, the relics of the feast were ordered to be distributed to our Indian servants; but the Burman chiefs were surprised when it was explained to them that these people would not eat what had been cooked or touched either by them or us, and, what was still worse, what had been supplied by order of "the great and glorious" King!

Having now seen so much of the royal elephants, I shall describe what has come to my knowledge respecting these animals. All the elephants of the kingdom, tame or wild, are considered royal property: they are a royal monopoly; but the King, as a mark of special favour, gives the use of them to his wives, concubines, brothers, and sons, and occasionally, but rarely, to some of the highest dignitaries of his Government. Every one who takes an elephant must deliver it to the King; and the killing even of a wild elephant is deemed an offence punishable by a heavy fine: it is done notwithstanding, both on account of the ivory and flesh, which last is eaten by the Burmans, after being dried in the sun, when, to save the penalty, it passes under the name of buffalo beef. The King, I am told, is possessed, in all, of about one thousand elephants, divided into two classes: those which are thoroughly broken in and tamed, consisting principally of males;

and those that are employed as decoys, all females, and in a half wild state. They are under two chiefs: that of the first called the Senwun, or Elephant Governor; and that of the second, the Aok-má, or Aong-ma-wun; words which signify "governor- of female decoys." The latter are exclusively used as decoys; and, for this purpose, generally kept in the neighbourhood of forests frequented by elephants. Here they are frequently joined by wild females, as well as by males. When the latter is the case, the particular herd that has been joined by the male, is driven into town; and the last caught, in the manner which we saw yesterday, for the King's amusement. I believe that elephants in general are not caught in this country in the large way practised in India, Ceylon, and other countries; the mode of taking them by decoys, and breeding, being quite sufficient to keep up the stock. With respect to breeding in the domestic state, or at least in the half domestic state, in which the female elephants are generally kept, I have made frequent inquiries into it; and it is, in fact, such an every-day occurrence, that there can be no doubt respecting the truth of it. I have seen no herd of elephants without three, four, five, or six young ones,—some not more than a month, and others between three and four years old. Among these animals the intercourse of the sexes goes on exactly as among other quadrupeds. There seems to be no foundation whatever for the pretended delicacy which has been ascribed to them: it is, in reality, a romance of European origin. In addition to the testimony of many natives, I have on this subject the assurance of two Europeans, who have lived for years in Ava. I may add, that the courage and sagacity of this animal have been nearly as much exaggerated as its modesty. Its bulk, its strength, and its trunk, are its great recommendations, especially the latter. If man has been called the wisest of animals, because he possesses hands; the elephant may, with as much truth, be called the wisest of quadrupeds, because he possesses a trunk. But for this instrument, and its great strength, I think it doubtful whether it would be ranked higher in intellectual endowments than a despised animal of the same natural family, —the hog.

The best elephants belonging to his Burman Majesty are procured in the mountainous parts of the country, and those of the plains are said to be inferior in strength, symmetry, and courage. The finest are obtained in the district of Ramathen, on the Kyendwen river, and in that of Sandapuri in Lao, which is no

doubt the Chantanaburi or Lan-chang of the Siamese,—a country celebrated amongst these latter people also for, its fine elephants. The elephants of Pegu, a low country, are not esteemed, their tusks being considered small, their limbs feeble, and their carcasses large. The elephant is said to be found in perfection, only within, and about the Tropics; but if the statement now made be accurate, their character also seems considerably influenced by the local and physical circumstances of the different countries of which they are natives.

Yesterday Mr. Lanciego informed me, at our audience of the King, that although the Atwenwuns had declined to submit the representation respecting the Bengal prisoners to the King, he himself had done so. His Majesty, he said, had received his statement favourably—thought the request a just and reasonable one, and demanded that their names should be given in—their native country particularized, and the time and manner of their being made prisoners stated. To-day it was hinted to me, that there was some intention of sending the captives thus claimed back to Bengal, with the Burman embassy. It seemed, however, to be the wish of the Burman Government, that every matter in discussion should be left for adjustment in Bengal; and as this was consonant to the letter of my instructions, I willingly encouraged them in it.

### **December 11, 1826**

The two Atwenwuns paid us a complimentary and farewell visit this forenoon. I made them each a small present, on behalf of the Government, and made presents also to the two Than-d'hauthens. It was intimated to me now, for the first time, that it was the intention of the King to send presents to the Governor-General, consisting of rubies, sapphires, &c. The Atwenwuns requested to know which of the gentlemen attached to the Mission had not yet received titles of honour from his Majesty. They received a list of seven, for this honour had been conferred on myself at Rangoon. The chiefs went away, after staying about half an hour.

### **December 12, 1826**

In the course of yesterday and the day before, we were employed in putting our baggage on board, and last evening embarked

ourselves. After many applications, we at last succeeded in getting seven small boats from the Burman Government, and were obliged as we could to make up the number to twelve. So large a number became requisite, in consequence of the necessity of lightening the steam-vessel to six feet draft of water, on account of the great fall of the river since coming up, which had not been less at Ava than eighteen or twenty feet. I have before mentioned the difficulty of procuring boats from the Burman Government: this, it appears, did not arise altogether from a disposition to refuse prompt compliance with our wishes, or from the spirit of procrastination which reigns over all its proceedings; but from the chicanery and extortion of the public officers, which is conspicuous here, as in every thing else. Boats are to be had in Ava in abundance: the Government, however, never pays for any thing, but presses men, horses, carts, boats, or whatever else it requires at the moment. This office is intrusted to the Myosarés, or town scribes, who make such matters a capital subject of perquisite. An European informed me that he had been once employed to execute some small work for the King, in which two boats were required: he accompanied the Myosaré to point out the description required, and was personally a witness to the iniquities which he practised on the occasion; he made a visitation to almost every boat in the river, exacting fines from the owners to let them off; and it was a whole fortnight before the two boats were finally procured; the lot of course falling at length on the most miserable of the boatmen, or those who could not pay in money or influence for exemption.

As our people were embarking, the Burmese officers sent word that there were three persons among our followers who had not come up with the Mission, and who therefore ought not to go down with it. I stated, on receiving the necessary information, that the persons in question were natives of Bengal and subjects of our Government, who had been forcibly carried away, and were now unjustifiably detained. This remonstrance had no effect: one of the Atwenwuns immediately came over, and stated that it was the King's peremptory order that no one should go back with the Mission except the persons who had actually come with it. I was compelled reluctantly to give up the point, after taking a list of the names of the individuals, and stating that they would be claimed in due course along with the other prisoners. Late last night, messengers came on board to us, with a royal order, requiring the

attendance at the Palace, on the following morning, of the gentlemen who were to be honoured with titles. They repaired thither accordingly to-day, after breakfast. There was a pretty full attendance of courtiers, and they were received respectfully; but the King did not, present himself. They received their titles in the customary way, which were read aloud, and addressed to the throne, just as if his Majesty had been present. At twelve o'clock the presents for the Governor-General were brought on board by a Than-dau-then, but there was no reply to his Lordship's letter. The following is a translation of the list which accompanied the presents:

A list of return presents given by his Majesty to the English Ruler:

Two ruby rings; two sapphire rings; five pieces of silk cloth; two fur coats; two Chinese hats; two gilt umbrellas; two boxes, decorated with glass; two high-cover, decorated with glass; two do., gilt; two Shan boxes, large; two do., middle-sized; two do., small; two high-cover Shan boxes, two Shan cups, large; two do., middle-sized; ten do., small; one block of Sagaing white stone; one mass of rock crystal, weighing ten viss; ten elephants' teeth, weighing five thousand one hundred and ninety viss; two horses.

Along with the presents came two boxes of Burman books, with a list of which the following, is a translation:

A list of sacred writings. Ra-ta-na-ga-ra Wuttu (Wuttu means, a religious tale or romance); Ma-ni-kong-ta-la Wuttu, 9 vols; Ma-la-ler-ka-ra Wuttu (a life of Gautama); Na-ga-thing-ma-ling, questions and answers (a metaphysical work); Sundry small works, 6 vols. (poetry chiefly); Pali Dictionary; Pali Grammar, (the original text); Pin-nya-ka-ta-ra Wuttu; Pali Grammar, (the text, accompanied with a Burman translation); Thu-ka-wa-ha Wuttu; The 550 Zat Wuttu, (the adventures of Gautama in pre-existing states); Dam-na-pa-ta Wuttu.

When we first arrived at Ava, we were anxious, especially Mr. Judson, to purchase Burman books. This came to the notice of the



Government; and we were requested to give ourselves no trouble on the subject, as the King would furnish us with all we wanted, if a list were supplied. The list was accordingly given in, in which was included some historical works and treatises on law. The books now produced were those requested, with the exception of the latter description, not one of which was supplied. It was thought, it appears, that these would have afforded us some insight into the mysteries of Burman Government, and this was a sufficient ground for refusing them! I shall devote this short chapter to such a Description of the towns of Ava and Sagaing, as I was enabled to collect during my residence at the capital. The town of Ava, twice before the capital of the Burman Empire, was made so, a third time, in 1822, by his present Majesty. It lies in North latitude  $21^{\circ} 50'$ , and East longitude  $96^{\circ}$ . The native popular name of the place is Angwa, meaning a fish-pond, which the Hindus and Malays have corrupted into Awa, and the European nations, again, borrowing from them, into Ava, a word which we have extended to the whole kingdom. In all public writings, as already mentioned, the capital is denominated Ratanapura, or the City of Gems.<sup>15</sup> The circumference of Ava round the walls, and excluding the suburbs, is about five and a half miles. In general, the houses are mere huts, thatched with grass. Some of the dwellings of the chiefs are constructed of planks, and tiled, and there are probably in all not half-a-dozen houses constructed of brick and mortar. Poor as the houses are, they are thinly scattered over the extensive area of the place, and some large quarters are, indeed, wholly destitute of habitations, and mere neglected commons. Including one large one in the suburb, lying between the town and the little river, there are eleven markets or bazars, composed, as usual, of thatched huts and sheds: the three largest are called Je-kyo, Sarawadi, and Shan-ze. We passed more than once through the greater number of these markets, and found them well supplied, at least, on an estimate of the wants and habits of the people. Besides native commodities, there are exposed for sale in them such of the produce of China and Lao as are used by the Burmans, with British cottons, woollens, glass, and earthenware.

