

Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 To provide one recent example: a wide ranging and highly significant study of the British Empire mentions Burma just once in 798 pages. See John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System 1830–1970* (Cambridge, 2009) and Michael Aung-Thwin and Maitrii Aung Thwin, *A History of Myanmar Since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations* (London, 2012).
- 2 For a different perception see: Michael W. Charney, *A History of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.1.
- 3 Aung-Thwin and Aung-Thwin, pp. 16–17.
- 4 See the observations by historians of the Ottoman empire: Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands Under Ottoman Rule* (Harlow, England, 2008), pp. 244–7; Suraiya Faruqi, *Subjects of the Sultan* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 37–40.
- 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.
- 7 Guy Lubeigt attributes this passage to Ni Ni Myint: Guy Lubeigt, “Introduction of Western Culture in Myanmar in the 19th century: from Civilian Acceptance to Religious Resistance” in *Essays in Commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of The Myanmar Historical Commission* (Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005), p. 381.
- 8 Kin Thida Oung, *A Twentieth Century Burmese Matriarch*, p. 28.
- 9 Alicia Turner, *Saving Buddhism: The Impermanence of Religion in Colonial Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), pp. 120–33, 138.
- 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.
- 12 Su Lin Lewis, “Between Orientalism and Nationalism: The Learned Society and the Making of Southeast Asia”, *Modern Intellectual History*, 10, 2 (2013), p. 354.
- 13 John Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, pp. 306–7.
- 14 Neil A. Englehart, “Liberal Leviathan or Imperial Outpost? J.S. Furnivall on Colonial Rule in Burma”, *Modern Asian Studies*, 45, 4 (July 2011).
- 15 Sir James George Scott, *Burma: A Handbook of Practical Information* (London: Alexander Moring, Ltd, 1911), p. 450.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 450.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 453–4.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 455.

- 19 Helen G. Trager, *Burma Through Alien Eyes* (Bombay: Asian Publishing House, 1966).
- 20 John Nisbet, *Burma Under British Rule—and Before*. 2 vols. (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 1901), v.
- 21 Penny Edwards, “Relocating the Interlocutor: Taw Sein Ko (1864–1930) and the Itinerancy of Knowledge in British Burma”, *Southeast Asia Research*, 12, 3, p. 278.
- 22 Thant Myint U, *Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), pp. 15–16.
- 23 Alleyne Ireland, *The Province of Burma*. 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1907).
- 24 Jonathan Saha, *Law, Disorder and the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma c. 1900* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 25.
- 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.
- 26 Gwendolen Trench Gascoigne, *Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies: An Account of a Tour Through Burma* (London: A.D. Innes & Co., 1896), p. 10.
- 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.
- 28 *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.
- 29 Anon., *A Dog’s Life, Told by the Dog* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1909), p. 40.
- 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.
- 32 Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Economy” in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7 (1990), p. 296.
- 33 Parimal Ghosh, *Brave Men of the Hills*, p. 87.
- 34 *Report on the Police Administration of Burma For The Year 1918*, 8, (c) The British Library, IOR/24/3241.
- 35 R.F. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay: A Journey from North China to Burma through Tibetan Ssuch’uan and Yunnan* (Originally published in 1908. Reprinted. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001).
- 36 Andrew Marshall, *The Trouser People: A Story of Burma In the Shadow of Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 2002), p. 53.
- 37 G.E. Mitton, *Scott of the Shan Hills*, p. 67.
- 38 Sir James George Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, 5 vols. (Rangoon: Government Printing, 1900).
- 39 Harold Fielding-Hall, *The Soul of a People* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1898); *Thibaw’s Queen* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1899); *Burmese Palace Tales* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1900); *A People at School* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1906).

