

**INSTITUTION OF KACHIN *DU-WASHIP* (1852-1930)**

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## **Abstract**

The objective of writing this dissertation is to present the fact that before and during the British occupation, old administrative system of Kachin *Du-waship* gradually waned away under the colonial administration and new set up of administrative system took place. Organizational formation of Kachin administrative pattern, different nature of judicial administration, different classification between criminal cases and civil suits are also discussed. The laws, regulations, rulings and judgments of some important orders were issued by senior Kachin elders. Before colonial administration was well set up, there appeared three Kachin administrative systems: *Gumchying Gumtsa*, *Gumsa* and *Gumlau* . Pros and cons of this local ruling system was the most complicated in nature. During the Colonial Period, Kachin administrative pattern was dominated by the customary law. This dissertation also examines the continuities and changes of legal administration, status of ruling class and society.

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## GLOSSARY

<i>Agyi-wa</i>	Head of Village
<i>An Hpu</i>	Rawaung called Jinghpaw
<i>An Hpu Hpa</i>	Lisu called Jinghpaw
<i>B'oak</i>	Maru called Jinghpaw
<i>Chaupha (or) Cho Hpa</i>	Lisu called Maw
<i>Darat Daroi</i>	Ordinary class
<i>Dha-mma-that</i>	Treaties
<i>Du, Magam</i>	The ruling class
<i>Du-wa</i>	Kachin Chief
<i>Ga</i>	Region
<i>Gam Di Ga</i>	Sand Stone Pots region
<i>Gumchyng Gumsa</i>	Feudal system
<i>Gumlau</i>	Anti-feudal system
<i>Gumrawng Gumtsa</i>	People who have liberty
<i>Gumsa</i>	Feudal system
<i>Heins</i>	Lesser chief
<i>Hting-gaw</i>	Family
<i>Hka</i>	Debt
<i>Hka Hku Ga</i>	Up river land
<i>Hkawng Wang Ga</i>	Hkawng wang Region
<i>Hkin Du Yang</i>	Hkin Du Plain
<i>Hkrang Hku Majoi</i>	Upper Hkrang river
<i>Hkringmang</i>	Arbitration Group
<i>Hlut-taw</i>	The highest administrative body of Myanmar King

<i>Hpaga</i>	Wealth Objects
<i>Hpaung NawnYang</i>	Hpoung Nawn Region
<i>Hpu Um Ga</i>	Hpu Um region
<i>Hpunggan Du-wa</i>	Hpunggan chief
<i>Htingnai Ga</i>	The low lands
<i>Ju-kawng</i>	Cremation mounds
<i>Kahtawng</i>	Village
<i>Ka-khyen</i>	Ethics name
<i>Kansi or Ginsi Du-wa</i>	Chief of Jade mines region
<i>Khaing –Sar</i>	Tax which was fixed as tithe
<i>Kha-P'ok</i>	Kachin Slaves
<i>Lang</i>	Chinese called Maru
<i>Langwa</i>	Azi called Maru
<i>Langwaw</i>	Lashi called Maru
<i>Madai Nat</i>	The sky spirit
<i>Mahtang Tawng-Sa</i>	Mahtang Hill chief
<i>Majoi Shingra Bum</i>	Kachin Original Land
<i>Mang Zaw</i>	Maw, Lashi, Azi called elder people
<i>Man-hu-man-ta</i>	Tithe percent fixed on the jade trade
<i>Mare</i>	Big village
<i>Maw - ôk</i>	Administrator of Jade extracting area
<i>Maw-htein</i>	Chief controller of Jade extracting area
<i>Mayam</i>	Slave
<i>Mung or Mang</i>	State (Shan)
<i>Mungga Madi</i>	Promise which was given to litigant
<i>Myitsu ni</i>	Wise men
<i>Myo - ôk</i>	Town officer
<i>Myo-za</i>	A person to whom the Crown's share of the revenue of a <i>Myo</i> has been alienated

<i>Myo-wun</i>	Town officer
<i>Nawra yang Ga</i>	Dancing Floor
<i>Ngawng Mayam</i>	The slave who did not live together with <i>Du-was</i>
<i>Ninggawn wa</i>	The creator
<i>N'kawn n'sha Du-wa</i>	Who did not get the taxes
<i>N'kawn Sha Du-wa</i>	Who got the taxes
<i>Paw maings</i>	Lesser chiefs
<i>P'ok</i>	Lashi called Jinghpaw
<i>Salang Hpawng</i>	Salang Council
<i>Sam-tai</i>	Some Kachin claimed as Shan nationals and gradually changed into Shan group
<i>Saw-bwa</i>	Shan chief
<i>Shadip Nat</i>	The earth spirit
<i>Shatung</i>	Azi called Jinghpaw
<i>Sinli Ga</i>	North Hsenwi state
<i>Sinpraw Ga</i>	Eastern land
<i>Su Rawng</i>	The class born from ordinary class father and slave mother
<i>Sumrai Hka Hpaga</i>	Compensation fees for illegal pregnancy case
<i>Taung - ôk</i>	Ethic chief
<i>Taung-ya</i>	Dry cultivation
<i>Taung-za</i>	Kachin traditional chieftain
<i>Tha-tha-me-da</i>	House taxes
<i>Thein phaw or Singhpo</i>	Ethics name
<i>Timung Mayam</i>	The slave who lived together with <i>Du-was</i>
<i>Uma Du</i>	Head of the youngest son branch
<i>Wun-dauk</i>	Appointed official who took charge of administrative affairs