In Ava, of course, there are many temples, the tall white, or gilded spires of which, give to the distant view of the place, a

---

<sup>15</sup> Quoted account of M. Montymorency has been extracted and published separately in the present issue of the SBBR.

splendid and imposing appearance, far from being realized on a closer examination. Some of the principal of these may be enumerated: the largest of all is called Lo-ga-thar-bu and consists of two portions, or rather of two distinct temples; one in the ancient, the other in the modern form. In the former, there is an image of Gautama in the common sitting posture, of enormous magnitude. Colonel Symes imagined this statue to be a block of marble; but this is a mistake, for it is composed of sandstone. A second very large temple is called Angwa Sé-kong; and a third, Ph'ra-l'ha, or "the beautiful." A fourth temple of great celebrity, is named Maong-Ratna. This is the one in which the public officers of the Government take with great formality the oath of allegiance. A fifth temple is named Maha-mrat-muni. I inspected an addition which was made to this temple a short time before our arrival. It was merely a Zayat, or chapel, and chiefly constructed of wood: it however exceeded in splendour any thing we had seen without the Palace. The roof was supported by a vast number of pillars: these, as well as the ceiling, were richly gilt throughout. The person at whose expense all this was done was a Burman merchant, or rather broker, from whom we learned that the cost was forty thousand ticals, about 5,000*l.* sterling. When the building was completed he respectfully presented it to his Majesty, not daring to take to himself the whole merit of so pious an undertaking.

The Burman monasteries are usually built of wood only; and of those of more solid materials, a few ancient ones in ruins only are to be seen. There is however one exception in a very spacious one lately built by the Queen, close to the Palace. This is a clumsy fabric of immense size, and a very conspicuous object in approaching Ava. Of the population of Ava I shall afterwards speak.

The town of Sagaing is situated on the opposite side of the Irawadi to Ava, and directly fronting it. On the river-face it has a brick wall, which extends for about half a mile: the height of this is not above ten feet; but it has a *terre pleine* parapet and embrasures, like the wall of Ava. To each flank of the brick wall there is a stockade of a paltry description, erected during the late war. Inland there are no defences whatsoever. Sagaing extends along the Irawadi to the distance of better than a mile and a half, but its depth towards the hills is very inconsiderable; it consists, as elsewhere, of mean houses, thinly scattered among gardens and

orchards; the principal trees in the latter consisting of fine old tamarinds. Over the site of the town and its environs there are innumerable temples, ruinous, old, or modern, too conspicuous not to be noticed in describing the place.

The Burman capital is not confined to the town of Ava, but embraces also Sagaing and Amarapura, with the large districts attached to all three. Ava, with its district, extends along the river for six taings, or about twelve miles, and its depth inland is half this extent. Amarapura is of the same size. Sagaing, with its district, extends for six taings along the river, and is of equal depth. According to this wide acceptation, the capital embraces an area of two hundred and eighty-eight miles. The number of villages contained in this space, the subdivisions of the town being each reckoned as one, was given to me as follow :—for Ava, 320; for Amarapura, 45; and for Sagaing, 146; making in all, 511. The returns of the population, in 1835, gave 46,000 houses or families. It is usual, however, for the Wuns, or heads of districts, to give in the census at considerably less than its real amount; and this deficiency is commonly estimated at a tithe, which would raise the actual number of families to 50,600. According to the Burman estimate, each family is reckoned at seven individuals, which would give a total population of 354,200.<sup>16</sup> This is at the rate of about 692 souls for each village or subdivision, and of 1229 to the square mile,—a very trifling population, when it is considered that three towns and the best cultivated portions of the empire are included in the enumeration. These statements respecting the extent and population of the capital, were furnished to me by a person who had actually perused the public registers, which are kept by one of the Atwenwuns, or privy counsellors, charged with this particular department; and the certain inference to be drawn from them is, that the total population of the whole kingdom must be very trifling, and its amount in all former accounts greatly exaggerated. All this will appear the more probable, when it is considered that the inhabitants of the capital enjoy, as will afterwards be explained, peculiar immunities in the way of

---

<sup>16</sup> Crawford's original note: The Myowun of Sagaing informed me in conversation, that the number of houses or families in the town and district constituting his jurisdiction was sixteen thousand, and the number of villages about 150,—a statement which may be considered as a corroboration of that given in the text.

taxation, which must necessarily have the effect of concentrating the population here, and withdrawing it from the provinces.

With respect to the population of the town of Ava itself, I have never heard any estimate; and probably, considering the mode in which the inhabitants of “the capital” are reckoned, the Burmese have never attempted to make any. It must however, as I conceive, be very inconsiderable. On a rough estimate, the area of the town and suburbs does not exceed two miles, and, as I have already said, a considerable part of this is occupied by the Palace and public buildings; a large portion is thinly inhabited, and much altogether unoccupied. We may compare it with other Indian towns, of which the area and population have been estimated. Calcutta is said to stand on an area of about twelve miles, and to contain 300,000. Were Ava as densely peopled, which I think very improbable, it would contain fifty thousand inhabitants. Perhaps half this number would be much nearer the truth.

### **December 13, 1826**

Yesterday, immediately after receiving on board the presents for the Governor-General, we weighed anchor and began to drop down, taking our final leave of Ava. Owing to the intricacy of the passage, and the shallowness of the river, we did not get above six or seven miles below the town, where we anchored for the night.

### **December 15, 1826**

On the morning of the 13th we passed Kyaok-ta-long, which is the great police station in going to and coming from Ava,—a place which, in consequence of the vexations and impositions practised by the public officers, is held in dread by merchants and travellers. Thus far we were accompanied by a Than-d’hau-gan, the same individual who had met us in going up. He was relieved by the old Governor of Bassein, who had been again appointed to conduct the Mission. In consideration of these services, he was appointed, while at Ava, one of the Rewuns of Rangoon; but declined the office, in expectation of the government of Dalla, or of some other superior appointment.

### **December 16, 1826**

The very difficult and intricate navigation between Kyaok-ta-long and Yandabo detained us until this day, when at half-past three o'clock we passed the latter place, and at four the junction of the Kyendwen and the Irawadi: the former appeared now a petty stream not exceeding two hundred yards in breadth, and the latter had diminished, to a quarter of a mile: after their union, however, they expand to about three quarters of a mile. In the evening we anchored off Tarop Myo, or Chinese Town. A little way above Kyaok-ta-long the vessel struck against a reef of rocks, and close to the village of Ngamyagi she took the ground on a sand-bank, where she remained for several hours.

### **December 21, 1826**

Early on the morning of the 17th, we began to kedge down with much caution, but the vessel, notwithstanding, grounded on: a sand-bank, and was not got off until the morning of the 20th, and with great difficulty. In order to lighten her, we landed almost every thing, cut off one-third of the poop, and went ashore ourselves, with our servants, taking up our residence on a sand-bank, under temporary tents. This morning every thing was again ready, and we dropped down; the gentlemen of the Mission and servants, however, proceeding in the baggage-boats. The fall of the river since we went up in the end of September, was certainly not less than twenty feet. I landed at Ngamyagi and Tarop Myo. The rice had just been cut, and the winter crops of various pulses were in considerable progress.

### **December 22, 1826**

We stopped last night at Rabá-kyao-tan, which takes its name from a reef of rocks which at this place runs across the Irawadi. We pitched our temporary tents on a sand-bank in the middle of the river for the night. The reef of rocks alluded to, on examination, proved to be breccia with much iron. The *debris* of it was scattered over the sand-bank, and consisted of quartz pebbles and clay iron ore, among which were many fragments of petrified wood with calcareous incrustations formed upon branches and roots of trees. We found one fragment, which we supposed to be fossil bone.

Scattered through these ingredients were to be seen pieces of wood, and a few bones of quadrupeds undergoing the usual process of decomposition without the slightest appearance of being turned into stone, according to the popular opinion; which shows plainly enough that the waters of the Irawadi have no power of petrifying such objects, and that the process by which petrifications of vegetable and animal substances are formed is owing to some other agency. The steam-vessel passed the reef of rocks this morning, and we followed her about eight o'clock. At twelve we passed the flourishing village of Pakok'ho, where, in going up, we had seen so many trading vessels. There were now few, for the greater number had taken their departure for Rangoon and other parts of the lower country. We stopped for the night at Nyaong-ku, which, as before mentioned, is a suburb of Pagan, and the most noted place in the country for the manufacture of lacker-ware. Immediately above this place, and to the distance of about a mile, the banks of the river are high, often not less than sixty feet, and nearly perpendicular: they chiefly consist of indurated sand, with here and there ledges of a hard calcareous sandstone: the surface of this is every where smooth, as if water-worn; and from it projections, processes, spring out in several places, of a mammiferous form, and frequently resembling stalactites upon a gigantic scale. The wreck of these huge calcareous incrustations, and of great masses of wood-stone, are found in that part of the bed of the river which is at present dry. In many situations I observed calcareous incrustations formed round a nucleus of wood-stone. In one case the mass had the resemblance of the huge trunk of a tree, the petrified wood forming as if it were the pith.

