

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	vii
A Note on the Text and Translation of Kinwan Mingyi's Diaries	1
Chapter I Kinwan Mingyi and his Companions	4
Chapter II The Embassy to London	13
i. Introduction	13
ii. London Diary, March 2 to August 13, 1872	17
iii. Commentary	66
Chapter III The Chambers of Commerce	69
i. Introduction	69
ii. London Diary, August 14 to November 14, 1872	70
iii. Commentary	89
Chapter IV The Commercial Treaty with France	91
i. Introduction	91
ii. London Diary, November 15, 1872 to February 16, 1873	92
iii. Commentary	116
Chapter V The Journey Homewards	118
i. Introduction	118
ii. London Diary, February 17 to May 2, 1873	118
iii. Commentary	141
Chapter VI The Embassy to France	146
i. Introduction	146
ii. Paris Diary, March 7, 1874 to October 11, 1874	149
iii. Commentary	191
Bibliography	197

PREFACE

Kinwun Mingyi led two missions to Europe. The first, in March 1872, was to England and its purpose was to obtain for Burma recognition as a fully sovereign state, notwithstanding the fact that Lower Burma was already in British hands. Failing to obtain that recognition from England, Kinwun Mingyi crossed over to France and entered into a commercial treaty with the Republic, thus demonstrating the sovereign treaty-making power of the Kingdom of Burma. But on return to Mandalay in May 1873, Kinwun Mingyi found the Burmese court unenthusiastic over the treaty, and when a French embassy arrived some months later to exchange ratification, the King suggested amendments and additions. To obtain the approval of the French government for the King's changes in the text of the treaty, Kinwun Mingyi, in February 1874, again led a mission to France. *The French government courteously but firmly refused to accord approval*, and Kinwun Mingyi arrived back at Mandalay, again empty-handed, in the following October. In spite of their lack of success, Kinwun Mingyi's two missions were of the utmost historical and political significance. First, they constituted a desperate effort on the part of the Burmese to save their kingdom from extinction, and second, the commercial treaty, lying unratified and dormant since 1874, was suddenly revived in 1885, which gave the British the opportunity and the excuse to shout "Wolf" at the French government and annex the Burmese kingdom before the year was out.

From Europe Kinwun Mingyi sent to his King detailed comments and reports of his negotiations with the courts at St. James's and Versailles. But they were confidential and were not recorded in his *London and Paris Diaries*. The *Diaries* were written for a different audience and with a different purpose. He wanted to give his countrymen a wonder tale of his interesting and exciting Grand Tour of Europe. Consequently, to the present-day reader the *Diaries* are mere travelogues, full of trivia. However, as the official reports *that he wrote were lost in November 1885* in the looting of the Golden Palace during the interregnum of some 18 hours between the fall of the old government and the establishment of the new, one has to guess and glean for historical and political data from the *Diaries* themselves. I have, however, been able to trace the relevant records in the India Office Library in London and in the library of the French Foreign Office in Paris and obtain from them some of the details regarding the negotiations not given in the *Diaries*.

It was as long ago as 1928 that I first planned to translate Kinwun Mingyi's *Diaries*. I was then in my final year at the University College, Rangoon, and there was a great interest among my classmates in the *Diaries*, recently published under the editorship of our Professor of Oriental Studies, U Pe Maung Tin. I consulted my father, U Pein, who knew Kinwun Mingyi and Myotha Wundauk, who was Deputy Foreign Minister under Kinwun Mingyi during the closing years of King Theebaw's reign. But, as with many of my youthful dreams, it was soon abandoned and forgotten.

European scholars of Burmese history became interested in the *Diaries* when Dr. Maung Maung in his *Burma in the Family of Nations* made one or two references to the *London Diary*. So in 1967 when The Asia Society of New York offered me a research grant to translate the *Diaries*, I accepted with alacrity. After I had started the work, I came to the conclusion that a mere translation without an explanation of the political background would be of no real value and, accordingly, I went over to England to study the relevant India Office records.

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Bar Library,
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A NOTE ON THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF

KINWUN MINGYI'S DIARIES

According to Myotha Wundauk Kadaw, wife of Myotha Wundauk, Deputy Foreign Minister at the time of the British annexation of Burma in 1885, palm-leaf copies of Kinwun Mingyi's *Diaries* were in circulation among the palace ladies in 1876. The *London Diary* and the first 15 pages only of the *Paris Diary* were printed and published at Rangoon in 1908 by U Ba Gunn, proprietor of the Burmese newspaper *Myanmar Aswe*. The standard editions are *London Diary*, Volumes I and II, and *Paris Diary*, edited by Professor U Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon), and published by the Government Press, Rangoon in 1926 and 1939 respectively. In translating the *Diaries*, I followed U Pe Maung Tin's text.

U Pe Maung Tin's edition of the *Paris Diary* contains as an appendix letters written by Kinwun Mingyi to the editor of a Burmese newspaper at Mandalay. In them, Kinwun Mingyi gave in poetic prose and in verse an account of his journey to Paris on his second mission. I have not included those letters in my translation because, first, they did not form part of the *Paris Diary* and, second, except for some eleven verses describing his emotional reaction to some of the sights he saw, the letters merely summarized what he had noted down in his *Paris Diary*.

Kinwun Mingyi as the head of the Burmese mission to the Court of St. James's, travelled from Mandalay to London in point of space, but in point of time, he travelled from the middle ages to the period of the flowering of the Industrial Revolution. Kinwun Mingyi, when he

started on never seen a his embassy, had railway train and had always read at night by the light of a flickering oil lamp. Yet in a few weeks, he was passing along the newly opened Suez Canal in a slow Egyptian train, which, however, was so fast to him that for some moments he could not focus his eyes on the countryside through which the train was travelling; a few weeks, and he was living in a dazzling world of gas lights, underground trains, and the pomp and glory of Queen Victoria's England. To Kinwun Mingyi then, his journey was as marvellous as that of Marco Polo to Cathay and as exciting as that of Nell Armstrong and Michael Collins to the moon. A seasoned courtier used to speaking in elegant phrases, and a poet and writer of epistles of skill and repute, Kinwun Mingyi must have been tempted to write his *Diaries* in poetic prose, giving free rein to his poetic imagination, as he did in the verses contained in the letters to the newspaper editor mentioned above. For example, the following verse recorded his departure from Rangoon with a wistfulness, for Lower Burma with its Shwedagon Pagoda, the rich province of Hanthawaddy (Pegu), and its charming people, was now under another's rule:

Up and down, bobbing up and down,
 Over the praying festoons of tree-tops and
 branches,
 Appears the Golden Relic Chamber of the
 Four Buddha;
 Washed by seven cubit tides, entwined and
 robed by shadowy mists,
 There stands the mansion-like Hanthawaddy,
 peerless amongst all lands,

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ø 1 U.P.--M. 249---1,050---3-12-74. B.S.

It is the land of my friends of old.
Remembering that they have only pure and
pleasant thoughts of me, I shall miss them
every day.

Another verse described a harbour scene at
Penang, with a charming reference to the
Envoy's wife:

With racing waves, the sea is deep and
dark. In little boats with many sails, the Penang
people cannot rest.

They build cages of plank and bamboo,
and trap the fish.

If only my Lady left forlorn in the distant
land of Mandalay, The lonely lady lying and
pining on her couch, were here!

I would ask her to choose a gudgeon or a
puffer or a carp, And I would catch it for her
myself.

Alas! She is not here.

And another verse, in awe and admiration,
paid tribute to the builder of the Suez Canal:

The impossible had been made possible,
The unnatural had become natural.

The coasts and seas of the Mediterranean
and the Red, For the benefit of all countries,

Have been made continuous by a master
planner Who saw far into the distant future.

Is he the trusted servant of the King of the
gods Come down to earth to plan and build?

"Here shall be the water, here shall be the
land, Here shall be the road, here shall be the
railway line, Here shall be the town," he says
and plans and builds.

Is he not wonderful? Is he not marvellous?

He equals Weethagylene, the architect of
the gods.

However, Kinwun Mingyi resisted the
temptation, and curbed his poetic fancy. The world
he was visiting was not fairy-land but the prosaic
west, and he would describe to his countrymen all he
saw in a matter-of-fact style, bare and unadorned.

A complete translation of the *London*

Diary would cover some 550 pages and of the
Paris Diary another 200, and it would have
made this present work too long. Therefore, I
have summarized some portions. However, I
have not summarized any passage which can
have the slightest importance or which can be
of some interest to the reader. All passages
summarized are purely descriptive full of
minute details, as for example, a check list of
officers and regiments taking part in a
ceremonial parade, copied from the official
programme, or an account of every single item
of a circus show. Although the translation given
in the following pages comes to only 250 pages
or one third of the original, it has a continuous
narrative because my summaries are really
abridgements. My task of summarizing the
passages was made easier by the fact that
Kinwun Mingyi wrote the *Diaries* in the third
person. I have put the abridgements in square
brackets so that they are easily recognizable to
the reader.

Certain names of persons given in the
Diaries cannot be identified and in such cases
in my translation, the names are left out, but
descriptive references are retained as for
example, "Italian merchant", "Sinhalese
nobleman", "Lord of Killarney". As most of
these names were of persons who appeared
once or twice only and were of no importance
to the course of Kinwun Mingyi's mission, I felt
that I should not spend too much time trying to
be a literary sleuth. U Pe Maung Tin made
some attempt in his edition to identify all the
names in the *London Diary* but he was
successful only in the more obvious ones, e.g.
Burney, Phayre, Gladstone, and Queen
Victoria. He made no attempt to identify the
names in the *Paris Diary*. I have been more
successful than

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

U Pe Maung Tin only because I had access to the official records of the India Office and the French Foreign Office. I failed to identify even the names of some important personages whom Kinwun Mingyi met in Italy because I had no access to the Italian records. As Kinwun Mingyi did not know the English, French and Italian languages, some of his transliterations of European names were misleading, e.g. "Laylard" for "Liddell", "Cawet" for "Cowell", "Abo" for "Fau", "Daung Paukloo" for "Don Paolo" and "Mara Katkyee" for "Marescalchi". Errors on the part of the scribe of the palm-leaf manuscript and of the printer added to the difficulty, e.g. "Mathew Inlat" for "Lord Matheun", "Bakromarty" for "Baroness Cromarty" and "Mark Barlick Sparky" for "Marquis of Ailesbury".

Kinwun Mingyi in his Diaries used the Burmese measures of distance and time. As to distance, the translator has no difficulty, because a Burmese "tine" exactly equals two English miles. As to time, however, a Burmese "moung" is of about 24 minutes duration and thus three "moungs" make more than an English hour. But Kinwun Mingyi, obviously using an English pocket watch, spoke of a half hour as one "moung" and an hour as three "moungs". In the translation, I have followed his example, instead of working out arithmetical equivalents. It may be mentioned that, while throughout the *London Diary*, Kinwun Mingyi used the Burmese method of reckoning time, in the *Paris Diary*, after the first few pages, he used English hours and minutes.

Kinwun Mingyi gave his dates according to the Burmese calendar, but in the translation the dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar. The measure of weight used in the *Diaries* was the *viss*, divisible into 100 ticals, and equivalent to 27½ pounds. As this measure is still in use in Burma, I have not given in the translation its equivalent. The unit of Burmese currency has always been the kyat and in 1872, one kyat equalled one Indian rupee and ten kyats equalled one pound sterling. Many things that Kinwun Mingyi saw and described for the benefit of his countrymen were so strange and unusual to Burmese eyes that he had to coin special phrases to describe them, and I have retained them in the translation without trying to display my own twentieth century familiarity with those objects. For example, I have retained "under-water bomb" without displacing it with "torpedo" and I have retained the "great teaching school of Dublin" without substituting "Trinity College, Dublin". Kinwun Mingyi always referred to Mandalay as "the Golden City", and although Mandalay was both the official title and the popular name of the capital since King Mindon built it, I have in the translation retained the term "The Golden City", because to Kinwun Mingyi and his contemporaries, in spite of the loss in power and prestige of the Burmese monarchy in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the kingdom of Burma was still the fairest and dearest of lands, and its capital, although threatened with conquest and destruction by an alien power, was still the city of glory and splendour.

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Chapter I

KINWUN MINGYI AND HIS COMPANIONS

1. Kinwun Mingyi, 1822-1908.

Maung Kaung, the future Kinwun Mingyi was born in February 1822 at a small town called Mintaingbin in Monywa district in north-western Burma. At the early age of ten, he began his studies of the Buddhist Scriptures as a pupil of the Primate, Barguya Sayadaw. As was the custom, he became a novice and stayed in the monastery until the age of 20 when, without taking the higher Ordination, he left the monastery. He continued his studies of the Scriptures and also started to write verses and epistles, and his reputation as a scholar and a poet reached the capital city of Amarapura. In 1849, when the King's younger brother, the Prince of Mindon, set up his princely household, he sent for Maung Kaung and examined him in his knowledge of the Scriptures, Burmese literature and Burmese law. Prince Min-don was a scholar himself and was impressed by Maung Kaung's scholarship. Then the prince gave him a parchment and pen and asked him to compose a poem. Satisfied with the poem submitted, the prince appointed Maung Kaung a Gentleman of his household. One year later, the prince obtained from his brother, the King, the title of Naymyo Yadana Sithu for Maung Kaung and appointed him Chamberlain. When in 1852, the prince seized the throne and became King, he appointed his Chamberlain as the Royal Treasurer with the title of Minhla Theinkhathu and gave the village of Ywathitgyi as a fief. In 1856, the Royal Treasurer won acclaim from the King and the general public for a narrative poem consisting of 100 verses, and he was appointed a Junior Secretary at the High Court of *Hluttaw*. In 1857, the Junior Secretary was raised

to the rank of Royal Secretary of the *Hluttaw*, and was also assigned the special task of studying ancient records relating to the building of royal capitals and submitting detailed plans for the building of the new capital, the Golden City of Mandalay. In spite of his daily duties as Royal Secretary of the *Hluttaw*, U Kaung was able to submit to the King his plans for the new capital within a year. King Mindon was so pleased with the plans that he raised U Kaung to the rank of "Maha" and conferred upon him the new title of Maha Mingyaw Sithu and a nine-stringed gold chain of office. In 1860 U Kaung was appointed Governor of Ahlone town. Four years later, he was recalled to *Hluttaw* as Royal Secretary and was instructed to make a special study of the system of collecting revenue from the royal forests of Toungoo and Yamethin. In 1865, while retaining the rank of Royal Secretary of the *Hluttaw*, he was appointed a special Revenue Minister for the royal forests. In 1866, as he was making his report before the *Hluttaw*, the rebellion led by Prince Myingun broke out. Prince Myingun himself entered the *Hluttaw* and killed the Crown Prince and other ministers sitting as judges. A senior Minister, Pakhan Mingyi escaped together with U Kaung and the two rallied round King Mindon and organised resistance against the rebels. But no sooner had the rebellion been suppressed and Prince Myingun escaped into the British territory of Lower Burma than the son of the slain Crown Prince raised his standard and marched on the Golden City. Pakhan Mingyi and his assistant, U Kaung covered themselves with glory in suppressing the second rebellion also and the grateful King raised U Kaung to the rank of "Wundauk" or Junior Minister

and conferred upon him the title of "Mingyi" or High Commissioner. In 1870, the King set up guard posts all over the kingdom and U Kaung was now appointed "Kin Wundauk" or Junior Minister of Guard Posts. In accordance with official custom, his personal name of Maung Kaung went out of use and he came to be known as "Kin Wundauk Mingyi". He was also given the responsibility of administering the frontier region between the kingdom of Burma and British Burma. In 1871, the King asked Kin Wundauk, in open audience, "Mingyi Kin Wundauk, will you be willing to go to the Queen of England, across miles of land and water, taking with you, my letter of greeting and my presents?" "Your Majesty," replied Kin Wundauk, "there are many who are senior to me and who are much more able; however, if Your Majesty is pleased to assign me the task of leading an embassy to the English Queen, I shall not flinch but will serve Your Majesty to the limit of my powers." The King was pleased and raising him to the rank of "Wun" or a full minister, appointed him as Ambassador Extra-ordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James's. In 1874, Kinwun Mingyi was again sent to Europe, this time as ambassador to France and the day before his departure for Paris, he was raised to the rank of "Thado." He received the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Crown of Italy from the King of Italy and was appointed Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour by the French Government. On his return, he was made "Thinhnatwun" or Minister for the Rifle Brigades of the Kingdom, and also created Lord of Laigaing. However, both in official records and in popular usage, he continued to be known as Kinwun Mingyi. That did not result in any confusion because the Ministry of Guard Posts became merged into the new Ministry of Rifle Brigades. In 1875, he again led an embassy, this time to India on the occasion of the visit to that country of the Prince of Wales, who was later to become Edward VII. In 1878, King Mindon was

succeeded on the throne by Prince Theebaw. In 1880, Kinwun was appointed officially Minister of Foreign Affairs (still retaining the Ministry of Rifle Brigades), which merely recognised the fact that since his embassy to London he had been consulted by the King and *Hluttaw* in all matters relating to foreign affairs, serving as the channel of communication with foreign governments. He was also made a "Minister-Long-Life" which meant that he could never be impeached or executed. It was a distinction conferred very rarely throughout Burmese history. He was also given the special privilege of being sent daily from the royal kitchen dishes identical with those served to the King. After the British annexation of 1886, he served the British as an adviser on Burmese law and was given the decoration of Companion in the Order of the Star of India during the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria. In 1888, he retired from the service of the British government. Nine years later, however, he was appointed to the *Lieu-tenant-Governor's* advisory Council. He died at Pegu on 30th June 1908.

The above bare facts of Kinwun Mingyi's life are given on a memorial stone set up at the place in Mandalay where his body was cremated. During the destruction of Mandalay in the second world war, the memorial stone slab was removed to the monastery built by Kinwun Mingyi in the western part of the city, and is preserved there. An estimate of Kinwun Mingyi's character and personality and his achievements is given in the concluding chapter of the present work. It may, however, be mentioned at this point that Kinwun Mingyi is a controversial figure in history because of his involvement in the intrigue that betrayed the dying Mindon and elected an unknown and junior prince to succeed to the throne, because of his failure to prevent the two terrible massacres perpetrated during Theebaw's reign, and because of his alleged (but unproven) pro-British sympathies on the eve of the annexation of 1885.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974

2. Pandee Wundauk, First Deputy Envoy, Embassy to London, Mahaminhla Kyawhtin, Deputy Minister for brass, bronze and copper work.

The dates of his birth and death, and his personal name are not known. He was a Gentleman of the Royal Chambers, and as a protégé of the Crown Prince, King Mindon's younger brother, was educated at an American mission school at Mandalay and later sent to Calcutta as a state scholar and studied under an English teacher, who later became the London "Times" correspondent.¹ He must have received some technical training while in India, as he was one of the architects of Mindon's industrial programme as deputy minister of brass, bronze and copper-work. He was in full charge of the minis-try, as he was "deputy" only in overall rank among the royal officials. He had also served as the King's Agent at Rangoon, the capital of British Burma. From all accounts he had a charming personality. He led an exploratory mission to England in April 1870 with another official and before leaving the capital, sought the assistance of the English Agent at Mandalay, McMahan (see below) to learn European diplomatic procedures, and McMahan must have liked him well enough to give him all assistance, thus bringing upon his own head the wrath of the Chief Commissioner, Fytche, who described him as having "a strange ignorance and want of tact". But by that time Pandee Wundauk had gone, and in despair Fytche's secretary wrote to the Secretary to the Governor General in Calcutta: "Had General Fytche not been unfortunately absent from Rangoon at the time on privilege leave, he could have prevented the departure of the two

Burmese to Europe, as he succeeded in preventing a similar attempt to send a mission to France in 1867."² The American ambassador in London met Pandee Wundauk and in a report which he later submitted to his government made a reference to Pandee Wundauk as follows: "I made his acquaintance at that time. I found him intelligent and speaking English well. He had learned the language from the American missionaries." The ambassador took some pains at the Wundauk's request to prepare and send him samples of papers used in diplomacy. Later on he was delighted to receive a letter from the Burmese official referring to and acknowledging his kindness.³ Pandee Wundauk also succeeded in gaining a meeting with Gladstone and prevailing upon him to accept a golden chain of office sent by King Mindon.⁴ Pandee Wundauk remained in England until the end of 1871 and his visit was obviously a success for on September 15, 1871, the irate Secretary to the Chief Commissioner at Rangoon wrote to the Government of India thus: "There is at present an informal mission at home(said to be)received with great honour by public officers and bodies, headed by a young man holding an extremely inferior position in the country and not possessed of such rank as to warrant his reception as representative of a Court. The facility which is afforded to adventurous and intriguing persons by a too ready recognition of irregularly accredited agents in England weakens the authority of the responsible local officers."⁵ Pandee Wundauk also visited Paris on his way to England and contacted the French Government.⁶ The failure of Kinwun Mingyi's

1 London Diary, April 8, 1873.

2 India Foreign Department Proceedings: September 1870/1870 vol., Dorothy Woodman,

3 *The Making of Burma*, p. 191.

4 Foreign Relations of the United States, 1873, Part I, page 318. quoted by J.L. Christian in "Burma and the American State Papers". J.B.R.S., Vol. XXVI, Part II.

5 Gladstone Papers, Vol. CCCXLV.

6 India Foreign Department Proceedings: 1873 Vol.

7 Quai d'Orsay, Correspondence politique Angleterre, Calcutta, June 15, 1870.

JBR, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

mission to England was a personal failure for Pandee Wundauk and he was demoted on his return by King Mindon.⁷ It was not King Mindon's custom to punish his officers for failure, and probably the unjust treatment given to the Wundauk was meant to appease the critics of Kinwun Mingyi who were gloating over the failure of the mission. McMahon in his volume of reminiscences described him as an official "with good knowledge of English and considerable capacity".⁸

3. Hpangyet Wundauk, Second Deputy Envoy, London Embassy, Mahamingyaw Yaza. Deputy Minister for Glass manufacture.

He started his service as a Gentleman of the Royal Chambers and was also a protégé of the Crown Prince. His personal name was Maung Shwe O, later contracted to Maung Shwe. In 1859, he was one of the three students sent as state scholars to France and were presented to Napoleon III. After three years of preliminary studies, he was admitted to l' Ecole des arts et manufactures, and in 1866 he obtained the diploma in civil engineering from l' Ecole Centrale.⁹ The Order Yaza to which he was appointed showed that in spite of his technical qualifications, he had chosen a judicial and an administrative career and for some time he served as a Burmese judge in the mixed court at

Mandalay. However, he was later appointed Deputy Minister of Glass Manufacture and, like his contemporary Pandee Wundauk, he was one of the architects of Mindon's industrial programme. Count Marescalchi, who was a member of French mission to the Court of Mandalay in 1874, described him as follows: "At Minhla, we were met by the Pangyet Wundauk, a majestic figure under a gold umbrella: he had been several years in France and accompanied the Paris embassy: for him we had the Legion of Honour- a young man, benefited, not (as too often) spoiled by Europe, a good lad who acted as our interpreter and intermediary at Mandalay, good and intelligent."¹⁰ As the Paris mission was also deemed a failure, he was also sacrificed and demoted by King Mindon.¹¹ He re-appeared briefly on the international scene in 1879 when he arrived in Paris as an ambassador extraordinary from King Theebaw and arranged the admission of some Burmese state scholars to technical institutes in France.¹² He visited Italy on the way home for the same purpose.¹³ McMahon, in his volume of reminiscences, described him as "speaking fluent and precise French, polished and winning manners, for some time judge of the Mixed Court, holds French diploma as civil engineer, considerable ability and scholarly attainments."¹⁴ In 1880, he was appointed a minister with title of *Kyaukmyaung Atwinwun*.

7Paris Diary, June 1, 1874.

8*Far Cathay* p. 137.

9Quai d'Orsay, Birmanie, 1., tome 49, fol. 447-449, 474-482.

10Marescalchi, "Une Mission en Birmanie, 1873-74 ", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. V, 1-ix-1874, p. 64.

11 Paris Diary, June 1, 1874

12 Quai, Birmanie, 2, t.50 ,fol. 429.

13 H.A. Browne, *Reminiscences*, p. 167.

14 *Far Cathay*, p. 137.

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4. The Royal Secretary, Assistant Envoy, London Embassy, Deputy Envoy Paris Embassy, Minhla Zeyathu.

He knew no English nor French, but was a Burmese scholar of considerable repute. His personal name was U Cheint. Probably he became the King's Secretary by way of a clerkship and secretary ship at the High Court of *Hluttaw*. He was promoted a Wundauk and "Maha" added to his title on return from Paris. Mare scalchi described him as follows: "A jovial person with a formidable appetite who had accompanied the embassy to Paris, we had for him a Cross of the Legion of Honour."¹⁵ Obviously his formidable appetite was the cause of colic which he suffered on his first visit to Egypt.¹⁶ He must have been a gay and optimistic person for he seemed always ready to send to the King a telegraphic report of the embassy's success in England and in France, before any success had been achieved, and Kinwun Mingyi had to restrain him.¹⁷ Marescalchi also commented that he was "a bon vivant and equally intelligent."¹⁸ On being appointed Wundauk, he was given charge of the frontier and came to be known as Negyar Wundauk and was immensely popular with English officials. In 1875, he accompanied Kinwun Mingyi as deputy envoy to India on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales. He then went on to Europe leading an embassy to Portugal and Spain. McMahon in *Far Cathay* described him as follows: "Ignorant of English, but a great literary authority. Hearty and genial, generous and candid in nature, general favourite everywhere, contributed much to the popularity of the embassy. Promoted Wundauk on return to Mandalay. So much persona grata to Englishmen that he was frequently sent on

missions to the Government of India. He died of *official colic* a few days after Theebaw's ascension." A number of officials were executed after Theebaw's first audience, and the cause of death was announced as that of "colic".¹⁹

5. Edmund Jones, London Embassy, Burmese Consul at Rangoon.

He was the director of Edmund Jones and Company, general merchants, Rangoon, and had agents in Ceylon and India and with its headquarters in London. He was an honest merchant and not an adventurer in any way. Bearing patiently the insults and snubs meted out to him by his own English government, he served his employer, the Burmese King, well. He was a sincere friend of the Burmese and won the regard and esteem of the Burmese King, Kinwun Mingyi and the other envoys. He fully deserved the repeated references to him by Kinwun Mingyi in the London Diary as "His Majesty's most loyal and devoted servant". Further references to him are made in the translator's comments given below on the London Diary.

6. Major A.R. McMahon, London Embassy.

He served as the English Agent at Mandalay and he had a liking for the Burmese. He could read and write Burmese well. He was attached by the English government to Kinwun Mingyi's mission, ostensibly to attend on the envoys but obviously to spy on their movements. Kinwun Mingyi and Jones knew of it,²⁰ and the more fiery Hpangyet Wundauk

15 Marescalchi, p. 63.

16 London Diary, April 19, 1872.

17 London Diary, October 13, 1872, Paris Diary, November 17, 1874.

18 Marescalchi, p. 77.

19 *Far Cathay*, p. 137.

20 London Diary, January 5, 1873.

resented his interference,²¹ but they liked him personally, and as he wrote in his final secret report to the English government, he must have grown quite fond of the Burmese envoys after one whole year of close association with them. He was later victimised by his government for his goodwill towards the Burmese²² by being denied the satisfaction and the honour of delivering Queen Victoria's reply to the Burmese King. Generous and outspoken, he had the courage to criticise his superiors in England on their treatment of Kinwun Mingyi and his mission in his final report already mentioned.

7. Captain Louis Morin, London Embassy (accompanied the embassy only to Paris).

He was a captain in the French merchant navy, served in Egypt and knew Ferdinand de Lesseps well.²³ He was employed by King Mindon as his naval adviser, but insisting that he was the King's admiral, always wore the uniform of a French admiral to the great annoyance of other Frenchmen.²⁴ He was an adventurer, but quite a harmless one.

8. Captain Albert Racchia, London Embassy (He was with the embassy only while it was in Italy on transit to London).

He was the commander of the Italian corvette sent on a cruise lasting nearly four years to the Far East to show the newly-acquired Flag of Italy to the world. To emphasise the fact that the newly rounded

kingdom of Italy was a fully sovereign state, he was given plenipotentiary powers to enter into treaties of commerce with Asian kingdoms. His ship visited Rangoon in 1871, and he went up to Mandalay on the suggestion of an Italian bishop, Don Paolo, who was a friend of King Mindon's. He successfully negotiated a treaty between Italy and Burma which was signed in March 1871. He again visited Burma in 1873, leading an embassy, which exchanged ratification of the treaty with the Burmese King. He seemed to have liked the Burmese, especially Kinwun Mingyi, but politics came before personal friendship, and as Italy was at the time a protégé of the English government, he and his Foreign Office sent detailed reports of all negotiations with the Burmese to London.²⁵

9. Chevalier Giovanni Andreino. Mentioned repeatedly in the London and Paris Diaries.

Italian Consul to the Burmese King-dom. He came to Burma originally as a blacksmith²⁶ on the invitation of his elder brother, Father Andreino, another missionary friend of King Mindon's. He was appointed Italian Consul on the recommendation of Captain Racchia. He was given the nine-stringed gold chain of office by the Burmese King in 1873, and the title of Chevalier (of the Order of the Crown of Italy) in the same year by his own government. He was appointed Consul-General by the Italian Government in 1883, and received from King Theebaw the twelve-stringed gold chain. In the meantime he had become the Mandalay

21 London Diary, December 13, 1872.

22 McMahon's Report is given below.

23 London Diary, April 18, 1872.

24 Quai, Birmanie, 2, t.50, f. 286.

25 Detailed references are given below in the translator's comments on the French treaty.

26 Quai, Birmanie, 2., t.50, fol. 326.

ø 2 U.P.--M. 249--1,050.--3-12-74. B.S.

Agent of the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation and that of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, two powerful English mercantile concerns at Rangoon, receiving the then enormous salary of £ 52,500 a year. He was the centre of an English spy-ring at the Burmese Court. He betrayed the Burmese King and the Burmese Court who trusted him. He was one of those who contributed to the fall of the Burmese Kingdom in 1885.²⁷

10. Maung Aung Thu, Assistant Envoy, Paris Embassy, Naymyominhtin Thurein. Also mentioned in the London Diary.

He arrived in France in December 1862 together with Maung Hmyu, who was mentioned two or three times in the Paris Diary, as writing from Mandalay to Kinwun Mingyi²⁸ In 1865 Maung Aung Thu obtained admission to the famous military training school L'Ecole Saint-Cyr²⁹ where he seemed to have been very popular with his fellow cadets. In 1870, when Pandee Wundauk on his way to England passed through France and contacted the French government, Maung Aung Thu acted as his secretary. Of course, as in the case of all state

scholars of the period, he was already in the service of the King as a Gentleman of the Royal Chambers, and so Pander Wundauk found it convenient to make him a member of his mission.³⁰ Maung Aung Thu completed his studies and returned to Burma in May 1872, after visiting England.³¹ Marescalchi described him as follows: "He had spent several years in France (one at Saint-Cyr) but his cavalier manner and undue familiarity made us keep-him at a distance, unlike the Pangyet Wundauk, he had absorbed the bad side of our education."³² Marescalchi, when giving the list of the members of the Paris Embassy wrote of him as follows: "Maung Aung Thu, Gentleman of the Royal Chambers, interpreter of whom we have already spoken: before leaving we have to report this young man's lack of education to his superiors but without results as they may not have disliked our having to use as interpreter one who was out of sympathy with us. Perhaps the re-suits of his untrustworthiness endure because but for him we might have achieved something."³³ But an other French-man, Captain Louis Voission, who as a young officer, fought in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and later gave up a promising military career in France, to

27 Professor John F. Cady in his review of my *A History of Burma* in *The Journal of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 1968, accused me of vilifying Andreino without any supporting evidence. Perhaps Professor Cady was not familiar with the India Office and Quai d'Orsay records of the period nor with F. Tennyson Jesse: *The Story of Burma*, pp. 71. 73, E. C. V. Foucar: *Mandalay the Golden*, pp. 160-162, H.R. Macaulay: *History of the Bombay Burma Corporation*, and Gratten Geary: *Burma after the Conquest*, p. 149: Geary met Andreino immediately after the annexation. More detailed references are given below, where the translator considers the part played by Andreino in the negotiations for the ratification of the commercial treaty with France.

28 Maung Hmyu, as Thangyet Wundauk, Deputy Minister of Iron Smelting became Burmese Ambassador to France in 1885.

29 Quai. Birmanie, 2., t.50, fol. 120; Paris Diary, June 6, 1874.

30 Quai, Correspondence politique Angleterre, Calcutta, June 15, 1870.

31 London Diary, June 5, 1872.

32 Marescalchi, p. 78.

33 Marescalchi, p. 78.

JBR, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

serve in the Burmese cavalry under King Mindon, spoke of Maung Aung Thu's popularity with his fellow cadets at Saint-Cyr, and obviously had a great regard for him, claiming him as a fine product of French education and Parisian society. Maung Aung Thu was appointed, in about 1876, Kathe Myin Wundauk, "Deputy Minister for Manipuri Cavalry regiments." He died in about 1880.³⁴

11. Maung Mye, Paris Embassy, Naymyotheikdi Kyawhtin. Mentioned also in the London Diary.

He was a Gentleman of the Royal Chambers and a state scholar in England. Kinwun Mingyi appointed him as a member of his entourage while leading the embassy to London.³⁵ He was in Burma on vacation, when Kinwun Mingyi took him on as an attendant of the Embassy to Paris. Kinwun Mingyi, however, treated him as if he were an assistant envoy, and Marescalchi considered him as an envoy, describing him thus: "pleasant, well-bred young man, speaks very good English, spent several years in England, whither he has returned as commercial agent."³⁶ According to Kinwun Mingyi, however, Maung Mye was returning to England to continue his studies.³⁷ At the ascension of King Theebaw, he was a secretary at the *Hluttaw*, and was greatly trusted by Kinwun Mingyi. It was generally rumoured that he was in the pay of Andreino³⁸ and gave him copies of secret documents. There is no direct evidence that Maung Mye

was involved with Andreino, but the following facts remained: (1) Andreino did get copies of the documents from a *Hluttaw* source; and (2) as Maung Mye was acquainted with both English and French languages, all communications in either of these languages passed through Maung Mye's hands, who translated them for Kinwun Mingyi, and kept the originals in his custody at the *Hluttaw*.

12. Count Marescalchi, Paris Embassy.

He was a very junior member of the French diplomatic service, but had prestige being the nephew of the great Marshal McMahon, President of France at the time. Marescalchi was depute to Count de Rochechouart, first secretary of the French legation in China who led the embassy to King Mindon in January 1873 to exchange ratification of the commercial treaty.³⁹ Marescalchi afterwards accompanied Kinwun Mingyi's embassy to Paris. He was, after Andreino, the most false of the many European false friends of Kinwun Mingyi. Although outwardly professing friendship he had the greatest contempt for the Burmese King, his ministers and his people. Soon after his return to France, he contributed to a popular journal his account of the embassy to Mandalay in which he showed his contempt for the Burmese, emphasising the arrogance and love of intrigue on the part of the Burmese ministers.⁴⁰ But he himself was obviously a very arrogant

34 Voission, *La Birmanie*, pp. 23-24; Myohta Wundauk.

35 London Diary, June 5, 1872.

36 Marescalchi, p. 78.

37 Paris Diary, June 5, 1872.

38 Myohta Wundauk; Gratton Geary, p. 149; Lehault, *La Franco et L' Angleterre en Asie*, p. 49.

39 The embassy is described in the translator's Introduction to Paris Diary, below.

40 A. Marescalchi, "Une Mission en Birmanie 1873-1874", *Revue des Deux Mondes*,

young man, and often indulged in intrigue; a French official, he carried a letter of introduction to English officials from Lord Granville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,⁴¹ and at Paris he presented to Kinwun Mingyi adventurous bankers and merchants who were to obtain profitable contracts from the gullible Burmese envoys. He suggested and arranged Kinwun Mingyi's visit to Lyons and Marseilles, and then in the article that he contributed to the journal, he sneered at the envoys for enjoying their visit to those places.⁴²

13. The Captain and Crew of the Royal Ship *Setkyar Yinbyan*.

The name *Setkyar Yinbyan* meant the *Celestial Flying Vehicle*. According to Lloyds' mercantile navy list of 1872, it was "an iron steamer", official number 67292, built at Yarrow in 1871, and the port of registry was Newcastle. It was sold to a "foreigner" (nationality and name not stated), on August 5, 1872, and went out of the British register on that date. The length was 217.8 feet, breadth 26.0 feet, depth 16.6 feet, gross tonnage 677 and net tonnage 409. It was fitted with 120 horse power engines. According to a news item in the London *Times*, November 30, 1871, it was built by Messrs Palmer of Yarrow under instructions of the King of Burma's agents in England, Messrs Edmund Jones and Company.

The news item continued: "This is the first steamer which has gone direct from London to Rangoon via the Suez Canal... It is a screw steamer of fine model, 217 feet by 26 feet beam, of 18 feet depth of hold. Her engines are compound surface condensing of 120 h.p. nominal, equal 600 h.p. effective. She is laden with machinery and stores for the Burmese government, and is designed for permanent employment in similar service. She is expected to make the run to Rangoon in 35 days and is commanded by Captain C.L. Brown, all her officers wearing Burmese uniform." The news item in *The Times* of June 6, 1872, reporting the arrival of the Burma embassy at Dover the previous day, stated that all the officers were English while all the members of the crew were Burmese.

14. s.s. *Tenasserim*.

Built at Glasgow in 1871 for P. Henderson & Co., it inaugurated the famous Henderson Line passenger-cargo regular service between Glasgow and Rangoon. The ship had a displacement of 1840 gross tons and a speed of nine knots an hour. Rigged as a three-masted schooner, it had 20 cabins for first class passengers and 10 for second class passengers. It was wrecked on a rock south of Cape Guardafui in 1874, while homeward bound from Rangoon.⁴³

41 Home Correspondence 1875, vol. 3, p. 1059, Sir Andrew Clarke, Singapore, to the Colonial Secretary.

42 Marescalchi, p. 79.

43 Dorothy Laird, *Paddy Henderson*. *JBR*, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Chapter II

THE EMBASSY TO LONDON

Introduction

In 1872 when Kinwun Mingyi's embassy left Mandalay for London, King Mindon occupied the Peacock Throne of the illustrious founder of his dynasty, the Great Alaungpaya, but without power and glory, for the Burmese empire which had extended into India and Indo-China had shrunk to a mere fistful of territory. The English held the entire lower part of Burma which contained not only the rich alluvial fields of the Irrawaddy delta but all the ports. In 1853, in the midst of fearful carnage inflicted on the Burmese troops by the English, fighting the second Anglo-Burmese war, Mindon had seized the throne as the leader of the peace party at the Burmese Court. To put it more correctly, it was his younger brother, the fiery Prince of Kanaung, who seized the throne on Mindon's behalf, for the new king was a scholar who had spent the years of his youth among palm leaf and parchment manuscripts studying the Scriptures. Intensely devout, he bated bloodshed and had a great faith in the efficacy of negotiation and diplomacy. He had hoped that the English would return the province of Pegu, occupied by them during the recent war. He fully realized the power and might of the English arms, and knew too well that however brave Burmese troops were, the great disparity in weapons only turned them into mere fodder for the British guns. But he found the English government of India adamant and unyielding. However, he still hoped to preserve his little kingdom from both foreign conquest and internal disorder. He built the Golden City of Mandalay as a promise and a symbol of peace and prosperity for his people. He still ventured to hope that at least the less important port of

Bassein would be returned to him, giving an outlet to the sea for his kingdom. The English, however, had no idea of returning even one inch of the conquered territory and they were even greedy for more. Conscious of the fact that they had a strangle-hold on the poor monarch, they were loudly insistent in their demand for a commercial treaty. The Burmese had never known treaties of commerce or friendship, and they knew of only two treaties in the past. One was the treaty they forced the Chinese commanders to sign in 1770, when a ring of Burmese steel surrounded the defeated Chinese armies, and the other was the infamous treaty of Yandabo which the Burmese were forced to sign in 1826 when English shells had mowed down the entire Burmese army. King Mindon feeling that to sign another treaty with the English was to proclaim and recognise the finality of the English annexation of Lower Burma, stood firm and would not talk about a treaty. However, by 1862 Mindon realised that as the English controlled the mouths of the Irrawaddy and all the ports, there was no way out of the impasse but to appease the English and sign a commercial treaty. But the English with their appetite whetted were soon demanding a revision of the treaty, so as to obtain more commercial privileges. Mindon, however, thought that he had "given enough" while the English had "not given at all".

Unfortunately for Mindon, in 1866, his two sons Myingun and Myingondaing rose in rebellion and killed the King's strongest supporter, his brother, the Crown prince of Kanaung. Mindon himself narrowly, escaped assassination, and

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

although the rebellion failed and the two princes fled into British territory, what was in effect a civil war followed, and an internal peace was never again fully restored during his reign. King Mindon now desperately needed arms to restore order and discipline in his Kingdom, and accordingly he signed a new commercial treaty in 1867, and under the treaty the King granted so many concessions that Professor B.R. Pearn assessed it as a "step forward in the extension of empire",¹ and in the opinion of Dorothy Woodman, "the treaty was so far-reaching that it was in effect a green light for future annexation".² Mindon swallowed his pride and gave way to all the demands of the English, because of Article 8 of the new treaty and the note explaining the article, Signed by the English envoy Colonel Fytche himself. Article 8 read as follows:

The Burmese Government shall further be allowed permission to purchase arms and ammunition and war materials generally in British territory subject to the consent and approval in each case, of the Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

But Article 8 was not complete with-out the Note, which was a condition precedent, as Fytche reported to the Acting Governor General in a letter dated Mandalay, 26, October 1867:

Ministers agreed to the arms clause on condition that I gave, them a letter, "A", copy appended:

“ A ”

It is laid down in the Eighth Article of the subsidiary Treaty concluded this day, being the 25th October 1867, that the Burmese

Government shall be allowed the right of purchasing arms, ammution and war materials generally subject only to the consent and approval of the Chief Commissioner of British Burma in each instance of purchase. This consent and approval will not be withheld so long as the two countries remain on friendly relation with each other.

sd. A. Fytche, Colonel

Chief Commissioner of British Burma and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor-general of India."⁵

The article and the note were not agreed to either by the Burmese or Colonel Fytche on the spur of the moment. The matter of the procurement of arms had been hanging fire for a long time, and it had been discussed and re-discussed by the English authorities in Rangoon and by the English government of India. On the eve of his retirement, Sir Arthur Phayre who negotiated the commercial treaty of 1862, and Fytche's predecessor as the chief commissioner at Rangoon had submitted a report dated December 10, 1866 to the Government of India, and in it, he stated:

I was authorised to grant (import of arms) if found to be necessary.

I did not find it necessary then, and therefore left it unnoticed. In the present weakened condition of the Burmese Government without any hold on the respect or the affect-ions of the people, I look upon the right granted them to purchase arms and powder as being of no importance whatever (i e., to the English Government). The measure will impart little or no strength to that (Burmese) Government as antagonistic to the

1 B. R. Pearn; J. B. R. S., 1937.

2 Dorothy Woodman, p. 186.

3 Indian *Political Proceedings*, pp. 45, 46, February, 1868.

British Government. The Burmese Government appears to me to be deeply shaken in its authority and prestige among its own subjects...In the late outbreak of the King's sons... the people had suffered fearfully...Considering the state of affairs, then, I am of opinion that the danger, political or military, of allowing arms to be purchased by the Burmese is reduced to the minimum. It must also be considered that the Burmese Government really required arms both in Burma proper and in the Shan States. If, therefore, it is for the interest of the British Government to have the neighbouring country quiet and orderly, positive advantage is likely to be derived from the concession. On these grounds, therefore, I agreed to include in the Treaty an Article allowing the purchase of arms in British Territory by the Burmese Government.⁴

So it was not surprising that the Government of India approved of the Treaty negotiated by Fytche⁵ and the Secretary of State for India from London noted "Treaty is highly creditable to Fytche and his coadjutor Sladen".⁶ However, the English Government was to break its promise, within the next three years. In August 1870, King Mindon, wanting to buy 4,000 Snider rifles from England, asked the English Government through its Resident Major McMahan for permission to import the arms through the English territory of Lower Burma, Mc Mahon, being an officer and a gentleman, recommended the King's application to Fytche who forwarded it to the

Government of India. But the new Governor General, Lord Mayo took exception to Article 8 and the note. After an exchange of letters, he wrote on February 1, 1871, as follows:

Fytche in his letter of 27 XII, insists "the separate stipulation was by no means overlooked", but deliberately approved. We do not consider any good purpose will be served by the continuance of the discussion so far as it is personal to General Fytche. Our letters were not intended to convey my retrospective censure of his proceedings which, as we observed, had been approved by the Government at the time. Our object was to point out to him the evil consequences resulting from his promise and the necessity if possible of canceling a pledge which under any circumstances we must consider to be both unwise and dangerous.⁷

Fytche took it out on poor Mc Mahon, who had to eat humble pie by writing in his journal on February 3, 1871 as follows:

The contractors for 4,000 Sniders the import of which I unfortunately recommended, have suspended their contract now that they know we wouldn't like it.⁸

The action of the Government of India in refusing the import of arms to Mindon was indeed dishonourable, and as a later Governor General, Lord Ripon wrote to his Secretary of State for India, it constituted a clear "breach of faith".⁹

4 1PP. 1867. The report was on Phayre's failure to obtain a Second Treaty in 1866. Fytche succeeded in 1867, as conditions in the Kingdom had worsened.

5 1PP. 50. February 1868.

6 1PP. 50. 6th April 1868.

7 Letters from India, 23 of 1871.

8 Residency Journal (McMahon).

9 Ripon Papers. Vol. 43611, quoted in D. P. Singhal, *Annexation of Burma*, p. 58.

Apart from the rights and wrongs of the case, its immediate consequence was that the relations between the English authorities and the Burmese King, already strained became discolored by mutual suspicion and distrust. Fytche seemed to lack the courage to honour the pledge he himself had signed, and as if seeking for givenness and favor from his new master Lord Mayo, he began to harass not only McMahon but also the Burmese King. For King Mindon, the procurement of arms became not only a military necessity, but also a matter of personal prestige. He could never forget his humiliation over Article 8 of the Treaty. Thus, on January 12, 1874, Mindon said to Strover who had taken McMahon's place, "Look at Fytche's treaty-it promised me arms. Yet...Don't you know what friendship means"?¹⁰ Again, some weeks later the king said to Strover, "The French will give me *cannons...but* I want to procure these from the English who distrust me. I have no intention of fighting them). Then why can't I get the arms I require in accordance with the Treaty? I am ashamed to be treated in this way, before all my subjects. I am ashamed'.¹¹

It had always been the policy of the Government of India to insist that the King of Burma should have relations with the Governor General and not directly with the sovereign in England. Alaungpaya sent a letter to King George II and resented the fact that he never received a reply. To the many humiliations that the Burmese had to suffer after their defeat in the First Anglo-Burmese War of 1824-26, was added the deeper humiliation of having to sign the peace treaty not with the King of England but with the Cover-nor-General in India. Apart from the question of prestige, the Burmese felt that the terms would not have been so harsh if their King had been allowed to deal directly

with the King of England. Both King Tharawaddy, Mindon's father, and Pagan, Mindon's older brother felt humiliated that they were never given the opportunity to contact the English King, as one sovereign to another. Mindon also thought that the Anglo-Burmese relations would become less hostile, if not more friendly, if he could deal directly with Queen Victoria and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, instead of the Governor General and the Secretary of State for India. In addition it would, he felt certain, enhance his prestige and authority over his own people. He wanted to prove to himself, to his people and to the world at large, that the kingdom of Burma was as sovereign and as independent as the neighbouring kingdom of Siam, whose treaties were with Queen Victoria herself and not with a mere Governor General. King Mindon had sent an embassy to Napoleon III in 1855, not at that time to assert his independence, but to get Napoleon III to influence the English Queen to give a favorable hearing to his plea for the return of the province of Pegu to him.¹² That hope was not realised, of course, and he had become more or less resigned to the loss of Lower Burma. Since that mission, Mindon had toyed with the idea of sending embassies abroad, but had always been dissuaded from doing so by the Chief Commissioner at Rangoon and the Resident at Mandalay. As has been mentioned in Chapter 1, Fytche and Mc Mahon clashed over the latter's action in advising Pandee Wundauk on diplomatic procedures, although the advice was given by Mc Mahon and received by Pandee Wundauk in friendship and in good faith,¹³ The second clash between the two English officials over the Snider rifles seemed to emphasise McMahon's folly or guilt on that previous occasion, because it was now suspected

10 Residency Journal (Strover).

11 Ibid., February 5, 1874.

12 H. Yule, *A Narration of a Mission to Ava*, p. 195,

13 For more details of this controversy, see Woodman, pp. 191-2.

that Pandee Wundauk was secretly sent by Mindon to procure arms. One result of the controversy was at once felt by poor McMahon, who lost his appointment as Resident. Fytche himself was succeeded soon after by Ashley Eden, who had the same prejudiced attitudes towards the Burmese as those of Fytche's. Rumours that the King was sending a mission to Queen Victoria became current, and the Government of India in a dispatch dated October 30, 1871 to Ashley Eden instructed that the Resident at Mandalay should discourage the idea of sending a mission¹⁴ Strover had already told the Burmese Court that no mission would be received without previous sanction of the Government of India. Strover also thought that the mission would discuss "the Snider and the Pegu question",¹⁵ In the London *Times* of February 1, 1872, there appeared "Letters to the Editor" stating that a young Burmese official was placing extensive arms orders in England. In this tense atmosphere King Mindon announced that he was sending an embassy to the Queen of England, and one could imagine the consternation of the English authorities at Rangoon when it was learnt that the mission would be led by the Minister of Guard Posts, accompanied by Pandee Wundauk, who had just returned from England and Edmund Jones. Thus, Ashley Eden in a dispatch to the Government of India dated March 22, 1872 commented as follows:

Padein Wundauk must be the young man placing extensive arms orders in England vide recent correspondence in *The Times*. He needs watching. Edmund Jones, a tradesman of Rangoon is Mindon's chief agent in buying machinery and arms- he was one of the contractors for the large supply of Sniders the King wished to import last year.¹⁶

The India Office in London was determined that it should not be bypassed by the Burmese King and Sir John Kaye, Secretary to the India Office, Secret and Political Department, annoyed with the Burmese, wrote to Aitchison, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India on November 17, 1871 thus:

King appears, of course instigated by others to want to have relations with the Queen and Foreign Office. I do not suppose that we can prevent the former which indeed to a certain extent is the case now, but of course it rests with the Crown to determine which Secretary of State is to be the channel of communication and the King's envoys would never be placed in communication with the Foreign Office.¹⁷

Thus even before the envoys had started on their journey to far Europe, the fate of Kinwun Mingyi's mission to the Court of St. James's was already sealed. It was doomed to fail. Sir John was to relent on making the acquaintance of Kinwun Mingyi but it would be too late.

London Diary, March 2 to August 13, 1872.

This journal was begun on Saturday the 9th waning of the month of Tabaung in the Burmese year 1233 (March 2, 1872).

"As it is my desire that the grand friendship between the kingdoms of England and Burma shall become stronger and lasting, I command that a royal embassy consisting of the Minister and High Commissioner Mahasithu Kinwun Mingyi as Envoy, Deputy Minister Pandee Wundauk Mahaminhla Kyawhtin and Deputy Minister Hpanyet Wundauk

14 Indian Foreign Department Proceedings, 1873 volume.

15 Residency Journal (Strover). October 5, 1971.

16 Indian Foreign Department Proceedings, 1873 volume.

17 Letters from India, D. O. Vol. 9, Kaye to Aitchison, November 17, 1871.

JBSR, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

Mahaminkyaw Yaza as Deputy Envoys and Royal Secretary Minhla Zeyathu as Assistant Envoy shall go to London, the capital of England, bearing my letter of greetings and presents."

In pursuance of the above command, even before the auspicious time of their actual departure arrived, the Chief Envoy consulted those able high commissioners, military commanders, ministers and deputy ministers who, because of their experience in domestic and foreign affairs, had been entrusted with the business of governance, and with their advice and suggestion he drew up the drafts of royal letters of greeting which were then submitted to our lord the King, for approval. On receiving His Majesty's approval the letters were written on parchment, then signed by the lord King himself, and affixed with the royal seal. The letters were then placed in an ivory casket, and the casket placed in a velvet bag, and the velvet bag placed in an embroidered bag and the embroidered bag put in a special box. Then the following royal presents were listed and carefully placed in a strong box:

For the Queen of England, 1 golden belt studded with rubies and 1 pair of golden bracelets also studded with rubies, both specially made by the most famous and skillful goldsmiths of the Royal House-hold, so that the objects were truly worthy to be given as presents by one sovereign to another. For the English Crown Prince, 1 golden chain of Office studded with rubies and with 21 golden strings made by the same craftsmen mentioned above. For suitable Officials in London, 3 golden chains of Office with 12 strings each and 5 golden chains of Office with 9 strings each, 7 ruby rings, 10 golden drinking cups, skillfully made so that they could be used throughout the 12 months of the year without losing their lustre, 49 silver betal boxes with floral designs and made in the Shan States, 42 silver bowls, 2 figures of fishes made of gold, 5 figures of fishes made of silver and gold, 54 figures made

of silver, and 93 figures of frogs made of silver.

Finally, receiving the envoys' robes from His Majesty the King, the envoys went in stately procession into the envoy's camp on the morning of Sunday, February 15, 1872, at 9 o'clock, the auspicious hour chosen by learned scholars, and on Thursday, February 19, the Royal letters of greeting and credence together with the royal presents were taken in stately procession to the wharf for loading on the royal steamer; and on Saturday March 2, 1872, at 1 p.m., the embassy duly left the Thanhlayetmaw wharf on the royal steamer *Setkyar Yimmun*. On board, besides the envoys and the royal presents, were the offerings from the Lord King to the Sacred Tooth in the Island of Ceylon, 2 Sinhalese monks with their 2 attendants, the venerable abbot from Minhla village with his 4 monk-pupils. The Chief Envoy thus had the opportunity and the honour to offer alms-food to the venerable monks on board the steamer and receive the Five Precepts from them every day. After covering 24 miles that first day, the steamer dropped anchor for the night at the Guard Post at Kyauktalone village. The envoys took the opportunity to visit the venerable abbot of the village who was also the head of the ecclesiastical district and paid their respects to him, mindful of the fact that such deeds of merit would ensure that the mission to England would meet with full success.

Sunday, March 3. The steamer left the Guard Post at Kyauktalone and at 12 noon the steamer stopped at Myingyan for an hour, and during that short period of time, the envoys visited the Nine storeyed Monastery and paid their respects to the abbot, who gave them some Buddha images and Relics to be taken to London and placed there permanently for worship. After the steamer had reached only 4 miles from Myingyan foreshore, it struck a sand bank and had to drop anchor for the night. For that day, the steamer covered only 36 miles.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Monday, March 4. The steamer was able to free itself at 11 a.m., and it reached Nyaungoo village at about 4.30 p.m. As the steamer had to take on firewood for its engines, the envoys left the steamer and went to the great Zigôn pagoda at Pagan, where they offered 10 bundles of gold leaf, 3,000 candles and 100 pots of water. At the southern gate Of the pagoda, near the steps known as "the ladder of the gods", there was a magical Buddha image to which the envoys offered 1 bundle of gold leaf. After observing and admiring the 12 particular sections of the pagoda, the envoys returned to the steamer, which had dropped anchor at a sand-bank to the north of the Zigôn pagoda. The steamer covered only 20 miles that day.

Tuesday, March 5. At dawn, the envoys went again to the great Zigôn pagoda and offered alms-food. At 6.30 a.m., below the village of Singu-ôn it met the launch of the royal messenger U Shwe Gai, who had brought from Rangoon for the Chief Envoy, a letter from the Burmese Consul, Edmund Jones. In the letter Jones reported that he would be waiting at Rangoon with the new royal steamer, *Setkyar Yinbyan*. The same afternoon at about 4 p.m., they reached Nyaungghla village near the town of Yenangyaung, where the steamer dropped anchor. The envoy reported their arrival at Yenangyaung by telegraph to the High Court of Hluttaw at Mandalay: they had done likewise when they arrived at Myingyan and Pagan. The envoys also sent a telegram to the Court of Minhla, ordering the officials there to meet them on their arrival. The steamer covered 50 miles that day.

Wednesday, March 6. At 6 o'clock in the morning, the steamer left Nyaungghla and after passing Minbu, the Commander of the Lower River, who was *also* the Governor of Malun town came up with 4 boats of the King's navy to meet the envoys. The boats were taken in tow by the steamer. When the steamer reached Magwe, it dropped anchor at Kinywa foreshore. The envoys left the steamer to visit the

monastery of the venerable abbot of the town and paid him their respects. After 2 hours, the *steamer* continued its journey and at 3 p.m. dropped anchor at Minhla. The envoys boarded one of the naval boats, and proceeded to the monasteries of the venerable abbot of Myingya hill, the abbot U Nvayva, head of the ecclesiastical district of Malun, and Abbot U Lun, and paid their respects to these monks. Returning to Minhla the envoy sent the usual telegram of their arrival to Hluttaw. That day the steamer covered 20 miles. From Thanhlayetmaw wharf in the Golden City of Mandalay to this Minhla foreshore, the distance was 156 miles.

Thursday, March 7. The whole day the envoys remained at Minhla. They visited the monastery of the abbot of Minhla (who had been travelling with them on the steamer), and also the pagoda of the Emerald Begging-Bowl at Malun In accordance with the envoy's instructions, the Governor of Taungdwingyi Town, the Governor of the twin towns of Sagu and Hlegaing, the Governor of Myed, the Governor of Magwe, the Governor of Myingun, the Governor of the towns of the Seven Hill Districts and other officials assembled to meet the envoy's and received Kinwun's orders and instructions. The royal messenger Maung Kyaw in his launch stopped at Minhla on his way to the Golden City and *from* him it was learnt that Eden, Chief Commissioner of Rangoon had not arrived back yet from Calcutta but was expected at any hour. The envoys also received from the messenger a copy of the Burmese Newspaper called "The Burma Herald". Kinwun Mingyi wrote a report on various matters connected with this frontier region of Minhla. After giving the report to Maung Kyaw for delivery to the Hluttaw, Kinwun Mingyi gave him permission to continue his journey to the Golden City.

Friday March 8. At 6.30 am., the steamer left Minhla escorted by the 4

royal naval boats with rowers and marines wearing full uniform. The Commander who was also Governor of Malun, Mahaminhla Narathu accompanied the envoys to Thayetmyo. The steamer arrived at Thayetmyo at 1 p.m., and the Governor of Malun went to the residence of the District Commissioner of Thayetmyo, Brown, and reported the envoys' arrival. Instead of according to the envoys the usual courtesies and honors to which all envoys of sovereign independent countries were entitled, Brown came by himself on horseback as if they were very ordinary visitors to British territory. However, the envoys received him cordially and gave him lunch. It was a formal occasion, with the Chief Envoy sitting at the head of the table with Brown on his right and the Deputy Envoy Pandee Wundauk on his left. Facing the Chief Envoy, sat the other Deputy Envoy Hpanyet Wundauk, and on his right, the Governor of Malun. Then Brown asked, "Is the great King in good health?" Kinwun Mingyi replied, "His Majesty is in good health". Then Brown asked: when did the envoys leave the Golden City? how long were they staying in Rangoon? what was the itinerary? how long were they stopping in London? what other countries were they visiting?. After one hour, he left the steamer. The Governor of Malun also left.

When the steamer approached Thayetmyo foreshore, the steamer reduced its speed and the 4 naval escort boats, 2 on each side of the steamer, rowed along in unison, and the rowers and the marines looked resplendent in their uniforms. Crowds of Burmese people lined the river-bank and gazed at the envoys. After Brown had left the steamer, Kinwun gave permission to the 4 naval boats to leave first, and they rowed away with rhythm and grace. The steamer waited 25 minutes, weighed anchor and then followed the boats. The time was about 2 p. m. After it had travelled a short distance, an English steamer from Rangoon passed, coming upstream. At sunset, at 6 p.m., the steamer dropped anchor a short distance

above Prome, on the eastern bank opposite Po-oo Hill. The steamer had travelled that day 48 miles.

Saturday March 9. The steamer weighed anchor at 6 a. m. and arrived at Prome at 7.30 a. m. As the steamer was taking on firewood for fuel at the Burmese government timber depot, the envoys visited the Shwesandaw pagoda and offered alms-food. Then they left the pagoda and walked towards the west, then towards the north and along the road leading to the town market. After looking round the market, they returned to the pagoda. They were able to make the visit through the courtesy of a Burmese messenger, who was in the employ of the English government, and was called a "peon". As soon as the steamer dropped anchor, he came and enquired whether the envoys would like to visit the pagoda. He and his friend, another "peon" took the envoys to the pagoda, and round the town, and finally brought them back to the steamer. As at Thayetmyo, the royal steamer reached Prome escorted by the 4 naval boats, and in great excitement, crowds consisting of men and women and even monks lined the foreshore to watch the envoys' arrival.

The envoys were visited by Nga Hman, his younger brother, Nga Yan, Nga Po Min, Nga Kyin Tin, all Formerly in the King's service, and Nga Hlaing formerly a banker also in the King's service. All of them, especially Nga Pe Min and Nga Hlaing, from their voice and manner, seemed to be broken-hearted over their foolishness in leaving the service of the King, and begged to be allowed to return to royal service expressing their readiness to submit to the usual penalties for desertion. When the loading of firewood was completed after some 2½ hours, at about 10 a. m., the steamer left Prome foreshore, and at 6 p. m., it dropped anchor for the night at the village of Thanbayakon, a little above the town of Yaykin. The distance covered that day was 52 miles. At that village, the envoys found working

as fishers former specially selected soldiers of the King, Nga Paw, Nga Taw, Nga Yaw and 10 other men. The envoys saw in a pot ready for sale 3 gudgeons, weighing together about 10 viss. The envoys bought the fish for 3 Kyats and threw them into the river, thus saving their lives. The same night, one of the marines from the royal boats Nga Po Lu, went and visited Nga Yaw's hut where the latter's little daughter was ill with smallpox. He then gave an amulet which he *maintained* would cure the little girl of her sickness. Then he said that Nga Taw's wife had been bewitched and offered to cure her also if the husband Nga Yaw would go outside the hut and watch for evil spirits. He then molested the wife. The husband learning of this, ran into the hut, and called out to his friends. In the ensuing commotion, the marine Nga Po Lu assaulted Nga Taw and another man. Kinwun after receiving a report of the affair, ordered that Nga Po Lu be given 10 lashes with the cane, the aggrieved husband be given 10 Kyats and Nga Taw and the other men 5 Kyats each as compensation.

Sunday March 10. The steamer left Thanbayakon, and at about 9 a.m., the envoys saw the English District Commissioner of Henzada coming up the river in a small boat. As Pandee Wundauk was very friendly with him, he asked permission to board the steamer and for his boat to be towed along. Until they reached Henzada, the envoys had a pleasant conversation with him. He informed the envoys that he was going on home-leave to London the next month and would be away for some 2 years. The Chief Envoy asked him about the English administration in the riverine districts below the frontier. He said that from Kama to Akaukaung, all towns and villages on both sides of the river, including Prome, were under one District Commissioner. From Akaukaung downwards to Yandoon, it was under another District Commissioner. The demarcation of the boundaries of the towns and villages as made by the Burmese King (Bodawpaya) during the

period 1784-1803, had been retained by the English. However, as it had been found that the district from Akaukaung to Yandoon was too big for one Com-missioner to handle, he had suggested that the district be divided into two, one from Akaukaung to Danubyu and the other from Danubyu to Yandoon. He informed the envoys also that Sladen was now the English agent in Siam. He would not give his age and date of birth, but he had with him his *astrological chart*, and at his request, Kinwun copied it out on a piece of parchment and then put his signature below it. He also asked the envoys for their autographs and so they signed their names in a little pocket book that he had. On reaching Henzada he left the steamer, which continued its journey. The time was 1 p.m. The steamer stopped at Shwepandan village to take on some firewood, and left again at 1.30 p.m. Opposite Ahpyauk village, in mid-stream it passed an Irrawaddy Flotilla steamer coming upstream. It was about 5 p.m. The steamer reached Sagargyi village at sunset, 6 p.m., and dropped anchor for the night. It had travelled 54 miles *that day*.

Monday March 11. In the morning the steamer left Sagargyi village, but had to stop because of poor visibility due to thick morning mist. It had to wait for nearly 2 hours, until the sun came out and drove away the mist. By that time it was past 8 a.m. Opposite Yandoon, in mid-stream, the steamer met royal messenger Maung Sine's launch. He came aboard the steamer, and delivered to the envoys 2 packets containing 6 letters. He then returned to his launch and continued his journey. The letters were from Consul Jones who reported that although he had shown the letter from the king appointing him Consul, the English government at Rangoon had not yet recognised his appointment. The envoys had brought with them on the steamer two Chinese, who wanted to return to China via Rangoon. They now begged the envoys

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

for a testimonial. So the envoys gave them a certificate and the following was a copy:

Two Chinese citizens Sein Wong Yong and Sein Wong Myee are from the town of Suchun, which is fifty days' journey northwards from the capital of Peking in the kingdom of China. They came to Mandalay overland via Bhamo. After some time, they applied for permission to return to their native Suchun. In view of the fact that the King of China had always been the Burmese King's friend and ally, we have given the two Chinese free pas-sage to Rangoon on our steamer and also free meals and pocket money during the voyage, so that they would reach Rangoon in comfort and safety.

Signed and sealed by Kinwun Mingyi on board the royal steamer *Setkyar Yinmun* in mid-stream, opposite Yandoon village, on the 3rd waxing of the later month of Tagoo in the year 1233.

The steamer sailed downwards reaching the mouth of the Twante river at 6 p.m., where it dropped anchor in mid-stream for the night. One half-hour later the royal steamer *Yaynan Setkyar* arrived, going upstream. It also dropped anchor for the night near the envoys' steamer. On that royal steamer was the herald from the war office, Maung Pe Hla, who delivered to the chief envoy 9 memoranda and I letter all sent by the Royal Secretary who had gone on to Rangoon, and the Royal Banker U San. The memoranda reported that Jones had asked the English government at Rangoon permission to fly the Burmese Peacock Flag on *Setkyar Yinbyan* as it belonged to the Burmese King. The officer deputizing for Eden replied that he had no authority to give the permission. On Eden's return from Calcutta, Jones wrote to him asking recognition as Burmese Consul. Eden replied that he had received no intimation relating to the appointment from the British

agent at the Golden City, Strover. Then Jones wrote to Eden again asking for an interview. Eden replied that he would see him on the understanding that it was just a courtesy visit, where no official matter would be mentioned. Then Jones wrote to him requesting that Eden meet the envoys on their arrival at Rangoon. Eden replied that a letter from Strover merely mentioned that a minister and two deputy ministers were coming to Rangoon, and it did not mention that they were going on to London as envoys.

The letter was from Jones in which he begged that the envoys should on their arrival at Rangoon give to Eden copies of the letter from Strover recognizing his appointment as Consul, of the letter which would be sent to the Governor General of India, and of various letters to be delivered in London. He explained that unless this was done, the Governor General at Calcutta would not write to his government in London about the Burmese Embassy, and without such advance intimation from the Governor General, it was not likely that the embassy would be properly received on their arrival in London. Jones' letter had a Burmese translation attached to it. On being asked to make a verbal report, Herald Maung Pe Hla gave the following information: "Consul Edmund Jones was waiting for the envoys' arrival with the new royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan*, fully ready for its voyage to England. The English officials were very unhappy over the appointment of Jones as Consul and the matter of his recognition was still pending. Of the goods brought for our Lord the King on the royal ship, only the hundred tons of prepared coal, the cotton machine, the boring machine and the sugar refining machine were allowed to be unloaded by the English customs authorities, and those I have brought with me on my launch. The remaining machinery had to be left at the Dallah quay opposite Rangoon and heavy demurrage charges are being incurred daily". The envoys wrote a report,

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

summarizing all the above facts and gave it to the herald for submission to the Hluttaw. The distance covered that day was 50 miles.

Tuesday March 12. When the steamer was ready to weigh anchor in the morning, it had to wait an hour for the heavy mist to clear, and at 11.30 it reached Toewa, where it stopped for some 25 minutes waiting for the tide. At about 12 noon the tide started to rise, and the 4 naval boats were ordered to untie the towing ropes and float forward with the tide. One half-hour later, the steamer followed. The stream was very narrow and the steamer had to zigzag along. The stream became wider when it approached Thakutpinwa, and the 4 naval boats were taken into tow again. At 4.30 p.m., the steamer reached Thakutpinwa, and the Royal Secretary Minhla Zeyathu, the Royal Banker Mahathiri Bawgathara and the English captain of the royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan* signalled with a flag from the shore. So the steamer dropped anchor for the night there. After these 3 officials had come aboard and great the envoys, they reported that the English officials at Rangoon were angry over the proposal of the envoys to proceed to England and so they were now plotting and scheming to prevent them from going by placing all kinds of difficulties and hindrances in their way. Even if they could not actually stop the envoys leaving Rangoon for London, those English officials were determined to delay the envoys' departure as long as possible. The distance covered that day was only 32 miles.

Wednesday March 13. In the morning at about 6.30 a.m., the steamer weighed anchor, and at 9 a.m., it reached Rangoon, and dropped anchor near the Botataung pagoda and side by side with the royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan*. The steamer covered 12 miles that day. From Minhla fore-shore to the place of our anchorage in Rangoon harbour, the distance was 248 miles. From the Golden City to Rangoon, the steamer had travelled a total distance of 404 miles. The

envoys waited until 3 p.m., for some sign of welcome from the English authorities. But there was absolute silence and no official nor a messenger with an official letter appeared, and the envoys were surprised that the English officials should thus totally ignore their arrival in Rangoon harbour. After some discussion among themselves, the envoys decided to swallow their pride and send an intimation of their arrival to the English officials. Accordingly the envoys sent a letter addressed to J.B. Wheeler, secretary to the Chief Commissioner Eden in which the envoys intimated their arrival in the Rangoon harbour and expressed the hope that the Commissioner had received a letter addressed to him and another letter addressed to Strover, in which the High Commissioner the Lord of Pakhangyi informed them of the Burmese King's proposed embassy to London. Kinwun Mingyi and the Royal Secretary kept sabbath that day. Edmund Jones submitted to the envoys 5 letters he wrote to Eden and 5 replies he received. Copies of those letters were filed and translations into Burmese were made. Jones also submitted to the envoys a letter from Strover in which he stated that he was returning to Jones the royal proclamation appointing Jones as Consul, which proved that Strover had seen the proclamation, and was fully aware of the matter. A copy of that letter was also taken and filed.

Thursday March 14. The Chief Envoy suggested to the other envoys, the royal treasurer of the steamer, the captain, the marines and sailors and all others in the service of the King, that they should all together offer alms-food to the great Shwedagon pagoda where the sacred Hair Relics lay enshrined. Kinwun Mingyi donated towards *the purpose* 192 Kyats, the two deputy envoys 30 Kyats each, the assistant envoy 15 Kyats and the others various sums so that the en-tire donation from the ship amounted to 350 Kyats. The money collected was

JBRs, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

then entrusted to the Royal Banker for buying the alms-food.

[On March 15 the envoys and their fellow travelers on the steamer visited the Shwedagon pagoda and offered alms-food, and received the Five Precepts from the venerable abbot of Minhla. Bundles of gold-leaf were also offered. They saw the stone figure of an elephant and a preaching hall donated by the King of Siam. They also observed the moat, the ramparts and drawbridges built on one side of the pagoda by the English who were using a part of the great pagoda as a fort. They also noticed 2 or 3 tombs of English officers, and watched some English soldiers at target practice and others at ease in the adjoining barracks on the grounds of the pagoda. They spent the whole day at the Shwedagon pagoda and as they were preparing to return to the steamer in the evening, they received a letter from Eden inviting them to come to his house on March 18, if convenient. On March 16 the envoys spent the day in writing reports to the Hluttaw and sent them by the royal messenger Nga Po Min who left in his launch the same evening for the Golden City. The envoys also granted an interview to the agent in Rangoon of the Karenni chieftains, Lords of the Sunset, Khun Tee and Khun Sha, and he reported that the 2 chiefs had specially procured 2 female elephants which they would take to the Golden City in person and present them as tribute to the Burmese King in the following month.]

Sunday March 17. At about 9.30 a.m. the Collector of Customs Edwards came on board and informed the envoys on the royal ship, *Setkyar Yinbyan* that Commissioner Eden would send a carriage to the wharf on March 18; his Secretary Wheeler would come with the carriage; Edwards himself and the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Rangoon would come on board the Steamer to escort the envoys to the carriage. The envoys showed Edward the

receipt of payment in full for the ship, signed by the manager of an English bank in Rangoon on behalf of the ship builder in England, Whittaker. Edward assured the envoys that the ship was now legally a royal ship, although its papers showed Whittaker as the owners. "The ship is now free to go to London, and neither on the high seas nor in London harbour could there be any difficulty or obstacle. This is my firm belief and is also that of all English officials", said Edwards. The Collector of Customs left the ship at 3 p.m.

