

Profile of
A
Burma Frontier Man

Vum Ko Kau



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This book is dedicated to The Memory of My Father SAYA ZA KHUP LUNMUN, 1888—1960

1. Sei no ciang ho lung zawk aa, taang bang kih thawl,
Thai taw Von taw tuum bang vuai khan ton leang.
Thaa ih kiak tu ngamthing bang kih khaam maw ah,
Leang van ah zua siang nah haih ba nam maw ?
 2. Na Von Ni Thum Zaangsi lai Kaan Sang Tek aa,
Nuai simlei inn, bang nah he bua ziam maw ?
Thaa kong kia aa, tung leangvan kong kaai ta leh,
Leangvaan nun nuam Dawng kong ah Nah Muak In.
 3. Sen ang kawi tawh, tuan sam bang ih peal buang leh,
Leangvaan tual ah, tun nun thum luai kik leang;
Sen kik leang ah, tun nun thum luai kik leang ah,
Paa Zua lai hen, nau bang om ngi ngei leang.
 4. Zaangsi lai ah Thian tongdam nau bang na Saan,
Nuai simlei ah, Pham Maw Leang kih Lawm saang.
Na Von ni thum sawn mom ta ngua bang Hiang ah,
Hau awng nge inn bang nah he bua ziam mawng ?
-
1. Playmate, friends since childhood,
We should endure like oak trees,
Along with wife and children.
Weariness of age could not be reserved like forest trees.
Trust you repose in your father's arms in heaven.
 2. Your children have outshone the Siyins;
Were you not sorry to leave your earthly abode ?
When limbs fail and I pursue you heavenward,
Will you meet me at Heaven's Gate ?
 3. If we part with spouse like hair from earth,
May we become infant to resuckle at mother's breast
And tend the wealth of father
in heavenly abode.
 4. As God's disciple in Siyin Valley
You received His Blessings;
We should therefore be immortal.
Your children's offsprings have blossomed like bamboos;
Don't you feel sad to ponder ?

Dedicated to Pa Za Khup by his friend Pa Tun Sing of Thuklai.

FOREWORD

Chief Court of the Union of Burma

IT IS a privilege and a pleasure to write this brief note to Ambassador Vum Ko Hau's remarkable book. What I know of him, how high a regard I have for him, will appear in the profile of him that I wrote for *The Guardian* magazine of Burma several years ago and which is reproduced in this collection. The memoirs themselves project a deeply human profile of a remarkable man who, like the memoirs he has composed, is simultaneously simple and sophisticated, modest and proud, shy and out-going, a man whose heart is in his native hills and yet who feels quite at home in the glittering diplomacy and statecraft of London or Paris, United Nations or Rangoon. Here is a man who loves the folklore and folksong of his people, the Chins of Burma, who is so deeply conscious of his origins as to call himself "Vum Ko Hau of Siyin" after the valley in which his ancestors and he were born, and yet who is also fond of the cultures and the fine things of the world, the literatures, the arts, history, music and even the rare coins.

U Vum Ko Hau wrote to me a few months ago to say that he was preparing the memoirs for the press with the very modest purpose of satisfying the wish of his late father — an illustrious man whom I had the honour to meet in the hills a few years before his death — that the family be traced and put on the record and the family papers and stories and songs be preserved and handed on to the future generations. Only a very small edition is contemplated, U Vum Ko Hau wrote, for the book would be for family and friends alone. Even then, however, I at once felt that the author was either unaware of or too modest about the value of the book he was writing. In the Chin Hills there is much in the way of oral history, but little is on record. The tombstones and the monuments tell some tales, but how much can they tell? And this oral history, how long can it endure, for memories of man fade. Not history alone, but the cultures, the *mores* and the traditions of his people are going into the book, I gathered from what little U Vum Ko Hau wrote to me in outline, and I told him that such a book will be a treasure to the historian as well as the anthropologist, the social scientist and the administrator, and scholars of Burma and of the world. More and more scholars the world over are realizing that there is no such thing as pure history, pure law, pure science, or pure arts: these are inter-linked, and poor is the historian who looks upon his role as that of a recorder of dates and events, poor the lawyer who can only glibly cite the statutes and the ancient precedents, poor the artist who can only dream of beauty in the abstract. More and more the frontiers of fields of study and scholarship are expanding, and there is much lending and borrowing and overlapping, and each field of scholarship, whatever name it bears, only marks a degree of emphasis. Thus this book which contains, in the author's own words, "a sort of blend of history, biography, ethnography, primitive culture, political events, arts, etc" is bound to interest and excite scholars in many fields. And what a pleasant and potent blend the book makes!

There is yet another reason why I expect that this book will have a much wider circulation and a much greater value than the author modestly anticipates. People in Burma do not write memoirs or collections like this. Our literature is rich, and authors and scholars are many who more than attain international standards. But come to biography, come to memoirs, authors are shy and reticent. The result is that a large part of our contemporary history is going by unrecorded. In a decade or so, the historian will find it difficult to get together the raw material for his work. He may find some old newspapers and bulletins, but much of the history that is being seen at close quarters, lived through, or made by people like Ambassador Vum Ko Hau would have been lost. People like U Vum Ko Hau, but not U Vum Ko Hau himself, for here is his book, and before this he has written and spoken, and after this too, we must hope, he will continue to write and speak. Here, therefore, is not just the folksong of the Chin Hills, or the story of a family, but an important part of the living history of our country. Here in this book is much meat and many beautiful gems, and in writing the book the author has done much more than fulfil the wish of his late father; he has given us a gift we can treasure and enjoy.

Maung Maung

Rangoon,

March 27, 1963.

INTRODUCTION

It was the desire of my revered father that I translate the biographical histories of my forefathers written in Burmese and Siyin by him into English and print them together with the Genealogical Tree of the Clan, for private circulation among relatives and friends. This book is meant for the same purpose.

Although my father was by profession only a headmaster, (of the first local National school in the Siyin Valley) and at the same time Protestant pastor, my forefathers had for generations been Chiefs of the Clan Lunmun in the Chin Hills. During the reign of my grandfather Chief Thuk Kham, the British annexed the Chin Hills and he was one of the few Siyin Chiefs to be deposed. This was because of his evacuation from the Clan seat at Upper Thuklai, to beyond Vangteh across the Nankathe river, his resistance, and his refusal to acknowledge the new master. In his very Clan seat of Lunmun Muitung the British erected the first fort in the Chin Hills and named it Fort White after the first senior invading commander. Pu Thuk Kham's younger brother, acting Chief Hau Vum, after whom I was named, and my uncle Kam Pum who evacuated to Sagyilain, the Clan seat of Chief Mang Lun, brother of Chief Hau Vum's wife, were exiled as political prisoners also for resistance and for inciting disobedience, for four years to British Burma jails at Myingyan. The Chin Hills was one of the last countries which remained independent as it was subjected to foreign domination only in 1896 A.D.

"Headquarters moved to Tokhlaing (Thuklai) which we occupied on 13th. No signs of submission on part of Chins. All villages appear deserted. It is reported that Chins have moved their families and taken captives across Nankathe. Probably Siyin tribe are trying to get assistance from Kanhow and Tashon tribes".

— Telegram from Major F. D. Raikes, C.I.E., on special duty with the Chin Field Force, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, No. 78 dated Camp Tokhlaing, the 16th February 1889.

"Colonel Skene wires 200 Rifles have just returned from destroying the Upper and Lower Sagyilain villages. Chins, who were probably above 300 strong, fired many shots and stood their ground well, notwithstanding that repeated volleys were fired by our troops and one small stockade held by the Chins was shelled. Chin loss unknown. Probably three or four were hit. Resistance offered by Chins shows that they have no immediate intention of surrendering. Chins removed all supplies from both villages before Colonel Skene arrived. Lower villages were fired by Chins themselves at about midnight on night of 17th February". — Major F. D. Raikes, C.I.E. to the Chief Secretary, No. 79 dated Camp Tokhlaing the 18th February 1889.

At the present time the Siyins have surrendered, but they are not really afraid of us. (1889)

— Sir Bertram S. Carey, K.C.I.E.

Fighting against the Chins lasted till 1896.

— The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI

"Having learnt from Major Raikes, C.I.E., that it had been determined to leave a post in these hills for the rest of the year, and having on consultation with him come to the conclusion that our several reconnaissances north, south and west showed this to be the most central position, I selected a site some 400 feet above and to the south-west of Tokhlaing (4,800 feet), which occupied not only so much ground as to make it necessary to have a large number of men on duty, but was also commanded on three sides, notably from the site where the present post is, which with the permission of Major-General Gordon, C.B. and the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner, I have called "Fort White".

Major Raikes and I considered this a better position than any other we have seen in our several reconnaissances and in our subsequent expedition to the Kanhow's country, because here we are at the western limit of the track occupied by the Siyins, within close touch upon the sites of the villages which we have destroyed, and the re-building of which we can from here prevent till they come in". — Brigadier-General E. Faunce, C.B., Commanding Chief Field Force (1889).

Numerous petitions were presented to the Local Government, the last one as late as 1935, for the restoration of our rightful Clan Chieftainship but all were turned down.

The bravery and prowess of my forebears had ironically been worthily celebrated by their antagonists in *The Chin Hills Gazetteer* and other contemporary books. These books have been out of print for more than half a century.

Enemy, in considerable numbers, using many rifles and plenty ammunition. He fired at least 1000 rounds, standing resolutely until actually charged, even trying to outflank us. Most difficult enemy to see or hit I ever fought. — "Encounter with Siyins".

— Field Marshal Sir George White, V.C., O.M., G.C.B. of Fort White and of Ladysmith.

Faunce and I reconnoitred to summit Letha range, 8200 feet yesterday. Met with considerable resistance from small bodies of Siyins. We lost one Gurkha killed, one severely wounded, three slightly injured by stones hurled down us.

— General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B.
Commanding Upper Burma Field Force
23rd January 1889.

On 31st January 1889 advanced on Siyin with 176 Norfolks, 50 Gurkhas, two guns, 90 sappers, 100 Gurkhas on baggage guard, and 300 mules, which carried ten days' supply for column. No opposition was met with till the ridge overlooking the Siyin Valley at elevation of 8,300 feet was reached at 1 p.m. Up to this point mules accompanied us, but could go no further as the road runs across the face of the precipice for about a mile and then down a very steep spur to Siyin 2,700 feet down. The enemy has planted some stockades across the road, but being disturbed by the Gurkhas they fled, keeping up a desultory fire. We reached the hill at 3 p.m. They had partially fired village. Sir George White accompanied the force. — Brig. General E. Faunce, C.B.

Please inform Chief Commissioner from me and Raikes and wire Adjutant-General, India. Siyin taken on 4th, one Norfolk, two Gurkhas wounded. Enemies partly burnt Siyin and escaped over hills. No ascertained loss to enemy. Approach to Siyin 3,000 feet below Letha range, most precipitous and difficult. — General Sir George White, V. C., K. C. B., to the Asst. Adjutant and QMG, Mandalay, dated Siyin, the 7th February 1889.

It is true that our instructions were to punitively visit the tribes, but that force is no remedy had been proved with the Siyins and the Kanhowes, who have taken the severest punishment with courage and obstinacy that have excited our wonder and admiration. — Brigadier General W. Penn Symons, C. B. Commanding, Chin-Lushai Expeditionary Force.

As the first man in the Hills to receive a Burmese education and as the true son of a proud and independent Chief, my iron-willed father in spite of rejections, wrote repeated appeals to the Governor expressing his unwillingness to remain in defeat. He also went on to record the history of the local Clan for posterity and not for cultural reasons, and filled more than twenty manuscript books with his fine Burmese calligraphy and he personally enjoyed the triumph of expressing himself well and he was acknowledged the best Burmese petition writer in the area.

I began my bounden duty of preparing the translation by writing directly on the typewriter. For lack of an English-speaking touch typist to do my revised drafts, the work took much longer than I expected and meanwhile my father unexpectedly passed away after a brief illness in 1960 when the work was barely ready in manuscript form.

The man who has not anything to boast of but his illustrious ancestors is like a potato, the only good belonging to him is underground

— Sir Thomas Overbury

What a man has inherited from his forefathers, he must earn in order to possess

— von Goethe

If there be no nobility of descent, all the more indispensable is it that there should be nobility of ascent

— Bishop Henry C. Potter

A few short biographies and the remarks of foreigners who came in contact with my forebears are included as their names belong to local history. Persons whose lives I found interesting, and contemporaries whom I knew personally are also mentioned. Those officers who took part in the first occupation of the Siyin country composed of such varied names as Stuart White VC, Faunce, Penn-Symons, Churchill, Shakespear, Sausmarez Carey, LeQuense, V.C., Wolseley, Skene, Gordon-Cumming, Carleton, Mocatta, Whetherall, Mainwaring, Passingham, Porteous, MacTier, Westmoreland, Macgregor, McCulloch, Bouchier; during the Great War, Burne, Lawson, Prescott, Wright; during the second World War, Brigadiers and above include Felix-Williams, Rich, Scoones, Tennent-Cowan, Messervy, Lord Mountbatten, Cumming, VC, Cameron, Marindin; other semi-army officers were Stevenson, Kelly, Oatts, Peebles, West, and Naylor. Four V.C. Winners saw active service in the Siyin country, Field Marshal White, V.C.; Lt. Col. LeQuense VC

(awarded for bravery against the Siyins); Jamadar Ghaje Khale, VC (awarded for bravery against the Japanese at Leisan Mual between Fort White and No. 3 Stockade); and Brig. A.E. Cumming, V.C.

Two of the Commanders who saw active service in the Chin Hills were well-known not only in the Chin Hills but throughout the world. Their names are Field Marshal Sir George White, V.C., O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., of Fort White, Chin Hills, and Agga Maha Thiri Thudhamma Admiral of the Fleet Lord Mountbatten of Burma, K.G., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., LL.D., D.C.L., D.Sc.

The former was partly responsible for the deposition of my grandfather Chief Pu Thuk Kham of Lunmun (Fort White) and his heirs from the Lunmun Clan Chieftainship. The latter whom I first met near Fort White during the Chin Resistance Movements before the Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills, presented me, at the successful conclusion of the Second World War, with a monogrammed silver cigarette case and an autographed picture inscribed "To Vum Ko Hau, the courageous organiser and leader of the Siyin Independence Army — Mountbatten of Burma".

The First World War made its impact on the Chin Hills with the conscription of the Chin Labour Corps which resulted in the Kuki-Chin Rebellions of 1917. Those who took part in the suppression of these Rebellions were awarded the same British War Medal 1914-20 and the Victory Medal as those who saw active service in France from 1914-18. There are Siyins in the Blagies Cemetery near Dieppe in France.

After the Japanese occupation of the plains of Burma in 1942, the Chin Hills remained as a kind of No-Man's Land for almost three years until it was used by the Japanese Imperial Army as the main overland route from Tokyo to Delhi. The Allied troops (including Chin guerillas such as the Chin Levies and the Chinwags who were the acknowledged masters of the formidable highlands) clashed with the Japanese troops and tanks for a long time in the Northern Chin Hills when the Japanese Emperor Hirohito and General Hideki Tojo decided to include India in the political arena of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere". Many Japanese troops whom I encountered at the Chin Hills-India Front and met later in Tiddim had seen service in China. Only recently Walong has been occupied by Chinese troops, Tezpur evacuated by the civilian authorities and the Assam Valley lying to the north of the Chin Hills was about to become the battle field between India and China.

It is said when the generals, journalists and politicians have had their say, the last word on war and the portents of war belongs to the poets, playwrights and novelists. We have glibly read some thick volumes about the War in Europe written by British and American generals but very little had been written about Burma and the Chin Hills, which region formed one of the most devastated countries in the world not to speak of the suffering caused to the people by being forced to work in the sweat army with little or no food for construction of roads, to carry loads, etc. I had the curious experience of witnessing, as a senior local staff officer of both the antagonists in their headquarters on the Burma-India Theater of war, of rivalries among local commanding officers among British as well as among Japanese officers which made work more difficult due to the presence of two masters every time.

There are no publications that describe the Second World War in the Chin Hills from a local personal angle; hence the inclusion of some of my own experiences during the decade. I had also taken the opportunity of adding a profile of my versatile father, more details of my own career up to the age of thirty-one, up to which time I was more actively connected with politics, some of my articles published in *The Guardian* and other publications reproduced by kind permission. The War seems so recent to some of us but to our children who belong to the fast and shrinking world, due to scientific inventions, it appears to be old and strange history. I hope that it will stimulate these younger children and friends who had not seen war, nor experienced political actions of the war and the post war years.

On account of payment of annual free labour to Chiefs and patronage given by the authorities to Chiefs' sons in education and employment in government service etc the people got fed up and nationalism had been expressed officially in petitions, many of them written by my father, to the authorities concerned which were turned down as a matter of course. Nationalism crystallized when the Japanese occupied the Chin Hills and empowered in fact the Chin Leaders in Tiddim with very high civil and military ranks and summary powers hitherto not enjoyed by the previous government authorities. The conception of nationalism had continually grown stronger during the occupation period and it permeated the local government servants and especially the young students whose ambition for higher education was frustrated by the official ban to study the Burmese language in the Chin Hills.

During the period of foreign oppression in the absence of other more altruistic courageous leaders, I had responsible first hand experience of services (civil and resistance) under the British, in No-Man's-Land, and under the Japanese Imperial Army in Tiddim. Later under British Military Administration followed by political activities when in co-operation with Bogoyoke Aung San some of us were responsible at Panglong for the creation of the Union of Burma by uniting the Frontier Areas with that of ministerial Burma for the first time, and in the independence of the Union after a hundred years of British sovereignty. The honorary services thrust upon me in adversity, during ruthless enemy occupation, for my defenceless people, indirectly began to bear fruit unexpectedly when a Chin delegation was to be sent to attend the Panglong Conference and a Cabinet Member was to be elected by the same people to represent them in the Provisional Cabinet of the Government of Burma.

When a deadlock continued up to the final day of the Conference I appealed to other Frontier leaders and Bogoyoke. I said that if we could not sign the draft Agreement and acted in haste and accepted partition of the Frontier Areas and ministerial Burma into approximately 51% and 49% respectively as already envisaged in the map of the Frontier Areas Administration, it would jeopardize strength and unity of the country which is but a small one, and that history would never forgive us if we cause permanent injury to Burma. Bogoyoke said he agreed but that he had no mandate to give statehood to the Chins, Shans and the Kachins then and there. Arthur Bottomley, the British labour party observer was quite frank with us.

Since Bogoyoke Aung San in our earlier bilateral talks had promised me to look after the lot of the hitherto uncared-for Chin peoples, instead of separation from Burma, I vowed not to give up my patrimonial right to treat the whole of Burma as my domain and to share its ups and downs and in the shaping of its political and economic life. It is history that my decision

paved the way for the signature of the Agreement. I took the liberty of recording the fact because opportunity to contribute such a signal service to the nation might no longer come my way. Had we left Panglong to divide the whole country into two nearly equal parts no one could foresee the political repercussions and there would be no chance of retracing our steps in the midst of this predatory world and the freedom that might be gained might not be worth the partitioning of Burma into two big separate States independent of each other.

The short but most crucial as well as the most exciting decade in the history of the country was the Founders' decision whether ministerial Burma and the Frontier Areas were to survive as a Union or perish separately. Led by Bogyoke Aung San, who had miraculously won the confidence of his important and suspicious Frontier Colleagues at Panglong, his whole Cabinet happened to compose broadminded men of talents and genius of all indigenous races on a scale perhaps unexampled in the history. Out of the original twelve members of Aung San's Union Cabinet, only five were present at the historic Panglong Conference; eight of the twelve have since died prematurely without leaving any published works covering the period of the creation of the Union. In spite of the assassins' immediate work and the internecine strife, the Union survived as envisaged by the Founding Fathers.

On the 16th Anniversary of Union Day at Loikaw, General Ne Win recalled the efforts of Bogyoke Aung San and other Frontier leaders at Panglong Conference: "National unity is indispensable to us. It is our main strength, and just as with it we shall all prosper and achieve progress, without it we shall all go to ruin. It was in recognition of this vital fact that the late Bogyoke Aung San and other great State leaders broadmindedly sowed the first seed of national unity at the historic Panglong Conference. But before national unity in the country had reached its full stature, Bogyoke Aung San and colleagues fell at the hands of assassins. Later, because of misunderstandings born of faulty relation between the States and Burma proper and because of the machinations of those who wished to weaken and destroy the Union, national unity suffered a serious set-back".

The modest part I played in the few resistance movements mentioned in the book, was personal to myself and should not be regarded as the history of the movements. This would require another volume although there is enough material for several. I hope, however, that some chapters will also provide a general reflection on the attitudes, the ideas and the circumstances of the times which produced them, as it is an irony of fate that the Frontier Hills are for generations famous for their heroic sons in times of war but classed along with Burma, as a whole, as an underdeveloped country in time of peace.

In this supersonic and thermonuclear age it is ironic that some of the people of Southeast Asia, an area which has produced the Secretary-General of the UN, still remain in the Stone-Age. The Naga Hills, the Chin Hills and Irian still are a source of delight to anthropologists who are usually financed by wealthy philanthropic foundations whose main purpose is to record the existing naked "cultural anthropology" but refuse to lift a finger for their social or economic advancement, and leaving the responsibility of hiding the nakedness to the government concerned. Not an inch of cloth has ever been offered by these philanthropic foundations to aid these people. The recent Australian report on New Guinea (Irian) to the UN reads "A few customs contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, such as headhunting, the blood feud and cannibalism, occurred within the traditional social system".

When I arrived in Jakarta from Paris everyone I met assumed that everything must be different for me. I replied the politics do not vary from place to place. Democracy attuned for the benefit of society since 500 B.C. starting in Athens as replacement of the thousands year old despotism, gradually spread in the form we know during the 19th century but it does not appear to be the best philosophy in some highly educated European countries as well as among the less educated peoples of Asia and Africa. After the experience of 170 years as one of the oldest civilised republics, France found herself unable to form a parliamentary democratic government and Brigadier-General Charles de Gaulle took over the power in 1958; Dr. Sukarno did likewise in Indonesia in 1959 after the fall of some thirteen cabinets within the short span of fifteen years.

My father, whose hereditary responsibility having been removed, led a very progressive and self seeking life and I naturally became interested in the problem of political and social revolutions experienced by my generation. As the Chairman of the wartime Chin Freedom League invested by the Japanese administration with all powers of independence having no superior authority, and a leading participant of the local anti-fascist uprisings, and followed by public office as a Member of Bogyoke Aung San's historic Cabinet, and on seeing the national wealth of the mother country in the hands of a minority of foreigners and new citizens of pure foreign origin only and little or nothing in the hands of the sons of the soil, I was attracted by the socialist ideology of those countries more lately come to sovereign statehood. Socialism as understood in Western countries had begun to be adapted in Asia to suit different economic and social problems and socialists are more and more willing to admit the need for rethinking their published principles. In the Union of Burma the Revolutionary Government under the Chairmanship of General Ne Win had nationalized most of the foreign business firms and had begun to find ways and means to uplift the economic conditions of the hitherto neglected underdeveloped Frontier Areas of the Union. The Frontier peoples of Burma having been neglected so long by various Governments inspite of promises, the old doctrine of Saint Simon appeared very stimulating, "The uttermost ends of the kingdom (State) will be made fertile, and the necessities of life will be supplied to all who dwell therein. The best of the citizens will be put to work at task that will call forth their utmost efforts, and their pay will be as their toil".
— Gide and Rist.

Some members of the Revolutionary council visited the Naga Hills and also the northernmost reaches of Burma's Frontier lands which "have rarely been visited and much less cared for" as The Guardian editorial continued to describe the general conditions prevailing in the Frontier Areas of the Union :

"It was a political fashion to charge that the kiths and kins in the frontier areas were excluded from contact with the main stream of life in Burma by the colonialists who practised the policy of divide and rule. Yet, for a long time after the attainment of national independence, hardly anything was done for these peoples except to endow the sophisticated among them with political power. How this political power has been abused to the detriment of the interests of the masses of the frontier people is now common knowledge. What these less fortunate people need is not political power at this stage but welfare amenities in terms of better draught and domestic animals, profitable methods of cultivations, education, health and awareness of the Union citizenship.

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The inspection of these frontier lands, as pointed out by an official announcement, has become all the more necessary because of the bitter fighting that is going on between Burma's two big neighbours on the other side of the frontier. The greater and closer attention the Revolutionary government is paying now to the frontier areas is the kind of investment which can give the best returns in terms of greater prosperity in these lands and consequent security not only of the localities concerned but the Union as a whole. We may not have everything we want ourselves but it has to be remembered that the peoples in the remote areas have to do with much less. Therefore, the money spent and the attention paid on these areas cannot be found fault with".

The Chin Division and the Kachin State
are underdeveloped areas,
but on the credit side they can boast
the highest degree of internal security in the Union,
and they have energetic, plain, clear-thinking
young leaders to guide them in the future.

— "The Union of Burma" by Hugh Tinker

No museum and no national library existed in Burma when the Independence Treaty was signed in 1947 and no indigenous arts of any kind had been collected. Little literature on arts and culture by local Asians existed although all the fertile valleys of the East were until the late sixteenth century in the forefront of the advance of civilization. Oriental culture had been a main link with the West during the last few centuries. Through a concatenation of circumstances political subjection deprived us of mental alertness and curiosity and our race advanced fast towards degeneracy and intellectual bankruptcy. Yet in some courageous countries which suffered under foreign domination, indigenous culture was used as the strongest means of arousing political resistance.

During my embassy in Europe, resident in Paris, where the arts and culture of the world appeared to meet without discrimination, in order to retrieve some of our lost cultural heritage, I took the opportunity to form a small collection of coins of the Kingdoms of Burma, Arakan, Tenasserim and Pegu, old Burmese paintings and *objets d'art* and documentary literature pertaining to Burma and its Frontier Areas in particular and that of Southeast Asia in general. With the possible return of the Elgin marbles to Greece in the offing I have sanguine hopes that at least the portion of our Mandalay regalia that are not exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum will be returned to their place of origin, Mandalay, where they will be most appreciated by the people concerned.

On the migration of valuable works of art I cannot do better than quote Dr. Arthur Waley on the dispersal of the 5th and 10th century manuscripts and paintings discovered at Tunhuang cave only sixty years ago : "The Chinese regard Stein and Pelliot as robbers. I think the best way to understand their feelings on the subject is to imagine how we should feel if a Chinese archaeologist were to come to England, discover a cache of medieval manuscripts at a ruined monastery, bribe the custodian to part with them, and carry them off to Peking".

In the Indonesian archipelagoes I acquired for research purposes antique ceramic wares of China and Southeast Asian countries. I specialized in Annam-Tongking pieces, mainly from the Spice Islands of the Moluccas (Halmahera and Ceram), the Celebes and Bali. I visited all the Lesser Sunda islands including Komodo (the abode of the prehistoric reptile *Komodoensis* of which

I saw one) and Timor. As recorded on the incomparable Borobudur, the Sung and Ming wares appeared to have reached these islands in big sailing vessels as gifts to notabilities and in exchange for spices and other raw materials much earlier than the rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran and the building of the Topkapu Sarayi palace in Istanbul four thousand miles away overland. In one of the Oriental books in my library Chau Ju-kua, and inspector of foreign trade, during the Northern Sung dynasty described trade and contacts with Southeast Asia. He wrote "the foreign traders barter for these commodities white porcelain, wine, rice, coarse salt, white silk piece goods and trade-gold". In the first year king of the present dynasty (1004) Pu Kan (Pagan) sent a mission to China, where they had an opportunity of witnessing the Feast of Lanterns".

Together with some pictures I took the privilege of exhibiting some of the coins, paintings, *objets d'art* and some fine porcelain wares of the Sung, Ming and Ching periods of China and countries adjacent to the Union of Burma. A few of the last items such as the incised white gourd and the Cheng Hua and the Annam-Tongking vases appear to be unique and as anything portable tends to migrate or disappear due to wars and other causes, I wanted to preserve them for posterity. In spite of the passage of time I consider the blue colour and style of decoration on the Cheng Hua vases impeccable and so pure as to be undated. Every dynasty appeared to have its own classic achievement; in painting the Tang age; in celadon the Sung; the blue and white the Ming and the *famille verte* the Ching. One of my classical piece is a Lung Chuan celadon dish with four clawed moulded *tou-niu* pursuing a sacred pearl. The dish reached Kebabjoran from Manado early 1963. I also wanted to make a humble attempt to encourage scientific curiosity and the spirit of enquiry among the new emerging generations of my country and Asia and shake off the sleep of ages. We must be conscious of our nation's civilized past and eager to recreate the spirit of its traditions now that we have no longer the excuse of being hampered by imperialists.

Although the UNO is meant to benefit all nations, it is again no longer possible for most countries to aspire to membership of the exclusive nuclear club. The big powers of both sides had fortunately accepted peaceful co-existence as the only alternative for survival of mankind. One must take solace in contemplating the serene ultramundane masterpieces of Oriental art which never fail to inspire tranquility and peacefulness in men entrapped in a materialistic world. It has been said that art knows no frontiers. Aristotle recognized beauty as a prime value in life and art; on art and beauty he appeared to have similar views as Plato and Socrates: "Men of high character excel the majority in the same way that those who are not, and in the same way that the creations of the artist excel the living model. The secret lies in the assembly and unification of features otherwise dispersed; for taken separately the eye or any other part represented by the painter may compare unfavourably". — *Politics*. I found that in France more than elsewhere living artists and writers are honoured members of society and that the State has a traditional role as patron of literature and the arts. The Indonesians treat their pieces of antique porcelain as objects of veneration. They have been handed down the ages as family heirlooms and only occasionally given as a marriage dowry. Hence the survival of unique pieces to the present day. Since the Second World War interest in art has rocketed. All communist governments have officially taken over all subjects of their national art and culture but in

capitalist countries private institutions are generally responsible for a much wider field. A few enlightened non communist, ex-colonial countries have belatedly done something to encourage the revival of arts and culture. The world's two most powerful statesmen had been seen to recognise the arts, whatever their motives.

Without the help of my wife Mang Ko Tiin who is an authority on the composition of songs, I would not have been able to translate the antiquated autobiographical Songs of my illustrious forebears. Most of our Ching and celadon wares were bought by her.

I am deeply grateful to my friend and distinguished scholar Justice Dr. Maung Maung who inspired me in writing since we founded *The Guardian* and for kindly consenting to contribute the Foreword. He has been to the Siyin Valley, the home of my Clan for twentythree generations, and knows my people.

H. Vum Ko Hau Lunmun
Siyin of Siyin Valley

Kebajoran,
Union Day, 1963

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To refresh my personal knowledge of events, I have not, I confess, gone much beyond the shelves of my own library accumulated during the last quarter-century from the time I worked as the Stenographer and Chief Clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office, World War II, preceded by the Five Book Prizes awarded to me in my high school graduation year forming the nucleus, to the time I was a Cabinet Member and an Ambassador of the Union of Burma. Nevertheless I would like to take the opportunity of thanking especially the librarians of the following six libraries for providing me with a small room in their already crowded building whenever I wanted to do research on a few subjects, — the India (Burma) Office Library, Whitehall, London; Musee Guimet and Librarie Langue Oriental, Paris; Koloniale Bibliotheek, 's-Gravenhage; the Royal Geographical Society and the Jakarta Museum. For special reading facilities etc to the Bibliotheque Nationale; the British Museum; the London Library; the Ashmolean, Oxford; the National Library, Glasgow; the Bordeaux Museum; the Ubud and Den Pasar Museums in Bali; the Kotaradja Museum in Atjeh, the last for opening it for me on a holiday; last but not least the Oriental bookshops in Britain and West Europe which gave me the privilege to search for books in any part of their buildings.

Most of the histories connected with my forefathers were translations from my father's manuscripts but I also took down some from my father; my grandpa Pu Hau Vum; Pa Kam Pum; my mother; Nu Lam Awi; my uncle the Grand Old Man of the Siyin Valley Chief Pu Khup Lian of Lophei who left the world recently at the age of 105 years; Pa On Kam; Nu Neam Vung and Bogyi Chief Thian Pum of Buanman; Uncle Tuang On That Mun of Khuasak and Theizang. Bogyi Chief Lian Thawng, A.T.M. and Bogyi Thuk On, B.G.M. Grandpa Chief Pu Hau Vum and Pa Kam Pum who were exiled as political prisoners in British Burma jails at Kindat and Myingyan, for four years never had a sound sleep unto their last for the Clan being amalgamated under another Chieftain, which was an unheard-of thing for a Siyin Chieftain, naturally contributed much to my knowledge of local history.

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"What is the use of a book without pictures?" Alice in Wonderland.

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IN MY FATHER'S LUNMUN HOUSE

I was born on the 17th March 1917, Tabaung Lapyikyaw 10, 1278 BE at Lunmun, Thuklai, in the Siyin Valley but on the first of July 1917 according to the High School final certificate and the Service Book.

My father Saya Za Khup was the local school headmaster who was awarded a Certificate of Honour for his services "in the cause of education" by the Governor of Burma, Sir Hugh Stephenson in 1934.

My paternal grandfather was Chief Thuk Kham of the Lunmun Clan. He had two brothers, Kam Khai and Hau Vum. Kam Khai had a son, Kam Pum. On account of his age Chief Thuk Kham was assisted by Hau Vum and Kam Pum as joint Chiefs at the time of British annexation.

On account of rebellions and other hostile and uncompromising acts committed by them as well as their clansmen against the British, my grandpa, the Lunmun Chief Hau Vum and his right hand man, my uncle, Kam Pun, were exiled as political prisoners for four years to the Myingyan jail in Burma. On return from jail also the Lunmuns continued to look after their own affairs as before. Clan Chiefs and the Siyin Council always looked after the Siyin Clan from time immemorial. A form of written appointment order was introduced by the British after some years and naturally not issued to my forebears on account of their resistance but our family never acknowledged their appointee. On the other hand a written memorial was put to the local Government in 1935 for official recognition of two separate Chieftainships for Lunmun and Sumniang as in olden days.

My maternal grandfather was Chief Man Suang of the Kimlel Lophei Clan. Chief Man Suang's successor, my uncle Chief Khup Lian is now 104 years of age. He was the Siyin hero who took possession of the rifle belonging to the enemy he had murdered during the British advance in the Chin Hills in 1889. He led his Kimlel contingent from Khuasak where they were then residing.

Chief Hau Vum's wife was the sister of Chief Mang Lun of Sakhiling. My grandfather, Chief Thuk Kham, was getting old and although he carried the burden of Chieftainship which had been once restored by General Wolseley, he was no longer strong physically and could not visit the conquering administrator's headquarters. His young heir, my father, was with him but instead of waiting to attain his majority to succeed to the hereditary chieftainship he ran away from home to study in the Taung-U monastery school near Kalemyo. He was always ahead of his time and he decided that education would be more important in due course than chieftainship under the new government. His education was to launch him as one of the first advocates of freedom in the locality. The Siyin Council and the Siyin Chiefs had looked after their own people with the most democratic methods from time immemorial. The new administrators introduced payment of one day's labour annually to the Chiefs appointed by them. This was resented very bitterly to the end of the British administration.

For a long time my father waged a one-man crusade against abolition of Burmese in schools in the Chin Hills and also for the introduction of the pay scale of teachers as in Burma. He was trained in Mawlaik and got the prescribed normal school teacher's certificate but was denied the pay attached to it in Burma proper. He also encouraged communal co-operation in many respects which he started with the Christian community. He wrote petitions for all cases of injustices without fee.

Thuklai was founded on a branch of the Thang Mual (Letha) Range projecting into the Siyin Valley and thus had a superb commanding view of the whole valley on the East, South and West. It possesses ideal physical features for defence and on many occasions in days gone by the majority of the Siyin Clans have gathered at Thuklai and made collective successful stands against invading enemies. The locality lies on the route from the plains of Burma to the Chin Hills and India.

On two occasions invading enemy forces built their forts in Lunmun, upper Thuklai. The first was by Major General Sir George White V.C., K.C.B. in 1889 and the second was late in 1943 by the advance troops of the Imperial Japanese army under the command of Lieut.-General Yanagida at the time of their advance "On to Delhi". The former was the executive British Commander of Upper Burma who personally led the first invasion of the Chin Hills through the Siyin country.

He was the Chief of Staff to General Sir Harry Prendargast who was familiarly known as the man who received the surrender of King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat. Sir George White not only succeeded Sir Harry Prendargast at Mandalay in 1886 but superceeded him to become Field Marshall.

When Khuasak fell to General White's army on the 4th February 1889 the Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham set fire to Lunmun Taap (Lunmun Fort) in which he lived and evacuated to Vangteh taking with him his wife Pi Tuang Tiin and his only son and heir Za Khup who was only one year old. The Chief's wife died in the Khuabel evacuation camp beyond Vangteh and the preliminary funeral rites were performed in the jungle camp with the help of friends from Vangteh. He instructed his younger brother, Hau Vum, and his nephew, Kam Pum, to resist from the unoccupied lower Siyin Valley and jointly to act as Chiefs in his absence. They accordingly proceeded to Sakhiling and resided with Chief Mang Lun of Sakhiling who was the brother of Chief Hau Vum's wife.

Ordinarily as the eldest son I should have been named after my grandfather Chief Thuk Kham but when I was born he was already dead and his younger brother Chief Hau Vum who was still alive had no child of his own. Moreover, he had suffered imprisonment in his attempt to save the Clan. For these reasons I was named after him as he was the only living *Pu* grandpa. We referred to him as grandfather and never granduncle. I was named Hau Vum Ko Hau. My younger brother was named after my grandfather, Thuk Kham Cin Khai. It is customary for a Siyin to take the last name of the person after whom he is named.

Ten days after the occupation of Khuasak, General White and his troops occupied Thuklai and built the original Fort White named after General White at the very site of Lunmun Thuklai recently left by the Lunmun Chief, "the houses of the village furnishing materials for it". A British Christian cemetery and the remains of the original Fort still mark the locality.

Major General Sir George White and his chief of staff Brigadier General E. Faunce after building the first fort in the Chin Hills at Lunmun Thuklai sent for the Lunmun Chief. But they found that he had evacuated beyond the Siyin Valley and even beyond Vangteh which was half a day's journey. The Lunmun Chief refused to come to Lunmun; instead he sent word to his younger brother Chief Hau Vum and other able-bodied Lunmuns to stand their ground from the unoccupied lower Siyin Valley adding that "the enemy would return to their village when their food supply ran short". He advised the acting Chiefs Hau Vum and Kam Pum not to return to Lunmun Muitung nor to report to General White. Instead he gave what advice he could to his friends in Vangteh to make a stand against the British.

After two years of occupation of the Upper Siyin Valley, the British authorities "induced Mang Lon, the Chief of Sakhiling, to surrender on the 17th January 1890. His surrender was important as being the first and through him all future negotiations with the Siyin tribe were managed". This surrender of my granduncle Chief Mang Lon (Mang Lun) of Sakhiling put my grandfather Chief Thuk Kham and acting Chief Hau Vum of Lunmun and his nephew Kam Pum in an awkward position, as the Chief and brother-in-law who sheltered them in enemy unoccupied area was now intending to surrender to the British. Chief Mang Lun advised his brothers-in-law to give up to the British for the time being, as they had erected a fort in Lunmun Thuklai itself and begun to make permanent roads from Burma to the Siyin country.

Accordingly Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun and his brother-in-law Chief Mang Lun of Sakhiling with three other "Siyin Chiefs took the oath of submission and friendship to the British Government, at a durbar held by Brigadier General Wolseley on the 1st September 1890". The three other Siyin Chiefs who took the oath were Khuasak Chief Khup Pau; Buanman Chief Pau Khai and Sumniang Chief Kam Lam. The Lophei people were then residing in Khuasak and a separate Chieftainship was given to Chief Khup Lian when he re-established (in the 1920s) a separate Lophei settlement. He is an elder brother of my mother and is still alive.

General Sir George White returned to his Upper Burma command headquarters at Mandalay after occupying a part of the Siyin Valley but some of the Siyin Chiefs and their brothers who were also leading commanders withdrew from the valley and did not submit to him.

The hero of Siyin Valley, Fort White and Ladysmith, Sir George White, who won the most coveted V.C. on three recommendations for two separate Victoria Crosses and who later became Field Marshall Sir George Stuart White, V.C., O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.C.I.E., D.C.L. (Oxon), L.L.D. (Cantab), (Edin), and (Dublin) described his Siyin antagonists as of "manly race" and acknowledged them as "most difficult enemy to see or hit I ever fought" and gave his name to the original Fort erected at the site where my forebears held court and proved their valour — thus immortalising the episodes and the battlefields.

If, as is the custom with present day he had been raised to the peerage his titles might have been taken from the Siyin Valley where he had left his name. Many persons were disappointed that he was not given a baronetcy. In due course he was made a Grand Cross of the Bath. His brother congratulated him, but said something about a baronetcy, to which

White replied that there was not the slightest chance of such a thing, "and it would do me no good or Jack either".

Winston Churchill who served in the South African war with General White of Fort White writes in his autobiography :

"I remember one night in after years that I said to Mr. Balfour at a dinner how badly Sir George White had been treated. A look of implacable sternness suddenly replaced his easy, smiling, affable manner. A different man looked out upon me. "We owe to him", he said, "The Ladysmith entanglement".

Sir Redvers Buller once advised Sir George White to surrender Ladysmith to the Boers but the latter refused to do so and became known as the defender of Ladysmith.

During the first attempt of British annexation of the Chin Hills they were attacked at every commanding point from Kalemmyo up to the Siyin Valley and beyond, in the Chin Hills. The various places of encounter are still named No. 2 (Tulsuk), 3 (Phatzang), 4 and 5 stockades. The last stockade which is Upper Thuklai (Lunmun) the seat of my grandfather Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham was turned in the chief's absence into a permanent fort and named Fort White after the chief Commander of the Expedition, then Major General Sir George White, V. C. K. C. B.

The Siyins were led by their Clan Chieftains or their brothers in their fight against the British troops. When Khuasak was occupied, the Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham and some outstanding Siyin Chiefs evacuated to other places outside the Siyin Valley from where they continued to send advice and instructions for resistance to their clansmen from their evacuation camps. Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun evacuated to Khuabel beyond Vangteh. He took along with him his wife, Pi Tuang Tiin and his young son and heir Za Khup. His wife, my grandmother, died at the camp during the evacuation and the preliminary funeral was performed at the same place where they were assisted by friends and relatives especially by the Tual Thang family and the Neingup clan.

It is interesting to note that one of the greatest British soldiers, at least the most decorated soldier of whom I have ever heard of, General Sir George White, personally accompanied and led the first invasion of the Chin Hills up to the occupation of the Siyin Valley and erected the first fort named after him — Fort White.

It was a great bewilderment for Chief Hausapu Thuk Kham and other Siyin Chiefs and heroes who never knew defeat to think that a foreign army could succeed in occupying the whole Siyin Valley in the history of the Valley and of the race.

For one Chief Hau Vum and his son Kam Pum resided with Mrs Hau Vum's of Sakhiling but the British, sensing the importance of getting the by Chief, Mang Lun, negotiated for his surrender :

us that nothing was attained by merely burning the Siyin's houses. advance on Falam, the Assistant Political Officer therefore, on posed and received sanction to attempt to gain the surrender of s. The Sagyilains, who were living in camps not far from the Yawlu visit the post where Mr Carey now made his headquarters, and people whom he visited in their camps he induced Mang Lon, 17th January (1890). His surrender was important, as being the negotiations with the Siyin tribe were managed.

"Looking back now on the past five years of trouble and anxiety in the Siyin tract, it is a satisfaction to dwell on the conduct of Mang Lun, the only Chief of a clan who was clean-handed in the Siyin rebellion of 1892". — Chin Hills Gazetteer.

Chief Mang Lun advised his brother-in-law Chief Thuk Kham and Hau Vum to submit to the British for the time being at least since the latter had erected a fort in Lunmun Thuklai itself and begun to make permanent roads. As Lunmun had become the seat of the British he returned to his satellitic abode at Bel-lei in order to perform the funeral of his wife. The brothers-in-law met secretly and decided to submit when they were again persuaded to do so to General Wolseley.

"FORMAL SUBMISSION OF THE SIYINS".

"On the 1st September 1890 at a durbar held by Brigadier General Wolseley, who was on inspection duty in the Chin Hills, the Siyin Chiefs formally took the oath of submission and friendship to the British Government and accepted Captain F. M. Rundall's terms which included the surrender of all slaves and a promise to cease raiding on the plains and cutting the telegraph wire. The yearly tribute fixed for the tribe was Rs. 200 in cash or kind and an elephant tusk and Rs. 100 in cash were accepted as tribute for the first year".

In token of the peace treaty General Wolseley on behalf of the Queen Victoria presented the following five Siyin Chiefs one string of necklace, one woollen blanket and porcelain wares :

1. Khuasak Chief Khup Pau
2. Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham (Original Fort White)
3. Sakhiling Chief Mang Lun
4. Buanman Chief Pau Khai
5. Sumniang Chief Kam Lam

The Lophei people were then residing in Khuasak and a separate Chieftainship was given to Chief Khup Lian when in the 1920s he reestablished a separate Lophei settlement. He is an elder brother of my mother and is still alive.

"The submission of the Bweman and Siyin clans now completed the surrender of the Siyin tribe, which had commenced in January 1890, when Mang Lon of Sagyilain came in.

After the restoration of his Chieftainship and the removal of the original Fort White from Lunmun Muitung, Chief Thuk Kham returned to his old residential site in Thuklai from Bel-lei.

"During the rains it was considered that Toklaing, the site of Fort White was naturally unhealthy and the post was removed to the summit of the Letha range within a few hundred feet of No. 5 Stockade, which was erected by General Faunce in 1888-89

Old Fort White or Mwiton is now re-occupied by the Toklaing clan, who enjoy good health. The site of old Fort White was well chosen and was too readily abandoned.

"In spite of the frequent outrages committed, the Siyin Chiefs repeatedly visited Fort White and nothing in their behaviour betokened the coming storm; moreover, at the end of June 1892 several Toklaing Chins were enlisted as civil constables and stationed at Fort White.

The Siyins rebelled against the British authority on the 9th October 1892 starting at the very old site of Fort White which was Lunmun Thuklai. After killing the civilian officer and many soldiers the rebels took to hiding and they were hunted for a long time with very little result.

Long after the Treaty of Peace between General Wolseley and the Siyin Rebels at Lunmun Thuklai, many of my uncles from the Lunmun clan still indulged in waylaying troops escorting convoys to replenish food and ammunition at Fort White.

"The Siyin Nwengal rebellion broke out with truly Kuki suddenness and we were taken by surprise. Although the outbreak resulted in a moral victory, it was, as has been shown in a previous chapter, a heavy blow. The Siyins commenced with a certain dash and endeavoured to make it impossible for us to hold the hills; but owing to the extreme care which they evinced for the safety of their own persons they never caused us the slightest anxiety, although only 60 men were at this time available for column duty".

EARLY YOUTH AND APPRENTICESHIP

The first thing I could recollect of my childhood was the 'great' fire of Thuklai when one-tenth of my village was burnt in day time. It started when the reigning beauty queen of the Siyin Valley Miss Neam Mang died prematurely. According to the existing custom the first part of the funeral was performed immediately the next day. It was a sad day for many aspiring male contemporaries. They all came to the funeral from all corners of the Siyin Valley bringing their guns to fire as token of respect to the departed lady. No other funeral had been so memorable. The guns were all flint lock ones and torn cloth had to be used as stopper for firing; these caught fire as the guns were fired. The young men, to prove their prowess, competed to fire as quickly as possible. One burnt stopper landed on the thatched roof of the funeral house. This started a fire and all the houses adjacent to the funeral house were burnt in a matter of two hours.

I was alone in the house with father who took out more valuable belongings outside the compound. He told me to stand by them as guard while he went to help to extinguish the fire.

The village was on a slope of the Siyin Valley and our house was luckily not on the path of the fire. I still can see in my mental eye the wrapped body of the deceased being carried by two men below the wooden water trough even after the house was burnt to the ground. It was not customary to bring it inside the house or to take it outside the house compound or get it rested without completion of the funeral rites. I found out from my father's diary that it was the 15th April, 1919.

The next day the whole village helped the fire victims to re-establish temporary dwellings. A certain house was allotted to each person. My father took me along to visit each and every victim affected by the fire.

I attended the American Baptist Mission Burmese School at Khuasak, Fort White, where my father was Superintendent in 1924. It was two miles away from my own village. My younger brother and I got the Prince of Wales Medal for best school attendance in 1928. My first prize came in the fifth standard when I won a Blackbird pen for standing first in the aggregate. Having stood first in the class my name was sent up to compete in the Burma middle school scholarship from the Falam Anglo Vernacular school but I was disqualified on account of age. I did not however have to sit for an examination but was given free promotion and won a free scholarship for three years awarded from 1934-37 tenable at the Government High School, Sagaing.

In those days of the depression only ten of the brightest boys in the whole country were awarded scholarships. Generally the boy nominated by the Falam middle school usually got into the ten top positions in Burma. I was very satisfied when my Headmaster Saya Sein Pe gave me the following certificate :

"This is to certify that VUM KHAW HAU passed out the Anglo-Vernacular 7th Standard from the Government Anglo-Vernacular School, Falam.

He was a brilliant pupil and would have gained the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School Scholarship had it not been for over age by only part of a year".

My younger brother, Kham Cin Khai, who sat for the scholarship examination also won the free scholarship tenable for three years. He also joined the Government High School, Sagaing which was the nearest government high school from the Chin Hills and one of the best in the country.

As if to justify the scholarship I succeeded in standing first in my classes. In my high school final year I had the signal honour of winning five literary prizes, three of which were first prizes for distinctions in English, Geography and History and two second prizes. I was the Joint Editor of the English section of the school's first magazine. I contributed my first published article entitled "The Lone Outlaw" in the magazine. It was all about the exploits in Alandaung of the Galone leader, Saya San, and how he was believed to possess a charmed life. It was the only political article published in the magazine. I was the librarian and secretary of the Union Hall reading club founded by me and a few friends such as Ko Chit Myaing, Ko Thet Shay, Ko Hein Hpan, Ko Po Kyi. The English Essay was on the given title "General Election". In Burma the Nga-bwint-saing party led by Dr. Ba Maw had just risen to power. In Germany, Herr Hitler had done likewise and my subject matter consisted all I knew about the two general elections. In Sagaing we were allowed to watch the activities of the candidates as well as their backers. I had been to the headquarters of the successful candidate Daw Ah Ma as I knew one of her supporters, Daw Hla Min and also to the house of U Ko Ko Gyi, a Muslim, and owner of a tea shop near the railway station. I visited him with a Muslim classmate who was related to the candidate. To write the Essay we were given three hours. I was the only student given access to the teacher's reading room and I read all about the German election as well as about Dr. Ba Maw's party in the newspapers.

I had heard so many discussions about politics and rebellions in my own house since childhood that I found topical politics in Burma and beyond most interesting. It was quite natural that I should win the prize especially when the subject of the Essay was about politics.

The certificate given by the Headmaster J. C. Philipsz will speak of my high school records "Vum, Ko Hau was a pupil of this school. He passed the High School Final in March 1937. He is a boy of good ability and was always found to be painstaking, honest and reliable. He was above the average in English and was generally at the top of his Class".

A Burma Frontier Serviceman U Thein Maung recommending me for direct training in the Mandalay Police Training School writes :

"Vum Khaw Hau has been in the Deputy Commissioner's Office and my office as unpaid apprentice since the 17th April 1937. In the school Magazine (First Edition) of 1936-37 published by the Government High School, Sagaing, he is mentioned as one of the Eleven who won the Inter-Class Football Competition and as a First Prize winner in English Essays, History and Geography. Though he is a Siyin Chin who does not take Burmese as a second language during his school career I believe he can read and write Burmese with proficiency. I think he deserves an encouragement as he is the first High School Finalist who applies for the appointment of Cadet Sub Inspector".

Burma was just separated from India on 1st April 1937 but all the Indian government servants stayed on and there was no immediate opening for educated local people. My father had to send both his sons to high school at the same time on his meagre teacher's salary. Although we were both awarded free scholarships he still had to send us all his savings for extra expenses and for the passage from Fort White to Sagaing. He could not, of course send us to the university and there was no means by which a boy could work his way up in college. As the eldest child I was forced to search for work. There was no paid job. Like many high school graduates of those days I applied for an appointment as unpaid apprentice clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office. The list for the Chin Hills establishment was officially closed for some time as there were already too many. There were already five apprentices attached to subdivisional offices in the same district establishment. In other districts also the brightest high school finalist who could not afford to join the university was usually taken as apprentice clerk.

My father took me to the then Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills, Lieutenant Colonel L.E.L. Burne, CIE., CBE., IA on the 17th April 1937. He told my father that the list of apprentice clerks had been closed but he would take me in his office as the son of his friend and that I had an exceptionally good record in the High School. Col. Burne was to retire in July of that year after obtaining an annual extension of one year successively for five years from the Secretary of State as a special case. He first came to the Chin Hills as a Captain in 1917 during the Chin rebellion. Without resigning his regular commission he was seconded to the Burma commission. He declined the commissionership in Magwe and remained on as Deputy Commissioner having been superseded by some junior officers. He could be called the Wilberforce of the Chin Hills; he made arrangements whereby a slave *shilla* could be relieved from his bondage by payment of cash compensation according to the degree of overlordship. On many occasions and in many disputes concerning local law and customs he consulted my father. He took my father's word as truth and wrote to him quite often long after his retirement. He was very popular with all the tribes of the Zo Chins. Just before he was due to hand over I saw him in his office and asked him to recommend me for direct appointment as Cadet Inspector of police. I told him that I did not mind working in any part of Burma. I had no intention of becoming a clerk. He advised me to go through the proper channels and to start as a sub-inspector. As he was leaving soon he said it would be better if he left a note for his successor. The note dated 25/6/37 also shows his high regard for my father :

"Vum Khaw Hau, son of Za Khup, wishes to enter the Burma Police and to get one of the nominations as Sub-Inspector. He has passed the High School Final and is deserving of strong recommendation. His father is teacher of the Khuasak Village School and one of the best teachers in the hills so far as the village schools are concerned. He was presented with a Certificate of Good Service by the Local Government not so very long ago".

He told me that he would give my name to Col. Wellborne, the IGP, who was a contemporary in the Indian Army or to Mr. Lawson who had also qualified in the Siyin language or to Mr. Prescott who had also seen service during the Chin Rebellion. He asked if I might be considered for accelerated promotion provided I did well in the Police Training School at Mandalay. He added that he had no qualms about me since I had done well for myself in the high school.

On leaving the Chin Hills he sent a personal certificate to my father which read :

"I was acquainted with Saya Za Khup, Head Teacher of the Khuasak Vernacular School, for

many years. When I was Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills, Za Khup served under me for some 12 or more years. He was always regarded as one of the best teachers in the northern hills and received a Certificate from Government in recognition of his good work. Apart from his work Za Khup is a man of considerable influence among the Siyins. He is greatly trusted and respected. I believe he is recognized as one of the elders of Thuklai village".

As late as 1935 a memorial was put up to the Local Government for the restoration of the Chieftainship of Lunmun Thuklai to my father. Colonel Burne was personally in favour of restoring it to our family not only as the hereditary right but also because he was not in favour of the successive weak chiefs of Thuklai. On the other hand Lunmun and Sumniang had since lived in one place at Thuklai and not before when they comprised some six villages including Zo, Bel-lei, Sheak and Pumba. It was the policy also of the local government to have only one Chief in a single village rather than two or more as before the annexation. He said that Chieftainships in a single village had been combined to form a single one in the areas also.

I believe my father may have been the only person who was a permanent Government Headmaster of a school, a paid pastor of a Baptist church and an Elder of Clan. When he was working as a teacher in the American Baptist Mission Burmese School at Khuasak it was quite usual for a teacher of a missionary school to conduct religious services but when Burmese was about to be abolished and teachers drafted to government schools on less pay he tendered his resignation. The Dy. Commissioner, Col. Burne and the Honorary Inspector of Schools, Dr. J. Herbert Cope, K.i.H., B.A., D.D., persuaded him to stay on and allowed him to earn money from his usual sources which included the writing of petitions. There were not only no lawyers but few people were educated enough to be able to write a petition in Burmese. It was not usual for litigants to make a four-day journey to our house to have their petitions written. The British appointed Chiefs were permitted autocratic powers and many victims came to my father to consult him. In most cases the petitioners won their cases as the Deputy Commissioner Col. Burne (unlike his successor) for some 20 years was a most just and respected administrator. My father was the official distributor of the household remedies of E. M. de Souza & Co in Rangoon; Zewaka Saydaikgyi, Myanaung; and Letwa Tazeik Myanma Thamadaw, Saydaik, Letsaykan, Mandalay. What was then considered a good income was derived from the sale of household remedies. The windpills from Mandalay, the Chlorodyne mixture from Rangoon gave relief to many sick persons. He could extract teeth also. The only dispensary was twenty miles away or a distance of one day's journey.

A certificate dated Tiddim, April 22, 1928 given to him by Dr. J. Herbert Cope records a short summary of his biography :

This man, Za Khup by name is a Siyin Chin whose village is Toklai in the Tiddim Subdivision of the Chin Hills. He studied for only a few years in a regular school but after finishing and going to work he continued to study and even while teaching passed the Sixth standard in Burmese. He has also spent a year in the E.T.C. and has a Certificate.

He worked first for government and then transferred to the A.B.M. School at Koset where he acted as Second Master for a number of years, giving complete satisfaction. He has been a Christian for some time and besides his regular school work had been acting as preacher in his village on Sunday, looking after the Christians. This he has done since 1914.

When government took over the Mission schools he took service under government and has been Headmaster of the Koset school which is the largest in the Chin Hills, there being 120 pupils at the present time.

He has done good work both for the Mission and for government taking almost no leaves and carrying the two tasks with satisfaction.

He is honest and can be trusted.

J. Herbert Cope,

K.i.H., B.A., D.D.

A.B.M. and Honorary Inspector of Schools,
Chin Hills.

To crown his work in the education department he was awarded in 1936 a Certificate of Good Service by the Governor of Burma. I believe he was the only Chin government servant who got such a Certificate in the cause of education which was a unique thing.

CERTIFICATE OF GOOD SERVICE

Presented to

ZA KHUP

Headmaster, Khuasak Village School, Tiddim Subdivision
Chin Hills District.

His Excellency the Governor is pleased to present Za Khup with this Certificate in recognition of his services in the cause of education.

NASEPNA PHA POKNA LAI

KHAMTUNG NGAM TEDIM UK SUNG KHUASAK KHUA SANG SIAPIPA

ZA KHUP KIPIA HI.

ZA KHUP sia pilna lam sangah a nasep phatna, Governor Mangpa in phawk ahi ciang in, a lung dam a Pokna Lai hisia a pia hi.

RANGOON :

The 1st January 1936 :

H. L. Stephenson

K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Governor of Burma.

Had he not been personally persuaded by both Col. Burne and Dr. Cope, the Inspector of Schools, he would have resigned as a teacher and gone into business or joined the Chin Hills Battalion where he had once been invited to enter directly as a Pay Havildar as he was then the only highly educated Siyin. In spite of the personal friendship he won from the two top district officers he was never satisfied with the pay of a teacher. On his own he sent memo-

randa at least once for the re-introduction of Burmese in schools where the people expressed a definite preference for Burmese to Romanized Chin ; and again for the introduction of the pay scale obtaining in Burma for those who were qualified trained teachers. He felt that he was cheated as he was sent to the Mawlaik Teachers Training School and when he was qualified he was denied the pay scale attached to it. Both Petitions failed.

He thereupon gave us, his children, two bits of advice. To spend as much money as I could on the purchase of books and a good fountain pen; secondly, never to join the education department on account of the low pay. When I was still an unpaid apprentice clerk, a new post of junior assistant teacher was created in the Government High School, Falam. The new deputy commissioner thought that one of the applications was from me. He asked me if it was mine, intending to give the post to me. I replied that I did not apply for it. I told him that my application for the police training school was pending in his office and I was determined to avoid the education department. He looked at my application with Col. Burne's note. He said I would have to serve in Burma. I said I did not mind; there was more opportunity for promotion. He said competition there would be keen; to this I said I had never been beaten in my high school and I did not worry about competition. I showed him U Thein Maung's testimonial and my high school magazine. He could not persuade me to become a teacher. The next day Dr. Cope who happened to stay with Major Moor sent for me and said that he felt sorry I had not accepted the teaching job. He added "Your father will feel sorry". Only I knew that I was guided solely by my father's advice, otherwise on my own initiative I might have accepted any job that came first as I have been an unpaid apprentice for five months by then, still living on the money remitted by my father.

I did not have any particular desire to serve in the police department but it was the first opening that came my way and it was still one of the few departments where an intelligent high school finalist could make his way to the gazetted ranks. I already had a flair for languages which was considered an added qualification for a police officer and was also good in some sports. Two outstanding police officers Messrs Lawson and Prescott had served in the Chin Hills; the former even qualified in my own Siyin dialect. If I did well in the training school I thought they might like to give me encouragement as I was the first Chin high school finalist to apply for training and they had started promoting some people from the ranks belonging to my race in the upper Chindwin district. I had finished reading all the law books prescribed for the training school during my apprenticeship.

Just before my application was forwarded a clerk was removed from the office. The deputy commissioner sent for the HQA U Thein Maung to his office and both of them persuaded me to withdraw my application for the police training. I asked for time to decide. The D.C, L.B. Naylor said that no Chin had ever served in Burma. I pointed out that there were so many in the Burma Rifles and some of my own cousins were posted to Taiping in the Federated Malay States. I added that there were a number of Chins serving in other ranks in the Upper Chindwin. U Thein Maung said that the Burma police wanted hefty men. I had already seen many young men who were no taller than myself and big bellies wear out of date in modern times. I visualized myself as a future District Superintendent of Police in one of the Chindwin areas but they thought only in terms of being an Inspector of Police. Both the officers who persuaded me to withdraw had only a middle school not a high school education. They issued an appointment order without waiting for my decision. Thus I became a second grade clerk later

called lower division clerk on the pay scale Rs. 35/80. Besides reading law books and the minutes of the House of Representatives I learnt shorthand and touch typing by self tuition which I acquired with proficiency. As an apprentice I was given the duties of librarian of the district office. I started reading the books in the library as if the duty of the librarian was to read all.

I still remember that most of U Ba Hlaing's speeches were published "uncorrected".

They thought that I would become the Chief Clerk in due course. They did not guess that my aim was to become a gazetted officer at least.

I had taught myself touch typing and Pitman's shorthand and I was the only touch typist in the whole establishment. All the other clerks were foreigners. Before I joined the office each department did their own typing. When I got there every one began to dump their work on me. Once the DC asked who the best typist in the office was. The chief clerk M. Ali gave the name of a clerk who could hardly type. After that I typed not only my initials but part of my name on everything I typed "V.K. Hau" with the date below. Most of the office records disappeared during the war but I come across some letters in an office in Rangoon with those initials after the war. The D.C. took me on tours as a Stenographer and Tour Clerk. I asked for the pay of a stenographer but he would not listen to it. He just allowed me the ten rupees special pay prescribed by the district office manual. I applied in writing for the vacant post of a sub montane Deputy Myook, attaching all my high school records and certificates given by my Headmasters. He probably destroyed it as it never came back to the office even for filing.

Some time before the birth of my first child I asked for leave; he promised me that he would grant it. When my child was born he did not give me even one day's casual leave. I asked for the day my young wife was brought to bed in my own house — there being no maternity ward in the hospital. He sanctioned the leave after the death of my child.

On account of the annual extension given to Colonel Burne by the Secretary of State, L.B. Naylor, who had been earmarked to succeed him, had to wait longer as a result of which he would be retired before completing the full service which would entitle him to the maximum pension. They were never on good terms personally. As soon as he took over from Col. Burne he began to undo everything which Col. Burne had done.

At the time he left the Chin Hills, Colonel Burne had begun to make the local school into a high school and teaching had begun up to the ninth standard. But Naylor immediately began to reduce it to a seventh standard or middle school and to abolish the Tiddim middle school. The Chins donated a sum of two thousand rupees to perpetuate the name of Col. Burne and to award prizes to students. Naylor never allowed anybody to mention it.

Colonel Burne accepted on behalf of the local government a contribution of one thousand rupees for the construction of a Dispensary from the Siyin people at Fort White which is on the junction of roads leading from the plains of Burma to the Chin Hills. The Local government had thanked the Siyins for the munificent gift. Naylor did not take any further action. On the insistence of the Siyin leaders and Siyin Chiefs he returned the money to them after five years.

Instead of giving a middle school as well and to reduce the Falam school to a middle school and turn it into a sort of school for the children of Chiefs and some headmen only, he intended to give a few stipends only to the sons of chiefs for higher study in Burma. He was against the idea of giving encouragement to a bright boy not of noble blood.

War started in Europe in 1939 and L.B. Naylor and I began to spread propaganda throughout the Chin Hills. We used to tell gatherings how oppressive, cruel and bad Hitler was, how poorly educated he was etc. By the time war started he himself became very unpopular for his oppressive attitude to the people and for his attempts to abolish higher education in the Chin Hills and for racial discrimination. I repeated BBC propaganda to the people quite often. At the same time I helped the organisation of the Chin Levies. I no longer attended the office but had to work day and night in the Chin Levy Organization at the D.C.'s bungalow. Many times he and I spoke about the oppressions of Hitler and the Germans to the conquered countries of Austria, Holland, Czechoslovakia etc.

Another British district officer was Major A.C. Moore in charge of the Chin Hills battalion at Falam. In due course Naylor and Moore quarrelled bitterly and there was no co-operation between the dy. commissioner's staff and the battalion commandant's staff although both the Chin Levies and the men of the Chin Hills Battalion did a magnificent job against the Japanese army. Both of them continued to indulge in oppressing their own subordinates. Both of them sent accusations against each other to their respective higher authorities now in India. To enquire into their case Brigadier Felix-Williams came over to the Chin Hills from the India front. He crossed the Chin Hills boundary from the northern Tiddim border and reached Tiddim from where he summoned both Naylor and Moore to appear before him.

Immediately after Naylor left the Chin Hills I became Stenographer and within a few months promoted as the Chief Clerk in the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Chin Hills with headquarters then at Tiddim. I was the first Zo Chin to become Stenographer and Chief Clerk. When I was promoted Chief Clerk I still had to do the stenography as no one was available to fill the vacancy. After the lapse of 20 years I believe the post of Stenographer in the Deputy Commissioner's office, Chin Hills, remains unfilled for lack of a qualified candidate.

In addition to running the district office works I had to do more work in connection with the Chin Levies and the Chinwags especially after the arrival of the founder of the Burma Levies, Colonel Stevenson.

The departure from the Chin Hills of the two warring district officers Naylor and Moore was a great relief to the Chin people as well as the British officers concerned. At once there was more co-operation between the Chin Levies and Chin Hills battalion and many wars were fought together with success.

I used to go touring with the successor, Col. Stevenson, throughout the district, organising the Chin Levies. He was more popular than Naylor. The Chins decided to serve under their respective clan chiefs only and would not serve under other company commanders such as to be seconded from the army or the Chin Hills battalion. We agreed that they might do so as the important thing was to fight the enemy. The allied forces were then away from the Chin Hills but the 63rd Brigade under Brigadier Cameron arrived in the Tiddim area in due course and he kindly assisted us in attacking some of the earlier assaults of the Japanese troops from the Kalemio direction.

Since the approach of the Japanese imperial army to the Chin Hills border the most important man who had worked for the defence of the Chin Hills with the assistance of the local Chin people was Lt. Colonel N. W. Kelly, O. B. E., B. A. (Cantab) of the Burma Frontier Service. He was a highly educated man and was not in favour of denying higher education to

the Chins. He was very popular with the people as well as with the Chiefs. The Japanese troops intended to invade India through the Tiddim subdivision so this part was more vitally important than any other parts of the Chin Hills. Col. Kelly did his best to organise the Tiddim Chin Levies. In due course the Siyins and Soktes came forward to give a helping hand but with reservations. They mentioned the treaty entered into with Sir Bertram Carey and also during the Labour Corps for service in France and both times the British broke their promises. They acknowledged how they were uplifted by the former famous D. C. Colonel Burne and how much his successor had begun to oppress them. Col. Kelly had won a name for himself for the many invasions of Japanese outposts in the Kale Valley and his evacuation of the Kalewa treasury just before it fell to the Japanese.

I did my best in the organisation of the Chin Levies and the Chinwags with Col. Kelly, Col. Stevenson and Mr. Naylor. When the Chin Hills were overrun by the Japanese army I happened to be the most wellknown and responsible Chin Officer remaining behind and the responsibility of looking after the Chins fell on me. I did my level best to look after the helpless people in the clutch of the sometimes cruel invader who hitherto experienced only victories. Luckily, I encountered many gentlemen on both sides although individual wicked persons existed also. I attempted to serve with clear conscience and although I was under threats and surveillance of a few beastly officials occasionally they could not find fault with me. I believed a clean man would be hard to accuse.

My activities connected with a few wellknown resistance movements against the Japanese imperial army during the second world war should best be described in brief by the various British Commanders with whom or near whom I served on the Eastern frontier of India or the Northwest Frontier of Burma :

Office of the Deputy Commissioner,
Chin Hills District

Dated Falam, the 28th April, 1945.

I have been in close touch with VUM KHAW HAU since my first arrival in this district in 1939, and have had every opportunity of forming a fair opinion of his character.

I regard him as being entirely trustworthy, and intelligent beyond the point required for the appointment he holds at present, namely that of Stenographer to the Senior Civil Affairs Officer.

He is a Siyin Chin who commands considerable influence amongst his own people as was evidenced in the active part he took in the organization and operations of the Siyin Independence Army in its rebellion against Japanese domination in September-November 1944.

I commend him highly to my successor.

N. W. Kelly.
(Lt. Colonel N. W. Kelly, O.B.E., B.A. (Cantab)
Senior Civil Affairs Officer & D.C.
Chin Hills, S.E.A. Command.

VUM KHAW HAU was placed on surplus leave at the time of British withdrawal from TIDDIM in March, 1944. He was then Confidential Stenographer (officiating Chief Clerk) of the S.C.A.O., Chin Hills.

He was one of the first Civil Subordinates, and the first of the SIYIN tribe to report to me for duty when Chin Levies under my command entered enemy occupied territory in the SOKTE, SIYIN and ZANYAT tribal areas in September, 1944, and, together with villagers, became engaged in guerilla activities against the Japanese.

Vum Khaw Hau rendered invaluable service in helping to spread the revolt against Japanese domination to the SIYIN valley area, and in organizing an intelligence screen at considerable personal risk. He was also of great help in obtaining local supplies of food for issue to Levies and villagers engaged against the enemy.

RANGOON, 21st July, 1945.

C. L. Burne,
M.C.

Major, ABRO. 397

GOVERNOR'S CAMP, BURMA

Dated November 14, 1945

This is to place on record the exemplary courage and resource shown by Mr. Vum Ko Hau, acting Chief Clerk to the Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills when I was in charge of that district in 1943, and later Commander of the Siyin Independence Army.

When the Japanese attacked Falam in 1943 and drove back the Chin Hills Battalion and the 17th Indian Division, Mr. Vum Ko Hau accompanied me into the Zanniat country to form a guerilla group to harass the Japanese lines of communication. This small force of Chins, which became famous as the "Chinwags", performed prodigies of valour with the limited arms at their disposal, killing 214 Japanese in the first eight nights of ambush, capturing ciphers, war diaries and considerable military equipment. As the Japanese attack developed and our army was driven back from Fort White into the Imphal Box, the Chinwags, their ammunition and supplies exhausted, were ordered to disband and return to their homes to await further orders. I gave instructions to Mr. Vum Ko Hau, who was my right hand man throughout this period, to see that all who had been concerned with the resistance to the Japanese made the excuse to the occupying army that they had fought simply because they had been deceived by the British. I instructed Mr. Vum Ko Hau himself to take steps to see that as many as possible of our men gained the confidence of the Japanese and got themselves appointed into positions from which they could organise a secret Intelligence Service for us and prepare the men for a general rising as soon as our own reconquest of Burma commenced.

These instructions were carried out to the letter by Mr. Vum Ko Hau, who accepted the highly dangerous task of serving the Japanese in the closely watched appointment of Deputy Commissioner, while at the same time promoting the underground organisation of the Siyin Independence Army. When the time came, the Chins rose to a man and played a memorable part in driving the Japanese out of their hills.

The loyalty of the Chins to me and my small handful of brother officers passes belief. At a time when the whole might of the Commonwealth was collapsing about their heads they stood firm by our side facing the mortars and machine guns of Japan with shotguns and ancient flintlocks. There was the occasion when Saw Ci and one companion cut up a whole platoon of Japanese in a desperate face-to-face fight on a mountain path. There was the time when the girls of Dolluang carried the packs of our commandos to within 50 yards of the point of battle so that the men could be fresh and fit to fight. There was the time when I took nearly a thousand men and women on a dawn "raid" into the Japanese occupied plains to carry away rice sold to us in secret by friendly Burmese villagers. Chins of all ages, both men and women, accepted danger without hesitation.

All these things could happen only because the Chins found in their hour of danger leaders among their own people who were capable of facing whatever odds might come, and who were willing to die for their country. There were many fine men among them — the Lumbang Chief Hlurr Hmung, Hon. Lieut. Tei Kual and his sons, Subadar Suak Zam of Dolluang, to name but a few — but among them all Mr. Vum Ko Hau stood out as the man of the moment. He alone

had the knowledge and courage to play the dangerous game of bluff which enabled his people to organise under the very eyes of the Japanese commanders the resistance movement which struck them down. I am proud to have served with this brave man and his gallant companions. Their resistance to the Japanese in the critical years after 1942 may well have decided the fate of India, for the infiltration tactics which led to the downfall of Burma were frustrated by their skill as jungle fighters. Long may they prosper to render service to their countrymen.

N. Stevenson
Additional Governor's Secretary
(Frontier Areas).

Headquarters, 4 Corps,
SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND.

13 February 1945.

Farewell order of the Day :

By Lt. - General F.W. Messervy, C.B., D.S.O.

All Ranks Western Chin Levies.

After many months of fighting under hard conditions for much of the time, it is now your well-earned leave before those of you selected form a new regular unit to finish off the Japs.

You have all done splendid work for the British Government, and it must indeed be a great satisfaction to you to know that you can return to your homes and families, freed from the difficulties of war and from a cruel ruthless enemy.

It will always be a matter of great pride to you and your sons to know that this great result has been achieved to a considerable extent by your own warlike efforts in defence of your homes and driving out the Japanese for ever from your country.

I wish you all the best of luck in the future, and thank you for all you have done to bring about the great victory of 1944/45 against the Jap.

F.W. Messervy,
Lieut-General,
Comdr., 4 Corps.

No. 483/66-Q dated 14th April 1945, from Comd., 1st Bn, The Chin Rifles to the S.C.A.O., Chin Hills, Falam, South East Asia Command.

Subject :- Farewell Order of the Day.

I forward herewith a copy of Farewell Order of the Day by Lieut : General F. W. Messervy, C.B., D.S.O., Comdr., 4 Corps for information and for giving wide publicity in the Chin Hills please.

Dated 14/3/1945, from S.C.A.O, Chin Hills, SEAC, Copy to C.A. Os, Falam, Tiddim & Haka for similar action.

Copy forwarded to Mr Vum Ko Hau, Organisator and Leader of the Siyin Independence Army, for wide publicity among the Free Chins.

T.C. Thang

15/5/45

Lieut.,

Civil Affairs Officer

Chin Hills, Falam.

POLITICS IN THE FAMILY

The descendants of Lunmun and Sumniang had established two clan chieftainships for some generations at the time of the British invasion. The Lunmun Chieftainship looked after Lunmun, Zo and Bellei. The Sumniang Chief looked after Sumniang, Seak and Pumva.

Although Chief Thuk Kham had been deposed by Sir George White for evacuation and resistance from across the Ngatan stream he was re-instated by Brigadier Wolseley and Sir Bertram Carey. In due time his successors Chiefs Hau Vum and Kam Pum were exiled to the Burma jails for continued arson and resistance and infringement of the law. In their absence the combined chieftainship of Lunmun and Sumniang was temporarily handed over to a Sumniang but the hereditary Sumning chiefs were also charged with infringement. A temporary Chief was appointed by the administrators but he too was involved in a criminal case; these circumstances did not help to consolidate a single continuous Sumniang chieftainship. Meanwhile the Lunmuns never accepted the Sumniang court as theirs and continued to hold court in the traditional house occupied by chief Hau Vum with his son (nephew) Kam Pum. Successive Sumniang Chiefs were also involved in one case after another and did not help to consolidate a single Sumniang chieftainship. This continued up to the time of their death. A Lunmun who had a case would rather put it to the Lunmun House and not to the Sumniang chief recognised by the British.

For example there was Saya Za Khup who, as Pawlpiuk or Head of the Christian Pawlpi Association decided all cases between Christians. An instance was when a pony belonging to Hang Thuam accidentally pushed Mang Ko Kam who was holding a dah in his hand. The push caused his dah to pierce a part of his hand. With the approval of all relatives concerned the case was decided by my father as head of the local community and was not brought before the court of the British recognised Chiefs. Saya Za Khup also introduced the medicine chest for the Christian community. Whenever he visited the sick he brought with him the medicine he thought would be suitable for the patient. He was ahead of his time and the social benefits introduced by him were considered with suspicion by the local authorities at first but other adjacent communities as well as the local government authorities quietly copied the idea in due time.

All those who claim to be Siyins are relatives. They have a single progenitor in Thuantak (Suantak) who founded the first settlement in the Siyin Valley. Suantak's brothers are the descendants of the same Zo Mi people who founded settlements further north. The other elder brothers were Tohin and Seaktak. Their father was Zahong who was the youngest son of Sungmang.

The ablest Siyin statesman usually became the Chief of the Clan. If his heir was suitable then he generally succeeded him. The heir is always the youngest son of the family. Therefore in practice the eldest brothers always helped the father until the youngest who was his heir attained his majority. In the case of Chief Lun Vum all three sons Phutkip, Mangthuk and Phutthuam jointly acted as Chiefs until heir Phutthuam alone could wield the Lunmun chieftainship.

When the Lunmun warriors rescued the Mualbeims from the surrounding Falams all three brothers took part and captured a prisoner each.

When cases were settled the customary Zu drinks were supplied by the litigants in the Chief's house. After the British annexation the government introduced the system of supplying one day's labour per year by all the people to the Chiefs. This had never been a custom among the Siyins and the people began to resent working for another person for no reason. Petition after petition was sent to the local administrators without success. In some out of the way villages a levy of one basket of grain was introduced. Customary laws were never the same from one tribal area to another. But the new administrators tried to make the whole area uniform. This the Siyins considered to be a form of slavery to the Chiefs many of whom misused the authority and the independent-minded Siyins resented the new system for ever.

As soon as the Japanese occupied the Chin Hills I had the opportunity to abolish this system of supplying one day's labour per household to the Chiefs or headmen. I also abolished the newly invented custom of observing compulsory communal sacrifice regardless of religion. I also introduced the stitching of the front ends of a woman's skirt. Chiefs and Headmen were to be appointed by the local people.

The existence of twin Chieftainships, that is, the presence of two Chieftains with independent authority in a single village, was discouraged after the British administration. Power was given arbitrarily to a single chief and the deposed chief concerned never forgave or forgot this example of injustice. There were such twin chieftainships in the Haka subdivision for example at Lungchawi-pi and Lungchawi-te; at Haka Khuathar and Haka Khuahlung; Upper Botung and Lower Botung etc.

Colonel L. E. L. Burne, CIE., IA., admitted in 1935 when my father and his nephews appealed to the local government for the restoration of the Lunmun Chieftainship that he was dissatisfied with the successive Sumniang chiefs who had been appointed chiefs for both the Lunmun and Sumniang Thuklais but that to separate chieftainships would be taken as a precedence in the Haka areas where one chief had not accepted another as the chief ruling the clan.

Thus politics never left our house from the time of Chief Lun Vum down to the time when General White made the Lunmun Upper Thuklai his first headquarters in the Chin Hills and which he renamed Fort White after himself. Throughout our childhood my grandfather Hau Vum and uncle Kam Pum and my own father told us that we and we alone were the rightful Chiefs of the Lunmun clan and should not be subordinate to the Sumniang Chief. I have ever been mindful of this instruction.

In high school when I was joint editor of the English section of the first magazine to be published by the Govt high school I chose as the subject of my article, the life story of the Galone leader Saya San. For the high school English essay competition out of the three given subjects I chose "General Election". No body doubted that the two First Prizes for Geography and History would be mine, but they were not sure who would get the first prize in English essay as the subjects to be given were unknown and the examiner was to be an outsider, the first Burmese graduate to become a regular Indian Officer. His name was Subedar Ba Tha, B.A. who was Company Commander in charge of the Sagaing post and whose battalion headquarters were in Fort Dufferin, Mandalay.

I was glad when I saw one of the titles given was "General Election". Politics and clan rivalry had been in my family for about eight generations, and we have grown up with it. For instance some foreign guests would arrive at our house unannounced. Our parents would tell us who they were and why they had come. These foreign guests from Mualbem, Ngunggal villages etc. were those who made a pact of friendship with our forefathers the Lunmuns and who came back occasionally to renew their allegiance by personal visits. I was not surprised when the Headmaster announced that I won also the first Prize of English Essay.

My father who subscribed to the Burman Messenger and the Thuriya daily, used to tell us and other people how many Burmans had "become wungyi, drawing five thousand rupees per month". Dr Ba Maw and U Ba Pe were the first wellknown ministers. The portfolio of Education and Forestry were the only two open to Burmese politicians in those days. We had so many preparations to make at Sagaing when Education Minister Dr Ba Maw was to visit Sagaing. Our Hall was utilised for the municipal welcome. The Commissioner Mr. R. M. Macdougall worked hard supervising the arrangements. I thought it would be a real honour to hold such a position.

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Japanese Invasion of the Chin Hills and Eastern India.

Meeting with Supreme Commander Lord Mountbatten in TIDDIM.

After the Chin Levies, the Chinwags and the Chinforce held the Chin Hills and Eastern India from the Japanese invaders, the army in India began to reorganise and the 63rd bde arrived first in the Chin Hills to assist the local Chin Levies. Thence came the 17th Indian Light Division after the construction of the Imphal-Tiddim-Fort White road for motor transport. But the bigger force did not approach the plains Burma beyond the areas held by the Chin Levies and the Chinwags.

The Siyin and Sokte Levies were very well organised by Colonel N.W. Kelly, OBE B.A. (Cantab.) the Assistant Superintendent of Tiddim in the northern Chin Hills who later became Commander of Chin Levies and Deputy Commissioner of Chin Hills. Later some homeguards (also called "B") Levies were levied in the north Tiddim area. The villages of the Siyin Valley namely Thuklai, Khuasak, Lophei, Buanman, Limkhai, Voklak, Pumva are closest to the enemy occupied area of Kale-Valley and as such the first brunt of defending the Japanese army fell on them in consequence of the geography as it was during the British annexation of the Chin Hills under the personal Command of General (Later Field Marshall) Sir George White, V.C., O.M. in 1888-89. Most of the able bodied Siyins were already enlisted in the Chin Hills battalion or that of the Burma Rifles. Some served in the civil service of the local administration. Hence those who led the Siyin Levies were the Chiefs of the tribal areas concerned, military pensioners, schoolmasters (who were on surplus leave) civilian clerks, police constables etc. While the menfolk fought the Japanese the Siyin womenfolk supplied the labour for sending ammunition and rations to the front at the various stockades in this modern war against the famous Japanese imperial army. Even on the day of the fiercest fighting at the Leisan Mual near No. 3 stockade where Havildar Ghale won the Victoria Cross and Subedar Khup Za Neng of the Chin Levies got the B.G.M. (Burma Gallantry Medal) there were a number of us Siyins including women acting as rearguard of the main battle at the usual historic gate to the Siyin and Tiddim country. The Siyin womenfolk were then employed to carry water and act as ambulance carriers as there were no Red Cross organisations in the very front of the Chin Hills fighting area.

The first fierce battle the Chin Hills battalion and the Siyin Chin Levies fought against the Japanese Artillery Battalion was at No. 3 Stockade (near Theizang). A barrage of rifle fire and pangis of the Chins halted the first major Japanese advance from Burma reaching No. 3 stockade. In the fighting the majority of the advance Japanese troops including their commanders were killed. Captain Sakamaki told us after their occupation of the Chin Hills that very few of them returned to Kalembo alive. He said that he never had experienced such a percentage of casualties among his comrades since he left Japan to fight in China and Burma. Whenever he spoke about the Theizang battle he always shed tears.

I was first introduced to the Supreme Commander Admiral Lord Mountbatten in TIDDIM in 1943 when he came to distribute awards for gallantry won in the field. Our Levy Platoon Commander Bo Suang Lian got his B.G.M. (Burma Gallantry Medal) from him that day. Lord Mountbatten gave us special encouragement to continue to resist Japanese invasion until the main Allied forces arrived.

I found that an officer holding the rank of Captain in the Japanese army wields very great responsibility compared with a Captain in the British army in those days. For instance the Cooperation Commissioners held the ranks of Lieutenants only at the time of their first occupation of the Chin Hills. Most of the Chin Officers who were attached to them on their invasion of the Chin Hills under the last control of the 17th Indian Light Division were only given the rank of Lieutenant. These people performed similar duties and in many cases they risked their lives quite often with the Japanese troops and corresponded to members of the thirty comrades who accompanied the Japanese troops to Burma. When the allies sent a division of army into Tiddim and beyond, the Japanese army decided to invade India and cut off the mighty 17th division. To further this plan they got the help of some local young people who were then students or who had joined the Japanese troops in Kalemmyo from the Chin Hills. Some were former members of the Chin Hills battalion who joined the Japanese forces in the Kåle Valley when they could no longer bear the oppression in wartime of their battalion commandant Major A. C. Moore. The group of the Chin Hills battalion was led by Bo Twell Kam who was to become a subdivisional officer of Tiddim after the occupation of the Chin Hills by the Japanese. His presence in the Japanese divisional headquarters in Tiddim made my task of administering the occupied territory easier because of the fact that another man whom the Japanese brought with them from Tavoy became a traitor. When he realized that he stood no chance of a permanent job in the Japanese held territories with so many more educated young men in the area; he turned traitor and acted as informer of false news to gain the favour of the Japanese officers. He was to have his own way to the detriment of any known civility in administering a country. He was a Jemadar of the Burma Rifles who picked up a smattering of pidgeon English from Maymyo and who volunteered to help the Japanese in lieu of imprisonment. For two months the Japanese army employed him on trial in Tiddim but when they found that he was uneducated and was a man who thought of his own skin and did not know the first thing about administration he was dismissed and sent away from the Tiddim headquarters to Kalemmyo and thence to Mualbem. When he was in the administration some twenty local Chin people were killed on the suspicion of giving information to the British. Many of these reports also came from local traitors whose aim was to liquidate their personal enemies. Some twenty persons were executed in a matter of two months.

As the most senior civilian personnel during the British regime namely that to Chief Clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office used as Chief of Staff by the Dy Commissioners who were Levy Commanders, I was in due course nominated to serve as the senior district administrator to hold the same rank as the local Japanese commander in charge of the occupation. The Japanese were skeptical naturally at first as I had only recently served as the most senior local officer with the British. However none of the comrades who had gone over to them were of much use and my records of resistance service against them were in a straight forward capacity. I served first without doing much work but with the designation of Headquarters Assistant and Chief Education Officer holding captain's rank. I did not care about the titles but I was interested in the later because I was personally disappointed at the abolition and the prohibition of the study of Burmese in the Chin Hills and also the closure of higher education in the Chin Hills. Some attempts had been made by us previously to encourage the study of Burmese and English in private schools and my first duty was to authorise the opening of an Anglo-Burmese school in the Siyin Valley. In this I got the ready assistance of Saya Khai Kho Lian who had long experience in the teaching profession in English and Burmese previously. The thirst for knowledge and

education is unquenchable since before annexation of the Chin Hills they were willing to learn it anywhere. In other parts of the Hills people would not take action unless "government" gave orders. This was how the first private National Anglo-Vernacular High School was born in the Siyin Valley in the midst of the second World War during the Japanese occupation in 1944. The existence of the said National High School was recognised by the British government when they returned and steps had been taken by the local government to take it over as a Government High School. As a Founder of the National High School, the School Board and I reported about its success and construction of the building itself by the people concerned to the Director of the Frontier Areas. They agreed in principle to convert it into a Govt. High School. They did things late and I reported the case to Bogyoke Aung San when I met him in Panglong. He promised to bring it up with the Education Minister, and the Director of Public Instruction U Cho took action as speedily as possible. The case for the recognition was finished before I became Governor's Executive Counsellor. My main task was the action I took for the conversion and creation of High Schools at Tiddim, Falam and Haka and in the Kanpetlet area. I asked the DPI to open high schools at the same time as the conversion of the private Siyin High school into a Govt High School but the DPI U Cho said that there was no point in making them high schools as there were no boys yet to attend high school classes.

The first Japanese "Co-operation Commissioners" were Masada, Imamura and later Captain Inada. Masada and Imamura were among those who first occupied No. 3 stockade and thence Fort White and later the Siyin Valley. In the Siyin Valley they made their strongholds at the very site chosen by General White of Fort White on the 13th March 1889. It commands all approaches to the Siyin Valley and is the first good headquarters after crossing the Chin Hills.

Whichever troops occupied it first were sure to hold it with ease against all future invaders. It was pounded and bombarded very heavily sometimes day and night from Tiddim, Dimlo and Saizang but it was never destroyed or retaken. The first Japanese army or civilian officers that I ever met in my life were the "Co-operation Commissioners" Masada and Imamura. It was at Thuklai one day after the 17th Indian Light Division withdraw from Tiddim. Col. Stevenson had gone on leave and I was Chief Clerk as well as Chief of Staff to the Levy Colonel N. W. Kelly, OBE, BA (Cantab.). He asked me on the 12th March 1944 whether I was accompanying him or rather going back to the Siyin Valley to look after my family. I replied that my younger brother was also in Tiddim as senior staff to the Commander of Chin force, Major W. P. Peebles, M. A. (Oxon) and we had decided that he would accompany the British troops and that I should look after the Siyin Valley. He thanked me for having served him and his predecessors honestly and gave me a signed surplus leave certificate. I believe I may be the only permanent Burma government servant who got formal leave in writing to go into an enemy occupied territory from a British officer. We did not like the way the British deposed our family from the hereditary Chieftainship but we never betrayed them. Not only that, my father was loyal to most of the British officers and most of them consulted him in all local affairs and took his word as truth.

EVACUATION OF TIDDIM 17 DIV HQ.

Tiddim was to be evacuated on the 13th March 1944. My direct Commander and SCAO Colonel N. W. Kelly asked me if I would accompany him or would I rather go back to look after my family in the Siyin Valley. I replied that my younger brother and I had decided that he would accompany the British troops as he was a bachelor and that I would return to the Siyin Valley to look after my people. That night he gave a written surplus leave order.

I left almost all my belongings in Tiddim. I had earlier left my previous properties in my house in Falam.

My town Thuklai happened to be the first Japanese unconquerable stronghold in the Chin Hills. The Commanders of the fort together with two Cooperation Commissioners, Masada and Imamura were still at Thuklai. All the officers and men who had served with the British were to report personally to them. I met them in a house only a furlong from my house. They asked me the names of the senior officers in the 17 Div HQ as well as in the Levy HQ. They were not very interested in details as they were cut off at Tonzang and Bishenpur and the 17 Div at Tiddim had withdrawn from Tiddim without being attacked at Tiddim or on the approach to it.

Masada and Imamura told me that they have decided to take Imphal as the Emperor's birthday gift and it was important that the Japanese army took it by the 29th April 1944. It was then mid March 1944 and at the speed they were advancing there was every likelihood of fulfilling their aim. I found that Masada spoke English better than Imamura. Masada told me that he wrote German but not English. Since occupying the Siyin Valley they signed their letters and orders as Cooperation Commissioners which seemed to have a little propaganda value at the time they signed them. Some soothing letters for people in the occupied areas reached the addressees and they were studied with interest.

In the early days of occupation the behaviour of the Japanese troops appeared very correct. A lot of propaganda was issued by all the British civilian offices to the effect that the Japanese soldiers would molest the womenfolk. Not a single instance was heard of up to the occupation of Tiddim. Soldiers hid away in the jungles during the day. Many women and children shifted their belongings from the villages to the field huts. On the way they met many Japanese soldiers. They said that women were never looked at. This kind of news spread quickly and some remarked that their behaviour appeared to be more orderly than some of those among the allied troops. Some of the criticisms about the Japanese troops were that they would take baths naked outside the buildings and would also answer the call of nature by the side of the road without taking cover.

The first senior staff officer of the Japanese advance party were Sakamaki and Masada since the occupation of No. 3 stockade. Sakamaki appeared to be senior as we heard a lot of his name even from Tiddim British headquarters. I met the former only on his retreat from Imphal. A lot of attempts were made to recapture the No. 3 stockade but the forts dug by the Japanese were in such good positions underground that they could never be recaptured. The same thing happened time and time again at Fort White, M.S. 52 and then above Thuklai Suang-ak-tuan the original place

named Fort White after Major-General Sir George White, V.C., O.M., who first annexed the Siyin Valley in 1889. At these three vital places the Japanese dug deep foxholes and no bombs could destroy them. They could live on the scanty water and provisions.

The fort above Thuklai was shelled from different places at Dimlo, Tiddim and Saizang, some times throughout day and night but little damage was done to the Fort itself. More civilians from Lophei and Thuklai than Japanese troops were hit by the shells.

When they occupied No. 3 stockade they began requisitioning materials and labour from the unlucky Theizang village near it. Only at M.S. 52 stockade no local labour was requisitioned as there were no villages near it. New Fort White itself had been evacuated previously.

When the spearhead of the Japanese troops occupied the next nearest target, the Siyin Valley, requisitioning of the local labours commenced. Those who did not join the Levies on the British side and were away from their own villages, were summoned by the Japanese and were given rifles to guard themselves. But the Japanese troops themselves stayed in their hideouts only to come out occasionally to draw water and collect rations.

When the Japanese had occupied the Siyin Valley they found that all the menfolk were still with the British troops; they issued arms and ammunition to the few remaining able bodied men in the area whether they were willing to fight or not. This information reached the British divisional headquarters in Tiddim. The educated ones were used as local staff officers in the Thuklai Fort dug by the Japanese army. Their handwriting was detected in Tiddim. The British authorities were furious and they succeeded in kidnapping most of the persons concerned and sent them direct to India. Many of these consisted of respectful persons who had fought in the Levies with the British. They were given leave to go home when the Japanese overran their own tribal areas.

The British troops failed to take back Fort Thuklai, not to speak of the whole Siyin Valley. It was therefore in no man's land for many months. Thereupon, we, the Siyin leaders and Siyin company commanders and Chiefs who had evacuated to Tiddim with the British troops appealed to the local Deputy Commissioner Colonel N.W. Kelly and the divisional commander General Cowan to spare bombing our defenceless villages and not to kidnap our villagers who were forced to work by the Japanese and not to shell their villagers as most of the outstanding personnel were still fighting with the British troops. Only their defenceless families, women and children and the old folks and their homes suffered and no Japanese soldier was affected.