In the steep bank there are innumerable holes of various sizes, which are the residence of swallows and wild pigeons. The last are of two descriptions, the common blue pigeon and a very handsome and large green one. In the same bank, and nearly midway up, there are several artificial excavations, once the residence of Burmese ascetics; but this race has been long extinct. In Burmese language, such pious persons are known by the name or *Rathe* (No doubt, a corruption of the Sanscrit word *Rasi*, a saint), and in Pali by that of *Tāpasa* and *Isino*.

**December 23, 1826**

Employed in making the necessary preparations for quitting the Burman boats and embarking in the steam-vessel, we did not quit Nyaong-ku to-day until two o'clock. This gave us an opportunity of seeing the place, and examining its temples and manufactory of lackered ware. The innumerable temples of Pagan extend to Nyaong-ku, and beyond it. The most celebrated at Nyaong-ku is that called Shwe-segum, or the Golden Temple. The original building is said to have been constructed by Naura-t'ha-sau, a king of Pagan, whose reign commenced in the year 359, and terminated in 392 of the Burman vulgar era. According to this statement, the building cannot be less than seven hundred and ninety-six years old. The temple itself is a solid mass of masonry, in the form of a pyramid, and gilt. The extensive area which surrounds it is crowded with a variety of wooden fanes, very richly gilt and carved, containing images of Gautama and his disciples, some of them of white marble; innumerable images of Nats in red sandstone; and some relics of great celebrity among the Burmans,— such as the statue of a horse in sandstone, representing the favourite steed of the founder; a fish called Nga-kren, which represents Gautama in this form, with three celebrated Nats, one of the female and two of the male gender. These relics are of the rudest description imaginable, and such of them as aim at the form of humanity, hideously ugly. Close to this, principal temple there is another in a ruinous state, of the ancient form. Here we found two inscriptions on slabs of sandstone, apparently in the modern character, but of a very rude form, and too much defaced to be read.

Nyaong-ku supplies the greater part of the kingdom with lacker-ware. The articles manufactured consist of betel boxes, cups, bowls, large boxes for keeping fine clothes, and for serving viands. The fabric is very simple. The frame consists of plaited bamboo, over which is laid a paste consisting of coarse varnish mixed up with bone-ashes. When the article thus far prepared is dry, a layer of varnish mixed up with vermilion is laid upon it; this is followed by a second, third, or even fourth layer of varnish, of a finer description, according to the quality of the article to be manufactured. The figures are drawn with a rude iron style, and yet are sometimes extremely neat and tasteful: this ware is comparatively very cheap: a hundred cups, each capable of containing a pint, may be bought at Nyaong-ku for six ticals of

flowered silver, or about fifteen shillings: these will last about six months. The finer descriptions of the manufacture, however, are much dearer. A more durable description of lacker-ware, but more costly, is imported in considerable quantity from Lao. These together serve the Burmans, in a good measure, in the place not only of cabinet-work, but of glass, fine porcelain, and the utensils of brass, pewter, and tin, which are used by other nations; and in some cases it is no bad substitute. The varnish used by the manufacturers of Nyaong-ku, is imported from the countries on the Kyen-dwen river: we purchased it here at one tical a viss. Judging by the superior brilliancy of the lacker-ware of Lao, the varnish used in the fabrication of it must be of a finer quality. The coarsest varnish of all, used by the Burmans, is procured in Lower Pegu.

### **December 24, 1826**

We dropped down yesterday afternoon below Pagan, anchoring close to the opposite or western bank of the river. This morning; as some delay was occasioned by necessary repairs to the machinery of the steam-vessel, we took the opportunity of landing to explore the neighbourhood. A range of hills, not exceeding two hundred feet in height, runs parallel with the river, within a few yards of the bank. We penetrated this in two different directions, each route which we took being the dry bed of a mountain torrent. In one of these there was a soft sandy bottom, very generally covered by a saline efflorescence. On each side of it there was abundance of the tamarisk (*Tamarix Indica*), which is so familiar to those who have visited the banks of the Ganges: Dr. Wallich saw it now for the first time, in Ava; for, generally speaking, the plant is not to be found on the banks of this river. Connected with the saline formation now mentioned. Dr. Wallich found also three plants, which had not been met with by us before, viz. a new species of *Salsola*, different from the two known Indian ones; a new species of *Trichodesma*, with perfoliate leaves, and the *ammannia vesicatoria* of Roxburgh. The bed of the second torrent was composed of rocks, and rocky fragments, consisting of calcareous sandstone, and an iron-stone breccia. The latter contained an immense quantity of embedded fossil shells, as far as we could ascertain, on a superficial examination, differing from the fresh-water shells, which we had



collected in the neighbourhood of the river on our way up. The stone in which these remains are found is very abundant, and we brought away a great quantity of specimens. On our way up to Ava, a native had given us a few specimens of fossil shells, which he said were obtained not far distant from the spot where we now found similar ones: this circumstance of course had directed our inquiry. All the specimens of rocks which we found here smelt strongly of petroleum, or earth oil; and as we proceeded up, we found the substance itself oozing out from the blue clay. Were wells dug, no doubt it would be found in the same manner as at Renan-gyaong. The range of hills where we observed it is composed of immense masses of blue clay, soft sandstone, or rather aggregated sand, containing occasionally round pebbles, hard calcareous sand-stone, iron-stone breccia, in which alone the fossil remains were found, and a coarse pudding-stone; the chert, or petrified wood, and the calcareous incrustations, so abundant on the opposite side of the river, were scarcely to be found here at all.

On coming on board, the steam-vessel dropped down through a narrow passage formed between the spot which we had just examined and a broad island. The channel navigable here was scarcely thirty yards in breadth, deep, rapid, and therefore dangerous. There was certainly no part of the Irawadi which we had seen of which the passage was so precarious. Between three and four in the afternoon, we passed the town of Sale, and in the evening anchored off the western bank, about midway between that place and Sembegewn (Sen-pyu-gyun, White Elephant Island).

### **December 25, 1826**

On Christmas morning, about breakfast-time, we anchored for an hour or two off Sembegewn, to give us an opportunity of sending off our letters and dispatches to Bengal by the Aracanese messengers, who had brought us letters at Ava on the 3rd of this month. We reckoned that, by this conveyance, accounts from us would be received at Calcutta in twenty-five days.

While we were at anchor off Sembegewn, the old Governor of Bassein came on board and informed us that he had that morning received accounts, that the Talains, or Peguans, under Maongzat, the chief of Syrian, had rebelled against the Burman authorities, and that a formidable insurrection had broke out immediately

upon the departure of Sir Archibald Campbell from Rangoon, since which time several actions had been fought. In the evening we reached Renangyun, or the Petroleum brook.

### **December 27, 1826**

Yesterday morning, after taking in wood, the steam-vessel dropped down, and about a mile below Renangyun took the ground. A party had landed early in the morning, and proceeded some miles down the river, in expectation of joining the vessel. We were obliged to return, and did not reach her until three in the afternoon. This excursion, and another earlier in the morning, afforded us a highly interesting view of the geology of this part of the eastern bank of the river. The country consists of a series of sand-hills, the highest of which do not exceed one hundred feet, frequently separated by narrow ravines, which, although torrents in the rainy season, were at present dry. The soil upon these hills was scanty in the extreme, and generally covered with grass, or an under-sized forest, in which the following trees are the most frequent:—Two species of *Arborescent Accacias* *Celtis-Mollis*; *Rhus Paniculata*, and *Bignonia Auriculata* of Wallich; *Barringtonia Acutangula*; a few sacred fig-trees, but above all a species of *Zyzyphus*, the same which is so universal in the upper part of the Burman country.

The Irawadi had left bare a complete section of the sand-hills along its banks, where they are nearly perpendicular, and generally from seventy to eighty feet high. The whole country hereabouts is evidently of alluvial formation. The hills, at first view, appear to be sandstone, but in fact are nothing more than sand of a moderate hardness, every where more or less intermixed with gravel, sometimes very large, and at others minute. Situated generally below the sand, are beds of iron-stone breccia, and stalactitic masses of calcareous sandstone, the *debris* of which is widely scattered over the bank of the river. It is here, and in the ravines between the hills, that the petrified wood, which I have so often mentioned, is to be found in such abundance; but in the first mentioned situation we found also another object of still greater interest, a quantity of fossil bones. These appeared to be those of an animal of the size of an elephant—of one about the size of an ox, and of an alligator. We obtained in all, in our two excursions, fourteen or fifteen specimens along the bank of the river, in a

distance not exceeding in all a mile and a half, from which circumstance the abundance of such remains may be fairly inferred. The quantity of fossil wood which we met was quite extraordinary. It appears here and there on the surface of the hills—in great quantities on the bank of the river, but most abundantly in the ravines. In this latter situation it forms the beds of the torrents, and consists of very large blocks, some of them four and live feet in circumference.