Monday March 18. At about 10.30 a.m., the envoys sat assembled on deck and the Mayor of Rangoon, Captain Evenson, the Deputy Mayor Adamson and Edwards arrived in three row boats and came aboard the steamer. The Chief Envoy sat at the top of the table, facing the whole assembly and on his left sat Pandee Wundauk, Hpanyet Wundauk, the Royal Secretary and the Royal Banker. Facing them were the Mayor, the Deputy Mayor and the Collector of Customs. After a few words of greeting and courtesy, the envoys in their robes of office, and wearing their golden chains went ashore in the following order. In the first row boat were the Chief Envoy and the Mayor; in the second row boat were the other envoys, the Deputy Mayor and Edwards; the envoys' clerks and attendants were in the third row boat. The envoys arrived at the wharf and found a number of four wheeled carriages each drawn by 2 horses. The Chief Envoy entered the first carriage with Wheeler, Pandee Wundauk entered the second carriage with the Mayor, Hpanyet Wundauk and the Royal Secretary entered the third carriage with Deputy Mayor and Edwards, and the Royal Banker entered his own carriage with the clerks. Then the carriages moved in procession and reached the residence of Eden at noon. Eden sat at the top of the table and on his right were placed the envoys with the Royal Banker and on his left sat the Commissioner of Police Major

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

Duncan, then Wheeler, then Edwards, Evenson and Adamson. Duncan, acting as interpreter, asked on behalf of Eden, "Is the Great King in good health?" "His Majesty is in good health", replied the Chief Envoy. "Is the Chief Envoy in good health?" "I am in good health, thank you". But before the Chief Envoy could in reply enquired after the health of the English Queen and Eden himself, Commissioner Eden asked about the business of the embassy. He asked, "When is the embassy leaving Rangoon harbour? Do the envoys intend to visit some Indian towns? Are they going to Calcutta? If so, I should be informed at once so that I could send a telegram. Of course the envoys are free to go anywhere, whether or not Calcutta is included in the itinerary. Which other independent countries are the envoys visiting on their way to London? Has the embassy received before-hand orders from the King as to which country they are to visit or is the matter left to their discretion? Do they bring separate letters of greetings for the governments of those countries? Do they bring a special letter of greeting for the Queen? Is there a letter of greeting for the Governor General? What would be the exact route of the journey to London? What is the special significance of the ruby necklace which the Burmese King is sending to the English Prime Minister? Has it the same rank as a gold chain of office? Is it customary for Burmese ministers to wear such a necklace? Has it ever been presented to others before?" The Chief Envoy replied: "The envoys plan to leave Rangoon harbour at any suitable time between this Monday and the following Saturday. The envoys have a great desire to visit Calcutta, but at the same time, they want to avoid a possible delay due to the onset of stormy weather on the Bengal Coast. If the weather remains favorable they will go to Calcutta. In any case Commissioner Eden will be informed in time. The envoys plan, if possible, to visit Italy either on the outward journey or on the return. They hope, if possible, to visit such countries as France, Russia, United

States and Germany. The envoys have no special orders from the King and can visit any country as they find convenient. As the embassy is to England, there are no letters of credence for the kings of other countries. The proposed route is to disembark from the royal ship at Brindasi in Italy and travel by rail to Calais and then across to England by steamer. But the route will be changed if found necessary. The Kings of Burma claim descent from the Sun God and therefore their seal has embossed on it a figure of a peacock, and on their flags also is embroidered a figure of a peacock. In the golden palace there are 8 thrones on which the King sits to receive tributes of elephants, horses and rubies, and one of them is the peacock throne. When he is crowned for the glory of his kingdom and the advancement of his people, he sits on the same peacock throne. It is kept in the northern chamber of the palace. The ruby necklace which the King has sent as a present to the English Prime Minister has on it the figure of a peacock in all its glory as lord of the sun, and it is a symbol of the great regard and affection the King and his dynasty have for the English Prime Minister. No Burmese Minister nor lord is entitled to wear the peacock necklace, but it is presented to lords and ministers of other sovereign states. It has been given to the French Foreign Minister. Although sometimes a gold chain of office is loosely referred to as a "necklace", a chain of office cannot be compared to a peacock necklace. The peacock necklace can be worn among the Burmese, only by the King himself and the members of his dynasty". Eden asked for further details and explanations of these matters, and Kinwun answered. Then Eden said, "On receipt of the letter from Strover, regarding the King's proposal to send an embassy to London, I reported the matter to the Governor General of India, who in turn informed the Secretary of State for India in London. I have now received a telegram of instructions from the Secretary of State. I am

to inform the envoys that their embassy will be received only as a mission of friendship and goodwill. As the envoys have not obtained the prior approval of the Governor-General of India to discuss any official matter, the envoys will not be allowed to mention the various points of controversy between the Burmese and the English governments, including the question of procurement of arms abroad by the Burmese King, either to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs or the Secretary of State for India, nor must the envoys refer to or discuss any letter or any treaty. It is made clear that the envoys will not have any right or privilege to discuss any such matter, and if they should attempt to do so, they will not be listened to". Eden continued, "These are the instructions in the telegram and I will say this to you in all friendliness; please do not attempt to discuss while in London the question of procurement of arms and any like matter, as it will only cause Your Excellencies anxiety and unhappiness".

The Chief Envoy replied: "As our two kingdoms are friends and allies, the English sovereign has sent many embassies to our gracious King, but no Burmese embassy has ever visited the English Queen. So with the belief that we should take this opportunity of going before the Queen of England, we have started on our journey and we shall be delighted if we are received in London with friendliness and goodwill. As to the many controversies existing between the two kingdoms, each will take its natural course towards solution". Eden replied: "Our gracious Queen has sent a letter of greeting to His Glorious Majesty the King of Burma and the English Prime Minister in London has sent a similar letter to the High Commissioner the Lord of Pakhan. The two letters were sent to me here in Rangoon and I have sent them on to the District Commissioner of Thayetmyo". When the Chief Envoy asked him when the letters reached Rangoon, when they were sent to Thayetmyo, and who would take those letters to the King, Eden replied that the letters were received some two months

before, were sent to Thayetmyo twenty days before, and the Thayetmyo District Commissioner would take them to the King. The Chief Envoy thought to himself: "If the letters were already with Brown when he came and saw us at Thayetmyo, he should have mentioned the matter to us. So there are two possibilities. Either the letters came only after we passed Thayetmyo or Eden instructed Brown to delay sending the letters to the King. The English officials had always objected to the King sending an embassy to London, and learning that the King was toying with the idea of sending the present embassy, Eden was afraid lest the letter from Queen Victoria should encourage the King to send the embassy immediately. Now that the embassy was being sent in any case, Eden was afraid lest the Queen should enquire from the envoys on their arrival in London whether her letter to the King had been received. Accordingly Eden had sent the letters to Brown in great haste". Eden then said he had seen a copy of the Queen's letter while he was in London on leave, as one Secretary by the name of Kaye had shown it to him. "Then, the letter was sent from London so many months ago?" asked Pandee Wundauk. Eden made no reply.

Then Eden asked again: "Has the price of the ship been paid in full? If so, has Jones submitted the receipt?" The Chief Envoy replied, "The money has been paid, Jones has submitted the receipt and the envoys are going to London on that ship". Eden commented, "Although the price has been paid in full, as Whittaker is in England, there can be no valid transfer, and legally it is still Whittaker's ship and not a royal ship. So if the envoys should travel in that ship, it could be seized and stopped under maritime law". Then Eden opened a law book and asked the two deputy envoys to read a particular paragraph. "Then what is your suggestion?" asked the deputy envoys. Eden replied, "Ask for the return of the money and then the ship remains Whittaker's and then

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

you can travel in it safely to London". The envoys were not convinced. It was well-known to the general public that the ship was specially built for the King by Whittaker; moreover, Jones as Burmese Consul had taken delivery in London and had brought the ship through many ports and over many miles to Rangoon as the King's ship. The deputy envoys after looking over the paragraph shown to them by Eden, did not think it was relevant and applicable to this particular case. Then the conversation changed to unimportant matters and after about 1 hour, the envoys escorted by the English officials, returned to the harbour in the carriages. Wheeler said Farewell at the bridge, and the other officials came with the envoys in the rowboats to the royal ship. They came on board together with the envoys and after a few minutes, they left.

Tuesday March 19. New Collector of Customs, Brown, came aboard the royal ship and inspected it from front to back and from top to bottom, making copious notes. He had lunch with the envoys and then left at about 4 p.m. [The envoys spent the afternoon writing a report of their conversation with the English officials for submission to Hluttaw.]

Wednesday March 20. Customs Clerk Crawdin, the Port Commissioner, a clerk from the Mayor's office, and the Chief Jailor from Rangoon jail came and inspected the ship and then took notes. The envoys wrote a letter to Wheeler, informing that it would not be possible for them to visit Calcutta and that they were leaving for London the following day.

Thursday March 21. The royal ship was ready to leave with steam up, waiting for clearance from the harbour authorities, when the envoys were informed that no clearance could yet be given because the matter of the cannons and the rifles brought by Jones on the ship was still pending. The whole day until sunset, English customs officials went about inspecting the ship, making detailed notes.

Friday March 22. The Mayor, Captain

Evenson, the Port Commissioner, Captain Ernest, the Collector of Customs Brown, Customs clerk Crawdin and sailors and policemen came on board the ship and inspected it carefully again until 6 p.m., when they left. Then a group of customs officials came aboard to watch over the ship day and night. On the ground that Jones had not declared the 3 cannons and the 12 rifles immediately on arrival, the rifles were seized, the cannons were ordered to be kept aboard the ship to be taken back to London, and a fine of 1500 Kyats was imposed on Jones, to be paid at once. Jones paid the fine. All these orders were contained in a letter to Jones, and the envoys took a copy of it. Expecting that clearance would now be given, the royal ship waited the whole day with its steam up.

Saturday March 23. The King's most faithful servant Consul Edmund Jones submitted to the envoys that as the English officials were not likely to allow the royal ship to leave, it was best that the envoys and he depart for London on a regular passenger boat. If his submission was accepted there was the s.s. *Tenasserim*, which was due to leave that very after-noon at 3 p.m., and very conveniently, it was not going to Calcutta, but direct to Ceylon and then to Aden and then to Suez. The envoys after discussing the matter among themselves, decided to take their passage on s.s. *Tenasserim*. The envoys' party consisted of 30 persons in all, and it was now found necessary to reduce the number. Accordingly, 10 mechanics who were being sent to England as state scholars, had to be left behind. So Jones was instructed to pay to the Captain of the s.s. *Tenasserim*, another Brown, a sum of 5200 Kyats being the cost of passage for the party. Then the 4 envoys, the French Naval Captain Louis Morin, and 4 clerks, 7 attendants, and Jones (taking the royal presents with them) went aboard the s.s. *Tenasserim* at 2 p.m. Captain Brown of the royal ship assisted the French captain and Jones to transfer

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

the baggage of the party, using the 4 naval boats, from the royal ship to the *Tenasserim*. At 3 p.m., the Golden Pea-cock flag was unfurled on the ship and it weighed anchor and left Rangoon harbour. The *Tenasserim* was 325 feet long, 32 feet broad, 26 feet deep and had engines of 180 horse power when going at cruising speed, but they could be raised to a strength of 600 horse power. Its total tonnage was 1700, and it could carry a total cargo of 1100 tons. It was a coal-burning ship with 3 funnels. The crew of the ship consisted of 1 captain, 4 assistants, 4 engineers, 16 stokers, 8 lascars, 8 stewards and cooks and it could carry 43 passengers.

When the envoys were discussing on the royal ship whether they should go aboard the *Penass rim*, former Collector of Customs, Edwards came in a row boat and delivered to Kinwun Mingyi a letter from Eden in which he stated that as per instructions received by cable from the Governor-General, he must ask the envoys to send him a copy of the King's letter to the English Queen. The Chief Envoy told Edwards that as the envoys were considering whether they should go to London in a regular passenger boat in view of the refusal of the English officials to allow the royal ship to leave, he was too busy to discuss the matter with Edwards, but would write a brief letter to Eden saying that he had no authority to send him a copy of the royal letter. "As Your Excellency is so busy," replied Edwards, "there is no need to write the letter, I will go myself to give the message to the Commissioner." So he went away. But half-an-hour later, he came back and said that Eden wanted an official reply to his letter. "He also gave me this message," Edwards continued, "Please ask the envoys not to be too hasty but send to him the copy of the royal letter. Clearance will be given to the royal ship after 10 days, so that the envoys can go to London in comfort. If the envoys are too hasty and make

their departure from Rangoon without giving a copy of the royal letter to Eden, the English Queen will not receive them," The Chief Envoy again replied that as he and his party were soon going aboard s.s. *Tenasserim* he was too busy to write a reply. So Edwards went away.

As stated above, the *Tenasserim* duly left Rangoon harbour at 3 p.m., and dropped anchor in midstream at the mouth of Pegu river. A messenger from the Port Commissioner arrived in a launch and delivered an urgent letter for Kinwun Mingyi. The letter was from Wheeler and he requested a written reply to Eden's letter asking for a copy of the King's letter. After some discussion, it was decided that Kinwun Mingyi should give a reply. Accordingly Kinwun sent back a letter to Wheeler, in which he stated that he was very sorry that as the ship was soon leaving, he could not write a long and detailed letter; he would, however, point out that as both Strover and Eden had been informed some time in advance that an embassy was leaving for London, there seemed no need to give to Eden a copy of the King's letter at this juncture. The royal treasurer from the steamer *Setkyar Yinmun*, the Royal Banker, royal messenger Nga Mun, and the 4 naval boats followed the *Tenasserim* up to this point. The envoys wrote a hasty report regarding their departure by *Tenasserim* and instructed Nga Mun to take it to the Golden City. Those Burmese officials now said farewell and returned to Rangoon harbour.

Sunday March 24. At 5 am., a messenger arrived by launch from the Port Commissioner addressed to the pilot, Wise, who of course was a servant of the English government. In the letter, the pilot was instructed to obtain a copy of the King's letter for submission to Eden, and should he fail to do so, he would be asked to explain his conduct before a court of inquiry. The messenger informed the pilot that it was even proposed by some port official to prohibit the pilot from taking *Tenasserim* out to the sea.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

The pilot told this to Captain Brown, who in turn informed the envoys. Captain Brown told the envoys that when the English officials found out that the envoys had taken passage on his ship, they asked him to postpone the departure of his ship, but he refused to do so, explaining that he could not afford to pay the expenses of staying another day in the harbour.

Monday March 25. Near the Cocos Islands, the envoy saw s.s. *Amarapura* going towards Rangoon. At once the *Tenasserim* unfurled from its mast the Union Jack and the Peacock flag, and the other ship unfurled the Union Jack. Then all the flags were lowered and raised three or four times in greeting. From the Peacock flag, the *Amarapura* knew that high Burmese officials were on the *Tenasserim*, and as it came nearer all its passengers and crew, young and old, senior and junior, lined the decks and taking off their hats, they waved to the envoys and cheered.

Tuesday March 26. At about 3 p.m., the envoys saw a sailing ship on their left about 2 miles away, and another on their right 8 miles away, both going towards Ceylon, in the same southwesterly direction as the envoys' ship.

Wednesday March 27. On the left of the ship, Kinwun saw an enormous number of fish diving and surfacing all the time. At about 4 p.m., he saw a two-masted sailing ship on his left about half-a-mile away, and another on his right about 2 miles away, both going towards Ceylon.

Thursday March 28. At about 1 p.m., a two-masted sailing ship crassed the path of the envoys' ship going to-wards Madras. As it was a sailing ship, it could not get away quickly and *Tenasse-rim* had to veer towards the left to avoid collision.

Friday March 29. At 3 p.m., Kinwun saw on his right about 2 miles away, a two-masted

sailing ship going towards Ceylon. At 4.30 p.m., on his left, about 8 miles away, he saw a three-masted ship sailing in a north-westerly direction towards Madras. At 5.30 p.m., on his right, about 8 miles away, he saw another sailing ship going towards Madras. At 6.30 p.m., at 6 miles away, he saw a steamer going towards Rangoon. At mid-night, he saw on his right, some 6 miles away, a lighthouse on a rock.

Saturday March 30. At about 6 a.m., at 8 miles away, Kinwun saw a three-masted sailing ship going towards Ceylon. He also saw both on his left and on his right, many fishing boats, some with sails and others without. The envoys were now about 20 miles off the coast of Ceylon. The ship continued to pass many fishing boats. Kinwun Mingyi could now see on his right, the island of Ceylon. He saw a chain of mountains with a narrow coast-al plain, looking dark and brown because of groves of coconut trees. He could see also high waves beating against the low-lying rocks near the coast, creating floral designs in sprays and foam and mist. The whole day, the ship sailed along the southern coast of the Island of Ceylon, and Kinwun enjoyed watching the fresh, green and beautiful scenery. He noticed also a small fort. He felt like as if he were sailing along the Irrawaddy river, looking towards the Sagaing Hills. The envoys asked Captain Brown whether the ship was stopping over in Ceylon, and he replied, "No". So they wrote a report for submission to Hluttaw, and putting it in an envelope addressed to the Royal Banker in Rangoon, they gave it to Jones to be posted from Ceylon. [The envoys passed a number of sailing ships.] They were surprised that all along the southern coast of Ceylon they saw only one pagoda. At 2 p. m., the ship approached the port of Galle and the ship stopped its engines. The envoys saw a lighthouse, a flag-post, a small fort, 10 steamers and a number of houses. The ship was about 4 miles

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

outside the harbour. A small boat with two fishermen in it came alongside. Jones gave the envoy's letter together with a note to his mercantile agent in Galle, asking him to pay the fishermen the charges for delivery of the letters to him and to post the envoy's letter after paying for the stamps. The ship started again and proceeded towards Aden. [The envoys passed a number of sailing ships and steamers.]

Sunday March 31. At 4 p. m., the north western sky became overcast. About half-an-hour later a high wind blew and some rain fell. The wind became stronger, waves became high and the steamer shook and trembled. At midnight the wind abated, but only a little. It was now full one month since the envoys left the Golden City. [*From Monday April 1 to Tuesday April 9,* the ship continued on its course towards Aden. Kinwun Mingyi was impressed with the variety and sizes of the fishes that followed in the wake of the steamer, and described them in great detail. To take advantage of the favorable wind, a sail had been put up, *and* he noted the high speed attained by the ship, namely 10 miles an hour. On *April 8,* he had a glimpse of Africa in the far distance and in the evening of *April 9,* he saw the harbour lights of Aden. On *Wednesday April 10,* the *Tenasserim* entered Aden harbour to take on fresh supplies of coal, water and victuals. The envoys accompanied by Edmund Jones and the French captain went ashore and posted their usual report to the Hluttaw. They saw the famous divers of Aden, young Arabs who dived into the water to pick up from the seabed, coins thrown overboard by passengers. They went and saw the fortress and the barracks of the English garrison, which consisted of 1000 English soldiers and 2000 native soldiers. While admiring the stone houses, bridges and fortresses, Kinwun Mingyi noted the squalid conditions in which the natives lived in their hut-like dwellings. He also commented on the utter poverty of the natives,

who seemed to be so lacking in general intelligence and self respect that they were content to work as servants and laborers. He observed a sailing boat, full of starving pilgrim who had returned from Mecca, which was not allowed to enter Aden harbour because an epidemic of small pox had broken out on board. He was informed that at Aden it rained only once in three years, which did not surprise him as he could see no sign of any vegetation. The same evening, the envoys returned to the ship which soon after weighed anchor and entered the Red Sea. *From that day until April 14,* the steamer sailed on and again Kinwun Mingyi noted the fishes of various colors and ships of different types which went past his steamer. Because of the great heat, he could not sleep. On *Sunday April 14,* one of the boilers sprung a leak and it took some time for the engineers to mend it. On the following day, *April 15,* the north wind began to blow and it became very cold. Except for the captain and the crew, no one was allowed on deck. *On April 16* Kinwun Mingyi observed a huge rock, some 15 acres in area, solitary and silent in mid-ocean. *On April 17,* the assistant envoy had a serious and painful attack of dyspepsia. The ship entered Suez late that night.

On Thursday April 18, the envoys gave their heavy baggage into the charge of Captain Brown for onward carriage to London. The envoys gave a silver betel box and some gold and silver figures of fishes to the captain's little son, who had boarded the ship at Aden together with his mother, as farewell presents. Then the envoys, Jones, the French Captain Louis Morin and the attendants disembarked, taking with them their light luggage and the two boxes containing the royal presents. The Egyptian customs officials refused to pass the two boxes as they contained gold and jewels. They were apologetic, saying that they had not been informed in advance of the diplomatic status of the Burmese passengers; but they were firm and insisted that an assessment of the value of the

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

articles in the boxes would have to be made and duty charged at the rate of 10 per cent of the total value. The envoys requested that the matter be kept pending so that they could appeal to the Turkish Governor at Cairo. After the boxes had been sealed by the customs and also by the Burmese envoys, they were taken to the residence of the mayor of Suez and deposited there for safety. The envoys spent the night at Hotel Suez where the charges for both board and lodging were at the rate of 6 Kyats each for the officials and 3 Kyats each for the clerks and attendants. Suez was a rapidly developing port and Kinwun Mingyi and his party had their first sight of the Suez Canal. Although it was opened some 18 months before, construction of embankments was still going on. They heard people talking with admiration of the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps whose indomitable will had achieved this great work. Kinwun Mingyi described the Suez Canal in detail and also the irrigation works that were being built near the port.]

Friday April 19. Deciding that the matter of the two boxes could be settled only at Cairo with the help of the Governor or one of his high officials, the envoys bought tickets for Cairo which was some 80 miles away, at the rate of 13 Kyats for each official and 8½ Kyats for each attendant. They boarded the train which started at 8 a.m. Because of the speed of the train, the people, the posts, and other objects appeared blurred to Kinwun Mingyi until he learnt to look ahead some distance. He was told that compared to trains in England and France, this train was very slow. Because of the speed of the train, the assistant envoy became sick again with dyspepsia and some attendants had to massage him throughout the journey. At regular intervals, there were little stations where the train stopped and some passengers left the train while others boarded it. On both sides of the railway line, it was sandy desert, but occasionally the train passed villages with houses very much like those at Suez. Along the

railway line, there flowed a canal bringing fresh water from Cairo. Using that water, some trees were grown but they looked stunted. Then the train stopped and slide backwards into the station of Ismalia which was on the Suez Canal itself. The town was still mostly desert, but it was swiftly growing into a port with stone houses and mud huts appearing as quickly as mushrooms. The train then continued its journey and at 11 a.m., it passed a camp of Turkish soldiers, living in tents. Then the train stopped at the town of Atlebey. As the train approached it, the envoys saw that it was built not on sandy ground, but on firm ground, and on all four sides it was surrounded by blue-green groves of palms. Taking advantage of the water from the canal, wheat was also grown. The country side was absolutely flat and the soil looked loose and fertile. There were water-wheels, distributing the water from the canal into the fields of wheat, cotton and sugar-cane. The natives from the mud huts were working those water-wheels. Everybody seemed to be busy. Only few peasants used the plough as cattle seemed to be scarce; most of them were digging with hoes. All worked with skill and industry. There was no natural vegetation and all the trees and plants were the result of human labor. At 2 p.m., the train reached the junction station of Zaqaziq. The envoys left the train as its destination was Alexandria. They had lunch at a station restaurant and the charges were 2¼ Kyats for each official and 1¼ for each attendant. While having their meal, Ferdinand de Lesseps chanced to come into the restaurant and Louis Morin, who used to know him well introduced him to the envoys. Although the natives of this town still lived in mud huts, it was obviously a growing town and the envoys observed new houses being built for Europeans. There were restaurants round the station, and gardens and parks were in the process of construction. All this was to be expected as it was a busy railway junction. The party took the train to Cairo reaching there at about

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

5 p.m. Two carriages from New Hotel were waiting for the party, and the envoys, Jones and Morin entered one of them and the attendants with the luggage travelled in the other. Hotel charges were at the rate of 10½ Kyats for each official and 4 Kyats for each attendant, which included both board and lodging. "New Hotel" meant in Burmese "new meal shop". A doctor was fetched to treat the assistant envoy who was still suffering from dyspepsia. At 6 p.m., the envoys sent for an English barrister by the name of Gustave Law and consulted him about the two detained boxes. The doctor, an English-man named Grant, finding after examination that the Royal Secretary was suffering only from constipation, went away and soon sent back by a messenger some medicine was to be taken once in every 4 hours, and by the morning, after his bowels had moved, the assistant envoy fell asleep. A telegram was received from Aden informing that the royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan* arrived at the port on April 17.

Saturday April 20. At 6.30 a.m., the English barrister, Gustave Law called at the hotel bringing with him the English Queen's Consul at Cairo, Rogers. The consul after greeting the envoys warmly, promised to get the 2 boxes from Suez without any problem or difficulty. He also enquired whether the envoys waited to call on the Turkish governor of Egypt and offered to make arrangements for the envoys to meet him. He was pleasant and friendly and said, "If the envoys want anything else, please let me know, and I shall be glad to give all assistance." He then went to the Egyptian Foreign Minister who, after listening to his explanation, at once sent a telegram to the customs officials at Suez, instructing them to release the 2 boxes. The consul also sent a telegram instructing the English consul at Suez to take delivery of the 2 boxes and bring them himself to Cairo. The consul also informed the Foreign Minister that the envoys wanted to call on the Governor, and the Minister at once contacted the Governor by telegram. [The

envoys engaged 2 carriages and went sight seeing round the city. They were impressed with its beauty and grandeur and observed that the people in the city were gay and happy. Groups of men and women travelled round the city in carriages or on horse-back, like bees flying to and fro. They gazed at the envoys in friendliness and in wonder, probably because of their strange clothes. The envoys returned to the hotel and soon after the American consul in Cairo, one Butler, sent a message, asking for an interview. The message was brought by a Turkish clerk. The envoys replied that they would be pleased to see him the following day. As Kinwun Mingyi's jacket had become torn, it had to be sent to the tailors.]

Sunday April 21. At about 8 a.m., the English consul Rogers called, and the envoys expressed their gratitude and joy at the assistance given by him in the matter of the boxes, and told him they were writing to the King and the Lords and Ladies of the Court at the Golden City, informing them of his courtesy and kindness. Rogers replied that he would always do his best to help the envoys in any matter. "The Governor will reply to you in two or three days' time, about your call," continued Rogers, "and I have sent a telegram reporting Your Excellencies' arrival to my Consul General at Alexandria. He might even come to Cairo within two or three days." At about 11 a.m., the American consul Butler and the Turkish clerk of the previous day came to New Hotel and the envoys in their robes of office, received them. After the usual greetings, Kinwun Mingyi said, "England was the first western country with which the Burmese kingdom became friendly. We are beginning friendly relations with the kingdom of Italy. Later on, we desire to have friendly relations with all western countries. We have been hoping to meet American diplomatic officials in London, and we are extremely glad to have this opportunity to meet the American

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

consul even before we reach London." The American consul replied that his country was eager to have friendly relations with Asian countries and he assured the envoys that they would find the American consul in London friendly, cordial and sincere. Then he took his leave, but at 7 p.m., he sent back the Turkish clerk asking for a list of the members of the mission with their ranks and full titles. The envoys wrote out the list and gave it to the clerk. The two deputy envoys, Jones and Louis Morin went sightseeing. The assistant envoy had almost fully recovered.

Monday April 22. At about 1 p.m., a letter was received by the assistant envoy from Rogers informing him of the safe arrival of the boxes at Cairo. At about 4 p.m., Rogers' clerk arrived with the 2 boxes. The seals were found intact and when the boxes were opened, everything was found to be in order; a letter to that effect was given to the messenger. Although the assistant envoy had recovered from dyspepsia, as the left side of his body was still giving him pain, the English doctor applied fifteen leeches to the painful spot.

[On Tuesday April 23, the envoys sent a telegram to one Shakleton in London, engaging him as secretary, and instructing him to meet them at Rome. The envoys visited the park in the middle of the city, which the Governor had given to the public. As a token of their gratitude they gave a silver betel box and a silver bowl to the English barrister. *On April 24,* the Italian consul called at the hotel and informed the envoys that a telegram had been sent to the Italian authorities at Rome, reporting the arrival of the envoys in Egypt. The Italian government had sent to the Governor in Cairo the Secretary of their Foreign Office Argmoor for some consultation, and he was staying in the New Hotel also. In the afternoon, the English Consul-General in Alexandria came and saw the envoys, and asked for the dates of their itinerary so that he could report to the Secretary of State

for Foreign Affairs in London. He was very friendly and kind. The envoys told him that they planned to leave Cairo during the week, but as they would spend some time in Italy, they were not yet in a position to give him the actual date of their arrival in England. Soon after, the Secretary of the Italian Foreign Office visited the envoys and informed them that the Italian Government was planning to send another embassy to the Golden City, led by the same naval captain Racchia, who had visited the Golden City with the previous embassy. The Secretary also informed the envoys that he was the very official who delivered to the King of Italy the ruby-studded sword and other presents sent by the Burmese King recently. The envoys received a message from the Government House that the Governor would be pleased to see them the following day. The envoys gave to the English consul a silver betel box and some gold and silver figures of fishes as presents; *On April 25,* the envoys wearing their robes of office, Jones wearing his Chain of Office with 9 strings and Morin wearing his handsome uniform of a sea captain, went to Government House and were welcomed by the Governor's private secretary, who led them into the presence of the Governor. "We feel very pleased that Your Excellencies are visiting Egypt", the Governor remarked. "Your Excellency's country is growing and developing day by day", replied Kinwun Mingyi, "and it is indeed a beautiful country. We have been admiring your Suez Canal, your wonderful railways and your irrigation canals. We are grateful also for the kind welcome Your Excellency has given us". At the conclusion of the visit the Governor accompanied the envoys right up to the front door and his private secretary came down to the carriages. This private secretary was not a Turk nor an Egyptian, but a Frenchman, yet he had the full confidence of his master. *On April 26,* the envoys rested, and the following day, *April 27,* they visited

JBRS. LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

the pyramids which reminded Kinwun Mingyi of a square-shaped Burmese pagoda. He gave a detailed description of the pyramids. On their return to the hotel, the English consul Rogers called and expressed his pleasure that the envoys had been able to see the Governor. They visited a fort and a great mosque where lay buried the previous Governor, Mohammed Ali. They received a telegram that the royal ship had reached Alexandria. *On April 28*, the envoys were taken to the summer palace of the Governor. Kinwun Mingyi was specially interested in the private zoo, where he saw white peacocks and also various kinds of birds, a lion and a lioness, bears, leopards, tigers, deer, jackals, monkeys, camels, elephants, and an enormous bird six feet in height. He noted that their cages were clean and they were well looked after. The palace was sumptuous and Kinwun Mingyi was specially impressed with a series of audience chambers, each with a special colour scheme, green, white, blue and so on; each chamber had a specially decorated fireplace which, Kinwun Mingyi observed, must have cost at least 6000 Kyats each. Then they visited a public theatre which the Governor had given to the city and went round the building. *On April 29*, the envoys sent farewell messages to the various foreign Consuls in Cairo, informing them that they were leaving next day for Alexandria. The envoys also sent a farewell message to the Governor.

On April 30, when the envoys arrived at the railway station, the Chief Superintendent of railways was waiting for them, and to their surprise, conducted them to the special royal train which the Governor had placed at their disposal. As the Burmese attendants, because of the language barrier, found it difficult to get the luggage loaded and unloaded, the envoys engaged an Englishman who could speak many European languages and was familiar with the customs and conditions at ports and railway stations; his salary was fixed at 100 Kyats a month. They arrived at Alexandria where they were met by the captain of the royal ship,

Brown. Kinwun Mingyi noticed that wheat was widely grown in the region. The envoys drove along a causeway across a lagoon, which according to Kinwun Mingyi, was "at least three times wider than our own Taungthaman lake near the Golden City". The admiral commanding the Egyptian navy and an English admiral who was serving the Governor as the Minister for Naval Affairs also met the envoys at Alexandria, and placed their launches and ships at the disposal of the envoys. *On May 1*, the American consul Butler, the English Consul General, Station and the Italian consul called at the envoy's hotel to say farewell. Kinwun Mingyi described with admiration the governance of Egypt, which was entirely modeled on the administrative systems prevailing in Europe. He also noted that ordinary Egyptians wore a long white robe with a flowing head-dress, and the women wore a robe which covered the body completely except for two slits for the eyes to see through. *On May 2*, the envoys left their hotel and boarded the royal ship, which at once weighed anchor and started for Brindisi. Within an hour the wind became strong, and everyone in the party was seasick except Pandee Wundauk and one attendant Maung Shwe Aye. *On May 3*, although the storm had abated, most of the passengers were unable to take any food. *On May 4 and May 5*, Kinwun Mingyi felt well enough to observe the ships and the islands along the route. *On May 6*, the ship entered Brindisi harbour, and the Italian naval Captain Racchia, who had led an embassy to the Golden City came on board and informed them that under the orders of the King of Italy, he had come to place his services at their disposal. His Majesty was at Naples, but as the Foreign Minister was at Rome, it would be more appropriate for the envoys to go to Rome first. Captain Albert Racchia was accompanied by the Commissioner for the Port of Brindisi; the mayor of Brindisi and an English naval captain, and the English consul. The captain of an English frigate, who was attached to the English

Queen's chief away at Istanbul, happened to be at Brindisi at that time with his ship and he came on board. *Setkyar Yinbyan* and *courteously* invited the envoys to honour him and his crew by paying a visit to his ship. The envoys had break-fast with the officials who had come to welcome them to Brindisi. Soon after, the envoys went by launch to the frigate, where they were received with full honors by the sailors. The envoys went round the warship and inspected the weapons include in the great guns, the bridge, the officers' cabins and the quarters of the sailors, and were specially impressed by the neatness and cleanness of the ship. Afterwards, the envoys were taken round the city in carriages by the mayor. The same evening, together with the Italian Captain Racchia, the party took the train to Rome.]

Tuesday May 7. A little after 9 a.m., the train arrived at Caserta and the envoys, after leaving the train, had breakfast at a restaurant. One of the attendants Po Tha, pith boils all over his body, had a raging fever. [They visited the King's palace in the town and enjoyed walking in the shade of an avenue of trees, and sitting by the side of an artificial lake with water-falls. Kinwun Mingyi noted that the palace was far more luxury than the Governor's palace at Cairo, and the cost of building the palace was 80 million Kyats. In the afternoon, they entrained again for Rome, arriving there in the evening. They went to a hotel where rooms had been reserved for them by the Italian government. Soon after their arrival, the secretary to the Foreign Minister called and suggested that they should see the Minister only on May 9 so that they could go sightseeing on May 8.] [On May 8. the envoys visited the Papal City and St. Peter's Cathedral, and marveled at the grandeur and the spaciousness of the building. They also visited the Coliseum, and Kinwun Mingyi described its appearance, its dimensions and its influence on the architecture of all European countries.]

Thursday May 9. At about 11 a.m., the

envoys wearing their robes and chains of office, Jones wearing the gold chain of office and the Italian Captain Racchia wearing the gold chain of office which our lord the King had given to him on his last visit to the Golden City, went in hired carriages to the residence of the Foreign Minister. After the Minister, Viscount Vinosta had greeted them and expressed his pleasure at the visit of the envoys to Italy, Kinwun Mingyi thanked him for the hospitality shown to his party. He continued, "We hope that the treaty of friendship between the two countries will soon be ratified as it will result in the expansion of commerce between Italy and Burma, with advantage to both". "We are sending another embassy under Captain Albert Racchia within the next two months to exchange ratification of the treaty", the Foreign Minister explained. Kinwun Mingyi replied, "The official information regarding this second embassy has already been received from the Italian consul in Burma, Andreino, and from the Italian bishop at the Golden City, Don Paolo, and the Burmese officials are looking forward to its arrival". Kinwun Mingyi expressed appreciation of the fact that Captain Albert Racchia met them at Brindisi and escorted them through Caserta and other cities on their way to Rome. Italy was the first country in Europe the royal mission had visited, and Kinwun Mingyi hoped that many more visits by Burmese royal missions would follow. The envoys and party went to another room to lunch with the Foreign Minister, and then returned to the drawing room, where the Minister informed the envoys that the Crown Prince would be happy to see them on May 10, and on May 12, the King himself who was now at Naples would grant them an audience. They returned to the hotel, and that evening at about 7 p.m., the envoys with Jones and Captain Racchia went to the opera; and as they entered the royal box, all men and women in the audience stood up and turning round, looked at the envoys with interest.

Friday May 10. At about 1 p.m., the envoys wearing their robes of office, but still not wearing their velvet and gold headdresses, Jones and the captain wearing their gold chains and the four attendants proceeded in 3 hired carriages to the mansion of the Crown Prince and they were met on arrival by the members of the royal household in their brilliant uniforms. The corridor was lined with fully-armed soldiers, and they sounded their drums and blew their trumpets, thus saluting the envoys. Leaving the four attendants in the ante-room, the envoys entered the audience chamber where the prince was awaiting their arrival. On seeing the envoys entering the room, he stood up, which was a gesture of deepest respect according to the custom of Europeans, and at once exclaimed, "My father the King and I myself are very pleased over the Signing of the treaty of friendship, which is only the beginning of a long period of cordial relations between the two countries". The envoys thanked the Crown Prince for the hospitality shown to them since their arrival at Brindisi, and informed him that they had written back to their fellow officials at the Golden City about the kindness and courtesy of the Italian government. The Crown Prince enquired as to the official position of the chief envoy at the Kings court, and Kinwun Mingyi replied that he was one of the Chief Ministers and High Commissioners who had to conduct all the affairs of State. "Is it a temporary or a permanent post?" asked the Crown Prince. The envoy replied that in the administrative Services of the King, all appointments were made only after careful consideration Of the person's suitability and merit, and therefore there were no temporary appointments. "After one full hour of intimate conversation, the envoys showed their respect by Shaking hands with the Crown Prince, and took their departure. The conversation was carried out in the following manner; The Crown Prince spoke in Italian and Captain Racchia translated his words into English and then Pandee Wundauk translated the captain's words into Burmese; and when

Kinwun Mingyi spoke, Pandee Wundauk translated his words into English and Pandee Wundauk's words were translated into Italian by the Italian captain. At about 3 p.m., the envoys with Jones and the captain went in 2 hired carriages to the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament. Each chamber was oval-shaped and surrounded by 5 tiers of balconies. In each chamber, the Ministers, Lords and Bishops sat discussing the various matters of government. Each member stood up, giving his speech either supporting or opposing a particular proposal; and the final decision on the matter was reached by the vote of the majority. On the balconies, there sat journalists, reporters, and members of the general public, and full reports of the proceedings were given in the newspapers the following day, so that the whole country came to know which member spoke and how each member voted. At about 6 p.m., the Deputy Foreign Minister, Count "Tonnirolli" made a courtesy call at the hotel.

Saturday May 11. At about 3 p.m., the envoys, Jones, the Italian captain and the attendants took the train to Naples. Before they left the hotel, the Italian captain received a letter and a portrait of the Crown Princess for delivery to the envoys. In the letter, the Crown Princess wrote that as a token of her happiness at the visit of the envoys to Italy, she was sending them her portrait. The envoys also received a telegram from the royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan* from Malta reporting that as Captain Brown became seriously ill, he had to be left at the hospital in Malta and the ship had sailed for London under the charge of the first mate. On arrival at Naples, the envoys were met by the Secretary of the Foreign Office, Argmoor who informed them that the King of Italy would be giving them an audience the following day and officers from the royal household would be calling upon them at their hotel. The envoys proceeded in hired carriages to Hotel Great Britain. Soon after the Aide-de-Camp to the King, Major-General "Barotto Lebyat" and the King's Protocol Officer

Count "Monpeieraff"¹ called on the envoys, and informed them that the King would be pleased to grant them an audience the following day and that at about 9.45 a.m., 2 state carriages would arrive at the hotel to convey the envoys to the royal palace.

Sunday May 12. At about 9.45 a.m., 2 state carriages and 2 ordinary carriages arrived at the hotel with drivers and outriders, all under the charge of Count "Monpeicraff" the royal protocol officer. The envoys wearing their robes, chains of office, and their gold and velvet head-dresses, Jones wearing his chain of *office* and the Italian captain, Albert Racchia wearing his decorations and the chain of office went down to the carriages. In the first state carriage, Kinwun Mingyi sat with the Protocol Officer, and in the second state carriage were the other envoys, Jones and the Italian cart in; the attendants were in the 2 ordinary carriages. On the arrival of the carriages at the gates of the palace, the soldiers who were wearing uniforms and carrying arms and were lining the roadway leading to the stone stairs of the palace, sounded their trumpets and beat their drums in salute to the envoys. At the foot of the stairs, the party was met by the Aide-de-Camp, Major-General "Baretto Lebyat" who conducted them inside. After leaving the attendants in an ante-room which was very beautifully furnished, the envoys entered the audience chamber and took their seats. The Major-General then went and informed the King of the envoys' arrival and His Majesty came into the chamber resplendent in his uniform, with many orders and decorations on his chest. The envoys stood up to show their deep respect. "Is His Burmese Majesty, The Lord of Sunrise, well?" enquired the King. "He is very well, Your Majesty", replied Kinwun Mingyi. The envoys thanked the King for the great courtesy and kindness shown to them since their arrival at Brindisi, and ventured the

opinion that the Burmese King would be happy to know of the special consideration shown to his envoys by his friend the King of Italy. "We are sending a second embassy to the Golden City again under the charge of this captain", the King remarked, "Since they were informed of this by the Italian bishop Don Paolo and by the Italian consul Andrieno, the royal officials at the Golden City have been looking forward to the arrival of the embassy", replied Kinwun Myingyi, "And when the embassy actually arrives, it will be accorded the same honours and courtesies and warm hospitality that have been accorded here to us by Your Majesty's officials. Because of the friendship between the two countries and because of the great desire of our King to further cement that friend-ship, all the Burmese officials have, accepted the Italian consul Andrieno as if he were one of their number, giving him their full trust and confidence". After one hour of very pleasant conversation, the envoys took their departure, as again the soldiers beat their drums and sounded their trumpets in salute. The Italian captain informed the envoys that he had been ordered by the King to take the envoys to the photographers and take their photographs in their full ceremonial dress, for official record. In the after-noon, at 3 p.m., the envoys and Jones and the Italian captain went sightseeing in hired carriages, and as they were returning to their hotel, the King of Italy passed by in a carriage and he waved to the envoys in warm greeting.

On May 13. the envoys, Jones and the Italian captain went to two different photographers and had their photographs taken. The Royal Opera House in the palace precincts was closed for the summer, but the King ordered that a special performance be given that night for the envoys. Accordingly, at about 8 p.m., the envoys, Jones and the Italian captain with 2 attendants went in hired carriages

1. Unidentified names are given in inverted commas by the translator.

to the Opera House and were received by the Aide-de-Camp, the Major-General, the secretary to the Foreign Office, and lords and other officials of the royal household. The envoys were conducted to the royal box and were served refreshment. The performance started and as the envoys watched, the Major-General and other officials would not sit but stood by as a sign of respect for the envoys. At about 10 p.m., the envoys returned to the hotel; and one hour later they went out sightseeing again. They passed another carriage, and to their surprise the King was in it. The King took off his hat and bowed to the envoys who bowed back in return. The envoys learnt that it was the habit of the King to drive round the city everyday in ordinary carriage accompanied only by his Aide-de-Camp, the Major-General.]

Tuesday May 14. In the morning at about 10.30 a.m., the Commander-in-Chief of the Italian army, Marshal "Pettinaigo" came to the hotel and invited them to a special military parade, which would be held in a stadium specially constructed for such purposes. Accordingly, the envoys and their party went to the stadium in hired carriages and were conducted to the reviewing stand reserved for princes of the blood and great envoys. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery regiments consisting of more than 6000 soldiers stood on parade. Then a mock-battle was staged, in which the regiments took part first separately, and then together. The infantry advanced, protected by the cavalry and covered by the guns. There was a continuous din from horses hoofs, rifles, bombs and guns. Then some of the soldiers took the part of the enemy, and there was a display of hand-to-hand fighting. Then followed a display of horsemanship, and all the cavalry regiments galloped and jumped over a brick wall. Finally, the regiments marched past the reviewing stand, and the envoys and the Commander-in-Chief took the salute. On their return to their hotel, the Secretary of the Foreign Office, "Argmoor"

arrived with decorations from the King. The highest decoration, Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Italy was for the chief envoy, two insignias of Commander of the Order of the Crown of Italy were for the two deputy envoys, and the insignia of an Officer of the Order of the Crown of Italy was for the assistant envoy. Although Jones was not an envoy, he received the insignia of the Membership of the Order, as he was in the service of the King of Burma. In the evening at about 6.45 p.m., the envoys and Jones together with his wife and daughter (who had arrived from England) visited the house of Albert Racchia's commanding officer, an Admiral. The Admiral and his family served the envoys with refreshments while a navy band played.

Wednesday May 15. The envoys, accompanied by Jones, his wife and daughter, the Italian captain and his wife and attendants travelled to the ruins of the town of Pompeii some 12 miles to the north of Naples. In ancient chronicles, it was written that a town called Pompeii was destroyed by volcanic mud and ash falling upon it suddenly. For many centuries before the envoys' visit, people had been searching for this buried town and its site was discovered only 100 years ago. During these 100 years, the site had been excavated, about one-third of the town had been restored and the excavations of the remaining parts were still being carried on. The envoys went round the restored part, and saw many imposing mansions, the aires, public baths in which people used to bathe and make merry, buildings in which hot and cold water were mixed, buildings in which people after their bath anointed them-selves with perfume and oil, buildings in which people changed their dresses before and after their bath, great houses in which officials resided, great houses in which slaves resided, gardens and so on.

Only the roofs had fallen, and everywhere the walls of the buildings remained intact,

JBRS LVII, i, & ii. Dec., 1974.

and on those walls, paintings done by various skillful artists of the day remained as fresh as ever. In excavating these buildings, the workers had to dig down to a depth of 7 to 15 yards, and clear the mud and ash. The envoys and party walked along paved roadways on which could still be seen the marks of carriage wheels and human feet of so long ago. There were canals, pools, and fountains. The household goods that those ancient people used, for example, sun and water clocks, balances, weights and measures, trays, cups, spades, knives, earthen pots, iron pots, brass pots, lamps and kettles, and which had been excavated, were displayed in a museum, so as to enable the present and future generations to have an idea of how the inhabitants of Pompeii lived. In the museum were displayed also the bodies of men and women who were killed in the disaster and which had been turned into stone by the hot lava and ash from the volcano. Even the finger nails and the teeth were still intact although turned into stone. From the inscriptions found on the site, it was learnt that the city was buried some 1800 years ago. Successive governments of Italy had been excavating the site for the last 100 years, they are still excavating and they will go on excavating for many years to come. By such archaeological excavations, people of modern times can learn how wise and advanced their ancestors were, and can also copy some of the methods and manners of ancient times. This is the habit of all Europeans,- to endeavor always to discover and preserve ancient towns and buildings. At about 3.45 p.m., the party returned to Naples by train. In the evening, at the hotel, the envoys gave a dinner in honour of some 20 Italian officials, including the King's Aide-de-Camp, the Commander-in-Chief and the commanding officers of those regiments who took part in the parade, and some officials of the King's house-hold. [On *Thursday May 16*, the envoys wrote reports and then went to the photographer and had their photographs

taken again. They gave another dinner, this time to 13 officials, including the mayor of Naples and his chief clerk. Learning that the French President and other heads of governments had been making contributions towards a relief fund for the inhabitants of a village on the outskirts of Naples, which had been destroyed only a few months before by the eruption of the great volcano nearby, the envoys also donated a sum of 1200 Kyats to the fund. The following day, *May 17*, they returned to Rome by train. *May 18* was spent in writing reports. On *May 19*, the envoys left Rome for Florence, and on arrival here went to stay at the Grand Hotel. On *May 20*, they visited palaces and cathedrals of Florence.]

Tuesday May 21. At about 8.30 a.m., the envoys and party engaged a special train and left Florence for spezia, arriving there at about 10.30 a.m. At the railway station, they were met by an admiral, who was naval commander of the port, commodore of a squadron of war ships and other naval officers, wearing full uniform. The envoys were taken to the port in carriages, and when they arrived there, 19 guns were fired in salute from the port. They were then conducted to a mansion, where they rested for some time. At 3 p.m., the admiral and other naval officers came again, and took them round to various workshops, docks and some war ships. As the naval officers were wearing their decorations, the envoys also wore the decorations given to them by the Italian King. The envoys were specially interested to see 2 old war ships being renovated and 2 new war ships being built. The armour plate that was being put round the 2 new ships was 8 inches thick. All the factories were full of the latest machines, and were manufacturing various articles for use by the navy. One factory was manufacturing iron goods, another was manufacturing wooden articles, as for example gun cases, mast poles. There was a rope factory, and also a map making

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

depot. There were also warehouses, in which were stored ropes, linen, crockery, cutlery, for issue to war ships. There was also a demonstration of a depth charge which exploded under the water. The depth charge was only as wide as a gun barrel and only 4½ inches long, but its explosion shook the ground, and soon after dead fishes appeared on the surface of the water in the vicinity. Then the admiral took the envoys and the party to the war ships anchored in mid-stream, in three rowboats towed by a steam launch. As the envoys approached a war ship, the sailors on it climbed the 3 masts to Salute them. One hundred marines stood on deck, shouldering their rifles. Then as the envoys went aboard the ship, the sailors on the masts gave three loud cheers, and the marines saluted. The commander of the ship welcomed the envoys. After inspecting the ship, the envoys were taken to a training ship. The sailors on that ship also climbed on to the masts and gave three loud cheers while the ship's guns fired 19 times in salute. The officers of the training ship, after welcoming the envoys and party on board, gave a gunnery display. As the envoys were inspecting the ship, thunder and lightning rent the sky and big rain drops and hailstones fell. After the rain storm had abated, the envoys and party returned to the shore as again the guns fired 19 times in salute. [*On May 22*, envoys and party went in carriages along a mountain road to Sestri from where they took the train to Genoa. The train passed through 41 tunnels. At Genoa, they were met by a general, the mayor of Genoa, and various other officials. The envoys spent the night at the hotel Trumbetta. The following day, *May 23*, the envoys went sightseeing, and later various officials called on them at the hotel. The envoys proudly wore the decorations granted to them by the King of Italy. They also visited a park with lakes, bridges and waterfalls, all kinds of fruit trees and flowering plants. Of all the pleasant parks and gardens that they had visited

in Italy, they found this park at Genoa the most delightful. As it was found that Shackleton's services were not necessary, he was paid the cost of his passage from London and back, and also two full months pay in lieu of notice. *On May 24*, the envoys took the train to Turin, and travelled along cause-ways and through tunnels. They were now in northern Italy, and they were told that there was much cultivation of rice in the region. The Italian captain informed them that he was a native of Turin and he had still a brother and sister living there. He also informed the envoys that the Italian bishop at Mandalay Don Paolo and Andrieno were natives of that region. *On May 25*, the envoys visited the palace built by the old King, the present King's father, armouries, arms-factories, gardens and schools. They also visited a factory which was run, not by steam but by water power, and it manufactured 70 rifles a day, which was considered by the Italians to be too few. Altogether there were 8 rifle factories in Italy, and their total output was 500 rifles a day. They also visited a cannon factory. They were told that until the time of the present King, Italy was divided into the city of Rome under the Pope, Kingdom of Naples and Kingdom of Turin. In fact, all these small kingdoms were united into the kingdom of Italy only 3 or 4 years before the envoys' visit. Kinwun Mingyi noted, "Within this short space of time, they have built their wonderful factories and machines. There can be no going back for them, only progress and further advancement. Their schools give knowledge not only to Italian boys, but also to students of other races, as for example, Americans, Egyptians, and even Indians".]

Sunday May 26. At about 9 a.m., the envoys boarded the train for France. Racchia made special arrangements for the carriage in which the envoys and party travelled, to be taken direct to Paris, so that they would not have the trouble of changing trains and carriages on the

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

way. The captain remained behind at Turin. The railway line crossed a series of mountain ranges, sometimes using natural passes and at other times, through tunnels. In building the railway, the engineers had to blow up some hills and fill up some valleys. Sometimes the train travelled down hill, and at other times up hill. The train passed through 46 tunnels, the shortest of which was about 150 feet, and the longest 8 miles. The envoys spent one whole day and one whole night on the train.

Monday May 27. At about 7.45 a.m., the envoys arrived at Paris and went to Hotel due Louvre, one block to the north of the President's palace. At about 12 noon, the President's secretary, Forray, called and informed the envoys that he had been sent by the President to find out whether the envoys had safely arrived in Paris. "Do Your Excellencies desire to see the President?" he enquired, "If so, I am the man to arrange it. It is my duty to conduct great envoys into the presence of my master. Some years ago when the embassy sent by your King came to Paris, I conducted them into the presence of the King of France. In fact, I still have their photographs". The envoys took it as a hint they were expected to call on the President. and so they replied that they would very much like to do so. He promised to arrange the call and undertook to write to the French consul in London to look after the envoys' safety and com-fort while visiting England. After asking for the calling cards of the envoys, he took his departure. At about 3 p.m., the envoys received a letter from the secretary suggesting that they should first call on the Foreign Minister before calling on the President, and that they should write to the Foreign Minister.

Tuesday May 28. The Royal Secretary, as suggested by the private secretary Forray, wrote to the Secretary of the Foreign Office asking for an interview with the Foreign Minister. Hpanyet Wundauk received a letter from

Major McMahon, who used to be the English agent at the Golden City and who was now in London. In the letter, McMahon said that the English government was preparing to give a warm welcome to the envoys on their arrival in London and he had been instructed to attend on the envoys as liaison officer. He also asked that he be informed by telegram of the expected date of their arrival in London.

Wednesday May 29. The envoys did not go out anywhere but spent the day writing reports to the Burmese King.

Thursday May 30. A reply was received from the secretary Forray that the Foreign Minister would be pleased to see the envoys at 3 o'clock the following afternoon, but he regretted that the President could see them only on their return from London. Hpanyet Wundauk sent a telegram to McMahon, acknowledging the receipt of his letter.

Friday May 31. At 1.30 p.m., Mc Leod called at the hotel. He was for a time the English agent in Burma after Major Burney had left. He said that he was also on the English delegation which negotiated the Manipur frontier settlement with the Burmese. He was now 67 years old. He had come to France to inspect the damage suffered in the recent war. At about 3 p.m., the envoys in 2 hired carri-ages went to the residence of the Foreign Minister and was met by the secretary Forray, who apologized for the fact that the Minister was still away at a *conference*. One hour later, the Minister arrived. After greeting the envoys, he expressed his pleasure at the visit of the envoys to France. The envoys thanked him for granting them the interview. "I hope Your Excellencies had a safe and comfortable journey to Paris", said the Minister, and the envoys replied that the journey had been most enjoyable. "How long were Your Excellencies in Italy? Was there time to go round the Country?" enquired the Minister. "We were in the kingdom, of Italy for full 20 days", replied the envoys,

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974

"and we were able to visit many places". "Do Your Excellencies bring any business or matter for me to discuss?" asked the Minister. "No, Your Excellency," replied the envoys. "We have come to you merely to express our goodwill towards France". "France is not like before", replied the Minister. "We have suffered grievous damage in the recent war, and we regret very much we lack the facilities to entertain Your Excellencies as our guests". "We are very glad to note that the French Government has been able to restore order and discipline in the country in so short a time", said the envoys. "We are glad that the damage suffered has not, fortunately, been too great, and much of the damage has been already made good". The envoys then enquired whether it would be possible for them to see the President, who was the chief of ministers. "I shall try my best to arrange the interview", replied the Foreign Minister, "and I will write to you and let you know. But Your Excellencies must realize that this is an unsettled and difficult time for us, and even if I fail to arrange the interview, Your Excellencies will have an opportunity to see him at leisure on your way back from London". "In the past there have been exchanges of embassies and royal letters of greetings between the King of Burma and the King of France", the envoys said, "and that has been a source of joy to us. The French clergy-man Bishop Bigandat delivered to our King the portraits of the King and Queen of France, and we look forward to the day when the friendship between our two countries will further progress". The Foreign Minister thanked the envoys for these words, and offered his assistance whenever needed during their stay in France. The envoys then left the residence of the Foreign Minister. During the conversation Hpanyet Wundauk who knew the French language very well, acted as interpreter. At 4.30 p.m., the envoys, Jones and the attendants hired 2 carriages and drove round the city, along both wide streets and small lanes.

Saturday June 1. The envoys and the attendants went in hired carriages to an exhibition of textiles manufactured in France, and then to the zoological gardens where they saw all kinds of birds and beasts. After driving round the city, they returned to the hotel where Hpanyet Wundauk received another letter from McMahon, in which he thanked Hpanyet Wundauk for his telegram. "How long are the envoys staying on in Paris?", he wrote. "When are you arriving in London? I have been given the responsibility of making arrangements to welcome you. Please write to Kaye, private secretary to the Secretary of State for India, giving him the date of your arrival and he will instruct me to start making arrangements for your reception."

Sunday June 2. The envoys sent a letter to the secretary Forray informing him that as the Foreign Minister was arranging an interview with the Chief of Ministers for the envoys, they had been postponing their departure from France; however, as the officials in London were enquiring about the date of their arrival in London, the envoys would be most grateful to know whether they would be able to see the Chief of Ministers or not. Hpanyet Wundauk also wrote a letter to McMahon informing that the envoys were waiting for an interview with the French Chief of Ministers and would certainly send him a telegram as soon as the date of departure from Paris became definite.

[On Monday June 3, the envoys accompanied by Jones and attendants visited the tomb of Napoleon and the National Library. Afterwards, they went to the village of St. Cloud and went around the royal garden and the royal palace. The palace at St. Cloud was of special interest to them, because it was there that Emperor Napoleon III and his Empress received the first Burmese embassy sent to France. They observed that the village and the palace itself had been extensively damaged by Prussian troops in the recent war.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

On their return to the hotel, they found a letter delivered there by the secretary Forray. The letter was from the Foreign Minister, informing them he had called twice during the day at the hotel, hoping to see them and say farewell. He also gave the following message from the President: The President regretted very much that he would be unable to meet the envoys, and he asked for their pardon; he looked forward to seeing them on their return journey from London; he also prayed for their safe journey to London and for success in their business with the English authorities. The envoys sent a telegram to McMahan informing him that they would be reaching Dover the following Wednesday, and should reach London the same afternoon.]

Tuesday June 4. At about 7 a.m., the envoys, Jones and the attendants left Paris by train and at about noon they arrived at Calais. As *Setkyar Yinbyan* was in the harbour, the party went on board. Although the envoys had intended to leave for Dover only the next morning, as the weather was so favorable, they decided to leave immediately. They arrived at Dover at about 4 p.m. As soon as the mayor of Dover learned of the envoys' arrival in the harbour he made arrangements for the envoys to disembark and travel to London by special train. But the envoys sent a letter to the mayor thanking him, and at the same time informing him that as they had given "Wednesday at noon" as the date and time of their arrival to the authorities in London, they would like to remain on board until then. The mayor went away from the wharf, after canceling the arrangements that he had kindly made. In the afternoon, the commander of the fort on the Dover cliffs called on the envoys, and introduced himself as an English officer who had served in Arakan and at Toungoo and Prome. He spoke Burmese quite well. The envoys asked him to please send a telegram to Maung Myè and other Burmese state

scholars in London, instructing them to come to the royal ship at 10 o'clock the next day. One consul from some government also came and invited Jones to dinner. Since the royal ship arrived in the harbour, crowds of both men and women came to look at the ship. At about 7 p.m., a messenger arrived with a letter from McMahan. In the letter he wrote: "After receiving Your Excellencies' telegram that you were arriving on Wednesday, I have come here one day ahead of time to make preparations for your reception and I was surprised to see the royal ship already in the harbour. I am sending this messenger as I cannot get through the crowds to come myself. Please let me know at what time the envoys would like to disembark on Wednesday. As this is your first port of call in England, perhaps Your Excellencies would like to stay one or two days in Dover". The envoys wrote the following letter and sent it back by the same messenger: "As stated in the telegram we did plan to arrive in Dover only on Wednesday, but the weather was so fine and favorable we decided to do the crossing today. We will disembark tomorrow at noon. We *have* intended to leave for London tomorrow, but as you suggest that we should stay on here in Dover for one or two days, we will discuss the matter tomorrow when we see you."

Wednesday June 5. At about 12.45 p.m., the state scholars, Maung Hmyu and Maung Mye arrived from London and reported that other scholars Maung Aung Thu and Maung Taloke Pyu had left England on their way back to the Golden City. At about 11 a.m., McMahan, Colonel Magrath, Captain Bruce, Captain Upton and 4 other officers in full uniform with decorations came on board the ship to welcome the envoys, who received them wearing their gold chains of office. One hour later, the mayor of Dover and his party arrived and they brought with them an address of *welcome*, which they proceeded to read out. Afterwards, the envoys read out their reply and gave it to the mayor.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Mayor's Letter: Address of Welcome to the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, of His Glorious Majesty the King of Burma, and members of his Embassy. May it please Your Excellencies. The mayor of Dover, which is one of the 5 ancient ports of England, members of his staff and the people of Dover respectfully welcome Your Excellencies to the shores of the Islands of Great Britain. We deem it a great honour and it is a source of pride and pleasure to us that we have this privilege of greeting and welcoming the envoys from a King who ruled over a kingdom, which lies adjacent to the Indian empire over which our great Queen of power and glory reigns. We, loyal subjects of the great Queen, feel that advancement and progress will be achieved by the two countries, Britain and Burma, acting as friends and colleagues. We hope and believe that as a result of friendship and cordial relations between the peoples of Britain and Burma, trade and commerce will increase with advantage to both. We firmly believe that the friendship between the sovereigns of Britain and Burma will be further strengthened by the visit to England of Your Excellencies. This visit clearly demonstrates to us the eagerness of His Glorious Burmese Majesty to strive in peace and in dignity, for the progress of his kingdom in science and technology, in education, in commerce and in the national religion. We also have the same desire and strive towards the same end. We also believe firmly that Your Excellencies also will strive to your utmost to bring full advantage and benefit to both countries. Sealed with the Seal of the City of Dover on June 5, 1872.

Reply by the envoys: "We are very happy and we feel deeply grateful for your kind words of welcome. We shall report to our King regarding this great welcome and we are sure that his heart will be gladdened. Words fail us to express adequately our happiness in being received by you in such a courteous manner, worthy of the ancient cultural traditions of great

and glorious countries. From the moment we planned this journey to England, we learned that our first English port would be Dover, and because of this great welcome you have given us, we can never forget Dover until the end of our days."

After delivering the above reply to the mayor, the envoys, escorted by McMahon and other officials, disembarked and entered the waiting carriages. Immediately 19 guns were fired in salute and in greeting. All the streets were bedecked with flags of all countries and the White Ensign and people in the streets, and from the houses cheered and greeted the envoys. Lord Warrington Hotel also was flying the White Ensign denoting that an ambassador was staying there in. [In the afternoon, the envoys visited the fort of Dover and were interested to know that it had been in use, with various improvements from King to King, since Roman times, some 1800 years before. The envoys inspected a guard of honour. They stayed to lunch as guests of the Commander.]

Thursday June 6. At about 10.30 a.m., the envoys, Jones, the attendants, and Major McMahon boarded the train to London, and as the train pulled out of the station, again 19 guns were fired in salute. Major McMahon explained that it was the special carriage usually used by members of the royal family. At about 1 p.m., the envoys arrived in London and went immediately to Grosvenor Hotel where Jones had already reserved a suite of rooms. He had also hired for the use of the envoys, carriages with drivers and outriders, footmen, waiters and messengers, wearing a special livery. The livery was very smart and distinctive. At 3 p.m., Major McMahon and Captain Upton went to report the arrival of the envoys to the Secretary of State for India. One hour later, the Queen's Chief of Protocol, a lord, called at the hotel to greet the envoys and to offer his assistance whenever needed. He informed them that the Queen was

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

still in Scotland and would return to England only after a fortnight. He also informed the envoys that although the Prince of Wales himself and other lords and officials might call on the envoys, the envoys should not return the call's until they had been received by the Queen; moreover at receptions given by the Queen, seniority among the ambassadors depended on the priority in time of their arrival. At 4.30 p.m., McMahon returned and told the envoys that Kaye, the secretary to the Secretary of State for India would call the following day.

Friday June 7. At about 1 p.m., Kaye, secretary to the Secretary of State for India, called and after asking the usual polite questions regarding the envoys' arrival and stay in London, informed the envoys that the Queen was in her Scottish palace but would be returning to London soon, and then she would receive the envoys; the Secretary of State for India was indisposed, but he hoped to see the envoys within a few days; in the mean-time arrangements were being made for the envoys to visit factories, lakes and gardens and other places not only in London but outside also. Soon after a former English ambassador, who claimed to have been responsible for the signing of treaties or friendship between England and various Asian countries, namely China, Siam and Japan, called on the envoys with his wife and offered his assistance whenever needed, explaining that although he was now retired he had a number of friends in London. He suggested that the Burmese King should send specially selected and able scholars to public schools in London as was being done by the municipal corporations of Bombay and Madras. At 5 p.m., Major McMahon arrived with the message sent by the Secretary of State for India, that he would be pleased to receive them on June 10.

[On June 8, the envoys stayed indoors writing reports. On June 9, Colonel Magrath escorted the envoys on a sight-seeing tour of

London.

They spent the afternoon, translating the royal letters of greeting into English.]

Monday June 10. At about 3 p.m., the envoys and Jones, all wearing their gold chains of office and escorted by McMahon went to the residence of the Secretary of State for India, Duke of Argyll, and were received by Kaye. On Kaye informing the Duke of their arrival, the latter came and greeted the envoys. "Have Your Excellencies' stay in England been pleasant?" asked the English Duke. "It has been very pleasant", replied the envoys, "and we thank you very much for sending Major McMahon right to Dover to meet us". Then the envoys continued, "We have been sent by the Lord of Sunrise, King of Burma, with the sole purpose of strengthening friendship between Britain and Burma". The English Duke expressed his pleasure at the visit of the envoys and after some 45 minutes the envoys took their departure. Kaye told the envoys that he had been instructed by the Duke to apologize that he could not spend more time with the envoys as he had an important matter to discuss with the United States' government. At 1 p.m., the former Commissioner of Rangoon, Colonel Arthur Purvis Phayre called; He would not discuss any official matter, but merely made polite and friendly conversation and went away. On the same day at about 4.30 p.m., the chief envoy alone, with Jones and McMahon went sightseeing.

[*June 11*, was spent in sightseeing. On June 12, the envoys had their photographs taken at a photographer's near the Parliament House, and on their return to the hotel, they learnt that Colonel Phayre had called again. They spent the afternoon writing reports.]

Thursday June 3. At 9 a.m. the chief envoy alone escorted by Jones, McMahon, Colonel Magrath and Captain Upton went to Ascot, some 24 miles away from London. Races were held once a

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

year at Ascot. There were races of 2, 4 and 6 horses. There was very heavy betting. There was an enormous crowd, including the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales, lords and ladies, bankers and rich merchants. There was a stadium with rows of seats built round the course. The Prince of Wales was wearing an ordinary suit and moving among the crowd, spoke freely with every-body, without assuming the airs of a prince, and as if he were an ordinary lord or a commoner. The envoy and his party were received by the mayor and were taken to a special box reserved for distinguished visitors. After the races were over, as Prince of Wales and the Princess drove away in a carriage, crowds on their left and on their right, raised their hands and cheered them. The Prince of Wales and Princess of Wales bowed and waved their hands repeatedly, Soon after the envoy and his party took their departure in their carriage and throughout the journey of 24 miles to London, people on the road and people in the houses, men and women, young and old raised their hands and gave the envoy and his party cheer after cheer. The envoy bowed and nodded. The whole day the sun was bright and hot and the envoy was told that such a bright and sunny day was rare in England. On return to the hotel, Kinwun found the reports ready, and so he instructed that they should be packed and sealed and given to Jones for posting.

[On Friday June 14, the envoys visited Kensington Museum and saw various exhibits including ancient law books, gold, silver, wood and ivory carvings, various kinds of glass, pottery, statues, dresses of kings and queens and lords and various kinds of military uniforms. They spent some time looking at photographs of Buddhist temples in India, and caskets containing the relics of the Buddha and his chief disciples. On return to the hotel, McMahon received a letter from Kaye informing that the Duke of Argyll was calling on the envoys on the

following Monday and the Queen would be giving them an audience within the next week. In the afternoon the Lord Mayor of London, Lord Mac Gibbon called at the hotel and invited them to a lunch in their honour on the following Wednesday. That night Kinwun Mingyi looked up at the clear sky and noted the difference in position of certain stars and planets as compared to their positions in the skies over Burma. On June 15, the envoys visited Crystal Palace some 12 miles outside London. On the way they dropped in for lunch at Kaye's residence. Kaye had also invited to the lunch Colonel Phayre, Fytche (another former Commissioner of Rangoon) and the Director of Crystal Palace. During the lunch Kaye informed the envoys that the Queen was receiving them on June 21, and the same day they would be received also by the Prince of Wales. Phayre acted as interpreter. Phayre promised to send to the envoys a book that he had recently published, giving an account of his embassy to the Burmese King. After the lunch, escorted by the Director they visited Crystal Palace. Kaye and his two daughters, Phayre and Fytche also went along with the envoys. On June 16, the envoys visited the zoological gardens. On June 17 the envoys sent a telegram to the Royal Banker in Rangoon instructing him to remit immediately 150,000 Kyats. In the afternoon, one General Dew, who served in the English army in India and in Rangoon for a long time, came and saw the envoys. On June 18, the envoys with Jones and his wife, McMahon, General Dew, and Colonel Magrath and his sister had dinner together at the hotel, and later went to the Crystal Palace to watch a fireworks display. Kinwun Mingyi was interested to learn the economics of the display; the cost of displaying the fireworks came to about 3,000 to 4,000 Kyats: the members of the public were charged an entrance fee of half a Kyat each, and as 25,000 people came to see the display, the Crystal Palace committee received 12,500 Kyats; in addition special seats

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

were available inside at 6, 5 or 4 Kyats each, according to the position of the seats. So it was a very profitable under-taking, but of course the envoys, being invited guests, did not have to pay anything. *On June 19*, the envoys and party visited the official residence of the Lord Mayor of London. The Lord Mayor himself escorted the party to St. Paul's Cathedral. When the Prince of Wales was very ill, the Queen herself came and prayed at the alter of this cathedral for his speedy recovery; the Prince recovered, and in gratitude the Queen offered to renovate the hall. The hall was still in the process of renovation when the envoys visited the cathedral. The envoys also saw the tomb of a great English general and the carriage (drawn by 12 horses), which brought the coffin of the general to the cathedral. They also visited a school where 700 young boys were not only taught, but also clothed, lodged and fed. Then the Lord Mayor took the envoys to his private residence where his family welcomed them, not as official guests but as friends. The envoys felt very much at home with the Lord Mayor and his family. In the afternoon, the Lord Mayor took the envoys to the Tower of London, which was a fort in olden days. They saw the dungeon and the place where traitors were executed. They saw the crown jewels, including an enormous diamond. In the evening, they went to a reception at the Kensington Museum and marveled at the great number of people who came to see the exhibits in the museum. Then they proceeded to the reception given by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Earl Granville, who came down right to the bottom of the stairs to receive them. The envoys had a very pleasant conversation with the Austrian ambassador and an Austrian prince. At the reception, the envoys also heard of the arrangements made to take them to Windsor Castle on June 21. *On June 20*, they packed and sealed their usual report to the Golden City and gave it for posting to a Gentleman of the Bed

Chamber in the Golden Palace, Naymyo Thinkhayar (Maung Myè) who was a state scholar in England. They spent the day checking the royal presents to be handed over to the Queen the following day.]

Friday June 21. As the envoys were to be received by the Queen at Windsor Castle which was about 14 miles to the northwest of London, at 10 a.m., the envoys with McMahan, Jones and the four attendants proceeded in carriages to the Western Railway station, and as they arrived there a little *too* early, they were taken to the royal waiting room. After about 20 minutes, the party boarded the royal train together with the Secretary of State for India, Duke of Argyll. When they arrived at the little station near the castle, they found the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, Viscount Sydney, waiting for them with 3 state coaches each drawn by 4 horses. In the first coach sat Kinwun Mingyi, Pandee Wundauk, Viscount Sydney, and the Duke of Argyll; in the second coach sat Hpangyet Wundauk, the Royal Secretary, Major McMahan and Jones, while in the third coach sat the attendants. The procession of coaches was led by a soldier on horseback, wearing a special uniform. The drivers and the outriders of the coaches wore livery. When the envoys in their coaches arrived at the foot of the castle stairs, they were met by the Queen's Aide-de-Camp, Colonel Bulwer, who was also in charge of the guard of honour. From the stairs to the audience chamber, the corridors were lined with soldiers carrying lances. The envoys were escorted to a robing room. Leaving their robes and the four attendants in the room, the envoys went along with Lord Sydney to the chamber in which were displayed the robes of various kings of England in ancient times, another chamber where were kept weapons and uniforms of the past, the library, the chamber in which were displayed the decorations and insignias of ancient times, the gallery in which were

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

hung the portraits of kings, lords, heroes and scholars of the past, the banquetting hall, the reception room, a private chapel, the ballroom, and the wonderful garden. At about 1.30 p.m., the four envoys, McMahan, Jones, the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Earl Granville, Viscount Sydney and about 20 other lords had lunch together in the state dining room. At 3 p.m., the four envoys wearing their robes, McMahan wearing his uniform, Jones wearing clothes worn by Europeans on such formal occasions, proceeded towards the audience chamber. Kinwun Mingyi carried the casket containing the royal letter of greeting and the Royal Secretary carried the presents. They entered the audience chamber. On the right and left of the throne were Princess Beatrice, Duchess of Sutherland (who also held the title of Countess Cromerty), Viscountess Clifden, Lady Caroline Barrington, Prince Leopold, Viscount Sydney, Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, Colonel, *the Honourable A. Liddell*, Marquis of Ailesbury, Commandant of the Household Cavalry Regiment, Colonel Lord Mathuen, Colonel Lord Abinger, Colonel Du Plat, Colonel Lord Mont Charles and Colonel Sir John Cowell. General Lord Lucan, carrying a golden lance, and Colonel Bate-son carrying a silver lance stood in front. On the throne was the English Queen, wearing a crown with three tiers, and she stood up to receive the embassy. The envoys proceeded in order of seniority towards the throne, and Kinwun Mingyi handed to the Queen the casket containing the royal letter of greeting. The Royal Secretary Minhla Zeyathu, handed to Kinwun Mingyi the boxes he had been carrying and Kinwun Mingyi in turn handed them to the Queen, who graciously received them. All the time the Queen remained standing, which was the European way of showing the deepest respect and courtesy. Then she bowed her head to the chief envoy, the deputy envoys and the assistant envoy and Major McMahan, and each bowed in return.

Then Major Mc Mahon approached the Queen and kneeling down, made a gesture of kissing her hand and read out the English translation of the royal letter of greeting. Then the Queen asked Kinwun Mingyi, "*Is His Burmese, Majesty, the King of the Sunrise well?*" "His Majesty is well, Your Majesty," replied Kinwun Mingyi. "*Did Your Excellencies have a pleasant journey to England?*" she enquired. "We had a very pleasant journey, Your Majesty," replied Kinwun Mingyi. Then the Queen looking radiant and happy, bowed her head in farewell greeting. The envoys bowed, and returned to the robing room, and then for another hour, they went round the palace. Then Viscount Sydney led the party back to the gates, and he told the envoys that the Queen wanted them to know that she had looked at the ruby bracelets and ruby belt and found them very wonderful and beautiful. After saying farewell to Vise aunt Sydney, the chief envoy, the deputy envoy Pandee Wundauk and Major McMahan entered the first carriage, Hpangyet Wundauk, the Royal *Secretary and Jones entered the second carriage*, and the four attendants the third carriage. As the carriages drove away, the guard of honour saluted and dispersed. The envoys arrived at the little station, and took the royal train to the Great Western station in London, from where they returned to their hotel in their own carriages.

The same afternoon at 4 p.m., the envoys wearing their robes but without their headdresses, Major McMahan wearing his uniform, and Jones wearing his usual European formal attire, proceeded in their carriages to the residence of the Crown Prince. On their arrival there, they were received by a lord who was the Prince's private secretary. They were taken to the drawing room, and after waiting there for one hour, they were informed by the private secretary, that the Crown Prince was now ready to receive them in the audience chamber. Accordingly, Kinwun Mingyi carrying the letters patent granting the Golden Chain of Office to the Crown Prince, the Royal Secretary

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

carrying the Chain itself, and the deputy envoys, Major McMahon and Jones, proceeded to the audience chamber. The Crown Prince greeted Kinwun Mingyi warmly with a hand-shake and bowed to the others in turn. Then Kinwun Mingyi handed the letters patent to the Crown Prince. Then the Royal Secretary passed the box to Pandee Wundauk who opened it, took out the gold chain, and passed it to Kinwun Mingyi. Then Kinwun handed the ruby-studded gold chain to the Crown Prince, who graciously received it. Major McMahon read out the English translation of the letters patent. After expressing his appreciation and gratitude to the envoys for taking the trouble of bringing the gold chain of office to him, the Prince enquired whether the envoys were enjoying their stay in London. The envoys replied that they were finding their stay very pleasant. "This is only the first of many meetings", said the Crown Prince, "and I look forward to seeing you many more times during your Excellencies' stay here in London." After shaking hands with Kinwun, Mingyi, and bowing to the others, he said farewell, and the envoys returned to their hotel.