This kidnapping of respectful persons angered all women and children concerned. Some youths began to join the Japanese authorities with more heart and soul. These included Lieutenant Ngaw Cin Pau, Captain Tual Kam, Lieutenant Thang Za Hau and some others. The families of four elders who had joined the Japanese were also kidnapped and sent to India without interrogation. In those days the Japanese were very successful and when persons were sent to India few believed that they would return alive. It was a main cause of the Japanese attempt at reprisals on the British Levy Company Commanders after their withdrawal. This made my task of saving respectable lives much more difficult.

When I got back home and sensed that some people were talking about demanding death sentences for 24 persons, many of them leading personalities and innocent, I requested Masada and Imamura for a hearing on behalf of those who had come over from the British side and were about to be accused.

I quoted the International Law as regards the Hague Convention about the treatment of local people under occupation by an enemy. I asked for a general amnesty for officers and men of the Siyin Chin Levies who served with me and had fought the Japanese in the official capacity as soldiers for some three years. They listened to me for a long time and appeared to appreciate the fairness of my arguments which they seemed to know themselves. The only trouble with them was how to appease the heads of the four households which had been kidnapped by British troops and sent to India. All concerned thought that they would never return and believed them as lost. In any case they agreed to treat the matter separately and to give general amnesty as requested by me to all the irregular troops with their commanders and leaders who had laid their arms with them.

The knowledge which I acquired from important confidential instructions sent out from Rangoon with regards to normal International Law to be observed after enemy occupation, was responsible in saving untold lives and persecutions by the enemy. With the enemy troops a few educated and intelligent officers were attached and when they knew that I had knowledge of these International Conventions their behaviour changed and they began to have trust and respect in me. No other Chin Officer serving with them could collaborate in such important things as none of them had served in permanent civilian employ perviously, and had no access to such secret documents. A few were undergraduates and some were in their final year in high schools. After the school closed in Burma they came back to the Chin Hills and were employed in peace time work as supervisors on the Fort White-Imphal emergency motor road, as guides and on the staff of the various army formations in the India/Burma frontier theatre. As Confidential Stenographer and Chief Clerk in the Dy. Commissioner's office I saw all documents and they passed through my hands. I was grateful to the Deputy Commissioner who formally told me to read especially the Hague Conventions. It might have been due to the speedy occupation of Southeast Asia and lower Burma by the Japanese troops I believe my knowledge of this piece of International Law made the occupation authorities behave more correctly thereby saving more lives that they might have taken ruthlessly.

The only Law book that I had read were the I. P. Code., Criminal and Civil Procedure Codes, the Chin Hills Regulations, when I prepared for training in the Satkyaung Police Training School at Mandalay. These law books proved no help to meet an enemy occupation. Only relevant extracts from the Hague Convention and the International Law that were printed as secret documents by the Burma Government were to prove of immense use after the Japanese occupation. Even these appeared to be understood or respected only by the more educated Japanese officials. Most of the ranks appeared to be guided by politics and the sweeping success of the war.

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FOUNDING OF THE CHIN LEADER'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

Every educated person who served with distinction with the British against the Japanese before their occupation of the Chin Hills were "invited" from time to time to report to Tiddim. Most of the invitees expressed unwillingness to serve in the new administration. When they got to Tiddim, the new divisional headquarters of the Japanese army for north Burma and East India they found that things were not moving as they expected. Some of the Chiefs who took active command of their Clan Levies found themselves in chains; many persons were slapped as they reported. Other Chiefs were required to reside near the Japanese camps; guns were requisitioned lest they were used for revolt. Some suspected as spies for the British were slapped, boxed and beaten to death in drawing rooms in sight of their families. All were required to bow low in front of the Japanese officers. One had to announce one's names every time one reported to the Japanese commissioner. Many a fat and haughty person during the British days became slim and courteous overnight. As soon as the Japanese reached the heart of the Chin Hills they started killing people on the slightest suspicion. I believe this was to frighten people and to show who the real masters were for the fact that they would not win the love or respect of the place they occupied in the ordinary way. On the other hand, the innocent people believed that the British would come back. When a village was suspected of being pro-British they would send for the headman with one or two elders. If there was firing of the taungya they would accuse the headman of siding with the British enemy and kill him on the spot, sending out some circulars the next day that the headman of such and such town had been killed for having cooperated with the British. Fear was in everybody's mind. Nobody would dare speak evil against the occupying forces who were called "To Thak" new masters.

In order to look after the interests of the undefended local Chin population from the oppression of the Japanese and the treacheries of their quislings formerly belonging to the Burma Rifles and a few local traitors, an organisation called the Chin Leader's Freedom League was secretly formed. The names of the outstanding Chin leaders of the Executive Committee was as follows: Bo Vum Ko Hau, Chairman; later one of the four Founding Fathers of the Union of Burma. Bo Pau Za Kam, Levy Commander; later B.A. and headmaster of high school. He was Deputy Chairman of the League. Bo V. Khai Mun Mang, Secretary; later B.A. and captain in the Burma army. Bo Vul Za Thang, Senior officer at Tonzang; later B.A. and headmaster of high school. Joint Secretary. Bo Ngin Za Tuang, Senior officer, Tonzang; later public health assistant.

Bo Lun Pum, Intelligence officer; later B.A., M.P., chairman of Chin affairs council; minister for Agriculture. Bo Sum Mang, Senior officer in charge of Zahau area. Later B.A., B.Ed. headmaster of high school; he accompanied the retreating Japanese troops up to Moulmein when the war ended by the atomic bomb. Bo Awn Ngin later of the 14th UMP. Hony. Jamadar Bo Zuk Tsio and Don Khaw Ting of the civil hospitals.

Bo Twell Kam who was another Assistant Superintendent and senior officer appointed by the Japanese and more friendly than Za Biak who remained a traitor, used to attend the Chin Leaders meetings. Although he was intensely anti-British he was quite patriotic and not like the other Japanese-appointed men.

When the Japanese-appointed quislings lost confidence in due course the above Chin Leaders took over the general control of the day to day administration of the most abnormal period of Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills which was a part of British Burma but not included in the ministerial control.

When the Japanese launched their "On to Delhi" operation after the occupation of the Chin Hills some young Chins and some not so young ones were taken as their intelligence officers. This category of officers were those chosen by the Japanese invaders as a sort of hostage to represent one or more of his direct family who were active against the Japanese; or were still in India "siding" with the British. They accompanied the Japanese military contingent led by civil service commissioners Masada and Imura and went as far north as Ukul and stayed within the Indian territory until the final collapse of the Japanese invasion in India.

They were : Bo Suang Hau, Bo Ngo Lian, Bo Lian Thawng and Bo Mang Ko Nang. Bo Suang Hau is now major in the Burma army. He was drafted because his father Honorary Captain Pau Chin, O.B., K.S.M., T.D.M., K.P.M., of the Chin Hills battalion accompanied the retreating British army all the way to India. Bo Ngo Lian, now captain in the Burma army, for being younger brother of Chief Thiam Pum, Company Commander of the Siyin Levies. He was the only Commander of the Chin Levies who was wounded in action against the Japanese. His name was in the books of the Japanese army intelligence on account of their frequent encounters in the Kale Valley and was considered by the Japanese as a hero; on the other hand he did not receive any token of recognition from the British side. Chief Thiam Pum's tribal area adjoins the Kale Valley. Bo Ngo Lian said they had so many narrow escapes all the way from Tamu to Imphal and Ukul where they were used as spearheads in front of the main Japanese infantry armies. The Japanese took some local respectable persons as guides on pain of death or reprisals on the invasion of the Chin Hills and Assam. Bogyi Lian Thawng, A.T.M. was Chief of Khuasak tribal area and also a company commander in the Siyin Levies. He was also a marked man; his younger brother Vai Ko Lian assisted the Japanese by helping to cross the Manipur river and cut off the area west of the river to save his elder brother but the Japanese still went for him. He was the oldest among those who accompanied the Japanese advance party into India in 1944. He was given the title of A.T.M. for his works in the Siyin Chin Levies just before evacuation of the Chin Hills by the British. Another young man Bo Mang Ko Nang now B.A. and a headmaster of high school was also taken by the Japanese army for service rendered by his two brothers Chief Thawng Za Khup who was also awarded the A.T.M. for service with the Sokte Chin Levies and Thawng Chin Thang who accompanied the British authorities and was a leading organiser of the Chin resistance movement.

There were two categories of personnel who were employed during the Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills in North West Burma in 1944.

The first category consisted of those who became quislings long before the Japanese arrival on the fringes of the Chin Hills. They were mainly personnel of the Burma Rifles. They were augmented as the Japanese approached the Chin Hills by some adventurous young people as well as by personnel of the Chin Hills battalion who deserted on account of the oppression of the then commandant Major A. C. Moore.

The second category consisted of the more patriotic young government officials who served under the British government with a good straightforward record and who had fought the Japa-

nese up to the end. On realising that the quisling groups were out to serve their own ends they decided to serve the occupation government in order to look after the interest of the occupied territories, though in some cases at the cost of innocent lives. This second group was augmented by some young educated people whose education had been interrupted by the war and had no previous attachment to either the Japanese or the British authorities. Some included those who, because of the action of their relatives against Japanese, were pressed into military service to act as intelligence officers on their invasion of India. Some of the outstanding patriotic Chin leaders who served with me during the crucial war days included Pau Za Kam Levy Commander (now B.A. and high school headmaster), V. Khai Mun Mang (B.A. and captain), Ngin Za Thuang (Public Health), Lun Pum (later B.A., M.P.), Awn Ngin (14 UMP), Vulzathang, Songpau Zuk Tsio and Don Ko Ting (civil hospitals). Sum Mang (B.A. Headmaster) also arrived later from Falam and he was supposed to be in charge of the Zahau area but little Japanese administration could be done west of the Manipur river. We all were required to undergo a Japanese army officers training at the local military academy and all of us excepting a few had to finish the short course.

Twell Kam, another Assistant Superintendent and senior officer appointed by the Japanese and a patriot unlike Za Biak, who remained a traitor, used to attend the Chin Leaders meetings held by our Freedom party. Both of them were given the rank of Captain by the Japanese. I was considered by the Japanese military authorities to be pro-British for fighting them so long on the British side even after my own family had been under the Japanese occupation for six months. They gave me job involving little or no responsibility, first in social affairs and later as Headquarters Assistant and Chief Education Officer with rank of Captain. I did not mind the rank so long as I had some chance to say something for the good of my people who were not otherwise looked after in any way by anybody. My designations sounded harmless and I was not personally keen to serve in an obvious responsible position especially when the Japanese gave no real power even to those who sided with them and the British authorities were always within ten mile radius of the Japanese headquarters divided only by the unfordable torrential Manipur river.

When the Japanese Commissioner realized that their henchmen were not only unpopular with the Chin peoples but inefficient and had no education, they sent them away to outposts in submontane Burma and other places on the pretext of searching for rations and other supplies. Za Biak was dismissed from the Tiddim General headquarters; Captain Tual Kam Tai-i remained longer with us in Tiddim than the other Japanese appointed officers.

When they had more confidence in us the Members of the Chin Leaders' Freedom League, which on paper formed the local government in the Chin Hills and Japanese occupied territories in Assam, they organized a short term Japanese Military Academy for the Chin political leaders at Niskikang Headquarters in Tiddim with a view to giving military ranks in the Defence Army. As it was war time, they were not in favour of having purely civilian officers to serve in the military administration under the Japanese Imperial Army on the front line of war. They intended to make us officers of the CDA as well. Only Bo On Ngin and Don Ko Ting escaped the draft.

On completion of the condensed Academy in Tiddim, all the Chin leaders were considered to hold the rank of subalterns beside being Civil Affairs Officers. I was under the impression that now that my colleagues were all Lieutenants the ordinary Japanese soldiers would begin to give

more respects. Nothing of the sort happened. On the other hand I found that the Japanese instructors did not change their attitude. None of my colleagues thought of donning the uniforms or badges. Most of us were still wearing the green uniform that we got during the early CAS(B) time. For the first time in my life I began to wear ammunition boots which my young nephew Bo Khai Mun Mang brought from an unexploded shoe storeroom near Leilum. I put them on in order to save my last patent leather shoes. The only long walks that we had were between the houses and the trenches during bombings by the allied bombers. The trenches were dug very deep indeed under the supervision of Bo On Ngin and the Japanese officers and many of them could not be penetrated by the biggest bombs dropped in the locality. Chief Pum Za Mang was required to reside near the Japanese Commissioner but the former refused to live with us thinking that it was too dangerous to live in the Japanese Headquarters. He built his house in the jungle a few furlongs away from us. But the first bombing in the locality nearly scored a direct hit on that very house.

I held the senicure post of Chief Education Officer *Simin. Kyoiku Kachu* and Headquarters Assistant with the rank of *Tai-i* to the Japanese Commissioner up to the time of the latter's departure to Tuikhiang with some members of the Chin Leaders' League. I dealt directl with Inada and not through Zabiak. Commissioner Inada was accompanied by Bo Vul Za Thang, Bo Song Pau and Bo Ngin Za Tuang holding the ranks of *Chui*, after their recent graduation from the condensed academy. I was disheartened to learn later that Inada did not spare them from punishment unbefitting Chin leaders and officers of the Defence Army. Altogether ten of us the Chin leaders underwent the Condensed Academy for political leaders in Tiddim Niskikang Headquarters. Beside the political leaders there were some who were selected as Cadets who underwent longer military training at Leilum. These Cadets who first held the rank of *Shoi* were Bo Ngo Zam (a former Levy Platoon Commander) and now Captain in the Burma Army; Bo Kim Ngin (now Major in the Burma Army); Bo Pum Za Kam (later Lieut in the Burma Army and was awarded the *Thura* posthumously); Bo Khup Sa Vung (now of the health department); Bo Tel Do Lian (of the Burma army); Bo Lua Cin (Captain in the Burma Army); Bo Tuang Cin and Bo En Thawng. Among us were two very reluctant *Chuis* Jemadar Tha Lung and his Platoon Commander from Ngawn area of the Chin Levies who when surrounded by the Japanese troops became prisoners of war and automatically made Lieutenant *Chui* from that of the British Indian Jemadars. Bo Tha Lung preferred his Jemadar's rank to that of the Japanese Lieutenancy. He just retired as a Captain from the Burma army. Some *Chuis* were in effect political prisoners who were forced to guide the Japanese spearhead to Imphal and Ukrul, Eastern India; they were Bo Suang Hau (now Major in the Burma army); Bo Ngo Lian (now Captain in the Burma Army); Bo Lian Thawng, A.T.M. and Bo Mang Ko Nang (now B.A. and Headmaster of high school)

When most of the first batch of the Japanese appointed officers were sent away from the Tiddim General Headquarters and some of them accompanied Japanese Commissioner Inada to Tuikhiang, Bo Pau Zu Kam and I held the most senior ranks in Tiddim. He was made Deputy Commander of the CDA with the rank of Captain *Tai-i* under me and he was in charge as Levy Commander as well. The latter had to do with the requisitioning of labour with the Japanese high command at Mualtuk as well as on the Fort White-Imphal motor road. Beside General Yanagida three other Generals passed through Tiddim and I was presented to all of them as the senior Chin Leader. Among the Japanese Staff Officers Major Fujihara was the most

admired and the most handsome. I was made Commissioner and Commander of the CDA *Sambochu* with the rank of *Shosho*.

By then many members of the CDA with the Subaltern officers such as Bo Ngaw Cin Pau *Chui*, Bo Thang Za Hau *Chui* Bo Lua Cin *Chui* etc had been posted as Post Commanders in charge of Japanese occupied territory of Burma-India border. I did not care to use my military rank especially as the first uneducated collaborator Zabiak was given the rank of Captain and I rather would have none of it rather than have one the same as his; but I did not decline when I was offered one rank above the said man who had since been dismissed from the Tiddim GHQ for incompetence and that the more educated Japanese officers had high regards for rank.

In due course the Japanese Army began to be more and more in serious difficulties and they began to be generous in distributing ranks and give promotions. During the absence of Commissioner Inada from Tiddim, the Japanese deputy commissioner and I jointly carried out the responsibilities in the Tiddim headquarters to the satisfaction of the Japanese high command with Headquarters at Mualtuk. When Inada retreated from Tuikhiang to Tiddim they realised that their days in the Chin Hills were numbered and that they had to depend more and more on me and my colleagues. On the seventeenth July 1944 my deputy Bo Pau Za Kam and I were given two elaborately written and sealed Appointment Orders. It supposedly conferred on me all the powers of a High Commander, Prefect and judge hitherto wielded by the Japanese authorities only. The deputy commissioner Itoh summoned both of us to his office and told us that we were empowered with all the powers held by the Japanese higher commanders in the Burma-India theatre of war. I was informed that I could pass any kind of judgment and was to be a *Ken cho* of the Japanese occupied Chin Hills-India area with the rank of *Taisa*. The Orders were the best Japanese calligraphy I had ever seen. My deputy commander and the Levy commander Bo Pau Za Kam was given the rank of *Shosa* Major and empowered to requisition supplies or labour at his own discretion. By that time there was no real meaning to the promotions. There was little work beside requisitioning labour to bury the Japanese dead in the Lawlbual Field Hospital; about one hundred labourers were supplied to dig burial grounds for the dead every day towards the end of the war in the Chin Hills-India theatre of war. Almost all the Japanese soldiers who saw service on the Chin Hills-India front came back with one kind of disease or another, caused by malaria, dysentery, wounds and starvation. Many of our officers and men of the CDA had either surrendered to the British troops west of the Manipur river or gone over to them. We had been communicating with our own resistance organisations and the promotions that we had been showered by the Japanese authorities on the eve of their retreat from the Chin Hills had no more meaning. We both joined our underground resistance movement in mid September 1944 having escaped from the Tiddim GHQ. All the officers and men of the CDA still with us in Japanese occupied territory joined us in the resistance movement.

In those days the most reasonable senior Japanese officer who used to give us good advice was Major Fujihara who was the Chief of Staff for administration in the local Army high Command. He was a handsome man who had a bullet scar on the upper lip, which like a natural mole on a lady's face appeared to enhance his appearance. Between him and us there happened to be the wild Inada as commissioner who gave up all pretence of normal administration. His administration was much worse than the worst period of British administration under the two

district heads. The Japanese commissioner was more or less in charge of military affairs and justice at first and the local men were in charge of supplies and ordinary administration but all had to have the approval of the Japanese senior officer; on the other hand he could abuse his authority whenever he felt like it.

When Tonzang and Bisenpur were occupied by the Japanese army and had reached the outskirts of Imphal after occupying a part of Manipur, the Japanese Commissioner Inada moved himself and some members of the Chin Leaders League such as Vul Za Thang and Ngin Za Tuang to Tuikhiang near Tonzang leaving me in Tiddim with some of the more reasonable Japanese officers like Itoh, U Naw etc. With these people I was on better terms and as a result there were no more killings in the Tiddim headquarters. The "Tiger", Inada, had moved to Tonzang and we were more or less left in peace. Since Itoh behaved more humanly would-be traitors and informers lost interest in Tiddim. Had Inada been a few months more in Tiddim I am sure that more people would have been killed. Since the tiger was absent I could carry on sending news to friends on the British side west of the Manipur river in my spare time. One of my reports pinpointed the locality of the precious petrol dump near Tiddim. After a few days two fighters worked on it for one hour and all the petrol there went up in smoke. The Japanese army intelligence worked like bees and tried to get Itoh and myself to send for the headmen of the area concerned. I told Itoh that the petrol dump was in the jungle and did not lie in the jurisdiction of any headmen. Actually the area was in the Saizang area and the chief had enough worries in hand. Luckily at the time the fighters arrived at the spot one army vehicle was around there and I explained that the vehicle attracted the attention of the fighters in the first place. The local Japanese army officers began to be more and more suspicious of us but all the bad Chins as well as the worst Japanese officers had luckily left Tiddim and we could leave so many things aside and avoid trouble. Inada was in Tonzang, Za Biak was sent away to Burma and Tual Kam was to Suahlim. We could already discuss the tide of the war among ourselves. With Pau Za Kam we could hear news of the Japanese retreat from young and highly educated Japanese soldiers who retreated to Tiddim. We used to invite them for meals at our kitchens. Some of them were undergraduates from Osaka and Kyoto universities, some from commercial schools. Every time we invited a young person he invariably ate half the food we gave; he would ask permission to take the remaining half for his friends. I found it very touching and always gave extra food whenever I could spare it. Invariably the more educated soldiers bore no haughtiness in them.

As soon as the Japanese occupied the Chin Hills, a local Army was formed by the Japanese army authorities to be known as the Chin Defence Army, in short C.D.A. Most of the senior officers, the first batch of army officers were appointed from those whom the Japanese used as guides and intelligence officers on the invasion of the Chin Hills and Assam east India. They were Lieutenant Ngaw Cin Pau; Lieutenant Thang Za Hau; one man who rendered invaluable service during their invasion of the west Manipur river regions was Bo Vai Ko Lian but did not take office during the Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills. Ngaw Cin Pau has since got a B. Sc. in geology and was sent as state scholar to Delft and Paris.

To augment the officer cadre in the said Army more intelligent young men were selected from Tiddim to undergo Japanese army training at Leilum. The first batch of army officers to be selected were Bo Kim Ngin, now captain, Burma army; Bo Vung Suan now an M.B.B.S. and recently a candidate for parliament; Bo Ngo Zam, now captain in the Burma army. Bo Pum

Za Kam, later a lieutenant of the Burma army who was killed in action in Burma and was awarded the posthumous *Thura*. He was selected as CDA officer on account of his personal activeness but also on account of the fact that his father was one of the most senior Chin officers who evacuated to India when he was senior Chin officer of the Chin Hills Battalion. He is Honorary Captain Ngin Zam, O.B., B.G.M. who was the first Chin army officer to be interviewed at Meiktila when Bogyoke Aung San inspected the Chin Hills Battalion Anti Tank Regiment for the first time as Counsellor for Defence. Bo Pum Za Kam was at an outpost when I left Tiddim to take active part in the Siyin Independence Army and he reported to me at Mualbem from where we headed for the Siyin Valley and the Fort White areas. Bos Khup Sa Vung now of the public health department and Tel Do Lian. Bo Lua Cin, CDA were captured by British troops together with Bo Ngaw Cin Pau and Bo Thang Za Hau and their troops. Bo Lua Cin is now a captain in the Burma Army. He was drafted because his father was a Subedar.

The tasks of the CDA was to look after the Japanese occupied territories of the Chin Hills in North-West Burma, while the regular Japanese forces and the INA were to invade India.

For a few years the Chin Hills formed a No Man's Land and troops in the Japanese occupied territories and those on the British occupied territories often met. In many places the various outpost commanders of the CDA had skirmishes with British troops along the Chin Hills border. Among such commanders who had fought were Bo Ngaw Chin Pau, CDA; Bo Thang Za Hau, CDA; Bo Lua Chin, CDA; Bo L. Chin Thang, CDA; and Bo N. Bil, CDA. The first three commanders were captured together with three companies of their troops West of the Manipur River and exiled to various jails in India. In their encounters with troops under the last two officers, senior allied officers fell and as a result, on reoccupation of Burma they were tried and given transportation for life. I believe they were the only officers of the Japanese formed local Burma army in the whole of Burma who were tried and convicted as criminals. When I was elected as the Chief Executive of Chin affairs, I spoke to Bogyoke Aung San about releasing them as they acted under orders of the local Japanese high command and also the fact that no member of the BIA or BDA were tried but given amnesty. In the case of one officer, as usual the Japanese made him serve them as his father was a responsible officer still serving on the British side. Bogyoke told me that some quarters attempted to try him also and he readily agreed to release them when the time came.

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MEETING WITH GENERAL MOTOZO YANAGIDA

I believe I gave the impression of a strong and reliable personality to the first two Cooperation Commissioners Masada and Imamura. The next Japanese officer I met, happened to be Inada who was, unluckily for the Chins, to take over from Masada as the next Cooperation Commissioner. The former told me that he had given Inada a very strong recommendation of me as a trustworthy person and that I would become the most senior man of the Chin Hills-India theatre in due course and that I might be shifted to India as they advanced. The first thing we heard was that Inada had killed some 20 persons in his Falam headquarters. During the war Falam lost its importance compared with Tiddim through which the Allied and the Japanese each intended to defeat the other party. Inada appeared more ruthless than Masada and less intelligent.

The next high ranking officer was staff Major Fujihara to whom all the Chin Leaders were introduced by Inada.

The first high army commander I met was Lieutenant General M. Yanagida of the Yumi division who led the onslaught to "Delhi" through the Chin Hills. He was of fair complexion and about five feet tall. He did not wear the ribbons, the receptacles of which were visible, but only a big sized order of Nippon. I was told as Chairman to lead my colleagues, the Members of the Chin Leaders Freedom League to the Cooperation Commissioner's residence which was about 30 yards from my own quarters. We went in line according to seniority; Edward Pau Za Kam, the Levy Commander, was always next to me; at the tail end were some persons whom we kept in the headquarters in order that their personal enemies would find it harder to betray them to the Japanese directly. When everyone inside the hall stood facing the Japanese General, I gave the order to bow towards him. When these things were done one's eyes must look directly at the person to whom one bows. Everyone in the hall was standing. General Yanagida talked to us, the Chin Leaders, in a soft voice for about half an hour. When he finished speaking Inada translated in a very loud voice into two dozen words which approximated to "You, the Chin Leaders, must feel that this land is yours; this country belongs to You from now on; You must always co-operate with the Japanese army". I wished then and there that I could understand something of what the General actually said. I found out later that he talked to us as leader to leader, man to man and thanked us for what we had done and asked us to cooperate with them to relieve India from bondage.

Among the Japanese whom I met in Tiddim headquarters I think Major Fujihara and one correspondent the most intelligent. The former never spoke to us in English but what he told us had true meaning. The correspondent was a Japanese born in the United States of America and spoke perfect English with an American accent. Pau Za Kam and I talked with him for a long time in our room, without the presence of other Japanese. He appeared to guess that we were not happy with the Japanese occupation. He tried to convince us that no white people were like us. He narrated to us his life in America. He said that he used to be asked by Americans about his nationality. When he replied that he was American they would further say "of what parentage?". He assured us that if we lived in America it would always be as second class citizens. His visit to our headquarters was to prove a blessing in disguise as we

learnt later that he made a very impressive report to the local army commander concerning our knowledge of the world situation and how respectful we were. He also reported that we could put very interesting and important queries to him. From that time onwards the two of us got more respectful treatment from the local Japanese authorities. We were given a permanent assignment to the Tiddim H.Q. The quislings and other members of the League were transferred to other posts. The two of us never got any slapping which was meted out sometimes too liberally to many innocent people and even to colleagues. Our personal requests from that time on were better considered. His visit to us put the few quislings in disgrace as we understood that he thought nothing of their intelligence or abilities. He could not understand the pidgen English spoken by the ex-Burma Rifles quisling who luckily for us began to show off his knowledge to the American educated Japanese war correspondent. It put an end to his career from that day, luckily for us and the local people in general. It was the first time we dared open our hearts to a Japanese as we found him to be well read and knowledgeable.

The Japanese officers who contacted the Chin Hills in the earlier days such as Masada, Imamura, Sakamaki and Fujihara convinced us that they were a good lot; but the behaviour of Inada and his reputation in Falam began to blacken the name of the Japanese in general. Before we could intervene successfully he had killed over twenty persons in the Tiddim area.

During the British administration also we had been fortunate to have as administrators such respectable gentlemen as Sir Bertram Carey KCEI, Colonel L.E.L. Burne, CIE., CBE, Mr J. H. White, ICS, Colonel N. Stevenson, OBE, Colonel N.W. Kelly, OBE, BA (Cantab) and the respect of the Chins for the British in general was very great. But the misbehaviour of one or two officers always caused disrespect.

Brigadier Felix-Williams came over to the Chin Hills at Tiddim in July 1942 to enquire into the Naylor-Moore Affairs just after the fall of plains Burma. Inada was brought to the notice of the Allied War Crimes Commission and was picked out from a parade and was about to be brought to stand trial but appeared to be insane and probably never stood trial.

I have seen Japanese soldiers, even civilian officers attached to us fighting against their enemy and they would lose no time in attacking. Two soldiers escorting Lophei carriers once attacked a platoon at Huikha. One stockade was in trenches and encircled by barbed wire. Some Japanese with their swords jumped into the wire and struck some of the soldiers inside the barbed wire. Stories of Chin soldiers dropping hand grenades into the K.M.T. foxholes after overpowering the outer defence lines manned with modern American weapons, in the Eastern Burma theatre in recent years, reminded me of Japanese days. In many respects I felt the Japanese soldiers frequently deserved the Victoria Cross. On the other hand they appeared to take bravery in war as a matter of course. When local labourers were employed they used to be attacked by Gurkha advance troops. The Japanese officers themselves defended their labourers at the cost of their lives. They would look after them, share the meagre not too good rations they carried with them; tend the sick and wounded. When a fighter plane approached they would stop moving and stand erect to look like stationary objects. The dangling extra pieces of cloth from their headdress appear to make a good camouflage. I have seen Japanese officers and troops treating labourers as their own kith and kin. They ate together with them and slept in the same place without asking for special treatment as officers. The rations of the Japanese consisted in the main of rice.

They cooked rice and made it into a big ball then cooked and barbecued it near the fire again so that the outer portion would become hard. Most soldiers carried their own rice ration on their body in a long bag on their back. They carried their own ammunition and a hand grenade. A Japanese soldier would defend his position until he was killed. In many places propaganda weapons either verbal or material were successfully used. They carried some weapons which did not fire actual bullets but the sound of which was exactly like that of Bren guns. I heard a lot of these when the Japanese were to take Falam in 1943. The Chin Hills Battalion did their best but the attackers were successful bit by bit and Falam was evacuated. On the 7th October 1943, we received the last air drops of 12 bore guns but we had no time to use them against the enemy. We appeared to get more guns than cartridges. We very well knew that cartridges meant for birds would be of little use against rifle carrying enemy. Anyhow these guns were to be of use especially in ambush. The SG and LG could prove to be like the proverbial stone which killed two birds as proved in a skirmish near the Falam suspension bridge after our evacuation from Falam.

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ON TO DELHI THROUGH THE CHIN HILLS VIA TIDDIM

The advance On to Delhi "Chalo Delhi" was launched in full scale by the Japanese early in March 1944. The Japanese 15th Army was assisted by the I.N.A. Indian National Army commanded by Commander in Chief Subhas Bose. The main attack on India was launched through the Chin Hills and the Chindwin Valley. I met a few INA soldiers in Tiddim; one of the officers was a former railway stationmaster at Myitkyina in the Kachin Hills. I admired his patriotism and was very sympathetic about their shortage of food and other supplies. Some INA troops came through Haka, Chin Hills. One of them, Mahboob Ahmed, was to become a contemporary in the Indian diplomatic service.

I was presented to Lieut.-General Motozo Yanagida, Commander of the Yumi 33rd Division in Tiddim, North Chin Hills towards the end of March 1944. In no time his troops reached Bishenpur and he thought Imphal would fall to him before Emperor Hirohito's birthday which fell on the 29th April 1944. Lt. General Yumimori Sato, commander of the Retsu 31st division failed to advance nearer Imphal from Kohima sector, Lt. General Masabumi Yamaguchi also could not advance down to the Imphal Valley from Dimapur sector.

They all succeeded in capturing positions within sight of Imphal but could not advance further on account of lack of ammunition and food and air cover. They tried their best to hold what they had captured but it was impossible to remain in trenches flooded by water day and night without further assistance from behind. They were forced to withdraw. The respective divisional commanders cooperated and decided that they could do nothing further. The Commander-in-chief Mutaguchi thought otherwise; they should be able to take Imphal as the Emperor's birthday present and without assistance from the air. General Sato was accused of withdrawing without awaiting for orders from the Commander-in-chief.

The Japanese had an Air Force Commander in Lt. General Noborru Tadaye but his planes were not sufficient to bomb India direct and at the same time cover the Imphal invasion. Just after the bombing of Tinsukia and some other places a letter was sent to the Chin Hills addressed to M J. Poo Nyo telling what damage the Japanese air force had done to the north Assam cities and the likelihood that Chin Hills as well as the whole of India would be occupied by the Japanese army in no time. The letter persuaded him to join the Japanese administration in Burma praising his 'undoubted' abilities and promising him a 'very high post' in the new administration. It was the first and last letter written by the Japanese in good English that I read during the war. The best English speaking Japanese was of course, the Nisei correspondent who stayed in the TIDDIM divisional headquarters for a few days.

I got most of my information about the war from returning Japanese soldiers who were university students in Japan. They all felt hungry and I used to give them any food we had.

Being a part of the Japanese administrative machinery they confided to me some truths of the actual situation from their own experience as it was impossible to hide their failure. Otherwise they would not have retreated but marched forward to Delhi.

Another source was the personnel of the I.N.A. The one I remembered best was the railway stationmaster of Myitkyina before the war. He was a Bengalee but thought like a hillman and fought like a hillman. The British proverbial Bengalee constitution was not in him at all. I met some Gurkhas among the INA. They were as usual honest people fighting to free India; when the invasion failed I believe most of them fell into the hands of the Indian army where they were treated as retrieved prisoners of war.

In defence of the three Japanese generals who I understood were relieved of their commands for failure to take Imphal I would say that with the materials the Japanese imperial army equipped itself it was evident that no one could have succeeded where they failed.

Indaingyi through the Chin Hills to Imphal or through the Chindwin Valley to Imphal was but forest, no proper road, where there was no food or water or shelter and it was madness to attempt to invade India without having proper food, ammunition, air power (if not to destroy cities or troops) to feed the advance troops.

Captain Kham Chin Khai who retreated with the Chinforce under Major P.W. Peebles, M.A. (Oxon) said that he saw only six Japanese planes near Imphal on a single occasion.

When we operated in the Dawndawng, Sutmul sectors we received our supplies for the Chinwags by supply planes only. One day the Dakota plane that dropped supplies was attacked by two Japanese fighters. These two fighters were the first and last Japanese planes that I saw throughout the war. The plane dropped over the Manipur river and one part landed on the other side of the river. The Levy doctor, Mangya Htang, was sent to see the remnants and he brought back only the stomachs of the defenceless crew of the Dakota supply plane to Tiddim. Of the Yumi division that passed through TIDDIM almost all were killed or either died of hunger and disease. At a few places on the approach to the heights of the Kennedy Peak were a few sights where some soldiers huddled together under a single blanket to die in peace rather than struggle to reach back on foot to an unknown destination for food. It was a pitiful sight to see some of the Japanese bullies remaining in the civilian H.Q. in the Chin Hills to beat down, to slap and kick the defeated personnel who returned from the Imphal front; they accused them of defeatist attitude which the soldiers as usual humbly admitted only to be beaten sometimes almost to death.

Lack of food and ammunition halted the forward troops. And they were harassed by enemy bombing day and night. They were not assisted by their own air power. Lieut. General Sato to whom the Chin Leaders C.D.A. Bo Suang Hau, Bo Ngo Lian, Bo Mang Ko Nang, and Bo Lian Thawng were attached retreated in June 1944 from Kohima.

Staff officer Masada also retreated with the Chin Leaders all the way to Kalewa. Most of them, like the Japanese troops were sick on the way, some of them took one year to recover.

I found out very many years later when I was posted to Indonesia as Ambassador that General Sato was also relieved of his command from the Chin Hills and was despatched to Indonesia as adviser to the local Indonesian army recruits.

Having never left the Chin Hills - India theatre of war, I could confirm that the communiques issued from the Japanese Imperial Headquarters during March, April and May 1944 were substantially correct:

MARCH 21, 1944.

Imperial Japanese Units in the Burma area, in cooperation with the Indian National Army, on March 8, launched an offensive against the British-Indian army in the vicinity of the CHIN HILLS and are now engaged in an annihilative battle near the border.

In addition, other powerful Japanese units together with the Indian National Army, on March 15, crossed the Chindwin River near Homalin and are now advancing toward the Burma-India border.

MARCH 23, 1944.

Imperial Japanese Forces operating near the Central Burma-India border area, entered India after dashing across the border in the middle part of March in support of the Indian National Army, while continuing an annihilative battle against the 17th Division of the British-Indian army in the neighbourhood of the TONZANG area.

The enemy had been invading a part of Northern Burma with air-transported troops since March 5, but catching up with them, the Japanese Forces are now attacking the foe at every point and have annihilated a part of the enemy troops.

MARCH 28, 1944.

The Imperial Japanese Forces in the central Indo-Burma border area are continuing their attack against the main body of the 4th Corps of the British-Indian army, which was encircled in the CHIN HILLS and the neighbourhood of the Kabaw Valley, while the Japanese with their main force are advancing on the Imphal plain.

I was aware that some damage was done by the Japanese Air units in Tinsukia before the fall of the CHIN HILLS but I doubt very much if the following claims were true. My younger brother Captain Kham Cin Khai who withdrew with the 17th Indian Div to Imphal thought that the lack of air support was the main cause of their defeat in the Chin Hills-Imphal area.

APRIL 20, 1944

Our Air Units in the Burma area that have been controlling the air above the Imphal Plains, shot down 41 enemy planes (of which three unconfirmed) on April 17. Simultaneously our air units attacked the Palel airfield, blasting its installations.

On our side, three planes have not yet returned.

Lieut.-Colonel Katsumi Sasaki wrote about the significance of the Imphal campaign just after the capture of the CHIN HILLS after three years fighting:

"It is common sense to think first of all that the smashing of the fighting power of the enemy Fourth Army Corps (commanded by Scoones and Messervy) in the Imphal area is a prerequisite to the success of the operation. Before the Japanese Forces launched operations, the

entire forces to the IV Army Corps in all the districts over the central India-Burma border were supposed to consist of the following :

1. The 17th Division in the CHIN HILLS area
 2. The 20th Division in the Tammu area
 3. The 23rd Division in the area north of Imphal,
 4. The Imphal First Division
 5. 44th Mechanized Brigade in the area south of Imphal
- and several brigades which have been reinforced shortly after the Japanese Forces commenced the operation.

To begin with, the Japanese Forces crushed the 17th DIVISION in the CHIN HILLS area and pushed their drive in three directions — the west bank of the Chindwin River, the Tammu area, and midway between the Imphal-Kohima Road by way of Wukululu after crossing the Chindwin river. The focal objective of the Japanese forces was to beleaguer Imphal and to gain mastery over the Imphal Plains.

Those of the enemy troops in the area around Imphal which were swiftfooted took to flight in the direction of Silchar. The majority were placed in a position where they had to choose between destruction and capitulation. Thus, the main force of the Fourth Army Corps collapsed completely. The collapse of their army corps, forming the advance guards and provided by the enemy, meant more than loss of strength. It produced considerable influence on the morale of the enemy forces. It may be pointed out that Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Commander-in-Chief of the Anti-Axis Forces in Southeast Asia, will experience serious difficulties in augmenting his strength in an attempt to stop the advance of the Imperial Forces.

In this connection, I wonder whether there were not some among the people who felt the pace of the Japanese Forces in their advance in the fight for the reduction of Imphal as a bit slow. These people should realize the geographical aspects of the area which was the scene of fighting and the fact that the enemy had constructed strong positions at all points of importance following a year of frantic efforts. As for the equipment of the enemy, it had sufficient heavy field and mountain guns, tanks and trucks for the transportation of supplies from the rear. In case of need, it could get supplies by air.

On the otherhand, the Japanese Forces had to traverse high mountains, deep ravines, and dense forests (the CHIN HILLS) before they could reduce the enemy's positions. The complex geographical features of the border districts made it possible for our penetrating strategy to be employed on the one hand but, on the other, they entail some disadvantages. The units which crossed the mountains and engaged in skirting operations may be said to have been lightly equiped raiding parties. Such lightly equiped Japanese Forces were able to surround and overcome the vast armies of the enemy which had a tremendous firing and mobile power.

A glance at a map will show that across the Naga Hills from the Imphal Plains lies the Brahmaputra Plains, which command the Assam-Railway. The answer is that the enemy is aware that it would be cut off from the Tinsukia area if that railway is disrupted. Like Ledo and Adiya, the Tinsukia area is now a great munitions supply base and the site of a group of air bases.

In this place, which is at the northeastern extremity of India, an oil refinery has been established. All this will enable one to gain an idea as to the scale of the base and also the stress the enemy is putting on its development.

The opening of the Ledo Road may lead to a situation where the enemy will find it possible to surround Burma on all sides, that is, from Akyab in the south, the CHIN HILLS in the center, the Hukong area in the north and the Nu river in the northeast, and engage in offensive operations against it.

Then the Japanese forces, which had been in full readiness for an opportunity to strike, went into action and after a little more than a month of fighting established domination over the Imphal Plains. The Indian National Army under the command of Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, on its part, advanced deep into Indian territory for the liberation of their motherland.

The anti-British movement of the Indian populace regained its strength in proportion to the heightened consternation of Britain. Everywhere in India were witnessed open struggles of resistance to Britain. For example, the Central Legislature on March 27 rejected the Government's budget including increased expenditure on defense and increased wartime taxation. These measures had been approved at the session on March 1. They were rejected on March 27. Is it not that all this is the visible effect of the advance of the Japanese Forces and the Indian National Army?

The British are doing all they can to retain the confidence of the Indian people. They are holding garden parties in honor of Indians for the inspection of new arms. They are proposing an increase in the pay of Indian troops. But these temporizing measures are producing the opposite effect to that intended. As for the Indian populace, they are being pressed into military service, or are being forced to work in munitions factories and mines for the increase of production to help Britain to secure its control over India. Already 2,000,000 Indians have died from hunger. Yet the British show no signs of doing anything about the situation. Yet they do not neglect to see that the British officers and troops in India are supplied with whisky. It is evident now, that the oppressed Indians have reached the limit of their patience and that there exist all conditions for sabotage and rebellion. The operations of the Japanese Forces and the Indian National Army will start the fire raging.

I think that the Netaji is a superior personality. When he came to Tokyo he had already made plans for an advance into India. He also had practical plans for new political and economic structures for India. Such plans cannot be conceived by any but an Indian who loves India and the Indian populace and who has devoted half of his life to the conduct of a struggle of resistance against Britain as a great leader of India.

Now he is marching at the head of the Indian National Army in order to realize his conviction of liberating India by the use of armed force. I see no need of mentioning here the harmonious relations existing among the officers and men of the Indian National Army who are led by such a great man and who are proceeding with the performance of sacred mission of liberating the motherland. High is the spirit of these officers and men who have put the British forces to rout in the initial battles of the war for the liberation of India and have established control over the Imphal Plains.

On March 22, 1944 Prime Minister General Hideki Tojo in a statement on the advance into India, said that "the territory of India into which the Indian National Army is advancing will be placed immediately under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of 'Azad Hind'".

This statement again made manifest the fact that the war Japan is conducting is a war of justice to crush America and Britain, the countries bent on aggression. This is the reason why the Indian National Army and all the Indian people trust the Japanese Forces and pin their hopes on them".

Most unexpectedly for the Zo Mi Chins of the NORTHERN CHIN HILLS most of the villages on the natural route leading from KALEMYO-FORT WHITE-TIDDIM-TONZANG-BISHENPUR had to evacuate as soon as the Japanese troops entered the Chin Hills on account of fighting in their villages. Some big villages, such as Tonzang went up in flames soon. Villagers could not bear the demands of the Japanese and allied troops passing through their villages. Many of them died from allied bombings. The only way for survival was to flee from the war path and leave everything behind. Some of the wives and families of my senior officers such as Vul Za Thang and Ngin Za Tuang disappeared from the Chin Hills during the war to be discovered only after the end of hostilities in the neighbouring foreign countries. They also had evacuated to places remote from the theatre of war. By the end of the war almost all the villages on the war paths in the Chin Hills had disappeared. Those who came back to the Burma side rebuilt their own homes; no compensation came from any source. It would appear as if the Zo people of the Tiddim area in the Chin Hills suffered most "for the cause of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" as well as "for the survival of mankind from the clutch of Fascist Axis powers", in the global war. My wife and my father carried all our books in the library on their backs to a jungle camp which was once the seat of our Clan some four generations ago. In due course white ants began to thrive on the books.

Two members of the Japanese military press corps T. Okubo and K. Matsuda who passed through the Chin Hills recorded the above happenings in lighter vein :

"In dense jungle never before visited by human beings, villages and towns with a population of a thousand or more are springing up everywhere along the Indian front. Many such villages or towns have been left behind by the Japanese forces as well as by the enemy. With the opening of military operations in that region, both the Japanese forces and the enemy advanced into strange mountainous districts. Scattered here and there were little villages of 20 to 50 houses each. As they began to penetrate further into the depths of the jungle where hardly any villages were to be seen and where there was no supply of either water or salt, villages and even towns began to spring up overnight. These villages were given such names as Kachidoki-mura, Hisshozan, 1,234 Height, 33 Point, etc. Kachidoki-mura has now become quite an important village.

So well-built are some of the towns established by the enemy in the middle of the mountains that it is difficult to believe that they are situated in the midst of dense jungles. The building of most of these towns with the aid of huge mechanical power, was all a part of the enemy's plan to regain Burma. Before the rainy season last year many of these towns were probably tiny villages of the CHIN tribe with only 30 or 40 houses each.

TIBU and HENTHAM (Hiangtam), both towns the mountain-side was cut and levelled off. Wide three-lane roads with rotary crossings were constructed. Huge warehouses, dance-halls, and

air-defense shelters were also built. Thus, the towns became military bases inhabited only by soldiers.

Our troops were greatly astonished to find such well-established towns and excellent roads in the midst of the jungle and these "overnight" towns form a unique feature of the Indian campaign".

The task of the Yumj division under Lieut. General Motozo Yanagida came through my immediate country at Fort White, Chin Hills towards Tonzang and Bishenpur and Imphal. He would meet the forces of 17 Indian Division under Major Gené T. Cowan in Fort White and Tiddim area. He would then join the forces of his colleagues Lt. General Yumimori Sato of the Retsu division from Kohima and Lieut. General Masabumi Yamanouchi, commander of the Matsuki division at Imphal.

My personal knowledge about the advance of the Yanagida's division was more intimate as it passed through the Chin Hills near my very village. The 17th Indian Light Division under the command of Major General Tennat-Cowan, was stationed at Tiddim and the Senior Civil Affairs Officer of the Chin Hills who was the head of the civil affairs and the ex-officio Chief of the Chin Levy organisation also stationed at Tiddim since the evacuation of the district headquarters, Falam, in November 1943. Since the arrival of the army division in the Chin Hills I was the Chief Clerk as well as the ex-officio Chief of Staff as regards the Chinwags and the Chin Levies.

The 17th division was normally supplied by the land route from Imphal passing through Tonzang and thence to Tiddim. When the general invasion commenced, the Japanese troops cut off the retreat route of General Cowan in a few places directly from the plains valley without launching a direct frontal attack from the Fort White sector except at Kumlu near Limkhai. One section cut off at Tonzang, another at Singgial M.S. 101 and another from Palel. One southern flank crossed the Manipur river near Mualbem and raced through the west bank of the Manipur river to Singgial from the west bank of the Manipur river. These advance troops were guided by CDA Bo Vai Ko Lian. There was bitter fighting at Tonzang. Some Japanese troops managed to dig foxholes facing the very retreat road at Tonzang from Tiddim. The Singgial party of the Japanese advance troops even managed to transport guns onto that hill through the jungles from the Kabaw Valley.

My brother, Captain Kham Cin Khai, then with Major P.W. Peebles, M.A. (Oxon) I.C.S. told me that at Tonzang at night there was misunderstanding between the various troops of the 17th division and as a result there was firing and shelling between various parties of the same side. During the firing Bo Tin Zam's brother Subedar Son Hnyer was killed. Some Chin chiefs who accompanied the British troops to India returned from there. On their arrival in Tiddim, Subedar Tin Zam told me about the Tonzang firing and also something of the past history of the local quisling whom the Japanese troops brought with them from the Tavoy front.

At Singgial, which is at the meeting place of two high hills from the west and the east, there was long fighting for days and nights both sides having no time to eat or drink. At one time the only water place was occupied by one and the next time by the other party. The main fight at one time appeared to be for the watering place more than the route to Imphal itself.

The allied troops had the advantage of air cover but the camp of one party was so close to the other party that it was almost impossible to pin point the enemy position.

The Japanese spearhead troops cutting through at Singgial were accompanied by Lieut. Bo Ngaw Chin Pau and Lieut. Bo Thang Za Hau. They were met by the troops cutting the Manipur river at Mualbem guided by Bo Vai Kho Lian, the younger brother of Bogyi Chief Lian Thawng, A.T.M., Siyin company commander fighting on the side of the British Chin Levies. The young Chin lads joined the Japanese Niskikang troops either in order to protect their brothers or family then fighting with the British troops or to save their families and homes which already had been in no man's land for some two years and thus forced to look after the interest of the country which had been a bone of contention to two very powerful foreign powers.

The last but not least important batch of young Chin officers who had to accompany the Japanese Civil Staff officers were Bogyi Lian Thawng, A.T.M. Chief of Khuasak, Siyin Valley; Bo Suang Hau, son of Honorary Captain Pau Chin, K.S.M., O.B., K.P.M., T.D.M. who accompanied the retreating British troops to India; Bo Mang Khaw Nang, youngest brother of the Saizang Chief who was a levy Commander of the Sokte Levies; Bo Ngo Lian whose elder brother Chief Thian Pum was Company Commander of the Siyin Levies and encountered the Japanese troops on various occasions in the No. 2 stockade sector and where he was himself wounded. On account of the conspicuous bravery of his own brother against the Japanese and a slight betrayal by another person he had to accompany the Japanese army officers who were to deal with administration on the occupation of India.

Together with the two first Co-operation Commissioners of the Chin Hills, Masada and Imamura, they left Tiddim one rainy day after we had established our divisional headquarters in Tiddim. Masada told me that with luck they would become the War Administrators at Imphal, Calcutta and Delhi within a few months. They heavily counted on a rising of the Indian national congress once they dispersed the British Indian troops in the Assam plains. From Tiddim they went to Kalemyo, up the Kabaw Valley to Tamu and thence to Homalin and thence circuited Ukhru from Nungbi, Huining. They witnessed much fighting in the area and they attached themselves to the infantry forces of both Retsu and Matsuki divisions under the commands of Generals Yumimori Sato of the Kohima area and General Masabumi Yamanouchi of the Imphal sector. They were actually with the forces that took Ukhru and were to enter Imphal as soon as it was occupied by the Japanese troops. They waited from the villages overlooking the Imphal plains guided by the educated daughter of a Naga Chief whose son later became a Member of Parliament. She was taken as usual by force by Masada but she later condescended to accompany them when her father's life was threatened. But she was relieved to be in the company of her own kith and kin from the Chin Hills.

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JUSTICE DURING THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION.

Had it not been for my intervention and the presence of two more amiable Co-operation Commissioners, Masada and Imamura at the first occupation of the Chin Hill I dare say that many persons would have been murdered. It was lucky for the local people that Inada arrived only some time after the fall of the Chin Hills. This man killed some twenty persons in a few weeks after taking over the HQ from Masada. At the time of Masada and Imamura it was reported that there had been a demand for the murder of 24 persons chosen in retaliation for the evacuation of their families to India by the British authorities when they joined the Japanese troops prematurely. I surmise that had Inada been the Commissioner then all the 24 persons would have been murdered. There even was a scheme to round up the families of the Burma Rifles personnel who were evacuated to India. The Japanese thought that they went to India because they were pro-British whereas the fact was that they had no confidence in the British troops having seen their utter defeat in Burma. They were uncooperative with the Japanese having left their homes together with their cousins organizing the Chin Levies who had prepared to defend the Chinland from the invasion of another foreigner. In the absence of their husbands in the Burma Rifles in Burma, the wives were required to dig the motor road constructed from Imphal downwards to Fort White. Again in their husbands' absence in India after they left the Chin Hills, the wives and children had to work for another new master, this time the Japanese, their husbands with their overlords had failed to stem the tide at different stages. The people believed that the motor road that was dug by them would remain permanently for them and that it would bring commerce and business and riches from India and Burma after the war was won. The fact remains that immediately after the war the bridges were shifted and the motor road abandoned never to be repaired or maintained. When the death sentence was asked for by some men I told the Japanese Commissioners, Masada and Imamura what I knew about the Hague Convention. I told them that if they began killing all the people as reported requested by a few culprits it would amount to the contravention by the Imperial Japanese Army of the International Hague Convention. Luckily I was shown the secret copy of the Hague Convention sent out by the local government just before the fall of Burma to the Japanese. My knowledge of it was to save a lot of lives. The officers then realised that I knew vital International Laws which they admitted they were aware of in part only. I assured them that they would find in due course the wicked characters of those who reported so many bad things about others. They were not to wait long. Within a few days these informers stole some of the sugar bags stored by Masada and Imamura. They personally caught the culprits red handed. They warned them that they would in due course have to pay with their own lives for the materials they had stolen. This act helped me a lot. The occupation commissioners began to have more and more trust in me. They liked people who spoke the truth. They would look at the eyes of everyone who was speaking to them to ascertain their honesty. If they found any trace of lies then their trust in the man was gone forever. For this saving of 24 lives I believed I had accomplished an act of which the Gods would approve. The list was told to me by Khai Mun Mang and the informers themselves. It was lucky for the informers I saved these

lives otherwise had the request been successful, on the reoccupation of British Burma by the British they were sure to arrest the four persons who would have been responsible for the deaths of the two dozen people. I explained this to the culprits themselves.

Had it not been for my presence and for the services rendered by some young adventurous persons with the Japanese troops on the approach of the Chin Hills some of the Chin Levy Commanders would have been killed by the Japanese when they occupied the Chin Hills. The most pathetic case was that of the case of Bogyi Lam Ko Mang, Commander of the Thuklai Siyin Levies. He served as Levy Commander with British officers with heart and soul despite his physical lameness. As soon as the Japanese occupied Tiddim he was one of the first to be summoned by the Japanese officers. He was asked some questions, tortured and beaten. He was already condemned to death. But Lieutenant Thang Za Hau, the nephew of Chief Bogyi Lam Ko Mang who had been for some months with Commissioners Masada and Imamura begged for the life of his uncle Lam Ko Mang in recognition of services rendered personally by him to the Japanese cause. His life was just spared after torture. In spite of the seeming outstanding service rendered to the British as accused by the Japanese, it was an irony of fate that Bogyi Lam Ko Mang never received any thanks or compensation from the British authorities for the torture meted out for the assistance he gave to the British; instead he had to pay compensation later and some cases are still pending against him in the high court. Another hideous torture occurred without our prior knowledge. A false report was again made to the Japanese officers against some ten people of Lamang. These included responsible people like Subedar Khup Za Neng, B.G.M. contractors Vung Za Nang, Hang Za Gin and others. Their faults were unknown and unproved. The Chin Leaders headed by me asked Commissioner Inada for the release of these persons. I spoke to the officer saying that we would take the responsibility if any thing was proved against them in future. The victims were tied with telephone wires round hands and legs and the wires had eaten into the flesh in most places. These shocking sights occurred on account of false reports by some wicked infidels who had personal grudges.

On another occasion when Itoh was alone in the HQ, I personally released some prisoners dangling from ropes in the rains. I never found out who they were and for what purpose they were in chains. They thanked me profusely when I told them that they were released and could go home. I would like to know who they were.

My personal intervention in cases liable for the death sentence was not confined to innocent victims. On one occasion a man was sent for by the Japanese Commissioner on information received from an informer. He was accused of being a spy of the British. In reality the same person was suspected to have acted as informer for the Japanese and had caused the death of a respectable person and the sympathisers of the latter appeared to lay a trap for him. One quiet afternoon Ngim Ko Thang brought Lian Mang of Mualnuam to my headquarters. He told me that he had been sent for by the Japanese commissioner. Probably the order for his summons had come from Pumza Mang. The information to the Japanese officer must have been given direct as it was not done through me. By now the Japanese authorities knew that I would not let false information be used as weapons between private enemies. I knew that if he reported himself to the Japanese commissioner it would mean his end on earth. I told him that I was not aware that he was sent for. If he had been summoned for some good purpose I would be aware of it. I suggested that he disappear as quickly as possible from the divisional headquarters if he did not wish to meet with possible death. An accused person would either

be killed after a few days' torture or set free after slapping. There were no jails and no jail sentence was ever passed. Most prisoners of war were hacked to death. Luckily by that time I was the most senior officer present the others having been sent away as a sort of punishment to Burma and some had evacuated to Suahlim. Lian Mang was headman of Mualnuam for a long time pre-war. He detested being under a Chief and appealed to be independent of Pum Za Mang; he naturally failed to get it as the government itself encouraged autocracy and not democracy. He appealed to the Magwe commissioner and failed again. I found him to be the most intelligent man in the northern Tiddim area. He had a very high regard for my father who was his teacher in the Tiddim Burmese school. He also was a friend of mine. It was his fault that he reported the meetings between some people and British troops to the victim searching for enemies, although the Japanese officers always sent out orders that British troop formations must be reported to the Japanese officers with a threat that they would cut the throat of anyone found hiding such news. One of the men killed for such information was Hau Za Hen who at one time acted as priest to my relatives. At the time of his arrest the case was in the hands of the pro-Japanese officers and I had not yet gained the confidence of the occupying officers. Unlike paid spies in European countries these so called informers did not get anything for the service so dangerously rendered either from the British or the Japanese authorities.

When I was Chief Clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office, Chin Hills, I was also employed as Chief Adjutant and Director of Intelligence to the founder of the Chin Levies. During that time I was shown the Secret Document containing the International Law concerning military occupation of the territory of an enemy by armed forces. It was mainly the annex to the fourth Hague Convention of 1907.

When the Japanese military commissioner in charge of the Chin Hills-Imphal sector knew of my knowledge about the said section of the International Law he gave me much more respect than before and began to trust me in many respects and my subsequent promotions were probably due to it also. With me I had half a dozen young Chin boys who were in the middle of the high school or collegiate education and we formed another section of the administration which was to take over the whole administration in due course. The Japanese at first thought that the early but uneducated collaborators which belonged to the Burma rifles were the only persons available among the Chins.

The relevant Hague Convention was also known to the higher Japanese military administrators but not by the junior officials. I thought it would have helped all concerned had they been known to even the rank and file as the main culprits were the latter.

A hostile army is obliged to take all measures in its power in order to re-establish and endure as far as is possible public order and safety, respecting the laws existing in the occupied country. A belligerent is forbidden to compel the population of an occupied area to give information of their own army formation. The enemy cannot compel people to take an oath of allegiance. Individual lives, honour and family rights, private property and religious convictions and observances must be respected. Private property is not subject to confiscation and pillage is an offence. The enemy may collect taxes, and dues but as far as possible in accordance with the existing local revenue regulations. He will defray the expenses of the administration of the occupied territory on the same scale as that by which the previous government was bound. Other dues are permissible only to meet the needs of the army of occu-

pation or for the administration of the occupied territory. No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, may be inflicted on the population as a whole in the form of communal responsibility for the acts of individuals. Contributions are permissible only on the basis of a written order and on the responsibility of the commander-in-chief where possible in a manner taking into account existing regulations. A proper receipt must be given. Requisitions in kind and services may be exacted from communities and inhabitants only for the needs of the army of occupation and inhabitants must not be compelled to take part in military operations against their own country. The army of occupation has the right to take control of the cash, funds and in general of all the movable property of a state which is capable of serving military purposes. Arsenals and military stores are confiscated even when they belong to private persons. An occupant has the right in cases of extreme necessity to seize or destroy submarine cables linking occupied territory with neutral territory. But they are to be replaced and the damage made good when peace is concluded. Public buildings belonging to the state, immovable property, forests and agricultural land may be seized by the occupying power only for administration and use subject to the obligation to preserve their basic values. The property of municipalities and religious, charitable or educational institutions and of institutions devoted to science or art is protected by International Law. The deliberate seizure, destruction or damaging of such institutions or of historical monuments or scientific and artistic works is forbidden.

Collective fines were imposed almost after the arrival of Inada as commissioner in the Chin Hills. More than that if there was any suspicion such as jungle fires which the Japanese thought were signals to the British in a village boundary the headman and elder concerned were summoned and killed. We managed to save the church building in Tiddim but the church in Falam was one of the first building to be pillaged by the Japanese soldiers to construct an administrative headquarters in the jungle.

The worse form of sufferings by the people in the Japanese occupied zones were the requisitioning of food and labour. On account of the war, no cultivation could be done and as such less food was produced, but the Japanese imperial troops came without rations and as such they had to requisition whatever food they could in the occupied territory. This was most difficult in places like the Chin Hills through which they attempted to invade India. Almost all the ponies were requisitioned, also cattle and later mythuns. The last species were to be found only in the Chin Hills in the whole world. It nearly became extinct. The 300-mile long motor road from Kalembo-Chin Hills to Bishenpur-Imphal was to be maintained by the local requisitioned labour; this gave no time for the local people to cultivate; the Japanese troops depended on the people's food and then they gave them no time to cultivate to produce food. This was impossible.

This kind of requisitioning of labour by force was not only in the Chin Hills. The same thing was done for the Burma-Siam railway line construction. This work was more familiarly known as the Death Railway line. Beside the European prisoners-of-war from Indonesia and Southeast Asia, many labourers from Indonesia, Thailand and south Burma was requisitioned. Some whole families were sent and never returned. Thanbyuzayat was a wellknown word. Another place where deaths occurred by forced labour was in East Java where thousands of people were forced by the Japanese to construct an underground canal for the escape of water from a valley.

The project was resumed in recent years; ironically under the supervision of the Japanese again. The said Indonesian project is in Tulungagung, and I visited it with the public works minister a year ago.

The Chins, Burmans, and Indonesians mentioned above were not prisoners-of-war; they were innocent people and in many cases respectable citizens and not even of the working class. According to the International Law even work given to prisoners-of-war must not be too arduous. With the exception of officers, prisoners-of-war may take part in physical work. But this work must not be too arduous or serve any military purpose.

Prisoners-of-war are subject to the authority of the enemy government and not of individuals or of the detachments which captured them. They must be treated humanely. Prisoners are entitled to retain all their personal belongings, except arms, military equipment and military documents. Prisoners-of-war may be interned in a town, fortress, fenced camp or other place without close confinement, but subject to the obligation not to go beyond fixed limits. They may be deprived of freedom only as a necessary measure of security for the period during which the circumstances giving rise to this measure exist. Prisoners-of-war have complete freedom of religious belief and worship, including attendance at church services, subject only to the observance of measures of order and security laid down by the military authorities.

Looking back to the occupation days I sometimes wonder whether the convention for observance for official "prisoners-of-war" were not better than the actual experience of respectful citizens in occupied areas such as in the Chin Hills which were in no-man's-land for some three years. In those days I saw very few prisoners-of-war. Some soldiers surrendered or caught by the troops were tied together and junior officers practiced their prowess with their samurai swords. Father Blivet, a Catholic priest of French nationality, stayed on in Lailui near Tiddim during the war. He used to come to Tiddim, and I pleaded with the commissioner that he as their fellow citizen of the Axis powers should be honourably treated by the Japanese soldiers. They gave him an 'N' Niskikang badge but some soldiers used to force him to carry bags of rice all the same as if he was a prisoner on parole.

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HUMAN CHARACTER

It is said "Whenever you have to face trials of many kinds count yourselves supremely happy, in the knowledge that such testing of your faith breeds fortitude, and if you give fortitude full play you will go on to complete a balanced character that will fall short in nothing".

Since the beginning of the second world war I was quite satisfied that I had to face trials of many kinds under different circumstances under different foreign governments but I must admit that at the time I did not count myself "supremely happy". Especially during the Japanese occupation I was satisfied that I served at the risk of my life voluntarily only for the good of my defenceless people but I found the task too worrying at times and I confided to friends and relatives that the period of six months I spent under the Japanese military government seemed longer to me than the previous twenty five years of my life. I agree however that testing breeds fortitude.

During the war I had seen human behaviour at its highest, in the stand made by the handful of Chin Leaders in defence of their own people at the cost at times of shoutings, slappings and the risk of their very lives and at its lowest when personal enemies began to betray one another to the Japanese military people on false accusations in order to have them liquidated by the new masters. I succeeded in releasing men already bound with wire to die. Invariably they did not know the charge. I also prevented the arrest of persons who were believed to have betrayed their fellow men for no cause but out of spite. I saved them in order to avoid more deaths which I knew would create more and more reprisals with the change of governments or with the end of the war. Persons who were known to be betrayers under the British continued to be so under the Japanese and again under the next government. Like the leopard's spots they did not change. I met with high ranking Japanese officers who would not believe everything reported to them; but also some who believed anything that came in and accused the persons thus reported without finding out the actual facts. This was also true unfortunately in the case of some very responsible persons whom I met later after the war. I have worked with persons who were poor, but very honest. I have met with wealthy persons who were corrupt; big but dishonest.

Within the compass of local upheavals and wars during a span of some seven years, I have witnessed the appalling weaknesses and failings of human character at very first hand and I believe that in the ordinary course of human events these betrayals should be condemned by any ordinary human being as undignified of human nature. Having witnessed the treacherous character of so many persons who would in ordinary circumstances claim for greatness, richness and even authority in normal time, I humbly thought that I seemed to possess a more "balanced character" than the stream of irresponsible persons that I had come into contact with since the start of the second world war.

I hereby record the highest regard and respect I continue to have to this day for my colleagues, the official Members of the Chin Leader's Freedom League, who along with me forsook their own families and risked their lives to the end for people and country.

THE SIYIN INDEPENDENCE ARMY.

By June 1944, many Japanese troops had begun to retreat towards the Chin Hills from the Imphal front. Tiddim was made the field hospital for the Japanese troops. Every day my Levy Commander, Bo Pau Za Kam, had to supply about seventy labourers to bury the Japanese who died in the Tiddim (Lawibual) field hospital.

More and more responsibilities were given to me and my Deputy Commander Bo Pau Za Kam. We were by then the only two original Members of the Chin Leaders' Freedom League remaining in the Tiddim Divisional headquarters. All our colleagues were sent away from Tiddim, some had gone to Suahlim in the Siyin country from where the Japanese intended to make their last stand in the Hills. Some were in Tonzang. The Japanese commissioner Inada was sick all this time and could not get up from his bed. His duties were jointly shared by the other Japanese officials in the headquarters and myself. The Japanese people whom we had dealings with at this time were more friendly and less suspicious than Inada. This gave us opportunity to organise the first phase of the local resistance movements. I gave leave to some Chiefs and other local leaders from the Japanese headquarters in order to contact British troops on the west bank of the Manipur river and also to contact the local villagers to start rebellion. All the local traitors' reports about our impending rebellion reached my headquarters first and I could destroy them. I also saw to it that no other informants reached the Japanese officials directly. Before we parted from the British headquarters at Tiddim, Bo Thawng Chin Thang and I had vowed that I would look after our interests in the Japanese occupied areas and that he would take care of what went on in the British territories. We could not mention this mutual undertaking to anybody as things proved too dangerous immediately on the occupation of the Chin Hills by the Japanese troops. I had the satisfaction of having looked after his brother who was reported adverse to the Japanese commissioners. This fact was recorded by Bo Thawng Chin Thang in a written certificate. Together with Colonel Kelly, Bo Sein Lian and Bo Suang Lian left Saizang on the 13th March 1944 and hid themselves in the west Manipur river area although the locality had been traversed by the Japanese troops on one occasion when they marched up to cut off British troops at Singgial at M.S. 102. They formed the first staff officers of the resistance movements which was later known as the Sokte Independence Army and the Siyin Independence Army or in short S.I.A. The organisation of the Sokte Independence Army was first initiated by Chief Bo Hou Za Lian of Suangzang, Bo Thawng Chin Thang and other Headmen on the West bank of the Manipur river. Colonel Kelly had gone on leave and the nearest British commander was Major Cuthbert L. Burne, M.C. a cousin of a very popular Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills a few years before the war, Major Burne. Bo Thawng Chin Thang, Bo Hau Za Lian, Bo Sein Lian, Bo Suang Lian, B.G.M. and the other commanders and members of the S.I.A. crossed the Manipur river and made headquarters at Mualbem. Bo Sein Lian and Bo Suang Lian, B.G.M. were the only two Siyin commanders who accompanied the returning British troops to West Manipur.

When I was satisfied that the news of the impending resistance movements in the Sokte and Siyin areas no longer reached the Japanese divisional headquarters, I and my deputy Bo Pau Za

Kam decided it safe to leave the H.Q. and time to join the rebel headquarters situated in the jungle near the Siyin Valley. After hiding some of the arms in the headquarters in Tiddim we left the Japanese headquarters at night by jungle paths to one of the rebel H.Q. We discussed our plans and organizations together with Major Burne, Bo Thawng Chin Thang, Bo Sein Lian, and Bo Suang Lian. Bo Sein Lian and Bo Suang Lian had sent me a message in Tiddim about what they intended to do in the Siyin Valley areas. I brought with me information about the enemy strength in Tiddim and the Fort White areas.

As recorded by Major Burne I was the first Siyin government officer to report to him at his Mualbem headquarters. Bo Awn Ngin also arrived at Mualbem from the Suahlim post and we, the Siyin leaders, gathered at Mualbem and Zongal and discussed about the occupation of the Siyin Valley and the outlying Japanese posts such as at Suahlim, Bamboo Camp, Fort White, Suangaak Tuam and other places.

Since the Siyin Valley lies very close to the enemy line of communication we decided that we should get the opinion of other Siyin leaders in the Valley itself. We, therefore created our main base rebel headquarters at Zongal (Limkhai). Among the leading Chiefs and former Company Commanders of the Chin Levies who came for the discussions were Chief Bo Pau Kam, Chief Bo Suang Son, Chief Bo Lian Thawng, A.T.M. of Khuasak, Chief Bo Thian Pum of Buanman, Bo Thuam Chin, TDM, IDSM, KPM. Some of them volunteered as Commanders and some of them remained as advisors in the headquarters but did not accompany the troops in the fronts. When Bo Sein Lian and Bo Suang Lian, B.G.M. took active parts as forward commanders, Bo Awn Ngin and I carried on as leading organizers as well as Field Commanders.

Beside being a Commander, I acted as Chief of Staff and dealt with all reports, requests and communication. Bo Thuam Chin, TDM acted as Sector Commander in the Fort White area. The other Sectors were the Tung Vum and the Bamboo Camp-Suahlim areas, which led down to No. 2 Stockade and Kalembo. Although some members of the Lushai Chin Brigade assisted us in the initial stage, no British officer ever visited the Siyin Valley or accompanied the attacks on the Japanese posts surrounding the Siyin Valley on the approach to Kale Valley, and we carried on the movement by ourselves. We did not receive any payment from the Allies and even the arms and ammunition we used were mainly those we obtained from Japanese headquarters. Many members of the SIA were those of the members of the CDA who served with me under the Japanese.

After Suangaktuam (Thuklai) and Sakhiang (Khuasak) were taken, the H.Q. of the Siyin Independence Army was moved permanently to Thuklai. In the Thuklai sector the outstanding commanders were Bo Mang Hau, Bo Thuam Pau. When Bamboo Camp and Suahlim sectors were cleared of the enemy, the Limkhai and Voklak partisans under Bo Sein Lian, Bo Suang Lian, Bo Thong Ngin, Bo Son Ngul and Bo Sing Za Chin came over to reinforce the north Siyin Valley partisans to attack the approach to Fort White. The main partisan fort was dug out at Tung Vum where a number of our comrades fell from enemy fire one morning in September 1944.

As Senior staff officers during this time Bo Pau Za Kam from the Khuasak sector and Bo Khai Mun Mang, Bo Mang Thawng from the Thuklai sector assisted me in the general headquarters of the rebellion. Bo Thuam Chin, TDM, KPM was lucky in having many soldiers like Bo Thuk On, BGM, Bo Za Suan as well as young leaders like Bo Pau Za Kam and Thura Bo Pum Za Kam in his own village. Bo Phut Thang and his men cleared the Japanese outposts near

the Suangpi-Phunom areas in the Fort White area. Bo On Zam was an able quartermaster to collect hidden arms and ammunition.

Major Cuthbert L. Burne, M.C. recorded in part our "Free Chin Movement" thus :

"At the commencement, the revolt was confined to the Sokte tribe, but it was immediately joined by those SIYINS under the LIMKHAI and BUANMAN Chiefs and by the Ngawn tribe in the Vazang area.

For the purpose of spreading the revolt into the SIYIN VALLEY, a letter was introduced secretly into the Jap Civil H.Q. where he had been forced to work for Hony. Jem : On NGIN, asking him to report to me. This he did at once, and with the help of MR : VUM KHO HAU, set about organising the Revolt. Their efforts did not meet with immediate response, as, owing the widespread nature of operations already in hand, it was not possible to give the SIYINS more than a handful of supporting Levies. In addition, they were in very close proximity to the enemy stronghold of FORT WHITE, and feared strong reprisals. The SIYIN VALLEY villages made their final break with the enemy on the 14th October, and immediately became engaged in a series of actions.

It is not within the scope of this Report, to separately describe each and every action. The accomplishments can best be shown by a summary of the material results achieved, though this does not take into account the moral effect on the enemy of a band of determined warriors working behind their lines, nor the undoubted help such operations gave to our regular troops advancing down the TIDDIM road. In addition, the enemy was deprived of their main source of supply, transport and labour in the Chin Hills.

I cannot speak too highly of the fighting spirit shown by these men, who stood up, in many cases, to daily shelling by artillery and determined counter-attacks by the enemy armed with modern weapons. And not only the men. On occasions of alarm, women also armed themselves with axes and dahs, and, in addition, brought food to their menfolk while under fire.

In this Report it would be invidious to mention names of the rank and file, among whom there were many cases of individual heroism and example. One hundred per cent co-operation was given by all and every villager, who, if not actually fighting, did magnificent, if less spectacular work by carrying loads and supplying food gratis from their depleted stocks. It must be remembered that the FREE CHINS were not rationed nor were they paid".

Some of the origin of the Free Chins movement in connection with the Siyin Independence Army was recorded on 4th October 1945 by Bo Thawng Chin Thang who was a Co-Organizer of the Sokte Independence Army and who later became Commissioner of the Chin Hills :

"When the War broke out in the West in September 1939, between Great Britain and Germany, Vum Khaw Hau accompanied the Deputy Commissioner on tours throughout the district and publicised Propaganda speeches to the villagers. When at Headquarters, he was engaged in preparing Propaganda pamphlets.

When in 1942, Chin Hills was under immediate threat of invasion, a local Defence Force known as the Levies was formed by the Civil Officers before any help from the Army came forth. At that time he accompanied and wrote and interpreted for the Deputy Commissioners who had to move from place to place to organise the defence of the Hills and carry out the many other Emergency measures then prevailing. Very often he had to work concurrently as such under three contemporaneous District Officers viz. : Brig Naylor, CBE., Colonel N. Stevenson, O.B.E., F.R.A.I., B.Fr.S. and Mr. F. George, I.C.S. painstakingly.

On the evacuation of Falam in November 1943, he was attached to Colonel N. Stevenson, O.B.E. in all the Operations of the local Resistance Movement known as the "CHINWAGS" in the Lumbang Area East of the Manipur river. There, all the responsibilities connected with the distribution of arms to the Rebels, collection and issue of rations dropped by air, compilation of local Sitreps, issue of Propaganda pamphlets and encouragement of the Chin Rebels every night devolved upon his shoulders.

He often remained alone and acted for Colonel Stevenson in the Lumbang Area whenever the latter had to move to Tiddim or Imphal on emergency duties. He occasionally liaised with the CHINFORCE then also operating in the Sokte-Lumbang areas. The result of this effort was the showing round the 17th Div HQ at Tiddim, of one of the many heads of Japanese killed in action with the CHINWAGS. In fact he was Col. Stevenson's right-hand man, and as such all the interrogation of suspects etc. were recorded by him. On the day of evacuation of Falam he escorted a certain number of shot guns which were later used by the rebels before other arms were received. As the result of his effective propaganda more than one hundred of these guns were successfully hidden throughout enemy occupation despite severe threats, and used against the enemy on the eve of reoccupation.

All these praiseworthy services were rendered by him under no mean test of loyalty when his own village Thuklai, near Fort White, was then already under the domination of the invaders, his own wife and parents being in enemy hands.

On the evacuation of Tiddim, he was given Surplus leave by Colonel Kelly, OBE and we parted, having given all the secret instructions we wished him to follow during our absence. True to the secret instructions he did brilliantly everything he could do in the circumstances. Under the compulsion of the enemy and confidential prevalence of the pro-British Chiefs and people, he had perforce to work unwillingly, but actually stood by his fellow Chiefs and Levies who had to remain in their villages. This had proved a blessing in disguise as he thereby skillfully succeeded in saving the lives of so many loyal Chiefs who were also Levy Company Commanders and other influential Government servants on the black list of the enemy.

Were it not for his courageous intermediary, to name a few instances, Chief Thawng Za Khup, A.T.M. of the Saizang Tribal Area as well as other Government servants like Subedar Khup Za Neng, B.G.M., etc. should have been mercilessly tortured by the Japanese. All this time he was under the strict surveillance of the enemy. His devotion and rebuffing of Jap attempts to seduce Chins' allegiance and his altruism during our temporary absence is only too wellknown in the locality.

When in September 1944, Major C. L. Burne, M.C. and myself, with a body of Levies and local armed men crossed over to enemy occupied territory on the East bank of the Manipur river, then in its maximum of high flood, Mr Vum Khaw Hau became a leading light in the operations in the Fort White Sector before the fall of Tiddim. This Force gained very considerable success against the enemy in its rebellion and rightflanked 5 Indian Division in its advance through Chin Hills down to the plains.

He was one of the prominent Organisers and Leaders of this rebellion. He was the man in whom we put confidence and who volunteered to collect intelligence from enemy occupied areas and the rebels were successful largely due to the accurate reports he personally collected at

a very great physical risk. These displayed proof of outstanding ability, influence, initiative and tactfulness in dealing with people. These exceptions and dangerous achievements are superior to what duties one might expect from an ordinary leader.

The other aspects of life are also worth mentioning. As soon as the local American Baptist Missionaries left the Hills, he was chosen by the Christian community as Honorary Treasurer and Secretary. He was responsible for the reprinting of the Chin Hymnal Books in India. Beside these he also took keen interest for the cause of education for his people. His family is also a pioneer of coffee growing in the Hills which has set a very good example in agriculture.

"He hails from a respectable family - one of the ruling lines of Thuklai. He earns the love and respect of people on account of his ingenuity. He has a grasp of present-day ideas and is progressive in outlook".

The Officers and Commanders of the resistance movements were known as Bo or Bogyi among themselves during the war. In the field the corresponding British officers had the acting ranks approximately as follows. A platoon commander held the rank of a Captain, a Company commander that of a Major that of a Battalion commander Colonel and a brigade by a Brigadier General and an army by a General. On the other hand I found that in the Japanese imperial army a three line two stars officer, Lieutenant was sometimes given the task of commanding a platoon or even a company when we first encountered in the Chin Hills. Since the Free Chins were under nobody's direct control but a partisan resistance army, a company commander and a war leader holding the approximate charge of a company was regarded as holding the rank of a Major and so on in the same way as the locally engaged British army officers holding temporary emergency acting ranks. As the Chin Hills were then in no man's land the Prominent Organizers of the rebellion not only wielded the power of generals but also that of members of war cabinet since they decided to declare war on the Japanese by themselves and commanded their own army. As the British army officer who was present nearest the Resistance Movement Area recorded, the FREE CHINS were not rationed nor were they paid by the Allied or other forces engaged in the India-Burma Theatre of War. We issued orders to the effect that actual killers of the enemies were to be immediately given a Red Flash by the Platoon or the Company Commander present in the front at the time. It was the highest form of decoration for valour in the field. Some of the commanders performed the usual festival of victory immediately after the event. Some of my CDA members took the greatest relish when they had the opportunity to take the life of the more brutal enemy instructors. Some of them still suffer from bleeding of the ear which was caused by the too often slappings of the wicked enemy drill instructors.

If nothing else the Farewell Order of the Day dated 13 February 1945 by the 4 CORPS COMMANDER, General Sir Frank W. MESSERVEY, KCSI., KBE., CB., DSO to the Members of the Free Chins should be of immense pride for upholding their innate valour.

"It will always be a matter of great pride to you and your sons to know that this great result has been achieved to a considerable extent by your own warlike efforts in defence of your homes, and driving the Japanese for ever from your country.

I wish you all the best of luck in the future, and thank you for all you have done to bring about the great victory of 1944/1945 against the Jap".

Some correspondence addressed to the author in connection with the Organization of the Siyin Independence Army of the FREE CHINS in 1944.

Dear Mr Vum Khaw Hau,

Damn good show for the grand job of work you have done and been doing. We are extremely anxious to hear the outcome of the SUAH LIM show.

I think, the quicker we get your family and other important persons behind the screen, the better, as the 60 reported now at PHUNOM can divert anywhere they like.

- (1) We shall greatly appreciate if Suang Hau Thang, Lian Thawng, Sumbedar Thuam Chin and other notables can be called.
- (2) O.C. will not object to Chiefs and families coming over to us voluntarily. This applies to important and Jap blacklisted persons as well.

As for the mass of the peoples from the Valley, we can assure that it is only a question of a few days before our troops arrive. So, would it not be advisable if they hide food in the jungle and keep themselves out of the houses, if Jap punitive party attempts to come.

Arrangements re: this FREE CHIN MOVEMENT, in *all respects*, sounds extremely O.K. Please extend my congratulations to MESSRS SON NGUL and COMPANY for their impending appointments in the FREEDOM MOVEMENT. Chief Hau Za Lian will come to see his men on 21-9-1944. He will tell you details.

Better times soon

Yours sincerely,
Thawng Chin Thang
20-9-1944

P.S.

V. Good news just received.
Please ask Mr Suak Pum

My dear Mr Vum Khaw Hau,

Thanks for all your chittis. The information contained in one of them is greatly appreciated by O.C. How nice would it be if you can get your family out soonest. Human life is important whereas property can be acquired later during the lifetime of a person.

Mid-night news is that the enemy is contemplating to shell Mualbem, Saizang and Ciimnuai from Thalciangka and Thahpuang, from M.S. 71½. 500 sick Japs below LEILUM. They are purposely left behind by the fit men who are reported to have completed evacuation.

Yours sincerely,
Thawng Chin Thang
21-9-1944

Mr Vum Khaw Hau
Adv. SIA H.Q.

MR VUM KHAW HAU

Thank you for your interesting information. Every letter I receive asks me to send reinforcements, rifles and so on to different places. If I did all I was asked to do, I would need a division. I cannot give you our plans, even if I knew them, but you can assure people that there will be no Japs left in the Hills, after a very short time. No person can win a war if he attempts to give each individual village, or tribal area, support. The reason the Japs are now being defeated is because 17 Div were withdrawn from Tiddim. This brought much trouble to the Chins — (it brought more trouble to the Japs) — but had not 17 Div withdrew, it, by itself, would have been defeated and the Japs victorious instead of defeated, as they are now, and you would have had to bear with them for a much longer time.

Naturally I want every Chin to help in the war against the Japs and this can best be done by giving information to us and denying food and cooly labour to the Japs as much as possible. I cannot divert troops to garrison the Siyin Valley unless it fits in with the general plan. This will be done if, and when, it does suit the general plan. I want to help every Chin, regardless of tribe, so I cannot favour one tribe at the expense of others.

Your plans are approved, though they may have to be altered as circumstances alter. Good luck to you and A.N. in the excellent work you are doing. I think you will find that the Japs will be much too busy to send punitive expeditions to individual villages. They may, however, try and catch influential persons and use them as hostages and this must be avoided at all costs.

Mr Vum Khaw Hau
Free Chins Fwd H.Q.

C. L. Burne
22-9-1944

Dear Awn Ngin and Vum Khaw Hau,

Many thanks for your letters of congratulation. I feel rather ashamed of being awarded the M.C. when I have been sitting back at MUALBEM while everyone else has been doing the fighting, so I hope that all FREE CHINS and LEVIES will regard it as a general award to them for the magnificent works they have been doing.

I am moving South on the 30th Oct. The best of luck to you both, and thanks for all the help you have given me. I hope we shall meet again one of these days. I have little doubt but that your troubles will soon be over, and that it will not now be long before the last Jap has been driven from the Hills.

Yours sincerely,
C. L. Burne
27-10-1944

Mr Vum Khaw Hau
Free Chins Fwd HQ

To:

Mr. VUM KHAW HAU
ORGANISING SECRETARY
S.I.A.

My dear Mr. Vum Khaw Hau,

It is sad that the three Limkhai S.I.A.s including the younger brother of Platoon Commander Suang Lian lost their lives but everybody admires their spirit in that death in the fighting in defence of one's own land is most honorable. A condolence message is being sent to the bereaved.

Re: the *Luangman*, this will be paid but will have to await the arrival of S.C.A.O., in one or two days' time as we are completely broke of money.

I am not sure if you have heard the rumour that Chief Thang Tin Lian and Mr Shiah Lwe were arrested by troops on the fall of Falam. I believe I heard so. As for Lian Lwe, the news is rather colossal — unconfirmed rumours say that he committed suicide. I do not know if it is true or not.

Pse let U Awn Ngin also know and if possible the latter part of the last paragraph may please be not published yet.

Yours — in — haste

Thawng Chin Thang

27-10-1944

JAPANESE DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THE CHIN SOLDIERS

The Japanese army occupied Tennasserim within a few days and Rangoon was threatened within a few weeks. Sittang was one of the last defences put up by the Chin members of the Burma Rifles. Many of the members of the Burma Rifles and of the Burma Frontier Force were taken prisoners. Some written condolences were received up to the time they occupied Moulmein. One of them was for the death in action of Kang Thawng. The troops in Burma were too busy evacuating themselves. The Indian civilian population trekked back to India by way of the Kalewa-Tamu road. There were no medical facilities on the road; many of the evacuees succumbed to hunger, thirst, fatigue and cholera.

The only remaining part of British Burma was the Chin Hills. These hills were defended by the Chin themselves. The Siyin Levies, the Sukte Levies, the Chin Hills battalion, and the Haka Levies defended in the areas overlooking the Gangaw Valley up to the hills overlooking the Kale-Kabaw valley as far as Tamu.

The fate of many of the members of the various army units in Burma was unknown. Suddenly Chin members of the Myitkyina Battalion were released unconditionally by the Japanese and they came home, safe and sound. I talked by telephone to Tuang Thawng for the better part of one hour from No. 3 stockade when I was in Falam. The Japanese officers told them that they were not their enemies and that they might go back to the Chin Hills, telling them that in due course they would take the whole of the Chin Hills as well as India. They brought only good news about the behaviour of the Japanese troops.

One of the last prisoners of war to arrive at Thuklai was Naik (now Captain) Lian Kho Pau who was kept in jail a very long time by the Japanese. He reached home in the Chin Hills at the time when villagers had already shifted into the jungle taungya huts. He was presumed lost and his sudden appearance was a great joy to his relatives.

The whole of Burma including Kalembo was occupied by Japanese army in early 1942. But, it was possible for any Chin to visit Kalembo and meet the Japanese authorities there. Beside travellers from the Chin Hills, all the Chin shopkeepers in Kalembo were still residing there. There were courteous to the Chins as much as possible. There were Japanese sentries at the gates of Kale but they never questioned people from the Chin Hills.

When the British officers with the help of the leading Chins organized the Chin Levies security measures were tightened on both sides. The evacuation of Rangoon began on the 21st February 1942 and it was abandoned by the army on the 7th March 1942.

By June 1942 the British and Chinese forces had been almost completely driven out of Burma into India and China. The Governor of Burma flew to India from Myitkyina in the far north of Burma on 4th May 1942, under orders from the Prime Minister. On arrival in overcrowded India accommodation could be found for him only in Simla where he gathered round him, 1000 miles from the frontier of Burma, the nucleus of a headquarters and re-established a civil government of Burma.

The frontier fringe was all that was left of his territory. In this, immediately to the north of Arakan, lay the Chin Hills District, free of Japanese occupation. Full normal, or even strengthened, staff was carried on, but one very great difference and handicap resulted from war conditions. Whereas previously the communications and the economic links of the area had lain to the east, down the hills into the plains of Burma, now these had to be severed, if extensive leakage of information into Burma was to be prevented, and be replaced by communications to the west through the hills into India, if British administration was to survive at all.

Along the whole length of the fringe, after all regular forces had retreated from Burma into India, irregular units were raised under British officers, to serve as a defensive screen and to gain information about the enemy.

In the Chin Hills, between the two V force areas to south and north, the screen was formed by the Chin Levies originally raised by civil officers of the Government of Burma, and supported by a battalion of the Burma Frontier Force which was a kind of frontier constabulary, between a regular military force and a civil police force. The bulk of the regular forces lay back across the border of India, near Cox's Bazaar in Chittagong, and in the Imphal plain in the Indian State of Manipur. A great deal of the work of the civil officers along the whole length of the frontier fringe, but more particularly in the Chin Hills and Fort Hertz areas, had to do with the organization and support of the levies, even when these were placed under military control. Deputy Commissioners, civil officers appointed by and under the control of, the Government of Burma, and performing their normal civil administrative duties, conducted the administration in the Chin Hills, the Upper Chindwin, and the Naga Hills Districts.

Two years after the fall of plains of Burma, the Chin Hills was the only unoccupied part of British Burma. This was due to the resistance against the Japanese by an army of local men of the Chin Hills, under various organisations. The Chin Levies, The Chinwag, The Chinforce, and the Chin Hills Battalion of the Burma Frontier Force under various commanders. The Letha Range or Thangmual (Fort White mountains) the first long range of Hills form a great barrier to the Japanese invaders. The first range that is the Thangmual rises to a height of 7000 feet from the Kale-Kabaw Valley which is one of the rich rice fields of Upper Burma.

The Japanese army had attempted to invade the Chin Hills on numerous occasions from Kalembo but they were repulsed by the Siyin and Sokte Levies at times helped by the members of the Chin Hills battalion which was composed of Ghins themselves. They had tried at various places such as at No. 3 stockade, Sihaung, Dolluang, Ngazang. Since India is too far from the South Chin Hills, the Japanese main invasion of India was directed through the Tiddim division via Kalembo-Fort White-Tiddim-Tonzang to Bishenpur and thence to the Imphal Valley.

We evacuated Tiddim on the 13th March 1944 when we found ourselves surrounded and cut off by the Japanese imperial troops. I was then the Chief Clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office, Tiddim. Since the formation of the Chin Levies by the Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills I had acted as the Chief of Staff for the Chin Levies. There was little office routine to excute and my main duties were to look after and co-ordinate the Levies organisation especially in the absence of my Deputy Commissioner who was then the ex officio Commander of the Chin Levies. He was in fact the founder of the modern Levies after the second world war and whenever he left headquarters he left everything in my hands. I had to indent the ration and clothing supplies of the levies and acted as Cypher Officer and Chief Adjutant. But my main

office was as Chief of Staff to Colonel Stevenson, the founder of modern Chin Levies. Until his arrival in the Chin Hills from India after the evacuation of Burma some other civilian officers such as Col. Kelly acted as Commander of the Tiddim Levies. He did so much work for the Tiddim Levies which comprised of the Siyins and Soktes in the A Levies and others in the B category who were known as homeguards. The former had more active duties in the front against the Japanese facing the Kale-Kabaw valley after the Japanese occupation. At the outset of the Japanese occupation of Kalembo it was possible for the Chins to visit any of the Japanese headquarters in Kalembo. Later this was tightened up by both sides.

During those days the Japanese army told the visitors that they would advance in due course to take India and that no one need worry because they came to liberate Burma and India and not to molest them. They won the hearts of many men in the Chin Hills. In due course most of the Chins serving in the Chin Hills Battalion called the Mytkyina Battalion and those serving in the Burma Rifles and taken prisoner by the Japanese in Lower and Upper Burma were released without condition but to return to their Chin Hills and to help their families. This served as good propaganda also. As soon as they arrived in the Chin Hills they were rounded up by the British either to serve in the Chin Levies or as a separate unit. They had known defeat in Burma and they had seen the superiority of the invading army. They had little hope of resisting the advance of the Japanese army through the Chin Hills into India and they had no interest in defending India.

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JAPANESE ENCOUNTER WITH THE SIYIN LEVIES.

Very severe fighting between the Japanese troops and the Siyin Levies occurred in the No. 2 stockade-Ngalzang sector on the 4th October 1943. The Siyin Levy outposts on the east of Letha range in this sector were at Ngalzang, Suangpi, Pimpi and Mualbem areas. These outposts were under the command of the Chief of Buanman Bohmu Thian Pum who led his tribal clan personally. His area being in no-man's-land between Japanese occupied Kalemvo vally and the Chin Hills he and his men had the most frequent encounters among the Levy Commanders.

On the 4th of October 1943 during the fiercest fighting the Chief who personally led his men was wounded in action and was carried by his men through the jungle paths to the Tiddim hospital twenty miles on foot.

The encounters between the Buanman Siyin Levies and the Japanese advance troops into the Chin Hills on their march "On to Delhi" is best described by Major J. N. Carpenter, M. C., Officer Commanding, East Siyin sector who gave Chief Bohmu Thian Pum a Certificate at the end of the war. Capt. Shaw and Col. Kelly also gave him certificates which speak for themselves :

CERTIFICATE GIVEN BY MAJOR J.N. CARPENTER, M.C.
of the CHIN LEVIES, S. E. ASIA COMMAND

TO

CHIEF BOHMU THIAN PUM, CHIEF OF BUANMAN,
SIYIN VALLEY, CHIN HILLS, BURMA.

When I first came to the Chin Hills in May 1942 as one of the original few officers to form the CHIN LEVIES I came into contact with Chief Thian Pum and upto my departure from the Chin Hills in February 1944 we were together practically throughout that period.

The following is a brief summary of events and actions carried out by Chief Thian Pum's Levy Company.

1. Chief Thian Pum took a leading part and active part in the Chin Levy Organisation throughout, from its conception, birth and eventual disbandment.
2. He personally led his men bravely and fearlessly in all sections, patrols and skirmishes against the Japanese.

Buanman Levies were one of the first to be formed and remained on active duty even when the enemy penetrated deeply into the Chin Hills, by being a flank and rear of the enemy at all time.

They were posted in vital sectors, viz : Ngalzang, and Fort White respectively. (The Chin Hills through No. 3 Stockade and Fort White Area).

During the brigade attack on No. 3 Stockade this Company severed Jap land and communications with their rear H.Q. thus contributing greatly to the success of the

6. This was the First Company to carry out organised attacks regularly on the Jap Transport between No. 2 and No. 3 Stockades with great successes.
7. It was through this Coy. at Ngazang that vital information was regularly received and passed on to Higher Army Formation and acknowledged with great appreciation, of all Jap activities in the foot-hills and No. 3 Stockade.
8. This Levy Coy has the distinction of being the first and only Levy Coy to participate in a planned frontal attack on the Japs at Ngazang, during which action they acquitted themselves well and Chief Thian Pum was wounded. (This was not expected to be the role of Levies but they volunteered and did not flinch).
9. Simultaneously another party led by me attacked the Japs from the rear and prevented re-inforcements from coming up and also enemy wounded from being evacuated.
10. This Coy suffered the campaign.
11. This Coy was the only Levy Coy and the first formation in the Hills to be subjected to prolonged and constant Arty bombardment by the Japs and I must record that the men never wavered or faltered under this but stood admirably well and were ready for the enemy when they did eventually put in an attack. Thian Pum at this time showed exceptional courage and set the finest example to his men under the most trying circumstances, and deserves high praise and commendation and was entirely responsible for the actions of his men.