### **December 31, 1826**

The impossibility of getting the steam-vessel off the sand-bank after many attempts, had still detained us here, and enabled us to add to our Geological and Botanical collection. On the 28th, accompanied by Dr. Stewart, I took a walk of three miles on the carriage road which leads from Renangyun to the towns of Mait'hila and Ramathan, which are near each other, and distant fifty taings, or about one hundred miles. The way was over barren sand-hills intercepted by frequent ravines, and a country quite uncultivated, indeed incapable of cultivation. We proceeded as far as a hill, a little higher than the surrounding ones, called Man-lan, which was strewed with broken fragments of a stone used by the natives for making tobacco-pipes. The rock looks as if it had been cracked or broken into small fragments by a hasty drying, so that in some places the loose stones on the surface presented the appearance of a regular pavement. This, I may say, was the only place in this neighbourhood, where we had found a perfect rock; all the other stones which had any appearance of being so, having proved on examination to be nothing more than an alluvial formation or recomposed rock. The dry grass and shrubs on the hill had been just burnt, and it appeared that, from this place had been brought to us a great part of the fossil bones which I shall presently mention. The hill of Man-lan is higher than any in its vicinity, and is probably about four hundred feet above the level of the Irawadi.

We landed yesterday forenoon, in order to afford every facility for getting the steam-vessel off the bank, and pitched temporary tents on the river-side, at a little valley about a mile below Renangyun, and at a place called Nyaong-h'la, or the "handsome fig-tree," where there is an old temple on the model of

those of Pagan. Dr. Wallich and myself this morning visited the Petroleum Wells, and examined several of them. We took the temperature of two of them carefully with a good thermometer: the thermometer being immersed in a pot of oil, just drawn from one of these, which was one hundred and thirty royal cubits, or two hundred and seven English feet in depth, rose to eighty-eight degrees. In the shade the temperature at the same time was sixty-nine degrees. In a pot of oil drawn from another well, of which the liquid was less mixed with the water, and which was one hundred and forty royal cubits, or two hundred and twenty-two feet eight inches deep, the heat indicated by the thermometer was ninety degrees.

In going over the ground, we observed several old wells altogether abandoned. The natives informed us that, in digging new ones, they came at a considerable depth to coal and fossil shells. Of the latter, we unfortunately could obtain no specimens; but, of the former, which proved to be brown coal, we obtained one or two good ones at the village of Renangyun. The oil drawers stated to us, that in clearing out old wells accidents sometimes happened from the fire-damp, and they pointed out a particular well at which two men had lost their lives from this cause.

### **January 3, 1827**

The steam-boat was got afloat on the forenoon of the 1st, with the assistance of three hundred Burmans, who may be said to have dragged her off the sand-bank by main force, and after lightening her by cutting off the whole of her poop, discharging all the baggage, and landing some of the heaviest parts of her machinery. The detention occasioned by all this, afforded us opportunities of examining the country in the vicinity of the Petroleum Wells, of which we availed ourselves to the fullest extent. Our search after fossil bones was successful far beyond our expectation. As soon as the natives discovered our curiosity upon the subject, specimens were brought in to us every hour, so that we at last obtained a collection amounting to several large chests. Among these we could recognize those of several ruminant animals, of tortoises, and alligators. The most numerous and remarkable, however, were the bones of an animal of the size of an elephant, which, until better informed, we supposed to have belonged to the fossil elephant, or

mammoth. The natives had also brought us in a large quantity of petrified shells: these, it is singular, were all of one description,—a bivalve shell about the size of a cockle.

Anxious to see the fossil bones and shells in their situations, Dr. Wallich and I proceeded this morning in the same direction in which I had travelled on the 28th. After proceeding as far as the hill of Manlan, we took a northerly direction among the hills and ravines, until our Burman guides brought us to a hill about sixty or seventy feet above the level of the dry bed of a brook, which was immediately below it, and probably about one hundred and fifty above the level of the Irawadi. Not far from the top of this a few fossil shells were shown to us, and we proceeded to dig up the ground. After removing a very superficial soil, we came at once to a bed of blue moist clay, which contained an immense quantity of shells, some broken, but many entire. The greater number were filled with the blue clay of the bed in which they lay; but a few with calcareous matter, which last had been the case with all those brought to us by the natives at our residence, and which therefore were probably procured at some other spot. No vestige of fossil shells was to be seen any where in the immediate neighbourhood. On the opposite side of the brook, and not distant a hundred yards from the bed of shells, a section of one of the hills was laid bare, which consisted of indurated sand and calcareous sandstone breccia, which afforded a good opportunity for determining this point. The deposition of shells, therefore, was evidently very partial, or at least was broken and interrupted by other formations.

After satisfying ourselves respecting the shells, we returned to the Manlan hill, and, under the direction of our guides, took a southerly direction among the hills and ravines in this quarter, in search of fossil bones. After proceeding about a mile and a half or two miles, several specimens were shown to us; and we soon picked up ten or a dozen fragments, seemingly belonging to the same large animal which I have already mentioned. We found them between the hills, in gravelly soil, nearly on the surface, and not in the deepest ravines. We attempted to dig for others, but our search was not successful; indeed, we had neither means nor time to prosecute it with any prospect of success. The fossil wood was met with wherever we passed; but it increased in abundance as we approached the Irawadi, and was by far the most frequent in those portions of the ravines which lead immediately into it. I may here

remark, that the singular formation of barren sand-hills and ravines, which so abound with fossil wood and bones, is confined to the eastern bank of the river. The western bank, to a great extent, is a low champaign country, bearing little resemblance to the opposite one.

To elucidate the subject of the fossil bones, I shall here notice, that according to the report of the natives, or our own observations, the following are the quadrupeds at present existing in the neighbourhood; viz. a leopard, a wild cat, a species of deer the *cermis manjae*, the hare, the hog, with a mole rat. Of these, we saw ourselves the deer, hare, and rat. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the wild cow, and buffalo, with the royal tiger, which are found in different other parts of the Burman territory, exist nowhere near to the situations in which we found the fossil bones in such abundance.

#### **January 4, 1827**

We embarked last night, and began again flits morning to prosecute our voyage, after a detention of eight days. In the evening we stopped at Magwé, on the eastern bank: about a mile above it. Dr. Wallich and I landed, and walked down to the place. The bank of the river was as high and precipitate as at Re-nan-gyaong, and apparently consisted of the same alluvial formation. Fossil wood was in abundance along the bank; but we did not observe, nor did we hear upon inquiry of any fossil bones. At Magwé we found stationed a person of considerable consequence, called the Mret-sen-wun. This officer has charge of the river police, and is vested with the power of life and death, which was attested by a spectacle seen by two of our gentlemen on the river-side, a little below Magwé—the bodies of six persons who, fifteen days before, had been executed by him for piracy. They were already torn to pieces by the numerous birds of prey that hovered about them.

#### **January 9, 1827**

On the morning of the 5th we left Magwé, and at noon arrived at Melun and Patnago. We landed at the latter place and visited a lake not half a mile from the river-side. When we went up, this was

a considerable body of water, but now it was little better than a marsh overgrown with aquatic plants, among which was the *Nelumbo*, or Indian lotus, and a splendid *Nymphœa*, a new species. We expected to find in this season numerous wildgeese and ducks; but there were none of the former, and very few of the latter. After taking in a supply of firewood, we prosecuted our journey, and anchored for the night a few miles above Lungyi. On the 6th our navigation was very intricate and difficult, and we were obliged to take a pilot from village to village, which occasioned much detention. Waiting for one about four or five miles below Lungyi, I landed about noon, with Dr. Wallich, on the western bank, and made a short excursion into the forest, which was low and scanty. Instead of the verdant appearance which it presented in coming up during the rains, it was now parched and withered, and had a very dreary aspect, the trees already beginning to lose their foliage. In March and April, the scene is still more unpromising. The soil was poor and gravelly, and at the place where we landed there was not the least appearance of cultivation. We observed, however, several cart-roads intersecting the forest, and villages surrounded by patches of culture were at no great distance. The rock presented itself in one situation on the river-side: it was a calcareous sandstone breccia, and in several portions of it were embedded numerous small fossil shells.

In the forest we saw no game except wild cocks and hens, which seemed to be very abundant, for we started one covey which consisted of not less than fourteen or fifteen birds. In the evening we stopped at a small village, about fifteen miles above Meaday.

On the 7th, at eleven o'clock, we passed Meaday, where above eighty merchant-boats, in consequence of the piracies and murders lately committed on the river, were glad to take advantage of our safe convoy as far as Prome. Here, on both sides of the river, we found the rock to be calcareous sandstone. At Meaday the fossil wood was still to be seen in small quantities. We anchored for the night at Tong-taong, or "lime-stone hill," mentioned in our voyage up. Yesterday the navigation of the river had greatly improved: we consequently made a longer journey than usual, and by six in the evening reached Prome. At this place we received some details of the Talain insurrection, which appeared more formidable than we had expected. Maong-zat, the Peguan chief, we were informed, had attacked the Burmans twice near Rangoon, and in a good measure

blockaded that place. The people of Dalla, including the Karians of that district, had joined him, and he had established a post as far up the eastern branch of the Irawadi as Panlang, thus intercepting the communication between Rangoon and the upper provinces.