- 40 Stephen L. Keck, "Another Look at 'Thibaw's Queen': A Challenge To Colonial Historiography", *Essays in Commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of The Myanmar Historical Commission* (Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005), pp. 357–77.
- 41 V.C. Scott O'Connor, *The Silken East*. 2 vols. (London: Hutchison and Co., 1904) and V.C. Scott O'Connor, *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past in Burma*. (Originally published 1907. Reprinted. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1996).
- 42 Capt. C.M. Enriquez, F.R.G.S., *A Burmese Enchantment* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company, 1916) and Capt. C.M. Enriquez, F.R.G.S., *Burma, The Southern Shan States and Keng Tung* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company, 1918).
- 43 Leslie Milne, *Shans at Home: Burma's Shan States in the Early 1900s* (Originally published in 1910. Reprint. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001) and Leslie Milne, *The Home of an Eastern Clan: A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States* (Originally published 1924. Reprinted. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004).
- 44 Colonel Pollock and W.S. Thom, *Wild Sports of Burma and Assam* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Limited, 1900).
- 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.
- 48 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010).
- 49 The following works which have appeared in this decade are indicative of the growing trend towards studying Myanmar's colonial past: Atsuko Naono, *State of Vaccination: The Fight Against Smallpox in Colonial Burma* (Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan, 2009); Maitrii Aung-Thwin, *The Return of the Galon King: History, Law, and Rebellion in Colonial Burma* (Athens, Ohio and Singapore: Ohio University Press and NUS Press, 2011); Chie Ikeya, *Refiguring Women, Colonialism, and Modernity in Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011); Jonathan Saha, *Law, Disorder and the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma c.1900* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Ashley Wright, *Opium and Empire in Southeast Asia: Regulating Consumption in British Burma* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Chapter 2

- 1 Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I., *The Pacification of Burma* (London: Edwin Arnold, 1912), p. 3.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 3 Aung-Thwin and Aung-Thwin, *A History of Myanmar Since Ancient Times*, pp. 37–40.
- 4 G.W. Bird, *Wanderings in Burma*, p. vii.
- 5 W.S. Thom and Colonel Pollock, *Wild Sports of Burma and Assam* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd, 1900), p. 229.
- 6 Guy Lubeigt, Introduction to G.W. Bird, *Wanderings in Burma*, p. xviii.

- 7 G.W. Bird, *Wanderings in Burma*, p. 36.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 9 Stephen L. Keck, "Involuntary Sightseeing: Soldiers as Travel Writers and the Construction of Colonial Burma", *The Journal of Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, (2015).
- 10 A.R. Colquhoun, *The Problem in China and British Policy*, p. 34.
- 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*.
- 12 V.C. Scott O'Connor, *The Silken East*, 2, p. 641.
- 13 Pollock and Thom, *Wild Sports of Burma and Assam*, xvi.
- 14 Ghosh, *Brave Men of the Hills*, p. 13.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13 and 33–9.
- 16 Barton, *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism*, pp. 50–53.
- 17 Michael Adas, *Burma Delta: Economic Development and Social Change on an Asian Rice Frontier, 1852–1941*, p. 58.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 19 For more on this topic see: Ghosh, *Brave Men of the Hills*, pp. 37–62.
- 20 Ghosh, *Brave Men of the Hills*, p. 17.
- 21 Alice Marion Rowlands Hart, *Picturesque Burma, Past & Present*, p. 362.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 362–8.
- 24 James C. Scott. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).
- 25 Nalini Ranjan Chakravarti, *The Indian Minority in Burma: The Rise and Decline of an Immigrant Community* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 27 Hart, *Picturesque Burma, Past & Present*, p. 386.