The same evening at 9, there was held at Buckingham Palace the seasonal State Ball, where the members of the royal family, their friends, ambassadors of foreign countries and their ladies, lords and dames, high officials and their wives romped, danced and made merry. As it was customary for all ambassadors to be invited to the ball, the Burmese envoys also received an invitation. So the envoys wearing their gold chains of office, Major McMahon wearing his uniform and Jones wearing his formal attire, proceeded to Buckingham Palace in their carriages, and were taken to the ballroom. Only princes and princesses, lords and dames, high officials and their wives, ambassadors who had actually presented their letters of credence to the Queen, and their ladies were there. Princes and princesses sat round in one group, and lords and dames and ambassadors and their ladies in another group.

As the music began to play, each man, taking a lady from his own group as his partner, romped and danced and made merry. After about 45 minutes, the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the two younger brothers of the Prince, and the Queen's uncle left the ballroom for the banquetting hall, followed by the guests. to partake of refreshments. In the banquetting hall, the Crown Princess greeted the envoys and told them that she found the ruby gold chain of office received by her husband very wonderful and beautiful. Then she enquired whether the envoys were finding their stay in London comfortable and whether they were enjoying the state ball. On the envoys' replying in the affirmative, she smiled and expressed her pleasure at meeting the envoys. Then the younger brother of the Crown Prince, the Duke of Edinburgh and the youngest brother Prince Arthur also shook hands with the envoys and greeted them warmly. They informed the envoys that there were a total of 1,900 guests at the ball. After watching the dancing for another 45 minutes, the envoys returned to their hotel.

Saturday June 22. At St. James's Palace in London the Queen always gave every year 4 receptions to which were invited ambassadors, lords and high officials. To such a reception, the Burmese envoys were invited by the Crown Prince who was deputising for his mother, the Queen, who was indisposed. So at 9.45 a.m., the envoys wearing their chains of office, Major McMahon and Jones wearing their usual formal dresses, proceeded in their carriages to St. James's Palace. On entering the audience chamber, they found the Crown Prince, the Duke of Edinburgh, Viscount Sydney and the Queen's uncle, Duke of Cambridge, waiting to receive them. The ambassadors were received first, and then lords and high officials. The Burmese envoys joined the other ambassadorial parties, and the Crown Prince and his brother shook hands with them cordially. Then the envoys took their

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

seats among other ambassadors. The English prime Minister, smiling cordially, came and shook hands with the Burmese envoys, and many other lords and high officials also did the same. After about 45 minutes, the Crown Prince left the audience chamber, and the envoys returned to their hotel. The same afternoon, an English merchant named Peacock sent to the envoys flowers together with his photograph, in greeting, and the envoys sent him their photographs.

Sunday June 23. Major McMahon, after the reception at St. James's Palace, went away for the week-end to visit his wife, and the envoys spent the day writing reports.

[*On Monday June 24*, the Trustees of the Kensington Museum invited the envoys to the ceremonial opening of a new museum (which they had built for the general public at a place 8 miles to the east of London), by the Crown Prince on behalf of the Queen. The envoys (without Hpangyet Wundauk), and Jones left their hotel for the place in their carriages at 9.45 a.m. Along the route, for nearly 8 miles, there were crowds of both men and women, and at every window of every story of every building, there were at least 5 or 6 men and women. In addition, on every high ground, at every bridge and at all road junctions, there were huge crowds of people. To prevent collisions, not only between carriages, but between groups of people, service personnel who were called policemen, controlled the traffic and the crowds. Starting from a distance of 4 miles right up to the new museum, flags of all nations were seen flying from house tops. Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed translation of the speech of welcome given by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees and the speech given by the Crown Prince in reply. After the speeches and the ceremonial opening the Crown Prince and the Princess went round the museum looking at the wonderful

exhibits. As the Prince and the Princess were leaving, they graciously shook hands with the Burmese envoys. The envoys remained behind to go round the museum and to look at the exhibits. As the envoys drove back to the hotel, crowds along the route took off their hats, waved their handkerchiefs and shouted out cheers and greetings, and the envoys bowed and nodded their heads repeatedly. On return to the hotel, learning that the English consul in Cairo, Ro-gets was in London, the envoys invited Rogers and his wife to dinner that evening.]

Tuesday June 25. At Charlton, a town about 6 miles to the northeast of London, there was a training ship for poor orphans. Because of the fact that they had no parents and because of the fact that they were very poor; these waifs and strays were likely to become tramps, rowdies, thieves and robbers. By giving them education in nautical sciences, they were prevented from following a life of crime. As the authorities of the training ship had invited the envoys to visit the ship, at about 9.45 a.m., the envoys, accompanied by Jones and McMahon, went in carriages to the wharf, where the authorities waited for them in a steam launch. As the envoys travelled in the launch towards Charlton, they saw from a distance the main telegraph station and the observatory. As the launch approached Charlton, the boys climbed the masts of the three masted training ship and gave three cheers for the envoys. On board the training ship, the envoys were received by the Principal, and were introduced to a general who was the younger brother of the Viceroy of India. The envoys then sat down to lunch with Other guests, numbering about 100. Then one of the Trustees prayed for the health and long life of the Queen, the Crown Prince and other members of the royal family. He also thanked the guests for their visit and for their support of this great venture for the good of the country, which was begun many generations before

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

The guests, lifting their wine glasses, prayed for the continued success of this undertaking. Then the trainees assembled and the Principal read an extract from the Bible, and as an organ played, the trainees sang a hymn in unison. About 10 trainees who had distinguished them-selves in their studies, came forward and were presented with their prizes in front of the envoys and other guests. The prizes consisted of books, ceremonial daggers, mariners compasses, and uniforms. After this ceremony, a rich merchant invited the envoys to come to his private yacht. When they boarded the yacht together with the merchant, they were warmly welcomed by the merchant's wife, daughter and sons, and shown round the engine room and the cabins.

In the evening, in response to an invitation of the Duke of Devonshire, the envoys (without Hpanyet Wundauk) and Jones, accompanied by Major McMahan went to the reception at the Duke's residence. The envoys met many lords, ambassadors and high officials. The envoys were given refreshments together with other guests in the banquetting hall. After some 30 minutes of pleasant conversation with friends and acquaintances, the envoys returned to the hotel.

Wednesday June 26. In response to an invitation from the Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Argyll, the envoys *accompanied* by Major McMahan, proceeded in carriages to the Duke's residence, where they were welcomed by the Duke, his sons and daughters. After an hour of friendly conversation, the envoys sat down to lunch with the Duke and his family. The only other guest present was the private secretary, Kaye. Again the envoys had a very enjoyable conversation with the Duke's family. During the lunch, a native of Scotland came in and played his bagpipe. Kinwun Mingyi care-fully inspected the instrument and noted that it was just like an ordinary flute with seven tones. But the flute was attached to a bag about one and a half feet in length, and there were three outlets

from which the air collected in the bag was let out; the bag was placed under the armpit, and by pressing the bag with the arm, the player produced the continuous music. The envoys were told that the bagpipe was the common musical instrument of the Scottish villages. After the lunch the Duke took the envoys to the large flower garden in front of the house. After some minutes, they bade farewell to him.

In the evening, the envoys went to Buckingham Palace to the concert given by the Queen to all ambassadors. They were informed that as the Queen was indisposed, the Crown Prince would be deputizing for her. The envoys, (without Pandee Wundauk) were accompanied by Jones and McMahan. On arrival, they were given their seats to the right of the seats reserved for the Crown Prince and the Princess, and other members of the royal family, in the first row among other ambassadors. Lords and ladies were on the left of the seats of the Crown Prince and his party. After about 15 minutes, the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the Queen's uncle, the Crown Prince's sister, the Crown Prince's two younger brothers came in and took their seats. Every guest was furnished with a printed programme, giving the details of songs to be sung and music to be played by both men and women, during the evening. The performers followed the programme exactly. After about one half-hour, the Crown Prince together with the guests moved to the banquetting hall, where each chose the food he liked. In the banquetting hall, the Crown Prince and Princess shook hands with ambassadors, representatives of foreign governments, great lords and high officials and their ladies, speaking kind words of greeting. The Crown Prince and Princess shook

hands also with the Burmese envoys, greeting them cordially and inviting them to a garden party which they were soon giving. To this concert, only members of the royal family, ambassadors and their ladies, lords and dames were invited.

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Earlier in the afternoon, the Duke of Devonshire called at the hotel, bringing with him a person who claimed to be the envoy from the Chinese Muslims of Yunnan. The Duke hinted that this Yunnan envoy wanted to make certain negotiations with the Burmese envoys. Then he asked "When can Your Excellency give an interview to the envoy from Yunnan?" Kinwun Mingyi replied that no definite date could be fixed as the Burmese envoys were so busy attending receptions and parties. After about 20 minutes, the Duke and the ambassador left the hotel. Of course, before the Duke called at the hotel, he had already informed the envoys through McMahan that he would like to call on them.

Thursday June 27. The mayors of parts of London and county of Middle sex, who were under the Lord Mayor of London, Truscot and Bennet and their deputies Crossley and Phelps had invited the envoys to a banquet in their honour, and accordingly the envoys with McMahan and Jones, proceeded in carriages to the Freemason's Hall. On arrival there, each was given a little book containing the list of guests and their particular places at the dinner table, and the programme of music which would be played at the banquet. In the reception room, the envoys were introduced to Members of Parliament, lords, judges and ambassadors. There were altogether about 400 guests. After about 20 minutes, the company moved to the banquetting hall. The envoys were given seats on the right of the head table starting from number 7 and the four envoys, McMahan and Jones sat down in order of seniority. Before the dinner began, prayers were said and the orchestra played a hymn. The guests started to eat the food, and after about 20 minutes, the official at the head of the table lifted up a bowl containing a mixture of all kinds of wine, and after drinking from it, passed it to the guest on his right, and that guest also took a sip and passed the bowl to the next guest. The bowl was passed in this manner from guest to guest until it finally reached back to the chairman. The

envoys were informed that this drinking of wine out of the same bowl made the partakers "blood-brothers". Then the host proposed a toast to the English Queen, the Crown Prince and the other members of the royal family, and all the 400 guests stood up and joined in the toast, with a loud acclaim. Then toasts were drunk to the following: the navy, the army, the two Houses of Parliament, the judges, the Lord Mayor of London and his colleagues, and the Burmese envoys. Before each toast, the proposer made a speech, and after each toast the representative of the official body to which the toast was drunk, gave a reply.

The following is a translation of the speech given by the chairman in proposing a toast to the Burmese envoys: "We can know from this gracious act of His Glorious Majesty the King of Burma in sending these great and distinguished envoys to London, that His Majesty desires the further strengthening of friend-ship between the two countries and the further increase in the commercial relations of his kingdom with other kingdoms. From the fact that these great envoys have been received cordially by the Queen and the great lords, it can be known that the people of England also desire the further strengthening of friendship between the two countries. We venture to hope that when His Excellency the High Commissioner and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary returns to his own country, he will not forget the warm hospitality and honors and courtesies shown to his embassy during its visit to our country, and will inform His Majesty that the people of England respectfully wish him all success in his plans to lay down the foundation of progress and prosperity for his kingdom, and that they sincerely desire that the kingdom will prosper and progress day by day."

The following is the speech given by Kinwun Mingyi in reply: "Our hearts are gladdened by your sincere words of felicitation for our lord the King and of

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

his kingdom. We shall not forget to tell our King about the good wishes for the welfare of his kingdom just expressed by you. Since the time we first set foot on English soil, we have been received every where with warm friendship and gracious hospitality, and last Friday we were received by Her Majesty the Queen of England with honour and cordiality. As you have so kindly said, we have indeed been accorded full honors everywhere. The more we see the great buildings of England, the more we observe the glories of this kingdom, its administration and its laws, and the peace and the prosperity of the English people, the more do we realize with relief and with gladness that the English are not our enemies but true friends and neighbors. When we return to our own kingdom, we shall take with us our notes and records of our experiences in England, especially our impressions of this great banquet in our honour. We shall never forget to the end of our days this wonderful evening with you and your guests." The envoys, after saying farewell, returned to the hotel. That day the envoys sent back state scholar Maung Hmyu with reports and memoranda.

Friday June 28. At about 3 in the afternoon, the envoys with Jones, went in carriages to a reception given by a member of the House of Commons, Derby Griffith. The envoys were warmly received by Griffith, and after listening to music played on the piano, and music played on an Italian harp, and watching the performance given by an actress, lasting about one half-hour, the envoys re-turned to the hotel Major McMahon did not accompany the envoys as he had gone to meet his wife and daughter. In the evening at about 6.30, the envoys, McMahon, wife and daughter, Jones, his business associate, Bachelor and his wife, went in carriages to see an exhibition of machines and machine parts, and were received by the exhibition committee. After about half an hour, the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the

Prince's younger brother, Duke of Edinburgh, the Queen's uncle Duke of Cambridge, and Viscount Sydney arrived, and freely mixed with the guests. The Crown Prince and his young-er brother came and shook hands with the envoys. After another half an hour, the envoys returned to their hotel.

Saturday June 29. At about noon, a previous acquaintance of Pandee Wundauk, a merchant from Manchester named Michell and his wife and daughter came and called at the hotel, and asked for the privilege of giving the first reception when the envoys visited Manchester later. He also said that he would be most grateful if the envoys would honour him by attending a reception marking the gift of a house to his daughter. At about 3.00 p.m., Rawlinson, a member of the Queen's Council for India, called at the hotel and offered to escort the envoys to various places of interest in London. He also invited the envoys to a charity bazaar to be held by a society to which he belonged. At about 3.30 p.m., *Summer, an Elder from the School in London* \$1 called, and explaining that he knew the Chinese language well, expressed a desire to know something about Buddhism from the envoys at some convenient time later. In the evening, the envoys (without Hpangyet Wundauk), accompanied by McMahon and Jones went in carriages to a garden party given by a member of a bank, whose business was the making of loans to foreign governments. The envoys walked round the garden. There were about 200 guests. The envoys were introduced to a representative of the King of Persia, an American businessman, and other gentlemen. After about 20 minutes, they were entertained to dinner at tables inside a tent. After dinner, the guests moved to a ballroom in the building *nearby, and the men chose their women partners, and romped and danced and made merry.* The envoys returned to the hotel after at out 45 minutes. The same evening, the envoys accompanied by Major McMahon and his

1 i.e. a professor from University College, London.

wife and Jones, went in carriages to a reception given by the Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone, and were received by the Prime Minister himself at the foot of the stairs of his residence. They were taken to the room where the Crown Prince was already seated. After a few minutes, the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess left the room, and as they were going out, they shook hands only with the Burmese envoys and not with any other guests. The envoys were cordially greeted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary Of State for India, the Governor-General of Ireland and other lords and high officials.

Sunday June 30, The envoys (with-out the two Wundauks), accompanied by Jones and 4 attendants, went in carriages to various parts of the city and drove round Hyde Park. Then they returned by underground railway to their hotel.

[*On July 1*, the envoys accompanied by Jones and McMahon visited the Houses of Parliament. First, they went to the House of Lords and listened to the members debating. Then they went to the House of Commons and listened to the speeches. They were given seats in the Distinguished Visitors Gallery and were impressed by the fact that members of the public and reporters from various newspapers Were admitted to listen to the speeches. Kinwun Mingyi received 20 letters from the Golden City. *On July 2*, they visited the Peek Freans biscuit factory and watched the various processes of biscuit manufacture. They observed 1600 skilled workers engaged in their own individual tasks. They also watched 7000 biscuit tins being carefully piled up for loading on the railway carriages nearby. There was a continuous stream of railway carriages leaving the factory, loaded with biscuit boxes for distribution to all the countries of the world. They observed fire engines with trained and uniformed firemen ready with hoses, to rush to any part of the factory, if a fire should break out. In the evening, in response to an invitation by the

Crown Prince, the envoys, with Jones and McMahon, went to Chiswick Park which was the personal property of the Queen. On arrival there, they were received by the Crown Prince and the Princess who cordially shook hands with the envoys. The flowers in the garden were in full bloom, and chairs and tables were placed under shady trees. There were two large tents with refreshments and as the guests ate and drank, a band played sweet music. There was a lake in the garden, and small rowing boats and steam launches were placed at the disposal of the guests. In the evening, the envoys except Kinwun Mingyi, went and visited the Royal Academy in response to an invitation from its committee. The following day *July 3*, the envoys with Jones and McMahon went to Woodford a small village about 16 miles to the north of London to visit a charity bazaar. It was held in the garden belonging to one Essex. The charity bazaar was for the benefit of children who had no parents and of children whose parents were poor. In the garden there was a large building which was the residence of Essex, who invited the envoys inside. He showed the envoys a painting of a monkey holding a little kitten, which was originally bought by his parents for the Sum of 40,000 Kyats. In the evening, the envoys went to Buckingham Palace to attend the state ball given by the Crown Prince. *On July 4*, the envoys with McMahon and Jones, visited the Bank of England in response to an invitation given by its governor. They observed 500 clerks working at their accounts. They watched the various processes in the manufacture of currency notes. They also observed 31 tables and on each were gold nuggets, each weighing 8 viss. The total weight of the gold nuggets on the tables was 2480,000 viss, In addition, in the same room were more than 1,000 million gold sovereigns. There was also an enormous quantity of silver ingots. Afterwards Jones took the envoys to a bank with which he was connected. The envoys saw 180 clerks working at their desks. Land values in the bank area were very high.

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Then the envoys visited the royal mint and watched the various processes in the minting of silver coins. In the evening the two deputy envoys and the assistant envoy attended a reception given by an Indian prince. *On July 5*, in response to an invitation by General Sir James Hope-Grant, the envoys with McMahan and Jones went by train from Waterloo station to Aldershot. Kinwun Mingyi noted that at Aldershot there were always 22,500 infantry soldiers, 3,200 horse soldiers and 68 gun crews under extensive training in warfare. On their arrival at Aldershot parade ground, they found regiments of infantry, cavalry and artillery drawn up in battle array under their commanders. Soon after the royal procession arrived. In the state carriage were the Queen, the Crown Princess and her young son and young daughter, and on the left and right of the carriage, rode the Crown Prince, the Queen's uncle and Prince Arthur on their chargers, and wearing military uniforms. The Queen drove round the parade ground, inspecting the troops, and then she and her companions took their seats at the saluting base. The Queen bowed to the envoys, and the Queen's uncle walked towards them and shook hands with them. Then the regiments drilled and marched in front of the Queen, and after-wards staged a mock battle between the blues and the browns. There were attacks and withdrawals, cavalry charges and hand-to-hand fighting. Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed translation of the list of the regiments, officers, men, horses and guns taking part in the tactical exercises as given in the programme distributed to the guests. He carefully noted the organization of the British army into brigades, battalions and regiments. Whole brigades took part in the exercises and the total number of troops participating was 19,700 officers and other ranks, 2,603 horses and 52 guns. On the return journey, the special carriage in which the envoys had travelled to Aldershot was attached to the royal train of the Crown Prince, so that they arrived at Waterloo station together with

the Crown Prince, and his party. *On July 6*, the envoys without Hpangyet Wundauk), accompanied by Jones and family, McMahan and family, Colonel Magrath and sister, and Captain Upton went to the Albert Hall. Their visit to some factories had to be cancelled because of a thunderstorm with heavy rain. The envoys were told that the Albert Hall was built on the model of the Coliseum at Rome.]

Sunday July 7. At about 3.45 p.m., the envoys (without Hpangyet Wundauk) accompanied by Consul Jones, Maung Myè and the attendants went in their carriages to the residence of Jones to meet his parents and his family there. After staying for some 20 minutes, the party proceeded to the residence of the great merchant Peacock, where they were warmly welcomed and shown round the garden, full of wonderful fruit trees and flowering plants. The envoys were surprised to see so many different kinds of cactus and were informed by Peacock that altogether there existed 6,000 varieties of cactus, most of which were in the United States of America. The envoys were the only guests Peacock had invited for the occasion, and were served with different kinds of fruit. Then Peacock said, "I have watched and observed the many visits to London of great ambassadors from various-kingdoms and I can definitely say that no other ambassadors have been received with such honour and courtesy by the Queen and the Crown Prince, by lords and high officials, by merchants and bankers, and with such affection and regard by the people of England as Your Excellencies have been received. I am neither a great lord nor a high official, but a mere merchant. But I have been privileged and honored by Your Excellencies, because I was one of the very first persons to be granted an interview by you. I am most grateful to Your Excellencies, for many favors. On the flag of the Burmese kingdom, there is a figure of a peacock, and as my name is Peacock, I have a special affection and high esteem for Your

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Excellencies". Then he introduced to the envoys his wife, 4 daughters and 2 sons. After about half an hour the envoys returned to their hotel.

Monday July 8. At about 7 p.m., the envoys (without Hpanyet Wundauk) accompanied by Jones and attendants went in carriages to Madame Tussaud's Museum, containing wax figures of famous kings and queens of the world. The envoys were told that as the museum was first started by a French woman by the name of Tussaud, it became known as "Madame Tussaud's Museum." On arrival at the museum, the envoys were received by the managers and superintendents. The envoys saw wax figures of the first King of England and his successors totaling 40, out of which 35 were kings, 5 were queens in their own right. There were also wax figures of their consorts. There were in addition wax figures of the Kings of France and of other countries. The envoys saw wax figures of the King of France, Napoleon I, who was born near Turin and therefore was an Italian¹. There were figures of this King Bonaparte in various poses, namely as a commander leading his army to battle, as a general taking part in a fierce battle, as a prisoner at the moment of his capture, and as a prisoner in exile on the island of St. Helena. There was also a figure of Bonaparte at the moment of his death. The envoys saw also the uniforms and weapons which he wore and carried in his battles, his state carriage, the cot on which he died, wax figure of his charger, the light carriage that took him to battles, various blankets and bed-clothes that he used, locks of his hair, the tea-pot and cups and saucers used by him when in custody at St. Helena, the special carriage in which he rode to his coronation, wax figure of Bonaparte as a child and a wax figure of his mother. The envoys also saw the wax figures of famous generals, robbers,

rebels, traitors, murderers. They saw wax representations of criminals in their prisons and also actual instruments of torture and execution. They also saw the wax figure of a dog no larger than a rat. The envoys found the wax figures interesting and noted that they were dressed in real clothes. On inspecting Bonaparte's carriage used in battle, they found that inside there were a bed, a writing desk with quill pens, paper and inkpot, a pistol, and a reading lamp which could also be used for boiling water to make tea. The envoys were informed that all these articles relating to Bonaparte on exhibit were not reproductions, but actually used by Bonaparte during his life time. When the envoys were looking at the wax figures of the Queen, the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and his son and his daughter-in-law whom they had actually seen in person, they were surprised to find that the wax figures were exactly true to life. As Kinwun Mingyi looked into a hall full of wax figures and visitors, he found it difficult to differentiate between the lifeless wax figures and the living human beings. The envoys returned to their hotel after some 45 minutes, taking with them a book giving an account of the wax museum.

Tuesday July 9. At about 4 in the afternoon, in response to an invitation from the Crown Prince, the envoys, accompanied by McMahon and Jones, went to a garden party in Chiswick Park which they had visited on a previous occasion. They were received by the Crown Prince and Crown Princess who cordially shook hands with them on arrival. The refreshments, the music, and other arrangements were similar to those of the garden party in the same park, held on the previous occasion. The envoys met a Japanese who had been sent by his King as a state scholar to study the

1 Kinwun's Italian informant would naturally claim that Napoleon was an Italian, as Corsica became a French possession only a few years before Napoleon was born there.

JBR, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

customs and habits of the English people. He was dressed in perfect European clothes. In reply to the envoys' question, he told them that factories and railways had been built in Japan and they were so successful that more were being built. Both men and women were being sent as state scholars to study in America, England, France, Italy, Russia, Prussia and Austria, with the result that there were now 600 Japanese men and women studying in various European countries. He suggested that as Japan was an Asian country and Burma was also an Asian country, if relations between the two could be established, they would be of immense advantage to both. He was a very pleasant person, and obviously he wanted to be friends with the envoys. After about 45 minutes, the envoys re-turned to their hotel.

Wednesday July 10. As "Buckhurst" the owner of a park at a small village called Seven Oaks, some 20 miles to the north-east of London, had invited the envoys to a garden party there, at about 3.45 p.m., the envoys, (without Hpanyet Wundauk), accompanied by Major McMahon and Jones took a train from Charing Cross station, and were met at the little Seven Oaks station by the host who had brought his own carriage with him. In the park, there stood a brick mansion which was built some 600 to 700 years before. The envoys were shown round the house, and went through a reception room, a banquetting hall, a ballroom and a picture gallery, where were kept paintings by great artists of the past, including one picture which had been bought for 50,000 Kyats. The envoys were shown ancient tapestries on which were embroidered floral designs and pictures, old china teapots, saucers and cups, and also many bronze cups and plates. There was even a private chapel. There was also a special bedroom in which a King of Scotland some 300 years ago spent the night. The bedstead, the mattress, the canopy, the wash-basin, the writing desk, the dining table and chairs which were

used by the King that night, were kept intact so that later generations in the family should remember the royal visit. The envoys were then shown the ordinary bedroom of the host, his private dining room and his study. The woodwork of the mansion was entirely of oak. The park contained many wonderful trees. There were pre-sent a number of guests both men and women. After about 45 minutes, the envoys were taken back to the station by the host in his carriage. The envoys re-turned to their hotel by train. At about 9.30 p.m., the envoys and Major McMahon went in their carriage to a reception given by the Secretary of State for India. At the reception were the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur and the Queen's uncle, the Duke of Cambridge. The envoys greeted the Crown Prince and Princess and other guests. They returned to their hotel after about half an hour.

Thursday July 11. [During the day, the Chairman of the committee for the exhibition, which the envoys had visited on a previous occasion, came personally to the hotel and invited them to visit the exhibition again and watch the demonstration of a newspaper printing machine, and a pipe organ. Kinwun Mingyi, the Royal Secretary, Major McMahon and the attendants went along with him and watched the demonstration. Kinwun Mingyi was impressed with the printing machine which printed at one time a long sheet of paper, 5,250 yards in length and 1 yard wide, afterwards cutting it into small sheets and then folding them as newspapers ready for sale. He was interested in the textile machine which turned raw cotton into threads, then spinning them, and finally weaving them into cloth. In addition he saw envelope-making machines, and ma-chines that produced music sheets, book-binding machines, and embossing ma-chines. He noted that the great organ could produce all musical tones starting with the gentlest sound, which developed into a sound like the growl of a lion or a

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

tiger or the angry trumpeting of an elephant, and finally became a sound which seemed to shake the earth. There were 9,000 pipes in the organ and the machine that pumped air into it was of 14 horse-power.]

In the evening the envoys, Major McMahon and Jones in their carriage proceeded to the headquarters of the Fishmongers Company to attend a banquet in their honour. The envoys noted that the name "Fishmongers Company" was merely a historical name. On arrival, they were met by the head of the guild, and were placed at his right at the dining table, because the banquet was held in their honour. The arrangements were very similar to those of the banquet given by Truscot and Bennet on June 27. The guests were ambassadors, high military and naval officers, and Members of Parliament and numbered about 200 or 300. Before the dinner began, prayers were said according to their religion, and after the dinner the host expressed his gratitude to the Queen, the Crown Prince and members of the royal family and proposed a toast to their health. The 300 guests rose in one accord and joined in the toast with loud cheers. Then toasts were drunk to the army and navy, the Burmese envoys, the two Houses of Parliament, the people of the United States of America, and to the wives and families of the guests. Every toast started with a short speech, and was followed by a speech in reply. The following is the translation of the speech given by the Chairman of the Fishmonger Company J. Spicer in honour of the Burmese envoys:

The King of Burma, His Majesty of great Glory, has graciously sent his royal embassy to England with the main aim of strengthening the friendship between the sovereigns of the two countries. As His Burmese Majesty is so wise and skillful in the conduct of foreign affairs, his Envoys Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary will certainly make their mission to England highly successful. The members of this Fishmongers

Company take this opportunity to express their joy and happiness at meeting Your Excellencies. We firmly believe that Your Excellencies have come to England not merely to observe the military might and commercial skill on which the prosperity of the English people is based, but also with a special desire to strengthen and keep the friend-ship of the English people. It is indeed a great honour to the Fishmongers Company that Your Excellencies are pleased to attend this banquet, and just as Your Excellencies desire the friendship of the English people, the Fishmongers Company also desires the friendship of the Burmese people. Although the English people will protect and defend every inch of the territories that they own as part of their empire, they also want to have friendly relations with the peoples of other countries, and they know that true and lasting friendship between different nations can only be based on commerce and business.

After this speech, the guest gave three loud cheers for the envoys.

The following is the envoy's reply:

By drinking the toast to our health and by entertaining us at this banquet, you are, in fact, honoring our gracious master, the King of the Sunrise, the Sovereign of Burma. We are indeed very grateful to you all, and your hospitality is one of the foundations of our enjoyment of our visit to England. We have met all classes of English people and without exception, everyone has shown us cordiality and regard, and we are sure that our master His Burmese Majesty will be pleased to know from our report about the warm welcome given to his envoys by the people or England. Our visit has made us realize the grandeur of your kingdom, the greatness of its culture, its skill in commerce and its place as the centre of international world. The more we observe the discipline, the administration, and the working of their laws, the more do we admire the English people.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Again, we wish to express our thanks to the Fishmongers Company for giving this banquet in our honour.

[The Envoys then went on the reception given by the Fishmongers Company in Regent's Park. The Crown Prince, lords and officials and many others were present. The park was brilliantly lit and Kinwun Mingyi was specially interested in the gas lights. The envoys returned to the hotel after some minutes, but McMahon and his wife stayed back and the carriage had to be sent back to fetch them.]

Friday July 12. In response to an invitation by the headmasters, the envoys, Major McMahon, Jones and Maung Myè, went to Lord's Ground to witness the Eton School's annual ball game with Harrow School. (1). They were received by the headmaster and were given good places to watch the game. Members of the Eton team wore belts and caps of dark blue and members of the Harrow team wore belts and caps of light blue. In the centre of the field, there were two small low posts some yards apart, and from one end, a player from one team threw a ball to a player from the other team at the other end, and the latter must strike the ball with a bat and run. If the ball hit the post he lost. 14,000 spectators watched the game, and there were 1,000 carriages parked on the edge of the grounds. The Crown Prince himself came and there were many lords and high officials. By coming and watching the game, the guests encouraged and honored the teachers and pupils of the two schools. The charges for admission were 5 Kyats for a carriage carrying any number of passengers and half a Kyat for every man, woman or child who came on foot. After about 45 minutes, the envoys returned to their hotel.

Saturday July 13. At about 9.30 a.m., Johnson called at the hotel to take the envoys to Middlesex prison. In London, there were 1 chief magistrate, 2 senior magistrates, and 24 junior

magistrates, and Johnson was one of those junior magistrates. Accordingly, the envoys accompanied by McMahon and Jones went along to the prison where they were received by the superintendent. The envoys were told that there were 400 prisoners in the prison. The envoys were shown round the building and they visited the rooms where the prisoners were kept, the room where the prisoners were interrogated, the room where the prisoners were punished, the room where the uniforms of the prisoners were stored, the laundry room where the prisoners themselves washed their clothes, the room where they made cakes and bread the room where they cooked their meals, the various rooms in which the prisoners were trained to learn a trade, such as smithery, carpentry, masonry, cake making, rope making, basket making, broom making, book binding, printing of prison stationery. There was also a chapel which could hold a congregation of some 800 worshippers. There were 1,000 separate rooms for the prisoners and each room was clean and tidy and furnished with a bed, chairs, drinking water, pipes bringing hot air, pipes bringing cold air, and electric lights. Prisoners were fed three times a day. During the day prisoners who were skilled in sewing were taken to a large hall where they had to sew coats, trousers and shoes, and the others were taken to special rooms for smiths, carpenters, ma-sons and so on. A special list was maintained giving certain details regarding each prisoner, such as his appearance, his home address, his date of birth, his identification marks, the nature of the offence for which he was convicted, the date he was sent to prison, and the date on which he was due to be released. Only those whose sentences were less than 2 years imprisonment were accepted in this prison, and those who had committed crimes involving imprisonment of more than 2 years had to go to other prisons. After about 45 minutes, the envoys left, taking with them a book giving important

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

facts regarding the prison; On their way back to their hotel, they stopped at the mansion of the son of the great Duke of Wellington. This mansion was built and given by the country to the Duke of Wellington in recognition of the great services he rendered to England by defeating Bonaparte at the battle of Waterloo. As Johnson was a great friend of the owner of the mansion, he took the envoys round the great house. They saw the various decorations which were given to the Duke by the kings of various countries, a golden shield and a set of golden candle sticks given to the Duke by the people of England, a room where various articles used by the Duke were kept on exhibit, a picture gallery containing portraits of various members of the royal family, the dining room, the study room, and the gar-den. Afterwards the envoys went to visit St. George's Hospital, escorted by Johnson who happened to be one of the authorities of the hospital. There were 400 patients. Men and women were kept in separate rooms. They visited the casualty ward, which smelled of disinfectants. The wards were clean and tidy and all patients had doctors and nurses in attendance. After visiting the hospital they returned to their hotel. In the evening, the envoys (without Hpanyet Wundauk), accompanied by McMahan, Jones and attendants went to a performance at the Alhambara theatre. An old man appeared on the stage, whose head and limbs were cut off in front of the audience, and suddenly he changed into a young man. This young man then showed various pictures of the city of Pompeii. The next scene showed a monkey, the next, fairy land with fairies, and the next scene, an old English village with its lord, and villagers all dressed in clothes of that particular period of history. There were many other scenes which the envoys found interesting. After about 3 hours, the envoys returned to their hotel. During the afternoon, Peacock had taken the attendants to Crystal Palace, paying for their railway tickets and admission charges. He took them round the palace and entertained them to

lunch inside. Afterwards, he took them to an archery competition nearby, again paying their admission fees. Then he bought their railway tickets for the return journey, escorted them to the train, and stayed with them until the train actually left the station. The attendants learnt at Crystal Palace that Peacock had won prizes for his roses which were adjudged to be the best on exhibit and another prize for his cactus exhibits, which were adjudged to be wonderful and unusual. The attendants reported to Kinwun Mingyi that Peacock had invited them to come to his house the following day.

Sunday July 14. The envoys were due to visit the London zoological gardens that day, but as they were feeling very tired, they sent a letter to the superintendent of the zoo, expressing their regret at their inability to come that day, and promising to visit the zoo the following Friday. The envoys rested the whole day, but the attendants went to Peacock's residence. When they came back to the hotel, they brought with them a rose plant in full bloom in a pot, which was sent by Peacock for Kinwun Mingyi.

[*On July 15,* the envoys went to the palaces of the Crown Prince and other members of the royal family, and signed their names in the visitors' book, and Major McMahan went to the residences of various high officials to drop the envoys' cards, and in return the various officials came either in person or sent messengers to drop their cards at the envoys' hotel. *On July 16,* on the invitation of General Ducey, the envoys with Major McMahan, his wife and his brother, Jones and Maung Myè, went to the annual camp of the various Territorial regiments to watch the rifle shooting competitions held annually by the Territorial army at Wimbledon. Cash prizes to the amount of 1,500 Kyats, 1,000 Kyats and 1,500 Kyats were offered by the Queen, the Crown Prince and his brother. Boys from various schools also took part in the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

competitions. The envoys were taken round the various tents in which the volunteer soldiers and officers were living. Kinwun Mingyi was interested to learn that all these tents could be folded and carried by a marching army. After watching the rifle shooting, the envoys offered a gold cup as a prize which was gratefully accepted by the general. The envoys then went to inspect the tents of a Canadian regiment which pleased the Canadian officers very much. That evening, the envoys (without Kinwun Mingyi), accompanied by Jones, went to a reception given by one Philip, where they met the American consul Benjamin, the retired Commissioner of Rangoon, Fytche, and Johnson. *On July 17*, the envoys with McMahon and wife, Jones and wife went to the concert given by the Lord Mayor of London. Later in the evening, they went to a reception given by a literary society. The envoys gave that day, 1 silver frog and 3 silver fishes to McMahon's little daughter. *On July 18*, on the invitation of the *commander-in-chief* of the army General Sir David Wood, the envoys with McMahon, Jones, Colonel Magrath and Maung Myè went to Wool-wich to watch a special parade in their honor. About 4,000 soldiers *took* part in the parade. The envoys were interested in the 2 artillery regiments, one a cavalry artillery regiment and the other an infantry artillery regiment. Then the envoys went round the armament factories of Wool-wich. The envoys received a letter from the state scholar Nga Chan Tha. *On July 19*, Kinwun Mingyi, Pandee Wundauk and Major McMahon went to the residence of Russell, a former Prime Minister of England in response to his invitation. On arrival there, however, they found that the former Prime Minister was too old and too ill to leave his bed, but they were well received by his wife, son and daughter-in-law. In the afternoon, the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk), accompanied by McMahon, Jones and wife went to the reception given by a well-known lady, Burdett Coutts. She inherited a very large estate from her parents,

and she had used this great wealth in philanthropic works for the poor. She became so famous for her acts of charity that although she never married, she was given the rank and title of "Baroness" by the Queen. She had laid out a red carpet for the envoys and received them with great cordiality. There were other guests at the reception, and all were entertained with music and refreshments. That day, the envoys had a friendly *but* unofficial discussion with Kaye regarding the appointment of a Burmese Consul in London, the envoys', plan to visit the Viceroy of India on their way back, and their inability to meet Eden at Rangoon. *On July 20*, they again visited the Territorial camp on the invitation of General Ducey to watch a parade. The Crown Princess was also there. A very large crowd watched the parade. *July 21* was a very hot day and the envoys stayed indoors. It was a Sunday.

On July 22, the magistrate Johnson *took* the envoys and Major McMahon to the Institute for the Blind. The envoys watched some blind girls reading specially printed books, by feeling the letters with their fingers. They also watched blind girls making blankets and blind boys making baskets. Then Johnson took the party to the Bethlehem Mental Asylum where mental patients were cared for in very pleasant surroundings. Johnson in-formed them that the Institute and the Asylum were financed not by the government but by public charity. In the evening, the envoys went to a private dinner in their honour at the residence of a merchant, Baldwin. The envoys were shown art objects which he had collected from China, Japan and India. The envoys received a telegram from the state scholar Maung Hmyu reporting his arrival at Calcutta. They also received a report from the Royal Banker at Rangoon, explaining that he was not yet able to send the sum of 15,000 Kyats asked for by the envoys by cable as he had no cash in hand, and that he had sent a report to that effect to the King at the Golden Gity.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

On July 23, the envoys, McMahan and Johnson went to the Greenwich Observatory where they were met by its director, Sir George Kayliff. They saw a great telescope and various intricate instruments to measure time, wind velocity, wind direction, wind pressure, and cold and heat. The envoys were informed that special instruments were being assembled to observe the planet Venus. Then the envoys were taken by Johnson to the General Post Office where they were received by Director Moleash. They watched letters being sorted and put in bags, ready for delivery the next morning. The envoys were informed that 1000 persons worked in the post office, and every day there were approximately 500,000 letters and 28,000 newspaper packets sorted and delivered by the post office. In the after-noon there was a thunderstorm, followed by heavy rain. It was very hot, as hot as an October day in Burma. *On July 24*, the envoys went to the annual banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London, Lord MacGibbon in honour of members of the two Houses of Parliament on the eve of their summer recess. The banquet was very similar in arrangement to the banquet given by Truscot and Bennet in honour of the envoys. Toasts were drunk by the Lord Mayor, followed by the usual replies. *On July 25*, the envoys were invited to the Annual banquet of the Grocers Company where the retiring office bearers of the company handed over their duties to the newly elected ones. After the banquet, the envoys attended a concert given at the residence of the Baroness, the well-known philanthropist Burdett Coutts. On that day, the envoys gave to Peacock 1 silver betal box 1 lacquer betal box as presents. *On July 26*, as Jones prepared for the reception to be given by the envoys on the royal ship the following day, they remained indoors. Jones' business partner Bachelor came to the hotel with an engineer from Prussia, who showed and later gave, to the envoys 10 photographs of the Krupp factory, and the guns and shells manufactured there. He was the resident representative in London of the company, and invited the envoys

to visit the factories should they decide to pass through Prussia on their way back to the Golden City.

On Saturday July 27, the envoys gave a reception on the royal ship to about 100 guests, including Sir John Kaye, the Lord Mayor, members of the various merchant companies. The envoys entertained them to breakfast. Then the royal ship sailed along the river Thames towards the big English steamer, *The Great Eastern*. As the royal ship sailed past Woolwich, its batteries fired a salute of 19 guns, and as it went past the training ship at Charlton, the young trainees gave three rousing cheers for the envoys. The envoys and the guests were welcomed on board *The Great Eastern* by her captain. Kinwun Mingyi gave a very detailed description of the great ship. He specially noted 3 large rooms in which were stored the cables which would be laid on the ocean floor for telegraphic communication, and the great anchor which needed a machine of its own to lower or pull up. The envoys and their guests returned to their ship which steamed back to the London docks. Refreshments were laid on the tables on deck for the guests and a band played to whose music the guests romped and danced and made merry. Speeches were given by the guests and by the envoys extolling the virtues of the English Queen and the Burmese King, and emphasizing the grand friendship between the two kingdoms.

On July 28, being Sunday, the envoys remained in the hotel. *On July 29*, the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk), accompanied by McMahan and wife, Jones and his family went to a private lunch at the residence of a lady, who had inherited much wealth from her parents and whose family name was Gore. *On July 30*, the envoys, McMahan and Jones visited the Indian Museum where they were received by Kaye and Captain Upton. Among the exhibits were the 29 volumes of Buddhist scriptures sent by the King
JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

of Burma to the Queen of England during the time Phayre was the Commissioner of Rangoon. Afterwards they visited Westminster Abbey, and Kinwun Mingyi was interested to learn that since the Abbey was built some 800 years before by King Edward I, all kings of England had been crowned there. They were taken round the Abbey by Deacon Stanley himself. In the evening the envoys with McMahan, Jones, his wife and Maung Myè went to dinner at the residence of the magistrate Johnson. There were no other guests present, and the envoys enjoyed listening to the piano played by Johnson and his wife in turn. That afternoon Peacock again took the attendants to a park 24 miles to the north of London, where there was a fair, and the attendants had a ride on merry-go-rounds and chair lifts. The envoys received a letter from the Italian naval captain Racchia, expressing his pleasure to hear of the warm welcome given by the English people to the envoys, and also informing them that he planned to come to London to see them. The weather turned a little cold. *On July 31*, the envoys visited the Thames tunnel which used to be a tunnel for pedestrians but was now a tunnel for the under-ground railway. *On August*, the envoys hired a small launch and together with Kaye, magistrate Johnson, Kaye's assistant McLibby and his wife, Captain Upton, Wilson and two or three doctors, went to Hampton Court. Those people were specially invited by the envoys as their guests. McMahan, Jones and wife and son and daughters, the attendants and Maung Myè also went with them in the launch. After looking round Hampton Court they slowly sailed down the river and had a picnic lunch. They stopped at a small village called Kingstown, where there was a small palace in which kings of England were crowned before Westminster Abbey was built. The palace was of oak, and Kinwun Mingyi found it imposing yet delightful. He was specially interested in an enormous grape vine which was 160 years old, and had at the time 1650 bunches of grapes hanging from it.

In olden days when a person in the King's service died a heroic death, his family was assigned a room in the palace permanently.

On August 2, the envoys accompanied by McMahan, Magrath and the attendants visited the British Museum which belonged to the government. There were 1001,170 books in the museum and any one interested could come and read them. There were books in languages other than English, and Kinwun Mingyi noticed some Pali manuscripts. Kinwun Mingyi mentioned with some detail the various exhibits including many varieties of rocks and stones, skeletons of pre-historic animals, Egyptian mummies, ancient pottery, jewels and ornaments, Greek costumes, statues of gods and of the Buddha worshipped in India, Rome, Burma, Egypt and China. In the evening, at the hotel, the envoys watched a magic lantern display. As the little daughter and son of Jones' came to watch the show, the envoys gave them as presents 1 silver fish and 1 silver frog. *On August 3*, the envoys accompanied by McMahan, Jones and wife, son and daughter, and Maung Myè went to a garden party given by Kaye. In the afternoon, Johnson, wife and little son came to say goodbye as they were going away for the weekend to visit their relations. The envoys gave the little son, 1 silver frog, 1 silver and gold fish and 1 silver fish.

On August 4, being a Sun-day the envoys spent the day reading. Peacock sent a flowering plant and some flowers to the envoys. *On August 5*, Colonel Magrath, sister and her two daughters and Johnson and Captain Brown of the royal ship came to the hotel and the envoys had lunch with them. It rained the whole day and it was cold. *On August 6*, a letter was received from the Royal Banker at Rangoon, informing that he had sent through Jones' business partner in Rangoon, McMay Cowie, a sum of 210,000 Kyats and saying that there was peace and tranquility in the country. Some merchants came to the hotel and showed to the envoys samples of textiles of fancy

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

and attractive designs, and the envoys made some purchases for presentation to the King.]

Wednesday August 7. The envoys rested the whole day. Colonel Magrath came and dined with the envoys. He brought for Kinwun Mingyi a bottle of specially prepared coal tar powder which cured coughs and colds, and a photograph of himself for each envoy. Then taking out a small ingot of copper and silver mixed together, weighing about one tical, and putting it into the hands of one of the attendants, he asked the latter to gaze at it. Then he moved his own hands up and down the face of the attendant, without actually touching it. In a few minutes, the boy looked as if he were asleep, but he lifted his legs and arms in response to the orders of Magrath. The envoys tried to wake him up, but he would not answer; yet he did everything Magrath told him to do. The boy woke up only when Magrath moved his hands up and down his face. On being asked how he was, the boy replied that he felt stiff all over. Magrath in-formed the envoys that he could do like that to 8 out of 10 persons. After Magrath had left, some merchants came and demonstrated their wares such as telescopes, magnifying glasses, cameras, magic lanterns, and the envoys made some purchases.

Thursday August 8. The envoys stayed in and made notes and memoranda. It was hot and cold in turn throughout the day, and heavy rain with some hail fell.

Friday August 9. A merchant came and offered to sell a diamond weighing 65 carats for 220,000 Kyats. The envoys instructed Jones to buy 200 rolls of woolen cloth of various colors to be cut into blankets. Johnson called. As the envoys desired to buy a magic lantern with slides of the birth of the solar sys-tem, the paths of the sun and moon, the earth, eclipses of sun and moon, stars and planets during the 12 months of the year, the appearance of a comet, sea and

mountain scenes, various kinds of beasts and birds, another electric lantern that showed on the screen magnified pictures of small insects and leaves and plants, and a small electric generator, they watched demonstrations of such machines given by interested merchants.

[*On August 10,* Kinwun Mingyi, the Royal Secretary, Major McMahon and the attendants went to a science institute, called Polytechnic, to watch some demonstrations arranged in their honour. They listened to a lecture and a demonstration of chemicals and gases, including oxygen, hydrogen and carbon. They were taken to an indoor theatre and saw a scientific play in which a water nymph travelled in a glass submarine under water. Kinwun Mingyi was delighted with the play. The envoys were shown glass being manufactured into little threads and into artificial flowers, a mechanical man riding on a swing, and an organ with 120 pipes playing music by itself. Kinwun Mingyi was specially interested in a large diving bell with glass windows in which 4 persons could go down under water right to the bottom of the sea. There was also a round magnifying mirror, which gave the reflection of a per-son correctly if he stood near it, but which showed the image upside down if he stood some distance away.]

Sunday August 11. The envoys (without Hpanyet Wundauk), accompanied by Jones and attendants visited Richmond Park. As the park was on high ground, the envoys could see from it, Windsor Castle, Hampton Court and many gardens along the bank of the river Thames. On a small hill, stood Richmond Hotel with the river on its right and the park on its left. The lounge and the dining room. were finely furnished and there was a continuous stream of visitors. As stated above, on its right were the gardens of the river Thames, and on its left the various roads and footpaths leading to

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

the park with crowds of people walking about. Inside the park herds of deer and many rabbits played about, unmolested. The envoys were informed that Richmond Hotel was very famous because of its pleasant scenery of land and river, and because of its good food. McMahon, his wife and two daughters came back from a short visit to France. A strong wind blew the whole day.

Monday August 12. The envoys stayed in the whole day. They instructed Captain Brown of the royal ship to come to the hotel and take away their heavy luggage the following day. Kaye sent a message by McMahon saying that he would be grateful and delighted if the envoys could come to his house the following day as they would be leaving London soon for the north.

Tuesday August 13. The envoys, McMahon and wife and daughter, Jones and Maung Myè went by carriages to Charing Cross station where they took a train to Greenhithe, from where they went aboard the royal ship. The royal ship proceeded to the port of Gravesend some 10 miles away, as the envoys were to visit a squadron of 3 American warships. As the royal ship steamed out, the sailors on a Queen's ship called "Chichester", lined the decks and the masts, and waved their hats at the envoys shouting "hurrah, hurrah, hurrah". The envoys and their guests sat down to lunch. As the royal ship approached the American squadron, the 3 ships dipped their flags in salute, and the royal ship dipped its peacock flag in return. Then the royal ship dropped anchor, and the envoys went aboard the warship called "Plymouth". They were welcomed by the officers wearing full uniform, as the sailors presented arms. Explaining that the admiral was away sightseeing in Wales, the vice-admiral, his assistant, the captain and the chief engineer expressed their pleasure at the visit of the envoys

to the squadron. In reply to questions asked by the envoys, they replied as follows: they had been in Gravesend harbour some 20 days; the squadron left United States 3½ years before and during that time the 3 ships had been visiting various ports all over the world; the next ports they would visit would be in France; they believed that by visiting various countries, the American navy would become widely known to the world and there were other advantages also; they and the other officers and sailors would gain valuable experience, making them more efficient in navigation, they would become more familiar with the sea lanes of the world, they would be able to learn about the relative strengths of the various navies and the general disposal of their ships, and they would be giving moral support to the American merchants abroad. The envoys were then taken round the ship which was 267 feet long, 35 feet wide and 34 feet deep and its engines were of 500 horsepower. There were 12 cannons and 240 sailors including officers. A cannon firing shells each weighing 40 viss could be rotated to fire in all directions. Then the envoys inspected the admiral's cabin, the captain's cabin, the officers' cabins, the sick bay, the pantry, the dining room, the kitchen and the armoury, and everything looked absolutely clean and tidy. The officers apologized to the envoys that they were unable to give them the 19 guns salute to which envoys were entitled, because the squadron was in the waters of a foreign country. The envoys noticed a fort on each side of the harbour. After about 45 minutes, the envoys returned to the royal ship and as it weighed anchor, flags were dipped in salute as before. The envoys disembarked and returned by train to London where their carriages were waiting for them. They stopped at Kaye's place and found that Kaye who had been waiting anxiously for them, had to leave his house to keep a dinner engagement. After staying at Kaye's house talking to his daughter and son for some 30 minutes, the envoys went back to their hotel.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

COMMENTARY

After the threats and insults meted out to him by Eden and his English officials at Rangoon, Kinwun Mingyi was obviously surprised at the courtesies shown to him by the English consul at Cairo, appreciated the kindness of the Khedive of Egypt, the English consul-general at Alexandria and the commander of the English frigate at Brindisi, and was overwhelmed by the honors showered upon him and the members of his embassy by the King of Italy. The grandeur of the receptions given to the Burmese envoys aroused the jealousy of the English correspondent at Rome for the *London Times*. In a long despatch published in the *Times* of May 25, 1872, he described in detail the triumphal progress of the Burmese embassy in Italy. His account tallied exactly with the accounts given by Kinwun Mingyi in the *London Diary*. But the correspondent made fun of the gold chains of office and the velvet and gold headdresses worn by the envoys, and he sneered at the Italian King's award of decorations to the Burmese:

Minister had been made a "Grand Officer" of the Order of the Crown of Italy, the remaining three members had each received the Cross of Commander, while Mr. Jones had been decorated with the Cross of SS. Maurice et Lazarus. I am pretty sure they all went to bed last night with the crosses carefully stowed away under their pillows, after the manner of good and deserving children with new playthings.

The correspondent in the despatch also mentioned that according to the Italian newspapers, the British government had protested against the manner in which the Burmese had been received by the Italian Court. There is no record of such a protest, nonetheless Kinwun Mingyi must have been apprehensive

about his reception on arrival in England. However, his fears proved groundless and as his *Diary* noted, the English were generous to him at Dover. The following extract from the *Pimes*, clearly showed that the *Diary* accounts were correct:

Embassy were received on behalf of English government by:

Major McMahon, Indian Office Colonel McDonald, Assistant Adjutant General Colonel Magrath, R.A. Captain Bruce, R.N. Admiralty Superintendent; also by The Deputy Mayor (Mr. G.B. Brown) and Corporation of Dover.

Having gone aboard, an address was read by the Town-Clerk (Mr. Wollastan Knocker) and presented by the Deputy Mayor: it cordially welcomed the Embassy of so powerful a monarch governing a kingdom adjacent to our Indian Empire.

The Ambassador replied in Burmese (translated by Secretary to the Embassy) promising to tell King of the welcome from such an enlightened and free nation and congratulating himself on having selected so charming a spot.

He shook hands with all the Town Council. On landing, a salute was fired from the battery. The Embassy were driven in 4 carriages and pairs to the Castle and the fortifications and there they were entertained to luncheon by the officers in the R.A. Among the large crowd witnessing the whole proceeding was Prince Arthur, attended by Major Pickard.¹

However, Kinwun Mingyi was soon to be disappointed. Although he did not mention it in the *Diary*, Pandee Wundauk

¹ *Times*, June 6, 1872.

was endeavoring to get permission from the English government to contact the Foreign Office instead of the India Office, for it was the great hope and desire of the Burmese King that his embassy would be presented to Queen Victoria by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, being a mission from a fully sovereign kingdom, and not by the Secretary of State for India as if Burma was merely a protectorate of the Indian Empire and Mindon a mere Maharajah. Neither the English records nor Burmese records mentioned this, but this fact was well known to Kinwun Mingyi's contemporaries.¹ That the Burmese envoys were haggling with the English officials over the matter even at Windsor Castle right up to the actual hour of the audience, is evidenced by the relevant entry in Queen Victoria's diary. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Granville was present along with the Secretary of State for India, Duke of Argyll at the luncheon at Windsor Castle which preceded the audience with the Queen, and Kinwun Mingyi and his companions *must* have been excited, not knowing that Lord Granville was there to present not the Burmese envoys, but the French ambassador.

One reason why Anglo-Burmese relations ever failed to be cordial was the difference not only in attitudes but also in ceremonial and custom. No wonder a Burmese minister in 1826 remarked to an English envoy, with bitterness yet with regret, "Your and our customs are so completely opposite in so many points. You write on white, we on black paper. You stand up, we sit down, you uncover your head, we, our feet in token of respect."² When a Burmese ambassador appeared before a King, he would be without shoes but wearing his gold and velvet headdress; in fact he would wear the headdress only before a King as a mark of special respect.

At the audience with the King of Italy Kinwun Mingyi and the three other envoys wore English shoes, and gloves,³ and also gold and velvet headdresses. Queen Victoria would not have appreciated this Burmese custom of wearing headdresses before a sovereign, especially because she was an English woman. The Burmese envoys, as could be seen from the *London Diary* wisely left behind their headdresses at their hotel.

They were disappointed when they were presented to the Queen by the Secretary of State for India, but they were humiliated when they were required to prost-rate themselves, on the floor. Kinwun Mingyi and his envoys obviously felt so ashamed that they never mentioned that fact when they returned to Burma nor did Kinwun Mingyi mention it in the *Diary*. The English records made no mention of this humiliation. Yet only a few years later the English were to make an issue of the Burmese ceremonial requirement that all persons including English envoys should remove their shoes and kneel during an audience with the King. Former English envoys, Symes, Phayre and Yule never complained of this ceremonial requirement, and in India it never became an issue; for example, Sir Richard Temple succeeding Sir George Yule in Haderabad as the English resident to the Maharajah of Hyderabad, an Indian protectorate, followed the advice of his predecessor and always removed his shoes when he visited the Maharajah.⁴ When the matter was made an issue, the English resident Duncan demanded of Kinwun Mingyi that he should be received by the Burmese King "in the same manner" as Kinwun Mingyi was received by Queen Victoria.⁵ Poor Kinwun Mingyi! The

1 Information from Myothawundauk to my father, U Pein, 1908.

2 W.S. Desai, *History of British Residency in Burma*. 1826-40. p. 128.

3 *London Times*. May 25, 1872.

4 Sir Richard Temple *Journal Kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*. London 1887, vol. 1, p. 73.

5 Lt. Col. Duncan to Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India, dated July 14th 1876. Secret and Political, December 1876.

memory of his humiliation before Queen Victoria must have been revived by Dun-can's demand. He should have retorted, "All right, grovel on the floor as I had to", but as Duncan did not seem to know of his personal tragedy, he did not want to enlighten the Englishman. The following account of the audience by Queen Victoria herself will clearly show how deeply and cruelly Kinwun Mingyi was humiliated:

Windsor Castle, 21st June 1872, Down to Frogmore for breakfast... After luncheon saw Lord Granville, who hoped that the American question would be settled satisfactorily at Geneva...Lord Granville introduced the new French Ambassador, the Comte d'Harcourt. Then saw the Duke of Argyll, who said there was a hitch about the Burmese Envoys, who did not want to prostrate themselves in their customary fashion when appearing before any Sovereign. As Empress of India, I must insist on this, otherwise I could not receive them. After waiting a few minutes, Lord Sydney came back to say all was right, and I went into the Throne Room, with the children and all the ladies and gentlemen. Full dress and Orders were worn. Received the Ambassadors, four in number, who

knelt down at the door, walked up and knelt again at the foot of the Throne, bowing their heads to the ground. An address was read, which the first Ambassador laid at my feet, as well as a lacquer box containing some presents. After bowing and expressing my thanks, they retired. We opened the box, containing three smaller ones sealed up in bags, which were cut open. In them were two very handsome gold bangles studded with rubies, and a girdle to match.¹

The position of Kinwun Mingyi kneeling and bowing his head until it touched the ground before Queen Victoria was far from similar to that of an English envoy kneeling before King Mindon. With the English envoy, he was following an established etiquette, and therefore everybody in the room was kneeling also. In contrast, in the case of Kinwun Mingyi before Queen Victoria, he with his three companions had to prostrate them-selves on the floor, while all the ladies and other gentlemen, including his own attendants McMahan and Jones, were standing and watching, and doubtless on some of the faces of the English lords and ladies, there was a half-suppressed smile of contempt, satisfaction and amusement.

¹ *"The Letters of Queen Victoria", Second Series, Vol. II. JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.*

Chapter III

THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Introduction

Kinwun Mingyi, after his humiliation before the Queen, was encouraged by the graciousness of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who did not require him to kneel and who always shook hands cordially with him. He must have been encouraged also by the arrangements made for the embassy to tour the British Isles and by the warmth of the receptions accorded to the embassy by the chambers of commerce of various industrial cities.

Obviously he felt that it was his chance to announce to the English people the sole purpose of his embassy, which was to receive from the English government a recognition that the kingdom of Burma was a fully sovereign state, and was therefore entitled to have direct diplomatic relations with the Court of St. James's. He did not realize that the chambers of commerce were not really interested in him, or in the King's desire to demonstrate his right to have direct diplomatic relations by appointing a Burmese consul in London. Nor did he realize that Captain Sprye was using the chambers of commerce to force both the kingdom of Burma and the Governor-General of India to turn his dream of opening a trade route across the Shan States and then up the river Mekong to China, into reality. The real interest of the chambers of commerce was not so much in Burma as in China which was considered to be another El Dorado. Captain Richard Sprye had served in the English army during the First Anglo-Burmese War and after Tenasserim had become English territory under the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826, he was employed there in survey work. Later on he

was joined by his son, Mr. R.H.F. Sprye. In 1852, on the eve of the Second Anglo-Burmese war, the Spryes suggested to the English government in London that the foreign trade of the English should be extended from Burma and Siam into the west of China. With the conquest of Pegu, father and son now advocated the construction of a railway from Rangoon across the Shan States in the kingdom of Burma to a point on the Mekong river. The Foreign Office failed to take any notice and so they persuaded the chambers of commerce of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield and other industrial centres, to send memorial after memorial to the Foreign Office advocating the opening up of the Sprye route to the Mekong and to China. The first Chief Commissioner of Lower Burma, Phayre was not keen, especially as he did not think the route to be feasible because of both geographical and political conditions. Fytche, his successor, was at first interested in a route across the Isthmus of Kra, but later on, became interested in the Bhamo route to China. He learnt that since ancient times there had existed a very profitable trade between Burma and China along the Bhamo route and it had been disturbed only by the Panthay (Chinese Muslims) rebellion in Yunnan. A controversy now resulted as to whether the Sprye route was more feasible than the Bhamo route or vice versa. One of the main purposes of the Treaty of 1867 was the opening up of the Bhamo route through the assistance of the King of Burma and for Sprye, it spelt defeat. The Resident at Mandalay, Colonel Sladen who was not only the representative of the government of India but also the paid agent of some commercial firms in Rangoon, led an exploratory mission to Yunnan in the same year 1867, immediately after the signing of the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Treaty, but did not reach very far into Yunnan which was still in the throes of the Panthay rebellion. Sladen, on his return explained his failure to penetrate deeply into Yunnan, by falsely accusing King Mindon of secretly putting obstacles in his way. In 1872, a deputation from the associated chambers of commerce urged the Secretary of State for India, Duke of Argyll, to put into operation the Sprye project of a railway across the Shan States, as it was more feasible than the Bhamo route. However, nothing materialized and the two Spryes and the chambers of commerce turned their attention to Kinwun Mingyi's visit.¹

In the meantime, an embassy from the Panthay rebels had arrived in London, and correspondence accusing Mindon of interference in the proposed opening of the Bhamo route began to appear in English and Anglo-Indian presses as the direct result of Sladen's unjustified and malicious propaganda against the Burmese King. Mindon was even accused of sending Kinwun Mingyi's embassy to forestall the Panthays. For example, in an article from their Calcutta correspondent published in the *London Times* of September 19, 1872 it was stated that The Home Government is being criticised here for receiving the Burmese Embassy in so different a manner to the Panthay Embassy. Persons acquainted with this area believe that friendship of the Panthays is much more important than that of the King of Burma.

The issue of the same newspaper for September 24, 1872 contained a letter to the Editor stating that Sladen though obstructed in every possible way by Burmese managed to get through not indeed to the capital of the Panthay kingdom, but to Momein where he found the Panthays kindly and tolerant. The same issue of

the *Times* arrived a leading article which began with the following statements:

Panthay Embassy...will find itself outshone by the magnificence of the Burmese Embassy. It is rumoured in India that the Burmese Embassy was sent here to forestall Panthay Envoys as Mindon may naturally feel jealous of a young, self-reliant Moslem power on his frontier. While showing every courtesy to Burmese we should remember that they have usually obstructed our trade whereas Panthays welcome it.

What the newspapers did not divulge was the fact that the Panthay embassy was able to reach London only because they were given safe conduct through Burmese territory by King Mindon at the risk of angering China.

Among the chambers of commerce, Glasgow chamber stood alone as it supported the Bhamo route, which was not surprising as the steamers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company were freely plying between Rangoon and Bhamo and the shareholders of that company were mostly from Glasgow.

It may be mentioned that one of the main reasons why England declared war against the Kingdom of Burma in 1885 was the incessant, vociferous demands, petitions and memorials of the various chambers of commerce that upper Burma be immediately annexed.

London Diary, August 14, to November 14 1872.

Wednesday August 14. The envoys from the Chinese Muslims of Yunnan came and saw the Burmese envoys at the hotel. They had been in London for nearly 2 months, but had not fixed a date for their return to Yunnan as they

¹ For a detailed account of the controversy and agitation over the Sprye route, see Dorothy Woodman: pp. 172-3, 179, 186, 192.

wanted to go on a sightseeing tour of England. They had come by way of Bhamo and then down the Irrawaddy, and they would be returning by the same route. On their way to Rangoon, they had stopped at the Golden City to pay their respects to the King of the Sunrise, who graciously gave them audience, and they would pay their respects again on their way back. At 3 p.m., the envoys gave to Captain Brown for carriage to the royal ship, their box containing their robes and other heavy luggage. Soon after, taking only some light luggage, the envoys together with McMahon, Jones, the attendants and Maung Myè went to Euston station in north London. They were received by the station authorities and taken round the various office rooms. They placed at the disposal of the envoys a special carriage, in which were seats for 20 persons, a bedroom, a washing room and a lavatory. The railway authorities escorted the envoys and party to the carriage. Captain Brown and Johnson also saw the envoys off. The train passed through the towns of Wealdstone, Bletchley, and Rugby. The envoys were informed that at Wealdstone there was a school to which the English gentry, including the Prime Minister himself sent their sons. The envoys were told that it was the most famous school in the London area.¹ On both sides of the railway line, they saw houses and fields cultivated with wheat, cabbage, and some root crops. Although the land was undulating, there was not a single plot of ground which was not cultivated. There were streams and canals which supplied the required water to the fields. The most common crop was wheat, and Kinwun Mingyi noticed that it was the time of the harvest. The railway was constructed in a straight line which necessitated the leveling of hillocks, digging of tunnels, and filling up of valleys. Tele-graphic lines ran parallel to the railway line on both sides. At about 7 p.m., the train reached Birmingham, a city 120 miles to the north of London. The mayor of Birmingham and other officials met the envoys at the station. The envoys then went to

stay at the Queen's Hotel and they were followed there by the mayor and other officials, who offered their assistance in all matters in which the envoys were interested. Birmingham was a great industrial town, and as there were so many factories, even when the train was some 8 miles away from the city, the whole sky was darkened by smoke.

[On August 15, the mayor of Birmingham Sadler came to the hotel and took the envoys and party to a factory manufacturing metal wares like tea trays, kettles, pots and pans, a factory manufacturing all kinds of pens, a glass factory, and a free library which had 25,000 books and which was financed by a special tax on the people of Birmingham. They also visited the town hall and then drove round the town. Kinwun Mingyi thought that Birmingham was a well-planned and beautiful city. As the envoys carefully followed the various processes of manufacture in the factories, they could return to the hotel only at nightfall. The mayor stayed with them the whole day, and had dinner with them at the hotel. On August 16, the envoys and party visited a rifle manufacturing factory, and observed the various stages in the manufacture of a rifle. The factory was producing 2,000 rifles every week as the King of Russia had placed a large order. In the after-noon, they visited a factory which produced gold and silver chains for watches and another which produced cables and other articles of steel, including even minute safety pins. Then they visited a factory manufacturing all kinds of steam engines, and another manufacturing pointed iron articles such as nails and screws. In the evening, the envoys and party were invited to the Prince of Wales Theatre and watched a play in which a shrewish wife was tamed by her husband. On August 17, from New Street Station, they took a train and stopped at the first station at Worcester where they visited a porcelain factory. Then they returned to the train and travelled to the second station at Worcester where they were met

1 i.e. Harrow School

by its mayor and a Member of Parliament, Sir John Pakkington who took them to his mansion, which was some 300 years old, and which had a very pleasant garden in which there were small lakes. Various kinds of deer roamed the garden. Then the party returned to Birmingham. McMahon was met by his two brothers-in-law, and he asked permission from the envoys for leave of absence till Sunday night as he wanted to go and see his little daughter in a boarding school in a nearby town. *On August 18*, the envoys (without the two Wundauks), accompanied by Jones went to visit the mansion of one Pemberton. They were entertained to lunch in his beautiful park. In a corner of this park, there was the house of the great engineer, James Watt, who invented the steam engine. The house was over 90 years old, and it was kept exactly as it was when Watt lived there, together with his furniture, his books, his pictures and his tools. The house now belonged to Pemberton. Leaving the attendants at his mansion, Pemberton, his wife, two daughters and one little grandson, took the envoys to Birmingham Park. The land was bought from a private person by the Birmingham municipality, and turned into a park which was opened by the Queen herself. There was also a church which was 1000 years old. The envoys returned to Pemberton's house and after thanking him for his hospitality, they went back to their hotel. McMahon returned late that night.]

Monday August 19. The envoys with McMahon, Jones and attendants left the hotel and went to New Street railway station of Birmingham city, which was near the hotel. They took the 3 p.m. train to Liverpool which was about 94 miles to the northwest of Birmingham. The train passed through the towns of Stafford, Crew and Warrington. On both sides of the railway line, there were villages and towns and fields which were richly cultivated. There were so many roads, railway lines and telegraph posts. There were streams and canals which made it possible for crops and

flowering plants and trees to cover every inch of arable land. The cities of Birmingham, Stafford, Crew and Warrington were so full of factories that their smoke formed a continuous line. At about 6 p.m., the train arrived at the Lime Street station of Liverpool City. The envoys were met at the station by the Liverpool mayor's representative, the town clerk and a crowd of nearly 2,000 men and women. The envoys were warmly greeted and taken to the North Western Hotel. They were also given a programme of their visit the following day, to various places, escorted by the mayor and the president of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.

Tuesday August 20. The envoys, McMahon, Jones and Maung Myè were taken in the mayor's carriages to the Town Hall where they were received by the mayor wearing his robes of office and the aldermen. After looking round the Town Hall, the envoys were taken by the mayor to a nearby building which was the headquarters of the chamber of commerce, called the Stock Exchange. When the envoys entered the building, they were greeted with a loud applause from nearly 600 merchants gathered there.

[The envoys were then taken to the railway station where a special train was waiting for them. Escorted by the mayor, 'Peerwin', the president of the chamber of commerce 'Prunge' and his clerk William Blood, Kenneth Trumblake, John Petter-son Blossom, Johnstone and McDonald, the envoys went in the train to the rail-way workshop at Crew. After lunch, they looked round the workshop and inspected various railway engines, which were being built. The envoys were told that one of the engines would be named "Burma" in honour of their visit to the workshop, and the name would be inscribed in brass letters, on the engine. Kinwun Mingyi learnt that there were 5000 workers and the workshop produced 1,500 railway engines every year. Then the envoys visited an iron-melting factory. On

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

the return journey, as the train passed over the Mersey bridge, Kinwun Mingyi learnt that the bridge was built at a cost of 100,00,000 Kyats. On returning to the hotel, the envoys entertained the mayor, the president of the chamber of commerce, a former mayor, and the town clerk to dinner. After dinner, the mayor took the envoys and their companions and attendants to the Alexander Theatre. As the envoys entered, the audience of some 600 people stood up and applauded. *On Wednesday August 21*, the envoys were taken in a steam launch to Birkenhead to visit a shipyard. Five ships were under construction and Kinwun Mingyi was informed that they would be completed within 12 months. There were 3000 workmen. Then the envoys were escorted to a ship belonging to the company which owned the shipyard. It flew the flags of all nations, including the Peacock Flag of Burma. After lunch the envoys were taken to Birkenhead Park to watch a steeplechase and to look at a flower show, cattle show, sheep show, dog show, bird show and cheese show. They returned to Liverpool by a different ship. In the evening the envoys, McMahon, his younger brother, Jones and Maung Myè attended a banquet given by the chamber of commerce in honour of the envoys. There were present at the banquet 100 guests, including members of the chamber, Austrian, American, French and Russian consuls. Toasts were drunk, speeches were made and replies given.]

The following is the translation of speech given by the president of the chamber of commerce at the banquet.

I have spoken many times to you about our own country of England, but tonight I shall speak about an eastern kingdom which is on the other side of the ocean and thousands of miles away. I firmly believe that all of you will be interested in what I am going to say. All of us should respect and honour the King and the people of that eastern kingdom. As you are

aware, the kingdom of Burma has a common frontier with our Indian empire. The King of Burma is a fully independent sovereign, owing allegiance to no other king or government. The King of Burma rules over a nation of 10 million people which was the population of England during the time of King George III. His Majesty is still young and vigorous and he desires that the friendship between his kingdom and the English kingdom should remain firm and strong. Just as the Kings of those eastern kingdoms, China, Japan and Siam are endeavoring to find ways and means to improve the commercial potentialities of their countries, the King of Burma has a project to improve the commercial relations of his country with western nations. His Burmese Majesty firmly believes that all nations instead of quarrelling and fighting with each other, should seek to maintain peace and friendship by improving international commerce; he firmly believes that his kingdom will prosper if he can exchange the agricultural products and raw materials produced by its people for the manufactured goods of other nations. In any country, security of life and property must depend on its commerce. The Burmese King, in our opinion should work for the security of life and property of his subjects by allowing them to trade freely and without restraint and should see that taxes and customs duties are not heavy. We hear that His Burmese Majesty is wise and has followed these fundamental rules of ensuring peace and prosperity. For example, His Majesty has imposed a customs duty of only 3 per cent on all imports. Therefore, we merchants should welcome and praise His Majesty's great desire to continue to maintain friendly relations with the English people. However, there are some difficulties. The Burmese King has had no opportunity to deal directly with the Queen of England. He has dealt only with the Viceroy of India at Calcutta. The English officials obviously desire to place obstacles in the way of Burma dealing directly with London. However much those English officials wish to prevent the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Burmese King from dealing directly with the English Queen, the government, the merchants and the common people of England want to have direct and cordial relations with His Burmese Majesty. This is obvious to us all. Our desire and the Burmese King's desire are identical. His Majesty is a great believer not only in commercial progress but also in the maintenance of law and order. He is friendly, honest and just, and he has all the qualities of a good administrator. Notwithstanding all these qualities, he is still unsatisfied and desires to study the administrative and judicial systems of western countries. There are many reasons why the English people should aim to have friendly relations with the Burmese King. The Burmese King will realize that the shortest way between England and China is through Burma, and so will appreciate an eagerness to construct a road from Burma to China. In fact, we have made a preliminary survey of the mountains and forests through which the road will have to be constructed. As our purpose in planning to make this road is to improve the commerce of both England and Burma, we are sure that His Majesty will help us with all the power and authority at his command. With this belief, I and the members of my chamber wish to offer our felicitations to His Majesty.

The following is the speech given by Forewood who was president of the chamber of commerce during the previous year:

The honorable gentlemen who are our guests this evening have come to England to observe the organization of commerce and industry, with a view to organize on similar lines the commercial progress of their own country. Yesterday, these great envoys visited the shipyards along the river banks of Liverpool, saw the many ships which were anchored in its port, and observed the countless Warehouses on its foreshore. Liverpool, some 300 years ago, was a small fishing village with 13 fishing boats. But year by year, its commerce has grown and it

has now become a great port. As we belong to a city which has grown because of its commerce, we hope to open close commercial relations with the Burmese people. Therefore, we consider that these great envoys are heralds of future commercial dealings between the two kingdoms. As from today, Burma has become associated with Liverpool in commercial undertakings which will certainly bring advantages to both countries. This week, this month, this year will be recorded in history as an auspicious time for Liverpool, as it is now receiving embassies from the kingdoms of Burma and Japan, whose main aim is to have close commercial relations with England.