Dr. Wallich and I this morning made an excursion to the hills opposite to Prome. The great fall of the river now exposed rocks, the existence of which we did not suspect in the examination we made going up: they consisted of sandstone, pudding-stone, and slate clay; in short, this seemed a continuation of the same formation which we had traced nearly all the way from Ava. In the sandstone we found abundance of fossil shells, differing entirely, as far as we could determine, from those hitherto found, and to all appearance marine productions. Of these we made an ample collection. The soil at Prome began already to improve, and the verdure to be more luxuriant. Neither here, nor in any other part from Melun, did we observe the teak tree, which we had seen so often in going up. It sheds its leaves in every country, and being now without foliage, could not be distinguished.

While we were absent on the opposite side of the river, our friends visited the town, and found it much restored and enlarged, affording favourable testimony to the good administration of the Myowun. This person himself was absent, having proceeded about a month before to Rangoon, with four hundred men, to assist in suppressing the insurrection of the Talains. The Akunwun, or collector of taxes, who was acting for him, paid us a visit on board the steam-vessel. There is no Rewun by custom at Prome, and the person next to the Myowun in rank, and therefore his deputy, is the collector. Our visitor was a young man of some intelligence. He was desirous to see the steam-engine, and was readily gratified. The observation he made upon it was, that "it was as wonderful as the mechanism of a bee-hive."

We left Prome between eleven and twelve o'clock. At four o'clock, after going about twenty miles, the vessel again grounded on a sand-bank, although we had a pilot on board. The navigation of the Irawadi, at this season, is precarious and uncertain to the last degree. The bed of the river every where consists of sand, and the channel seems to change every season, so that former experience and observation are of no avail. By emptying the boiler, and otherwise lightening her, the vessel was fortunately got off at seven in the evening.



**January 10, 1827**

We prosecuted our journey early this morning. At ten o'clock Dr. Wallich and I landed a little below the town of Pingyi, and visited the promontory called by the Burmans Kyaok-ta-ran, the last high land on the eastern bank of the river. This is a very romantic and pretty spot, and our visit to it was extremely satisfactory. The promontory is about eighty feet high, and the rocks rise perpendicularly from the river. About thirty feet up there are niches, or excavations, in each of which there is a stone figure of Gautama cut out of the rock, but plastered over every where, and in some places gilt. There cannot be less than fifty of these in all, of various sizes, and some of them very large: they are divided into two or three groups, separate and distinct from each other. The only rock we saw was a calcareous breccia, and there was neither loose sand nor clay, as in some other places. Fossil shells again occurred, and apparently of marine origin. The hills are covered with abundant verdure and considerable forests. Many of the plants were in flower and fruit, and Dr. Wallich found here a greater number of new and interesting species than in any other place, excepting the range of hills north-east of Ava. The following are some of the most; remarkable; viz. a large species of *Cacalia*, with deep orange-coloured blossoms; a species of *Codonopsis*, hitherto only found in Nepal; a *Ruellia*, remarkable for having its stem and branches covered with a milkwhite down; the *Porona Paniculata*, with its profuse and highly ornamental blossoms; a new species of *Eranthemum*, first found by Dr. Wallich in the range of hills northeast of Ava; a handsome *Borderia*, a stately *Arundo*, several mosses, and *Jungermannia* in flower, and several ferns, amongst which was one elegant new species.

The ship had, dropped down slowly, and we joined her at two o'clock. We had now taken leave of the hilly country, the natural boundary of the Burman race, and entered into the Delta of the Irawadi, the native country of the Peguans. At four in the afternoon, we passed the large and populous village of Kiyank'han, on the west bank of the river, which we had not seen in going up, as we then ascended by the eastern bank. Here a very considerable number of merchant-boats were lying along the bank. This place, although governed only by a Myosugi, has the rank of a

Myo, but is without walls or stockade. The district attached to it is productive in rice; and the cattle employed in husbandry are said to amount to ten thousand buffaloes. In the evening we reached Myan-aong, or Loonzay.

### **January 11, 1827**

I walked through Myan-aong this morning, which is a village of considerable extent, but without any thing remarkable to distinguish it. We found the alarm here, on account of the progress of the Talain insurrection, very considerable. The inhabitants were already collecting their grain, and preparing for flight.

### **January 13, 1827**

We left Myan-aong after breakfast, on the 11th. Between Kanaong and Shwe-gain, when we had hardly gone ten miles, the difficulties of the river were found even greater than in any part of the navigation from Ava downwards. We were obliged to come-to for the day, in order to sound for a passage, which was at length discovered on the morning of the 12th, when we pursued our journey. At night we anchored off the little river, which about five miles above Sarwa goes to Bassein, being the first branch which the Irawadi sends off in its progress to the sea. A petty stream at all times, it was now choked up with sand at its mouth, and impassable for the smallest canoe. In the month of June, 1825, in the height of the rains, a fleet of gun-boats, of the smallest class, came by the route of this branch to join Sir Archibald Campbell, then at Prome; but even in that season the voyage was attended with much difficulty. At two o'clock we passed Sarwa, and in half an hour thereafter readied Henzada. The principal person now in charge here paid us a visit, and was very anxious to know what part the English would take in the present contest. The obvious reply was, that we should take no part with either, as to side with the Talains would be contrary to good faith and existing treaties. As to the Burmans, we added, that every Government was the proper asserter of its own rights; and that it did not belong to strangers to intermeddle. The old Wun of Bassein, ever since he communicated to us the insurrection of the Talains, had been most importunate in soliciting our interference. One word from us, he

said, would induce Maong-zat to give up his enterprise, and retire with his followers into our territories. I informed him that we should not interfere in any manner whatsoever.

### **January 17, 1827**

On the morning of the 14th we quitted Henzada, where we laid in a stock of fuel, sufficient to last us to Rangoon. In the evening we passed Donabew, and anchored for the night within a mile of the eastern branch of the Irawadi, leading to Rangoon. Donabew we found considerably enlarged. Both this place and the village of Nyaong-gyung, about seven or eight miles below it, we found crowded with refugees, who had fled from the Talain insurrection.

We prosecuted our journey on the morning of the 15th. Before starting we met a number of boats, who had come up the main branch of the Irawadi from Pantano, a district of the province of Bassein. Among them were a considerable number of Chinese. It seemed that the people of Pantano had been ordered to attack the Talains at the post of Panlang. In the mean time Maong-pyu, the head of the Karians of Pegu, who is in alliance with Maong-zat, assaulted Pantano, and took it on his way to the attack of Bassein. He was reported to be at the head of three thousand followers. The old Wun of Bassein, like a genuine Burman Chief, not choosing to incur the personal risk of entering the districts in a state of insurrection, quitted us that morning. He was, however, sufficiently candid on the subject, and did not conceal his fears. Just at the commencement of the Rangoon branch there was a small post of the Burmese, the only one which they held down to Rangoon. Waiting high-water to pass it, we anchored seven miles within this branch, where there was a bar; this we effected at seven in the evening, being luckily favoured by the highest spring-tides, without which we could not have got over, for even then we had barely a fathom water; and the vessel, now much lightened, drew very nearly six feet.

At seven in the morning of the 16th we proceeded, and soon passed Samalaok, where we found a breast-work newly erected, but abandoned. The village itself, and the few others upon the bank, had been also abandoned, and we saw no inhabitants except a few Karians, who came down to the river-side out of curiosity. At one o'clock we arrived at Panlang. We found the river here strongly

stockaded in three places, and in occupation of the Talains. We came to an anchor for a moment to request a safe passage for our boats, which amounted in all to two-and-twenty, twelve of which only were our own, the rest being Burman trading-vessels, belonging to European and other foreign merchants that had sought our protection. We made a signal that we wished to communicate with the garrison, and three boats pushed off without any hesitation. Our visitors were very communicative. Their manner was full of gesticulation, and their language rather boastful: they said they were afraid only of the English; and that if we would not interfere, or, as they expressed it, "if we would but stand upright, and move neither to the right hand nor to the left hand," they would soon settle their quarrel with the Burmans, as one hundred Talains were an equal match for one thousand of the former! The chief, commanding at the post, whose name was Maong-shwe-lung, was anxious to come on board and pay us a visit of ceremony; but I evaded this proposal, which might have led to embarrassment, by becoming the subject of misrepresentation. The Talains informed us that they had been fifteen days in possession of Panlang, and in that time had fought one petty action with the Burmans, in which one or two persons were killed. They stated that Maong-zat had taken the name and tide of King,—that he had created two or three *great officers*, and that Maong-pyo, the chief of the Karians, who was marching upon Bassein, was to have the government of that place as the reward of his services. They readily promised a safe passage for our boats, and seemed indeed but too happy to have an opportunity of obliging us in any thing within their power. The river at Panlang is scarcely sixty yards in breadth, and this post, which commands every access to Rangoon, had been very judiciously selected. If resolutely defended, it might long have intercepted all relief from Ava to the latter place. We anchored at night at a place seven miles above Rangoon. In this day's journey we saw alligators for the first time, and in great numbers, basking in the sun, on the muddy shores at low water: some of them were of great size, and the species seemed to us to be different from either of the two found in the Ganges.

