Notes

Chapter 1


3 Aung-Thwin and Aung-Thwin, pp. 16–17.


5 It is worth noting that Maung Htin Aung identified the period from 1890–1920 as one of ‘peace for the country’. He described a situation in which British rule was not challenged because the ‘people were dazzled by new economic development and the restoration of law and order by the British’. See also: Maung Htin Aung, A History of Burma, p. 268 ff.

6 Michael W. Charney, Powerful Learning, p. 266.


8 Kin Thida Oung, A Twentieth Century Burmese Matriarch, p. 28.


10 Mary Poovey, A History of the Modern Fact, p. 2.

11 Gregory A. Barton, Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism, pp. 6–7.


16 Ibid., p. 450.


18 Ibid., p. 455.
25 Scholarly attention might be well served by collecting polemics directed against ‘globetrotting’ because it might prove to be its own unique strand of travel writing. Anti-globetrotting meant more than ‘going off the beaten path’ because it implied a level of expertise about a place, which might be informed not only by direct experience, but by related reading and study. See James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism and the Ways to ‘Culture’ 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) and Stephen Keck, “Travel Writing About Hong Kong and Singapore” in Carmen Andras (ed.) *New Directions in Travel Writing and Travel Studies* (Aachen, 2010), pp. 154–68.
27 Ibid., pp. 10–11.
28 Ibid., pp.10–11.
30 Ibid., p. 90.
31 It might be noted that tracing the routes of these Officially Sanctioned Observers could go a long way to recovering the connections which linked colonial civil servants, that existed within Burma and India. More important, this type of method might be useful for producing information about the history not only of British Burma, but of other colonial elites.
34 *Report on the Police Administration of Burma For The Year 1918*, 8, (c) The British Library, IOR/24/3241.
45 Mary Poovey, A History of the Modern Fact, p. 3.
46 The experience of a number authors discussed in this study may well have proved the basis or the source of this interesting work. It is possible that R. F. Johnston either was the author or at the very least inspired the book. His Peking to Mandalay came out a year earlier, and, far more important, he was noted for making this trip from China with his pet bull terrier. See also W.S. Thom.
47 Anon., A Dog’s Life, Told by the Dog, p. 37.

Chapter 2
2 Ibid., p. 3.
Notes

8 Ibid., p. 44.
11 Ibid.; A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chryse; Being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration Through the South China Border Lands from from Canton to Mandalay*.
18 Ibid., p. 58.
22 Ibid., p. 362.
23 Ibid., pp. 362–8.
26 Ibid., p. 18.

Chapter 3

4 Furnivall proved to be one of the most influential writers produced by British Burma (or European colonialism in Southeast Asia); his conceptualization of the state proved to be influential to more than one generation of scholars who sought to understand colonial rule in the region.
7 This could take place in a number of ways—some of which might actually begin in India. To cite one example, the Royal Commission on Opium evaluated...
consumption in different parts of India. Sir John Strachey emphasized that Burma ought to be regarded as separate from India. (Ashley Wright, p. 92)