The following is the speech given by Kinwun Mingyi in reply:

President of the Liverpool chamber of commerce and gentlemen, we are most grateful to you for your cordial greetings to our lord the King and to us. We believe that you have shown us this good-will, because your aim and our aim are the same, namely the development of friendly and cordial relations between England and Burma. In sending our embassy to England, our King has two purposes; first, because of His Majesty's desire to strengthen the grand friendship between the two countries, the King has sent us to deliver personally to Her Majesty the Queen of England the royal letter of greeting and the royal presents; second, His Majesty wishes to demonstrate to the world that enmity between England and Burma no longer exists and they have become fast friends. One of us, the deputy envoy, Pandee Wundauk had visited England before this, and from him we had some inkling of your country. Before this visit, our King has dealt with only the Viceroy of India and that has to be done only through the English commissioner at Rangoon. The King now feels that the time has come for him to deal directly with your Queen. Such direct dealings with the Queen are no longer difficult and time-consuming, because of

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

your telegraphic communications, your railway trains and your ships, for which facilities we are most grateful to the English people. It is not necessary for me to point out to this distinguished audience that direct dealings between two principals are far more effective and satisfactory than dealings through agents. Although our King, up to now, had no choice but to deal through the government of India, all along His Majesty has looked forward to the day when he would be privileged to deal directly with the Queen of England. If the government of England really shares with you a desire to have close commercial relations with our country, it will surely permit the appointment of a resident consul for England by our King. We have already started negotiations with the India Office in London about this matter, and we believe that very soon our King's proposal to appoint a consul in England will be accepted by the English government. It has cost us much labor and effort to come to England, but the hospitality shown to us by the English people at every place that we visit, makes us feel that our labor and effort are not wasted. We are most grateful to you all for the hospitality and cordiality shown to us to-night.

[*On Thursday August 22*, the envoys were escorted by the mayor to the ware-house of a company whose business was the importation and storage of food grains. They observed the unloading of wheat from the ships by means of conveyor belts, their weighing on machines and their storage in specially constructed ware-houses. Then the envoys were escorted to various factories, and finally to a great dock which was 1200 feet long and 200 feet broad. They saw a ship that was being prepared for a voyage to the United States. There were altogether 40 large docks and countless small docks. There were 3000 dock-workers. The cost of running the docks was 3 million Kyats a year, and the income from the docks every year was 10 million, leaving a clear profit of 7 million. The envoys visited a training ship of the royal

navy for young boys and a training ship for orphans belonging to a charitable organization. In the evening, the envoys attended a banquet held in their honour in the town hall by the mayor and there were 100 guests. The usual toasts were drunk. *On August 23* the president of the chamber of commerce and some members called at the hotel. The president gave a short speech in which he expressed his pleasure at meeting Kinwun Mingyi and having the opportunity to discuss various matters with him. He realised how useful the visit to England was for the two Wundauks, who perhaps would have to come again and reside in England for a long period. Explaining that he had brought with him a letter of *felicitation* from his chamber, he asked permission for the secretary of the chamber to read it.] The following is the letter:

May it please Your Excellency, High Commissioner and Ambassador of Burma. It gives us great pleasure that the High Commissioner and Ambassador sent by His Burmese Majesty to England is able to visit our city of Liverpool. As Burma and England are friends and allies, the members of our chamber of commerce for some time past have been considering ways and means of improving the commercial relations of the two countries with advantage to both, and we are heartened by Your Excellency's visit. England desires to have from your country timber, petroleum, cotton, rice and cutch, and in return your country needs textiles, and other manufactured goods from our country. We are glad that His Majesty the King of Burma has sent Your Excellencies to observe English commercial practice and inspect goods manufactured in England, so that Your Excellencies will be able to make recommendations for the gradual development of Burmese commercial enterprise. Your Excellency will have noticed that the English government does not delay or hamper by means of high tariffs the importation of Burmese raw materials into England. Our chamber

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

of commerce firmly believes that as a result of your visit, trade between the two countries must increase in leaps and bounds. For the development of her commerce Burma needs an efficient system of communications namely railways, roads and waterways. The essential factor in the economic development of any country is an easy and smooth system of carriage of goods and men from place to place. We firmly believe that His Burmese Majesty fully realizes the need for such a system of easy communication, and we also believe that the English government will give full assistance for the construction of roads and railways in Burma. As Your Excellency is aware, some 3 or 4 years ago this country sent a team of engineers to survey the countryside for the construction of a railway between Rangoon and Yunnan in western China. Because of the reputation of the Burmese King as a wise and just ruler, we feel certain that His Majesty will extend his assistance again when another team of experts visits his Kingdom in the very near future. Once that railway has been completed, a new era in the commercial history of the country will begin. We may cite Egypt as an example of how a country develops rapidly because of the easy transport of goods and men across its territories. Modern Egypt is now so different from Egypt of the past as it has prospered rapidly since it improved its communications. The bye-laws of the Liverpool chamber of commerce prevent it from taking up any political matter, as its interest is purely commercial. For that reason we cannot give any advice or suggestion in Your Excellency's negotiations with our government. But we are sure that Your Excellencies' proposals will always be considered carefully by the English government.

The following is the letter given in reply by Kinwun Mingyi and read out by Pandee Wundauk:

The President of the chamber of commerce

and members, we are happy to receive your letter and we shall fully convey to our lord the King the sentiments and suggestions given in it. We appreciate the efforts of your chamber of commerce to develop commercial relations between the two countries. Our kingdom is no longer deaf and blind, and it realizes that it can take its place among the fully sovereign states of the world only by opening wide its gates to international commerce. Our glorious King is at peace with neighbouring countries and His Majesty's main aim is to develop commercial relations with them. But His Majesty needs constant advice and suggestion from experts of western nations, in the production of grains and raw materials of manufacture, and in the development of commerce; and to get that advice and suggestion His Majesty desires to establish consulates in various European countries. As you gentlemen are aware, our land is fertile and richly endowed with minerals and raw materials. We have great mines of rubies and other precious stones. Our teak has no equal in the whole world. European visitors marvel at our gushing oil wells. We have also iron and coal. We produce gold and silver. Our land produces enormous amounts of sesame, tobacco, tea, indigo, all kinds of paddy, all kinds of wheat, and all kinds of cutch. We are glad to note that western nations agree with us that the time has now come to develop this rich country. We have signed a treaty of commerce with the kingdom of Italy and we hope to have similar treaties with other European countries. We are certain that our lord the King will gladly extend all assistance in your project of improving the system of communication in the country, especially your project of building a railway between Rangoon and the Burma-China border. In fact, not only that project, but any and every project that will result in commercial expansion will have the support of His Majesty. We are gratified to know that such a prestigious and authoritative body as the Liverpool chamber of commerce gives its support to our desire to

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

develop the international commerce of our country.

[After the president of the chamber of commerce had left the hotel, the mayor arrived with his carriages, and took the envoys and party to the Town Hall where the assizes were in session, presided over by 2 judges from the High Court in London. Then the envoys were taken to a great hall whose pipe-organ was as big as the pipe-organ in Albert Hall. Then the envoys visited a free library, a museum, a cigar and cigarette factory and a sailor's home. Kinwun Mingyi was impressed by the care and consideration shown to all sailors, especially those whose ships had been wrecked and those who were yet unable to get new assignments. The Home had enough rooms for 500 sailors. Then the envoys were entertained to lunch by the mayor and in the afternoon, they went to a circus and watched horses and acrobats performing.

On Saturday August 24, the envoys and party took the train to Bangor in Wales. Kinwun Mingyi was surprised to hear people speaking Welsh at various stations on the way, and on enquiry he was informed that there were 4 kinds of Englishmen, namely Welsh, Erse, Scotch and English. The train passed many old forts. He enquired why those forts had no apertures for cannons and muskets, and he was informed that the forts belonged to an age before the introduction of gun-powder when men fought with bows and arrows. At 6 p.m., they arrived at the village of Bangor, some 60 miles from Liverpool, and were taken to George's Hotel. Kinwun Mingyi was informed that the hotel was named after the King George who ruled over England when it went to war with Burma for the first time. *On August 25*, they boarded a train and crossed the straits dividing mainland Wales from Anglesey. The straits were as wide as Myitngè river near the Golden City. Kinwun Mingyi was impressed with the fact that the great Menai bridge spanning the straits had supporting

pillars only on land, and not in the water itself although its span over the water was 910 feet long. On arriving at Anglesey, the envoys visited a monument 60 feet high, on which stood a statue of the lord of Anglesey who fought side by side with the Duke of Wellington in his battle against the French King Bonaparte. They also visited a fort built during the time of Edward I. They returned to Bangor in the evening. *On August 26*, they went by train to a stone quarry some 6 miles away. The hill which was being dug up for stones was about the size of Yankin Hill near the Golden City. There were 300 workers and every year the income from the quarry was 2 million 400,000 Kyats and after deducting all expenses. the owner had a clear profit of one million Kyats. Returning to Bangor they took the train to Manchester, which was 90 miles away. The train again passed through Chester and Warrington. On arrival at Manchester the envoys were met by the deputy mayor, acting on behalf of the mayor. *On Tuesday August 27*, the envoys together with McMahan and his brother, were taken by a former mayor Grey and town clerk Harring to a cable factory, to a coal mine, to a brick and stone factory, and to a textile factory. Kinwun Mingyi carefully observed the various processes by which cotton was finally woven into fabric. He was interested to learn that American cotton was considered much better than Asian cotton. There were in the factory 2,000 workers, both male and female, and 900 spinning machines, each producing 35 yards of cloth daily. The envoys then visited a museum and a portrait gallery of famous English people. In the evening, they attended a banquet given in their honour by the secretary of the chamber of commerce. McMahan, his brother, Jones and Maung Myè accompanied the envoys. *On August 28*, the mayor of Manchester Booth together with the former mayor Grey and town clerk Sir Joseph Baron and the president of the chamber of commerce Johnson took the envoys to another textile factory, then to a rubber factory, and

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

finally to an armament factory which was as big as the government factory at Woolwich. *On Thursday August 29*, the envoys visited a factory which produced printed textile. They watched the machines printing colored designs on cloth. Afterwards they were entertained to lunch by the mayor and corporation of Manchester. The mayor read an address in which he expressed his delight at the visit of the envoys to his city of Manchester; he stressed the importance of law and order in factories and workshops; he pointed out that commerce and trade had progressed in England because of its system of easy communication, and ventured to give the suggestion that a similar system should be developed in Burma so that the Burmese people could have commercial relations with all countries. Pandee Wundauk read the reply from Kinwun Mingyi, in which he thanked the mayor for his kind suggestions and expressed happiness that the mayor and the corporation of Manchester had the same aim as that of the Burmese embassy namely the development of commercial relations between the two countries.

Then the vice-president of the chamber of commerce gave a speech in which he, on behalf of his chamber, welcomed the Burmese embassy to Manchester and the surrounding region; the merchants of Manchester already knew Burma as a country extremely rich in agriculture, minerals and precious stones; as merchants, he and his associates were certain that when a railway connecting Burma and western China had been completed, the Burmese people would reap great profits. Then he formally presented an address of welcome from the chamber which again emphasized the benefits that Burma would obtain from the Burma-China railway. Kinwun Mingyi in his reply stressed the need by Burma of western experts in the development of her rich resources; the King and the people of Burma knowing of the greatness in size and population of China, fully realised that the proposed railway would result in the expansion of Burmese international trade; His Burmese Majesty with an

ardent desire to help international trade had announced that the customs duties for goods destined for China passing through his territory would be only one per cent; the King with the same aim of developing commerce wished to appoint a resident Burmese consul in England if the English government would agree. After the lunch, the envoys visited the new town hall which was being built, and the headquarters of the city fire brigade. *On August 30*, the envoys visited a great warehouse where various kinds of textiles were stored for export to various countries of the world. Then the mayor escorted the envoys to the Stock Exchange and then to the assizes. Later the envoys visited a prison which was very similar to the Middlesex prison that they had visited in London. In the evening, the envoys attended a banquet held in their honour by the mayor. *On August 31*, the envoys visited the city reservoirs. At lunch that day, the former mayor made valuable suggestions regarding the improvement of the political relations between Burma and England.

On Sunday September 1, the envoys went to the residence of that merchant, Michell, who had come to London to see the envoys and to invite them to be present at the wedding ceremony of his daughter at which he was making a gift of a house to her. This merchant welcomed the envoys with great cordiality and held a banquet in their honour. There were about 20 other merchants at the banquet. His family, namely his wife, 6 daughters and 2 sons also showed great regard for the envoys. The envoys enjoyed the evening very much. *On September 2*, Hpangyet Wundauk and his brother, clerk Shwe Aye went to Stafford to visit a porcelain factory while the other envoys went to Bradford where they were met by the mayor together with a crowd of some 4000 people, both men and women. From Bradford they went to a small village to visit a fur factory. There were 3500 workers, 2900 from the village itself, and 600 from the neighbouring villages. For the benefit of those outsiders, the owner

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

of the factory had set up a special restaurant, which provided them with meals at cost. He had also established a school for 550 boys and 500 girls of the village, and a youth club. Kinwun Mingyi praised the owner of the factory for the care and consideration shown to his workers. The envoys later visited the theatre at Bradford where they were loudly cheered by the audience consisting of some 2000 men and women.

On Tuesday September 3, the president of the chamber of commerce and the mayor read addresses to the envoys who also replied. Then they visited an iron and steel factory, and another fur and textile factory. In the evening they were entertained to dinner by the mayor, and later at a concert, where some 4000 people greeted the envoys with loud cheers. The envoys that day received a copy of the royal proclamation of the Burmese King permitting them to wear the Italian decorations, and a *hundi* \$1 for 30,000 Kyats sent by the Royal Banker at Rangoon. The envoys handed over the *hundi* to Jones. In the addresses of the president of the chamber and the mayor, besides the usual expression of happiness at the visit of the envoys, a reference was made to the fact that the commercial progress of England was entirely due to a policy of free trade pursued by the English government.

On September 4, the envoys and party travelled to Halifax, a distance of some 8 miles, where they were met by the mayor of Halifax, the president of the local chamber of commerce and a huge crowd. The envoys visited a woolen factory, and then another textile factory. The envoys were entertained to lunch where an address was read by the president of the chamber of commerce, William Maurice. In his address, the president thanked the Burmese King for his interest in the English project of constructing a railway between Burma and China. "There are many suggestions as to what particular route the railway should follow", he said, "but in our

opinion, the route suggested by Captain Sprye is the best; the railway should run from Rangoon through the southern Shan States to Kenghung, and then go north along the right bank of the river Mekong to Yunnan". In their reply, the envoys, while observing that the Burmese King was always ready to render assistance in the project of the railway, pointed out that Captain Sprye's suggested route was impossible to follow, not only because of the difficult terrain but because it would have to pass through a region which was wild and economically desolate. The envoys returned to Bradford. *On September 5*, the envoys and party left Bradford for Sheffield some 60 miles away. They were met by the mayor Thomas Moore, steel merchants Thomas 'Ratner' and Thomas Edward Waker, and the president of the local chamber of commerce, William Smith and the town clerk John Yoeman and a crowd of some 1000 people. The mayor read an address of welcome and Pandee Wundauk read the reply on Kinwun Mingyi's behalf. They visited a cutlery factory and some iron and steel works. In the evening, the mayor gave a small dinner party for the envoys to which were invited the president of the chamber, the owner of the steel factory, and 6 other merchants. The French captain Louis Morin arrived from Paris and joined the envoys' party that day. The president of the chamber of commerce and the mayor read addresses, to which the envoys replied. In their addresses, the mayor and the president expressed their desire to develop trade with Burma, for Burma and England were no longer far apart because of the great scientific inventions of the railway, the steamer and the telegraph. *On September 6*, the envoys visited an armament factory, and watched the smelting of iron to cast a huge gun with a muzzle of 32 inches. In the evening, the envoys and party were entertained to a banquet, and later visited a theatre, where some 2000 men and women applauded them.

On September 7, the envoys and

1 Bill of Exchange used among merchants in India.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

party took the train to Newcastle, a distance of some 200 miles. The train passed through various cities including Normanton, York, Darlington and Durham. Kinwun Mingyi was interested to learn that York was a city some 1700 years old, that it served as the capital of England when the Romans occupied the country, and that it shared with London the honour of referring to its mayor as "Lord Mayor". They were met at New-castle railway station by the mayor and a crowd of some 3000 people. At this city, the envoys did not stay at a hotel, because they were invited by Sir William Arm-strong-Jones to his residence. Armstrong-Jones was a great engineer who had in-vented a special gun, and as reward, was knighted by the Queen. *On September 8*, they went with Sir William to a private observatory where its owner had installed a huge telescope. Kinwun Mingyi was interested to know that the moon, as observed through the telescope, was covered by deep valleys, and its water boiled and then froze during alternate weeks, and there were no living creatures on the moon. *On September 9*, Sir William took them to a museum, and later to the Town Hall where the president of the chamber of commerce and some 1000 merchants had assembled to welcome them. The president, Richard Kail read the usual address and the envoys replied. Then Sir William took the envoys to his armament factory, where he entertained them to lunch. Kinwun Mingyi was interested in a calculating machine invented by one Captain Noel, a business partner of Sir William. The machine had nine digits; any number up to that limit of nine digits, could be multiplied or divided or subtracted or added at once, without any mistake. *On Tuesday September 10*, Sir William took the envoys to the Tyne bridge by train, and then to some shipyards by steam launch. One of the shipyards visited was that which constructed the royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan*. *On September 11*, the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk) and party were taken by Sir William to a chemical factory, and then to a factory manufacturing mirrors. *On September*

12, in the morning the envoys listened to the pipe-organ in Sir William's mansion, played by the wife of one of his assistants. The envoys gave to the wife of Sir William a gold cup as a token of gratitude for the hospitality shown to them. Sir William took the party to the railway station where they boarded the train for Edinburgh, some 150 miles away. At the Waverly Station, Edinburgh, they were welcomed by the mayor of Edinburgh, who took them to the Douglas Hotel.

On Friday September 13, the envoys and party visited the palace of Holyrood, and gazed at the portraits of the hundred and eleven Kings of Scotland. Kinwun Mingyi was interested to learn of the tragic history of the beautiful Mary Queen of Scots. On enquiry, he learnt that the first of the hundred and eleven Scottish Kings ruled some 330 years before the birth of Christ, and the last was James VI the son of Mary, the beautiful Queen. *On September 14*, the envoys visited Edinburgh Castle where Kinwun Mingyi was specially interested to see the room where Queen Mary gave birth to James VI, the room where the regalia of James VI was kept on exhibit, and an old brass gun which reminded him of the great gun captured in Arakan and brought to the Arakan pagoda at Amarapura. Then they visited the Edinburgh museum, and after-wards a paper factory. *On Sunday September 15*, they went sightseeing along the river. The envoys were told that just as of all the larger cities of the world, Paris was the most beautiful, of all the smaller cities Edinburgh was the prettiest.

On Monday September 16, the envoys and party took the train to Glasgow and on arrival there, at Queen Street Station they were met by the mayor, president of the chamber of commerce and a crowd of some 2000 people. The envoys were taken to the Stock Exchange where some 300 merchants greeted them, and then to the Town Hall where they were entertained to lunch. *On September 17*, the envoys

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

and party visited the chamber of commerce where the president John Matheson read an address of welcome, and Pandee Wundauk read Kinwun Mingyi's reply. The envoys then went to the jute factory where coarse cloth for packing and bags were manufactured from jute produced in India. Then they went to a textile factory, and they were interested to learn that the textiles being manufactured that day were to be exported to Burma. Then they went to a brewery which produced 1000 barrels of beer every day. They also visited a shipyard, the Glasgow cathedral and later, a theatre.]

The following is the translation of speech given by the president of the chamber of commerce, before reading the address:

We merchants of Glasgow are disappointed that Your Excellencies' programme allows only a few days for Your Excellencies' visit to Glasgow, as there are many interesting places to visit. But we are most grateful that in spite of the busy schedule, Your Excellencies have found time to visit our chamber of commerce. We are assembled here, because we learnt that the royal ambassador sent by His Burmese Majesty to strengthen the friend-ship between England and Burma desired to meet us and also because we want to offer our cordial greetings on the occasion of Your Excellencies' visit to Glasgow. The great scientific inventions of the telegraph and the steam engine have overcome all geographical barriers, and because of these telegraph and steam engine, we merchants of Glasgow are privileged to meet in person the representatives of the English Queen's friend, the King of Burma, whose country is so many miles away from us. We will venture to take this opportunity also to discuss certain matters relating to the commercial progress of the two Kingdoms. In fact, from the point of view of trade, Glasgow and Burma are not strangers. The annual value of goods exported by Glasgow to the British territory of Lower Burma is about 80

million Kyats and the annual value of goods exported from Lower Burma to Glasgow equals that amount. We send to Burma all varieties of manufactured goods and we buy from Burma rice, timber and cutch. Out of those goods imported to Burma, only 20 million worth of goods go to Upper Burma and the same proportion prevails with regard to the exported goods from Upper Burma. We must be truthful and say that the commerce of the Burmese kingdom in the past few years has not progressed at all, because of many difficulties and hindrances, and only when the Burmese King is prepared to remove those difficulties and hindrances, will the two kingdoms really benefit. We can find no fault in the Burmese people except that they have not allowed the smooth and free flow of trade between their Upper Burma and the British Lower Burma. Your Excellency, during this your short visit to England, has heard many statements made by various chambers of commerce regarding the railway between Burma and China, and it is now Your Excellency's turn to say that there will be no more hindrances made in the construction of the railway, which must result in the free transit of goods between China, Kingdom of Burma and Lower Burma. Of all the ports of the world, Glasgow is closest to Burma, because for many years past, sailing ships had carried goods from Glasgow to various Burmese ports, and now, as the result of opening of the Suez canal, not only sailing ships but steam ships from Glasgow are sailing to Rangoon. Moreover, the city of Glasgow has been making special efforts to develop trade with the Kingdom of Upper Burma. Glasgow has been building ships which regularly sail up the Irrawaddy river from Rangoon to the Burma-China border, a distance of some 800 miles. Because of these special circumstances, *the* Glasgow Chamber of Commerce may now read to Your Excellency their address of welcome, and they venture to believe that in accordance with ancient Burmese custom, Your Excellency will be pleased to submit the address to the King himself.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

The following is the address:

The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce was overjoyed when it heard the news that His Burmese Majesty was sending an embassy to England with a view of strengthening the political and commercial relations between the two kingdoms, and now we are able to offer our respectful greetings to Your Excellency in person. We hope and pray that Your Excellency's visit to England will be of immense benefit of both countries and will develop the peaceful political and commercial relations between them. The region of Glasgow is a very rich one, as it produces many varieties of manufactured goods, and from its countless factories and workshops, the precious goods are carried by road and by sea to various countries of the world. Between Glasgow and Burma, there has always been a great amount of trade. Your Excellency has visited our factories and our ports, and Your Excellency must have realised how much we desire that hindrances and barriers standing in the way of free trade should be removed. Only when there is freedom of commerce between the two kingdoms, can there be lasting peace. Judging from the fact that His Majesty has sent an embassy to England, we can know that His Burmese Majesty desires to establish free and unrestricted trade between the two countries. For many years past, the merchants of Glasgow have supported the project of constructing a railway between Burma and China, knowing for certain that such a railway will benefit not only Burma, China and Britain, but all the countries of the world. We will request Your Excellency to submit to His Burmese Majesty the necessity of assisting this project. The proposed railway will be easily and success-fully completed, if the Burmese King and the Burmese ministers really desire it. We wish Your Excellency an enjoyable stay in Britain, and a safe and pleasant journey back to Burma.

The following is the reply given by Pandee

Wundauk on behalf of Kinwun Mingyi:

We receive with gratitude your address of welcome, and when we submit it later to our lord the King, His Majesty doubt-less will feel happy to know that the people of Britain have such friendly regard towards the Burmese people. As you have said, His Majesty has sent this embassy to the English Queen with an ardent desire to strengthen the existing friendship between the two kingdoms, and we shall always remember with gratitude the gracious reception accorded to us by Her Majesty the Queen. The King and our fellow officials in Burma will certainly be happy to know that the merchants of Glasgow desire so much the peace and progress of our country. His Burmese Majesty has always given special support to the project of constructing a railway between Yunnan and Burma. But we cannot guarantee that the railway can ever be built as long as the Chinese Muslims of Yunnan are in a state of disorder and turmoil, as the result of their rebellion against the Chinese emperor. This our statement will be supported by those English officials who visited the frontier of Yunnan recently, as they saw with their own eyes the conditions prevailing in that region. Anyone who dares to speak the truth will admit that our lord the King has given to the project all the support that he was in a position to give. It is to His Majesty's personal interest to restore trade between Yunnan and his kingdom, because he has been losing annually the revenue of 5 million Kyats which he used to receive as customs duty on goods crossing the Yunnan-Burma frontier. As a result of the disturbed conditions in Yunnan, the hill peoples in Burmese territory adjoining the frontier are becoming rebellious to the Burmese King, who cannot procure enough arms and ammunition to quell them. These are troublous times for the Burmese, and is it fair to accuse them of hindering the construction of the railway? We leave it to you to judge. So far as we are concerned, we are certain that our King is not to be blamed, and that it is the responsibility of the English government to give assistance

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

to His Majesty to suppress the rebellion knowledge can contribute to the develop-within his frontiers. merit of Burmese trade.

The following is the speech made by the president of the chamber of commerce commenting on the above reply given by Kinwun Mingyi:

His Excellency in his address has clarified the Burmese position with regard to the construction of the railway. He has explained to us that His Burmese Majesty is beset with his own difficulties and problems in attempting to give assistance to the implementation of the railway project. I now throw open the meeting for further discussion of the matter.

The following is the speech given by a merchant named Thomas Fently:

As the president has stated, commercial relations between Glasgow and Burma have been existing for many years, and I am one of those "old" merchants who have traded with the Burmese for a long time. On behalf of those merchants who are interested in far eastern trade, and on my own behalf I welcome His Excellency the High Commissioner, to Glasgow. As His Burmese Majesty fully realizes the great usefulness of steam engines, he has bought from us a number of machines, especially textile machines. If the Burmese could develop their cotton growing, with those machines they could establish a textile industry which can rival even that of Glasgow. I have carefully followed the statements made by His Excellency in his address, and fully realize the existence of many difficulties and problems in the way of implementing the railway project. And so, I will appeal to His Majesty the King of Burma to give protection to the life and property of those who will come from Britain to the troublous region to construct the railway, and I will also venture to request that more privileges be given to those British merchants who reside in his kingdom on

business, because those per-sons with their experience and special

[On Wednesday September 18, the envoys and party left Glasgow by train and on their arrival at Leeds, some 300 miles away, they were met by carriages sent by the Great Northern Hotel. The deputy mayor came to the hotel and offered his apologies for the inability of the mayor to meet them at the railway station, because he was busy attending on Prince Arthur, who was on an official visit to the city. On September 19, the envoys were invited to the ceremony of the opening of a public park by Prince Arthur. Kinwun Mingyi was surprised at the size of the crowd consisting of 200,000 people, who lined the streets and surrounded the park to watch the ceremony. The people greeted the envoys with cheers, as they rode in carriages to the ceremony. On September 20, the envoys and party went to the ceremony of laying of the foundation stone of the Stock Exchange Building by Prince Arthur. Later, the envoys were entertained to lunch by the chamber of commerce. In the afternoon, the envoys visited a factory manufacturing ploughing machines. On Saturday September 21, the envoys visited a woolen factory, the Town Hall, and a hospital. They also visited an abbey. On September 22, the envoys stayed in-doors as it was Sunday. The weather had turned very cold, more like January at the Golden City. From a London news-paper, Kinwun Mingyi learnt that there was a snowfall in London on September 21. On September 23, the mayor of Leeds John Baron and the president of the chamber of commerce Nassey and merchant Watson came to the hotel and escorted the envoys to a textile factory and a carpet factory. They were then entertained to lunch. On September 24, the envoys received a hundi for 30,000 Kyats from the Royal Banker at Rangoon, and Kinwun Mingyi handed over the hundi to Jones. Kinwun Mingyi, the two deputy envoys and the Royal Secretary received letters from their families. Kinwun Mingyi

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

also received two reports from the Royal Banker; one report mentioned that the period covered by it was uneventful, and the other report contained instructions from the King that the envoys should not attempt to economize, but spend freely to maintain their prestige and status. One interesting item of news from home was that at each of the 12 gates of the Golden City, the King had built a rest house where at least 6 officials' wives were to keep the sabbath on weekly sabbath days. *On September 25* the envoys left Leeds for Holyhead. The envoys sent back to London the two carriages and horses they had brought with them. On reaching Holyhead at about 7.30 p.m., they proceeded to the Royal Hotel to spend the night there.

On Thursday September 26, the envoys went sightseeing at Holyhead, called on Lady Stanley, and then boarded the steamer for Dublin, a distance of some 60 miles across the Irish Channel. The sea was unusually calm. They arrived at Kingston in the evening, and then they took the train to Dublin. On arrival there they proceeded to Shelburne Hotel. *On September 27*, as it was a stormy day, the envoys stayed indoors. An Indian lecturer of Sanskrit and Persian named Meera Alisha from the great teaching school of Dublin called at the hotel, and invited the envoys on behalf of the Principal to visit the institution. Then, one Major Burne, who used to be on the personal staff of the Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo, who was murdered in the Andaman Islands, also called. *On September 28*, the envoys visited a poplin cloth factory. They then visited Saint Patrick's Cathedral, which was built in 1190 A.D. In the afternoon, they visited the great teaching school of Dublin, called "The University of Dublin" and its library. There were nearly 2 million books and many ancient manuscripts, one of which was 1,300 years old and believed to have been written by an Irish saint. Then they went to an industrial exhibition, and were greeted by a crowd of some 3,000 people. In the evening, they went to the theatre

and watched a variety show, Kin-wun Mingyi was specially interested to see the Siamese twins who were 21 years old, and came from North Carolina in the United States. He spoke to the two girls who answered his questions freely and cordially. The envoys also watched dances performed by a girl 20 years old but only 28 inches tall, and a boy 19 years old but only 32 inches tall. *On Sunday September 29*, the envoys and party visited the Dublin mountains and *On September 30*, they visited Phoenix Park where the Governor-General of Ireland had his residence. In the park stood a monument to the Duke of Wellington. The envoys then drove to the countryside and passed through huge estates owned by rich landlords, and visited some villages along the coast. In one village, there was the residence of the retired Commissioner Phayre, but he was away in London and in another village there was the residence of the Henzada Deputy Commissioner who had come back to Ireland on leave, but he also was away in London. The envoys later went to a theatre where the audience of some 3,000 people applauded them. Kinwun Mingyi found the Dublin crowds to be more cultured and even better behaved than English crowds. *On Tuesday October 1*, the envoys, McMahan, Jones, wife and daughter, Maung Myè and attendants took the train to the Killarney lakes, which were some 240 miles away from Dublin. As the train passed through the Irish countryside, Kinwun Mingyi noticed that there was very little cultivation. It appeared to him that the soil in Ireland was less fertile than the soil in England and Scotland. He also noticed that the country was sparsely populated. In fact, the countryside seemed to consist of only marshy lands, dark-brown in colour. He learnt that the marshy lands contained peat, which was dried and used in place of coal. He noticed that there were very few villages. At 12 noon, the sky became dark and heavy rain fell, and it stopped only when the train reached Killarney at 3 p.m. The party then went to the Victoria

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Hotel. Before the envoys left Dublin, they received news from the Royal Banker at Rangoon that another sum of 60,000 Kyats was being sent. *On October 2*, the envoys visited a ruined abbey, and learnt that in 1171 A.D. an Irish king called O'Conner united the whole of Ireland under his rule, but in 1380 an English king conquered it. The abbey was built by a prince named Desmond McCarthy. The envoys also visited a waterfall. *On Thursday October 3*, the envoys, Major McMahon, wife, daughter, sister, Jones and wife, Maung Myè and attendants hired carriages and drove along mountain roads. Then they went back to Killarney across the lake in a boat provided by the owner of the hotel where they were staying. In the evening the envoys were invited to dinner by Lord Killarney, Lord Kenmare \$1 who owned 900,000 acres of land, around the three lakes of Killarney. He explained to Kinwun Mingyi that at least half of the huge estate was just lakes and hills. He also informed Kinwun Mingyi that some 700 years before, the English conquered Ireland, but up to the present time the Irish people resented English rule, and they had continued to use their own Irish language which was different from English. In recent years, the population of Ireland had decreased from 8 million to 5 million, because many Irish people, finding their land so unproductive, had migrated to the United States of America. *On October 4*, Lord of Killarney himself came across the lakes in his boat, and took the envoys and party to his residence, and entertained them to lunch. Then he took them in his carriage round his estate. The envoys were grateful to Lord of Killarney and as a token of their gratitude, gave to his wife a roll of Burmese silk. *On October 5*, the envoys and party returned to Dublin. The private secretary to the Governor-General called at the hotel, and invited the envoys to go sightseeing with him the following day. *On Sunday October 6*, the Governor-General's private secretary Thompson and also his aide-de-camp Brown called at the

hotel and later, the private secretary took the envoys to the botanical gardens where Kinwun Mingyi was pleased to see for the first time during his visit, a mango tree, a tamarind tree, a papaya tree, a banana plant, and some bamboo plants; they were all grown in a glass house. *On October 7*, the president of the chamber of commerce William La Buch, the clerk John Baron, John Arm-strong, merchant Alexander Parker and 12 members came to the hotel and read an address of welcome. The address briefly mentioned the proposed Yunnan-Burma railway. In his reply Kinwun Mingyi regretted that unsettled conditions at the frontier were preventing the construction of the railway.

On Tuesday October 8, the envoys left Dublin on their return journey to London, which was some 320 miles away. On arrival at Euston station in London, they went to Langham Hotel. *On October 9*, finding the hotel unsatisfactory, they moved to Grosvenor Hotel where the hotel management welcomed them back with obvious delight. The envoys sent Major McMahon to Kaye, and he came back with the information that another audience with the Queen would take place in the following month, that the Queen wished to send to the Burmese King the highest decoration, and that Kaye was coming soon to call on the envoys. *On October 10*, Hpanyet Wundauk and his younger brother, the clerk attendant, who had remained behind at Stafford, *visiting* nearby *industrial* centres, returned to Grosvenor Hotel. Peacock in the afternoon took the attendants to some places of interest.]

Friday October 11. The envoys stayed in the whole day. Clement Williams, the physician who was arranging the purchase of a small iron-smelting machine, came to report that because of a general rise in costs in the coal and steel industry, 15 per cent would have to be added to the previously agreed price; however, in spite of that increase in the price, the total cost of setting up this plant, would be still within the amount of 38,000 Kyats sanctioned by the King; the

1 The translator was able to identify "Kenmare" only after page 2 above was already in print.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

price had been increased from 23,000 to 25,000 Kyats and adding the cost of carriage to the Golden City, the total would be 33,000 Kyats; it had been agreed that the plant and its accessories would be delivered within 21 months, but as 4 months had already passed since the first agreement, the delivery would be within 17 months. The main machine would be delivered within 2 months, and it could start work immediately, and the remaining accessories would be delivered at regular intervals so that the machine could work on without any stoppages; the English bank which had given the necessary letters of credit wanted a written confirmation from Kinwun Mingyi that the King would accept the delivery of the machine although the originally agreed time of 4 months for delivery had expired. Kinwun Mingyi replied that he would give the written confirmation.

Saturday October 12. Major McMahon went to the office of the Secretary of State for India and came back with the information that the Queen was sending her letter of greeting and royal presents to the King of Burma by a special embassy to be headed by the former Commissioner Phayre. He also reported to the envoys that he had been instructed to accompany the Burmese envoys to India to see that they were properly received by the Governor-General of India. Kinwun Mingyi signed the requested letter of confirmation for the bank and gave it to the physician Williams.

Sunday October 13. The Royal Secretary drafted the following report to be sent by telegraph to the Royal Banker at Rangoon:

The embassy has completed its tour of England, Scotland and Ireland, where it was warmly received by mayors, officials, presidents of chambers of commerce, merchants and the common people, and was also presented addresses. The matter of appointment of Burmese consul at London has been settled. All *JBRs*, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

further discussions and negotiations can now be done through that consul. Accordingly, the envoys do not consider the time opportune to open any discussion them-selves. Therefore the envoys will merely say farewell at the audience with the Queen, and will return to the Golden City after passing through France and Italy, and after seeing the Governor-General of India. So as to ensure a proper reception by the Governor-General, the English government has instructed Major McMahon to accompany the envoys on their journey to India. The English Queen is arranging a return embassy directly from London to the Golden City and is choosing the ambassador, and it is likely *that* the retired Commissioner Phayre will be chosen". Kinwun Mingyi, however, instructed the Royal Secretary to postpone sending the telegram.

Monday October 14. The envoys received from the King the following letters:

- (i) Letter containing *instructions* regarding the iron smelting ma-chine;
- (ii) Letter regarding a project to send some bankers and mer-chants on a visit to England;
- (iii) Instruction that one of the deputy envoys or the Royal Secretary be sent back to the Golden City together with the state scholar Naymyo Theiddi Kyawhtin;
- (iv) A reply to the memorandum sent by state scholar Naymyo Minhla Theiddi.

"The Deputy Commissioner of Henzada, Blum who was in England on leave called on the envoys.

[On Tuesday October 15, the physician Williams came to report that everything was now arranged for the iron smelting machine to be sent to the Golden City by

December. *On October 16*, one General Sir George Pollock died, and Kaye who was in charge of the funeral arrangements invited McMahan and Jones to attend the funeral, and the envoys sent one of their carriages to take part in the funeral procession. The general held the highest rank in the royal Order of the Star of India. *On October 17*, the envoys were informed by Captain Brown that he had brought the royal ship to Portsmouth. Captain Brown also brought with him the golden spittoon which had been made on special order, for use by the King. *On October 18*, the envoys (without the two Wundauks), accompanied by McMahan, Jones and Maung Myè went to visit a candle manufacturing factory. *On October 19*, the late Lord Mayor's Secretary Major Burne called and was entertained to lunch. In the evening the envoys went to the Covent Garden Theatre and were given seats in the royal box. *On Sunday October 20*, an Aide-de-Camp to the King of Italy called on the envoys at the hotel. *On October 21*, Hpangyet Wundauk went with physician Williams by train to the factory where the iron smelting machine was being assembled. *On Tuesday October 22*, the envoys received letters of credence written in the Glass Throne room, appointing the envoys to constitute a permanent mission to the Court of St. James's; the letters were dated August 30. The envoys also received a letter from the Italian naval captain Racchia, informing them that the Italian embassy headed by himself was leaving Rome on October 30, taking with them many valuable presents; he also wanted Kinwun Mingyi's opinion whether the Burmese King would be pleased to accept the highest Order the King of Italy could give; he also wrote that the King of Italy was looking forward to meeting the envoys again and all the towns and villages in Italy were preparing to welcome them, hoping that the envoys would visit them. Kinwun Mingyi immediately replied that the Burmese King would be pleased to accept the decoration. *On October 23*, Hpangyet Wundauk returned with physician Williams and reported that the

machine and accessories were being properly assembled, and the engineer in charge had agreed to accompany the machine to the Golden City. *On Thursday October 24*, the envoys sent a report to the King regarding the iron smelting machine and the impending departure of the Italian embassy to the Golden City. Kinwun Mingyi also submitted a special commendation of Jones for his loyal and efficient services. *On October 25*, physician Williams and his elder brother came and informed Kinwun Mingyi that the bank which held the sum of 40,000 Kyats as purchase price of a ruby to be sold to one Derbyto, had offered to pay to Kinwun Mingyi the sum of 16,000 Kyats in full settlement of the case, if the High Commissioner would sign a statement releasing the bank of further liability. The two brothers pointed out to Kinwun Mingyi that if the bank's offer were rejected, the entire sum of 40,000 Kyats would be lost, because of a breach of the original covenant. After careful discussion with the other envoys, Kinwun Mingyi signed the necessary document. In the afternoon, the envoys (without the two deputy envoys), accompanied by McMahan drove round London in a carriage and passed through Cheapside, Oxford Street, Edgeware Road, and through Hyde Park. *On October 26*, Kaye called at the hotel and informed the envoys that as the disputes over Africa were now settled, he was ready to take up the various matters raised by the envoys, in consultation with Phayre. The envoys informed him that as the date of their second audience with the Queen was still far away, they intended to start soon on a tour of France. *On October 27*, Jones wrote to the French Foreign Minister informing him of the envoys' desire to come and visit France again. *On Monday October 28*, the envoys took the train to Portsmouth, some 75 miles away from London. Major Burne, who used to be the private secretary of the assassinated Viceroy of India, physician Williams, Kaye and his clerk Wilson saw the party off at Victoria station. On arrival at Portsmouth, they were met by the mayor and the aldermen, wearing

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

their robes of office. Captain Brown also met them and took them to Mission Hotel facing the sea, which the envoys found very pleasant and comfortable. In the afternoon, the envoys boarded the royal ship together with the mayor and his party of some 30 persons. The royal ship sailed towards the Isle of Wight, but the envoys and their guests did not land there as it was getting dark. After entertaining the mayor and his guests on board the ship, the envoys instructed Captain Brown to return to Portsmouth harbour. *On Tuesday October 29*, the envoys and party together with Major Burne, clerk Wilson and physician Williams who had arrived from London, boarded the royal ship and sailed past the Isle of Wight. They saw from a distance the summer residence of Queen Victoria called Osborne. *On October 30*, Major Burne, Williams and Wilson returned to London. The Admiral of the fleet stationed at Portsmouth Sir Rodney Montiff called at the hotel. *On October 31*, the envoys attended a lunch given in their honour by the admiral. Later on, they were escorted by a naval officer Commander Curtis to the naval workshops, to war ships, to a powerful war ship that was being constructed, to an old wooden war ship, and finally to the Queen's yacht "Victoria and Albert". Kinwun Mingyi was impressed by the neatness and the austerity of the fittings and furniture on the royal yacht. The envoys were interested to meet a Japanese naval officer Mikado Hiro who spoke English fluently and who was studying marine engineering. The envoys were informed by him that 5 other Japanese were studying with him. Kinwun Mingyi submitted a letter to the King informing him that as instructed, he was sending back Hpanyet Wundauk. He also submitted a report to the Chief Queen, and another to the High Com-missioner, Lord of Pakhan. The envoys found Portsmouth colder than London. Kinwun Mingyi was surprised to see trees shedding their leaves in November, in the same way as Burmese trees shed their leaves in April. *On Friday November 1*, an English official who had served in Bombay and who was now being sent

to Africa to suppress the slave trade which had been revived recently, entertained the envoys to lunch. As the sun was shining brightly, the envoys bathed in the sea. *On November 2*, the envoys could not go round sightseeing with the commander of the nearby fort as a storm was raging, but on the following day, *November 3*, they were able to visit the fort and various military installations. *On November 4*, an army engineer Major Howard called at the hotel and took the envoys to many forts in the vicinity. Kinwun Mingyi received a letter from his family containing the news that the Middle Queen had gone to the Pahtodawgyi pagoda to crown it with a new pinnacle and that one Nga Ye, who used to live in Bassein had arrived at the Golden City as "an emissary from the Naga¹". *On November 5*, Kinwun Mingyi spent the day checking the accounts of the expenses incurred since the envoys left the Golden City. *On Wednesday November 6*, McMahan was given permission to return to Charlton for a few days to see his family. *On Thursday November 7*, the army engineer again called and saying that such a calm sea in November was very rare, invited the envoys to go with him and visit fortresses on various islands in the mouth of the river. *On November 8*, the envoys instructed Jones to arrange to rent a house as they expected they might have to stay in Ports-mouth for some time. An English official who had served in India came and requested passage on the royal ship for his young nephew who wanted to visit his uncle in Rangoon. *On November 9*, the envoys received a letter from the private secretary to the French Foreign Minister stating that the French government was ready to receive them immediately. The envoys, therefore, boarded the royal ship the same afternoon at 3 p.m., and sailed for Dover. The envoys left their heavy luggage at the hotel at Portsmouth. Early in the morning of *November 10*, the ship approached Dover and then turned towards Boulogne. At noon the ship came in sight

1 A mythical sea-dragon.

of "Boulogne and the local pilot came aboard. The pilot informed the captain that the tide was not yet favorable and the ship would have to wait. However, as the ship waited for the tide, a storm started to blow and the sea became so rough that the captain decided to sail back to Dover. The envoys were sea-sick. The ship entered Dover harbour at 4 p.m. The envoys spent the night on the ship. *On Monday November 11*, the sea remained rough and all sailings across the English channel were cancelled. The envoys disembarked and went to Hotel Lord Warring-ton. In the evening, the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk) went to a reception given jointly for the French and German consuls by the Belgian consul, Forster. *On November 12*, Hpanyet Wundauk and Jones went to London by train to buy some more goods to be sent to the Golden City. The envoys received a letter from Maung Hmyu reporting that the rains had been heavy in Burma, the harvest had been a bumper one, and the country had been peaceful. He also wrote that four young men from Moulmein who could speak English had been appointed couriers to carry royal letters to the envoys in London, and that Nga Yè had been given a series of audiences by the King. Late in the evening Hpanyet Wundauk and Jones came back from London. *On Wednesday November 13*, Captain Bruce, the harbour master of Dover called on the envoys, explaining that he had not been able to come earlier because of the death of his wife. He suggested to the envoys that they should wait 2 or 3 days more before making the crossing to France as the sea was still stormy. Kinwun Mingyi received a telegram from McMahon offering to come and attend on him while at Dover, and the envoy replied that as he was going to France as soon as the storm abated, there was no need for McMahon to come. *On Thursday November 14*, Kinwun Mingyi received a letter from McMahon asking permission to come to Dover, and Kinwun Mingyi instructed Jones to reply that as the time of departure for France was uncertain, depending on the weather, McMahon should not

inconvenience him-self by coming to Dover. In the evening, the envoys entertained an officer from the garrison Lieutenant Cox and the Belgium consul Forster to dinner.]

COMMENTARY

As Kinwun Mingyi in his *Diary* did not give the background of events of his visit, it will be necessary to give a resumé of those events so as to explain what was happening off the stage, as it were.

For Kinwun Mingyi, his tour of English industrial cities seemed to open with a prophecy of success of his embassy, because *on August 21, 1872*, the speech given by the president of the Liverpool chamber of commerce sounded like a clarion call to English merchants to rally round the Burmese King, as he mentioned the obstacles placed in the way of the Burmese in their attempt to deal directly with the Queen of England and not with the Governor-General of India. Taking the speech as his cue, Kinwun Mingyi in his reply expressed the desire of His Burmese Majesty to have direct diplomatic relations with the Queen and to have her consent to his appointment of a Burmese Consul in England. But alas, the president of the chamber of commerce obviously received some reprimand from higher quarters for two days later, namely *on August 23*, he called at the hotel and presented an address of felicitation to Kinwun Mingyi, in which he destroyed any hope that the Burmese envoy might have had that the merchants of England would prevail upon the English government to accept the Burmese King's request for direct diplomatic relations, by stating clearly that his chamber of commerce was prevented by its bye-laws from giving any advice or suggestion in Kinwun Mingyi's negotiations with the Queen's government. More disappointments follow-ed. *On September 4*, the president of the Halifax chamber called upon the envoys to support Captain Sprye's project and

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Kinwun Mingyi was constrained to point out that the proposed route was not feasible. *On September 16*, the president of the Glasgow chamber accused the Burmese King of hindering the construction of the railway from Bhamo to Yunnan, and for the first and only occasion during the visit to Europe, Kinwun Mingyi lost his temper. He pointed out that it was the Panthay rebellion on the Yunnan-Burma frontier that was hindering the project, and he openly mentioned the inability of the Burmese King to procure from the English government, the arms and ammunition necessary to bring back law and order to the Burmese territory adjoining that disturbed frontier. Although he did not say so in his *Diary*, his faith in the generosity of the English government was further weakened by his visit to Ireland which was made the excuse for Irish nationalist newspapers to expose what they considered to be an unjust rule imposed on the Irish people by the English government. For example, in an imaginary account of an interview between Kinwun Mingyi and Lord Spencer, the Viceroy of Ireland, Kinwun Mingyi was described as saying:

I perceive the perfection of the British Constitution as explained by Your Excellency. But here in Ireland! You call my King absolute, yet he has no standing army and allows every man to bear arms. You keep the people disarmed, you keep their journals in your grasp, you limit personal freedom on mere suspicion, you rule the country by military police, trained to all the work of war. Why do you repress these gentle Irish so well disposed to peace?¹

So when the embassy returned to London on October 8, Kinwun Mingyi must have realised that his mission had failed and it was pointless to stay on in London. But ever polite and correct,

he would not leave without making a farewell call on the Queen, which he was required to do by diplomatic usage. However, on learning that the farewell audience could not take place until the following month, he must have started to think how he should profitably spend the period of waiting.

On October 12, when McMahon brought the information that the Queen was sending a return embassy to Mandalay, headed by no less a person than Sir Arthur Phayre, the envoys understood it as an acceptance of the King's request for direct diplomatic negotiations. The ever optimistic Royal Secretary joyfully drafted *on October 13*, a telegraphic report to the King, but Kinwun Mingyi, exercising caution, postponed the despatch of the telegram. *On October 14*, Kinwun Mingyi received *instructions* recalling one of the envoys, which showed that the King was losing patience and wanted to have a detailed verbal report. Some days passed but no definite news came from the India Office, and very probably Kinwun Mingyi discussed with his companions the desirability of seeking a treaty with France. *On October 26*, he learnt from the Secretary Kaye that questions raised by the envoys had not yet been discussed at the India Office. In despair Kinwun Mingyi informed the India Office that the embassy was soon starting on a tour of France while waiting for their second audience with the Queen. The die was cast, and the following day Kinwun Mingyi instructed Edmund Jones to write a letter to the French Foreign Minister informing him of the envoys' desire to visit France again. When a favorable reply was received from the French Foreign Minister *on November 9*, they immediately boarded the royal ship and sailed for France.

1 The article was reproduced in London *Times* of October 7, 1872. Of course, Kinwun and the Viceroy never met in Ireland.

Chapter IV THE COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE

Introduction

As has been mentioned above Mindon had sent an embassy to Napoleon III, followed by a few Burmese state scholars. By the time of Kinwun Mingyi's embassy, Napoleon III had fallen and the Burmese did not seem to have any clear idea regarding the new government of France. The *Diary* showed that when Kinwun was passing through France on his way to England, he was uncertain of the position of the French President and he referred to him as "president", "sovereign president", and "chief of ministers". When the French Foreign Minister asked him whether the envoys had any business in France, Kinwun Mingyi, without any hesitation, replied that there was none. Therefore it was the disappointment with the English government that threw him into the arms of France. Even then he did not make the overtures, and in the *Diary* he clearly stated that the overtures came from the French Foreign Office. However, the records at the Quai d'Orsay made no mention of the French making such overtures, and the first mention of a treaty with Burma was made only on *December 31, 1872*, when Quai d'Orsay wrote to the Ministry of Marine:

Burmese embassy wishes to make a treaty of friendship and commerce. Without having examined the matter carefully, I am inclined to consider it, and want your views as to what, in the interests of our colony Cochin China, should be included in any treaty.¹

But Quai d'Orsay had been interested in the Burmese embassy for some time.

It had been receiving reports of the departure of the Burmese embassy from Mandalay, its arrival in Alexandria and its visit to Italy from the French Consul-Generals in Calcutta and Alexandria and the French Minister at Rome. *On May 18, 1872*, Quai sent a telegram to the French Ambassador in London which read:

(Your transmission) indicates London cabinet's preoccupations with the (Burmese) mission's voyage. Find out what you can about this Mission's real Objects.²

On May 23, the French Charge d'Affaires in London sent a despatch to Quai:

English themselves do not know but suppose King wishes to secure recognition of his independence by establishing official relations with the Powers of Europe, especially with Great Britain as between sovereign and sovereign. This is not the position England recognizes as belonging to the last remnant of a state she surrounds on all sides and of which she has already occupied the entire coast. The Burmese...for long have had direct relations only with the viceroy... They are still undecided as to the welcome to be granted to the Burmese ambassadors. They will probably be received by Lord Granville who will have them immediately taken to Duke of Argyll, who as Secretary of State for India receives communications from Princes whose independence England does not recognise.....³

Moreover, although the Quai records were silent on the subject, Kinwun Mingyi

1 Quai. Birmanie t. 2, f. 280.

2 Quai. Birmanie, t. 2, f. 252-255.

3 Quai, Ibid., f. 252-255.

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

made a second visit to France only as the guest of the French Foreign Office, and his Diary entries are supported by the following news items from Paris which appeared in the *London Times*;

November 23, 1872.

The Burmese embassy at present in Paris was received today (22nd) by M. de Remusat, Minister at the Foreign Office.

November 29, 1872.

M.P. Dabry de Tiersant had been specially attached to the Burmese Embassy during its stay in France by order of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Today (28th) the Ambassador and suite paid an official visit to Musee de Louvre.

In the visit of the Burmese embassy, another French government department was interested, namely the Ministry of Finance. Maung Aung Thu, a former state scholar at Saint-Cyr still owed to the Military school the balance of his fees, namely, 750 francs. "Could the sum be recovered from the Burmese Embassy now visiting France?" asked the Finance Minister of the Quai, which prudently replied that it could not trace the original letter about the Burmese government owing the amount, obviously hoping to close the matter. But the correspondence went on until 1877.¹ By that time, Maung Aung Thu had again visited France, as a member of the embassy of 1874 and was a Wundauk. Perhaps he or his friend Captain Voisson quietly paid the sum, thus ending a minor controversy between the French Finance Ministry and the Burmese Royal Treasury.

London Diary November 15, 1872 to February 16, 1873

[*on November 15*, the sea was calm and the envoys boarded the royal ship, 6 *Ibid.*, f. 423-427. together with Captain Bruce. The ship

sailed, and at 12 noon arrived at Boulogne, and the envoys were received by the mayor, the deputy mayor and the harbour authorities. At 4 p.m., the envoys boarded the train for Paris, arriving there at about 10 o'clock. The envoys and party proceeded to Hotel du Louvre. The distance between Boulogne and Paris was 220 miles.

On Saturday November 16, a letter written in Burmese was received from Major McMahon saying that he and his family were well and that they were praying for the health and happiness of Kinwun Mingyi. Kinwun Mingyi wrote back in Burmese telling McMahon of their safe arrival in Paris. The envoys received a telegram from Captain Brown reporting that the royal ship was leaving Boulogne for Brindisi.]

On Sunday November 17. Jones received a telegram from his agent in Rangoon, saying that the Royal Banker had conveyed to him the King's wish to grant to Jones a sum of 30,000 Kyats so that he could use the money in his commercial enterprises, in recognition of his loyal and efficient services. At 2 p.m., Dabry de Tiersant called on the envoys and informed them that he had been sent by the Foreign Minister to greet the envoys. He also said that the Foreign Minister was arranging for them an audience with the President. He continued: "The French government desires to negotiate a treaty between Burma and France, and the Foreign Minister wishes to know whether the envoys have plenipotentiary powers. If possible, may I have copies of the commercial treaties Burma has signed with England and Italy. I have served in China as the French Consul-General, and because of that experience the newly-formed association of merchants who desire to open trade relations with China is eager to elect me as its Chairman. In fact, those merchants have been trying to prevail upon me to accept the election. However,

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

I have postponed giving them my answer in ease the treaty between Burma and France is signed, and I am appointed consul for Burma. I have been assigned by the Foreign Minister to attend on Your Excellencies and to assist in the negotiations for the treaty, after Your Excellencies have seen the President". The envoys replied that they had plenipotentiary powers and they could say definitely that the King would be very pleased to sign a treaty with the Sovereign President of France. They also promised to send him copies of the treaties made with England and Italy, and expressed their gratitude to the Foreign Minister for his courtesy. The Royal Secretary drafted a telegram to be submitted to the King reporting this development, but Kinwun Mingyi decided not to send it yet as they had not met the Foreign Minister. The envoys received a telegram from Captain Brown reporting that the royal ship was still in Boulogne because of unfavorable weather.

Monday November 18. As the envoys had brought with them only the Burmese version of the treaty with Italy, they wrote to the Italian Foreign Minister requesting a copy of the English version of the treaty. They also made additional copies of the English versions of the two treaties with England. They also sent to Tiersant a copy of Clement William's book on the Kingdom of Burma. Tiersant sent back a message expressing his pleasure and gratitude on receiving the book.

[*On Tuesday November 19,* the envoys drove round Paris.]

Wednesday November 20. The private secretary to the Foreign Minister, Forray called and suggested that as the Minister was now at Versailles, the envoys should write a letter to him saying that they would like to meet the Minister as soon as possible, when they could verbally request an interview with the Sovereign President. He said he would send the letter immediately to Versailles so that the Minister

could reply that he would meet the envoys on Friday. Accordingly, the envoys wrote a letter as suggested and gave it to him. In the afternoon the envoys received a telegram from Major McMahon in Lon-don, asking for their Paris address, and enquiring whether the envoys could see Kaye who was coming to Paris on Friday or Saturday. The envoys replied that they were staying at du Louvre Hotel and would be pleased to see Kaye. In the evening the envoys received a letter from McMahon in which he said, "I had assumed that Hpanyet Wundauk would return to the Golden City directly from Portsmouth but I now learn that he is still in Paris. I regret very much I had no opportunity to say farewell to him. When the Wundauk arrives in Rangoon, he will be received by my friend the colonel as I have written to him. As I do not know Eden well, I cannot write to him, but I have written to high officials who are with Eden. Therefore, I am certain that the Wundauk will be respect-fully received by Eden and other officials in Rangoon. May I repeat what I have told the High Commissioner Kinwun Mingyi so many times before? The English Resident at the Golden City, the Commissioner at Rangoon and the Governor-General in India really desire the progress and prosperity of the Burmese kingdom, although occasionally they make mistakes and do things which they should not do. The present Governor-General of India is a wise and experienced politician and he has made certain necessary changes to improve the conduct and discipline of his subordinates, and as a result Eden will no longer act as before and is certain to prove more satisfactory to the Burmese. As to the English Resident at the Golden City, Hpanyet Wundauk knows about him as well as I do. I also believe that when Wundauk returns to the Golden City, he will in-form His Majesty about the regard and goodwill the English people have for the Burmese. I am sure the King will believe what the Wundauk reports. In my opinion, High Commissioner Kinwun Mingyi has made the right decision in choosing the Wundauk as his emissary to

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

return to the Golden City and to report to the King the various matters connected with your mission to England. I myself have a great faith in the Wundauk, and I am sure that when the Wundauk returns to the Golden City, he will find that the English Resident, the Rangoon Commissioner and the Indian Governor-General are no longer as before, and will endeavor to give satisfaction to the Burmese in any political matter that Hpangyet Wundauk wishes to discuss". The envoys made copies of this letter, and Hpangyet Wundauk took one copy for his personal file.

Thursday November 21. [The envoys, Jones, physician Williams, Maung Myè and attendants went sightseeing round the city.] At 6 p.m., the envoys received a letter from the secretary Forray, informing them that the Foreign Minister had fixed tentatively Friday 5 p.m., as the date and time of his meeting with the envoys, and in case he could not see them at that time and date because of pressure of work, he would inform them in time; if the meeting could not take place on Friday, he would meet them definitely on Sunday. The envoys also found the calling cards of the Foreign Minister and the private secretary at the hotel. The envoys received another letter from McMahan which read: "Kaye will be going to Paris to escort the English ambassador who is being sent to Africa. As Kaye wishes to come and see the envoys in Paris, may I know the name of your hotel?" The envoys replied that they were staying at Hotel du Louvre.

Friday November 22. At 6 p.m., the envoys, Jones and Maung Myè went in a carriage to the residence of the Foreign Minister Count Remusat. They were received by the secretary Forray, who conducted them to the drawing room where the Foreign Minister was waiting to welcome them. "Did Your Excellencies enjoy your visit to England? he asked. "We enjoyed it very much", the envoys replied, "as we were well received by the English government and as we were able to visit the two Houses of

Parliament, factories, workshops, and many other interesting places". "There are many interesting places also in Paris and in France", said the Foreign Minister. "If Your Excellencies wish to look at our Parliament, our forts, our educational institutions, our factories and our workshops, I shall be happy to make arrangements for you to visit them". "We shall be very pleased to visit those places", replied the envoys, "but we want to have the audience with the Sovereign-President first". "Your Excellencies will be received by the Sovereign-President within 7 days", said the Foreign Minister. "Although commercial contacts between Burma and France are very few at present, I hope that the two countries will have extensive commercial relations with each other in the very near future". "Our Lord, the King of the Sunrise desires to have friendly relations with all European countries, beginning with England", explained the envoys. "Accordingly, he has sent us on a mission of friendship to England and other European countries. His instructions are to strengthen the existing friendships and to create new friendships". The Foreign Minister then invited the envoys to stay on in France for some time, and make a tour of the country. The envoys replied that they would like to do so as they found the French climate very congenial. The envoys stayed for about one hour, and then took their leave of the Foreign Minister.

Saturday November 23. The envoys sent a telegram to the Royal Banker at Rangoon informing him of their arrival at Paris, how they were received by the Foreign Minister, and that the President would receive them during the next 7 days. The same information was sent to Jones' agent in Rangoon, and to Major McMahan. The envoys received a telegram from the royal ship saying that it was leaving Boulogne.

Sunday November 24. The English ambassador to a country in Arabia, Bertram Briar

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

was escorted to Paris by Kaye, and both of them came to the hotel and called on the envoys. Kaye suggested that just as the Secretary of State for India, Duke of Argyll, conducted the envoys to their audience with Queen Victoria, the English ambassador in Paris would be pleased to conduct them to their audience with the President of France, provided of course the envoys wanted such assistance. The envoys replied that arrangements had already been made for the Foreign Minister to conduct the envoys to the audience with the President within the next 7 days, and after they had had their audience with the President, of course they would make friendly calls on the ambassadors of various countries, including the English ambassador. Kaye and his companion stayed on for about an hour happily chatting with the envoys and then took their departure.

Monday November 25. Hindley Hess, the representative in Paris of the same Prussian Krupp armament company, whose London representative gave the envoys some photographs, called on the envoys and requested them to inform him should they decide to visit Prussia, so that he could arrange for a special train to take the envoys to his factory, whose authorities would be very glad and honored to receive them.

Tuesday November 26. The consul Tiersant called on the envoys and said "The President and the Ministers now at Versailles are discussing the many complicated and difficult problems of government, but the President is sure to meet the envoys during the next 6 or 7 days. The Foreign Minister has specially sent me to offer his apologies to the envoys for this delay. He has also asked me to inform Your Excellencies that he desires to have the privilege of establishing extensive commercial relations between Burma and France by procuring a treaty with Burma for France. He has also instructed me to take you to factories, workshops and educational institutions

in which Your Excellencies are interested. In my opinion, it will be proper for Your Excellencies to go visiting, although Your Excellencies have not yet presented your credentials to the President, you have already been officially received by the Foreign Minister. I shall be submitting to Your Excellencies a list of places of interest around Paris for your consideration, and I shall call at your hotel every day. Please feel free to ask me questions about France and French affairs, and I shall be happy to give you books and memoranda relating to France". The envoys replied, "We desire very much the friendship of France for our country. We have not come to France only for one or two days of holiday. On the contrary, we have come to seek the friendship of France and we shall be happy to wait many days to establish that friendship. We are most grateful to the Foreign Minister for his kind messages. May we now give you these copies of the commercial treaties between England and Burma, which you wish to have? If you intend to come every day to the hotel, may we invite you to stay here as our guest and have your meals together with us?" The consul tiersant thanked the envoys, and explaining that he could come only at irregular times, he said he would be very pleased to join the envoys at their meal if he should arrive at a meal time. At 6 that evening, the Principal of the famous school named Ecole Centrale, and the chief engineer of the Northern Rail-ways called on the envoys and the Principal said, "I look forward to the honour of receiving Your Excellencies at my school at any time that is convenient to Your Excellencies. I shall be happy to have more Burmese scholars sent to my school, and I shall be happy also to send teachers and technicians from the school to Burma, should their services be needed there. I have sent a number of teachers and technicians in various fields to the Viceroy of Egypt. The present chief engineer of China happens to be a former pupil of my school, and he writes to me regularly. China is no longer China of the past, because there has been much

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

progress and improvement in their commerce, in their system of taxation, in fact in their administrative system itself". The envoys replied that they would like to visit the school after they had seen the President, that they would be sending more and more Burmese students to the school in future, and that when Burma needed some technicians, they would approach him. The Principal and his companion stayed for about one hour. The envoys received a telegram from the royal ship reporting that it was still in Boulogne, because the weather continued to be stormy. The envoys sent back a telegram instructing the captain not to hurry, but to wait until the storm had fully abated, and even then to sail at reduced speed. The envoys received a letter from the Royal Banker at Rangoon reporting that the envoys' letters written at Manchester and at the residence of Sir William Armstrong-Jones were sent to the Golden City by the King's messenger U Shwe Gè on October 20. There was no other news.

[On Wednesday November 27, the envoys drove round Paris and visited some parks. The consul Tiersant called and informed the envoys that he would escort them to the Louvre Palace and to some workshops the following day. On November 28, the envoys, Jones, Maung Mye and the attendants were escorted by the consul to Louvre Palace. Kinwun Mingyi specially noticed a picture that was bought for 600,000 French francs, and another picture depicting Christ at a marriage ceremony which was about 400 years old and which was brought to France from Italy when it was conquered by the French army; it was priceless and the French would not sell it even for 10 million francs. Kinwun Mingyi was also interested to see weapons of all ages, silk and satin fabrics sent by the Kings of China and Japan to the Kings of France, and Egyptian mummies. He also noticed that a part of the palace was being repaired as it was burnt by the Prussians during the recent war. The envoys also went round their hotel, which was called Louvre

Hotel as it was situated near the Louvre Palace, and Kinwun Mingyi was impressed by its luxurious furnishings, by the fact that the chef who had many assistants under him, received a monthly salary of 500 francs, and by the cleanliness and tidiness of the enormous kitchen. He observed, "The food and drink stored in that hotel was of such a great quantity that one would think they could never be fully consumed. As to the total value of the building, the furnishings and the stores Of food and wine, it is beyond my imagination to estimate". On November 29, the consul together with his brother-in-law, took the envoys, Jones, physician Williams, Maung Myè and the attendants to the zoological gardens, and Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed description of birds, reptiles, beasts and fishes he saw there. He was specially interested in an enormous octopus which he would call a "demon-fish", and dead worms of various kinds which lived in the intestines of human beings, now preserved in glass jars. Then the envoys visited a museum where were exhibited the skeletons of pre-historic animals. On Saturday November 30, the envoys and party were taken by the consul Tiersant to a state museum, containing exhibits of weights, measures and scales used by various peoples of the world at various periods, and also various kinds of clocks, tools, implements, machines and engines. Then they visited a science school and listened to a lecture on chemistry, at which about 300 members of the general public, both men and women, were present. On December 1, the consul and his brother-in-law took the envoys, Jones and physician Williams to the Grand Opera. Kinwun Mingyi noted that the building was some 50 years old, there were 2500 seats, and the takings by the ticket office for that day was 12,000 French francs equivalent to 4800 Kyats. The sky was absolutely clear that night and it seemed to Kinwun Mingyi that the position of the Pole star in the sky at Paris was lower than its position in the sky in London. On December 2, the envoys

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974

stayed indoors, and the consul called and informed them that the French government was satisfied from the official documents that Kinwun Mingyi was a grand ambassador with plenipotentiary powers. *On December 2*, Kinwun Mingyi received a letter from his family informing him that the reports dated October 28 were duly submitted to the Hluttaw and that Their Majesties the Chief Queen, the Queen of the Middle Palace, the Queen of the Northern Palace and the Queen of the Western Palace, and the Lord of the Sunrise were very pleased to receive the epistles of the same date. *On Wednesday December 4*, the private secretary Forray and his assistant Molar called on the envoys, and informed them that one of them would report at the hotel every day. *On December 5*, the envoys and party were taken by Forray to a huge carpet factory, and then to the residence of the Foreign Minister to look at its reception room, dining room, ball room and bed rooms. In the reception room, there was a gold clock, one and a half yard high and one yard broad, with two golden candle-sticks of the same height standing beside it. The envoys were impressed that these valuable articles were sent in a strong box on a ship by a King of France to a King of India; but the ship sank on the voyage, and the box remained under the sea until it was salvaged some 20 years later; however, as the box proved watertight, the clock and the candle-sticks were found to be as beautiful as before. In the evening, the envoys went to a theatre, and were amused by various conjuring tricks performed on the stage. *On Friday December 6*, the envoys spent the day writing reports. *On December 7*, the envoys went sightseeing. On their return, they received a telegram from royal ship reporting that it had reached Gibraltar in Spain. *On Sunday December 8*, the consul Tiersant took the envoys and party to a botanical garden and a zoological garden. As it was warm and sunny, the gardens were crowded with men, women and children. *On December 9*, the consul Tiersant took the envoys (without Pandee

1 President Thiers

Wundauk) and party to a hospital near Notre Dame Cathedral and also to the Cathedral itself. That afternoon the envoys received a letter from the private secretary Forray, informing them that the President would be very pleased to see them the following Wednesday at 1 p.m. *On December 10*, Forray called and informed the envoys that he would be escorting them to Versailles on Wednesday. That night Kinwun Mingyi noticed that the sky was absolutely cloudless, the moon was shining brightly, and the planets were visible very clearly.]

Wednesday December 11. At noon, the envoys taking with them their robes, decorations and headdresses, Jones, Maung Myè and 4 attendants left the hotel, escorted by Forray, his nephew, Mitchell Forray and a clerk from the Foreign Office named Molar and took the train to Versailles, which was 15 miles to the southwest of Paris. At Versailles station, the envoys found waiting for them 3 state carriages sent by the President. The envoys and party went in the carriages to a nearby hotel, where the envoys put on their robes and decorations and head-dresses, Jones put on his European formal dress and the gold chain of office granted by the King, and Forray, nephew and clerk put on their decorations. Then the party proceeded to the presidential palace. After waiting for a few minutes in the reception room, the envoys entered the audience chamber where the President was standing (which was the most respectful European way of greeting persons of equal rank), flanked by his aides-de-camp wearing full uniforms. Kinwun Mingyi spoke in Burmese, the President spoke in French and Hpanyet Wundauk acted as interpreter. When the Sovereign-President said that he was ever ready and willing to assist the envoys in achieving all the purposes of their visit to France, Kinwun Mingyi thanked him. Then Kinwun Mingyi presented to the Sovereign-President, Pandee Wundauk, Hpanyet Wundauk, the Royal Secretary, His Majesty's most loyal servant Edmund Jones, and the state

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec. 1974

scholar Maung Myè, and the Sovereign-President graciously shook hands with each. After some more minutes of pleasant conversation, the envoys took their leave and went back to their hotel. When they had disrobed themselves, the envoys and party proceeded to the railway station and took the train back to Paris. On arrival at their hotel they sat down to dinner with Forray, his nephew and the clerk. The following is the speech given by Kinwun Mingyi before the Sovereign-President:

Our Glorious Majesty of the Sunrise, the King of Burma, desiring to obtain the strong and firm friendship of the Sovereign-President of France, has sent us, namely, the Chief Envoy, the Deputy Envoys and the Assistant Envoy to come into your gracious presence. Our King wishes that his kingdom should progress and prosper in the same way as all the European countries have progressed and prospered in transport and commerce-with steam-ships and railways, factories and workshops and great centres of business -in education, and in the art of government. Our Glorious Majesty will be extremely happy if the Sovereign-President of France will graciously assist as much as possible in the economic development of the Burmese kingdom. On behalf of our Burmese Majesty, we may express our gratitude to the Sovereign-President of France for according to the Burmese embassy all the honours and courtesies due to the embassy of a fully sovereign state. We pray that the Sovereign-President of France shall be free of all dangers and anxieties, and may he live many more years so that he will be able to continue to work for the peace and prosperity of the people of France over whom he graciously rules.

The following is the speech given by the Sovereign-President:

"I have listened to your kind and cordial words, and received with pleasure the warm greetings of His Majesty the King of Burma. I

must express my gratitude to His Burmese Majesty for sending to France this distinguished embassy headed by Your Excellency. As the Burmese people are known to be brave, sincere and honourable, their friendship is strongly desired by the people of France. France does not have extensive colonial possessions in Asia as some other powers have. But France produces many things of great commercial value, and the fame of those articles produced in France has reached all the corners of the earth. For that reason, it will be a great advantage to France herself, if she can maintain her existing commercial relations with the countries of Asia. In present-day conditions, Burma is no longer far away from France, and moreover as the kingdom of Cambodia has become a protectorate under the rule of France, Burma and France can now be described as standing back to back; and if the relations between the two countries can be made closer, it will be of advantage to both. The French people are very honest and honourable, and they have no plot or idea to conquer neighbouring regions by force of arms. The special desire of the French people is to strengthen existing friendships with other nations, and to create new friend-ships. May I request Your Excellency to inform the Burmese King that we also desire to have a strong friendship with the Burmese people. Just as Your Excellencies so kindly pray for my prosperity and long life, I also pray for the prosperity and long life of His Burmese Majesty, and the progress and advancement of the Burmese kingdom. I have given instructions to my officials to make all suitable arrangements for Your Excellencies' tour of France and to assist Your Excellencies in every way possible to achieve the purposes of your visit to France".

When the envoys reached a half-way stage in their train journey to Versailles, there was a heavy snowfall and the ground, the grass and the tress gleamed white being covered with snow. It was the first time that the chief envoy saw snow.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Thursday December 12. The envoys, Jones, Maung Myè, Forray and the Foreign Office clerk Molar visited the national library, the Bibliotheque, where they were received warmly by the authorities. They saw gold coins, silver coins and seals used by various peoples 400 years before the birth of Christ, implements, swords, and other weapons used by the Roman administrators when France was part of the Roman empire, and coins and seals used by the Greeks. Among the Greek coins, there was a gold coin, full 3 inches wide, which was left in India when India was ruled by the Greeks. Although its actual value was only 600 French francs, as it was 2,000 years old and of great historical interest, the French government bought it for 30,000 French francs or 12,000 Burmese Kyats. The envoys observed that this Greek coin was very carefully kept. The envoys saw books in many different languages. There was a special room for printed books, a special room for manuscripts and a special room for maps and plans. There were also special rooms for students and scholars to sit and read, and the envoys noticed many such students and scholars who were reading and making notes. There were in this national library some 300,000 printed books and 120,000 manuscripts. Among the printed books, the envoys found a book of map-plans of all countries of the world, and the book contained a map-plan of the old Burmese kingdom, drawn by the first European to visit Burma. The envoys looked over that book, and noted that according to the caption the plan was drawn when a King of Pagan was ruling over the old Burmese kingdom of Tagaung, and that the book was written by an Italian from Venice, Marco Polo. From the book, the envoys realised that Europeans had been visiting Burma for so many centuries. The envoys were pleased to find the copies of the Buddhist scriptures sent by the glorious King of Sunrise, the Builder of the Golden City, the King of Burma to the King of France. The envoys then returned to the hotel. Kinwun Mingyi wrote 4 cheques of equal

amount and to the total value of 100,000 Kyats and gave them to Jones.

Friday December 13. The envoys, Maung Myè and physician Willians went for a drive to Boulogne Gardens and to the village of St. Cloud.

Hpangyet Wundauk received a letter from McMahon, which said, "May I have the date of your departure from Paris for the Golden City, as Kaye wishes to give you a letter, in which he will ask Eden and his officials at Rangoon to receive you properly". Hpangyet Wundauk replied immediately as follows: "I am glad to receive your letter and feel grateful for your interest. But I do not think that I need to take any letter with me for, surely the commissioner of Rangoon, Eden is acquainted with the customs and conventions of fully sovereign states, and so he should know how to behave and how not to behave".