As soon as the ebb-tide had made, and the thick fog, which now prevailed every morning, would allow us to see our way, we prosecuted our journey this morning, and at ten o'clock anchored before Rangoon. In coming down, we found the village of

Kemmendine totally destroyed. A much more extensive desolation presented itself in the vicinity of the town: the large suburb lying between the stockade and the river, and the still larger one of Tacklay, were in ruins; such of the inhabitants as had not fled to our settlements, or taken refuge in the forests, and great numbers had done so, were cooped up within the stockade. The town seemed to be completely beleaguered by the Talains, who were in full occupation of Dalla: the Pegu flag was flying on one side of the river, and the Burman on the other. The only post out of the stockade which the Burmans still retained was the Great Pagoda, where the Sad'hauwun, or master of the household, the person whom our soldiers called "the cook," commanded.

Lieutenant Rawlinson, who was left here by Sir Archibald Campbell to await our arrival, and all the English merchants, were standing on the public wharf, looking out for us, and immediately came on board, bringing along with them our letters and packets. They informed us that this day had been decided on by the Burmans, as a fortunate one, for making a *sortie*; and indeed they had scarcely given us the information, when the attack actually commenced. We were eye-witnesses to a considerable part of this action, and our friends, who returned to the stockade, and mounted the tops of the houses, had a full view of the whole. The courage and conduct of both parties were upon the very lowest scale. The Burmans crept out of the stockade, and came unawares upon their enemy, on the eastern or Tacklay side of the stockade. The Talains, who were cooking or sleeping, fled precipitately, and without offering any resistance, to their boats, which were soon seen crossing the river in numbers and in great haste, although not pursued. A few Talains were killed, and a few taken prisoners. The Burman attack in the direction of the Pagoda was not so fortunate: here they were repulsed, and sustained some loss. The total killed, wounded, and prisoners, was, after all, very trifling on either side. We received various and different accounts of the casualties; but so discordant, that none could be relied on. The Burmans admitted their own loss in wounded to be fourteen. We had the misfortune to be eye-witnesses to the capture of one petty Talain chief, and an act of more savage ferocity cannot well be imagined. He had attempted to escape by swimming across the river, and was pursued by two armed Burmans in a small canoe. He attempted to avoid capture by repeated diving, but was at last

wounded by a spear and taken. He was tied to the canoe, and dragged down the river for a quarter of a mile, to the spot where we were anchored, and within five yards of us. He was landed by dragging him by the hair of the head, and one of the victors drew a sword, as if to decapitate him. We remonstrated against this act of brutality, as an insult to ourselves, and thus for the moment at least saved the life of the prisoner, Thirty ticals, it appears, are paid for every Talain's head. The prisoners are generally taken before the Wungyi, where some are executed and others reprieved. Some of our gentlemen who entered the town after the action had ceased, saw the prisoners brought in. The men were dragged by the hair of the head, and the women and children were scarcely better treated. Among the prisoners there were some Chinese, who were sold by the captors on the spot to the highest bidder. These had not joined the Talains, nor were they taken in arms: they had not, however, quitted the suburbs, where their dwellings were, when the Burmans retired to the stockade, and this, which was considered suspicious, was an offence which merited punishment.

### **January 19, 1827**

The day we arrived I had a message from the Wungyi, saying he would be glad to receive a visit from me; but it was delivered in such a manner, and through such a channel, that I declined paying any attention to it. Yesterday morning the Akunwun, or collector of customs, waited upon us and apologized on the part of the Wungyi for not having given us a ceremonious reception on the day of our arrival, on the plea of his being busily engaged in the arrangement of the *sortie* which took place. He requested that we would pay him a visit that day or the following. I answered, that I did not think a visit necessary, as I had no public business to discuss with him, being now a mere passenger, to Bengal, invested with no public authority. If the Wungyi had any public business on his side, I said, I should be glad to receive him on board the steam-vessel. The Akunwun said that this was impossible, as it was contrary to etiquette for rank to come without the walls of the fort and expose his person when the place was besieged. I replied, that I had quite made up my mind not to visit the Wungyi in his own house; but as he was anxious for an interview, I would meet him, if he desired it, at any place in the town, not being a government

building, and I proposed the house which I had myself formerly occupied when commissioner. This was agreed to, and the meeting took place to-day at eleven o'clock.

The Akunwun had intimated to us that none of the European soldiers or Sepoys of our escort should be permitted to enter the town during our stay, as it was in a state of siege. In reply to this, I answered, that this exclusion had an unfriendly appearance, and that I would not go into the town without such an escort as the Burman chiefs were accustomed to when Rangoon was occupied by us. This arrangement was assented to with some difficulty, and we entered the town, preceded by twelve men of the European escort. The ladder, which had been taken away from the wharf on the first alarm of the Talain insurrection, was replaced for our convenience; we should otherwise have had to ascend a height of five-and-twenty or thirty feet by a single rope, as other persons did, for it was low-water. The Wungyi Kept us waiting at the place appointed for half an hour, and then made his appearance in a very plain dress. The Ex-Myowun of Yé, and the Akunwun, had met us on the wharf, and sat along with us until the arrival of their superior. We had a very civil meeting with the Wungyi. Notes of the conversation which took place were taken as usual, and the following is a sketch of it:—

BURMESE: You saw the battle the day you arrived, and how matters are. I stated my apprehensions to you at Henzada, and told you how mischievous a person Maong-zat was.

CRAWFURD: I remember your warning me against the Talains generally, and denouncing them as a disloyal and treacherous people; but I have no recollection of your ever having at all introduced the name of Maong-zat.

BURMESE: Perhaps I may not have mentioned the name of Maong-zat.

CRAWFURD: I take this opportunity of mentioning, that the Wundauk and Rewun stated to me at Rangoon their apprehensions of Maong-zat, and made what I conceived at the time a very unreasonable request, viz. that the British Government should seize that person, his friends and followers, who, at the

time, had committed no offence either against the British or Burman Government, and deliver them over to the Burman authorities for punishment. A compliance with this would have been dishonourable to us, and was of course refused; but I offered, on behalf of the British Commissioners, to induce Maong-zat and his followers to retire into the British provinces, in order to remove all cause of apprehension on the part of the Burman Government. This was declined: nothing less would satisfy them than the delivering over into their hands Maong-zat and his people. The Wun of Yé, who is now before me, was present when the conversation took place, and no doubt will recollect all about it.

This officer, upon being referred to, stated that he recollected the circumstances perfectly. -

CRAWFURD: Have you received a copy of the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded at Ava?

BURMESE: Yes, I have received a copy of it. How long do you propose staying here?

CRAWFURD: I hope to be able to go away in two or three days at the farthest.

The Wungyi here offered to deliver over a letter to my charge, without mentioning what it was, or offering any explanation.

CRAWFURD: Before I receive this letter, I must know from whom it comes, and to whom it is addressed; and I must be satisfied that its contents are suitable.

BURMESE: It merely contains an account of your arrival at Ava, your presentation, &c.

CRAWFURD: As soon as I am favoured with a copy, and have procured a translation, I shall be, able to say whether I can receive it, or otherwise.

BURMESE: The letter is all right, and contains nothing improper. Why will you not receive it?



CRAWFURD: I shall be able to judge of all this when I see it. Of the suitability of what I take upon myself the responsibility of delivering to my superiors I am the proper judge, and not the officers of the Burmese Government. You state that the letter is from the Wungyis at Ava. I was not the bearer of a letter to those officers; I was the bearer of a letter to the King. If this letter be an answer to that which I took to his Majesty, I will not receive it. The Wungyis must not address the Governor-General, who is their superior, unless in the form of a petition. If the letter be in this last shape, and have no reference to the letter which I brought for the King, I will take charge of it.

BURMESE: The letter is not from the Wungyis to the Governor-General, but from the former to "the War Chiefs" in Bengal.

Copy of the letter was here made, read, and delivered.

CRAWFURD: The contents of this letter have been explained to me, and they appear to be suitable. I conceive it to be addressed from the Wungyis at Ava to officers of similar rank in Calcutta, and with this understanding I now take charge of it.

The Wungyi here produced two ruby rings, the largest of which he requested might be given to the Governor-General in his name, and of the smallest he requested my acceptance. After a good deal of conversation on indifferent topics, the English and Burman officers rose together and retired. In going through and coming from the town, we were treated with perfect civility by every one we met.

The following is a translation of the letter now alluded to:

According to the Royal order of the Most Glorious Sovereign of Land and Sea, Lord of the Celestial Elephant, Proprietor of White Elephants, Master of the Chakra Weapon, Sovereign Controller of Existence, King of Righteousness, we, the Wungyis, War Chiefs, who manage the affairs of the country, make this communication to the English War Chiefs.

Agreeably to the great friendship subsisting between the English country, and the Royal kingdom of the Burman monarch, the English Ruler sent the Envoy Crawford with presents to his Majesty, and he came to the Royal presence (under the Golden Foot). That his journey may be pleasant, we went out to meet and conduct him, and the presents which he brought were carried to the Golden Palace and presented to 'the two Sovereigns.' Houses, tents, and sheds were constructed, and appropriated for the accommodation of the Envoy Crawford and his suite, and a sufficient supply of provisions was furnished.