Chapter 3

- 1 Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, 2, p. 121.
- 2 Nicholas Bayne, "Governing British Burma: The Career of Charles Bayne (1860–1947) in the Indian Civil Service", *The Round Table*, 96 (2007), p. 389.
- 3 Diana Kim, "The Story of the Tattooed Lady: Scandal and the Colonial State in British Burma", *Law and Social Enquiry*, 37, 4 (Fall 2012), p. 987.
- 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.
- 5 John F. Cady, *A History of Modern Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960); Robert H. Taylor, *The State in Myanmar* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009); and Jonathan Saha, *Law, Disorder and the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma c. 1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- 6 Alleyne Ireland, *The Province of Burma*. 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1907).
- 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.
 - 11 Taylor, *The State in Myanmar*, p. 69.
 - 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.
 - 14 Kin Thida Oung, *A Twentieth Century Burmese Matriarch* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Lulu.com, 2007), p. 30.
 - 15 Donald M. Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon*, p. 48.
 - 16 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/27/254/24.
 - 17 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3855.
 - 18 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3856, p. 1.
 - 19 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/27/254/24, pp. 25–6.
 - 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.
 - 25 Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon*, p. 42.
 - 26 Ireland, *The Province of Burma*, 1, p. 268.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 201.
 - 28 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 202.
 - 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.
 - 35 Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, 2, p. 119.
 - 36 Sean McConville, "The Victorian Prison: England, 1865–1965" in *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, Norval Morris and David J. Rothman (eds.) (New York and Oxford, 1998), p. 138.
 - 37 Ian Brown, "A Commissioner Calls: Alexander Paterson and Colonial Burma's Prisons", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 38, 2 (2007), p. 294.
 - 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.
 - 42 Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma*, p. 254.
 - 43 Ireland, *The Province of Burma*, 1, p. 227.
 - 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.
- 51 John Ramsland, *With Just But Relentless Discipline: A Social History of Corrective Services in New South Wales* (Australia: the Kangaroo Press, 1996), pp. 140–75.
- 52 Sean McConville, “The Victorian Prison” in *The Oxford History of the Prison*, Norval Morris and David J. Rothman (eds.) (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 138–9.
- 53 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3606, p. 1.
- 54 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/2104.
- 55 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3606, p. 1.
- 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.
- 72 *The Burma Excise Manual* (1909), pp. 124–5, (c) The British Library, IOR/V/27/353/56.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 123–4.
- 74 Saha, *Law, Disorder and the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma c. 1900*, p. 1.
- 75 Taylor, *The State in Myanmar*, pp. 90–1.
- 76 Ghosh, *Brave Men of the Hills*, pp. 21–2.
- 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.
- 80 Nicholas Bayne, “Governing British Burma: The Career of Charles Bayne (1860–1947) in the Indian Civil Service”, pp. 128–9.
- 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.
- 84 Atsuko Naono, *State of Vaccination: The Fight Against Smallpox in Colonial Burma*, p. 12.
- 85 Ibid., pp. 141–2, 202–3.

- 86 Judith Richell, *Disease and Demography in Colonial Burma*, p. 258.
- 87 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3855.
- 88 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/36, p. 11.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/36, p. 14.
- 91 *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1909*, p. 9, (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3856.
- 92 *The Reports on Plague Operations Carried Out in Shwebo, Sagaing and Lower Chindwin Districts During the Early Months of 1914*, p. 1 (c) The British Library, IOR/27/856/21.
- 93 Ibid., p. 1.
- 94 Ibid., p. 3.
- 95 Ibid., p. 5.
- 96 Ibid., p. 6.
- 97 *The Report on The Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1906*, pp. 15–16, (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/3856.
- 98 Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, 2, pp. 116–17.
- 99 Ibid., 2, pp. 110–17.
- 100 Ibid., 2, p. 113.
- 101 Ibid., 2, p. 113.
- 102 Ibid., 2, pp. 113–14.

Chapter 4

- 1 This discussion has drawn from a number of papers and publications which I authored: “Recovering a Lost Genealogy: Taw Sein Ko and the Colonial Roots of ‘Myanmar Studies’”, *Suvannabhumi*, 3, 2 (December 2011), pp. 1–30; “‘It Has Now Passed For Ever Into Our Hands’: Lord Curzon and the Construction of Imperial Heritage in Colonial Burma”, *The Journal of Burma Studies*, 11 (2007), pp. 49–83; “Interpreting the End of ‘Old Burma’”, *Southeast Asia and World History* (January 2, 2012), Siem Reap, Cambodia; “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; “Making Bagan Speak to the Present: Re-establishing Burma’s Cultural Heritage in the Age of Empire”, First Biennial Conference of the International Association of Asian Heritage (April 8, 2011), Colombo, Sri Lanka; “The Making of Heritage: the Case of Bagan”, International Association of Historians of Asia (June 24, 2010), Singapore.
- 2 Albert Fytche, C.S.E., *Burma Past and Present*. 2 vols. (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1878), p. 66.
- 3 Sir Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma: From the Earliest Times to the End of the First War with British India*. Originally published in 1883. Reprinted (London and Santiago de Compostela, Spain: Susil Gupta, 1967).
- 4 Tun Aung Chain, “Historians and the Search for Myanmar Nationhood”, unpublished paper presented at the 16th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia (Kota Kinabalu, July 2000), p. 10.
- 5 Tin, Myan-ma-min Ok-chok-pon sad an, 5.106-108. Cited in Charney, *Powerful Learning*, p. 260.
- 6 Charney, *Powerful Learning*, p. 261.