Early in 1942 when we were faced with a crisis and ultimatum from the most influential Chin Chief to leave the Hills in face of a superior and victorious enemy, it is to the credit of the Siyins that they opposed this and were determined to fight and defend their homes no matter what the odds were against them. In this Chief Thian Pum also played a conspicuous part and rallied his Chins and went ahead with offensive plans in spite of opposition from his own Chin Chiefs.

I consider this the greatest act of allegiance to the British any Chieftain could ever pay and is deserving of some form of recognition now that victory has been won.

The above are all true facts and very briefly sketched but all prove and show that Chief Thian Pum has a war record of service for which all concerned may well be proud.

J. N. Carpenter, M. C.
Major.

Prome, 28th May 1947.

C E R T I F I C A T E

I hereby certify that THIAN PUM, Chief of Buanman has rendered excellent services in the British Government against the Japs in the following places :

In 1942, during the Japs aggression, in Kalembo, he worked as a Company Commander of the Western Chin Levies during which time he fought the Japs gallantly at NGALZANG in which action he was wounded in his right leg on the 4th October 1943.

When the British Troops evacuated from the Chin Hills he remained in his village. During that temporary occupation of the Chin Hills by the Japs he received maltreatment as reprisal for the conspicuous services rendered to the British Government.

When Capt. C. L. Burne, M. C. and Lt Thawng Chin Than's party crossed the Manipur River he reported to them at Mualbem on the 18th September 1944.

He returned home from there and formed S.I.A. in his tribal area; he succeeded in all his schemes and organisation in getting rid of the Japs until the area was cleared of Japs weeks before the arrival of British forces.

K. L. Shaw
Captain,
O. C. Western Chin Levies,
Siyin Area.

Office of the S.C.A.O., Chin Hills District.
Dated Camp Khuasak, the 18th January 1945.

P E R M I T

THIAN PUM, Chief of the Buanman Tracts of the Siyin area is permitted to proceed to Kalembo to satisfy his curiosity regarding the landing of aeroplanes there. This will have good propaganda value in the Chin Hills and it is requested that he be given reasonable facilities to approach the air port and to see any air activity that may be permitted by the authorities without breach of security.

This Chief took a leading part in the Chin Levy Organisation from April 1942 to date and was wounded in action.

N. W. Kelly 18/1/45
Lt. Colonel, O.B.E., B.Fr.S.,
SCAO, CHIN HILLS, SEAC.

When Commander Chief Thian Pum was wounded in action his men had to carry him to Tiddim. Other Levies also withdrew by the Vuikha (Strong Wind) pass into the Siyin Valley some three thousand feet below. On the general withdrawal from the Fort White-Ngalzang sector the Gurkha and Punjabis by mistake started shooting each other.

Early the next morning just after the Siyin Levy officers arrived at Thuklai, Buanman and Khawsak the Japanese field artillery started shelling the Siyin Valley for the first time. From that day the Siyins started evacuating their valuable properties into the jungle huts.

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CHIN LEVIES AGAINST THE JAPANESE ARMY IN THE CHIN HILLS

South of the No. 3 Stockade the Japanese attempted an advance to Falam on the Natchaung road. They were met by the Khuangsai Company Commander of the Chin troops under Subedar Hawl Shuh and the enemy were halted. The Subedar moved down to meet the enemy half way down the road and many were killed. He personally used the Khukri in the encounter. For his most gallant deeds the Government of Burma, then in Simla, awarded him the B.G.M. (Burma Gallantry Medal) the V.C. of British Burma.

At Lungto, the southern most defence post of unoccupied British Burma some 200 miles south of the main divisional H.Q. Tiddim a combined force of the I.N.A. Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army and the Japanese troops led by some guerilla troops advanced into the defence areas of a Siyin platoon commanded by Subedar Ngin Zam. They captured some enemy alive. A second attempt to infiltrate into south Chin Hills was again halted there by the gallant deeds of Subedar Ngin Zam and his Siyin soldiers. As the most senior local officer of the Chin Hills Battalion he led his men down to the plains of Burma where he won the appreciation of all his battalion commanders. He was granted King's commission and promoted to Captain in a short time. He was granted the highest civilian title available to an army officer the Order of Burma to which was attached an honorarium of one rupee per diem.

Captain Ngin Zam, O.B., B.G.M. had the honour of meeting Bogyoke Aung San at Meiktila when the latter became Counsellor for Defence to the Governor of Burma. Bogyoke Aung San inspected the Chin Hills Battalion at Meiktila and took a longer time in talking with the Chin Bogyi than with the Commanding officer of the Battalion and also sat for a group photograph with them. Bogyoke Aung San told me that he was very much impressed with his meeting with Bogyi Ngin Zam. It was the first indigenous battalion officially inspected by Bogyoke Aung San as Counsellor for Defence.

Although the regular divisions attempting to hold Burma had withdrawn towards the end of 1942, the Chin Hills remained safeguarded by the Members of the various local forces namely the Chin Levies, the Chin Hills Battalion, the Chinforce, and the Chinwags. The Chin Levies comprised of the Siyin, Sukte and Haka Levies. The names of the Chin Levies, the Chin guerillas and the Chin Hills Battalion began to be broadcasted on the air from the BBC London and the All India Radio. Up to the end of 1943 the local organisations alone were defending the Chin Hills which is the frontier gate of India. No Indian force arrived to reinforce the local Chins in the defence of the Chin Hills. The names of Subedar Thang Thio of No. 3 Stockade; Bogyi Chief Thian Pum of Ngazang, Subedar Hawl Shuh of Natchaung and Subedar Ngin Zam of Lungto were household words in those days.

Since the beginning of the second world war the Deputy Commissioner, Chin Hills acted as Chief Commander and Organiser of the Chin Levies for resistance against the Japanese army. I being the most senior local staff was used as chief of staff and adviser of the resistance movements. The Deputy Commissioner acting as chief commander. The local battalion commandant had no control over the levy organisation as the chiefs, headmen and company com-

manders who were drawn from pure civilian jobs refused to serve under professional military officers. The first demand for them was to serve under their respective Assistant Superintendents and not under regular army officers. This idea of levy organisation volunteered by the people succeeded in two divisions namely in the Tiddim led by the Siyins and Soktes and from the Haka division. The Falam chiefs refused to serve in the levy organisation.

In the Tiddim, most of the Siyins Chiefs and the Sakte Chiefs volunteered to serve as Company Commanders leading their respective tribes. Their tribes agreed to served under their own Chiefs. In place of the Khuasak Chief, retired Subedar Thuam Chin, TDM., IDSM., KPM., Jangi-I-Nam served as Company Commander. The Buanmans were led by their Chief Thian Pum, the Lopheis led by Chief Suang Hau Thang, A.T.M. and the Limkhais by Chief Pau Kam. The Thuklai Levies were led first by On Cin but replaced by Chief Lam Khaw Mang after sometime. Chief Pumzamang refused to lead his tribesmen but some levies were formed from his area and classified as home guards and also known as B levies. He expected a Japanese victory and refused to lead his tribesmen. The Zos and Thados however were taken under their independent headmen and served also as homeguards. In the Haka areas, some chiefs served as company commanders but some served under outstanding individuals like Za Hu who was responsible for occupying a part of the Gangaw area on the eve of reoccupation.

The Siyin Levies and the Sakte Levies were responsible for guarding and defending the Letha range from north to south. This long range of Letha looks down the length of Kale-Kabaw valley and any enemy approaching the Chin Hills could be repulsed from the natural fort with heavy enemy casualties and little casualties from the defenders. This had been the experience from time immemorial. The most recent defeat of enemy invasion was that of the British army in 1888-95 after their occupation of Upper Burma under King Thibaw. It took the British 7 years to fully administer the whole of the Chin Hills. The first force was under the general command of General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B., (later Field Marshall Sir George White, V.C., GCMG.) and under the direct command of General Faunce and General Symon. The Chin Hills were then under the sovereignty of their own chiefs who served as their own Kings and they were never under anybody's sovereignty. The south, only in the south Arakan Yoma and the plains on the west of the Irrawaddy, used to pay tributes to the Kings of Ava. The northern Zo Chins who occupied the Trakan and the Chittagong Hill tracts used to invade the Assam and Manipur areas. When the British superceeded the East India Company and occupied Upper Burma the Zo (Yaw) Chins began to harass the new occupying troops. Sometimes this was done in collaboration with the Yaws in the plains Burma.

The period of service with the Chin Levies ended with the fall of Haka and Tiddim. Although the Levy organisation was not successful in the Falam subdivision, among all the five Chiefs the Lumbang Chief and some followers joined the Chinwag organisation which was formed after the evacuation of the district headquarters in Falam under the direct command of Col. Stevenson and me. This special force consisted of the Zanniats and the Siyins. Our main target was to harass the enemy from penetrating too deep into the Chin Hills too early before the arrival of the main 17th Indian Division into Tiddim and the Siyin country around Fort White and Kalemyo. The members of the Chin Hills Battalion under their commander had withdrawn to

Tiddim and to Imphal; the Chinforce also a separate force under the personal command of Major Peebles with Kham Cin Khai operated from the jungles of the Tiddim area. The Chinwags saw service right inside the Chin Hills at various tracts leading to Falam and Tiddim and from Tiddim as well. The Commander, Col. Stevenson and a few of us were present at the jungle stockade above no. 3 stockade the day there was severe encounter with the Japanese troops at Leisan Mual the traditionally most difficult fort between the Chin Hills and Burma. On that very day Jemadar Ghaje Ghale won the coveted Victoria Cross at Leisan Mual in the Siyin country. Some of us, Siyin members of the Chinwag moved from the Falam subdivision to the Tiddim subdivision areas but under the orders of the commander and in his absence under my orders. We used to get airdroppings from the RAF supply planes at Thutmual, and I acted most of the time as chief of staff, cypher officer, quartermaster general, brigade major and even as signal officer and paymaster.

We camped in the jungles of Thutmual, Vazang, Dondang, and Pine tree camps. I insisted that the air drop should be as close as possible to the forward headquarters of the Chinwag so that the morale of the local people would be always high. I had the satisfaction of knowing it was so up to the very day of the evacuation of Tiddim, the stronghold of the British troops in British Burma in 1943-44.

All this time Burma proper, east of the Letha Range including all the hills of frontiers of Burma, had been occupied by the Japanese army for nearly three years.

I have great admiration for the espionage system of the Japanese army. I found out later that some Japanese army spies succeeded in visiting Tiddim and watching the motor convoys going and coming from Tiddim to Fort White from places between Tiddim and Fort White. Also they mixed with coolies collecting air drops in Tiddim. They also visited camps above Mualbem and above Thuklai long before they occupied Fort White and the Siyin Valley. One interesting occasion was when a company of mountain battery erected a very big gun below Leilum and was spotted by Japanese spies who were hiding near that very spot on their way to spy on Tiddim. The big gun position was shelled by the Japanese from Kalemmyo within a few days and destroyed. Another instance was when a British platoon stationed below Tiddim was about to move. One soldier remained behind after the others had gone. A Japanese spy saw him and shot him with his pistol in the head from behind. During the organisation of the Chin Levies, the Deputy Commissioner had become the Commander in Chief of the Levies and his office the general headquarters.

As all the staff except me were foreigners whom he could not trust I acted as the Chief Adjutant in all affairs connected with the Chin Levies and the war in general.

At first I was holding my substantive post of a Stenographer which was created in order to give me promotion and no military rank for the Chin Levies was easy to create locally. On the other hand junior Indian officers rank no longer appealed to me since men with less education and intelligence from the locality began to be granted King's Commission.

When I had served in the capacity of chief adjutant for two years I held the combined jobs of propaganda officer, quartermaster general, cypher officer, and recce officer. In 1943 on the recommendation of the local district commander Col. Stevenson I was made Chief Clerk

by Brigadier L. B. Naylor, CBE Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer, Imphal with the rank of Subedar-Major and entitled to B.T. (British Troops) ration. I drew the B.T. ration regularly but I had no desire of using the inferior ranks meant for Indian officers. I met some highly educated Indian officers still holding I.O. rank. There was a joke that some gentlemen holding I.O. ranks and riding on horse back used to lower their shoulders in order that other ranks marching on the road may salute them. Most of the Indian officers holding King's Commissions had the rank of lieutenant only. They were usually in the supply department or medical sections. I often heard Indian and Anglo-Burmese officers wearing Lieutenant pips being addressed as Subedar Sahab by their British fellow officers.

Although these I.O. officers fought as much as the regular officers and men the distinction for rank and colour bar was always there and it was a wise move of the Siyin and Sukte Chiefs when they decided not to serve under regular military officers and declined to wear I.O. ranks. They decided to be called simply as Company Commanders, (Bogyi) Platoon Commanders and Platoon Leaders, Section Leaders, Sector Commanders, Battalion Commanders, Siyin Commanders, Sukte Commanders, Chinwag Commanders, Chinforce Commanders — the latter in sections. Two staff officers under the Assistant Superintendent, Tiddim accepted the local rank of Honorary Jemadars. Chief Bohmu Lian Thawng of Khuasak, Chief Suang Hau Thang of Lophei and Chief Thawng Za Khup of Saizang were awarded the titles of A.T.M. for the work of the Siyin and Sukte Levies against the enemy.

I helped the Deputy Commissioner, Chin Hills with the organisation of the Chin Levies and with Col. Stevenson we founded the Chinwag organisation which comprised mainly of the remnant of the Deputy Commissioner's staff and evacuated East of the Manipur river instead of evacuating on the west bank of the river to safety as was done by the foreign elements. At first with myself as the chief of staff and brigade major under Col. Stevenson, the Chinwag started operations east of the Manipur river. The officers and men comprised of clerks, interpreters, police constables, village school teachers on surplus leave, men of the Burma Rifles on leave or deserters, village headmen, and ordinary villagers. In most villages our means of transport were the women folk and they played an important role.

Under Col. Stevenson the organisation of the Levies in Burma, after the organisation of the new Chinwag after the failure of some levy organisations I served as Chief Adjutant, Chief of Staff, Cypher Officer together with Bo Lian Kho Mang (now Dy. Supt of Police) I usually slept at two or three o'clock in the morning as it was the usual time we finish coding and decoding messages for the day. He was my Deputy Cypher Officer and Supply Officer cum Intelligence Officer.

It was on account of these multifarious duties executed day and night which prompted my commander to recommend me for a higher post. He succeeded in making me Chief Clerk which held the rank of Subedar-Major and I was entitled to draw B.T. (British Troops) ration. I was the only Chin officer entitled to a British troops ration in the area. As I had toothache (and there was no dentist in the whole area), I found from experience that I.T. rations affected my teeth very much and the promotion to B.T. ration solved to a certain extent the food problem. I began to get Wild Woodbine cigarettes instead of the V cigarettes. I have never been a habitual smoker

(I did not dare to become one as my Baptist father would not let his children smoke cigarettes or eat chillies, the latter he said led one to excess gluttony). Through my tours organising the Levies and Chinwags I met a friend of mine Vung Suan (Doctor Vung Suan MBBS) who was another victim of toothache and I shared his toothache cure whenever I passed his camp near Tonzang. Many of my schoolmates who were more junior to me in age were then working as clerks on the Tiddim/Imphal emergency motor road construction. Some worked as clerks in the the subdivisional levy offices. Some of them helped our organisation as intelligence officers. One of my nephews Khai Mun Mang began as a Levy man. He is now Captain Khai Mun Mang, B. A.

About my services as Chief of Staff and Organisator of the Chinwag and the S.I. Army the Chinwag organisation, the Commander's certificates will speak for the said resistance movements as well as the Chin leaders taking part in the movements.

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"FIGHTING IN FORT WHITE" SIYIN VALLEY AREA.

"During the monsoon of 1943, there was one serious clash between the opposing armies along the length of the north-eastern frontier. Japanese forces had moved into the Kachin and Chin Hills as the monsoon approached."

Their advance into the Chin Hills however led to fighting between Fort White and Kalembo. General Scoones (IV Corps) had intended to withdraw the whole of 17th Indian Division from the Tiddim area at the beginning of the monsoon, since the newly constructed road was liable to landslides and flooding, and the mountain peaks, enshrouded in mist during the monsoon period, made air supply difficult, dangerous and unreliable. I was at 102ms; ms 82 Cikha Salt Valley and at Singgial.

But when the Chin Levies were driven from both no. 2 and 3 Stockade and Japanese forces threatened Fort White, Scoones (General Sir Geoffrey A.P. Scoones, KCB., CSI., DSO., OBE., MC.) decided to take the offensive in the Chin Hills. He ordered 48th Brigade (Brigadier R.T. Cameron DSO) which was working on the road north of Tiddim covered by 2/5th Royal Gurkhas in the Kennedy Peak area, to concentrate near Tiddim and then reoccupy the Stockades.

The brigade, maintained along the Tiddim road by jeep convoys supplemented by air supply, was without any artillery support, but it could call for tactical air support by means of an air tentacle attached to brigade headquarters. After considerable preliminary skirmishes during which several small posts changed hands, Cameron ordered a deliberate attack, covered by an air bombardment, to be made on the 26th May by a composite battalion found from 2/5th and 1/4th Gurkhas in order to clear the hill overlooking No. 3 Stockade as a preliminary to its capture. He kept 1/7th Gurkhas in reserve holding the Kennedy Peak area. Although rain and cloud prevented the air bombardment from being carried out, the attack succeeded in taking the hill at a cost of some 150 casualties after fierce hand-to-hand fighting. (During this action, Havildar Gaje Ghale of 2/5th Gurkhas earned the Victoria Cross). It soon became evident that the Japanese strength and superiority in artillery precluded any possibility of retaking No. 3 Stockade. The 48th Brigade was therefore ordered to withdraw to Fort White and Kennedy Peak where it could be supplied with less difficulty. At the end of June, it was relieved by 63rd Brigade and withdrawn to Shillong for a rest". "History of the Second World War: India's Most Dangerous Hour".

After we had held for some two years the Chin Hills which is the eastern land frontier of India against Japanese invaders a brigade of the regular army began to arrive from India. I saw Brigadier R.T. Cameron, DSO first near Singgial MS 102 which was the motor road head from India. I again saw him on the day the combined formations of the Gurkhas. The Chin Levies and the Chinwags attempted to recapture No. 3 Stockade. I was in the vicinity with my own Chinwag commander Colonel N. Stevenson OBE. From among our group, Subedar Khup Za Neng was awarded the Burma Gallantry Medal (BGM). I was to meet Jemader Gaje Ghale V.C. and Subedar Khup Za Neng, B.G.M. under very different circumstances later. I had to rescue the latter together with some of the Lamzang elders after two days' torture by the Japanese some

six months later in Tiddim. I met for the first time in person Jemadar Gaje Ghale, (who won the Victoria Cross at our historic Leisan Mual only a few miles from my village) when he dropped in at Paris after attending the V.C. Centenary parade in London in 1957, I had been invited by the Nepali Ambassador to meet him. Paris is a long way from Leisan Mual and Fort White, in the Siyin Area.

APPLICATION FOR A CLASS ONE SERVICE

After having organised and formed the responsible political Freedom League which successfully looked after the interests of the defenceless local population; after holding dangerous patriotic jobs under the Japanese invaders; after having been a leading organiser and leader of the Siyin Independence Army there was no question of returning to my prewar substantive ministerial appointment. I decided to take charge, and expand the spirit and policy, of the Chin Leaders Freedom League and to merge with other suitable political organisations in Burma.

Meanwhile, some old officers whom I had known before the war advised me to apply for the King's Emergency Commission, before I thought of resigning. I put in applications and took long leave for the first time since entering the government service in the month of Burma's separation from India in April 1937.

After the Chin Hills-Kale-Kabaw-Gangaw area was cleared by our local Resistance movements and the allied troops, I applied for an Emergency Commission in the CAS(B). Lieut.-Colonel J. W. Leedham, B.F.R.S., CAS(B), SACO Chin Hills, SEA Command forwarded it on the sixth June 1945 to the DCCAO 505 Military District SEAC with the following remarks :

"I forward in duplicate the application for a Commission in CAS(B) of VUM KHAW HAU, now employed in this office. Certificates from officers under whom he has served speak for themselves.

There are no commissioned posts vacant in the Chin Hills, but applicant is willing to serve anywhere in Burma. He is fluent in English". Beside applying for an emergency commission I also applied for a collegiate scholarship and Study Leave direct from Sir Raibeart MacDougall one of the Counsellors to the Governor from whom I obtained my five prizes at the annual prize distribution in my high school final year when he was the Commissioner of the Sagaing division. In case I did not get a King's emergency commission or a gazetted post by the normal application I thought of attending the Rangoon university and getting an academic degree if that remained the only passport to become a gazetted officer or for success in life. The Director of Education Sir Alexander Campbell MA., MC kindly replied to my letter to Sir Raibeart MacDougall. My SCAO, Col. J. W. Leedham who was a kindly officer, after consulting me, replied to him on my behalf :

"Vum Khaw Hau has now reverted to his appointment as Stenographer to the SCAO Chin Hills. His opinion is that nothing under a degree will give him an appointment which would be promotion for him. I agree with this opinion. He could not afford to live for three years while studying for a degree, and could not obtain a degree after 28 months study if the maximum Study Leave were granted to him. As he is already 29 years of age, he would prefer to await the return of Civil Government in the hope that he would be given a better appoint-

ment in one of the new services being extended to these hills. More particularly he would be very suitable for appointment in charge of the Armed Police if they are raised in this district. For this he would require training at the Police School, Mandalay.

He has not been tried out in Administrative work. Lt. T. C. Thang was a Sub Inspector of School and is now a commissioned officer and a CAO. Vum Khaw Hau might be given a similar opportunity when occasion arises".

Beside an application for an Emergency Commission I put in a combined application for the Burma Police Class I and the Burma Frontier Service and the Burma Civil Service Class I, my preference being mentioned in that order. No reply came as regards my application for an Emergency Commission and also regarding Col. Leedham's recommendation for consideration of me in the Chin Hills armed force. The only reply I received from the Government was the following :

GOVERNMENT OF BURMA
HOME AND JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT
No. 149 HC 46 (1471)

Dated Rangoon, the 26th April 1946

With reference to his application dated the 9th March, 1946, addressed to the Director, Frontier Areas for appointment to the Burma Police, Class I, Mr. Vum Khaw Hau is informed that his application has been kept pending in this Department until orders were issued as to where the selection of candidates shall be made, whether in India by the Federal Public Service Commission, or in Rangoon by the Public Service Commission, Burma.

E. Larmour
26/4/46
for Chief Secretary.

Mr. Vum Khaw Hau
Stenographer to the Deputy Commissioner,
Chin Hills, Falam.

PLUNGE INTO POLITICS

At the end of second world war I intended to continue full time as politician in case application for direct appointment to one of the class one service hitherto preserved for the few 'heaven born' was forthcoming in due time. During the occupation of the Chin Hills by the Japanese Imperial Army I was the Chief politician of occupied Chin Hills with the H.Q. of the Japanese General at Tiddim in that I was the chairman of the Chin Leaders' Freedom League. This organisation aimed at looking after the interests of the local Chin people and keeping them from the clutches of the Japanese army authorities; they appealed to the local Japanese High Command whenever a person was accused by the Japanese kempetai or their quislings who were mostly recruited from the defunct Burma Rifles. These patriotic Chin leaders saved the lives of so many innocent Chins, some of whose lives were taken as easily as those of chickens during the early period of the Japanese occupation. This League was the forerunner of any civil administration should the Japanese permanently dominate the Chin Hills and Burma. Most of my colleagues were young but patriotic men who had seen resistance service since the declaration of war on Burma by Japan. Without the patriotic duties undertaken by these members of the Freedom League, the local people would have been requisitioned as they did for Thanbyu Zayat and perished on the Fort White-Imphal motor road. The local Kempetais and quislings had wicked intentions of reprisals on the families of those who were evacuated to India.

On the 26th April 1946, the vague letter from the Chief Secretary signed by E. Larmour reached me. Nothing more was heard by me up to the end of 1946. And I was still on leave and refused to report to the Deputy Commissioner's office. For a long time I had decided either for the Class I service or for full time politics as leader of my people as I had led during the Japanese occupation. Meanwhile, some direct appointments to the Burma Frontier Service and the Burma Civil Service Class I were notified. Most of these were filled by irregular British officers who had seen some service in Burma or the Frontier Areas but whose educational qualifications were uncertain. I, meanwhile, kept myself up to date with the current politics in ministerial Burma as I awaited for the result of my applications.

After the resignation of Major General Aung San from the army and decision to take up politics as head of the coalition of local political ideologies I decided to contact the young leader. I thought that it was my responsibility as the educated Chin Leader in the Japanese regime to lead his Chins to the right path as none of the young leaders whom I served with during the Japanese regime were seasoned enough to take up politics independently. Moreover, most of them left high school or college on account of the war and they preferred to continue their education after completing their war time service.

I had been on leave for some eight months; no emergency commission was forthcoming and no further reply to the combined application for the Burma Frontier Service and the Burma Police Class I was forthcoming except Larmour's interim acknowledgment.

In due course some appointments to the Burma Frontier Service were notified. My name was not among them. What I had done for the good of the country and my people was greatly

appreciated by my people perhaps the returning exiled government could not yet bear the thought of appointing to class one status a person who had rendered equally valuable service to the local people during the Japanese administration, despite the fact that I was one of the leading organisers of the Chin Hills local resistance movement sometime before the arrival of British troops in the area and had a clean record throughout. With the allied troops only a few miles from the Japanese H.Q. I found it impossible to conform strictly to the wishes of the two contending armies on either side of the Chin Hills. At times I asked my father for advice; he was definite about the impossibility of serving two masters but to be guided by my conscience. I acted in accordance with my conscience. I looked after the interests of the local people. I served with a clear conscience. I have never repented what I did to this day. I did not care if I would be rejected by both the British army and the Japanese army. I was determined to serve the interests of my own people. None of them were invited to come to the Chin Hills. When the British administrators arrived some people thought that I would be the first person to be arrested for holding towards the end of their stay the highest position under the Japanese military administration corresponding to the highest civilian post during the British administration. I never cared less. I was never afraid. I had tasted what independence was; what an independent action looked like. I had experienced being a master of my own affairs for the first time. I had managed to look after the affairs of my people during the British withdrawal. The Japanese general did not interfere in the administration. Why should a third person come into my country and arrest me for looking after my people? The British dispensed more justice during the war than the Japanese. I had known some summary trials of the British by shooting etc but at least they put it down in writing.

To clear my country, together with my colleagues in the Japanese administration, we rose in rebellion and the first thing my old British superiors heard before they met me again was my written reports about the day to day actions of the Siyin Independence Army.

During the withdrawal of my superior British officers I had taken the mantle left by them and had played my part not as a servant of the government but as a friend of the occupied country. Under the unfamiliar new invaders watchful eyes, I had stood up with courage and composure and I had the satisfaction that no one else would have dispensed administration under those peculiar prevailing circumstances more fairly, more honestly nor with such personal sacrifice. I could not have found more gentlemanly educated young men who rallied around me, first through fear of the Japanese but later through patriotism and genuine love and sympathy for our own people.

When an offer for a Class one service was not forthcoming I again took up full time politics and decided to lead my people to their right path in the forthcoming post war politics of the country. Things moved very fast and even the hereditary chiefs no longer found it possible to stem the tide of the peoples' willingness to taste democracy. I had helped Deputy Commissioner Stevenson in drafting new rules about the administration by democratic council system before the fall of the Chin Hills to the Japanese and introduced this democratic rule whenever possible during enemy occupation. As Chairman of the Chin Freedom League and a Chief Organiser of the Resistance movement in the north Chin Hills I attended the historic Panglong conference in February 1947 where I met Bogyoke Aung San for the first time. I found U Aung San much more frank than other previous Burmese leaders. I found him very easy to approach and he replied frankly to every question I asked. Up to the second world war a Burmese politician was a very dignified person more or less bearing a gentleman's

WITH COLLEAGUE AUNG SAN

1. I first heard of the name of Bogyoke Aung San and saw his photograph in a secret booklet issued by the Intelligence branch of the exiled Government of (British) Burma from Simla. This book reached the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Chin Hills some time before the temporary occupation by the Japanese. Bogyoke Aung San was mentioned as the commander of the Burma Independence Army and Bo Setkyá as his deputy.

After the cessation of hostilities and the end of the second world war I began to hear news of Bogyoke Aung San who was beginning to lead a new political party in Burma. I read first that he was offered the rank of Brigadier as Deputy Inspector-General of the armed forces but that he did not accept it. Instead he resigned from army service discarding the army title to become U Aung San and to lead the massive coalition political party wellknown later as A.F.P.F.L. As soon as I read in the papers that he was going to enter politics I was very interested and I read all his speeches to see what his policy would be as regards the Frontier areas. Luckily the Chin Leaders' Freedom League had been formed during the Japanese regime and we could all follow the policy speeches of Bogyoke Aung San and other leaders from ministerial Burma. In my high school final year in 1937 I won the first prize in the essay competition with the political theme "General Election". The Ngabwintsaing and the Nazi party in Germany had won the general elections and I wrote all that I knew of current politics in Burma and Germany for three hours. It was to be the beginning of my political writings. I was delighted to hear from U Aung San's speeches that he meant to include all the Frontier Areas in his attempt to demand independence. As was wellknown, the post war Burma government had completed the separation of the Frontier Areas from those of the ministerial Burma. From his closing speech on the 20 th January 1946 it was clear that he was thinking of asking for portfolios looking after the Frontier Hill Areas also. In his extemporaneous speeches also he invariably mentioned the interests of the plains as well as of those of the hills. It was a wellknown fact that nobody ever attempted to improve the Chin Hills. Every application for roads, hospitals, schools or for the study of Burmese was turned down by the authorities concerned. Hence any promise to improve the Chin Hills was eagerly received. Before the war it was a fact that any starred questions asked about the Chin Hills or other Frontier Areas or the Defence department in the House of Representatives were disallowed. My father who was the first educated Chin to have a perfect command of the Burmese language used to contribute articles to Burmese journals and newspapers published in Rangoon. For these articles he was once reported as a collaborator of Saya San. He believed that truth will make one free. The questions put forward in the House were always seen and read with great interest but the answers were never seen as they were invariably disallowed by the Counsellor for Defence and External Affairs. Even Premiers like Dr. Ba Maw and U Saw were precluded from asking questions concerning the Chin Hills, Kachin Hills or the Shan States. No Shan had ever been to the Chin Hills except in exile so also the few Chins who had seen the Shan States were political exiles. Bogyoke Aung San was the first important politician to discuss improvements for the Chins and other frontier peoples.

As Chairman of the Chin Leaders Freedom League formed during the Japanese occupation I was always interested in the future of the Chins and of my officers who were about to carve a

career after independence. Little encouragement was given to me or my officers despite our efforts in the cause of the safety and existence of the Zo Chins amidst the armed conflicts of two foreign contending armies alien to Burma. The British began to look upon my C.D.A. officers with suspicion rather than with gratitude although they had all been the spearhead in the resistance movement. I was again grateful for U Aung San's decision that a "Burma Army with Burmese Patriotic Forces and the *indigenous guerilla units*, which already exist not only in name but in concrete form and substance as its nucleus be formed by the British Authorities. Personnel belonging to the *indigenous races of Burma* who are now serving under the British, be incorporated into the Burma Army to be formed". In all other stipulations for the Burmese Patriotic Forces the *indigenous guerilla units* meaning the frontier resistance movements were included in Bogyoke Aung San's declarations. The Supreme Council of the AFPFL presided over by U Aung San on the 12th August 1945 lastly stated "That this meeting place on record profound gratitude for the Burmese Patriotic Forces and the *guerilla units* who have wholeheartedly co-operated with the Allied Forces in liberating the whole country and appreciate their fervent ardour to completely annihilate the Fascist Japanese. But this meeting deeply regrets that the Burmese Patriotic Forces and the *guerilla units* have not received adequate assistance and due publicity (in their operations) from the Allied Forces".

Concerning the Frontier peoples and the frontier areas probably for the first time in the history of a political party in ministerial Burma the AFPFL under the presidency of U Aung San issued a rejoinder to the Governor of Burma's speech on the reoccupation of Burma :

"AFPFL is fully determined to ensure and safeguard the interests of '*national*' minorities.

Burma is more interested in the hill areas than anyone else; democracy should be established to enable the hill peoples to express their views freely".

U Aung San's interest in the Frontier peoples is manifest from the above statements made in October 1945. From it I realised, that he really meant to look after the welfare of the Frontier peoples along with his demand for a future independence of Burma. I told this to my people who were then in a state of indecision as to their future course. As was well known in those days the intention of the then Burma government was to divide the whole of the Frontier areas comprising 47% of the total area of Burma from those of ministerial Burma should the latter opt to secede from Britain and the conservative elements thought of administering the Frontier peoples separately. When I learned of the intention of the AFPFL leader, we knew how we should proceed. Hitherto the administrators would patronise the Chiefs and the few officers of the Chin Hills battalion then known as Indian officers — jamedars and subedars etc. They would call either chiefs or these Indian officers to any meeting that had something to do with the future of the Chin Hills. They were sure of the result they would get from the chiefs — they would get a recommendation for the status quo. The Indian officers would promise a loyalty in accordance with the strict statute of the code according to the Indian officers appointment order.

I was naturally delighted therefore to hear that U Aung San took such an interest in the affairs of the Chin and other frontier tribes of Burma. He was the first Burmese of any stature to include the name of the Frontier peoples in his programme for uniting ministerial Burma and the Frontier Areas.

2. On the day of Bogyoke Aung San's arrival at Panglong I was one of the first leaders of the Frontier Areas to be introduced to him I had earlier spoken in the meetings on behalf of

the Chins and the Shans and the Kachins and the Burmese leaders who had arrived earlier already knew me. On the same day we sat at the same table with him and U Tin Tut at dinner which was served as usual before sunset. He said how glad he was to meet me. He said to me: "When I reached London I found that the leaders of HMG were men like you and me. They are not such outstanding persons as we expect them to be. Mr. Attlee and Lord Pethick Lawrence are simple people like us. There is no reason why we cannot look after our own country. Only we must find unity between the Burmese and the Chins and other frontier peoples". After that U Tin Tut said: "I myself am a Chin from Mindon. Bogyoke is from Natmauk and also has some Yaw Chin blood. We are no strangers". I told this statement to Sir Maung Gye the next night at the dinner table and he said: "I am also fifty per cent Shan. There must be very few Upper Burmans who do not have either Yaw Chin or Shan blood". These utterances which were new to me touched my heart deeply. I reported these statements to my fellow delegates; they also felt very touched.

These facts are further acknowledged by even foreign authors; and all earlier maps showed Yaw (Zo) country, the abode of the Yaw people in many places in Thayetmyo, Minbu, Magwe in upper Burma, along the hills, and by the Irawaddy river down to Prome. In reality these Yaw (Zo) people are brothers of the Burmans living in upper Burma and the so called "Chin" people call themselves Zo (Yaw) and not "Chin" to this day. "The Chin is of interest because he reveals the material out of which Buddhism and civilization between them have evolved the Burmese people; the Chin in short is the rough wood out of which Burman has been carved" — "The Silken East" by Scott-O'Connor. "Into the upper region of the Irawadi the dominant race, now called the Burmese, had descended from Central Asia, which tract their physical resemblances and affinities of language with the people of Tibet show to have been the home of their forefathers. The clans became more or less welded into tribes, as among their younger brothers the Chins of to-day; and in course of time we find dynasties of kings reigning at Tagaung, Panya, Pagan, and Prome, and others ruling the remoter countries of Arakan and Toungoo We wish to know what kind of institutions the Burmans possessed before the great changes of Anoraht's reign. To this inquiry the learned Dr. Forchhammer gives an answer which is in general agreement with the opinions of our historians, and of those officials who have studied the rules and customs of the wilder tribes now under the Queen's sceptre. The Chins of to-day reflect the Burman as he was of old" "The Burmese Empire" by Sangermano, edited by John Jardine. "Most of them (folk-tales) had their origin in Upper Burma, for until the destruction of the Mon Empire of Pegu by Alaungpaya in 1752, the home of the Burmese people was Upper Burma". From Maung Htin Aung's Folk-Tales. All evidence show that Burmans and Chins are more akin than Burmans and Chinese who call each other Paukphaws.

Bogyoke Aung San was very sincere. He spoke and behaved well and was very kind-hearted from the time he first met us. We were all housed in temporary thatched and bamboo buildings erected temporarily in the valley of Panglong. I shall never forget the afternoon when Bogyoke Aung San accompanied by Bo Khin Maung Gale approached my hut and rather shyly asked if he was welcome. I told him to come in and sit down. It was an all bamboo floor. I boiled the Shan tea supplied by the hospitable Saohpalongs and offered it to them with salt. I asked him about his London visit and whether the British government would give Burma independence. He said he expected that they would as the government in power was the labor

government led by Mr. Attlee and not Mr. Churchill. I asked what Mr. Attlee told him in connection with the Frontier. I asked if he had discussed the frontier areas with Mr. Attlee. He said: "We demanded that the Frontier Areas should get independence along with the Burmese but HMG replied that it would depend on the desire and decision of the Frontier peoples themselves. You will have to choose for independence. I would however like to mention the status of the so-called already 'independent' Karenni state. The people got no benefit out from it". I said: The Chins want to know what Burma will do with the Chin Hills should they ask for independence together with Burma. The Chin Hills need improvement in everything, education, health, communications and administration. They want more employment, more money. The people have clamoured for a motor road and for high schools for years but nothing has been given. They want to retain the personnel of the Chin battalions". He replied that it was always his regret that he could not meet his brother the Chin on account of the regulations debarring him from visiting the Chin Hills. He was ashamed that some of his brethren should still be so far behind the Burmese when the Burmese themselves had been kept so far behind the world by the imperialists. I said: What about finance? Will Burma give us the necessary money to develop the Chin Hills". He said: "Yes". "If we become a State will Burma help us". "Yes" was the reply. "If we do not become a State will Burma help us?" "She will still help you. Provided that you decide to seek independence together with the Burmese we will dip together in the common money coffer. Even if you decided on a separate state then you would still be given the necessary finance. As for the Chin soldiers they would continue to be useful like the Scottish regiments in Britain. You can retain your own customs and culture. I met your fine soldiers at Meiktila and had a long talk with the Honorary Captain Bogyi Ngin Zam. He spoke beautiful Burmese but I was most disappointed to learn that Urdu served as a lingua franca".

The separation of the Frontier Areas from ministerial Burma had gone a long way not only in Burma but in Britain as could be envisaged by the King's message read by Governor Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith in the City Hall on the 17th October 1945 which I read in the Calcutta Statesman. "Finally, the King's message had a special word for the Hill peoples of Burma who had with such steadfast courage maintained for three long years the fight against the enemy. A separate arrangement would be made for their administration, so that special attention might be given to their welfare and their indigenous institution be developed. His Majesty expressed the hope that the day was not far distant when they too would desire of their own free will to take their place in a self-governing Burma. HMG would do all in their power to forward this last step in the historic task of the unification of Burma". There was a proposal by the Frontier Areas Administration to separate the Frontier Areas from ministerial Burma. In separate discussions among the Frontier Area peoples we said that in case of the necessity to look after ourselves we would do our utmost and also that we might have to make friends with all neighbouring and other friendly countries and ask for assistance in the first instance from foreign countries. We might also become a Commonwealth country. We discussed the mineral, forest and other likely products of the areas. But Bogyoke Aung San said that he needed us. Without the Frontier Areas forming nearly half the total area of the whole of Burma and without the various Frontier peoples Burma, comprising the basin of the Irrawaddy river would again be reduced to the size of Upper Burma under King Thibaw. The important foreign countries would be bounded entirely by the Frontier Areas. "We the Burmans need you the Frontier peoples; and you need us the Burmans. One without the other would be like a body without limbs and

vice versa". These utterances we liked to hear and they penetrated right into our hearts. I mentioned to Bogyoke that at times some Burmese politicians had casually said that only they are the clever ones and that they alone can do everything without the help of the frontier people. When such irresponsible persons utter these false words the honest frontier man can hardly forget them. Here then was Bogyoke who thought like a frontier man, who spoke like him; who even claimed to be one of them. No doubt the various diverse frontier races trusted him, a thing they never did before with a single Burmese individual. His transparent honesty and sincerity won the hearts of the honest, slow but sure thinking frontier highland races. Great men like him are few and far between in Burma. It was a godsend to the Frontier and Burmese races to have a person of his quality at a most crucial time in the history of Burma.

In many of his speeches at Panglong, Bogyoke Aung San said : "The presidency of the future Union of Burma will be by turn among the various races of Burma. You need have no doubt it; take it from me that in due course you will find a Shan or a Chin as prime minister of Burma. There is no need to guarantee it. When Burma becomes independent you will get all the chances available in an independent sovereign state. That is the beauty of it. At the moment there is nothing that we can do ourselves. There is nothing that we are allowed to do even if we have the ability to do it. Look at it. Even to come to Panglong I felt I had to get a visa from London. We could not lawfully meet one another. All the lucrative things such as commerce is in their hands. The teaching of commercial subjects is forbidden in Rangoon university. The only thing open for a Burman is to become a policeman or for a woman The army service is not open to all the races in Burma. The higher civil services are open to the British and a few to the children of pro-British people. When we are independent we can make our own laws and regulations. If we cannot sort things out between ourselves, the various races of Burma, the result need not be forecast; there are many imperialists willing to enslave us; when I was in London I told Mr. Attlee that I was hoping for the best but I was also prepared for the worst. I was convinced that it was better to die fighting than to live as slaves. I need the help of the Shans, Chins and the Kachins in our further hour of struggle; I know you need us. Let us fight together for the future good of all". He told me privately that he had the intention of making Mahn Ba Khaing deputy President whoever becomes president and that Deedoke Ba Choe might be sent as ambassador to China. I told him that I was myself then holding a permanent government office and I had to take an active part in important political deliberations as the other delegates were ignorant of politics. He assured me not to worry at all one way or the other since he himself was the Deputy Chairman of the Executive Council and that he still had a vacancy in the Executive Council itself and in other places.

The Frontier peoples, had they not been so sure of his sincerity and honesty would rather have remained by themselves for better or worse. They had fought alone at their annexation by the British with great success and again during the invasion by a modern Japanese army without the assistance of any third party. If insulted or if they are convinced about a cause there is no telling what havoc they can do either in individual or collective groups. Bogyoke rather praised them for their various stands made against the enemy and these episodes encouraged them and won their hearts. Any threats would have spoiled any possibility of a union of the Frontier Areas with ministerial Burma. It was a fact that although the valour of the Frontier people was recorded in books and gazetteers by the British invader, a Burman never had a chance ever to acknowledge it to the hill people themselves.

'There never was real misunderstandings between the real Burmese leaders and the real Frontier leaders. The truth of the misunderstandings was that there never had been an understanding in the first place. The only casual contacts made were between the uneducated Burman and the hill people living in adjacent areas. Their contact was casual and mutual suspicion existed but there never was a really big war between them apart from skirmishes, loot or arson. These things Bogyoke blamed on one cause - the attempt at separation by the imperialists and the creation of misunderstanding as long as possible which was the normal policy of the ruling power - *divide et impera*.

3. When Bogyoke Aung San called on me at my hut on the 10th February 1947 he brought me a copy of the statements he had made to HMG saying how much he had wanted to come himself to the Panglong conference originally held between the Frontier peoples. "As our union or separation is a stumbling block in our talks HMG also sent Mr. Arthur Bottomley as observer". As regards my queries about the Chins and the Frontier areas he said that much would also be found in his statement. He told me that he had fought for the inclusion of Frontier leaders in the Governor's Executive Council and for the unrestricted movement of all the leaders of the Frontier Areas as well as the ministerial leaders to find out their wishes and aspirations regarding their respective futures.

Since the end of the war I had studied and followed closely the utterances of all the modern leaders to try to find out their policy as regards the Frontier Areas. I had noted some of the references made by Bogyoke to our guerilla units and problems regarding the Frontier races. Now in the documents that Bogyoke Aung San gave to me at Panglong I could see that he was conversant with almost all our problems. Details had to be worked out but he had even sketched out some of these. Without our personal intimate talks I believe I would have placed my confidence in Bogyoke merely from seeing the documents he gave to me for my information and use. A lot of what he said in London were about the Frontier Areas connected with the Frontier Areas of Burma in general and many things about the Chins in particular. I told him there and then he was the first Burman in history who had taken the cause of the Chins and the other Frontier peoples to so high a level and I expressed our gratitude to him on behalf of my people.

"The Executive Council would administer in respect of the Frontier Areas only subjects of common interest to Burma Proper and these Areas. This, the Delegation believe, will be a distinct gain to the people of the Frontier Areas as, at present, participation in the administration of subjects of common interest like Defence, External Affairs, Tariff Policy, the administration of Customs, and Income-tax, etc. is confined to the leaders and representatives of the people of Burma Proper. The creation of a Frontier Areas portfolio means the immediate association of a representative of these races in the substantial measure of self-government already by the Burmese.

The Delegation are of strong opinion that they should share such freedom as the Burmese have obtained with the people of the Frontier Areas. To the Delegation it is inconceivable that these people would not agree to so substantial an improvement in their constitutional position. From a position of complete subordination to the Governor, acting through the officers of the Burma Frontier Service, the Frontier races will have a share in the Executive Council which will administer the whole of Burma, and the Frontier Areas Executive Counsellor will not only have direct access to the Governor but become the official superior of the Director of the Frontier

Areas Administration. . . . What was made clear in these documents is that the future of the Frontier Areas should not be settled at the present conference at which their people are not represented. The Delegation submit that their proposal in regard to a Frontier Areas portfolio does not constitute a settlement of the future of the Frontier Areas.

The difficulty in regard to seeking the view of the people of the Frontier Areas lies in the fact that a free expression of opinion is likely so long as the Frontier Areas and the chiefs are administered, as at present, through the Frontier Areas Administration. The Chiefs are under the close control of the Frontier Service officers and such Burmese officers as were appointed to this Service in the past have, as far as possible, been diverted into posts of comparative unimportance so that the very ideas of the Frontier Chiefs and Leaders are moulded to a large extent by the British officers of the Frontier Service. There are no fixed rules of succession to vacant chieftainships and the recommendation of the Frontier officer is the decisive factor in the choice between several possible heirs. On the death of a Chief in the Shan States, the post is usually kept vacant and the State administered by a British officer till a selection can be made of the claimant likely to be most amenable to the influence of the British officers of the Frontier Service. Also, the continuance in the office of the Chief depends a great deal on the report of the Frontier officer under whose advice he is placed".

In the Chin Hills also the practice was to amalgamate some chieftainships against the will of the Chiefs concerned and to give the office to the more docile. A case in point that occurred at the time of annexation and for which a memorandum was sent up to the Local Government as late as 1935 was about the Chieftainship of the Lunmun Clan of Thuklai. As the British marched from Burma to the Chin Hills every able-bodied man met the invader at the approach to the Chin Hills and with great success. General Sir George White in "Encounter with Siyins" admits "Most difficult enemy to see or hit ever fought". After the occupation of the Siyin Valley Sir George White asked for the submission of the Chiefs. Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun Thuklai, Bellei and Zo, would not submit and instead withdrew for further resistance with his wife and son to Khuabel a place beyond Vangteh. When Vangteh was approached the British were again attacked and for these and other later rebellions the absent Chiefs were accused of being instigators which they were. General White constructed his first fort in the Chin Hills at Lunmun Thuklai and renamed it Fort White. The Chieftainship of Lunmun Thuklai (Upper Thuklai) was gradually merged with the lower Thuklai. The Lunmuns held court *sub rosa* in their own Chief's house and presented their last memorandum to the Local Government in 1935 but still without success.

"In these circumstances, the Delegation have serious reason to apprehend that an expression of opinion by Frontier Chiefs and leaders may not be an expression of free opinion. The Delegation cannot, however, without appearing to lack confidence in the acceptability of their own proposal, object to the proposal by his Majesty's Government that the Frontier Areas chiefs and leaders should be sounded at the Panglong Conference to be held next month. The Delegation do not, however, know precisely who have been invited to the Conference and they must therefore make a stipulation that the selection of the Panglong Conference as the place and time for the sounding of opinion must be subject to the attendance at the Conference being sufficiently representative and that, if it is not, the sounding of opinion should take place at a conference specially convened for the purpose".

This apprehension had some foundation for most of the delegates to the Panglong conference proved to be Chieftains but luckily there were some progressive Chiefs. Among the Chin delegates, apart from myself all the others were Chiefs who were government nominees. None of them had any knowledge of the theory or practice of modern politics and they read no newspapers. In any case with Bogyoke himself present and some sprinkling of progressive young leaders like us in each delegation the talks went quite smoothly and normally and understandings were reached in due time on many points.

4. As has been proved by the fact of the historic Panglong agreement it was not found necessary to convene another conference for finding out the wishes of the people, only to create the Frontier Enquiry Commission.

When in London U Aung San himself was not sceptical about HMG's suggestion of the formation of a Frontier Enquiry Commission: "With due respect, the Delegation do not find themselves able to agree that a Committee of Enquiry to ascertain the wishes of the people of the Frontier Areas, would at this stage serve a useful purpose. Such an enquiry must necessarily take time, and opportunity would be missed for associating these peoples in the work of the Executive Council and probably also for associating them in the work of the Constituent Assembly. The unification of Burma as a policy of HMG is of recent origin, and indeed the present division between Ministerial Burma and the Frontier Areas is the direct result of the past policy of the British rulers of Burma, if not of His Majesty's Government, to do everything possible to divide the Frontier Areas from the rest of Burma, and this was done in spite of the fact that Burma is a geographical unit, the long historical association of Burma proper with the rest of Burma and the fact that the Frontier Areas cannot economically be independent of Ministerial Burma and that the defence of Ministerial Burma would be impossible without close inter-connection with the Frontier Areas. Independence recognised for Burma would be nullified if the Frontier Areas are retained under the direct control of His Majesty's Government".

Bogyoke Aung San told Mongpaw Sawbwa and myself that in some of his speeches he had said that Ministerial Burma would ask for independence separately if the Frontier Areas would not join in. "But", he said, "in reality dividing the whole of the already small Burma would be most ridiculous. The adjacent boundaries with all the important foreign countries would be with the Frontier Areas and as such the defence of her borders would be in a hopeless position as the Frontier Areas themselves would not be able to defend themselves against their own neighbours which are also neighbours of Ministerial Burma. On the other hand it would be difficult for most of the Frontier Areas to stand on their legs with regards to finance when they need it most for improvement in almost all fields. There is definite mutual advantage to join together rather than to divide further as already designed by the imperialists".

As regards the retention of the Chin battalions he told me not to worry at all about it. "I have known the valour of the Chin soldiers for years and I was most impressed by their smart turn out when I inspected the Chin Hills battalion at Meiktila on the 10th October 1946. We need many more trained soldiers for the defence of our country; we have some big neighbouring countries. I understood from Honorary Captain Ngin Zam, O.B., B.G.M. that there are eight different races in the battalion. Two of them are Gurkhas and Kumaonis. I asked him what languages they used when they are on duty. The Bogyi told me that in drilling English and

Urdu were employed. In conversations Hindustani had to be used as it was the only prescribed official language by the authorities. I asked him how many soldiers in the battalion speak the Burmese language. He said: "About sixty belonging to a race adjacent to Burma". I then told Bogyi Ngin Zam that they must learn Burmese as we are going to get independence soon and must look after ourselves".

Bogyoke Aung San did not forget the above facts when he met Mr. Attlee. "It is interesting to note that the *lingua franca* employed in the Chin units of the Burma Army is Urdu and not Burmese as should be the case since the Chins have no common Chin language and Burmese is spoken by many of them". He further added "Also an attempt was made some years ago to impose a Romanised Chin script upon the Chins with a view apparently deliberate to remove the Chins further from the Burmese". Not only was the attempt made but all Burmese schools were abolished by the government in 1925 and the teaching of Burmese prohibited in all schools including the anglo-vernacular middle schools thus debarring aspirant Chin students from going for higher studies to Burma as Burmese is compulsory in college. The Chin teachers were themselves more enlightened than the Chiefs and they on their own made numerous appeals to the local deputy commissioner. A case in point was when four patriotic headmasters trained in Burmese, namely Saya Za Khup, Tuang Ko Mang, Thang Mang and Tun Ngin submitted a joint memorandum to L. B. Naylor, the deputy commissioner, on a tour at Fort White for permission to teach Burmese in their spare time in their respective schools without extra remuneration, as they realised the danger of ignorance of the Burmese language, by the younger generation. When he heard what it contained, Naylor took the memorandum and tore it into pieces and burnt it in their very presence without saying a word and then dismissed the elderly petitioners. After that the local council arranged for two private patriotic teachers Saya Thuk Kam and Saya Pum Kam to teach Burmese in the village Dak bungalows *sub rosa*. The Asst. D.P.I. Mr. P. Bagot Quinland found out about it on a visit but he told the deputy commissioner not to interfere since the people were running it without government aid.

Bogyoke further states "When constitutional reforms were introduced in Burma in 1919, Burma was divided for administrative purposes into Burma Proper and the "Backward areas". The Burmese did not and do not subscribe to the view that the people of these areas are backward in any way. Before 1886, when Upper Burma was under Burmese rule, good relations between the Chiefs of the Frontier races and the Burmese King were normal. The main difference between these people and the Burmese lies in the fact that these Frontier races mainly reside in the hills. Such members of the Frontier races as happen to reside in the plains have acquired the same political rights as the Burmese. The proposal for bringing the Frontier Areas within the province of the Executive Council is made with the view to raising the status and rights of those people to those of the Burmese and the Delegation have no reason to believe that they will not approve the proposal".

"It has also come to the knowledge of the Delegation that in a letter from the Burma Office, dated the 30th November 1943, to the Governor, it was stated that for reasons of Imperial Defence it may be desirable for His Majesty's Government to exercise a more direct control over the Frontier Areas of Burma than over Burma itself for Defence purposes after the latter has been granted self-government". During the war it was common knowledge that the longest and hardest stand against the contending alien armies was made by the Frontier Areas of Burma. The imperial army was halted for the first time on the outskirts of the Chin Hills by

the Chin Levies but they managed to penetrate after two years to Imphal on their "On to Delhi" march attempted in the rains of 1944. The Kachin Hills were by-passed by the Burma-China road by which U.S. lend lease articles were carried for use against the Japanese army occupying the coastal regions of mainland China.

It was an admitted fact that no improvement whatsoever was made within their fifty years rule in the Chin Hills. Within one year of my Cabinet appointment I managed to get the approval of Bogyoke Aung San and my other colleagues concerned for the construction of a motor road and for the establishment of four high schools in the Chin Hills. Progress has been somewhat slow since but the foundation I had laid during my tenure of office has borne visible fruits. Bogyoke mentioned this lack of improvement during the British regime: "For sixty years, the conditions of these so-called backward tribes, administered by British authorities without Burmese aid, have remained without improvement. The Delegation do not hold the view that they are politically backward and still incapable of self-government but if such is the view of His Majesty's Government, the Delegation maintain that no Government outside Burma should have any claim to the privilege of trusteeship over these areas. The Delegation's proposal is, however, not for the trusteeship of these areas by the Government of Burma but for elevating them to the Burmese political position, actual and impending, and to a distinct share in the administration of the country to which they, the Burmese, all other races of Burma alike belong.

In the opinion of the Delegation, what is needed now are immediate measures to bring the Burmese and the Frontier races into close association in the government of the country as a whole and it may confidently be anticipated that such immediate association will facilitate the implementation of His Majesty's Government expressed aim of a unified Burma. The Delegation's suggestion for the inclusion in the Executive Council of a Frontier Areas portfolio to be held by a member of one of the Frontier races with the assistance of deputies belonging to other Frontier races, if accepted, cannot fail to be a striking gesture of goodwill towards the Frontier races alike by His Majesty's Government and by the Burmese."

At the Panglong Conference beside the question of statehood, another stumbling block was the desire of the three Frontier races then in conference namely the Shans, the Chins and the Kachins, to have each an Executive Counsellor instead of one Counsellor and two Deputy Executive Counsellors. They explained that not only no Frontier race would ever admit to being inferior to another race but also conditions and people are different among all the three races and no one leader ever had enough knowledge of another race to hold the portfolio of that race concerned. However, under the Government of Burma Act 1931 there were only three posts created, those of Counsellor to the Governor and since two of them were already filled, to make it three would necessitate changing the Act which was immediately impossible. It was the personal wish of U Aung San to be empowered to create three Counsellors right away for the three principal Frontier races but he was powerless. In any case he said that he would make all of them Cabinet Members and directly responsible as regards their own affairs. As he was also only the Deputy Chairman that was the best he could do under the circumstances. I had the opportunity to act as Executive Counsellor for the whole of the Frontier Areas, for whenever my Shan colleague went on tour he handed the charge over to me.

5. I am sure Aung San, the man, would be hard to equal in the Union. My admiration for him may be accounted for, by the fact, that we were of an age and also that we both talked

the same language in many fields of thought. Neither of us were of the time when political leaders had to put on *taungshe pasoe* and inhale cigars. Although we both left our irregular and other services during the resistance movements in the war we both still wore our army style bush shirts partly due to the unavailability of civilian style clothes, and partly due to a desire to exhibit one's prowess during the recent war. Panglong was such a cold place at night that it was still too cold to sleep even in all our daytime clothes. In the morning the water was frozen and one could not wash one's face with cold water. Whenever we had some little time we used to talk about our wartime services. We had a common friend in Mountbatten whom I met between Tiddim and Fort White before the evacuation of Tiddim. U Aung San met him in Kandalay. He told me that had it not been for him, the first chief civil affairs officer intended to try him as a war criminal. He also told me how some minor official objected to his using the army great coat with the buttons of the British army. I mentioned to him that two of the C.D.A. (Chin Defence Army) officers had been tried as war criminals and had been deported for life. They were in the war but had the bad fortune to encounter allied troops when working under the Japanese forces in the Chin Hills. I begged that, as they would not be penalized after the war as were the BIA/BDA. He readily agreed and promised to tell the Judicial minister. The Chin Hills had been no man's land for three years which must be as long or longer than any other no man's land in any part of the world in any war. It was no ordinary thing to be able to please the whims and fancies of two great contending armies for so long. I think we got off lightly considering that even the King of the Belgians was accused of being pro-German. He permitted me to mention almost any individual things to him as it took months to get things done through the proper channel. The first national high school in the Chin Hills to be opened by the people concerned was promised recognition by the government but they would not take it over as it was opened under my orders during the Japanese occupation and the authorities were always against higher education for the Chins. I also got his approval to convert three of the former middle schools which I had initiated into high schools during my tenure of office. The maintenance of an all weather motor road was promised me by him.

On another occasion I had to mention a minor thing to Bogoyoke Aung San. It was a case which should not have needed either Bogoyoke's or my intervention. My brother Kham Cin Khai who held a permanent job as clerk in the Chin Hills battalion applied for a Commission in the Burma army. He matriculated with Burmese as second language which was then a rare thing for a Chin and was the only matriculated Chin to apply for a Commission so far. But his direct officers refused to forward his application. Had it been forwarded the case would simply have been considered on its own merits by the higher authorities without outside help. He had personally seen active war service since the evacuation of Falam when he was attached as Head Clerk really working as Staff adjutant to Major P.W. Peebles, M.A. (Oxon) who was O.C. "Chinforce" attached to 17 Indian Light Division between Falam and Imphal. When peace was restored his direct officers again thought that educated Chins would not be as obedient as the non educated officers. Bogoyoke told Bo Letya to take the matter up as his case was a deserving one and Chin battalions were lacking educated Chins officers. It was recommended by Mongpaw Sawbwagyi after a personal interview and countersigned by the Defence undersecretary U Kyaw Nyun. Nowadays most of the officers cadets must be high school finalists or even graduates but before independence it was so difficult for an educated person to become an army officer. He became a captain in 1947 and was in charge of the Chauk-Yenangyaung oilfields in 1948-49. He served as aide de camp to presidents Sao Shwe Thaik and Dr. Ba U. I found out

that people would not dare to approach Bogyoke for undeserved favour but I also found out that he would go out of his own way to help straighten out an injustice done to anybody. If he found out suspicious dealings by any person he would give immediate warning even if he was a cabinet minister. On more than two occasions he gave stern warnings to some cabinet members, one of them the Trade Minister, in the presence of all of us. Had he been alive I am almost certain that there would have been less changes in the portfolio of commerce. To a defaulter he would no doubt prove dreadful. I have not seen any cabinet member who would dare explain matters once he had found a weakness in the person concerned. He did not spare his own elder brother when he was education minister, over a matter which I thought was very insignificant.

He asked me if I wanted to take the portfolio of Education as he thought I would be able to hold the portfolio. I was then convinced that my duty was to improve the Chin Hills in the fields of communication, hospitals, politics and of course education and that for me education in Burma proper was less my immediate concern. He added that the cabinet portfolio was a joint concern of the cabinet and I would still be able to help my own people. Had I accepted it I knew that the Chins would, like the Karens have, two cabinet posts earlier than the other Frontier races. I also knew that for the Chin Hills itself I would be more useful than others and that Bogyoke considered there was no Chin in parliament who could be used for a ministerial cabinet post. In the end he gave the portfolio to his elder brother at the suggestion of his colleagues. Bogyoke was a hard master to any one working with him in the cabinet as well as to those in the party headquarters; every one realized that he could expect no leniency unless one was up to the mark. He might take in someone on party considerations but there ended the consideration. He must also prove his worth as a cabinet minister. Bogyoke used to invite me to his house at Tower Lane for official and private discussions. Daw Khin Kyi was then not given much say in politics but he let her serve us tea every time we went there. He would talk to her abruptly to denote that they had mutual respect or perhaps by way of introduction. I understand one of his wishes had always been to marry a Christian girl and this was fulfilled during the war. His father-in-law aged 84, when I met him with my father at Tower Lane, said that Bogyoke had the broadest mind as regards religion. He was at home with any religious leaders be he a Sikh, or Christian but he would show disapproval openly if a man from a religious order took up politics. Be he a Buddhist or a Muslim he would condemn the meddling in politics saying that politics was none of their business. At the same time he would not encourage any religion openly. He would not interfere in any religion and would not let religion interfere in politics.

At the wedding of Ko Ba Tint and Margaret Ba Thwe we sat side by side for a long time together with some elderly gentlemen from both families. We talked of the dress to be worn in the Constituent Assembly. Bogyoke said he favoured the baungbi in place of the longyi which did not show any activity seen from any angle. "If we do not want to ape the Europeans", he said, "we may put on the Shan baungbi". He did not favour the Gaungbaung or taungshe pasoe either. He always connected the taungshe pasoe with the more capitalist type or the older outmoded politicians. This shows his up to date outlook in life and fashion. I never saw him in a taungshe pasoe.

At the handing over of the "Mayu", Bogyoke invited me to come on board to witness the handing over of the frigate. He said to me that he was glad Mongpaw Sawbwa and I could come as we must show our gratitude to the British government as they were giving us this

little thing to start our navy with. Even Yodaya had a navy for a long time including a few submarines. "We must equip ourselves at sea and in the air. All we have is an untrained and badly equipped army". He asked Sao Sam Htun: "Don't you think, Sawbwagyi, you can raise a Shan battalion?". The latter replied that he thought a battalion of Shans could be raised easily. To my surprise Desmond Cho told me that there was an NCO Chin among the sailors. I found out that he had no education but that he had won the admiration of the officers for his work. I expressed surprise saying I could understand a Chin being a land soldier in the army but I did not expect one in the navy so soon.

Before the war it was the usual thing for a successful young man to marry the not too educated daughter of a rich landowner or a pretty Sino-Burmese girl but Aung San chose an educated hospital nurse, the daughter of a Christian gentleman. Until after the war nursing was regarded as a derogatory profession by the Burmans. Most of the nurses were Karen Christians, Anglo-Burmans and a few girls from the indigenous races. When I used to frequent his house at Tower Lane Mrs. Aung San acted the part of an ordinary hostess. His choice of such a rare girl proved in due course to be a boon to people concerned without Bogyoke having any more knowledge of it. For after his premature demise she entered parliament and also became a director of the women and children's welfare department. She proved herself of tremendous use. A case in point was when on a tour of the Frontier Areas she visited with me the local subdivisional hospital. She found out that the hospital lacked almost everything. The unassuming doctor simply said that his two year old indent had not been met. She jotted down what was needed and sent them up by the next plane. I thought that was a performance of real service. Had there been two or three more persons like her I think there would have been a definite amelioration of general health in the Frontier Areas. It is a pity for those people concerned that she no longer serves in a job connected with health and welfare. Perhaps the Union's need of her talented service elsewhere is greater but I have no doubt that the Frontier peoples will miss her. As a great lady should, she still regards her husband's colleagues as her own. Like him she led a clean life. She did not have any personal followers.

He never put on costly attire nor demanded delicious food. He would treat Frontier delegates on equal level and would allow them to visit him any time. I could drop into his office any time. Among cabinet members staff I found Bogyoke's and U Tin Tut's staff more courteous and intelligent looking than the immediate staff of the other cabinet members whose private secretaries and even body guards were almost terrors to outside visitors who did not have the desire to put on airs. No such man had appeared in Burma before him; the few conquerors of the various states of Burma, to uphold their ephemeral dynastic empires invariably resorted to force, and not live. His honesty and strong will power were remarkable. He had no ears for idle gossip or first informers and would not suffer liars gladly. He therefore heard the truth from most people. The last private consultation I had with Bogyoke Aung San was on the nineteenth July 1947 when I had to ask his opinion of my taking over the Naga Hills where the people belong to the same race as mine. They wanted to find out what their future would be. Some delegates from Paletwa also waited for me in my office and had to ask for some minutes to discuss things with them as they had just arrived from a long journey and they had to talk to me on important questions regarding the future status of the Chin Hills. I just escaped bumping into the assassins who came up by the very passage that I had used to come down to my chamber.

He did not forget to acknowledge all the letters I wrote to him. On my return to the Chin Hills to spread the news of our meetings with Bogyoke Aung San and to tell about the Agreement reached at Panglong, I read in the newspapers that Bogyoke's convoy had been ambushed on the way to Rangoon. I wrote from Falam how sorry I was to hear the bad news. After I had been successful in the Chin Hills election as their Counsellor to the Governor I immediately went down to Rangoon as he sent me a telegram to hurry down for important discussions. The first thing he said when I called was "I knew all along that you would be elected Chin Counsellor. I am grateful for your letter about the trouble I ran into on my way back from Panglong. I am very sorry that I could not come up Falam to be present at your meeting as promised by me at Panglong". We were of the same height and the two youngest in his cabinet — he being two years my senior. He was only taller by an inch or two than Nelson or Napoleon. Although he was thought of as abrupt he did not have the dictator in him. He sought power from the British so that he would be able to meet us and talk to us without fear of reprisal. He spoke correct English in committee meetings. In the finance committee meeting one day Dr. Sett had to request him to speak in Burmese for the benefit of the Sama Duwa as he was not acquainted with the English language and the three Frontier Areas were mainly involved. Since then Burmese was used occasionally.

6. One of the last and most interesting cabinet meetings I attended with Bogyoke Aung San in Government House occurred on the 7th June 1947. Major General Sir Hubert Rance, GCMG., GBE., OBE., CB the Governor of Burma was the Chairman and U Aung San the Deputy Chairman. Mr. Attlee, the prime minister of Britain, had just made on the 3rd June 1947 a speech in the House of Commons that he anticipated June 1948 as the date for the handing over of power by setting up an independent Indian government or governments at an even earlier date.

Thereupon Bogyoke met us and asked for our cooperation to demand together an early transfer of power in Burma also. We agreed that we would support it without prejudice to our demand for statehood. On the 7th June at the cabinet, Bogyoke Aung San accordingly told the Governor on our behalf that as promised to India (not yet a separate unit), power on the dominion pattern should also be transferred by next August or earlier to a Burma whose problems were far simpler than those of India. We then believed that a combination of the Frontier Areas and ministerial Burma ought to enjoy peace and prosperity and he added in his demand that "the danger of civil war so pregnant in India hardly exists in Burma". "In these circumstances my Hon'ble Colleagues and I strongly request His Majesty's Government that what has been offered to India should not be denied to Burma and that the necessary Bill be introduced forthwith in Parliament to transfer power to the people of Burma on the basis of Dominion Status without prejudice to the ultimate decision of the Constituent Assembly in regard to Burma's future constitution". I noted then that in spite of his usual abrupt expression Bogyoke used the word "request" instead of "demand".

Bogyoke Aung San said that Premier Attlee mentioned the transfer of power to India but he did not mention anything about Burma and it was imperative that we should not lag behind India. He asked for our agreement to ask for the transfer of power on the Dominion Status during which period the constitution of the three Frontier Areas and Ministerial Burma should be one unit "subject of course to there being no impairment of the existing autonomy enjoyed by the several portions of the Frontier Areas". He finally said "My Honourable Colleagues and

I would be grateful if His Excellency the Governor would be good enough to transmit the above views, which are held unanimously by the Members of the Executive Council, to His Majesty's Government with a view to early action being taken for the introduction of a Bill in Parliament for the immediate transfer of power in Burma on the basis of Dominion Status".

The Governor Sir Hubert Rance in turn replied to Bogyoke Aung San's request saying he would forward it to HMG. He also told Bogyoke and his cabinet members present on that day his own desire and that of HMG regarding Burma's future. It was then mainly the desire of HMG and the Governor to tell us the benefits for us remaining inside the Commonwealth.

A few weeks previous to this cabinet meeting "The Burmese Review" editorial contained a hint that the Burmese Constituent Assembly prefers a modified form of Dominion Status to complete independence as the basis of Burma's future constitution. "Complete independence has been a political war-cry in Burma for many years and though any political leader who proclaims preference for Dominion Status would be shouted down as a tool of British Imperialism, there are many intelligent and patriotic Burmans who see in the retention of the British connexion by a fully self-governing Burma the way to safety and strength. The common factor in Burmese political opinion today is that whatever the form of the future constitution, firm links of friendship with Britain and the Dominions should be forged".

Sir Hubert said that HMG felt that Burma could with justice later complain were she now to commit herself in ignorance of what might be involved. This being so they had a responsibility to place on record completely objectively the considerations as they saw them on either side. The decision whether to remain in or outside the commonwealth was solely for Burma herself to take. Whatever her decision might be, she would have the good will and friendly sympathy of His Majesty's Government and of the people of this country. "If she decides to leave the Commonwealth, HMG would welcome a continuance of close and friendly relations but inevitably there must be a difference between the relations of HMG with a foreign country and with a member of the Commonwealth. Relations with a member of the Commonwealth are of their nature, more close and intimate and there are many ways in which in practice the severance of these relations could not but effect the interests of Burma. In the financial field it would be harder to obtain the approval of parliament to any further financial arrangements. In the external affairs if she remains a Dominion HMG would readily give friendly help in UN and other international bodies but clearly there would not be the same obligation on HMG nor would the Dominions equally be disposed to support her case with the same energy and strength as if she were a member of the Commonwealth. Nor would it be possible, to make confidential information available to her or to consult with her on external and other problems to the same degree or in the same way as if she were within the Commonwealth. As regards defence, were Burma a foreign state it would be necessary to ask her at once for certain formal undertaking of a wider character than are likely to call for inclusion in such formal arrangements as might be needed were she a member of the Commonwealth. In the economic field as a foreign state Burma would be automatically outside any system of Empire preferences. If on the other hand Burma wish to remain in the commonwealth her membership would have to carry with it acceptance of the Crown and of the position of His Majesty King George".

At the end of the meeting in the Executive Council room in Government House which I attended as Acting Executive Counsellor for Frontier Areas to the Governor of Burma, U Aung

San took me aside and in the presence of U. Tin Tut asked me if I would not like to be in the Commonwealth. I said that it appeared pretty certain from the Governor's Statement that Independence was already certain but I enquired, in view of the last sentence of the Governor's Statement, regarding the recognition of King George as head of the Commonwealth would the Governor General or Head of State of Burma also have to be British as in the case of Ceylon. To this U Aung San replied that the head of State of Burma need not be British but would have to be from an indigenous race of Burma. Would they retain some British troops in Burma?. "For those things they will no longer be responsible. But we may keep a sort of technical army mission to train our young army. In everything else except the name of being in the British Commonwealth we would be fully independent". I then said in that case there appeared to be no harm. And what Governor Rance had said appeared to be true. "Burma has to gain everything by remaining in the Commonwealth and nothing to lose". And we could get out anytime if they attempted to do things that we did not approve. I told U Aung San that if he would move a resolution for it I would second it. I further asked him if he expected any opposition from the AFPFL. He replied that among the AFPFL elements the Burma Communist party had been opposing it all along.

The governor on the other hand assured us that we need not have the slightest doubt that HMG would stand in anyway to our getting our independence. The only thing he and the HMG advised was for Burma to remain inside the Commonwealth. Burma had been part of British empire and not the Commonwealth but sometime before the departure of the Burmese cabinet delegation to London for the signature of the independence treaty they had been given the status of a Dominion Country with a separate Secretary of State for Burma. Sir Hubert Rance's statements which I took down in shorthand also included the fact that we were after all a small country compared to our neighbouring countries and in defence matters we were bound to require assistance from outside in some way or other. In money matters also we would almost immediately need the money for the rehabilitation of the country as well as for the improvement of the Frontier Areas etc. and for repayment of debts already incurred. He wanted to convince us that there was nothing to lose but everything to gain by being in the Commonwealth. Mr. Attlee repeated this statement to us at 10 Downing Street in October 1947. The British themselves introduced us to democracy which the Socialists as well as the Communists liked to defend, and we were about to be guided by the decision of the majority of the members of the Constituent Assembly. Most of the members were composed of the younger generation. Most of them had seen some sort of resistance service. The refusal of Mr. Churchill even to give Burma, Dominion Status after the war, was still not forgotten by the Burmese people. The Japanese whom they welcomed as saviours were not up to the mark as expected and they were the losers anyway. Hence any third power was highly suspected just after the war. I think this was another main source of the peoples' fear of remaining inside the Commonwealth. I told Bogyoke that provided he could get the majority of the AFPFL members to opt for the Commonwealth I would do my best as regards my Frontier Colleagues. In any case had he led the suggestion to remain in the Commonwealth, out of personal loyalty I would have voted with him. Another factor which made some of us ponder was the advice of Mr. J. S. Furnivall who used to send Bogyoke his advice on working for independence. He definitely told us "not to make the mistake of opting to remain inside the Commonwealth" which he said "is a sham independence". We received this letter long before he was reemployed and I told him on my first meeting in Rangoon that I thought his letter was one of the deciding factors. In those days advice

from an experienced independent friend was very much sought after and it was not yet clear what kind of independence India would ask for. Ahead of us there was no Asian country which was independent and yet remained inside the Commonwealth.

7. Before I left the Chin Hills for the Panglong Conference as Chairman of the Chin Leaders' Freedom League I had talks with the more enlightened people of the various newly formed Councils in the Chin Hills and they all told me to find out what the Burmese leader Bogyoke Aung San said about improving the lot of the Chins and the Chin Hills. They told me to go ahead with what I thought proper provided that U Aung San promised to help us in finance for the improvement of the Chin Hills in education, hospitals, government appointments, roads and communications, co-operative societies, retention of the Chin army etc. These financial questions were to precede our local political considerations and to guide our future political destiny. I had all the time been waiting for an appointment to a class one service either in the Burma Frontier Service or the Burma Police but thanks to the bureaucratic authorities concerned the offer did not come immediately and I had the chance to set my people on their vital political path.

Lack of understanding and some misunderstandings between the Burmans and the Frontier races were almost cleared in public speeches at the Panglong Conference as well as in private bilateral informal meetings between the Burmese leaders and the Frontier leaders. The big demands from the Burmese were for the promise of statehood for the Shans, Chins and the Kachins. Bogyoke said "I could see no great difficulty as regards the Chins and the Shans but the demand of the Kachins would have to be considered thoughtfully as the Bhamo and Myitkyina areas have always been incorporated in ministerial Burma and not in the Frontier Areas. Even the Chins and the Shans I could not commit myself here and now as I brought no mandate from the Executive Council". The next common demand was for three posts of Governor's Executive Councillors instead of one Executive Councillor with two Deputy Governor's Executive Councillors. Bogyoke said that this he very much desired to create himself but the Government of Burma Act 1931 could not be overridden but he would be prepared to circumvent it by making all the three Frontier Leaders members of the cabinet and form the inner circle of his cabinet. He appreciated the three portfolios and considered that they would be the most important in the Council and he had in mind giving some of portfolios for ministerial Burma in due course. "We will show you our generosity. These verbal promises are nothing. You will see facts".

He repeatedly stressed the fact: "The Frontier Areas form not only the frontiers of Burma but it is the boundary between Burma proper and the big countries of China, India, Indo-China and Thailand. The Burmese should not forget to realise that Burma's future as well as the Frontier Areas future will be in jeopardy should we neglect the presence of foreign powers on all our frontiers. There is another tendency to overlook sea communications in the defence of Burma. We should start forgetting that Ava or Mandalay is the centre of the universe and that Irrawaddy the only river in the world". There probably was more understanding between the Frontier leaders and the ministerial Burmese leaders during the four days at Panglong than the previous fifty years put together.

A written promise of statehood was desired much more than the written promise for a president who would be a figure head and the draft agreement, especially the clause of definite agreement of statehood for the respective delegations namely the Shans, Chins and Kachins

could not be approved by Bogoyoke. On the third day of the full conference I saw Mongpaw Sawbwa separately and told him that we all wanted our respective States but that Bogoyoke was quite right in saying that he could not commit himself to what he had no mandate for. "In any case the question is open. Since I have been promised everything I asked for by Bogoyoke as regards the Chin Hills I am willing to postpone the demand for immediate statehood for the Chins for decision by my people during the Frontier Enquiry Commission or at the Constituent Assembly". Mongpaw Sawbwa also saw the resultant futility of the historic conference without the signature of the agreement of most of the clauses which had been agreed to. After our talks together with Duwa Sinwa Naw we went to the hut of Bogoyoke Aung San picking up U Tin Tut on the way to tell him that we three had agreed to consider statehood for the states at the Constituent Assembly. Bogoyoke was most delighted to hear this last decision and signing took place almost immediately. At the time I led the discussions of the future of the Frontier Areas with ministerial Burma at Panglong I was still a permanent government servant. I was on long leave waiting for the result of my application for two class one services. I explained my particular position to Bogoyoke Aung San in the presence of U Tin Tut saying if independence failed which I doubted, the local authorities might still take action on my political activities. He said they would guarantee my future in case I was not successful in the election as Counsellor, and he added it was to avoid such incidents that he met Mr. Attlee first. U Tin Tut suggested a high government appointment and Bogoyoke said that he had in mind the vacant education portfolio or to be the executive in charge of the Frontier Areas. "We badly need an educated frontier man in the party executive". On account of his proved sincerity we never believed that he would die so soon nor that there would ever be any racial or religious discriminations in the future history of the Union. At the Frontier Enquiry Commission as well as during the sub-cabinet meetings about Statehood I did my best to see that demands for statehood should not stand in the way of demanding independence from His Majesty's Government. Bogoyoke appreciated the part I played for the success of the sub-committees of which I was an active member. On a few occasions at different places he sounded me out and asked mutual friends if I would like to accept the education portfolio in place of the Frontier portfolio I then held. I had been acting Counsellor for all the Frontier Areas on many occasions when my Shan colleague was away and I did my job I believe, to the satisfaction of all. In those days only English was used in all cabinet meetings and even at the Union and State sub-committees. As a memento of my close association in the foundation of the Union of Burma Mrs. Aung San gave me a picture of Bogoyoke Aung San and myself taken at Panglong duly endorsed by her "To U Yum Kō Hau, my husband Bogoyoke Aung San's Counsellor and right hand man from the Frontier Areas since Panglong days in the cause of national liberation — Khin Kyi Mrs. Aung San 1947". Had her husband's life not been cut so short by the assassins' bullets I would most probably be still in his Cabinet or long been Ambassador of the Union of which I was his co-founder.

The Chins who recorded all important historical events in songs to be sung at festivals, dedicated a few songs for the Union of the Frontier Areas with ministerial Burma and the subsequent deliverance from Britain.

Below is one of them :

ZangSi Lun leh, VaiTui Lun mang
Na hawm thiam za lai tan zia,
Vaiman Ngamzang, Lun ang siat sa,
Ngam ngi a zial, kik veu tia

The Lordly Siyin and the Lordly Burman !
Your statesmanships have shone round the world
The fair Valley of Burma, prostrated under unknown Lord
You two have retrieved into your folds

Song Dedicated to Vum Ko Hau and Aung San
by the Zo Chins; composed by Saya Thuk Kam of Khuasak, Chin Hills.

Bogyoke Aung San's greatest achievement in his short but memorable life was his success in conferences with the leaders of the three important races of the Frontier of Burma, the Shans, Chins and the Kachins and winning their hearts for the first time in the history of Burma. He won their hearts because he promised to give them everything they asked for. I would liken him in one respect to Mahatma Gandhi who won the hearts of Muslims, Sikhs and Harijans alike; The born General in Aung San took the cue, played the role of the Burmese Garibaldi and earned the title "Bogyoke" — the Chief Leader. Despite his youth he proved himself a revolutionary and a man of great mental force who could also wield the facility of the pen when he wanted.

From my meeting with Bogyoke at Panglong and the frequent private and official meetings that I had later, I found him to be absolutely selfless and he never appeared to have any personal ambitions. This was very well demonstrated I believe to all who knew him. He told me that he was the person responsible for the deletion from the first draft of the AFPFL of the clause requiring the President of the Union to be a person who professes the Buddhist faith. At cabinet meetings he would show no regard for age or respectability at all in case he believed he ought to give any censure or warning. I noticed him giving stern advice to U Ba Win who did not even dare to look at him straight. He always said that we had been criticising the extravagance and corruption of the old time politicians in our public speeches and as new leaders we must live cleanly as expected of us by the people. For him there were no religious or racial differences and he refused to recognise these. For these reasons many of his most ardent supporters and admirers were found among the Frontier races. The Chins in particular have not rebelled against the Union Government up to this-day. If we remember his name and his spirit we of his generation and even generations to come should rise above religious and racial barriers. His unique achievement in winning the hearts of the Frontier races and getting the leaders to opt for a Union of Burma will immortalise him in the pages of history. His fearless courage, his reckless daring, his suffering and transparent honesty, his hatred for pomp and splendour, his capacity for hard work should further serve the Union the legendary story of Burma's struggle for freedom. At Panglong I found out that no cottage was too humble for him, no food too simple, and no sincerity and love ever too great. I regard myself as fortunate to have had the signal privilege of being a trusted cabinet colleague of such an ardent patriot and hero in heralding the dawn of the Union of Burma.

OVERWHELMING MANDATE FROM THE CHIN PEOPLES

I was elected at a Mass meeting by the representatives of the Chin peoples at Falam, as the first Chin Executive Counsellor on the 8th February 1947. There were 4 candidates and I pooled more than 76% of the total votes cast as follows:

1. VUM KO HAU	85-votes
2. Tiel Dum, son of Chief T: T. Lyen	19 votes
3. Ngun To (Haka)	5 votes
4. Vawm Thu Mawng (Kanpetlet)	2 votes

III

The Deputy Commissioner, Chin Hills reporting the above result of my successful election to the cabinet post to the Director of the Frontier Areas Administration said: "The result shows how far Vawm Thu Mawng has any influence over the peoples of the Northern Subdivisions of the Chin Hills".

As recorded elsewhere since I was elected as one of three Frontier Counsellors to the Governor of Burma I had sat on the Rees-Williams Commission (Frontier Areas Enquiry Commission) had laid the groundwork to open more high schools and lower government schools in the Chin Hills and the construction of motor roads. I got the formal approval of Bogyoke Aung San for all these projects in 1947. Facilities in the medical, agricultural, forestry and mining fields had been discussed at the Sorrento Villa conference. For the overall long term improvement schemes Bogyoke advised me to wait till Independence Day as we still had to deal with the Governor in particular and HMG in general. Looking back over the last fifteen years the only changes I find in the Chin Hills are those for which I had laid the foundation and for which I had already obtained promises since the time I first met Bogyoke Aung San at Panglong in February 1947.

I had been the Chief Administrator of the Chin Hills, once before during the Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills but there was little time to improve the country. However I did other good things for the country besides releasing prisoners almost every week and supplying as little ration as possible to the occupying forces in order to leave something for the local inhabitants.

I replaced some of the chiefs who were not popular with the local people during the Japanese occupation and I also introduced the rule by headman through village councils, and district council as soon as I assumed charge as Counsellor to the Governor of Burma. The chiefs whom I had changed during the Japanese occupation were reinstated by the British on reoccupation but some of the measures I introduced during the Japanese regime such as the non-observance of village sacrifice by non-believers were not revived by the British and is in force to this day.

I authorized the opening of an Anglo-Vernacular High School in the Siyin Valley during the Japanese occupation. It was part of the legacy of Japanese occupation which can be seen to this day. As soon as the British reoccupied the Chin Hills, as a Founder-Director of the said high school I sent in a report on the school asking for its recognition by the Government, long before I was elected as Counsellor.

The old British administrator Naylor who was against giving higher education to the Chins was employed in a department unconnected with the Chin Hills administration and the new officers such as Messrs Kelly, Leedham and Stevenson were in favour of improving the Chin Hills. The school got an encouraging reply from the Secretary (development) of the Frontier Areas saying that they were delighted with the progress of the private high school and that they would give every encouragement. Beside founding an Anglo-Vernacular High School privately in the history of the Chin Hills I encouraged my Siyin peoples to construct a motor road without Government help from Fort White into the Siyin Valley. These self-help schemes appear to be the forerunner of the Pyidawtha scheme introduced later. But the motor road has not got government maintainance so far.

One year later, J. Poonyo, Secretary of the Frontier Areas Administration recorded: "Two Government middle schools exist at Falam and Tiddim. There is an excellent private Post Primary School in the Siyin Valley and the question of granting financial aid to this school is under consideration". As soon as I was elected Counsellor to the Governor of Burma I personally reminded Bogyoke Aung San about the above Government aid promised before I became Counsellor. I asked him to convert all the three above mentioned schools into Government High Schools immediately in 1947. He told the Education Minister and the Director of Public Instruction to do so. The Education Minister sent the D.P.I. U Cho to me to explain that they had taken action to turn them into Government High Schools but that the two Government Middle Schools at Falam and Tiddim taught up to the 7th class only and there was no point in turning them into High Schools that year as there was no student for the 8th class yet and they were already Government Schools; as such the High School departments could automatically start having the 8th class the coming educational year when students in the 7th class were promoted. Moreover, no immediate financial assistance was needed as in Thuklai private school as the teachers were all Government servants already. U Cho assured me that the only immediate action necessary in 1947 was to convert the National High School in the Siyin Valley from a private school into a Government High School in order that the teachers could be paid out of Government funds instead of private funds collected by parents and as it already had classes up to the 8th standard which was a High School class and would have to become a Government High School.

I record the above facts because some of my political opponents in order to hide their own attempts to wreck the overwhelming mandate given to me by the Chin representatives at Falam by the trading of votes for government jobs launched a whispering campaign hiding the above facts and that the Thuklai High School was founded, built and financed privately by progressive local people as long ago as the Japanese occupation of 1944. Instead they let it be known that I created the Government High School at Thuklai only in 1947 and suppressed the fact that the High School existed four years before.

For the independence of Burma I was elected as a Cabinet Delegate for talks culminating in the Nu-Attlee Treaty. I was nominated a Member of the Burma Financial Mission which preceded

the Independence talks. We frequently met the Chancellor of the Exchequer Dr. Dalton in the Treasury building. When HMG mentioned Burma's outstanding debt to Great Britain meaning the expenditure incurred in Burma during reoccupation and the cost of the CAS(B) to the tune of some £ 30,000,000, I pointed out the fact that many members of the Frontier races including myself had served with British formations for the liberation of the then British Burma. They then acknowledged the fact that Chins and Kachins did serve with British troops throughout the second World War in Southeast Asia. I had the satisfaction of seeing HMG write Burma's debt off by a like amount before our departure from London.

My continuance as a Cabinet Minister for the Chins after Independence was backed by U Htat Laing MP from Paletwa. My opponent who was ambitious to become a Minister and who pooled 2 votes when I got 85 votes at the Chin Hills election was backed by the pensioner who also had an eye for a political job. The two ex-clerks wavered at first. Probably they were reminded of the overwhelming majority given only recently to me by the Chins at the Mass meeting. But when they were promised the job of SDOs by my opponent they decided to vote for my rival who had never been to an Anglo-Vernacular school and who was dismissed from the Burma Rifles.

I was prepared to consider their case but stood my ground that applications must be called formally, that I must advertise the vacancy in the interest of integrity and fairness to others as there were candidates who had university education and the Chin Hills needed educated persons if the country was to improve.

I reported verbally and in writing to the Prime Minister Thakin Nu the dirty practice of my opponents in obtaining votes which I considered to be bribery by offering government jobs mentioning that it was a clear case of bribery and corruption. I refused to promise any appointments as my convictions were to adhere to the right principle in Independent Burma to which I had been elected as one of the Founders. I considered it below my dignity and below the expectation of my electors to trade votes in such a narrow circle of the Chin affairs council consisting of 6 members, at the cost of principle when I had never done so sacrificing myself during the Japanese occupation when circumstances were more dangerous and difficult. I did not repent once for not trading jobs for votes for the cabinet job as I had seen so many successive ministers who spent their time marshalling votes for their side in order not to be outvoted by a new contender after my departure from the Chin ministry. I was more than ever convinced that we needed suitable educated persons to improve the under developed Chin Hills and not the best traders of votes. After the general election my successor was defeated and another man got the majority of votes in the Chin council but his majority was vetoed by the Prime Minister and another person who pooled less votes was appointed as the Chin Minister by Prime Minister U Nu.

The New York University Subcontractor's Monograph on "Burma" in Volume II sums up the war records and the political activities of the Chin leader :

"The Japanese invasion of Burma produced the same anxieties among the Chins that afflicted other subject peoples of Southeast Asia who found themselves divided into those who retained some loyalty to their colonial rulers and to the Allied cause, and those who welcomed the Japanese as a means of deliverance from colonial bondage. Some of the Chins withdrew further into the hills in order to avoid contact with the Japanese; other chose to remain and live under

the rule of the invader. Among the latter was U Vum Ko Hau, then an officer in the Chin Levies, who was given leave by his British Commanding Officer. He was appointed Headquarters Assistant, later District Commissioner, to administer the area for the Japanese. Like many other Chins, U Vum Ko Hau in reality fought against the Japanese invasion for about 3 years. As an organizer and adjutant of the Chin Levies under Colonel N. Stevenson, founder of the Burma Levies, he and other Chins — after the withdrawal of General Alexander's army from Burma — stood alone to defend the Chin Hills when the Japanese invaded Burma in 1942'. He was able to mitigate some of the harshness with which the Japanese treated the Chins, but nevertheless exceptionally heavy demands were made on them for food, animals and manpower. Chin laborers were requisitioned for building military roads and for maintaining roads during the monsoon period for the heavy traffic of Japanese forces pushing towards the borders of India.

"During the Japanese occupation two Chin organizations of significance were created, U Vum Ko Hau was encouraged by the Japanese to form the Chin Hills Defence Army which first supported the Japanese by fighting against the British across the Manipur River. Towards the end of the war, after disillusionment with Japanese-style "independence", the Chin Army played a decisive role in the resistance and liberation of the area. The other organization was a political one, the first political party in Chin history. The Chin Leaders League grew out of U Vum Ko Hau's contacts with youthful patriotic Chin administrators who served under him. The group was successful in arousing the Chin people to assert their right to elect their own village headmen and in abolishing the dues historically paid to the chiefs. U Vum Ko Hau was the first Chairman of the Organization.

"During 1944 the Chin established contact with the Allied forces. On September 17, the Chin Hills Defence Army with the help of Siyin and Sokte tribal rebels, struck at Japanese outposts, communications and storage dumps. The Japanese machine broke down and was forced to withdraw, leaving the Chins in control and awaiting the return of the Allied troops. The return of the British brought the Civil Affairs Service of the British Military Administration into the Chin Hills. To the disappointment of the Chin people, the British tried to revive the former colonial administration. Chin accomplishments in the resistance movement were minimized, and U Vum Ko Hau, although commended for his service on behalf of the Chins, was prohibited from reviving the Chin Leaders' League. Assistance and inspiration for the Chin leaders, however, were now forthcoming from the increasingly effective independence movement headed by General Aung San and the AFPFL".

"The Chin position as stated to Burman leaders at the 1947 Panglong Conference was essentially the following: they wanted their schools opened, financial assistance for the development of the Chin Hills, the retention of the Chin Army, and the development of communications. These requests were acknowledged, and a unity of purpose between the Chins and Burmans was established.

"The Chin elders then elected U Vum Ko Hau to serve as the Chin Counsellor on the Executive Council of the interim Burma Government. As a Chin representative he also took part in the deliberations of the Frontier Areas Enquiry Commission which endeavoured to find the best method of associating the frontier areas with Burma proper. Along with the other frontier peoples the Chins decided to participate in the Burma Constituent Assembly. The Assembly selected U Vum Ko Hau to serve on the committee charged with the responsibility for drafting the Constitution".

The vacancy of the two members of parliament who became SDOs were filled up by two chiefs. They had their mandate of a vote each but appeared to be guided by the attitude of their predecessors. On the other hand they would like to retain their chieftainship for ever. I could not give my promise as I was one of the authors of the introduction of the village councils, domain councils and district councils since before the total evacuation of the Chin Hills and I had introduced the system all over the Chin Hills during my tenure of office as Executive Counsellor to the Governor of Burma. The wishes of the majority of the people must be respected.

Since our family lost the Clan Lunmun Chieftainship on account of the British annexation we grew tired of being under the jurisdiction of another clan under the British administration for a generation. I wanted to redeem our honour and independence in a free modern world. But I promised them I would introduce a change o.a. full compensation as would be given to the Shan Chiefs so that they could be supported by private means should they be ousted by votes for headmanship. The smallest Shan chief was given a lump sum compensation of fifty thousand rupees. Some of the Chiefs themselves would be on the Enquiry Commission for compensation so that they could put their equitable claim for final consideration.

During the election for the Counsellor's post I was backed by all the representatives of the ordinary people. All the Chiefs and headmen from the South, Central and the Northern Chin Hills excepting the Siyin Chiefs voted for the candidate who was a chief's son. He pooled 19 votes as against my 85 votes.

Had I been willing to promise to uphold chieftainship for an indefinite period, I knew I could retain my cabinet membership which the Chin populace had voted for me. On the other hand the two chiefs in the provisional council were advised by a certain person that they would retain their chieftainship longer and receive better treatment under my political rival.

I knew my stand on this conviction would cost me my cabinet post but even under the war-time occupation of the Japanese I never once did things against my conscience and I decided to face the consequences for a cause which I had all along not only believed but advocated as wise and patriotic. As a result of my conscientious character during the difficult Japanese occupation even the worst man could not say anything against me. Nor could the Japanese or the British authorities find any fault with me for my correct attitude in my responsible jobs under the British and the Japanese authorities respectively. I faced the invading conquerors as well as the British reoccupation authorities with a clear conscience. A small person's false betrayal does not succeed. Truth always triumphs. During the Japanese occupation I abolished the one day's free labour and the payment of dues from slavery and substituted unpopular chiefs with popular headmen.

Since I was elected directly as a Cabinet Member by the Chin leaders at the mass meeting by obtaining over 76% of the total votes cast based on my proved personal integrity and patriotism during enemy occupation, I could not let down the expectation of my electors merely to please a few individuals in the Chin affairs council especially the two chiefs who I knew spoke only for a handful of chiefs and not the people.