[On Saturday December 14, Forray and his clerk Molar took the envoys (excluding Hpangyet Wundauk), Jones and Maung Myè to a porcelain factory. *On December 15,* the King's courier Nga Kyè arrived, bringing many letters. In letter number 14, the envoys were informed that 4 couriers had been assigned to the embassy, and one would be sent every month. Letter number 15 contained an instruction to buy and send immediately a sulphur manufacturing plant. There were also letters from the King's herald Maung Hla Bu, retired Inner Minister U Thin; but they contained no news of importance except that the King, the ministers and members of the envoys' families were well. *On Monday December 16,* the envoys handed to Forray copies of the commercial treaties with England and Italy. *On Tuesday December 17,* the envoys spent the day studying the treaties of various nations. The Foreign Office clerk called, but soon went away as he found the envoys busy. *On December 18.* Forray and his nephew took the envoys, Jones and Maung Myè to the

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

Cluny museum which used to be the Cluny Palace. The envoys were interested to observe various ornaments, implements, weapons and a model of a warship belonging to Emperor Charles V of Germany. They were also amused by a fearful-looking clock-work Jack-in-the-Box, which jumped out of a glass case. The envoys were interested to learn that a Japanese embassy had arrived in Paris. *On Thursday December 19*, the consul for Sweden called and left his calling card. Kinwun Mingyi received a copy of a book of poems written by Countess "Sarffray" and sent to him by her daughter, Mademoiselle "Sarffray" who also requested a poem from Kinwun Mingyi. Accordingly he composed the following verse and sent it to her:

To Recognise An Enemy

When he sees you, he smiles not,
 But sighs in displeasure,
 He turns his face away from you,
 He acts contrary to your ways,
 He makes friends with your enemies,
 He avoids your friends,
 He favours those who abuse you,
 He dissuades those who praise you,
 He does not tell you his secrets,
 He makes public all your secrets,
 He blames you when you make a mistake,
 He blames you when you act wisely,
 He is glad when your fortunes ebb,
 He is angry when your fortunes rise,
 He does not remember you when he eats a rare delicacy,
 He does not remember you when he gets a priceless object,
 These are the sixteen signs of an enemy,
 Even if he pretends to be friendly,
 Know him as your enemy, your false friend,
 Use your wisdom, your judgement when dealing with him.

On Friday December 20, the envoys received a telegram from the royal ship reporting its arrival at Brindisi amidst a great storm. The mayor of Paris called and left his calling card. *On December 21*, Jones received from his agent at Rangoon, Cowie, a sum of 36,700 Kyats being a remittance by the Royal Banker for the envoys. The general in charge of the Paris garrison, La Mireau and his assistant called on the envoys and invited them to visit fortresses and other military installations in Paris on any day that was convenient to the envoys. *On Sunday December 22*, the envoys visited a hospital. Later, the hospital authorities sent by Tiersant, some books comparing the hospitals of London with those of Paris, as their gift to the envoys. Maung Myè returned to London to buy some text books for Maung Hmyu at the Golden City. *On December 23*, the sky was cloudless and the sun was shining brightly; so the envoys (without Hpangyet Wundauk) accompanied by Jones and attendants went for a ride and later for a walk. *On Tuesday December 24*, Forray informed the envoys that the Foreign Minister was coming back to Paris the following Friday or Saturday for his weekly inter-views with ambassadors and consuls, and suggested that they should write a letter to him saying that they would like to discuss the matter of the treaty on that day. Forray also informed the envoys that the copies of the commercial treaties between Burma and England, and Burma and Italy were being carefully studied, and the contents had been translated into French. *On Wednesday December 25*, the envoys (without Hpangyet Wundauk), accompanied by attendants visited a park to the east of Paris. The sun was as hot as in the Golden City. Jones went to the Foreign office and delivered to Forray the letter for the Foreign Minister. Maung Myè was still in London. *On December 26*, the

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

Swiss consul called and invited the envoys to Switzerland whose scenery was considered to be the most beautiful in Europe. He explained that it was only a day and a night's journey by train from Paris. The envoys regretted that because of the extreme cold, they would not visit Switzerland that winter, but hoped to visit it on their return journey to Burma. The consul then said that as Switzerland already had an extensive trade with China, Japan and Siam, she would like to open commercial relations with Burma also. He enquired whether the envoys had plenipotentiary powers to sign commercial treaties. The envoys explained *that* they had such powers, and were in fact negotiating a commercial treaty with France. The sun was shining the whole day.]

Friday December 27. At 4 p.m., Forray came to the hotel and informed the envoys that the Foreign Minister was expecting them. Accordingly, Kinwun Mingyi and the two Wundauks went in a carriage to the residence of the Minister. Friday was the usual day on which ambassadors and consuls had the privilege of seeing the Minister to discuss matters relating to their respective countries. Occasionally, however, the Foreign Minister found himself unable to give the weekly inter-view, and in that case he always sent a messenger with a letter of apology to various ambassadors and consuls. At the Foreign Minister's residence, the envoys met the English ambassador, the Pope's ambassador, American consul, Portuguese consul, consul from Holland, Greek consul and Swiss consul. All the ambassadors and consuls had to wait in the reception room, and each was called into the chamber of the Foreign Minister in turn according to priority in time of their arrival at the Foreign Minister's residence. When their turn came, the Burmese envoys entered the chamber and were warmly received by the Foreign Minister. "I hope Your Excellencies are enjoying Paris", said the Foreign Minister. The envoys replied that as the weather had been so pleasant they had been visiting various places

and were finding their visit very delightful.

"Which places have Your Excellencies visited?" enquired the Foreign Minister. The envoys replied that they had visited the Cluny museum, the porcelain factory, the science institute, the zoological gardens and the state library. "We saw in the library copies of our Burmese scriptures", continued the envoys. The Foreign Minister regretted that there were in France very few men who were acquainted with the Burmese language, and explained that it was because of lack of contact between Burma and France. The Foreign Minister then said that he was endeavouring to establish closer contact between the two countries, and the envoys replied that they wished the negotiations for the commercial treaty were complete so that Burma and France would have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with each other. "That is also my wish", said the Foreign Minister, "and I shall do my utmost to bring the discussions relating to the commercial treaty to a successful conclusion within the next few days". After saying farewell to the Minister, the envoys returned to the hotel. Maung Myè arrived back from London.

Saturday December 28. The envoys, Maung Myè and the attendants went in carriages to the park to the east of Paris. On arrival there, the envoys took a walk and had a look round. After about an hour they returned to the hotel. Later they went out again to visit a theatre which was being constructed. The sun shone the whole day. The clerk from the Foreign Office called and requested one of the envoys to come with him to the Foreign Office to agree on the wording of some articles in the draft treaty.

Sunday December 29. The Foreign Office clerk Molar came and invited the envoys to the reception to be given by the Foreign Minister to ambassadors and consuls to be held the next day. He also informed the envoys that he would come to the hotel to escort the envoys to the reception, just before the appointed time.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

"As to the discussions in connexion with the treaty", he explained, "as it is the time of the new year, all offices will be closed until the following Wednesday and so the discussions can be resumed only after Wednesday". The general in charge of the Paris garrison, who came and saw the envoys on December 21, wrote to the envoys inviting them to come and see him the next day at 1 p.m.

Monday December 30. The envoys with Jones and Maung Myè went in a carriage to Louvre Palace where they were cordially received by the general. The envoys informed him that they would like to visit during the later part of their stay in Paris, old and new forts and armouries. The general replied that he would be delighted to arrange the visit and requested them to inform him or Forray the date and time they would be free to make the visit. After about half an hour, the envoys said goodbye to the general and went to the residence of the Swiss consul where they were received by the consul himself and the first and second secretaries. The consul again enquired whether the envoys would be visiting Switzerland and they replied that they intended to do so after the winter months. The envoys asked the consul about Switzerland, and he asked about Burma. After one half hour of very pleasant conversation the envoys returned to their hotel. At 2 p.m., the Foreign Office clerk, Molar, arrived and the envoys, Jones and Maung Myè went with him to the residence of the Foreign Minister where they were received by the Minister and his wife. There were at the reception about 100 guests, who were ambassadors, consuls, high officials and their wives. The guests greeted each other respectfully, conversed and then went into the dining room to partake of sweets and cakes that were laid out on tables. After about one half hour, the guests took their leave of the Foreign Minister and the envoys were escorted back to their hotel.

Tuesday December 31. The envoys, Jones and Maung Myè went in carriages to the

residences of the English envoy, envoy for Holland, Italian envoy, American envoy, Swedish envoy, and Danish envoy, and at every residence, they were cordially received by the particular envoy and had a very pleasant and friendly conversation. Each envoy lived in a beautiful and imposing building which enhanced the prestige of his nation. Among those envoys, the Swedish envoy in particular was asked about his country and he explained that Sweden was much colder than France or England and its peculiar feature was that for 10 days the sun never rose and for the next 10 days the sun never set. "To experience this strange phenomenon", the Swedish consul continued, "many tourists visit my country. As one goes further north, the alternate periods of the presence and absence of the sun becomes longer and longer". The envoys returned to their hotel after those visits. Jones received a letter from his agent Cowie in Rangoon, informing him that the King had sent one of his agents Camaratta, to London and he left the Golden City at the beginning of the month. In a remote part of France there occurred a great flood, which destroyed houses and buildings, and so a relief fund for the people of that region was opened, to which the governments of France and the neighbouring countries sent contributions. For the merit of their Lord the King and on his behalf, the Burmese envoys contributed 1,000 Kyats.

Wednesday January 1. The envoys, Jones and Maung Myè went in carriages to Versailles to attend the New Year reception given by the Sovereign-President to foreign envoys and French high officials. The envoys went to the hotel where they had stayed before and found that the Japanese envoys were also staying at the hotel. The envoys wearing their robes and gold chains of office, and Jones wearing his gold chain of office went to the President's Palace. The driveway leading from the gates to the front door was lined with soldiers standing at attention with their rifles. Some ambassadors and consuls had arrived already, and

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Forray and the Foreign Office clerk Molar greeted the Burmese envoys, and took them straight to the Sovereign-President, who received them warmly. Only then were the Other ambassadors and consuls presented to the President. After the foreign envoys, the French high officials were presented. The foreign envoys and the French high officials were wearing their decorations and medals. The envoys were told that on every New Year's Day, the Sovereign-President gave this reception. As the foreign envoys represented their Kings, they were received as if they were Kings themselves. That was why the French high officials were received only after the envoys had been received. When the presentations were over, the guests dispersed. The Burmese envoys returned to the hotel, and had lunch together with Forray, his nephew and the clerk. After-wards the envoys and party went round the palace and surrounding gardens and watched the fountains playing. The fountains and the ponds were very similar to those at the Crystal Palace in London and those in the Caserta park in Italy. The envoys, with Forray and the clerk, drove back in carriages to Paris. In the after-noon, the envoys received a letter from Maung Hmyu, informing them that the King had sent Camaratta to London, that because of unrest in the Shan region, the retired Wundauk of Lamaing had been re-appointed Wundauk and sent to the region, that the chief clerk U Pay Saik had been appointed governor of the Golden City, that Mingalar Wundauk had been promoted to the rank of an Inner Minister, that the royal herald, lord of Maingkhaing had been appointed Minister to the Chief Queen, and that a miraculous halo of lights appeared on the pinnacle of the Shwedagon pagoda. Jones was permitted by Kinwun Mingyi to go back to London for the new year holidays, and the envoys sent to his wife a dress as a present.

Thursday January 2. The consul for Chile in the Americas called on the envoys and suggested that they should visit the United States, as they would be warmly welcomed there. The envoys replied that they hoped to visit

the United States either on this tour, or the next. In the afternoon, the consul for Holland called, and in answer to questions put by the envoys, explained that Holland was some 6 hours away by train from Paris, it had no forests or mountains as it was absolutely flat, and it had great seaports. The consul suggested that it would be interesting for the envoys to look round his country. After some minutes of enjoyable conversation, he took his leave. The envoys received a telegram from Captain Brown of the royal ship informing them that Camaratta sent by the King passed through Brindisi at 3 p.m., that day.

[On January 3, Pandee Wundauk, the Royal Secretary and Maung Myè went to visit a hill outside Paris. The Foreign Office clerk and Tiersant came to the hotel, but they brought no particular news.]

Saturday January 4. The English ambassador called, and after some minutes of cordial conversation, went away. The envoys received a letter from the Foreign Office informing them that the concert arranged to be given at the Foreign Minister's residence on January 5, to which the envoys had been invited, was postponed, because of the serious illness of the Foreign Minister. At about 4.30 p.m., Camaratta sent by the King arrived at the hotel and delivered to the envoys a letter giving further instructions in the matter of the iron smelting plant, letters of credit for that plant, another letter instructing the envoys to study the prevailing prices for a porcelain plant and textile plants to manufacture woollen goods, white cotton long cloth and silk turbans, and also the salaries of engineers to supervise the plants. He also brought letters from the families of the envoys, but they contained no news of importance.

Sunday January 5. The envoys stayed in, reading and writing, and nobody called. They received a letter from Jones which said, "Major McMahon wants to come to Paris to see the envoys. He asked me whether the envoys would be pleased or

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

displeased if he came, and I had to reply that of course the envoys would be very pleased as they missed him very much. I expect that he will accompany me to Paris, and if he doesn't, he is sure to come to Paris within a few days. I think I will be able to return to Paris on Monday".

Monday January 6. Jones came back from London, and McMahan came with him. McMahan told the envoys with great enthusiasm that Kaye was doing his best to complete all the pending business concerning Burma, and that English public opinion which had been unfavourable to the Burmese kingdom for a long time, had become definitely favourable. Jones received a telegram from his agent in London, saying that a telegram had come from Rangoon, instructing the envoys to use their discretion as to whether they should stay on in Europe or come back to the Golden City, and that he was sending the telegram from Rangoon by post.

Tuesday January 7. The envoys stayed indoors, reading and making notes. The weather was pleasant, the sun shone during the day and the moon during the night. It was not too cold, and no rain had fallen for the last 4 or 5 days. Jones received by post from his agent in London the telegram from Rangoon containing the instructions from the King.

Wednesday January 8. The envoys sent the following telegram to Rangoon for submission to the King, which was in reply to the telegram containing his instructions regarding the envoys' continued stay in Europe: "Hpangyet Wundauk will be sent back urgently to the Golden City. As to the other envoys, they will use their discretion and make necessary contacts which will be of advantage to the kingdom and will return through France, Italy and India. They hope to be back in the Golden City within 5 months from today". Major McMahan, after reminding the envoys that he was accompanying them to India and requesting them to please inform him in advance the date of their arrival at Dover so that

he could come and meet them there, went back to London. The envoys received a letter from Charlton informing them that it was freezing there, but in Paris the sun and moon were shining brightly and the weather was pleasant, like January at the Golden City.

Thursday January 9. Kinwun Mingyi, the Royal Secretary, Maung Myè, Maung Pauk Loo and other attendants went by train to a mountain near Paris. They walked along roads and paths, bridges and embankments and saw waterfalls and rock springs. They were told that this pleasant mountain park was built by the French King Napoleon III. After looking round the mountain park, the envoys returned to Paris.

Friday January 10. The envoys sent the King's courier Maung Kyay, accompanied by the attendants Maung Pauk Loo and Maung Shwe Aye, to visit picture galleries and museums. The envoys learnt that the former King of France, Napoleon III, who was in England, and who had been seriously ill, died the previous day, in spite of the skill of the physicians attending on him.

Saturday January 11. The Foreign Office requested Hpangyet Wundauk to come there and discuss certain articles of the treaty, with one "Meritz" who had been appointed by the Foreign Office to conduct the negotiations. Accordingly, at about 2 p.m., Hpangyet Wundauk and Jones went to the Foreign Office. After discussing certain articles, Meritz said, "I will now proceed to draw up the draft treaty containing the articles that we have now discussed, and submit it to the Burmese envoys on the following Wednesday. May I request Your Excellencies to come to the Foreign Office on Thursday and let Foreign Minister know of any amendments Your Excellencies would like to make in the draft? If, after further discussion, an agreement is reached, within two or three days the treaty will be ready for signature

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

by the Foreign Minister and the Ambassador". Hpangyet Wundauk and Jones made careful notes of the discussions, and then came back to the hotel.

Sunday January 12. The Foreign Office clerk Molar came and took the envoys (except Pandee Wundauk), Jones, Maung Myè and Camaratta to a castle outside Paris where they were received by the military commander. The castle was 345 feet high and was still in use as a fortress. It was built by a queen of France some 600 years before, but after some-time, it ceased to be used as a palace and became a prison for persons of royal blood, and after some more years, it became the prison for lords and high officials. It was very strongly built. On either side of the castle there were two small fortresses; each fortress had quarters for officers, and quarters for men, and armouries. The military commander of the castle personally escorted the envoys round the fortresses. There were in all 4,500 soldiers with 600 horses. There were also 25,000 rifles with all necessary equipment. The envoys noted that this huge store of rifles was very carefully kept. The envoys visited also the parade ground of an artillery regiment, and saw a number of cannons. Some of them had 25 shells each, ready loaded, and were very similar to the cannons at Woolwich and in Sir William Armstrong-Jones' factory at Newcastle. In the park adjoining the castle, there were two garrisons, each with 180 men and a commanding officer. They had their own quarters, but they could not bring their families to those quarters. The envoys inspected the officers' quarters, the men's quarters, the dining room, and kitchen and the cells for those officers and men found guilty of misconduct. The cells had no furniture of any kind, the prisoners had to sleep on the bare floor, and they were given just enough food to prevent them from dying of starvation. After visiting the castle, the Foreign Office clerk took the envoys to his house and served them with tea and coffee, fruit and cakes.

Monday January 13. The envoys did not go out anywhere, The mayor of Paris called and invited the envoys to a reception to be given by him on Sunday January 19. Forray sent a message by his nephew that he would come the following day and escort the envoys to Versailles as the Sovereign-President wanted to see them again.

Tuesday January 14. Forray's nephew came and informed the envoys that as Forray was suffering from rheumatism, he had come to escort them to Versailles. Accordingly, the envoys, Jones, Maung Myè, Maung Kyay, Maung Pauk Loo and attendants went to Versailles in carriages. On arrival there, they rested for about one half-hour at their usual hotel, and then went to a nearby palace which was now a museum. When they arrived there, they found the military commander of the museum waiting for them. The envoys visited the quarters of the bodyguards of the queens of Louis XIV and XV, the large reception room, the small reception room, the audience chamber, the chamber in which the King received lords and high officials, the chamber where state business was discussed, the banquetting hall, the library, bedrooms, private dining room, the sewing and knitting room, the room in which members of the royal family gathered, the ballroom, and the picture gallery, containing portraits of kings and queens, high officials, famous military commanders and pictures of great battles. The envoys were told that the palace was built in 1643 A.D. by King Louis XIV, and it was used by him and his two successors, Louis XV and XVI. It was built under the supervision of a great architect who was also a great B painter. It became a museum after Louis XVI, and when Bonaparte I became king, he discussed with his advisors whether he should use it as a palace, but because it was in too small a town and because it was exposed to a sudden

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

attack by an enemy, it was decided to continue to use this palace as a museum. When Napoleon III became king, he collected the portraits and statues of various kings and queens of France and famous French commanders, and also pictures of battles fought by French Kings before Napoleon I outside France, pictures of battles fought in France by invaders, the great battles won by Napoleon I, portraits of Napoleon I and of his commanders. Napoleon III's aim in collecting and exhibiting those pictures in the museum was to make the French people realise the great achievements of Napoleon I. There was a chapel inside the palace, and the envoys went there to listen to the playing of its organ. The envoys were informed that the chapel was built in 1699 A.D. Kinwun Mingyi considered the chapel to be exquisitely constructed. Louis XVI had a very beautiful queen, called Marie Antoinette. She was highly cultured and artistic, and under her supervision were built in the adjoining garden two summer palaces called Grand Trianon and Petit Trianon. The military commander remained with the envoys throughout the visit. While going through the reception room, the banquetting room, the bedrooms and the library of the Grand Trianon the envoys noticed two gilded porcelain vases each 7½ feet high with a circumference of 4½ feet; they were told that each vase was worth 2500 Kyats. There were paintings and statues, including a statue of a queen of France and a queen of Italy together in a friendly pose. Then the envoys went to the Petit Trianon where they were saluted by a group of soldiers. They saw the state coaches of Napoleon I and Napoleon III. The coach of Napoleon III was worth 400,000 Kyats. In this small summer palace also, the bedroom, the dining room and the library were exquisitely furnished. The envoys returned to the hotel after inviting the military commander to dinner that evening. At about 7 p.m., the Foreign Office clerk Molar arrived and the envoys entertained the military commander and the clerk to dinner. At about 9.30 p.m., the envoys, Jones, Maung Myè and the Foreign

Office clerk went to the President's Palace. On arrival there, the envoys had a very enjoyable conversation with the Sovereign-President and his Queen who listened with interest to the envoys' impressions of the voyage to Europe, of England, of France and of the European climate. The Queen's sister herself served the envoys with tea and cakes. After about an hour, the envoys took their leave. The Sovereign-President came down the stairs with the envoys, and told them that he would like to invite them to dinner on the following Monday or Tuesday if it was convenient to them. The envoys replied that they would be honoured and pleased to come on any day. On return to the hotel, they found the military commander waiting to say goodbye to them. On learning that the envoys were coming again to dine with the President, he said that he would take that opportunity to show them the chamber where the French Parliament met and the orange grove containing orange trees 261 years old. The envoys and party drove back to Paris in their carriages and arrived back at their hotel at about 1 a.m. For-ray's nephew and the Foreign Office clerk Molar went back to their homes only after they had escorted back the envoys to their hotel. The sky was absolutely clear, and the moon and the stars and planets shone brightly.

Wednesday January 15. The Official from the Foreign Office Meritz, who had been placed in charge of the negotiations for the treaty, came to the hotel and begged to be pardoned for his inability to complete the draft treaty on this day as he had undertaken to do. He assured the envoys that the draft treaty would be ready by Friday. The envoys learned that he was the officer in charge of all matters connected with foreign consuls.

[On January 16, the envoys, Jones, Maung Myè, Maung Kyay, Maung Pauk Loo and the attendants went to a place called Panorama, which was really a house

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

of mirrors. On the ground floor, there were huge photographs of houses being hit and set on fire by shells fired by the Prussian army, of a fort being hit and damaged by Prussian shells, of soldiers and civilians being killed, maimed and blinded by those shells recklessly fired. The envoys went up to the second floor and looked down at the photographs through magnifying glass sheets, and all the photographs seemed to come to life. Afterwards, they went to visit that particular fort portrayed in the photographs, and they found that the surrounding countryside, the broken guns and heaps of exploded shells were exactly as they appeared at the Panorama building. On return to the hotel Pandee Wundauk received a letter from physician Clement Williams, informing him that the iron smelting plant and accessories, weighing in all 50 tons, were shipped from Liverpool to the Golden City on January 14 as desired by the King, and saying that he sent his best wishes for a safe journey to Hpangyet Wundauk and his respects to Kinwun Mingyi.]

Friday January 17. Forray's nephew called and informed the envoys that the President would be very pleased if they would come to dinner on Sunday, and the envoys gave a letter to Forray's nephew formally accepting the invitation with pleasure. The Foreign Office clerk submitted to the envoys the draft treaty containing 6 articles. Hpangyet Wundauk started to translate the articles into Burmese for the envoys to consider.

Saturday January 18. The envoys (without Hpangyet Wundauk), accompanied by Jones, Maung Myè, Maung Kyay and the attendants went in carriages to the theatre where they were given first class seats. The scenes of towns, villages and fairies, the manner and style of acting, and the furnishings on the stage were very similar to those at the theatres the envoys had visited in Italy and in England. The name of the play was "The Golden Egg". Although the audience was silent during the actual performance, at intervals between scenes, they

were very noisy and talkative. Hpangyet Wundauk was still translating the draft treaty into Burmese.

Sunday January 19. The envoys (with-out Hpangyet Wundauk), Forray, Jones and three attendants rode in carriages to Versailles to attend the dinner given by the Sovereign-President. They first went to their usual hotel. After some minutes, they went to the museum palace where the military commander was waiting for them. [They were taken to a picture gallery and among the pictures was the picture of the members of the first Japanese embassy to France kneeling before the King of France, the Queen and the Crown prince, while presenting their credentials.] At 7 p.m., the envoys, Forray and Jones, all wearing their decorations, went to the presidential palace where they were received warmly by the President, his Queen and her sister. After one half-hour, the President, the Queen and her sister sat down to dinner with the envoys. There were some 20 other guests, including the Italian ambassador and some French high officials. After the dinner, the envoys conversed with their hosts for about one half-hour. Then the envoys took their leave. During the dinner, there was a thunder storm and it rained very heavily. The envoys rode back to Paris to their hotel, arriving there at 1 a.m. Forray escorted the envoys right back to the hotel. The envoys had to write a letter of apology to the mayor of Paris as they were not able to come to his reception that evening, because of the President's dinner.

Monday January 20. The envoys spent the whole day discussing carefully the Burmese translation of the draft treaty.

Tuesday January 21. Kinwun Mingyi, Hpangyet Wundauk and Jones went in a carriage to the Foreign Office, where they were met by Forray and taken to the office room of the official Meritz. After the latter had given them seats, they

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974

started the discussion. The envoys wanted to delete the article dealing with the right of French citizens to travel round Burma to study the geography of the country, the article relating to the privileges of French priests, the article relating to the customs duty of 5 per cent on imports, and the article relating to special treatment for French citizens committing crimes in Burma. After a lengthy discussion, agreement was finally reached, and Meritz promised to come the following day and give to the envoys two copies of the draft treaty written in French. He requested the envoys to insert in them the Burmese translations, by Thursday, so that Kinwun Mingyi and the French Foreign Minister could sign the treaty on Friday. The envoys promised to do as requested and returned to the hotel. That evening, at about 7 the envoys entertained Forray and the clerk Molar to dinner.

[After dinner, the envoys (except Hpangyet Wundauk), Jones, Forray, his nephew, his little niece, the Foreign Office clerk Molar and his two little sons, Maung Pauk Loo, Maung Kyay and all the attendants went to a circus and watched horses and acrobats performing. There were also women acrobats performing.]

Wednesday January 22. As the French Foreign Minister wanted to include the article relating to 5 per cent customs duty, the envoys had to agree to its inclusion. The Foreign Office sent to the envoys 2 copies of the treaty, written in French, but with space left blank for the Burmese version of each paragraph. In the first copy, which was for the Burmese government, the blank space left for the Burmese version was above each paragraph written in French. In the second copy which was for the French government, the blank space for the Burmese version was below each paragraph written in French.

Thursday January 23. The envoys carefully wrote in the Burmese paragraphs on the copies. Clerk Molar came and informed the envoys that the Foreign Minister regretted that he could not

come to Paris on Friday to sign the treaty.

Molar said that if Kinwun Mingyi would sign the copies, he could take them to the Foreign Minister at Versailles for his signatures, or he could escort Kinwun Mingyi to Versailles so that Kinwun Mingyi and the Foreign Minister could sign the treaty together.

Friday January 24. The two copies of the treaty were now complete. In front of Molar, Kinwun Mingyi signed the first copy above the blank space left for the Foreign Minister to sign. Kinwun Mingyi also signed the second copy but his signature was below the blank space left for the Foreign Minister's signature. Then Kinwun Mingyi delivered the two copies to Molar. The envoys spent the rest of the day in preparing a full report for submission to the King.

Saturday January 25. Molar came and reported that as the two copies of the treaty could be taken by Forray to the Foreign Minister at Versailles only that morning, he would come back only very late that night. He therefore requested Jones to please come to the Foreign Office on Sunday at about 10 a.m., and take delivery of the first copy which was for the Burmese government.

Sunday January 26. During the discussions, the Foreign Minister had insisted that the article regarding French citizens accused of crimes in Burma, be included and Kinwun Mingyi had replied that he could not agree. Finally, Kinwun Mingyi undertook to submit to the King the request of the Foreign Minister. Now the Foreign Office officials brought to Kinwun Mingyi two copies of the memorandum embodying that particular discussion, written in French and requested him to prepare two copies of the Burmese version. They explained that one copy in French and one copy in Burmese were for the Burmese government, and the other copies were for the French government and all 4 were to be signed by Kinwun Mingyi and the Foreign Minister. The Foreign

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Office officials also reported that Forray had not yet returned from Versailles. That evening Hpanyet Wundauk, Maung Kyay and 5 attendants left Paris for the Golden City. Maung Pauk Loo remained behind, waiting for the copy of the treaty. Hpanyet Wundauk promised that until Maung Pauk Loo actually arrived on board the royal ship at Brindisi, the ship would not sail. They left at about 8 p.m. submitted to the President for perusal; he hoped to be able to deliver the copy for the Burmese government to Kinwun Mingyi within 2 or 3 days; in fact he was going to Versailles the next day to request the Foreign Minister to expedite the matter. The envoys gave to Forray a gold cup, to Molar a smaller gold cup, and to Forray's nephew a silver betal box as gifts of friendship.

Monday January 27. The envoys entertained to a banquet some 15 French officials including the Foreign Office official Meritz, the military commander from Versailles, the librarian of the state library, the superintendents of the Seine gardens and the zoological gardens, Forray, nephew, Molar and Tiersant. Kinwun Mingyi gave a speech extolling the French President, the French Republic and the French people and drank a toast to the French President. In reply Meritz spoke of the glory of the King of the Sunrise, the Burmese kingdom, and the Burmese people and drank a toast to the Burmese King. The superintendent of the Seine gardens requested the envoys to please send him some Burmese plants and trees for his gardens, and the librarian requested the envoys to send to his library some Burmese manuscripts. The envoys replied that they hoped to be able to send some plants and manuscripts. That after-noon an Italian official from Naples called at the hotel, and explained that he had come to Paris in connexion with an exhibition to be held at Naples, as he was a member of the exhibition committee. He requested Kinwun Mingyi to please send him some specimens of Burmese minerals and rocks and textiles. He also said that the exhibition

committee was planning to print 2000 copies of the catalogue of exhibits and requested the envoys to make a contribution towards the cost. The envoys replied that they would consider the matter. Meritz informed the envoys that although the treaty had been signed by the Foreign Minister, the papers had not come back to the Foreign Office as they had not yet been

Tuesday January 28. The envoys with Tiersant went in a carriage to the state library called Bibliotheque. Their purpose in going there again was to ask for a copy of the map plan of Burma drawn by the Italian Marco Polo when he visited northern Burma during the glorious period of the kingdom of Pagan. The envoys had seen this map on their previous visit to the library, and at the dinner the previous night Kinwun Mingyi mentioned to the librarian his desire to have a copy of the map. The envoys were received by the librarian and a search was made for Marco Polo's map among the maps of all sizes and of all periods, and all countries, but it was not found. The librarian promised to make a further search, and the envoys after thanking him, returned to their hotel. Jones received a telegram from his partners in London asking him to return immediately, and he left for London, undertaking to come back to Paris by Thursday. The envoys received a telegram from Hpanyet Wundauk reporting that he had left Turin.

Wednesday January 29. The prefect of the Seine district and his son called and apologised to the envoys for his inability to come to the banquet on January 27. He invited the envoys to visit his house but the envoys could not accept his invitation as they were leaving for London soon. He requested the envoys to permit him to see them again on their return from London. At 6 p.m., Molar came and informed the envoys that the Foreign Minister had already signed the treaty and submitted it to the President, who was still looking over it. He also

JBRs, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

asked for the 2 copies in French of the memorandum of the discussion of the article relating to French nationals accused of crime, together with 2 copies of the Burmese version. Kinwun Mingyi signed all 4 copies and gave them to Molar, who promised to take them to Versailles for the Foreign Minister to sign. He also said that he hoped he would be able to bring back the copies of the memorandum and treaty for the envoys the following day. At his request, Kinwun Mingyi gave to Molar a copy of the speech given by him at the banquet on January 27.

Thursday January 30. Jones arrived back from London bringing with him a letter from Rangoon to the envoys, which merely intimated that papers posted from Portsmouth had been received and sent on to the King. He also reported that McMahan enquired by telegram whether the Queen now residing at her palace on the Isle of Wight would grant an audience to the envoys to say farewell on the following Wednesday, and received a telegraphic reply that the Queen would be very pleased to see the envoys on that day. The envoys received a letter from Molar which stated as follows: "As the President is still perusing the treaty of friendship, I am sorry I cannot bring it to Your Excellencies, but I expect to bring it by next Sunday. Although the President is still perusing it, I do not think that there will be any amendments". It snowed in Paris that day and the gardens, open spaces, small roads, large roads and walls looked gleaming white.

Friday January 31. Molar came and informed the envoys that he was unable to bring the treaty with him as it was still being perused by the President. Molar was now pessimistic about the treaty being approved, and he suggested that the envoys should come to the Foreign Office and openly ask the Foreign Minister to say definitely whether the treaty would be accepted by the French government. Accordingly, at 6 that evening, Kinwun Mingyi, Pandee Wundauk and Jones went in a carriage to

the Foreign Office to see the Foreign Minister. When the envoys asked the Foreign Minister about the treaty, he replied that as the draft treaty was written in a hurry, it needed some scrutiny and that was why the President was still looking over it. The envoys stated that as they were leaving for London on the following Monday, they would be glad if the treaty could be finalised before they left Paris. The Foreign Minister said that the time was too short, and he thought that by the time the envoys came back to Paris from London, the treaty would be finalised. Then the Foreign Minister asked, "Did Your Excellencies conclude a treaty of friendship with England while Your Excellencies were in London?" The envoys replied, "We already had a treaty of friendship with England and so there was no necessity for us to negotiate another one". The envoys took their leave of the Foreign Minister and returned to the hotel. Jones submitted to the envoys a telegram he had just received from McMahan, which said, "May I know the exact date of the envoys' scheduled arrival at Dover so that I can come and meet them? The India Office has sent out instructions settling all pending matters connected with the Burmese embassy".

Saturday February 1. As it was now unlikely that the business of the treaty could be settled within the next few days, as Hpangyet Wundauk's return to the Golden Palace was long overdue, and as the port dues and other expenses of the royal ship at Brindisi were mounting up, the envoys decided to cancel the report of successful negotiation of the treaty which they had already written, and composed another report, giving the latest position with the French government. Kinwun Mingyi then wrote a letter instructing Hpangyet Wundauk not to wait any further for the copy of the treaty, but to leave immediately on the royal ship on the arrival on board of Maung Pauk Loo and Captain Louis Moran. Maung Pauk Loo and Captain Louis Moran left Paris at 8 p.m., taking with

JBRs, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

them the report and the letter of instruction for Hpangyet Wundauk. The envoys received a letter from Hpangyet Wundauk and his attendant Maung Hla Paw, reporting that after leaving Paris on January 25, they safely reached the royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan* in Brindisi harbour on January 27.

Sunday February 2. The envoys, Jones, Maung Myè and attendants made preparations to leave Paris for London the following day.

Monday February 3. The envoys, Jones, Maung Myè and attendants took the train from the Northern station to Calais. Passing through Boulogne, they reached Calais, where they boarded the mail steamer to Dover. On arrival at Dover, they were met by Captain Bruce and McMahan, and were taken to the railway station. After some refreshments, they took the mail train to London, arriving there at about 7 p.m. They were met by the manager of the Grosvenor Hotel. On reaching the hotel, the envoys were pleased to find that they had been assigned the same suite of rooms that they had occupied before. Major McMahan's wife, daughter and sister were waiting at the hotel to greet the envoys. Major McMahan begged to be excused as he had to go to a dinner with Captain Allen who used to be the deputy commissioner of Myedè town in Burma.

Tuesday February 4. The envoys entertained to dinner Kaye, his deputy Malby, his clerk Crawford, Captain Upton, Major Burne, the Superintendent of the Albert Hall, Major Winton, Johnson, Captain Allen, Colonel Magrath and Kaye's young son. The envoys received the following letter of instructions from Pakhan Mingyi: "The King has received the envoys' letter from Grosvenor Hotel, begging sanction to incur certain expenses, and His Majesty is pleased to give the sanction, observing that the expenses are worth incurring; the Italian embassy has arrived at the Golden City, and is being given audience by the King;

an inscribed tombstone is to be put up at the grave of the sailor on the royal ship, Nga Tun Aung Gyi, who was drowned while the ship was at Portsmouth". The envoys instructed Jones to make arrangements to put up the tombstone.

Wednesday February 5. The envoys, Major McMahan and Jones started on their journey to the Isle of Wight for the audience with the Queen. At Waterloo station, on the eastern bank of the river, they found the Prime Minister, Lord Sydney and Major Burne waiting for them, and took the train to Southampton together. The train was very fast, covering the distance of 78 miles in 2 hours. On arrival at Southampton, the envoys and the English officials boarded the ship sent by the Queen to meet them. When they reached the Isle of Wight, the envoys proceeded to the Queen's palace in a state carriage which the Queen had sent to meet them. Unlike in other parts of Europe at that time of winter, all the trees were green with rich foliage. On reaching the palace, the envoys were taken to the reception room. Lord Sydney then went and reported to the Queen that the Burmese ambassadors, the Prime Minister and the Admiral of the Fleet had arrived. The first audience was given to the envoys. So Kinwun Mingyi, Pandee Wundauk, the Royal Secretary, all wearing their robes and chains of office, Major McMahan and Jones proceeded to the audience chamber accompanied by Lord Sydney. The Queen was standing, surrounded by her daughters and wives of officials. She was wearing a black dress, with a decoration pinned near the shoulder. The envoys walked in and bowed their heads in greeting and the Queen bowed her head in return. "When are the Burmese envoys leaving England?" the Queen asked. "We expect to leave within the next 7 days, Your Majesty", Kinwun Mingyi replied. "Have Your Excellencies been visiting Paris?" the Queen asked. "We have been", replied Kinwun Mingyi. "Did Your Excellencies enjoy your tour, of England?" she again enquired. "We have

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

enjoyed immensely our tour of England", answered Kinwun Mingyi. "When Your Excellencies arrive back at the Golden City", the Queen continued, "please convey to the Lord of the Sunrise, the King of Burma, my best wishes for His Majesty's long life and prosperity". "We will certainly do so ,Your Majesty," replied Kinwun Mingyi. Then after bowing their heads, in greeting the envoys left the audience chamber. Later others were given audiences in turn. After the audiences were over, at about 1 p. m., the envoys sat down to lunch provided by the Queen. The Prime Minister, the Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Sydney and three officials' wives were also at the lunch. After-wards the envoys, Jones and McMahan, the Prime Minister and Lord Sydney re-turned to Southampton in the Queen's ship and then took the train together to London. While on the Queen's ship, the Prime Minister invited the envoys to a reception he was giving at his house that evening. The train was very fast as be-fore, and it reached London in no time. The envoys and party then drove back to the hotel. In the evening the envoys, Jones, McMahan and Major Burne went in carriages to the reception given by the Prime Minister. After greeting the Prime Minister and his lady, the envoys went round the room talking to other guests for about 45 minutes, and then went to another reception given by the Foreign Minister. After they had been received cordially by the Foreign Minister and his lady, the envoys moved about the room talking to the distinguished guests for about 45 minutes, and then returned to the hotel. The envoys found London very misty and cold, with roads, parks, trees and houses gleaming white under a thick covering of snow. The Isle of Wight was so different. There the sky was bright with very little mist; there was no snow and it was not cold at all. London was only 78 miles away and yet the weather in London was so different from the weather in the Isle of Wight.

Thursday February 6. The envoys (without Pandee Wundauk), McMahan, his wife,

daughter, sister and Maung Myè went in carriages to Kaye's residence where they had lunch. Kaye, his son, Major Burne and some other guests, both men and women, numbering in all about 10, were there. After some minutes of friendly conversation, the envoys, Kaye, son and daughter and Major Burne went to the Crystal Palace where they were warmly received by the authorities and were given special seats in a theatre. The scenes shown on the stage were wonderful and impressive indeed. The scenes depicted fairies and fairyland. The envoys enjoyed the show very much and were of the opinion that it was far better than all the theatrical shows that they had seen before. After watching the play, the envoys were taken to another hall, where there was a huge figure of a Turk wearing a turban and a thin shirt, and smoking a hookah. In front of this figure, was a table with a chess board and chess-men. A French visitor sat down in front of the figure, and started a chess game by moving one of the pieces. The figure then made the next move. The Frenchman had a companion with him and only after careful consultation with his companion, he made his moves, but the Turk made its moves very quickly. Finally the game was won by the Turk. The man who in-vented this mechanical chess-player invited the envoys and other guests to inspect the figure carefully, so as to ensure them-selves that no man was hidden inside or underneath the figure. The envoys care-fully looked and found that except for some complicated machinery, there was nothing inside or near the figure. Then the inventor turned a key attached to the figure, and at once it seized a knight and moved it correctly round the chess board. Then the inventor and the figure began a game. Whenever the inventor made an incorrect move, the figure shook its head, and whenever the inventor made a correct move, the figure nodded. It also nodded when it gave a check. Finally the figure won the game. Many European mechanics and engineers were puzzled as to how the inventor was able to make this mechanical

JBRs, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

figure play chess. The envoys went to another hall where there was a large model of the ruins of Pompeii, and they found that it was an exact copy of the ruins which they had actually visited.

Friday February 7. The envoys and McMahon went in carriages to the India Office to see the Secretary of State, Duke of Argyll. On arrival there, they were received by Kaye, Major Burne, Wilson and Upton. The envoys were then taken by Kaye and Major Burne to the reception room. The Secretary of State greeted them cordially, and the envoys told him about their tour of England, Ireland, Scotland and Paris. They also answered his questions regarding the route they took to come to London and the route they would take going back to the Golden City. The Duke regretted that he failed in his duty to escort them to their second audience with the Queen, and explained that it was due to a recurrence of his leg disease. The Duke informed the envoys that the leg disease attacked all Europeans in their old age as a consequence of their taking too much wine. After about a half-hour, they said fare-well to the Duke and returned to the hotel. Jones received a letter from the royal ship, informing him that it left Brindisi on February 4. That night the envoys entertained McMahon, wife, daughter and sister to dinner.

Saturday February 8. The envoys received a letter from the private secretary to the Crown Prince saying that the Prince and Princess would be pleased to receive the envoys on February 9 at 3.45 p.m. Responding to the request made by the Queen at the first audience, the envoys had sent to Lord Sydney for submission to the Queen photographs of the envoys, wearing their robes and gold chains of office and headdresses, and with their signatures both in English and in Burmese on them. The envoys now received a letter from Lord Sydney expressing his thanks and delight at the beautiful photographs and promising to submit them to the Queen

immediately. Upton called and asked for permission to escort the envoys to Dover on their way back to the Golden City. He also asked the envoys for their photographs, and Kinwun Mingyi and the Royal Secretary gave him their photographs after signing them. Christie Miller, who used to be a Member of Parliament, although by profession an engineer, and a friend of Jones called at the hotel and informed the envoys that he had received from one of the textile engineers he had hired for the Burmese government, specimens of some cloths manufactured in Burma; he was very pleased that the textile industry at the Golden City was developing so well. He also said that when he showed some specimens of Burmese cotton to the textile manufacturers at Liverpool, they praised its high quality.

Sunday February 9. Captain Allen who had served at Prome and Myedè and one Lawton who had served at Prome, Rangoon and Bassein, called at the hotel and expressed their great delight at meeting the envoys, for they had a great love for Burma and the Burmese people. Allen told the envoys that as a member of Phayre's first mission to the Golden City, he had the privilege of seeing the King in person. Wilson also called and expressed regret that he was not able to come to dinner with the envoys, the previous day. The three daughters of Jones also called to say farewell to the envoys.

Monday February 10. The envoys, McMahon and Jones went in a carriage to the palace of the Crown Prince where they were received by the private secretary and then taken to the reception room. He then went and reported the envoys' arrival to his master, and the Crown Prince and Princess came into the room together and shook hands with the envoys. The Crown Prince asked the envoys about their tour of England and whether they found the climate too cold, and the envoys told him their impressions. Then the Crown Prince and Princess shook

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

hands with the envoys and wished them a safe and pleasant journey across many seas and many lands to the Golden City. After leaving the Crown Prince's palace, the envoys went to Clarence House which was the residence of the Duke of Edinburgh, to St. James's palace where the Queen's uncle, the Duke of Cambridge, was residing and to Kensington Palace where the Queen's cousin Princess Teck was residing, and signed their names in the visitors' book as a gesture of fare-well.

Tuesday February 11. The envoys received from the Prime Minister a letter informing them that he would be pleased to receive them on Friday at noon. The envoys drafted a report for submission to the King, regarding their audience with the Queen, their farewell call on the Crown Prince and high officials, the iron-smelting plant bought by Clement Williams, roads being built in Russia by its king, and the Kingdom of Spain.

Wednesday February 12. The envoys gave a farewell dinner to Sir William Armstrong-Jones and wife, their friend and his wife, Kaye, his clerk, and wife, Captain Upton and wife, Wilson, Kaye's son, McMahan's cousin (an army officer), McMahan's wife, his sister and Jones' wife. The envoys, after some discussion among themselves, decided to leave London the following day.

Thursday February 13. At 4 p.m., the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk), Jones, Maung Myè, attendants, McMahan, wife and sister, Colonel Sherrington, Captain Upton, Major Burne, Colonel Magrath, Clement Williams, Jones' wife and the King's courier, Nga Lin who arrived only that morning, left London by train. About 6.30 p.m., they arrived at Dover and were met by the commander of the garrison, the mayor of Dover, Captain Bruce and consul Forster. The commander explained that as it was after dark, the salute of 19 guns could not be fired but it would be given at 8 o'clock the next day, and another salute of 19 guns

would be given when the envoys left Dover.

Later in the evening, the envoys were entertained to a banquet arranged by the Secretary of State for India, and toasts were drunk to the King of the Sunrise, to the Queen of England, and to the Burmese envoys. After dinner, some of the officials' wives played on the piano and entertained the envoys. Pandee Wundauk who remained behind in London to buy some books, missed the banquet as he arrived at Dover only at 1 a.m. The letters brought by courier Nga Lin did not contain any news of importance, except about the reception given to the Italian embassy.

Friday February 14. At 8 a.m., a salute of 19 guns was fired from the fort in honour of the envoys' arrival the previous day. About the same time, the mayor of Dover and his staff, wearing their robes of office, called at the hotel and greeted the envoys. Then they waited for the envoys to leave the hotel for the harbour. The envoys proceeded to the harbour and said farewell to McMahan and others who had accompanied them from London, the commander of the fort and other officers, and the mayor and his staff. At about 10 o'clock, the envoys boarded the channel steamer, and from the fort a farewell salute of 19 guns was given. The steamer entered Calais harbour some 20 miles away from Dover, about an hour later, and the envoys were met by Tiersant. The envoys and party had lunch at the railway station and then took the train to Paris. Tiersant informed the envoys that the President had approved the treaty, the Foreign Minister had signed it, and that copies were with Forray who would deliver them to the envoys as soon as they arrived in Paris. The envoys arrived at Paris at 6 p.m., and went to stay at Hotel Louvre.

Saturday February 15. Forray came and delivered to the envoys the protocol copies of the treaty. He explained that ratification would have to be exchanged later, and as the treaty was first signed in

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

Paris, according to international usage an embassy from the Burmese King should come to Paris and deliver the ratification. He also said that although it was not necessary for the present envoys to constitute the second embassy, it was hoped that they would do so, as the highest French decorations could then be conferred upon them; in the meantime, France would be sending an embassy to the Burmese King to deliver to His Majesty a letter of greeting and royal presents from the Sovereign-President. Forray then begged to be excused, as he had to go and make arrangements for the envoys to have a farewell interview with the Foreign Minister. The envoys sent Jones to the Italian ambassador to express their desire to visit Italy and to have an audience with the Italian King again. The ambassador, saying that the King of Italy would certainly be pleased to meet the envoys again, at once sent a telegram to Rome. Jones had previously informed the Papal Legate of the envoys' desire to see the Pope, and now Jones reported to the envoys, that he had been informed by the Papal Legate that a telegram had been received from the Pope himself granting an inter-view.

Sunday February 16. [The envoys, Tiersant, Maung Myè and attendants went to a suburb of Paris from where during the great siege of the city by the Prussian army, some Parisians escaped on a balloon. The same engineer who constructed that balloon was now preparing to send up another huge balloon, and he had invited the envoys to come and honour him by watching the ascent of the balloon. The envoys were welcomed on arrival by the engineer "Giffor" himself. Kinwun Mingyi thought that the balloon looked like a huge egg. The balloon was being filled with gas and the 7 passengers had already taken their seats in a basket which was attached to the balloon, and which contained food, clothing, telescopes, compasses, ropes and an anchor. Then all was ready,

the passengers threw out the sandbags used as weights, and the balloon rapidly climbed into the sky. Even as Kinwun Mingyi watched, the huge balloon became smaller and smaller and finally disappeared from his view.

The envoys visited the gas works nearby, which were also under the charge of the engineer who made the balloon. Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed description of the manufacture of gas from coal. He learned that the gas works cost 30 million Kyats to build, there were 1108 workers, they supplied one-third of Paris with gas, and there were 2 other gas works which supplied gas to the rest of Paris.]

At 3 p.m., the envoys, Jones, Maung Myè and Forray travelled in carriages to Versailles to the presidential palace where the Foreign Minister and his lady were staying. On arrival, they were welcomed by the Foreign Minister and his lady. The Foreign Minister said that he was, greatly delighted by the successful signing of the treaty and he hoped that a new era of commerce and friendship and progress for both Burma and France would result. When he informed the envoys that the exchange of ratification would have to be made by embassies, Kinwun Mingyi asked him whether it was necessary for a Burmese embassy to come again to France. He replied that according to international usage, a Burmese embassy would have to come again bringing the King's ratification, because the treaty was originally signed in Paris. "In the meantime", the Foreign Minister continued, "France would be sending an embassy to Burma and I hope to obtain for that embassy plenipotentiary powers". After about one hour, the envoys returned to Paris and later entertained Forray to dinner at their hotel. At 9 p.m., the envoys, Jones, Maung Myè and attendants took the train from the Eastern Station for Turin. Forray and Tiersant saw them off at the station.

JBR, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

COMMENTARY

The *Diary* entry for December 19, gave some clue to the thoughts of Kinwun Mingyi about his English friends. Disappointed over their failure to assist him to make his mission successful, he must have been hurt by the attempt made by McMahon and Kaye to persuade him to agree to be presented to the French President by the English ambassador in Paris; had he agreed, it would have further degraded the status not only of his embassy but of the King himself. His verse composed on that day on false friends perhaps had some reference to his disillusionment with McMahon and Sir John Kaye. Actually the two English officials needed not to have bothered for both Kinwun Mingyi and the French Minister were not making a secret of their negotiations. In fact the English Ambassador, Lord Lyons was receiving information from the French Foreign Minister himself, regarding the negotiations for a commercial treaty between Burma and France. One of Lord Lyon's despatches to London contained some interesting information regarding French attitudes and proceedings with regard to the proposed treaty. A commission was appointed to consider the matter, which included not only de Remusat, the Foreign Minister, but also Duke Decazes who was to be the Foreign Minister when Kinwun Mingyi came again in 1874. The report submitted by the commission stated:

Richness of country and proximity to Cochin-China justifies us in accepting the proposal of one of the King of Burma's ministers sent as ambassador extraordinary to study European civilisation and conclude treaties with England, Italy and France. Our proposed treaty is very similar to those with England and Italy; it

1 Home Correspondence, vol. 75, 1873

gives freedom and security to French missionaries, merchants and Travellers French products will receive the same treatment as similar products of other most favoured nations. These are vague provisions but we cannot make them more specific as we have little or no relations with a country surrounded on three sides by British possessions which shut her off from the sea...Should the relations established by this treaty justify and the budgetary position allow it, we can make more detailed clauses-the treaty is renewable annually which allows easy revision-as practical experience re-quires, and appoint a consul. But for the present this bare treaty of good-will must suffice.¹

Lord Lyon's despatch was dated January 24, 1873, the day that Kinwun Mingyi signed the draft treaty and sent it to Versailles for Remusat to sign. But obviously some hitch occurred and Kinwun Mingyi's spirit must have fallen very low. He even thought that he had failed again. With a heavy heart, he returned to London to say farewell to the Queen. He learned that the Duke of Argyll was ill, but he no longer had the will to argue again that he should be presented to the Queen by Lord Granville. Actually he was presented by Gladstone, not as Prime Minister but as Lord President of the Council. It cannot be known why Kinwun Mingyi did not mention this fact in his *Diary*. Very probably he did not have to prostrate himself on the floor this time, as it was a less formal occasion. Queen Victoria did not mention this second audience in her journal, but the following details were given in a Court Circular dated Osborne, February 5, 1873, and published in the London Times the following day:

The Queen held a council at 1 o'clock. Previous to the Council, the

JBRs, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

Queen received in the Drawing Room, the Envoy and the members of the Burmese mission to take leave, consisting of Kinwun Mingyi, Padein Wundauk and Minhla Zeyathu, Secretary. Major McMahon and Mr. Edmund Jones were in attendance, also Major Burne, C.S.I., as political A.D.C., India Office.

Envoy and Suite were introduced by the Lord Chamberlain and presented by the Lord President of the Council (Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone) in the absence of the Secretary of State for India. H.R.H. Princess Beatrice was present with Her Majesty.

In spite of his disappointment, Kinwun Mingyi bade farewell to England with grace and cordiality as described by the London *Times* of February 15, 1873:

The ambassadors left yesterday morning, shortly before 10 o'clock, on the ordinary mail steamer for Calais. A guard of honour consisting of Garrison Police was drawn up on the pier, and a salute of 19 guns was fired from the Castle. Before sailing from the Admiralty Pier, the Embassy took a very cordial farewell and seemed highly pleased. The Kinwun Mingyi frequently bowed and waved a copy of the *Times* towards a large assemblage of spectators.

1. Ibid

On February 19, Lord Lyons sent the following despatch to the Foreign Office:

De Remusat said he would send me a copy of the treaty with Burma, confidentially, as it is not yet submitted to the Assembly, or made public. Its main stipulation was religious toleration; not that it could have any effect as he doubted whether there were as many as 10 native converts.

On March 5, 1873, Lord Lyons duly sent a copy of the treaty. On March 12, Sir John Kaye wrote in the Secret Departmental Minutes, as follows:

The treaty speaks for itself...The Burmese had an unquestionable right to conclude treaties with whomsoever they pleased.

He thought the treaty harmless, but the Duke of Agryll took a different-view and wrote on the margin:

This is rather a serious matter. If the French choose to import arms under the treaty into Burma, can we prevent it? And can we permit it?¹

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

Introduction

After the successful procurement of the commercial treaty with France, Kinwun Mingyi started on his journey home-ward, stopping in Italy, Egypt, Ceylon and India. The visit to Italy and the visit to Egypt were merely to see old friends again but the visit to Ceylon had a definite purpose. Since the successful convening of the Fifth Great Synod of Buddhism by King Mindon in 1872, Mandalay had become the cultural and the religious centre of Buddhism in the world, and King Mindon the supreme defender of the faith. Both Mindon and Kinwun Mingyi were intensely devout and to both of them religion was as important as politics. The Sinhalese people after years of persecution of their religion by the Portuguese and the Dutch, found that in spite of the freedom of worship granted by their new rulers, the English, their Buddhism continued to decay. As a result the Sinhalese monks looked to the Burmese monks for guidance and support and to the Burmese King for patronage. At the start of his long voyage to London Kinwun Mingyi had resolutely refused to go by way of Calcutta, in spite of Eden's unequivocal pronouncement that nothing would be discussed by the government in London unless it had been discussed first with the Government of India. He fully realised that had he gone first to the Governor-General, his embassy would be yet another Burmese embassy to the Governor-General and not to the English Queen. But he thought it would be just courtesy to visit the Governor-General on his way back to Mandalay.

London Diary, February 17 to May 2,
1873

Monday February 17. The envoys had breakfast at the station restaurant as the train stopped at a small frontier town called Mount

Cenis. They boarded the train again and crossed over into Italy. The envoys had travelled along the same route on their journey to France and England, but the countryside now looked totally different. On the previous occasion, the mountains and valleys were covered with thick vegetation, the green foliage of the trees and the misty blue of the mountains were a delight to see. But now the trees were just skeletons without leaves, and on the ground there was no sign of any vegetation. The spurs, the hills, the cliffs, the valleys looked white and barren, covered with differing depths of snow, and it was a strange and marvellous sight. At 6 p.m., the train arrived at Turin and the envoys were met by an Italian official, Count "Curzinmiro" who informed them that he had been appointed by the King of Italy to accompany, escort and attend on the envoys throughout their stay in Italy. He took the envoys and party to Europe Hotel. After dinner, the envoys, Jones and the count and one "Debrosolo" went to a theatre where they were received with loud acclamation by an audience of some 1000 people. Then the envoys and party attended a ball given by the mayor.

[On February 18, the envoys visited an ancient castle which was formerly used as a palace. Looking down from the castle, the envoys could see the River Po flanked by cultivated fields, which were in contrast to the snow-covered hills some distance away. Arriving back at the hotel, they were preparing to leave Turin for Rome when the count came and suggested to the envoys that they should stay on in Turin for another night, as he had heard a rumour that the King of Italy had left Rome on a visit to Florence. He also explained to the envoys that he was expecting a reply to the telegram he had sent to the authorities in Rome, enquiring whether the King was still in residence at the capital. *On Feb-*

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

ruary 19, the count received a telegram confirming that the King was still in residence in Rome. So the envoys, Jones, Maung Myè and attendants took the train to Rome. They had breakfast at Bologna and dinner at Florence. Between Bologna and Florence, the train passed through 37 tunnels and crossed 20 bridges. The mountains were so thickly covered with snow that they looked as if they were barren hills covered with salt crystals.]

Thursday February 20. The envoys arrived at Rome at about 6 a.m. Captain Racchia's brother-in-law Charles Routti was waiting for them on the station platform. The manager of Rome Hotel was also there. The envoys proceeded to the hotel in carriages brought by the manager. At about 10 a.m., the private secretary to the Foreign Minister, "Barraton" called at the hotel to greet the envoys. He said that the Italian officials were very pleased to read Racchia's report, describing the magnificent ceremonies in which the King of the Sunrise received him at the Golden City and that Captain Racchia had left Burma for Singapore. The private secretary also informed the envoys that the Foreign Minister would be pleased to see them that day at about 1 p.m., and give them the details of their audience with the King of Italy the following day. The envoys received a letter from the Pope saying that he would be pleased to receive them at 11 a.m., the next day.

At 1 p.m., the envoys, Jones and Maung Myè went in carriages to the residence of the Foreign Minister, where they were received by the Foreign Minister and his staff. The envoys told him that they were on their way back to Burma and that they were looking forward to seeing the King of Italy again. The Foreign Minister expressed his delight at the gracious way in which His Burmese Majesty received the Italian envoy Racchia and was happy that the treaty of friendship between the two countries had been satisfactorily concluded. In the evening, at about 9, the envoys, Jones and Racchia's brother-in-law went to the theatre

where a special performance had been arranged for them by the Foreign Minister. Before going to the theatre, from 3 to 6 p.m., the envoys went to a carnival and watched a procession of decorated carriages, in which were riding men and women wearing gay and fancy costumes. Along the streets there were thousands of men and women, walking shoulder to shoulder, singing and dancing and, on windows and balconies there were hundreds of people. The men and women pelted each other lightly with artificial flowers made of chalk. There were perhaps a million or at least one hundred thousand people, and everybody was dancing, staging, shouting and laughing. But there were no drunkards, and there were no quarrels and fights. Kinwun Mingyi marvelled at the joyous and disciplined way the people of Rome celebrated this great festival. Towards the close of the carnival, a military officer with 500 soldiers wearing full uniforms and carrying weapons, appeared marching to the music of a band, and then the soldiers took their positions on both sides of the street. After some minutes a gun was fired 3 times as a signal, and the soldiers moved the crowds towards the sides of the street, so that an open space about 3½ yards wide was created. Then 4 horses without bridles were sent running along the open space from one end of the street to another. The envoys again marvelled at the disciplined behaviour of the crowd, for, there was no accident of any sort as the horses ran headlong. Again the signal gun fired 3 times, the commander and his soldiers marched away to the music of their band, and the crowd dispersed. The envoys were told that the carnival would be celebrated every afternoon until the following Tuesday.

Friday February 21. At 9 a.m., the private secretary to the Foreign Minister Barraton came and informed the envoys that the King of Italy would see them at 4 p.m.. At 11 a.m. in response to the letter received from the Pope the previous day, the envoys wearing their robes and chains of office, Jones wearing formal European dress,

JBR, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

and Maung Myè and Racchia's brother-in-law went in carriages to the palace of the Pope. From the entrance stairway to the audience chamber, the corridors were lined with uniformed guards holding long spears. When the envoys entered the throne room, the Sovereign Pope surrounded by his staff stood waiting to receive them. After shaking hands with the envoys, the Sovereign Pope sat down on the throne and the envoys took their seats on his left and right, and facing him. The envoys expressed their gratitude to the Pope for receiving them, and informed him that they were on their way back to the Golden City. They also said that His Burmese Majesty had always welcomed Roman Catholic missionaries to his country, as, for example, Bishops Bigandet and Don Paolo. The Pope expressed his gratitude to the Burmese King for his gracious treatment of those Roman Catholic missionaries, as his task and wish was for the spread of Christianity to all corners of the world. Then the Sovereign Pope prayed for the envoys to have a safe and pleasant voyage home. After about one half-hour, the envoys took their leave. It was the Sovereign Pope's 85th birthday. The priests who surrounded the Pope were called cardinals, and there were 72 of them. The name of the Pope was Pius IX. When a Pope died, the 72 cardinals elected from among themselves, his successor. When a person became Pope, he became purified of sin, and therefore whatever he did was blessed and all his prayers were certain to be fulfilled. That was the belief of the Roman Catholics. Although the full number of Prince cardinals was 72, there were at present only 62. All European kings after they had succeeded to the throne, were crowned by the Pope, and only at that coronation did they really become kings; that was why generations of European kings had to respect the Sovereign Pope. At 4 p.m., the envoys wearing their robes and chains of office, and Italian decorations, Jones wearing formal European dress and Italian decoration and chain of office, and Maung Myè and Racchia's brother-in-law went in carriages to the King's

palace. From the entrance stairs to the audience chamber, the corridors were lined with uniformed soldiers, carrying weapons. The envoys were received by the aide-de-camp, and were taken to the drawing room, where they found the King, wearing ordinary clothes, waiting to welcome them. After shaking hands with the King, the envoys explained that they were now on their way back to the Golden City, and remarked on the beauty and the richness of the Italian countryside with its mountains, rivers and cultivated fields. The King replied that he was glad that the envoys were able to tour Italy. He also said that he was grateful to His Burmese Majesty for receiving his envoy Racchia with such honour and regard. "The visit of Your Excellencies to my country and the visit of my ambassador to the Burmese kingdom," His Majesty continued, "will certainly result in closer relations between the two kingdoms, with advantage to both. When Your Excellencies arrive back at the Golden City, please inform His Burmese Majesty of my remarks. I wish Your Excellencies a safe journey across both land and sea". Then he shook hands with the envoys. The envoys thanked the King and took their leave. At 6 p.m., the King's secretary "Argamoor" called at the hotel and delivered to the envoys 5 proclamations of the King granting the orders to the four envoys and Jones, promulgated during their first visit. Informing the envoys that the King had sent by Racchia, a special decoration which only Kings could wear for the Burmese King, and 8 decorations for high officials, he asked for a list of high officials at the Golden City who had not received Italian decorations. The envoys replied that they would send the list from Burma. Then the King's secretary enquired whether the envoys would like to have a list of Italian officials who were thought worthy to be given Burmese decorations, compiled by the King of Italy himself. The envoys replied that they would very much like to have that list. Saying that he would come again in the evening

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

bringing photographs of his King, he went away. In the evening at about 9 o' clock, the King's secretary came and delivered to the envoys the following:

- 1 photograph of the King on horseback.
- 3 coloured portraits of the King.
- 8 large photographs of the King wearing Orders and decorations,
- 12 small photographs of the King wearing Orders and decorations.
- 4 large photographs of the King wearing a hat with plumes.
- 6 small photographs of the King wearing a hat with plumes.
- 6 photographs of the King holding his plumed hat in his hand.
- 7 photographs of the King in ordinary dress.
- 4 large photographs of the King wearing a single decoration.
- 2 small photographs of the King wearing a single decoration.
- 4 large portraits of the King wearing decorations.
- 4 medium sized portraits of the king in ordinary dress.
- 3 photographs of the Crown Prince.
- 3 photographs of the Crown Princess.
- 3 photographs Spain.
- 70 total number of photographs and portraits.

The envoys carefully packed the larger photographs and portraits in a special box for presentation to the King of the Sun of the King of rise, and divided the smaller ones among themselves. The envoys could not say farewell to the Crown Prince as he was away on a hunting holiday.

Saturday February 22. At about 8 a.m., the Foreign Minister, Vicount Vinstta and his

private secretary Barraton came to the hotel, and after wishing the envoys a safe and happy journey home, said farewell and went away. At about 1 p.m., the envoys and party together with Racchia's brother-in-law went to the railway station, and took the train for Brindisi which was 1600 kilometres or 344 miles from Rome. When the train arrived at Caserta at 6 p.m., the envoys went to the Victoria Hotel for dinner. The train waited for them. At about 9 p.m., they boarded the train again which continued its journey to Brindisi.

Sunday February 23. The train reached Bari station at 12 noon, and the envoys and party had their lunch at the station restaurant. They boarded *the* train again and reached Brindisi at 3 p.m. They were met at the station by the mayor of Brindisi and Captain "Karlina" and were taken to the Grand Hotel. The envoys in the evening entertained the mayor of Brindisi and the agent of P & O company to dinner. The envoys received a letter from the Royal Banker at Rangoon which reported in detail the arrival of the Italian envoy Racchia at Rangoon, his reception at the Golden City, his audience with the King of the Sunrise and his departure from Burma. The Royal Banker also reported that on his receiving the 5 letters sent by the envoys from Paris, he at once forwarded them by the royal messenger Maung Galay; but while the launch was stopping at Danubyu foreshore, a thief stole the bag of letters, and when chased, he escaped after throwing the bag into the water; the bag was not recovered.

Monday February 24. The envoys left Brindisi on *S.S. Poona* owned by the P & O company. Major McMahan arrived at Brindisi in early morning and went aboard the *S.S. Poona* together with the envoys

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

and party. McMahon informed the envoys that he had with him the Queen's reply to the letter of greeting sent by the King of the Sunrise which was duly delivered to her by the envoys, and a very beautiful portrait of Her Majesty. He also told the envoys that royal presents from the Queen to the King of the Sunrise were being sent to India to be there before he arrived so that he, as ambassador, could take them together with the letter and the portrait, to the Golden City. *S.S. Poona* was 315 square feet in area, 351 feet long, 41 feet broad, 32 feet deep, the engine was of 600 horse power, the tonnage was 2150, and the crew consisted of the captain Husker, 4 officers, the chief engineer Ross, 4 assistant engineers and 90 lascars. The average speed of the ship was 11 miles per hour. The ship proceeded in a southeasterly direction and on both sides of the ship, there was a continuous stream of sailing ships. Land was continuously in sight, as there were so many islands. There was no wind, the sky was absolutely clear, and the sea was smooth, and the ship sailed steadily.

Tuesday February 25. The sea remained calm and the sky remained clear. On both sides of the ship, land in the form of islands and peninsulas was constantly in sight. On both sides of the ship also, there was a continuous line of steam and sailing ships. At 12 noon, the captain announced that the ship, after leaving Brindisi, had covered 268 miles.

Wednesday February 26. Until 6 a.m., land was still in sight, but after that time the envoys could not see any land. However, many ships, both steam ships and sailing ships, passed by. The sea remained calm. The captain announced at noon that the ship had covered 268 miles during the last 24 hours. As the ship was expected to arrive at Alexandria on February 27, the envoys put their reports for submission to the King, in a bag, and after sealing it, gave it to Jones for posting at the Alexandria post office.

Thursday February 27. The sea remained calm. Land became visible on the left and on the right of the ship in the early morning, but later it disappeared from view. Many steam and sailing ships passed by. At 3 p.m., land was again visible on the right side of the ship, and the envoys were informed that it was the coast on which Alexandria was situated. After one hour, the ship approached Alexandria. At noon, the ship had covered 268 miles during the last 24 hours. From noon that day until the ship entered the Alexandria harbour at 4 p.m., the distance covered was 40 miles as the ship was travelling at the rate of 10 miles an hour. Therefore, the total distance from Brindisi harbour to Alexandria harbour was over 840 miles. The envoys were met at Alexandria by Major Sulaiman Bey who had been sent by the Governor-General of Egypt to attend on the envoys. He informed the envoys that the Governor-General had instructed him to assist the envoys in every way possible during their stay in Alexandria, and that he had a royal launch ready for the envoys to come ashore, carriages to take them to their hotel and later to the railway station, and porters, boats and carts to carry their luggage. The envoys went ashore in the royal launch and went to Europe Hotel in the carriages. The envoys requested Major Bey to ascertain whether there would be enough time for them to go to Cairo to say farewell to the Governor-General and Major Sulaiman Bey went and asked the chief agent of the P & O company the date and time the mail boat was due to leave Suez. He was informed that the ship was due to leave Suez in the early morning of February 28, which meant that the envoys would have to leave Alexandria at 7 p.m., that evening and go straight to Suez. So the envoys asked Major Sulaiman Bey to convey to the Governor-General their regret for their inability to come to Cairo and say farewell to him, and their gratitude for his hospitality and consideration in sending Major Sulaiman Bey to meet them. After thanking and

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

bidding farewell to Major Sulaiman Bey, the envoys boarded the train and travelled the whole night.

Friday February 28. The envoys arrived at Suez at 7 a.m., and before leaving the station, they enquired whether the ship was sailing immediately and were informed that the departure had been postponed to the following day. Accordingly, the envoys and party went to Suez Hotel where they had stayed before. They enquired about the royal ship and learnt that it had left only 8 days before, namely on the 20th. Major McMahon sent a telegram to the English Commissioner of Aden, informing him that the Burmese envoys would be passing through Aden, and also enquiring the date on which the royal ship left Aden. Kinwun Mingyi also sent a telegram to Jones' agent in Ceylon asking him to convey the following instructions to Hpangyet Wundauk on his arrival in Ceylon on the royal ship: "Hpangyet Wundauk to take passage on another ship to Rangoon; Captain Brown to draw the necessary funds from Jones' agent and pay the cost of Hpangyet Wundauk's passage; Captain Brown and the royal ship to await the arrival of the envoys in Ceylon". As Major Sulaiman Bey had sent his instructions by telegram to the authorities of Suez, they came and attended on the envoys. At 4.30 in the afternoon, the envoys left the hotel and proceeded to the harbour where they boarded the ship. They had dinner and spent the night on the ship.

Saturday March 1. The ship left Suez at 10.30 a.m. Before it left McMahon received a telegram from the English commissioner of Aden, saying that he would be happy to meet the envoys on their arrival at Aden. The name of the ship was *Malabar* and it was 365 square feet in area, 372 feet long, 39 feet wide, 31 feet deep, the engine had 450 horsepower, the total tonnage was 1775, and the crew consisted of Captain Hyde, 5 officers, chief engineer Petty Cruz, 6 assistant engineers and 85 lascars. There

were 132 first class cabins and 50 second class cabins, making a total of 182 cabins. The captain and the chief engineer informed the envoys that the speed of the ship was 11 miles an hour. As the ship started to leave harbour, a warship came in, and there were the usual dipping of flags in salute. The envoys learned that the warship belonged to the King of Spain. The sea was exceptionally calm. At about midnight, on the right as a steam ship passed by, heading for Suez, it sent up into the sky flares which burnt white and yellow. *S.S. Malabar* also sent up the same white and yellow flares. Kinwun Mingyi asked the captain about the flares and the latter explained that under the rules and regulations of the company, a P & O boat on passing another P & O boat at night, was required to send up flares in greeting. Kinwun Mingyi learnt that *S.S. Malabar* was actually travelling at 12 miles an hour.

[On March 2 at noon, the ship had travelled 278 miles during the previous 24 hours. *On March 3,* Kinwun Mingyi noticed that the sea had become wider and land was no longer visible. The weather remained calm, but it was very hot. At noon, the ship had travelled 244 miles. *On March 4,* it became extremely hot. The sea was as calm as a lake. At noon, the ship stopped its engines and sounded the depth of the sea. It had covered 253 miles in the previous 24 hours. *On March 5,* the sea remained calm and the weather was still very hot. At midnight one ship passed on the right, and another on the left. Both ships sent up flares because both were P & O boats. The captain told Kinwun Mingyi that the ship on the left was from Australia and the ship on the right was from Bombay. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the wind began to blow from the south and by evening, the sea became rough, and the portholes had to be closed. At noon that day, the ship had travelled only 249 miles. *On March 6,* the ship entered the straits leading to Aden harbour. At noon, the ship had covered only 204 miles. At 3 p.m., the high winds began to abate.

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

At 7 p.m., the ship dropped anchor in Aden harbour and began to take on coal. As it was night already, it was not possible to meet the English officials at Aden, but the envoys' usual reports were posted at the post office. Some time after midnight the ship left Aden. From noon that day until the ship entered Aden, the distance covered was 74 miles. Another P & O ship passed by and flares were exchanged. *On March 7*, the wind became strong again, and by noon the ship had covered 76 miles since leaving Aden. The wind subsided only after midnight. *On March 8*, the envoys saw Cape Guardafui on the coast of Africa, some miles away. At noon the ship had travelled 246 miles for the past 24 hours. *On March 9*, the sea was again calm and the ship was now in open ocean. By noon the ship had covered 236 miles. *On March 10* only a light breeze was blowing and there were some flying fishes here and there. At noon the ship had covered 265 miles. Kinwun Mingyi saw a bird flying by, and wondered how long the bird had been flying as the ship was so far away from land. *On March 11*, the envoys observed that flying fishes had become more plentiful, and at noon the ship had covered 244 miles. As the distance between Aden and Ceylon was 2134 miles, at noon they had covered half the distance. *On March 12*, 2 birds flew by, and Kinwun Mingyi again wondered how long the birds had been flying. At noon the ship had covered 258 miles. At 6 p.m., a strong wind started to blow from the east, and the captain put up another sail. *On March 13*, the east wind remained strong and although the sea was calm, the ship was wallowing because of the sail. At noon the ship had covered 264 miles. At 6 p.m., the sky became cloudy. *On March 14*, the east wind subsided a little and one of the sails was pulled down. Now the ship was sailing in a southeasterly direction. At noon the ship had sailed 232 miles.]