- 7 G. E. Mitton, *Scott of the Shan Hills: Orders and Impressions* (London: John Murray, 1936).
- 8 Andrew Dalby, "J.G. Scott (1851–1935): Explorer of Burma's Eastern Boundaries" in Victor T. King (ed.), *Explorers of South-East Asia: Six Lives* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 108–57.
- 9 Thant Myint U, *Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia*, p. 285.
- 10 G.E. Mitton, *Scott of the Shan Hills*, p. 170.
- 11 Sir James George Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, 1, p. 29.
- 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.
- 18 David Lowenthal. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 19 David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 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 Babbington Macaulay.
- 21 Fielding-Hall, *Thibaw's Queen*, pp. 5–6.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 64–6.
- 23 Curzon Papers, Minute of 2 December, 1901, (c) The British Library, F111/620, p. 346.
- 24 Sir Thomas Raleigh (editor), *Lord Curzon in India 1898–1905* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1906), pp. 183–5.
- 25 *Report on Archaeological Work in Burma For the Year 1902–1903*, 2, (c) The British Library, IOR/V/24/299.
- 26 (c) The British Library, IOR V/27/151/80.
- 27 Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, 2, p. 227.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 2, p. 224.
- 29 Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, 1, p. 54.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 54.
- 31 Paul Strachan, *Bagan: Art and Architecture of Old Burma*, p. 55.
- 32 Shway Yoe (Sir James George Scott). *The Burman: His Life and Notions*.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

- 35 V.C. Scott O'Connor, *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past*, p. 173.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 260.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 265–6.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 268–70.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 285.
- 41 *Ibid.*, pp. 285–6.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 76.
- 44 *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1, 1 (1911), p. 1.
- 45 Su Lin Lewis, “Between Orientalism and Nationalism: the Learned Society and the Making of Southeast Asia”, *Modern Intellectual History*, 10, 2 (2013), pp. 361–3.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 360–5.
- 47 Maung May Oung, “Inaugural Address of the Burma Research Society”, *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1, 1 (1911), p. 4.
- 48 *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

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.
- 2 Gascoigne, *Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies: An Account of a Tour Through Burma*, p. 71.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 62.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- 5 Nisbet, *Burma Under British Rule—and Before*, 2, p. 107.
- 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.
- 13 Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya (Allan Bennett), *The Religion of Burma and Other Papers* (Aydar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1929), pp. vi–viii.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 435.
- 17 Turner, *Saving Buddhism: The Impermanence of Religion in Colonial Burma*, pp. 103–4.

- 18 Ibid., p. 124.
- 19 The Rev. W.C.B. Purser and K.J. Saunders (editors), *Modern Buddhism in Burma* (Rangoon: The Christian Literature Society, 1914).
- 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.
- 29 Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 4.
- 30 Ibid., p. 4.
- 31 Ibid., p. 7.
- 32 Ibid., p. 12.
- 33 Ibid., p. 24.
- 34 Ibid., p. 60.
- 35 Donald S. Lopez (ed.), *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism* (Chicago, 1995), pp. 2–4.
- 36 For more on the quest for the historical Jesus see: Charlotte Allen, *The Human Christ* (New York, 1998) and Leander E. Keck, *The Future for the Historical Jesus* (Nashville, 1971).
- 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.
- 41 Fielding-Hall, *The Soul of a People* (London, 1898), p.v.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 16–17; also Eugene Smith, *Religion and Politics in Burma* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 31–6.
- 43 Donald Eugene Smith, *Religion and Politics in Burma* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 31–6.
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Index