After the retirement of my grandfather as Chief of Lunmun and Bellei and the deposition of my granduncle and uncle and the introduction of autocratic rule by the British especially to be exercised by our rival chieftain of the same locality our family felt bitterly resentful.

The chieftainship that I abolished during the Japanese occupation was revived automatically by the British but I had again introduced the rule by village and district councils just after my election as cabinet minister. For this political ideal the two chiefs decided to side with my opponent. I was under the impression that the Prime Minister who professed democracy would approve my courageous action.

For my personal ideology for the creation of the Union of the Frontier Areas and ministerial Burma, since the Panglong days and the Frontier Enquiry Commission Bogoyoke Aung San on more than one occasion asked me if I would like to accept the Education portfolio but I thought that as there was no educated and patriotic leader amongst the Chin members, I was convinced that the Chin Hills which needed so much improvement needed my experienced services far more than ministerial Burma. Had I accepted it I would have been the first Frontier leader to hold a permanent ministerial cabinet post.

In spite of my written and verbal reports to Premier Thakin Nu he appointed my rival who was given 2 votes against my 85 votes at the Chin leaders meeting at Falam. He did not take the trading of votes into consideration. Since that moment my respect for and conviction of the so-called democratic votes began to decrease.

Although I had played an outstanding part since the first foundation of the Union together with Bogoyoke Aung San such as at Panglong where I was instrumental in breaking the deadlock of reaching the historic agreement by postponing a claim for statehood for the Chins, and had been offered ministerial cabinet appointment by Bogoyoke, I received no offer of seat in the post independence cabinet. The genuine regards as that of Bogoyoke Aung San's that I most cherished were no more to be felt. I was one of the two survivors of the four Founding Fathers of the Union of Burma.

The Editorial Leader of the New Times remarked of the change of the Chin cabinet minister thus: "There was a confounding of the prophets in the selection of Vam Thu Mawng as minister for Chin affairs in lieu of the capable U Vum Ko Hau, who had rendered distinguished service as Counsellor for Chin Affairs."

The Chin leaders and the peoples in the Chin Hills considered that a mere handful of 4 members of the provisional council and who were not yet fully representing the peoples by election were not entitled to repudiate the mandate given to me to be their Cabinet Member at the mass general meeting of various leaders from all over the Chin Hills by an overwhelming majority and they did not approve of their electing as the Chin minister a man who cast 2 votes as against my 85 votes out of a total 111 votes.

My successor immediately became unpopular and the Chin commanders of the Chin Rifles personally went to him and "advised" him to resign telling him that he was too weak and unpopular. Next a case was filed against him by the young Chin politicians at the High Court with a view to removing him from his office. The politicians were defended by a barrister at law who was a retired Indian Civil Serviceman. The case is still undecided after the lapse of some 15 years.

As a Stenographer and Chief Clerk and later as an Organiser of the Chin Levies I visited all the subdivisions of the Chin Hills and can speak most of the major dialects. I have better knowledge of the local administration than most foreign and Burmese officers who were posted

to one or two subdivisions only. When I canvassed for the Chin delegate's votes at the mass meeting at Falam I was the only candidate who spoke in two or three languages consecutively at the general meetings. During the war I had further intimate contacts with many local leaders who were in difficult circumstances and had rendered help without any considerations whatsoever. I doubt if there is any politician who possesses the same knowledge of the Chin Hills and its administration in peace time as well as during the Japanese time and later the resistance movements and the British military administration as I do.

With the utmost satisfaction of having contributed more than my ordinary share for the birth of the Union of the Frontier Areas and ministerial Burma and for the Independence of Burma itself, I joined the opening of the new Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Deputy Permanent Secretary.

Dr. Maung Maung recorded it thus : "There have, so far been only two people who have been admitted from "outside" into the higher ranks of the Civil Service : U Thant, and U Vum Ko Hau who has now become Minister to France and Holland. Otherwise the way to the top in the Civil Service lies through entry by competitive examination and working up on seniority and merit (and a little political pull, these days, they say) or by rising from the ranks."

I forecast just after the death of Dag Hammarskjöld that either U Thant or Mr. James Barrington would become the next Secretary-General. I was more than happy when my "fellow outsider and non degree holder" was unanimously elected Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations. I have at long last been made an Ambassador of the Union of Burma of which I was a Founding Father.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THE UNION OF BURMA

BY YAWWUN

The foundation of the Union of Burma comprising the whole areas of the various small kingdoms for the first time in the history of the whole greater Burma is the greatest episode in her history.

According to the "Historical Geography of the Burmese countries at several epochs" by Day and Sons Lithographers to the Queen reproduced as plate XXVI in Yule's Mission to Ava in 1855 for the epochs about A.D. 1500, 1580, 1822 and 1856 one can see the numerous distribution of the various small kingdoms in the areas forming the present Union of Burma. The earliest map "About A.D. 1500" shows the kingdoms or independent countries of :

1. AVA with two cities Pagan and Ava.
2. PEGU with Pegu, Dagon, Ko Miu and Prome.
Prome was the northern boundary of the Pegu Kingdom.
3. TOUNGOO with Toungoo as capital.
4. ARACAN with capital at Aracan.
5. CHIN HILLS bounded by Ava, Aracan, Tripu on the west and Manipoor on the north marked "wild tribes."
6. TAVOY with capital at Tavoy.
7. North of Ava was a country marked Pong Nora.

The second map "About A.D. 1580" shows the emergence of the very big PEGUAN EMPIRE (Toungoo dynasty) absorbing most of the countries mentioned in the first map quoted above. This new empire composed of the former kingdom of Ava, Toungoo, Pegu, Tavoy, Pong Nora, and the eastern states of Upper Laos and Kiang Mai and covers Yuthia on the south east. Arakan and the Chin Hills were not included in the Pегuan empire.

The third map "A.D. 1822" shows the EMPIRE OF AVA in the place of PEGUAN and covers approximately the same area as the Pегuan empire plus the Arakan and Manipoor still without the Chin Hills but the boundary with Siam is approximately as at present day.

The fourth map "A.D. 1856" which represents the position after the second Anglo Burmese war should be more familiar to most historical geographers. Only the last kingdom of Ava comprising Upper Burma remains in Burmese hands. The other former kingdoms had passed to a foreign monarch, Queen Victoria. It appears from the historical map and history that only the Chin Hills have never been under foreign domination between A.D. 1850 and A.D. 1856. A part of the Chin Hills, the Matu area was annexed by the British under Col. Burne as late as 1927. It took a few years to subdue the Zo Chins after the British troops entered the Chin Hills in 1889. This old and last independent country appeared to have given most heroic resistance when they were first intruded by the British under the personal command of General (later Field Marshal) Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B.

An account of the telegram No. 82 dated the 28th January 1889 despatched by General Sir George White, Commander of Upper Burma who succeeded General Prendergast at Mandalay

and who led the Chin Hills Expedition should be of enduring interest to the future generations of the Union. The account was written by Sir Bertram Carey, K.C.I.E. on page 28 of the Chin Hills Gazetteer and sub-titled in the margin "Advance into the hills" and "Encounter with Siyins."

"ADVANCE INTO THE HILLS"

"On the 30th December 1888 Sir George White arrived at Kambale (near Kalembo) and accompanied the force, which continued steadily advancing up the hills, the Sappers assisted by coolies making a road in their tract, along which were constructed rough stockades, in which the troops slept and rations were stored. The troops found their route always heavily stockaded and the stockades generally held by the enemy, who never ceased to ambush when opportunity occurred, both day and night.

"ENCOUNTER WITH SIYINS"

"On the 27th January 1889 the road-making party was again confronted by Chins. The working party was sent back to the stockade and the troops, now unencumbered, attacked the enemy, who retired slowly, making a stubborn resistance, till they reached some formidable and skilfully placed stockades, where they made a stand. Sir George White, at our stockade, hearing heavy firing in front, joined the attacked party with a small reinforcement of the 42nd Gurkhas, and at once ordered, and took prominent part in, the charge, which was "brilliantly led by Lieutenant-Colonel Skene, D.S.O." Sir George White, in a telegram to the Chief Commissioner of Burma, described the action as follows :

"Enemy yesterday attacked our working party on road above this and held our covering party, 40 British and 100 Gurkhas, from 9 till 2, when I arrived and ordered their positions to be charged. We carried all, driving them entirely away, getting off ourselves wonderfully cheaply. Only one Norfolk dangerously wounded. Enemy in considerable numbers using many rifles and plenty ammunition. They fired at least 1,000 rounds, standing resolutely until actually charged, even trying to outflank us. Their loss probably about eight or ten, but they were carried down the khuds at once. Most difficult enemy to see or hit I ever fought." Such was the tenacity of our ancestors to defend their independence. A second severe resistance was made by the Kimlai Siyins at Taitan (Tartan) on the 4th May 1889. Some thirty Siyins including the chief commander Lian Kam lost their lives and one British officer Surgeon Ferdinand Le Quesne was awarded the Victoria Cross for conspicuous bravery in that battle. "The attack and capture of the Siyin village of New Taitan followed on the 4th May 1889 and is of more interest than the preceding occurrences from the comparatively stubborn resistance offered by the Chins on this occasion" A. Scott Reid in "Chin Lushai Land" Calcutta 1893. Do Lian, son of Chief Lian Kam was sent to jail in Myingyan and died there in August 1894.

Unwillingness to remain a subject nation was evidenced by a few important risings against the British :

1. The Siyin Rebellion at Thuklai, 1892.
2. The Haka Chin Rebellion 1917.
3. The Kuki Chin Rebellion 1917.
4. The Saya San Tharawaddy Rebellion 1931.
5. The various rebellions in Burma and the Chin Hills against the Japanese imperial army in 1944 — 45.

For the culmination of the last and final independence of Burma the following historical factors are the significant episodes:

1. The Aung San-Attlee Agreement.
2. The Panglong Agreement.
3. The Frontier Areas Commission of Enquiry.
4. The Provisional Cabinet of Bogyoke Aung San.
5. The Provisional Cabinet of Thakin Nu.
6. The Authors of the Constitution of the Union of Burma.
7. The Nu-Attlee Agreement.

The Aung San-Attlee Agreement paved the way for the Burmans and the Frontier peoples for free intercourse and for frontier leaders to become the Governor's executive councillors. The Panglong Conference sealed the fate of the future of the Frontier peoples as well as the people of ministerial Burma. They decided to fight together for the independence of Burma. The Frontier Areas Commission of Enquiry composed of the leaders of the Frontier Areas who had been elected as Counsellors to the Governor of Burma to represent their respective races viz the Shans, Chins and the Kachins. For the first time in the history of Burma three Frontier leaders elected by their own race sat as Members of the Executive Council of the Government of Burma. The names of the three frontier elected leaders were the Hon'ble Sao Sam Htun Counsellor for Shans; Hon'ble Vum Ko Hau Counsellor for Chins and Hon'ble Sinwa Naw Counsellor for Kachins. They took office in March 1947. They led their delegations earlier to the Panglong Conference where they were instrumental in the successful drafting of the Panglong Agreement. The drafters of the Panglong Agreement and other outstanding frontier leaders were :

Authors of the Panglong Agreement.

1. Sao Shwe Thaik, later President of the Union.
2. Sao Sam Htun, later Counsellor for Shans.
3. Vum Ko Hau, later Counsellor for Chins.
4. Duwa Zau Lawn, later a State Minister.
5. Duwa Sinwa Naw, later Counsellor for Kachins.
6. On the Burmese side Bogyoke Aung San was advised by U Tin Tut. But the drafting of the Agreement was left to the Frontier leaders. The drafting of the historic document took two days as it had to be amended three times as the first two drafts which included a clause stipulating immediate statehood for the three frontier races — the Shans, the Chins and the Kachins — was not acceptable to Bogyoke Aung San. On the last day of the conference the Chin leader Vum Ko Hau told his opposite numbers that since Bogyoke Aung San had promised all other things that he had asked for his people, he was prepared to postpone demand for immediate statehood for the Chins for decision at the Constituent Assembly. This decision paved the way for further modification of the Agreement to be signed before the end of the conference.

On the successful conclusion of the historic Panglong Agreement uniting the Frontier Areas and ministerial Burma for the first time in the history, the respective Leaders and Chief Spokesmen of the four Delegations were asked to speak at the celebration Banquet. The Speakers at the Banquet on the 12th February 1947 (since gazetted as Union Day) were U Aung San on

behalf of ministerial Burma, Vum Ko Hau on behalf of the Chins, Duwa Zau Lawn on behalf of the Kachins and Sao Shwe Thaik on behalf of the Shans.

Dr. Maung Maung, LL.D. sums up the Panglong Conference in "Burma's Constitution" as follows :

"The Panglong Conference attended by Aung San and AFPFL leaders, all the Saophas of the Shan States, and leaders of the Chins and the Kachins and representatives of the SCOUHP started early in February and reached agreement on February 12, celebrated today as Union Day and a national holiday to commemorate the coming together of the peoples. It was a unique occasion. The Kachins asked for an autonomous state within the Union, and the issue was debated hard and long, for the Kachins only had their snow-capped mountains which would be inadequate resources for a separate state. The Chins, led by their young leader Vum Ko Hau, asked Aung San if he would take care that the Chin Hills got good roads and schools; he promised, and they decided to join the Union not even bothering for a separate State. The unreserved acceptance of Union by the Chins paved the way for agreement. The Shan saophas threw in their lot, and the Kachins who were promised that the question of demarcating and establishing a separate Kachin State within a Unified Burma would be studied with consideration".

The author of the "Union of Burma" H. Thinker records : "The Shans were led by Sao Shwe Thaik, Sawbwa of Yawnghwe, and the Sawbwa of Mongpaw. The most prominent Kachin leader was the Sama Duwa Sinwa Nawng of Myitkyina, who had worked for the Japanese. The Chins were represented by Vum Ko Hau, a former leader of the Allied Chin Levies".

Bogyoke Aung San's personality then was such that his word was sufficient as far as ministerial Burma was concerned and his success in winning the confidence of the three vital Frontier Counsellors helped in no small measure in the deliberations with the Frontier leaders. This was important because it was then the aim of the newly created Frontier Areas Administration to divide the whole Frontier Areas which includes the Chin Hills, Kachin Hills, Shan States and the Karenni and Pyapon district from those of the ministerial Burma and attempt to form a separate state should ministerial Burma opt to sever herself away from Britain. Since the Frontier Areas form nearly half (47%) of the total area of Burma and compose of all the adjacent boundaries of Burma with China, India, Pakistan, Laos and Thailand, the decision of the three frontier leaders was vital during the crucial pre-independence period. Hence every thing the three persons said or decided was awaited with great interest in those days. When a sovereign independent state of the Union of Burma was achieved in fact, the three Frontier leaders together with Bogyoke Aung San who thus held the reins to the formation of the union of the Frontier Areas with ministerial Burma became the Four senior Founding Fathers of the Union of Burma. From the Panglong days and from the time the frontier leaders joined Aung San's provisional cabinet the work of the executive council was naturally connected with the all important question of ways and means to get independence for Burma with the inclusion of the whole frontier areas.

On the fourteenth anniversary of the Union Day the Prime Minister acknowledged the importance of the historic resolutions of the Frontier leaders with Bogyoke Aung San at the Panglong Conference :

"Then the Second World War came to Burma. The rulers changed. In 1945 the ruling fascist enemies were resisted and expelled by Bogyoke Aung San, leaders and comrades. In the resistance movement the peoples of the hills and those of the plains were once again united. With that unity we were able to overcome the enemy of the peoples. Then did we come to learn the value of our unity and of our joint action. Then did we come to learn that we were one in good and ill. After the resistance movement and the end of the Second World War Bogyoke Aung San continued to endeavour for the independence of Burma. He believed that just as the unity of the indigenous peoples had brought victory in the resistance movement so also victory in the struggle for independence could be brought about by such a unity. Accordingly, Bogyoke Aung San continued to work for the unity of the peoples.

On February 12, 1947, Bogyoke Aung San and leaders of the indigenous peoples met in conference at Pinlon. Leaders from the hills and the plains and their peoples resolved at the Pinlon Conference to win together independence for Burma. They also resolved to establish after independence the Union of Burma to assure fair shares of all rights and privileges to all the people. Leaders from the hills and plains so endeavoured in pursuance of the resolution that they won independence for Burma in 1948. Simultaneously the Union of Burma as we see it now was formed with Constituent States and Special Division. In this manner we have come to observe February 12 as Union Day in order to commemorate that day in 1947 when the peoples resolved in concord and unity to establish a Union of Burma, a day that is valued and cherished. Again it may be said that we have come to observe this day because we value and cherish the unity and concord of the indigenous peoples of Burma. I submit this answer to my blood relations on how the Union Day came to be established".

FRONTIER AREAS ENQUIRY COMMISSION

In order to find out the wishes of the peoples of the Frontier areas, a Frontier Enquiry Commission was formed as authorised by the Aung San-Attlee Agreement. The following gentlemen were members of the Commission. Bogyoke Aung San did not sit personally on the Commission but relegated it to Thakin Nu.

1. Mr D.R. Rees-Williams (now Lord Ogmores) Chairman.
2. Thakin Nu, Vice President, AFPFL.
3. Hon'ble Sao Sam Htun, Shan Counsellor.
4. ~~5.~~ Hon'ble Sinwa Naw, Kachin Counsellor.
6. Hon'ble U Tin Tut.
7. Bo Khin Maung Gale, AFPFL.
8. Saw Myint Thein (who replaced Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein when the Commission moved to Maymyo) Karen youth.
9. Saw Sankey, KNU.

*Hon'ble Vum Ko Han
Chui Counsellor*

This Commission enquired and recommended the best method of associating the Frontier peoples with the working out of the new Constitution for Burma and made suggestions regarding the participation of the Frontier peoples as members of the Constituent Assembly. They reported the fact that the Frontier peoples really wanted to participate in the Constituent assembly.

Thakin Nu Cabinet

Thakin Nu's Cabinet after the assassination in July 1947 composed of:

1. Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister.
2. Hon'ble Sao Hkun Hkio, Shan Affairs Minister.
3. Hon'ble Vum Ko Hau, Chin Affairs Minister.
4. Hon'ble Sinwa Naw, Kachin Affairs Minister.
5. Hon'ble Bo Letya, Defence Minister.
6. Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein, Home & Judicial Minister.
7. ~~Hon'ble Pyawbwe U Mya, Transport & Communications.~~
8. Hon'ble Henzada U Mya, national planning.
9. Hon'ble Thankin Tin, agriculture and forests.
10. Hon'ble Mahn Win Maung, industry and labour.
11. Hon'ble U Aung Zan Wai, social services.
12. Hon'ble Saw San Po Thin, education.
13. Hon'ble U Ba Gyan, commerce.

*Hon'ble U Tin Tut
Foreign Minister.*

Most of the things for the final independence of Burma as well as details for statehoods of the frontier areas were thrashed out during this period. The draft of the Union Constitution was adopted.

Authors of the Union Constitution.

Unlike the American Declaration of Independence which was written solely by a frontier man Thomas Jefferson, the Constitution of the Union of Burma was written under the joint authorship of the Constitution Drafting Committee consisting of the following seventeen members of the Constituent Assembly.

1. Hon'ble Sao Shwe Thaik, president of the assembly.
2. Hon'ble Thakin Nu, successor to Hon'ble U Aung San.
3. Hon'ble Saothalong of Mongmit, frontier areas.
4. Hon'ble U Vum Ko Hau, frontier areas.
5. Hon'ble U Tin Tut.
6. Hon'ble Thakin Tin.
7. Hon'ble Mahn Win Maung.
8. U Lun Baw.
9. Thakin Tin Tun, communist party.
10. U Ba Thi
11. U Kyaw Myint.
12. Mr. A. Rivers.
13. Bo Tun Lin.
14. Saw Norton Bwa.
15. Labang Grong, frontier areas.
16. U Tin (Myanaung).
17. U Tun Pe.

Aung San Cabinet.

The historic Union cabinet of Bogyoke Aung San at the crucial time the Frontier leaders first joined the Burma cabinet on March 15, 1947 was as below :

1. Hon'ble Bogyoke Aung San, Counsellor for Defence, Deputy Chairman and President of AFPFL.
2. Hon'ble Sao Sam Htun, Saohpalong of Mongpaw, Counsellor for Shans, President of Supreme Council of United Hill Peoples.
3. Hon'ble Vum Ko Hau of Siyin Valley, Counsellor for Chins, and Vice President of Supreme Council of United Hill Peoples.
4. Hon'ble Sinwa Naw, Duwa of Sama, Counsellor for Kachins and Vice President of Supreme Council of United Hill Peoples.
5. Hon'ble Thakin Mya, Finance Member.
6. Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein, Home member.
7. Hon'ble U Tin Tut, member without portfolio.
8. Hon'ble Mhan Ba Khaing, member for public works.
9. Hon'ble Pyawbwe U Mya, member for agriculture and forests.
10. Hon'ble U Aung Zan Wai, member for social services.
11. Hon'ble Abdul Razak, member for education.
12. Hon'ble Deedoke Ba Choe, member for information.

U Ba Win, Saw San Po Thin and U Ba Gyan joined the government later. Bogyoke Aung San, Sao Sam Htun, Thakin Mya, Mhan Ba Khaing, Deedoke Ba Choe, Sayagyi Mr Razak and U Ba Win succumbed to assassination on the 19th July 1947. Some of his cabinet members were away and a few had hairy escapes by a few minutes. Out of the 12 original Members of Aung San's Union Cabinet only two are at present serving the government. The Sama Duwa after having been in and out of the government is at present in the government. Vum Ko Hau is permanent envoy of the Union. Another Aung San cabinet member U Kyaw Nyein is leader of the AFPFL but is at present leading a private life.

As drafting of the Constitution progressed with the private meetings in Bogyoke's residence and other places including of course the Constituent assembly itself more and more measures of formal powers were handed over to the Counsellors. Before his death Bogyoke Aung San had held many of his own provisional cabinets presided by himself although formally he was still Deputy Chairman. State affairs councils were formally authorised. Bogyoke Aung San considered that cabinet meetings which also dispose of routine subjects were not sufficient to discuss such big questions as Union question with the Frontier cabinet members and he used to call special cabinet meetings at his residence where he could entertain them.

When Bogyoke Aung San, the Washington of Burma was felled by the assassins' bullets the Governor of Burma Sir Hubert Rance invited Thakin Nu, Vice President of AFPFL and currently speaker of the Constituent assembly to take over Bogyoke's mantle.

Eight non-members of the constituent assembly were co-opted. They were Sir Mya Bu, Sir Maung Gyee, Justice Sir Ba U, Justice U E Maung, Mr M.A. Rashid, Professors U Wun, U Myo Min, and U Thein Han of the Rangoon University.

Delegates to the Nu-Attlee Treaty

For the signing of the historic Nu-Attlee Agreement (Anglo-Burmese Treaty) the following Cabinet Ministers represented the Union of Burma.

1. Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister.
2. Hon'ble Sao Hkun Hkio, Shan Minister.
3. Hon'ble Vum Ko Hau, Chin Minister.
4. Hon'ble Bo Letya, Defence Minister.
5. Hon'ble U Tin Tut, Minister without portfolio.
6. Hon'ble Mahn Win Maung, Minister for labour.

Subjects concerning the Frontier Areas and other minorities of Burma were hotly debated in the British parliament in those days. The Secretary of State for India and Burma Lord Pethick-Lawrence in a Statement in the House of Lords on the 28th Jan 1947 says "With regard to the Frontier Areas we have given very definite pledges to the people of these areas. Ultimate unification of the Frontier Areas and Burma proper has always been our policy, but, and in this the delegation are in agreement with us, whatever action is taken must be in accordance with their wishes and with their free consent".

The Frontier Areas peoples were represented by two Cabinet Ministers the Honble Sao Hkun Hkio and the Honble U Vum Ko Hau, the Shan and the Chin Ministers respectively. The two cabinet ministers were also nominated for talks with HMG on the Defence and Financial agreements and they both left Burma one month ahead of Prime Minister Thakin Nu. Other officials who accompanied the delegation as advisers were Justice E Maung, U Ko Ko Gyi, Bo Aung, Labang Grong and U Zin.

Burma's independence treaty was signed at the famed No. 10 Downing Street by Honble Thakin Nu and the Rt Honble Mr. C. R. Attlee in the presence of the above national leaders of the Union on the 17th day of October 1947.

Aside from their proven national political leadership in the foundation of the Union of Burma some members of Bogyoke Aung San's cabinet took interest in other spheres of life. Bogyoke Aung San himself had an interest in writing and had begun an autobiography in Burmese before his premature demise. Deedoke Ba Choe had been a printer, publisher, a musician and an artist. Sao Sam Htun was a cattle breeder of repute and his cattle used to carry off many prizes at the local cattle shows in the Shan States.

Vum Ko Hau contributed learned articles on various topics to magazines and newspapers and is a noted bibliophile on Southeast Asia. Beside writing he is interested in the arts, culture, language and anthropological science. Sinwa Naw who had monastic education beside being a sugar planter spent great energy in his attempt to encourage the manufacture of motor

vehicle and mineral production. U Tin Tut who ran a newspaper publishing house and had become a brigadier of the UMP was assassinated just before he left for London to become high commissioner. U Kyaw Nyein is one of the very few political leaders who owns a sizable private library. Like the Sama Duwa he takes interest in industries.

During the government of Honble Thakin Nu, two more persons U Ko Ko Gyi and Bo Po Kun joined the cabinet. Pyawbwe U Mya is dead. Bo Letya is doing business. Mahn Win Maung is President of the Union. Bo Po Kun, Saw San Po Thin and U Ko Ko Gyi were in and more or less out of the limelight.

After the lapse of 15 years, among the members of the original Aung San Cabinet, only three persons namely Sama Duwa Sinwa Naw, U Vum Ko Hau and U Kyaw Nyein appear to be still active in the political and public service of the Union.

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PANGLONG MEMORIES

During the latter part of Alaungpaya's dynasty, Burma was split into different states again. Although Alaungpaya welded so many small states into the largest Burmese empire he did not do it by any treaty or agreement.

The first agreement ever to be signed by a Burmese leader with chosen leaders of indigenous races of Burma, viz the Frontier peoples, was executed by Bogyoke Aung San representing ministerial Burma and the various representatives of the frontier peoples, in a small hut on the 12th of February 1947 the day before Bogyoke's Aung San's 32nd birthday.

The place was Panglong, a tiny village a few miles from Loilem. It was selected as the meeting place of the representatives because it is accessible by surface transport from all directions. Loilem would have provided better accommodation but under the rules of the British regime such political conferences in any place notified as a civil station were forbidden.

It took me seven days from the Chin Hills to reach Panglong. It was just after the war and the military-controlled civil affairs service was still functioning. For transportation we, the Chin Hills delegation, had to rely on local transport officers at every stage. Some were most co-operative; some did not care much to provide us with free transport. No hired vehicle was available for such a distance and petrol was scarce. One Deputy Commissioner in central Burma refused to see us in his office but his junior officer in the same building was very helpful and he provided us with what we needed. His junior officer was also at a loss as to why his boss declined to see us. U Kyi Win a transport officer now in Rangoon was most helpful to us. He even invited us to his house for tea.

The Kachin delegates and we arrived at the conference one day before the start of the meeting i.e. on the 8th of February 1947. The Shan Sawbwas were already there and the Mahadevi of Yawnghwe and daughters were busy receiving us. We were given the best of food and the local delicacies including pig trotters soup, pe-poke etc.

The Kachin delegates included Duwa Zau Lawn, Duwa Sinwa Naw, Uggyi Hting Nan, Labang Grong, Duwa Zau Rip, Ding Ratang and others.

The Chin delegation consisted of three tribal chiefs and myself. I was the representative of the war time Political Organization, the Chin Leaders' Freedom League as their Chairman and also as representative of the Siyin Council. On previous occasions also for such meetings only chiefs were nominated by the government. The government would not think of allowing the people to send their own representatives. The government would rather send 'yes men' who knew little politics not to speak of current world events. They were expected to advocate the status quo if they could express themselves. The chiefs representatives were Hlur Hmung, Thong Za Khup and Kio Mang.

The Burmese Executive Council was led by Bogyoke Aung San. The party consisted of AFPFL members such as Sir Maung Gye, U Aung Zan Wai, U Tin Tut, Bo Khin Maung Gale, Thakin

Wa Tin and a few others. Bogoyoke's colleagues were known and respected by us. They were all very sincere people and won the love and admiration of the frontier peoples in no time.

Beside the formal meetings, many discussions formal and informal were carried on in the huts. We, the respective chief-spokesmen of the three tribes used to see and talk with Bogoyoke and also with his senior advisers over cups of Shan tea in which salt rather than sugar was used. I think the salt of the earth has done more good for human beings than the sugar of the earth.

I would say that much of the understanding between my delegation and the Burmese delegation was established at the informal talk we had over cups of tea and at dinner tables. Bogoyoke Aung San had probably met the Kachin and Shan leaders somewhere before he came to Panglong but he had never met me before; so he invited me to sit with him at the first dinner we had at Panglong. After the usual greetings I told him that we were economically less advanced than Burma proper and that the sparsity of population and difficulty of communications which were never improved by the authorities concerned were serious obstacles to development and that I would have to base my political talks with him on those factors. He readily replied that those were his responsibilities and that it would be his duty to look after the frontier brethren and that his first duty was to see that the Frontier peoples won their independence together with the Burmans, adding that Burma without the Frontier Areas would not be complete.

The talks were friendly and cordial in every respect. My delegation got the promise of almost everything we were asked to demand from Bogoyoke. The Frontier people are sentimental in many ways and we were most delighted when Bogoyoke told us that he also hailed from Natmauk and U Tin Tut from Mindon; Sir Maung Gyee also told us that he had fifty percent Shan blood; U Aung Zan Wai is, of course, an Arakanese and one of Bogoyoke's lieutenants Bo Khin Maung Gale happened to be a schoolmate of mine. I was most happy to say that the greatest progress towards mutual understanding between the brethren was achieved for the first time in the modern age. Thus the thorny problem of relationship between the Frontier Areas and Burma, first likened by prejudiced parties to the Hindu-Muslim problem in India, disappeared like the morning mist. The only detailed problems to be further discussed were statehood for some of the Frontier areas. Thakin Wa Tin still likes to tell me how much he liked my bold speeches made at Panglong.

The Karens and Karenni did not send any delegates to the Conference. Therefore the Agreement was between the Burmese government and the leaders of the Shans, Chins and Kachins only.

Up to the time of the Japanese invasion of Burma the Frontier areas namely, the Chin Hills, the Kachin Hills, the Shan States and the Karenni states and the Papun districts were directly under the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, the portfolio of which was held by a European Executive Counsellor to the Governor of Burma. The post usually went to the most senior European I.C.S. man and carried with it a salary of Rs. 4500 per mensem.

When Bogoyoke Aung San became Counsellor for Defence he found his powers did not extend to any of those areas. They had been transferred overnight to the charge of the Director of Frontier Areas. As Defence Counsellor the best he could do was to meet the personnel of the Frontier Force and at that time there were some battalions of the Chins

and Kachins already in the Frontier Force. He took all the opportunities of meeting them. Once he inspected the Chin Hills Battalion and anti-tank regiment at Meiktila and he was very pleased with the senior Chin officers he met then. He visited the Mess and talked with them most of the time. It was probably Bogyoke's first personal contact when he could talk with the Chins, heart to heart.

Up to the time of signing the Panglong Agreement of 1947 it had not been possible even to hold a political meeting of the same nature at the government civil station such as Loilem which is only six miles from Panglong. A meeting of the Frontier leaders and the Burmese leaders was convened one year earlier at the same place but as the Aung San - Attlee agreement had not yet been signed it was impossible to accomplish much. The Agreement opened the way for the Frontier leaders and the Burmese leaders to begin important talks which would decide their destinies.

Some of the terms of the Panglong Agreement, which regulated relationships between Burma and the more important portion of the Frontier Areas when the Rees-Williams Commission began its work, were as follows:

"The Panglong Agreement, 1947.

A Conference having been held at Panglong, attended by certain Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma, all Saophas and Representatives of the Shan States, the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills . . . (It will be noted that the Karens and Karennis did not participate).

The Members of the Conference, believing that freedom will be more speedily achieved by the Shans, the Kachins and the Chins by their immediate co-operation with the Interim Burmese Government:

The Members of the Conference have accordingly, and without dissentients, agreed as follows:

7. Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries".

It also provided for the appointment of three Frontier representatives, to attend meetings of the Executive Council.

After the signature of the Nu-Attlee Treaty the meetings of the provisional Government were attended by the Frontier Counsellors at every Executive Meeting, and not only when subjects pertaining to the Frontier Areas were discussed.

Thus the importance of the Agreement lies not only in the fact that it settles the form of association during the interim period, but also in its enunciation of certain principles, notably that the Frontier peoples should be entitled to fundamental democratic rights, that they should have the right to full autonomy in the internal sphere, and that they should be entitled to receive a measure of assistance from the revenues of Ministerial Burma. All these had their influence on the ultimate form of association. The formation of the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples was also a noteworthy step forward in the establishment of representative institutions among the Frontier peoples.

REES-WILLIAMS COMMISSION

The Panglong Agreement helped the work of the Frontier Commission of Enquiry also known as the Rees-Williams Commission to a great extent. The Members of this first important Committee to be created by the Governor of Burma were as follows :

The Hon. U Tin Tut, Member without portfolio; Hon. Sao Hsam Tun, Shan Counsellor; Thakin Nu, Vice-President, AFPFL; Hon. U Vum Ko Hau, Chin Counsellor, Bo Khin Maung Gale, AFPFL; Hon. Sinwa Naw, Kachin Counsellor; Saw Myint Thein, KYO and Saw Sankey, KNU. Saw Myint Thein joined the Committee when it moved to Maymyo, in place of Hon. U Kyaw Nyein, Home Member, who was a member in Rangoon, but was forced to resign owing to pressure of work. U Kyaw Nyein attended some meetings in Maymyo as an observer.

Thus with those post war beginnings under the bold and gallant leadership of Bogoyoke Aung San all the indigenous peoples of Burma began to unite again to fight for the attainment of the mother country's rightful and honoured place in the world. It was this unity which brought the struggle for independence to an early fruition.

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THE ASSASSINATION OF BOGYOKE AUNG SAN

July seven years ago, and rain had just set in in Rangoon. At the iron gates of the Secretariat a few traffic constables and Yebaws were seen in khaki uniforms. Their duty was to control motor traffic into the Secretariat. They did not check the identity of entrants. Some Cabinet Ministers and many Members of the Constituent Assembly were still wearing their old uniforms; I myself used to do the same at times. It was only sometime after the resistance movement was over and the war fever had not left many of us in the Constituent Assembly; besides, as late as January 1947 while Bogyoke Aung San visited London the Yebaws were kept on the alert with their concealed arms to fight if necessary for independence.

The Secretariat could be entered by any one who had the whim and fancy. Arms were carried by Yebaws and other people; no one could tell who was a bonafide soldier, who was not. On the main roads of Rangoon, Yebaws of various political or other organisations collected donations. Things were in a fluid state. Although the Constituent Assembly was already in session it was an open secret that many arms were still in unauthorised hands. Traffic in arms was ill-concealed. A case in point was when a quantity of 200 Brens were secretly obtained by culprits from an unauthorised source. The leader of the conspiracy was known; the cabinet meeting of the 19th. July was to have decided what action should be taken against him.

At half past ten on the morning of the 19th July 1947, a jeep carrying uniformed men pulled up at the Sparks Street entrance of the Secretariat. The Police constables waved the vehicle in as a matter of course. The inmates of the jeep alighted at the entrance of the Shan State Ministry and they went up the first floor from the narrow stair-case connecting the Finance Ministry, with the Shan State Ministry, and headed for the Chamber where the Executive Council had just begun the day's deliberations. The jeep after unloading its evil cargo, turned to wait for the would be assassins at the archway of the Secretariat, with the engine running.

Bogyoke Aung San used to arrive early for cabinet meetings and I would take the opportunity of seeing him before the meeting started. That morning I reported some important matters regarding the future of the Chin Hills and he requested me to see him at a later cabinet meeting. I would have remained on in the Executive Council Chamber but just before I went to see him some important visitors from Paletwa and Naga Hills arrived to see me on some very urgent matters. For that reason I asked to be excused from attending the Executive Council Meeting that morning. Bogyoke agreed to my seeing the visitors, as there was no item concerning the Chins on the agenda for that day. I had many such meetings with Bogyoke Aung San since the days of the Frontier Areas Enquiry Commission. Bogyoke advised me to settle as many cases as could be settled between him and me.

On my way to the office I exchanged greetings with Bogyoke's personal assistant Bo Tun Hla and came down from the very stair-case which was to be used by the assassins a few minutes later.

I went back to my room on the ground floor directly beneath the Council Chamber. Not long after I had opened conversations with the representatives from Paletwa and the Naga Hills,

an ugly unearthly noise shook the whole building. I heard very loud bursts of automatic weapons which were sounds I was well familiar with all the previous four years. I went out of my room and met a peon who came running down the stairs crying; when I asked what had happened I learned to my horror that the unbelievable had happened and that most of my outstanding colleagues had been cruelly cut down by the bullets of assassins. I went up to the Council Chamber and met Pyawbwe U Mya and U Ba Gyan who had not yet recovered from the shock. Mongpaw Sawbwagyi was grazed by a bullet but could stumble down to the ambulance truck on his feet.

The country was thus, in one morning, by one cruel blow, deprived of its greatest founders and I of personal friends. Bogyoke's death had been a serious blow to Burma. Excitement bubbled up on the surface of grief and anger against the small band of fanatics who had committed the heinous crime.

But a new leader in Bogyoke's trusted comrade Thakin Nu stepped in to hold the heavy reins of government and we, the remaining members of Executive Council, carried on with and a few of us had the privilege of being present at the signing of the historic Nu-Attlee treaty at No. 10, Downing Street on the 17 th October 1947.

The day after the assassinations we all went to the general hospital mortuary to take the remains of the leaders to the Jubilee Hall. On arrival there the Mahadevi of Yawnghwe informed me that Mongpaw Sawbwagyi had also passed away on the operation table. Thus, together with the Burmese the blood of the Frontier peoples, the Muslim, the Karen and the Anglo-Burman was joined again in the national struggle for independence.

The July murders proved that the races of Burma were united not only in name but also in fact, and the world which was intently watching her saw that Burma could take adversity calmly not unlike a stately ship which braves the storms and sails the oceans.

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ASSASSINATED CABINET COLLEAGUES

On the 19 July 1947 at about 09:30 hours I saw Bogyoke Aung San in his office adjacent to the Cabinet Room. As two Chin delegations came without notice to my chamber I asked for leave to meet the delegations and he readily gave me permission.

A few minutes later Bogyoke Aung San and six of our Cabinet colleagues were assassinated. Following is the condolence motion I made in the Constituent Assembly for my departed Cabinet colleagues:

Hon'ble Speaker Sir. I would like to support the motion of condolence proposed by Thakin Nu this morning. I am overwhelmed with regret and sorrow at the death of Burma's great leader General Aung San and his colleagues in the Cabinet at the hands of criminal persons.

General Aung San

We have been witness to the courageous manner in which Bogyoke has overcome difficult problems for the sake of independence. He was the first Burman to break through towards the path of independence for the hill areas by his meeting with the British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee. He will be distinguished in Burmese history as the person who brought about the first meeting and consultations in the Constituent Assembly, of the people of the plains and their blood relatives and compatriots living in the hills. He is loved and respected by us all. The present loss is not only the greatest loss to the whole of Burma, but is the loss of a present day leader of the world. He is not only a political leader, but also the first general in Burma. He cannot be compared even with Mahabandula, famous among us as of yore.

His greatness (stature) is clear because he was not only a general but also chairman of the AFPFL, the strongest organisation in Burma. In spite of his youthful age a description of his abilities and his attitude would be endless. When I came to attend the Panglong Conference, the first between, Burma and the Frontier Areas, as Leader of the Chins, I met Bogyoke for the first time.

His noble attitude of love towards the Hill Peoples; bringing us into his councils, as close blood relatives, earned the love and respect of the Chin Delegates. I wish to state that the conclusion of the Panglong Agreement was made possible because of his personal integrity, his efforts and his simple honesty. As his straightforward honesty earned him the confidence of all, so also we believed that Bogyoke's spoken word is as a binding treaty.

By activating as if by electricity, by supporting and encouraging the experts in education and general matters at Sorrento Villa, he was the person responsible for leading the Union towards rehabilitation, so urgently necessary and vital at the present moment. He had the urge and the intention to give his personal attention to the matter of opening communications, setting up schools and establishing hospitals in the Hill Areas, hitherto so much lacking in progress. Although the

Great Bogyoke has so untimely passed to another existence, his life will make him a person honoured by the world.

Minister Thakin Mya

Thakin Mya was not only the person with the greatest political experience among the martyrs who have passed away, and among the present Members of the Assembly, but he was also President of the 'Socialist Party. In addition to being for many years a guide showing the way to the path of freedom, he was a person skilled and learned in general matters.

After he had established relations with various countries he went to London last January together with Bogyoke. He signed the Financial Agreement so important to Burma with the Financial Delegates coming from London in May.

The Sawbwa of Mawngpaw

We are very grieved at the death of the Mawngpaw Sawbwa who we of the Hills leaders had elected. He was one of the Shan leaders with whom we the Chin delegates had the closest relations during the Panglong Conference. When I was elected as the Counsellor for the Chin peoples I had the pleasure of working together with him in the Frontier office. Besides his sense of fairplay, he had great love for his fellow compatriots of the Hill Areas. With his great interest in agriculture and animal husbandry, his death has occasioned the loss to Burma not only of a Minister of the Hill Areas, but also of a person who possessed great knowledge.

Minister U Ba Cho

Anyone in Burma whether young or old with some knowledge of literature, will have heard of Deedoke U Ba Cho. He was the first person among Burmans to establish a printing press. A person with ability and understanding of Burmese music, he also successfully worked for the preservation of the Pali language. I personally know the extent of the loss occasioned by his death in the preparation of the National Anthem and National Flag. A great patriot who regarded all the indigenous races of Burma as being of the same blood, we all honour him for his noble spirit. If he had not so unexpectedly left us he would have been sent as Ambassador to China.

Minister U Razak

U Razak was the headmaster of the Nay Pyi Daw National High School and a political leader. He made great efforts to have the Burmese language adopted as the official language of Burma. We Chins, being an indigenous race of Burma, are also staunch upholders of the Burmese language, and value the spirit of a person who made so much effort on behalf of the Burmese language.

Minister Mahn Ba Kaing

Since the re-occupation of Burma by the British up till the time when he met his end Mahn Ba Kaing was tireless in his efforts on behalf of the Karens. He was a great person who successfully drafted many agreements and understandings for Burmese-Karen friendship.

Minister U Ba Win

U Ba Win, the brother of Burma's distinguished son U Aung San, has also been lost to us. He earned the respects of all with his simple straight-forwardness. It is to be regretted that we should lose him before his efforts bore fruit.

He is a person who for a long period gave his service for the sake of his country in the field of education.

I also regret the loss of U Ohn Maung who fell together with the Ministers, and of U Htwe who gave his life for the sake of his superior.

Even had Bogyoke and his right hand men not fallen, Burma which was used as a battle ground twice by powerful nations, has already suffered great losses.

Although what we are saying now may not be remembered for very long, the persons who laid down their lives for the sake of Burma's freedom, will go down in history as long as the world exists. We should not feel downhearted because Bogyoke and his comrades have fallen.

But it is our duty to exert ourselves many times over along the path that they have laid down. Then only will the historical sacrifice of Bogyoke and his comrades not be in vain. Thakin Nu, the successor of Bogyoke, is a person who has not only received the confidence of us all, but also participated in the important Frontier Areas Inquiry Commission. He is also an important figure in the Negotiations Committee. Since he has been described in European newspapers as "Lenin's Stalin", it will not be necessary for me to elaborate.

On behalf of the Chin peoples, I pledge to unswervingly follow, together with Prime Minister Thakin Nu, the path of Independence laid down by the late Bogyoke.

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NU — ATTLEE TREATY WAS SIGNED

Since Padawmu Day, November 30, 1885, when Burma came under the British the most important agreement to which Burma became a party can be said to be the Nu-Attlee Treaty, signed at the unpretentious but famed No. 10 Downing Street on 17th October 1947.

The Treaty's forerunners were the Aung San-Attlee agreement and the Panglong Agreement, of February 12, 1947, and they both opened the way for the Independence Treaty. The Panglong Agreement united the Frontier peoples of Burma with the Burmese people of the plains in a pledge to fight for the independence of Burma. As a result, the Frontier Areas Enquiry Commission was formed. I had the honour of serving on it with U Nu, U Kyaw Nyein (in Rangoon) and Bo Khin Maung Gale. Col. D. Rees-Williams was the Chairman. The Frontier leaders decided to participate in the Burma Constituent Assembly.

It will be recalled that Burmans and Chins rose against fascist domination and fought for the liberation of Burma in the year 1944-45 and a good many of the flower of our youth perished on the battle fields. Much of our paddy lands and taungyas have relapsed into jungle during the period of our three years' existence within the orbit of the "Co-prosperity Sphere". Most of the village paths had been overgrown with bushes and cart lanes rendered unusable due to neglect, dak bungalows had roofs but no floors — fields-huts and pongyi-kyaungs had to do for permanent homes.

The latest unification of the important racial elements of Burma was accomplished at the Panglong Conference. After the Panglong Conference it was decided that a representative each of the main peoples represented at Panglong, namely the Chins, Shans, and Kachins should sit in the Governor's Executive Council forthwith to facilitate negotiations with the frontier peoples. Thus Bogoyoke Aung San moved to get seats for three frontier Counsellors in the Governor's Executive Council. Next, the Frontier peoples decided to take part in the Constituent Assembly to decide their future position in independent Burma. The elections to the Constituent Assembly took place on the 7th April, 1947 and the first session of the Assembly commenced on the 9th June 1947.

A select Committee to draft the constitution was formed and a draft constitution was laid before the Assembly on the 31st July 1947.

Burma, the last of the Asiatic nations to be swept into the British Empire by force was the first to extricate itself from the British Commonwealth also ahead of her bigger neighbours, India, and Pakistan. The Burma Constituent Assembly unanimously decided to withdraw from the British Empire and the British Commonwealth. The Governor Sir Hubert Rance, conveyed at Executive Council meetings the desire of HMG that we should remain within the British Commonwealth. He stressed that there is nothing that we would lose by doing so. Hitherto it was a custom that Dominion countries are ruled by governors or governors general sent from England. In our case had we decided to remain in the Commonwealth we could have freedom in all respects including, of course, choice of governors although there was no precedence yet.

We left Rangoon for London during the middle of September barely two months after Bogyoke Aung San and my old colleagues were assassinated to discuss the final treaty with HMG and also financial matters. We assembled at a room in the Strand Hotel which was mostly occupied by the Navy. In those days flying boats used to leave Rangoon at about three in the morning from Dunedaw and few Burmese politicians have been outside Burma by air to UK. We were going on an important mission.

Lord Listowel visited Burma early in September 1947. The welcome accorded to Lord Listowel and Sir Gilbert Laithwaite was warm and cordial. Rangoon papers remarked that there would be no question of parting ways with Great Britain, or for that matter with any other country. Instead there would be even closer association and co-operation between us and others in all the years to come. Lord Listowel, the Secretary of State for Burma, on arrival in England said: "Our policy of giving Burma independence at the earliest possible moment is fully understood and our sentiments are entirely reciprocated" He added that he could not speak too highly of the co-operative spirit of the Burmese Cabinet without which they could not possibly have gone so far with the treaty. One of the most important articles in the Treaty would necessarily be that dealing with financial matters and HMG, through the Earl of Listowel, invited the Burma Cabinet to send a Financial Mission to the United Kingdom towards the end of September before the Treaty was signed in October.

The first batch of Burmese delegates to attend the signing of the Anglo-Burmese Treaty consisted four Governor's Executive councillors namely, U Tin Tut, Momeik Sawbwagyi, Mahn Win Maung and myself. Other delegates and advisers were: U Ko Ko Gyi, Bohmu Aung, Justice U E Maung, Labang Grong, U Zin. U Chan Htoon and U Khin Maung Than who were on a tour were also present in London. We all came ahead as members of the Burma Financial Mission and were to remain until the arrival of Premier Thakin Nu. Premier Thakin Nu arrived during the second week of October with Bo Letya and Bo Tun Lin for the signing of the Treaty.

We went to the Treasury almost daily towards the end of September and early October. We talked with the Chancellor of the Exchequer Dr. Dalton and his colleague. We requested them to reduce our debt as much as they could, especially the costs of the Civil Affairs Staff (Burma), which was mainly incurred for the benefit of military occupation. Dr. Dalton and his colleagues whom we meet at subsequent dates said that Britain too was in a difficult position and that they could not reduce by any appreciable amount. We then mentioned the war efforts contributed to the Allied cause by the Patriot Burmese Forces from Chin Hills down to Rangoon. As a result of our talks the Government of the United Kingdom agreed to make no claim on the Provisional Government of Burma for repayment of the cost of the Civil Affairs Administration prior to the restoration of civil government, and also agreed to cancel £ 15,000,000 of the sums advanced towards the deficits on the Ordinary Budget and the Frontier Areas Budget.

When Bogyoke Aung San declared in 1947 that independence would be obtained within one year many foreign observers did not believe it because it was not known how long the Constitution Assembly would take to draft the Constitution. But the drafting of the constitution was finished within the record period of six months and adopted by the whole Assembly consisting of the Frontier and Communist members. It is a fact that it took many other nations to draw up the constitution, not to speak of adopting it, a much longer time. Cases in point are Pakistan,

India and Indonesia. The first session of the Burma Constituent Assembly commenced on 9th June 1947. On June 11, 1947, Thakin Nu was unanimously elected President of the Assembly. In London, an American told Thakin Nu how impressed he was by the speed and spirit of the negotiations. He said: "It took us Americans several years to decide our constitution, and then we had to have a war about it". Thakin Nu was also asked how he came to a settlement with the Frontier peoples so quickly. His reply was, "By giving them what they want".

On the 16th June, 1947 U Aung San moved a directive resolution embodying seven points on which the constitution that was to be drawn up was based. The resolution received wholehearted support from every section including members of the Frontier areas and those of the Communist party. A Constitution select committee consisting of 15 members was appointed. During the recess Bogyoke Aung San and some other cabinet members were assassinated. The second session met on the 29th July, 1947, Sao Shwe Thaik was elected president of the Assembly in place of U Nu who became Prime Minister on 30th July.

We were given lunch by the Prime Minister and Mrs. Attlee at No. 10 Downing Street some time before the signing of the treaty. I sat with Lady Stafford Cripps whose husband was so closely connected with the question of Indian independence before the war. She was a brilliant conversationalist and assisted me to procure some technical books which I could not get from Foyles or the Cambridge bookshops.

We were guests of Lord Chorley to a cocktail party one evening at the London School of Economics and there met a delightful Negro couple who were most eager to learn about the new young Burma. I understand that the husband was a Professor in the same school.

We were guests of His Majesty's Government and were variously accommodated at the Savoy, Grosvenor House and the Airways Mansion and were provided with Daimler cars. On the 17th October 1947 after the signing of the Treaty we ceased to be guests of HMG and the transports placed at our disposal were also withdrawn immediately. This meant that although we could not get return air passages immediately we were no longer guests of HMG.

While waiting for return air passage we had some time at our disposal to do sightseeing. Until the arrival of Thakin Nu at Grosvenor House we turned a suite in the Savoy Hotel into an office. After his arrival we met at Grosvenor House every day. When I had time I used to drop in at Stanley Gibbons which is diagonally opposite the Savoy. One midday as I strolled the narrower London streets with a fellow delegate I came face to face by accident with a notorious district officer who had retired from Burma about a year ago. The first thing he told me was about the difficulty in Britain and that he was working at a coal-rationing board in Aberdeen.

We were the last batch of Burmans to travel holding British passports (probably the first batch to hold British diplomatic passports).

One evening after the signing of the treaty some of us were invited by Lord Listowel to dinner at the Claridges. There he invited also the leader of the Liberal Party and also some leading members of the Conservative party. They all were very friendly and each of them assured us that although they belonged to another party from that of the Labour they all wished us the best of luck and that they wanted our country to prosper.

U Ko Ko Gyi and some of us were invited to dinner at the exclusive Traveller's Club by Sir Gilbert Laitwaite. There I met a young Earl who Sir Gilbert introduced to me as a country gentleman. Lord Listowel was the first and last Secretary of State for Burma. Burma was, before that, looked after by the Secretary of State for India and was treated as a mere province of the India empire although the interests of the two countries were not similar and patriotic sentiment was always strong and nationalism spontaneous in Burma.

The Labour Government and the British people wished the people of Burma every success and all good fortune in the construction of our country, so exceptionally rich in natural resources which could, fully developed, benefit not only Burma but many poverty stricken lands. I would like to mention that within the borders of Burma few people realize how rich we are in natural resources. When one gets out of Burma and flies over monotonous barren landscapes one begins to thank one's stars.

The actual treaty for independence of Burma was signed on the 17th October but the formal commencement of the new Constitution of Burma was fixed for the 4th January which was within the one year which Bogyoke Aung San set as the period within which we should gain total independence. Thus on that day Burma became totally independent, even earlier than the three bigger sisters India, Pakistan and Indonesia. Only two other nations before Burma — the 13 American colonies and Eire — quit the British Empire totally.

Before independence was obtained one of the erroneous notions circulated by interested parties was that Burmans lacked the capacity to govern themselves and manage their own political and economic affairs. The statesmanship of the political leaders at home and the immense popularity of her international representatives at the U.N. assemblies easily give the lie to this idea.

Our first duty is to weld the 17 millions of our countrymen into one nation no matter how many "states" there are in the Union. We must be union-conscious and evolve a vigorous national life, Nationalism is a noble instinct. Do we remember our national schools, national clubs, national dress. The love of tradition is with us. I do not mean to suggest that we should do away with the learning of English or French as without it we shall not be able to meet the outside world, and we are not big enough to close our shores like ancient China. We are citizens of the Union of Burma and not citizens of the Hills, Shan State or Burma proper. In countries such as America and Yugoslavia, provincial state Governments constitute the machinery by which government and the people are brought nearer together. We may as yet have to surmount difficulties as experienced by every other young nation ahead of us - but difficulties are opportunities for triumphs. We all have to be Union conscious if we are to surmount difficulties.

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CHANGES IN THE CHIN HILLS

By Dorothy Woodman; Published in the New Statesman, 1955.

I have in front of me a book describing the punitive expeditions which were waged against the Chin peoples in the districts of the Upper and Lower Chindwin until they were forced to recognise British power. Year after year, following the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, these campaigns were organised by the Government of India. As the cold weather season approached, columns of troops, the King's Royal Rifles, the 1st Burma Rifles, the Madras Pioneers, the Garhwal Rifles and the Gurkhas marched through thickly wooded hills clearing the way for mule transport, building stockades, and, as often as not, finding every stage of their advance challenged by one or another of the various Chin Tribes: the Siyins and the Kanhows in the North, the Hakas and the Tashons in the South.

One October day in 1891, a Political Officer attached to the army took a party of Chin Chiefs down to Rangoon. There, he argued, they would be so impressed, they would decide that further resistance in their mountain villages would be foolish and hopeless. At the end of the visit, the Chief Commissioner in an impressive Durbar at Government house told them:

You have now seen a little of the world outside your native hills and must have become aware what small and insignificant places your Chin villages are and what small and helpless people the Chins are in face of the British power. The Queen Empress now rules over Burma, and many other countries, the names of which you never heard, and who has many armies of soldiers and great ships of war under her command bigger than any other ships you have seen here. As the Chin Hills lie right between two portions of the whole of the Chin Hills and you may be sure we shall never go away. We are building forts and making roads and sending many more soldiers there, and we intend to remain there, as I say, for ever.

The Chiefs were impressed; they saw the great barracks, they visited the fleet at Monkey Point, they looked at rice mills, they enjoyed the bazaars and they insisted on a second visit to Phayre Gardens to see the animals. They returned home better equipped to cut telegraph wires, chopping them into lengths to make slugs for their muzzle-loading muskets. The uneven struggle lasted until 1896, by which time one tribe after another had been "thoroughly thrashed into insignificance" - to use an official phrase.

It is one of the ironies of history that by holding up the Japanese troops in the Chin Hills in 1942, the descendants of these Chiefs helped to save India from invasion. I met one of them in Burma earlier this year - Vum Ko Hau, now head of the United Nations Department of the Foreign office in Rangoon. (His grandmother's brother and his wife's grandfather were both among the Chiefs mentioned and photographed in the Chin Hills Gazetteer). Himself, one of the founders of the Chin Levies, he described how the Japanese had made meticulous preparations for their arrival in Delhi. When they next came through his district they were a defeated army fighting their way out to Rangoon.

VUM KO HAU OF SIYIN by Dr. Maung Maung

It was autumn in London, 1947. The dead leaves rode the wind past the windows of the Dorchester Hotel. Across the Street, Hyde Park was gold with fallen leaves. Autumn in London is sad, mellow, mild, but for the Burmese delegation occupying some suites in the Hotel in that Autumn of 1947, it was not sad. Thakin Nu had come to sign the Burma Independence Treaty with Mr. Clement Attlee, the Prime Minister of the British Labour Government. The Burmese had come to meet their destiny in London. *Kinwunmingyi* had come to London in 1872 to seek recognition of the Burmese Kingdom, and to get an agreement for the exchange of diplomatic relations between Queen Victoria and King Mindon. *Kinwunmingyi* failed in both missions, for the fate of the Burmese kingdom was already sealed, and his mission was already doomed, his mission was already too late. Later, after a few decades, many Burmese missions had come to London, to plead for Burma's "Home Rule", or Dominion Status, or even for Dyarchy that very diluted form of self-government. Those missions met with only varying degrees of success, but this mission of 1947 was the crowning mission of them all. This mission was to negotiate on equal terms with the British Government and by solemn treaty declare the independence of Burma, and her withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

With the mission of 1947 was a young Chin, shy, and a little unsure, but serious and eager, always hovering in the discreet background, but always there when the vital discussions were held and the vital decisions were made. For him the journey had been long : from Thuklai, Fort White in the Chin hills to the Dorchester in distant London; it had been a long and rough journey but the main thing was that he made it, and he was there. There at the signing of the treaty of Burma's independence, of the Chin's independence, there at the culmination of the struggle in which his grandfather Thuk Kham had taken distinguished part, in which his granduncle had taken part, and being a modest person he would mention this last in which he himself had taken such active part. Now at the signing of the treaty in London's Whitehall, in a conference hall which had served centuries of history, the young Chin leader saw not the bald-headed, bespectacled Mr. Attlee who was delivering his speech of congratulations, not the inspired and dedicated face of Premier Nu swathed in silk *gaungbaung*, or the flashlights of the press cameras, not the bustle of the historic moment . . . but the Chin hills, and the resistance in those grey hills through the grey ages, his father and grandfather and those of his Siyin tribe, fighting with primitive weapons, dying their patriotic deaths as they were mown down by the civilized guns of the British. Now it was all over. The fight was won, victory was theirs.

And that day after the treaty was signed, Vum Ko Hau, the Chin leader in U Nu's delegation, quietly slipped off to his usual London haunt : Foyle's bookshop off Leicester Square, where he had been spending most of his jealously snatched leisure hours. At Foyle's bookshop there were books he had discovered. Books, millions of them. Books on politics and government, war and history, the arts and the sciences. Vum Ko found Foyle's the most exciting place of all in London, even more so than the Follies where he did go once just to polish his modern education. He browsed among the books and read them; he bought what he could. There was so much to learn, and his hunger was such he wanted to do all the learning while he

was in London, while Foyle's was there at his elbow. But he had to go back home and help with building Burma, for he was not a mere student but a leader of the Chins, and a Deputy Counsellor in the Governor's Executive Council. He wished he were a student, free to roam in fields of learning a few more years.

* * *

Vum Ko Hau was born on March 17, 1917, eldest son of Saya Za Khup of the Siyin Chins. His boyhood name was Hau Vum Ko Hau, the first "Hau" being taken from the last name of his granduncle according to the custom of the Siyin. Fort White, where he was born, was the area which Field-Marshal Sir George White subdued after three years fighting continuously from the reduction of Mandalay and the seizure of King Thibaw by the British invading armies. The Chins had stood firm against the invaders, and Fort White was one of the areas which saw the heaviest fighting. In that atmosphere, laden with memories of the resistance, littered with symbols of Chin defiance, Vum Ko Hau grew up. He was a sturdy lad. The hard life of the hills hardened him. He was keen on sports, and good in his studies. He went to the Koset village school first, winning a medal at the end of his primary course for "exemplary conduct". Then he graduated into the middle school 20 miles away from his home. School meant, apart from other hardships, getting up early in the morning to start on his 20 mile journey on foot. He cooked his hasty breakfast, and on holidays he helped the family by bringing in firewood from the forests or by working on the farm. The life gave young Vum strength and determination, qualities which were to serve him well in his later career.

After middle school Vum Ko Hau migrated to Sagaing, where the nearest high school was. At Sagaing he made many friends among his class-mates: Khin Maung Gale, now Home Minister, Tha Khin, now also a Minister of the Union Cabinet, and any number of friends who were later to distinguish themselves in military service: Colonels Tun Sein, Saw Myint, Chit Myaing, Thein Toke, Ba Byu, and a host of them, all among the Burma Army brass today. Vum was sociable, "sporty", studious. He was popular with his friends who liked his unassuming ways, and with the teachers who appreciated his first class record in class. In 1937 Vum matriculated, and bagged a record number of distinctions. He would have liked to pursue higher studies, but the family was poor and needed him, and so he went back to the Chin hills to work.

Those were the days when competition for jobs was keen, and Vum had to start as an apprentice clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office. That meant that he worked hard, as hard as anybody else work dumped on him, and did not get paid. However, it was a foothold in government service, and times were such that even such slender footholds were held precious. While working as an unpaid clerk, Vum taught himself type-writing and Pitman's shorthand from books and by the ruthless use of the office type-writer, and when the job of shorthand typist fell vacant, Vum was ready to step in. Work at the office was heavy, for Vum wanted to excel, but he had other voluntary work too, such as being secretary of the Chin Hills Educational Uplift Society. The British looked upon education in the hills as a dangerous disease which might spread, and when the Chins wanted not only to learn, but to learn Burmese, the authorities were visibly disturbed. They tried to close down schools, and threaten the teachers with dismissal if they did not dismiss the new ideas from their heads. It was once more a fight between the Chins and the British, a trial of strength, a test of wills. The Deputy Commissioner, red-faced Mr. Naylor in whose veins

rich blue blood ran, was angry, and shouted at his staff and at Chin chiefs alike; the desire of the Chins to learn Burmese made him mad.

But war came, and even Mr. Naylor sweetened. He had to woo Chin support, for without it, the vital pass into India was unsafe. Chin levies were raised, at first as part of the Burma levies, but later as a distinct and separate force. The British needed the levies, but looked upon them as inferior beings, as "native" soldiers, good for cannon fodder perhaps, but no good for fighting for which more refined art one needed a white skin to do well. Mr. Naylor held that view firmly, and one day he quarrelled with a Chin officer. The situation was so desperate then that the British authorities, instead of risking a clash with the Chins, replaced Mr. Naylor, and Colonel Noel Stevenson came upon the scene.

Vum Ko Hau was adjutant and quartermaster to the chief of the levies, and, after Falam fell to the Japanese, he organised a guerrilla organisation which later became famous as the "Chinwags". A mixed crowd the Chinwags were: regular soldiers, men from the Burma Frontier Force, village school teachers, clerks and police constables. Officially, the Chinwags were under the command of Col. Stevenson and the British Army, but Vum Ko Hau was the effective commander with Stevenson so often away for so long periods in India. Sir Reginald Dorman Smith was to say this of the Chinwags and the guerrillas: "The Chins and Kachins, as well as the Nagas, have come into the limelight as the result of the Japanese invasion of Burma. They have shown themselves to be sturdy guerrilla fighters, as the Japanese have very good reason to know"

The Chinwags fought bravely in the Falam Lumbang-Siyin valley and held off the Japanese advance by many valuable weeks. Vum's wife and family, his father and his men were waging their guerrilla war in the hills. He could have made a fighting withdrawal into India, and at moments he thought he would. But the people decided he should stay behind and organize. Japanese occupation, they foresaw, was not going to be an easy period, and they would be wanting a leader whom they could trust and follow, and Vum satisfied the rather strict requirements of such a leader. So Vum Ko Hau stayed behind, to see the war through in the very frontline of battle. The Japanese respected him as a brave foe, and wooed his support. The Chin hills was the strategic area, the springboard from which to launch an invasion of India which the Japanese hoped they would be able to do one day or the very first area to take the shock of Allied offensive which the Japanese also expected to come one day. Vum Ko Hau was put in charge of the administration of the Chin hills and the levies or the defence army. The job was big and responsible and the holder of it was always exposed to the risk of being slapped by Japanese army officers and soldiers alike, for slapping was the favourite method by which the Japanese military expressed their displeasure. However, Vum Ko Hau put on a bold front and a poker face, and worked through the trying times unharmed and unmolested.

The Chinwags and the Chin guerrillas were not idle in those days. They kept on cutting telephone wires and raiding Japanese supply dumps. The raids and the sorties grew in number and seriousness as time went on, and the Japanese were angry. Reprisal raids by the Japanese wiped out entire villages. People were arrested and tortured on suspicion, and it soon became the law to shoot first and sort things out afterwards. In the Chin hills the private war began as early part of 1944. Vum Ko Hau, playing the double role of Commissioner and leader of the guerrillas, was in danger all the time. But danger nourished him.

The Japanese launched their invasion of India through Imphal. For a few weeks they pressed on and gained a few miles of ground. Then, the Allies hit back with all they had which

was considerable — and the retreat began, later developing into a rout. The Japanese columns were torn and scattered, their supply lines were shreds, their air force was blown out of the skies. All that they were left with was their dauntless, deathless spirit. The Japanese rolled back in their thousands, but they did not surrender. They were sick and hungry, lame and lost, but they did not surrender. They no longer possessed the means to fight, but the fight was not yet gone from them. They could not get on into India, but that did not mean they were done. They were wounded tigers, desperate, wild. The Chinwags and Vum Ko Hau pounced merrily on the tigers, and the tigers did not receive them in a friendly spirit either. The private war grew in a matter of breath-taking weeks into a big and decisive campaign. When the Allies at last came in, the Chinwags had cleared the area for them with typical Chin thoroughness.

Vum Ko Hau had emerged from the war an acknowledged leader of the Chins. He had organized the resistance movement. He was President of the Chin Leaders Freedom League.

He was respected and trusted by the peoples. The Japanese had respected him not because he was a collaborator — the Japanese were straight people and did not respect, but only "used" collaborators — but because he was strong, and he worked hard. The Allies respected him as a resistance leader. "It will always be a matter of great pride to you and your sons to know that this great victory has been achieved to a considerable extent by your own warlike efforts in defence of your homes and driving out the Japanese forever from your country". So wrote General Messervy, about Vum Ko Hau and the Chinwags and the Chin guerrillas.

The war had made Vum Ko Hau a leader. Only the opportunity was wanting for him to lead actively. For a few months after the war, Vum fumbled about organising the people, making a living from trading in war surplus material, helping Col. Stevenson in the administration and in experiments with democracy in the hills. Vum had vague ideas about going into the army to take a commission, or the Frontier Force, or the Police — even. Those months were rather restless months of wanting of something, he knew not what, of travelling widely all over the Chin hills buying and selling, meeting people and discussing. Things were vague and nebulous, and often waited for the army commission for which he had applied. However, the army was slow; it did not get him. Aung San and the AFPFL were quicker, and they did.

Faint news of the national struggle for independence that was being waged in Burma proper under a leader called Aung San (or was it "Aung Zan", the Chins did not know), filtered through different sieves of British censorship into the hills. Vum heard the news and got excited. But all was vague, and Rangoon was far away. Once Thakin Nu came up and visited the main towns in the hills, but the British arranged things so that he could meet only the "safe" leaders, the hereditary chiefs and only those among them whom the British approved. Vum Ko Hau and the peoples did not get near Thakin Nu. In 1947, the year of Panglong, however the Chins would not have the chiefs speak for them at the conference of the peoples of the frontier areas. They elected Vum Ko Hau and sent him to speak for them; his, they declared, was their voice; the voice of the chiefs chosen by the British were only "His Master's Voice". Vum went and at the conference found his opportunity to lead, and to join in the wider partnership of the peoples. Brave times opened to him.

At Panglong, Vum Ko Hau spoke for the Chins. They had given him just one mandate; to associate with Burma proper, and to get for the Chin hills more roads and schools, better facilities for a healthier, happier life. No high-faluting ideas about a separate state. They did not want big jobs, or to be ministers or presidents. They wanted a good clean life for themselves. Vum Ko Hau was to see if the Burmese were in earnest about Union, the Burmese leaders could be trusted. If he decided they could be, then he was to cast the lot of the Chins with the Burmese; Union it was to be, firm and sure and close, a Union forever for better or for worse. With that responsible mandate, Vum went to Panglong and met Bogoyoke Aung San and Thakin Nu, and talked with them and decided after one meeting that they were good and sincere. Vum then made his decision. It was to be Union, and the Chins would be a part of it. They only wanted to form a special administrative division, no separate state. Would Aung San promise to help develop the Chin hills if the Chins came in a special division? Aung San's nod of assent was quick and emphatic.

The decision of the Chins to enter into a close and unreserved association with the Union helped to convince the other minorities that way lay wisdom. The Panglong agreement was therefore promoted to a very large extent by the Chins and Vum Ko Hau.

Ninety percent of the voters in the Chin hills voted for Vum Ko Hau at the constituent assembly elections, and thus he became a member of that historic body and a deputy Counselor, in effect a Cabinet member, in Bogoyoke Aung San's government.

There was plenty of work to do, and the Hon'ble U Vum Ko Hau of Siyin was untiring. He was on every imaginable committee, he helped to draft the constitution, he flew to his native hills whenever he could, and pushed forward development projects to show the peoples by vivid example the wisdom of their choice to enter the Union. He was a member of the Frontier Areas Commission of Enquiry which Mr. Rees-Williams, now Lord Ogmore and recipient of one of the highest titles of the Union, led. He worked closely with Aung San throughout, for Aung San held the happiness and harmony of the peoples of the Union very dear. "You were one of the closest and most trusted associates of Bogoyoke", Daw Khin Kyi the widow of Aung San, has written to Vum, and no compliment could be sweeter to him than this.

Then, U Nu's government, and the mission to London that autumn of 1947, the historic mission; only the architect of independence, Aung San was missing. Vum Ko Hau went his rounds of social functions in London, and spent most of his leisure hours at Foyle's. The gap between Sagaing high school and his high office was hard to fill, but he was decided he would do his best. He was not a Chin for nothing, not a resistance leader for nothing. What he had lacked for want of opportunity, now his dogged determination would make good.

And make good he did. Not in politics, for he was not a politician. After the first wave of struggle was over, he lost his political office because he was not good in manoeuvre. U Nu, anxious to retain Vum Ko Hau in the service of the Union Government, made him a deputy secretary in the Foreign Office, but politics was no more for him. However, he did make good in other respects. He read and wrote a good deal, so that today he writes fluently and easily, and intellectually he is superior to many an honours graduate of the Rangoon University. At the Foreign Office he had opportunity to meet the top-ranking leaders in the Union and distinguished visitors from abroad. That experience helped him to blossom. He went to inter-

national conferences and carried himself with poise and polish. At the United Nations, he was a popular national delegate and during the long session he took time off to lecture at American universities and learned institutes. He spoke on the radio, wrote for magazines, and in Rangoon he contributed valuable articles of historical interest to the *Guardian*. On Union Days his voice was heard on the Rangoon radio, easy, pleasing, friendly. Of the shy young man from the Chin hills, diffident with the awareness of his deficiencies in formal education, there is little left in U Vum Ko Hau today.

At home, U Vum Ko Hau liked to maintain his large family in natural comfort, without pose. His wife is an unaffected young lady who has borne his many children. His drawing room was a collection of old furniture on which books lay piled up in precarious heaps, or children sprawled in luxurious ease. During vacations, the Chin boys in the Rangoon schools and colleges would come and stop by, and at nights the home was like a crowded army camp; all available floor space was taken up by boys. It was a happy home. On Sundays there were the inevitable cocktails or other parties where U Vum Ko Hau was a consistent and essential feature. There was nobody he did not know, nobody who did not like him. With the press he was on drinking terms, and his musical name, his photogenic features, and his flair for publicity helped to keep him constantly in the news.

U Vum Ko Hau will serve the Union well as its Minister in France and the Netherlands. Actually, by deserved right, U Vum Ko Hau should be an ambassador in one of the principal diplomatic stations, but his seven or eight years in the permanent civil service made it difficult for him to begin his foreign assignment with ambassadorial status which is generally reserved for bigger assignments, or may be when he has done his tour of duty abroad, he will come back to Rangoon and work with us on the editorial board of the *Guardian*. We have jobs for His Excellency Sithu U Vum Ko Hau.

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VUM KO HAU SIYIN of SIYIN VALLEY

"THE DIPLOMATIS" The Review of *the* Diplomatic and Consular World, London.

The first Burmese Embassy to France was led by the famous Kinwun Mingyi, who also served as Premier to King Mindon of Mandalay. Burma's second famous envoy is H.E. Vum Ko Hau Siyin of Siyin Valley who also hails from the North.

The first visit of His Excellency to Europe was in the Mission of Premier U Nu to negotiate with the British Government the complete independence of Burma.

He was the youngest member of the mission, hailing from the picturesque Chinlands, whose emerald hills and purple Siyin Valley leave a memory never to be effaced. Living not very far from the highest gun position in the world, Fort White, he had left the peaceful recesses of his Hills to represent his thousands of Chin followers both in the Burma Constituent Assembly in Rangoon and at the signing of the historical Anglo-Burmese (Nu-Attlee) Treaty in London (October 17th, 1947) by which Burma became an independent nation, without recourse to the midwife : Force.

He was the first Chin to become a Cabinet Minister, and the chief Frontier associate of General Aung San, founder of modern Burma. The signing of the Treaty for him was a dream come true, a dream for which his grandfather Chief Thuk Kham of the Lunmun clan of Siyin Chins had battled, his grand-uncle had fought, and his own father and, last but not least, he himself by really heroic gestures against the Japanese invaders had made a reality. On that memorable day he worthily represented not only his own warlike Siyin tribe but all the other Chin tribes too. The Chins and the Frontier peoples were proud of their Vum Ko Hau.

The Chin leader is heir to the ruling Lunmun clan of the Siyin Chins. Some of the grand-uncles fell in the action against General Sir George White's army at No. 3 stockade and at Tartan in the Siyin Valley. At this latter place where 60 out of 80 holders of the Fort fell on May 4th, 1889, Lieut.-Colonel F.S. Le Quense won the Victoria Cross (*Times* April 18th, 1950.) But his own dashing qualities of leadership and toughness in resisting Burma's enemies during the Second World War were natural qualities he breathed at his birthplace : Fort White. This very high post bears the name of Field Marshal Sir George White, V.C., O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., who took three years to subdue the heroic Siyin Chins after the fall of Mandalay and the humiliation of King Thibaw.

Sturdied by that defiant atmosphere of Chin Resistance young Vum Ko Hau grew up studious, keen on sports and very hardworking. Being a particular bright student he won a free scholarship to a High School and was sent to the famous school at Sagaing. As schoolmates he had two members of the Cabinet and several members of the Constituent Assembly and leaders of the Burmese Army. Other noteworthy products of the same school are the present Envoys of Burma to Holland, Australia, Germany and Karachi. In his graduation year, he had the signal honour of winning three first prizes in English, History and Geography.

War has proved providential in the lives of many, and in the case of Vum Ko Kau, war brought him into the limelight. He first served as Levy Adjutant to the founder of the Burma Levies, Colonel Stevenson, a dashing Scot, who was later posted as Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills to organise the Chin Levies and Chin Councils. After the fall of the Chin Hills headquarters, the Colonel and he organised a guerrilla organisation, which later became the famous Chinwags. Before the reoccupation of the Chin Hills by the Allied troops Vum Ko Hau served as Chief-of-Staff of the Siyin Resistance Army. A copy of the Order of the Day signed by IVth Corps Commander General Sir Frank Messervy and given to the Siyin leader in part said: "It will always be a matter of great pride to you and your sons to know that this great victory has been achieved to a considerable extent by your own warlike efforts in defence of your homes and driving out the Japanese forever from your country." In the guerrilla warfare he organised, the Chin ladies played their part too, by acting as porters of arms, ammunition and food to the pathless jungle outposts under the leadership of Madame Vum Ko Hau, who took her part side by side with the men of her husband's forces. His father, who is a rich landlord, supplied the most needed rations for the Resistance Movement free of charge from his granaries.

The Chinwags and Chin Levies and the Chin Hills Battalion fought very bravely in the Haka-Falam-Siyin Valley, Tiddim sectors, and held off the Japanese advance into India for nearly two years, but when the Chinlands fell, the Japanese were proud of their courageous foe and wooed their leader Vum.

The Japanese, recognising his sterling qualities, appointed him as District Commissioner of North West Burma. They did not, however, find a collaborator in him or a man that would do everything they wanted without questioning the justice of their demands. For his poker-faced attitude they respected him and never harmed him. In his responsible position he helped the Free Chins, who without his hidden collaboration would never have accomplished their tremendous mission against the Japanese. Many of his Chin cousins served gloriously with Wingate and later Lentaingne far away from the Chin Hills but a golden opportunity to serve the land of his birth was thrust upon him right in the centre of his own Chin Hills which became a no-man's land for years after the withdrawal of General Alexander's army.

It was at the Panglong Conference, however, that Vum Ko Hau, the chief spokesman and leader of the Chins, met the Father of the Burmese Republic, General Aung San, after the latter met the Labour Premier, Mr. Attlee. Among the frontier leaders he was the first who decided to ask for independence together with the plains people of Burma and throw in their lot with Burma.

A crushing 90% majority carried him at the age of 29 into the Governor's Executive Council as the youngest member of the Burma Cabinet and probably the youngest in the British Empire.

He worked closely with General Aung San all through but narrowly escaped on the day Aung San and his compatriots were assassinated, and these words of the General's widow bear testimony: "You were one of the closest and most trusted associates of Bogyoke". As a member of the Select Committee of fifteen he was a leading author of the Constitution of the Union of Burma, and was also a member of the Committee for the National Flag, Song and Seal.

General Aung San chose Thakin Nu and Vum Ko Hau to serve on the Rees-Williams Commission of Enquiry to find out the wishes of the Frontier people in the new Constitution of Burma authorised by H.M.G. in early 1947.

After having taken a highly responsible part for the historic independence of Burma he no longer thinks that now with his own political party in power, internal political life will be of immediate importance for him, especially as he is still young even by Burma's politician's age and that the future of a young Burmese patriot henceforth lies in his contact with the outside world.

When U Nu took over as Premier he was one of the few remnants of Aung San's provisional Cabinet and was directly appointed as Deputy Permanent Secretary in the Foreign Office. He had various parts in the Protocol, Consular and later Political and U.N. divisions. He was sent as Representative of Burma to U.N.O. in New York in 1953 when he found time to give lectures on Burma at the University of Bucknell. In his free time His Excellency delves into books and has written interesting historical articles for the *Guardian*, the *Mandaing Daily* and *Burma*. He is also co-author of the interesting life of General Aung San.

Here are some date-lines in the life of His Excellency Vum Ko Hau : District Commissioner Chin Hills-Manipur Division of the N.W. Frontier Province of Burma, 1944; member, Burma Defence and Financial Commission, London, 1947; Delegate, Conference on the Anglo-Burmese Treaty signed in London on October 17th, 1947; member, Goodwill Mission to Pakistan, February, 1948; received the Burmese Order of Sithu on the first anniversary of the independence of Burma; member, executive Committee, Society for the Extension of Democratic ideals, Burma; Chairman, Foreign Office Co-operative Credit Soc., Ltd., Rangoon; Director, Burma Y.M.C.A.; Vice-President, Sagaing Old Students' Association; Deputy Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs since 1948; Alternate Representative, Burmese Delegation to Eight Session, U.N. General Assembly, New York, 1953.

In appreciation of his high qualities the Union Government appointed him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France and the Netherlands, October, 1955. He also represented Burma at the U.N. meetings in Geneva. Today he is keeping the flag of the Union flying with all that Vum Ko Hau skill and daring has won the praise of several scholars of this Republic of France for his interest in French culture and traditions. Marshal Tito conferred on him the Order of Yugoslav Banner on the occasion of his visit to Burma.

Be it in his political circles, his tennis club or in the International gatherings where he has represented Burma so well, those who meet him say that he has been born to lead.

THE CHINS FIGHT BACK by "ASMI"

Published in The Guardian in 1955.

With the British conquest of the Chin Hills, the Chins settled down to a humdrum life of terrace cultivation (taungya), manual labour at road-making and carrying goods, employment in the subordinate positions of the Government service in the Chin Hills and enlistment in the non-commissioned ranks of the Military Police and Burma Rifles Battalions raised by the British for the internal security of British Burma.

The Chin spirit of independence and resistance was, however, irrepressible. It was only lying dormant, waiting for its opportunity. Whenever the British went too far in their rigid control of the Chin Hills, as in the case of the drive for recruitment of the Chins in the army during the World War I, the Chins flared up in rebellion.

The spread of the World War II to Asia and the onward march of the Japanese Imperial forces across the countries of South-east Asia was the moment of opportunity for the Chins, as for the other Asian peoples. It was a time for decision as well as of divided loyalties. Many Chin soldiers in the British-sponsored Burma Army and the Chin government servants felt like Pandit Nehru that the forces of good were on the side of the Allies; they felt that they should see through the war with the British even if they had to leave their homelands. Others regarded it their duty to remain in the Chin Hills to protect the people. They considered it necessary to meet the oncoming Japanese and seek settlement with them on terms as best as they could get.

At this time of the breaking up of nations, the Chins left in the Chin Hills found in U Vum Ko Hau the man of the hour. At the approach of the Japanese Army, the British military posts in the Chin Hills and the civilian officials withdrew across the frontier into the Indian province of Manipur. Many influential Chins who chose to remain in the hills removed themselves to the jungle to avoid contact with the Japanese.

When the Japanese army arrived in Tiddim they called on the Chins to form the administration. Only U Vum Ko Hau was there to respond to the Japanese call.

The invading Japanese forces wanted to secure the Chin Hills as a firm forward base to advance into India. The Allies wanted to use the hills as listening posts in their preparations to stage a comeback to Burma. It was imperative for the Japanese invader to get the Chin Hills working full swing immediately while it was to the interests of the Allies to keep the area in a state of disruption so as to deny a foothold to the Japanese enemy. In the calculations and strategies of two opposing camps the wishes and interests of the Chins themselves appeared to be of secondary importance but the Japanese forces realised that it was to their advantage to keep the hills in some semblance of law and order. The Japanese were also great believers in using the nationalist sentiments of the subject races for their own ends by raising local armed units.

U VUM KO HAU

So U VUM KO HAU was appointed Headquarters Assistant Commissioner to run the administration of the Japanese occupied Chin Hills from Tiddim and to act as ex-officio Battalion Commander of the armed force to be organised in the Chin Hills.

U Vum Ko Hau had little difficulty in forming the Chin Hills Defence Army, as the armed force was called, because a group of willing and able young Chins came forward to help him with the task. It was in the administrative affairs that U Vum Ko Hau ran into serious difficulties with the Japanese authorities and the unprincipled Chins who sought to gain material benefits by siding with the Japanese.

When the Japanese invader had occupied the Chin Hills in force, he sought to demonstrate his power of life and death over the Chins by putting to death about 17 Chins in Tiddim subdivision and a like number in Falam area. It was the season of Taungya cultivation and the hills were dotted with fires kindled by the Chins to clear patches of forests for cultivation. To the suspicious and mistrusting Japanese the taungya and jungle fires all looked like the Chin system of communication with the enemy across the line and without further inquiry they killed the poor Chins bent on taungya work.

It took all the patience, tact and firm handling on the part of U Vum Ko Hau to stop the Japanese from killing innocent Chins. His knowledge of international law regarding the rights and obligations of occupying power vis-a-vis the occupied people earned the respect of the Japanese authorities who, thereafter, became more reasonable in their dealings with the Chins.

In their all-out prosecution of the war against the Allies, the Japanese forces made exceptionally heavy demands on the manpower, foodstuffs and draught animals of the Chin Hills. The Japanese army brought into the hills not less than three full-strength fighting divisions which took up their positions in force at Kalembo, Fort White and Tiddim and lived on the land. A road connecting the 3 places for the use of heavy Japanese military vehicles was built by requisitioning Chin labourers. All U Vum Ko Hau could do as an administrator was to delay the Japanese requisitions and to see that the exactions made by the Japanese fell evenly on all classes of the Chin people.

THE FIRST ORGANISED POLITICAL PARTY

All was not gloom and hardship, however. In the very early period of the Japanese occupation U Vum Ko Hau managed to make contacts with leaders of the Chin tribes remaining in the Chin Hills. He then brought them together and formed a political party — the first organised political party of its kind in the history of the Chin Hills — known as the Chin Leaders' League. The League did intensive propaganda work among the people of the hills teaching them their rightful place in the political society, the value of elementary human rights and the meaning of the war now being waged in their midst. The Chin Leaders' League drew its first success when the Chin people for the first time asserted their right to elect their own representatives in filling the important posts of village headmen. U Vum Ko Hau's administration carried the political activities further by abolishing the dues payable to the Chiefs by the people.

CHIN HILLS DEFENCE ARMY

In those turbulent days of death and privations, U Vum Ko Hau scored his greatest success in organizing the expendable Chin Hills Defence Army which played the decisive part in the resistance and liberation movements of the Chins. The armed force was instantly popular and enjoyed the complete confidence of the Chin people.

The nucleus of the Chin Hills Defence Army was a group of ardent self-sacrificing young Chins of the Siyin and Sokte tribes whom U Vum Ko Hau was able to rally around him. They built up the little army the hard way till it attained the standard of a regular army in discipline and fighting capacity. There was much drilling and an intensive course of arms training. The army equipped itself with arms obtained from the Japanese and those the Chins themselves had hidden for emergency.

The instant the Chin Hills Defence Army was battle-ready, its fighting formations went into action against the British units across the frontline. Detachments of the Chin force engaged the British in fight west of the Manipur river and on the northern marches of the Chin Hills. It was a full-size war and drew British blood. The British troops hit back hard and furious at the Chins. Two companies of the Chin army were overpowered by the British and taken prisoners. The captured company commanders Bo Ngaw Cin Pau (U Vum Ko Hau's cousin and now Assistant Superintendent of Aerial Survey), Bo Thang Za Hau and Bo Lua Chin (now in the 3rd. Chin Rifles) were treated harshly by the angry British authorities and detained in prison for three years.

The frequent clashes of arms with the British troops did the Chin Hills Defence Army a great deal of good. The Chins gained valuable combat experience under conditions of modern warfare and the army became an independent fighting force, acquiring and using all sorts of weapons under different conditions. The Japanese authorities learned to respect the Chins as a fighting race. When the Japanese armies debouched from the Chin Hills and marched across the Imphal plain they took with them Bo Ngo Lian (now a captain in the 14th. Burma Regiment) and Bo Suang Hau (former A.D.C. to the Minister U Nu) to serve as commissioners of the Japanese military administration in occupied Indian territory. As for U Vum Ko Hau who commanded the Chin Army, he was elevated to the post of District Commissioner with jurisdiction over the Chin Hills and the occupied portion of Assam.

DUTY TO PEOPLE

But the Chin Hills Defence Army was not a puppet ever willing to do everything at the behest of the Japanese authorities. It had a will of its own and was always conscious that it owed its first duty to the Chin people, and not to the invader. While it seized the opportunity given by the occupying power to build up a hard-hitting fighting force it would not betray the trust reposed in it by the Chin people.

In the words of U Vum Ko Hau, "within a few months of occupation, the Chins found out to their utter dismay that the invaders came to dominate and not to deliver; to plunder and requisition all live-stock, ponies and mythuns, not to build peace and prosperity". In all the history of the Chin Hills the Chins were never a people to submit tamely to the alien imposition or oppression. Full of cunning and cleverness in waging war, the Japanese were obtuse in human relations and failed

to read the true character of the Chins. Relying on the false advice of a handful of Chin stooges and camp followers, the Japanese thought they could forever draw on the Chins and the Chin Hills as an unlimited reservoir of raw materials to feed their monstrous war-machine.

Like in the towns and villages of Burma, deep resentment of the Japanese invader grew apace and generated a universal spirit of resistance among the Chins. This spirit of resistance had to find an opportunity as well as a means of effective expression. The Allied advance into the heart of Burma through the borderhills gave the opportunity for the Chins and the Chin Hills Defence Army was the powerful means of expression of Chin resistance.

In early 1944 when the Japanese advance into the Imphal Plain of Manipur was halted at the gates of Imphal town and the Japanese armies suffered crushing defeats, the British and their Allies quickly followed up their victory by extensive and intensive aerial bombardment of the Chin Hills which the Japanese had built up into a vital forward base for their projected invasion of India. The Japanese supplies and transports were destroyed, the Japanese columns dispersed and went into hiding and the Japanese morale was shaken.

KEYED UP TO STRIKE

The Chin Hills Defence Army got ready and prepared itself for action. Word went round to the tribes, clans, villages and hamlets that the hated invader was to be driven out from the Chin homeland soon. Contacts with the Allies across the Manipur river were made and arms and ammunitions secretly brought in to add to the striking power of the Chin Hills Defence Army. The Chin women prepared food caches for use in the commissariat of their menfolk in the days of struggle that were to come. The young and the aged trained themselves to act as messengers and lookouts for the Chin Hills Defence Army. The Chin race as a whole was keyed up to strike at the invader.

The 17th September, 1944, was the day of general rising in the Chin Hills. Everywhere simultaneously in the hills, men of the Chin Hills Defence Army fell fiercely upon the Japanese outposts, lines of communications and the stores. The Chins and the Japanese fought each other in pitched battles as well as in skirmishes and the Japanese were beaten at every turn. The Chin Hills Defence Army occupied the Japanese outposts, seized the Japanese stores and flung back relentless Japanese counter-attacks. The Chin women played their part by bringing up food and supplies to their men even in the midst of fights. The children and the old men served the men of the Chin Resistance army well by spying on enemy movements and warning the approach of Japanese punitive parties.

The Japanese found no safety in the Chin Hills and had no respite to consolidate their defence against the oncoming Allied armies. The Japanese war machine broke down right on Burma's frontline and the Japanese troops had to get away from the Chin Hills. The Chins were left in control of large tracts of their homeland, thus greatly facilitating the rapid advance of the Allied troops.

PERIOD OF STAGNATION

In the wake of the Allied troops came the Civil Affairs Service of the British Military Administration into the Chin Hills and the Chin Resistance Movement came to an end. The

British sought to erase the vestiges of Chin accomplishments during the years of the war in administration, politics and resistance. The returning British power sought to resuscitate the old colonial government in new guise and trappings. The British authorities accorded appreciation of U Vum Ko Hau's services for the welfare of his people by letting him go free but he was forbidden to receive the Chin Leaders' League.

It was a period of stagnation in the Chin Hills. For guidance and inspiration the Chin leaders had to look towards the plains of Burma where Bogoyoke Aung San and the A.F.P.F.L. were pitching themselves in the struggle for independence of the country. As for U Vum Ko Hau, he persevered in maintaining various contacts with his people and keeping them informed of the events taking place in metropolitan Burma. The scope and magnitude of Bogoyoke's political efforts, therefore, became well known in the hills.

In 1946, the British Governor, through the agency of the Frontier Areas Administration, called a conference of the hill peoples at Panglong in the Shan State, to publicise the new British policy in the governance of the Frontier areas of Burma. Three chiefs of the Chin tribes of Haka, Falam and Tiddim who were amenable to the policy and methods of the Frontier Areas Administration were picked to attend the conference as representatives of the Chin Hills. The three Chin chiefs duly went to the conference, which was also attended by the Burmese leaders, and sat through it. They saw nothing and said nothing at the conference, and when they returned to the hills they told their people nothing!

The people of four north subdivisions of the Chin Hills insisted that U Vum Ko Hau should go to Panglong with a mandate from the Chins. The people gained their point and U Vum Ko Hau left the Chin Hills with the other delegates. On arrival at Panglong U Vum Ko Hau immediately saw Bogoyoke Aung San to whom he put across the mandate he brought from his people. The Chin mandate sought guarantee from Bogoyoke to opening of schools in the hills, provision of finance for the development of the Chin Hills, development of communication and retention of the Chin Rifles battalions in the Burma Army. Bogoyoke Aung San was touched by the simplicity and modesty of the terms in the Chin mandate and readily gave his assent to all the demands.

CHIN PARTICIPATION

On return from Panglong when U Vum Ko Hau announced the success of his mission at Falam, the Chin elders who had gathered there elected him to serve as the Chin Deputy Counsellor on the Executive Council of the interim government of Burma. As a Chin representative he took part in the deliberations of the Frontier Areas Enquiry Commission which sought to adopt the best method of associating the frontier areas with ministerial Burma.

Along with the other peoples of the frontier areas the Chins decided to participate in the Constituent Assembly for the entire territory of Burma. The Constituent Assembly put U Vum Ko Hau on the 75-men and 15-men committees charged with the task of drafting the Constitution for the Union of Burma. Then the government sent him as a member of the financial mission to London for negotiations with the British Government to scale down Burma's debt to Britain incurred on account of the expenses of the British military administration after the Allied re-occupation of Burma.

On January 4, 1948, Burma emerged as the Sovereign independent Republic of the Union of Burma and the Chins became self-governing within the Union. The new constitution went to work and the question of electing a Minister for Chin Affairs arose. While U Vum Ko Hau was away from Burma shifts and veers appeared in Chin politics with the result that U Vomtu Maung was nominated for the ministerial position in the Union cabinet. U Vum Ko Hau stepped down from high office and went into the service of the Union Government at the newly-created Foreign Office.

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SAYA ZA KHUP, My Father

At the time of the arrival of the first British troops under General Sir George S. White, V.C., O.M. into the Siyin Valley my father had two molar teeth. My grandfather Chief Thuk Kham, his wife and the young son fled to Vangteh when they failed to resist the British advance all the way from Kalemmyo. The Siyin Valley was partly occupied on the 4th February 1889 therefore my father believed he was born in 1888.

He had many sisters but Chief Thuk Kham thought he might be his only son to become his heir, therefore he gave him a personal individual name instead of giving the usual name of his grandfather. MI ZA KHUP was chosen by Chief Thuk Kham. MI means Man; ZA means Hundreds; KHUP means Cover; to Rule; to Shadow.

My father who was always ahead of his contemporaries in thinking foresaw that education would be of inestimable value after the annexation. He ran away from the Chief's Mansion to Burma to attend school at Taung-U hpongyi kyaung. He stayed there a few years and when my grandfather was sinking fast he bade him come home. The little education he received at the Taung U school was sufficient to further his education in later years. He continued with his studies while he ploughed the taungya; he would put a sheet of paper on the wooden slate which had to be smeared with charcoal and write on it with kyauko-san.