Saturday March 15, Kinwun Mingyi observed a number of large fishes swimming

alongside the ship. The sea was so calm that it seemed to be merely a large lake. At noon the ship had covered 274 miles and only 62 miles remained to reach Ceylon. The captain informed Kinwun Mingyi that he expected to reach Ceylon at 6 p.m. The mountains of Ceylon could be seen through a telescope, and many Sinhalese fishing boats were sighted. At 5 p.m., the ship entered Galle harbour. The envoys were met by the commanding officer of the English garrison, Major Barnes, Hpanyet Wundauk, Captain Brown and the French captain, Louis Moran. Major Barnes informed the envoys that all arrangements had been made for the envoys to disembark if they so wished. So the envoys, McMahan, Jones and Maung Myè left the ship and were rowed ashore in a boat. At once from the fort nearby 19 guns were fired in salute. As the envoys walked up the shore, the guard of honour saluted with their rifles. Together with Major Barnes, the envoys and party travelled in carriages to the Oriental Hotel. The envoys entertained Major Barnes to dinner at the hotel that evening. Captain Brown reported to Kinwun Mingyi that as one of the pipes attached to the boiler was being repaired, the royal ship would be ready to sail only on Tuesday next. Kinwun Mingyi instructed Hpanyet Wundauk and attendants to continue their journey home on *S.S. Malabar* and they made preparations accordingly. Major Barnes informed the envoys that the Governor-General of India had instructed him by telegram to accord to the Burmese envoys all honours and courtesies due to ambassadors of a friendly sovereign country, including a salute of 19 guns and a guard of honour.

Sunday March 16. As the captain of *S. S. Malabar* informed the envoys by letter that the departure of the ship had been postponed to the next day at *noon*, Hpanyet Wundauk and attendants remained on board the royal ship. The envoys stayed in the hotel and bathed and washed their hair. At 3 p.m., the Sinhalese

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

official Peter de Rutt whose position was like that of a mayor, being placed in charge of the people of Galle, called at the hotel, together with his nephew Zeylankakoon and 4 representatives of the people of Galle, and greeted the envoys. Afterwards the official took the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk), McMahan, Jones, Maung Myè and attendants in carriages to his residence which was situated on an estate. He showed to the envoys three decorations that were given to his ancestors by the ancient Kings of Ceylon. He served the envoys with betel leaves, betel nuts and lime. Later, he took the envoys round his estate which was full of cocoanut palms. In addition, there were mango, custard apple, nutmeg, bread-fruit trees and pineapple bushes. [Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed description of the various trees and plants grown on the estate.] After returning to the hotel, the envoys walked along the road by the beach, and were informed that it actually led to Colombo which was some 70 miles away, and along this road travelled carriages carrying mail and passengers. On both sides of this road, there were hundreds of cocoanut palms of all sizes, large, medium and small. The earth was red-dish in colour. The houses were mostly of brick and roofed with tiles. There were only a few mud houses roofed with thatch or matting. Both men and women had long hair, wearing it in a knot at the back of the head. The dresses of men and women were similar, except that the dresses of men were long and those of women were short. The men had combs in their hair but not the women. Rice was the main item of sale in the market. At 6 p.m., a Buddhist abbot named Thiri Thudhamma Linkara Pyinnyar Nanda from a nearby village with 6 of his monks, called to greet the envoys, and he and Kinwun Mingyi conversed in Pali. At Kinwun Mingyi's request, he gave a description of the Sacred Tooth of Kandy which he had worshipped. It was the size of a little finger and it had a wonderful colour, not quite white. He was unable to give an exact description of the sacred mountain of Zedipada as he visited it many years before as a mere

child. He informed Kinwun Mingyi that there were 2 main sects of Buddhist monks in Ceylon, the Siamese sect and Amarapura sect. The Siamese sect had broken into two sub-sects since many years before; the Amarapura sect used to be united until recent years when it broke into many sub-sects. Buddhism in Ceylon was on the wane because Ceylon was under alien rulers. After about one half-hour, the monks went away.

Monday March 17. At 9 a.m., the mayor-official of Galle came and presented to the envoys some seedlings and plants. A Burmese, Maung Ba brought flowers, perfumes and prayer flags, and requested the envoys to please take them to the Golden City and offer them on his behalf to the Mahamyatmuni pagoda at Amarapura. He also brought 4 caskets containing sacred relics to be presented to His Burmese Majesty, the Chief Queen, the Middle Queen and the Salin Queen. Maung Ba, together with his wife Ma Kwai and one daughter, had been living in Galle for the past 30 years. They used to live near Setkyar Wungyi Bridge in Amarapura. They left Amarapura in the year 1841, when the present King's royal father, King Tharrawaddy came down to Okkalapa (Rangoon). Maung Ba once came back to the Golden City when he accompanied a Sinhalese monk U Sandamar, and when U Sandamar was given an audience by His Burmese Majesty, he also was present. Later in the afternoon, a Sinhalese nobleman called at the hotel and explaining that the herald U Po Min when he visited Ceylon was his guest at his house, showed to the envoys a ruby ring, a gold cup and a silken dress received as presents from His Burmese Majesty, and a letter and some scriptural writings sent by the High Commissioner, Lord of Pakhan. He also showed to the envoys, original correspondence between him and the Golden Palace in which he informed the King that he had set aside a piece of land on which a monastery would be built

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

by His Majesty. Kinwun Mingyi received the information that this Sinhalese lord was a much respected and influential figure among the people of Ceylon. Some time later, an English teacher Philip Marks, who was the elder brother of English teacher Marks of the Golden City, called on the envoys, and after greeting them, said that he was still waiting for an opportunity to visit the Golden City. In reply to a question put by Kinwun Mingyi, he said that there were 20 to 30 English schools in Ceylon. Then the English assistant commissioner of Galle, one Mr. Mason, came and greeted the envoys and offered his services and assistance throughout their stay in Ceylon. Then the nephew of the mayor-official came and enquired whether it would be possible for the envoys to see a delegation of some 60 monks and many lay people, and the envoys replied that they would be happy to meet the monks and the lay people, the next day at 8 a.m. Early in the morning of that day, the envoys received a letter from a Buddhist abbot named Dhamma Lankara Thiri Thumanna Teiktha inviting them to visit his monastery, and offering to come to the hotel if the envoys could not accept his invitation; and the envoys replied that as they were so busy and could not come to the monastery, they would be most grateful if the abbot could come to see them at the hotel. At 2 p.m., the abbot with some 30 of his monks arrived at the hotel. [The abbot gave all the information sought by Kinwun Mingyi regarding the ancient temples and cities of Ceylon.] The abbot then explained that there were 2 main sects of Buddhist monks in Ceylon, namely the Siamese sect and Amarapura sect. The Siamese sect had become divided into 2 sub-sects many years before, and it was regrettable that the Amarapura sect which had remained united so long, should have become divided into so many sub-sects in recent years. This dissension among the clergy and the general decay of Buddhism in Ceylon were due to the fact that the present rulers of Ceylon were aliens and therefore were not patrons of Buddhism; and so the future of Buddhism in

Ceylon depended entirely on the sovereign of justice, the upholder of Buddhism, the King of the Sunrise, His Majesty of Burma. He requested Kinwun Mingyi to give his patronage and protection to all Sinhalese monks visiting the Golden City, because it was now the centre of the Buddhistic world, and also his attention to letters concerning religious matters sent from Ceylon to various personages in the Golden City. On Kinwun Mingyi's giving his undertaking to do so to the best of his ability, the abbot gave his name, titles and the name of his monastery, and obtained from Kinwun Mingyi, his name and titles. Some time later, the abbot who came the previous day, came again and after a short conversation, gave to Kinwun Mingyi a small silver casket containing sacred relics. As requested, Kinwun Mingyi gave his photograph to the abbot. Soon after the abbot left, 2 monks from 2 famous monasteries nearby came and greeted the envoys. They were accompanied by a young messenger who brought for the envoys a picture of Colombo and a history of the English in Ceylon sent as presents by a nobleman from Balapitiya, Rajapakse. That Sinhalese nobleman belonged to an ancient family which had acted as patrons of Buddhism for many generations. He was sick in bed and unable to come in person. The two monks informed Kinwun Mingyi that when 2 attendants in the palace at the Golden City came and visited Ceylon some months before, the two monks gave them some letters seeking answers to some points of controversy in the Buddhist scriptures. As they had not received any reply to those letters, they requested Kinwun Mingyi to look into the matter. Kinwun Mingyi promised to do so. Kinwun Mingyi sent back by the messenger a letter of thanks and his photograph for the nobleman. At 7 p.m., the envoys, McMahan, Jones and Maung Myè rode in carriages and went to the dinner given by the banker Spencer who was Jones' agent in Ceylon. There were some 20 guests including Major Barnes and the

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

assistant commissioner. The guests greeted the envoys respectfully and cordially. Spencer was a well-known figure in Galle. After about 45 minutes, the envoys returned to the hotel. Since the envoys arrived in Ceylon, rain fell regularly every evening at 6 o'clock. The weather was very hot.

Tuesday March 18. An abbot and 30 monks representing the Amarapura sect and another abbot with 30 monks representing the Siamese sect assembled at the residence of the fourth Mudilier. There were 4 Mudiliers in Galle namely, the first Mudilier who was the chief official interpreter of the Sinhalese language, the second Mudilier who was in charge of the gates of the city, the third Mudilier who was like a mayor, and the fourth Mudilier was a magistrate. The envoys went to the fourth Mudilier's residence in banker Spencer's carriage, accompanied by Jones and Maung Myè. The representatives of the two sects were sitting separately. When the envoys arrived, the monks belonging to the Siamese sect recited some extracts from the Scriptures and then the representatives of the Amarapura sect re-cited further extracts from the Scriptures. The envoys together with the congregation of some 200 Sinhalese men and women listened respectfully to the recitations. Kinwun Mingyi learnt that the Siamese sect was rounded by the abbot Upali, who was from Siam, some 123 years before, and Amarapura sect was rounded by a Sinhalese monk who went to Amarapura to study the Scriptures during the reign of the founder of that city, King Bodawpaya. After about one half-hour, the envoys went along with the abbot of the Amarapura sect to the latter's monastery where they worshipped a Buddha image housed in a temple. That was the only temple that the envoys were able to visit in Galle. The envoys also went to visit a press which was printing copies of news-papers in the Sinhalese language. The envoys then drove to the harbour where Major Barnes greeted them and the guard of honour saluted them with their rifles. The

envoys then went down to the wharf as the guns from the nearby fort fired a 19 gun salute. The wharf and the bridge leading to it were decorated by the people of Galle with cocoanut branches and cocoanut flowers. The envoys boarded the royal ship *Setkyar Yinbyan* at 9 a.m., and it steamed out of Galle harbour. The envoys had breakfast on board. The ship sailed along the beach and the envoys saw a continuous line of mansions, plantations, gardens and cocoanut groves, green and blue in colour from a distance. At 3 p.m., rain fell very heavily. Major Barnes and the English teacher Philip Marks were also on the ship, and they were entertained to lunch by the envoys. At about 5 p.m., the royal ship entered Colombo harbour. There was an English warship in the harbour called H.M.S. *Glasgow* and the moment its crew saw the royal ship they fired a salute of 19 guns. The sailors climbed the masts and waved to the envoys in greeting, as its flag dipped. The captain of the warship came towards the royal ship in a rowing boat, and the English assistant commissioner of Colombo also approached in another row-boat. The envoys were taken ashore by the captain in his row-boat. As the envoys walked up the bridge of the wharf, the shore batteries fired another salute of 19 guns. Ceylon was divided into 6 administrative districts each under an English commissioner. The commissioner of Colombo received the envoys and escorted them to the Galle Face Hotel. There was a huge crowd of men and women waiting to greet the envoys. As the envoys reached the hotel, the band played and the guard of honour saluted. Afterwards the commissioner took the envoys in his carriage on a sightseeing tour of the city. It was thickly populated, the population being 110,000. Cocoanut palms, tamarind trees and banana plants and cinnamon trees were grown all over the city. There was a railway connecting Colombo with Galle. Throughout the night, soldiers guarded the hotel. Gas lights were just being introduced to light the streets. Both the city and the harbour were indeed very

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

beautiful. The distance between Colombo and Galle was 70 miles.

Wednesday March 19. At 9 a.m., the English commissioner of Colombo, Laire came with carriages to the hotel, and then took the envoys and party to the railway station, where they were saluted by a guard of honour while their band played. After saying "goodbye" to the commissioner, envoys and party took the train to Kandy. [Kinwun Mingyi described in detail the beautiful hills and paddy fields, gardens, and plantations in valleys and on terraces, and the busy farm and plantation workers. He noticed specially the coffee plantations.] At 1.45 p.m., the train entered Kandy station, and the envoys were met by the English commissioner of Kandy, Parson, the Sinhalese lord in charge of the Sacred Tooth, and the commander or the garrison, all wearing full uniforms and decorations. The guard of honour saluted, then the English commissioner took the envoys to Queen's Hotel. The route from the station to the hotel was lined with hundreds of men and women. The moment the envoys entered the hotel, the commander of the garrison placed sentries round it. Attendants, who were called "peons" waited in the corridors to receive instructions from the envoys. [In the afternoon the commissioner took the envoys and party to the botanical gardens. Kinwun Mingyi learned that the place was merely dank forest at the time the English conquered Ceylon. The English then cleared the forest and turned the place into a botanical garden with every kind of tree from all parts of the world. A river called Maha Welu Ganga flowed through it. Kinwun Mingyi noted the exact differences of time between London, Rome and Ceylon.]

Thursday March 20. Kinwun Mingyi received from a Sinhalese land official a beautiful image of the Buddha, full one foot high, made of sandalwood. The abbots of the Assagiri and Popa Rama monasteries near the temple of the Sacred Tooth, accompanied by some 20 monks, called at the hotel and greeted the envoys.

[Kinwun Mingyi learned with interest that the temple of the Tooth was under the charge of these two abbots and the hereditary Lord Keeper of the Tooth. The chamber containing the casket of the Tooth could be opened only when all three were present. There had been a number of "Temples of the Tooth" all over the island, the first temple was now in ruins in thick jungle. On Kinwun Mingyi expressing a desire to visit the Sacred hill Zedipada, the abbots explained that it was very far. The abbots had visited it and the Footprint there was about 2 yards in length and without the usual marks associated with Buddha's Footprints. The abbots suggested that Kinwun Mingyi should visit a temple in Kandy which had a model of the Footprint of the Zedipada Hill. The abbots explained that the hill was sacred not only to Buddhists but to Muslims and Hindus also, because just as Buddhists believed the Footprint to be that of the Buddha, the Muslims believed it to be the Footprint of Adam and Hindus believed it to be the Footprint of Siva or Vishnu. Kinwun Mingyi learned that during the time of the Sinhalese Kings, the Sacred Tooth was exposed to the public for worship only once in 25 or 30 years, but under the English, it was exposed for worship by the general public once a year, namely in March; in addition the chamber of the Sacred Tooth was opened to allow foreign dignitaries visiting Ceylon, as for example, a king, a prince or an ambassador, to worship the Tooth.] At 6 p.m., the English commissioner came with carriages and took the envoys, McMahon, Jones, Maung Myè and attendants to the garden of the old kings of Ceylon within the palace walls. The palace itself had been repaired and modified, and was being used as the English commissioner's residence. To the south of this palace, was the temple of the Tooth. A large crowd of officials and dignitaries, both men and women, had assembled inside the temple to greet the envoys. At 7 p.m., the Lord Keeper of the Tooth and leading Buddhists of the city wearing

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

long robes, came in procession to the commissioner's residence to escort the envoys to the temple. Kinwun Mingyi was wearing not only his ceremonial robes and chains of office, but also his golden headdress. The other envoys wore their robes and chains of office. Together with the commissioner, the envoys walked along the roadway about 200 yards in length, leading to the temple. Crowds of men and women, from both sides of the roadway, watched the envoys go by. English officers with their soldiers stood by on duty. Musicians attached to the temple played on drums and trumpets. The procession walked up the brick stairs to the chamber of the Tooth. The Lord Keeper produced the key and the two abbots surrounded by their monks opened the door with the key. Inside was a stupa. The Lord Keeper and the abbots carefully inspected and then broke the seal placed on the keyhole, and the two abbots opened the stupa with another key *produced* by Lord Keeper. Inside was another stupa and again the seal on the keyhole was carefully inspected and broken and the stupa unlocked. Inside was the third stupa, and the previous procedure was followed to open it. Inside was the fourth stupa and inside the fourth was the fifth. The same procedure was followed to open these two stupas. Inside the fifth stupa, was the Sacred Tooth. The first stupa was 2 yards broad at the base and 2 yards high; the fifth one was 1 inch broad and 4 inches tall. All the 5 stupas were of pure gold; the first with inscribed flower designs, and the other 4 studded with diamonds, emeralds and rubies. The Tooth was then brought out, placed on a golden tray made in the shape of a lotus petal. Then the tray was placed on a golden throne, covered with a cloth of gold with embroidered patterns woven in gold and silver thread. The placing of the Tooth on the tray and then on the throne was done by the two abbots. The length of the Sacred Tooth was three fingers' breadth, its circumference at one end was that of the ring finger, and at the other end was that of the little finger. As to its colour, it was a mixture of red and white in the middle, and reddish at both ends. Both ends were rounded smooth and in the

middle there were marks as if made by a stylus. The envoys knelt before the Tooth, but as the room was now overcrowded with worshippers, they asked the abbots for permission to come again the following day. Kinwun Mingyi offered a five-tiered chandelier to the Sacred Tooth. The envoys and party then returned to their hotel in the commissioner's carriage and had dinner there. McMahan and Jones stayed back at the palace to have dinner with the commissioner. The first *Mudilier* of *Galle* came to the *hotel* and explained to the envoys that he was not at Galle when the envoys visited it, because he had come to Kandy thinking that the royal ship would arrive at Galle only some days later. As he had made special preparations to welcome the envoys to Galle, he was very disappointed with himself that he should be absent when the envoys actually arrived there.

[*On March 21*, a Sinhalese nobleman Tikiri Bandapanabokaye who was also an official under the English, called at the hotel and said that he had been instructed by the English authorities to escort the envoys to various temples nearby. At Kinwun Mingyi's request, he explained the duties and privileges of the Lord Keeper of the Tooth. All over Ceylon, there were endowments of arable lands belonging to the temple of the Tooth, and the Lord Keeper had to supervise the hereditary workers on those lands. There were some 10,000 such workers all over Ceylon, both men and women. Of those there were teams of 8 workers each, who were responsible for the cleaning of the temple. The prevailing arrangement was for each team to reside in the temple for a fortnight every year. The net annual income from *the* lands, was about 10,000 kyats. Another 10,000 kyats was received as public donations. Out of the income, were incurred the expenses of offering almsfood, water and flowers to the Sacred *Tooth* twice during *the* day, and offering of lights throughout the night. The Lord Keeper received an annual salary of 2,000 Kyats out of the temple funds. In the evening, the envoys again went to the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

temple of the Sacred Tooth. The same careful procedure of opening the chamber and the stupas was followed. Again there was a huge crowd of men, women and monks. In response to their request, the envoys were given an exact replica of the Tooth. Earlier, in the afternoon, the envoys together with the English commissioner visited a plantation, where they were entertained by the Indian labourers on the estate, who performed Indian dances and played Indian tunes. *On March 22*, the envoys visited some temples and monasteries. In the afternoon, the Lord Keeper of the Sacred Tooth Nilamay came with 10 elephants richly caprisoned, and invited the envoys to come with him to visit his residence some 2 miles away on the elephants. The envoys accepted his invitation, but travelled in the commissioner's carriage. On both sides of the road there were hundreds of men, women and monks. Dancers and musicians, riding on the elephants, sang and played. It started to rain heavily, but the crowd of onlookers and the performers were not at all disturbed. On arrival at the Lord Keeper's residence, the envoys were served with refreshments. The Lord Keeper gave a speech expressing his gratitude to the Lord of the Sunrise for honouring him with this visit of the Burmese envoys. Kinwun Mingyi thanked the Lord Keeper and announced his intention of offering a gold cup on behalf of the King to the Sacred Tooth the following day. *On March 23*, the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk) again went and worshipped the Sacred Tooth. The envoys were shown rubies, emeralds, gold and silver ornaments offered to the Tooth by Kings of Burma in the past and Scriptures written on gold plates offered by a King of Siam. The Lord Keeper's son-in-law Ellankakoon came and presented to Kinwun Mingyi a silver betal box which was used by his ancestors, and two fans made of feathers used by ancient Kings of Ceylon. He asked permission from Kinwun Mingyi to correspond with him. *On March 24*, the envoys and party escorted by the English commissioner visited some more temples and a palace which in the old days was used as the

meeting place of royal officials and nobles, but which was now used as a law court. They also went to look at a summer palace by the side of an artificial lake, which building was now used as a public library by the English. Some Sinhalese nobles gave various presents including silver images of the Buddha, fans made of feathers and walking sticks, to the envoys. In the afternoon the envoys were escorted to the railway station by the English commissioner. At the station, the envoys were saluted by a guard of honour of 200 soldiers. After saying fare-well to the English commissioner Parson, the officer commanding the guard of honour, Major Stower and Captain Gordon, the envoys took the train to Colombo. On arrival at Colombo station, they were met by the Commissioner Laire and a guard of honour. The envoys drove to the harbour in the commissioner's carriage. At the harbour also there was a guard of honour under Major Barnes himself. A salute of 19 guns was fired from the fort. The English commissioner and Major Barnes came aboard the *Setkyar Yinbyan* together with the envoys, and then after saying farewell to the envoys they left the ship. At 6 o'clock in the evening the royal ship left Colombo harbour as it started to rain very heavily. *On March 25*, at 6 a.m., the royal ship passed Galle and turned towards the east, sailing along the southern coast of Ceylon. As the royal ship kept itself only 2 miles away from shore Kinwun Mingyi watched the distant hills of Ceylon and was impressed by the beauty of the scenery. At about 6 p.m., the ship passed the southeastern corner of Ceylon and sailed northeastwards into the open sea towards Calcutta. Kinwun Mingyi noticed a big turtle about a yard long floating in the water. The sea was very calm. *On March 26*, the weather remained fine. At noon the ship had covered 200 miles in the past 24 hours. *On March 27*, Kinwun Mingyi noticed that the ship was now sailing northwards and the captain informed him that it was directly in line with Madras. By noon the ship had covered 220 miles and at

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

4.30 p.m., the captain told Kinwun Mingyi that it was now half way between Ceylon and Calcutta. *On March 28*, the sea remained very calm but the sun was very hot. By noon the ship had covered 220 miles. *On March 29* the captain informed Kinwun Mingyi that he expected the ship to pass the light-ship near Calcutta the next morning. By noon the ship had travelled 230 miles. As the ship was now entering the narrower part of the Bay of Bengal between Madras coast and the Chittagong coast the sea was very rough. Although only a light breeze was blowing the ship was wallowing. The exact distance between Galle and Calcutta was 1500 miles. At midnight Kinwun Mingyi saw a light-ship which sent up a flare every half hour. About one hour later, the ship passed the first light-ship guarding the entrance to Calcutta harbour and it was showing the light intermittently. The royal ship reported its name, destination and tonnage by means of signal lights. As the tonnage of the royal ship was less than 2000, the light-ship signalled the royal ship to pick up a pilot at the next light-ship. So when the royal ship passed the second light-ship, it sent a pilot. *On March 30* at 6 a.m., the royal ship entered the river leading to Calcutta. On both banks there were many light-houses and in the river itself there was a continuous line of buoys. The royal ship signalled its name and other details by means of flags, to the telegraphic office on the river bank. Kinwun Mingyi noticed that the water was no longer sea water, but muddy tidal water, reminding him of the water in the Rangoon harbour. By noon the ship had travelled 294 miles. The river became narrower and on both sides gar-dens and houses were visible. The royal ship, on arrival at Calcutta, dropped anchor near a small fort. The port commissioner Captain Henderson came on board and greeted the envoys. He told them that some 3 days ago Hpanyet Wundauk arrived and was now staying at the official guest house on Chowringhee Street. He also invited the envoys to come ashore and stay in another guest house in Chowringhee Street which had been specially

pre-pared for their reception. The envoys thanked him and replied that they would come ashore the following morning at 8 to stay in the guest house. The royal ship was declared to be exempted from all port charges and customs inspection. At 6 p.m., Hpanyet Wundauk came on board and reported that he had hooked passage on the mail boat due to leave at 6 a.m., the following day. He brought with him letters received from Kinwun Mingyi's household, royal herald Maung Hla Bu, and Maung Po Hla. The letters contained no news of importance except that the King had praised the envoys for their loyal services. *On March 31* at 8 a.m., the protocol officer from the Governor-General came to the ship in the Governor-General's row-boat and took the envoys and party ashore. The guns from the fort fired a salute of 19 guns. The Governor-General's carriage drawn by 4 horses and carriages drawn by 2 horses were waiting to take the envoys to the guest house. There was an escort of 4 horsemen in rich uniforms and holding spears. At about 5 p.m., the envoys and party went for a drive along the shore to Eden gardens, which were crowded with men, women, carriages and bands. The envoys received a report from the Royal Banker at Rangoon that 4 *hundies* to the total value of 100,000 Kyats relating to physician Clement Williams, arrived and after the Royal Banker had signed them, *they* were submitted to the King; but a telegram was received canceling the *hundies*, and the contents of the telegram was reported to the King. *On April 1*, the envoys went sightseeing. A letter was received from the Governor-General saying that he would be pleased to see the envoys on the following Thursday. *On April 2*, Kinwun Mingyi, the Royal Secretary, McMahan, and Jones visited the fort. They inspected the quarters of the officers and other ranks. Kinwun Mingyi observed 2000 ordinary cannons and 20 large cannons similar to those in the factory of Sir William Armstrong Jones. They again visited Eden gardens. Then

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

they went for a drive inside the city itself and Kinwun Mingyi found the roads to be narrow and dirty, the markets overcrowded and not properly organised, the houses too congested and the city overpopulated. In the evening Kinwun Kingyi was sick with indigestion.]

Thursday April 3. At 3 p.m., Kinwun Mingyi, Pandee Wundauk and McMahon rode in a carriage to Government House. They were received by high officials and taken to the office of the private secretary. The envoys and McMahon together with the private secretary proceeded to the reception chamber. Although the Governor-General Lord Northbrook was at a conference with his ministers, he at once came in and greeted the envoys warmly. After saying how pleased he was to meet the envoys, he spoke about England and the difference in climate between England and Bengal. "Is the guest house comfortable for Your Excellencies?" he asked. The envoys replied it was very comfortable and thanked him for his hospitality. "Your Excellencies", the Governor-General continued, "please be free to discuss any matter or business with me, although Your Excellencies' embassy is to London and not to Calcutta". The envoys replied that they had no business or matter to discuss with the Governor-General; and that they had been sent to England to strengthen the friendship between the two kingdoms, and they felt happy that just as the Queen, the Crown Prince and lords and high officials in England had received them with courtesy and cordiality the Governor-General was now receiving them with courtesy and cordiality. After about one half-hour the envoys took their leave.

Friday April 4. At 10 a.m., the private secretary to the Governor-General called at the hotel and after asking about the envoys' tour of England, asked on what date the envoys would be leaving Calcutta, as he wanted to send full instructions to Eden to receive the envoys on their arrival at Rangoon. The envoys replied that they would be leaving Calcutta on Wednesday

April 9. After the private secretary had left, the Bishop of Calcutta and his assistant called at the hotel and greeted the envoys. The bishop had been in the Golden City when McMahon was serving as the British Resident there. At 8 p.m., the envoys with McMahon went in a carriage to Government House, where they were received by the Governor-General and his sister. At the banquet that followed, which was in honour of the envoys, there were some 30 guests including the mayor of Bengal, the secretary to the government of India, the commander-in-chief of the English army in India. As the chief guest, Kinwun Mingyi sat on the right of the Governor-General. During the dinner there was an enjoyable conversation about Burmese history and English history. After dinner, the conversation continued for one half-hour and then the Governor-General, the envoys and the English officials moved to another room, where the Governor-General held a reception in honour of the envoys. The envoys found in the reception room high English officials who were not invited to the dinner, non-English high dignitaries, both Hindu and Muslim, an envoy from Japan, and Jones. There were also some ladies among the guests. Refreshments were served as a band played to entertain the guests. This Government House was built some 70 years before during the governor-generalship of Duke of Wellington's elder brother. The Governor-General took the envoys to another room and showed them an oil portrait of that Governor-General and his younger brother, Duke of Wellington. After about 45 minutes, the envoys took their leave.

Saturday April 5. At about 4.45 p.m., the envoys (without Pandee Wundauk), McMahon and Jones went to the residence of the Chief Minister where they were cordially received by the Chief Minister. The envoys and the Chief Minister had a conversation about Assam, Manipur, the frontier, roads between the Burmese kingdom and those two Indian provinces, and the hill tribes such as the Kachins.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

After about a half-hour, the envoys took leave of the Chief Minister. The attendants spent the afternoon going round the markets and buying various goods for their own use. The Roman Catholic bishop Don Paolo, state scholar Nga Tha Hta, the foreman of the royal smithy Nga Khet, and the royal tea-attendant Nga Po Cho who were being sent to Italy by the King of the Sunrise, came to the hotel to pay their respects. They reported that they reached Calcutta 3 days before. An Englishman from Bradford, who was the brother-in-law of Major Magrath called on the envoys and said that he had received a letter from his wife, son and daughter and Magrath from London asking him to go and meet the envoys on their arrival at Calcutta. The envoys told him that they met Magrath and his sister, almost every day during their stay in London and had become very fond of them. The envoys entertained him to lunch and he stayed conversing with the envoys until 3 p.m.

Sunday April 6. Bishop Don Paolo came again to the hotel, bringing with him a merchant, his wife and a small son. The merchant was from Rome and was on his way to the Golden City to start a business, and if the business proved promising, to take up permanent residence there. The bishop told the envoys that the merchant had brought a letter from the King of Italy himself, requesting him to assist and look after the merchant on his arrival at the Golden City. The merchant was due to leave Calcutta for Rangoon on the following Monday. Then a Bengalee gentleman "Moola Elapadootlute" who was a high official under the English Governor, also called. The envoys stayed in, the whole day.

Monday April 7. At about 7 a.m., the envoys, Jones, Maung Myè, Captain Brown of the royal ship and McAllister went in carriages to the textile factory owned by McAllister and Co., at a place 14 miles from Calcutta. On arrival at the factory, McAllister and his

assistants took the envoys to the rooms where cotton from Burma, India and United States was stored, the rooms where both male and female workers sorted and cleaned the *cotton*, the rooms where the cotton was put into machines and processed, the rooms where the processed cotton was put into spinning machines, and the rooms where reels of cotton thread were stored. They also went to the engine rooms. In addition, there were rooms where machine parts were manufactured, and carpentry rooms. There were 4,000 workers in the factory. Of the 3 engines, 2 were of 104 horsepower, and the third was of 16 horsepower. The total weight of raw cotton used every month was 180,000 pounds, which produced cotton thread of the same weight. The total cost of running the factory was 6,000 Kyats a month, producing a net profit of 30,000 Kyats per year. Indian, Burmese and Egyptian cotton could not produce the best cloth; American cotton alone could produce the smooth cotton cloth. On enquiry, Kinwun Mingyi learned that the best cotton could not be produced from special seeds as the quality of cotton depended on climate, and that was why when American cotton seeds were grown in Bombay, only cotton of Indian quality was produced. Kinwun Mingyi also learned that in addition to the main factory manufacturing cotton threads, there were also small factories manufacturing jute bags, and bricks, and smithies. The area of land occupied by the factory was 10 square miles. There were of course many separate buildings. The land was granted by the English government soon after their conquest of India, to the company which would agree to build a large factory on the site. It was an outright grant, fully exempted from payment of all land taxes, and therefore the entire area was owned by the McAllister company, which had absolutely no connexion with the government. McAllister offered to accept state scholar apprentices from the Burmese kingdom, explaining that the course of training in the cotton

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

factory was for full 12 months, the course of training in brick making was 3 months, the course of training in masonry also was 3 months, but the training in smithery should last only a few days or a few weeks, depending entirely on the ability of the particular apprentice. McAllister entertained the envoys to lunch, after which the envoys and party returned to Calcutta. At 5 p.m., the envoys with Major McMahan and Jones rode in carriages to the residence of the General Officer Commanding the English forces in India, Napier Mark Dullas. The residence was inside the fort. The general received the visitors in a friendly manner, and talked about various recent happenings in India and in England. After one half-hour the envoys and party went back to the hotel. Then the envoys, McMahan, Jones and Maung Myè went in carriages to the parade ground where the Governor-General had arranged a special parade in honour of the envoys. The envoys were given places at the saluting base and the troops marched round the parade ground 3 times, with their bands playing, and whenever they passed the saluting base, they saluted the envoys. Then the troops staged a mock battle. The soldiers were not Englishmen at all, but Bengalees and they had become very skillful, as they were well trained by their English officers. In the morning, the private secretary to the Governor-General sent his assistant to the hotel to find out whether the envoys were having an enjoyable stay in Calcutta, and as the envoys were at the cotton factory, Major McMahan thanked him on behalf of the envoys. A telegram was received from the Royal Banker at Rangoon, reporting that Hpanyet Wundauk on arrival on Sunday, left immediately by the Irrawaddy Flotilla steamer for the Golden City, and that all the bills for passage and meals had been settled and the salaries of the 4 attendants had been paid.

Tuesday April 8. The envoys invited George Smiller to lunch at the hotel and had a very enjoyable conversation with him. When Pandee

Wundauk and Maung Myè were students at Calcutta, he was their teacher. He was now no longer a teacher, but a journalist. He had started a newspaper under his own name and was the Indian correspondent for the London *Times* newspaper, which was the most prestigious of all local and foreign newspapers in India. The envoys re-quested him to keep in touch with them by correspondence. The envoys bought silk pieces, embroidered with gold thread, at a cost of 700 Kyats for presentation to the King. The envoys became friends with the silk merchant. At 3 p.m., an Indian merchant "Lala Ardridut Mokin," who was often employed by the Governor-General as advisor in sale and purchase of diamonds and jewels and as an assessor of precious stones, came to the hotel and showed to the envoys a belt embroidered with silver thread and studded with pearls, a crown inlaid with rubies, a diamond necklace, a ruby necklace, a gold necklace with small diamonds, a gold necklace studded with precious stones, and diamonds of all sizes, to the total value of 100,000 Kyats. He told the envoys, "Please take all or some of these items if Your Excellencies think that they will be of use to the King of the Golden City. Please do not pay me anything until His Burmese Majesty has made his selection. If none of the items is liked by His Majesty, please just send them back with specifications of the jewelry the King desires, or please send me some samples, and I will try to make some special ornaments for His Majesty. Again, when I send those new ornaments and still His Majesty does not like them, please send them back and I will try again. My only desire is to have the honour of serving His Burmese Majesty in the same way as I serve the English rulers". The envoys suggested to him that he should send a special agent with his wares of diamonds, rubies and emeralds to the King; and the merchant replied that he would send an agent very soon as suggested. Then the merchant showed various testimonials signed by

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Governor-Generals and requested a similar testimonial from Kinwun Mingyi. Accordingly, Kinwun Mingyi gave him a testimonial which read as follows: "The gem merchant Lala Ardridut Mukin came and showed me the testimonials given by the former Governor-Generals, Sir Patrick Lawrence and Lord Mayo, and the present Governor-General. As he had been trusted by these Governor-Generals, I believe him to be an honest and trustworthy person, and I feel certain that bankers, merchants and high officials in Burma will also have the same opinion." It was signed and sealed by Kinwun Mingyi. At 6 p.m., another merchant came and he also had been employed as assessor, custodian, and seller of textiles owned by the English Government. After showing samples of embroidered cloth of various kinds, he told the envoys that he would be willing to send textiles to the Golden City on receipt of any order from them, no matter whether the quantity requested was large or small. He also offered to accept apprentices from the Burmese kingdom for training in textile manufacture. The merchant and the envoys exchanged calling cards. At his request, Kinwun Mingyi and the Royal Secretary gave him their photographs. Kinwun Mingyi enquired whether new editions of certain Sanskrit works had been printed, and the merchant replied that no new editions had come out. He promised to send some of those works as presents to Kinwun Mingyi the following day, and search for the remainder and send them to the Golden City later on. In the evening, as the envoys were again invited to dinner by the Governor-General, they went to the Government House accompanied by Major McMahon. At the dinner, the Governor-General told the envoys how pleased he was to meet them, and the envoys in reply expressed their gratitude for the hospitality shown to them. Then Kinwun Mingyi requested the Governor-General to give his patronage to Burmese scholars sent by the King to India, and the Governor-General replied, "In the past, the English government of India had always wanted to assist and encourage

Burmese scholars who had come to India to study. But we refrained from doing anything, for fear of being misunderstood by His Burmese Majesty. But now, as Your Excellency has requested me to assist those scholars, I shall be very pleased to do so. Please convey this information to His Burmese Majesty. I shall endeavour to give every assistance possible to all Burmese state scholars, and shall advise the Burmese government to call back those scholars who are not diligent in their studies. In future, whenever Your Excellency sends a state scholar to India, please write to me and I shall arrange for his special instruction or training." Then the Governor-General continued, "I hope that just as Your Excellency has come and visited me, other Burmese envoys will also come and visit me from time to time. For, surely, such friendly visits must result in benefit and advantage to both kingdoms." Kinwun Mingyi replied, "On our part, may we thank Your Excellency for receiving us in such a friendly manner, for arranging the parade in our honour, and for your frank and cordial conversation. We shall certainly report all these pleasant incidents of our stay in India, to our Lord the King and indeed His Majesty will be happy to receive our report." Then the Governor-General said, "Although protocol requires that Your Excellencies should call on me to say farewell before your departure from Calcutta to-morrow, please do not bother to do so as the sun will be very hot, and Your Excellencies should go to your ship as early in the morning as possible." The envoys took their leave. Kinwun Mingyi noted that there was a difference of 7½ hours between Calcutta and London and 6½ hours between Calcutta and Rome.

Wednesday April 9. At about 10.30 a.m., Captain Henderson and the Governor-General's son, Captain the Hon'ble Blair arrived, and told the envoys that as a written Programme of the ceremony of departure of the envoys had been issued since yesterday, everything was

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

now ready. They brought with them the Governor-General's own carriage drawn by 4 horses, and escorted by 4 lancers on horseback, and 2 carriages drawn by 2 horses each. Kinwun Mingyi and the other envoys rode in the Governor-General's carriage, and the attendants in the other 2 carriages. Escorted by the lancers, the Governor-General's carriage led the procession of carriages to the harbour. On arrival there, the envoys bade farewell to the 2 officers and their staff, and were taken to the royal ship in the Governor-General's own row-boat. During the journey in the row-boat, green umbrellas with embroideries of gold thread, and silver handles were held over the heads of the envoys. As the royal ship weighed anchor, a salute of 19 guns was fired from the fort. A telegram was sent to the Royal Banker at Rangoon, informing him that the royal ship was due to leave Calcutta harbour at 12 noon. At 4 p.m., as the tide started to ebb, the royal ship left Calcutta harbour and when it reached a piece 30 miles away, the ship dropped anchor. Before leaving the hotel at Calcutta, Kinwun Mingyi gave to the Governor-General's son and Captain Henderson his photographs.

Thursday April 10. Early in the morning, as the tide started to rise, the ship weighed anchor. Many sailing and steam ships passed by. In the evening, the ship passed the main lighthouse, and the pilot left the ship. A high wind started to blow, and because it was the mouth of the river where the river waters and the tidal waters met, the waves were so high that they sprayed even the deck of the ship. The captain put up all the sails and the ship wallowed so much that most people on board were sea-sick.

Friday April 11. It was the beginning of the Burmese New Year period. The high wind continued to blow and all the sails were kept up, but most members of the envoys' party had recovered from sea-sickness. Since the snip passed the light-house until noon today, it had

travelled 150 miles. The sails remained up through-out the day.

Saturday April 12. The wind abated a little but remained quite strong, and so the sails were not yet down. The ship was sailing in a southeasterly direction, and soon Cape Morton near Bassein came in sight. At 12 noon, when the ship passed the Morton lighthouse, it had travelled 250 miles in the previous 24 hours.

Sunday April 13. In the morning the ship passed the Krishna lighthouse. Twelve steamers, large and small, which had come out of Rangoon river passed by. The wind dropped. After passing the Krishna lighthouse, the water became muddy. A pilot came aboard the ship. At about 4.45 p.m., the ship entered Rangoon harbour and dropped anchor. Immediately, the captain of an Italian warship which was in the harbour came over in a row-boat, and greeted the envoys. The private secretary Duncan, on learning that the royal ship had arrived, came on board accompanied by the Port Commissioner, and after greeting the envoys, invited them to come ashore at 8 o'clock the next morning and stay in the government guest house. "The guest house has been specially prepared for Your Excellencies", Duncan said, "and the commissioner of Pegu, the mayor of Rangoon, the collector of customs Edwards, will be waiting for Your Excellencies at the bridge with carriages sent by the chief commissioner". Major McMahan and his younger brother went ashore that evening.

Monday April 14. At 8 a.m., as the envoys were making ready to go ashore, collector of customs Edwards, mayor of Rangoon Evenson and Major McMahan came on board, and told the envoys that others were waiting on the bridge. In reply to a question put by Kinwun Mingyi, they replied that as the envoys were being received as friends of the chief commissioner and not as envoys, they would be welcomed without any

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

ceremony. Then Kinwun Mingyi asked, "Will there be a salute of 19 guns?" "We have no instructions regarding the salute", they replied, "but we will find out from Duncan whether he had received such instructions". So saying they wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger to Duncan who soon sent back a reply informing them that there would be no salute of guns. As it was now definite that the envoys were not going to be received at Rangoon with proper ceremonial Kinwun Mingyi said to them, "When we visited London, Ceylon and Calcutta, we were received with honour and cordiality which enhanced not only the prestige of our kingdom but also the prestige of the English government. We have all along believed that we would be received as envoys of a sovereign independent country by the chief commissioner of Rangoon. Our desire is to call on the chief commissioner and pay our respects to him, and we only ask that we are received in a respectful manner as envoys of our King. If that is done the 2 kingdoms will be respected and honoured by others." Undertaking to convey these remarks made by Kinwun Mingyi to the chief commissioner, the mayor left the ship and others followed. The officials waiting on the bridge went away also. The whole day, no messenger or message was received. The envoys and the chief commissioner's officials made no further contact. When Captain Brown went and filed his customs declaration, an English customs official said that although the list of articles submitted to the customs authorities contained no mention of fire-arms, he had information that there were weapons on board. He questioned Captain Brown who assured him that there were no firearms on board. "I believe you, captain", replied the customs official, "but our informant was so definite about the matter that I must come and search your ship. Please ask the envoys not to mind it". Captain Brown came back to the ship and soon after the customs official arrived. After a thorough search of the ship, he sat down to lunch with the envoys. The

day marked the end of the Burmese New Year period and so the New Year had begun.

Tuesday April 15. The royal river steamer *Yenan Setkyar* came alongside the royal ship and baggage was transferred. Customs officials and clerks came and carefully watched this transfer of baggage from one royal ship to the other.

Wednesday April 16. The captain of an English steamer and the French bishop Bigandet came and greeted the envoys. The Royal Secretary together with the Royal Banker went in a row-boat to inspect a plot of land bought by His Majesty on which a factory was being built. The engineer in charge of the factory came on board the royal ship and undertook to serve the King to the best of his ability. The editor of *Rangoon Gazette* Arthur Baites came to greet the envoys. The transfer of baggage from *Setkyar Yinbyan* to *Yenan Setkyar* continued under the supervision of the chief customs clerk who took careful notes and insisted on every box being unlocked or broken open. As the Royal courier was leaving for the Golden City on his steam-launch that day, the envoys sent with him a report giving the proposed date of their departure from Rangoon.

Thursday April 17. As the customs clerk, after opening and inspecting all the boxes, informed the envoys that a certain sum of money was due as duty, the envoys sent a letter to the collector of customs asking to be served with a demand for a specific amount as customs duty, because they wanted to leave Rangoon harbour in the afternoon. The envoys also requested him to furnish them with the rules and regulations and rates on which the customs assessment had been made. The collector of customs sent back a reply saying that as they were envoys, they were exempted from paying any customs duty, and accordingly they could depart on the royal river steamer at any time. At about 1.30 p.m.,

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

as the ship was putting up steam to leave Rangoon harbour, the customs official came on board and asked the envoys' pardon for his stupid mistake in inspecting the ship and their baggage. He explained that long before the royal ship was due to arrive at Rangoon, he had received written instructions from the chief commissioner to the effect that the envoys' ship and their luggage should not be inspected or charged any duty. "I was so stupid as to mis-read the instructions", he continued, "and no one is to be blamed except myself for this grave error, and I beg Your Excellencies to accept my humble apology and pardon me." Kinwun Mingyi remarked to himself, "This is indeed a bare-faced lie. English officials are always very careful about their instructions, and our case was a very special one. It is difficult to believe that he could have mis-read the instructions." The customs official went away, and the steamer started on its voyage up the river. It stopped for the night at Chaungdwin village. Major McMahon saying that he wanted to see the envoys off at the frontier above Thayetmyo, came along with them on the ship.

Friday April 18. The ship travelled up the river some 50 miles and stopped at Wakema village to take on some fire-wood, at a little past noon. The captain decided to stop there for the night.

Saturday April 19. After the steamer had left Wakema village, at about 6 a.m., the Hluttaw chief clerk U Kho came down on the royal steamer Fairy. As he was sent by His Majesty merely to meet the envoys, he brought no important news. On the steamer Fairy were a number of servants from the households of Kinwun Mingyi, Pandee Wundauk and the Royal Secretary. His steamer turned round and followed the envoys' steamer. At 6 p.m., the two steamers stopped at Danubyu to take on firewood and stayed for the night. As the township officer under the English government

at Danubyu, one Maung Kyaw Tun was acquainted with Major McMahon, the latter sent a letter by a messenger asking him to come down to the steamer. At 7 p.m., Maung Kyaw Tun duly arrived and after greeting the envoys, he presented to the Royal Secretary, a copy of the manuscript of a book which was being printed. The book was a comparative study of English and Burmese terms and phrases relating to history, law and taxation. He left the steamer at midnight. The steamer had covered 60 miles since leaving Wakema.

Sunday April 20. Fairy weighed anchor at about 3 a.m., and Yen-an Setakyar at 6 a.m. At 4 p.m., as an adverse wind started to blow, the two ships dropped anchor near Naungmee village in Zalun district, some 48 miles from Danubyu.

Monday April 21. At 6 a.m., the two steamers weighed anchor. When they approached Shwegyingalay village at about 9.30 a.m., they saw an Irrawaddy Flotilla ship aground on a sandbank. The river at that place was full of sandbanks, and navigation was difficult. The two steamers, however, managed to avoid running aground and reached Myanaung at about 1.30 p.m., The two steamers took on firewood and continued their journey, arriving opposite Shwegyin village at 6 p.m. Both steamers dropped anchor in midstream and stopped for the night. The weather was calm but Fairy went aground. However, it was able to free itself in a few minutes. The distance covered that day was 30 miles.

Tuesday April 22. At 6 a.m., the two steamers weighed anchor, and at 9 a.m., they reached Tarokmaw town where they stopped to take on firewood. About one and a half hours later, the steamers continued their journey reaching Prome at about 4.30 p.m. They took on firewood and stopped there for the night. Another royal steamer Yen-an Yin-thar was also stopping at Prome. The distance covered that day was 40 miles.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Wednesday April 23. The 3 royal steamers left Prome together at 6 a.m., and arrived at Joondaungkama village at 9 a.m. At about 1.30 p.m., the steamers arrived at Allan village and the customs clerks inspected the ships more carefully than usual. After the steamers had taken on firewood and were ready to depart, the customs clearance certificate was withheld from Fairy. So only the 2 other royal steamers were able to leave at 3 p.m. McMahon also left the envoys' steamer at Allan village. When the envoys passed Myasagaing village, the envoys' ship went aground, but after some minutes, it was able to free itself, and continued its journey. Soon the two steamers approached a sandbank on which an Irrawaddy Flotilla steamer was aground, and they had to veer to the right towards the shore to pass it. About 2 miles before Dagon-maw village, the two steamers dropped anchor and stopped for the night in mid-stream. The distance they covered that day was 36 miles.

Thursday April 24. The envoys' steamer reached Sinbaungwè town at 9 a.m. Stopping the steamer for a few minutes, Kinwun Mingyi sent a messenger to the royal telegraph office instructing it to send a telegram to Minhla Courts informing them that the envoys were arriving soon. When the steamer approached Minywa, the envoys found the governor of the three towns of Malun who was also the commander of the riverine regiments waiting to greet them in a naval boat. The steamer arrived at Minhla at noon. The governor of the two towns Sagu and Legating, the mayor of Salin, the naval commander of Sinbyugyun and the governor of Myingun were waiting to receive them. A temporary pavilion had already been set up, and Kinwun Mingyi placed the Replica of the Sacred Tooth in it. Excited crowds of monks and laymen knelt before it and worshipped. The envoys submitted a report by telegram to the King that

they had arrived at Minhla and were expecting to arrive at the Golden City on May 2 or 3.

Friday April 25. The envoys decided to stay the whole day at Minhla. They went to pay respects to the abbot of the Hill-Top monastery, the Head of the ecclesiastical district (the abbot of Zali Hill) and the abbot of the royal monastery. The mayor of Kyabin and the governor of Magwe came and paid their respects to Kinwun Mingyi. Hundreds of excited pilgrims, monks, men and women from neighbouring towns and villages, came to worship the Replica of the Tooth. At 4.30 p.m., the envoys accompanied by the governor of the three towns went on bullock carts to a forest monastery nearby and paid their respects to the abbot.

Saturday April 26. At 9 a.m., after the assembled crowd had knelt and worshipped the Replica, it was carried on board the Fairy, and the two steamers continued their journey up the river. The commander; of the naval boats of the lower river and the governor of the Malun three towns, in their naval boats accompanied the steamers for some distance. The governor of Magwe, the mayors of Kyabin and Sale and the naval commander of Sinbyugyun travelled on the royal steamer with their naval boats in tow. When the royal steamer approached the mouth of the tributary river Yin Chaung, the abbot of Sagu accompanied by 4 monks came down the river in a boat and worshipped the Replica. The engines of the royal steamer broke down and it had to drop anchor. The envoys invited the abbot and monks to come on board. Temporary repairs to the engines were affected after a delay of 2 hours, and the steamer reached Magwe where repairs were continued. Monks and lay people came in continuous streams to worship the Replica. The naval commanders and the regimental commanders also spent the night at-Magwe. A naval boat was sent to the royal telegraph office at Taingbyauk village to inform Yenangyaung by telegram that the royal steamers were delayed and would not reach it that evening. The distance covered that day was only 12 miles.

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Sunday April 27. At 6 a.m., the steamers left Magwe. The commanders left the royal steamer when it reached Minbu. At 12 noon the steamers arrived at Nyaunghla where the envoys found the governor of the four towns of Yenangyaung and the commander of the upper riverine regiments waiting to receive them. Excited throngs of monks and lay people came to worship the Replica and some were even singing and dancing in joy. The envoys sent telegrams to the Golden City and to Pagan town. The mayor of Salin and naval commander of Sinbyugyun also spent the night at Nyaunghla. Only 14 miles were covered that day.

Monday April 28. At 6 a.m., the two steamers left Nyaunghla village. The mayor of Salin and the naval commander of Sinbyugyun returned to their stations. At about 1.45 p.m., the royal steamer arrived at Sale. The mayor of Sale and monks and lay people came to the steamer to worship the Replica. The envoys sent by a horseman a letter to the governor of Pagan, informing him that they were now at Sale and would reach Pagan the next day. The distance covered was 26 miles.

Tuesday April 29. The royal steamer left Sale at 6 a.m., and at 12 noon its engines broke down. Repairs were affected and at 1 p.m., the steamer reached Pagan. Already a great crowd of monks and lay people had collected to worship the Replica, and the presence of joyous dancers and musicians gave the river bank a festive air. The Royal Secretary and Captain Brown went and visited the ancient temples of Ananda, Dhamayan, Manuha, Thatbyinnyu, Gawdawpalin and Mingalar. At 6 p.m., a high wind blew suddenly and the mooring chain on the bow of the envoys' steamer was broken. After the storm had passed, the governor of Pagan entertained the envoys and party to a theatrical show. A telegram was sent to the Golden City giving the information that the envoys would arrive either

in the evening of May 1 or the morning of May 2. The distance covered that day was 26 miles.

Wednesday April 30. At 6 a.m., the royal steamer left Pagan. When it approached Letpanchibaw, the mooring chain on the stern broke, and the steamer had to drop anchor. At 3 p.m., it reached Myingyan, and as usual, excited crowds of monks and laymen came to worship the Replica. Since leaving Minhla, there developed stray cases of cholera on board both Yen-an Setkyar and Fairy. The governor of the three Malun towns and his lady contracted the disease, but fortunately they recovered as they took medicine in time. Three attendants on Yen-an Setkyar died of the disease. Since leaving Rangoon, Jones had been unwell, and by the time Myingyan was reached, he had become seriously ill. Kinwun Mingyi sent a telegram at once from Myingyan to the English Resident in the Golden City requesting the services of his physician Johnson immediately. The envoys sent a telegram to the Golden City giving the information that they would arrive before 12 noon on May 2. The distance covered that day was 38 miles.

Thursday May 1. After leaving Myingyan in the morning, at 4 p.m., the steamer met at Letpansi village, the naval boat carrying the naval commander of Shwelaunggyi, and physician Johnson, who immediately came on board the royal steamer and examined Jones. Telling the envoys that the illness was serious, he administered various medicines to Jones. Staying by his bedside, the physician nursed and treated Jones. At 6.30 p.m., the steamer dropped anchor at Ava for the night. Jones' illness, physician John-son's presence on board, and the arrival at Ava were reported by telegram to the King. At 6 p.m., Edmund Jones was much better. The distance covered was 60 miles.

Friday May 2. At 9 a.m., the royal steamer arrived at Thanlyetmaw wharf at the Golden City. The attendants carried the various baggages

from the steamer to the bullock carts waiting on the river bank. Kinwun Mingyi's lady, his son, Maung Kyar U, his brother Maung Bo Gyi, his house-clerk and his personal attendant, Pandee Wundauk's clerk and attendant, Royal Secretary's daughter Khin Lay Gyi, his clerk and attendant, met the envoys with their bullock carts. Kinwun Mingyi and the two other envoys at once proceeded to the Golden Palace and waited in the Chamber of the Sandalwood Throne. The King entered, and congratulated and praised the envoys on the successful conclusion of their embassy. Then the envoys left the presence of the King and returned to their homes. Immediately on arrival at his residence, Kinwun Mingyi received the news that Edmund Jones had died. He at once sent a report to the King, asking for orders. His Majesty, expressing deep sorrow and sympathy, proclaimed that His Majesty's most loyal servant Edmund Jones be buried with full honours and according to the custom of Europeans. Receiving the royal proclamation on his head. Kinwun Mingyi conveyed the body of Edmund Jones in a row-boat from the royal steamer Yen-an Setkyar to the cemetery on the Thingazar bank in the western quarter of the Golden City. and gave him honourable burial in the presence of the Governor of the Golden City, the Royal Secretary, the Military Commanders of the Four Corners. clerks and officials of the city, noble lords and high officials, the English Resident Strover and all the Europeans dwelling in the Golden City.

COMMENTARY

Kinwun Mingyi made a triumphal progress up the Irrawaddy to his Golden City. But the triumph was in religion rather than in diplomacy. The Replica of the Sacred Tooth brought from Ceylon seemed to the people and perhaps to the King and Kinwun Mingyi

himself, more important than the commercial treaty he had brought back from France. By the time of his return Hpangyet Wundauk had made his verbal report to the King and the whole Court knew that the embassy had failed in its man objective of obtaining recognition of the King's right to have direct diplomatic relations with the Queen of England. The cost of the embassy had been enormous. The cost of the presents to the King of Italy was not assessed but the value of the royal presents to Queen Victoria and Prince of Wales was assessed by the English them-selves as £280,000.¹ The expenses of the embassy to talked 10 lakhs of Kyats or £ 100,000.²

But the greatest loss that the Burmese King suffered was in the death of his good and faithful servant Edmund Jones. The embassy could not have completed its long journey to Europe and to England and back through Egypt, Ceylon and India without the patience, organising ability, forbearance and courage of Edmund Jones. He was threatened and insulted by the English officials at Rangoon and although he had the honour of being presented to Queen Victoria through the generosity of the Duke of Argyll, he was pointedly not invited to the two dinners given by the Governor-General to the Burmese envoys. Even though serious illness prevented him from accompanying Kinwun Mingyi on the last assignment of the embassy, the audience with King Mindon, his spirit was surely in the audience chamber, for he died only after the audience was over. King Mindon felt the grievous loss. Strover noted in his Journal on May 2, 1873. thus:

Edmund Jones died of cholera at 11.30 a.m., while still on a King's steamer, after arriving at 8 a.m. with Padein and Kinwun Mingyi at Mandalay. Contrary to rigid custom King allowed his body to be brought into

¹Letters from India. Political Secretary to the Government of India, to London, dated February 28, 1873. Residency Journal, Strover, May 8, 1873.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

city against the current of the river, and high officials attend the funeral at 8 p.m.

The King also showed his appreciation of Jones' services by making a lump sum payment of 8,000 Kyats to the widow and a pension of 1,000 Kyats per month.¹

The epitaph on Edmund Jones was contained in McMahon's final report on the embassy submitted to Duke of Argyll:

Jones died of cholera, in whom King lost an honest and capable servant, the envoys a sincere friend and fruitful advisor at the very moment of completing his mission most creditably and when his future prospect seemed heightened.²

For Kinwun Mingyi the death of Edmund Jones was the final disaster of his embassy and as in the great tragedies of Shakespeare, his London Diary ended with a funeral march.

Yet at the very last moment, Kinwun Mingyi could have had a chance to salvage his mission from total failure. Sir John Kaye proved to be a true friend after all; for he submitted a draft to the Duke of Argyll for approval and transmission by telegraph to the Governor General of India, in which he wrote;

Major McMahon (on leave)'s report on the Burmese envoys he escorted in England-they behaved well, avoiding political affairs, confined them-selves to commercial matters; nor were they pestered by the adventurers who get at native princes. He'll rejoin them at Brindisi bearing a letter from Her Majesty to the King, also a portrait.

When the envoys meet Your Excellency on their way home, you might discuss the question

of arms with them I It does not appear that the Government of India at the time took any steps to repudiate this agreement. It exists therefore in full force.

Phayre thought there was little danger in letting King have arms and in any case he really requires to maintain order both in Burma Proper and the Shan States. It is impossible to dispute the value of Phayre's authority.

We could present King with arms-he wants Sniders (weapons of precis-ion): the difficulty is quality rather than quantity-McMahon recommends Sniders-as a sign of our confidence and it would help us to get King to waive Fytche's supplementary agreement.

King wants a Consul at London and this is harmless, being commercial not political. The Duke of Argyll had other ideas. First, he altered in his own handwriting the third paragraph to read as follows: The Government of India disapproved the document Fytche gave Burmese, modifying Article 8 of the Treaty. What he had substituted was not true as he himself must have known. Finally, he decided to reject the draft altogether.³ The noble Duke, unlike Sir John Kaye, was not cast in the liberal mould, nor was he a friend of Kinwun Mingyi. Belonging to an ancient and illustrious house, he was specially close to Queen Victoria, his son and heir having married one of Her Majesty's daughters. He was moreover the final authority on the affairs, of the empire. McMahon was not telling Kinwun Mingyi a lie when he said that the Burmese requests were being granted, when the embassy returned to England from France, for he must have known what

1 Residency Journal, Strover, May 14 and 15, 1873.

2 The report is given below.

3 Letters from India, vol. 17, 1875.

Kaye was going to recommend. Kinwun Mingyi not knowing the background must have thought McMahon's words to be merely false promises.¹

Kaye's draft was proposed in reply to the following telegram from Lord Northbrook the Governor-General of India:

Burmese embassy. May I expect instructions on pending questions? If not, I propose receive them with civility and attention, and if business mooted refer them to chief commissioner.²

Instead of the draft the following telegram was sent:

No instruction to give about Burma but they have behaved very well here, and if you have any concession to make about arms, it may be expedient or conciliatory to tell them yourself.³

So when Kinwun Mingyi saw Lord Northbrook at Calcutta on April 3, 1873, the Governor-General in the absence of specific instructions merely offered to discuss any business with the envoys and Kinwun Mingyi, after so many rebuffs did not dare to open the discussion him-self but expressed his willingness to discuss anything the Governor-General liked. The Governor-General did not press his offer nor did he start the discussion by mentioning the subject of arms,⁴ and the opportunity passed for Kinwun Mingyi to gain a consolation prize for his embassy.

One thing the Mission did achieve namely, the vindication of the King's honesty, for it was made obvious to the English officials, to the English government and to the English and

Anglo-Indian presses that the King's purpose in sending the embassy was not to buy arms. It was from the beginning a stupid accusation because at that time Mindon still had faith in Fytche's commercial treaty and was optimistic that he could prevail upon the English government, sooner or later, to honour the treaty. The English government finally had to offer an apology and the King was gracious enough to accept it. The following was the dialogue that took place between the English Resident and the Burmese King on July 6, 1873:

Resident. I am instructed to tell Your Majesty that the Government of India are pleased that you have not given the Padeen Wun orders for war materials in England as stated in London papers.

King. Yes, I know merchants wrote letters in the London papers. There are many bad people in the world. Merchants have come to me and offered to contract for this and that You write, Strover, and say that as long as the British rule in India and I am King I will never quarrel with the Government of India.⁵

When Kinwun Mingyi left Mandalay on his embassy he had very few enemies at the Court, but the King's special favours granted to him gave rise to jealousy against him and when he came back from his mission with empty hands, some courtiers, jealous of him, and others who had never shared Kinwun Mingyi's faith in the English government in London, combined and began to oppose him in his policies. To McMahon the failure of Kinwun Mingyi's mission was also his own failure and he expressed his disappointments and fears in the following final report on the embassy which he submitted to Duke of Argyll:

¹ *London Diary*, January 31, 1873.

² I.P.P. No. 81. April 1873.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 127 (Report of the interview) *London Diary*, April 3, 1873. ⁵ Residency Journal, Strover.

After farewell audiences with the Queen and Prince of Wales, embassy left England, February 14, 1873.

As Queen's letter was not ready, I waited for it and overtook the envoys at Brindisi.

Embassy delayed at Paris only long enough to secure the papers connected with the provisional convention with the French Government, the negotiations regarding which I duly brought to notice. The terms of the convention were unimportant and chiefly acceptable to the Burmese as a tangible proof that their journey to Europe had not been entirely fruitless.

From Paris they went direct to Rome and after audiences with the King of Italy and the Pope they embarked from Brindisi on February 24, 1873.

At Alexandria they were taken ashore in state barges by H.H. Khedive's officer and invited to stay in Egypt but were due to meet Viceroy before he went to Simla, and very reluctantly declined.

Nine days in Ceylon, largely for its religious associations.

Reached Calcutta on March 30, 1873, 19 gun salute at landing, escorted by Foreign Secretary and others, Viceroy's carriages to a house provided for them. On April 3, Chief Envoy and first attaché interviewed Viceroy Lord Northbrook who asked if they had business, he would discuss it in a friendly and unofficial way. Mingyi replied 'No', but "Your Excellency can bring up anything you like with me". Envoys twice dined at Government House and a review was held in their honour. Stayed 10 days.

On reaching Foreign office Calcutta, I was hurt at learning I was superseded by Colonel

Brown as presenter of the Queen's letter, but His Excellency gave me a courteous and a frank interview when I asked for reconsideration.

Reached Rangoon April 13 1873 and were to have landed next morning... As the Chief Commissioner's deputation were unable to offer any explanation, I did my best to soothe Kinwun but even when I afterwards explained the text of the Queen's regulations governing salutes, I had no success. The embassy said it was unreasonable for us to decline our form of honours since they rendered them in theirs. viz. processions of war boats and elephants as well as cavalry and infantry.¹ Kinwun of so modest and retiring a disposition, so good in attitude when foolish people endeavoured to dissuade him from paying his respects to Viceroy and Chief Com-missioner that I felt there must be a reason for his disregarding my advice for the first time: and subsequently I ascertained he had had direct instructions from the King after his proceedings with Eden on way out from Rangoon to England, not to compromise his dignity in any way.

The embassy left Rangoon, April 17, 1873 and...proceeded up the river to Allan village where I left them on April 23 after associating with them for more than a year. Jones (and 3 or 4 of the followers) died of cholera, in whom King lost an honest and capable servant...

On May 17, 1873 I joined Colonel Brown as one of his 4 officers who presented Queen's letter to Mindon.

In England the Mingyee creditably abstained from question of arms import. He steadily set his faith against the selfish designs of certain

1 e.g., when receiving Queen Victoria's letter soon after Kinwun Mingyi left on his Embassy. Residency Journal (Strover), April 22, 1872.

unscrupulous persons who in furtherance of their own selfish interest were anxious to embarrass the Government with inconvenient question. It will not be forgotten how he also resisted the more subtle temptation which the offer of Members of Parliament and others of undoubted influence held out to him in view of bringing matters of issue between the two governments to the bar of public opinion. But relying on the reputation for justice and integrity we enjoy in eastern countries, and more than ever so assured after intercourse with English people, both official and non-official, he was content to refrain from discussing matters implying a want of confidence, trusting his forbearance would meet with due consideration. It was not without keen feeling of disappointment he expressed to me his sense of our policy in failing to make concessions or overtures of any kind in reference to questions which it was known his government has at heart.

He was then as he deserves to be the trusted advisor of the King... But before I left Burma there were signs that he held his supremacy in anything but a secure basis, and that advocates of an opposite policy might have their turn.

The Mingyee and his colleagues were grateful for the very cordial reception they met with in England and evinced the

liveliest interest in the many friends they had left there. But another powerful part at the Capital is notorious for an implacable hatred towards us. Judicious and timely concessions either when the embassy returned to Burma when our own mission visited the capital would have removed the chief cause of this unhappy mis-understanding.

The civility and attention accorded to the mission by our government far from conciliating this party has had an opposite effect and the envoys had incurred their intense and lasting odium for acquiescing so complaisantly in a policy which, regardless of their most reasonable wishes, treat them like children by endeavouring to keep them in good honour with pleasant words and empty compliments. Kinwun Mingyi's embassy to the Court of St James's may remind one of the nursery rhyme:

"Pussy-cat, Pussy-cat, where have you been?"

"I have been to London to visit the Queen,"

"Pussycat, Pussy-cat, what did you there?"

"I frightened a little mouse under the Queen's chair." Kinwun Mingyi did not even have the satisfaction of frightening Ashley Eden.

Chapter VI

THE EMBASSY TO FRANCE

Introduction

In October 1873, the French embassy left Marseilles for the Court of Mandalay to exchange ratification of the treaty of commerce and friendship signed by Remusat and Kinwun Mingyi. It was not a vere high powered mission so far as seniority and diplomatic experience was concerned. It was headed by Count de Rochechouart, who was a mere first secretary at the French Legation at Peking, to which post he was returning to take charge of the mission as charge d'affaires, as the head of mission was proceeding on leave. He was accompanied by five young men, namely Count Marescalchi who was attached to the French Foreign Office, Monstier and d'Imecourt, who were later joining the legation at Peking, and two army captains, Fau and Moreau, who were later going to Tongkin across the Shan States. According to a letter written by the French Consul-General at Calcutta to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on November 18, 1873, reporting the arrival of the mission at Calcutta, these "several young gentlemen undertook the voyage as a pleasure trip but without any political character."¹ But de Rochechouart happened to be a count and three of his companions were too well connected; Count Marescalchi was the nephew of no less a person than the French President Marshall McMahon, Moustier was the nephew of a former Minister for Foreign Affairs and d'Imecourt, a cousin of the Duke de Broglie.² As

a result, undue attention was paid to the mission and Anglo-Indian papers and the Rangoon papers started to publish alarmist articles regarding the mission and its alleged anti-English purposes.

On arrival in Calcutta via Ceylon, Rochechouart and his mission were invited to visit the Governor-General at Agra. They accepted the invitation and on reaching Agra, stayed at the Government House. Reporting his visit to Agra, Rochechouart wrote as follows to Quai d'Orsay:

December 4, 1873.

Ridiculous articles in Rangoon and Calcutta Press. Lord Northbrook charm and friendliness itself, he understood perfectly we were only taking an opportunity of actually taking out a ratified treaty - and such a harmless treaty-to see a little known country and it was non-sense to suspect us of anti-English intentions.³

On December 20, the mission reached Rangoon and stayed at the Government House with Eden. Rochechouart "thought Eden relieved to hear from me exactly what my objects at Mandalay were,"⁴ but Marescalchi thought Eden was still "perhaps a little unquiet as to the real aim of our mission."⁵

The mission took with them valuable presents which consisted of Gobelins tapestries, Sevres vases, luxuriously manufactured fire arms, clocks, perfumes and to use the contemptuous words of Mares-calchi "mechanical dolls and play things, each more ingenious than the other."⁶ The mission was received at Mandalay with full honour and pagentry which gladdened the heart of Kinwun Mingyi as the

¹Preschez, p. 73.

²Ibid.

³Quai, Birmanie, II, tome 50, f. 279.

⁴Ibid., f. 285

⁵M. page 63.

⁶Ibid.

French treaty Would now show that his embassy was not a total failure after all. But his enemies were watching also, determined to wreck the treaty if at all possible. They soon succeeded in making the King to have second thoughts about the treaty, by pointing out that the article relating to a mixed court would give undue advantage to French residents in Burma and that the treaty was not really a treaty of alliance. These enemies of Kinwun Mingyi's were strengthened by support coming to them from another quarter, namely, Andreino and his associates. Andreino told the King that the French treaty was utterly useless and unnecessary, because under their treaty of friend-ship, the Italian government would intervene if the English should become aggressive towards the Burmese kingdom. At the same time, he spread rumours and sent secret reports to the English government- at Rangoon to the effect that the Burmese court and the French mission were secretly negotiating so that French officers and French arms would bolster up the Burmese army. The result was, the King began to stall and postponed ratification of the treaty. Rochechouart had expected that he would have to remain in Mandalay only for a few days but now the discussions of the treaty became protracted. One great barrier was the language. The interpreters on the Burmese side, Hpangyet Wundauk and Maung Aung Thu were fluent in French, and the French interpreter, Father Lecomte, was fluent in Burmese. But certain words and phrases in one language could never be satisfactorily translated into another: For example, the Burmese word "Mahameik" meant not only "grand friendship" but also "grand alliance", and therefore in the Burmese language. "a treaty of friendship" always meant "a treaty of alliance", and "a friendly nation" always meant "an allied nation". Finally, Rochechouart notwithstanding his respect for the King, had to point out that as the treaty as

drafted by Kinwun Mingyi and Remusat had been approved by the French national assembly, it could not be amended by the King, and therefore the King would have to either approve it or reject it as it stood. Maresealchi, arrogant and prejudiced against all things Burmese, described the discussions as "interminable and without any sign of logic and without the slightest result"¹

However, Rochechouart was more sympathetic and understood the King's position and the reason why he was stalling; he wrote to Quai:

To understand all this we must go back to the internal politics of Mandalay. There is in existance an association consisting of Sutherland, representing important mercantile interests, and Andreino, a former blacksmith, now Consul for Italy and enjoying some influence with the King Behind these two are a certain number of adventurers and cutthroats, all aiming at exploiting Burma At the moment of our arrival, they were trying to get a contract and gone so far as to make him (the King) believe it was the only way of resisting conquest by the English, as, from the moment

the representative of Italy entered the affair, the Government of Victor Emmanuel would, if necessary, intervene for the defence of Burma.

King, torn between fear of affronting the English and pleasure at satisfying his mercantile tastes, might have signed (the contract), when our arrival upset all these plans. It was realising the dream of all his life to have a French embassy at his capital: and why rely on Italy when he could have France? Andreino and company soon felt the cold, guess the cause, and set to work, showing how contrary it would be to his (the King's) dignity to ratify a treaty, he himself had

¹ M.p. 76.

never even discussed. He was being imposed upon...Also Ministers joined in, Ministers hostile to a treaty they had not negotiated and the ratification of which would lead to Kinwun Mingyi's influence eclipsing theirs. The final plot was to bank on my issuing an ultimatum (to withdraw from the discussions)if the King refused signature and when I withdraw, the King partly in pique, and partly in fear, would accept the services of Andreino and co.¹

But the well-laid plans of Andreino went awry, because the King thought out a compromise He told the French mission that he would sign the ratification on condition that Rochechouart would agree to sign a second treaty with six new clauses added, and the French government would ratify it. Rochechouart agreed, and the King signed the ratification of the treaty, but inserting in his own handwriting the proviso that the ratification was subject to the new convention being ratified by the French government. The King then sent Kinwun Mingyi at the head of another embassy to obtain ratification of the second treaty from the French President. Both Rochechouart and Kinwun Mingyi in his Diary spoke of 6 new clauses whereas the treaty contained 8 clauses. That gave rise to rumours of secret clauses. In actual fact, clauses 7 and 8 were merely repetition of 2 clauses in the first treaty, namely the provisions that the treaty required ratification and that it should continue in force from year to year unless a year's notice was given. Because of rumours spread by Andreino and also by over-enthusiastic supporters of Kinwun Mingyi that the French were going to arm and train the Burmese army, Rochechouart secretly gave a copy of the treaty to Strover.²

Of the new clauses, in the opinion of Rochechouart only one was important, namely

the provision that as the mixed courts established to adjudicate disputes between Burmese and British subjects had not been found satisfactory, disputes between French and Burmese subjects should be decided by the Burmese authorities according to the laws and customs of the country, subject to the condition that a French consul should be present.

"My Lord Duke", wrote Rochechouart in his report to the Foreign Minister, "you may dislike at first sight this clause, but our consul's presence will suffice to guarantee the Burman judge's impartiality. This is the system for some years already in the Levant where, if the local authority's judgement seems unjust, the consul merely with draws."³ Rochechouart also thought that Burmese law and legal procedure were more favourable and more just, from the point of view of litigants. But Marealchi was of a different opinion, and it was Marescalchi who would introduce Kinwun Mingyi's embassy to his superior the Foreign Minister and to his uncle the President. He insisted that the article "was contrary to the dignity of France, stipulating that our nationals should be judged by Burmese Courts."⁴ Marescalchi also thought that the second treaty contained another objectionable article, namely clause 5 which read:

The French government, having the interests of Burma at heart, engage to be ready with friendly offices when-ever that Burmese government may request them in writing.

Marescalchi agreed with Eden's view that it was aimed at the English, for, he had discussed it with Eden at Rangoon.⁵ Therefore as with his embassy to London,

Quai, Birmanie *ibid.*, f. 326.

Home Correspondence, 1874, vol. 79, Residency Journal: Strover, January 5 to March 14, 1874.

Quai, *Ibid.*, f. 329.

M.p. 77.

Quai, *Ibid.*, f. 383; M. p. 77

Kinwun Mingyi's embassy to France was doomed even before it left Mandalay.