- The 1891 Census and the Administration Report for 1893–1894*, 31
- Acton, Lord, 82
- Adas, Michael: *Burma Delta*, 36
- Alaungpaya, 86, 119
- Almond, Philip C., 100
- annexation, 72, 76, 79, 109, 168, 176, 177, 183
- Annual Report on the Prison Administration of Burma*, 56, 58
- Appadurai, Arjun, 13; 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,' 14
- Archaeological Survey, 11, 71, 75, 81, 86, 87
- archaeology, 26, 87, 101, 103; *Report on Archaeological Work in Burma*, 86
- Arnold, Edwin: *The Light of Asia*, 96
- Atatas, Syed Hussein: *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, 185
- Bah Hla Oung, 46
- Bayne, Charles, 44
- behaviours that define British perceptions, 155–65
- Bennett, Allan: *The Religion of Burma*, 96–97
- Bigandet, Paul Ambrose: *The Life and Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese, with annotations*, 101, 102
- Bikkhu Ananda Metteya: *The Religion of Burma*, 96–97
- Birch, J. W. W. 77
- Bird, G. W., 121; *Wanderings in Burma*, 31–32, 35, 118, 122, 125, 127
- Blair, Eric, 22
- Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, 13, 129, 131
- Booth, Charles: *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 5
- Briggs, J. P.: *Heathen and Holy Lands*, 175–76
- British Burma: explanation of term, 2
- British writing about Burma, 6–7
- Brown, Ian, 52
- Brown, R. Grant, 92
- bubonic plague, 64–68; *The Reports on Plague Operations Carried Out in Shwebo, Sagaing and Lower Chindwin Districts During the Early Months of 1914*, 65
- Buddhism, 94–116; basis for a new nation, 112–15; British converts, 96–97; picturesque, 94–96; progressive force, 109–12; translating, 98–understanding, 97–98. *See also* Oung, Maung May
- The Burma Excise Manual*, 60
- Burmaphiles, 18–20, 23, 25, 75, 83, 99, 108, 109, 116, 117, 125, 128, 142, 146, 148, 153, 163, 165, 189, 193, 194, 197
- Burma Police Manual*, 51, 180–82
- Burma Research Society, 26, 72, 91–93, 112, 121, 188
- Burmascapes, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 39, 47, 81, 87, 94, 108, 116, 117, 179, 193; real and imagined, 30–33; writers, 21, 25, 126, 189, 197
- Burma's location 28–43; British empire, 28–30; Burmascapes, 30–33; commercial development 33–34; ethnicity as geographic signifier, 39–41; history, 35–39; unique environment, 34–35
- Burney, Henry, 74, 187
- Burnouf, Eugène: *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, 101
- Cady, John, 44
- Carlyle, Thomas, 4, 105, 195

- census: 1891, 40; *The 1891 Census and the Administration Report for 1893–1894*, 31
- Chakravarti, Nalini Ranjan, 145; *The Indian Minority in Burma*, 40
- Charney, Michael W., 2; *Powerful Learning*, 73
- Chins, 39, 41, 152, 171
- Chulalongkorn, 92
- civilian police, 49, 172
- Cocks, Samuel, 20
- colonial authority 59–61
- colonial knowledge, 4–6
- Colquhoun, Archibald Ross, 11, 34; *Across Chryse; from Canton to Mandalay*, 33; *The Problem in China and British Policy*, 33
- commercial development 33–34
- The Correlation of Man and His Environment*, 73
- corruption, 61–63
- ‘the country,’ 117–43; economic development defines rural areas, 128–29; jungle, 125–26; jungle to forests, 129–32; oil, 132–35; Rangoon: cosmopolitan and divided, 123–25; Rangoon: embodiment of Burma changing under British rule, 118–22; Rangoon: myth and reality, 122–23; romantic fascinations, 126–28; ruby mining, 136–43
- Covernton, J. G., 57
- Cowen, John, 123
- crime, 17–18, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 62, 68, 68–69, 110, 165, 172, 175, 179, 182, 183, 184, 189, 190; *Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in Lower Burma*, 68. *See also* prison system
- Crosthwaite, Charles, 28, 174, 179, 180, 181, 189, 190; *The Pacification of Burma*, 168–73
- Crow, C. G., 66–67
- Crowley, Aleister, 96
- Cuming, E. D.: *With the Jungle Folk*, 126, 143
- Curzon, Lord, 84–91
- dacoits and dissent, 27, 38, 39, 47, 48, 49, 54, 80, 100, 131, 143, 156, 167–91; appropriating Buddhism as an intermediary means of support, 183–84; Burmaphiles and officially sanctioned observers, 189–90; campaign against disorder, 168–73; dacoit origination, 175; depoliticizing and domesticating the dacoits, 174–79; direct protest, 186–87; growth of Buddhist and Burmese organizations, 188; indigenous intermediaries, 179; intercommunal protest and violence, 188–89; modalities of dissent and resistance, 184–85; passive resistance, 185–86. *See also* Headman system; pacification
- Dalby, Andrew, 76
- Dalhousie, Lord, 36, 120, 130, 131
- Davids, T. Rhys, 102
- Dickens, Charles, 4, 5, 6, 195
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 5
- A Dog's Life, Told by the Dog*, 12–13, 21, 126, 136, 185
- Dry Zone, 30, 120
- Ducal Palace, 90, 196–97
- Dufferin, Lord, 31
- Englehart, Neil, 7
- Enriquez, Colin Metcalfe, 10, 19, 74, 126, 128, 133, 136; *A Burmese Enchantment*, 19, 127; *Burmese Loneliness*, 35, 127, 129, 192, 193; *A Burmese Wonderland*, 20, 127
- ethnicity 144–66; Burman behaviours that define British perceptions, 155–65; Burmese women define men, 154–55; domestic life of rural people, 154; as geographic signifier, 39–41; origins, 153–54. *See also* immigration; Kadu; Karens; minorities; Mons; Shans
- excise, 59; *The Burma Excise Manual*, 60; *The Report on the Excise Administration In Burma for the Year 1907–1908*, 184