In 1905, the post of junior teacher cum school messenger was created for the Government Burmese school in Tiddim. He was the only educated Chin and was sent for and accepted the appointment. He was the most senior national Government servant in the Chinland. On account of his noble birth and his very strong personality he was respected by everyone who knew him and especially by students who became chiefs and elders and government employees of the various tribes in the Tiddim area. He in turn never forgot their respect. With the forefathers of these young chiefs our forefathers were sworn friends on account of mutual assistance in wars.

The hard life he spent after the British occupation and the deposition of my grandfather from chieftainship hardened him and enabled him to be as tough as he always was later. He was very intelligent, very strong physically and very honest. Although he was a paid employee of both the mission and the government he never let his revolutionary character be disturbed by the former.

In his later life he earned the full confidence of such people as Col. Burne and Rev. Dr. Cope. Junior administrators at Tiddim always asked his advice. Local chiefs or headmen dared not utter a word against him because of the fact that those who attempted to talk ill of him would simply be regarded as liars by the administrators concerned who knew him as honest.

He was the only government school teacher in the Chin Hills who was presented with a Certificate of Honour by the Governor of Burma in peace time, "in the cause of education". Col. Burne in a recommendation written for me wrote that my father "is one of the best teachers as far as Chin schools are concerned".

He built our main house, a two storey building with his own hands. The planks and timbers were all carried by him on his shoulders from across Fort White, about twelve miles away. This he did before he went to the Khuasak school every morning before 9 a.m. The previous house we lived in, when I was young, was roofed with thatch but was the first house to be built in the Burmese style and was the cleanest in the village.

He was a paid teacher in the A. B. Mission Burmese middle school at Khuasak. My uncle Saya Thuam Hang and his wife Ni Dim Khaw Ting (my father's elder sister) and Saya and Mrs Pau Suan of Khuasak were the first Chins to be converted to Christians in the Chinland. My father was the first convert after the above two couples. His was considered a revolution as my mother's father, the Chief of Lophei, was against his conversion. But, my father being the most highly educated person in those days could choose teaching positions either at Tiddim, twenty miles away or at Khuasak which is only one and a half miles away from our village. He chose the latter later. He served as preacher of the Thuklai Baptist Church. This church was attended by Christians from Pimva, Buanman, Thuklai and Lophei. He was not at first ordained but he looked after all the Christians from these villages. He was summoned to pray for the sick, conduct funerals, ceremonies and ordinary prayer meetings at private houses from those villages.

Later he was made an ordained minister and since then he conducted wedding ceremonies, baptism etc. For a long time there were few Christians in the villages and he had to conduct funerals single handed; that is to say he would read lessons from the Bible and preach and sing songs by himself from the Burmese hymn books and pray. All this was done among the congregation at the funeral house where the predominant persons present were then non Christians.

When he saw the sick he not only prayed for them but he would prescribe medicine that would be suitable for the patient. For this he was guided by catalogues for household remedies. He became the official agent of such wellknown medical firms as Zewaka Saydaikgyi, Myanaung; Dey Brothers, Mandalay; Curtis Company, Mandalay; Letwa Taseik Myanma Thamadaw, Mandalay (mostly for Laymyo sitse saylone) wind pills; E.M. de Souza & Co. Rangoon.

He was the sole proprietor of Tawlbokza (Goitre Cure). This prescription was given by Dr. J. Herbert Cope K.I.H., D.D., B.A. He told me the formula also in case I succeeded him. It was a mixture of ammonium sulphate, methylated spirit, and camphor. Other popular medicines were chlorodyne, aspirin, quinine, magnesia sulphate, castor oil, worm pills, cough mixture, many cases of dysentery were cured by him with the use of chlorodyne.

He was not only the first educated Chin but also the first to grow tea; the second to grow coffee, but the first to start mass plantations on a commercial scale. Colonel Burne personally used to arrange the sale and purchase of young coffee plants from our garden for dispersal to Falam and Haka areas.

His public services and revolutionary character were appreciated by all the senior local administrators who always respected his outspoken character. During the war periods he used to be acting Chief of Thuklai tribal area on some occasions.

My father was one who trusted himself — who trusted only himself. I have never seen him ask somebody to do something which he could do himself. He did not want any of his children to ask one another to do things for the other provided one could do it.

He built our house; he carried all the beams and planks necessary for it. He would not hire others to carry it for him. For one thing, money was not plentiful in those days. On the other hand labour for hire was scarce in the Siyin Valley and searching for hired labour was a nuisance to him. He did not think much of a person who could not do some manual work. He hated requesting people for anything. He would avoid making requests for something except when he wanted to buy something which he did not have for others. He would learn things by himself. He did not like any sort of criticism nor would he suffer fools gladly.

He used to make clothes for his children. He was the first man to own a Singer Sewing machine in the locality. He learned sewing by himself. He got some ready made dress cuttings for men and boys from some Indian tailors in Tiddim when he was working as a junior teacher in the Tiddim school. He would buy the best quality either of clothes or articles. He believed that it pays in the long run.

He was one of the first eleven in the Tiddim football team; he used to play either as a full back or as a wing; he believed in a "run through" and would attempt to score a goal or two by himself. He was a fast runner but admitted his young uncle Hau Vum could not be beaten in high jump.

His preaching of the gospels was considered very good. His name was regularly among the speakers at the annual Christian Convention every year. He wrote his own concordance of the Bible in Burmese; there was none in that language.

He was interested in learning languages; he had studied Hindustani; English and of course Burmese which is the only language he learnt after two years schooling. He learnt Burmese shorthand after he had passed the age of fifty. He wanted to excel in his handwriting which he successfully did in Burmese as well as in Roman alphabet. He could shape the Burmese gaungbaung with his hands only and without the use of a cane shaper. He had the satisfaction of having long conversations with young Burmese educationist like U Nu and Dr Maung Maung who admired his Burmese scholarship.

He was the first highly educated Chin; he passed as a private student the sixth sat-hta-mah-tan and in due course became headmaster of the Khuasak A.B.M. middle school and taught the sixth class himself; it was thought to be a wonderful feat by the local education department then.

He would look after Christians of four different villages at one time; our own village Thuklai. Buanman, Pumva and Lophei. As soon as he came back from school at Khuasak, another village which was one and half mile on foot, he would catch hold of our storm king lantern and start visiting the sick in those four villages. He always carried the Bible, a song book and also medicine. One or two houses in the same village had requested him to pray for them; usually he would take a friend or two from our own village and be joined by a few Christians of the village he visited. This practice went on and on almost every evening and night.

Although his main profession was as a preacher and as a school headmaster he never lost sight of the fundamental political interest of the people. For instance, when Burmese was to be abolished in the Chin Hills he spoke out about his conviction as he already realised the

advantage of having a Burmese education. He appealed in his own name to the Deputy Commissioner Col. Burne and the Rev. J.H. Cope the Inspector of Schools not to abolish Burmese. He realised it was all on account of the government's 'divide and rule policy' but he maintained his ground and appealed as an educated person that abolition of the teaching of Burmese language in schools would be wrong and detrimental to the progress of the Chin people. Although he respected them he told them that the Chin people would not forgive them for the abolition of the Burmese language.

He would not borrow money or articles from others. 'Why not do without what you do not have yourself' was his policy. There were few labourers for hire in the Chin Hills. If one wants to hire a labourer it almost amounts to begging him for help. My father would rather do the things himself which many would attempt to hire some other people to do. He believed in himself. He trusted few people. If somebody swindled or cheated him once he would not forget it.

He would learn from others whom he trusted and respected but would not listen to a man for whom he had no respect even if he was known to be clever. He was his own carpenter; after carrying all the planks and beams excepting the corrugated iron sheets he built the house with his own hands. He hired one carpenter only for two days to help make a staircase. He even carried the iron bars for windows.

In 1958 I heard from Paris that he was very ill. I wrote to him not to work but to take rest. He wrote back saying he had recovered from his illness. I decided to see him after I had reached Djakarta. One month before I was due to leave for home I got a letter in March 1960 from my brother-in-law that my father had fallen very ill again.

Together with my wife, my daughter Sally and my youngest son Tony, I flew home to see him. This time a disease had struck the tender part of his body — the liver. Probably he had exerted himself too much for his aging anatomical body. I found his head and heart were as young and progressive as ever; his physical body could no longer endure his heart's desire.

He would not have altered his way of life —

A Strong Man's Full Life.

MY FATHER AS BIBLIOPHILE AND HISTORICAL WRITER

History is the essence of innumerable Biographies — Carlyle
There is properly no history, only biography — Emerson.

The first published article written (in Burmese) by my father was about a Christian society wedding between Tjang Thong, a graduate of the Pyinmana agricultural school and Vung Kam, the daughter of a deacon of Thuklai church.

He took interest in many things. For instance the hobby of collecting stamps was unknown in the Chin Hills. Whenever Dr. Cope sent postcards on his way back to USA he was delighted with the various foreign stamps received from Dr. Cope and started collecting them. Dr. Cope wrote from most of the ports touched by his boat. My father corresponded for a long time with Col. Burke after the latter's retirement.

As for his interest in books a few titles from his personal library will speak for its richness. Once almost the whole neighbourhood collected at the house when they heard that father had bought a book costing ten rupees. It was Tun Nyein's Abidhan — English — Burmese dictionary. In those days when death occurred in Burma telegrams were written only in English and no one could read them. My father wanted to overcome this difficulty and the only answer was to order a dictionary which would have all the words that ought be used in a telegram. The next costly book he ordered was a complete Atlas of the World. The Tiddim school had one big atlas in English with the pictures of most of the big towns of the world and he wanted to possess a similar book.

Some of the titles of the books from his private library are below :

1. Mr Maung Hyaing Wutto, Irrawaddy Press, Tabaungla 1266 Shin-Oh Tan Auklan 10, Rangoon.
2. Yaw Min Gyi : Utobaung sana thingahagyan Mg. Ba Shin; Thuwunna pitakat dataset ponhniktaike Mandalay 1920.
3. Saga Pon Tahtaung ahphye, pahtamatwe, Mg Maung Gyi, Rangoon.
4. The Cattle-Tresspass Act Manual, Rangoon 1907.
5. The Indian Penal Code (Act XLV 1860) : Eindiya Zayathatgyi 1910.
6. Zayawut Kyinthtone kodah upadi 1898.
7. Zayathagyi Ahkyinchoke, Hanthawaddy Press. Rangoon 1899.
8. Wuthtodaw Taseshitpa, A.B.M. Press Rangoon 1906.
9. Simitoola Gyan : by Maung Kyaw Yan, Those myo, Thayawaddy Ne, The Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon 1899.
10. Gray's First Pali Grammar ; Pahtama Pali Thada by Pali Saya Garraay Thakin ; British Burma Press, Rangoon 1912.
11. Taingye Pyiye selonehmu ih thabaw knit thayoke Rangoon 1940.
12. Antbwe phiaphia setkyawahlar Rangoon 1940.
13. Lawka Niti Pali Ahnet.
14. Athiti nihpat ; Nadi kyangyi.
15. Khetsit Tuatpone, British Burma Press, 1897.
16. Yawgyi Saya Mister Maung Hmyaing ; Myaukhandi Myanma ahmyotha saponnikdaike, Rangoon 1923.

17. Myauk Tika ; Mister Maung Hmine ; Dagon Magazindaiké.
18. Boycott by Mister Maung Hmine (Being a literary commentary on the Rangoon University Boycott movement of 1920). Boycott Tikagyi; Mister Maung Hmine; Amyotha saponhnik daiké ; Rangoon 1927 first edition 3000.
19. Hpongyi Yaukha ; Thadoemyaing.
20. Hminewaiwai ; Maung Khin Maung, Mandalay Myanma ashwe company.
21. Mon Zayawun le Saythidaw Thahmine paungchoke Hanthawaddy ; Rangoon ; 1899.
22. Hindu-Myamma Ahchoke Sayakut. How to speak Hindustani by Maung Maung B Saing, Than, Ko & Co Bassein, first edition 1913.
23. Manu Kye Damathat by Ma Nu Ahmat Hanthawaddy, 1903.
24. Zakhaing Zayawunthit Gyan ; Sanda Mala Lenkaya ; Taung Kyaungsayadaw payagyi ; Saya U Ba Yin kyikyāt pyupindi ; Hanthawaddy, Mandalay ; 1293.
25. Myanma Zayawun Thakitgyan ; by Ledi Pandita Saya U Maung Gyi second edition ; Rs.3/8 1292.
26. Talaing Myanma Zayawun ; Ahminmin hnit Talaing min dokeih Atthu pati ahkyauung ahyā Zayawun ayedawpone ; Thumngala datset ponhnikdaiké ; 1284.
27. U Ponnya Mittasa : by Sale U Ponnya ; L.P.P. Electric Press ; Rangoon 1928.
28. Shwesetdaw Thamaing Thit by Sayadaw Ahriyawuntha ; Kyaukse ; 1302.
29. Hmannan Maha Zayawundawgyi Ma E Tin ; Meiktila 1303.
30. Nawadi Gyi Ahtu Pati ; Nawadi suzatu paungchoke.
31. Awthasa Thingaha Saygyan ; Mandalay ; 1296.
32. Lawkapati Pakathani Gyan hnit Wundaukmin U Po Pyu ih Ahtupati Ahkyincoké by Pali Saya - Saya Wah Kawait Myithmun ; Rangoon 1288.
33. Ahdikapa Kaba Oo Gyan.
34. How to write Petitions.
35. Kyinan Saye Hpachin Naypya Sa-uk N.B.T. Mandalay.

Besides the above and many published later, he also possessed the anatomical charts both for man and woman. He also ordered for his use the universal tooth forceps ; urinal cathether ; etc. Besides contributing articles to journals like the Burman Messenger and assisting local junior British administrators in recording the history of the Chin Hills, he taught the Siyin dialect which was the official dialect recognised by the Government for departmental examinations and language allowance. Father recorded history in his own handwriting in more than ten thick foolscap-size books mostly written in Burmese.

He compiled all the Siyin and other Zo songs that he personally remembered by heart and filled half a dozen thick books in Roman script in his own handwriting.

i. The First book consists of :

1. The Genealogical Tree of the Tun Ngo Lunmun family.
2. Chief Pu Phut Thuam's songs ; eleven pieces.
3. Chief Pu Thuk Kham's songs ; seven *lah kai* (slow). *Two lah naw* (fast), fiftythree pieces ; *Seven lah thipna* (summing up).
4. Chief Pu Hau Vum's songs ; fourteen pieces.
5. Eight historical songs composed by other people dedicated to Tunngo Lunmun people.

- II. The Second Manuscript book according to my father's index consists of :
1. Chief Pu Thuk Kham's *lakai* seven pieces page 3 to 7.
 2. Chief Pu Thuk Kham's *lanaw* two pieces page 7.
 3. Chief Pu Thuk Kham's *langui* (long) fifty three pieces page 9 to 33.
 4. Chief Pu Thuk Kham's *lathipna* ending of song's seven pieces page 35-39.
 5. Chief Pu Phut Thuam's *langui* three pieces page 39-41.
 6. Songs of Pu Lam Tuang Tunngo Lunmun thirty two pieces page 43-57.
 7. "Songs of Pa Thuam Suang Tunngo Lunmun twenty two pieces page 61-69.
 8. Songs of Nu Maang Huai wife of Pu Thuam Suang Tunngo thirty two pieces page 71-83.
 9. Songs of Pu En Suang Tunngo Lunmun forty pieces page 85-100.
 10. Songs of Pa Thuam Ngul Tunngo Lunmun thirty five pieces page 101-113.
 11. Songs of Pa Thuam Suak Thatmun of Thuklai twenty three pieces page 114-125.
 12. Songs of Pu Thuk Tuan Mangzong Lunmun five pieces page 126-128".
- III. The Third songbook written in manuscript consists of 375 pieces. In the introduction he says "From No. 1 to 77 are to be sung standing. No. 78 is to be sung seated. Tuned to that of other neighbouring clans. The compositions from 349 to 375 have different tunes and are suitable for children." Father wrote a first line index of all the 375 pieces which he personally remembered and it was ready for printing. He also wrote a three page introduction in Burmese. The songs are written in Roman characters. He started writing the MSS book on the 21st October 1955 at 0330 hours at Thuklai and finished it on the 23rd October 1955 at 2300 hours at Kalzang field house.
- IV. The Fourth MSS song book was started by my father on the 30th January 1955, and consists of 331 pieces plus six pieces numbered A to F. He finished writing it at Kalzang on the 1st March 1955 at 4 p.m.
- V. The Fifth MSS book which I found to be of great general interest consists of some corrections in Chief Phut Thuam's songs on pages 2 and 3 and a short account of Phut Thuam's outline of biography on page 6. From 9 to 19 is Subedar Mang Pum's History of the British invasion of the Chin Hills followed paragraph by paragraph by father's note and moments of facts as recorded and remembered by him. On page 20 the attack on Khuanglui by the Mualberns is mentioned. But Subedar Mang Pum's History and the autobiography of the sojourn to France on the side of the Allies to fight against Germany down to his appointment as Jemadar on Rs. 65 per month is recorded up to page 38. On page 40 starts the history of the Thangkai Ngam East Letha lands. According to the Records the Siyin contingent destined to join the war in France left Tiddim on the 23rd June 1917; arrived in Rangoon on the 7th July 1917, Marseille 8th September 1917. In 1918 Subedar Mang Pum and some selected representatives were given an interview by His Majesty King George V in London. They received orders to leave France for Burma on the 25th May 1918 and left France on the 5th June 1918, arriving in Rangoon on the 14th July 1918 and Fort White Siyin Valley on the 29th July 1918. Page 46 records father's interview with his brother-in-law Chief Khup Lian of Lophei on the 6th September 1957, which includes the Genealogical Tree of the Lophei Chief and family and invasion of Lophei by the enemy.
- The Sukte Genealogical Tree from the time of Kamhau begins on page 60. Khanthum and Khan Lam, sons of Mang Piang appear on page 68. A short form of the biography of

"Pa Hau Vum" is on page 95 and the biography of "Pa Thuk Kham" on pages 96-99. The biographies of Chief Lua Thuam of Lophei and Pi Tong Dim Kimlai (Mrs Lua Thuam) including the payment of compensation for the release of Pi Tong Dim are also included. Next comes in chronological order such as the arrival of Dr Adoniram Judson in Rangoon, the conversion of the First Burman on the 13th July 1813; the conversion of the first Burmese U Naw as a Christian Baptist on the 27th June 1819; the resistance by the Siyin Chins against British on the 27th June 1819; the resistance by the Siyin Chins against British annexation starting from the Kale Valley from 1888; No. 2 Stockade Tulsuk; No. 3 Stockade Nahtang Phatzang; and No. 4 Stockade Aitik; the arrival of British troops under Major General Sir George White, V.C.; K.C.B. in the Siyin Valley on the 20th January 1889; the arrival of Dr Carson in the Haka Chin Hills in 1899; the death of Dr Carson at Haka in 1908; the death of Mrs Carson in 1942; the arrival of Dr East in 1902; the arrival of Dr. (Mrs) East in 1903; the arrival of Dr. J. Herbert Cope, B.A. in 1908; the arrival of Mrs J.H. Cope in 1925; the arrival of Dr. Wooden in the Chin Hills in 1910 and his return in 1915. Dr. J.H. Cope finished translating the New Testament in the Tiddim and Haka Chin language in 1932. He died of dysentery while travelling in the Haka Chin Hills in 1938. Saya Shwe Zan arrived at Khuasak, Siyin Valley on the 5th January 1904 and returned to Burma on the 4th April 1917. In 1904 two Siyin couples were converted to Christianity. They were Saya Thuam Hang and his wife *nee* Dim Ko Ting Tunngo; Saya Pau Suan and his wife *nee* Kham Tiang. In 1907 three persons were appointed as preachers - Saya Thuam Hang for Khuasak; Saya Pau Suan for Thangnuai and Saya Lam Suan for Theizang. As teachers of the local A.B. Mission Burmese schools Saya Za Khup of Thuklai was appointed at Khuasak; Saya Suang Ko Kam at Limkhai; Saya Tun Ngin at Theizang; Saya Tuang Ko Mang at Dolluang. Dr. East used to travel the Siyin Valley and the Tiddim area to treat the sick and also to preach the gospel. In those days the Asst. Superintendent of Tiddim was Mr Bateman.

VI. The Sixth Manuscript book consists of :

1. His desire to record Songs and histories kept by him.
2. Some more songs by Pu Thuk Kham.
3. Some more songs *Lakai* by Pu Hau Vum.
4. Some songs *Lakai* by Pu Hau Vum composed after the death of Pu Thuk Kham.
5. Some miscellaneous songs regarding marriage; the occupation of the Siyin Valley by the British by Chief Pu Khup Pau; the massacre of the Mualnuam people by the Kale people of Indin Myo.
6. The Song composed by Pi Tingh Hau Tunggo who was taken prisoner on the day of the massacre of the Mualnuam people by the Kale people, and the story of her unwillingness to return to the Chin Hills as she was already married to the Myothugyi U Aung Kaung of Indin Myo.
7. The account of the attempted murder of Chief Khan Thuam by the Vuite Chief Pum Ngo and nine others at Tiddim.
8. The Genealogical Tree of the Lunmun Thuklai Clan, including women with the names of their husbands and the source of their personal names.

9. Songs composed by Tuang On Thatmun of Khuasak and Theizang who was a wellknown warrior against British occupation.
Fiftythree pieces *Langui* and five pieces *Lathipna* for the summing up.
10. The biography and chronological events as recorded by Subedar Mang Pum Kuntong the First Chin to be educated while he was exiled in jail in Burma on account of the Siyin Rebellion of 1892. Father wrote his own Notes and Comments on every paragraph. It makes very interesting reading as a solid history of the Siyin Chins from pre-annexation down to the despatch of the Chin Labour Corps to France and the establishment of the Chin Hills Battalion. Besides father's historical MSS I think Subedar Mang Pum's historical MSS would rank as one of the earliest interesting books in the Chin Hills. Subedar Mang Pum meticulously recorded the time he left the Siyin Valley to the date he arrived at the various towns in France and the German border I would liken his biographical record to that of Kinwun Mingyi's diary in many respects.

MY LIBRARY

*"Beside a library, how poor are all the other
greatest deeds of man" — Thomas Davies.*

When I was young there were few books to read. Before I could read my father bought some old English magazines and catalogues for me. My greatest delight came when Rev. Cope gave a copy of Montgomery Ward's catalogue to my father. I spent days and days in turning over the pages before I went to school. Some of my contemporaries such as Ngo Thawng, Pau Ko Thang etc. joined me in looking at it. My father got some other serious magazines from the missionary. One book was an old copy of "News and Views". When I attended the primary school Rev. Cope who was also the honorary Inspector of Schools used to distribute pictures cut from the old numbers of the National Geographic Magazine to the more important schools with most students. Those pictures fired many of us with imagination of the outside world. My father wanted to subscribe to the magazine for me although I was still unacquainted with the English language. He told me to take it regularly as soon as I joined the anglo-vernacular school. He often said that had he been acquainted with English he would have taken it regularly.

I had since been elected as a life Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Royal Geographical Society. I am also a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society. I am a life member of the Burma Research Society.

The first work of mine that was published in English was in the first government high school Sagaing magazine of 1936/37 of which I was the joint editor of the English section. The first payment that I got was from the Reader's Digest for two short articles; they also awarded me a life subscription for the magazine. I subscribed to Magazine Digest for two years but it soon stopped publication. I found some of the articles in the Reader's Digest very inspirational. Two of the articles gave my community encouragement to build their own private high school. They started it with their own materials and labour. Another article on M & B 693 gave me some knowledge about medicine which I used with advantage when hospitals ceased to exist during the Japanese occupation. When the rest of Burma came under Japanese domination, the Chin Hills opened her postal lines with the outside world through the backdoor for the first time. I ordered by post patent medicines, cotton yarn, shoes from Batanagar and cambric textiles. Writing business on the side brought me more income than from my government salary.

My father gave me two bits of advice in life. The first to buy as many books as possible and to use only a good fountain pen and secondly, never to join the education department. He bought me a Waterman's fountain pen before I finished the primary school. He had the best private library in the Chin Hills. He said that had he joined the Chin Hills battalion when he was offered a direct pay havildar rank for being the first educated Zo Chin he would have become a Subedar Major.

Beside important classical Burmese literature like Mr Maung Maing's Wuttu, The Jakaka stories, etc the private library was already stocked with English-Burmese, Burmese-English grammars and even books like How to speak Hindustani all written in Burmese. His costliest books were Tun Nyein's Dictionary and the World Atlas in English. He spoke at length about the big

whole World Atlas with all the maps of the biggest towns on the whole world, and he saved some time to buy one for me.

When I got to the middle school, one of my class teachers told us that the most intelligent men in the world were said to be Shakespeare, Caesar and Napoleon. I approached Dr. J.H. Cope to order for me Tales from Shakespeare; Robinson Crusoe, Gullivers Travels and the Arabian Nights. I used to order for resale to students P. C. Wren's grammar books, Gen pocket dictionary etc. from Bombay. In those days postage from Bombay to Tiddim was the same as from Fort White to Tiddim.

In the high school at Sagaing I became the librarian of the Union Hall reading club. I used to stock some books by P. Monin, Khitsan ponpyin etc. During the Japanese occupation of Burma almost all the books in libraries (except those in Rangoon) were lost. Most of the towns in the rural areas having been burnt once or twice. Beside the Bernard Free library and the Rangoon University library there were no public libraries. Each district government office had a room allotted for government publications. When the British withdrew and the enemy arrived all government offices were left to themselves. Looters took away most of the furniture and other material; books were left for peanut sellers and tobacconists. The Japanese soldiers threw away books in the rain to rot so as to make way for spacious accomodation for soldiers. I have never seen a Japanese soldier attempting to save a book from the library. I have heard however, later after the war, that many of the books that remained in the A. B. Mission Press were sent to Tokyo. One title thus taken away was the original edition of Smythies Birds of Burma. Hence the rarity of the first edition which was published just before the arrival of the Japanese. I heard that a frantic search for a book was made few years ago when it was wanted for presentation to a General. A manager of Rowland Ward told me that some one brought a copy of the first edition once but that he wanted £ 25 for it which he thought was excessive. The copies in Tokyo was reported to have perished with the American bombing of Tokyo.

Early in 1947 when I was elected as an Executive Counsellor to the Governor of Burma I was also nominated to sit as a Member of the Rees-Williams Commission. We wanted to consult old books on so many facts, especially about the Frontier Areas. But we could not get any books in Rangoon or in Maymyo. I could not borrow a single copy of the Chin Hills Gazetteer or even the Upper Burma Gazetteer. The only handbooks that we could consult were the pocket handbooks published by the exiled Burma government in Simla.

I was flattered in my writings by the compliments of such educationists as Professors U Wun and U Thein Han with whom I sat almost daily on the same table in drafting the Constitution of the Union. One of them requested of me if he could translate some of my articles into Burmese meant for the mass education. Ko Htin Gyi had reproduced some of them in the Burmese journals. Miss Dorothy Woodman, Mr. J. S. Furnivall and Dr. Maung Maung advised me to write more whenever possible especially on topical subjects. President Sao Shwe Thaik encouraged me to write more about the Frontier Areas. Some friends from the Writers Association and some with degrees in journalism had expressed that they have enjoyed reading my articles. These things encouraged me to write about events and things in which I was personally involved and which have not been published. I have never thought myself much as a writer but

began to be conscious of what I should publish as matter of historical interest in the Union since either some of my colleagues in the creation of the Union are no more with us or others are not writers.

Some of my letters to the Editor had been published in the English weekly papers. The best remuneration I ever got for writing was from the Reader's Digest which gave me a cheque and a life subscription to the magazine for two short articles which they accepted in 1956.

Among the literary magazines I think the Reader's Digest has the most interesting articles. Penderennis, Crossbecker, Peterborough and William Hickey also give some interesting items.

I got most of my antique books from "Paul Guethner" of Paris. They never appeared to throw away even a single piece of paper. Some publications were the only copy they ever received from the time it was first printed. They said that they began to sell well after the emergence of independent countries in Asia and Africa. "Adriane Maisonneuve" also has some interesting books but one could glance through the catalogue only as no person is allowed to search for books himself in their shop; books are stored in two layers and it was quite impossible to find out anyway what might be in the next row.

I believe my library would be one of the best private libraries in the Union of Burma. Thomas Davies says "Beside a library, how poor are all the other greatest deeds of man". Some of the more interesting original publications and prints in my private collection are:

The sepia water-colour of the coloured engraving by John Moore "Attack on the Stockade, Rangoon by Sir Archibald Campbell", dated May 1824.

Pagan by Thomann; History of Assam by Gait;

History of Assam Rifles by Colonel Shakespear;

The Rath;

Ptolemy's Map of Asia, coloured, Lyons 1535;

Selections from the Records of the Hluttaw by Taw Sein Ko;

Vocabulary of the Peguan (Talaing) language by Haswell;

Epigraphic Birmanica;

Darjyple's Oriental Repertory;

Scott O'Connor's the Silken East 1904; Mandalay, 1907;

Ann Judsons' Account of the Burman Empire 1823;

Davies' Yun-Nan link between India and the Yangtse

Berthelot L'Asie ancienne d'après Ptoleémée

Symes' Embassy to Ava 1800; Yule's Mission to Ava in 1855

Moore's Views of Rangoon 1825-6;

Tuck and Carey's Chin Hills Gazetteer 1896;

A Burmese Parabaiké Manuscript, containing a collection of eight panoramic drawings, painted in gold and colours by a Burmese artist. Each drawing represents a different ceremony or amusement at the Royal Court of Upper Burma. On 36 leaves of oriental parabaiké paper, with short Burmese text below; Mandalay about 1800. Small, narrow, folio can be folded out and then as a length of 630cm or 20ft 4". The subjects depicted are: a dart-throwing tournament from horses, an elephant fight, a polo-play, a dancing performance, a river-pageant, showing the Royal barge, a procession, i.e. showing the bodyguard, etc. Most vividly drawn and painted in clear colours. An unusual and fine specimen of Burmese art.

MY SELECTION OF DIGEST OF READER'S DIGEST.

Some of the articles selected by me for my first copy of the Digest of Reader's Digest during the war are :

1. Jimmy Byrnes, "Assistant President" by Eliot Janeway.
2. Youth, Get Your Toe in the Door by J. P. McEvoy.
3. Batista : The Stenographer Who Became Dictator. Having started life as a stenographer myself I found the above articles very interesting.
4. Curing the Great "Middle Sin".
5. Lee Wiggins, Country Banker, Talks Turkey J.P. McEvoy. Started life as an office boy and stenographer.
6. Only Five Short Blocks by Frederick Van Ryn "Never worry about the distance between you and your goal. Always concentrate on what is within five short blocks from you".
7. On Being a Real Person by Harry Emerson Fosdick.
8. The Facts About Jews in Washington by W.M. Kiplinger.
9. Benjamin Weintraub by John Hersey.
10. Young Man, Be Your Own Boss by William Benton.
11. The Last Prussian by David Cort. I always heard great news about the Germans since the return of my uncles from the German front in 1918.
12. Young Man in a Hurry Backwards by J.P. McEvoy dec 38.
13. Carr V. Van Anda by J.D. Ratcliff aug 44.
14. Ben Franklin, Genius of Democracy by Donald Culross Peattie.
15. What Is Your Intemperance ? by Bruce Barton sept 41.
16. Magic Words, Channing Pollock oct 44.
17. Tone Up Your Voice - and personality Hughes Mearns.
18. The Real German Enemy, Eric Bramley-Moore feb 44.
19. Journalism Without Jaundice, Carol Hughes Mearns dec 44 coronet.
20. Baron Russell Briggs by Henry James Forman.
21. Responsibility page 271 by J.A.H.
22. Education Begins at Home Charles F. Kettering feb 44.
23. Don't Wait to Live. W. Beran Wolfe. M.D.
24. American Dawn by van Valtin may 44.
25. The Turning Point of My Career by A.J. Cronin 1143.
26. I'm Going to Be a New Man, Stephen Leacock sept 44.
27. The Silver Thimble J.C. Long p. 495.
28. My Debt to the Town Drunk Fed Rodell.
29. 70 Percent Is Not Passing J.P. McEvoy p 518 nov 41 r.d. For his 12th birthday I gave him a typewriter, exacting the promise that he wouldn't hunt and peck with two fingers as I did, but would learn the touch system. His Fluency in French, German, Japanese and his knowledge of Russian are the tools of his everyday work - in which 79 percent is not passing.
30. South Africa Offensive, Objectionable p 526 Gandhi in South Africa (circa 1905).
31. Beware Schacht by Dr. Max Immanuel may 44.
32. The French Underground Fights p 556. This was similar to the Siyin Independence Army.

33. Pay a Compliment Now and Then ; Charles Hanson Towne mag digest Nov 40.
34. A Detroit high school teacher who was "the Enemy of the Good".
35. Music's Millionaires - Variety Magazine digest nov 42 canadian.
36. Enter Atabrine - Exit Malaria Paul de Kruif. Atabrine was wellknown pre war.
37. Letter from Wavell to Gandhi and Gandhi to Wavell time sep 4, 44.
38. Dollars and sense ; A. Lincoln.
39. Transaction in Tahiti ; James Normal Hall nov 42.
40. Little Lord Beaverbrook, Noel F Busch.
41. Industry Beckons Youth, Webb Waldron nov 42.
42. Into battle with a typewriter Robert Howarth.
43. Trial and Error, Irwin S Cobb dec 42 rd.

Subsequent Volumes contain :

1. Young Man, Be Your Own Boss ; by William Benton.
2. The Bank That Youth Built ; Richard Dempewoff.
3. Don't Wait to Live W. Bérán Wolfe.
4. Tone Up Your Voice - and Personality, Hughes Mearns .
5. Twenty Minutes of Reality ; Margaret Prescott Montague oct 47.
6. Have You an Educated Heart ? Gelett Burgess oct 41.
7. The men who are making the New Frontier fortune 4, 48 12-x48.
8. John Kieran Expert on Everything Arthur Bartlett improve each shining hour - 17-8-50.
9. Unfinished Business "Lincoln Steffens Speaking" 4-2-49.
10. Secrets : Elinor Rice 15-4-50OTL.
11. Life Begins at 75 : 21iii 1951-21xi1961.
12. Nazi Purge ; Jewish Proficiency ; universal-digest 30x40.
13. South America has everything Edward Thomlinson DRD24x1956TL.
14. Springboard into Opportunity ; the chance to make a second start Lawrence N. Galton.
15. Ability not politics will win the war Robert Moses 12nov1944.
16. Karsh, You Have Immortalized Me James L McConaughy, Jr 3v50.
17. How to keep young mentally Mary b. Mullett 27iv47.
18. The Magic of Sunlight Karl Tanzer, Vienna 24iii40.
19. A woman to warm your heart by Dorothy Walworth.
20. We Can Improve Anything Francis Sill Wickware 227.
21. Ernie Pyles War from Time 26 june 45.
22. The Art of Thinking universal-digest 31iii40 20iii40fl.
23. Mr Gandhi's successor from Asia, n.y. 22ii'40.
24. Pay a Compliment Now and Ten, Charles Hanson Towne 13ii1941TC 10vii42DDC page 242.
25. You Can Have My Business, Lord ; James L. Kraft by Edwin S Preston universal-digest 10ii40TCF ; 10-2-1941TCF.
26. Education Begins at Home 23 Feb 45 LB ; Charles F. Kettering.
27. Cairo Conference by Franklin Lushington Blackwoods mag nov 46 maymyo february 19,1947 chin hills delegate to panglong conf ;

28. 28 The Perplexing Argentine 12-11-43 Jungle HQ.
29. What Is Profit V.K.H. 15/2/44CC.
30. The Art of Work by Andre Maurois paris jan 15, 1939 30x40EC p 332 There is a hidden beauty in every kind of work. He who discovers it ceases to be a slave and becomes a poet. A stenographer . . . The author's name meant little to me then but I remembered the contents.
31. A College Built on Faith by Mary McLeod Bethune page 338.
On our evacuation of the district headquarters, Falam, I carried a few copies of the Reader's Digest. I read this particular article at Ngai Khwar on the 10 November 1943; I found the story of this self-help college admirable and I told it to my people on many occasions. It gave a lot of inspiration to my people. It was partly due to their voluntary contribution that the first National High School of the Chin Hills namely the Siyin Valley National High School was founded during the Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills. Being the only high school in the Chin Hills at the independence of Burma I converted it together with three other government middle schools into government high schools with the help since the Panglong Conference, of the lamented Bogyoke Aung San in whose historic cabinet I had the honour to be a Member.

When Burma was occupied by the Japanese army, the only district that remained defended by the local people themselves and was for a long time unoccupied was the Chin Hills. From here we were able to defend the last part of British Burma for a few years until March 1944.

During this time I managed to get my supply of the Reader's Digest by way of the newly opened Burma-India overland route — India to Falam (Burma) via Aijal (Assam, India). As I was always on the move in the Front lines carrying my own kit it was impossible to carry many books and they were heavy. As soon as I got a consignment I selected a few articles that were of interest to me. I bound them into a single volume later and carried it in my ruck-sack together with a few rations (mostly tinned pears) and a small blanket. One of the article selected by me was :

Youth, Get your toe in the door by J.P.McEvoy.

I learned touch typewriting and shorthand by self-tuition and this article about steno-typists who made good was of great interest to me. The name included those of former stenographers Fulgencio Batista, Irving Cobb, Grover Whalen, New York's Mayor (Little Flower) La Guardia; Frank A. Vanderlip, John J. Raskob, the airman Vincent Bendix, Irving Thalberg, Norma Shearer, and Kay Francis. George B. Cortelyou, later secretary to Theodore Roosevelt, called stenography "the handmaiden of opportunity", and gave it credit for his success, pointing out that instead of being marooned in the outer fringes of an organization a stenographer usually finds himself in the inner circle, attached to a higher executive, where he learns all the details of the business, has incomparable opportunities to gain intimate knowledge of a successful man's method, and is the obvious candidate for promotion when an opening occurs".

"New York's Mayor LaGuardia launched his political career taking down immigration hearings in shorthand". Other shorthand experts who became big politicians are Senators Barkley of Kentucky and Jimmy Byrnes of South Carolina and John Hay, Secretary of State. William L Clayton is a stenographer who became cotton king. Jimmy Byrnes, who was called Assistant

to Roosevelt learned stenography at night, started to read law and devoured the contents of the Charleston library and became court stenographer at the age of 21 and held the job for eight years. I saw him only once in person in New York in 1953. I always thought James Byrnes wore the best ties in the world.

When I joined the district office as unpaid apprentice clerk in April 1937, I was number four on the list but on account of my self mastery of stenography and touch typewriting I had a stenographer's post created in the office and after a few months became the Clerk.

When the Japanese occupied the district I was again chief clerk and since I was the most senior officer in the region during the British regime I was in due course made the local district commissioner with a province formally covering the Japanese occupied northeast frontier with India which includes the nearly occupied Imphal valley, Ukhrul and Kohima. One Japanese officer suggested to me when they occupied New Delhi on the 15th August 1944 I should move to Tinsukia and thence to Calcutta and thence to New Delhi as advisor to the Niskikang department of the occupation force. A Confidential Stenographer and chief clerk to the local deputy Commissioner I was well informed on all the secret documents circulated to the districts from Rangoon. As the Dy Commr. was a foreigner I acted as advisor. Allied agents all over the country many of whom were my people I fed with news. I declined to move out of my own headquarters near Tiddim as the headquarters was too important to leave and they never forced me to move. Probably I was the only senior district officer who had never been slapped by a Japanese officer. After the cessation of hostilities I learned that most of my colleagues who held similar jobs in Burma or Indonesia were slapped at one time or other.

FIELD-MARSHAL WHITE'S TELEGRAMS ON HIS ENCOUNTER WITH THE SIYINS.

The encounters between the Siyins and the British troops are best described in the Chin Hills Gazetteer and General White's telegram to the Chief Commissioner of Burma and the five songs composed for the episodes by Chief THUK KHAM of Lunmun Thuklai.

Advance into the Hills"

"On the 30th December (1888) Sir George White arrived at Kambale (near Kalembo) and accompanied the force, which continued steadily advancing up the hills, the Sappers assisted by coolies making a road in their track, along which were constructed rough stockades, in which the troops slept and rations were stored. The troops found their route always heavily stockaded and the stockades generally held by the enemy, who never ceased to ambush when opportunity occurred, both day and night.

"Encounter with Siyins"

"On 27th January (1889) the road making party was again confronted by Chins. working party was sent back to the stockade and the troops, now unencumbered, attacked the enemy, who retired slowly, making a stubborn resistance, till they reached some formidable and skillfully placed stockades, where they made a stand. Sir George White, at our stockade, hearing heavy firing in front, joined the attacking party with a small reinforcement of the 42nd Gurkhas, and at once ordered, and took prominent part in, the charge, which was "brilliantly led by Lieutenant-Colonel Skene, D.S.O. (afterwards killed in Manipur)". General Sir George White, in the historic telegram No. 82 dated the 28th January 1889 to the Chief Commissioner of Burma described the action as follows :

"Enemy yesterday attacked our working party on road above this and held our covering party, 40 British and 100 Gurkhas, from 9 till 2, when I arrived and ordered their positions to be charged. We carried all, driving them entirely away, getting off ourselves wonderfully cheaply. Only one Norfolk dangerously wounded. Enemy in considerable numbers, using many rifles and plenty ammunition. They fired at least 1,000 rounds, standing resolutely until actually charged, even trying to outflank us. Their loss probably about eight or ten, but they were carried down the khuds at once. Most difficult enemy to see or hit I ever fought".

"The result of this action was a serious blow to the Siyins and they now realized that it was impossible to save their villages. The fight had taken place on one of their historic battle-fields, for it was here that they had overthrown an army sent against them by the King of Burma in former days. On 22nd January 1889 after several skirmishes, in which we suffered loss, General Faunce proceeded to the summit of the Letha range and from an altitude of 8,200 feet looked down on the Siyin villages lying 3,000 feet below him.

"No. 4 Stockade (Aicik) was established on 31st January and No. 5 days later. Accompanied by Sir George White and Major Raikes, General Faunce advanced on Koset Siyin on 4th February 1889 with a strong force

"Destruction of Koset and Occupation of Toklaing".

"Descending from the high range or to the village, he gave the Chins but small chance of

resistance, and they did no more than fire a few shots and busied themselves with carrying off their household goods. The enemy then set fire to their own village, which, with the exception of six houses, was reduced to ashes before the arrival of the troops. After a halt of a few days to bring up food and bedding, the troops attacked and captured without difficulty the two large villages of Bweman (Buanman) and Toklaing (Thuklai). On the 13th the column left the camp at Koset (Khuasak) and moved to Toklaing, (the original Fort White). Since then the name has been twice transferred and is the name by which we know the post (situated just below the demolished stockade of No. 5) was built, the houses of the village furnishing material for it".

"The Siyins now approached the Political Officer, but would not produce their Burman slaves, and it was evident that their intention was to procrastinate until the rains set in and so prevent active operations against them. Their messages and promises were also shown to be worthless, as the troops were continually fired on and the post fired into".

"On the 9th March General Faunce advanced into the Sokte country with a large force, accompanied by Major Raikes, to attack the tribe. The first objective was Wunkathe (Vangteh) and Saivan (Saizang). After a very difficult march and in the face of determined opposition. Wunkathe, a village of 220 houses, was reached and found to have been fired by its inhabitants. It was completely destroyed together with large stores of grain.

Major General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B. had held the executive Command of Upper Burma since 1886, when he took over from Major-General Sir Harry Prendergast. General White superseded 280 Colonels "including some who think themselves quite the pick of the bunch".

He personally supervised the first uphill invasion of the Chin Hills but returned to his Mandalay headquarters after the first occupation of the Siyin country including the adjoining Kale Valley, including the Siyin Valley but no other parts of the Chin Hills in mid March 1889 and established Fort White in Upper Thuklai.

Sir Mortimer Durand describes General White's expedition to the Chin Hills:

"White's letter-books contain copies of long "demi-officials" on all sorts of subjects, showing hard thought and even some anxiety, for one or two detachments of police had been cut up by dacoits, and there was raiding in various directions by Frontier tribes. The Frontier Tribes raided British occupied territories many times inflicting casualties on the latter. Before the end of the year (1888) White himself was on a river steamer, going up to join an expedition against the Chins, who were giving much trouble and were hard to reach in their jungle-covered hills. He did not get back to Mandalay until the middle of February 1889, and even then several small expeditions were going on.

On his return journey he writes to his wife:

14th Feby. 1889

"I have enjoyed my time in the Chin Hills very much. The work has interested me. It is a big job getting a force over such hills as we surmounted — between eight & nine thousand feet. It made me young again to be on foot amongst the soldiers, and as I was really out for a holiday I dropped the General and played the Captain again. I felt downhearted when I had to leave those glorious mountains which I was the first to invade, and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to complete the exploration up to the frontier of Chittagong, thus joining India and Burma through the shortest line.

We had some real rough work. Bivouacs at over 8000 ft. in Feby. on a wind-swept mountain range is cold work, and many of the men got dysentery and fever but I got into the highest health and really enjoyed it. I quite dislike leaving Burma now that the time is so near. Quetta will not have half the excitement or the novelty, and I shall miss the necessity for meeting the ever-recurring raids of rebels and dacoits. I think I have put the screw on the Chins, and I hope to keep it on. They are a much more manly race than the Burmans, and stood their ground on many occasions until we were quite close to them. Their fire, however, is not very accurate, altho' they have great numbers of guns".

It is interesting to note that one of the greatest British soldiers at least the most decorated soldier I have ever heard personally led the invasion of the Chin Hills up to the occupation of the Siyin Valley. It was a great bewilderment for Chief Thuk Kham and other Siyin Chiefs and heroes that an enemy could succeed in occupying all the whole Siyin Valley in the history of the Valley.

A political officer recorded their bewilderment in "The Siyin Chins" by Major P.M. Rundall, D.S.O., one of the first administrative officers in the Chin Hills :

"After our subjugation and occupation of Upper Burma the Chins began to be a thorn in our side, just as they had been to King Thibaw and his predecessors. Thibaw had tried sending an army to invade their country; but it was ignominiously defeated, and the troops retired after doing more harm than good to the prestige of the Burmese army. The Chins told me that they had heard rumours of our fighting in Upper Burma, but they imagined our troops were no better than King Thibaw's, and so, bursting from their hills in sudden and unexpected raids, they pillaged the Burman villages in our newly-acquired territory, slew all who resisted them, carried off into slavery all whom they succeeded in capturing, and murdered such of their prisoners as could not keep pace with them in their rapid retreat to their mountain fortresses.

The Expedition was described further by Major Rundall :

"The first expedition was sent in the winter of 1888-89, under General Faunce.

The force started from Kalemyo, and advancing towards the Létha Range, met with determined resistance the whole way. As our force advanced we constructed stockaded posts at convenient spots, in which small garrisons were left to guard our rear, furnish escorts for convoys, etc. These posts were known by their numbers, such as No. 2, No. 4 etc. It would take up too much space to give any detailed account of the campaign; suffice it to say, we lost many men, chiefly through the unhealthiness of the primeval forests through which the troops worked; and though we drove back the tribesmen as we advanced, still they showed subsequently, by their undiminished misdemeanours, and by the incessant harrassing of our posts and convoys, that they had not the slightest intention of giving in without further chastisement. Our troops, however, did very excellent work, as anyone will acknowledge who has ever attempted to force his way through a wholly unknown country, and operate in wild rugged hills where no supplies whatever are obtainable, and resisted, as we were, by hardy hill-men, who fought us pluckily every step of the way, and knew how to turn to the best account every coign of advantage offered by dense jungle or precipitious hill-side. General Faunce's force pushed down the western slopes of the Létha range, destroyed many villages, built Fort White, and penetrated, by means of small columns, as far as the principal Kanhow village of Tiddim. The Chins could not at all understand who the white men were who thus invaded their hills".

FIELD-MARSHAL WHITE'S TELEGRAMS ON HIS ENCOUNTER WITH THE SIYINS.

Telegram from Major F. D. Raikes, C.I.E., on special duty with the Chin Field Force, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, No. 29P, dated Camp Taung-U, the 27th December 1888.

DETERMINED attack on our working party under Lieutenant Butcher, 42nd Gurkhas, was made by about 800 Chins on 25th December 1888. Chins were repulsed with loss, but loss not known. Troops owing to distance from the stockade and the fact that they had to protect working party were unable to pursue Chins. Casualty on our side one sepoy, 42nd Gurkhas, missing, three sapper mules, one pony, killed.

Telegram from the Officiating Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, to Major F. D. Raikes, C.I.E., on special duty with the Chin Field Force, No. 103, dated the 4th January 1889.

Your 7B dated 20th December 1888. It is not possible to pass orders on your proposals without further knowledge of your resources, the strength which will be necessary, the nature of the route, the opposition likely to be encountered. Please place your proposals before General White, who will advise the Chief Commissioner as to measures practicable with resources at command.

Telegram from General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B., Commanding Upper Burma Field Force, to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, dated Camp Thayetpin, the 23rd January 1889.

FAUNCE and I reconnoitred to summit Letha range, 8,200 feet, yesterday. Met with considerable resistance from small bodies of SIYINS. We lost one Gurkha killed, one severely wounded, three slightly injured by stones hurled down us. We carried every position and on withdrawal were not pursued, but troops had very heavy day. Same day convoy up to this lost one man Norfolk, killed. Mule road to summit of Letha wants little making. Siyin probably about 3 miles beyond point reached by us. Force idle now from want of supply to throw forward from Kanbale (near Kalembo).

Telegram from Major F. D. Raikes, C.I.E., on special duty with the Chin Field Force, to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, No. 68P., dated Camp Taung-U, the 27th January 1889.

SIR GEORGE WHITE has heliographed from Thayetpin stockade on the Siyin range that all troops there were engaged with Chins, who were in considerable numbers and were very strongly posted in stone stockade. All available men Segyi stockade have been sent to the front. Two guns leave Kanbale (near Kalembo) today. General Faunce and staff left Kanbale

this afternoon for Tayetpin and I leave tomorrow morning. Colonel MacGregor, who has returned to Sihaung, has been ordered to Kanbale with 200 Rifles, 44th Gurkhas. Much hope we shall be able to push on and occupy Siyin at once. Have received valuable information about Gangaw, which will be submitted as soon as I have time to hold full inquiry. From what I hear am fully convinced that Eyre was purposely misled by treacherous advices and that information as to numbers of rebels was grossly exaggerated. Telegraphic communication between Kanbale and Kalewa has again broken down. Am awaiting reply to my telegram in which I asked that Browning might be sent to YAW. Am anxious to communicate with Eyre's successor as I can give information of importance.

Telegram from General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B., Commanding Upper Burma Field Force, to the Chief Commissioner, Burma. No. 82, dated Camp Thayetpin, the 28th January 1889.

Your PA 100, 102, 103, received here yesterday.

First, I cannot from here ascertain stores now thrown into Kalewa, but it is inaccurate to represent to you that there has not been delay in forwarding stores from Pakokku, Monywa, and Alon, or that there had been congestion at Kalewa. Second, I am very pleased at prospect of having Symons at Gangaw. Please notify your decision to Assistant Adjutant-General.

Third, Enemy yesterday attacked our working party on road above this and held our covering party, 40 British and 100 Gurkhas, from 9 till 2, when I arrived and ordered their positions to be charged. We carried all, driving him entirely away, getting off ourselves wonderfully cheaply. Only one Norfolk dangerously wounded. Enemy, in considerable numbers, using many rifles and plenty ammunition. He fired at least, 1,000 rounds, standing resolutely until actually charged, even trying to outflank us. His loss probably about eight or ten, but they were carried down the khuds at once. MOST DIFFICULT ENEMY TO SEE OR HIT I EVER FOUGHT. I have thought it advisable to reinforce this post as I will not allow enemy to hold us again. Faunce has returned with reinforcements. Work on road being pushed on to day beyond furthest point occupied by enemy yesterday. Hope road for advance to Siyin will be ready in a week, when Faunce will attack Siyin.

Telegram from Brigadier-General E. Faunce, C.B., General Officer Commanding, Kanbale, to the Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster-General, Mandalay, - No. 190 dated Siyin, the 6th February 1889.

I left No. 3 on 3rd February 1889 and marched on Eshin and we left a garrison of 50 Rifles, 42nd Gurkhas, under a Native Officer, and after picking up the picquet left hill. On 31st advanced on Siyin with 176 Norfolks, 50 Gurkhas, two guns, 90 sappers, 100 Gurkhas on baggage guard, and 300 mules, which carried ten days' supply for column. No opposition was met with till the ridge overlooking the Siyin Valley at elevation of 8,300 feet was reached at 1 P.M. Up to this point mules accompanied us, but could go no further as the road runs across the face of the precipice for about a mile and then down a very steep spur to Siyin 2,700 feet down. The enemy has planted some stockades across the road, but being disturbed by the Gurkhas they fled, keeping up a desultory fire. We reached the hill at 3 p.m. They had partially fired village. Our

loss No. 2495, Color Sergeant A. Mallett, Norfolks, slightly, No. 181 Sepoy Isuri Persad : No. 2786, Sepoy Ramsing Thappa, both 42nd Gurkhas, severely wounded by spikes. The guns returned to No. 3 on 5th. Sir George White accompanied the force.

Telegram from General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B., Kanbale, to the Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster-General, Mandalay, dated Siyin, the 7th February 1889.

Please inform Chief Commissioner from me and Raikes and wire Adjutant-General, India. SIYIN taken on 4th, one Norfolk, two Gurkhas wounded. Enemies partly burnt Siyin and escaped over hills. No ascertained loss to enemy range, most precipitous and difficult. Telegram from Major F.D. Raikes, C.I.E., on special duty with the Chin Field Force, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma (H. Thirkell White, Esq., C.S.), No. 78P., dated Camp Tokhlaing, the 16 February 1889.

HEADQUARTERS moved to TOKHLAING which we occupied on 13th. No signs of submission on part of Chins. All villages appear deserted. It is reported that Chins have moved their families and taken captives across Nankathe. Probably Siyin tribe are trying to get assistance from Kanhow and Tashon tribes. Please send instructions whether post is to be maintained permanently in hills or whether we are to withdraw before rains. Leave this to destroy Sagyilains upper and lower villages tomorrow.

Telegram from Major F.D. Raikes, C.I.E., on special duty with the Chin Field Force to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, No. 79P dated Camp. TOKHLAING, the 18th February 1889.

COLONEL SKENE wires 200 Rifles have just returned from destroying the Upper and Lower Sagyilain villages. Chins, who were probably above 300 strong, fired many shots and stood their ground well, notwithstanding that repeated volleys were fired by our troops and one small stockade held by Chins was shelled. No casualties on our side. Chin loss unknown. Probably three or four were hit. Resistance offered by Chins shows that they have no immediate intention of surrendering. Siyin Chins removed all supplies from both villages before Colonel Skene arrived. Lower villages were fired by Chins themselves at about midnight on night of 17th February 1889.

Telegram from the Officiating Chief Secretary (Sir Herbert Thirkell White, K.C.I.E.) to the Chief Commissioner (Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I.) Burma, to Major F.D. Raikes, C.I.E., on special duty with the Chin Field Force, No 519C., dated the 4th March 1889.

MY No. 514C. Chief Commissioner (Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I.) suggests caution lest tribes friendly to SIYINS by making terms and saving their own villages should enable the SIYINS to hold out against us.

THE BATTLE OF TARTAN (TAITAN) A VICTORIA CROSS AGAINST THE SIYINS.

Chief Lian Kam of Voklak, Siyin Valley had to carry his mother who was very old and infirm, to all the hideouts; since the arrival of British troops in the upper Siyin Valley and he said that he was too tired to carry his mother everywhere. He decided that the clan dig a fort at Taitan (Tartan) so that they could defend the fort against all comers.

One of the first Siyin Chiefs to negotiate with General White was Chief Mang Lun of Sakhiling. After two years, Chief Pau Khai (Pow Kai) negotiated on behalf of the Kimlai (Buanman) clan having succeeded Chief Lian Kam who fell at Taitan battle.

At the battle of Tartan where Surgeon Major Le Quense won his Victoria Cross, the following were the Siyin leaders and commanders defending the Tartan (Taitan) Fort which was then the capital of the Buanman clan. The Chief leader being Lian Kam who was one of the first to be silenced by British guns and Do Lian, Kam Tin, Vum Mang, Pau Suang, Khup Vum and Za Vum. They were in two big underground forts but later in the day they were overpowered because of the fact that there were too many women and children in the forts whereas the British had soldiers only. At first the British did not know the outlet of the fort and the actual location of the tunnel but when the ammunition gave out on the Siyin's side the British advanced and opened the teak plank covering of the fort tunnel and bayoneted most of the people inside. This particular story was recorded as told to me by one who was flooded by the blood of his parents and brothers and sisters in the trench and who returned to consciousness after the British left the place and reported the tale after cutting the necklace and earrings of his family. He is Hong Suak and is still alive today.

The Roll Call of Honour was :

1. Chief Lian Kam 2 Vum Mang 3 Pau Suang 4 Tuang Vung 5 Seem Pau 6 Lam Khup 7 Khup Vum 8 Khai Suak 9 Za Vum 10 Lu Kam 11 Zong Thuam 12 Lam Ciang (female) 13 Liang Vung (female) 14 Vung Neem (female) 15 Huai Nuam (female) 16 En Kam 17 Uap Huai (female) 18 Dim Ngiak (female) 19 Pau Lam 20 Hang Sing.

The fighting lasted for one whole day. The Kimlai clans were in two underground dug outs. When the afternoon came the Kimlais' ammunition gave out and the British troops could move nearer and a hand-to-hand fighting ensued; the Kimlais' forts sheltered women and children and this was the great drawback. The British troops no longer used muzzle loading guns whereas the Siyins still use them. It was not too comfortable to use muzzle loading guns from inside a dug out fort. "Military Operations in the Northern Chin Hills" from "Chin - Lushai Land" by Surg.-Lt. Colonel A.S. Reid Calcutta 1893.

"The attack and capture of the Siyin village of New Taitan (Tartan, Sialum) followed on the 4th May 1889, and is of more interest than the preceding occurrences from the comparatively stubborn resistance offered by the Chins on the occasion.

The force selected for the purpose was composed of 65 men of the Norfolk Regiment and 60 rifles of the 42nd Gurkhas, and was placed under the command of Captain O. Mayne of the former corps.

This small column left Fort White (Thuklai) at 4 : 40 a.m., and by nine had occupied, without opposition, the heights above the village, a covering party of 15 Norfolks and 10 Gurkhas having been left at the end of the Siyin spur.

Leaving a further party of the Norfolk Regiment to hold the heights, the rest of the column then advanced on the village, which was three or four hundred feet below and appeared to have been deserted.

Captain Westmoreland led with a few of his men followed by Captains Mayne and Doone, 2nd Lieut. Michel being in rear with the main body. While descending a Chin was heard shouting. The main body was then ordered to advance and the troops in front began to double with the intention of rushing the village. On reaching it, fire was opened by the Chins, who were posted in two stockades at the bottom.

Michel who, with a few men, had descended by the spur to the east of the ravine, came suddenly on the lower of the stockades, and was mortally wounded by a shot from it. His party halted near where he fell, and began firing on the stockade. The rest of the men advanced right up to the upper stockades firing.

The upper of the two stockades consisted of a log hut, the sides and roof of which had been rendered bullet-proof. It was connected with the ravine by a trench covered with logs and planks. The second stockade was in the bed of the ravine. It consisted of a hole about six or nine feet square from which a trench ran down the ravine a short distance. The trench and the hole were also covered with logs and planks. All the Chins (10 or 12) found inside the upper stockade were killed, the logs having to be pulled up from the trench to get at them.

Meanwhile a dropping fire was coming from the lower stockade. Captain Mayne, who had been slightly injured at the commencement, was now severely wounded, and Surgeon Le Quesne while dressing his wound, was also severely wounded himself.

The second stockade was not taken, and the force retired to Tartan, which was then burnt. The troops reached Fort White at 9 : 30 p.m., having been seventeen hours under arms.

The enemy's loss was estimated at 30 and our casualties were:

Killed and died of wounds.

Second Lieutenant W. G. Michel	
and 2 men of the Norfolk Regiment :	4
1 Naick 42nd Gurkhas	

Severely Wounded.

Captain O. Mayne,	
Surgeon Le Quesne, M.S.,	7
4 men 42nd Gurkhas,	
1 Kahar	

Slightly wounded (by Panjies)

Three men 42nd Gurkhas	3
	14

All the Siyin and Sagyilain villages had now been captured, but their former inhabitants, although wandering homeless in the jungles, were still unsubdued, and so far the objects of the expedition had been only partially fulfilled".

THE BATTLE OF TARTAN

By Sir Bertram S. Carey, K.C.I.E., C.B.

"On 4th May 1889 the last action of the expedition was fought and it merits full description. Some new huts had been noticed on the site of Tartan, and to destroy these a party was sent from Fort White (Thuklai) on 4th May. The following account is taken almost verbatim from the report of Captain C.H. Westmoreland, 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry.

The column, consisting of 65 rifles of the 2nd Battalion Norfolk Regiment and 60 rifles of the 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry, occupied the heights above New Tartan without opposition. The main body advanced with the intention of rushing the village, but encountered determined resistance from the (Siyin) Chins, who were strongly posted in two stockades.

The upper stockade consisted of a log-hut, the sides and roof of which were bullet proof. It was connected with a ravine to the east by a trench about 3 feet wide, 5 feet deep, and 20 yards long. The trench was covered with logs and planks flush with the ground. The hut itself was surrounded at a distance of 5 or 6 yards with rows of sharp-pointed stakes about 3 feet high. The second stockade was in the bed of the ravine. It consisted of a hole about 6 or 9 feet square, from which a trench ran down the ravine. Both trench and hole were covered with logs and planks and were bullet-proof. In both stockades there were a few spaces between the logs through which the Chins fired, and the only way in which they could be carried was by pulling away some of the timber.

At the lower stockade, early in the action, Second-Lieutenant Michel fell mortally wounded. The troops at first endeavoured to turn out the defenders of the upper stockade by firing through the openings between the logs. Before long the covered trench was noticed and pulled open and the Chins in it were shot. After accomplishing this under fire from the Chins in the lower stockade and in the neighbouring jungle, the column retired, burning the village as it went. The Chins, who had suffered heavily, did not follow, being deterred by the loss which they had sustained and kept in check by a small covering party on the heights.

In this action our loss was one officer killed and two (Captain Mayne and Surgeon LeQuesne) severely wounded and three men killed and eight wounded. Surgeon LeQuesne received the Victoria Cross for conspicuous coolness and gallantry displayed whilst dressing Lieutenant Michel's wound.

The village called by us "New Tartan" is known to the Chins as Shellum (Sial-lum), and they give the following account of the fight. Shellum was a settlement in which about 100 persons of the Bweman (Buanman) clan lived. They had built block-houses in case of surprise by the troops, who actually did surprise them, the first intimation they received of their approach was seeing a fox-terrier which was in advance of the troops. The Chins, men, women, and children, all crowded into the block-houses, approximately 80 in number; they had time to get well into their positions as the troops marched past the village before they saw it. The troops then turned and attacked the block-houses. Twenty-nine Chins were killed and 11 wound-

ed. Lyen Kam (Lian Kam) the Bweman Chief, was killed. Dolyin's (Do Lian) youngest brother was killed and Tan Chim, another brother, wounded. Dolyin came out of it all right, but five years later died in the Myingyan jail".

As a result of the above battle the numbers of the Kimlai Clan were greatly depleted by the British troops under Captain Westmoreland as the lives of women and children were not spared.

Telegram from the District Staff Officer, Burma, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief, Commissioner, Burma.— No. 1283, dated the 9th May 1889.

GENERAL FAUNCE wires. Begins : 323C.F., FORT WHITE, May 5th 1889. A new SIYIN village near site of TAITAN, south-east of this, having been seen from Sagyilain by party referred to in my 320C.F., I sent 65 Rifles, Norfolk, 60 Rifles, 42nd, under Major Shepherd, Norfolk, yesterday to destroy new TAITAN which consisted of 15 houses. No opposition till after troops entered village, at bottom of which two very strong stockades, flanking each other and connected by covered way with plank-roof. Siyin Chins held their fire till troops were within 50 yards. THEY STOOD THEIR GROUND AND FOUGHT WITH GREAT PLUCK, eight being killed with the bayonet. In the first stockade their loss was 30 killed and many wounded.

I regret our loss was heavy.

1. Second Lieutenant W. G. Michel,
2. Number 995, Lance Corporal Stephenson, and
3. Number 799, Private W. Lambert, all Norfolk, killed;
4. Number 1489, Naik Sidhbir Thapa, 42nd, dangerously wounded, since dead;
5. Captain O. Mayne, Norfolk, twice wounded, once slightly back of neck, once severely right arm just above elbow-joint;
6. Surgeon F. Le Quesne, Medical Staff, severely, left upper arm;
7. No. 2344, Sepoy Damar Thapa
8. No. 2606, Hastbir Thapa
9. No. 2888, Sepoy Kebar Singh Thapa
10. No. 2979, Sepoy Maubir Thapa, all 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry, severely wounded.
11. No. 2762, Sepoy Poorun Singh Thapa
12. No. 2771, Sepoy Ruthan Singh Thapa
13. No. 3088, Sepoy Nar Singh Thapa, all of 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry, slightly wounded by pangis;
14. No. 1010, Sunkater, cooly-bearer, severely wounded.

The man behaved with great dash and spirit. Every officer speaks in the highest terms of the cool courage and devotion shown by Surgeon Le Quesne in dressing wounded under very heavy fire less than ten yards from the stockade.

Telegram from the Officiating Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, to the District Staff Officer, Burma-No. 947, dated the 10th May 1889.

YOUR No. 1283. Chief Commissioner (Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I.) will be glad to know whether it is to be understood that the attack was successful and that both stockades were taken and the village destroyed.

Telegram from Major F.D. Raikes, C.I.E., to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma-163P, dated the 15th May 1889.

New village of Taitan was destroyed, but one stockade was not taken as Officer Commanding Force considered if there were further casualties column could not return Fort White that night and no arrangements made for camping out. On 9th May 150 Rifles under General Symons went out and destroyed remaining stockade; place found deserted; General Symons relieved General Faunce on 6th May 1889.

Telegram from the District Staff Officer, Burma; to the Chief Secy to the Chief Commissioner, Burma-1488, dated the 15th May 1889.

Following from General Officer Commanding Chin Field Force. Begins: May 10th. Party 150 Rifles, Norfolk, and 42nd Gurkhas, under Brigadier-General Symons visited TAITAN, scene of fight on 4th May, yesterday. Were unopposed though signal shots were fired. Found many graves and several bodies were buried in enemy's trenches. Siyin Chins had repaired stockade which was all completely destroyed and burnt. Ends.

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FIRST BRITISH TREATY WITH THE SIYIN CHIEFS

After the occupation of the Siyin Valley by General White's army the British found the people very defiant.

"Experience had taught us that nothing was attained by merely burning the Siyins' houses. Whist awaiting orders to advance on Falam, the Assistant Political Officer therefore, on Colonel Skene's advice, proposed and received sanction to attempt to gain the surrender of the Siyins through negotiations. The Sagailains, who were living in camps not far from the Yawlu post, were prevailed on to visit the post where Mr. Carey now made his headquarters, and by daily intercourse with the people whom he visited in their camps he induced Mang Lon, the Chief, to surrender on the 17th January (1890). His surrender was important, as being the first, and through him all future negotiations with the Siyin tribe were managed."

The absconded Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham was persuaded by his brother-in-law Chief Mang Lun to return to Lunmun Thuklai in order to negotiate with Mr. Carey, the Political Officer. For evacuating from Thuklai to a hide-out in Khuabel between Vangteh and Saizang he was accused of instigating and giving encouragement to the Vangteh people and the other villagers not yet contacted by the British. To make his future records worse the expected stand was made against the troops led by General Faunce at the approach to Vangteh from Thuklai.

"Meanwhile the Soktes and Kanhow's had tried to persuade the Political Officer that they had no Burman slaves and begged that they might pay a sum of money, a few cane mats and some beeswax to appease the Government, and they asked that we should neither demand their guns nor attack their villages. The negotiations fell through, and on the 9th March General Faunce advanced into the Sokte contry with a large force, accompanied by Major Raikes, to attack the tribe. The first objective was Wunkathe (Vangteh) and Saiyan.

After very difficult marching and in the face of determined opposition Wunkathe (Vangteh) a village of 220 houses, was reached and found to have been fired by its inhabitants. It was completely destroyed together with large stores of grain". — B.S. Carey.

On the occupation of the Siyin Valley some Siyins led by the Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham withdrew westwards into the Sokte country accompanied by some men and women of his clan. For this the Soktes and Kanhaus were accused of "harbouring the Siyins". In a report by Brigadier-General W.P. Symmons, Commanding Chin-Lushai Expeditionary Force, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma No. 1709 dated 1st May 1890 the former says:

"The Kanhow's also by harbouring and feeding the Siyins and purchasing some of their captives have enabled this latter tribe to continue in resistance and keep the field against us. Some of the Kanhow villages, those nearest Fort White, have been burnt and the country laid waste this season. On the 30th April (1890) the Kanhow villages of Wunkathe (Vangteh) Tsayan, Dimpi, Dimlo, and Dabon had surrendered, and the head men of one or two other villages had sent in captives and asked for terms. I consider it probable that the Kanhow tribe as a whole, when they can be properly worked and got at, will prove more tractable than the Siyins. They have about 40 captives, some Burmese, some Manipuri, still in their hands."

General Symons' further reports :

The Siyins and Sagyilains come next under notice as lying south of the Kanhows. The Sagyilains have settled down, have practically re-built their villages, and are on friendly terms with the Political Officer (Sir Bertram S. Carey) at Port White. The Siyins have apparently yielded all round. The headmen without exception have overcome their obstinacy, distrust, and pride and have come in. They have lately given up a number of captives and, as they can procure them, are restoring others daily. This tribe has so long resisted us, and its members are so out of all communal restraint, that it is more than probable that there will be occasional outrages against persons and continued cuttings of the telegraph wire. I am inclined to advocate the extension of the more lenient terms lately given to this tribe. Severe repressive measures, the best of their kind that we could employ, have proved hitherto very unavailing.

The Political Officer at Fort White has been authorized to permit each Siyin village to be built as it complies with our terms. It is a question whether we should not get the remaining captives quicker and have a better grip on the tribe if we permitted them all re-built forthwith."

This was written some months after the first occupation of the Siyin Valley and a part of the Sokte, Kamhau, the Falam tribal area and two years before the Siyin Rebellion of 1892. Besides rebuilding the villages the Chiefs were allowed to retain their chieftainship in their respective Clans. The distribution of the carnelion necklaces symbolised the making of peace between the Queen and the Siyin Chiefs.

The first Political Officer Major Raikes' habit of wholesale burning of villages was not approved by the Chief Commissioner and he resigned in due course. Mr. B.S. Carey reported to the General Officer Commanding at Kan on the 14th December 1889 and proceeded to Fort White the next day to relieve Major D.R. Raikes, C.I.E. as Political Officer of the Northern Chin Hills.

The new Political Officer Mr. Bertram S. Carey tried to make friends with the Siyins he met (the Chiefs having been in hiding) instead of attempting to punish as Raikes had suggested.

Some extracts from the first report he sent to the General Officer Commanding the Chin-Lushai Expeditionary Force dated the 7th May 1890 speak for themselves :

"My charge comprised the Siyin and Kanhaw tribes, and my task consisted of reducing these tribes to law and order, procuring the submission of the Chiefs, and recovering some two hundred captives who, from time to time during the last 50 years, had been raided from the Kale State, the Kubo Valley, the Upper Chindwin, and Manipur.

"I arrived at Fort White on the 23rd December 1889 and was immediately laid up with fever. A week later, and during my convalescence, I wished to read up records and find out the antecedents of the Chins, but was much astonished to discover that my predecessor had left behind him no records, no statements, and only four or five printed reports.

"After conversing with various officers and learning what had taken place in the early part of the year I noted two most important facts :

- (1) that in 1888-89 the Siyins and Kanhaws had fought, had been soundly thrashed, and driven all over the hills (many Siyins resisted from the Sokte areas) and that the Siyin tribe had

lost every village in their country and the Kanhaws no less than seventeen villages, and yet this wholesale burning and destruction was followed by no satisfactory results; not a single Chief had surrendered, and the tribes were as defiant in May 1880 as in December 1889;

- (2) that I, to whom the troops looked for information, who had to get into touch with the people, had not a single Chin on my side.

"I at once decided that wholesale burning must cease until at least I had some clan on my side, which I could use as a means of communication between myself and the Chins, and also that it was most necessary to start a bazaar where troops might procure fowls and eggs, as there was fever amongst the men and no eggs and fowls to help them to regain strength. One mile and a half from the Sagyalain encampment the Yawlu outpost was built and garrisoned, and here I made my headquarters mixing daily with the Sagyalains and gradually dispersing their misgivings and fears. One by one the headmen ventured to interview me and eventually on the 17th January 1890 the Chief of the clan (Mang Lun) surrendered.

"I at once set the Chief to work on the Mwebingyi and Siyin Chiefs. I was in hopes that he could induce them to surrender, because the Siyins and Sagyalains are blood relatives (Chief Mang Lun is a brother-in-law of the Thuklai Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham) and the Mwebingyi people in bygone days had harboured the Sagyalain Chief's grandfather when he was in trouble.

"After reflecting that last year's active operations had not brought the Siyins to terms, and remembering that the Siyins, although in no way subordinate to the Tashons, yet have great respect for them, and that the Tashons aided and abetted the Siyins in resisting General Faunce's advance into the Siyin country, I concluded that it was but natural that the Siyins wished to follow the Tashon lead, whatever it might be, and I decided that no villages should be attacked until the conclusion of the Tashon march.

"At this time also from various sources I gathered that a number of Kanhaws were immigrating into the Kuki Hills and I requested that the Political Agent, Manipur, might be instructed to arrest and send me the Chiefs and drive back the immigrants into the Kanhaw country.

"I sent the Sagyalain Chief (Mang Lun) to the village (Mualbem) to inform the Chief of my advent and I started out on the 1st March with a column under the Command of Colonel Skene, D.S.O., the headmen of Dabon and Sagyalain leading the way.

"Whilst I was destroying the pestilential haunts of Tanya, Montok, and Pimpi, the Siyins were gradually showing signs of fulfilling their promises of surrender and the Bwemans and Toklaings were sending in captives to Fort White."

The Sagyalain Chief Mang Lun persuaded all the Siyin Chiefs to come out in the open to talk terms with the new Political Officer Mr. B.S. Carey. He also succeeded in persuading his brother-in-law Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun Thuklai to return to Lunmun from Khuabel where the latter's wife died during the evacuation. With the recommendation of Chief Mang Lun in spite of his evacuation and further resistance from outside the Siyin valley he was retained as the Lunmun Chief and was a recipient of one of the four neckerchiefs given in token of peace between

Queen Victoria and three other Siyin Chiefs. The names of the five then outstanding Siyin Chiefs who were required to take the Oath of Allegiance to Queen Victoria as recorded by Subedar Mang Pum of Khuasak Kuntong and my father were as follows :

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. CHIEF KHUP PAU | Chief of Khuasak, Pimpi |
| 2. CHIEF THUK KHAM | Chief of Lunmun (Thuklai), Zo, and Bel-lei. |
| 3. CHIEF KAM LAM | Chief of Sumniang (Thuklai), Pumva and Sheak. |
| 4. CHIEF PAU KHAI | Chief of Buanman, Voklak, Ngaldi, Taitan. |
| 5. CHIEF MANG LUN | Chief of Sagyilain. |

The terms of the treaty were recorded by Sir Bertram S. Carey as follows :

"The Sagyilains who were working grandly had so far induced the Bweman, Tokhlaing, Wankathe, Sayan, and other Chiefs to surrender. The Siyin Chief, the Pimpi Chief, the Dimlo Chief, and other Chiefs surrendered during the first two weeks in April and eventually on the 17th April Aung Paw, the arch scoundrel of these hills and Chief of Tanya, surrendered.

All the Siyin Chiefs had now surrendered and it was necessary to make them comply with terms.

On the 24th April 1890 I held a large meeting at which the Chiefs of all the Siyin clans were present. I read out and explained the Chief Commissioner's terms promising them that I would not destroy their houses or fire on them provided that they would bind themselves not to ambush troops, not to cut wire, or destroy roads.

All the Chiefs swore to abide by these terms.

I explained to the Chiefs that I could hold out no hope of their rebuilding until I recovered the slaves. I demanded the return of the telegraph wire which had been recently cut under pain of having two settlements destroyed. I also demanded the return of the two Kalemio sepoy's heads.

The same day, being satisfied that the Tokhlaings (Thuklai) had complied with terms, I accepted their surrender and gave them permission to rebuild their village. (Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun Thuklai brought back the mortal remains of his wife to Bel-lei and not to Lunmun). A few days later three different villages (Tartan, Shwimpi, and Montok) surrendered telegraph wire they had recently cut, and the Montok and Bweman villagers gave up both the sepoy's heads.

The month of May had now arrived and I was able to wire to the General that all the Siyin Chiefs had surrendered and that they had agreed to the terms imposed by the Chief Commissioner.

This important treaty between Sir Bertram Carey on behalf of Queen Victoria and the above five Siyin Chiefs on behalf of all the Siyins was recalled when the time came for the British authorities in the Chin Hills to ask for assistance to fight the Japanese imperial army when the latter arrived in Burma.

Even after the Valley was occupied and garrisoned with troops B.S. Carey further writes that the Siyins were not afraid.

"We have seen that the burning of villages and the driving of the inhabitants from their homes failed to bring the Siyins humbled to our feet in the early part of 1889, and should my policy, that of handling the tribe with a lighter hand (which has led the Siyin Chiefs to surrender and comply with terms), prove to be inadequate to keep them to their promises, then we must look around for a new method of taming the Chin.

In my opinion there is but one method which will prove successful and that is the construction of several small posts in the hills and the employing of hillmen only; men whose mode of fighting is similar to that of the Chin.

"At present there are but two posts in the Siyin country (Fort White and the Ridge), and as the Chins will no longer stand and fight as they did at Siyin and Tartan in 1889, the troops move out in large columns to hunt for them, leaving the post in daytime and encumbered with a cooly corps. The Chins who proceed to lay ambushes along the line of march, the troops are fired into and probably lose a man or two; they fight their way up the khud, and eventually arrive at the objective only to find that all the goods and chattel have been carried off, and the houses, still smouldering, having been fired by the Chins. This sort of thing continues day after day, the enemy ambushes the troops, the troops never see the enemy, and never get any satisfaction.

I suggested that to drive the Chin into submission there should be six posts in the country and three movable columns. Let these posts be garrisoned with the hillmen only, such as Gurkhas, Affridis, and Pathans, men who have been taught guerilla warfare from their childhood, men who require no guides, no daylight, and no transport; let these men loose in small parties, day and night, let them work according to that style of fighting which can only be successful with a foe who lives in mountains and never gives the troops a chance to see him."

Siyins not afraid of the British.

"At the present time the Siyins have surrendered, but they are not really afraid of us, and this is due to the fact that we only travel by paths, that we do not know the country as we should, that we never night march, and that we move about in large columns hampered by coolies and therefore never surprise the Chins."

I found the above admission of the Civilian Officer very interesting. I found it surprising that upon the beginning of 1939 and even in 1942 during the second world war the British method of fighting an enemy in the Chin Hills had not yet changed. The British troops came down the Chin Hill paths in numbers, in motor cars on motor roads. The Japanese troops had few motor cars, little petrol, very few rations arms or ammunition. After the Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills I found out that some of their army intelligence people had visited Tiddim, the British headquarters almost any time they liked. They came by way of the streams and the ranges connected with the Kale-Kabaw valleys. They followed physical maps and not man-made paths. Sentries were all over the approaches from the plains to the Chin Hills but unfortunately they guarded only footpaths and motor roads. In some cases where the Siyin and Sukte Levies were posted they guarded the likely enemy paths and it was at these gates

that they used to encounter Japanese patrols. But for the big force, jeeps could not go to such places. It was a pity that this young officer's self criticism in 1890 went unheeded in 1939-45.

Reports from General Symons and B. S. Carey were submitted by J. E. Bridges, Esqr. C. S. Officiating Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Rangoon to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department on the 27th June 1890 :

"A letter from Mr. Carey describing the operations undertaken from Fort White during the same period is also submitted. This young officer's letter contains much that is of interest and value, although some of his suggestions have been made without sufficient consideration.

During these operations very little progress was made towards coming to an understanding with the tribes in the north of the Chin country. All our advances or demands were met with an obstinate refusal, which led the Chief Commissioner at one time to doubt whether the tribes fully understood the terms with which they were asked to comply. As a consequence of their opposition it became necessary to attack and punish them, and this work was thoroughly done at the cost of much labour and of not a few lives by the troops under General Faunce's command. All the villages of the Siyin tribes were destroyed and much of their stores of grain was taken or rendered useless. The Kanhaws alone made a partial and insincere submission while the Siyins continued to resist and to refuse all dealings with us up to the end. After the weather compelled us to close active operations Fort White was rationed and, along with the posts on its line of communication with Kalembo, was held throughout the year. The Siyins on more than one occasion attacked the Fort and no progress was made towards the establishment of friendly relations with them. Meanwhile suggestions had been laid before the Government for dealing with the refractory Chins in a strong and conclusive manner. It was arranged that the garrison of Fort White should deal with the tribes, namely, the Kanhaws and Siyins, in their neighbourhood, while a strong column should be sent from a base on the Myittha river and should march through the Baungshe country to attack the Tashons.

In drawing the attention of the Government of India to the bloodless character of General Symon's campaign, the Chief Commissioner desires to guard against the supposition that he wishes to cast blame on the officers who conducted the operations in the preceding season. There can be no doubt that the severe punishment inflicted on the Kanhaws and Siyins by General Faunce had a good deal to do with the quiet submission of the Tashon and Baungshe tribes to General Symons. It is hardly to be believed that if the Tashons and Baungshe had not witnessed this exhibition of our power to punish, they would have surrendered without greater attempt at resistance.

In the north, the tribes round Fort White have practically submitted. The Siyins have given up the greater number of their captives. They have been informed by the Chief Commissioner's orders that we shall not attack them or injure their property provided that they abstain from attacking our people and from cutting the telegraph wire. They have accepted these terms and, except as regards cutting the wire, have complied with them".

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CHIEF THUK KHAM OF LUNMUN AND BEL-LEI

(Grandfather)

His uncle L. Vum Hau died prematurely just after marrying Pi Za Ngiak, daughter of Lophei Chief Pu Lua Thuam and Pi Tong Dim. Chief Thuk Kham was too young to consummate the marriage and they separated. Pi Za Ngiak was in her mother's womb when she was taken prisoner by the Falams at the invasion of Lophei. Her mother was the only Siyin lady who performed the highest ceremonial festival Ton on two occasions. She was also nicknamed Pi Sei on account of her unusual intelligence. As the wife of the Lophei Chief the enemy kept her to be exchanged with prisoners and goods.

My grandfather Chief Thuk Kham married Pi Tuang Tiin. She died at Khawbeel between Vangteh and Saizang during the evacuation from Thuklai on the eve of the British occupation under the direct command of Major General (later Field Marshal) Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B. He had succeeded Major General Sir Harry Prendergast in the Upper Burma Command and with him he was jointly responsible for the capture of King Thibaw, the last king of Burma. Chief Thuk Kham told his clansmen that General White and his soldiers would have to return to their country when the rations they had brought with them were exhausted. As a result he refused to return to meet General White at Maitung Thuklai where the latter built a stockade right in upper Thuklai and even renamed it Fort White. When my grandmother took ill in the evacuation village my uncles entreated them to come back but my grandfather refused. My grandmother died in unusual surroundings in the evacuation village at Khawbeel in the presence of only a handful of our relatives. My granduncle, acting Chief Hau Vum, who attached himself to Chief Mang Lun, his brother-in-law, at Sagyilain came to Khawbeel on receipt of the news of his sister-in-law's death. All our acquired relatives in Vangteh whom our forefathers had looked after in their periods of need kindly looked after them as best as they could. They were all allowed to utilise the necessary provisions from the stocks hidden on account of the British approach. (At the time of my grandmother's death my father had one Hapi (molar) tooth. From this the age of my father was estimated). Although his wife was sick Chief Thuk Kham organised the defence of Vangteh from his hide-out and for this added insult the new occupation authorities declined to honour his younger brother's succession to the Lunmun chieftainship. He nevertheless resumed his Chieftainship of Bel-Lei on his return from Khawbeel and performed the customary funeral of his wife.

Acting Chief Hau Vum and his son Kam Pum were attached to Chief Mang Lun the popular Sagyilain (Sakhiling) Chief, who had found favour with Sir Bertram Carey. The British authorities thought that one Chief was sufficient for the Lunmuns and Sumniangs. The Sumniang chief called on the British first whereas Chief Thuk Kham of the Lunmuns still resisted from his hideout across the Vangteh and would not submit to the British invaders. He was also getting on in years. Meanwhile, the Sumniang chieftainship changed hands in due course on account of criminal offences. The Lunmuns sat court at Hau Vum's house and decided their own case and appealed to the local government for the restoration of the Chieftainship as late as 1935 when Colonel L. E. Burne CIE CBE IA was the deputy commissioner of the Chin Hills. He admitted the shortcomings of the first British civil authorities in not restoring the traditional

chieftainship to the Lunmuns but he explained that the latest policy of the local government had been to amalgamate as many chieftainships together for administrative expediency. When the Thuklai chief acted as a Levy Company commander or when the Japanese appointed men left my father was appointed as the Acting Chief of Thuklai. He was a Headmaster as well as an ordained Minister and he never personally aspired to the office of the Chief which had lost its meaning since the occupation. With the independence of Burma and the advent of social democracy chieftainship no longer found favour with the public and I personally helped to draft the rule by elected councils at different stages during the time of the last deputy commissioner of the Chin Hills, Colonel Noel Stevenson even in jungle headquarters on the eve of the Japanese occupation of the Chin Hills. The system was introduced after the reoccupation of Burma by me when I became Governor's Counsellor.

Chief Pu Thuk Kham was the eldest son of Chief Lun Kam of Lunmun who was also a Founder of Mualnuam near Kalembo. Chief Lun Kam and other founders of Mualnuam were assassinated at Kale in 1867 (1228BE).

Thuk Kham was named after Mang Thuk, the elder brother of his grandfather Chief Lai Phut Thuam. Thuk Kham's youngest uncle Lun Vum Hau died before he had any child with his wife Za Ngiak, daughter of Chief Luathuam of Lophei and Pi Tong Dim Kimlai. Pi Tong Dim was the only Siyin lady who ever performed the highest ceremonial festival *Ton on* two occasions. She was also nicknamed *Pi Sei* on account of her unusual intelligence. At the destruction of Lophei the Chief's wife Pi Tong Dim was taken prisoner by the enemy. Pi Za Ngiak (Mrs Vum Hau) was already in her womb when captured. As the wife of the Lophei Chief, envoys were sent to Falam to redeem her and she was released in return for slaves and goods.

On the premature death of Pu Vum Hau, Chief Lun Kam persuaded his young son Thuk Kham to marry his uncle's noble widow Pi Za Ngiak. This was not customary but Pi Za Ngiak came from a very well known noble family and she was a charming lady.

There were other rare instances of such marriages among the frontier peoples of Burma. G. E. Harvey records "Married his father's queen, a frequent occurrence among the kings of Indo-China. Kachins marry their stepmothers. In the same way Cidipous married his mother, and Anglo-Saxon kings of England married their stepmothers as a matter of course; as late as the eleventh century Knut married the elderly widow of Aelthred whom he had ousted. The reason was throughout the same; to marry the dowager strengthened a claimant's title. She was the queen bee, the great mother of the tribe. Sometimes she could sting, as in the case of the Lady Shin Bo-me, of noble birth, who was queen to five chiefs of Ava in succession".

Almost all the Siyin Chieftainships especially ours were intertwined by intermarriages. We exchange brides with the Limkhai family; we took brides from the Lophei Kimlai and the Buanman Kimlai family. Our women were given in marriage to the Khuasak family. Up to the turn of the century it was forbidden to marry a bride belonging to one's own village on account of the fact that each main village was settled by a single family Clan. The first persons to get married to cousins in the same Clan were my cousins Khai Khup, Thang Tun and On Thang.

The Siyin Chiefs and for that matter all the Chin Chiefs were never under foreign sovereignty and they all wielded the powers of kings and monarchs from time immemorial. They waged war

any time they chose and kept any number of slaves in their own house or in other distant villages collecting feudal levies as the occasion demanded. These feudal allies or in a few cases slaves were acquired in various ways.

Feudal allies were acquired in times when strangers requested food or clothings from the richer feudal lords in times of war, defeated or oppressed persons came to the stronger lords for protection and alliance; the third category consisted of slaves who were actually prisoners of war but who were never redeemed. Among the acquired allies of Chief Phut Thuam and Chief Lun Kam, many remained loyal and in times of need they rendered help to one another. With these relatives our forefathers lived in perfect harmony treating each other like blood relations. A case in point was when my grandfather Chief Thuk Kham had to flee from Lunmun on the arrival of Generals White and Faunce into the Siyin Valley. Our relatives in Vangteh not only built a hide out for the Lunmun Chief and family but also assisted in the preliminary funeral rites of my grandmother who died in the evacuation camp beyond Vangteh.

Sir Bertram Carey, KCIE records the position of Siyin Chiefs as follows: "The Kuki race is characterized by its respect for birth, and, as the Chin are but a family of that race, we find in them a natural reverence for him who by right of birth is Chief of the tribe, or clan, or family. The Chief may be wanting in qualifications and there may be many of other families his superior in ability; but, unless he is physically or mentally quite unfit for his position, there is no danger of his being supplanted, and the usual course is for elders and advisers to assist him in his rule.

"The position of the Chin Chief in regard to the people is very similar to that of a feudal Baron. The Chief is Lord of the soil and his freeman hold it as his tenants and pay him tithes, whilst they in common with the slaves are bound to carry arms against all his enemies. If a fugitive or an outcast takes refuge in a village, he pledges himself as vassal or slave of his protector. We found that the Siyin and Sokte Chiefs in particular were in a similar position to the Barons of old who ruled their tenants and were subordinate, both they and their dependents, to the King. The Chiefs are lords of the soil within their boundaries, and, if any aliens wish to enter a Chief's territory and work his land, they must pay him the customary tithes. A Chief, beside the tithes which he receives as lords of the soil, receives tribute from tribes, villages, or families which he has conquered. Customs demands that immigrants should continue to recognize the head of their clan by paying him tribute, and at the same time should pay tithes to the lord of the foreign soil which they work. When a Chief accepts tribute and tithes, he in return guarantees protection to his tenants and dependents. Tribute usually takes the form of mithun and other cattle. Tithes not only include a certain proportion of the grain crop, but also a portion of the increase of livestock. Such as one out of a litter of pigs, two puppies yearly, and very occasionally mithun. In some parts the tithes include not only a portion of the crop and a share of the increase of livestock, but also a hind leg of every animal killed at a feast and a hind and front leg of every wild animal shot or trapped. In the Siyin tribe each village recognized but one Chief, who receives his tithes and administers his clan irrespective of all outside interference. When a community is examined regarding the amount of tithes and tribute which it pays, it will transpire that seldom do two households pay precisely the same amounts to the same Chiefs, and it is no uncommon thing for a man to say: "I pay tribute to the Chief of the Clan and I pay tithes to the lord of the soil, who is not the Chief of my clan; in common with my particular village I pay tribute to a

Chief who conquered us 15 years ago; I pay compensation yearly to the sons of a man whom my father killed many years ago, and also a fee to the grandson of the man whose slave my grandfather was".

The Chiefs are elected to the council by the people, but as a general rule they belong to the old families, and only when a common man is particularly conspicuous as a soldier, a diplomat, or as a rich merchant, is he promoted to the council. The Tashons say that a man must have slain another before he can ascend to the council. If this is a fact, there must have been many cold-blooded murders committed as the Tashons are not warriors. Occasionally an influential man or strong character rebels against his lawful Chief, leaves and founds with his immediate relatives his own village: if he is strong enough, he may refuse to recognize any one's overlordship, but, if he is weak, he will secure his protection by paying tribute and acknowledging allegiance to some powerful neighbouring Chief.

In the Northern Hills a Chief, when he becomes too old to lead the clan on raids, naturally leaves these arduous duties to his sons, but he does not abdicate in his son's favour, and he continues to the end as the head of the clan. It is a custom for no man in the north to eat the liver of any animal whilst his father is alive as it is deemed disrespectful to do so."

My great great grandfather Chief Lai PHUT THUAM had three children with his ninth wife Pi Tuang Ngiak Limkhai. His son Chief Tun LUN KAM married the sister of his namesake Lunkam Kuntong of Khuasak. Tuang Ngiak's name was given to Thuk Kham's younger sister Tuang NGIAK DIM. He founded Mualnuam near Nansaungpu but was massacred together with his co-founders of the town. His daughter Tingh Hau was taken prisoner of war and was married to Myothugyi U Aung Gaung of Indin. My grandfather persuaded her to return to the Siyin Valley but she declined saying that she was happy where she was. She died in Indin after the British occupation of the Kale Valley and the Siyin Valley. Chief Thuk Kham's youngest brother Pu Hau Vum married Pi Mang Vung, the youngest sister of the famous Sakhiling Chief Mang Lun who was awarded the Silver Mounted Dah by the Viceroy of India. Pu Kam Khai married Pi Suakting Limkhai, daughter of Hanmang, whose sister was Tuang Ngiak (Mrs Phut Thuam). Kam Khai's son Kam Pun married Lam Awi of Limkhai. These three cases were what they called "following" the aunt. Among the living sons and daughters of grandfather Chief Thuk Kham, the second daughter Kam Vung married Tuang On Thatmun of Theizang and Fort White. The fifth daughter, my aunt Dim Khaw Ting was married to the Reverend Saya Thuam Hang Tongseal who was the first Christian convert in the Chin Hills. The sixth daughter Vung Mang married Lian Suak Limkhai, heir of the Liangnuai House and overlord of Chief Hau Chin Khup, KSM of the Kamhau tribal area. The seventh child Khai Kam died in infancy. The eighth child and son Mi ZA KHUP who was my father was married to Ciang Zam, daughter of Lophei Chief Man Suang.

CHIEF THUK KHAM OF BEL-LEI AND SOKTE CHIEFS

The Sukte Chiefs and envoys paid a formal visit on the Lunmuns at the house of Chief Thuk Kham when the Lunmuns resided at Bel-Lei. Chief Thuk Kham killed one buffalo and renewed their friendship, a treaty of which was executed during the time of Chief Phut Thuam. The following songs are the Ai-lawng-la songs exchanged between the two friendly parties.