On petitioning the Throne concerning the trade of the two countries, his Majesty has given permission, calculated to promote prosperity. On petitioning the Throne concerning the Envoy's returning, the two Sovereigns graciously granted the following presents for the English Ruler:—two ruby rings; two sapphire rings; five silk cloths of a certain description; two fur jackets; two Chinese hats; two gilt umbrellas; two round boxes, set with glass; two high cover boxes, set with glass; two ditto, gilt; two shan round boxes, large; two ditto, middle size; two ditto, small; two shan high cover boxes, large; two shan cups, large; two ditto, middle size; ten ditto, small; one block of Sagaing marble; one mass of crystal, weighing ten viss; ten elephants' tusks, weighing fifty viss; two horses, and some sacred books. All these were safely delivered to the Envoy Crawford; boatmen and provisions furnished; and officers of Government were made to conduct the Envoy on his return to Han-tha-wati.

As the two great countries are now great friends, keep in mind the importance of maintaining the grand alliance.

### **January 23, 1827**

From our arrival until to-day we were busy in making arrangements for sending the escort, our followers, and baggage to the new settlement of Amherst, on the river of Martaban. For this purpose I was obliged to take up the Bombay Merchant, an English ship of above five hundred tons burthen. We were in readiness to-day, and left Rangoon about half-past eleven o'clock.

I had recommended to Lieutenant Rawlinson to continue at his post until he heard farther from Sir Archibald Campbell; being convinced, from what I had seen and heard, that such a step was necessary for the protection of the persons of the British merchants at Rangoon, and the large property in their warehouses. I had explained this to the Wungyi in the interview which I had with him. He seemed, however, not to be satisfied with what I then stated; and just as we were weighing, a message came from him to ask what object we had in view by leaving Lieutenant Rawlinson at Rangoon. I stated shortly, that such a measure was considered necessary in the present state of the country, and that by treaty we had a right to maintain an agent in the kingdom.

From the time of our arrival to our departure, a period of six days, no action was fought between the hostile parties; and but for the occasional report of a gun or musquet, and the desolate appearance of the neighbourhood of Rangoon, it might be supposed that the country was in a state of perfect peace. Last evening, however, we saw a great number of Talain boats moving up the right bank of the river, and heard that the Talain chief Maong-zat, in person, had arrived at Dalla with a considerable force, and meditated an attack upon Rangoon. The Burmans immediately began to make preparation against it, and by two o'clock the remaining houses in the suburbs were set on fire, with a view of clearing the glacis in front of the stockade. The meditated attack, however, did not take place. The Burman garrison, it appears, amounted to about 4000 men, 2500 of whom were called *regular troops*. The provisions in the stockade were equal only to a month's consumption, and the garrison seemed completely cut off from farther supply, unless by sea; so that, unless the place were relieved, by a Burman army forcing the stockade at Panlang, it would be compelled to surrender.

The Wungyi Maong-kaing was reputed to be, for a Burman, a man of humanity; yet, notwithstanding, he had committed his full share of cruelty since the commencement of the insurrection. In the first action which was fought, three Talains were killed, and one prisoner made: the heads of the first were struck off, and, to make the number even, that of the prisoner also; these heads were carried in triumph through the town. The Burman warriors displayed their courage by running up to them and wounding them with their spears. This happened in the view of the English

gentlemen residing in the place, from whom I had the account. Shortly after the commencement of the insurrection, some Talains were seized in the town, under suspicion of attempting to set fire to it. They and their families, including women and children, were buried alive, by being thrown into a well and covered over with earth. The person to whom the immediate execution of this atrocity was consigned, was the Sad'hauwun, or steward of the household.

In passing down the river we met a small vessel from Chittagong, with a crew of Aracanese and a cargo of areca-nut. She had a pass in the Persian language, from the English collector of customs, which, for all the Burmans or Talains could understand of its contents, might as well have been in Hebrew. The Aracanese stated, that they had been stopped by the Talains, who endeavoured to dissuade them from proceeding to Rangoon, telling them that the Burmans would cut their heads off, and recommended to them to go to the British settlements at Martaban. We furnished them at their request with a pass in the Burman language. It was for native vessels alone that such passes were required, for British vessels of every size were permitted to pass up and down the river without the least molestation.

When we came opposite to a large creek leading to Bassein, we found a fleet of Talain boats within it. Indeed, the insurgents were in complete possession of all the river below Rangoon, on both banks. Shortly after, we met a boat full of Chinese with their families in distress, endeavouring to escape from both the belligerent parties: they begged to be taken on board and conveyed to our settlements, and their request was complied with.<sup>17</sup>

### **January 24, 1827**

Yesterday evening we passed the mouth of the Rangoon river, and by sunset were clear of its sands and shoals. Through night, favoured by the smooth sea and calm weather which almost uniformly prevail upon this coast from November to April, we stood across for the mouth of the Martaban river. Going at a very moderate rate, we entered the new harbour of Amherst at half-past eleven o'clock this forenoon, or exactly in twenty-four hours from our quitting Rangoon: the distance is about one hundred miles.

---

<sup>17</sup> Crawford's separate account of Rangoon, from the previous summer, that was located here has been published separately in the SBBR

Here we found lying the Government Surveying-ship *Investigator*, with Captain Ross the Surveyor-general, and the cruizer *Ternate*. We landed in the evening, and found the place greatly altered from what it had been when established as a British settlement in the beginning of the preceding April. There was then not a house or an inhabitant; and the houses, or rather huts, now amounted to two hundred and thirty, with a population of not less than twelve hundred inhabitants.

### **January 25, 1827**

Immediately upon our reaching the place yesterday, I sent Lieutenant Montmorency up to Sir Archibald Campbell, to inform him of our arrival; giving him, in charge, for the General's perusal, a copy of my dispatch to Government and of my Journal. We ascended ourselves, this morning, in the steam-vessel to Maulamyang, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating personally with Sir Archibald Campbell on the subject of the Mission. With the advantage of the flood-tide we reached it in three hours and a half, although detained nearly half an hour by getting on a sand-bank. The distance from Amherst to Maulamyang is twenty-seven miles. We found that the new cantonment had already made great progress, and that necessaries and even some comforts were already commanded.

### **January 27, 1827**

We made a long excursion yesterday into the forests, near Maulamyang, which was rewarded by a large collection of new and magnificent plants. A range of low hills, or rather of high land, skirts the left bank of the Saluen in this quarter, which is covered with a forest of moderate size, without much underwood. The soil is here thin and gravelly. The rock is quartz, and it is in this range that an ore of antimony is found in such vast abundance. Behind this again are extensive and fertile grassy plains, without wood, which in better times had been cultivated with rice.

We resolved to make the best use of the time which was likely to elapse before we should find an opportunity of proceeding to Bengal, in visiting and exploring as much as was accessible to us of our new acquisitions in this quarter. Accordingly,

accompanied by Major Fenwick, Civil Superintendent of the district, and Lieutenant Scotland, who had just returned from a visit to the source of the Ataran, we commenced our expedition this morning by ascending that river, one of the four fine streams which water the province.

The Sa-luen, the Gain, and the Ataran, join at the town of Martaban, and then proceed by two branches to the sea, these being divided from each other by the large island of Balú. The confluence of the rivers before this bifurcation forms a sheet of water, interspersed with many green islets, five or six miles in breadth, and having all the appearance of a picturesque and beautiful lake. The view of this landscape, one of the finest pieces of scenery in India or in any other country, is seen to most advantage from the high hills immediately over the town of Martaban. The Ataran is the smallest, but the deepest, of the three principal rivers: and instead of coming from the north, like the Saluen and Gain, its course is from south-east to north-west. We began to ascend it at half-past two o'clock; and after running, by estimate, about twenty-seven miles; stopped for the night at a range of hills called Ni-daong.

### **January 28, 1827**

The river passes through the Ni-daong hills: the principal part of the range, which is small, being on the right bank of the river, which, in fact, washes its base. This is one of many ranges of blue mountain limestone, interspersed through the plains of Martaban. The range rises to the height of not less than three hundred feet abruptly from the plain; its sides being often quite perpendicular, and wooded wherever there is the least hold for the soil to settle. We landed last night, but too late for investigation. Our visit was renewed, however, this morning; and, in a botanical point of view, our excursion was most successful. At eight o'clock in the morning, on coming on board, we prosecuted our journey. In the course of the forenoon we passed another of the limestone ranges, called Pa-baong, still more singular in appearance than the last; but we delayed our visit to it until our return. At two o'clock we arrived before the village of Ataran, or at least what had once been so. This is the place which gives name to the river. Near its site, and about a mile and a half from the right bank of the river, are

some remarkable hot springs, which we visited by passing along a path through thick and tall grass. We examined two of the springs: the largest was a pool about twenty-five yards in diameter, and covered over with a light calcareous incrustation tinged with iron: the water was perfectly limpid, and not very sensibly saline. The spring seemed to be in the middle of the pool, where the water was seen bubbling up: there was no reaching this, where no doubt the heat was greatest. A thermometer immersed at the edge of the pool stood at 133°; and in the brook which led from it, at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards, it was scarcely lower. The margin of the pool is formed of a hard calcareous incrustation,—the same substance, in an indurated state, which is seen floating on the water. One of the limestone ranges, which I have already described, is not above two miles distant from the hot springs. The neighbourhood of Ataran is praised by the Peguans for its fertility; and from appearance it may be judged that the land is well suited for the growth of rice. We observed no marks of former industry, with the exception of some groves of well-grown cocoa-nut trees, which were in fruit. In returning to the vessel, we crossed the brook which leads from the hot springs, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from them. The water was quite clear,—nearly of the temperature of the atmosphere, and full of small fish. We stopped for the night about eight miles above Ataran.