8 Alleyne Ireland, *The Province of Burma*, 1, p. 175.
9 Ibid., 1, p. 176.
10 Ibid., 1, p. 176.
12 Alleyne Ireland, *The Province of Burma*, 1, p. 197.
13 For more on these figures see: A. Agabeg ‘Constitution and Law’ in *Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma*, Arnold Wright (ed.) (Rangoon, 1919), pp. 62–4.
16 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/27/254/24.
17 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3855.
20 Ibid., pp. 25–6.
21 Ireland, *The Province of Burma*, 1, p. 199.
22 Callahan, p. 29.
23 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/27/151/80, p. 118.
24 Ibid., p. 125.
26 Ireland, *The Province of Burma*, 1, p. 268.
27 Ibid., 1, p. 201.
29 Ibid., 1, p. 204.
30 Ibid., 1, p. 204.
31 Ibid., 1, p. 205.
32 Ibid., 1, p. 206.
33 Ibid., 1, p. 214.
34 Ibid., 1, pp. 212–13.
38 Ibid, p. 294.
39 Ireland, *The Province of Burma*, 1, p. 231.
40 Ibid., 1, p. 254.
41 Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon*, p. 36.
44 (c) The British Library, IOR/27/171/45.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid., p. 95.
47 Ibid., p. 96.
48 Ibid., p. 152.
49 Ibid., p. 152.
50 Ibid., p. 152.
54 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/2104.
56 The Annual Report for 1900 documented the punishments: “During the year 100 punishments were inflicted, 58 boys being caned, 12 given penal diet and separate confinement; 18 boys were punished once, 14 boys twice, seven boys three times, three boys three times, three boys four times, three boys five times and one boy six times; 74 boys received no punishment. The percentage of punishments to the average daily strength was 1.05% in 1901 1.16% in 1900.” (IOR/V/24/3606, p. 1).
57 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/2104.
58 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3606, p. 3.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., p. 3.
62 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/2104.
63 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3606.
64 Ibid., p. 3.
65 Ibid., p. 3.
66 Ibid., p. 3.
67 Wright, Opium and Empire In Southeast Asia: Regulating Consumption in British Burma, p. 64.
68 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/1156.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid.
73 Ibid., pp. 123–4.
75 Taylor, The State in Myanmar, pp. 90–1.
77 Saha, Law, Disorder and the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma c. 1900, p. 30.
78 Ibid., p. 4.
79 David Gilmour, The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling, p. 191.
81 Gilmour, The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling, p. 191.
82 Jeremy Neill, “This is a most disgusting case: Imperial Policy, Class and Gender in the ‘Rangoon Outrage’ of 1899”, passim.
83 Ibid.
85 Ibid., pp. 141–2, 202–3.
Chapter 4


6 Charney, Powerful Learning, p. 261.
12 Ibid., 1, p. 29.
13 Ibid., 1, p. 29.
14 Ibid., 2, p. 85.
15 Ibid., 2, p. 161.
16 Ibid., 2, p. 161.
17 Ibid., 2, pp. 488–9.
20 In many ways Scott's efforts reflected some of the dominant historiographic impulses of the 19th century. The works of Stubbs at Oxford, the impact of Rankean ideas and the general belief in positivism (as applied to documents) meant that much of Victorian historical thought tended to focus on ideas, religious beliefs, individuals, states and nations. Additionally, John Ruskin and Amelia Edwards helped to ensure that preservation (in places like Venice and Egypt) could become international in its outlook, but most of the energy behind remained local in practice. Victorian writing about empires lagged behind other concerns: Arthur Helps wrote about the rise of New Spain and racism, Ruskin explored Venice and J. R. Seeley pondered the growth of the British empire, but they were hardly noticeable as E. A. Freeman, J. R. Greene, Stubbs, Thomas Carlyle, Lord Acton and, of course, Thomas Babington Macaulay.
22 Ibid, pp. 64–6.
26 (c) The British Library, IOR V/27/151/80.
28 Ibid., 2, p. 224.
29 Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, 1, p. 54.
30 Ibid., 1, p. 54.
32 Shway Yoe (Sir James George Scott). *The Burman: His Life and Notions*.
33 Ibid., p. 173.
34 Ibid., p. 173.
Chapter 5

1 This discussion has drawn from a number of papers and publications which I have authored: “Subverting Colonial Knowledge: The Case of Harold Fielding-Hall”, Proceedings of the Golden Jubilee of The Myanmar Historical Commission (January 2006); “Subverting Colonial Knowledge: The Case of Harold Fielding-Hall”, Golden Jubilee International Conference (January 14, 2005), Yangon, Myanmar; and “Recovering a Lost Genealogy: Taw Sein Ko and the Colonial Roots of ‘Myanmar Studies’”, The 2011 International Conference of ISEAS/PUFS, (June 2, 2011), Busan, South Korea.