1. A. Do ti leng lan, ka phung hi te leng ve tia
Zangsi len vui, a kai zong lung sik bong
B. Hau thin lai beel bang kang e, kuang zut ing nge
A khu len vui in a kai ngaw ngaw hi
Ailawngla between Pu Thuk Kham and Pu Za Pau
2. A. Thuam bang ka do ka lal tang ka dai kiang zam
Ka len na po sei no kei miim phung hi
B. Sen ah ih Pu Pa khan ah ei ma khan ah
Sil puansil bang ki huai leang ti sa hi
Pa Thang Awn thuk kik na — Za Khup
3. A. Ka nuai ah zinleang hong dong zi lai tong eh
Ka tungah Pathian hong dong zi lai long
B. Ka pheiphung la tawl zo eh ka banzal la
Ai ka hi le telsa bang hong hawm in
Sukte Pu Za Pau ih Lunmun Pu Thuk Kham le ah
be te Bel-Lei khua ah ah sak — Za Khup
4. A. Sen Pu Pa ma bang pat sa, mei bang pe na
Phung nong huai na tawl na tawi na leu tu
B. Thin thu zai la le lam la za tam tu nan
Vang khua vai pi hong len tu hong muang ingh
Lunmun Mangzong mi U Kam Hang thuk kik na
Ailawng la — Za Khup

SONGS DEDICATED TO CHIEF PU THUK KHAM OF BEL-LEI BY PA AM THANG

1. A. Ka sing mawng bang peem te awng nge
Ka hem len puan daw te awng
B. Ka hem len puan daw te awng nge
Ma lo ma bang am awng gne
2. A. Tun mun inn leh, zuah ngam lo
Ka tan nu ah
Thang tiang vaimang, katang zong
Lung sik bong
B. Sau nunnuam le, ka ngai teng
Tuang nu siah nge
Mual heam ka lung ngai te mun
Tuang tung ingh
3. A. Sawm taang tho thei
Lunmun hi zia
Mi ti peu
Sumniang hi
B. Zangta sawm sial
Na haw hawl na
Thaang nen tuang lam
Ah khua len
Vui kai bangh
4. A. Mun inn ngam lo
Tan ingh nge
Siing khua mawng
Bang peem ingh
B. Ka thei lo Sing
Tun nu mun ah
Ka beng nam
Laang bang ngangh
5. A. Hau awng nge na thinthu le
Na zai la ah
Sol tha nuai ah
Ka tun maang
Ze zum hi

After I was deprived
Of my parental house and lands
I did not repent
To migrate to different land
Leaving behind my home
And loved ones
I reached the mansion of longed for
friends beyond the hills

The reapers of harvests
Are the Lunmuns
The ordinary persons
Are the Sumniangs
Caused by innumerable
Drivings of cattle herds
Roads leading
To your mansion
Are cloudy dust

Deprived of house
and fields
I travelled onward
like spreading tree
At the mansion
of foreign lord
I rested
my baskets

Your lordly attitude
and behaviour
Towards me
Gave us shame
Under the moon

Pa Am Thang, Tedim pan Kam Hau nawh ciang Sizang hong
tu ah, Bel-Lei ah hong peam na la — Za Khup

8. Dawi ai biak bang
ZangSi ngual
Na bia na leh
Sil puan thua bang
Phin le khu
Khu thiam hi

Provided that you respect
Our Siyin friends
As in deity worship
Like well knitted shawl
Their statesmanship
is supreme

"I pan 5 dong (5A Kamhau a tu sim ngawl) Pa Am Thang ih Bel-Lei Hausa Pa Thuk Kham ah phua hi. "Pa Am Thang te Tiddim pan Bel-Lei khu hong tu in hong tai hi. Ka pa in lawi khat ngaw hi. Ah ma te to te tak, En Suang te le Hautong teng la Khawsak khu a peam siat hi. Mangzong teng, Thawm te teng le Pum Kam pa te sim ngawl Laiteng miteng Bel-Lei khu a teeng hi. Am Thang te ah lo thaw na tu sia ka Pa in Vualzang Taam be pa sak hi. Khat vei tiang in Sukte pu Kam Hau in hong sam kik a Tedim khu zuan kik hi. Tuak pan Pawi khu Tinbua tu hi. A tung a la te Bel-Lei khu ah ah phua la veu ah hi hi. — Za Khup".

CHIEFS THUK AND HAU VUM

During the chieftainship of Thuk Kham of Lunmun Treaties of alliance were made between the Soktes and Lunmuns. The Soktes came to Chief Thuk Kham's house whereas the Lunmuns went to Chief Khan Thuam's house.

Long after the enforced amalgamation of the Lunmun and Sumniang chieftainship into one by the British the Lunmuns met and decided the Lunmun cases in Hau Vum's house. One of the last important discussions at Lunmun Chief Hau Vum's house was about the possibility of marriage between bachelors and spinsters belonging to one *Phung* clan of the same village. Chief Hau Vum recorded the said case which had no precedence in a song dedicated to it: Some young bachelors like brother Khai Khup decided to marry within the Thuklai clan:

Pu pa pat ngawl la mei bang ten
Phung taw tuah tu von ten munglo
Bang tum ze

Phung lai zawn ngel meibang tuah tu
Za ta pau lan, al bang man na
Tu ti zia

Pu Hau Vum la hi. Phung khop hawm lai ah ih Inn
veu ah hi thu ki vai hawm tawn tung hi. — Za Khup

Which was not started by forebears
but avoided like pine torch
Relatives intend to introduce
marriage within own clan

Others predict that
such unison
would bring misfortune

This is father Hau Vum's song: When discussions about the possibility of marriage between own clanspeople were made it was always done in our house
— Za Khup

When the British occupied the Chin Hills the new administrators forcibly amalgamated some clans which looked after their own affairs through their own respective Chiefs and Headmen. Not only that, they introduced the payment of dues or labour by the villagers to the newly appointed Chiefs, which was never done by any Siyin Chiefs before. All clans lived together and the question of giving dues to the Chief of the Clan never arose before the British invasion.

The Siyins as usual from time immemorial called a council meeting and killed a mythun at Lamnuai house. On that day Lunmun Chief Thuk Kham acted as the ceremonial priest to administer the communal oath and said: "Never were dues levied between our own Siyin kinsmen and brothers". He then ceremoniously twisted the mythun tail and continued "Any one who attempts to levy dues amongst our own kith and kin shall drop (die) "fall like hair from the mythun tail" and thus saying extracted the hair by rubbing the tail in order that the hair from the mythun tail would literally drop. The Chief then next hit every Chief and councillor present with the mythun tail in order that they would be affected by their own actions.

Pu Kam Hang Lunmun put the new system which was considered a gross injustice into a song in 1900:

Tu lai thin thu len na kawt sang zaw eh
Zang si ngual awng, na ki awi
Pet ziam mawng

Tun sang zuah sang do zuah pa na muang zaw ah,
Ba naam tingh

Some recent intentions are higher than the circular hills
Fellow Siyins do you think
It proper

You appear to put more trust in the enemy
than your parents
Which does not have consent of the Gods
I am afraid that misfortune may follow.

— o —

CHIEF HAU VUM

Hau Vum was the youngest son and child of Chief Lun Kam. Hau Vum was named after his uncle Vum Hau, thus Vum Hau Vum. The Siyin use only the last name of the person after who he is named. It becomes the first name. The eldest children of his eldest brother Chief Thuk Kham were all girls and therefore Kam Khai and Hau Vum had to assist the Chief in his duties. Kam Khai, the middle brother, died after having a son Kam Pum. Hau Vum was married to Miss Mang Vung, the sister of the famous Limkhai (Sagyilain) Chief Mang Lun.

As the eldest son, I should have been ordinarily named after my paternal grandfather, Chief Thuk Kham. But he was dead at the time and there was Chief Hau Vum who had become Pa to my parents. Moreover, he had no child of his own and he had suffered political imprisonment in order to save the independence of the Clan and Chieftainship from foreign intervention. I was thus named after my granduncle whom we called Grandpa, Hau Vum Ko Hau. His nephew, the acting Chief Kam Pum also died without issue and I inherited the House. I inherited the necklaces of Chief Hau Vum as well as those of his wife, Pi Mang Vung. Pu Hau Vum was said to take after his grandfather Chief Pu Phut Thum in height as well as in physical prowess. Pu Hau Vum was about 5 feet 7 inches in height. He was a big and hefty man. He was attributed to have killed seven enemies and captured one. The captured one was ransomed for ninehundred rupees, two flint lock guns, one gong, twenty buffaloes and one blanket.

At the time of the British invasion of the Chin Hills Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun was advanced in years but could dispense guidance to the Clan fighters mostly his brothers and cousins. Chief Hau Vum and Kam Pum remained behind in the Siyin Valley when Chief Thuk Kham withdrew to Vangteh with his wife and son. When, however, General White erected his fort in Lunmun itself Chief Hau Vum resided in the unoccupied lower Siyin Valley with his brother-in-law Chief Mang Lun. From there, they looked after the interests of the Lunmun Clan, and continued to resist the new invaders whenever and wherever they could. When none of the Lunmun Chiefs volunteered to report to the British authorities they were put on the black list.

Chief Thuk Kham, however, returned to Bel-Lei from Vangteh and he was formally reinstated as Lunmun Chief by Brigadier-General Wolseley. However, his brothers, and nephews continued to rebel against the British and in due course even Chief Hau Vum and his nephew Kam Pum were exiled as political prisoners to Kindat jail and thence to the Myingyan Jail for four years respectively.

On return from jails they continued to act as joint Chiefs of Lunmun although they were not issued with British government appointment orders. The Lunmun Clan continued to recognise their own Chiefs. The last appeal for official recognition was sent to the local Government as late as 1935 just before the second world war.

PI TINGH HAU, MYOTHUGYI KADAW OF INDIN

A	Miim bang piang na	I long for my birth place
	Zangsi Vangkhuah	The Siyin Valley ;
	Ngai sing nge	I long for my place
	Kil bang khan na	where I grew up
	Zaang lei daw tam	The Kale Valley ;
	Ngai sing nge	I cannot at times
B	Pu Von lang lam	go to sleep
	sialna leh	As I discern
	Lam tam sial na	My forbears abode
	Lai khun tung phai-mit	where wealth are stocked
	Ka sing maw bul hi-Ting Hau Tunngo	in heaps.

"This song was composed by my aunt Ni TINGH HAU who was taken prisoner on the day of the Mualnuam massacre. As the Mualnuam Chief Lun Kam's daughter, the Myothugyi of Indin (Ang Tang) U Aung Gaung married her. My father Thuk Kham who was then Chief of Bel-Lei said 'I must redeem my sister's life'. So saying he searched for a very beautiful girl. He found such a girl in Ting Vaak later to become the grandmother of Vum Do. She was really beautiful. My father Thuk Kham, Pa Kam Khai and Pa Hau Vum, accompanied by U Thuam Kham took Ting Vaak down to Kale Valley to Indin Myo to redeem Ni Tingh Hau but she had become Myothugyi Kaddaw. Ni (Auntie) Tingh Hau said to her brothers 'If I want to come home there is no need to redeem me. It is up to me. Please do not feel sad ; my brothers. We are happy here with our wealth and properties and we are enjoying life immensely. On the other hand all my male contemporaries at home would have got married'".

She made a statement on a family affair.

"On one point ; provided Han Mang's mother's five strings of necklaces and grandfather's main necklace are returned there should be no quarrel. It is better to be on good terms than on bad terms among relatives. Tomorrow depart in peace early under the mist."

On arrival at home Pa Kam Khai got sores over the whole body and died soon after. He was believed to have been bewitched at Indin.

Father Thuk Kham's song number 7 is composed on that account :

Ka tuai lian nu	I wanted to see for
Mel ah mang sa	one day
Ni khat mel	My daughter
Mu nuam ing nge	Who had disappeared.
Zang mang thiam thil	The cleverness
Ah daw ai paw	Of plains people
a thin len mel in	Had affected my brother
mung nge ti	
= By Za Khup Tunngo	

After her capture from Mualnuam another fellow prisoner Han Kip alias Aung Paw wished to marry Pi Tingh Hau also. He thus became a rival of the Myothugyi of Indin.

The Chin Hills Gazetteer recorded the story as follows : " He (Aung Paw alias Han Kip) was then sold to Maung Kyaw Nya, brother of the then Thugyi of Sihaung, who treated him as a son and placed him in a pongyi kyaung to be taught and where he wore the yellow robe. When he left the kyaung he had the misfortune to wish to marry the same girl as the then Indin Thugyi Maung Aung Gaung, and so the thugyi tried to get him into trouble, with the result that he returned to the Chin Hills and the Thugyi married the girl.

Aung Paw lived in Koset and took his revenge by guiding a raiding party against Indin, which, however, failed to destroy the village. Aung Paw nevertheless had revenge as he raided the plains incessantly and he was one of our most formidable foes in 1888, 1889 and 1890, and again in 1892. He is now disarmed and harmless and is getting too old to care for continuing his past feuds with Burma."

C. H. Gazetteer, pp. 131.

CHIEF LUN KAM of MUITUNG and MUALNUAM

Chief Pu Lun Kam was the eldest son of Chief Phut Thuam of Lunmun Muitung. He was named after the eldest granduncle Tun Lun, the elder brother of Chief Lai Phut. Chief Lun Kam was married to Hang Vung, a sister of Lunkam Kuntong, and daughter of Pu Zong Tuang of Khuasak. Chief Lun Kam's Muitung provides the best natural defence fort in the Siyin Valley; the approach of the enemy could be seen right from Muitung and commands a bird's eye view of the whole Siyin Valley. Incidentally two armies, the British under Field Marshal White who named it Fort White and the advanced Japanese imperial troops under General Yanagida first occupied Muitung as the first permanent fort in the Chin Hills.

After the destruction of Khawsak, most of the Siyins moved to Muitung (Lunmun Thuklai) for impregnable collective defence. From there they waged more local wars.

"After the destruction of Koset (Khuasak) the Twantaks moved to Mwiton (Muitung, Chiefs Lun Kam and Thuk Kham Lunmun) of Thuklai, and settled down with the Toklaings. They formed a large village and having well fortified it they considered themselves able to resist any army which might be sent against them. They therefore refused to pay tribute to Falam and furthermore attacked and destroyed the outlying Tashon villages of Kowtan (Khautan) Paiyal (Phaizawl), Lonhaw (Lunghaw) and Shimyaul (Simzawl) carrying off many captives; they also attacked Bwelka (Bualkhua) and Shialshi, but were driven off, though these villages afterwards surrendered and paid them tribute. The Tashons were naturally annoyed at the conduct of the Siyins and decided to stop their conquest in the south, and to reduce them to a proper state of subordination, and with this object they raised a large army, recruited largely in the Yahow and Whenoh (Hualngo) country, and advanced against Mwiton (Muitung, Lunmun Thuklai Chiefs). The Siyins, however, were prepared for the attack and went out to meet the Tashons, whom they ambushed, killing Lyin Boi, the uncle of Sonpek, one of the leading Chiefs of Falam. The Tashons were unable to gain the village and eventually retreated after destroying some standing crops".

Chief Lun Kam was not satisfied with the cultivation plots available in the Lunmun and Bel-Lei ancestral lands. He had seen fertile lands in the Kale Valley and the rich harvest reaped annually. He reconnoitered a suitable raised land overlooking the valley where the breeze was as cool as those in the Siyin Valley yet paddy fields were aplenty.

Lun Kam decided to leave the ancestral seat in the Siyin Valley in favour of his son Chief Thuk Kham for greener pastures and persuaded some outstanding Siyin contemporaries who had proved their manlihood in their own rights while they resided in Muitung, to follow him. The first batch of founder settlers were Pu Kim Kam and Pu Lunkam of Khuasak and Pu Thuk Khup and Pu Thuk Son of Buanman. The new town was named MUAL NUAM, Pleasant Hill. The place was not far from established small towns such as Nansounpu (Namtawngpu) and Ateywa, also inhabited by the Yaw People who did not migrate into the Chin Hills since early days. Soon rights of areas for cultivation and local rivalries arose and the leaders were enticed to come down to Kale for a 'conference'. All the Mualnuam delegates including the Chief and his right elders

were assassinated. Mualnuam itself was attacked and most of the people killed and some prisoners taken down to the plains. One of the prisoners was my grand aunt Tingh Hau, the daughter of the Bualnuam Chief Lun Kam. In due course she was married to Myothugyi U Aung Gaung of Indin.

The Chin Hills Gazetteer recorded as follows :

"Mwelnum (Mualnuam) at this time was a small settlement of 40 houses inhabited by some Twantak (Thuantak) families, west of Nansoungpu and Ateywa. The village had a reputation for buffaloes stealing in the plains, and so the Burmans, in consultation with the Tashons, agreed to destroy it and devised an ingenious but disgraceful plan of getting rid of the Siyins. They invited all the able-bodied men to Kalemmyo to assist them in an expedition against Koset, which they said was in contemplation. Thirty-seven Chins went to Kalemmyo and were feasted until they were drunk when the Burmans cut them all down with dahs".

The Burman version of this fight is as follows :

"In 1228 B.E. (1867) the Kale Sawbwa Maung Yit, at the request of the Tashons, sent an army into the hills to attack Koset. Maung Yit was in command of the forces numbering 800 men, the Tashon force numbered 1,000. Koset village was duly surrounded, but the Siyins fought so determinedly that the united forces could not take the village. One Burman was killed in the attack and several Tashons. The fact of the Burmans retiring via Falam and leaving their rations inclines one to believe that the united forces were defeated and that No-Man (Chief Ngo Mang) did not surrender." C.H. Gazetteer.

Most of the Chief founders of Mualnuam were the brothers or cousins of the ancestral Siyin Chiefs who remained in the Siyin Valley. None of the senior founders came back alive. One of the few men who escaped was Pu Thuam Son, adopted brother of Chief Lun Kam of Lunmun. Pu Lunkam Kuntong of Khuasak another co-founder, and a brother-in-law of Chief Lun Kam of Thuklai, was among the assassinated. They were all related to Chief Ngo Mang and Chief Khup Pau of Kuntong who led the revenge which was traditional custom. Revenge was taken by the relatives concerned which included most of the Chiefs. The Chin Hills Gazetteer recorded the historical versions from both sides.

"The deadly feud with Burma, which commenced in No Man's (Chief Ngo Mang) time owing to the murder of Chins in the Kale valley, was prosecuted originally from motives:

"Kuppow (Chief Khup Pau, son of Ngo Mang) at once prosecuted his father's feud with Burma, and at the head of the three clans of Twantak, Toklaing, and Bweman (The Limkhais did not take part in this raid) he attacked and destroyed Kalemmyo, carrying off even the pongyis into captivity. At this time a Wun was in temporary charge of the Kale State."

"Kuppow (Chief Khup Pau) then set out to meet the Burmans and attacked them on the Letha range (The fight took place at the same spot which the Siyins held so doggedly against General Faunce's advance in 1889 B.S. Carey) and entirely overthrew them and chased them back to Burma. The Siyins state that they took four heads, two prisoners, one cannon, two guns, and all the baggage of the force. Kuppow then started out to meet the second Burmese army, which was advancing on Koset from the north ; but it had already heard of the overthrow of the eastern force and retreated through the Sokte tract back to the plains, paying the Soktes a bribe for assisting them in their retreat (It is said that Re. 1 per man was paid to the Soktes for granting the Burman force safe conduct through the Sokte tract back to Burma. B.S. Carey).

"The Burman version as given by an Amat who accompanied the expedition is as follows : In Kason 1239 B.E. (1878) we set out to attack Koset village. Our force was 1,500 strong, divided into two columns. The first was composed of men drawn from Mingyan, Taungdwin, Kale and Yaw, 1,000 strong, and commanded by the Kampat Wun, Maung Pauk Tun. This column marched west from Kalemmyo with its objective Koset. The second column, 500 strong, was commanded by Maung Shwe Maung of Kendat, head clerk of Kalemmyo; under Maung Shwe Maung were three Bos, Maung Min Gaung, Maung Tet Po, and Maung Shwe Bu. The force was drawn from the following centres : Tein Nyin 70, Legayaing 100, Kalewa 70, Yazagyo 160; besides these in the Yan Aung Min. Wundauk sent 100 Ye Ahmudans collected from the Chindwin who were commanded by the Legayaing Sitke.

"The column advanced from Nansounp up the Nataga stream to Tiddim, where it was met by the brothers of the Chief Kochim, who guided the column south to Shwimpi, which village the Soktes declared was not under Kuppow but under Kochim. Therefore, it was not attacked. Shortly after the arrival at this village news was brought in that Kuppow had routed the Kalemmyo force, so the column at once retreated, the Bos considering that it was not sufficiently strong to move alone against Koset. The northern column returned without fighting and made suitable gifts to the friendly Soktes. The Kalemmyo column lost 27 killed and two or three were taken prisoners". Chin Hills Gazetteer".

"This was the last Burmese attempt before our occupation of Upper Burma. The next foreign force to enter the Siyin tract was under General Faunce in 1888-89. The Siyins say that they never raided in Burma before the time when Kanhow was Chief of the Kanhows and No Man (Ngo Mang) was Chief of the Twantaks (Thuantak). The same cause which urged Kanhow to ravage the plains impelled No Man (Ngo Mang) to do likewise, the cause being that a deputation which was sent by Kanhow to the Sawbwa of Kale, with a slave, on the occasion of the Sawbwa Kadaw's death, was foully slain at Yazagyo.

CHIEFS PU LAI PHUT and PU LUN VUM

"Chief Pu Lun Vum's father Pu Lai Phut and his brothers were the early Chiefs of Lunmun Thuklai. Usually there were two respectable families in a Clan, that of the Chief administrator and that of the Chief priests. Pu Sung Mang was the Chief priest of Lunmun Thuklai whereas Pu Lai Phut was the Chief in administration of the Clan and also the leader in waging wars and expeditions.

"Chief Lun Vum's most important heirloom was the set of gongs which is still in our family to this day. Another accomplishment of his life was the acquisition of the overlordship of the Hual Nam family of Saizang. The above gong set *Limpan Sone* was the only set in the whole tribe and was at every ceremonial function in the valley. On one occasion when the Lunmun Clan lived in Bel-Lei Pu Khup Hang of Lophei accidentally broke one of the gongs at the funeral of Lam Kip, a brother of Kam Hang of the Mangzong family. Chief Thuk Kham took only one animal and one pot of Zu as amicable compensation. Anyone who used the gongs customarily gave us dues in the form of a piece of the meat of the animals killed at the ceremony. The custom started from the time of Chief Lun Vum"-Za Khup.

Pu Lai Phut and his brothers founded Thuklai permanently for the first time. The descendants of Pu Thuklai, namely Lunmun, Sumning, Tuahnuam, Bamang and Zamang and Zongkai when they became more numerous began to have their own family Chief priests and Chiefs. Whenever there were big feasts or on the death of a male member of a clan, the Chief priest concerned formally called out the names of the forebears of the families concerned to be present. Thus the names of one's forebears were heard again and again at such ceremonies. Beside festivals, village sacrifices were performed twice a year. The wordings were different but similar method of recalling forebear's names were used. Another custom was giving one's last name to the grandson ; a woman gave her second or last name to her granddaughter generally. Another practice preserved was to call another person with a courtesy prefix according to the genealogical tree regardless of age. I must prefix the word Pa, father, to the name of all males belonging to my father's generation according to the genealogical table. As a result many persons whose rate of birth is low will find persons calling him Pu, so and so *Grandpa*. An aunt is *Ni* ; a grandmother *Pi*. If one marries a cousin's daughter she will call him *Pa*.

On rare occasions, as in the case of Chief Hau Vum, after British annexation when there were interferences in hereditary rule Chieftainship and Chief priesthood could be dispensed by a single man if he had the qualifications. My grandpa spent about half the day in dispensing justice and another half as a priest.

A form of calling forebears name is below :

Kampung tak teh ; Kampung tak teh

Nung ah thang ah ; Nung ah thang ah

Lunmun ih Tu ; Lunmun ih Tu
Mi Sizang ah Mi hi zia
Glory to Kampum ! Glory to Kampum !
Famous in life ; Famous in life
Lunmun's Grandson ; Lunmun's descendant
MAN of The Siyin Valley !

Chief Lun Vum was one of the first known Siyin Chiefs who commenced benevolence and philanthropy. He was famous for looking after poor and needy persons regardless of tribe or race. Once a man from Saizang brought a young orphan along to sell to Kalembo. On the way he spent the night at Chief Lun Kam's house. When Lun Vum learnt about it he felt pity for the child saying he would be lost in Burma and he would not understand the language either. He undertook to look after him and paid a sum the would-be-seller expected to obtain. The name of the orphan was Kip Neak and Chief Lun Vum found a wife for him. The couple had a son which Chief Lun Vum named Bai Son after his own physical handicap in old age in the limbs. They had a daughter called Thuk Cing who was married to Son Lam of Vangteh. Bai Son had seven children. One of the sons Thuam Son had three children, Son Thuam, Son Suan and Lam Neam. Pu Thuam Son assisted Chief Lun Kam in the founding of Mualnuam and was one of the very few persons who escaped the massacre. The descendants of Lun Vum and Kip Neak have always assisted each other as real brothers every time.

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CHIEF PU PHUT THUAM OF LUNMUN, SIYIN VALLEY

(Great Great Grandfather)

It is strange so great a statesman should be so sublime a poet :
Bulwer — Lytton : Richelieu, Act I Sc. 2.

For generations it had been the custom of the outstanding Siyin Chiefs and leaders to compose autobiographical songs. These depict any noble and noteworthy events as well as happiness and sorrow in their lives. Chief Phut Thuam who was considered to be one of the first to have composed songs as autobiography had nine to his credit. There were no writings but these songs were sung over and over at all festivals as well as funerals so they were remembered down the ages. These were first put in writing by my father :

Song No. 1 : On his founding for the Lunmun clan at Nahmual Ngalkhua :

A. Ka khua kheng khua
Zangtui tam tung ah
Tiin taw pa sial, ka sut na
Lai taw lenkhuang ka tawi na

B. Ka khua kheng khua
Min in luan lo a
Siallum tawi le
Tai nga seh ah
Ka phung lum bang sung ingh nge

A. My Lunmun Court at Nahmual Ngalkhua
The most solid town
Above the Zangtui Valley
Where with sisters

I undo the mythun strings
And where we dance with brothers to
the sound of drum.

B. By imparting fair statesmanship
And by wielding
My armoured shield
I protected my Clan
Under the Shield

Song No. 2.

A. Do pawn munglo bang tum ta
Bal na nen ah, dawn lai law e
Ngual kim kai zak na hi eh

Zal na nen ah, dawn lai law e
Phung taw tiam ah,
Siah khuang ka kaih,
Ngual awng nge,
Ka lawn nam maw.

A. Enemies had bad intentions
They had taken life
Which caused indignation

B. I traced murderers of sister
In co-operation with clansmen
And forced enemy to submission
By levying communal dues
Am I not triumphant

Chief Lun Vum's eldest child and daughter Pi Phut Dim was killed and beheaded at Ai Na Hill above Kalzang by the Saizangs who decamped with her head. Her younger brothers led by

Pu Phut Thuam and the other brothers and Lunmun cousins after relieving Chief Khan Thuam and his people, went on and took revenge by attacking Saizang and defeating them. Thereupon they levied millet dues from the village. The above song was dedicated to the murder of Phut Dim and the levy of millet dues from Saizang.

Allegiance between LUNMUNS and SUKTES

The Falam Poites invaded the Sukte villages when Mualbeem Chief Khan Thuam was residing in Dakdung. The Suktes had been surrounded by the enemy and Chief Kham Thuam and his wife just managed to make their escape with a *sathup* thick cotton blanket and hid themselves temporarily in a cave above Dakdung. Slowly their hiding places were encircled by the enemy and they were nearly captured.

On that same day the Lunmun warriors were on their way to attack the Lukang enemy in Saizang to take revenge for the murder of Pi Phut Dim. When they saw enemy activity in Dakdung they sensed that their former allies were in trouble. They immediately abandoned their own scheme of invading Saizang and proceeded to Dakdung surprising the enemy from the rear and repulsing them. The Lunmuns took seven prisoners. Chief Kham Thuam, his wife and other Suktes hiding in the caves were relieved just before they fell into enemy hands.

The following Lunmun warriors captured one enemy each :

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Chief Phut Thuam Tunggo Lunmun | } Brothers |
| 2. Pu Phut Kip Tunggo Lunmun | |
| 3. Pu Mang Thuk Tunggo Lunmun | |
| 4. Pu Sung Mang Tunggo Lunmun | |
| 5. Pu Suan Hang Mangzong Lunmun | |
| 6. Pu Kip Pau Hautong Lunmun | |
| 7. Pu Zon Lun Laiteng Lunmun | |

The enemy retreated after seven of their compatriots had been captured. Hence the escape from capture of Pu Kham Thuan and his family and his people by the deliverance of the Lunmuns. Chief Kham Thuam and the Sukte leaders thanked Chief Phut Thuam and his colleagues profusely and requested them to assist them further by handing their captives over to them in order that they might use the prisoners in exchange for their own people who had fallen prisoners in the hands of the Poites. To this the Lunmuns consented. Ordinarily they would have taken them back to Lunmun Khua for the usual feast of victory. The Chiefs on both sides decided that since the assistance rendered by the Lunmun leaders was help of the greatest magnitude they would perform the formal oath of allegiance. At the time of handing over the prisoners the leaders on both sides led by Khan Thuam and Phut Thuam killed a pig with nine sharpened bamboo spikes — one for each of the leaders present. Ordinarily one spike was used in killing a pig. The usual allegiance water was also taken by all. As will be seen later assistance in war as well as in peace time had been exchanged between the two allies. Visits were exchanged at intervals between the Suktes and the Lunmuns and at festivals representatives were always sent to funerals of important men on either side. Another animal killing was performed in Phut Thuam's Lunmun House by Hau Vum in 1900 when Sukte delegates in the person of Dothong,

Lampau, Cinkam, Hàu Ko Zam and other elders came over to Lunmun. Za Khup also killed an animal for a dinner reception. The last of these calls was around 1925 when the Sukte delegates visited Saya Za Khup's house. They were entertained to dinner at Za Khup's house as well as at Hàu Vum's house on that occasion. Most of them happened to be the schoolmates or students of Za Khup at Tiddim-Burmese School. In my own time I had the satisfaction of having saved some lives which the Japanese Kempetai authorities had decided to take.

Song No. 3

Chief Pu Phut Thuam's song in connection with the episode of the Lunmun help given to the Suktes

Suktui vangkhua do in suan ah
Phung taw kop ah
Ngamzang ngitbang
hung ing nge

Lal hen ngeal ting
Khuamual suah tu
Suktui tong tiam
na ngei nge

Sukte villages were overcome by the enemy
With co-operation of my Clansmen
I fend them off like sparrows
in the fields

Sufficient enemy captives
worth exposing at Gate
I left them in allegiance
for deliverance of our
Sukte allies

For this act of help and sympathy in their dire need Pu Khan Thuam and the descendants of Pu Mang Piang were the best traditional allies of the Lunmuns.

Chief Phut Thuam's Song No. 4

A. Tong ciam neal zaw tha phum tu a
Tio tui luangto khaam hingh nge

B. Suktui lun taw hanlung tiam kham
Ka tiin bat phu la ing nge

A. Allegiance made with
Suktes even if Ngatam
stream flows backwards

B. Enabled taking vengeance
on life of sister

After Chief Kham Thuam and his people had been liberated, Lunmuns pursued the murderers of Pi Phut Dim, elder sister of Chief Phut Thuam, and defeated them. They levied the millet dues from the Saizangs.

On one occasion Pu Phut Kip went alone to Saizang to collect the millet dues. On that day the Saizangs were observing a Tual Bawl, a communal village nat sacrifice. As the Saizangs were never so strict in the observance of the Tual he went on into the village to collect the dues.

The Saizang people hired the Zo people living in Phai khua to assassinate Pu Phut Kip. They waylaid Pu Phut Kip at a place called Vaih Mual above Dimpi village. The seven Zo people used seven spears with which they attempted to kill him. All the spears thrown at him missed him. Phut Kip collected all the spears one after another. He could have returned home with the enemies' weapons in his hands unharmed but he in turn started throwing the spears at the assailants. The assailants after possessing the weapons once more began to attack him

again. One such throw hit him in the eye and eventually the enemy overpowered him. They severed his head and placed it on the Sóng Tree at the headman's house.

Pu Khan Thuam was informed of the murder of Pu Phut Kip by the Zo people from Phai and Balzang villages on the instigation of the Saizang people. Thereupon Pu Khan Thuam and the Mualbeems attacked Phai Khua and Pu Phut Thuam and the Mualbeens attacked Phai Khua and Pu Phut Thuam attacked Balzang as the Phut Kip Killers were from both villages. Pu Khan Thuam brought the head of the Phai Khua chief's wife. It was taken to Lunmun Thuklai and was exposed on the spike at Nahmual Memorial Gate.

One day Kai Sing, headman of Upper Dimpi, built his house. After the completion of the re-thatching of the house as usual, guests were entertained with drinks and some songs were sung. At times at such a place an exchange of antagonistic songs ensued. One of the killers of Pu Phut Kip was present at the house and began to dance and sing. He was not aware of the presence of Pu Phut Kip's son Pu Lam Tuang at the headman's house.

Seang Nawk sang :

1. A. Laam tual len sehthing tungah,
Maang simlu awng,
Nadang dalngua bang a keu lei nam maw
B. Na dang dalngua bang keu lei nam mawng nge
Tual hong kum maw, sumtual ningtui dawn in.
Oh the Lordly head on the sehthing tree
Don't you feel thirsty like a bamboo leaf
In case you are thirsty
Come down and drink at the pavilion.
2. Kei paw kapai, ziau zaia, mual katawn ze
Sa kamkei bang mual katawn ziau ze
Sa kam kei bang mual kataw ziau hi ze
Dimtui nu lai dih kong neam sak lei hi.
I stalked the hills like a tiger
I made you feel sad.

Thereupon Pu Lam Tuang, son of Pu Phut Kip responded immediately :

Zotui te sumtual tungah	I answer you with a song
Han zai kong sak,	at this pavilion
Hing le ah ngaw mi ciin in	where the dead and the living
Sawl bang kai	are gathered together
Tun ni lian bang Zotui tung	Like the Lordly Sun
Kong liapsak ah	I have overshadowed your villages
Tu le na suilung nasik	Don't you repent
Na lei ziam	Now

When he heard this Seang Nawk who earlier attempted to expose his first success only and hid from the Dimpis about their defeat, slipped away in shame.

Song No. 5

A. Tiin nih ngel taw, vangkhua ka sah
Nu bang paw nuam, kah na ze

A. The Founding of my town
Together with
brothers and sisters
Caused great enjoyment

B. Zinleang nih ngel tuang tung khawm ah
Phunglun tuibang kiam sak e

B. Two epidemics
visited us simultaneously
Letting our lordly
clan ebb away like
tidal water.

After the foundation of Lunmun Mui tung (Ngalkhua) together with his warrior brothers such as Phut Kip, Mang Thuk and other famous descendants of Pu Lunmun enjoyed life very much for a decade. Suddenly two fell diseases, cholera followed by small pox arrived and many people perished.

The Ngineem, the minor Banyan tree at Nahmual was planted by Chief Pu Phut Thuam and his cousins. This fact was told by Pu Thuam Son to my father.

Song No. 7

Ka laingil awng a neam kom ah
Phaksap a ma zam hingh nge

Von awng na pham ta ding sang nge
Sang mang khua muat ah suah te

His son did not shoot as many wild animals as he did
At last he got one very big serow in the forest
above Lophei and celebrated the occasion
with the usual feast.

He was overjoyed with his son's success in hunting
which was considered as a milestone in a man's life.

Song No. 8

Zuah tendal le awkhi min ngei

A. Historic gongs and
famous necklaces

Ah kop in thel bang siah nge

I have possessed in pairs

Pu von mun inn daw in tam eh

B. At the ancestral spacious house

Teng khawi kop siat na hi eh

Slaves are reared in couples

Chief Phut Thuam had four places for pounding grain. He had eight couples of slaves in his Lunmun Fort. They did the pounding of grain and all other manual work. The Chief and his wife had only to see to the entertainment of important guests such as allies from other clans as well as from those of own clan. The Chief's wife never had to do manual work but the Chief personally led the clan in waging wars and dispensing justice in peace time. Beside the eight couples were Baison and wife, Silu and wife, Tiin Dawn, Dawn Huai, Mo Nuam, Ting Hong and Do Khai. Do Khai was a Laiteng who migrated to Tangheam (Tahan) in Kale Valley in due course.

CHIEF PHUT THUAM'S MARRIAGES

Song No. 9

Kawi thai lak le	In matrimony
pheiphung suan zang	And in physical prowess
Zangsi ka ngual	I beat
Sing veang nge	My Siyin contemporaries
Tuklu pal puak	With grey hair
Maciang suan ah	On my head
Lal ka dei tang	I caught
khau vawng nge	The enemy I wanted

My father recorded the History about the above song as follows : "Pu Phut Thuam started taking his first wife at the appropriate age. He divorced one after the other when they could not bear children. He married nine times. All the wives were good looking and from wellknown families.

He was active physically in hunting, in warfare as well as in sports. In his time he was only Siyin who could clear higher than his own height in the high jump. In the family the only man who took after him in sports was one of his grandsons Pu Hau Vum who also could jump higher than his own height. To do it he did not exert himself too much ; neither did he take too long a run ; he just took a few paces. In a deer chase Pu Phut Thuam caught hold of a running deer single handed with his own hands. In those days the jungle all around the Letha range Thangmual was very thick and teeming with wild animals such as deer, tiger, bison and rhinoceros.

In pride he used to shout on festive occasions :

Zi kua nei na	My nine times marriage
Aak kua ka ngaw na	Nine times celebrated
Sakhi tai to ka mat na	My catch of running deer
Kapa tapa Phut Thuam khi hi	I am Phut Thuam
	The son of my Father

It was said that he never had any sickness in his life. He outlived all his contemporary Siyin men. Long before his death not only all his hair had become grey but in due course there was

not a single hair on his head. He had so much knowledge of the histories of the Siyins and the Zo Chins in general. Many young Siyins flocked to him to listen to stories and histories. He caught hold of an enemy at an age when many could no longer get out of doors.

With the first wife he had no children after they had been married for four years. He divorced her and married another woman as he wanted an heir. This he did up to the seventh wife in order not to break the dynasty.

He then thought that as he could not have a child with a Siyin girl he might have a child if he married with a girl from another tribal branch of the same Zo family. He therefore took in marriage the beautiful damsel in Kalzang Valley, the daughter of Kalzang Chief Pu Za Lam a descendant of Suante. Her name was Pi Lak Ting. She was a great beauty and he loved her. They had no child after eight years of marriage but Chief Phut Thuam did not intend to divorce her as he loved her and had decided to take her for life. He had accomplished successes in everything he desired but his only regret was that he was not blessed with an heir which is very important among the Siyin clan.

One day Pi Lak Ting as was customary went to visit her people in Kalzang from Lunmun. She fell sick and died after a very short illness in her parent's house at Kalzang. Chief Phut Thuam brought her body back to Lunmun Thuklai and buried her there with full ceremony. He felt her death very much although she was barren.

Pi Tuang Ngiak, the ninth wife

As the ninth and last wife he took as wife Pi Tuang Ngiak, daughter of Pu Nei Tuang, descendant of Zel Vum of the Limkhai family. With Tuang Ngiak, Chief Phut Thuam had a son and he was so delighted, that he decided to name his begotten son not after any human individual, but after Men in general. He named his son MI LUN KAM : Men's Mighty One; as token of his considerable and varied success in the Siyin Valley.

Pi Tuang Ngiak was a grand aunt of Nu Mang Vung (Mrs. Hau Vum) and sister of the famous Siyin Chief Pu Mang Lun of Sagylain. She was also a grand aunt of Unuh; sister Lam Awi (Mrs. Kam Pum). With Pi Tuang Ngiak, Chief Phut Thuam had two sons Chief Lun Kam and Vum Hau. The whole clan was delighted and as a result more brides for his descendants were taken from the Limkhai family. Hau Vum and Kam Pum married girls from Pi Tuang Ngiak's families. My own sister Vung Mang was given in marriage to Lian Suak of Limkhai who was the overlord of Chief Hau Chin Khup.

Phut Thuam had two sons with Pi Tuang Ngiak. The elder Chief Lun Kam was married to Pi Hang Vung a sister of another Pu Lun Kam Kuntong from Khuasak. The two Lun Kams became brothers-in-law.

Pu Nei Tuang was the youngest son of Pu Seal Kim whose two other sons were Vum Lam and Vum Khup. Pu Vum Lam's descendants were Suang and Suang Za Pum; Pu Vum Khup's present descendant is Pu Sing Thawng.

Pu Nei Tuang had five sons besides daughter Pi Tuang Ngiak (Mrs. Phut Thuam). They were Pu Kim Mang, Hau Tuang, Za Tuang, Tuang Tun and Han Mang. Their present descendants are Pu Tun Vum, Suanmang, Suakpum and Lian Suak.

In order that the marriage ties with the important Limkhai family should be continued my father asked for the hand of Unu Lam Awi a direct descendant of Pu Mang Tawn who was the elder brother of Pu Zeal Vum, to be the wife of my brother Kam Pum.

In the same way as the influential Pu Phut Thuam named his son after MEN, my father Thuk Kham gave my name after MEN also — thus MI ZA KHUP, "One Who Will Overshadow Hundred of MEN". Chief Phut Thuam had another daughter. And again she was not named after any other person as would be customary. But he named her after his riches thus LO THAW DIM "Filled by Cultivation". He harvested riches from the fields ploughed by his many slaves.

The third child was a son. This time he named his son after his father LUN VUM and called him VUM HAU. The youngest grandson was named after Vum Hau and was called HAU VUM: — Za Khup.

I got my name from this granduncle, and they called me HAU VUM KO HAU. Ordinarily as a first son I should have been named after my own grandfather PU THUK KHAM but as my granduncle HAU VUM was still alive my aunts and parents decided to honour the uncle who acted as *Pa* to them.

Pu Phut Thuam died at a very advanced age; this was mentioned by my grandfather Chief Man Suang of Lophei, my mother's father, who used to visit us when we were young. He said; "Pu Phut Thuam was one of the few Siyins who lived to a very advanced age with a very kind heart. We all the Siyin young people used to gather at his big house where he used to give us *zuthiang* fermented millet food". Pu Man Suang, son of the famous Lophei Chief Lua Thuam used to come to my house when I was young and we used to insist on his staying the night so that we might kill an animal for him. In the Siyin eye only a quadruped amounts to something substantial for a dinner especially for those relatives on the maternal side. Uncles on the paternal side need not be so treated in view of the fact that they are usually of the same village.

After the defeat of Lophei by the Falams the remaining Lopheis came to reside at Thuklai and thus there were opportunities for Pu Man Suang's generation to visit Chief Phut Thuam at the Lunmun Taap (Fort). Pu Man Suang expired only on the 20th March 1931 at the ripe age of over one hundred years. In his advanced age it took him half a day to make the journey between Lophei and Thuklai.

My aunt Dim Ko Ting (Mrs. Thuam Hang) was named after Pi Thaw Dim; Aunt Kam Vung was named after Lun Kam.

Pu Lun Kam was married to Pi Hang Vung, a sister of Pu Lun Kam Kuntong from Khuasak. Lun Kam and Lun Kam became brothers-in-law. Pu Vum Hau was married to Pi Za Ngiak, daughter of Chief Lua Thuam and Tongdim of Lophei. Vum Hau died before he had a child. Pi Za Ngiak was a very kind hearted lady so Pu Phut Thuam and Pu Lun Kam gave her in marriage to Pu Thuk Kham which was not usual. Pu Thuk Kham told my father that he was still too young and the marriage did not last. Pu Vum Hau being the youngest of the brothers became the heir and Pu Lun Kam had built a separate house but on the death of Pu Vum Hau he re-entered the main house after making a feast with a deer.

Pi Za Ngiak (Mrs. Vum Hau and later after the death of Pu Vum Hau for a time as Mrs. Thuk Kham) was not named after a single individual. Her mother Pi Tong Dim (Mrs. Lua Thuam) was taken prisoner by the Falams when she was pregnant and the child after her birth was named Za Ngiak.

Pu Phut Thuam was still alive when there was an incident between the Lunmuns and Sumniangs.

NU CHIANG ZAM, My mother.

My mother is the daughter of Chief Pu Man Suang of Lophei. Chief Man Suang's mother was Pi Tongdim Kimlai. My mother and my wife are thus related. At one time after a war the Lophei Chief's families resided with my grandparents in Lunmun. Like my paternal grandfather, my maternal grandfather Chief Man Suang, also received troubles just after the British annexation of the Chin Hills. The Chin Chief's register recorded: "The Chief Man Suang deported as a Political prisoner for urging his villagers not to surrender unstamped guns; vide Criminal case No. 21 of 1898/99 dated 12 December 1898". My mother is the youngest daughter of the Chief. Chief Man Suang lived to a very old age; when he last visited us at our house when I was young he used to tell us stories about my great great grandfather Chief Phut Thuam who used to look after him in Lunmun House when he was a young boy. Chief Phut Thuam was one of the earliest known composer of songs. In those days very few outstanding people dared compose autobiographical songs.

The followings are some of the songs composed by my mother :

1. A. Sen Pu von le Tun le ih Zua
Tai nga ahsep sa hi ze
B. Po von khan dung na zil kom ah
Taang na khan ngual sing ve teh
2. A. Pu pa kai tam singtoi za tam
Do tong zeak ah
Ziing vai bang thaamthong ta zeh
B. Thian in mim khai bang zeak thiam le
Pu Pa kai tam nau bang in ka sap tuam maw
3. A. Zua Mang thaam na ah nat kom ma
Thian mang hawm tel saang hi eh
B. Thian mang hawm tel zaang lam somsial
Ah ni tiin ma ciang suan zie
(Dedicated to father-in-law Chief Pu Thuk Kham)
4. A. Do ni ngeal suang bang ki ngawi zeh
Tuak khial ten tham nan nei ze
B. Thian ih mim khai bang ah zeak te
Taang no ki tawi na hi zia
5. A. Kiang awng ma bang na kipat ah
Thianmaang tongdam saang ve tia
B. Thianmang tongdam na san kom ma
Zaang Si miimhung huanbe bang zot thiam ve tia
(Dedicated to husband Saya Za Khup)

6. A. Kiang na langlamh sesum za tam
Sau dei zong ngual lei hing nge
B. Mun inn ngam lo tul thing phungting
Sesum tam se lai hing nge
7. A. Ka kiang khat tang phual tang dungzil
Hanlung tiam na tam sang nge
B. Khat tang hanlung tiam na ve tia
Thin lai muantui bang tiim na taw
Taang na tam ngual sing ve tia
8. A. Khuakiim vontoi tuibang tiim tu
Sak Tiang khua ah tongdam na solbang pha tia
B. Tongdam na sol bang pha ve tia
Mom no zua pa hawm tel ta bang niang sang nge
9. A. Kiang na tainga hau na tongdam
Zaang sesum taw za tan pe bang theak sang nge
B. Kiang tai nga le Hau tongdam zong
Ngual tung tuan nan lawm sang nge
10. A. Aang lai von toi ah tan ci ah
Miim phung tong sua tam sang nge
B. Thian mang mun miim bang thuum ing nge
Taang le lia von tawi ing nge
11. A. Ka Pian na Ni bang Lun eh
Taang ka lai zom ding in sam lai eh
B. Ka tuk na taang bang pha eh
Kot kaw! zing vai ka hawm pui tu
Ciam pui lai zom ding in sam lai zia
12. A. Von awng miim bang na pian ma-ah
Na Tun ka zaal mang awng nge
B. Vai Maang taw tong na ciam Tu seh
Thian in ka bang hil sang nge
(For Vum Ko Hau)
13. A. Vai Maang Thiam neal
Sau suan Tumdang
Von awng na tuan na hi zia
B. Thang Van Tuanglam in nei ve cia
Meal mak vang la zing na zit nin
Thian in lum bang sung sang nge

14. A. Nu tun min seal
Von lung cing awng
Hau tawi na aang ah sia te
B. Hau thai laak taw
Von ngeal cing taw
Kil bang khan ki
Khom vun naw
15. A. Pa Zua min seal
Tio sen bang tel
Thin lai han lung
Ciam ve cia
B. Tui bang ciim taw
Thian zeak thiam taw
Zaang Si lai kan saang ve cia
16. A. Ka von ngual kawi
Hau tawi Lian Nu
Tun le zua nau bang ka cia
B. Tun le zua nau bang ka ve cia
Thian ih miim khai bang hong zeak ah
Lai kop ngeal cing lei ve cia
(For Mang Khaw Tiin)
17. A. Simlei len suuk bang Khai tu ah
Lun ih ci bang teng sang nge
B. Lun taw tan ci bang teng sang nge
Sing tan in bang en ta ze
18. A. Vong na lang lam se sum za tam
Zua siang tuang tut lei ve cia
B. Tun sung lai zom tui ni thum zong
Lang lam taw huai thiam ve tia
(For Kham Cin Khai)
19. A. Lai ngeal cing min ka law tu taw
Von ni thum min lo ing nge
B. Al bang ta tu lum bang sung tu
Taang tawi na min lo ing nge
20. A. Zaang tawi phung cing thai le ah von
Sen zua in sawl bang kai zia
B. Ciin hang bat phu ah laak na ze
Thian maang hawm tel saang hi zia
(To her father Chief Man Suang on his prisoners)

21. A. Ka ciin khat tang phual tang dungzil
Zaang Si ngual zua pa awng nge
B. Zaang Si ngual le vaimaang tong dok
Tai nga na se tam sang nge
(To her brother Chief Khup Lian)
22. A. Ka ciin khat tang phual taig dungzil
Pu von khan dung a zil cia
B. Pu von khan dung na zil kom a
Phei Tui vangkhua dai ah dam sa
Thut bang lum sak kik ve cia
(To her brother Chief Khup Lian on refounding Lophei)
23. A. Na nuai sau dei ngual thiam ve cia
Ciin na lang lamh ah kum cin a
Sumtual ah han mung phu cia
B. Na nuai phung taw khua kiim ngual taw
Cial neam tung ah
Ning leh ai sa niang ve cia
24. A. Ka ciin von tawi taang lung cing awng
Thian mang tong dam ngai ve tia
B. Thian mang tong dam na ngai kom ah
Thian dei ah ki heak ve tia
(For Major Khai Kho Hau of the Chin Hills Battalion)
25. A. Thei lo Vaimaang, hong laang eh,
Sim lei kuam teng liap sang nge
B. Ciin lian nu le von ngeal cing thaam na tu-ah
Do sua sia len thiam sang nge
(For her sister Sing Dim who was killed when the
Valley was in no-man's land)

EPILOGUE

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>26. A. Hau awng tong dam na ciam pui
Vaimang zua pa
Sau lim nuai ah
Kim pui tan Kawl ciang phu eh
B. Vai Mang zua Pa sau lim nuai
Tha ah kiak nin
Tung Pa Thian in
Von Maang sun
Nau bang omh zia
(On the escape of his son Vum Ko Hau on the day of
Aung San's assassination on July 19, 1947)</p> | <p>A. HAU : Burmese leader
Who collaborated with you
Was slain by his comrades
In his chambers
B. On day his strength ebbed away
The Almighty looked after
My Son
As a baby in cradle
In day nursery</p> |
|--|--|

27. A. Zaang ta san sing sengh lai ah
Ka Vong Maang awng,
Thian Maang awi ah
Ngu thing bang
Ki Suang Ve tia
- B. Thin lai Tang Sial bang Lian ah
Han Lung Na Tiam
Zangtui mun ah
Thian awi ah
Ki heak ve tia

Some of the early famous composers of songs among ladies were Pi Tong Dim Kimlai (Chief Lua Thuam's wife); Pi Phut Uap (Chief Han Kam's mother) and Buanman Taap Pii.

CHIEF PU LUA THUAM OF LOPHEI

(Great Grandfather)

Pi Tong Dim — Pu Lua Thuam

My grandfather's youngest brother Pu Vum Hau married the daughter of Chief Pu Lua Thuam of Lophei and his wife Pi Tong Dim. Her name was Pi Za Ngiak. My own mother is the daughter of Chief Man Suang of Lophei and a granddaughter of Chief Lua Thuam. At the destruction of Lophei, the Chief's wife Pi Tong Dim was taken as prisoner of war by the enemy. Pi Za Ngiak (Mrs. Vum Hau) was already in her mother's womb when captured. As the wife of the famous Lophei Chief, envoys were sent to Falam to redeem her and she was released in return for slaves and goods. Pi Tong Dim (Mrs. Lua Thuam) composed the following autobiographical songs dedicated to her capture during pregnancy:

1. A. Phung Simlu le Mang Tun nu awng
Luan thi taw mual tam kal veeng

B. Phak sap ka meel mak te mun ah
Von sen taw zing zin veeng

2. A. Miim le Sawmtang
Sung dip taw
Lang Lamh tam, taw
Neel bang ka hau
Khua van nuai
a Thang ve eh

B. Nun bang nop ah
Zaang lawi bang
Ka thanh kom, ah
Zang sim sal in
Khua len mual
tam Kal ing nge

A. My Noble relatives: My Noble Mother
In tears I crossed so many hills

B. To total strangers' habitation
I travelled with my child in embryo

A. My wealth
augmented by harvests
Was known throughout
the world

B. My luxuriant life
became wellknown
like presence of wild
games
And resulted
in my capture as prisoner
beyond many hills

Her husband Chief Lua Thuam of Lophei gave her the following song:

1. A. Va al khuan tang
Sial ka sut
Ah thang zawm maw
Thai le von sim
sal ah tan
Ah thang zawm maw

A. Is my ownership
of animal flocks
More wellknown?
Or that of the capture
of my wife and child
by the enemy

B. Ah Kop in hong
Thang khawm eh
Khua van nuai ah
Zangsi ka ngual
Ka tung tuang
Zo om ngawl zia

B. Both fames under the sky
Descended down the same
time
No other Siyin comrades
Could beat me
in those respects

Other autobiographical songs by Grandma Pi Tong Dim.

1. Tul dei miim phung Sial in lang nge
Sum tual tubang suang ing nge
Lia besam le Zang phualmul awng
Nu nop ka sial na hi ze
(Dedicated to her two highest Ton festivals)
 2. Ah thi kuulsin a sia nge
Ah nung tyao ngal ah thange
Khawthang ngunpui ih tung ah
Lian nua ka ngual sing inge
 3. Dit awng na pham ta ding sang nge
Tang bal bang pil ta pheeng te
(Her joy in finding the husband Chief Lua Thuam alive)
 4. Ih kiak nu ah, ngua bang tuan na
Zin aw zing dai bang pial ing
Do zong hong len bang ing
-

UNCLE TUANG ON of Fort White and Theizang

My uncle Tuang On Thatmun who married Ni Kam Vung, my father's elder sister, was one of the wellknown Siyin heroes against the British. When he resided in Theizang he killed many wild animals in the Siyin Reserve and the Chindwin Valley. His disappointment in life as will be seen from his songs was that his son and would-be heir did not survive him. The son was named after my grandfather Chief Thuk Khum - THUK KHAM HANG. Tuang On was a wellknown historian and I learnt many local histories from him.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. A. Zang Si ngual awng
Ka ki pat in
Ka hen kop tang
Khau vaw nge | Siyin comrades !
At my first venture
I caught enemies
in couples |
| B. Phung awng sai bang
Nong sawm lai ah
Sang lim lian
Kawl tiang Phung nge | At a time when
Contemporaries envied me
I mowed down
Some big game |

He killed two big elephants for which he performed the usual ceremonies.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. A. Na zuah ni thum
Phak sap ziing zin
Kiak tu laam bang
Muak hi ve tia
Ih sau thim khua
Bing ta ze | Your father was
On tour in foreign land
Your demise
welcomed him
Resulting in
darkness in the Mansion |
| B. Na zuah lung Tup
Ah min ngei bel
Na phai mit suan
Man ngawl lai ah
Von maang kop ah
Zal ta ze | Before you had time
to envisage
Your father's ambition
for the mightiest
You have
slept forever |
| 3. A. Sang ti leng Sang
Nam kim Ing nge
Lal Lun ah Kan
Sang ing nge | If it is in wild games
I had caught all
And for valour in war
I am even more victorious |
| B. Ka siang ah tui
Bang Tung ta ze
Ni tin Khua Mual
Ah Suah nge | They reached me
like water
I celebrated daily
at victorious Memorial Gate |

UNCLE TUANG ON of Fort White and Theizang

My uncle Tuang On Thatmun who married Ni Kam Vung, my father's elder sister, was one of the wellknown Siyin heroes against the British. When he resided in Theizang he killed many wild animals in the Siyin Reserve and the Chindwin Valley. His disappointment in life as will be seen from his songs was that his son and would-be heir did not survive him. The son was named after my grandfather Chief Thuk Khum - THUK KHAM HANG. Tuang On was a wellknown historian and I learnt many local histories from him.

1. A. Zang Si ngual awng
Ka ki pat in
Ka hen kop tang
Khou vaw nge

Siyin comrades !
At my first venture
I caught enemies
in couples

B. Phung awng sai bang
Nong sawm lai ah
Sang jim lian
Kawl tiang Phung nge

At a time when
Contemporaries envied me
I mowed down
Some big game

He killed two big elephants for which he performed the usual ceremonies.

2. A. Na zuah ni thum
Phak sap ziing zin
Kiak tu laam bang
Muak hi ve tia
Ih sau thim khua
Bing ta ze

Your father was
On tour in foreign land
Your demise
welcomed him
Resulting in
darkness in the Mansion

B. Na zuah lung Tup
Ah min ngei bel
Na phai mit suan
Man ngawl lai ah
Von maang kop ah
Zal ta ze

Before you had time
to envisage
Your father's ambition
for the mightiest
You have
slept forever

3. A. Sang ti leng Sang
Nam kim lng nge
Lal Lun ah Kan
Sang ing nge

If it is in wild games
I had caught all
And for valour in war
I am even more victorious

B. Ka siang ah tui
Bang Tung ta ze
Ni tin Khua Muai
Ah Suah nge

They reached me
like water
I celebrated daily
at victorious Memorial Gate

UNCLE TUANG ON of Fort White and Theizang

My uncle Tuang On Thatmun who married Ni Kam Vung, my father's elder sister, was one of the wellknown Siyin heroes against the British. When he resided in Theizang he killed many wild animals in the Siyin Reserve and the Chindwin Valley. His disappointment in life as will be seen from his songs was that his son and would-be heir did not survive him. The son was named after my grandfather Chief Thuk Khum - THUK KHAM HANG. Tuang On was a wellknown historian and I learnt many local histories from him.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. A. Zang Si ngual awng
Ka ki pat in
Ka hen kop tang
Khau vaw nge | Siyin comrades !
At my first venture
I caught enemies
in couples |
| B. Phung awng sai bang
Nong sawm lai ah
Sang Jim lian
Kawl tiang Phung nge | At a time when
Contemporaries envied me
I mowed down
Some big game |

He killed two big elephants for which he performed the usual ceremonies.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. A. Na zuah ni thum
Phak sap ziing zin
Kiak tu laam bang
Muak hi ve tia
Ih sau thim khua
Bing ta ze | Your father was
On tour in foreign land
Your demise
welcomed him
Resulting in
darkness in the Mansion |
| B. Na zuah lung Tup
Ah min ngei bel
Na phai mit suan
Man ngawl lai ah
Von maang kop ah
Zal ta ze | Before you had time
to envisage
Your father's ambition
for the mightiest
You have
slept forever |
| 3. A. Sang ti leng Sang
Nam kim lng nge
Lal Lun ah Kan
Sang ing nge | If it is in wild games
I had caught all
And for valour in war
I am even more victorious |
| B. Ka siang ah tui
Bang Tung ta ze
Ni tin Khua Mual
Ah Suah nge | They reached me
like water
I celebrated daily
at victorious Memorial Gate |

4. A. Cin Kam kei taw
Ka tiam lai in
Vang Khua suan
Ngua bang Mon ingh

B. Vang Khua suan ngua
Bang Mon ing nge
Ah Khaua len kil
Ah Khia nge

When I cooperated
With tiger-like brothers
I mowed down conquered enemies
Like bamboos

I not only mowed down
Conquered enemies like bamboos
But chased them
Beyond their stockades

5. EPILOGUE :

A. Sang ti leng lan
Sang kop nam
Tin zo veang nge
Lal ti leng lan
Ka pa tang
Ka Dim sak ze

B. Tun siang ka tut
Lo Bei sang
Zang Si ngual awng
Sang Simlu in
Kasau hai bang
Ngak sak ing

If it is in Game
I have completed
All in couples
If it is capture of enemies
I have filled
My paternal Mansion
Oh, fellow Siyins !

There is nothing
That I have not brought
To my mother
I let choice trophies
Guard my Mansion
As a guarding mangoe tree.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF ZO MI

The first published Genealogical Tree of the Siyin branch of the ZO MI of the Chin Hills, North Western part of the Union of Burma appeared on page 127 of the Chin Hills Gazetteer, 1896.

"The first Chiefs of the Siyins"

"Nayen (Neiyal) of Chin Nwe (Cim Nuai) is the father of the Siyin tribe; he lived 13 generations ago and he had three sons, Ne Nu (Nge Ngu), Vamlok (Vanglok) and Daitong; these three together left the nursery of the Northern Chins, migrated some 12 miles to the east, and founded the two villages of Limkhai and Twantak".

"Vamlok is the progenitor of the three communities which we classify as the Limkhai, Toklaing and Bwemen clans, and Ne Nu is the progenitor of the clan we designate as the Siyin Clan of the Siyin tribe, though it could be more correctly named if we called this family the Twantak clan".

We have called ourselves Zo Mi (Zo Man) from time immemorial. Mi means MAN.

Cimnuai near Saizang and Thuantak near Khuasak are still remembered as the first settlements of the Zo Mi people. It is incredible that the compilers of the Chin Hills Gazetteer in spite of the time demanded of them to quell the incessant rebellions yet found time to record almost in detail the following Genealogical Trees:

1. "Genealogical Table of the Limkhai, Bweman and Toklaing Chiefs of the Siyin Tribe" 12 generations.
2. "Genealogical Tree of the Twantak Clan of the Siyin Tribe", 16 generations.
3. "Genealogical Tree of the Sokte Chiefs, showing also the Chiefs of the Kanhow Clan", 14 generations and four short tree showing the descent of the Haka families, 7 generations.

As will be seen from the notes on the "Trees" many of the Chiefs themselves were either "deposed" or "deported". Some Chiefs always kept themselves away from the British administrators and their "Tree" did not appear in it. As a result most of the information regarding the respective genealogical trees were those given by other persons who had submitted to the British and were present at the time of the enquiry.

Although there were tribal wars and migrations from other causes for generations many clans stuck to their family trees according to custom. As a result very fairly accurate genealogical trees of the Zo family can be compiled by enquiring from any clan.

According to the Siyin priests and Siyin clan families Nge Ngu, Vanglok and Daitong had four brothers. Their father was Thuantak who had two other brothers Tohin and Seaktak. Thuantak was the youngest and heir. Tohin and Seaktak migrated to the north and their descendants are now known as Yo, Thado or Khuangsai. Seaktak had four sons, Thado, Thalun, Tongluai and Hangsing. Some clans of the Zo family are now in the Manipur state, Assam and the Naga Hills. Most of the vocabularies are still the same and even the custom of abstinence

from meat by wives of men who might be away from home is still the same. The common genealogical tree tallies up to the time of separation between the three brothers Tohin, Seaktak and Thuantak (Suantak).

Among the Siyins every time a man performs a war feast, or an elephant, bison, tiger or other animal feast or at every funeral, the name of all the progenitors of the whole clan are called out by the priest concerned.

On the other hand each and every Siyin Zo addresses another person in strict accordance with the genealogical tree, regardless of age. My own wife has to call me Pa (father) because according to our family tree her father is my distant cousin. Had she been of my father's generation according to the tree I would have had to call her Ni (Aunt). This custom is still observed with the main object of preserving genealogical family trees.

Another custom is the fact that normally an eldest son takes the last name of his grandfather; the second son that of his mother's father; the first daughter is named after the paternal grandmother, the second daughter after the maternal grandmother and so on.

In my own case I was named after PU HAU VUM the youngest brother of my grandfather Chief PU THUK KHAM for some special reasons. Chief Hau Vum was the only grandpa alive at the time of my birth; he had no children of his own; and aunts and parents had treated him as Pa and not uncle; he had borne so much suffering on behalf of the Clan having been deported to jails in Burma for four years for resistance, after the British annexation of the Chin Hills. My being named after him was meant to console him for all these. My immediate younger brother took a part of our grandfather's name. Hence people who knew our grandfathers can still find out whose grandsons we were.

"In the north it is customary to give the eldest boy part of the name of the paternal grandfather and the eldest daughter part of the name of the maternal grandmother. For instance, father No Shuwun, son Kupswun, grandson Shwunlyin, great-grandson Swun How; mother Dymman, daughter Man Wet, Grandaughter Dymnyet". Sir Bertram Carey, KCIE.

An old edition of the Encyclopaedia Britanica in a record about the Chins mentions "The (Chins) respect for birth and the knowledge of pedigrees".

My own name originated from the following progenitors, all on the paternal side, details of which can be seen in the LUNMUN TREE.

TUN LUN

LUN VUM

VUM HAU

HAU VUM

VUM KO HAU

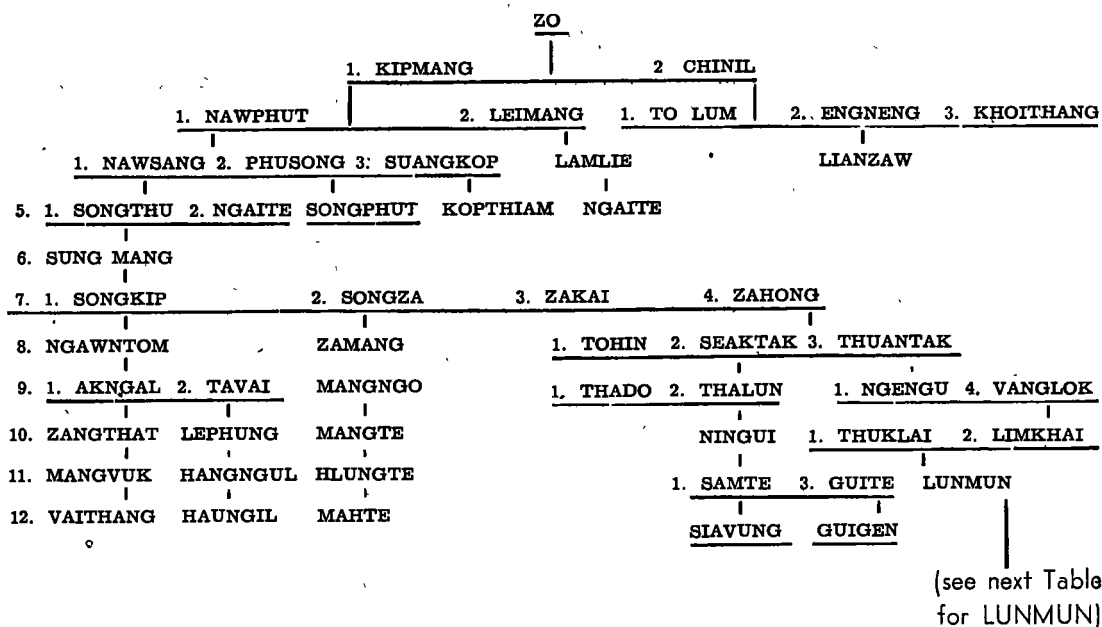
Tun means Accomplish; Lun means Lordly; Vum means Lofty; Hau means Rich; Ko (Khua) means Town/Village. My father was given an original name by my grandfather MI ZA KHUP.

Mi means Men ; Za means Hundred ; Khup means Cover/Shadow. A Man to Shadow Hundreds of Men. My father-in-law the Chief of Buanman happened to have the same name as my father and on many occasions one inadvertently opened the other's mail. My wife takes her name from her maternal grand mother Ngiak Mang ; MANG KHAW TIIN which many consider a most melodious feminine name in the dialect.

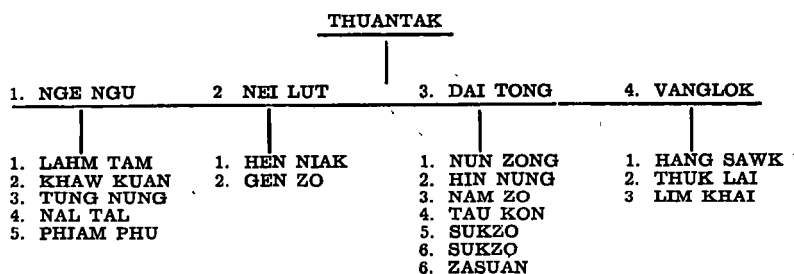
The majority of the descendants of THUANTAK had lived without break mainly in the Siyin Valley for 17 generations and this fact naturally enabled one to remember one's relatives and genealogical tree quite easily.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE ZO MI (CHIN) RACE

"The respect for birth and
the knowledge of pedigrees" — Encyclopaedia Britannica.



THUANTAK (Suantak) had four sons. An early settlement on the eastern side of the Siyin Valley was named after him and still bears the name.



Page 129 of "The Chin Hills Gazetteer, 1896"

"The Siyin Clan Twantak family is descended from Ne Nu, and the Limkai, Toklaing, and Bweman families are all the direct descendants of Ne Nu's younger brother, Vanlok, and thus the whole tribe is merely one family".

"There can be no doubt that the Chins and the Kukis (Yo, Thados & Nwite-s) are one and the same race, for their appearance, manners, customs, and language all point to this conclusion" — From "History of the Thados, Yo-s and Nwite-s" on page 138 of the Chin Hills Gazetteer.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF VUM KO HAU LUNMUN THUANTAK OF THE SIYIN VALLEY

8.	1. TOHIN	2. SEAKTAK	3. THUANTAK						
9.	1. NGENGU	2. NEILUT	3. DAITONG	4. VANGLOK					
10.			1. THUKLAI	2. LIMKHAI					
11.	1. LUNMUN	2. SUMNIANG	3. TUANNUAM	4. ZAMANG	5. ZANGKAI				
12.		KIM-KIK							
13.		LEN-KIK							
14.		MUN-AI							
15.	1. MANGZONG	2. HAUTONG	3. TUN NGO	4. LAI TENG (with second wife)					
16.	1. TUNLUN	2. LAIPHUT	3. TONKIM	4. KIPSUNG					
17.		CHIEF LUN VUM of Lunmun							
18.	1. PHUT DIM (f) killed by Saizangs at Ai-na Mual	2. PHUTKIP	3. MANGTHUK	4. CHIEF Lai PHUT THUAM married Tung Ngiak Limkhai					
19.	1. CHIEF Tun LUN KAM, m. Hang Vung Kuntong Founder and Chief of Mualnuam near Kalemyo. Assassinated at Kale in 1228 B.E. (1867 A.D.)	2. Lo THAW DIM (f)	3. LUN VUM HAU m. Za Ngiak, d/o Chief Luathuam of Lophel and Pi Tong Dim Kimlai						
20.	1. CHIEF Mang THUK KHAM of Lunmun, Bel-Lei m. Tuangtin Luatong Withdrew to Vangteh and shifted to Bel-Lei when Field Marshal White, V.C., O.M., occupied his Lunmun seat and erected Fort White on the locality in 1889	2. Tuang NGIAK DIM (f)	3. TING HAU (f) Taken prisoner when her father Chief Lun Kam was killed Married to Myothugyi U Aung Gaung of Indin; died after British occupation of the Chin Hills	4. KAM KHAI m. Suaktung d/o Hanmang whose sister was Pi Tuang Ngiak (Mrs Phut Thuam) His son acting Lunmun Chief Kam Pum was exiled as Political prisoner for four years in Myingyan Jail by the British	5. TING HAU m. Suakmang Kuntong	6. CHIEF Vum HAU VUM of Lunmun m. Maang Vung, sister of Chief Mang Lun of Sakhiling. Political prisoners for four years in Myingyan Jail for resistance against British annex- ation. The author was named after him.			
21.	(f) + 1. Phut THUAM DIM	2. Lun KAM VUNG (f) m. Tuang On Thatmun of Theizang and Fort White; a Siyin hero.	3. Hang VUNG TINGH (f) +	4. Vum HAUNGIAK (f) +	5. Thaw DIMKHAWTING (f) m. Revd. Saya Thuam Hang Tongseel; First Christian convert in the Chin Hills.	6. Hang VUNG MANG (f) m. Lian Suak Limkhai.	7. Kam KHAI KAM +	8. Mi ZA KHUP m. Ciang Zam daughter of Lopnel Chief Mansuang	9. Do SUANG KAM +
22.	1. Hau VUM KO HAU F.R.A.I., F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S. m. Ngiak MANG KHAW TIIN First Zo Chin Cabinet Member in Bogyoke Aung San's Cabinet and one of the four Founding Fathers of the Union of Burma.	2. Thuk KAM CIN KHAI m. Tingh Tiang. Captain Burma army Aide-de-Camp to Presidents of the Union, Sao Shwe Thalke and Dr. Ba U	3. Hau (f) TIIN KO MANG m. Mang Thawng Mangzong	4. Tuang (f) TIIN ZA m. Major Ko Khai	5. Vung (f) TING MANG ZA DIM m. Tuangzakhai	6. Man SUANG CIN PAU, B Com. m. Ting za Pau	7. Kam (+) Pumzating		
23.	1. Ciang ZAM TING PAU 2. Za KHUP KO KHAI 3. Neam MANG TING 4. Lam AWI MAN TING 5. Thian PUM KO PAU 6. Kam PUM ZA DIM 7. Vungza LIAN ZA NIANG 8. Za KHUP KHAN THANG	(Kathleen Vum Ko Hau) (Henry Vum Ko Hau) (Sally Vum Ko Hau) (Janet Vum Ko Hau) (Leonard Vum Ko Hau) (Diana Vum Ko Hau) (Joan Vum Ko Hau) (Anthony Napoleon V.K. Hau)	1. Zam Za Hual 2. Zam Do Ting 3. Khup Za Niang	1. Kamcindal 2. Neamzadim 3. Zakhuplamhtin 4. Mangdopau 5. C. Zamtingkhai 6. S. Vungzatingh 7. Vumko Hauzahuai	1. Thangzapau 2. Haukhandim 3. Zamtinghau	Za Khup Suan Pau			

+ = died without issue
f = female

NOTE ON LUNMUN CHIEFS' GENEALOGICAL TREE DOWN TO AMBASSADOR VUM KO HAU

"The respect for birth and
the knowledge of pedigrees,
the duty of revenge,
the virtue of hospitality,
the clannish feeling,
the suddenness of their raids" — Encyclopaedia Britannica.

THUANTAK was the main progenitor of the Siyin Clan still inhabiting the Siyin Valley. The locality of the small town first founded by Pu Thuantak is still known as Thuantak. It lies in the eastern part of the Siyin Valley and in the Khuasak tribal area. He was the youngest son of Pu Zahong. He had three sons, Tohin, Seaktak and Thuantak. The descendants of Tohin and Seaktak migrated to the northern Chin Hills; they remember Thuantak as Súantak, the accent of the Zo dialect becoming slightly different as one moves further from place to place.

2. One of the earliest female names known to the Lunmun Genealogy was Lai PHUTDIM daughter of Chief Lun Vum. Her name was remembered because of the fact that she met a tragic death. She was killed by the Saizang people at Ai-Na Mual (Above Kalzaang) Kaal Valley, another residence of my forebears.

3. One day Chief Phut Thuam and his two brothers Phutkip and Mangthuk with some other cousins went out to avenge the death of their eldest sister Pi Phut Dim. On their way they saw that Chief Khan Thuam and his clan were surrounded by enemies in Dakdung. They went to help them and rescued the Sokte leaders from the clutches of their enemies. The defeat of the enemy ensued in a formal allegiance between the Lunmun Chiefs and the Sukte Chiefs.

4. Phut Dim's younger brother Phut Kip was also killed by seven Zo people at Vaih Mual above Dimpì on his return from Saizang on a later occasion.

5. Pu Mang Thuk was shot dead by Pu Kop Son of Buanman at a place called Suang Cian near Buanman.

6. Chief Pu Phut Thuam and the greatest Chief among my forebears died in his very old age. He was said to have looked after four of his generations. He no longer had a single hair on his head and outlived almost all his own children. My mother's father, Chief Man Suang of Lophei already knew him at Lunmun and Lophei (when they lived in Thuklai) and used to stay at Chief Pu Phut Thuam's Lunmun House in the daytime during the absence of their parents in the taungyas. He told me that Pu Phut Thuam's head was bent almost to his knees but he was very fit and as intelligent as ever. He married nine times; one at a time. The divorces were due to barrenness. According to the Siyin custom only a son can inherit. He had two sons with his ninth wife, Pi Tuang Ngiak Limkhai. He was the second biggest owner of *Sila* among the Siyin Chiefs.

7. Chief Lun Kam was famous as the Chief of Muitung and Mualnuam. After the destruction of Khuasak all the Khuasak people and other Siyins came to reside in Muitung for collective defence. He was named after Pu Tun Lun. He married Pi Hangvung, daughter of Pu Zon Tuang Kuntong, the sister of his namesake Lun Kam of the Kuntong family of Khuasak. Together with his brother-in-

law and some comrades in arms from Maitung he founded Mualnuam with the permission of the Kale Sawbwa, but he was later treacherously assassinated together with all the elders of the town. He left his eldest son Chief Thuk Kham to remain as Chief of Maitung (or Lunmun) in the Siyin Valley.

8. Miss Thaw Dim was named by Chief Phut Thuam after his rich harvest. Thus Lo Thaw Dim,

9. Vum Hau was named after Chief Lun Vum. He married Za Ngiak, the daughter of the famous Siyin couples, Chief Lua Thuam of Lophei and his wife Pi Tong Dim. He, however, died before he had a child. His wife on account of his nobility and kindness was given in marriage to Chief Thuk Kham but the latter was too young.

10. Chief Pu Thuk Kham was first married to Pi Za Ngiak, the widow of his youngest uncle. His second wife was Pi Tuang Tiin Luatong of the same Lophei family. The third wife was Pi Niang Tiang with whom he had only a son Suang Kam who died in infancy. Chief Thuk Kham accompanied his father Lun Kam in wars since the age of 19 and had taken over the Clan Chieftainship of Lunmun Maitung since his father founded Mualnuam. He fought against many foreign enemies from Maitung Fort which was the best Fort in the Siyin Valley and never lost a battle. The first war he lost was with the British under the personal command of Field Marshal White, V.C., O.M. when he had to withdraw for the first time from his own Clan seat. He withdrew with his sick wife into the jungle camps where she died in unoccupied territory. Chief Thuk Kham was named after Pu Mang Thuk.

After Chief Thuk Kham, the following persons took their names: Kham Mang, an uncle of mine living in Thuklai; Kham Hang, the son of Tuang On and aunt Kam Vung of Theizang and Fort White; Kham Za Cin, a son of Reverend Saya Thuam Hang of Khuasak and aunt Dim Khaw Cing.

As the eldest son of his only surviving son I should have been named after him but Chief Pu Hau Vum had been sent to jail by the British authorities for his political activities for freedom on behalf of the Clan and it was considered fitting to console him for his sufferings. My younger brother Kham Cin Khai was thus named after my grandfather.

11. Miss Ngiak Dim, as the eldest daughter was normally named after her direct grandmother, Pi Tuang Ngiak, wife of Chief Phut Thuam.

12. The third child and daughter of Chief Lun Kam, Miss Tindh Hau migrated to Mualnuam with father and was taken prisoner to Burma where she later became the Myothugyi Kadaw of Indin by marrying U Aung Gaung. Her eldest brother Chief Thuk Kham attempted to retrieve her with compensation but she declined to return to the Siyin Valley saying that she was already happily married to the Myothugyi. She died long after British annexation of the Chin Hills.

13. Pu Kam Khai married Suakting, daughter of Pu Hanmang whose sister Pi Tuang Ngiak was already the wife of Chief Pu Phut Thuam. Thus Pi Suakting followed the aunt Pi Za Ngiak to the same house. Kam Khai had only one son Kam Pum who was named after Chief Lun Kam of Mualnuam. Kam Pum also took as his wife Lam Awi, a third generation of Limkhais commencing with Pi Tuang Ngiak, wife of Chief Phut Thuam. Kam Pum and Lam Awi had no child and I inherited the house and the ancestral lands attached to the Lunmun Maitung House. Pu Kam Khai went to Indin to persuade Pi Tindh Hau to return to the Siyin Valley. On return from Indin he contracted a peculiar disease and died soon after.

14. Ting Hau, the fifth daughter was named after Lak Ting, the eighth wife of Chief Phut Thuam, but who died childless. She was married to Suak Mang Kuntong from Khuasak. They have children but no heir.

15. Hau Vum, the youngest son was named after Vum Hau his youngest uncle who died without heir. Hau Vum was married to Pi Maang Vung, the sister of the wellknown Siyin Chief Mang Lun of Sakhiling. At the time of the British arrival in the Chin Hills, Chief Thuk Kham was already old and Pu Hau Vum and Pa Kam Pum were already acting as joint Chiefs of the Lunmun Clan. All the brothers as well as their nephew Kam Pum withdrew from Lunmun, Thuklai at the time of the arrival of Field Marshal White and General Faunce in Lunmun where the latter erected Fort White, the first British fort in the Chin Hills. Chiefs Hau Vum and Kam Pum looked after the Clan affairs from Sakhiling where they resided with Chief Mang Lun. The absence of the Clan Lunmun Chiefs did not please the British. Resistance and ambushing activities continued for a long time and in due course both Chiefs Hau Vum and Kam Pum were sent as political exiles to Kindat and thence to the Myingyan jails in Burma. As the person who suffered the most grievous insult from the British on his return the usual Ngal-ai was performed in Clan Lunmun House for Chief Hau Vum. On my birth his name was given to me partly to atone for his sufferings. Ordinarily I should have been named as the eldest son after my direct grandfather Chief Thuk Kham.

Beside myself, the following persons were named after Chief Hau Vum: Vum Cin of Dolluang and Tuimui in Burma; Vum Do and Vum Ngo, both killed during the second world war.

16. Miss Thuam Dim; named after great grandfather Chief Phut Thuam. Chief Phut Thuam was the most outstanding of the Clan Chiefs and considered the richest also. His name was famous for a long time and lived to a very old age also. Hence many of his great grandchildren were named after him as a form of respect.

17. Miss Kam Vung; named after her grandfather Chief Lun Kam of Muitung and Mualnuam. She was married to Tuang On Thatmun who was a war hero against the British and other wars. They lived at first in Theizang and moved to the new Fort White station where they opened a merchandise shop. In due course they returned to Khuasak. Her first child Miss Tiin Hau was named after my grandmother Tuang Tiin. She was married to On Khai also of Theizang and Fort White. Her fifth child and only son Kham Hang was named after my grandfather Chief Thuk Kham. Her other children are Miss Son Nuam married to Lam Khaw Zam of the Chin Hills battalion; Miss Pau Neam married to Bohmu Awn Ngin of the military police; Miss Mang Ko Dim married to Staff Captain Bogyi On Zam of the Siyin Independence Army; Miss Hang Niang, the youngest, was married to Suak Ngo of the Chin Hills battalion.

18. Miss Vung Tingh; named after Hang Vung Kuntong, wife of Chief Lun Kam of Muitung and Mualnuam.

19. Miss Hau Ngiak; named after Vum Hau, her grand uncle.

20. Miss Dim Khaw Ting; named after Thaw Dim. Dim Khaw Ting was married to the Reverend Saya Thuam Hang of Khuasak. The couple were the first Christian converts in the Chin Hills. A Golden Jubilee anniversary was held on the occasion in Khuasak, Siyin Valley. About 7,000 Christians gathered for the occasion from all over the Chin Hills and some from Lower Burma.

One of her sons Kham Za Tin was named after my grandfather Chief Thuk Kham. He died in infancy. Her youngest son, Reverend Mang Ko Pau is following in his father's footsteps. Her other children are : Saya Suang Ko Kam, educated in Insein Seminary School; teacher, A. B. M. school, Sakhiling. Sayama Mang Za Ting, the first Lady teacher in the Chin Hills in Khuasak School, then the biggest Chin School. She was married to Subedar Suak Kam of the Chin Hills battalion. Miss Khanh Huai was married to Saya Khai Kho Lian. Mang Kho Pau was named after the arrival of American Baptist Missionaries.

21. The sixth daughter of Chief Thuk Kham was Miss Vung Mang; she got her name from Hang Vung Kuntong, her grandmother, the wife of Chief Lun Kam. She was married to Lian Suak of Limkhai one of whose Sila was Chief Hau Chin Khup, K.S.M. of Tonzang.

22. Khai Kam was named after Kam Khai. His necklace and gunpowder bison horn was handed down to me.

23. Za Khup, the surviving son and heir was named after Mi meaning Men. To control a multitude of Men. He was married to Ciang Zam, daughter of Chief Man Suang, of Lophei. He was the rightful heir of the Lunmun Clan of Thuklai but the British authorities did not give him the official Chieftainship order although a last appeal was made to the Local Government as late as 1935 just before the Second World War. Nevertheless the Lunmun Clan never acknowledged the British appointed chief of a different clan as their Clan chief which was impossible because he was of another clan and not the Clan Lunmun Chief. The British-appointed chief himself admitted Za Khup was the only rightful Lunmun Clan Chieftain. He was, however, appointed as acting Chief of both the Lunmun Clan and the Sumniang Clan just before Japanese occupation whenever the other chief from the Sumniang Clan was employed in the Chin Levies or away in Tiddim on duty. Even during the Japanese period he was automatically nominated as the Chief for the whole Thuklai Clan whenever the contenders were away or arrested by the authorities concerned at different times. On account of the injustices meted out to our Clan he remained a political revolutionary leader of the Clan up to his last days

24. Do Suang Kam, the last son of Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmung Muiung (Upper Thuklai) was named not after his revered forebears but after Field Marshal White, V.C., O.M. and his troops who forced the Chief to leave his Clan seat and settle in a camp beyond Vangteh where he lost his wife. Chief Thuk Kham set fire to Lunmun before he left. Field Marshal White and General Faunce built a Fort named Fort White in Thuk Kham's very seat using the latter's very materials for house building rendering it impossible for him to return to his Clan seat. With the next wife Pi Niang Ciang, he had a son. DO means The Ones whom you attack in Battles; Enemy. Sua means exposed enemies ceremoniously; war festival. Kam is infernal Fire. He was born after the enemy occupation of the Siyin Valley. Each and every Siyin name has a meaning; it usually is dedicated to revered forebears; acknowledging success, noble births, etc. but sometimes to calamity, sickness and war.

25. I was named after Chief Hau Vum. I was married to Mang Khaw Tiin, daughter of Chief Za Khup Kimlai of Buanman.

26. Kham Cin Khai was named after our grandfather Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun and Bel-Lai. He was married to Tinghi Tiang, daughter of Hang Khaw Kam, formerly of the Chin Hills battalion.

27. Miss Tiin Khaw Mang was married to Mang Thawng of the education department. She was named after grandmother Hau Tiin of Lophei.
28. Miss Tiin Za Ting was named after grandmother Tuang Tiin. She was married to Captain Thian Kho Khai of the Burma army.
28. Miss Mang Za Dim was named after Vung Mang, wife of uncle Lián Suak of Limkhai. She was married to Tuangza Khai.
30. Suang Cin Pau was named after our grandfather Chief Mang Suang of Lophei. He was married to Ting Za Pau Tunggo.
31. Miss Pum Za Ting was named after Chief Kam Pum whose house I inherited.
32. Miss Vung Za Lian was named after the eldest auntie Kam Vung, wife of Tuang On.

My father's name had been taken by a number of persons.

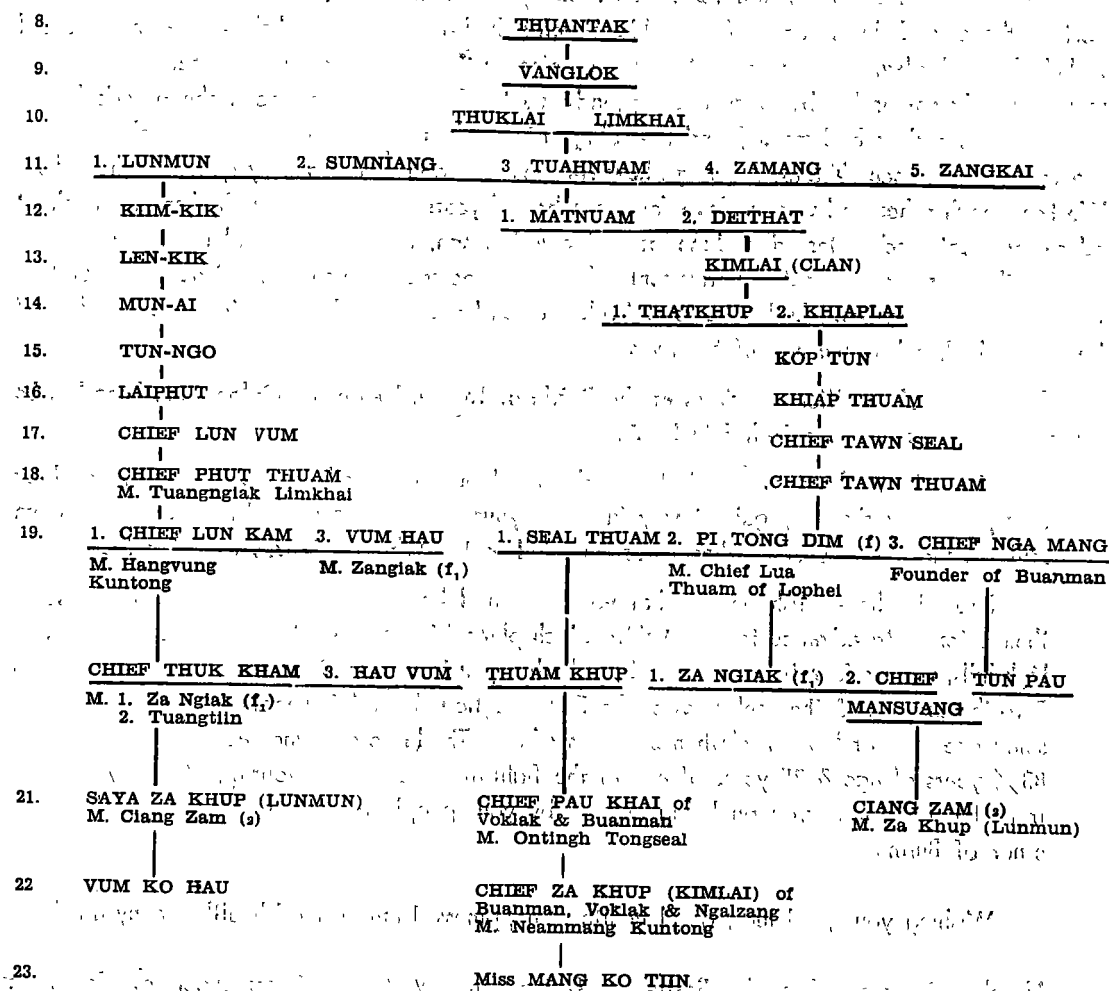
1. Khup Khaw Khai, my eldest son.
2. Khup Za Muang, a son of one of his deacons, Elder Vum Ngin and son of Chief Ngo Kho Thang.
3. Khup Ko Thang, a son of Am Suak.
4. Khup Za Niang, a daughter of Captain Kham Cin Khai.
5. Khup Lamh Tin, a son of Tiin Khaw Mang and Mang Thawng.
6. Khup Za Ting, a daughter of Tiin Za Ting and Thian Kho Khai.
7. Khup Suan Pau, the eldest son of Sung Cin Pau, B. Com.
8. Khup Za Cin, a son of Thuam Khai.

My mother's name had been taken by :

1. Zam Ting Pau, my eldest daughter.
2. Zam Za Huai, eldest daughter of Kham Cin Khai.
3. Zam Ting Khai, daughter of Tiin Khaw Mang.
4. Zam Ting Hau, daughter of Tiin Za Ting.

Hau Za Huai, a daughter of Tiin Khaw Mang was named after me.

JOINT ANCESTRY OF VUM KO HAU AND MISS MANG KO TIIN



The Kimlai people are descendants of Thuklai, the Founder of Thuklai. Up to the time of the founding of Buanman by Clan Chief Ngamang, the Kimlai people resided in Thuklai.

Beside their 11th generation Clan Chiefs LUNMUN and TUAHNUAN being brothers it would be seen from the sub-joined batular pedigree that Vum Ko Hau as a great-grandson of Pi Tong Dim Kimlai, is also closely related to Miss Mang Ko Tiin. Pi Tong Dim was married to the Lophei Chief Lua Thuam. At the attack of Lophei by enemy Pi Tong Dim was taken prisoner but was redeemed with slaves and other goods. At the time of her capture she was pregnant and the daughter born after her release was named Za Ngiak. Za Ngiak was first married to Vum Hau. Vum died without an issue and his elder brother Chief Lun gave her in marriage to his own young son Thuk Kham but the latter was too young and the marriage did not consummate. The author's own mother is Pi Tong Dim's granddaughter. Her father was Chief Mansuang, the son of Pi Tong Dim.

As a result of the battle of Tartan (Taitan) the Kimlai Clan were also greatly depleted by the British troops as the lives of women and children were not spared.

I was married to Mang Khaw Tiin, granddaughter of Chief Pau Khai of the Kimlai Clan, on the 11th October 1938 soon after I got a permanent job. Her grandfather who was Chief of Buanman took over the Chieftainship of the Kimlai Clan when Chief Lian Kam fell in the Taitan Fort on the day of the Battle of Tartan. Her parents died prematurely and she had to leave school to help her elder brother, the young Chief in running the Kimlai House at Buanman. Our fathers were not only namesakes but very great friends. Each of them used to open the other's letters by mistake but they had mutual understanding not to take it as an offence. I was a classmate of the young Chief since childhood. Mang Khaw Tiin was regarded as the beauty queen of the valley. We knew each other and were in love for a number of years. As soon as finished my high school education, aunts and uncles advised me, being the eldest son, to take her hand in marriage but I insisted that I must first get a permanent job. When too many persons found out the fact that we were in love and betrothed, parents and relatives on both sides advised us to get married and I became a husband at the age of twenty-one.

The winner of the Victoria Cross at the Battle of Tartan, Lieutenant-Colonel Ferdinand S. Le Quesne wrote to me on the 14th July 1947 :

"I thank you for your nice letter of the 22nd may received on the 11th July recalling to my memory the very gallant way in which your men fought us at "Tartan" in the Chin Hills on the 4th May 1889 when I was wounded in the left arm & was awarded the V.C.

I saw in the English papers that your men had been fighting against the Japanese in their attempt to advance to Fort White which place I knew well. I liked your country with its high hills, valleys & water courses — I would like you to give my best wishes to the Siyin Clan & to the survivors & their relatives of the Tartan action. I send 2 Photos, signed by me. The small one is what I was like when 37 years of age. The large one when about 47 of age. I am 83½ years of age & 25 years of age at the fight at Tartan. I note your age & a very nice age it is. I congratulate you on being elected by your people as their Counsellor to the Governor of Burma.

Wishing you good luck, good health & happiness. I am in good health for my age."

Nearly 60 years after the Battle of Tartan, the IV Corps Commander of Southeast Asia Command, General Sir Frank Messervy, KCSI., wrote to me about another battle around the same locality :

"The story of Fort White and its defence by the Chin Levies was a glorious one. I remember so well the splendid efforts of the Chin Levies in our reconquest of Burma."

SIYIN WAR CHIEFS AND LEADERS AGAINST FIELD MARSHAL WHITE

of the British Army and other Armies.

"Alaungpaya himself returned with a large force, containing Shan and CHIN LEVIES; to Syriam which his men had started to besiege soon after the capture of Rangoon".

History of Burma, G. E. Harvey.