- Fielding-Hall, Harold, 19, 20, 26, 41, 42, 71, 72–73, 74, 83–84, 87, 93, 94, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 146, 165, 169, 189; ‘Burman Gaze,’ 162; *Burmese Palace Tales*, 19, 79, 83, 106; Empire, 190; ‘Happiness,’ 161–62; *The Inward Light*, 19, 99, 106; *A People at School*, 19, 153, 166, 173, 189; *The Soul of a People*, 19, 99, 102, 103, 106, 161, 162–63, 173, 189; *Thibaw’s Queen*, 19, 83–84
- First Anglo-Burmese War, 2, 29, 32, 36, 119–20, 125, 131
- First World War, 3, 74, 110, 129, 131, 178
- Forchammer, E., 86
- forests, 13, 35, 36, 121, 125, 129–33
- Fryer, Frederick, 17
- Furnivall, John, 75, 92, 123, 144, 166, 202n4; *Colonial Policy and Practice*, 7; *Fashioning the Leviathan*, 44
- Fytche, Albert: *Burma Past and Present*, 72
- Gascoigne, Gwendolen Trench, 12, 126; *Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies*, 94–95
- Gaskell, Elizabeth, 5
- Geary, Grattan, 176–77
- Ghosh, Parimal, 175
- globetrotting, 7–8, 11, 12, 15, 118, 152, 156, 182, 193, 200n25
- Gouger, Henry, 74, 80
- governance, 44–70; bubonic plague, 64–68; colonial authority 59–61; corruption, 61–63; headman, 47–49; hierarchies, 45–47; Insein Prison, 55–58; modernizing by imperial and international modes, 68–70; policing, 49–52; prison system, 52–54; public health, 63–68; regimes of control, 47; state activities, 58–59
- Hart, Ernst Mrs, 12, 38, 148, 193; *Picturesque Burma*, 41–43, 114
- Headman system, 47–49
- Hearn, Lafcadio, 106–7; *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, 106; *Japan*, 106
- hierarchies, 45–47
- hill peoples, 147, 152, 169
- history, 35–39
- Hodgson, Brian Houghton, 101, 102
- Hunt, Tristram: *Cities of Empire*, 118
- Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, 46
- Indian empire, 4, 9, 11, 20, 24, 28, 29, 36, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 75, 111–12, 117, 118, 129, 140, 145, 146, 148, 167, 168, 173, 178
- Indian immigration, 40, 41, 75, 89, 123, 145, 146
- Insein prison, 55–58
- Ireland, Alleyne, 46, 97; *The Province of Burma*, 11–12, 44–45
- Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, 2, 8, 26, 32, 35, 125
- Irrawaddy River Flotilla, 37
- Japanese Fairy Tales*, 106
- Johnston, R. F.: *Peking to Mandalay*, 18, 201n46, 209n23
- Judson, Adoniram, 10
- jungle, 125–26; jungle to forests, 129–32
- Kachin, 39, 41, 147, 150, 151, 152
- Kadu, 159
- Karens, 26, 35, 36, 39, 41, 42, 104, 147–48, 152, 173, 179
- Kelly, R. Talbot, 12, 94, 128, 129–30, 132, 193; *Burma Painted & Described*, 95–96, 127
- Kingsley, Charles, 5
- Kipling, Rudyard, 62
- Konbaung Dynasty, 19, 25, 28, 35–338, 45–46, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 81, 83, 91, 93, 99, 100, 103, 171
- languages, 9, 31, 79, 111, 164
- Lubeigt, Guy, 31, 199n7
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington: *Minute on Indian Education*, 110
- MacMahon, Ruxton, 176–77; *Far Cathay and Farther India*, 168