3 Ibid., p. 62.

4 Ibid., p. 71.


6 Ibid., 2, p. 121.

7 Ibid., 2, p. 122.

8 Kelly, Burma Painted & Described, p. 243.

9 Ibid., p. 250.

10 Ibid., p. 252.

11 Ibid., pp. 252–3.

12 Ibid., p. 253.


14 Ibid., p. 19.

15 Ibid., p. 20.

16 Ibid., p. 435.

18 Ibid., p. 124.
20 Ibid., p. 34.
21 Ibid., passim.
22 Shway Yoe (Sir James George Scott), *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, p. 96.
23 Ibid., p. 149.
24 Ibid., p. 38.
25 Ibid., p. 184.
26 Ibid., p. 204.
27 Ibid., p. 407.
28 For more on Taw Sein Ko, see: Penny Edwards, “Relocating the interlocutor: Taw Sein Ko (1864–1930) and the itineracy of knowledge in British Burma”, *South East Asia Research*, 12, 3, pp. 277–335.
30 Ibid., p. 4.
31 Ibid., p. 7.
32 Ibid., p. 12.
33 Ibid., p. 24.
34 Ibid., p. 60.
37 Lopez, p. 4.
38 Ibid., p. 7.
39 This could also include John Ruskin; see: Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, *Ruskin’s Mythic Queen Gender Subversion in Victorian Culture* (Athens, Ohio, 1998), pp. 39–72.
40 Almond, p. 72.
46 Ibid., p. 37.
48 Ibid., p. 254.
50 Ibid., p. 132.
51 Ibid., p. 132.
53 Ibid., p. 1.
54 Ibid., p. 1.
55 Ibid., p. 27.
56 Ibid., p. 2.
59 Ibid., p. 58.
60 Ibid., p. 59.
61 Ibid., pp. 67–70.
62 Taw Sein Ko, Burmese Sketches, 1, p. 221.
63 Ibid., 2, p. 13.
64 Ibid., 2, pp. 13–14.
71 Who’s Who, p. 172.
72 Maung May Oung, “Manners and Customs” in Arnold Wright (editor), Impressions of Twentieth Century Burma, Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources, passim.
73 Ibid., p. 76.
74 Ibid., p. 85.
75 Ibid., p. 85.
76 Ibid., p. 85.
77 Ibid., pp. 85–6.
78 Ibid., pp. 80–1.

Chapter 6

1 Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, pp. 65, 82–3.
4 Tristram Hunt, Cities of Empire: British Colonies and the Creation of the Urban World, p. 8.
5 Ibid., p. 13.
6 Bird, Wanderings in Burma, pp. 145–58.
7 Arnold Wright (ed.), Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma, p. 278.
8 Seekins, State and Society in Modern Rangoon, p. 11.
9 Ibid., p. 11.
11 Ibid., p. 48.
12 Ibid., pp. 49–73.
13 Ibid., p. 169.
Notes

23 It might also be noted that R.F. Johnston’s narrative indicates that the use of Japanese prostitutes went beyond Rangoon. Upon visiting Bhamo he observed that “the Japanese ladies appeared to have fled to other pastures”.
24 O’Connor, *The Silken East*, 1, p. 84.
31 Ibid., 1, p. 71.
32 Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon*, p. 41.
34 Ibid., 2, pp. 460–6.
39 Ibid., pp. xviii–xix.
44 Ibid., p. 59.
46 Ibid., p. 73.
49 Ibid., p. 85.
51 Ibid., pp. 80–1.
Chapter 7