I. KHUASAK :

Chief Khup Pau ; Chief Khai Kam ; Pau Thang Thatmun ; Tuang On Thatmun ; Thang Hau Tuanthang ; Lian Khai Kuntong ; Thuam Son no Thatmun ; Thuam Son pui Taukon ; Dong Tun Namzo ; Vum Son Hangman ; On Son Tongseal.

The following leaders took more active parts in early pre-annexation wars : On Hang Hangman ; Kip Taung Thatmun ; Thuk Tuang Tongseal ; Khup Son Kuntong ; Suak Lam Khupthang ; Hong Kam Kuntong ; Nga Suang Tongseal ; Kham Thuk Tuanthang.

II. LUNMUN (THUKLAI).

Chief Thuk Kham ; Chief Hau Vum ; Kam Pum ; Tuang Hau, Kam Ngo ; En Suang ; Thuam Ngul ; Vum Khai ; Vum Kam ; Mang Son ; Hang Tuang ; Kham Pau ; Vum Thang ; Kam Ngul ; Zon Hang.

III. SUMNIANG (THUKLAI)

Chief Kam Lam ; Khum Lian, Kim Thuan, Nga Thuam ; Thuam Ngo ; Chief Ngo Ko Thang ; Pau Thang ; Zong Lam ; Ton Dong ; Khum Lian ; Thuam Suak.

IV. BUANMAN.

Chief Lian Kam ; Chief Pau Khai ; Khup Vum ; Lam Son ; On Ngul ; Za Vum ; Kip Khai ; Lam Tun ; Mang Khoi ; Do Lian ; Thang Kiim, Kai On ; Huat Thang ; Kang Son.

V. LIMKHAI.

Thang Hau ; Kim Suang ; Thuk Vum ; Son Thuam ; Kam Suak ; Kim Hang ; Mang Suang ;

VI. LOPHEI.

Chief Khup Lian ; Pau Suang ; Chief Man Suang ; Lu Kim ; Zong On ; Thuam Khai ; Khan Khup ; Za Khup.

VII. THANGNUAI.

Hang Suan ; On Neng ; Thual Tun.

VIII. VAIPHEI.

Chief Mang Thual ; Mangpi Lam ; Kai Lal.

- IX. The Lophei, Thangnuai and Vaiphei peoples resided at the time in Khuasak, Siyin Valley. Other contingents from Mualbem were led by Hau Khaw Zam and the Tedims were led by Vai Kham; Thuam Pau; Vum Kam and Khaw Cin.

The lists of leading War Chiefs and Leaders as well as heroes and members of the Siyin fighting forces were given to me by various persons: Uncle Chief Khup Lian the Lophei War Chief and wellknown hero who snatched away the Henry Martin rifle in a hand-to-hand battle and who is still hale and hearty. He could name his comrades-in-arms without hesitation; I am obliged to him for a general list and in particular for the Vaiphei, Thangnuai, Mualbem and Tedim lists. He alone could give me the Vaiphei list. Uncle Tuang On of Khuasak and a wellknown hero in different wars gave me the general list; so also sons of War Chiefs like Capt. Ngin Zam, O.B., B.G.M. gave me a list together with some war songs of his famous forbears. My father's list covered the majority of the Siyin Clan contingents. Nu Neem Vung, the historian, daughter-in-law of Chief Lian Kam of Taitan (Tartan) and Pa Hong Suak, a survivor of the Tartan battle gave me an exhaustive list from the Kimlai and Limkhai Clans as well as the Taitan casualty list.

Each Clan or family was usually led by one from the family. The lists are more or less in family or clan groups rather than seniority of command. Sometimes slaves who fought were bracketted with the Lords. All the able-bodied men voluntarily went to the front and in some cases a single household sent three to six persons. Food, ammunition and gunpowder were sent by boys and womenfolk to their respective family fighters at the front. The elderly men assisted by the women and young boys manufactured powder and ammunition at home. The lists cover names of fighters in various wars before and after the British annexation.

SIYIN VETERANS WHO WENT INTO ACTION AGAINST THE FIRST BRITISH INVASION OF THE CHIN HILLS UNDER THE PERSONAL COMMAND OF MAJOR GENERAL SIR GEORGE WHITE, V.C., K.C.B., OF FORT WHITE, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF UPPER BURMA AND BRIGADIER GENERALS FAUNCE AND SYMONS 1888 — 1895.

"The most difficult enemy to see or hit. I ever fought"
Field Marshal White, V.C., O.M.

I. THUKLAI SIYIN CONTINGENTS UNDER TWO CHIEFDOMS OF LUNMUN AND SUM-
NIANG AGAINST GENERAL WHITE'S ARMY 1888 — 1895.

LUNMUN THUKLAI (UPPER THUKLAI)

I. CHIEF PU THUK KHAM OF LUNMUN, BEL-LEI AND ZO

His songs dedicated to his encounter with the British troops :

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) A. Zuah ngel awng tuang
Nusia na tia
Tuang lam hai bang
Ngak ing nge | Oh Parents !
Although you had departed
from me
I remained on in the family
abode as one waiting for a
mango tree |
| B. Miim phung awng, tuang
Nusia na tia
Taang ka ngual taw
Tiam hi veeng nge
Lei Do simlu
Khai ing nge | Oh Relatives !
You have migrated
But I still cooperated
with cousins
And exhibited
enemies' heads |

Some Lunmun people had migrated to Khuasak at the time of the first invasion of the Chin Hills by the British under General Sir George White's command. Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun, Bel-lei and Zo was left to organise the Lunmun contingent from the three areas and was still successful. His parents who were his main mentors in previous wars had died.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (2) A. Miim phung puan bang
Ka Hua Huai nan
Ka Sau beltui bang nin zia | For looking after
My Clansmen so often
My mansion had become so neglected |
| B. Mom no puan bang
Ka Hua Huai nan
Mualtin ah sang dai Kai nge | For paving the future
of the Youths
I erected vigilance forts on all Hills |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(3) A. Nu tun mun inn
Pa zua peak suang
Do ta lum Phul bang zia</p> <p>B. Zang Si Khua Mual
Ki Toi tung pan
Do ta hong Neam
Ka lam maw</p> | <p>In motherly Mansion
On parental choice slabs
Enemies swarmed like flies</p> <p>From the Lofly
Siyin Valley
May enemies
behave decently</p> |
|---|---|

When the fall of the Siyin Valley was imminent, Chief Thuk Kham evacuated to Khuabel beyond Vangteh, without surrendering to General Sir George White, V.C.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(4) A. San sing seng eh
San sing seng
Za ta hong san
sing seng nge</p> <p>B. Phung Siallum la
Hong Neam ta ze
Malki bang Leang
thong ing nge</p> | <p>Strange sights !
Strange sights !
Foreigners appear
strangely</p> <p>Clansmen's shield
had become pliable
I am forced to flee
like a parrot</p> |
| <p>(5) A. Do ma naw ah,
Kawi maa tiang Suan
Siing khua mual ah
Suak ing nge</p> <p>B. Siing dai nen ah
Kawi Tha Kiak ni-in
Phung Lun sun nau
Bang Ka-ng nge</p> | <p>Ahead of advancing enemy
With my Love in front
I appeared at the Gate of
Another town</p> <p>In satellite habitation
On day Love's life ebbed away
I sobbed like a child
For my Lordly Kinsmen</p> |

He took along his wife Pi Tuang Tiin and his young son and heir Za Khup to Khuabel where the Chief's wife died in the evacuation camp.

Notes on the above (War) songs :

1. Some Lunmun people settled in Khuasak at the time of the first invasion of the Chin Hills by the British troops. Chief Thuk Kham of Lunmun, Bel-lei and Zo was left to organise the Lunmun contingent and was successful.
2. Thuklai was founded on an elevated hill projecting into the Siyin Valley and had been an ideal fort as all comers could be espied from vigilance posts around the town. General White selected it as the first Fort in the Chin Hills and again the Japanese advance shock troops used the same locality for digging their tunnelled fort which was not retaken from the time they occupied it until it was recaptured by a contingent of the Siyin Independence Army under the personal command of Bogyi Jemadar Mang Hua, a holder of both the Silver Jubilee and the Coronation medals and a mention in despatches.

3. When General White's army reached Khuasak Chief Thuk Kham fired Lunmun Thuklai and fled to Khuabel with his wife and heir, Za Khup. His younger brother acting Chief Hau Vum and his nephew Kam Pum evacuated to the unoccupied lower Siyin Valley to reside with Hau Vum's brother-in-law Chief Mang Lun of Sakhiling.

4. Khuasak was occupied on the 4th February 1889 and Thuklai on the 13th February. General White not only took Thuklai but built the original Fort White at upper Thuklai (Lunmun) which was the seat of Chief Thuk Kham. He and his relatives had deserted Lunmun and the enemy used "the houses of the village furnishing material for it".

5. Pi Tuang Tiin, wife of Chief Thuk Kham Lunmun, died in the evacuation camp and the preliminary funeral rites were performed. Chief Thuk Kham at first resided in Vangteh itself where he could impart his advice and knowledge about the enemy disposition. When his wife got sick they had to be evacuated to Khuabel as the propitiation ceremony was different from those of the Tual Thang's family with whom they stayed at Vangteh.

Chief Thuk Kham returned to his tribal area after the fall of Vangteh, Saizang and Tiddim but refused to resettle in Thuklai as the British had used it as their headquarters. He went direct to one of his satellite towns at Bel-Lei and performed the funeral of his wife there.

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Chief Pu Thuk Kham | 21. Son Suak |
| 2. Hau Vum, Chief, a hero | 22. Tuang Kham |
| 3. Thuam Suang | 23. Sung Hang |
| 4. En Suang, a hero | 24. Song Lam |
| 5. Kam Ngo, a hero | 25. Hau Sing |
| 6. Tuang Hau, a hero | 26. Son Tuang |
| 7. Thuam Ngul, a hero | 27. Vum Son |
| 8. Kam Thang | 28. Soon Kham |
| 9. Lun Ngo | 29. Zong Thuam |
| 10. Vum Khai, a hero | 30. On Kam |
| 11. Tun Vum | 31. Vum Suang |
| 12. Kam Pum | 32. Pom Zuul |
| 13. Tuang Kim | 33. Vum Lian |
| 14. Thang Pau | 34. Vum Thang, a hero |
| 15. Mang Son | 35. Kam Vum |
| 16. Vum Kam | 36. Pau Thang |
| 17. Mang Son, a hero | 37. Pau Lian |
| 18. Kam Hang | 38. Hang Tuang, a hero |
| 19. Thuam Suak | 39. Kham Pau, a hero |
| 20. Kip On | 40. Kam Ngul, a hero |

II. SUMNIANG THUKLAI (LOWER THUKLAI)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 41. Thuam Ngo, a hero | 46. Lam Mang |
| 42. Khup Khai | 47. Kam Ko Thang |
| 43. Mang Lian | 48. Khan Mang, Sumniang chief |
| 44. Tuan Kim | 49. Nga Thuam, a hero |
| 45. Kam Lam, Dumniang chief | 50. Thang Suan |

51. Hong Thuam
52. Son Hang
53. Peem Tuang
54. Khup Hang
55. Hong Tuang
56. Kham Pau
57. Lam Hau
58. Khum Lian
59. Tuang Kam

60. Nga Son
61. Lun Son
62. On Suang
63. On Thang
64. Kim Thuam
65. Hau Khai
66. On Tuang
67. Hong Suak

III. VETERANS FROM KHUASAK CONTINGENT, AGAINST GENERAL WHITE AND OTHER BRITISH TROOPS, 1888 — 1895

1. Chief Khup Pau Ngalphuak
2. Mang Suang
3. Khai Kam, Hero. Later transported to the Andamans for resistance and the Siyin Rebellion of 1892.
4. Mang Pum, later first Chin Subedar in the Army.
2 to 4 were sons of Chief Khup Pau.

The following is Mang Pum's song :

Do in nialzia
Kimpui Khan ngual in nial zia

Chased by enemies
Denied by friends and
contemporaries

Ke henkol taw
Khua thang tio tui kal ing

In chains
I crossed the mighty
Tio river

Tha vaang eeng ten
Ngalsial beng hong en nia ve
Ah nu ciaingin
Zangsi khan
ngual sing ingh

Traitors
had watched my movements
In time I had surpassed
my Siyin
contemporaries

Subedar Mang Pum and his brother, one of the Siyin rebel leaders, Khai Kam, did not surrender; they were promised amnesty but when they came forward they were arrested and sent to exile in the Andaman Islands.

5. Chief Lian Vum
6. Mang Khup
7. Lian Khai, a hero
8. Mang Vung
9. Pau Tuang and
10. Lam Son brothers
11. Suang Lian

12. Khan Lian
13. Mang Ngo
14. Vum Kham and
15. Khai Hau brothers
16. Pau Suan, messenger
17. Suak Mang
18. Lam Ngo

19. Hau Mang, killed in action at Kale
20. Han Mang (Ngawnuai)
21. Za Mang
22. Za Vum
23. Vum Hau
24. Thang Hau, a hero
25. Pau Mang
26. Sen Lian
27. Kam Ngo, a hero
28. Za Thuam
29. Pau Kip
30. Thang Kam
31. Khai Lian
32. Hang Kham
33. Thuk Hang
34. Kip Hang
35. Do Hang
36. Kai Tuang
37. Thuam Liim
38. Thuam Son, a commanding hero
39. Thuam Lam, killed in action at Kale
40. On Tun
41. On Suang, a hero
42. Kam Thang
43. Dong Tun
44. Hang Lian Namzo
45. Lam Khai
46. Nga Mawng from Lophei Suangthang's house
47. Mang Lian
48. Mang Tuang
49. Suak Hau, a hero
50. Pau Khen, messenger and ration carrier
51. Pau Pum — do —
52. Suan Lam
53. Lun Son
54. Nga Vum, messenger
55. Son Suang Thatmun
56. Pau Thang, a hero
57. Tuang On, a hero and a Commander
58. Tun Kham
59. Lun Suak
60. Thuam Hang
61. Vum Tuang
62. Son Thuam
63. Kip Tuang
64. Suak Ngul
65. Son Dong
66. On Thang
67. Lam Vum
68. Hong Tuang
69. Thuam Son
70. Lam Lun
71. Lam Ngo
72. Thang Ngul
73. Thuam Hang Tongseal
74. Huat Kam
75. Thuam Kam, 73 to 75 brothers
76. Tun Ngo
77. Thuk Ngo
78. Kam Kim and
79. Kam Tun brothers
80. Kam Khup
81. Suang Son
82. Thang Dai
83. Do Ngin
84. Mang Tun 83 to 84 brothers
85. Hang Kip (Aung Phaw) A Yaw Chin who came up to the Siyin Valley from Kale with two English flint lock guns and fought with the Siyins.
86. Son Lam
87. Thang On
88. Do Thang
89. Thawang Lian
90. On Tuang
91. Tuang Suak
92. Pau Son
93. Suak Hang
94. Kip Hang
95. Hong Son
96. Lam Pau
97. Hong Kam
98. Tuang Zam
99. Za Do
100. Suak Zam

101. Hau Suang
102. On Son
103. Pau Suang
104. Lian Kim
105. Kip Son
106. Zom Pau
107. Suan Pau
108. Lua Vum
109. Kam Suang
110. Son Kim, a hero

111. Hang Tuang
112. Kham Pau
114. Hang Thuam
115. Zong Lam
116. Vum Son, a hero
117. Hang Mang
118. Mang Thual Vaiphei
119. Lamhn Son
120. Mang Vungh
121. Dong Tun, a hero

IV. LIMKHAI VETERANS WHO FOUGHT AGAINST GENERAL SIR GEORGE WHITE'S BRITISH TROOPS AND OTHER BRITISH TROOPS FROM KALE VALLEY TO THE CHIN HILLS. 1888 — 1895.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Hau Sing | 26. Hang Sing |
| 2. Hang Kham | 27. Son On |
| 3. Mang Phut Innlai | 28. Kim Thang |
| 4. Chief Mang Lun (Mrs Hau Vum's brother) | |
| 5. Son Hau | 29. Kam Khai |
| 6. Pau Kim | 30. Kham Mang |
| 7. Pau Son Vungthuam | 31. Thang Pau |
| 8. Kam Suan | 32. Thang Son |
| 9. On Thuam Haunam | 33. Khup Sing |
| 10. Thang Do | 34. Hau Tun |
| 11. Kim Suang, Commander and Hero | 35. Mang Pau (Liangnuai house) |
| 12. Kim Hang | 36. Tun Mang |
| 13. Kang Tuang | 37. Mang Ngo |
| 14. Mang Tuang | 38. Mang Thuam |
| 15. Do Thuam | 39. Kim Lam (Taapi house) |
| 16. Lu Thang | 40. Kham Son |
| 17. Son Kham | 41. Hen Suan Saizang |
| 18. Khup Hau, father of Chief Hang Ngo | 42. Hau Kham |
| 19. En Vum | 43. Mang Lam (41 to 43 were brothers) |
| 20. Pau Thuam | 44. Tuan Pau |
| 21. Tuang Hau | 45. Hau Thuam |
| 21. Tuang Hau | 46. Thuam Lam |
| 22. Pau Lian | 47. Hong Lam, a hero |
| 23. Nga Kam | 48. Lam Tun |
| 24. Hau Suan | 49. Thang Hau, a Commander and Hero : |
| 25. Hang Suang | |

His song dedicated to the Taitan (Tartan) Battle where a large number of the Kimlai Clan including women and children were massacred by the British troops.

1. Phung taw tiam ngawl, ngai taw tiam a
 Kado Khuam bang nang ing nge
 Ziat le vei pan lambang kot ah
 Ka ngai ngit bang hung lang nge

Without the cooperation of my tribe
 But only with loved ones
 I stood against my enemies like a post
 I failed to defend my loved ones as grain from sparrows

2. Tung Tunni kim khen man ngawl ah
 Hau tawi huan thing bang ki sia
 Tung Soltha sul heek man ngal ah
 Mual teng pan ning tui siah

The Sun has not reached its zenith
 But noble men have been stacked like wood (in piles)
 The Moon has not travelled half its orbit
 And Water has been offered in memory at all
 Mountain Gates

50. Pau Thual, a defender of Family Fort at
 Taitan (Tartan)
 51. Kai Khup Suante
 52. Mang Thang
 53. Kim Kham
 54. Suak Son
 55. Lam Sing Haunam
 56. Hong Pau
 57. Tuang Khup

58. Thang Suan
 59. Hang Khup
 60. On Tuang Thatmun
 61. Pau Tuang
 62. Suan Pau
 63. Mang Suang
 64. Kham Lian
 65. Pau Suang

V. SIYIN CONTINGENTS (KIMLAI CLAN) AGAINST GENERAL WHITE'S ARMY AND OTHER BRITISH AND GURKHA TROOPS UP TO THE CAPTIVE OF THE HISTORIC SIYIN FORT OF TAITAN (TARTAN) ON 4TH OF MAY 1889.

KIMLAI (BUANMAN)

1. Chief Pau Khai
 2. Thang Kiim
 3. Kai On
 4. On Suang
 5. Kam Pum
 6. Do Thang
 7. Suak On
 8. Tun Thang
 9. Thang Tuang pa
 10. Thang Tuang

11. En Kham
 12. Zong Lam
 13. Pau Lam
 14. Hang Sing
 15. Mang Khoi, a Hero
 16. Khai Son
 17. Son Thual
 18. Khup On; Dainuai house
 19. Suum Son
 20. Kai Son

21. Mang Hang
22. Pau Kham
23. Kip Hang
24. Hang Tun
25. Chief Lian Kam of Taitan, Commander of Taitan Fort. Killed in action at the Fort on 4th May 1889 and succeeded by his son.
26. Chief Do Lian of Taitan (Tartan). Exiled to the Myingyan jail on behalf of his dead father Chief Lian Kam for the heroic defence of Taitan Fort. He died in Myingyan jail in 1894.
27. Kam Tin
28. Vum Mang
29. Vial Ngai
30. Khai On
31. Pau Suang
32. Lamh Thuam
33. Vum Suang
34. Hau Khai
35. Tuang Hang
36. Kam Suan
37. Khup Vum, a Hero.
38. On Tuang
39. Pau Thual, a heroic defender of Family Fort at Taitan (Tartan). He had a bad knee received through a fall from a tree. He killed a number of the enemy from his Fort. Not a single bullet hit him. He composed the following song in connection with the action.

Phung Sakluang le leido sakluang
 Tul Luang thing bang hong ki phom
 Phung luang lumsuang bang bel ing
 Pu von min nam sial ing

Bodies of relatives and enemies
 Were heaped like logs on one another
 Bodies of relatives served as my fort
 And called the heroic names of my clansmen
 as I killed the enemy.

41. Kam Suak, a Hero
42. Khat Kam
43. Hau Kham
44. Son Thuk
45. Hang Thang
46. Zong Tun
47. Mun Kam
48. Lian Thuam
49. Tuang Thang
50. Hang Tun

51. Tuang Vum
52. Lam Khup killed in action at Taitan (Tartan)
53. Thang Ngo
54. Khup Suang
55. Tuang Sing
56. Vum Kham
57. Khup On
58. Khan Vum Lengzang
59. Lam Son, a hero
60. On Ngul, a Hero
61. Lam Tun, a Hero
62. Suan Thang
63. Tuang Thuam
64. Zong Kim
65. Lam Thuk
66. Tuang Mang
67. Thuam Kam
68. Zong On
69. Pem Tuang
70. Za En
71. Vum Lian
72. Vum Tuang, killed in action at Taitan (Tartan) on 4th May, 1889
73. Za Vum, killed in action at Taitan, a Hero
74. Lu Kam killed in action at Taitan
75. Zong Thuam killed in action at Taitan
76. Kip Khai, a Hero
77. En Thuam
78. Huat Thang, a Commander
79. Tun Ngo
80. Za Huat
81. Hong Son
82. Khup Son fell in action at Leisan, Mual, No. 3 Stockade
83. Son On fell in action at Kale
84. Lam Suak — ditto —
85. Thuk Lam
86. Thuam Suang killed in action at Kalemyo by British troops
87. Thuk Ngo
88. Kim Suang
89. Thang Ngul
90. Khai Thuam
91. Son Kam
92. On Tun
93. Tun Siang
94. On Kham
95. Lam Suan

VI. LOPHEI, THANGNUAI AND VAIPHEI VETERANS AGAINST THE BRITISH :

1888 — 1895

1. Chief Pu Khup Lian, Commanding Hero

Only Chin to capture the rifle of the enemy whom he killed.

His song was dedicated to it :

Vang Khua suantu

Leido vaimang

Ni khat pil bang the nge

Al bang that ing

Hautoi hing ci-ing

Kawltiang tui bang La ing nge

Za lai ah Kansaang ing nge

Enemy attempting to capture

my Glorious town

I scattered like pebbles

I swore that

I was the son of a highborn King

And killed enemies like chickens

Besides capturing an enemy gun

I am exalted among the hundreds

2. Thuam Khai, a hero

3. Chief Man Suang

4. Lu Kim, a hero

5. Mang Suang, a hero

6. Hang Pau

7. Hang Ngin

8. Mang Thawng

9. Za Khup of Lophei

10. Kam Suan

11. Son Suan

12. Zong On, a hero

13. En Vum

14. Suak Son

15. On Puan

16. Son Lam

17. Suak Lam

18. On Ngul

19. Phut Son

20. Tuang Suak

21. Kip Seal

22. Zong Kim

23. Lam Hau of Thuklai residing at Khuasak

24. Vum Hang

— do —

25. On Lian

26. Kam Vum

27. Kam Ngul

28. On Suang

29. Vum Thang

30. Tuan Kim

31. Zong Lam

32. On Thang

33. Do Mang

34. Thuam Vum

35. Son Mang

36. Zuan Kam

37. Kam Mang

38. Suak Hang

39. Nga Mong (Yaw Chin)

40. Lam Suak

41. Khan Hang

42. Khup Hang

43. Thuam Suang

44. Khan Khup, a hero

45. Ngam Khai

46. Hen Lal

47. Pau Suang, a hero

Women who went to the front to replenish food and ammunition

48. Tiang Nuam, Khai Ngo's mother

49. Kam Dim, Ma Pe Yi, Yaw Chin

VII. THANG NUA! VETERANS

As told to me by Chief Pu Khup Lian on 14th July, 1960 at 07.45 hours at Lunmun Innpi.

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. Hang Suan, killed two British soldiers | 8. Khup Ngul |
| 2. On Neng, Hero | 9. Kam Tuang |
| 3. Thual Tun, a hero | 10. On Sing |
| 4. Ton Son | 11. Suak On |
| 5. Kip Khai | 12. Thual Tuang |
| 6. On Son | 13. On Vum |
| 7. On Tun | 14. Pau Lam |

The above veterans also resided with the Lophei, Khuasak and Vaiphei people at Khuasak and the Valley below it. They all were of the Thuantak clan. The above Thangnuais have since migrated to Thangnuai village on the north side of the Siyin Valley on another hill of the Thang Mual (Kennedy Peak) and the Vaipheis across the Manipur river to the West.

VIII. VAIPHEI VETERANS

The following Vaiphei cousins of the Siyin Thuantaks from Tuitong, Suangkang and Tung Zang migrated to the Siyin Valley when they were driven away by their local enemies and lived together with the Lopheis and Khuasaks and some Thuklais in the Valley below Khuasak. They made a pact with the Siyins by the customary tradition of touching one another with buffalo tails, to help each other in time of war. The Vaipheis true to their allegiance assisted the Siyins in their war against the British. The list was as told to me by my uncle, Chief Pu Khup Lian of Lophei on the 4th of July, 1960:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. Mang Thual,
a Commanding Vaiphei leader | 17. Minh Pau |
| 2. Mangpi Lam | 18. Tong Lian |
| 3. Kai Lal.
The above three were the heroic leaders. | 19. Thang Kop |
| 4. Thawng Khaw Lun | 20. Pau Tho |
| 5. Pa Lal | 21. Vungh Za Pau |
| 6. Tawngpi Mang | 22. Thang Nei Khup |
| 7. Thang Ko Lian | 23. Vung Lian |
| 8. Kai Lal | 24. Nei Pau |
| 9. Pa Vel | 25. Pum Kam |
| 10. Vungh Kam | 26. Pi Mang |
| 11. Mangnei Khai | 27. Awn Khup |
| 12. Kawltin Thang | 28. Lul Khup |
| 13. Nei Thang | 29. Pau Khaw Lun |
| 14. Pa Sum | 30. Thang Bawng |
| 15. Khawl Tiin | 31. Hau Zang |
| 16. Lun Za Tawng | 32. Thual Za Thang |
| | 33. Mat Kham |

THE FIRST PRINTED BURMESE BOOK

THIS year is the 185th anniversary of the printing of the first Burmese book.

The *Alphabetum Burmanum seu Bomanum Regni Avae Finitimaruqua Regionum* was printed in ROMA MDCCCLXXVI (Rome 1776) by *Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*.

It consists of a preface in Latin by Johannes Christophorus Amadutius and also mentions the Kingdoms in the Oriental Peninsula across Ganges viz: Avae, Pegu, Tangut, Laos, Cassi, Assem, Arrakan, Prum, Pagan, Martaban, Tavai, Tennasserim and Siriam.

One folded separate page KLV reproduced the Coat of Arms of the King of Ava and the King of Pegu. Then come the alphabets and words with the pronunciations in Latin and Burmese alphabets.

The last pages carry the *Oratio Dominicalis*, *Salutatio Angelica*, *Symbolum Alostolorum*, *Antiphona ad Virginem Mariam* and *Præcepta Decalogi* all in Burmese.

This copy bears the shop label of Benjamin Duprat and another cutting from a catalogue marked "*Thes rare; une des premieres impressions en langue birmanie*".

Another edition of the above, entitled *Alphabetum Barmanorum seu Regni Avensis — Editio Altera Emendatior* Roma MDCCCLXXXVII *Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Praesidium Adprobatione*, is the second Burmese printed book.

The contents of this is quite different from the first. For instance it has only the *Oratio Dominicalis*. It consists of 63 pages in all whereas the earlier edition consists of XLIV plus 51 pages and is in two parts.

The most wellknown first printed book of the world is of course the Gutenberg Bible printed between 1452 and 1456. It is now valueless. A later vellum copy of the Bible but the first dated and printed at Mainz, Germany in 1462 was sold for £ 15,400 at Sotheby's in July 1948. The Bible had changed hands before. Each time its price has risen steeply. In 1873 it was sold for £ 780, and in 1887 for £ 1,025. A similar copy auctioned in London realized £ 4,800 in 1923. The first Czech book was printed in 1468 and the first Russian in 1564. I consider the Czech incunabula especially the illustrated ones, must rank as one of the best in the world. It is a credit to the Czech that they were all saved during the war.

Like most incunabula and manuscripts, early printings are usually gospels or bibles. The title of the first Russian printed book is *Apostol*. From the same print shop a Gospel was printed. In an attempt to save some money I hesitated to buy a set of the first printed Bible in Chinese done in six volumes at Serampore. I found out from a library that such a thing would not come up for sale in bookshops. I went back to the shop to purchase it only to be told that it had been bought by someone at fifty per cent more than the price they asked me.

The first printed books of the Zo Chin are: "*The Customary Law of the Chin Tribe*" by Maung Tet Pyo with a preface by John Jardine, 1884, The Government Press, Rangoon.

"*The Siyin Dialect* by Major F.M. Rundall, D.S.O., 1889, Rangoon." "*The Baungshe Dialect* by Lieut. Macnabb, 1889, Rangoon." "*The Siyin Chins* by Major F.M. Rundall, D.S.O., 4th Gurkha Rifles, late O.C. Chin Hills and Political Officer, Chin Hills". 1893, London. "*The Chin Hills* by Bertram S. Carey, C.I.E., and H.N.H.N. Tuck, 1896, Rangoon."

The list of Publications by Catholic Missionaries of "Burma From 1776 to 1913", published by the British Burma Press, Rangoon in 1913 mentions the titles of 7 publications in English and 50 in Burmese.

The first book listed is "History of Christianity in the Burmese Empire (Italian) by Revd. Father Luigi Gallo, 12 mo 736 pages and published in Milan 1862 ; the second book was published earlier being the most famous of the early publications "A Description of THE BURMESE EMPIRE, compiled chiefly from native documents by THE REV. FATHER SANGERMANO", 4 to 224 pages published in Rome in 1833.

The rarity of this historical book will be mentioned later. The third book listed is "The Legend of Gaudama" by Bishop Bigandet published in Rangoon in 1863, 1866 and in London in 1880 in sizes of 8vo ; 12mo ; and 8vo respectively. It has 500 pages. I have never seen the first edition of this. The two first printed Burmese books are not mentioned in this list.

Among the books published in Burmese there are two mentioned as printed in the eighteenth century.

They are :

- (1) "An abridgement of the Christian doctrine" by A. Barnabite Rome 1776 8vo 124 pages *Kharit taung wun ah kyin choke*.
- (2) "Catechismus pro Birmanis, (Latin and Burmese) by A. Barnabite Rome 1785 8vo 42 pages.

I acquired a bound volume of item (2) above plus an uncatalogued volume. All the three books were printed in MDCCLXXXV (1785) in Rome. The two parts comprising item (2) quoted above are in Burmese with the Latin translation.

The uncatalogued volume is entitled :

"Catechismi pars Altera Remae MDCCLXXXV

Typis Sac Congreg de Propaganda Fide Superiorum Facultate"

The Burmese title is : *Hpya thakin panyat daw doke ahnet adikpe*". It has 48 pages, all in Burmese. The last sentence in this volume reads *"Thetkayeik 1147 khu Takula dwin Shwemyodaw ga ponehnik yuit pyi this hpya saga sa"*.

Among the books on Burma over 100 years old I think the most useful and interesting one is Sangermano's Burmese Empire collected between 1783 and 1808 at Ava. The book is still one of the historical documents which records the correct names of the various races of Burma. The importance and rarity of the book can be summed up from the interesting preface of John Jardine for the second edition written in 1884 after 50 years of the first publication :

'In nearly every history of Burma, or account of the Burmese people, the reader finds allusions to Sangermano and often extracts from his book. But he is puzzled to make out who Sangermano was and when and where he lived, and is sometimes left in danger of supposing wrongly that Sangermano's remarks apply to the present times.

'If attracted by the interesting matter, that every author finds in him, the reader goes to the libraries to get Sangermano's book he learns that there is no copy. If he goes to a private person

reputed to have a copy, he returns, disappointed, the copy having perhaps been lent long ago to some one else who never returned it. For several years this was my experience.

A few months ago I discovered that Colonel Spearman, of the British Burma Commission, had a copy, and he obliged me by the loan of it. This is the volume from which the present edition is reprinted by order of the Chief Commissioner, after obtaining the consent to this republication of the Right Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha and Vicar Apostolic. It was deemed right to refer to him as being the present head of the Roman Catholic mission in Burma.

The Burmese legend of Buddha has been translated and edited by Bishop Bigandet. The history of Burma has lately been written by Sir Arthur Phayre; and before this edition issue from the press the learning of Dr. Forchhammer will have thrown light on the Burmese *Dhammathat* or Code of Law in his edition of King Wagaru's Code and his essay on Buddhist law.

But all this increase of knowledge does not detract from the real value of Sangermano's work or lessen its charm. The reader will time after time remark how some generalization of Sangermano's seems as true now (1884) as in his day (1783). Burmese medicine, e.g., has not advanced; "they have themselves no regular surgeons".

From time immemorial we call ourselves Zo (Jo, Yaw). This fact had been admirably recorded by Father V. Sangermano since the year 1783 when he made his headquarters at Ava then considered by the Burmese as the centre of the universe. A few early writers also recorded the fact that we are Zo (Jo, Yaw) people inhabiting areas between Assam and the Irrawadi river e.g. Dr. Forchhammer, and also in Maung Tet Pyo's book 'Customary Law of the Chin Tribe' and by Sir Arthur Phayre, etc.

Modern authors would not go as far as Ava and would not refer to the early writings of their hard worked predecessors or use the simple method of asking the races concerned how they call themselves.

In para 41 of his book Sangermano records: To the east of the Chien mountains, between 20°30' and 21°30' north latitude, is a petty nation called Jo (Yaw). They are supposed to have been Chien, who in progress of time have become Burmese, speaking their language, although very corruptly, and adopting all their customs. Sir Arthur Phayre says, "These people call themselves Shyou, or Shyu".

Maung Tet Pyo's Customary Law of the Chin Tribe contains a list of the names of nearly forty Zo Clans and in the said book the word Zo appears 36 times and Yo four times.

In his introduction to the Burmese Empire Mr. John Jardine, Judicial Commissioner and President of the Educational Syndicate of British Burma says: "Into the upper region of the Irrawadi the dominant race, now called the Burmese, had descended from Central Asia, which tract their physical resemblances and affinities of language with the people of Tibet shown to have been the home of their forefathers. The clans became more or less welded into tribes, as among their "younger brothers" the Chins of to-day; and in course of time we find dynasties of kings reigning at Tagaung, Panya, Pagan, and Prome, and others ruling the remoter countries of Arakan and Toungoo.

..... We wish to know what kind of institutions the Burmans possessed before the great changes of Anorahta's reign. To this inquiry the learned Dr. Forchhammer gives an answer which is in general agreement with the opinions of our historians, and of those officials who have studied the rules and customs of the wilder tribes now under the Queen's sceptre. The Chins of today reflect the Burman as he was of old. We find them divided into many clans, according to occupation.

..... The next division, according to language, of the Tibeto-Burman stock in the Chin-Lushai or Chin group, containing the following :- Southern Chin, Pallaing, Kun Dagnet, Thet, An, Mro, Kami, Haka or Baungshe, Siyin, Shandu, Kyau, Lushai". The names of the Zo Mi (Mi Zo) clans are far from exhaustive and a fuller account of the family scattered in Lushai (Mi Zo) hills, Assam, Manipur, Naga Hills and plains of Burma should be interesting.

On the initiative of U Aung Zan we had a very interesting discussion about our kinship at Panglong in February 1947.

The first Burmese dictionary is the one "Compiled from the Manuscripts of A. Judson, D.D. and of other missionaries in Burma - Profits devoted to the support of the Burman Mission - Calcutta : Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road ; and sold by Messrs. W. Thacker and Co. St. Andrew's library, Calcutta ; and by the American Missionaries in Burma. 1826 pp 411". I have seen only one copy of this kept in the underground room of the London University library : I understand the last copy on sale in an Oxford bookshop went to the Leningrad library.

One of the first English and Burmese dictionaries that I have heard of is by Charles Lane and was also printed in Calcutta in 1841. A catalogue says : "The whole of the Burmese portion revised by H.H. the Prince of Mekhara." This man appeared to be more versatile than the other princes as he succeeded in becoming an honorary fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Besides the "List of Publications" published in 1913 there are four volumes of bibliographical Notes on Catholic Missionaries of Burma by the Revs. H. Hosten, S. J. and E. Luce all printed in 1914. I have not found these or later publications in any library. They contain short but interesting articles and extracts from early records.

The Typis Sacre Congregationis de Propaganda Fide appeared to have published other alphabeta of many nations. In many countries I believe the particular publication by it would represent as in the case of Burma, the first printed book of the country. Beside the Burmese are in my library :

- a. *Alphabeta Indica id est Granthamicum seu Samscrdamico-Malabaricum Indostanum Romae MDCCXCI*
- b. *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum Romae MDCCLXXII*
- c. *Alphabetum Brammhanicum sev Indostanum Universitatis Kasi Romae MDCCLXXI*

Published in The Guardian.

THE OLDEST BURMESE PAINTING

THE more locally wellknown Burmese paintings I first saw were those river scenes painted by Ba Nyan and hung in the then Government House in Rangoon in March 1947. I next came across some reproductions of paintings by Saya Chone in Scott O'Connor's "Mandalay" published in 1907. Saya Chone's paintings appear to be more colourful and historical. Some of the titles include "The Abdication of King Thibaw; King Thibaw surrendering to Sir Harry Prendergast and Sir Douglas Sladen in a Summer House in the Palace Gardens" and "King Thibaw and Queen Supaya-Lat leaving Mandalay for ever". An illustration in the book is "From a native painting Frescoes at Sagaing". The young Yugoslav painter Joze Ciuha could at once detect from the original that the painting is that of the Frescoes at Sagaing.

The first glossy picture that I ever saw as a child was one of the gorgeous mass produced pictures of Queen Victoria in the local Phazabuk God's hut which my uncles received as Elders. Instead of keeping it at home they contributed it to the *Buk* by displaying it on the altar used for worship of the local nats. Whenever they went to the *Buk*, relatives like Khai Khup and Mang Ko Kam invariably put on Tommy toppee hats which probably had crowned the heads of some adversaries they had encountered. I believe they exhibited the Queen's portrait without realizing that she was also "Defender of the Faith". Up to the second world war my father's contemporaries referred to HMG as *Kumpinu* meaning the Queen and never as the King.

Each big village in the country is usually self sufficient in many respects. A village has its own music troupe, its carpenters, blacksmith-cum-goldsmith, boatmen, etc. In many households the father could usually build his own house or hew the wooden posts required for the house at least in the Chin Hills.

Our own main house was not only built by my father but the beams and the posts were all carried by him from a distance of over ten miles starting before dawn from the village in time to attend the school in another village to teach. I used to accompany him more or less as a companion. He did all the joinings of the posts in the Burmese style using no iron bolts and also carved the eaves boards. My wife herself designed my present house and also helped with the smoothing plane.

Christian writes, "Artistic ability may appear in most unexpected places — a Burmese cook in his spare time may produce a passable sketch of the man of the house, or he may do creditable landscapes. Burmese artists have won favourable mention at home and abroad with their productions. The most famous living Burmese artist is U Ba Nyan. A typical Burmese painting by Saya Chone is found in Scott O'Connor's "The Silken East", while Saya Tun Hla's sketches in the modern manner have appeared in various periodicals relating to Burma. Traditional Burmese painting, now all too rare, gives meticulous attention to detail and design rather than to realism. Some Burmese paintings resemble an architect's drawing in colors. The older Burmese artists made no attempt to excel in portrait work, their best efforts being expressions of religious traditions, palace scenes in the days of the Burmese kings, and modern subjects. Fan and screen painting and glass mosaic work which flourished until the deposition of King Thibaw are now almost forgotten arts. Upper Burma pagodas and adjacent buildings occasionally contain rare examples of old Burmese religious art depicting the rewards of *neikban* (heaven) or *ngayai* (hell) Upper Burma is the home of such hand weaving as survives".

The painting referred to as Saya Chone's is entitled "In the Palace Gardens, Mandalay" facing another "Burmese Painting" subtitled "An abduction. Policeman to the rescue. The groom offers a bribe". All the paintings by Saya Chone appear to be in colour. One of the paintings "The taking of Ava by the British" appears not to have been published anywhere. He must be one of the earliest Burmese painters to have signed his paintings. Some of the pictures were signed in English "I No. SAYA CHONE". They bear no dates. The 'I No' might mean of No. 1 quality or merely the number of the paintings. A painting was first published in 1904; and four others in "Mandalay" two depicting scenes about the abdication of King Thibaw and "The Royal Audience" and "Le Dun Mingala" were published in 1907. They are therefore over fifty years old. I first came across these colourful paintings in Scott O'Connor's book kept in the library of the Royal Geographical Society. I have never come across Saya Thun Hla's paintings.

I have a Burmese painting done on silk which I believe to be the oldest Burmese painting extant. The antiquariats certified it as executed circa 1720. This would make it 240 years old. These same people certified a much newer satin painting as over one hundred years old. The earlier painting illustrating "The Life of a Man in Burma" appears from all points as definitely much older, about three times from the general appearance of the silk, the age of the coloured paints, the peeling off of the gold as well as the paints from the portraits, the general condition from wear and tear etc. I am inclined to add a third again to the age as certified making it 320 years or done mid 17th century.

Burmese frescoes and sculptures are much older, at least more fragments of them exist nowadays. Few combustible materials like paintings would exist in Burma on account of the general conflagrations of towns and villages during the war. On my first visit to Kalemmy my father took me to all the older shrines in and around the city which was for a long time the capital of the Yaw country. One could guess the tremendous age of the town from the numerous pagodas and buildings representing each decade. Unluckily bombardments had since obliterated traces of many interesting edifices. A learned man with an archaeological sense would still find a few mutilated torsos here and there. Almost all the *Htis* (umbrellas) of the pagodas which would usually indicate the approximate age have disappeared.

An oriental research scholar Miss P. Quigly writes of the painting; "It must be exceptionally rare, and it may make your beautiful painted satin look like a modern painting. (This painted satin was certified by the antiquariat as over one hundred years old). I would not be surprised if it is not one of the oldest Burmese painting extant. It is so delicate, yet excellently preserved. It is not, I think, Court work, but monastic, and was therefore, probably kept very carefully. It is a wonder it has survived so perfectly. To have remained intact for so long, I should think it has been kept in very careful storage for many years, not in a tropical climate. Before despatch, I thought to ask the opinion of the textile expert at the British Museum who is responsible for the mounting and preservation of the Auriel Stein collection of Chinese Silks. "Your silk is at least early 18th century shantung" he said. I will also try to find out more about the legends it depicts. It is a Buddhist painting, for in addition to a profusion of beautifully painted elephants and the usual excellent foliage associated with Burmese painting, there are numerous Buddhist priests in the yellow robe"

A Member of the Antique dealers association certified the painting as "A fine antique Burmese panel painted silk, with figures, flowers, etc. folklore 18th century early, circa 1720 A.D. I hereby guarantee that the above panel was produced in Burma on or around the year as declared and therefore having been produced more than 100 years ago is an antique."

After sometime I got a further communication which said, "There is divided opinion about the age of the painting. The B.M. authorities say that as they have seen nothing with which they can compare this silk painting and know little of Burmese art, they would not like to commit themselves definitely. However, before I send you full details and a description of the painting, perhaps, you would like to see it and from your own independent opinion, as you are the most expert in these antiques. I always like first to sense the age, without any outside comments etc., so think, perhaps, like me, you may rather have all the details after you have seen it. I also had it mounted by the expert who has done the Stein collection, as the BM authorities thought the silk too brittle to travel well, and it might have been damaged in the Customs with not too careful handling. It is now in superb condition and even the ragged edges and the margin have been restored.

"I was delighted to learn from your letter that you consider the painting to be 17th century and that you are pleased with it. Both the antiquariat and I are completely in agreement with about its possible age. Also the expert who did the mounting on paper, who said the silk was probably more than 200 years old and he thought the painting contemporary with it. As he is experienced with Chinese paintings, I think his opinion more valuable than those who based their opinion on the technique of the painting: i.e. that the foliage and shading showed such definite European influence that it was probably not earlier than 19th century, but they did say they had no experience of Burmese work, so could not be too definite. The antiquariat immediately answered this theory, by showing me illustrations of 16th century European tapestries (Italian) with almost identical foliage and shading, and as Catholic emissaries from Europe had already penetrated to Burma by 16th century there is no reason to suppose that Burmese artists had not already some idea of European painting technique.

"We are very interested to have your reference to Chinese silk being introduced into Burma, but I must confess, I do not know the exact Hakluyt publication in which I can find it, as I do not know of one devoted to San Sebastian, so should be glad of more details sometime. The antiquarians also said that they considered the type of paints used, especially the gold, to be of 17th century period. I think they are pretty expert in this field, so are probably right.

"Now regarding the story of the painting. I showed it to the Sinhalese priest in charge of the Wihara, and he said he did not think the painting portrays a Buddhist story, but rather depicts a scene of Burmese village life where, of course, Buddhism predominated. He introduced me to a Burman who is a keen student of Burmese, Pali, manuscripts etc. and he confirmed this opinion. He said the central panel depicts an elephant hunt to round up elephants for the royal stable. The prince with his men is resting while food is being prepared.

"The other scenes are of village life: No indication of royalty or nobility. The border scenes from the top middle, down the left side of the middle bottom could be scenes of monastic village life perhaps with some reference to fables, perhaps of Indian origin where animals are depicted.

"The centre top shows villagers visiting the monastery and presenting clothes, perhaps, at the Festival when clothes were offered as merit to the priests. The figures in the right top corner wear red jackets of court jesters, perhaps companions of sons of nobility. The figures carrying baskets in the bottom right corner wear the costumes of Karens, and have Karen style baskets. This could mean the village was in the Toungoo area, round about the Karen country?"

The painting includes persons wearing the costumes of the indigenous races of Burma. Since the locality where San Sebastian distributed the Chinese silk appears to be in the proximity of Arakan Yomas it is quite possible that the persons depicted could be Yaw Chins. In some cases Yaws, Karens and Burmans in the earlier prints by the British especially wear similar apparel. In early woodcuts made by the English, Burmans are made to look like Indians. On the other hand Burmese paintings, such as by Saya Chone, of British soldiers, bear mongoloid faces.

The paintings mentioned are narrative and portraiture and illustrative in purpose on "The Life of a Man in Burma". I believe there could be comparatively few existing examples of early Burmese indigenous paintings which are moveable. The following account may herald the arrival of silk in Burma.

Sebastian Manrique crossed the southern Chin Hills between 1629-43 Yomah at a place between Paletwa and Mahamuni on to Poragri (Payagyi). "On reaching this spot all the pagans in our party prostrated themselves and offered deep reverences, thanking it for their safe passage across those dangerous mountains". Thence they went down to Mrauk-U. "At the end of the visit in order not to omit that invariable custom of the country which is expressed in the saying :

When I come to your house

What do you give me ?

the Captain sent for a length of Chinese damask of a green colour embroidered with yellow flowers and presented it to the boy. My companion, in return, gave him two pieces of Chinese gauze or veiling, which he prized highly expressing every desire to be of use to us, both on account of his brother-in-law's recommendations and of the profit he hoped to derive from us".

—One of the hunters in the old painting carries a shot gun. Therefore this painting must have been executed after the arrival of shotguns in Burma. *Hmannan* mentions gunsmiths as taken from Thaton to Pagan by Anawrahta in 1057 and *Pagan Yazawin* mentions muskets as being used at the battle of Pyedawthagyun in 1804. *Razadarityay dawpon* says that when Tarabya was plotting against Wareru in 1287 he went to Pegu and collected feringhi musketeers. Binnya U found difficulty in besieging Martaban about 1360 because of musketeers on the walls. *Hmannan* mentions foreign musketeers in the fight between Burmese and Talaings in 1387 and musketeers fighting for the Talaings against the Burmese at the siege of Bassein in 1418. An early mention of a person being killed by a jingal shot was that of Shwenankyawshin at Ava in 1527. The Portuguese who had made a station in Martaban definitely had used firearms since 1541. Alaungpaya had freely used firearms against the Manipuris in 1755.

Before photography was invented, most of the illustrations were made in woodcuts, copper plates etc. One early woodcut picture concerning Burma that I have seen was made in 1889 ; the published picture was entitled "EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SIYIN CHIN TRIBES, UPPER BURMAH : CAPTURE OF SIYIN". Some soldiers were shown as firing shots at Khuasak where the houses were burning. Khuasak was then inhabited also by the Lopheis, Vaipheis and some Thuklais. Beyond Khuasak was shown Thuklai and Euanman lying in a deep valley. On the west is shown Kumlu peak in all its majestic form. Between the Thuklai and Kumlu, the west Manipur lands appear in the horizon. The upper Siyin Valley as shown fell to the army under the

command of Major General White and Brigadier General Faunce on the 4th February 1889. Taitan (Tartan), Sakhiling (Limkhai) and Voklak situated in the lower Siyin Valley fell later on the 4th May 1889.

One painting that was taken by Captain McLeod from the abode of rebel leader Nga Pyan at Daloung, near the Siamese frontier, was published in 1844. "Over the place where he sat at the White Pagoda, was hung one of the Burmese religious paintings setting forth his religious visions, and the superior beings indicating to him the site and the form of the Pagodas he was to build. This painting accompanies the proceedings. The Pagodas are actually similar to those represented, save the gilding, which is not completed; but a great number of others, of smaller size, were built or begun all around them, by subscription of persons who had become Nga Pyan's disciples. On the time approaching, it will be seen, Nga Pyan retired to Daloung with a few of his own devoted followers, to practise the austerities usual in such cases, — he seized the traders moving through the country, and made them swear allegiance, and before proceeding to the rendezvous at Gyne, learning that a part of the local corps was despatched against him, he issued the proclamation, calling on them to give up their arms and join him. These proclamations were in the form used only by the King of Ava, and never by a subject. He also assumed in all respects the titles of royalty and set up the black flag which in these countries is understood to indicate a resolution to subvert the Government *de facto*.

'If your soldiers, knowing that (this) victory-flag-order has been placed, Friday, the 13th of the waxing of Kahzong 1206, (May 11th. 1843) still presume to make forcible entrance, I, the golden personage, am possessed of the golden tsah-kyah bow, the gift of the celestial king, and I am possessed, also of the tsah-kyah sword.

'According to the ancient custom of dynasty-founders, sovereigns only ought to engage in combat. You (the inferior pronoun, equivalent to you fellows) and I (the superior pronoun, equivalent to Lord I) are not on a par, in point of glory and destiny. If I mind my golden tsah kyah bow, I fear that death and destruction will come upon (many) creatures, and therefore I place (this) victory-flag-order.

'A royal order from the sovereign lord of Da-mu-tsah-kyah.'

The above was a translation by A. Judson.

The "Painted banner suspended over the seat of Nga Pyan, Buddhist priest, Chief of the Rebellion in the Tennasserim Provinces May 1843" measures ten feet two inches by three feet and was finished in colour. The name of U Oktama who rose in rebellion in the Yaw country and was for a time hiding in the southern Chin Hills was quite wellknown. Nga Pyan was sentenced to death which was later commuted to life imprisonment. In those days imprisonment included labour with chains in irons.

The oldest water colour drawing on paper by an anonymous Burmese artist that I have seen was that of one of the Zediyan surrounding the main structure of the Shwedagon Pagoda. In the picture the Zediyan was guarded by two lions and four *nats*, two on each side facing the pagoda. The shrine was finished in gold and red colour but the blue surrounding is that of native substance probably indigo. It is not a good painting but the note attached to it makes it historical. It reads:

445 Strand, London
Feb. 11th, 1853

Dear Parker,

Herewith a Burmese drawing, which was found in the great pagoda when it fell into the hands of us (the British).

The Persian letter is one to my address from the Prime Minister of Oudh. It contains a catalogue of grievances.

Yours ever truly
John Lang

P.S.

the "Persian letter" is two pages forward.

As a painting it is not an outstanding piece of art but the story behind it makes it of historical interest. It was one of the known war loot of art from the Shwedagon precincts. It was taken on the 11th February 1853 during the capture of Rangoon and lower Burma. This alone makes the painting 107 years old. It is quite possible that a painting on paper of the same age would not exist in Burma today.

The UNESCO catalogue of colour reproductions of paintings 1860 to 1959 contains 1,199 reproduction of paintings. The introduction says the criteria used by the experts in their selection were the fidelity of the colour reproduction, the significance of the original painting. I consider that the distinctive feature of the Burmese artistic genius in all its manifestations is the blend of sumptuous splendour. It might be one of the reasons why Burmese artists got commission to work even out of Burma in Chiangmai and also won so many awards in the Delhi exhibitions. The publishers have to be interested to forward selected copies of the colour paintings. The publications in which the paintings were published are already as difficult to obtain as the paintings themselves.

I am glad that the Union government has just banned the export of 14 items of Burmese antiques *objects d'art* and articles of historical interest. The London Times says 'Since Burma became independent in 1948 tourists and members of foreign embassies have been taking these articles out of the country without restriction.' The only antique that is not covered by the ban appears to be old paintings on silk, cotton, paper or lacquerware. This article is mainly for the antique painting on silk. I have never seen a Burmese painting on wood. Recently a portrait of the Duke of Wellington painted by Goya on wood was the subject of bitter controversy after it was sold at Sotheby to an American oil chief for £ 140,000, (about two million kyat). The next day the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr. Selwyn Lloyd faced questions in Parliament about steps to prevent its export from Britain. The Chancellor invited Parliament to approve a special Exchequer grant for £ 40,000 to supplement a £ 100,000 grant from a Foundation.

Thus with the intervention of the public and the government the painting was "saved" for the nation. It measures only 25 by 20 inches.

The largest Burmese antique painting that I have seen in a private foreign collection is the one owned by Jack Lydman. It appears to be an early 19th or late 18th century and is in full colour. It measures 3 feet by 2 feet. He told me that the painting was done on commission by a Burmese painter in Chiangmai, northern Thailand and not in Burma. It depicts some very exquisitely

built Siamese monasteries. It appears to me that the style and finish of the painting looks very similar to that of the "Assembly of Princes", the mural painting in Wat Pra Sing also in Chiangmai. Among the foreign painters who had visited Burma I think Sir Gerald Kelly who became the President of the Royal Academy is the most eminent. He came to Taungdwingyi in 1909 and did a number of paintings of the young girls there. One of his paintings that has been published is the picture of a Sino Burmese Christian girl in Tennyson Jesse's book. J. Heath Robinson, an illustrator of one of Shakespeare's books, painted the Shwedagon in black and white.

In the Highlands and Islands of Scotland the local Argyll education authorities took a collection of paintings round to the many schools in library vans. Like the Frontier areas of the Union, the highland and out of the way islands have many schools in isolated places. Well-known painters are requested either to present or sell their work at a quarter of their normal fee to the school authorities and public appeal is also made for support. Moderate musical education is imparted to these hill students by the use of radio and "visual education" Arts come to them by library vans in the same way as public relation officers brought pictures and activities of information ministers to villages by means of movie films. Teachers who have knowledge of something about art and the local artists themselves are invited to speak whenever possible. In big towns where there are museums for paintings, students are taken to the museum itself where either a guide or the art teacher gives a short lecture in the very rooms where the pictures are exhibited.

By such local organisations students can find out what art means. In the hills the only known art are sculpture in wood or stone monuments, earthen-ware, clay pipe and the like. It is a well-known fact that most of the Frontier students have not seen a train, boat, pagoda, even river or car and can hardly be expected to be able to write an essay about them, not to speak of an interesting one.

Art and archaeology is being pursued by a few people usually with the help of one of the many philanthropic foundations. They spend their whole time in the pursuit of the subject ; many of them appear to find no time to shave or trim their hair, some wear no neckties and possess no clean pants. They write what they have seen and found. The number of books on art that appear in recent years is a testament to the current vitality of the field but publications with illustrations on art paper are still too dear for a Southeast Asian student to purchase for his own. I knew the art students of France and Holland better than in other countries. I found that they have very fertile minds and the way they look at art is very objective. I have seen Mona Lisa a few times but until I listened to a student lecture held beside it I was not aware that the eyes of Mona Lisa look at you from whatever angle you look at the picture.

On account of world inflation, art has become an investment in European and neighbouring countries including Japan and Australia. The rich who no longer care for other worldly amenities found that owning a Goya or a Corot carries a social value. When one is first welcomed by the splendid Victory of Samothrace one thinks of the Louvre itself and the civilisation of the French people. Again on seeing Mona Lisa one thinks again of the rich culture of the French people. Few realise on first sight that the Nike of Samothrace was sculptured by some unknown people of Rhodes in present day Greece and that Mona Lisa was painted by an Italian. People also come to look at the Venus de Milo (Aphrodite of Melos) the best known classic statue in the world. The graceful female form is so ably exposed in the Venus that it is considered an ideal of earthly rather than supernatural beauty as befitting a worldly civilization. It was discovered

only in the nineteenth century and is also of Greek origin. The first gentleman Burmese painter I met was U Hla Shain who invited the late Mongpaw Sawbwagi and myself to his house for a meal. We both enjoyed looking at his paintings. When Bo Letya and *The New Times* sponsored a local art exhibition I went there and bought a water colour painting "Our Village" by M. Tin Aye. After I had bought it H.H. Harischandra and another man attempted to purchase the same cut of many other paintings. I thought my choice must have been good. It was the first painting I ever bought. In Asia, only Japan appears to take serious interest in modern art. In 1958 when works of Van Gogh were exhibited in Tokyo, Emperor Hirohito showed his interest in art, beside marine biology, by going to the National Museum to inspect it.

Published in The Guardian

The Editor wrote : " The painting done on silk, depicting the treasured collection of the author is believed to be the oldest Burmese painting extant. Antiquariats certified that it is about 240 years old, but judging from the general appearance of the silk, coloured paints and gold the author fixes its age in the neighbourhood of 320.

THE GOLD COINAGE OF KING MINDON

SINCE the first centuries of the Christian Era, Indian immigrants were believed to have brought to Lower Burma coins used in India. Silver coins of the South Indian type, the conch-shell of Vishnu and the trident of Siva on the reverse have been found near Sittang in Pegu and also in the Mekong valley. A silver Nita Chandra coin of the late 10th century in my possession and used in Arakan, has the figure of a humped bull on the obverse and a trident sun on the reverse.

In many instances, old coins served as monuments to a vanished empire; the effigy of kings are still to be found underground where once the empire extended. The money of the ancient Romans and Greeks which bear the effigy of their kings can still be bought for a few Kyats. In other respects it depicts the old civilisation of a vanished Kingdom; it also depicts the artistic achievement of an old nation. It is known that towards the sixteenth century coins were struck in Arakan for the purpose of currency and later in the courts of Upper Burma, in Pegu and Tenasserim.

No mention of Burmese gold coins was made by General Sir Arthur P. Phayre in his "Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma" published in 1882. The Catalogue of Coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum published in 1909 listed the following 69 coins as its contents.

I. Arakanese	16
II. Burmese	8
III. Indian	41
IV. Siamese	1
V. Chinese	2
VI. European	1
	69

All the 16 Arakanese coins are listed as silver.

The first item is that of a Kalachandra. The obverse has a figure of a recumbent humped bull with ornaments round the neck. The reverse has a Trident of Siva with garlands pendant from the outer blades with Sun and moon above and below five round dots. The other Arakanese coins commence with 1001 *Sin Ni Thakin Sin Byu Thakin Thado Min Tazeik* and end with 1144 *Shwe Nan Mahathamada Yaza (Maha Samata-rajā)*.

Out of the Burmese coins 6 were said to be silver and the remaining two alloy of tin and lead. The only two gold coins in the catalogue were mentioned as "found in Coimbatore district" and "the Vizagapatam district". The former is said to have twelve dots and a curved line on the obverse, the latter is marked "unidentified symbols". There appeared to be no Burmese gold coin in the Phayre Museum.

King Mindon established gold and silver currency shortly after he ascended to the throne of Upper Burma. All the silver coins have the peacock royal emblem whereas the gold coins have the lion as well as the peacock emblems.

There are five Burmese gold coins all minted during the reign of Mindon Min whose original name was Maung Lwin.

1. *Ngamu Thone Dangka*, Five Mu, One Kyat is equivalent to Ten Mu, Nga Mu is half of ten Mu. This Nga Mu corresponds to the British gold sovereign or the French Napoleon.

Obverse : has the following wordings *To Tazeik daw* 1248 with a To — mythological lion.

Reverse : A wreath; inside the wreath. *5 Mu thone dangka* (coin for use as 5 Mu) outside the wreath, *Yadanabon Naypyidaw* (royal capital Mandalay).

2. *Hna Mu Ta Pe* : Two Mu one Pe

Obverse : *Chinthe Taseikdaw* 1228 (royal stamp of the lion 1866 A.D.).

Reverse : A wreath like the obverse of Nga Mu. *Yadanabon Naypyidaw* (and within the wreath, 2 Mu Ta Pe thone dangka).

3. *Hna Mu* : Two Mu

Obverse : A peacock and *Tazeikdaw*; reverse, a wreath outside of which is written *Yadanabon Naypyidaw*; within the wreath, *Mu thone* 1214 (for use as one Mu 1852 A.D.).

4. *Ta Pe Thone Pe* piece. Obverse : There are two kinds of Ta Pe. One with a peacock and the other with a lion. The peacock Pe bears the year 1214 (1852) whereas the lion bears the era 1228 (1866). The peacock bears *Tazeikdaw* whereas the lion bears *Chinthe Tazeikdaw*.

Reverse : Both with wreaths *Yadanabon Naypyidaw* and within the wreaths Ta Pe Thone (for use as one Pe) but the eras are different. The peacock bears the year 1214 (1852) whereas the lion bears 1228 (1866).

I have never seen Five Mu and Two Mu and one Pe with peacock, nor have I ever seen 2 Mu with lion. The only denomination that I have both with peacock and lion on the obverse is the Pe piece. I think Nga Mu and Ta Pe Chinthe are extremely rare. The only Nga Mu piece I have is a proof, but I have seen only one other ordinary one.

Mindon Min was believed to have introduced the gold coinage about 1223 but both the *ta mu* and *ta pe* peacocks were antedated to 1214 (1852) the year of his accession.

The use of coins as currency appeared to have reached the Chin Hills from the south since the end of the 18th century. Writing on January 24, 1799, Mr. John Macrae, Surgeon in the Honourable Company's Service at Chittagong, in an account of the Kookies or Lunctas" meaning Zo Mi of the Chin Hills had this to say regarding currency : "The Kookies having no coins among them, but such as find their way from the plains; for the few necessities they want, they barter their produce with the Choomeeas (Kha Mi of Paletwa Chin Hills), who are the medium of commerce; and on these occasions the Choomeeas are never allowed to enter their *Parahs*, but are obliged to remain at a certain distance, whither the articles of exchange are bought, such is their extreme jealousy of admitting any strangers within their *Parahs*, as

already noticed. The Kookies are a great terror to the Bengalees settled on the borders of the jungles in the Runganeeah and Aurungabad districts; and a particular annoyance to the woodcutters, whose business leads them far into the forests, and whom they have frequently surprised, and cut off".

In the Chin Hills the people at first used as medium of payment salt cakes produced in the Chin Hills, lead for cartridges, iron bars, copper pots, measures of which are taken with a palm strip round the widest part. The earliest coins that found their way among the Kha Mi people must have been Arakanese and Indian coins.

The replacement of King Mindon's peacock and lion coins with that of East India Company's coins appeared to be unpopular with the Zo Chin people at first. Talbot Kelly writing about it says, "The hillmen, probably from a confusion with the peacock rupee, for long would not accept the earlier rupees of the time of the East India Company, bearing the uncrowned heads of Queen Victoria, William IV, or George IV, except at a discount — "Kyat-mu-din", fourteen annas. Proclamations to the effect that they were perfectly legal tender were of no effect. These coins are all now being called in by the Treasury".

The earliest Burmese coins that I saw were in my father's collection. They were the King Mindon peacock copper coins; the East India Company copper and some silver coins. I got my first piece of the One Rupee King William IV 1835 from a collector in Tonzang who kept it as a spiritual souvenir in that he used to smear (feed) the silver coin with the blood of the heart of every animal killed in the house. The only Burman coin collector I know of is a former manager of Dawson's bank at Pyapon.

The most interesting and rarest coin of Mindon Min is, I think, the famous "Hare" lead coin. This was wrongly attributed to King Thibaw by such writers as Sir Richard Temple. He thought that the era on the coin was 1241; I have a very perfect one and it clearly shows the era 1231 (1869) and not 1241 (1879).

Obverse: A Hare and *yon tazeikdaw* 1231 (1869)

Reverse: *Kyini dangka 4 pon tapon* (copper one part of four parts).

I have never seen any hare coins in any of the numismatic museums that I have visited.

There are two gold coins of the lion type in the Djakarta (Batavia) museum; $2\frac{1}{2}$ mu chinthe (lion) and ta pe chinthe. It also has two Avas, six silver peacocks, ta kyat down to ta mu, four copper and two Pegu (Djimat).

One modern catalogue listed three gold coins under "Thebaw 1878-1885 Gold Peacock in full plumage; 1 Rupee 1880; 2 Rupees 1880; 5 Rupees 1880". I have not seen a single gold coin issued during the reign of King Thibaw in the museums in Britain, France, Holland or Indonesia.

Gold is found in the Chindwin river and Shwe-gyin (Gold pan) is the centre of gold panning. The Burmese women are fond of accumulating silver and gold but they usually convert them into jewellery — necklaces, rings, etc. This may account for the immediate scarcity of the Burmese gold and peacock coins after the third Anglo Burmese war.

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MY BURMESE AND ASIAN COIN COLLECTION

I took the opportunity of visiting the numismatic section of the British Museum when I went to London as a cabinet delegate for talks culminating to the independence of Burma. I went there to see the silver peacock coins of King Mindon ; but I also saw for the first time the gold coins of King Mindon. Unluckily the wing of the museum which was used for the oriental coins was badly damaged by the Luftwaffe during the war and many coins were not yet exhibited in September 1947.

The British museum kept coins as well as tokens, symbolic coins, such as Majizi (tamarind seed) ; bean money ; Naga Chin miniature spear for blood money ; according to Sir Bertram Carey, K.C.I.E., C.B. the Chins used slaves as coins in olden days which was later equated to two hundred forty East India company rupees or eight buffaloes ; one mythun was worth sixty rupees ; one fisted animal at six rupees making eighteen rupees for a three fisted animal in judging civil suits ; one single piece of Khipi (Great necklace) was worth one buffalo or two ; one string of Khipi (great necklace) consisted of 60 pieces usually carnelian or amber, beside performing festivals such as elephant, bison, tiger, the accumulation of a string of Great necklace was the ambition of a successful Siyin. The flag of the elephant was White (9 cubic long) ; bison, blue ; tiger, red ; the most coveted festival was for the enemy killed. Our family still possessed the Khipi belonging to our forefathers. I inherited a few choice pieces, two belonging to my grandfather Chief Thuk Kham ; one belonging to Pu Hau Vum and his wife Pi Mang Vung Limkhai ; and another belonging to Ngang Tuang On. These carnelian beads were never as expensive as rubies or sapphires but good quality were never plentiful. My wife inherited the locally wellknown necklace of Pu Tun Pau. I also saw Burmese shell money ; boat shape money, gamblers tokens with Chinese characters on them ; Shan baw (lump silver) ; bar money from Mekong.

During my embassy to Western Europe with headquarters in Paris I got a few of each kind in different towns. Mr. Baldwin told me that he had kept the various Burmese coins for the last 40 years and that I was the first customer. The supply was probably very limited ; I could get few more since.

After the emergence of many new sovereign States after the Second World War, the States concerned began to collect the old coins of the ancient state concerned. Coins are easy to handle and usually depicts the old culture and civilization of the ancient sovereign states concerned. They are more easy to keep than paper documents which usually disappear by and by through the cause of *yanthumyo ngapa* the five natural enemies ; as a result there was a rush for antique coins from countries concerned. Some museums had hardly any space to exhibit the various coins of many old states which disappeared for centuries from current maps. This I believe true in the case of the Bibliotheque Nationale. The National Museum of Pakistan acquired a gold coin (dinar) of the reign of Umayyad Caliph Abdul-Malik B Marwan in December 1957. No other dinar of this type of the year 74 of Hijra is known to exist. The coin was struck in Damascus. It represents on the obverse the standing figure of the Caliph wearing Arab headdress and long robes. The reverse is inspired by the traditional Byzantine "cross on steps", but the arms of the cross have been suppressed and the vertical shaft is surmounted by a small globe. Some of

the likeness of olden days' kings are to be found on coins only. Even a document conscious nation like England discovered the only contemporary likeness of the last Anglo-Saxon king: the head of Harold on one of his coins in 1961. In 1962 a rare coin: A Henry V (1413-1422) Gold Noble in mint condition was found in Yorkshire by a man while digging a trench.

Bodaw Paya appeared to be the first Burman known to possess a map and two coins of a foreign country.

"Bodaw Paya, the King of Burma had heard of the troubles in Assam and he planned a scheme to invade Assam and annex it to his territory at this opportune moment. In 1796 when Captain Hiram Cox waited upon the king of Burma, as the British Resident in Rangoon, the Burmese King sent to him two Assamese coins, and a map painted on cloth to enquire if the Captain had any knowledge of the country. Recruitment of soldiers was in brisk progress for invasion of Assam under Bodaw Paya's son, and within a few months' time, the Burmese army marched to within a dozen stages of the Capital of Assam. Kamaleswar Singha averted the calamity by presenting a princess to the Burmese King who was satisfied and considered the offer to have produced the desired results". R.M. Nath. A gold plated copper image of Buddha brought by the Burmese army was left at Silghat.

Writing in 1857 Capt. Yule mentioned about coinage in the various parts of Burma :
'It is well known that the Burmese have no coinage. Silver bullion is, according to a system at once rude and complicated, the medium of their transactions.

There was a coinage in Aracan, and a peculiar kind of coinage in Tenasserim, but never, it is believed, in Pegu or Burma. King Mentaragyi expressed to Col. Symes a desire to have minting implements, and Capt. Cox accordingly carried with him the necessary apparatus. A coinage was struck and issued.

Curiously enough our rupees were not merely not current as coin at Amarapoora, but the people were often unwilling to take them at all, except at a greatly depreciated value. So I have also known a Scotch shopkeeper to decline "That small thing", a sovereign, preferring the well-thumbed, indigenous one-pound note. Deep coloured or red gold is admired by the Burmese, and, I believe, they heighten the colour artificially. The best gold commonly fetches nearly twenty times its weight in silver.

The old travellers of the sixteenth century talk often of *Gansa* as a mixture of copper and lead, apparently stamped, which was the current money of Pegu in that age. (A little more than a century later Captain Alexander Hamilton speaks of "Ganse or lead, which passeth all over the Pegu dominions for money" — *New Account of the East Indies*, 1727). Before the war of 1824 the currency of Rangoon used to be twenty-five per cent silver. After that war it was ten per cent silver. Since the annexation of Pegu, it is needless to say that the Anglo-Indian coinage has been established as the currency". — Capt. Jule.

"A slave is current coin in the Chin Hills and like the rupee his value diminishes and sometimes rises; the slave is ransomable for Rs 200 and amongst themselves is worth three or four mithun, a good gun, a dozen pigs, and a dog, and so on. A man who has taken a wife often sends amongst the presents to his father-in-law a slave. A man who has committed an offence or who has been the innocent cause of an accident will not seldom compensate with slaves as well as mithun or pigs." B.S. Carey

"Money earned by carrying for the Commissariat Department and by labour on public works, has now taken the place of slaves and plunder, and the exports in kind from the Hills remain as heretofore . . . and the horns of buffalo, deer, and other animals are exported. Of these the most valuable are tusks and the horns of the rhinoceros, the latter having a ready sale for use as medicine. The price of a fair-sized horn is as much as Rs. 100.

The circulation of coin, the internal peace and cessation of raids between the Burmans and Chins, has naturally given a great impetus to trade, and we may expect that the ready market for grain which exists in our parts will cause the Chin to cultivate a larger area, and that the love of money will gradually induce him to sell his surplus grain instead of putting it into the liquor pots as is now the case." C.H. Gazetteer.

"The corant mony that is in this citie, and throughout all this Kingdome is called Gansa or 'Ganza which is made of Copper and Leade : It is not the monie of the King, but everie man may stampe it that will, because it hath his juste partition or velure : but they make many of them false by putting overmuch leade into them.

KING MINDON MIN 1852-1878.

After the fall of Lower Burma to the British coin minting was done for the first time by King Mindon in a modern style similar in size to the ones used by the East India Company.

The first style spread wings was first done.

The first peacock with spread Wings was meant to be One Kyat but has no value on it. The only wordings on it is the year "Thekayeik 1214" (1852-53 the year King Mindon succeeded) written on the reverse and nothing is written on the obverse. This Kyat is now extremely rare. I had acquired three, all from Holland and since lost one.

The second design has more wording on it on the obverse as well as on the reverse. The peacock closes its wings and spreads her tails to the full. The words on it are "Ratanabon Naypyidaw Ta Kyat thone Dangka 1214". In five denominations. One Kyat, Nga Mu, Half Kyat, Two Mu, an Mu and Ta Pe all similar in designs and letterings. All bear the year 1214. All are in silver, fine.

The only Silver Peacock coin I ever possessed prior to 1955 in Burma was Two Mu presented to me by Dr. Ko Gyi's father who was the manager of Dawson's bank in Pyapon. I was delighted when I found more varieties of Mindon Silver peacocks in Europe. I got a few each in Paris, Brussels, Delft and London.

PLATE H-2

Shell Money : NGUN HAI : Inflated disc : Silver money : Frontier currency Guiggin p. 219:Pl. 21.11:AE 69.5

Three Ava (Upper Burma) Coins in Silver.

Ava (A) is exactly similar to Phayre No. 2 on plate V.

Ava (B) is similar on the obverse to that of Phayre No. 1 but the reverse of the latter is more similar to Phayre No. 2

My Ava (C) with two holes is uncatalogued. The reverse is that of trident sun similar to Ava (B). The three of them are different. In spite of the two holes on one of them they are almost in mint condition. Ava B has three signs on the obverse a Setkya, Sun and Sand clock; my Ava C has a sun, sand hour and four dots grouped on the left.

Phayre's description of the Silver Ava coins which he gleaned from various learned oriental journals should be of interest :

Coin No. 1 (obverse like my Ava B) is not now available. The figure on the plate has been taken from one shown on plate iii vol xv of the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal". The coin was originally described by Captain Lätter. It appears to have been found in Upper Burma, and was sent by the Mekkhara Prince, one of the royal family of that country, to General W. C. Macleod, who forwarded it to the Asiatic Society in 1844. It is curious that the Mekkhara Prince, though a man of considerable learning does not appear to have recognized the symbols on the coin as Buddhist, and that is more remarkable when the ascertained facts regarding coin No. 2 which will be stated presently, are considered.

Captain Lätter regarded coin No. 1 as Buddhist and of modern date. He observes that the obverse has in the centre a chaitya formed of detached upright glyphs, and surmounted by a hti or umbrella. Right and left are representations of the cobra capella and above the sun and moon. To the left are Buddhist and Hindu symbols, being a trident, three horizontal lines or scores, and the swastika : to the right is some unrecognized figure, and below all are four horizontal or slightly curved lines, one probably representing a serpent.

Of the reverse Captain Lätter remarks it "may be intended to convey a symbolical representation of the cosmology of Buddhism, the twenty-eight circular figures in the outer ring representing the twenty-eight Buddhas, characteristic of a Mahagabbha, or grand period of nature. The five drop-shaped figures representing a Buddha-gabbha or lesser period of nature, the present period being characterized by the presence of five Buddhas".

The emblem in the centre is "composed of certain triangles, representing this world in particular. The triangles with their points downwards represent water, and those with their spine upwards typify fire" : and they meet in a central circle having a point within it, the whole denoting both the supposed elements of which the world is composed, and the reiterated destruction of the world by fire and by water. The above observations convey a probable explanation of the symbols. It might have been added that the volumes of cloud-like substance, which appear to be issuing from the centre, where the points of the triangles meet, symbolize "air", another of the "elements" which go to form a world, and by which it is destroyed once in sixty-four times. The triangular and as the "world" the particles of which are rearranged, and from a body fit for land animals to dwell on, after each periodical destruction. Below the triangles there is a wavy horizontal line which appears to represent "a serpent". This form introduced on coins below a Chaitya is described by Mr. E. Thomas in his essay on coins of the Andhra dynasty in the "Indian Antiquary".

Coin No. 2 Silver (Phayre No. 2), VKH(A)

The device on this medal has evidently been copied, except as regards a few minor differences, from No. 1. The origin of the medal is well known, and the facts regarding it serve to illustrate the remarks which have been made as to the intended use of other coins or medals

of older date found in different parts of Burma. This coin is figured in plate lili or Marsdens work, and he relates that the pattern of it was given to Colonel Symes, who was Envoy to Ava in 1794, by some of the Burmese Ministers, with a request that dies corresponding thereto should be engraved in Calutta. This was done, and apparently a number of pieces were struck therefrom and sent to the Court of Ava. It is probable that these medals were originally intended to be deposited in the relic chamber of the grand pagoda, which the then King of Burma, Bhodau Phra, commenced building at Mengun, on the west side of Erawati, a few miles above Ava. The medals were conveyed by Captain Cox, who arrived at Amarapura in 1797, at which time the work was in progress.

On the obverse of Coin No. 2 the sankh shell replaces the Chaitya which is No. 1 : which on the reverse, below the triangular figures, segments of circles replace the wavy line representing water on the reverse of No. 1 : and three Z shaped figures appear in place of five drops. These refer to the three extinct Buddhas of the present world period, while the three lines composing the Z figure have the same signification. The fourth Buddha of the present period, whose religion is still existing, is implied in the ~~the~~ triangular figures, which represent not only the world, but also the throne on which Gautama sat under the Bo tree.

Nearly all the symbols on both medals may be traced on ancient Indian coins. Thus the Chaitya, trident, sankh shell, sun and moon, have already been mentioned. The snake figures may be seen on coins of the Saurashtra series, and also the triangular figures representing there a Sassanian fire-altar. The snake figures appear on coins of the Indo-Bactrian series, over the heads of a deer and of a bull. The three horizontal bars on the obverse of No. 1 are included in plate xxii of Wilsons *Ariana Antiqua*. The snakes are probably introduced as emlematical of destruction and renovation : the horns of a deer have the same significance, while the animal represents the famous deer-birth of Gautama : and the figure of a crab, which is shown on one of the coins of Southern India, also supplies the symbol of destruction and renovation.

The triangular figures on coin No. 2 would represent to a loyal Burmese the king's throne, and suggest an analogy between the king of his country, as a Chakravartti, or universal monarch, and Buddha, the object of worship of the present period. This object is not unlikely to have been kept in view by a king like Bhodau Phra when he had these medals struck.

The Burmese coinage was introduced by King Mindon, the father of King Thibaw, about 1861, although some of his coins — after a fashion which I have noticed elsewhere as being common in India, and which has been noticed also in the coinage of Bulgaria — bear the date 1852, which was the year of his succession. Previous to this the only "coins" of Burma — excluding, of course, Arakan and Pegu — that I have heard of are the mysterious "fish coin" of 1781, and the tokens brought to Calcutta by Cox in 1796. Sir Arthur Phayre had seen one of the former, and took it to be a token to be buried in the foundation chamber of a pagoda : but I have two more, found in Mandalay, which makes me think they are real coins of King Bodawphaya. The latter were avowedly sacred tokens. The argument, therefore, is that any Burman resident in Upper Burma who is, say, over forty years of age must have in his or her (for the women are the principal hucksters) youth habitually dealt in an uncoined currency.

King Mindon coined in gold, silver, copper, brass and iron. The silver coins were R1, R $\frac{1}{2}$, R $\frac{1}{4}$, R $\frac{1}{10}$ th, and R $\frac{1}{20}$: but in practice they were current as R 1, 8 as, 4 as, 2 as and 1 anna. They all had the same device. Obv. a peacock with Tazektaw. Rev. a wreath, outside

it Yedanabon Nebyidaw and inside it the value and the same date in each case 1214 = A.D. 1852. The values were stated thus : 1 kyat thong dinga, coin to be used as R 1 : 5 mu thon to be used as 5 mu = $\frac{1}{2}$ R : 1 mat thong, to be used as one quarter R $\frac{1}{4}$: 1 mu thong to be used 1 mu : 1/16th : 1 pe thong to be used as 1 pe = 1/20th. All these coins are common, but being now thrown out of currency will soon become rare, especially those of the lower values. Incorrectly struck coins, through careless minting, were also common. I have several specimens.

Mindon Copper Peacock. VKH G & H.

In copper only pice were struck in two varieties : one with the peacock and one with the mythological lion (To). The former were never common, and except perhaps in the villages both have ceased to be so by this time (I have only two of this peacock variety VKH(G) and H plate (H). The effect of their withdrawal from currency in 1889 (the year the British first reached the Chin Hills in an attempt to annex it) seemed to drive them out of Mandalay bazaars within a week. The first had obv. a peacock and udaung tazektaw 1227 (the royal stamp of the peacock, 1865 A.D.) : rev. a wreath, and inside it Yedanabon nebyidaw — 1 pe thong dinga 4 bon tabon (Ratanabhūmi, the royal residence — coin to be used as a pice, 4th part of 1 pe). After the word dinga is an abbreviation which I do not know, but conjecture to stand for paisa (a pice) an imported word well understood in Burma.

Mindon Copper Lion (VKH L to R).

The second has obv. a To and To tazektaw (royal stamp of the lion). Rev. a wreath, outside it Yedanabon nebyidaw and inside 1 mu thone dangka 8 pon tabon 1240 (coin to be used as an 8th part of 1 mu. A.D. 1878). The eight of a mu = the fourth of a pe. It is possible that King Thibaw on his accession in October 1878, initiated this coinage : but I cannot find that he originated anything in gold or silver.

Lead Coins. Hare (VKH : I to K).

Lead coins were at the time of the occupation of Upper Burma common enough but they have now disappeared. Those I have are all I have seen, and it may be that they are all that are now to be got, excepting a few that I gave away. King Thibaw was the monarch that was guilty of the enormity of coining in lead."

R.C. Temple further wrote that the lead hare bears the date "Clearly 1241 or A.D. 1879". I have three of the Lead Hare coins in my possession.

One of these VKH(J) bears a clear date of 1231 (1859 A.D.) and the other VKH(K) also bears 1231 (1859 A.D.), the date on the third (VKH · I) lead Hare has been obliterated. VKH(J) is slightly thinner than I and K. The London dealer wrote the following remarks on the envelope of VKH(J) "Burma, Mindon Min 1853-1878, Lead 1/8th pice : Hare : Extremely Rare. I have only seen one other in 35 years". He told me that the note was written many years ago. The only other one he had seen was VKH(I) Kyini dangka 4 pong tapung also in his stock. I got the third one VKH(K) from P. Tinchant of Brussels on 11 December 1957.

COINS AND MEDALS FOUND IN PEGU AND TENNASERIM

Plate H - 3

"In various parts of the territory but especially near the towns above mentioned, there are frequently found coins or medals of lead, and of a mixture of lead and tin. In the southern portion of that territory are large deposits of tin, and lead is also found, so that material for coins was readily procured. It is possible that some of them have been intended for use as currency. But it is probable from the religious character of those which bear legends, that they were intended to be deposited in the relic chambers of pagodas. It has long been customary to place precious or curious articles in the interior of pagodas, and this custom has been followed in Burma.

Some of the medals now under notice may have been intended for use as weights. In Pegu up to the time of the British conquest the weights in use were of metal, cast in the form of the hansa, the sacred emblem or badge of the country.

On the obverse of No. 1 (Phayre) is the representation of a fabulous animal, called by the Burmese To, supposed to be a compound of horse and deer. On the reverse is a wheel or circle, round which is a legend in the Pali language and Burmese letters as follows :

Maha Sukhan Nagaran
Land (of) great rest or happiness.

The legend applies to Nirvana which is attainable after the soul has travelled through the circle of the many forms of being. In this instance the wheel or circle is an emblem, if not of eternity for an individual soul, yet of the never-ending changes of the universe, which have to be passed before the permanent rest in Nirvana is attained.

I have four specimens of this IV(T) 2 V(T), 3 V(T) and 4 V(T). The first one in spite of the two holes has very clear writing on the reverse :

Maha Thu Khan Ga Na Ga Ran
Great City of Happiness

2 V(T) in my collection corresponds to 3 on plate III of Phayre's. Obverse — A bird intended perhaps to represent a hansa, but bearing rather a resemblance to a cock. 3 V(T) and 4 V(T) correspond to 5 on plate IV. of Phayre's. A lotus bud on water, or possibly reposing on what is meant as a representation of the sea-dragon. Reverse, Burmese writings which look like to me.

Ka ka ka nga ka ka

Considering the fact that King Mindon's coins bear the words Ratanabon Naybyidaw I believe the coins which bear such words as Maha Thukhan Nagaran or Maha Thukhan Ga Nagaran as I read them must be for currency and not only for measure as believed by some European writers. Weight measures are more common than currency coins. Copper Hantha weights in graduating measures are still to be had from some interior old towns to this day.

Arakanese Coins (Plates H-4 and H-5)

The only museums that has a large collection of Arakanese coins is the Jakarta (Batavia) museum. It has 19 pieces, many of them duplicates. I never saw any Arakanese coins in the British museum but there were five which appeared to bear dates 1014, 1126, 1140, 1144 and 1146 in the Ashmolean museum.

Following is a description of the Arakanese coins in my collection. V or VKH signifies VUMKOHAI; P denotes PHAYRE.

1. 974 (1612 a.d.) Senphyu thakin wara dhammaraja Ushaungshya; silver; IV (4P); lord of the white elephant; number 18 of the Myauk-U dynasty; son of King Min radzagi and succeeded in 974 (1611 a.d.) also mentioned as Min Khamaung; he held Chittagong throughout his reign. Persian letters on reverse.
2. 984 (1622 a.d.) Sinphyu thakin senni thakin thiri thudhama raya 2 V & 3 V(6p); silver; lord of white elephant lord of red elephant; number 19 of the Myauk U dynasty.
3. 1000 (1638 a.d.) Senpyu thakin nara badigyi; silver; 4 to 7 V(7P); lord of the white elephant; no more Persian letters.
"Mugh Chief who held Chittagong on the part of the Raja of Arakan", delivered it up to the Mogul Viceroy Islam Khan.
4. 1007-8 (1645 a.d.) Senni thakin senpyu thakin thado mintara; 8 V to 10V(8P); silver; lord of the red elephant lord of the white elephant; number 22 of the Myauk U dynasty.
5. 1014 (1652 a.d.) Shwenan thakin sanda thudhamazaya; 11 V to 14 V (9P); silver; lord of the golden palace; the moonlike righteous king; he is no longer 'lord of the white elephant' but of 'the golden palace';
6. 1014 (1652 a.d.) Shwenan thakin sanda thudhamazaya; 15 V (10P) similar to 5 above but of mixed metal.
7. 1047 Shwenan thakin waradhamma raja; lord of the golden palace waradhamma raja; number 25 of the Myauk U dynasty. 15A/V (11P); silver.
8. 1071 Shwenan thakin sanda widhaja (1710 a.d.); Number 34 in Myauk U dynasty; not of royal race. 16V & 17V (12P) two silver and one mixed metal.
9. 1093 Shwenan thakin sanda thuriya yaza 1711 a.d. silver; No. 35 of the Myauk U dynasty; 19V and 20V (13P).
10. 1097 (1715 a.d.) Shwenan thakin narapawara raja; lord of the golden palace; number 37 on the Myauk U dynasty; silver 21V (14P).
11. BE 1099 (1737 a.d.) Shwenan thakin madarit raja; lord of the golden palace; number 40 on the dynasty; silver; 22V (15P).
12. Ar 1104 (1742 a.d.) Shwenan thakin naraapa raja; number 41; silver 23V (16P).
13. 1123 (1761 a.d.) Sanda paramaraja... number 43; silver; 24V (17P).
14. Ar 1126 (1764 a.d.) Ahbaya maharaja; number 44; silver; 25V & 26V (18P).
15. 1135 (1773 a.d.) Sanda thumaharaja; number 45; mixed metal; 27V (19P).
16. 1139 (1777 a.d.) Sanda Thadita raja; number 47; 28V & 29V (20P); one silver; one mixed metal.
17. Ar 1140 (1778 a.d.) Shwepyi thakin damarit raja lord of the golden country; 30V (21P).
18. 1144 (1782 a.d.) Maha thamada raja; silver; the last king of Arakan; stands number 48.

19. BE 1146 (1784 a.d.) Amarapura Senpyumya shin naingan; Kingdom of Amarapura, country of lord of many elephants.
- Struck by the Burmese governor after conquest of Arakan and issued in the name of his master seven silver coins; four small ones and three larger ones with rims.
- The bigger ones 33V (23P) to 35V (23P) are not illustrated in Phayre's book; but the wordings are the same as No. 23 Phayre's book; or 32V (23P); 36V, 37V and 37V (23P)A.
- There are smaller coins about half the size of No. 23 Phayre's which "were issued by the Arakanese chiefs in Chittagong while governing there for their sovereigns in the sixteenth and in the early part of the seventeenth century. Sometimes they issued coins in their own names as Viceroys. There are no Burmese dates on these coins. Obverse "Minbin thinkhaya" no Burmese dates.
20. 38 VKH; 1059 (1697 A.D.) Kalamandat. Silver. This coin is not mentioned anywhere by Phayre. Kalamandat, an usurper reigned for only one year.
21. 39 VKH Kalimah Shah coins issued from A.D. 1440; silver. Not recorded. "At the beginning of the 15th century of the Christian era, the king of Burma invaded Arakan, and the ruler of the latter country, Meng-tsau-nwun, fled to Bengal in the year 1406 or 1407 A.D. The exiled monarch lived at Sunargong, then the Muslim capital of Bengal, for 24 years. The Sultan of Bengal then undertook to restore him, and this was effected in the year A.D. 1430. He agreed to subordinate, or be tributary to his benefactor. How this subordination was carried out in detail, is not stated in the chronicles of Arakan, nor, as far as I am aware, in any history of Bengal. But coins are still met with in Arakan, bearing no date, but having the Kalimah inscribed thereon, which are said by learned men among the Arakanese to have been issued during the reigns of several successive kings, commencing about the year A.D. 1440. But the first prince of whom there is trustworthy evidence upon this point is Batsauphyu, the nephew of Mengtsaumwun, who ascended the throne of Arakan in the year A.D. 1459. He is termed in the history of Arakan, Kalimah Shah, in consequence of his having issued a coin bearing the kalimah" — Arthur P. Phayre.
22. 40 VKH; Arakan, silver; unrecorded by Phayre; uncertain.
23. 41 VKH (114P) Ancient Arakan; silver; Nita Chandra; late 10th century A.D. Figure of recumbent humped bull, with legend above in Nagari letters: Vamma Chandra for Varma Chandra; reverse, Trident of Siva with garlands pendent from the outer blades, sun and moon above, below nine round dots. The number nine, referring to the Buddhist Triad, is an expressive number among Buddhists, and notwithstanding the Sivaite emblems, may have been introduced here under Buddhist influence.

"Coined money was not used in ancient times in the countries of Indo-China. In Arakan, coins were first struck for the purposes of currency, and as a declaratory act of sovereignty, towards the end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth century, of the Christian era. The system was then adopted from that existing in Bengal under the Muhammadan kings. But coins bearing religious symbols had been issued independently by the local princes in earlier times. It is not now practicable to do more than indicate the dynasty under which these symbolical coins were struck. The immediate occasion of the issue, under foreign influence, of coins by the kings of Arakan, is related in the chronicles of that country". A.P. Phayre..

EAST INDIA COMPANY (BRITISH) King William IV (Bolsai) 1835 Plate H-8.

This was the first British East Indian Company coin introduced to British Burma. It was known locally as *Bolsai* from its appearance. Up to 1955 I have seen one in Burma. In 1942-44 on my tours in the Hills between Haka and Cikha salt wells I came upon a person in Tonzang who had a One rupee Bolsai. I got it with the help of a friend. That was the only one I had ever seen in Burma. I had three of the Queen Victoria 1840 (Samtum, coiffeured) before I left Burma in 1955. When I got to Europe I got some denominations each of the Bolsai as well as the Samtum. I understand that among the ordinary silver coins the ½ rupee Edward VII 1905-10 is the most difficult to obtain. When I underwent training at the district treasury at Falam in 1937 I noticed that the 1 Rupee 1911 King George V issue was to be withdrawn from circulation as soon as one got into the treasury. I found out that the Muslim community of the then Indian empire objected to it being circulated for currency on the ground that the miniature elephant on the chain or order of the King looked like a pig instead of an elephant. I got one from the Falam treasury when I underwent training there.

East India Company Victoria Queen 1840 Plate H-9.

This is the second British India coin used in Burma. One rupee, Half rupee, ¼ rupee and two annas. There are two types in the ¼ rupee: In the picture, the first rows are the first type and the second rows are the second type. The difference can be seen from the face of the Queen. Most of them are in mint condition.

Plate H-10

King G V 1911; first four rows:

Half rupee India Edward VII King and Emperor 2 (1906), 1 (1907), 1 (1908), 2 (1909), 3 (1910).
The more difficult denomination to obtain in normal time; last rows.

Plate H-10 (5 to 6 and 7th rows).

One Rupee, Brass, Grain Famine Token 1874.

East India Company 1835, 1/12 (One Pie) Proof in Silver, Plain edge.

These "Proof" coins have mirror-like surfaces.

East India Company Victoria Queen Proof 2 Annas 1841, Silver.

- do - Victoria Queen Proof 2 Annas 1841, Silver.

Indian Empire, Victoria Queen, Proof, One Rupee 1862 Crowned bust

East India Company Victoria Queen, Proof ¼ rupee 1842, Silver

- do - Victoria Queen, Proof Two Annas 1862, Silver

- do - Victoria Queen, Proof Two Annas 1862, Silver

Hong Kong, Victoria Queen, Proof Ten Cents, 1863, Silver.

Indian Empire, Victoria Queen, Proof One Pie, 1862, Copper.

- do - Victoria Empress, Proof, Two Annas 1891, Silver.
- do - Victoria Empress, Proof $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee 1891, Silver.
- do - Victoria Empress, Proof, 2 Annas 1893, Silver.
- do - Victoria Empress, Proof, 2 Annas 1893, Silver.
- do - Victoria Empress, Proof, 2 Annas 1894, Silver.

In the same plate are two freaks ; a One Rupee Silver Victoria Queen and a $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee 1944 George VI.

Next to the "Proof" coins the uncirculated ones are in the most perfect condition. Even those coins which show signs of wear are to be valued if they are unobtainable.

PLATE H-11 Some currencies of the countries to which I was accredited as Ambassador of the Union of Burma.

S I A M Plate H - 12

P'ra Paramin Maha Chulalongkorn 1868-1910.