- Manual of Rules For the Superintendence and management of Jails in Burma*, 53
- Marks, John, 10
- Maubin, 126
- Maung Hpaw, 46–47
- Maung Htin Aung, 199n5
- Maung Kin, 46, 92
- Maung May Oung, 46, 93, 112–115, 146, 188, 189
- Maung Po, 62
- Maung Po Kye, 48
- Maung Tin, 92
- Maung Tun Win, 65
- Mayhew, Henry, 137; *London Labour and the London Poor*, 5, 157
- methodological considerations, 22–23
- memorialists and modernizers, 10–12
- Mill, John Stuart, 99
- Milne, Leslie, 154, 173; *The Home of an Eastern Clan*, 20; *Shans at Home*, 20, 148–52
- Mindon Min, 36, 77–78, 79, 83, 187
- minorities, 29, 40, 43, 74, 117, 123, 126, 147–52
- missionaries, 10, 97; writers, 147
- Mitton, Edith: *Scott of the Shan Hills*, 76
- modernization, 11, 32, 33, 37, 38, 42, 68–70, 71, 142, 149, 166, 194
- Mon, 28, 36, 39, 119
- Morris, William, 81
- Muller, Max, 100, 102
- Muslims, 123, 124, 152; Chinese, 146
- Naono, Atsuko: *State of Vaccination*, 186, 214n64
- nat worship, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 104, 105–6, 116, 125
- Nealor, W. S., 65–66
- Neitenstein, William, 54
- Ni Ni Myint, 3
- Nisbet, John, 11, 94, 95, 105, 136, 159–61, 163–64; *Burma Under British Rule—Before*, 11, 185
- O'Connor, V. C. Scott, 26, 40, 41, 42, 71–72, 74, 122, 124, 128, 133–34, 136–40; *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past in Burma*, 19, 73, 74, 88–89, 127; *The Silken East*, 19, 34–35, 38, 39, 89–90, 126–27, 135, 140–41
- officially sanctioned observers, 13, 125, 130, 189–90, 193; 200n31
- oil trade, 132–35
- 'old Burma,' 10, 25, 37, 72–73, 74, 75, 79, 82
- Orwell, George, 74; *Burmese Days*, 12, 22, 61, 163
- Ottama, U, 3
- pacification of Burma, 37, 44, 147, 173–74
- Pagan Min, 78
- palace, 72, 73, 79, 85, 86, 91; preserving memory 83–84
- Palaungs, 150, 151
- Parker, E. H., 148
- passive resistance, 185–86, 190
- Paterson, Alexander, 54
- penal system. *See* prison system
- Phayre, Arthur, 87, 109; *The History of Burma*, 72
- police: *Burma Police Manual*, 51, 180–82
- policing, 49–52
- Pollock, Colonel, 126; *Wild Sports of Burma and Assam*, 20, 31, 128
- plural society, 7, 144, 145–47, 164, 166
- Poole, M. C. Conway: *Ballads of Burma*, 20–21
- Poovey, Mary, 6, 20
- Pope, John Van Somern, 187
- Powell-Brown: *A Year on the Irrawaddy*, 11
- prison system, 52–54; *Annual Report on the Prison Administration of Burma*, 56, 58. *See also* Insein Prison
- public health, 48, 58, 63–68, 70
- Purser, W. C. B., 10; *Modern Buddhism in Burma*, 97
- railway, 8, 9, 37, 49–50, 60, 125, 129, 130
- Railway Act of 1890, 50