### **January 29, 1827**

We ascended as far as it was safe to take the vessel, being in all a distance of about sixty miles from the mouth of the river. The stream, which below was from one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards broad, with low banks, contracted above Ataran to the breadth of fifty yards, with banks fifteen and twenty feet high. In the lower part of the river, no bottom was often to be found with a line of nine fathoms, and up to Ataran there was never less than three fathoms. After this the river shoals, and at high-water spring-tides we had in some places but a fathom, or barely more than the steam-vessel's draft. The spring-tides reach apparently about seventy miles from the mouth of the river, or nearly one hundred from the sea. For fifty miles up, the navigation of the Ataran, though the river be narrow, is remarkably safe and easy. The banks are so steep that a vessel may range from side to side,

touching, as we did, the boughs of the trees alternately on both sides. There is not a single rock or danger of any kind in all this distance,

In the forenoon we ascended five or six miles in our boats, but found the river very shallow. Our chief object was to reach the teak forests; but this we found impracticable, without a detention which our time would not afford. Mr. Scotland, who had proceeded as far as the Siamese frontier at the "Three Pagodas," described the nearest forest as being fifteen miles farther up the river than we went, and from two to three miles distant from the banks of the river. He had passed through two of these forests. The first, and smallest, was in breadth about three miles and a half, and about one-half the trees consisted of teak. The largest forest is about five miles in breadth, and almost entirely composed of teak: this also contained the largest trees. In both, the timber very generally ran up to the height of from forty to sixty feet; and the average circumference of the trees, at the base, was from ten to fourteen feet. Some were found measuring from nineteen to twenty-three feet. The forests were on each side of the river, and the timber could be transported to it, by means of buffaloes, with comparatively very little labour.

The banks of the Ataran abound with the elephant, the rhinoceros, wild hog, and deer, but the elephant especially. We landed nowhere without finding the fresh tracks of these last, which appeared to be in vast numbers. In Mr. Scotland's visit to the Three Pagodas, performed by land, he saw not less than a hundred. The Karians, who accompanied him, shot one elephant, a rhinoceros, and several hogs: the elephant, which was a large female, was killed with a single musket-ball, which hit her in the forehead, passing directly into the brain. The flesh of all these animals is eaten indiscriminately by all the races inhabiting this country. Two species of monkey were seen by ourselves in great numbers, especially on the limestone ranges, over the abrupt and frightful sides of which they were seen clambering with apparent ease and unconcern.

The birds which we saw were numerous pea-fowl; the common fowl in a wild state, and numerous flocks of a large green pigeon. Among the productions of this country, honey and bees' wax are very considerable ones. By the report of the natives, there are five species of bee producing honey and wax, some of which are



without stings. Our people brought on board several honey-combs; and on splitting up the trunk of a tree for fuel, we found a fissure in the middle of it, extending nearly throughout, and containing honey and wax. The bee, in this case, was without a sting, and not one-half the size of a common fly.

### **January 30, 1827**

We dropped down a short way last night, on our return to Maulamyang, and this morning prosecuted our journey. When opposite to a place called Samí, and a little below an island in the middle of the river, we observed a few teak trees, some of which were measured, and found to be from five to seven feet in circumference. These probably form the outskirts of forests of the same timber in the interior.

### **January 31, 1827**

About four o'clock yesterday afternoon we reached the rocks of Pa-baong. These run parallel with the right bank of the river, and are washed by the tide. The range is a good deal higher than any of the others, and I should think in some places not less than four hundred feet high. One peak of a bout this elevation, separated from the general, mass, rises from the ground in the form of a sharp pyramid; on the top of it is a little pagoda, the labour, difficulty, and danger of constructing which may be easily imagined. About the centre of the range is a vaulted cavern piercing through and through the rock, which gives passage to a small branch of the river, navigable for boats for a tide, or about fifteen miles up. We went through this passage in our boats, and were much struck with the grandeur and magnificence of the prospect. The roof of the cavern was covered with stupendous stalactites.

Between two and three o'clock to-day, we returned to the military station. The following general sketch may be offered of the Ataran:—Twenty miles above its *debouchement*, its banks are low, and covered with a narrow belt of *rhizophoras*, or mangroves. In the interior, on both sides, there are extensive grassy plains, without wood, apparently well fitted for the culture of rice. Farther up the river than the distance now mentioned, the banks rise

considerably, the mangroves disappear, and the place is occupied by a narrow belt of arborescent willows: this is a new species of *Salix*. This tract is probably the most fertile: it abounds in plains, interrupted only here and there by the range of primitive limestone, which I have already mentioned. About fifty miles above the mouth of the river, the banks become very elevated. Another new species of willow now appears, and the teak begins to make its appearance. The soil here appeared to me to be a deep rich clay, and I should presume that it is well suited to the growth of the sugar-cane, cotton plant, indigo, and tobacco. Upon the whole, I am disposed to think that the country upon the banks of this river will be found fertile, and well suited to the growth of many articles of colonial produce. In the meanwhile, this tract, apparently so fine, is nearly destitute of inhabitants. We saw but four petty villages, all established, within the last few months by emigrants from the Burmese territory. This place, in fact, was the chief seat of the great emigration of Talains, alleged to have amounted to forty thousand people, which took place into the Siamese territory about fourteen years ago. Since that time, until the cession of the country to us, it had been a complete desert. European and Chinese settlers receiving grants, or perpetual leases of these wastes, would, with the many advantages—of timber, of a convenient navigation, and of accessible markets, soon bring them into a state of fruitful culture.

### **February 2, 1827**

It was our intention to have gone at once up the Saluen and Gain rivers, but we found it necessary to revisit Amherst, for the purpose of making arrangements for our voyage to Bengal. We accordingly left Maulamyang yesterday evening, anchored half-way down, close to the island of Balú, for the night, and this morning reached Amherst. While the vessel lay at anchor last evening, we visited the village of Karat-sit on Balú, proceeding, for this purpose, up a narrow creek to the distance of about three miles. The place contains about sixty houses, and had much appearance of native comfort. It is one of twelve large villages in the island, besides hamlets, Balú, which lies in the mouth of the Saluen river, dividing its *embouchure* into two branches, is about twenty English miles in length, and about half that extent in

average breadth. A chain of low hills runs through its length, not exceeding any where two hundred feet in height. I am told they are chiefly composed of clay-slate, but that limestone is also found. This island, among the Burmans, is celebrated for its fertility; and at present, small as its population is (about nine thousand inhabitants), it is the most populous part of Martaban. Its principal, and indeed almost only produce, is rice; which is so cheap, that it has been commonly sold at the rate of half a rupee for a basket of fifty-six pounds weight, which is about two shillings sterling. Small European vessels have taken in cargoes at this rate, and even lower. In sailing along the coast of the island, nothing is to be seen but a low mangrove jungle, and a stranger would suppose that the whole island was in fact covered with forest. This mangrove, however, is but a narrow belt; and shortly after we had entered the creek last night, extensive plains presented themselves, extending to the range of hills: these had recently been cultivated with rice. All the large villages on Balu are situated on creeks, penetrating several miles into the island. These afford a most convenient communication with the coast, and contribute materially to the cheapness with which its staple product is exported.

Our return to Bengal having hindered our excursion to the Saluen and Gain rivers, as well as prevented us from visiting other parts of the province, I shall endeavour in some measure to supply the deficiency, by the insertion of the journal of a voyage to Martaban, which, I performed about ten months before the time of which I am now writing ...<sup>18</sup>

### **February 9, 1827**

On the 3rd, the ship *Bombay Merchant*, which had our baggage on board, arrived at Amherst; and on the 6th, I made an arrangement with the commander to take us to Bengal. The next morning, I proceeded up to Maulamyaing in the steam-vessel, to arrange some points of business with Sir Archibald Campbell, who returned with me on the 8th to Amherst. On the evening of that day, leaving my friend Dr. Wallich behind to prosecute his botanical researches, we embarked in the *Bombay Merchant*, and at nine o'clock this

---

<sup>18</sup> This account has been extracted and published separately in the present issue of the SBBR.

morning, with a fair wind, sailed out of the harbour in prosecution of our voyage to Bengal. The weather in the Bay of Bengal, especially the upper part of it, although generally fine throughout the north-east monsoon, can at no time of the year be implicitly relied upon. February, however, is the most steady month, and there is hardly any example of a gale in it.

### **February 23, 1827**

Our passage was remarkably favourable, and the weather exceedingly fine throughout. We took in a pilot at the sand-heads on the 21<sup>st</sup>, having thus, as the reckoning is usually made, effected our passage in twelve days. Here, as frequently happens in this season, we were becalmed, and it would probably have taken us eight days more to have reached Calcutta, had we proceeded all the way in the ship. On the evening of the 22<sup>nd</sup>, however, the steam-vessel *Emulous*, the finest and most suitable vessel of this class which has ever been seen in India, fortunately hove in sight, towing down a ship of six hundred tons, bound for England. The *Emulous* took our whole party on board at sunset, while we were still one hundred and forty miles from Calcutta, and not in sight of the island of Saugor, and proceeding all night, for the most part against the tide, landed us safely, at an early hour next morning. My report and dispatches being all ready, I delivered them, as well as the most valuable part of the presents, within half an hour of my landing, to the Secretary of Government.