The silver coins are 1/8 Tical (1889-1908) : $\frac{1}{4}$ Tical (1889-1909) and 1 Tical (1889-1907).

The three copper coins are also those of Chulalongkorn, 1874-88.

The tin coin is that of 1/16 Fung also of Chulalongkorn, reverse elephant, 1868. The big medallion in the centre is that of Chulalongkorn R 65 Medal Chula 1239 ; pure solid silver.

The next ones are the so called "Bullet" money stamped with authentic marks and are of heavy pure silver. As will be seen when these were replaced with minted coins people began to add a hook to each for use as buttons. Three Bullet Siamese money of similar size were illustrated in Phayre's book. These bullet monies are the rarest. Among the minted coins the three headed elephant of 1 tical 1909 minted in Paris is the rarest. The bullet money was made in Siam but the minted ones were done in Bangkok, Paris, Birmingham, Brussels, Philadelphia, Osaka and Hamburg. Bullet monies are not listed in standard catalogues.

When I went to London for the Burmese independence talks in 1947 I was shown the Mint as well as de la Rue company. I saw the Siamese currency notes being printed and the steel for the Burmese 'Maung Kaung' currency note still being carved by one of the highly skilled artist. Among the skilled labourers I always thought he must be one of the best.

CAMBODIA (Formerly known as French Indo-China) Plate H-12.

The most interesting and the oldest is easily the Sacred Goose medal struck during the reign of King Pra Ong Harzak. The obverse as seen. The sacred goose, with inscription in Cambodian character and Siamese numerals. The date is given in three eras as follows : Maha sakharat or great era 1769 : Pha or year of religion 2390; Chula or lesser era 1209 or year of goat 9th of cycle, equivalent to March 7th 1848. The reverse has a clear design of the Cambodian king's palace and also the lettering in Cambodian "Krung Kampucha Inthapat" meaning The Empire, Cambodia, Land of Indra.

The silver coins are those of "Norodom I Roi Du Cambodge 1860 Deux Francs". 1 Fr and 50 cent. The coppers are ten centimes and also dated 1860. The small ones are Garuda coins. Three of them are L'oiseau Hamsa in silver with no writing on the reverse : the remaining ones are bronze : Garuda.

INDIAN and other Mussulman countries Plates 14, 15 f 16.

Hyderabad : Mir Mahbob Ali Khan II, Mir Usman Ali Khan 1911 (Dates A.H. 1330 : 1912) 1868-1911 (A.H. Dated 1286-1329) and other antique bronze and silver coins ; three plates.

Tunisia, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Afganistan, etc.

JAPAN Plate H-17 :

Emperor Mutsuhito.

Meiji (Enlightened Government) Era 1867-1912 1 Yen.

1 Yen 1874-1912

Emperor Yoshihito :

Taisho (Great Righteousness) Era

Yoshihito 1912-1926

50 Sen Silver

50 Sen Silver Yrs 11-15 (1922-26)

First two rows : - Plate H-17 *Chinese* : (except six rectangular Japanese).

Silver : Hu Peh Province : 1 Mace and 44 Candareens.

Kiang Nan Province : 1 Mace and 44 Candareens.

Kwang Tung Province : 20 cents

Kwang Tung Province : 1 Mace and 44 Candareens.

- do - 72 Candareens.

Two Hong Kong Victoria Queen 5 cents 1866, 1888.

One Hong Kong Victoria Queen 10 cents 1899.

One Hong Kong King Edward VII, 5 cents 1903.

Last two rows : - *Japanese*.

MY COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL PORCELAIN

My father kept a few sets of beautiful English porcelain dishes, cups and saucers in the house. My brother and I broke some when we were young but a few pieces are still in order in the house. When I was in the High School the Chinese government sent some choice pieces of porcelain said to be worth millions of pounds to London for exhibition; almost all the local and foreign newspapers carried the news. The first Chinese porcelain collection that I saw was the one brought by the Chinese cultural mission under the leadership of Mr. Ting Si-lin to Rangoon in 1952. The collection was exhibited in the Jubilee Hall for a few weeks. No guide book was issued and there was no clue to tell the dynasty to which each object belonged. In any case the articles appeared to be too antique to be appreciated by the local people. On the eve of their return to China Mr Ting Si-lin presented me with a small plate which I found a few years later to be a Ming cloisonne. It was to be my first possession of genuine Chinese porcelain. I visited the Delft antique fair a few times and admired the beauty of the blue Delft ware and other continental ceramics.

Curiously, in the Chin Hills, we had a "Bowl and Earthenware Vase War" as early as 1874. "In 1874 the Southern Lushais (Zo Chins) fell out with the Thlantlang (Haka) Chiefs. Vandul-a, head of the Lushais, had raided Vaki, a village on the Arracan border, and brought away as part of the loot a brass bowl and a big earthenware Vase, which the Thlantlang Chief claimed as being part of the promised price of his daughter, who had recently been married to the son of the Vaki Chief. As Vandul-a refused to give up the articles, the Thlantlangs attacked a Lushai piquet on the Koladyne (Kaladan river), killing some men. To revenge this insult, the Lushais attacked Bunkhua, with disastrous results, and had to make an ignominious peace", page 7 "Lushai Kuki (Chin) Clans by Colonel J. Shakespeare.

When I heard that I was being transferred from Paris to Jakarta, friends in Holland who knew Indonesia advised me to take up the hobby of collecting Chinese porcelain. One person showed me three pieces of Ming celadon plates. I was told that almost all the antique Chinese porcelains in Holland came from Indonesia (the former Dutch East Indies). I began to visit a few antique porcelain shops in Holland and Paris. I bought a few books on the subject in Paris.

It is recorded that in December 1664, the Dutch Company from Batavia brought 16,580 pieces of various kinds of porcelain back to Holland. The East Indian Company allowed her officers and men to import porcelain on their own account starting in 1631. Queen Elizabeth received one porringer of "white porselyn garnished with gold", from Lord Treasurer Burghley in 1587. Peter the Great's ambassador to China writes "The finest china is not exported, or at least very rarely." I understand from Samsuddin that Dr. Philips brought 500,000 gulden worth of Chinese porcelain from Jakarta in 1937.

One year after my arrival in Kebajoran, local porcelain sellers (mostly Minangkabaus from Sarek) began to visit me with their wares. At first I had to check their wares with my books and with the local museum which I believe possesses the best general Chinese porcelain that I have ever seen. I found out that many Indonesians who possessed Chinese porcelain did not want to part with them before the war. Some superb pieces of Chinese porcelain existed in some parts

of the former island kingdoms of the East Indies. These pieces were presents from the kings of China to the local kings. I believe that the more classical pieces were to be found in the easterly islands such as Moluccas, Halmahera and Ambon. The historic spice islands appeared to have had many rich and powerful kings who exchanged gifts with the Chinese kings. Most of the classical ones appeared to have reached the present Indonesian archipelago over three hundred years ago, i.e. before the arrival and intervention of the Dutch.

The Indonesian peoples regarded Chinese porcelain wares as heirlooms and they rarely part with them in the ordinary way. But there were tribal wars among themselves and on many occasions the wares were buried very deep in the ground so that the enemy would not know where they were kept. This practice resulted in the disappearance of many family collections. The colour of many pieces of, especially, Ming mirror were affected. I have not come across a Ming underglazed coloured one.

A particular quality of the Chinese and southeast Asian ceramics is found in a particular area ; I found the following to be a general distribution.

Tang : S. Sulawesi, many sultans and Andis ; E. Java ; S. Sumatra : finest ; real Sung, E. Java.

Sung : The best Sung is found in Bandjarmasin (but not Pontianak) ;

Halmahera : Djailolo, Ternate, Galela, Tobelo ; inferior quality in Palembang and Padang.

Ming : Best Ming mirror is found in S. Sumatra ; Bali ; Lombok.

Ming : Blue and white : North Moluccas, especially Halmahera, E. Java where there were more important sultans.

CHING Kanghsi	}	Moluccas ; E. Java ; S. Sumatra , Lampung area
Yung Cheng		
Kianlung		

Annam-Tongking : Halmahera.

Sawankaloke ; Sukhothai = Atjeh Klapah ; S. Sulawesi.

Cambodge : N. Sumatra, Halmahera.

When I got there beside Chinese and Japanese porcelains, I found Siamese stoneware, even Burmese Martaban jars, Annam-Tongking and Sawankaloke and Sukhothai stonewares of Siam are locally known in Indonesia as Klapa Atjeh. The small pots are mostly found in Atjeh ; hence the name. Annam-Tongking porcelainous wares are locally known as Ming Korea for some peculiar reason. I do not think I have come across any genuine Korean ware in Indonesia. I found the Annam Tongking wares very elegant in design and colour. Most of the pre 17th century Chinese porcelain wares reached the Indonesian archipelagoes before the arrival of the Dutch in Indonesia. When the Dutch arrived in Indonesia many porcelain wares were taken home to Holland but these at first consisted mostly of the Ching dynasty wares.

The more classical Sung and Ming wares rarely left the palaces of the Sultans, Rajahs, or Andis as they cherished them as revered heirlooms. In those days rajahs or commoners rarely parted with presents from friends. Most of the superb classical Sung or Ming pieces were presents from the Chinese kings of the contemporary periods.

I acquired three pieces of Cambodian pots ; a green one decorated with some flowers ; and one flowered bowl with lid. The decorated pot is also with four perfect ears and lid. It was known that one of the early Cambodian pottery works was at Angkor Thom. I found the Annam-Tongking porcelainous wares even more delicately decorated than the real Chinese Ming blue and white. I am more attracted by the Annam-Tongking wares than the ordinary Chinese wares. I consider the flower scroll designs either on the pots, vase or plates superb; only the quality of celadon plates slightly inferior to the Ming celadon.

One Annam-Tongking blue and white pot 27 cm high reached Jakarta from Bam Sungai village near Djailolo in May 1961. The last owner in Halmahera was Djahan ; I bought it from Beliki on the 9th October 1961. I consider it possesses the combined beauty in appearance and decorations of the bigger jar in the Jakarta museum and the dated blue and white imperial jar in the Topkapu Sarayi Muzesi in Istanbul.

Annam-Tongking Vase ; semi porcelain ; late 15th century ; hexagonal ; height 28 cm ; Ternate. This vase is identical in every respect with the one in the Jakarta museum, the latter is slightly whiter in colour but the former has a more delicate painting. I have two other round vases which are exquisitely decorated. I have six blue and white plates; one with a bird in the centre encircled by lotus scrolls; four lotus scroll dishes; one bunch of flowers. Four celadon plates one with two fish; the two dishes in the lower centre appear to be better than any that I knew.

I believe my ceramic collection of Annam Tongking and the Sung varieties would be more exceptional than the other varieties. It might be due to the coincidence of my presence in Indonesia at a time when heirloom collections of Sung dynasty in Halmahera found their way to Jakarta.

Among the Ming blue and white jars I think the one acquired by the British Museum in May last year will be the best in the world. It is 12 inches high; circa 1350. "The jar is a splendid example of brush decoration in blue and white. It was probably made for export to the Near or Middle East but cannot be paralleled in any other collection". Among the Ming dishes I think the late fourteenth-century one painted in underglaze copper red sold at Christies in October last year will be the best. "One of them, of the late fourteenth century, was painted in underglaze red with a spreading peony branch and realized 2,600 gns; the other was a fifteenth century vine leaves, peony and carnation sprays, and made 1,100 gns. At Sothebys in December last year an outstanding piece of blue and white dish was bought for £ 800. The centre magnificently painted with the free peony blooms associated with Hsuan-te reign; drawing colour, glaze and potting all combined in as near perfection as one could hope for".

Among the early European collectors Kanghsi wares appeared to command high appreciation at the turn of the century. At the sale of the Huth collection in May 1905 an oviform Kanghsi vase with cover was sold for the large sum of 5900 gns. "This, it is said, had been bought some years previously by a gentleman, who discovered it in a bric-a-brac shop, and purchased it for 12s 6d the new owner in turn selling it to Mr Huth for £ 25. According to expert opinion, expressed before the sale, it was expected to realize £ 2,000. It is almost impossible to express in writing the beauties of this vase; it has all the subtle charm of the very finest Chinese porcelain; the lovely lapis lazuli blue of the ground, with its soft melting glaze, gives it the appearance of having just been taken out of water. The pattern of prunus blossoms which covers it are reserves of brilliant white, which stand out with wonderful clearness on a back-

ground resembling cracked blue ice, the effect being produced by darker lines on the blue ground, giving a wonderful depth, the beauty of which is indescribable. This particular vase is considered to be the finest specimen of blue and white ever produced, which is saying a good deal, for these so-called "ginger jars" have been the admiration and ambition of collectors for many years owing to their great beauty. In an address to the Peking Oriental Society in 1886, Dr. Bushell mentions "four Ginger Pots" of the so-called Hawthorn pattern, which were sold for 2000 gns. The pattern is said to derive its origin from the fact that in some parts of China, in the beginning of the year, fallen prunus blossom may be found lying on the frozen surface of rivers and streams. This is an example of the way in which the Chinese looked to nature for designs to decorate their porcelain" W. Hodgson.

Heirloom porcelain wares are revered not only in Indonesia but also in Japan for centuries. In Indonesia, I found that jars for oil and dishes for food are much prized. In Japan, it appeared that tea bowls which are quite unknown in Indonesia are very highly prized. A case in point was that a Chien-ware tea bowl was sold in 1917 at auction for £ 15,750, the highest price ever recorded in Japan for a piece of pottery. "The interior of the bowl is thickly covered with an intense black temmoku glaze which is dotted over-all with rounded spots of various sizes gleaming with dark-blue, bluish-green, lapis lazuli and silver iridescence". It is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches high and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter.

The Japanese people the neighbours of China were ardent Chinese porcelain collectors from the very early days. The Sultan of Turkey was a most famous individual collector of the world I think. The Ardebil Shrine in Teheran is another house for early Chinese ceramics. The above two museums are accredited with thirty one pieces and thirtytwo pieces of outstanding wares of the 14th century blue and white jars respectively. The total outstanding blue and white jars in the world including America and Britain and Japan is supposed to be one hundred. I have eleven blue and white jars out of which I think three are outstanding. One of them has six characters. I have read about only one Ming jar with red underglaze which is in a private Japanese collection. It is said to be 20 inches in height.

Annam-Tongking. The six dishes in my possession appear to be superior in design to the best in Japanese collections.

Kettle. Among the Ming coloured (porcelain) I think the Hsien chan ping ewers in the private collection of a Japanese looks like the best. I have one smaller Ming red kettle but the colour had run with the burial of the piece underground for perhaps a century. The Japanese kettle is 9 inches high whereas mine is 8 inches high.

Manuans pot jar. Among the Northern Sung celadon jars I consider the one I got from Kupang, the most exceptional. The Jakarta museum curator remarks "It is a very interesting perfect piece; there is a much smaller similar one in the museum but not so good as yours; yours is an original piece". The seller Mawan said that he had never seen the like of it during his thirty years in the trade.

Ju Plates. I also got three identical pieces of greenish dishes which I would like to think as of the famous YU YAO. The local museum curator remarks "Sung dynasty; Istimewa; exceptional; harmonious shape and very nice glaze; bluish-greenish crackled celadon". The best one of the three came from Majene; for this one I paid more than five times the value of the other two.

Sung bowls. Some are gold coloured; some with lobes and crackled found in Geneponto and Goa. One Sung bowl with best smooth porcelain, combed lines inside and outside came from Sumatra and another Sung bowl from Singkiang.

Sevres and goblins: On the invitation of the Cultural minister, my wife, Henry, Sally and I visited La Manufacture Nationale de Sevres which was situated on the outskirts of Paris on the way to my tennis club at Meudon. We were kindly guided by M. Charles Kiefer, Ingénieur-Docteur, Directeur Technique de la Manufacture de Sevres. He showed us the various stages of the manufacture leading to the famous Sevres products. My wife and I had seen so many Sevres and saucers in the Place Elysees on every Presidential reception. We had no real idea of the price of each piece. In 1956 the minister for culture sent me as present a very small "beau bleu" bowl with lid inscribed 1756-1956 to celebrate the tricentennial of Sevres; 4 cm high 6 cm in dia. The manufacture of porcelain was inspired by the beauty of Chinese porcelain. Madame de Pompadour, mistress of King Louis XV shifted the works to Sevres near her castle. Napoleon was accredited with the patronage of Sevres porcelain who encouraged the use for the diplomats. I saw some big classical vases bearing the interesting letter N.

They looked very good and so uniform that I thought the modern age might have discovered a way to mass produce these by automatic machines. On our personal visit to Sevres we found that one piece of Sevres was made by not less than one dozen different hands.

I found that most of the Beau blue Sevres have similar designs as on modern day currency notes at the edges.

In the manufacture of Chinese and other Southeast Asian porcelain I heartily think the remarks of the veteran Statesman President Edouard Herriot (whose state funeral I attended in Lyons) about Sevres applies equally :

„Sèvres nous apprend á comprendre qu'il peut y avoir dans une petite pièce toutes les qualites d'art des grandes oeuvres.

Une tasse decoree de gouttes d'email, compose á la fin du dixhuitieme siecle, ou un bol de la Laiterie donnet a notre oeil un plaisir absolu".

He paid tributes to Louis XV and his mistress Madam Pompadour for encouraging the manufacture of Sevres.

On the day we visited Sevres, my wife brought some money to buy either a tea or dinner set. There was nothing for purchase any way but we were amused by the price of the Sevres. The small beau blue I received as the tricentennial souvenir would cost Fr 5150; one tea set for twelve people was priced at Fr 388,650.

We also visited the Goblin tapestry works. Here again highly skilled labourers made the tapestries in accordance with designs drawn by wellknown artist. We saw the French Republic wedding present for Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko being executed; the design was a modern abstract.

Recently in *Life International* saw the picture of the only perfect Shang yin vase in a painting to denote the raucous feasts of the Shan nobles of north China; the painting was done by Alton S. Tobey. I consider the particular vase would represent the first best example of work in the early dynasties. The only classical wares that I acquired so far in Indonesia were mostly the Yueh or northern Sung bowls carved or incised with flower motives.

One of the prints that have dated Mars 1913 and entitled "Les Tentateurs; Marchands de curios a l'Hotel Wagons-Lits de Píkin" by L. Sabattier depicts sale of Chinese Porcelain wares.

SOME BURMESE ARTS

I believe we value our local arts too lightly. We have little knowledge about the value of old antiques. We cherish new ideas and new designs and we feel we should dispose of the old ones for new. We tend to admire things which are foreign made. We continue to sell our new arts. There was a breach of continuous production of art objects due to the war. After the war we began to appreciate old antiques. By then foreigners arrived and most of the antique owners had to part with their heirlooms with the lure of money which is often needed just after the cessation of hostilities and war currencies demonetized. In Japan also there were cases where some occupation authorities bought a lot of important art work and paintings. Many arts from China including those from tombs were removed by Europeans and some respectable newspapers discredited the act.

One cause of the rarity of Burmese arts was the fact that masonry edifices were prohibited except in the construction of religious buildings. This circumstance led to the development of the arts available for the ornamentation of woodwork. "From the palace of the king or the priest, to the hut of the peasant, the Burmese people live, and have done so through all past ages, in wooden houses. Like Solomon's house made of the cedars of Lebanon and the palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis, they are perishable edifices, which by a few hours' conflagration or a few years' neglect, may be reduced to dust and ashes. The admirable nature of the very abundant teak wood of Burma naturally aided the aspirations of the people for artistic house. In consequence it is hardly a matter for surprise that wood-carving should have advanced beyond both suitability and necessity. It has in Burma become an art in which superfluity of wealth has dictated exuberance in treatment. Immense sums have, and are still expended on wood-carving in Burma, with the consequence that exceptionally high wages are paid to the most skilled carvers. They in fact challenge comparison not only with South Indian to Burman art, but with these collectively to Assyrian and Babylonian. So again the great humanheaded and winged lions of Burma might be looked upon as the lineal descendants of those that adorned the portals of Nineveh.

"Another known throughout Burma as 'The Signor' possessed books of photographs with their corresponding negatives which he had taken in the trenches at Sebastapol, and acquired wealth by the sale of Burmese antiques to American and other travellers. But he was kind to us who stayed. 'From my friends', he would say, 'I ask but five per cent; from the friends of my friends, ten; from globe-trotters as much as I can get'. " — V.C. Scott O'Connor.

Thus more than half a century ago there were already some foreigners who acquired wealth by the sale of Burmese antiques to American and other travellers. No doubt there were few antiques in the whole of Burma especially after the country was fought over three times during the second world war. When the Japanese troops entered the towns everybody fled with some clothes, cash and food to the nearest jungle hide-out leaving things like antiques, books etc. which were not immediately useful during the evacuation.

At the time of annexation of Lower Burma the British forces under General Sir Archibald Campbell brought some artists with them. When they arrived at certain places which they thought

it worthwhile to paint, the ships were anchored for the painter to do his job. Many paintings of the taking of Dallah, Rangoon, Minhla, Prome etc, were executed by Lieuts. Moore and Kershaw, and volumes of them were printed to be distributed by subscription.

I came across a bound volume containing the original water colour paintings by General Sir Ashley Terry. The paintings were done between 1861 and 1862 and include views of Rangoon, Myan-Oung, Prome, Thayetmyo (eight views), Meady and the Arracan Mountains, the Coco and the Andaman Islands. Nobody seems to know about these paintings. I made an enquiry about him from Sir Gerald Kelly and in a letter he replied "The two volumes of Scott O'Connor's 'The Silken East' have safely arrived and I wish to thank you for this beautiful New Year's present. The first thing I did was to turn to page 32 of volume I and look at your grandmother's brother, Mang Lun — a splendid looking chap. No wonder you are proud of him. I have never seen any paintings by General Ashley Terry. My experience of generals is that they are better soldiers than painters. There are some who are not much good at soldiering either".

We were lucky to have a full-time drawing master at Sagaing. I used to visit him at his house and he showed me the various kinds of arts he practised. I thought he was an all rounder, expert in drawing, paintings, caricature, sculpture, goldsmithy, alchemy and tattooing. He could play the cane-ball like a professional. He kept his hair long as in olden days. Others said he was best in water colours. Some of the water colour paintings by his students sent to an all Burma competition drew consolation prizes. I attempted in pencil the portrait of my headmaster and I was satisfied that half the head looked exactly like him, but I could not finish the other half. My training in playing the cane ball was a far greater success than my painting. I always kept a colour reproduction of Gainsborough's Blue Boy since my school days. Although water colour drawing was taught in school few original Burmese paintings adorned the school rooms or the teachers' common room. Group photographs appeared to decorate many rooms.

In one or two of each kind of the arts such as in paintings, porcelains, carvings, and wood-works, I believe the Indians, Chinese, Cambodians, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese, Annamese and Koreans have some outstanding qualities. I think there are more Chinese, Southeast Asian and Japanese arts in France, England and Holland than anywhere else in the world, except the Jakarta museum which probably possesses the best collection of Chinese ceramics in the world, including China. In it I have seen Ceramics from the Han Dynasty found in Middle Sumatra down to Ming. The earliest semi porcelain wares of the first, third, sixth, ninth centuries were found in middle Sumatra, Sambas West Borneo, Krui, southwest Sumatra, middle Java and Malang East Java respectively.

One thing which is an eye opener in Indonesia is the fact that the Jakarta museum keeps some enormous Pegu and Martavan (Martaban) jars. I have seen Pegu (Pakoe) Shinh Ooh since childhood in our house, but I must admit I have never seen Martavan (Martaban) pots. There are a number of these very large glazed earthen pots preserved in the museum. They are described as Martavans and are wellknown all over Indonesia. Most of those in the Museum were obtained in middle Java. They are at least 400 years old, having reached Java in the 16th century. I doubt if anyone in Burma would think of keeping one of these Martaban and Pegu pots as antiques. There should be some antique pots in lower Burma as old as those preserved in Java. I intend to bring one of these 400 year old Burmese antique jars but they are at least 3 feet high and weigh some 50 lbs and transportation from Java to Burma is a problem in modern ships.

The famous Burma jade which some nations thought came from China was one the earliest exports of Burma from Mogaung to China. Yule in his Mission to Ava records "In the district of Mogoung in Upper Burma, a green, translucent and very hard stone "noble serpentine" (Jade) is dug by the Shans and Kakhyens, and largely purchased by the Chinese for exportation to their own country, where it fetches an extravagant price, and is manufactured into cups, bracelets, etc. The value of this trade is represented by respectable Chinese at Amarapooora to reach from six to ten lakhs of tikals per annum. Amber, to a considerable amount, from a more northerly part of the same region (Payendwen, Hukong Valley) is taken to China also".

The style of the various arts in which the Burmese were experts over one hundred years in the court of Amarapura is given by Yule: "A combination of carved and gilt work, with geometrical patterns inlaid in mirror, is a favourite style of art among the Burmese, both in the adornment of the more splendid monastic building and in articles of furniture. These, indeed, are the characteristics of Burmese art. A specimen is given above of one of the chests made in this style for presentation to the monks as bibliothecs, commonly known among the plunderers of the British army as "phoongyi boxes". Trunks appeared to be very popular. "The boxes are of teak, capitally dove-tailed at the angles, and very cheap. They were duly prized by our party, and scarcely an officer, soldier, or lascar, came away without a specimen".

Specimen of Zo Chin arts can be seen on the carved Memorial posts either of hard wood or stones. My grandfather Chief Thuk Kham of Bellei and Lunmun Muitung (renamed Fort White after General, later Field Marshal, Sir George White, V.C., O.M.) who evacuated to Vangteh when General White occupied the Siyin Valley in March 1889, erected two memorial posts and two stones for himself and for his wife who died below Vangteh during their evacuation from Muitung. The carved wooden posts as well as the stones are still standing in good order after sixty monsoons. They represent the oldest things besides their beads which I could trace as visible arts connected with the biographies of my famous forbears. The carvings are, I think, better looking than many of the modern abstract arts that I have often seen in the European exhibitions. The hardwoods as well as the tall stones were contributed by my two uncles (father's sisters' husbands), namely Saya Thuam Hang and Ngang Tuang On who were themselves leading heroes of the Khuasak Siyin contingent against the British in (1888-94). They brought the memorial posts and stones with the help of their villagers from the slopes of the Siyin country near Kalemoyo.

"Thou silent form, dost tease us out of thought as doth eternity: Cold Pastoral.

When old age shall this generation waste, Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe".

An entry in the Chin Hills gazetteer under the title Memorial Tablets records: "In the north the Chins erect a memorial to departed Chiefs: it consists of a thick plank of hardwood and usually the head of a man is carved on the top, from which a spike protudes. The head represents the deceased, and on the plank is carved men, women, children, animals of all sorts, gongs, beads, guns, etc. These represent the Chief, his wife, and family, the enemies and animals which he has killed, and the slaves whom he has captured. The animals represent not only those which he has killed in the jungle, but also those which he has killed at feasts. The departed hero is often shown as shooting an elephant, or a tiger, or carrying a gun in one hand a human head in the other. The carving is rough, but the monuments are curious, and great care should be taken that they are not defaced by our future generations. The wood chosen for carved memorials is so hard that it resisted the weather for more than 50 years, and great

grandchildren still point out the memorials erected when their ancestors died. The carving of the Tashon monuments is more primitive than that of the Siyins". General Nuthall's stone and the Maharaja's stone, set up at the Chibu (Cibu) salt well on the Tuivai river on the Chih-Manipur boundary to commemorate the Manipuri Expedition erected in 1872 respectively bears in the local style a big picture of a standing dog and a pony, with two foot prints of a man at the bases of the stones.

The arts and handicrafts of the Zo Mi (Chins) living in the present day Chin Hills and the Chittagong areas were recorded in colour by an adventurous German ethnologist E. Riebeck in the year 1882. Chittagong and districts around it had fallen to the East Indian company and had been raided by the Zo Chins occasionally. It was seven years before first attempt of General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B. to annex the northern Chin Hills. The book published in 1885 has 21 very big plates, many of them colour illustrations of the famous intricately patterned Zo Chin shawls in silk and cotton of the southern and northern peoples.

Many of the important art publications when dealing with Asia or South East Asia mention the famous arts of India (Ajanta), Cambodia (Angkor Vat), China (porcelain and paintings) and jump to Java (Borobudur) generally without mentioning Burma. A few publications mention Shwedagon and Pagan without mentioning any details.

The skill of our artists half a century ago could be judged from the fact that at the Delhi art exhibition out of the nineteen gold medals for first class awards three were won by Burmese artists :

1. Saya Po of Toungoo-Niello work, bowl and dish.
2. Maung Yin Maung of Rangoon — Silver work.
3. Maung Than Yegyan of Rangoon for a carved figure in wood of a Burmese Princess.

I think it worth reproducing some remarks on other exhibits which won lesser awards. "The gong stand, made by Maung Po Nyun of Rangoon, is one of the most wonderful and beautiful examples of this art ever produced. The tympanums shown on the walls are exact copies of those in the Salim Chang monastery, Mandalay." Some exquisite works were sent from Tayetmyo ; others came from Moulmein, Toungoo and Prome. Maung Kyi Maung of Moulmein and Maung Po Kin of Rangoon also won silver medals. The wellknown carvers of Mandalay in those days were Maung Po Thit, Maung Bui, Maung Po Nyun and Maung Than. The works in Salin Kyaung were copied by the most famous carver of Amarapura Saya Khin.

The following awards were obtained for Lacquer Works exhibited :

1. Maung Thaw of Mandalay, second prize with silver medal for lacquered Hpungi box.
2. Messrs. Beato of Rangoon, second prize with silver medal for collection of lacquered work of Burma.
3. Saya Pa of Prome, third prize with bronze medal for a gilt lacquered tray.
4. Maung Tha Shein of Pagan, third prize with bronze medal for collection of lacquered work.
5. Saya Nyain of Pagan — commended for lacquered betel boxes.
6. Maung Tha Shein of Pagan — commended for lacquered ornamental table.
7. Ma Gyan of Mandalay — commended for a lacquered teapot.
8. Maung Pa of Prome — commended for a gold lacquered panel.

The exhibitions from Pagan included a betel-box made by Maung Kywe of Pagan; a round box made by Ma Kyan Yi; a vase with dishes made by Maung Twa; and a table made by Maung The Shein of Pagan. They would form posthumous candidates for a local art academy and it would be wise to find out their histories when it is still possible. I could trace little history of even Saya Chone whose paintings of the Abdication of King Thibaw adorn Scott O'Connor's historic book *Mandalay*. The art and culture departments in European countries are usually helpful in marshalling such facts for posterity.

Among prominent amateur artists could be mentioned Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eisenhower. Sir Winston Churchill was made an Extraordinary member of the R.A. He exhibited his paintings at the Metropolitan Museum. 148,000 people saw them in 24 days and was considered to be a record of art lovers seeing a particular artist's works. Some museums thought it inferior. The Chicago Art Institute was one and the director resigned as director to become head of a more tranquil museum in Worcester. Emperor Hirohito is attributed with a short poem each year. Mao Tse Tung has published 18 poems excluding the hundred flower bloom.

Another controversial painter is the wellknown Picasso. The contract for a wall panel painting for the new Unesco building in Paris was given to Picasso. Sir Charles Wheeler, PPRA did not think much of it, although he admitted that many people had declared it a "great work of art". Even Picasso is not safe from criticism. It is hard for a lay lover of art to appreciate this kind of painting.

Famous pictures like Mona Lisa have been copied by wellknown artists for museums or for private collections. They are made in good faith. No artist could however paint exactly as da Vinci did the famous inscrutable smile. Dr. Soekarno has a copy of Mona Lisa made by A. Borsari (Italy) and reproduced it in his "Paintings" published in Peking 1956.

In many respects copies are used for commercial purpose. According to reliable catalogues Corot is attributed for 2,000 paintings but there are 5,000 "Corots" in America alone. Most of the fakes are clumsy to the eyes of the experts but buyers and collectors are often not art experts and it is to this category of buyers that the art fakers dispose of their wares.

Three years ago the Union of Rumanian Principalities honoured the 100th anniversary of the Union of Moldavia and Wallachia by collecting a considerable number of pictures dealing with themes suggested by the historic event and opened an exhibition in Bucharest. This Union of Moldavia and Wallachia laid in 1859 the foundations of a Rumanian national state in the same way as the ministerial Burma leader Aung San and the Frontier Leaders of Burma namely the Chin, Shan and Kachin signed for the first Union of all Burma in history at Panglong on the 12th February 1947. Before his death Dr. J.S. Furnivall used to give advice in his various writings and lectures for the peoples to commence collecting the portraits of the founding fathers of the Union. Rumania has a population of twenty two million. They exhibited paintings and folk arts in Germany as well as in New York. We have natural aptitude for handicrafts. Without the arts of the Rangoonians we would muster a sizeable collection enough for an exhibition. The various races of the Frontier peoples could easily provide colourful costumes without much effort but with tactful dealings. The dressess of Lishaw, Taungthus, Karenni, the shawls of the Lai Hakas, Siyins (the last two exhibited in a main entrance of the British Museum and draw crowds), the silk pasoes of Amarapura, the bags from the Chin Hills, Kachin Hills and the Shan Hills. The arts and crafts of the Frontier peoples and the upper Burmans would suffice to please any foreign

eye. Hungary is even more oriental conscious than other European countries. Their collection of arts include many interesting Burmese items. I always found it interesting to talk with Hungarians as they are believed to be Asiatic in origin.

For the first time during the last twenty years the Royal Academy's first "A" award was won by Merton's portrait of the Countess of Dalkeith who was described as having an oriental look. The artist spent 1,500 hours on it. The world famous paintings of Rembrandt were exhibited on the 350th anniversary of the artist's birth in 1956 at Amsterdam. Even for the Dutch people it was the first time they saw all his paintings together. For the first time westerners saw Saskia as Flora in which he paid homage to his young wife by choosing her as the model for the goddess of Spring. Pictures of an old woman seated in an armchair and five others reposed in the Ermitage in Leningrad. Ermitage possesses six of Rembrandt's paintings, which is only one less than that of the Stockholm National museum, which has the record number of Rembrandt's paintings in the world. For the historic anniversary his paintings came from all over the world — from places like Melbourne, Ottawa, Minneapolis, Boston and Madrid. A unique autobiography was formed by Rembrandt by using his own face as model. Out of his many self portraits I think the one with Hauberk is the most interesting. In it he appears in all his youthful vigour, his face reflecting an air of confidence. I had the satisfaction of buying one of the prints as a souvenir of the anniversary. The last Rembrandt on the market, only 8" X 6" was sold four years ago for \$ 50,000. One book on Rembrandt's drawings alone cost sixty guineas, which is more than a sum an original Burmese painting can command. Some painters are more wellknown in their own countries. Among some famous western painters are Gainsborough, Gauguin, Goya, Hals, Hogarth, Holbein, Manet, Monet, Rurillo, Picasso, Raiburn, Rubens, Sargent, Stuart, Tintoretto, Van Dyck, Van Gogh, Velasquez and Watteau. Among the English landscape painters Constable is most wellknown. In most cases they are known by their surnames or one name universally. In the case of Burmians, I think only Saya Chone and Ba Nyan are known outside Burma.

It is a well known fact that many great writers earned very little when they were alive and few lived to see their works become classics; many painters struggled to live sometimes hawking their wares in return for a meal. Many led eccentric lives and died young. Their works become famous after their death only. It has been said that the life of Van Gogh will always be more remarkable than his work, which is a tragic and most inspiring story. In modern times Picasso and Buffet are two have earned wealth and fame long before they are old. Bernard Buffet dresses elegantly and prefers to paint in his chauffeur driven Rolls-Royce, whereas Picasso would not change his striped dress most of the time. Buffet is a friend of Furukaki who loves painting — he himself can sketch and I met Mr. and Mrs. Buffet at his residence.

There are many faked paintings by wellknown artists. On the other hand some newly discovered paintings used to be challenged as fakes. After the war an unfinished portrait by Vincent Van Gogh with a drawing of a Japanese actor was bought for fifty thousand dollars by a movie executive. Van Gogh's nephew attacked the authority of the painting. It was sent around to art experts. A letter by the artist about the particular painting was discovered a few years later which proved its authenticity. There are few literature or books which can guide an art connoisseur or dealers in the presence of highly expert fakers. If he is to make some money out of his profession he must possess an encyclopedic knowledge, a card-index memory, the tact of a diplomat, the flair of a clairvoyant, a secret agent's cunning, a gambler's love of risk, a professional killer's ruthlessness combined with a Chinaman's luck. To some extent I think this applies

also to antique coin dealers. They must possess a large degree of linguistic knowledge. I came into contact with an ex-army officer of Polish origin who could read Sanskrit, Burmese and other characters. Another dealer, Madam Padamadji, an Armenian, speaks seven major languages. Most of the antique dealers in many towns are usually Jewish. A few are Armenian refugees.

Many of the American and European millionaires have salted away their immense wealth in arts of all sorts, paintings, china-ware, Burma jade etc. either to establish a museum bearing their own names or to donate to universities. For some local institutions, such philanthropists are a boon to them, but some nations are very much against rich art collectors, who imported many national treasures out of the country never to return. Some civilised countries like Britain and China had made laws whereby certain categorized art objects should not leave the country.

There have been very important art auctions in Paris and London. London appears to captivate the art centre of the world for reasons that the two important auctioners Sotheby and Christie charged only ten per cent on sales whereas in other countries it is double that amount. Some collections like the one owned by Ali Khan was sold in Paris and important buyers included persons like Elizabeth Taylor. Impressionist paintings are, like other paintings, reported to be rarer nowadays and that in four years the sources would dry up completely.

Inflation is driving prices to new heights. The art market is a world market. Especially those countries not much affected by the last war are the purchasing nations. But the so-called vanquished Germany and Japan who did not have to provide budget for defence are new top buyers of arts, books and antiques. The other big buyers are the Swiss, the Swedes, and of course, the Americans. Some would rather put their money in good paintings than in the bank. They could enjoy their paintings by displaying them and can get their money back with high dividends should they choose to dispose them later. Americans like to show their paintings off; the French owners would take pains to hide them — they are said to be jealous of their paintings as they are of their women. The English people would hang classical paintings but would not talk about them. Some rich French people invest their money in buying off all the products of some young painters whom they guess would become famous later; or of old painters who they thought would die soon. Some definitive painters usually command high prices for their pictures regardless of their age.

The most wellknown and the richest artist who has already made a mark during his lifetime is, of course, Picasso. He would make some drawing, marking or caricature on anything and they would be grabbed by Picasso fans at high prices. He would not see everybody in his private castle full of paintings, sculptures, junks, etc. He is most reluctant to dispose of his paintings. He would sign his paintings at the time of sale. He recently attempted to buy back some of his old favourite paintings from Somerset Maugham. Some painters used their wives or mistresses as models and painted them again and again. For instance Rembrandt used Hendriekje Stoffels as model several times in the years 1645/50. She took charge of his household and remained in his home as his companion until she died in 1663. Some married their models sooner or later, but some prefer them to remain as companions.

Published in The Guardian

The Editor wrote, "Readers will find that this article serves as an introduction to "Some Burmese Arts"; nevertheless they will like it as there is very little literature on Burmese Art in the Union. Vum Ko Hau Siyin, though comparatively young, is one of the Founding Fathers of the Union of Burma, uniting Burma with the Frontier Areas".

BURMESE GOLD BOWL

A BURMESE GOLD BOWL of deep shape superbly chiselled round the body with seated figures of Buddhist deities, dancers, animals and signs of the zodiac; within narrower borders of floral meander, in almost pure gold, the base with an engraved lotus flower-head.

2 : 7/8in. high, 4in. diam., gold. 949, weight $7\frac{1}{2}$ ozs.

The above description is taken from Sotheby's illustrated Catalogue for "Tuesday, June 10th, 1958 at Eleven o'clock precisely".

The Daily Telegraph of Wednesday, June 11. 1958, had the following news item : Sotheby's also held a sale of antiquities and ethnographical objects, which realised £ 2,794. A large Roman gold ring with two intaglio gems sold for £ 280 (Backer). A German buyer gave £ 130 for a Burmese gold bowl, 2 7/8in high. The chisel decoration includes Buddhist deities and signs of the Zodiac.

The dealer intended offering the bowl to a museum in Europe. I just managed to acquire it through the help of a friend just before he disposed it to the museum. Bodes & Bode of Denneweg 50 A. Den Haag gave me a certificate dated 19th August 1958 : - "1 Golden bowl Burma . . . Guaranteed to be antique and over 100 years old". Mr Bodes told me that he bid for items 131 to 133 but did not attempt to bid item 134 thinking that it might be bid many more times than it actually fetched. He started to bid at the last moment only when it appeared that it was not going up too high. He said that he paid about current price of the gold in weight. Sotheby's also told me that the bowl was antique and over one hundred years old. They would not divulge the last owner's name or the history behind it. I consider it almost the same as the one exhibited in the V & A museum. They should be of the same age. The workmanship was more superb than those found in the case of antique or modern silver bowls to be seen in present day Burma.

BURMESE LADY'S DAH

"Lady's small ivory handle Dah; Burmese; 22 carat gold rubies" Eight inches by one inch in the sheath. The handle is ivory, surmounted at the end with gold open-work, studded with 4 rubies and one terminal pearl. The gold is 22 carat and is in thin sheets, wrapped around the wooden sheath. Each of the three hands of rubies is decorated on each side with gold filigree work. There are about 65 rubies, small, irregularly cut. It is almost imperceptible and otherwise the dah is perfect, as new. The blade is strong steel and sharp. The dealer said that they are. The shop specialised in antique weapons only and the shopkeeper said that they kept weapons more than one hundred years old. He purchased it from a collector of old weapons. The dealer has several steel and silver dahs, but he has never before seen a gold antique one. In olden days much gold was utilised for religious purposes and for kings and queens and rubies were used for palace ornaments only. I believe that the dah could have belonged to a queen or a princess in the court of Ava or Mandalay or even to a king.

BURMES SILVER INLAID DAH

Burmese Gent's Silver inlaid Dah. 61 cm by 13 cm blade ; scabbard to tip of handle 94 cm ; silver inlaid figures of five men and one woman on the handle ; the story of Maung Tint De inlaid in silver on both sides of the steel blade ; scabbard of silver ; over 100 years old ; The inlaid Burmese titles preceding the figurines reads :
 Obverse : "Pabe Maung Tint De zatpon" ; "Sein Min Tayagyi Maung Tint De ah hpan khaing pon" ; "Myowun Maung Tint De hpan pon" ; "Ah kyauk wun Ma Dwe Hla set pon". Reverse : "Pabe Maung Tin De zatpon" ; "Myowun Maung Tint De ling zuh khaw pon" ; "Myowun Maung Tint De shikdaw thuh thwin pon" ; "Maung Tint de Sagapih chi zuh that pon".

BURMESE PAINTINGS : PLATE 1-3.

1. Bottom first picture : "The Abdication of King Thibaw" "King Thibaw surrendering to Sir Harry Prendergast and Sir Douglas Sladen in a Summer House in the Palace Gardens" original painting by Saya Chone.
 Illustrates 'Mandalay' by V.C. Scott O'Connor, opposite page 26.
2. Padawmu : "King Thibaw Queen Supaya-lat leaving Mandalay for ever", This was the original painting by Saya Chone and illustrates 'Mandalay' by V.C. Scott O'Connor, opposite page 94.
3. "Attack of approach to Mandalay by British troops" by Saya Chone, unpublished.
4. "Elephant Catching at Amarapura" by Saya Chone : illustrates 'Mandalay' opposite page 164.
5. "Frescoes at Sagaing". Sagaing Hills are famous for the monasteries and dammayones. I believe it is one of the best sights in all Burma during the festivals. All the boarders of the Government High School, Sagaing, used to visit the Sagaing Hills once a year for a picnic. Some of the houses on the hills were built by donors from distant parts of the country.

Since I first saw 'Mandalay' I made enquiries about the paintings including Glasgow and in due course and I bumped into the above originals in an unlikely place. The last owner said he got it in a junk shop.

"The attack on the Stockades by Sir Archibald Campbell on 28th May, 1824. Rangoon," original painting by J. Moore. Moore and Kershaw's paintings were published by subscription.

First Anglo-Burmese War, water colour drawn. This shows Major R. H. Sale of the 13th or first Somersetshire Regiment of Infantry attacking a Burman in a stockade at Rangoon, May 1824, a private of the Regiment assisting. This is a curious and primitive water colour drawing measuring seven three-eighths by ten and one eighth inches. English circa 1823, unpublished.

Burmese painting on white satin.

White thick satin, three feet eight inches by one foot nine inches ; delicately painted on all four borders, leaving a small unpainted centre. There are two royal palaces with trees, many courtiers, dancers, musicians, elephants etc. The scene probably depicts a royal marriage with bride and bridegroom in open carriage drawn by two brahminy bulls. The antique dealer certified it as over onehundred years old. Apparently about 1830, Upper Burma. The colours are bright and the painting of the figures delicately executed, similar to the best technique in parabaiaks depicting court scenes.

SOME INTERESTING PERSONS

Alanbrooke's diary questions Eisenhower's ability as general. AP writes : London Feb 17, 1957 :

Viscount Alanbrooke, in referring to General Eisenhower in a diary footnote said :

"He learned a lot during the war,, but tactics, strategy and command were never his strong points. Where he shone was his ability to handle allied forces, to treat them all with strict impartiality, and to get the very best out of an inter allied force . perhaps his great asset was a greater share of luck than most of us receive in life.

"Viscount Alanbrooke, an impetuous Irishman, devotes most of his diaries to details of rows with Sir Winston Churchill, though he pays tribute to the war time prime minister as the man who "Saved the world from Nazi domination".

"Sir Winston never had the slightest doubt that he had inherited all the military genius of his great ancestor" (the 18th century Duke of Malborough), Viscount Alanbrooke wrote."

Another Post leader writes "He (Alanbrooke) was beyond question the best C.I.G.S. since the office was created, who combined all the finest attributes of a fighting soldier and of a staff officer. But Sir Winston was Sir Winston. Let us therefore leave the problem of who really won the war with the conviction, as our military correspondent says, that neither would ever seek to snatch from the other the laurels with which both are crowned".

Arnold Toynbee, C.H. more often quoted by Myanaung U Tin than any other Burman, had finished his 10 volumes "A study of History" which took him 24 years to write, contains over 3m words. He predicts that Russia will take in the modern world the place Rome filled in the ancient.

Lord Hore-Belisha died at Rheims where he came to speak on Anglo-French solidarity. He was an old name in British politics. "Oliver Stanley influenced his career again in January 1940. Neville Chamberlain asked Belisha to change offices with Stanley, then president of the board of trade. Against the advice of Winston Churchill he refused. On leaving the war office he would not only lose his seat in the war cabinet, but would also be given no general control of economic affairs in his new office. Except for a few weeks in the caretaker government, he never held office again. He had broken the golden rules of political advancement : "Never ask for anything, never refuse anything, never resign". Hore-Belisha was a man of civilised taste. For years he collected busts by the 18th century sculptor Nollekens including a particularly fine one of Laurence Sterne".

Mr Lester Pearson of Canada one of the "three wise men" visited Burma some time after our independence. U Kyaw Nyein had met him before and asked me to meet him. It was during the resignation of the members of the socialist party from government office. He asked me to give some presents at the airport. The liberal party lost their majority. "In private conversations with friends during the recent campaign he spoke nostalgically of his earlier career as a university don, and of his long service as First Secretary at Canada House in London. He even hinted that if things turned out right in the election, he might withdraw from politics and return to London

this time as high commissioner. Now that post has gone to an old political foe. The irony of it is that in defeat the liberals should be turning for leadership to a man who had hoped to tiptoe quietly out of the political arena. But there is no doubt that Mr Pearson is ready now to stay in politics to serve both his party and his country."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Among articles about the admirable Abraham Lincoln I consider the following by "Diogenes" the best.

Whenever I am tempted, as all of us are sometimes tempted, to indulge in a mood of self-pity because of some private grief or trouble, I remember Abraham Lincoln - and am ashamed.

Lincoln's mother was of illegitimate birth and was illiterate. His father, Thomas Lincoln, was a rover, a drifter, a ne'er-do-well. Lincoln's childhood was passed in a poverty so bitter that it makes the conditions of my own exiguous childhood seem luxurious by comparison. Lincoln had practically no education: he was fifteen before he knew the alphabet and could read only a little, and that with difficulty. His brief and intermittent periods of 'schooling' amounted in all to no more than one year.

He was ill-favoured by nature — absurdly tall and ungainly. Later in life his enemies referred to him as 'that gorilla'.

He taught himself to speak in public by participating in a small literary society. He taught himself to write by mastering Kirkham's Grammar and by reading Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Rollin's Ancient History, Paine's Age of Reason, and lives of Jefferson, Clay and Webster. His partner in the small grocery business on which he embarked was a drunkard and the firm went bankrupt, leaving Lincoln eleven hundred dollars in debt, which it took him fourteen years to pay off. When he became a lawyer (self-taught by reading Blackstone) he and his partner Speed took only five fees in their first six months in business. The total was 22½ dollars and a secondhand coat.

The only woman he ever loved died in early womanhood and Lincoln's mind was so disturbed with grief that his friends took away his pocket-knife lest he should commit suicide. Ann Rutledge's death left Lincoln with a melancholia which lasted all his life and from which his bursts of humour were only momentary reactions.

The woman he married — Mary Todd — cared more, her relatives thought, for Douglas who was later to be a principal political opponent of Lincoln's, than she did for Lincoln. The marriage on her side was one of cold calculation. Nor did Lincoln love her. He was fascinated by her superior 'culture' for a time, but inwardly knew that he ought not to marry her.

Once he tried to break off the engagement, but she wept and he impulsively kissed her — and the thing was on again. Thereafter Lincoln felt in honour bound to go through with the marriage, but he did it with a stone in his bosom where his heart should have been. Mary Todd's own sister said of Mrs Lincoln that 'she loved glitter, show, pomp and power' and was 'the most ambitious woman I ever saw'. After marriage to Abraham, Mary set to work to 'make him over' as regards dress, speech, manners.

Often Lincoln was seen walking the streets late at night, his head sunk on his chest, his aspect gloomy and funeral.

Often he said 'I hate to go home'; often an understanding friend would take him for the night to his own home. The wife of a local pastor testified that she had frequently seen Mrs Lincoln drive Abraham from his house with a broomstick and another leading resident of Springfield summed her up succinctly as 'that b — tch'.

After Lincoln's death his wife went insane for a period and it may well be that her incessant nagging, her outburst of violence, her incredible jealousy and the rest, were the product of a mind already diseased. But that did not make it any easier to live with her. Once she so abused the uncle of one of her maids that he complained to Lincoln. Lincoln said sadly, 'I regret to hear this; but let me ask you, in all candour, cannot you endure for a few moments what I have had as my daily portion for the last fifteen years?'

When Lincoln first entered Congress he had to borrow the money to move to Washington. In Congress, he early committed what everybody thought must be political suicide by attacking the war which the United States was waging against Mexico. After his defeat in his attempt to win a seat in the Senate, an Illinois newspaper wrote of him. 'Hon Abe Lincoln is undoubtedly the most unfortunate politician that has attempted to rise in Illinois. In everything he undertakes politically he seems doomed to failure. He has been prostrated often enough in his political schemes to have crushed the life out of any ordinary man'.

When Lincoln secured the Republican Party's nomination for the Presidency it was only the result of a bitter feud between Greeley and Seward. And he attained the actual Presidency only because Douglas split the Democratic Party and three candidates opposed Lincoln instead of one. Hardly had he settled in at the White House before the Civil War began. It lasted for four years and for the first three there was nothing but disaster for the North. General after General, put in charge of its forces, proved to lack either the will or the skill to win battles. Not until Ulysses Grant emerged, almost accidentally, did the tide turn.

Throughout the war Lincoln's Cabinet was the centre of intrigues against him. Generals disobeyed and sometimes publicly humiliated him. He bore everything with the same patient endurance which he had shown in his domestic life. He was not even invited to speak at Gettysburg. He turned up there as one way of refuting propaganda that he had been seen to joke and laugh while soldiers were dying.

The four years of war changed Lincoln into an old man. Added to the strains of war was the burden of grief at the death of his son Willie. And 'of course' the burden of Mrs Lincoln's perpetual making of 'scenes' and public scenes at that.

The war over and won, Lincoln was sailing to Washington on the River Queen. Reading Macbeth, he came across this passage.

Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
Can touch him further.

He re-read this passage, this time aloud and then gazed fixedly through the porthole of his cabin. Five days later he was dead by the hand of the assassin Booth.

Such was Lincoln's tragic life. But throughout its long-drawn agony Lincoln remained kindly, full of human sympathy, never able to turn down an appeal for mercy from man or woman, never letting down the wife who perpetually shamed him nor the Cabinet colleagues who intrigued against him, never allowing private grief to interfere with public duty, never complaining of 'domestic malice' nor of 'treason'.

The day after his death his little son Tad asked a caller at the White House if his father was in Heaven. 'I have no doubt of it' was the reply. 'Then I am glad he has gone', said little Tad, 'for he was never happy after he came here'. Whenever he felt inclined to rebel at his bitter lot he would turn to Job and read 'Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee and answer thou me'. Greatly did God demand of him and greatly did he answer. And 'not marble nor the gilded monuments of princes' shall outlive the memory of the most human, the most gentle, the most kindly, just and forbearing of the great leaders of men.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

There are already many publications about Sir Winston Churchill, but I prefer re-reading the comparatively short account of the "self-educated, self-made" man by John Connell.

Certain writings and sayings of Winston Churchill will last as long as the English language is understood. This tremendous facility and splendour of expression, this mastery of authorship, did not come to Churchill without effort. As an author — as, at moments, a supremely great author — he is self-educated, self-made. In his youth he triumphed over great difficulties, familiar enough and undramatic enough in the lives of young men of similar inheritance and environment. But by this kind of difficulty many others have been crushed, turned into mumbling nonentities, frustrated eccentrics or self-pitying drunkards.

His father was brilliant and unpredictable, his mother beautiful and intelligent but bewildered. At his private school and at Harrow he was pugnacious, self-willed and difficult to teach. Few of his masters seemed to make a serious effort in that direction. In all the twelve years that he spent at school, no one ever succeeded in making him write a Latin verse or learn any Greek except the alphabet. In a speech at Oslo in 1948 he remarked: "I must admit that I have altered my views about classical literature as I have grown older. At school I never liked it. I entirely failed to respond to the many pressing and sometimes painful exhortations which I received to understand the full charm and precision of the classical languages".

If he was not a dunce he at any rate failed to demonstrate much promise of the greatness that was to be his in later life. It took him three tries to pass into Sandhurst, as he himself gleefully recorded long afterwards. His father was baffled and exasperated. When he was commissioned into a cavalry regiment, a literary and political weekly called *The National Observer* rashly committed itself to what I have always thought one of the most magnificently infelicitous forecasts in the whole history of journalism: "Mr Winston Leonard Churchill, eldest son of the late Lord Randolph Churchill, evidently does not intend to follow in the political footsteps of his father, for he has just been gazetted to the 4th Hussars".

A very unlettered young subaltern went out to India to join his regiment at Bangalore; but he came home matured and changed — not only by the combat experience with the Malakand Field Force, which he had wangled for himself, but by a course of self-imposed reading as surprising in a young cavalry officer as it was salutary. Having discovered that polo was not everything, that the company of his fellow-subalterns palled on the long, hot evenings, he withdrew to his quarters and read — and read. "I resolved", he wrote afterwards, "to read history, philosophy, economics, and things like that . . . Without more ado I got out the eight volumes of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*". If he had written nothing else at all, his Marlborough would place him in the first rank of English historians.

Written in the years when he himself was in the political wilderness, rejected as "irresponsible and unreliable" by much smaller men, the book is stamped from the first page to the last with the seal of greatness.

And it taught its author much providentially enough, at a time when he needed the lessons. He re-assessed, in the terms of his forebear's life, the basic principles of strategy and of diplomacy.

What is true and unarguable is that Winston Churchill is one of the few — the very few — great men of letters who have also been great men of action, and whose literary endeavours have been yoked inseparably with their careers as statesmen. Thucydides and Julius Caesar are the only two comparable figures, yet how different both were in character and in achievement. History provides no complete analogy to this astonishing man who, at the beginning of his life, in the first written examination which he faced, could do no more than fill in his name, and between his seventieth and eightieth birthdays wrote a book of about a million words, "in spite" as Collin Coote has justly said, "of the distractions of being Leader of the Opposition, Prime Minister, and a world figure".

Perhaps the secret of it all lies in the fact that though as a boy he resisted every attempt to give him academic instruction, he learned a code of conduct which it is the main purpose of every education to provide: never whine in defeat, never gloat in victory. The whole of the rest of his life — as a writer and as a man of letters, but as so, so much else besides — has been a fulfilment, ample and rich, of those two simple, boyish maxims. As he himself puts it: "In war, Resolution. In defeat, Defiance. In victory, Magnanimity. In peace, Goodwill".

Those twelve words encompass a philosophy. Without the work of the man who, out of his lifetime's experience, hammered this neat, firm and lapidary affirmation, there would to-day be no free world, no free literature, no busy critics zealously seeking to give a "reassessment" of Churchill as journalist and as historian. "Si monumentum . . ." Oh yes, and Churchill's monument is not just a line of handsome books on the shelf, but a world saved from slavery, a civilisation from utter degradation. The world was with him in a dark hour; and for that inspiration all succeeding mankind has greatly to be thankful".

His library is described below :

"The room was lit by electric light portable shaded lamps. The walls were covered with shelves, filled with well-used volumes. To that Pantheon of Literature none were admitted till they had been read and valued. It was a various library : the philosophy of Schopenhauer divided

Kant from Hegel, who jostled the Memoirs of Saint Simon and the latest French novel; *Rasselas* and *La Curee* lay side by side; eight substantial volumes of Gibbon's famous History were not perhaps inappropriately prolonged by a fine edition of the Decameron; the Origin of Species rested by the side of a black-letter Bible; The Republic maintained an equilibrium with Vanity Fair and The History of European Morals. A volume of Macaulay's Essays lay on the writing-table itself, it was open and that sublime passage whereby the genius of one man has immortalized the genius of another was marked in pencil: And history, while for the warning of vehement, high and daring natures, she notes his many errors, will yet deliberately pronounce that among the eminent men whose bones lie near his scarcely one left a more stainless, and none a more splendid name".

JOURNALIST, HISTORIAN

Action and reading had moulded Churchill's character; responsibility, was soon to temper and test it. But when he was not in ministerial office or soldiering, it was by his pen that he earned his living, as a journalist and as an historian. Books have been to him, as they must be to any man so various and so copious in action, a means and not an end in themselves.

He has, I think, loved books as he has loved much else in life — things like wine and friendship and the open air. Books have enriched his experience, given significance and sharpness to the pattern and refreshed and deepened his tremendous zest for life itself.

His own writing, too, has always a means and not an end — to expound a faith and tell a story. If, as has been unkindly suggested, his first great historical enterprise, *The World Crisis*, was an autobiography thinly disguised, was in humility and with application that he learned the real craft of the historian when he wrote the biography of his great ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough. If he had written nothing else

After the successful conclusion of the the World War in which he played a leading part he was in his own words "dismissed" by the British electors but succeeded once more in becoming Prime Minister until he voluntarily retired from the premiership. He spent the period of his opposition days in writing his memoirs and visiting various countries. Denmark was one of the countries which invited him. He was made a Doctor of Philosophy in Copenhagen. In returning his thanks he says "As life unfolds I have been astonished to find how many more degrees I have received than I have passed examinations. I was never very good at those. But now I am treated as if I were a learned man. This is a good argument for not being discouraged by the failure or shortcomings of youth but to persevere and go on trying to learn all your life".

WILLY BRANDT

Willy Brandt, Lord Mayor of West Berlin, Social Democrat, has, according to Terence Prittie, a somewhat similar background like Abe Lincoln.

"Willy Brandt was born, illegitimate, in December 1913. His mother was a shop assistant in Lubeck. Brandt has never been told his father's name. He was christened Karl Frahm and was

much influenced by his maternal grandfather, Herbert Frahm, a staunch Social Democrat who lived in a village near Lubeck. Karl Frahm was a normal child, tough in body and mind, a trifle shy, and good at his books. He went to school in Lubeck and won a scholarship to the Johanneum grammar school there. His strength was application, not scholastic brilliance.

Earnest children without a normal family background often grow up fighters. Karl Frahm inherited his grandfather's humanitarian ideas and his fierce partisanship for the underdog, themselves the product of revolt against the clash and glitter of the Wilhelmian era. His grandfather introduced him to other Social Democrats, and one of them, Julius Leber, gave Karl, at the age of seventeen, his first chance at writing for a newspaper, the Lubeck Volksbote. In the same year, 1931, he paid a visit to Norway. He had already been to Denmark, and he felt an immediate kinship with the Scandinavian peoples.

The 1930s were a stormy time for young Frahm, as they were for any young anti-Nazi. As a convinced Social Democrat, he became involved in fighting Nazism in the most obvious ways — first in lively discussion, then on the streets. He led fellow students in one fight after another against gangs of the Hitler Youth. He was wiry and pugnacious and a born leader, but the Nazis came to power before he was twenty years old. He escaped with the aid of a fisherman to Denmark and moved on to Norway, where he took the Socialist Party name of Willy Brandt.

Brandt's immediate aims were to complete his studies, learn to write as a journalist, and find a job during what he supposed would be a short Nazi interregnum. He learned Norwegian and began to write for Norwegian newspapers, but maintained contact with young Social Democrats still in Germany. In 1937 he even visited Berlin, traveling under an assumed name with forged papers. In 1937 he was given his first big job as a journalist, reporting the Spanish Civil War on the Republican side. What he saw in Spain led him to forsake journalism temporarily and join an association for aid to Spanish refugees. He was still working at this when World War II broke out, and the Norwegian trade unions sent him as a welfare worker to Finland when that country was invaded by the Russians at the end of 1939.

Early in 1940, Brandt was back in Norway. He was still a welfare worker when the Germans invaded. In May, 1940, the Norwegian army surrendered, and he was given forged papers and a Norwegian army uniform by his friends. He escaped detection when taken prisoner by his fellow Germans, was released after three months, and fled to Stockholm. There he worked for both the Norwegian and German undergrounds against Hitler, was married, divorced and married again. His second wife, Rut Hansen, had become a member of the Norwegian underground at the age of twenty, and in 1941 had been arrested as a suspect by the Nazis. On her release in 1941 she escaped to Sweden, where she met Willy Brandt. Her charm, courage, and faith in him may well have been partly instrumental in the turn for the better which his career took.

Brandt returned to Germany in 1945 as a journalist, writing for the Norwegian papers and acting for a time as Norwegian military attache in Berlin.

I have some personal memories of the somewhat taut, shy young man who belonged, technically speaking, to the Occupation,* but who disassociated himself utterly from its outward manifestations of hard drinking, freebooting and casual arrogance. He re-established contact with his Social Democrat friends and reclaimed German citizenship in 1947. Political enemies today make much of the two-year interval which elapsed between his return to Germany and registration as a German citizen. They suggest that it took him two years to remember his patriotic duty.

True, Brandt's fellow exiles of the Social Democrat Party, Ollenhaur and Wehner, reclaimed German citizenship as soon as they returned from London and Stockholm. The Mayor of Hamburg, Max Brauer, did the same when he came back from New York. But these men remained exiles in the countries in which they sought refuge from Hitler. Brandt had become a full-fledged Norwegian, speaking the language perfectly and accepting Norway as his second home. This was his reason for hesitating to become a German again, not the drab hazards of day-to-day life in a defeated hungry, and demoralized Germany. His loyalties were honestly divided.

The Social Democrats quickly found work for Brandt. For two years he represented the party executive in Berlin. Then he became editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and a member of the Berlin City Assembly. He came into close contact with the Lord Mayor, Ernst Reuter, often acting as his personal representative, and years later, collaborated in writing his biography. From 1949 on he was Berlin's leading spokesman in the Bundestag at Bonn, and in 1955 he was elected President of the Berlin City Assembly. Two years later he became Lord Mayor, when Otto Suhr died. In December 1958, he stood for the mayoralty as Social Democratic candidate and was elected by a handsome majority.

The Christian Democrats may have been more worried by his statement, "I shall not be the mere executor of the party. I must take all those decisions which are in the interest of the people myself, after mature consideration and on my own responsibility". Here was the authentic note of authority and leadership, the hint of the young bull ready to challenge the old leader of the herd.

What has Brandt got to offer West Germany to offset the vast experience, accumulated wisdom, and impeccable record of Adenauer? There is his youth, but voters may not be over-impressed by that. A time will surely come when a young man will be wanted at the helm. But Germans still feel a need for protection; the father figure of Adenauer satisfies that need. Brandt has huge energy. But that is offset by Adenauer's knowledge of the arts of government. Adenauer had been much ridiculed because he turns to Robert Pferdemenges, the Cologne banker, for financial advice; to Hans Globke, State Secretary in the chancellery for administrative manipulation; to Cardinal Frings of Cologne as moral tutor. But a Social Democratic Chancellor will have no ready-made "Elders of the Temple" available.

The rise of young men like Brandt and Strauss and the likely consolidation of a more active Social Democratic opposition will have some impact.

BRENDAN BRACKEN

Brendan Bracken always fostered a certain air of mystery about his origins and early life. He moved through the start of his political life attracting to himself that question, "Who is he?" which was frequently on the lips of the characters in Disraeli's novels.

As a boy he spent some time in Australia and he went to school in Sydney. During the first war as a boy of 16, he arrived at Sedbergh school with no more orthodox recommendation than a bank balance. In spite of this and in spite of his being older than the normal new boy, the headmaster, attracted by the resource of the boy, took him.

On leaving school he entered business, where he quickly made his mark, becoming chairman of the "Financial News" when he was only 27. He was later chairman of the "Financial Times" and also of the Union Corporation. He was also later responsible for inaugurating "History Today" and he was especially proud of the success of this venture. While he was still in the twenties he was managing director of the "Economist" and editor of the "Banker". But these activities did not absorb his energies, for politics had always attracted him, and he stood as a Unionist in the difficult election of 1929. He won a conspicuous victory over Labour by a few hundred votes in North Paddington where he was helped by the intervention of a strong Liberal candidate. He held the seat until 1945. In these early days his knowledge of feeling in the City of London — especially as the financial crisis of 1931 loomed large — was of great service. To the fortunes of Sir Winston Churchill he attached himself with dogged devotion, and he was perhaps first publicly noticed as one of a group of eminent malcontents outside the national government, which included Churchill, Austen Chamberlain, Sir Robert Horne, Lord Altrincham and others. Round this group crystallised the opposition to the inept foreign policy of the national government. In the House of Commons debates on the German question Bracken showed great perseverance and courage, but his prime loyalty was always to Churchill.

He was known to understand newspapers and to be on terms of personal friendship with several editors and proprietors — especially the all-powerful Beaverbrook. Moreover, the press realised that he belonged to the small intimate circle of the prime minister in which all manner of highly secret matters were discussed with confidence and freedom and in his informal talks with newspapermen — a part of his duties at which he excelled — they respected his knowledge and authority. It was Bracken too who recognised the qualities of Sir William Haley and started him on his career in the BBC. He was rewarded when the war ended with the post of first lord of the admiralty in the caretaker government. Bracken lost his seat by six thousand. He was however speedily recompensed with the impregnable Tory stronghold of Bournemouth. During these years of opposition his quickness in argument was outstanding — for example, Mr Gaitskell referred to the nationalisation of railways, gas, and electricity as a trilogy. Bracken was quick to point out that a trilogy means three tragedies in quick succession. He bore with characteristic courage a painful and distressing illness. Perhaps his most striking gift was a remarkable memory, and his conversation, which was tumultuous, showed an extraordinary knowledge of the inner workings of recent and contemporary events. Indeed, to listen to him was to be put in mind of a remark of Johnson about Burke — "I love his diffusion and his affluence of conversation" M. B. Brendan Bracken, P.C.

An ebullient, full-blooded, energetic, and highly intelligent personality disappears from British public life with his death. Success was, as the saying is, "written all over" Bracken from an early age; and one shrewd observer said of him that "he seemed to have conquered London, to have got to know everyone, and to have been able to make the most important do his bidding before he was 30".

Born in February, 1901 at Templemore Co. Tipperary, where his father was a builder. When he was at school he published his own newspapers written in copy books and he made people pay to read them. When he was fifteen his mother sent him to Australia to live with a cousin. There he was made to work on a sheep station. It did him good for Brendan hated hard work.
— Sunday Pictorial.

He was sent to Australia at an early age, and had most of his schooling in Sydney; but in 1920 (having, it is strongly believed, made his own choice among the public schools) he turned up at Sedbergh, a self-assured young man with his own cheque book, who entered himself and paid his own fees. He remained at Sedbergh for less than a year, but even in that short time he impressed the staff by his adult mind, his interest in world affairs, and his skill as a debater.

GOING TO NO UNIVERSITY, Bracken turned his attention to the newspaper world. Having both money and ability, this precocious young man was already, in 1922, running "English Life" with Robert Lutyens. The group included The Financial News, the Investors Chronicle, The Banker, The Practitioner, a controlling interest in the Liverpool Journal of Commerce, and a half share of The Economist. — Time He was managing director of the Financial Newspaper Proprietors. His most notable appointment was to the chairmanship of the Union Corporation, one of the City's leading mining finance houses, with interests in the South African goldmining industry . . . It also perhaps left him relief from the burden of parliamentary duties, left him more time for fulfilling his now very considerable business responsibilities. It also perhaps left him more time to pursue the literary and cultural interests which meant a great deal to him throughout his life. His business responsibilities, notably as chairman of the Union Corporation and of the publishing group which he had founded, were discharged with undiminished zest and skill in spite of occasional periods of illness, and he found more time to indulge his love of reading (his knowledge of English literature was exceptionally wide and detailed). He also liked to give any of his time that could usefully be given to the affairs of Sedbergh School, of whose governors he was chairman. His interest in and knowledge of the graphic arts were recognised in his appointment as a trustee of the National Gallery in 1955.

Bracken was a tall man with a great mass of ginger hair. He was well read, quick, and a remarkably fertile conversationalist, of whom it has been said that "conversation was his hobby". He shared. He had a pretty wit, and many anecdotes collected about it exists. One of these may bear relating. On his entry into parliament he was asked what he thought of the new prayer book. "My dear sir" he answered, "we print it". — Times.

By Lord Winster; in the Observer.

There was always a certain air of mystery about Brendan Bracken, the red haired Irishman of rather uncouth appearance whose origins nobody knew. Brendan himself was first heard of at the age of thirteen at Sydney Grammar school but I never heard why or how he went to Australia.

On arriving in England he realised that the Antipodes had left some gaps in his education which needed stopping up. He used to maintain that he set about doing this by visits of inspection to various public schools when he put the headmasters through an interrogation as to their curricula. He finally decided that Sedbergh could give him what he needed and sent himself accordingly to Sedbergh.

HE ACQUIRED HIS REAL EDUCATION, HOWEVER, AT HIS OWN HANDS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WORLD. By nature he resembled an epiphyte, which is a plant which grows on trees but is not parasite. He first appeared in politics helping Winston Churchill in an election at Westminster. Their long association began with a defeat, for Winston was beaten.

He cannot have started with any great funds at his back. His position in the City seems never to have rested upon large shareholdings but upon control of various boards. He had

useful friends in Beaverbrook and Churchill. E. and Spottiswoode obtained the copyright of Churchill's press articles. I have been told that here Bracken played both ends against the middle, telling Churchill that he could get E & S to take all his stuff and telling E & S that as a director he could bring them all Churchill's writings. On this understanding he became a director. This may be apocryphal.

PPS to Churchill. As he reads the minister's throat becomes dry. Out slips the PPS to the lavatory behind the speaker's chair and comes back with a glass of water. He was the most understanding and kindest of men. Always with one proviso: where anything concerned Churchill he was ruthless. He was Winston's man, first, last and all the time. His tastes were his own, and sport and open air were not among them. He had immense interest in architecture and an encyclopedic knowledge of the great and beautiful houses of this country. He was widely read, and the library in particular was a beautiful room reflecting his knowledge and love of books. A delightful host, he had great knowledge of food and wine. Life to him was a rich feast, to be savoured. He once wrote to me: "I am, I think fairly seriously ill. I form this opinion not from doctor's diagnoses, but from the fact that I am so utterly submissive to their harrowing treatments to which a few months ago I would have put up a fierce resistance".

He had met everyone, been at the right hand and in the confidence of one of the greatest of the actors in, perhaps, the greatest event in history. In any company, against any background, he was always a man who counted. According to his lights and his capacities he played a considerable part in our darkest hours, and served his country well".

Sunday Times, viscount chandos: he was a voluminous reader and sometimes surprised strangers with the depth of his erudition. He knew more of American history than any American or Englishman outside a university. His wit was sometimes devastating, sometimes imprudent, but generally original, pungent and stimulating. I always suspected that he had modelled its style on Abraham Lincoln, or was it Dr Johnson? His shock of red hair and unusual features gave an added effect to some of his more eloquent flights of fancy.

Earl of Birkenhead: His career was one of the most remarkable of his day, and he embarked on it with no advantages of place or power. He was a perfect example of the man who on his way up in ardent youth collects many enemies, but who, the summit achieved, can relax, and eventually become liked and respected by all. It is said that men grow arrogant with success, and that their characters deteriorate under its insidious influence, but surely it is more often failure that embitters them and makes them mean. Bracken's brilliant career in business and journalism would have been a sufficient justification in itself for any one man's life, but to his friends it did not appear the most notable aspect of his character. To receive a letter from Bracken was a twofold pleasure. The contents were always pungent and stimulating because he was incapable of boredom, and secondly he wrote an exquisite and meticulous hand. Equally striking was his dominion over the English language, and one of the delights of the conversation was its obvious spontaneity. It is intolerable for one person to monopolise the conversation at a luncheon-table unless he is really good and then one is content to be entertained. Bracken at his best was one of those rare spirits; at his worst he was not. Unlike many men of ruthless determination to succeed, he prized and understood beautiful things, and there was no more charmingly decorated house in London than his in Westminster. He was a unique figure, unlike any of his contemporaries who are now mourning the loss of so much brilliance and so much affection. 17viii58.

Helen Keller :

Mark Twain had said that the two most interesting characters of the 19th century were, quite simply, Napoleon and Helen Keller.

With her native traits of pluck and courage, energy, tenacity, she was tough-minded and independent. She grew up fond of sports, riding a horse and a bicycle tandem, playing cards and chess and all but completely self-reliant.

December 1951 : Usually Helen's typing is like an expert stenographer's but the other day there were a few dim lines in one of her letters and she added this postscript : "Plly says the writing of this machine doesn't please her critical eye. My apologies. H.K." "The sum of it is that you are a BLESSING" William James about Helen van wyck brook ; vkh ; 28-12-55 eemp-paris.

"No matter what happens", she used to say, "keep on beginning. Each time you fail, start all over again, and you will grow stronger until you find that you have accomplished a purpose. Not the one you began with, perhaps, but one that you will be glad to remember".

And who shall count the innumerable times she tried, failed, then conquered ?"

To The Chairman of the Academic Board
of Radcliffe College
138 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.,
May 5, 1900

Dear Sir :

As an aid to me in determining my plans for study the coming year, I apply to you for information as to the possibility of my taking the regular courses in Radcliffe College.

Since receiving my certificate of admission to Radcliffe last July, I have been studying with a private tutor, Horace, Aeschylus, French, German, Rhetoric, English History, English Literature and Criticism, and English composition.

In college I should wish to continue most, if not all of these subjects. The conditions under which I work require the presence of Miss Sullivan, who has been my teacher and companion for thirteen years, as an interpreter of oral speech and as a reader of examination papers : In college she, or possibly in some subjects some one else, would of necessity be with me in the lecture-room and at recitations. I should do all my written work on a typewriter, and if a Professor could not understand my speech, I could write out my answers to his questions and hand them to him after the recitation :

Is it possible for the College to accomodate itself to these unprecedented conditions, so as to enable me to pursue my studies at Radcliffe ? I realize that the obstacles in the way of my receiving a college education are very great — to others they may seem insurmountable but, dear Sir, a true soldier does not acknowledge defeat before the battle.

To Mrs Laurence Hutton
138 Brattle Street, Cambridge,
June 9, 1900

I have not yet heard from the Academic Board in reply to my letter ; but I sincerely hope they will answer favorably. My friends think it very strange that they should hesitate so long,

especially when I have not asked them to simplify my work in the least, but only to modify it so as to meet existing circumstances. Cornell has offered to make arrangements suited to the conditions under which I work, if I should decide to go to that college, and the University of Chicago has made a similar offer ; but I am afraid if I went to any other college, it would be thought that I did not pass my examinations for Radcliffe satisfactorily

In the fall Miss Keller entered Radcliffe College.

Arnold Toynbee has said that all progress, all development come from challenge and a consequent response : Michelangelo did not learn to paint by spending his time doodling. Mozart was not an accomplished pianist at the age of eight as the result of spending his days in front of a television set. Like Eve Curie, like Helen Keller, they responded to the challenge of their lives by a disciplined training ; and they gained a new freedom. Seymour St John, headmaster American public school.

Seeing me off to Brussels Military Academy, he put his arm around my shoulders and said "The secret of success is to avoid hasty decisions : THINK WELL, THEN DECIDE CALMLY" : F.M. Alex Papagos prime minister of greece.

We could not help but dance if we could see things as they really are. Then we should kiss both hands to Fate and fling our bodies, hearts, mind and souls into life with a glorious abandonment, an extravagant, delighted loyalty, knowing that our wildest enthusiasm cannot more than brush the hem of the real beauty and joy and wonder that are always there.

And even if there were no other life, this life here and NOW, if we could but open our dull eyes to see it, is lovely enough to require no far off Heaven for its justification. Heaven is Here and Now, before our very eyes, surging up to our very feet, lapping against our hearts ; but we, alas, know not how to let it In ! margaret prescott montague.

Twenty minutes of Reality was selected by Ellery Sedgwick for inclusion in his anthology, Atlantic Harvest, commemorating the 90th anniversary of the magazine he edited with distinction for 30 years. First published anonymously in The Atlantic Monthly in 1916, this essay brought hundreds of letters from readers and has become a little classic with vitality and meaning glowing undiminished with the passage of years. From the Reader's Digest, October 1947 : I bought the original copy at King Shephard Hotel in Cairo on October 26, 1947 on my return from London as cabinet delegate for the signature of the Burmese Independence Treaty 1947.

Interview with an Immortal :

Do the things you really want to do if you possibly can : Don't wait for circumstances to be exactly right : You'll find that they never are. The individual has always had to struggle to keep from being overwhelmed by the tribe. To be your own MAN is a hard business. If you try it, you'll be lonely often, and sometimes frightened. But no price is too high to pay for the privilege of owning yourself. Rudyard Kipling, A. Gordon ; 20viii59vkhs.

Emerson's Vital message for Today-Bruce Blivenvkhs2x60.

How helpful if we remember that every moment is a glorious gift of God ! Our worries then fall into perspective as the petty things they are. Emerson felt that a Man may trust his own

thought, for it is divine. Once you have "accepted your own law", he wrote, "all omens are good, all men your allies, all parts of life take order and beauty" The key to happiness, he insisted, is to keep your mind in tune with the Divine Mind, your life in tune with the universe.

Trust Yourself : Emerson felt the individual should have complete confidence in his place in the world : "Self-trust is the first secret of success".

He urged his audience to strike out boldly in life. Use your imagination : "You could never prove to the mind of the most ingenious mollusk that such a creature as a whale was possible". Age need be no impediment : "We do not count a man's years until he has nothing else to count".

Live dangerously. Urging selftrust, Emerson summoned his listeners to take risks, to defy the views of those about them, if need be. There was one subject that moved him to open defiance of the authorities — Negro slavery.

You are Better Than You Think. "In all my lectures I have taught one doctrine", Emerson said, "namely, the infinitude of the private man". He urged on all his listeners a healthy recognition of their own value. "If the single man plants himself indomitably on his instinct", he thundered, "and there abide, the huge world will come around to him". Yet most men under-rate themselves. He scolded his lecture audiences for being unwilling to "say noble things" waiting to hear someone else say them. People at heart are finer than they dare admit to each other.

There is some good in every one : find it !
"Trust thyself" is one side of the coin. The other is to trust the wisdom and integrity of others.

Scorn Material Things. Why should you renounce your right to traverse the starlit deserts of truth for the premature comforts of an acre, house and barn ? Make yourself necessary to the world and mankind will give you bread.

Always Try Your Hardest. Far into old age, he travelled thousands of miles every winter to fill his lecture engagements, speaking night, after night in drafty halls that were always too hot or too cold, then racing on to the next town.

When at home he shut himself up for long hours each day in his study, where he produced not only his ten major books and scores of magazine articles and lectures, but the million words and more of his Journal, "Without halting, without rest, Lifting Better up to Best".

Constantly he urged people to try the difficult, "What if you do fail and get fairly rolled in the dirt once or twice ? Up again, you shall never be so afraid of a tumble Try the rough water as well as the smooth. Rough water can teach lessons worth knowing".

Thomas S. Estes Vice Consul, American Legation, Bangkok. He is now the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations in Washington, a promising young career officer, seemingly destined for ministerial or ambassadorial rank :

Yet — and this is the point of the story — Estes never went to college and had neither wealth nor political connections to help him. He advanced on merit alone :

GERMANS.

They are sending their children all over the world : to get an education, to learn a trade, to learn other tongues, other traditions : Having twice lost everything, they have concluded that the only real possessions are knowledge and skills : the Germans are extremely hard workers : They have always been so : But today the Germans are working, not for the Fuhrer or the Master Race, but for themselves and their families. Freedom of enterprise has given them not only a new faith in themselves but a sense of individual responsibility for the society they are building. —
Lin Root

YOUR POWER.

Remember the words from the Proverbs, "For as he thinketh in his heart, so is he", With God's help you can do amazing things in your life if you want to do so with all your heart; which means with all your deep desire and real faith. YOU ARE MASTER of YOUR LIFE — God and YOU. N. V. Peale

Put Anxiety to Your own Good Use.

Once Handel, the great composer, found himself in desperate straits, his right side paralyzed, his money gone and his creditors threatening to jail him. But his suffering spurred him to the mightiest effort of his life. Writing feverishly, almost without stopping, he composed "The Messiah" with its immortal "Hallelujah" chorus in 24 days. If he had relaxed and forgotten his worries, the world would have been poorer, and so would he.

Most of us fight against coming to grips with our problems, but we are forced to admit, when it's all over, that we'd never have done as well if our fears had not pushed us to try so hard.

Bertrand Russell said "The only adequate way to endure large evils is to find large consolations". The key to this search is prayer. Not "God, save me from this trouble", but "God, STRENGTHEN me for it". And in asking we should behave as though we know God will answer :

And how comforted we would be if we could see our struggle of a whole creation intent on growth and renewal. In that light, our anxieties become symbols of man's DETERMINATION to IMPROVE HIS LOT.

Burma by NYU VKH 1/2/56

As RESPONSIBLE people, we cannot expect to live without trouble and fear and worry. But we can meet our problems BRAVELY and WISELY and CALMLY. By doing so, we not only make our own lives easier ; we add our bit to the sum of Human Dignity VKHSiyin iFeb56Paris.

Neither should we add to our present worries the burdens of the Past or the FUTURE.

Will this really matter next week, next year ?" is one of the simplest of all ways to put our problems in perspective.

VKHausiyin 1-2-56 Ardis Whitman.

Thank your enemies ; they tell you where you are wrong magazine digest 1940 VKH Falam 1940.

Lack of self confidence

They do not believe that they have it in them to be what they want to be, and so they try to make themselves content with something less than that of which they are capable. Thousands upon THOUSANDS go crawling through life on their hands and knees, defeated and afraid VKH2-7-54.

If you have lost confidence in your ability to win, sit down, take a piece of paper and make a list, not of the factors that are against you but OF THOSE THAT ARE FOR YOU :

But if, on the contrary, you mentally visualize and affirm and reaffirm your assets and keep your thoughts on them, emphasizing them to the fullest extent, TO THE FULLEST EXTENT, YOU WILL RISE OUT OF ANY DIFFICULTY : Your inner powers will reassert themselves and, with the help of God, LIFT YOU FROM DEFEAT TO VICTORY : V.K. HAU 2-7-54 Rgn 14-1-56 9-3-62 cdt.

When YOU expect the best, you release a magnetic force in your mind which by a law of attraction tends to bring the best to you : But if you expect the worst, you release from your mind the power of repulsion which tends to force the best from you : norman vincent peale; hvkhausiyin 2 july 1954; 9-3-62 :

Keys to Achievement

I have concluded that two qualities make the difference between Leaders and men of average performance :

They are: CURIOSITY and DISCONTENT :

I have never known an outstanding man who lacked either :

I have never known a man of small achievement who had both.

The two belong together :

Without DISCONTENT, CURIOSITY is Merely idle.

Without curiosity, discontent is only useless handwringing.

Together, these deep human urges count for much more than ambition.

Leonardo da Vinci, probably the most curious and DISCONTENTED man who ever lived; Shakespeare, Newton, Pasteur : Lincoln will tell you how it felt to see the Union split apart. Dickens will introduce you to an England you may have missed. ALL the Truly GREAT will help arouse your curiosity and Discontent anew, so that never again in your life will you think that the world is good enough; never again will you sit idly by while a question remains unanswered that you might find THE Answer To :

Most people do not have any special ability; there are only a few geniuses. It's always the people with no time who get things done. Harriet Beecher Stowe, mother of six, did not have much time : she wrote parts of Uncle Tom's Cabin on sheets of butcher's paper while the roast cooked.

You're too old? You had better not let Winston Churchill, Konrad Adenauer, Bernard Baruch, Robert Frost or Carl Sandburg hear you say that. Thomas Constain was 57 when he published his first novel, and that Grandma Moses showed her first pictures when she was 78.

The important thing, as Alexander Graham Bell tells you, is, "Don't keep forever on the public road. Leave the beaten track occasionally and dive into the woods. Follow it up, explore all around it, one discovery will lead to another". Curiosity and discontent are continuing operations; you don't turn them on and off; you live them, day by day. Treat yourself to a new thought — today. Find yourself one new friend — today. As Oliver Wendell Holmes said "Man's mind, stretched to a new idea, never goes back to its original dimensions". Charles H. Brower; vkhu 3x58 : 9iii62cdt2.

Failure is to Learn on

The inventor learns he'll never go far on any problem before he strikes a snag: He may flunk 999 times, but if on his 1000th try he succeeds, he wins. The only time you don't want to fail is the last time you try a thing": vkh3x58.

The most important lesson failure can teach is that there IS something in the human spirit which is strengthened by disaster. Marian Anderson says, "Whatever in my voice, faith has put it there. Faith and my mother's words: grace must come before greatness".

The Greatest Humans are those who, despite bitter setbacks, keep right on going — surprising even themselves by their powers of perseverance and a winner never quits!

Rosalind Russell; vkh 29-1-1956 paris.

"Remember, Samuel, a man's most precious possession is his courage. No matter how black things seem, if you have courage, darkness can be overcome": Samuel Goldwyn VKH 6 : 6 : 56. Throughout my life I have found that fortune smiles on those who have the courage to carry on. And it is a commodity which is available to everybody — within himself: S.G. vkhs 6 june 1956.

"Nobody wanted to volunteer for the odious duty", wrote a Japanese diplomat about the surrender on the 'Missouri'. The Prime Minister was considered unsuitable because he was the Emperor's uncle (The) Vice Premier shunned the ordeal. Finally, the mission was assigned to Foreign Minister Shigemitsu". He was the little Japanese who stumped into history ten years ago this week, grotesque in frock coat and top hat amid the tireless suits of MacArthur's conquerors, to sign the surrender papers and take his nation's disgrace upon his bowed shoulders. One U.S. general recalled: "The Japanese plenipotentiary had a little trouble with the pen".

This week Mamoru Shigemitsu, 68, once more Foreign Minister of Japan, is in the U.S. to discuss questions of foreign policy and mutual defense. After ten years, it was time, said he in San Francisco, "to wash out any trace of that unfortunate war". The position of Mamoru Shigemitsu, despite the past, was that of a friend. His road to Washington had many a twist.

"No doubt where he stands". Son of a scholar in Chinese classics, law graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, Shigemitsu grew up through the Japanese Foreign Service. He believed Japan should control important parts of China, but somehow thought the conquest could be achieved without coming into conflict with the U.S. Shigemitsu served in London, in Berlin and in Portland, Ore., and was a member of the Japanese delegation to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference in

Versailles. As Minister to China (1931-33), Shigemitsu unaffectedly supported the Japanese invasions. His specious argument: "China is not properly a nation or a state". One day in Shanghai, a Korean hurled a homemade grenade at a group of Japanese officials, and Mamoru Shigemitsu lost a leg.

Promoted to serve as ambassador to Russia, then to Great Britain, Shigemitsu ineffectively opposed the runaway Japanese expansion into the Pacific that led to the crash of Pearl Harbor. He opposed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. In war-torn (1941) London Winston Churchill wrote of Shigemitsu: "His whole attitude throughout was most friendly . . . We have no doubt where he stands".

"*The Traces of Defeat*" Back home after Pearl Harbor, Shigemitsu supported Japan's "holy war", became Foreign Minister in 1943. After the war began to go badly for Japan, he tried to negotiate a peace. Unable to make his colleagues face reality, he did not carry his opposition to the honorable point of resigning his job. In April 1946 Shigemitsu was hauled up before a war crimes tribunal for his associations with Tojo & Co., and was later sentenced to seven years' imprisonment; he served 4½ years.

Two months after Shigemitsu was depurged, he was elected president of a new conservative party, the Progressives, which he led to the second strongest position in the Diet. Last winter Shigemitsu helped another conservative politician, Ichiro Hatoyama, form the big Democratic Party and won power. Shigemitsu got the job of Foreign Minister, and defined his objective for his people: "It is our resolve to eliminate the traces of defeat, perfect a system of self-defense, achieve economic self-support, eradicate social unrest, and unite ourselves". To accomplish such a task, Shigemitsu knew that Japan would need the friendship and help of the U.S.

Flying on to Washington last week for talks with Vice President Nixon, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Admiral Arthur Radford, Shigemitsu had a list of goals: 1) release of 210 Japanese war criminals still held by the U.S.; 2) cuts in Japan's share of Japan-U.S. joint defense costs; 3) increase of Japan's trade with Communist China. His fourth and most important objective: he hoped that his talks in Washington would increase his political prestige inside Japan.

Arriving in Washington with a gift-load of *cloisonné* vases, *obis* brocades, his comely daughter Hanako at his side, Mamoru Shigemitsu posed for photographers, leaning heavily on his cane. Ten years after his "odious duty" aboard the *Missouri*, Shigemitsu proclaimed that he would "reaffirm in unmistakable terms the enduring friendship that now happily exists between Japan and the U.S."

It is a measure of the weakness of the U.S. position in neutralist-minded Japan that the U.S. has to count Mamoru Shigemitsu as one of its most effective friends.

One of France's best living authors is a French diplomat, Romain Gary, whose most recent book "*The Roots of Heaven*" just published in America, won the Prix Goncourt in France, where it has sold 300,000 copies to date. It has been called by many reviewers one of the best books of the decade. *The roots of Heaven* is the story of a man who is trying to protect the wild animals, particularly elephants, from being destroyed by big game hunters. It is a fable for Gary is really talking about man an animal who needs more saving than elephants.

M. Gary is the French Consul General in Los Angeles. He has written five books, of which the two other successful ones were "*The Colors of the Day*" and "*The Company of Men*". We have a tradition of writer-diplomats in the French Foreign Service" he said. "*Giraudoux, Claudel*

and St. John Perse, our great poet, all served in the diplomatic service and earlier there were Chateaubriand and Stendhal. The French Foreign Office doesn't mind my being a writer and, on the contrary, has been very encouraging".

M. Gary does his writing early in the morning before he goes to the consulate. He writes in longhand, an average of 2,000 to 2,500 words a session, "many of which", he says "are never printed". The author's theories on writing fiction are contrary to most schools of thought on the subject. "People believe to write fiction you have to have had direct experience. I can't understand this at all. All my characters and all my situations are pure inventions. First I invent my character, then I put myself in his skin and push him to the end of his rope. When you do this the situation arises automatically. I think one of the things wrong with American fiction today is that the young authors feel their stories must come out of their own experiences, and they are afraid to invent. There is a naturalistic school of writing. Since M. Gary's theme in *The Roots of Heaven* is about the protection of fauna, he says he has been adopted by almost every animal protection society in the world. Unfortunately the law of life is we must hunt to eat. I am only against hunting for pleasure. Big game hunting today has become a farce. It's much safer hunting game in Africa than driving on the Hollywood Freeway.

M. Gary is not as pessimistic about the future of the world as most French authors. "I can't understand how one can be pessimistic about man. I speak not of man today, because I don't think man has been born yet. Many French authors have become pessimistic because they are too conditioned by history. To base one's philosophy on the last fifty, one hundred or two hundred years is foolish. You need at least 10,000 years to formulate a philosophy".

M. Gary has spent 14 years in the diplomatic service and said despite the success of his books and the offers from Hollywood, he intends to remain a diplomat. Occasionally, he said people find it hard to believe a diplomat can write about other subjects. His novel *The Company of Men*, was about the French underworld. A Frenchwoman, shocked at the subject matter, asked him: "How can you be a diplomat and write about thieves?" M. Gary replied: "Madam, I was a thief before I was a diplomat". art buchwald.

John W. McCormack, speaker, U.S. Congress. John McCormack was just 13 when his brick-layer father died. The main support was that he had a pretty good paper route, there in Andrews Square. He never went to high school, never went to college. He did nothin' but work. He had to work to keep his mother together and to keep the two of us — my brother and me — from goin' to the Home'.

John McCormack, as spare and serious as Knocko is broad and fun loving, chose the Alger road. From his paper route, he moved to a \$ 3.50-a-week job as an errand boy in a brokerage firm. Then lawyer William T. Way offered him \$ 4 a week as an office boy. 'He turned out to be my benefactor', McCormack wrote, years later, 'for he encouraged me to read law. The day I left the broker's office and went to work for Mr. Way proved to be the turning point in my life, even though at the time I made the decision I was guided solely by the fact that my new job gave me 50c more a week.

At 21, McCormack had read enough law to pass his bar examinations (just before the Massachusetts legislature passed a law requiring two years of high school as a pre-requisite to admission to the bar).

'On the eve of McCormack's graduation from John Andrew Grammar School, his father died. At 13, young McCormack completed his formal education and went to work to support the family. It was an experience that shaped his life and his philosophy of social legislation.

'Eventually, John McCormack became a \$ 4-a-week office boy for the William T. Way law firm on School Street, reading law between his chores. He passed the bar exams at 20. But his mother 'What a magnificent woman she was' never learned of his success. She died three months before the exam.

Jean Borotra "the Bounding Basque", who has threatened retirement from lawn tennis on grounds of age every year since his thirtieth birthday in 1928 played for more than 30 times in the Wimbledon. He entered the Paris international championship every year partnering the best French players. In the mixed doubles his partner used to be the top ranked lady, Mlle Florence de la Courtie.

During the attack of Suez by the combined Anglo-French-Israel forces I was in Paris. The end of the Suez war was described by my American colleague in Paris Douglas Dillon in a record radio interview for CBS. Why had the British and French stopped their Suez advance? Dillon's exact answer: "Well, I think what is generally felt to be the reason in the Middle East is probably — was probably the main reason, and that was fear of Soviet armed intervention".
— Time.