Rochechouart, in his report, expressed his appreciation of the King's hospitality in the following words:

Throughout our long stay here we had been his guests: house, horses, carriages, elephants, servants, food, everything given us by the Crown. Naturally I paid all who were attached to us. But I still think that the Department should, so far as is proportionate to our custom, recompense the politenesses we have received, e.g., have a special railway coach set apart for the (Burmese) mission on arrival at Marseilles, which would not be much of an expense.¹

Rochechouart did not mention that at their farewell audience, Mindon presented each member of the French embassy with a velvet bag containing 1,000 Kyats, which gift, however, was returned by Rochechouart and his assistants.²

However, Marescalchi's reaction was afferent:

House was well furnished with the butler and cook, both Frenchmen. But we grew tired of rice, killed a calf secretly one night; guards heard it. There was nearly an exchange of diplomatic notes; our crime was considered a scandal and all the flesh was seized. We were allowed chicken and game, and even to shoot at a distance far enough from the city so that King would not hear. We were given horses to ride, horses from the royal stables, but they were wretched and famished because King, knowing Minister of Stables, would embezzle half the allotment of their maintenance, paid him only the other half, whereupon the Minister swindled most of that

He bestowed the gold chains of office upon us, and at our final audience voluminous bags of

rupees, which of course we explained we had to return. Malicious tongues said he was glad to get these six bagfuls back.

The (Burmese) embassy had to pay its own expenses. Why should the French government pay for an embassy it did not want and which came to complicate rather than simplify? It is true that the Burmese paid for us at Mandalay, but in an unknown capital hotels are conspicuous by their absence and the King could hardly leave an embassy, on which he had insisted, to lodge under the stars.³

This same Marescalchi accompanied and escorted Kinwun Mingyi from Ran- goon to Paris, and then to Marseilles and finally to the Italian frontier. Did Kinwun Mingyi realise that there was a canker in his rose? Or, to use a Burmese phrase, a viper in his pocket?

DIARY

Paris Diary March 7. 1874 to October 11, 1874.

Saturday March 7, 1874. A second treaty which in effect added 6 new paragraphs to the first treaty of commerce and friendship between Burma and France having been duly signed at the Golden City by the French chief envoy Count de Rochechouart and Agga Maha Thaynapati, High Commissioner Kinwun Mingyi and protocol copies exchanged, it was found necessary to send an embassy to France to obtain ratification of the second treaty. Accordingly, His Majesty of the Sunrise appointed Kinwun Mingyi Mahaminhla Sithu as chief envoy, Royal Secretary Minhla Zeyathu as deputy envoy, the Gentleman of the Royal Chamber for

1 Ibid. f. 363. 2 Residency Journal: Strover, February 13, 1874. 3 M. pp. 69, 70-71, 79.

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Refreshments, Naymyo Minhtin Thurein as assistant envoy. On Saturday March 7, 1874 at 4.30 p.m., (which according to the calculations of the Royal Astrologers was a most auspicious time), Kinwun Mingyi, after laying out at the High Court of Hluttaw, the King's letter and royal presents for the Sovereign-President of France, left his residence and moved to the mansion of the High Commissioner, the Lord of Khanbut near the Thanlyetmaw wharf.

Sunday March 8. In the morning, Kinwun Mingyi was granted an audience by His Majesty who proclaimed his pro-motion to the rank of "Thado". Kinwun Mingyi presented to the King his nephew, Nga Po Tha, who was appointed a page in the chamber of footwear. The King also raised the rank of the Gold Chain of Office of the Royal Secretary Minhla Zeyathu, from 9 strings to 12 strings. The royal letter and the royal presents were then taken in procession from the Hluttaw to Thanlyetmaw wharf. The Hluttaw assigned a guard of 50 soldiers together with the general clerk Maung Thit, Advocate Nawahta Sithu and Commissioner of Oaths, Nga Shwe Aung to accompany the procession and later stand guard over the royal presents until they were taken on board the royal steamer some days later. At 3 p.m., the French deputy envoy Count Marescalchi called and informed Kinwun Mingyi that he would be attending on him until the embassy reached France. A horseman arrived with a letter from the Hluttaw instructing Kinwun Mingyi to continue to attend the morning audience every day until his actual departure from the Golden City.

Monday March 9. Kinwun Mingyi went to the Golden Palace to be in time for the morning audience, but His Majesty did not come to the audience chamber. So Kinwun Mingyi together with the Lord of Khanbut, the Lord of Yaw, the Royal Treasurer and the Lord of Bhamo, saw the King in the golden apartments. Kinwun Mingyi after reporting that everything was now ready

for the embassy to leave, submitted for His Majesty's approval a proposal to appoint an Italian national as Burmese consul in Italy. The King gave his approval, remarking that it would be a very useful arrangement. The King also instructed Kinwun Mingyi to contact some French merchants during his stay in Paris. Kinwun Mingyi returned to Thanlyetmaw. A horseman arrived with a letter from the French chief envoy requesting an interview with Kinwun Mingyi the following day. Kinwun Mingyi replied suggesting that the interview should be at 3 p.m.

Tuesday March 10. At 3 p.m., the French chief envoy Count de Rochechouart and the deputy envoy Count Marescalchi called and informed Kinwun Mingyi that they would be able to make their farewell calls on the ministers and military commanders on March 11, to have their farewell audience with the King on March 12, to pack their baggage on March 13, and to come on board the royal ship on March 14. They also expressed the hope that the visit of the Burmese envoys to Paris would result in the full realisation of His Burmese Majesty's wishes.

Wednesday March 11. As the Queen of the Middle Palace wanted her golden spittoon to be engraved with floral designs similar to those on the spittoon brought for the King by Kinwun Mingyi from London, the bailiff Nga Maung and the Treasury clerk Nga Shwe Ohn brought for Kinwun Mingyi an order from the Hluttaw and one golden spittoon weighing 67 ticals.

Thursday March 12. When Kinwun Mingyi went to the palace in the morning the King instructed him to find out during his stay in Paris the approximate cost of a textile machine for manufacturing the finest cotton cloth and the salaries of its engineers, and to buy some bundles of cotton yarn. The same day the French envoys were granted an audience by the King. Kinwun Mingyi returned to his

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

temporary residence at Thanlyetmaw and at 6 p.m., a horseman arrived bringing the King's proclamation permitting Kinwun Mingyi and the Royal Secretary to accept the Legion of Honour decorations granted by the Sovereign-President of France.

Friday March 13. Kinwun Mingyi did not go out anywhere but offered alms-food to 29 monks from Thanlyetmaw quarter, the Head and the Deputy Head of the ecclesiastical district of Momeik town, and 5 monks accompanying them. At 3 p.m., the Minister for Forests came and delivered royal instructions to buy certain medicines named and listed, and some green velvet pieces for the 3 Queens. A horseman arrived from Hluttaw to deliver to Kinwun Mingyi 6 twelve-stringed golden chains of office for high French officials including the Prime Minister and 5 nine-stringed golden chains of office for junior officials, and a gold nugget weighing 10 ticals for the engraving of the spittoon.

Saturday March 14. At 3 p.m., the French chief envoy and members of his embassy came on board the royal steamer and one and a half hours later, it weighed anchor and started on its journey down stream. Half an hour later, the steamer stopped for the night at Sagaing harbour. A letter reporting the departure was sent to Hluttaw by a horseman, and on arrival at Sagaing telegrams were sent to Hluttaw, the Royal Banker at Rangoon and to the officials at Minhla. The telegrams were sent from Ava.

Sunday March 15. The royal steamer left Sagaing at 6 a.m., and fortunately there was no mishap on sand banks. Myingyan was reached at about 1.30 p.m. The French chief envoy gave a copy of his letter addressed to the French Foreign Minister, to the French bishop, Father Lecompt, and requested him to translate its contents for the envoys. The letter said: "A Burmese embassy is on its way to Paris to exchange ratification of the second treaty, to

deliver to the Sovereign-President presents sent by the Burmese King and to engage engineers for service under the King of Burma. We have been treated with great hospitality by the Burmese officials and we hope from the time the Burmese envoys arrived at Marseilles, they will be accorded the same courtesies that had been accorded to us here in Burma. I will also request the Hon'ble Minister of Foreign Affairs to do his utmost to get ratification by the French government of the second treaty as soon as possible." On arrival at Myingyan, Kinwun Mingyi received a telegram from Hluttaw saying that the French assistant envoy who was left behind at the Golden City because of his illness was now much better. The French chief envoy was very happy when told of the contents of the telegram. The envoys sent a telegraphic report to Hluttaw, and telegraphic instructions to the Royal Banker at Rangoon to make a large Peacock flag for use by the envoys in Europe. The distance covered that day was 56 miles.

[On March 16, the royal steamer reached Nyaungoo without mishap. The French envoys rowed to the opposite bank where they shot birds. The Burmese envoys bought some lacquer ware to be presented to the French envoys and Father Lecompt. The envoys visited the Shwezigon pagoda and offered gold leaves to the images of the Buddha and to figures of some guardian spirits. The steamer had travelled that day 24 miles. On March 17, the envoys offered alms-food at Shwezigon pagoda. They boarded the steamer again which continued its journey down stream. But at 1 p.m., it went aground and did not become free until 5 p.m., and as it was too late to go on, it dropped anchor in midstream and stopped there for the night. Only 16 miles were covered on that day. on March 18, the royal steamer went aground on sandbanks on two occasions and on the second occasion it was unable to free itself and had to stop at the place for the night. The steamer had covered only 10 miles. On March 19, at 10.30 a.m., the steamer reached

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Yenangyaung where the lord of Yenangyaung came and greeted Kinwun Mingyi. Continuing its journey the royal steamer reached Minhla at 3 p.m. It was raining heavily, but at the residence of the governor of Minhla, there was a puppet show arranged specially to entertain the French envoys. The French chief envoy remained in his cabin because of an at-tack of rheumatism, but the other French envoys enjoyed the show very much. On March 20, the steamer left Minhla at 6 a.m., and at 1 p.m., it crossed the frontier and reached Thayetmyo. The English deputy commissioner Brown met the Burmese and French envoys and took them to the cantonment where they saw the barracks of English soldiers, the armoury, stables and horses belonging to the cavalry regiment, a church, school, the mess hall and coffee shop. Kinwun Mingyi noted that more new buildings were in process of construction, and the whole area was being expanded. They watched a football match and listened to the playing of a regimental band. At 6 p.m., they returned to the steamer, but went ashore again to dine at the English commissioner's house with the commissioner and his wife, and the military commander and his wife. A telegram was received from the Royal Banker suggesting that the envoys should come down to Rangoon quickly as the steamer for Singapore was arriving on March 26 and leaving on 27. On March 21, the royal steamer ran aground, but was able to free itself and reach Myanaung. On March 22, they left Myanaung and arrived at Danubyu. On March 23, after leaving Danubyu the steamer was delayed for some hours because of mist. It stopped for the night at Yandoon. On March 24, as the steamer approached Twante, the envoys saw the Royal Banker, and a rich Burmese merchant coming up the river in a launch. They came aboard the royal steamer. At 3 p.m., the steamer arrived at Rangoon and the captain was ordered by the port authorities to moor the steamer at a considerable distance from the main wharves. The Royal

Banker sent a messenger to the port commissioner informing him that the Burmese and French envoys were on the steamer. The port commissioner sent his apologies and permitted the captain to move the steamer to the Bullock Brothers bridge. The chief commissioner's secretary Duncan sent a letter to the Royal Banker inviting the envoys to stay at the government guest house.]

Wednesday March 25. At 12 noon 2 carriages arrived sent by Eden to convey the Burmese envoys to his residence. So Kinwun Mingyi, the Royal Secretary, the assistant envoy Maung Aung Thu and Maung Myè rode in the carriages and the Royal Banker rode in his own carriage. On arrival at Eden's house they were received by Duncan and then by Eden himself. "Is His Majesty well?" "Very well, thank you", replied Kinwun Mingyi. "How long will Your Excellencies stay in France?", asked Eden. "About 5 or 6 months," replied Kinwun Mingyi. Then Eden invited the envoys to come and stay in the guest house, but Kinwun Mingyi explaining that the French envoys were with him on board the royal steamer declined the invitation. He promised, however, to stay at the guest house on his re-turn from France. Then Kinwun Mingyi asked how much rice had to be sent from Rangoon to Bengal where there was a great shortage of food, and Eden replied that during the last 3 or 4 months over 100,000 baskets of rice had been sent, but most of the consignment was still at Calcutta as there was only a single rail-way line to carry the rice to the famine area. After about one hour of enjoyable conversation, the envoys took their leave. The King's commissioner for aliens, Maung Zar Ni was also at Eden's residence. The French deputy envoy Marescalchi came along with the envoys to Eden's house. All the other French envoys had dinner at the house of the manager of the French company and returned to the steamer only at 10 o'clock.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Thursday March 26. Eden placed his carriages at Kinwun Mingyi's disposal. The captain and crew of the royal steamer and the envoys and their attendants, collected from among themselves about 150 Kyats and gave it to U Po Hnyin to buy alms-food on their behalf for offering to the Shwedagon pagoda. The whole party went to the Shwedagon pagoda and offered alms food, perfumes and flowers. There were 200 plates of alms-food placed on 20 tables. On looking round the great pagoda, Kinwun Mingyi noticed that the nearby Naungdawgyi pagoda and Singumin's great bell in the southwest corner were in the process of being repaired. Kinwun Mingyi was informed that one Maung Mun Htaw, son-in-law of the chief of Chiengmai was not only repairing the pagoda but was putting up a new spire and gilding the entire pagoda, and a man from Moulmein was repairing the great bell. The monastery donor U Po Hnyin together with his wife and children arranged the offering of alms-food, pavilion donors, U Shwe Pyi, U Maung Galay, resthouse donors Maung Shwe Lok and Maung Moe Swe were also present. Then the party went to the nearby resthouse where they were served with delicious curries and rice cooked by the wife of the Royal Banker herself. The envoys and party stayed at the rest-house for full 3 hours. Then the envoys went to the residence of the Siamese consul, who was a young military officer, and he received the envoys very cordially. The Siamese consul asked for permission to visit the envoys in the royal steamer and the envoys replied that they would be happy to see him at 3 p.m., the following day. In the afternoon Maung Mun Htaw from Kado village near Moulmein, accompanied by U Po Hnyin came to the steamer and greeted the envoys. He said that he was hoping to come to the Golden City in the near future and apply from the King a licence to extract timber from the royal forests, and that he was soon submitting a petition to the King for permission to purchase enough gold leaf to gild the Naungdawgyi pagoda. He also asked Kinwun Mingyi to honour him by accepting his hospitality when the envoys

came to Moulmein. The royal commissioner for aliens Maung Zar Ni also came to the steamer and asked Kinwun Mingyi's permission to bring the chief of Chieng-mai's son, and Kinwun Mingyi replied that he would be very pleased to see him. At 4 p.m., the King's commissioner for aliens came back with the chief of Chiengmai's son and also his cousin. When Kinwun Mingyi asked the chief's son the reason for his visit to Rangoon, he replied: "His Majesty the King of Siam instructed me to go to Moulmein and await the arrival of a Siamese envoy from Bangkok who would negotiate a treaty with the English. I have been waiting for 4 months at Moulmein and the envoy from Bangkok has not arrived. Therefore I have decided to go back to Chiengmai. I am now in Rangoon to worship the Shwedagon pagoda and I am going back to Moulmein tomorrow with Maung Mun Htaw who is married to my sister. May I meet my lord at Moulmein? I am a close relative of the chief of Momeik who is now in the Golden City." [Two English merchants came and called on the envoys.] At 6 p.m., the French envoys went to dine with Eden and came back only at 11 p.m.

[On March 27, the French and Burmese envoys were photographed as a group. The French envoys did not come back to the steamer that day except Marescalchi, who went and booked passages on the ship which would take them to Singapore. The envoys dined at the residence of the Royal Banker. The Siamese consul Hpauk was at the dinner also. On March 28, the envoys' baggage was put on board S.S. Cocomanada. On March 29, the envoys and party and Marescalchi went on board S.S. Cocomanada. The French envoys Rochechouart, d'Imecourt and Moustier came and bade farewell to the envoys. Clement Williams came and reported that all the accessories of the smelting plant had been delivered. The King's courier Nga Ok arrived from the Golden City and delivered to Kinwun

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Mingyi official and private letters from the Golden City. The entire regiment of the King's soldiers at Hsenwi in the Shan States mutinied and ran away with their weapons; at the village of Myinmogon a tiger came and killed 4 persons. The ship left Rangoon. On March 30, the ship S.S. Cocanada arrived at Moulmein. The Royal Secretary went ashore and in-formed the English deputy commissioner Brown of the arrival of the envoys. The English deputy commissioner regretted very much that he was not informed about the envoys' coming to Moulmein. He hurried to the wharf with carriages and took the envoys and the French envoy to his house. The English deputy commissioner later took the envoys on a sightseeing tour of the town. In the evening the Burmese envoys and the French envoy were entertained to dinner by the deputy commissioner. They slept that night at the deputy commissioner's house. On March 31, Maung Mun Htaw took the envoys and party to his village of Kado. He was a timber agent, in the employ of the English government. At Kado, they visited his mother's residence, the great monastery his father had donated, and a mansion that Maung Mun Htaw was building for himself. It was exactly like the mansion of his father-in-law in Chiangmai, and its total cost when finished would be 120,000 Kyats. The son of the chief of Chiangmai was also at Kado, and he showed great respect and regard for the envoys. The envoys were served with a sumptuous dinner. Returning to Moulmein, they spent the night at the English commissioner's residence. On April 1, the envoys went to the monastery-donor U Tu's house and had breakfast there. At about 11 a.m., they went aboard the S. S. Cocanada. At 12 noon, the deputy commissioner and the French envoy turned up together. The French envoy had been enjoying his stay at the English official's house, often visiting his friends at the school nearby run by a French priest. The ship left Moulmein at 1 p.m. On April 2, the sea was calm and at noon the distance covered was 200 miles. On April 3, the sea remained calm and by

noon the ship had covered 200 miles. On April 4, a high wind was blowing, but as it was coming from behind, the ship did not wallow. By noon the distance covered was 200 miles. On April 5, at noon the ship reached Penang. The envoys and their French companion went ashore. There were in the town Malays, Chinese, Europeans, Burmese and Siamese. Kinwun Mingyi noticed a few Burmese and Siamese monks, and a few Burmese and Siamese monasteries and pagodas. The French envoy took the party to a Roman Catholic college where Roman Catholic clerics were educated and trained for missionary work in China, Japan, Malaya and Burma. There were about 90 pupils. The distance covered at noon was 200 miles. On April 6, at about 4 a.m., the ship left Penang. On April 7, although the sea was calm, the ship travelled very slowly because of the presence of many small islands which made the navigation difficult. On April 8., at 7 a.m., the ship reached Malacca. A great number of Malaya boarded the ship. In physical appearance the Malays looked very much like Chinese, Mons and Siamese. They wore fez caps, European jackets and Chinese trousers covered with sarongs. On April 9, the ship reached Singapore. The Italian consul came on board the ship and greeted the envoys. The French envoy went ashore by himself-and on his return, he apologised to the envoys for the failure of the French consul to come to meet them. Then he took the envoys and party to the Clarington Hotel. On April 10, the Italian consul Carlo Stefano Festa called at the hotel and offered to send ahead the presents which the Burmese King had sent, for the Italian King. The envoys replied that they could easily take with them the royal presents except the pheasant and the tiger cub. The consul promised to arrange to have the animals collected at Naples when the ship in which the envoys would be travelling to Marseilles stopped at Naples. The French envoy after enquiry, informed Kinwun Mingyi that cabins had been booked on the ship going to Marseilles,

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

and the cost was 348 dollars (or 783 Kyats) for each first class passenger and 261 dollars or 587.21 Kyats for each second class passenger. Maung Myè, Maung Aung Thu and the attendants went round the markets buying things. The markets were full of English, French and Chinese goods. The English mayor sent a letter to the envoys asking permission to call on them on April 15. From the newspapers, Kinwun Mingyi learnt that envoys from the neighbouring island kingdom of Achin had arrived at Singapore, seeking assistance from either England or France or both in their struggle to preserve their independence against Dutch aggression. According to the newspapers there was no likelihood of Achin escaping conquest by the Dutch.]

Saturday April 11. At 10 a.m., the French consul Aratoon called at the hotel and sat down to breakfast with the envoys. Kinwun Mingyi received the following in-formation from Aratoon: the Malay peninsula was not united into a single kingdom and instead it was divided into a number of states under chieftains; the Malays were very backward in trade and agriculture; they wanted to lead a hand to mouth existence; after earning some money they stopped working and lived on their earnings until they were exhausted; they were good as plantation workers and stable servants; they were Muslims; the peninsula produced cutch, coffee, pepper, sago and rice and the annual value of the exports was over 10 million dollars; this rich economy was in the hands of Chinese and not Malays; the Chinese in the peninsula originally came from China as pirates and the chieftains of Malays were unable to suppress the pirates; but when the English came, they suppressed the pirates and built towns and villages; the Chinese pirates gave up their wild ways and settled down as merchants. After saying that he would arrange a meeting between the envoys and the English Governor of Singapore, Aratoon went away. The envoys gave him some lacquer ware and Burmese cigars.

At his request the envoys showed him their gold chains of office and some Burmese silk dresses which impressed him very much. Aratoon was a very jolly person to talk to. Two Burmese mer-chants Maung Yan Shin and his brother Maung Yan Lin who were originally from Ahlone village in Upper Burma and now in Moulmein in British Burma, came and paid their respects to the envoys. At 5 p.m., the envoys and their French companion went to visit a hospital and a fish market. Then they drove round the city. The Malays lived together in the hinter-land whereas the Chinese and Europeans lived on the sea front in fine houses. At 6 p.m., the envoys received a letter from the Governor of Singapore inviting them together with the French envoy to a reception on the following Monday at 4 p.m., and also to a banquet in their honour on Tuesday.

Sunday April 12. At 12 noon the envoys and Marescalchi went in carriages to the residence of the Italian consul where they were entertained to lunch. This Italian consul had all the qualities of a real friend and treated the Burmese envoys with respect and cordiality. It was raining very heavily at that time. After staying 2 full. hours the envoys returned to their hotel. The French vice-consul was also present at the lunch. At 5 o'clock, while Kinwun Mingyi remained at the hotel, the others went for a drive in the botanical gardens to look at the fountains, lakes and various kinds of trees and animals. The Burmese New Year period began that day.

Monday April 13. At 3 p.m., the envoys and Marescalchi went in a carriage to the residence of the French consul Are-loon and stayed there for about one hour. Then together with Aratoon, they went to the Government House, to attend the reception given in their honour by the governor, Sir Andrew Clark. The envoys were wearing their robes, chains of office and decorations given by the French and Italian governments. Sir Andrew Clark

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

had arranged a guard of honour carrying weapons and a military band to greet the envoys. On arrival at Government House, the guard of honour presented arms and the band played while a gun fired 15 times in salute. In the reception hall were assembled high officials and judges together with their ladies. Raja of Johore was also there. After shaking hands with the Governor, Lady Clark and others, they sat down and talked freely on the envoys' voyage to France, the weather, Burma, Europe and Singapore. After about one hour according to the custom of the Europeans, Kinwun Mingyi led Lady Clark, the Royal Secretary led the mayor's lady, Maung Aung Thu, Maung Myè and Marescalchi led three other ladies to another room where all the guests sat down to some refreshments. After about one half-hour the envoys bade fare-well to the Governor, Lady Clark, and other guests and returned to their hotel. Aratoon accompanied them and on arrival at the hotel, told them that in his experience, no envoy from any country had been so highly honoured as Kinwun Mingyi was that evening, and in his opinion, with the limited facilities of Singapore, no higher compliments could be paid. The envoys, as requested by him gave to Aratoon some gold and silver coins of the Burmese King as mementos. In actual fact, it was through Aratoon's efforts that the envoys were so well received by the English Governor.

The envoys went to a bank to exchange their Kyats for dollars. When the envoys went to the Government House it was raining heavily and the rain continued for full 3 hours.

Tuesday April 14. At the Governor's reception one of the guests, a Chinese gentleman by the name of Banbu, who was consul in Singapore for the King of Russia, invited the envoys to visit his residence. Accordingly the envoys, the French envoy and attendants went in carriages to his house. A French clerk also accompanied them. Consul Banbu met them at the gates and showed the envoys round his garden. [Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed

description of flowers and plants, and bushes, pruned and trimmed to have the appearance of ships, carriages, boats, horses, elephants, lions, tigers, camels, dogs, peacocks, men, women and big brass vases. There was also an aquarium in which were tortoises and fishes.] Then the envoys were taken round his drawing room which contained many wonderful art objects collected from China, Japan and European countries, a two-headed suckling pig preserved inside a jar, many Russian medals and decorations, and a large portrait of the King of Russia. The gentleman informed the envoys that the King of Siam, a son of Queen Victoria and a French prince had stayed in the house as his guests, and expressed his gratitude to the envoys for their memorable visit to him. They were served with tea, and after about half an hour the envoys and party returned to their hotel. The envoys had their breakfast only then together with the French clerk. At 7 p.m., the envoys with Marescalehi first went to the French consul's house, and then together with the French consul proceeded to the Government House. On arrival there the envoys were greeted very kindly by the Governor and his lady and by the same high officials and their wives who were at the reception the previous day. As on the previous day, the envoys led the ladies to the dining room where they sat down to dinner. Many dishes of meat and all kinds of fruits were served. After about one hour, the envoys and other guests returned to the drawing room where the Governor's wife and the judge's wife played on the piano and sang in a joyous manner. The envoys enjoyed the evening very much and returned to the hotel only at 11 p.m. As on Monday, it started to rain very heavily when the envoys went to the Government House. [At the dinner the envoys met the commissioner of Malacca and the Raja of Johore who described in detail the inhabitants and the agricultural produce of their regions.]

[On April 15, which was the first day

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

of the Burmese New Year, the envoys spent the day writing reports to the King and letters to their families. On April 16,

S.S. Sind which was going to France arrived in the harbour. Maung Aung Thu, Maung Myè and the Royal Bailiff went to the ship's agent and settled the bill for the passages of the envoys and Marescalchi. On April 17, the envoys' baggage was carried to the wharf by bullock carts. Kinwun Mingyi gave some lacquer ware to the Italian consul as presents. Two boxes containing sea-shells were left with the French consul for transmission to Rangoon. Hotel charges, charges for taking the baggage to the ship etc., came to 730 Kyats. The value of a dollar was 2.21 Kyats. The ship S. S. Sind left Singapore harbour at 3 p.m., and passed the coast of Malacca at 4 p.m. On April 18, Kinwun Mingyi had a glimpse of the island of Sumatra. On April 19, Kinwun Mingyi received from the captain of the ship some information about Sumatra and Java: the Malays from those islands were very fierce and brave and the Dutch had raised their flag over those islands so as to keep out other European powers; at the small island of Bali, Buddhism was still firmly established and there were Buddhist monks. On April 20, a ship passed by and greeted S.S. Sind by means of flares. On April 21, the ship started to wallow a little and on April 22 the mountains of Ceylon came in view. At 6 p.m., the ship approached Galle but could not enter the harbour. As the water was too deep the anchor could not be dropped and the ship remained drifting in the open sea with her engines stopped. On April 23, the ship entered Galle harbour. The envoys went ashore, and then going to a monastery, they took the Five Precepts from the abbot. The envoys came back to the ship at night and found that a large amount of cargo was being loaded and a great number of new passengers had boarded the ship.]

Friday April 24. The ship left Galle harbour at 6 a.m., and about an hour later Kinwun Mingyi observed a sailing ship about 8 miles away on the right. The sea was very calm. Among the passengers who boarded the ship at

Galle were a group of Italian musicians who played on their instruments and entertained the passengers. That night, an English passenger who had been unwell died after "catching heat" at Galle. The Europeans called this sun-stroke. The body was put in a coffin and would be thrown into the sea the following day. At noon the ship had covered 91 miles.

Saturday April 25. The sea was very calm. At 10 p.m., the ship passed Lankardipa and Malardipa islands. The English called them Lakdive and Maldive islands. The inhabitants were Sinhalese by race and Muslim by religion. Cocomnut plams were plentiful and the inhabitants earned their living by making ropes out of cocoonut fibre and by fishing. Even their boats were made out of cocoonut stems. Kinwun Mingyi thought that the island mentioned in the Buddhist Scriptures as Lankardipa must be the Lakdive island; so, the island of Ceylon was different from the island of Lankardipa. Yet the Sinhalese monks always insisted that Thihadipa and Lankardipa were one and the same, and therefore the island of Ceylon was also Lankardipa; in their writings also they referred to Ceylon both as Thihadipa and Lankardipa; they also told Kinwun Mingyi that they did not think Lakdive was Lankardipa. The islands were about 500 miles from Ceylon. In the evening the Italian musicians again played and the passengers from among themselves collected 1,000 French francs and gave the amount to the musicians. To that sum the envoys contributed 100 francs. At noon the ship had covered 375 miles during the previous 24 hours.

[On April 26, it rained heavily for an hour but the ship remained steady. At noon the distance covered was 292 miles. On April 27, the sea remained calm, and in the evening the passengers were delighted to hear the music again played by the Italians. The distance covered by noon

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

was 284 miles. On April 28, Kinwun Mingyi was again intrigued to see a flight of sea gulls as the ship was now a great distance from the coast. On April 29, at noon the distance covered was 370 miles. On April 30, the Cape of Guardafui on the coast of Africa became visible. Guardafui and Tenasserim were on the same line, east to west. The ship entered the Gulf of Aden and the ship had travelled 310 miles at noon. On May 1, a Frenchman who was fit and well when he went to bed was found dead in his bed early that morning. The ship entered Aden harbour at midnight. There was an almost total eclipse of the moon starting at 6 p.m., and ending at midnight. While entering the harbour the ship hit and sank a fishing boat, but the fishermen were saved from drowning. As the captain informed the passengers that the ship was leaving at 7 a.m. the next day, no one went ashore. Aden and Tavoy were on the same line east to west and Tavoy was 690 miles south of the Golden City. On May 2 at 10 a.m., the ship left Aden. The sea was very calm but the weather was very hot. A European standing on deck fell down unconscious and other passengers went down to their cabins to get shelter from the hot rays of the sun. On May 3 and May 4, the weather remained hot but on May 4, a strong north wind began to blow slowing down the speed of the ship. The weather turned cold. On May 5, they reached a lighthouse called "De Lasseps" and on May 6, at 3 p.m., the ship reached Suez. On May 7, the ship sailed through the Suez Canal. The speed of the ship had to be reduced to 10 miles an hour. Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed description of the Suez Canal. In the evening, the ship reached Ismalia which was 57 miles from Suez. The ship had to spend the night at Ismalia as required by the Canal regulations. On May 8, the ship reached Port Said and left in the evening. From May 9. until May 12, the ship was sailing towards Italy and the sea was continuously rough. All the passengers were seasick and dishes and cups kept falling all the time, Kinwun Mingyi walked, stood, sat and lay down, but in

any position, he remained sick.]

Wednesday May 13, The night of storm was followed by a foggy morning and the ship went past Naples for 40 miles and only then the captain realised his mistake. He turned the ship round and finally entered Naples harbour. Because 2 passengers had died during the voyage the port authorities would not allow passengers to disembark. The port authorities inspected the ship and made enquiries and only after 3 full hours were the authorities satisfied that there was no in-factious disease among the passengers. So permission was given for the passengers to go ashore. The envoys and Maresealchi after careful discussion, decided to go by train to France, as the weather was too rough for them to continue their journey by sea. Accordingly they left the ship, together with all their luggage and went to the Great Britain Hotel where Kinwun Mingyi had stayed before in 1872. Mares-calchi, however, left for Rome to see, his sister there with the understanding that he would join the envoys the following day at Bologna. The envoys and the attendants went sightseeing in the afternoon. At 7 p.m., Captain Albert Racchia came to the hotel and warmly greeted the envoys. He said that he would arrange for the envoys to travel to Bologna on the rapid train instead of an ordinary train. He also told the envoys that he was sending a telegram to the Foreign Minister at Rome, reporting the arrival of the envoys and the fact that they were going through Italy by train to France. He also informed Kinwun Mingyi that the state scholar Maung Tayoke Pyu who was placed in his charge by the King of the Sunrise had not been able to get admission to government factories and workshops in spite of the captain's great effort, because his knowledge of English was very elementary and his knowledge of Italian was nil. The captain suggested to Kinwun Mingyi that Maung Tayoke Pyu be re-called to Burma. "I will venture to point out," the captain continued, "that unless

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

a state scholar works really hard, he can-not gain any knowledge, however excellent his teachers might be. Maung That Hta and other young state scholars now studying at Genoa are not industrious at all and in my opinion they should be recalled." The envoys invited Racchia and his wife to come to lunch the following day. When the envoys told Racchia that they had to leave at the customs office the four boxes of royal presents and the bags containing some pieces of jade, Racchia promised to send a telegram to the Foreign Minister and obtain customs clearance for those boxes and bags. After some minutes of enjoyable conversation Racchia left the hotel to go to the telegraph office.

[On May 14, Racchia and the commander-in-chief of the Italian navy "Charles Routti" came to have lunch with the envoys who gave them some lacquer ware and Burmese textiles as presents. In the afternoon the envoys took the rapid train to Bologna. On May 15 at 12 noon, they arrived at Bologna where they were met by Marescalchi's sister who had come to the station on receipt of a telegram from her brother. The envoys drove to the hotel where the lady had reserved rooms. Marescalchi himself arrived from Rome at about 3 p.m. The envoys went round the city and Kinwun Mingyi noticed that its streets were paved in the same manner as the streets of Pompeii were paved. So he assumed that it was a very old city. In the evening the envoys went to the residence of Marescalchi's grandmother where they had dinner with Marescalehi, his grandmother and sister. The envoys enjoyed the evening very much. The old lady showed Kinwun Mingyi her jewels which included a pearl necklace, a diamond and ruby necklace, and a diamond chain which were not only beautiful but priceless. She belonged to a very rich and famous family well known both in Italy and in France. On May 16, the envoys went again to the residence of Marescalchi's grandmother for breakfast. They were introduced to Marescalchi's friend, a colonel of cavalry. A telegram was received from Racchia saying that the envoys' boxes had been forwarded to the

Italian consul-general at Marseilles. On May 17, Marescalchi asked for permission to go and visit his relations in Florence, leaving his friend, colonel "Bellapont Sojett Steeliro" to attend on the envoys. In the afternoon, the colonel took the envoys to the races. Later in the evening the colonel took the envoys and party to the railway station, and as they waited to board the train to Paris, Marescalchi arrived from Florence. The train left Bologna station at midnight and reached Turin on May 18 in the morning, and continuing its journey, it reached Paris at 7 the next morning, May 19. Kinwun Mingyi noted that he and his party were on the train for full 30 hours. From the station, the envoys and party proceeded to Hotel du Louver. At noon Marescalchi came to the hotel and apologised to the envoys that as he had caught a cold he would be able to go and report the envoys' arrival to the Foreign Minister only on the following day. On May 20, the envoys learned that the French cabinet of ministers had fallen on the passing of a vote of no confidence by the French parliament. The six main parties in the parliament, the Republicans, the Orleanists, Legitimists, Imperialists, Bonapartists and Napoleonists could not agree as to who should form the new government. The envoys sent a small packet of presents and a letter to the residence of the fallen Prime Minister by a messenger. Some reporters came and interviewed Kinwun Mingyi. The former Foreign Office clerk Molar came and greeted the envoys and informed them that he was now the secretary to the Foreign Minister as Forray had retired because of old age. He told the envoys that he would inform the Sovereign-President of their arrival. On May 21, the envoys-drove round Paris. They received a telegram from the English merchant Peacock offering his services. On May 22, Kinwun Mingyi learned that a new government had been formed. On May 23, the envoys and attendants rode round Paris. Metescalchi came and said that there were no

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

news. On May 24, when the envoys were away visiting a park Marescalchi called at the hotel and left a letter saying that he was going to Verseilles the next day to see the President. On May 25, Kinwun Mingyi received a letter from state scholar, Nga Thar Hta from Turin saying that as instructed he would be returning to the Golden City as soon as he received the passage money. On May 26, Mares-calchi came and informed the envoys that everything was unsettled and he was unable to arrange for the envoys' interview with the Foreign Minister and the President. They took the letters of credit to the Manager of Chartered Bank, but the on demand notes were cashed by the Du Louver Hotel. On May 27, the envoys went to watch the ascent of a balloon. On their return to the hotel they found Molar waiting for them. He said that the Foreign Minister would be very pleased to see the envoys the following Sunday. Count de Rochechouart's banker called and informed the envoys that as instructed by Rochechouart he would be delighted to advance them sums of money from time to time during their stay in Paris, if they should need such financial assistance.]

Thursday May 28. Maresealchi came and told the envoys that he had received a letter from Molar about their interview with the Foreign Minister on Sunday. Just at that moment Molar arrived and he told the envoys that on Sunday when they would be meeting the Foreign Minister, the former Prime Minister Duke Dupleix, members for the Interior and Commerce of the Foreign Affairs Council, De Fray and Moran and the secretary of the Foreign Office would also be present, so that they could be given their chains of office sent by the Burmese King after the envoys had seen the Foreign Minister. Kinwun Mingyi enquired whether that would be proper as he had not yet delivered the royal presents to the Sovereign-President of France. Molar replied it was not only proper but desirable because at the reception to be given by

the President to the envoys, those French officials would be able to wear their Burmese decorations. So Kinwun Mingyi gave him the following list:

Foreign Minister, 12 stringed gold chain of office Former Prime Minister, 12 stringed gold chain of office Interior Member of the Council for Foreign Affairs, 9 stringed gold chain of office Commerce Member of the Council for Foreign Affairs, 9 stringed gold chain of office Secretary to the Foreign Office, 9 stringed gold chain of office.

[In the afternoon the Royal Secretary and Maung Aung Thu went to watch a clay pigeon shooting competition and they observed that there was very heavy betting on the results. Kinwun Mingyi bought some rolls of wallpaper, with various designs.]

[On May 29, a merchant came and offered to supply an ironsmelting plant of improved design. Marescalchi called and informed the envoys that he had been assigned by the Foreign Minister to attend on the envoys throughout their stay in France. On May 30, the balloon engineer called at the hotel and gave a detailed account of his balloon ride on May 27. Kinwun Mingyi signed a contract with an engraver in which the engraver undertook to engrave the golden spittoon within 60 days and Kinwun Mingyi undertook to pay him 1,600 francs. The contract mentioned that the weight of the golden spittoon was 1103 grams or 67 ticals and the weight of the gold nugget was 162 grams or 10 ticals.]

Sunday May 31. Kinwun Mingyi and Royal Secretary, wearing their robes, gold chains, Italian and French decorations, Maung Aung Thu wearing a white jacket and gold chain and Maung Myè wearing European clothes and gold chain proceeded to the Foreign Office. They took with

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

them the French translation of the royal letter of greeting to the Sovereign-President, original royal letter of greeting to the Foreign Minister and its French translation, and the five gold chains of office to be presented. They were accompanied by Molar who had come to the hotel to escort them. On arrival at the Foreign Office, they waited in the ante-room while Molar went and announced their arrival to the Foreign Minister. Then Molar led them into the reception room where the Foreign Minister and the members of his staff together with Marescalchi De Fray, Moran and Duke Drey were waiting for them. The Foreign Minister after shaking hands with the envoys said, "It gives me great pleasure to meet Your Excellencies and I take this opportunity to thank Your Excellencies for the kindness and hospitality shown to our embassy led by Rochechouart." Kinwun Mingyi replied that the Burmese King, the ministers and people of Burma were indeed happy to receive the French embassy, whose visit to the kingdom enhanced and strengthened the friendship between the two countries. The Foreign Minister promised to arrange an audience for the envoys with the Sovereign-President and to bring the matter of the treaty of commerce to a successful conclusion. "Your Excellency," the Foreign Minister continued, "this is Your Excellency's second visit to Paris which must now be very familiar to you." Kinwun Mingyi replied that he had noticed that since his first visit to Paris some months before, France and Paris had progressed and advanced very much. Then Kinwun Mingyi gave the Foreign Minister the royal letter of greeting. After perusing the letter, the Foreign Minister again said that he would do his utmost to arrange the audience with the President and to obtain ratification of the treaty. Then Kinwun Mingyi said, "His Majesty of the Sunrise in recognition of Your Excellency's valuable contributions to the strengthening of friendship between the two countries, has granted to you this gold chain of office." Then he handed the gold chain to the Foreign Minister and also to the other 4 officials. All the 5 recipients of this royal

honour prayed for the prosperity and long life of the Burmese King and the further strengthening of friendship between the two countries. Afterwards the Foreign Minister led the envoys and the officials to another room, where the envoys were received by wife, sister, sons and daughters of the Foreign Minister and served with refreshments. After about one hour the envoys took leave of the Foreign Minister and his family. In the afternoon the envoys and attendants visited the Boulogne Gardens. Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed description of a duck farm where the ducks were fed regularly and methodically with special food consisting of wheat, sugar and milk so as to fatten them. They would be sold in the market for high prices. Kinwun Mingyi also gave a detailed description of kangaroos, seals, camels and ostriches. He watched visitors to the park riding in carriages drawn by ostriches and camels. He described in detail the various fishes in an aquarium and was specially interested in the sea-horses. He wryly remarked, "In the royal treasury there is a preserved body of a sea-horse with the notification that it is the body of a dead dragon." On returning to the hotel, Kinwun Mingyi received letters from the Golden City containing much news. At Hsenwi, the royal regiments were attacked by the rebel leader Nga San Hai, who had taken up a strong defensive position at the Water-fall mountain with well armed troops, and as a result the King had to send a reinforcement of 1,000 soldiers; Thuyezay and Myinsugyi quarters had been destroyed by fire; the 2 French envoys who were travelling to Tongkin had been entertained and seen off; chief clerk Maung Po Yay, Officer on Foreign Duty Maung Thaik and envoys to Iran had arrived back in Rangoon; the families of the envoys and attendants were well; Pandee Wundauk and Hpangyet Wundauk had lost their appointments and were reverted to their original posts, as junior officers. An Anamese came to see the envoys. He was in Paris as a teacher

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

of Annamese language in the School of Oriental Studies at Paris. He had been in Paris for one year and he received a monthly salary of 100 Kyats from the French government.

Monday June 1. Kinwun Mingyi en-gagged a French gold smith to make a gold chain of office weighing 800 grams or 48 ticals. As 100 grams were equivalent to 15½ French sovereigns and 800 grams were equivalent to 124 French gold sovereigns, and as the cost of a French sovereign was 20 French francs, the total sum paid for the gold was 2480 French francs. In the afternoon Mitchell Courie brought an artist who asked for permission to paint the envoys and they agreed to give him a sitting the following day at 10 a.m. In the evening Maung Aung Thu and Maung Myè went to dinner given by a French physician Erbert.

Tuesday June 2. Five letters were received from the Golden City, namely, from the Royal Herald, the clerk Nga Tun, the newspaper reporter Maung Shin Galay, the Gentleman of the Royal Bedchamber in the section of footwear Maung Po Tha and the Royal Banker. They contained the following instructions from the King to enquiry and report by telegram the salaries asked for by 6 mechanics and the agreed length of their stay in Burma; news about the demotion of Pandee Wundauk and Hpangyet Wundauk; Eden's remarks about the French embassy which were noted down by the royal commissioner for aliens and submitted through the Minister for Revenue to the King; news about the application of Maung Mun Htaw of Kado village in Moulmein district for some gold leaf; about the silver of Andreino¹; about the 20 houses burnt down near the U Hteit Gate; about the Minister for Shields, former governor of Danetpalar, and former governor Kaunghan being arrested on charges of bribery in the case of the headman of Myinthar; that Hsenwei was again raided by Nga San Hei and the King had to send another reinforcement of 500 soldiers; that the Chiefs of Karenni states had sent a letter to

the King, petitioning His Majesty to send a high official to the region to restore order there; that Kale-myo was raided by the wild Coins and its governor was now pursuing them into the hills; that the 4 kinds of holy water to be used at the King's coronation were sent to the palace. At 10 a.m., the artist Courvin came and drew a portrait of Kinwun Mingyi. The French physician Erbert and his wife called and Kinwun Mingyi gave them some lacquer ware as presents. Maresealchi brought a banker who offered to act as Burmese consul in France and loan money to the envoys. Some diamond merchants came and showed diamond necklaces, earrings, pendants and loose diamonds. Kinwun Mingyi noted that they were only yellow diamonds of inferior quality. In the evening the envoys visited Boulogne Gardens and the "panorama" which had been described in the London Diary.

[On June 3, the envoys were invited to an aeronautical workshop where physician Erbert was trying to construct a machine to fly in the air, and 2 other machines in the form of a huge bird which would also be able to fly in the air, by means of steam engines placed on them. In the evening Mitchell Courie took the envoys and attendants to a theatre and saw a play in which the wife of Orpheus was kidnapped by the King of the nether regions and was rescued by Orpheus. That afternoon Marescalchi brought a letter sent by Hluttaw to Kinwun Mingyi "in care of" the French Bishop of Paris. The letter contained instructions to report by telegram the salaries asked for by 6 mechanics and the length of their proposed stay in Burma. Enclosed with the Hluttaw's letter was a letter from Summons' Clerk Naymyo Thiha which contained the following news: the embassy sent to Iron came back to the Golden City accompanied by the Iran consul's representative who was engaged for the purpose at the salary of 500 Kyats a month, and that Iranian had now gone back to his country; the King

1. Andremo's smuggled silver bullion siezed by the King's customs. Residential Journal (Strover) May 1874

conferred some titles on the Chinese envoys and they also had gone back; the 2 French envoys were assisted and escorted across the Shan States towards Tongkin. On June 4, the envoys did not go out anywhere. On June 5, Marescalchi came and informed the envoys that the French President would be giving an audience to them on the following Wednesday and Molar and himself had been assigned to escort them to Versailles. In the afternoon the envoys visited the garden and palace of St. Cloud. The palace was still being repaired as it was burnt by the Prussians in the recent war. Kinwun Mingyi was specially interested to see the bedroom once occupied by Napoleon I, the sitting room of Napoleon III's queen, the room where Napoleon III's son was taught his lessons, and the trenches dug by the Prussians during the siege of Paris. The prefect of the River Seine District Gustave Leroy called at the hotel and informed the envoys that one of the first state scholars to France, Maung Hmyu stayed at his house for some time.]

Saturday June 6. An author who had written a popular book about the ancient Kings of the Americas and of Asian countries came to the hotel and asked the envoys about the Kings of Pagan including Pyusawdi and Sale Nga Khwe, but the envoys were unable to satisfy his curiosity because of the difficulty of language; the interpreter could translate only the bare outline of what Kinwun Mingyi wanted to say. Moreover, the author himself did not know much about Asia. His dates were all wrong and obviously he had written the book from hearsay. Finally, Kinwun Mingyi ended the discussion by saying, "We are very glad that you are interested in the kingdoms of Asia and we are very sorry that because of our inadequate knowledge of French we cannot answer your questions satisfactorily. Moreover, the history of our kings is a very long one and cannot be told in one afternoon. It's a pity you do not understand Burmese either." The author gave some copies of his book and went away. Maung Aung Thu's

classmate at St. Cyr, now an artillery captain Mouson came and visited Maung Aung Thu and then asked permission to see the envoys. He said that within the next 4 months he would receive orders to go to Annam for 4 or 5 years to supervise the construction of roads and fortifications. "Your Excellency," he continued, "when a road had been constructed connecting Tongkin with the Burmese kingdom, I would like to come to Burma and serve His Burmese Majesty." The envoys spent the rest of the day studying the treaty with France, so as to be ready for the audience with the French President.

[On June 7, the envoys and attendants drove in carriages from the north gate to the countryside along the Seine River. They passed through cultivated fields and by factories manufacturing soap, candle and glass. The envoys received a letter from the Foreign Minister informing the envoys that the President would be pleased to see them at Elysees Palace in Paris and state carriages would be sent for the envoys, and the protocol officer and Marescalchi would call at the hotel to escort the envoys to the Palace. On June

8, the envoys again went for a drive along the River Seine. In the afternoon Kinwun Mingyi sent to the Foreign Minister, the French translation of his speech to be given before the President. On June 9, Marescalchi brought a merchant and introduced him to the envoys with these words, "Your Excellencies, as the result of the commercial treaty signed between France and Burma, trade on a large scale will be established between the two countries and I hope I will be able to arrange to make my friend here the first French merchant to trade directly with His Burmese Majesty." The envoys thanked the merchant and told him that they would submit to the King his name and proposal on their return to the Golden City and should the King agree they would write and inform him. Then the merchant saying that he would like to manufacture and sell Burmese dresses, asked for some samples and

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Kinwun Mingyi gave him a jacket and a robe. In the evening the envoys went by themselves to ride round the city.]

Wednesday June 19. As the audience with the Sovereign-President was at 2.45 p.m., by 12 noon, the envoys were ready. Kinwun Mingyi and the Royal Secretary wore their robes, chains of office, golden headdresses and French and Italian decorations. The Gentleman of the Royal Chamber in the Department of Refreshments, Naymyo Minhtin Thurein was wearing his robes, chain of office and golden headdress, Gentleman of the Royal Chamber in the Department of Refreshments, Naymyo Theikdi Kyawhtin was wearing a white robe and a chain of office and the Royal Bailiff and the clerks were wearing formal dress. At 12.30 p.m., Marescalchi and 2 protocol officers arrived with 3 state carriages reserved for use by envoys only. Soldiers on horseback in full uniform escorted the carriages to Elysees Palace. On arrival there the guard of honour saluted with their rifles, the officers, saluted with their swords and drums and trumpets played. The envoys followed the protocol officers into the Palace. Kinwun Mingyi was holding in his hand the letter of greeting from the Burmese King. The envoys and attendants waited in the reception room while the protocol officers went into the audience chamber and announced to the President the arrival of the envoys. Then they conducted the envoys and party into the audience chamber. The envoys bowed their heads 3 times on reaching the doorway, while continuing to advance. When they had walked over one-third of the reception room, they bowed their heads again while still advancing. When they were about 6 feet from where the President was they stopped and bowed their heads again. Naymyo Minhtin Thurein took up his position to the right of Kinwun Mingyi as he was going to interpret. The Royal Secretary, Naymyo Theikdi Kyawhtin, Marescalchi and the protocol officers stood in a semi-circle 6 feet behind Kinwun Mingyi. The Royal Bailiff and the attendants remained standing at the doorway.

The President was standing, and behind him the Foreign Minister and his staff, Commander-in-Chief of the army and his staff, Commander-in-Chief of the navy and his staff, all wearing orders and decorations stood in a semi-circle. Kinwun Mingyi then spoke in Burmese and his words were translated into French by Naymyo Minhtin Thurein. Then Kinwun Mingyi handed the casket containing the royal letter of greeting to the President who replied in French and his words were translated into Burmese by Naymyo Minhtin Thurein. "Is the King of the Sunrise well?", enquired the President. "His Majesty is well, my Lord", replied Kinwun Mingyi. "How did Your Excellency come to Paris?", the President continued, "I hope the journey was pleasant." "We came by way of Singapore", replied Kinwun Mingyi, "and the journey took us full one month and it was pleasant." Then Kinwun Mingyi took the royal presents from a nearby table and gave them to the President who accepted them graciously, saying at the same time, "May His Majesty the Burmese King live long and may His glory increase." Then the envoy presented the other envoys to the President, who in turn presented to Kinwun Mingyi the Foreign Minister and the Commanders-in-Chief. After-wards following protocol, Kinwun Mingyi asked, "May I be permitted to greet the President's lady the Queen?", and the President, replying "certainly, Your Excellency", led the envoys into another room where the Queen was standing surrounded by the wives of the Foreign Minister, the Commanders-in-Chief and their staff, besides a large table on which refreshments were laid. The President presented the envoys to the Queen who shook hands with them and served them with refreshments with her own hands. The boxes containing the royal presents were now brought into the room to be opened by the President and his lady. They lifted up and examined the presents, and thanked the envoys saying that as the presents

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974

were so beautiful and rare they would treasure them. Then the President asked the envoys to visit any place they liked in France without restriction and instructed Marescalchi to do everything to make the envoys' stay in France enjoyable. After one full hour of pleasant conversation the envoys took their leave of the President and entered the carriages, while the soldiers saluted and the trumpets sounded. After the envoys had arrived back at the hotel, the military and naval officers who were present at the audience came and called on the envoys. The following was the speech given by Kinwun Mingyi: "My gracious lord, the King of Burma and his lords and officials had been gladdened by your gracious action in sending to our kingdom an embassy headed by Count de Rochechouart who brought with him Your Lordship's letter of greetings and royal presents. His Burmese Majesty remembers with gratitude Your Lordship's kindness towards the envoys sent to France on the previous occasion. Appreciating that the government and people of France desire to confirm and strengthen the existing friendship between the two countries, His Burmese Majesty has sent this embassy headed by myself with the royal letter of greeting and the royal presents. We are most grateful to Your Lordship for granting this audience with honour and ceremony to us and when we return to the Golden City and submit our reports regarding this audience, the whole kingdom will be happy. May Your Lordship continue to reign over the Republic of France for many years to come, bringing to the people of France glory and progress." The President replied as follows: "I am extremely happy that the King of the Sunrise has chosen Your Excellency to head this embassy to France, because Your Excellency is the most learned among His Majesty's ministers and had visited European countries including France and is therefore fully familiar with the laws and conventions of Europe. I am grateful to know of His Majesty's ever present desire to sustain and

maintain the friendship between the two countries. We are grateful to the King of the Sunrise and the people of Burma for the hospitality and regard shown to our embassy which recently visited Burma. We also desire to strengthen the existing friendship between our country and Burma."

The following was the speech given by Kinwun Mingyi to the President's lady: "We are grateful to the Sovereign-President of France for granting us this audience as envoys of the Burmese King and we are further honoured by this interview now granted to us by you, my lady. Our happiness at being permitted to meet you, my lady, is not a passing phase, and we shall always remain grateful to you, my lady."

The President's lady replied as follows: "Your Excellency's kind words have given me much joy. Even before meeting Your Excellency in person, I was certain that Your Excellency was a man of accomplishment and culture being an envoy of so ancient a kingdom. I am most grateful to His Burmese Majesty for the wonderful presents."

While at the President's Palace, the admiral had invited the envoys to come to his reception that evening and they had promised to do so. Accordingly at 9 p.m., the envoys wearing their gold chains and decorations went in carriages to the admiral's residence. They were greeted by the admiral and his lady. The President and his lady were also present at the reception and the President again told the envoys that he had instructed Marescalchi to attend on the envoys and assist them in every way possible during their stay in France. Kinwun Mingyi again thanked him for his concern for them. There were some 500 guests at the reception and the envoys moved among them talking and conversing freely. After taking some refreshments, the envoys returned to their hotel

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Thursday June 11. As the envoys were invited to a banquet held in their honour at Versailles by the President, the envoys with the attendants, Mitchell Courie and Captain Brown of Setkyar Yinbyan drove in carriages to Versailles and stopped at the hotel where Kinwun Mingyi had stayed on his previous visits to Versailles. The envoys entertained Mitchell Courie, Captain Brown and the military commander of the museum to lunch. [The envoys visited the museum and the park where they watched the great fountains playing.] In the evening, the envoys wearing their gold chains and decorations went to the President's Palace where they were received by the President's lady first and then by the President. "Are Your Excellencies enjoying your stay?" asked the President's lady. "Very much, my lady," replied Kinwun Mingyi. "We are indeed happy that Your Excellency is here with us tonight," the President said. "We are most grateful for this honour", re-plied Kinwun Mingyi, "His Majesty, the King of Burma will be happy to hear about this banquet held in our honour." Then the envoys sat down to dinner. Kinwun Mingyi sat on the left of the President's lady and to his left were placed the other Burmese envoys in order of seniority. On the right of the President's lady was the ambassador of Austria. The President sat opposite his lady. The table decorations were very beautiful. There were some 30 people at the banquet, including the envoys, the ambassador of Austria, high officials and commanders of the army and navy. After the dinner the President's lady showed the guests the following presents from the Burmese King delivered to the President at Paris the previous day:

One gold cup studded with rubies one ruby gold ring in a golden jewelry box one large piece of jade five amber necklaces five silk dresses one ivory betal box with carvings one ivory box with carvings one wooden box with carvings one

ivory casket which contained the royal letter of greeting.

The guests said that they had never seen such beautiful silk pieces before. They also marvelled at the lustre of the ruby in the ring and the smoothness and greeness of the jade piece. The guests clapped their hands in praise of the presents. After about 3 hours the envoys took their leave. As the President suggested that they should meet the Deputy President who was also the President of the French Parliament, the envoys escorted by Marescalchi and Molar went to see him at his residence in the museum. The envoys sat down and talked with the Deputy President for about one half hour and then they drove back to their hotel in Paris, arriving there after midnight. The envoys dropped Mitchell Courie at Champs d'Elysees.

Friday June 12. Mitchell Courie brought a letter from the President inviting the envoys to accompany him to the races the following Sunday. The envoys spent the day writing reports of their arrival at Paris, their interview with the Foreign Minister and the audiences given to them by the President and his lady, for submission to the King.

Saturday June 13. The banker who came with Marescalchi some days before and a director of a rifle factory called on the envoys and expressed their desire to open commercial relations with the Burmese kingdom. The director said he was prepared to sell arms to the Burmese King while the banker offered to make loans to the envoys to pay for the rifles. The banker further explained that to make it possible for him to make the loans, he needed to study the commercial laws of Burma and an abstract of the value of the annual exports. The envoys replied that they had not come to buy machineries or textiles; they had come to

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

cement the friendship between the two countries and therefore possessed no authority to make business deals with factories and banks. The envoys, however, offered to report this visit of the banker and the director to the King, and of course His Majesty would contact them if he so desired. Then they enquired whether it would be possible to trade with Burma on a barter basis, and Kinwun Mingyi replied that there had been contacts with foreign firms under which payment was made for manufactured goods With goods produced in the Burmese kingdom. He offered to send them copies of such contracts. In the afternoon as they had been received in audience by the President, the envoys went and dropped their cards at the following embassies:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. English embassy | 2. Russian embassy |
| 3. German embassy | 4. Austrian embassy |
| 5. Italian embassy | 6. Danish embassy |
| 7. Swiss embassy | 8. Spanish embassy |
| 9. Turkish embassy | 10. Iranian embassy |
| 11. American embassy | 12. Belgium embassy |
| 13. Swedish and Norwegian embassy | |
| 14. Dutch embassy | |

When the envoys were out the Deputy President called and left his card. Kinwun Mingyi sent his own card, on which he had written his regret at missing the Deputy President when he called.

[On June 14, Molar came to escort the envoys and the attendants to Long Champs races. On arrival at the stadium they were received by the management and given seats. Soon after, the President and his Queen arrived. They came and shook hands with the envoys and sat down beside them. Kinwun Mingyi gave a long description of the races and of a famous horse that had come all the way from England to take part in the championship race. There were

thousands of people at the races and Kinwun Mingyi praised the good behaviour of the huge crowd. The envoys received a letter from the Minister for Labour saying that he was sending an invitation to his reception the following day. On return to the hotel they found the calling cards of the Spanish and German ambassadors. Count de Rochechouart's brother came and invited the envoys to dinner on the following Wednesday. On June 15, the English, Italian, Belgian and Spanish ambassadors left their calling cards. As the invitation card did not come from the Minister of Labour, the envoys did not go to the reception. On June 16, the envoys visited various underground railways, roads and water mains underneath the city of Paris. In the evening the envoys went to the residence of Count de Rochechouart's brother accompanied by Marescalchi. On arrival they were welcomed by Count de Rochechouart's brother, his wife, the French envoy Moustier's father, a number of Rochechouart's and Moustier's relations. They said that they had received many letters from Rochechouart and Moustier, describing the great help and hospitality shown to them by the King of the Sunrise when they were at the Golden City. The envoys enjoyed that evening very much and they felt as if they themselves were relatives of Rochechouart and Moustier. The ambassadors of Austria, United States and Turkey left their calling cards at the envoys' hotel. On June 17, the envoys and attendants and Mitchell Courie together had their photographs taken. In the afternoon they visited a diamond-cutting factory and later a factory where gold and silver wares were engraved. The Burmese Queen's spittoon was being engraved at that factory and the manager promised to make it a real work of art. Swiss and Danish ambassadors left their calling cards. On June 18, the prefect of the Seine District Gustave Leroy took the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974

envoys to the Catacombs. They had to descend a tunnel which was about 18 yards deep. Everyone had to hold a torch to make the descent and then to walk along the various corridors. After walking along a corridor for about 2 miles, they came to the Catacombs where the bones and skulls of 3 million people were stacked together. These skeletons came from a very ancient cemetery right in the city of Paris, which was demolished to make room for houses and other buildings. On June 19, they went to a reception given by a count who visited the Catacombs together with them. The envoys posted from the Paris post office, reports to Hluttaw, the Chief Queen, the Middle Queen and the Western Queen and the Prime Minister, the Lord of Laungshay.]

Saturday June 20. The envoys wearing their chains of office went in carriages to attend the reception given by the Minister of Justice. On arrival they were received by the Minister and his lady. Among the guests were the President and his lady who warmly greeted them. There was a very large number of guests, comprising of army and naval commanders, members of the Assembly, ambassadors, and various officials connected with the department of Justice, many of whom conversed with the envoys. After about one hour the envoys took their leave. Molar came to the hotel and reported as follows: the officials of the Foreign Office had carefully looked over the second treaty and found nothing objectionable, but ratification could not be made, because the Parliament would have to consider it first and that would take at least 6 months; so the envoys would have to go back only with the reply letter of greeting from the Foreign Minister and the reply letter from the President; both these letters had been written and within the next 7 days, they would be handed over by the President at a farewell audience.

[On June 21, the envoys went to a nearby mountain and looked down on Paris. It was a clear day and the place was crowded with people.]

Monday June 22. The deputy manager of a ship building company called at the hotel and in reply to Kinwun Mingyi's question, said that his company had constructed a number of warships for the government and also a number of merchant ships for various commercial concerns. His shipyards were at Marseilles and at Toulon and he invited the envoys to visit them on their way back to Burma. He assured the envoys that his company could supply everything connected with ships. So Kinwun Mingyi showed him the blue prints of a frigate which Saya Shan and Aung Wun had constructed and asked him whether his company could supply the Burmese King with a steam engine of 150 horse-power or perhaps even four times that horsepower, to be fitted on to that frigate, and the time the company would take. Kinwun Mingyi also asked him to give an estimate of the total cost, including the cost of carriage from France to Rangoon. The manager replied that he would have to study the blue prints before answering Kinwun Mingyi's query. Kinwun Mingyi then said, "Please make the estimate and remember that if the first engine is satisfactory, the King will purchase 10 engines every year for the coming 10 years." The manager, saying that he was very keen to supply the engines to the King and promising to come and give the estimate within a few days, went away. In the evening, the prefect of the Seine District invited and took Maung Myè and Maung Aung Thu to a reception.

[On June 23, the envoys and attendants, went in carriages to Versailles escorted by Maresealchi. They visited the famous Military Training School called St. Cyr. They inspected the rooms of the cadets, lecture rooms, the private chapel, armouries and stables. They watched the cadets being trained at riding, shooting with rifles, drill etc. The military officer who was the superintendent of the school explained to Kinwun Mingyi that when a cadet had completed his course and received his certificate, he was certain to be commissioned as an officer in one of the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

branches of the navy or army, and he could hope to gain a series of promotions until he became a commander-in-chief of an army or navy. He also mentioned with pride that the Sovereign-President of France, Marshall McMahon was a product of St. Cyr.]

Wednesday June 24. The envoys received letters from the Golden City containing the following news: His Majesty had declared the lakes, streams and canals of Shwegyothut quarters of the Golden City to be a protected area which meant that no fish or animal could be caught or sold or killed in the area, and to enforce this order the King had appointed special guards; His Majesty had also ordered that lotus plants should be grown in all the lakes and pools in the Suburbs of the Golden City and in the various parts of the kingdom; the entire row of houses on the left side of the main street in Yway quarter to the west of the Golden Palace was destroyed in a fire; the King had received a telegram from Rochech Quart saying that the French Parliament Was unable to ratify the second treaty; the special pavilion for the King's coronation was Still being constructed. At 10 a.m., the uncle and mother of the French envoy Fau who visited the Golden City recently, called and told envoys that they had received letters from Fau, informing them of the Burmese King's consideration and courtesy shown him during his journey from Burma towards Tongkin; they would ever remain grateful to His Majesty for his kindness and would like to offer their services to the envoys during their stay in France, and also after they had returned to Burma if the envoys would give instructions by letter. "We shall consider every business of the envoys or the King assigned to us, as our own", they explained. They invited the envoys to Visit them at Geneva on their return journey to Burma, as they were staying there. Mitchell Courie, the protocol officer came and informed the envoys that the reply letter from the President and the reply of the Foreign Minister to Kin Wun Mingyi's letter, had been written

and signed and would be delivered to the envoys on Friday by Molar.

[On June 25, the envoys went by train to a small town Fontainebleau some 10 miles away from Paris, to visit a wood where deer and wild boars were allowed to run wild; Napoleon III, when he was King of France used to go there often on a hunting holiday. Then they visited a military engineering school where they were received by the general in charge. On June 26, Marescalchi came and apologised for the failure to deliver to the envoys the replies from the President and the Foreign Minister as Molar had to leave for Versailles to see the Foreign Minister. On June 27, the envoys went to watch a circus. Kinwun Mingyi described in detail the different items performed, including acrobatic displays. Molar brought to the hotel the replies from the President and the Foreign Minister and promised to tell them the exact date on which they would have their farewell audience with the President. Edmund Jones' sister came to express her gratitude for the regard and consideration His Majesty the Burmese King had shown to her late brother. She also said that her husband was the nephew of Kaye of the India Office. In the afternoon the envoys visited a number of factories which were similar to those they had seen in England. On June 28, the envoys seated together with foreign envoys and members Of the French Parliament, watched a grand. review of 60,000 troops by the President. Kinwun Mingyi gave a very detailed description of 82 battalions that took part in the parade. There were tens of thousands of people watching the parade, but there were no untoward incidents as the people were so well disciplined. On June 29, the envoys attended a reception given by the prefect of the Seine district. On June 30, the envoys were informed that the Foreign Minister would give a farewell interview on Wednesday and on Thursday the President would give a farewell audience at Versailles and the Queen would hold a reception in their honour. On July 1, the envoys went to the Foreign Office to bid farewell to the Foreign Minister. After the usual expressions of gratitude and

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

goodwill, Kinwun Mingyi informed the Foreign Minister that the Gentleman of the Royal Chambers, Naymyo Theikdi Kyawhtin would be returning to his studies as a state scholar in England and there-fore would often visit France. On July 2, the envoys wearing their chains of office and decorations went to Versailles and had their farewell audience with the President. Afterwards they attended a reception given in their honour by the Queen. They said farewell to her and to other guests, among whom were the Foreign Minister, commanders-in chief and members of the French Parliament. As the envoys drove back to Paris at 11 p.m., the weather was very hot and the stars were plainly visible. Kinwun Mingyi learnt from the evening papers that there had been in Spain a great battle between the royalist forces under Don Carlos and Republican forces in which the commander of the Republican forces had been killed. On July 3, Maung Myè and Maung Aung Thu were sent to London to draw funds from the Chartered Bank. The sun was too hot and the envoys could not go out. Relations of Rochechouart

and Moustier came to say farewell. The envoys sent a report to the King to the effect that they were leaving Paris on July 8, and were returning to the Golden City after breaking their journey in Egypt to see the Egyptian Governor-General and in India to see the English Governor General. On July 4, two lieutenants and one captain came to see Maung Aung Thu who was their classmate at St. Cyr. They were disappointed to find that he was away in London. They told the envoys that they would like to come to the Golden City together with a friend who was an army medical officer and serve in the Burmese army. Kinwun Mingyi gave them some lacquer ware as presents. Kinwun Mingyi sent a messenger to the engraving factory to enquiry about the spittoon and learnt that it would be ready only after 25 days. On July 5, the sun was so hot that the envoys spent the day reading. In the evening, however, they went for a drive. Kinwun Mingyi

observed that a summer day in Paris was indeed very long, lasting some 15½ hours. On July 6, the envoys received a cable from Maung Aung Thu saying that he would be able to come back to Paris only the next day.]

Tuesday July 7. At 10 a.m., Molar came and gave to Kinwun Mingyi a gold watch and a gold chain in a box from the President, and he explained that the President wanted Kinwun Mingyi to carry the watch always so that it would remind him of his visit to the French President. Kinwun Mingyi at once wrote a letter to the Sovereign-President thanking him for the gift, and saying that he would wear the watch always and think of his great and gracious friend. Maung Aung Thu came back with adequate funds. Mares-calchi and the shipyard engineer-director came and gave his report: he had made the necessary calculations and he would recommend an engine of 260 horsepower, which would give a good speed; if the engine were more powerful, it would be too heavy and reduce the tonnage of passengers and goods to be carried, and if it were less powerful, the speed would be too slow; the engine could be manufactured within 7 months and it could be delivered at Rangoon within one and a half months, making a total of 8 and a half months; the total cost of the engine would be 5,000 Kyats, half of which was payable at the signing of the contract and the remaining half payable on delivery; payment should be made either in English pounds or French francs and not in goods; if a number of similar engines were ordered, the first would be delivered after 8½ months, and the rest at the rate of one in two months; the company would be prepared to receive from the King a trustworthy agent, who would regularly come and inspect the engine under construction; when the engines were sent by sea they would be insured against any damage and the cost of insurance would be borne by the company; if the King desired to get the services of an engineer to super-

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 19740.

wise the fitting of the engine on the frigate, the company would be prepared to engage one on the King's behalf, provided the King would guarantee his return pas-sage and pay him a salary of 350 Kyats a month: the engine could be fitted on to the ship by 12 skilled mechanics within 4 months; it was found difficult to calculate what kind of engine was to be manufactured because the blue prints were not prepared by the company; if the King desired, the company could prepare its own blue prints and then submit them to the King together with the specifications of a suitable engine. The engineer gave the envoys the papers containing his calculations. Then he left. The envoys spent the rest of the day writing reports for submission to the King.

Wednesday July 8. All the effects of the envoys and party were packed in 13 boxes and were sent to Messageries Mari-times Company to be shipped to the Roy-al Banker at Rangoon. The envoys wrote a letter of instruction to the Royal Banker regarding payment on delivery of the boxes. Mitchell Courie and wife came to say goodbye to Kinwun Mingyi and he gave them a lacquer box as a present. Marescalehi went to Lyons to prepare for the envoys' visit there the following day. The envoys sent a telegram to the Grand Lyons Hotel saying that they would be arriving there the next day. The Foreign Minister sent a telegram to the mayor of Lyons instructing them to meet the envoys at the railway station the following day.

[On July 9. the envoys took the special train to Lyons. On arrival there they were met by the mayor and Maresealchi. On July 10, the envoys visited a number of factories producing silk textiles. They also visited a great hospital with 1200 patients and 400 nurses. There were 12 hospitals in Lyons and the total annual cost of running them was 3½ million Kyats, all of which came from voluntary contributions made by the general public, and interest on endowments made by rich persons. On July 11, the envoys together with the mayor of Lyons

and Marescalchi drove along the river Rhone and visited some fruit farms. In the after-noon Marescalchi brought an engineer to meet the envoys. He offered to come to Burma with a number of engineers and set up factories producing rifles, cannons, shells and cartridges. In the afternoon, they were invited to visit the headquarters of a cavalry brigade. The general officer commanding the brigade met the envoys with a guard of honour and took them round the fort. The general explained to Kinwun Mingyi that 2,500 soldiers and 2,500 horses were always kept in readiness for immediate duty, and another 3000 horses and 3000 men were kept in reserve. In the evening the mayor gave a banquet in honour of the envoys, At the banquet Kinwun Mingyi learned that after being defeated by Prussia in the last war, a new army of one million men had been established with 2400 cannons, with 500 shells each, and one and a half million rifles. In the newspapers Kinwun Mingyi read that at Versailles a vote of no confidence against the government was passed, but President McMahon refused to dismiss the government saying that a stable government was necessary. After the banquet Maresealchi left for Marseilles. On July 12, the envoys left Lyons for Marseilles, again by a special train. On arrival there they were met by Maresealchi. Kinwun Mingyi noticed on the way that from Lyons to Abignon the countryside was poorly cultivated and villages were few, but from Abignon onwards there were large olive plantations. In the evening the mayor of Marseilles called and invited the envoys to visit the shipyards and factories the following day and to attend a banquet in their honour on Tuesday. The Italian consul-general at Marseilles also called and asked when they were arriving in Italy, explaining that he wanted to send a telegram about them to Rome. The envoys replied that they were leaving Marseilles for Toulon on July 15 and Toulon for Genoa on July 18, and that they would very much like to see Racchia. The consul-

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

general told the envoys that during the previous month a Burmese state scholar from Italy was sent by Racchia to Marseilles for a holiday and he stayed with him. On July 13, the mayor took the envoys on a sightseeing tour of the shipyards, the harbour, and a tobacco factory and a sugar factory. On July 14, the mayor took the envoys to visit an oil factory, a leather factory, a candle factory, a museum, and a match factory. Kinwun Mingyi gave a very detailed description of the processes of manufacture of oil, matches and candles. In the evening the envoys went to the banquet given by the mayor in their honour. The Italian consul-general told Kinwun Mingyi that he had received a telegram from his Foreign Office stating that as Racchia was away at sea on his ship, another naval officer would welcome the envoys at Genoa. Envoys received letters from Golden City containing news of another fire, lightning striking the fence of a royal residence, dates of the coronation, promotion of a lord and mysterious death of fishes in Myitngè river. On July 15, in the morning, Marescalchi left for Toulon. At 2 p.m., the envoys left Marseilles by train, and arrived at Toulon at 3.30 p.m.; They were met by Maresealchi. In the evening the deputy mayor called and later the mayor himself called. On July 16, the envoys were taken to see a huge iron-clad warship. Kinwun Mingyi gave a detailed description of this great battleship, the Toulon naval base and its fortifications. On July 17, the envoys boarded the special train and passed through Nice and Monaco, where they visited the palace and the great Casino. Kinwun Mingyi was, interested to learn that although it was such a small country, Monaco was an independent state and, that taxes amounting to 8 million Kyats were received from the Casino. Kinwun Mingyi listened to the bands and orchestras and watched men and women from all countries gambling in the Casino. The electric lights along the coast gave a festive air to the whole region. The envoys spent the night at Mentone.]

Saturday July 18. The envoys and party accompanied by Maresealchi left the hotel and rode in carriages to the railway station where they boarded the train for Genoa. When the train had reached a distance of 6 miles it crossed the Italian frontier and reached Ventimiglia, where they were met by its mayor. As it was a frontier town, there was a customs post but the, envoys' luggage was not subjected to customs inspection. The train continued its journey reaching Genoa at 7 p.m. The envoys were met by a naval officer "Brant Carie" who had been assigned the duty of attending on the envoys by the King of Italy. This naval captain had been to Burma with Racchia's embassy. The mayor of Genoa was also there, and he took the envoys to the hotel in his own carriage. The manager of the hotel was also there and he took the luggage and the attendants in his carriage to the hotel. One silk merchant also met the envoys and accompanied them to the hotel. He had a great desire to be the Burmese consul in Italy. The state scholar Nga Po Chone, Nga Thar Hta and Nga Si who originally came to Italy with Don Paolo, and the state scholar Maung Tayoke Pyu who originally came to Italy with Racchia called to pay their respect to Kinwun Mingyi. All four were waiting for a ship to take them back to Burma. One "Durazzo" came and called. He had been a captain in the Italian navy, but because he was very rich he had retired to private life. Racchia once told Kinwun Mingyi that Durazzo was very suitable to be the Burmese consul in Italy.