1 John Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, pp. 304–5.
2 O’Connor, The Silken East, 1, p. 20.
3 Ibid., p. 20.
5 Ibid., p. 242.
6 Milne, Shans at Home: Burma’s Shan States in the Early 1900s, p. xxi.
7 Ibid., p. 66.
8 Ibid., p. 66.
9 Ibid., pp. 66–7.
10 Ibid., p. 73.
11 Ibid., p. 75.
12 Ibid., pp. 75–6.
13 Ibid., p. 84.
14 Ibid., p. 84.
15 Ibid., p. 131.
16 Ibid., p. 132.
17 Ibid., p. 135.
18 Ibid., p. 136.
19 Ibid., p. 136.
20 Ibid., p. 74.
21 Ibid., p. 64.
22 Ibid., p. 119.
23 Ibid., p. 137.
24 Ibid., p. 137.
25 Ibid., p. 190.
26 Ibid., p. 189.
28 Ibid., p. 77.
29 Ibid., p. 62.
30 Ibid., p. 89.
31 Ibid., p. 89.
32 Ibid., p. 90.
33 Ibid., p. 90.
34 Ibid., p. 90.
35 Ibid., p. 75.
36 Ibid., p. 75.
37 Ibid., pp. 76–7.
38 Ibid., p. 76.
39 Ibid., p. 84.
40 Ibid., p. 84.
41 Ibid., p. 85.
42 Ibid., p. 87.
43 Ibid., p. 87.
44 Ibid., pp. 87–8.
46 Ibid., p. 88.
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48 Ibid., p. 88.
49 Ibid., p. 88.
50 Ibid., p. 88.
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53 Ibid., p. 88.
54 Nisbet, Burma Under British Rule—and Before, 2, p. 249.
55 Ibid., 2, pp. 249–50.
56 Ibid., 2, p. 250.
Chapter 8

3 Crosthwaite, *The Pacification of Burma*, p. 94.
5 Ibid., p. 33.
6 Ibid., p. 112.
7 Ghosh, *Brave Men of the Hills*, p. 84.
8 Ibid., pp. 82–3.
11 Ibid., p. 52.
12 Ibid., p. 52.
13 Ibid., p. 53.
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14 Ibid., p. 53.
15 Ibid., p. 81.
16 Ibid., p. 81.
17 Ibid., p. 81.
18 Ibid., p. 81.
19 Ibid., p. 72.
20 Ibid., p. 78.
21 Ibid., p. 54.
22 Ibid., pp. 30–1.
23 Ibid., p. 49.
24 Ibid., p. 23.
26 Ibid., pp. 81–2.
27 Ibid., pp. 81–2.
29 Ibid., pp. 7–8.
30 Ibid., p. 8.
33 Ibid., pp. 99–100.
35 Ibid., pp. 89–90.
37 Ibid., p. 38.
38 Ibid., p. 38.
39 Ibid., p. 39.
40 MacMahon, *Far Cathay and Farther India*, p. 17.
41 Ibid., p. 17.
43 Ibid., p. 80.
49 Ibid., p. 108.
50 Ibid., p. 110.
51 Ibid., p. 112.
52 Ibid., p. 112.
56 *Modern Buddhism in Burma*, p. 88.
57 Ibid., p. 104.
58 Ibid., p. 107.
59 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/1156.
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64 Naono notes that in both the historiography of the problem and in the immediate British responses to it, the presuppositions gleaned from experiences in India weighed heavily. Naono, *State of Vaccination*, pp. 202–3.
65 Ibid., p. 203.
67 Ibid., pp. 60–1.
68 Ibid., pp. 115–35.
70 Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon*, p. 47.
71 Ibid., pp. 48–9.
73 Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon*, p. 49.
74 Ibid., p. 50.
75 Ibid., p. 51.
78 Crosthwaite, *The Pacification of Burma*, p. 29.

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2 Chie Ikeya, *Refiguring Women, Colonialism, and Modernity in Burma.*
3 O’Connor, *The Silken East*, 1, p. 128.
4 Ibid., 1, pp. 94–6.
5 Ibid., I, p. 96.
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