- Rangoon, 8, 26, 32, 36, 37, 59, 77, 91, 92, 117, 125; Chinese business community, 124; Chinese immigration, 146; cosmopolitan and divided, 123–25; embodiment of Burma changing under British rule, 118–22; myth and reality, 122–23; population, 145, 157
- 'Rangoon Outrage,' 62
- Rangoon University, 3
- 'real' Burma, 7–10
- regimes of control, 47
- Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in Lower Burma*, 68
- The Report on the Excise Administration in Burma for the Year 1907–1908*, 184
- The Report for the Sanitary Administration of Burma for 1896*, 48
- The Report for the Sanitary Administration of Burma for 1906*, 67
- The Report for the Sanitary Administration of Burma for 1909*, 64
- The Reports on Plague Operations Carried Out in Shwebo, Sagaing and Lower Chindwin Districts During the Early Months of 1914*, 65
- research society, 91–93
- rice trade, 36, 37, 42, 121
- Richell, Judith: *Disease and Demography in Colonial Burma*, 63–64
- Ross, G. R. T., 92, 183
- Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 92
- Royal Commission, 59; on Opium, 202n7
- ruby mining, 34, 37, 129, 136–43
- rural areas: economic development, 128–29
- Ruskin, John, 4, 6, 14, 81, 95, 105, 106, 137, 195, 196; *The Stones of Venice*, 90
- Sadler Report, 5
- Saha, Jonathan, 44
- sanitation 67, 122; *The Report for the Sanitary Administration of Burma for 1896*, 48; *The Report for the Sanitary Administration of Burma for 1906*, 67; *The Report for the Sanitary Administration of Burma for 1909*, 64
- satirists, 20–22
- Saunders, K. J.: *Modern Buddhism in Burma*, 97
- Saw U White, 62
- Sayadaw, Ledi, 98, 183, 184, 188
- Sayadaw, Pakhan, 186
- Sayadaw, Taungdaw, 186
- scholarship, rent, 23–24
- Scott, George (Shway Yoe), 9, 10, 26, 45, 71, 74, 76, 92, 94, 95, 102, 108, 148, 155, 157–59, 189; *Burma*, 8; *The Burman*, 19, 76, 77, 87–88, 89, 90, 98–99, 117, 148, 152; *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, 19, 46, 76, 77, 78, 81, 151; *Handbook of Practical Information*, 153–54, 156; historian, 76–81; Victorian, 81–83
- Second Anglo-Burmese War, 2, 36, 74, 77, 120, 121, 131, 177
- Seekins, Donald M., 50
- Shans, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, 32, 39, 41, 42, 45, 76, 137, 147, 148–52, 159, 164, 171–72, 173
- show controversy, 3, 97; second, 187
- Shway Yoe. *See* Scott, George
- Smeaton, Donald, 129, 166, 176, 190; *The Loyal Karens of Burma*, 12, 147, 173–74
- sources, 4
- state activities, 58–59
- Strachey, John, 46, 202n7
- Strauss, David Friedrich: *Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 101
- Taw Sein Ko, 3, 11, 26, 27, 43, 44, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 86–87, 92, 94, 100, 109, 110–11, 112, 115, 144, 146, 178, 184, 189, 192; *Burmese Sketches*, 87
- Taylor, Robert, 44, 46, 61

- Temple, Richard Carnac, 104; *Notes on Antiquities in Ramannadesa*, 100; *The Thirty-Seven Nats*, 100
- Thein Maung, 187
- Thein, Maung Ba, 47
- thesis and main argument, 24–27
- Third Anglo-Burmese War, 2, 17, 33, 35, 37, 38, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 87, 104, 123, 131, 132, 136, 172, 173, 175, 178, 195
- Thom, W. S., 126; *Wild Sports of Burma and Assam*, 20, 31, 128
- Thompson, H., 59
- traditional Burma, 71–93; interpreting the end of old Burma, 72–73; interpreting the end, 73–76
- research society, 91–93. *See also* Curzon, Lord; Fielding-Hall, Harold; Scott, George
- travel writers, 12–18
- Tun Aung Chain, 73
- Turner, Alicia, 184, 186, 188; *Saving Buddhism*, 107–8, 179
- Turner, J. M. W., 14
- U Chit Hlaing, 148
- U Hmat, 138–39, 141
- U Po Hla, 165
- Upper Burmah Club, 84, 86
- U Shwe Kyu, 104
- Victorian inheritance, 4–6
- Village Act, 47, 172, 180
- The Village Headman's Manual*, Lower Burma, 47, 48
- Wallace, Alfred Russel, 77; *Malay Archipelago*, 38
- Warren, James: *Au Ku and Karayuki-San*, 122
- White, George, 169
- White, Herbert Thirkell, 92, 151, 174
- Williams, Raymond: *The City and the Country*, 117
- World War II, 20
- Wright, Arnold: *Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma*, 112, 118, 119, 122
- YMBA (Young Men's Buddhist Association), 3, 94, 112, 115, 187, 188, 194
- Young Men's Buddhist Association. *See* YMBA