[On July 19, the envoys and party had lunch with Durazzo at his house. In the afternoon, the envoys were taken on a sightseeing tour by the two mayors. The city had two mayors, namely mayor or prefect appointed by the King and mayor elected by the people. The 2 Italian merchants sent by the Burmese King to buy silk goods in Italy, called on the envoys. On July 20, the envoys went to the castle

The castle was built 1000 years ago by the
JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

president as Genoa was then a republic. Then they went to the house of the elected mayor who was a very rich merchant. In the evening the mayor sent an orchestra to play in front of the envoys' hotel. The music was very delightful and attracted a huge crowd. On July 21, they visited the royal palace where the King stayed during his visits to Genoa. They went to a shipyard where they saw 37 large ships being built at the same time for various countries, including England and Prussia. On July 22, the envoys were taken by the 2 mayors to the countryside beyond the eastern gate of the city, where all kinds of vegetables and flowering plants were grown. There were also vineyards and groves of olive trees. Genoa was surrounded by a number of forts, and Kinwun Mingyi was told that the population of Genoa consisted of 16,000 civilians and 60,000 soldiers. Again in the evening the mayor sent the orchestra to play in front of the envoys' hotel. On July 23, the envoys went in carriages to a village outside Genoa. In the evening they were invited to a meeting of a music and philology association where they listened to recitation of poetry and music. The envoys, and Maung Aung Thu and the captain Brant Carie were given little medals denoting membership of the association. The Chairman give a speech extolling the Burmese King and his envoys, and Kinwun Mingyi presented to the association a book containing two of his long poems. On July 24, at 8 a.m., the envoys and party took the train to Milan. They were seen off at the station by the mayor and the deputy mayor to the music of the orchestra which he had brought to the railway station. The envoys arrived at Milan at 1 p.m. and the two mayors of the city and their deputies met them at the station. On the way Kinwun Mingyi observed that in Italy rice was grown direct from seeds and not by transplanting as in Burma, and he thought that Italian rice was inferior to Burmese rice. He also noted that the countryside outside Milan was green with cultivated fields of vegetables of all kinds. On July 25, the 2 deputy mayors escorted the envoys to a museum and then to the site of a

great battle. At the time of that battle, Venice and Milan and the northern part of Italy were under the rule of the King of Austria, and Napoleon III went to war against Austria. During the battle Napoleon III found himself encircled by the Austrian soldiers until he was rescued by Marshall McMahan, now the President of France. The envoys then visited a factory manufacturing iron goods such as boxes, cots, tables, chairs and pipes, and then to a factory which manufactured buttons. In the evening they went to a theatre. Among the audience was Captain Hine of the S.S. Malabar. On July 26, they visited the great cathedral of Milan. At 4 p.m., they went to the palace where the Crown Prince was staying. They were received by the Crown Prince wearing ordinary dress. The Crown Prince expressed delight at seeing Kinwun Mingyi for the second time, and asked after the health of the King of the Sunrise. After saying farewell to the Crown Prince, the envoys visited another palace, which served as the palace of the King on his visits to Milan, and later to a paper factory. In the evening captain Brant Carie received a letter from the Foreign Minister saying that the King would be pleased to grant an audience to the envoys on August 8. Kinwun Mingyi also received a letter from Paris saying that the spittoon would be ready in 5 days time, and he sent back a reply requesting that the spittoon be sent to the envoys at the hotel at Turin. On July 27, the envoys left for Venice by special train, accompanied by captain Brant Carie. They were met at the Venice railway station by the admiral of the Venice squadron, the army commander, the two mayors and judges. The envoys proceeded to their hotel in row-boats. On July 28, the envoys wearing their gold chains of office went to visit the naval headquarters where they were received by the admiral. Kinwun Mingyi described with awe and wonder an "under-water bomb". It looked like a fish and was 5 yards long and half a yard broad. It had a screw engine like that of a stea-

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

mer, except of course, it was very small. The bomb was in the front part and in the middle was a space for air. It could be made to go forward, up to a maximum of 9 feet and a minimum of 3 feet below the surface of the water. It was discharged by pumping air into the space in the middle and then by starting the engine. It could travel up to a distance of 3 miles. When discharged in the direction of an enemy ship, it would hit the ship and explode, piercing and setting fire to the hull. Kinwun Mingyi watched these bombs being manufactured and exclaimed to himself, "What an awesome invention, what a wonderful invention". Afterwards the envoys visited the Ducal Palace built 800 years before when Venice was a re-public. Then they visited a glass factory. In the afternoon, the envoys went round the city in row-boats. Kinwun Mingyi learnt that the population of the city consisted of 13,000 civilians, 8000 soldiers and 3000 sailors. Late in the evening, they went by steamer to a carnival island, out on the sea.]

Wednesday July 29. The envoys and party went in row-boats to the naval head-quarters, where the admiral of the Venice squadron and his lady were waiting in his special steamer. On the steamer, the envoys met the naval secretary and his wife, English and Spanish ambassadors and their ladies and a number of counts and countesses. As the steamer left the naval headquarters, all the ladies wrote down their names on pieces of paper and asked Kinwun Mingyi to write those names in Burmese. After one hour, the steamer reached the flag ship of the admiral of the fleet Charles Routti. The admiral of the fleet with a guard of honour and a band welcomed the envoys on board the flag ship. The admiral of the fleet took the envoys round the flag ship, and then gave a demonstration of how the sailors took their meals, moved to their positions and put the great guns into action, during a battle with an enemy ship. Then the admiral served refresh-merits to the guests, Which tallied over 1000, as many

had come in steamers other than the admiral's. As the ship's band played, the guests danced and enjoyed themselves for nearly 5 hours. The envoys then said farewell to the admiral of the fleet and went aboard the admiral's steamer as a salute of 19 guns was fired from the flag ship. The flag ship was called Venicia and there were 5 cruisers surrounding it. The flag ship was 83 meters long, 12 meters broad, the armor plate was 14 centimeters thick, the engine was of 900 horsepower, the speed was 14 miles an hour, and there were 22 officers, 550 sailors and 8 large guns. The ships were anchored at the mouth of the Gulf of Venice. At high tide the water level was raised to 6 feet, but at ebb tide sand-bars became visible. There was a fort on either side of the entrance to the Gulf, and there were also lighthouses. Two sea lanes had been made by dredging the sea bottom, and buoys marked those two sea lanes. Both warships and merchant ships could enter Venice harbour along these sea lanes, but they had to enter by one lane and leave by the other. There were hospitals and lunatic asylums on the sandy beach of the city. Admiral Charles Routti accompanied the envoys right to their hotel, which was reached at 8 p.m.

The envoys sent a telegram to Racchia asking him to meet them at Pisa, which they planned to reach on July 31.

At 9 p.m., the mayor of Venice held a carnival in honour of the envoys al-though it was not the season for carnivals. The mayor came in a boat which had about 100 lanterns of many colours. In the boat there were young men and young women, singing and playing various musical instruments. The envoys' boat and the showboat went along together, followed by the boat carrying the envoys' attendants. Hundreds of other boats, carrying members of the republic, followed behind in a semi-circle. The houses on both sides of the canals were decorated with red, white and

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

yellow lanterns. Very smoothly and very pleasantly, the procession of boats went from canal to canal. The light of the moon, its reflection in the water and the light from the lanterns mingled, as a gentle breeze blew. The music as played by such skilful musicians delighted Kinwun Mingyi. After one hour the procession broke up and the mayor said farewell and went away. The envoys were then taken to a palace, which was really a combination of 8 palaces built long ago when Venice was a republic. This transformation into one single palace was made only during the time of the present King of Italy. The King's secretary and the military commander of the palace took the envoys round the 800 rooms, including the chambers of the King and Queen, those of the Crown Prince and Princess and those of their relations. Next to the palace was an open space with gardens, pools and fountains, and a paved pathway across it, for use by the general public. As he looked out of a window of the palace, Kinwun Mingyi was deeply moved by the beauty of the houses, canals, sand-banks, and in the distance the sea. The envoys returned to their hotel at 11 p.m., having been escorted throughout the day and evening by the two deputy mayors.

[On July 30, as the envoys were leaving Venice that day, they called at the residence of the prefect-mayor but they were distressed to find him seriously ill. Then the envoys visited the great cathedral of Venice. At 7 p.m., they left Venice in a special train after saying goodbye to the two deputy mayors. The train passed through Bologna at midnight and in the early morning of July 31, they reached Pistoria where they changed trains. Reaching Pisa at 11 a.m., the envoys were met by the prefect and the mayor and some military officers who took them to their hotel. On August 1, the prefect and the mayor and the military officers took them to the cathedral of Pisa. Kinwun Mingyi carefully described the ceremony of a baptism of a child which took place in the cathedral during their

visit. He 175 was interested to learn that according to Christian belief the baptism purified the child of its inborn sins, and should a child die before baptism it would never meet his God. Then the envoys visited the leaning tower of Piss which had 8 stories and was built in 1174 AD or 536 Burmese era. The population of Piss consisted of 40,000 people, of whom 28,000 actually lived within the walls of the city. On August 2, the envoys Went sightseeing outside the city.]

Monday August 3. On receipt of a telegram from Albert Racchia sent from Spezia, the Italian captain Brant Carie went to the railway station to meet him. On arrival at the hotel, Racchia seemed very pleased to see the envoys. He explained that he had requested by telegram the secretary of the Foreign Office Argamoor to advance the date of the envoys' audience with the King fixed for Sunday to Saturday, as the ship for Alexandria was due to leave Brindisi early on Monday morning. At 11 a.m., Kinwun Mingyi sent the Italian captain Brant Carie and Maung Aung Thu to Rome to see the Foreign Minister and deliver to him the following messages from Kinwun Mingyi: "As he was leaving Italy from Brindisi after seeing the King he regretted he would not be able to come to Rome and see him; Kinwun Mingyi would ask the Foreign Minister to please take custody of the golden chains of office which the King of the Sunrise had awarded to the various high officials in Italy; the King of the Sunrise would like to appoint Burmese consuls at suitable ports in Italy". Racchia had breakfast with the envoys and then presented to them another naval captain who had come with him from Spezia. Racchia explained that the captain commanded one of the five cruisers in the squadron at Venice, and was engaged to marry the daughter of the admiral of the fleet. The envoys received letter from the Golden City which contained the following news: the date of the King's coronation had been fixed, and exactly one week after the coronation His Majesty would go

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

round the city in state; after the coronation the King would send the lord of Yenangyaung on a tour of the villages in Middle Burma; rains were scanty, the weather was very hot and there had been again a series of fires; the envoys' families and friends were well. At 4 p.m., Racchia and his friend left for Venice.

Tuesday August 4. The envoys stayed indoors. They received a telegram from Maung Aung Thu confirming that the audience with the King of Italy would be on Saturday and that he and captain Brant Carie would be arriving back at Pisa at 11 a.m., the following day.

Wednesday August 5. Maung Aung Thu and the captain arrived back from Rome at 11 a.m. Maung Aung Thu reported as follows: "The Prime Minister would send a telegram to the Italian Consul-Generals at Alexandria and Bombay to make necessary arrangements for the visit of the envoys to Egypt and India; the Prime Minister would consult the Foreign Minister and make a list of officials considered worthy of receiving the gold chains of office from the Burmese King. The Prime Minister looked forward to meeting Kinwun Mingyi at Turin; the Prime Minister and Minister of Marine greeted Aung Thu with cordiality and regard; the Prime Minister left Rome for Turin the previous night".

[The envoys, on the invitation of the military commander in charge of a forest area reserved for the King, went to visit the place. The envoys saw stables where the best English and Arab horses were kept for breeding and also for riding, stables for camels, kennels for hunting dogs, the royal hunting lodge, a special beach where the King could swim and bathe in private and a small chapel. This forest was 20 miles in area and had 1,000 game-keepers. There were rabbits, deer, wild boars, and pheasants. The King came to this game reserve 8 or 9 times a year, and every visit lasted for about 4 or 5 days, during which period he enjoyed himself by

hunting and killing about 100 to 200 pheasants and other game. There were about 10,000 deer in the forest. As the envoys went round the place, Kinwun Mingyi noticed several herds of deer, each herd containing about 25, 30, 40 or 50 deer. On return to the hotel, Kinwun Mingyi received a letter from Maung Myè saying that the blue prints of the frigate were not enclosed with the letter of instruction he received and Kinwun Mingyi arranged to send the plans. Kinwun Mingyi received also the intimation that the spittoon would be ready on August 10, and he sent back instructions that the spittoon be sent to him at New Hotel in Cairo as the envoys were leaving Italy on August 8. The Italian captain Brant Carie sent a telegram to the mayor of Brindisi instructing him to reserve 3 first class cabins and 5 second class cabins on the mail boat to Alexandria. He also sent a telegram to Racchia informing him that the envoys would see the King on Saturday.]

Thursday August 6. At 10 a.m., the envoys and party called on the prefect, the mayor, the commander and the judge to say farewell. At 5 p.m. the envoys and party went to the railway station and took the train to Turin. They were seen off at the station by the 2 mayors, the commander and the judge.

[After travelling the whole night the envoys and party arrived at Turin at 8 a.m. on August 7 and they were met by the prefect and the mayor of Turin. On arrival at their hotel they found their luggage waiting for them, as it had been sent ahead from Genoa by the authorities there. They were told the King arrived in Turin the previous day. They visited an exhibition of science and technology and the International college where students from Europe, Africa and United States were studying. The principal told the envoys that there were among the students some from Egypt and Japan, and expressed the hope that he would be receiving soon some Burmese state scholars. The envoys received a letter from the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

King of Italy saying that, he would be Very pleased to receive them the next day at 10 a.m.]

Saturday August 8. The envoys, wearing their robes and gold and velvet head-dresses, the captain Brunt Curie wearing his uniform and gold chain of office, the Royal Bailiff and attendants wearing for-mal clothes, waited at the hotel. for the state carriages to arrive. When the carriages came, Kinwun Mingyi and, the captain entered the first carriage, the Royal Secretary Minhla Zeyathu, Gentleman of the Royal Chamber Naymyo Minhtin Thurein and the Royal Bailiff Minhla Minhtin Kyawtho, entered the second carriage and the 3 clerks and 1 attendant entered the third carriage. On arrival at the palace gates, the envoys were received by the secretary of the Foreign Office Argmoor, the Aides de-Camp and the officials of the Royal Household, wearing gold chains of office, granted by the Burmese King. Then the envoys were ushered into the reception room. After about 5 minutes, His Majesty, the King of Italy, entered the room wearing the ruby-studded chain of office with 24 strings, which only Kings could wear, and which was sent by His Majesty the King of Burma and brought to Italy by Racchia. The envoys and the Italian captain walked towards. His Majesty who took off his hat and bowed to the envoys as they bowed to him. The Bailiff who was carrying the royal presents in his hands, stood by while Kinwun Mingyi said, "Your Majesty, as instructed by our lord the King of the Sunrise, we have come here to pay our respects and to deliver these royal presents to Your Majesty". "I thank Your Excellencies", replied the Italian King, "and I am extremely happy that His Burmese Majesty remembers to send me these valuable presents. Please tell His Burmese Majesty that I am very grateful to His Majesty for these presents and that I am delighted by the grand friendship that now prevails between Italy and Burma." "Your Majesty", Kinwun Mingyi said, "our lord the King will always endeavour to bring progress and prosperity to both kingdoms, and His

Majesty and the Burmese Court will be happy to hear of the regard that Your Majesty has for them". "I must again, express my thanks", continued the King, "to the Lord of the Sunrise for the great hospitality shown to my two embassies, for sending me this ruby-studded chain of office, these royal presents and also for this embassy headed by Your Excellency". Kinwun Mingyi in turn thanked the King for his great kindness in instructing the captain and prefects, mayors and other officials of various towns and places to make every-thing comfortable and enjoyable for the envoys. Then the King shook hands with the envoys. who bade him farewell, and left the audience chamber. Afterwards, the General who was the Lord Chamberlain of the palace took the envoys to various parts of the palace. At 1 p.m., the Foreign Office secretary came to the hotel and delivered to Kinwun Mingyi the Grand Cordon of the Italian Royal Order with silk sash and medallion, and also a gold watch, to the Royal Secretary and to the Gentleman of the Royal Chambers, the insignias of Commander of the Royal Italian Order and gold rings with the King's crest on them, and to the Royal Bailiff and 4 other attendants gold rings with the King's crest on them. The Foreign Office secretary also gave Kinwun Mingyi, the King's proclamation granting them these orders. At 1.30 p.m., the Prime Minister called to bid goodbye to the envoys. When Kinwun Mingyi told him of the Burmese, King's desire to appoint a Burmese consul in Italy, the Prime Minister replied that he would be delighted to approve such an appointment. The mayor of Turin called and gave to Kinwun Mingyi an album of photographs of the ancient buildings of the city and Kinwun Mingyi gave him his photograph. Kinwun Mingyi gave as presents some rolls of Burmese silk to the Prime Minister and the secretary Argmoor. A group photograph of the envoys and the attendants and the Italian captain Brunt Curie was taken. It rained very heavily. A

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

merchant from Genoa who also held a decoration from the Italian King, called and expressed his desire to have close commercial relations with Burma and discussed with Kin Wun Mingyi the necessity to have a Burmese consul in Italy. Kinwun Mingyi thought him very trust-worthy and gave him his photograph.

Sunday August 9. At 5 o'clock in the morning, the envoys and party accompanied by Captain Brant Carie arrived at the railway station where they were met by the deputy mayor. They boarded the 6 o'clock express train which stopped at a station only to take in water for its engine. At 12 noon, the train arrived at Bologna where the envoys and party had breakfast. The train continued its journey and arrived at Ancona at 6 p.m., and the envoys took some refreshments at the railway station. The train travelled the whole night arriving at Foggia at 5 a.m., on August 10. At 6 a.m., it arrived at Brindisi, where the envoys were met by the mayor of Brindisi. The mayor, in his carriages took the envoys and party to the quay to board the mail boat to Alexandria, S. S. Simla. The mayor and the Italian captain said goodbye to the envoys. A telegram was sent to the Italian Consul-General at Alexandria informing him of the envoys' departure from Brindisi.

[On Monday August 10 at 7 a.m., the envoys left Brindisi on S.S. Simla which was a 2000 ton ship with 600 horsepower engines. The distance between Brindisi and Alexandria was 825 miles. On August 11 and 12 the ship continued on its course towards Alexandria, and the sea was very rough. On August 13, the ship entered Alexandria harbour. The mayor of Alexandria and the naval commander came to the ship in 3 state launches and informed the envoys that rooms had been reserved for them at the Hotel Europe where Kinwun Mingyi had stayed on his previous visit to Alexandria. The envoys and party went ashore in special launches and then went to the hotel in state carriages.

On August 14, the envoys visited the public park which the Viceroy of Egypt had given to the general public. Kinwun Mingyi received a telegram informing him that the spittoon had been sent to Alexandria.]

Saturday August 15. At 2 p.m., the envoys boarded the special train which had been arranged for by the mayor. The special train consisted of the engine, a van for the envoys' luggage and a carriage for the envoys and party. The mayor bade them goodbye as the train left Alexandria station. As it was a special train, it reached Cairo, a distance of 130 miles in 4 hours. It stopped only once on the way, for half an hour, at Cazata, where the Viceroy had arranged a special lunch for the envoys. All along the rail-way line the harvest of wheat had been gathered, and ploughing for the next season was just beginning. There were also cotton plantations where the cotton flowers were in full bloom. There was a continuous line of villages with a great number of natural streams and irrigation canals. As the train reached Cairo at 6 p.m., the envoys were met by the Viceroy's Lord Chamberlain with state carriages and a luggage van. The envoys were taken to a palace in the northern part of Cairo by the Lord Chamberlain, Major Sulaiman Bey who was an old friend as he came to meet Kinwun Mingyi at Alexandria on his way back from London. The Viceroy had provided for the envoys in this El Giza palace, food, refreshments, and other necessary things. There was a large garden round the palace with ponds, fruit trees, and flowering plants. The rooms were elegantly, luxuriously, and yet comfortably furnished. The meals were sumptuous. Kinwun Mingyi felt that he was being received not merely as a distinguished guest, but as a loved and trusted friend.

Sunday August 16. At 6 a.m., the envoys wearing their robes and decorations and the Royal Bailiff and attendants wearing formal clothes were taken by the

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Lord Chamberlain in two state carriages to the palace of the Viceroy of Egypt. The palace was situated in the western part of Cairo and on the western bank of the river Nile. The envoys were received by the Aide-de-Camp and the officers of the Royal Household and were ushered into the presence of the Viceroy. The Royal Bailiff who was carrying the box containing the royal presents, laid it down in front of the Viceroy after the envoys and party had bowed respectfully and he had also bowed in greeting. The presents consisted of the following:

1 Ruby ring in a golden box wrapped in a velvet bag

1 Necklace of large sized amber,

1 Necklace of medium sized amber in a lacquer box

1 Handwoven silk dress, embroidered with silver thread

2 Handwoven silk dresses, packed in a special box.

"My Lord", said Kinwun Mingyi, "in obedience to the orders of our Lord the King, we have come to convey to Your Excellency, His Majesty's grateful thanks for your hospitality and consideration shown to His Majesty's envoys on their visits to Your Excellency's domain of Egypt." "Your Excellency", replied the Viceroy, "I have always remembered with pleasure Your Excellency's previous visit to me at this palace and I am greatly delighted that Your Excellency is now visiting me again. I am deeply grateful to His Burmese Majesty for these royal presents, the receipt of which greatly adds to my honour and prestige. My only regret is that Your Excellency's present visit to Egypt will be so short". Kinwun Mingyi thanked the Viceroy for instructing the mayor to meet him at Alexandria, sending the Lord Chamberlain to meet him at Cairo railway station, for arranging the special train and lunch on the way and for the wonderful hospitality shown to them at the palace where he and his companions were staying. "My Lord", Kinwun Mingyi continued,

"my reports on these acts of kindnesses will certainly delight our lord the King". Then the Viceroy asked Kinwun Mingyi about his impressions of the climate, the people and the economy of the various countries he had recently visited. After about half an hour of such intimate and friendly conversation with Viceroy, the envoys shook hands with him and took their leave. The envoys and party were then taken round the palace garden by the Lord Chamberlain. They visited the Viceroy's private zoo in the garden where there were lions, leopards and other kinds of beasts, bird--big-blunt-multi-coloured, peacocks and other kinds of birds, African animals including elephants and zebras. There were all kinds of fruit trees and flowering plants also. Then the envoys drove round the city and when they had crossed the Nile and reached the eastern bank, the Viceroy and his Finance Minister passed by in a carriage and he stopped and greeted them. Then the envoys drove round the public park where throngs of upper class men and women, gaily dressed, were listening to the bands, walking near the pools, and fountains or taking refreshments in the cafeteria. The people looked very happy and gay. Returning to the palace, the envoys had dinner together with the Lord Chamberlain.

[On August 17, the envoys escorted by the Lord Chamberlain visited the State Academy where they were received by the Minister of Education and shown round the classrooms. Mathematics, chemistry, fine arts, English literature and Egyptian literature were taught in the school. Then they visited a great mosque and a great tomb where the Viceroy's grandfather Mohamed Ali lay buried. Cairo had a population of 540,000. The Lord Chamberlain sent a telegram to the mayor of Suez instructing him to book 3 first class cabins and 5 second class cabins on the steamer leaving for Bombay on the following Thursday. After going back to the palace for lunch, the envoys were taken by the Lord Chamberlain to the Military Academy where they were warmly received

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

by the commander, a French general. *On August 18*, the envoys were escorted by the Lord Chamberlain to visit the Pyramids and the Sphinx. Later in the after-noon, they visited the Cairo museum. Kinwun Mingyi gave to the Lord Chamberlain some Burmese handwoven silk dresses, some lacquer ware and his photo-graph as presents. *On August 19*, the Lord Chamberlain took the envoys to visit the market and a school for girls. In the market there were 3 kinds of shops, European, Turkish and Egyptian. The school for girls was rounded and endowed by the third wife of the Viceroy only the previous year. There were 300 girls studying in the school, 100 were day students and 200 were boarders. The girls were taught Egyptian and French languages, mathematics and also domestic sciences such as sewing, embroidery, cooking and laundering. No fees were charged and all expenses were borne by the wife of the Viceroy. *On Thursday August 20*, the envoys and party accompanied by the Lord Chamberlain went to the railway station. The Viceroy had arranged a special train for them, and the envoys started at 8 a.m.. on their journey to Suez, which was 180 miles away, reaching Zagazig at 11 a.m.. The train stopped for one hour to enable the envoys to have their lunch, which had been specially ordered by the Viceroy. While they were having their lunch, an Italian merchant who was a passenger with the envoys on *S.S. Simla* greeted Kinwun Mingyi and gave him some samples of Egyptian cotton and also Egyptian cotton seeds. The train continued its journey and Kinwun Mingyi noticed fields of corn, cotton and sugar cane. As the train arrived at Suez at 3 p.m., the envoys were met by the mayor of Suez and a guard of honour. They proceeded to Hotel Suez where they had stayed before, and found that special rooms had been prepared for them on instruction from the Viceroy and the mayor insisted on paying, not only the hotel charges, but also all other expenses including even portorage for envoys' luggage. The Italian consul called and undertook to collect the Spittoon when it arrived at

Alexandria and send it on 16 the Golden City. The envoys sent a telegram to the Royal Banker at Rangoon informing him that they were leaving Suez on August 21, and would reach Rangoon in about a month's time. *On August 21* at 7 a.m., the mayor of Suez took the envoys, the attendants and the Lord Chamberlain in his own steam launch to *S.S. Galway*. The mayor and the Lord Chamberlain said farewell to the envoys and went down to the launch. At 8 a.m., the ship weighed anchor and started to leave, and only then did the mayor and the Lord Chamberlain go away in their launch. *From Saturday August 22*, until the ship reached Aden *on Wednesday, August 26* at 8 a.m., the journey was uneventful except for the great heat which prevailed throughout the voyage until the ship approached Aden. *On August 26* at 2 p.m., the ship weighed anchor after taking on goods, coal and victuals. Kinwun Mingyi noticed some schools of fish following the wake of the ship. Some of the fishes could jump to a height of full 6 feet above the water. *From August 27 until August 31*, the ship continued its journey to Bombay. The sea was rough and the portholes had to be kept closed. Waves reached even on to the deck and the passengers were seasick. Sails were put up to steady the ship, which also increased the speed. *On August 31* as the ship approached the Bombay coast, the high wind changed into a gentle breeze and the sea became calm.

On Tuesday September 1, at 8 a.m., the coast of Bombay became visible to the envoys. The sky was bright and clear and the sea calm. At 12 noon the ship stopped at the entrance to Bombay harbour, where the mail bags were unloaded from the ship. The Italian consul came on board and told Kinwun Mingyi that as instructed by telegram by the Italian Foreign Office, he had informed the English authorities at Bombay of the envoys' expected arrival at Bombay, and that he had also made reservations at Parlingee Hotel. The envoys proceeded to the hotel

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

while the Gentleman of the Royal Chamber Maung Aung Thu remained at the quay to clear the envoys' luggage through the customs. He experienced no difficulty because the customs passed the luggage without any inspection. An English barrister named Allan Carr called on the envoys and answered Kinwun Mingyi's questions regarding the city. The envoys drove round the city and noticed that most of the inhabitants were merchants and tradesmen and the various communities, Parsee, Muslim, Hindu, Bengali and European lived separately in different quarters of Bombay. When he was told that the place was originally called "Maharatta" until the English conquerors changed the name to "Bombay", Kinwun Mingyi remembered that the ancient city of Maharatta was one of the 9 places to which the great emperor Asoka sent missionaries after the conclusion of the Third Great Synod of Buddhism which assembled under his patronage.

On Wednesday September 2 at 9.30 a.m., the envoys left the hotel for the railway station and from there they took the 10 a.m. train to Calcutta. At 6 p.m., the train stopped at Jalgaon station, where the envoys had their dinner. During the journey to this town the train passed over mountainous country and crossed many streams. Although a few of the hills looked green with vegetation, as a general rule the hilly region was bare. Kinwun Mingyi noticed some cultivated fields, and the methods of growing and harvesting were different from those prevailing in Europe and Egypt, and more similar to Burmese methods. But the people seemed very poor, ill-clothed and ill-fed. The train continued its journey the whole night until it reached Hoshangabad, where the envoys washed their faces. Before leaving Bombay, Kinwun Mingyi learnt from the head clerk of the Bombay municipality that a Burmese embassy left Bombay for Iran some 3 months before and the Iranian consul who visited Burma some months previously was not in Bombay as he had gone to Hyderabad. *On September 3* at 12 noon the train started to follow the Narbada river, which reminded Kinwun Mingyi of the Burmese

river Myitngé. The train then stopped at Jabalpur where the envoys had their lunch. Kinwun Mingyi noticed some small teak trees growing here and there, and he was informed that they were only 8 years old having been planted under the order of the previous Governor-General. At 9 p.m., the train crossed the Ganges river and reached Allahabad where the envoys had their dinner. The countryside was poorly cultivated and the soil appeared to be unfertile. The train then passed through the ancient city of Banaras, and it was raining very heavily. *On September 4*, the train continued its journey along the Ganges valley and finally reached Howrah station at 9.30 p.m. The envoys were met by the Italian vice-consul. They crossed the river in a steam launch and then rode in carriages to the Wilson Hotel in Calcutta. The distance between Bombay and Calcutta was 1500 miles. *On September 6*, the Italian consul and the vice-consul called and invited the envoys to dine with them on September 7. The envoys wrote a letter to the Governor-General's Secretary Aitcheson saying that they had arrived in Calcutta and would like to see the Governor-General. At 3 p.m., the envoys received a letter from Aitcheson saying that he would be grateful if the envoys could come to his residence on Monday September 7 at 11 a.m. *On September 6*, the Italian vice-consul called and informed the envoys that he would come and take the envoys to Aitcheson. The Italian consul called and invited the envoys to dinner on Tuesday at 7 p.m.]

Monday September 7. At 11 a.m., the Italian vice consul came with carriages and took the envoys and party to the residence of the Governor-General's secretary, Aitcheson who received them cordially. The envoys and Aitcheson sat down and talked about unofficial matters such as the envoys' health and the envoys' visit to Europe and Egypt. As the envoys rose to go, the secretary told Kinwun Mingyi that he was doing his best to arrange for him an interview

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

with the Governor-General. "Is there any other matter in which I can be of service to Your Excellency?" he asked. The envoys thanked him and returned to their hotel together with the Italian vice-consul. At 2 p.m., the envoys received a letter from the Governor-General expressing his desire to see them at 12 noon the following day. At 3 p.m., the French consul called and offered his services during the envoys' stay in Calcutta. He informed Kinwun Mingyi that he had received a letter from the English Resident at the Golden City, Stover, which contained the information *that* the French envoys Fau and Moreau had died of malaria while travelling across the Shan States exploring the route to Annam. The French consul asked Kinwun Mingyi to send him further details after he had returned to the Golden City. Saying that he would call again the following day, he went away. It was raining the whole day.

Tuesday September 8. The Italian consul sent his vice-consul and the carriages to the hotel. The envoys wearing their robes and chains of office and Italian and French decorations arrived at Government House at 12 noon. The Italian vice-consul remained in a room below and the envoys went up the stairs where they were met by the private secretary. Then Aitcheson came out and led the envoys into the reception room where the Governor-General was waiting for them. "Your Excellencies", said the Governor-General, "I am indeed very sorry that I am unable to receive you with due ceremony, and that is because I did not receive any advance information that Your Excellencies were coming to Calcutta". "We did not think Your Excellency would be here", explained

Kinwun Mingyi. "As it is the hot sea-season, we presumed that Your Excellency had left for a summer resort. In any case it is an unexpected pleasure for us that we are able to see Your Excellency". "Is there any matter that Your Excellency would like me to take up?" asked the

Governor-General. "I shall be delighted to be of assistance". Afterwards the Governor-General asked about the different kinds of weather prevailing in Paris, London and other places the envoys had visited. After about 45 minutes the envoys left Government House together with the Italian vice-consul. A clerk from the Foreign Office followed the envoys to the hotel and noted down the titles of the 3 envoys. At 4 p.m., the envoys received a letter from the Governor-General inviting them to dinner the following day, at 8.30 p.m. At 6 p.m., the Italian vice-consul arrived with carriages and took the envoys to the residence of his consul. On the way the vice-consul took the envoys for a drive along the river bank and across the parade grounds. On arrival at the consul's residence the envoys sat down to dinner. There were about 10 other guests including the French consul, Belgium consul and an English official from the Treasury. After 3 hours of enjoyable conversation the envoys returned to their hotel with the vice-consul. From 11 a.m., until 1 p.m., it rained very heavily and it continued to drizzle until sunset. At midnight it started to drizzle again and did not stop until dawn.

Wednesday September 9. At 11 a.m., the Italian vice-consul came with carriages and took the envoys to the Italian consulate where the consul welcomed them. He sent a telegram to the Italian consul at Bombay enquiring whether various goods sent from France and Italy for the envoys had arrived. After about one hour, the envoys together with the vice consul went to the residence of the French consul, who received them warmly and told them he had received from Bur-ma a letter telling him that Fau died at Mohnei and Moreau turned back towards Burma but he also died. At 1 p.m., an Armenian called and introduced himself as agent for the State of Abbadan. At 2 p.m., Manook came with another Armenian who offered his services to Kinwun Mingyi, saying that he had the honour

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

of looking after state scholars sent by the late Crown Prince, the younger brother of our lord the King. At 2.30 p.m., the envoys' old acquaintance the Babu clerk in the service of the Governor-General Laxmi Naran called and informed the envoys that Aitcheson would like to call on them at 3.30 p.m. At the appointed time, Aitcheson came and after some friendly conversation, he informed the envoys that as Eden was not in Rangoon but at Thayetmyo, he had sent a telegram to the appropriate authorities in Rangoon instructing them to meet the envoys, who were leaving Calcutta on Saturday next, on their arrival at Rangoon. At 6 p.m., the Italian vice-consul came with carriages and took the envoys for a drive along the river Hoogali and through the parade grounds and to the Eden gardens. It continued to drizzle until 12 noon. At 8.30 p.m., the envoys, wearing their chains of office attended the dinner given in their honour by the Governor-General. There were about 20 other guests both men and women. Aitcheson and the finance secretary and some military officials were there. The Governor-General and Kinwun Mingyi sat together at the head of the table. The Governor-General expressed his gratitude to the King of Burma for the royal grant of a large sum of money for the relief of the famine stricken people of Bengal, and asked Kinwun Mingyi to convey his thanks to the King. Kinwun Mingyi undertook to do so, and informed the Governor General that the King was very pleased to learn of the Governor-General's hospitality shown to the Burmese envoys on their way back from London, and to know of the Governor-General's interest in Burmese state scholars in India. "I am always delighted to meet a Burmese scholar or a Burmese royal official", said the Governor-General, "and I am always prepared to give my assistance in all ways possible". After the dinner the Governor-General, the envoys and the guests at the dinner moved to another room where the Governor General was giving a reception in the envoys' honour. There were 50 or 60 guests, a band played and coffee, tea, cakes and ice-cream were served. At the reception, Kinwun Mingyi

met a Nepalese. His complexion was rather fair, his stature was small and he looked like a Burmese. But he was dressed in European clothes. He told Kinwun Mingyi that Nepalese people spoke Sanskrit and worshipped the same gods as the Hindus did. He spoke only a little English. At the reception Aitcheson said to Kinwun Mingyi, "Your Excellency, I have sent a telegram to the authorities at Rangoon informing them that you are leaving Calcutta on Saturday. I would suggest to Your Excellency that a suitable Burmese official be sent to re-side in Calcutta as the Burmese King's representative. The Governor - General would be very pleased to receive such an official and he would extend his patronage and assistance to him. The appointment of a Burmese Resident in Calcutta would be of immense advantage to both countries." Kinwun Mingyi replied that the King had been desiring to send such a representative, and it was expected that the appointment of a suitable person to the post would soon be made. For full 3 hours, the envoys stayed at the reception, enjoying the hospitality and friendly conversation.

[On September 10, the Babu clerk Laxmi Naran came bringing the Governor-General's letter, instructing the manager of the city theatre to admit the envoys to the Governor-General's box at any performance. The attendants went to the market to buy presents for their families. Maung Po Mya, son of the nine-pagodas-donor of the Western quarter of the Golden City, 3 Burmese diamond merchants and the King's buyer Maung Shwe Soccame and paid their respects to the envoys. On September 11, the Italian vice-consul came and showed the envoys a telegram from the consul at Bombay reporting that the weekly mail boat had arrived, but it brought no parcels for the envoys. The Babu clerk called, and the envoys returned to him the Governor-General's letter with thanks, as they would

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii, Dec., 1974.

not be able to go to the theatre. Manook and the other Armenian came and gave to Kinwun Mingyi samples of various grades of cutch with a list of their prevailing prices. It drizzled all the day. *On Saturday September 12*, the French consul came to say farewell and requested Kinwun Mingyi to please send him the personal effects of Captains Fau and Moreau. He asked Kinwun Mingyi to remember that he was always available to serve in any matter relating to the King in India or in France. At 3 p.m., the Italian vice consul came and collected the envoys' luggage and attendants, and took them to the quay. At 5 p.m., the Italian consul called to say farewell and to remind Kinwun Mingyi that his services were always available in any matter relating to the Burmese kingdom in India and in Italy. At 8 p.m., the envoys went on board the ship *S.S. Decca*. There were about 100 Indian labourers travelling to Rangoon as deck passengers, but the cabins were almost empty. *On Sunday September* at 6 a.m., the ship left Calcutta harbour and on reaching the open sea at 7 p.m., a storm came on. *On September 14* at about 3 p.m., the storm became quite fierce but it fully abated in the evening. *On September 15*, in the afternoon the coast of Bassein came in sight. The sea remained calm. *On September 15* the ship sailed past the Bassein coast and at 8.30 p.m., it reached the Krishna lighthouse. A pilot from the lighthouse came aboard the ship.]

Thursday September 17. The ship reached the mouth of the Rangoon river at 6 a.m., and as the tide was rising, it sailed straight on to Rangoon harbour. It reached there at 8 a.m. The mayor of Rangoon Anderson, the port commissioner and the deputy commissioner of Danubyu came aboard the *S.S. Decca* and took the envoys in their launch to the shore. The royal steamer *Yenan Setkyar* was lying alongside, and as the customs officials exempted the envoys' baggage from customs inspection, it was transferred direct to the royal steamer by the attendants. State carriages were waiting for the envoys. The envoys went in the carriages to the

government guest house, where the chief commissioner's private secretary Duncan was waiting. The bed-rooms, the living rooms, and the dining rooms were specially prepared to receive the envoys. Duncan asked Kinwun Mingyi to let him know of any business or matter to which he could give his attention immediately. The Royal Commissioner for Aliens had been furnished with funds by the English government to entertain the envoys, and the port commissioner and the Burmese assistant commissioner in the service of the English, Maung Ohn had been instructed to provide the envoys with carriages and boats, whenever need-ed. Only after the envoys had been installed in the guest house did the English officials go away. At 12 noon the assistant commissioner Maung Ohn called to pay his respects. Monastery-donor U Po Hnyin and his lady, pavilion-donor U Shwe Byeet and his lady and the Royal Bankers lady brought for the envoys specially cooked curries of various kinds. The treasury headclerk U Kyine and Thangyet Wundauk came to greet the envoys. At 5 p.m., the envoys rode round the city in carriages. A telegram was sent to the King by the envoys, reporting their arrival at Rangoon and their expected arrival at the Golden City the following week. The envoys received letters from the Golden City which, however, contained no news of importance. The King's courier U Shwe Ge and the *monastery-do-nor* Ko Kha called on the envoys and told them that they were leaving for the Golden City the next day. The envoys asked them to inform their friends and relatives at the Golden City that the envoys would soon be returning.

Friday September 18. The envoys went to the monastery and kept the Sabbath. The Royal Banker's lady, monastery-donors U Po Hnyin, U Po Gyi, U Maung Galay, U Tha Aye, pavilion-donor U Shwe Byeet and headclerk U Kywet also kept the Sabbath with the envoys. The Royal Banker's lady and

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

U Po Hnyin served breakfast to the envoys and all those who were at the monastery. At 1 p.m., the envoys went to see abbot U Nyanna of the Forest Monastery. At 2 p.m., they went to worship the Shwedagon pagoda and then returned to the guest house. After the envoys had arrived at the guest house, it rained very heavily. Thirteen boxes from Paris arrived and the customs office at Rangoon exempted them from inspection and delivered them to the envoys.

Saturday September 19. The assistant commissioner Maung Ohn came and gave to Kinwun Mingyi 11 copies of the Burmese translation of the English law of Civil Procedure. He also promised to arrange the visit of the envoys to the Kyaik-Khauk Pagoda at Syriam, as desired by Kinwun Mingyi. The Royal Commissioner for Aliens went and told Duncan of the envoys' wish to visit the Syriam Pagoda and Duncan promised to issue necessary instructions to enable the envoys to go to Syriam. The envoys and those who had come down to Rangoon in the royal steamer collected from among themselves a sum of 180 Kyats which was handed over to U Po Hnyin to arrange a ceremonial offering of alms-food at the Shwedagon Pagoda, the Repository of the Hair Relics, the next morning. The whole day it rained off and on.

Sunday September 20. The envoys and party and those who had come down by the royal steamer and the monastery-donors offered alms food at the Shwedagon Pagoda. There was a huge congregation of devout people including many monastery-donors and pagoda-donors and their ladies. Then all the people went down to a monastery below the pagoda platform, and had breakfast together. The merchant Maung Bo invited the envoys and all the people present to his garden some distance away, and so the envoys and other guests followed him in carriages. They stayed in the garden the whole day and in the evening they were served dinner by the merchant. The whole day it rained off and on.

Monday September 21. The assistant commissioner Maung Ohn came to the guest house and took the envoys and party in carriages to the port commission bridge where they found the port commissioner's special launch waiting to convey them to Syriam across the river, *Yenan Setkyar* also stood ready and Kinwun Mingyi invited everyone who would like to join them on the pilgrimage to go on board the royal steamer. At 8 a.m., the launch with the envoys left the bridge, followed by the royal ship with U Bo Gyi and family, U Po Hnyin and family, U Shwe Byeet and family, monastery-do-nor Maung Kyar Ngone and family and some 220 guests, both men and women. The Royal Commissioner for Aliens had already gone ahead to prepare refreshments to be served to the party on their arrival at Syriam. A revenue officer under the English government U Wike was waiting for the envoys' arrival at the Syriam quay as instructed by Duncan. U Wike greeted the envoys and invited them to come to his father-in-law's house and so the envoys went there. The royal steamer arrived and the people on it were also received by U Wike. U Wike served breakfast to the entire company of nearly 300 persons. Everybody considered it as a picnic and enjoyed the food very much. U Wike explained that he was receiving the visitors both in his official capacity, obeying instructions, and in his personal capacity as a Burmese showing his respect for the nation's cultural traditions, and his love and regard for all fellow Burmese. At 1 p.m., the whole party rode to Kyaikkhauk Pagoda in bullock carts provided by U Wike. After going some distance, the envoys and party came to the famous Nyaung-Waing Hermitage where stood an old Ordination Hall which, according to local legend, was hallowed in ancient times by the presence of Arahats. A few yards more, and the envoys came to the site on which the Royal Father of the Lord King built a temporary palace many years before. The envoys reached the ancient pillar marking the first two miles of the pilgrims' way, and then they reached the

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

pillar marking the second two miles. Then they came to two reservoirs. The envoys and party climbed to the top of the nearby hill, and saw that on both sides of the way, there were bamboo forests. This pilgrims' way was built by the Royal Father of the King of the Sunrise. On the top of the hill, there stood the famous Kyaikkhauk Pagoda. The hill was not so high as the Thein Goatara Hill on which the great Shwedagon Pagoda stood. The Kyaikkhauk Pagoda had a circumference of 815 feet at the base, 275 at the middle, 180 feet high, and was surrounded by 100 smaller pagodas. From the base to the middle, it was of stone and from the middle to the top it was of brick. The ancient city of Pada, when it existed was about 4 miles to the south of the hill and the King of Pada and a hermit called Khauk, together built the pagoda. The King's daughter married a hero called Thaan-Hlyin which meant in Burmese "strong and swift". It was he who built the town of Thaan-Hlyin which the Europeans now called Syriam. The ancient walls of the town were extended and made stronger by the Portuguese pirate De-Britto. Standing at the base of the pagoda and looking east, Kinwun Mingyi saw open fields stretching up to Pegu district. Looking south, he saw an enormous lagoon. Looking west, he saw open fields and looking north, he saw the town of Syaiaim. He also saw the mouth of Rangoon river, the tidal waters of the Dawbon stream, the city of Rangoon and the great Shwedagon Pagoda, and they appeared so distinct and clear as if they were paintings on a wall. The envoys and party offered gold leaf and candles to the Kyaikkhauk Pagoda and went round and round, and worshipped it. After some 3 hours the envoys and party returned to Syriam where they were served an early dinner, again by U Wike. At 4 p.m., the envoys and other pilgrims left Syriam harbour in the launch and in the royal steamer. The whole day there was no rain, and because of some low clouds, the sun was not hot. It was ideal weather for the pilgrims, who remained joyous and comfortable throughout the day.

With its gardens, Syriam reminded Kinwun Mingyi of Sagaing across the river Irrawaddy from the Golden City. The water was fresh and clear for drinking. The flowers were large, of great beauty and of pungent sweet smell.

Tuesday September 22. The assistant commissioner U Ohn came and brought a message from Duncan that he would like to take the envoys to a girls' school and a boys' school which the English government had established, the next day at about 10 or 11 a.m. U Ohn said that Duncan also wanted to know whether the envoys enjoyed themselves at Syriam the previous day. Kinwun Mingyi asked U Ohn to tell Duncan on his behalf that the envoys enjoyed the visit to Syriam very much, especially because there was no rain or storm. At 3 p.m., Maung Ohn and a clerk Maung Gyi came and presented to Kinwun Mingyi 2 printed books on Burmese Buddhist law. Hashim Mehta, agent of Mooller and Company came and asked permission to bring to the guest house some eatables and serve breakfast to the envoys and party the next day. In the evening the owner of the Burmese newspaper in Rangoon, Ah Hoe, brought eatables to the guest house and served dinner to Kinwun Mingyi, and then took the Royal Secretary and Maung Aung Thu to his house and served them dinner there. A commander of the Royal Regiments Maung Luun came and paid his respects to Kinwun Mingyi, and asked to be allowed to travel to the Golden City together with the envoys on the royal steamer.

Wednesday September 23. The Soorty Muslim, Hashim Mehta came to the guest house and brought some eatables and served breakfast not only to the envoys and party, but also to 60 people, all monastery and pagoda donors of Rangoon, There were also 10 other Soorty merchants at the breakfast. At 11 a.m., Duncan and Commissioner of Police arrived in carriages and took the envoys to the girls' school, the boys' school, the hospital and the museum. At the girls'

JBRS, LVII, i, & ii. Dec., 1974

school, there were 160 students and they were given lessons in Burmese language and literature, elementary Buddhist philosophy and ethics, and sewing and embroidery. At the boys' school where there were 285 students, they were given lessons in English, geography and arithmetic. At the hospital, there was no racial distinction of any sort, and Burmese, Mons, Indians and Europeans suffering from any disease, were given nursing and medicine. There were 118 patients, both men and women. There was a special ward for patients suffering from leprosy and another for those suffering from smallpox. There was also a special room for post-mortem examination of dead bodies. The museum had just been opened and there were not many exhibits, but as it was the first museum in Lower Burma, throngs of people including monks, men, women, Mons, Burmese and Shans were seen visiting the museum. At all those institutions the envoys were escorted by Duncan, the Commissioner of Police, former Collector of Customs Edward and assistant commissioner Maung Ohn. Returning to the guest house the envoys were delighted to find Hashim Mehta and all the guests waiting for their return. The whole after-noon, happy laughter and friendly talk prevailed in the guest house. At 6 p.m., more eatables were brought, and Hashim Mehta again served the envoys and all the guests with dinner. He had brought all the 60 guests in carriages and saw them back to their homes in carriages also, when the party broke up at 8 p.m. On enquiry, Kinwun Mingyi learnt that the 2 meals and the hire of the carriages cost Hashim Mehta 600 Kyats.

Thursday September 24. At 11 a.m., Colonel McMahon who had been appointed deputy commissioner of Prome, called at the guest house and told the envoys that he just missed them at Calcutta, and that he had come on board the ship which entered Rangoon harbour only that morning. He also said that he was leaving for Prome the following day and would come down to the wharf to meet the

envoys when they arrived at Prome on their way back to the Golden City. He was staying with Duncan. At 1 p.m., Bishop Bigandet came to greet the envoys. At 5 p.m., the Royal Secretary called at Duncan's residence to greet McMahon on behalf of the envoys. At 6 p.m., the envoys and party went to dinner with the Royal Banker's lady. There were about 10 other guests, merchants and monastery-donors.

Friday September 25. The envoys, went to the monastery and kept the sabbath. Breakfast was served by U Po Hnyin, U Shwe Byeet and monastery-donor U Bawt. There were other guests also. At 3 p.m., the envoys went to worship the Shwedagon Pagoda and then returned to the guest house. On the way they visited a park opened by the English government and Botataung and Pazundaung quarters. Duncan came and informed the envoys that he would be coming again the next day to see them off to the royal steamer. The pavilion-donor's lady and the monastery-donor's lady presented Kinwun Mingyi and the Royal Secretary with betel boxes made in Japan.

Saturday September 26. At 7 a.m., the envoys made a farewell call at Duncan's house. At 9 a.m., the attendants went down to the royal steamer with the luggage. At 12 noon Duncan and the Commissioner of Police came to the guest house and took the envoys to the royal steamer. U Po Hnyin, U Bawt, U Po Gyi, U Shwe Byeet, U Kyar Ngon and their ladies and the Royal Banker's lady and some other Burmese merchants totaling in all 30 persons, and Hashim Mehta and other Soorty merchants totaling in all 20 persons had also come aboard the royal steamer to say farewell to the envoys. The envoys invited them to travel along with them up to Kemmendine where the ship was dropping anchor for the night. The royal ship Yen-an Setkyar left Rangoon harbour at 2 p.m., and dropped anchor at Kemmendine in the evening. The envoys entertained the guests to dinner on board, and the guests left the ship only at a late hour.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

Sunday September 27. At 6 a.m., the steamer left Kemmendine. The Irrawaddy river was in spate, a great amount of flotsam rushed by and all the sand banks had become submerged. At 4.30 p.m., the steamer reached Danubyu foreshore, and took on firewood and dropped anchor for the night. It rained for one hour, and at 7 p.m., it rained for another hour. The distance covered on that day was 44 miles.

Monday September 28. The steamer left Danubyu, and it reached Henzada in one hour. After stopping there for two hours, the steamer continued its journey until 5 p.m., when it was forced to drop anchor in midstream because of very heavy rain. At 3 p.m., when the steamer had left Henzada, the King's courier, Maung Nyein who was coming down the river in his launch stopped and delivered to Kinwun Mingyi, a letter from the Governor of Myedè, asking permission to Send by the royal ship 10,000 viss of raw iron now lying at Myedè to the Golden City, as instructed by the Hluttaw. After delivering the letter, the courier continued his journey down stream. The distance covered that day was 36 miles.

Tuesday September 29. At 6 a.m., the steamer weighed anchor and continued its journey, and below Shwegyin village the royal steamer Yadana Yinbyan went by, going down stream. At 2 p.m., the envoys' steamer reached Myanaung and stopped for the night, while taking on firewood. From 4 p.m., it rained heavily for full 2 hours.

Wednesday September 30. The steamer left Myanaung early in the morning and reached Prome at 2.30 p.m. The envoys, attendants, those who had come down to Rangoon in the royal ship to meet the envoys and the captain and crew went to Worship the Shwesandaw Pagoda. A collection was made and from the money realised, 11 bundles of gold leaf, 2 bundles of large candies, 100 packets of small can-dies, 50 waterpots and small paper

umbrellas, paper streamers and prayer flags were bought and offered to the pagoda. The 11 bundles of gold leaf and 2 bundles of large candies were left with the abbot of the nearby Pada monastery to be offered to the pagoda later. Gifts of money were made to nuns and disabled persons. The hill on which the pagoda stood was surrounded by 9 hills, each with a distinct name. The monastery of Kyarneegan, Wintaungle monastery and Pada monastery were a little distance away from the pagoda. Standing on the pagoda platform and looking east, Kinwun Mingyi saw the great pagodas of ancient Sriksetra. At 6 p.m., the deputy commissioner of Prome, Colonel McMahon, came and greeted the envoys. He informed the envoys that he was sending a telegram to the chief commissioner Eden at Thayetmyo informing him that the envoys were now at Prome and would be reaching Thayetmyo the following day.

Thursday October 1. The steamer left Prome and reached Thayetmyo at 2.30 p.m. The deputy commissioner of Thayetmyo Blum, Eden's private secretary, the garrison commander and chief jailor, were waiting at the wharf to meet the envoys. They later took the envoys in their carriages to the residence of the chief commissioner, Eden. Eden greeted the envoys warmly and enquired about the voyage, the European countries that they had visited, and the different kinds of weather at the various places the envoys visited. The envoys told Eden about their meeting with the Governor-General, his kindness in entertaining them to dinner, the reception given to them by the officials of Rangoon, and the wonderful arrangements made by the English officials for the visit to Syriam. Eden invited them to dinner that evening. The deputy commissioner and the other English officials accompanied the envoys back to the steamer, where they sat down and talked for about an hour. It was raining slightly all the time. At 7 p.m.,

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

a row-boat was sent by Eden to bring the envoys to his residence. Eden, an English teacher and some English army officers greeted the envoys warmly. Then Eden said, "High Commissioner Kinwun Mingyi, you are the highest official at the King's court and I am the highest official in Lower Burma. I long to be friends with you, giving you my full trust and regard. Why can we be not friends, High Commissioner? Please do not believe the mischievous tittle tattle of others. If you are not satisfied with any matter relating to Lower Burma, please tell me directly and openly, and if I am not satisfied with any matter relating to the Kingdom of Burma please permit me to address Your Excellency directly and openly". Kinwun Mingyi replied, "Mr. Chief Commissioner, I can assure you that our lord the King does not believe the mischievous misrepresentations and false rumours about the English officials, which are spread by malicious people, and I promise that I will ask you directly and openly about any matter that needs explanation". Then Eden said, "It will be of great advantage to both governments and to both countries, if high Burmese officials like yourself could come and visit me from time to time, so that the English and the Burmese could understand and appreciate each other's point of view in all matters". Kinwun Mingyi replied, "I am sure our lord the King will send his high officials to see you from time to time". Eden continued, "Europeans greatly admire the swift Burmese pony, but he is rather dwarfish. If there could be mixed breeding between Burmese ponies and Arab horses, the resulting strain will be both swift and bigger in stature. I shall be presenting His Majesty with an Arab horse. May I ask you, High Commissioner to see that the horse is well looked after?". Kinwun Mingyi promised to do so. Then the envoys and Eden sat down to dinner with 10 other guests. After an enjoyable evening the envoys returned to the steamer. The deputy commissioner of Thayetmyo gave to the captain of the royal steamer a letter, instructing the customs officials

at Allanmyo to exempt the steamer from inspection. Kinwun Mingyi and Royal Secretary gave their photographs to Eden and the deputy commissioner, and the deputy commissioner gave his photographs to Kinwun Mingyi and the Royal Secretary. The distance covered that day was 30 miles.

Friday October 2. The envoys' steamer left Thayetmyo at 6 a.m., and as it approached Sinbaungwè at 11 a.m., the governor of the three towns of Malun, who was also the commander of the lower river regiments, met the steamer with 3 naval boats. The steamer did not stop at Sinbaungwè but went straight on to Nyandawinn village near Myedè town, to pick up the 13,000 viss of raw iron. The loading took full four hours. The steamer continued its journey and reached Minhla at 7 p.m., where the envoys had their dinner. The deputy-governor of Pagan, the governor of Sagu and the township officer of Magwe and other officials greeted the envoys. The distance covered that day was 36 miles.

Saturday October 3. The envoys, the governor of Pagan, governor of Malun 3 towns and commander of the lower river regiments, went to the Forest monastery and took the Ten Precepts from the abbot. Then the envoys went to the house of the governor of Malun 3 towns, and had breakfast there. At 3 p.m., the envoys went by naval boats to another forest monastery situated on a hill and paid their respects to the abbot. It rained very heavily. The envoys also went to pay their respects to abbot U Luh, deputy head of the ecclesiastical district, U Ardaiksa, and the abbot of the royal monastery. For those who were not keeping the sabbath, the governor of Sagu and governor of 3 towns of Myingun Hills held a theatrical show which the guests enjoyed very much.

Sunday October 4. Early in the morning, the envoys went to the residence of governor of Malun 3 towns to watch conjuring tricks performed by an Italian magician. After breakfast at 10 a.m. the

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

royal steamer left Minhla. The governors of Pagan and Myingun 3 towns went back to their headquarters but the governors of Sagu and Malun 3 towns and the township officer of Magwe came on the steamer with the envoys. At Magwe, the township officer and teacher USA left the steamer. At Minbu, the governor of Sagu left the steamer. At 6 p.m., the steamer reached Nyaunghla village, where the envoys were met by the township officer of Yenangyaung. The steamer took on firewood and dropped anchor for the night. The governor of Malun 3 towns spent the night on board until dawn, when he returned to his headquarters in the naval boats. The distance covered on that day was 30 miles.

Monday October 5. At dawn the steamer left Nyaunghla, and on approaching Sale town, its township officer and head-man came out in a boat to midstream to meet the envoys. The envoys stopped the engines of the steamer and spoke to the 2 officials. The steamer then continued its journey, reaching Pagan at 7 p.m. The governor, the military commander and the town clerk of Pagan had arranged to come and take the envoys and all the passengers and crew on the royal steamer on a pilgrimage to the famous Pagan Pagodas the following morning. A collection was made and with the sum collected, it was arranged to buy, for offering at the great Shwezigon Pagoda, 30 bundles of gold leaf, 2000 small candles, 30 large candles and 200 water-pots, with 10 Kyats reserved in small change for distribution to nuns and disabled persons. The distance covered that day was 50 miles.

Tuesday October 6. At 6 a.m., the envoys, the crew and all passengers, both men and women, numbering some 200 persons travelled in the bullock carts to the great Shwezigon Pagoda. It rained heavily, but as it stopped when the party arrived at the pagoda and as the party rode on bullock carts, the journey was very comfortable. The various articles listed above were offered to the Pagoda, except the gold leaf

and the large candles which were left in the custody of 2 military commanders. At 8 a.m., the envoys and party arrived at Nyaungoo foreshore where the royal steamer and the governor of Pagan were waiting. The steamer weighed anchor and reached Myingyan at 5 p.m., where the envoys were met by the governor and other officials. As there was a great shortage of firewood, the governor and his officers spent the whole night travelling from village to village in search of firewood. The distance covered that day was 32 miles. The envoys attempted to send to the Hluttaw a telegram reporting their arrival at Myingyan. But there was some trouble with the electricity on the wires, and even at dawn the telegram had not been transmitted.

Wednesday October 7. The steamer had to wait for firewood, and therefore was able to leave Myingyan only at 7 a.m. At 12 noon, it reached Shwepaukpin village where it stopped for one hour to take on some firewood. It reached Kyauktalone village at 6 p.m., where it dropped anchor for the night. The King's courier Nga Hlay on his launch caught up with the steamer, and as he was going on to the Golden City Kinwun Mingyi gave him a letter to the Hluttaw asking for instructions whether the letter of greeting from the French President was to be kept on board the steamer after arrival at the Golden City, or to be delivered to the King immediately without the usual ceremony, a letter to his family, and a report to the Hluttaw of their arrival at Myingyan and Kyauktalone to be telegraphed from the Ava telegraph office. It rained very heavily. The distance covered that day was 32 miles.

Thursday October 8. The steamer left Kyauktalone village at 6 a.m. It was drizzling all the time. At 11 a.m., the steamer reached the Royal Wharf at Matai village near the Yadana Myitsu Pagoda. Kanee Inner Minister, retired clerk U Yè and the clerks on duty U Po Oh and U Tun Oo, came on board the steamer

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

to greet the envoys. A large crowd of officials and members of the households of the envoys, including Kinwun Mingyi's lady, Royal Secretary's lady, the Gentleman of the Royal Chambers, Maung Aung Thu's wife and the Royal Bailiff's wife, who had brought with them carriages and bullock carts. The King had sent a fully caparisoned elephant to take Kinwun Mingyi to the Golden Palace and another caparisoned elephant for the Royal Secretary and Maung Aung Thu, The envoys on their elephants reached the Golden Palace at 12 noon where they were greeted by the High Commissioner the Lord of Khan-but, Deputy Minister the Lord of Popa and Deputy Minister for Outposts. The Inner Ministers came and announced that it was time for the audience, and Kinwun Mingyi, the Royal Secretary, the Gentle-man of the Royal Chambers, and the Royal Bailiff entered the audience chamber where the King was already seated on the throne, surrounded by lords and high officials. The audience was in the Southern Palace. The King said, "It gives me great satisfaction that Kinwun Mingyi has now returned from his mission to Paris where he delivered on my behalf my letter of greeting and my presents to the Sovereign-President of France, and where he left with the French Parliament the additional 6 items of the Treaty of Commerce for consideration. Kinwun Mingyi's mission will certainly make the friendship between Burma and France long lasting and will bring both commercial and political progress to my kingdom". As the audience was ending, Kinwun submitted, "Your Majesty, your most obedient servant has brought back with him a letter of greeting from the Sovereign-President of France". The King replied, "Let it be brought to me with the usual pomp and ceremony accorded to all royal letters of greeting". The King then retired from the audience chamber.

Friday October 9. His Majesty the King was keeping the sabbath and so no audience was held that day. Kinwun Mingyi also kept the sabbath and spent the day in reading. Friends, relations,

lords and high officials called to greet him on his return from abroad.

Saturday October 10. Our lord the King was keeping the sabbath and no audience was held. Kinwun Mingyi also kept the sabbath and spent the day in reading. The High Commissioner, the Lord of Khan but sent out written instructions to the army headquarters to make the usual arrangements for the royal letter of greeting from France to be taken from the royal steamer to the Golden Palace.

Sunday October 11. In obedience to the instructions sent by the Lord of Khan-but, lords and high officials and army commanders walked from the royal steamer, Yen-an Setkyar moored at the royal wharf at Matai village near Yadanar Myitzu pagoda, to the royal palace in ceremonial procession. At the Summer Pavilion were gathered lords and high officials wearing their ceremonial robes and gold chains of office. The King entered the Pavilion and seated himself on the golden throne. The solemn procession bringing the royal letter of greeting from France, arrived. Herald U Hla Bu read out the Burmese translation of the royal letter of greeting. The King then said, "Is the Royal Secretary Maung-yin Chaint present here? " My noble lord", replied Kinwun Mingyi, "he is here". The King said, "Maung-yin Chaint has served me faithfully and well on many occasions. He should be appointed a Wundauk". The Herald U Hla Bu then proclaimed that His Glorious Majesty was pleased to appoint the Royal Secretary, Minhla Zeyathu as a Wundauk. Then the King said, "He ought to be raised to the rank of Maha in his title". As the Herald proclaimed the new Wundauk as Mahaminhla Zeyathu, His Majesty retired from the Summer Pavilion.

COMMENTARY

On arrival at Paris with Kinwun Mingyi, Marescalchi recommended to his government: All we can do is be polite to Kinwun Mingyi's embassy and let them buy

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

all they can in France-It will help our manufacturers who need it, and also assure them of our sympathy.¹

His recommendation was fully accepted. Kinwun Mingyi was given all the honours due to an ambassador of a fully sovereign state. But he was told definitely that the second treaty would not be ratified and all that Kinwun Mingyi could take back to his King was the following letter of greeting, full of fine phrases but without any substance:

From Marshall McMahon to His Majesty, Illustrious and Glorious Emperor of Burma. Great and noble friend! Thanks for your gracious hospitality to de Rochechouart. We cannot take leave of your Ambassador without a mark of our esteem and doing justice to his qualities including wisdom and dignity which have won him universal regard. We realise these qualities have caused Your Majesty to place confidence in so distinguished a Counsellor.²

According to Lord Lyons, the English ambassador in Paris, behind the mask of fine speeches and grand receptions, there was surprise and annoyance on the part of the French government at the action of the King of Burma in attempting to change a treaty ratified by the French National Assembly. Lord Lyons wrote: "The President will take care in future never to ratify any treaty with Burma until it had been ratified by the King".³

Earlier Duke Decazes, the French Foreign Minister had told Lord Lyons: "I am more desirous of getting rid of the (Burmese)embassy as it seems to be very scantily provided with funds and I do not want to pay a hotel bill for it...I will be particularly careful to avoid any

thing that would create inconvenience for England."⁴

According to Lord Lyons also, "Duke Decazes used temporising language to the Burmese ambassadors, because he did not want to imperil the personal safety of the two French captains travelling in Burma".⁵ But some scapegoat had to be found and de Rochechouart was "reprimanded for presuming to alter a treaty already ratified by the state", and he was saved from recall and public disgrace only because of his previous services.⁶ In fairness to the French government, however, it must be admitted that Kinwun Mingyi arrived in Paris at a time when a political crisis in the French National Assembly was shaking the Third Republic almost to its foundations, and the French government had to be watching its every step carefully. There was no doubt that the decision of the government not to ratify the second treaty satisfied French pride, for even the Vicar Apostolic of Mandalay, Bishop Bourdon sent the following congratulatory telegram to Quai d'Orsay:

I am glad France did not ratify the second treaty negotiated at Mandalay. France has been humiliated, but she has not sunk so low as to stoop for petty treaties with oriental kinglets.⁷

The Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General had never worried over the treaty between Burma and Italy. For one thing, Italy never had any territorial or colonial ambitions in Asia. For another, Italy was a protégé of England, and in the international affairs of the time in other parts of the world, England and Italy acted together. Above all, the Italians kept the English authori-

1. Quai, *ibid.*, f. 383.

2. Quai, *ibid.*, f. 387.

3. Report dated September 11, 1874. Home Correspondence 1874, vol. 80.

4. Report dated June 11, 1874. Home Correspondence 1874, vol. 79.

5. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1874, Captains Fau and Moreau.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Quai, *ibid.*, f, 390.

JBRs, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

ties fully informed of their activities in Burma and of the activities of Burmese embassies in Italy. Racchia, the Italian envoy, reported to Strover at every stage of his negotiations with the Burmese, and promptly gave him a copy of the treaty when it was signed, and the Foreign Office at Rome was always ready with all the information and explanation required by the Foreign Office in London. "We will send Racchia to London to explain it all to you, if you like", offered the Italian Minister in London to Lord Granville.¹ The treaty between Burma and France was in a different position. That was why Lord Lyons was always asking Duke Decazes whether there were any secret clauses in the treaty. At this juncture, Major Burne proved that like Sir John Kaye and McMahon, he also was a true friend of Kinwun Mingyi's. In an office note which he submitted to the Secretary of State for India, he suggested that instead of getting assurances from Foreign Powers that they were not supplying arms to Burma, the English government should settle the matter once and for all by supplying some arms to the Burmese King. "Kinwun Mingyi's mission is now in France", he wrote, "and France is rumoured to want French troops at Mandalay and import arms into Burma". After noting that Italy in 1871 and Duke Decazes in 1874, had assured the Foreign Office that their treaties with Burma did not evolve the supply of arms, he made the following pertinent remarks:

King of Burma is arrogant yet harm-less. He demanded 10,000 Enfields, gunboats, Armstrong cannons, yet Colonel McMahon has verbally assured us it is only an extravagance to

test General Fytche's promise and that a couple of Armstrong arms and a few Sniders without machinery would satisfy the King's mind and be carried up to Mandalay on a white elephant with songs of triumph- our friendly relations being thus entirely restored.

We should not extract promises from Foreign Powers which are as value-less as the paper on which they are written. We have given the Afghan Ameer, Sniders may we not give a few to Burma provided our own troops in British Burma possess them?

Kinwun Mingyi, a most gentleman like and good man, attached to our interests should be invited to London next week if Lord Lyons could arrange it.²

But no one in authority took note of Major Burne's suggestion and the matter lapsed, and Lord Lyons reported to the Foreign Office on September 11, 1874 with immense satisfaction that both the two Franco-Burmese treaties were "dead and buried without hope of resurrection".³ But Lyons was wrong, for in 1884, the first treaty was to be resurrected with fatal consequences on the Burmese king-dom.

King Mindon continued to occupy his unhappy throne for another four years. As he lay dying in 1878, he appointed from his sick bed a regency council consisting of three most senior and able of his sons. But Kinwun Mingyi did not approve, and he conspired with the Middle Queen, the engraving of whose golden spittoon loomed so large in the Paris Diary. As

1 Home. Correspondence 1871, vol. 69. Foreign Office to India Office, December 22, 1871. Also see A.N. Wollaston's resume of the Foreign Office Correspondence and discussions with the Italian government, dated May 26, 1874, in Letters from India, vol. 17, 1875 at page 99.

2 Letters from India, vol. 17, 1875, page 569.

3 Home Correspondence, September 11, 1875.

JBRS, LVII, i & ii, Dec., 1974.

by that time the Senior Queen was dead, she was in effect the Senior Queen. Their choice was an unknown prince, Theebaw, married to the Middle Queen's two daughters, of whom the elder was a nunlike girl with no physical interest in the marriage and the other the vivacious and ambitious Princess Supayalat. At a meeting of the Hluttaw, ballot papers with the names of possible nominees were circulated among the Ministers. Kinwun Mingyi took hold of a ballot paper, put a cross against Prince Theebaw's name, and held the paper up for others to see. There was a moment of stunned silence and then all the Ministers put crosses against Theebaw's name.¹ Kinwun Mingyi had chosen Theebaw, because he expected the unknown young prince to be a puppet in his hands. Kinwun Mingyi's action in conspiring with the Queen was not through a desire for political power, but because of a genuine wish to introduce political reforms in the country so that the despotic monarchy would evolve into a constitutionally limited one, on the model of the English monarchy. During the honeymoon period of Theebaw's sue-cession to the throne, everything went well for Kinwun Mingyi. He was made Minister Long-life, the wording of the oath of allegiance to the King was changed so that it became an oath of allegiance to the "King in Council with his Ministers", a small committee of Ministers, equivalent to the English cabinet was established, and the English Resident, Mr. Shaw was allowed to come into the palace to attend King Mindon's funeral, wearing his shoes and carrying his sword.² After a few days, however, Supayalat replaced both her mother and Kinwun Mingyi as power behind the throne. It is generally accepted that it was she who dissolved the Committee of Ministers, re-administered the old oath of allegiance and ordered the massacre of her husband's kinsmen and their families in

the palace courtyard. The massacres were not executions but murders, and the regular executioners refused to participate, in the absence of death warrants from Hluttaw. When the English government protested against the massacres, Kinwun Mingyi, to save his own neck, wrote in reply that the massacres concerned the internal security of a fully independent kingdom, and no outside power had the right to protest or interfere. The present writer, from recent research, now thinks that the Middle Queen was the sole perpetrator of the misdeeds, and only when she and Kinwun Mingyi fell into disgrace, did Supayalat step into the power vacuum.

As the years went by, Kinwun Mingyi's influence on the kingdom gradually waned, but to the end he remained the Foreign Minister. Relations with the English government at Rangoon and in India deteriorated especially after the English had closed down their Residency at Mandalay. This action alarmed and exasperated King Theebaw and he endeavoured to restore good relations with the English, but that was not possible because of mutual distrust and suspicion. In May 1883, King Theebaw sent an embassy to France, which under the dynamic leadership of Jules Ferry, was pursuing a forward policy in Indo-China. Jules Ferry had no intention of wresting the kingdom of Burma from the English sphere of influence, but he was interested to maintain friendly relations with the kingdom because its frontiers met the frontiers of the newly acquired French protectorates in Indo-China. The result was the resurrection of Kinwun Mingyi's treaty signed in 1873. A supplementary convention was signed-in 1885.³ Its revival did not change the harmless character of the treaty and the

1 Maung Htin Aung, *A History of Burma*.

2 *Residency Journal*: (Shaw) October 4-31, 1878.

3 For a detailed account of these negotiations, see Dr. Maung Maung, *Burma in the Family of Nations*, p. 62.

convention was equally harmless. But there was a hue and cry in the Anglo-Indian press and in the English press against the Burmese King and the French government. Soon after Jules Ferry fell from power. The English government in London knew that the treaty was harmless and France had no designs on Burma. But the English government kept this knowledge secret,¹ and taking advantage of the press campaign declared war against the Burmese King in November 1885.

The part played by Kinwun Mingyi in the closing years of the Burmese kingdom has remained controversial to this day. He enjoyed the reputation of being pro-English, but as Foreign Minister, he was involved in the negotiations with France in 1884, and it must have been a source of personal satisfaction that his treaty of 1873 was now in force. At this juncture the Italian consul Andreino again came into the picture. As the agent of the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation, he was a defendant in the famous Hluttaw judgement imposing a large fine on the Company for certain irregularities in the payment of royalty on timber extracted, and which was the immediate cause of English intervention resulting in the Third Anglo-Burmese War. As Andreino was also the chief English spy at the King's Court, he was able to report falsely that the judgement was not only unfair, but was passed because of secret treaties and understandings between the Burmese Court and the French government. When the English troops invaded Burmese territory, there was no resistance, because the Burmese riverine regiments received secret orders purporting to come from Kinwun Mingyi instructing that there should be no resistance as

the English were merely replacing King Theebaw with another Burmese prince.² Again, the genuineness of these orders as coming from Kinwun Mingyi remains the subject of controversy. Contemporary opinion, however, was to the effect that Kinwun Mingyi was duped by the English and that was also the opinion of the French consul, Monsieur Hass, writing under the pen-name of Lehault:

Kinwun Mingyi was either naive or disloyal, we hope the former.³

Some years after the kingdom had passed, Kinwun Mingyi's acceptance of the Companionship of the Order of the Star of India was criticised especially by young Burmese in the English civil service, because it was considered to be too low for him; after all, he was a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour and the holder of the Grand Cordon and Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Italy. The government gazette notification of the award of the decoration also was unfortunate;⁴ it referred to him as "Maung Gaung" which occasioned sneers from the general Burmese public that the English government considered him as their own little servant, addressing him as "Maung" instead of "U". However, his last years at the town of Pegu were peaceful, as he had the solace of his religion.⁵ One may wonder whether in those tranquil years, he remembered sometimes the glittering receptions given in his honour at the Courts of Naples and Versailles. Did he remember also his humiliation in the great throne room of Windsor Castle? Did he ever discover that Major McMahon, Sir John Kaye and

1. Dorothy Woodman, p. 227.

2. Maung Htin Aung, *The Stricken Peacock*, p. 89.

3. Lehault, p. 149.

4. *Burma Gazette*, 1897 volume.

5. Information from my father, U Pein. He was Township Magistrate at Pegu at the time, and was present at the bedside when Kinwun Mingyi died.

Major Burne were his true and loyal friends, and like Rochechouart and him-self, they were crushed under the Juggernaut of imperialistic policy? Did he have any regrets? As his turbulent 19th century and his own life drew to their gentle close, were his thoughts similar to

those of old John Dryden at the end of his 17th century:

Thy wars brought nothing about, Thy lovers were all untrue 'Tis well an old age is out, And time to begin a New.

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