## INTRODUCTION

The Kachins were lived in the northern most of Myanmar. The term “Kachin” is a Myanmar word because Myanmar people refer to all the tribes of northern hill as Kachin. They were recorded as Kachin or Theinphaw in ancient Myanmar records. The word Kachin first appeared in English in about 1837. Before that, only the word Ka-khyen was used. In Kachin traditional administrative system, there were three basic type which were *Gumrawng Gumtsa* or Feudal System , *Gumchying Gumsa* or Feudal System and *Gumlau* or anti-feudal system. By these system together with the chiefs of *Du*, *Magam*, *Agyi-wa* and *Salang’s* supervision, Kachins had lived since 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D and practiced those administration systems of Kachin, rules and rich people bought and owned slaves.

Under the Myanmar kings, Myanmar kings did not fix the charge and taxation from Kachin except from forest resources as commemoration. The exact number of faithful Kachin chiefs or *Taung-sa* was not known. There were some example of relationship with Kachin during King Mindon’s reign such as the visit and giving offer from Kachin *Taung-sa* surrounding Mogaung and Bhamo. In 1836, Daipha Gam who lived in Hukawng Valley was awarded the title by Myanmar Kings.

After the annexation of Upper Myanmar in 1885, when the British entered into the Kachin Hill Tracts, there were began anti-imperialism by fighting against the British by the Kachin. Especially, the Kachin in the surrounding area of Mogaung strongly fought against the British. So the British made more reinforcements and suppressed the rebels. Only in 1893 suppression in Kachin Hill

Regions came to an end. After the British organizing the Kachin Hill regions, Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted. By this regulation the *Du-was* ruled the people according to the respective races and villages and the traditional customs. The Kachins had three administration systems, the British liked more the *Gumsa* administration system. By the way, it was only under the British that the *Du-was* and *Agyi-wa* were separately appointed and instead of *Taung-sa* in the Myanmar kings, *Taung-ôks* were appointed.

After the years of 1897-98, the British appointed *Taung-ôks* who subjected them. The *Taung-ôk* duty was to collect the number of houses, list of guns and collect taxes, and decided upon the Kachin ethnic group according to Kachin Customary Law. During 1897-98, the British recruited the Kachins to serve Military Police Battalion. In 1914, three coys were organized under Bhamo Military Police Battalion. *Du-was* and *Agyi-was* of all clans were among the soldiers. They were fighting in the western European front-lines. So, they gained new experiences and knowledge and to become literate, educated, government servants and officers. Although till 1930 there were many changes in Kachin, their traditional administration system and jurisdiction was not changed. The British government also permitted their traditional administration system.

## CHAPTER ONE

### KACHIN BEFORE THE BRITISH RULE

**T**he term "Kachin" is a Myanmar word refer to all the ethnic minorities of northern hills.<sup>1</sup> They were recorded as Kachin or Theinphaw in ancient Myanmar records. It was stated in the Myanmar inscriptions of 1442 that there was Kachin Region in the territory of Myanmar Kings.<sup>2</sup> No literary records nor reference are found in Kachin people. They handed down their ancestor's descent orally and traditionally from generation to generation.

The word "Kachin" first appeared in English in about 1837. Before that, only the word Ka-khyen was used. The word "Ka-khyen" was first used by the American Missionary Rev. Kincaid. It was stated that Kincaid reached Mogaung in 1837 and met Ka-khyen people as follows:

.....in the distant highlands are multitudes of Kakhyens, a people who from time immemorial have resisted idolatry. What a field this is for the evangelist; what man, who feels for his fellowman would not like to gird on the armor of God, and labor for the establishment of Christ's kingdom here?<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>E.R.Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Great Britain, Fletch & Son Co.Ltd., 1964, 41 (Henceforth: Leach, 1964)

<sup>2</sup>(a) U Nyein Maung, *Shae-haung Myanmar Kyauk-sa Mya*, (Ancient Myanmar Inscriptions), Fifth Vol: Archaeology Department, 1998 p.23 (Henceforth: Nyein Maung, 1998)

(b) Nyein Maung, 1998, 155

<sup>3</sup>(a) H.G, Tegenfeldt, *A Century of Growth: The Kachin Baptist Church of Burma*, California, Willian Carey Library, 1974, p. 80,91 (Henceforth: Tegenfeld, 1974)

(b) Ola, Hanson, *The Kachins: Their Customs and Tradition*, Rangon, American Baptist Mission Press, 1913, p.18 (Henceforth: Hanson, 1913)

It is assumed that the British later stated Ka-khyen as Kachin. So, concerning with the term "Kachin", Leach stated:

Kachin is a Romanization of the Burmese term. This spelling came to use about 1890. Prior to that the usual form was *Ka-khyen*. For the Burmese the category was originally applied to the barbarians of the north-east frontiers. It first appears in English around 1837. It was used as a general term for the hill tribesmen, other than Palaung. This population was included speakers of the languages and dialects known as Jinghpaw, Gauri, Maru, Azi, Lashi and Lisu.<sup>4</sup>

Besides, Singhpos people lived in Assam and Singhpos and Jinghpaw were the same. They are known in India as Singhpos. Singhpo is so called by the Assamese because Assamese cannot sound the alphabet "ch". For example "children" would be pronounced by the Assamese as "sildren". Hence, the Jinghpaw became as "Singhpo" in India.<sup>5</sup>

The Myanmar went and attacked Assam in 1817 and 1820. It seems that the Myanmars met with Singhpos at that time. Therefore, the Myanmars, probably first used the term "Kachin" and Theinphaw and it seems they might have been called as the uncivilized mountaineers of Mogaung and Hukawng Valley. Then, in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Kachins were referred to as Ka-khyen in written language and in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the words "Kachin" was used. Moreover, Jinghpaw, or Singhpo, Maru, Lashi, Azi, Lisu and Rawang people were referred to as the hill tribesmen known as in the ethnic group of Kachin, and they themselves accepted this.<sup>6</sup>

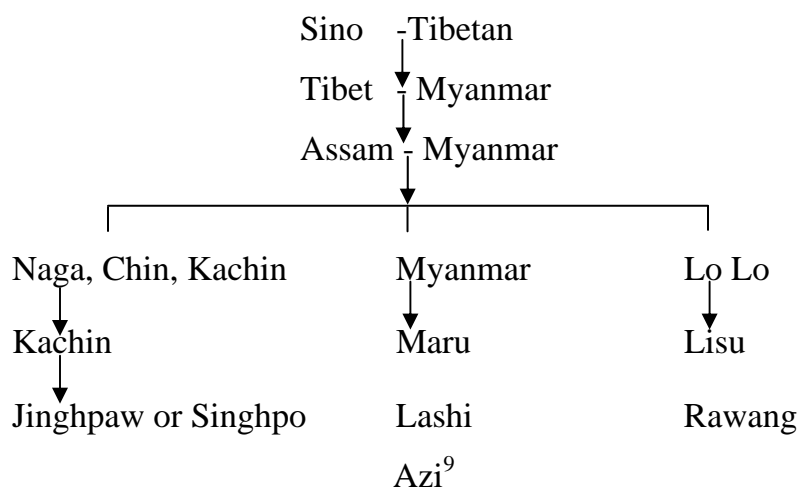
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<sup>4</sup>Leach, 1964, 41

<sup>5</sup>Maran, Brang Di, *Prat Ningnan Wunpawng Ahtik Labau Kadun* (Modern History of Kachin), New Delhi, Pan Kachin Development Society, 1996, p.51 (Henceforth: Brang Di, 1996)

<sup>6</sup>Dorothy Woodman, *The Making of Burma*, London, Cresset Press, 1962, p.63 (Henceforth: Woodman, 1962)

Kachins live in Assam and east of Assam, northern Myanmar and north-eastern mountains of Myanmar, west Yunan and at the boundary of Myanmar and China.<sup>7</sup> They live in Myanmar the northern Shan State and Bhamo, Katha Areas to the south Kachin Theinphaws of Konbaung Period widely lived in the north, north-east, hilly regions of north-east in northern Myanmar, west Hkamti, east of Chindwin River, Uru-se-ywa, Mogaung, Bhamo- Katha, Moemeik, Moehlaing, Mansi, Hsenwi Shan State. Kachins are the descents of Tibeto-Chinese. Languages veined and differed according to the descending route of the tribes.<sup>8</sup> It is assumed that tribes can be distinguished according to the languages they speak.



In Kachin people, included are the Jinghpaw, Maru, Lashi, Azi, Lisu and Rawang tribes who are different in language and similar in culture and tradition. The concept that all those six tribes are descended from Majoi Shingra Bum Region.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup>J. George Scott and J.P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part.I, vol.i, Rangoon, the Superintendent Government Printing, 1900, p. 331 (Henceforth: Scott and Hardiman, 1900)

<sup>8</sup>Daw Kyan, *Myanma Naing Ngan A-che A-ne (1885-86)*, (The Situation of Myanmar Naing-gan (1885-86)) , Yangon, Sa-pe Beikman Press, 1978, p.171 (Henceforth: Kyan, 1978)

<sup>9</sup>Than Tun, *Khit-haung Myanmar Ya-za-win (Ancient Myanmar History)*, Third Edition, Yangon, Sarlounghan Press, 2002, p. 43 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 2002)

<sup>10</sup>Natural flat Mountain



According to the western connoisseurs estimation, Majoi Shingra Bum region is assumed to be the Mongolia plateau between east Tibet plateau and west Xichuan.<sup>11</sup> There are four groups in Kachin according to their spoken words. They are

1. Jinghpaw Language Group
2. Maru Lashi Azi Language Group
3. Nung Rawang Language Group
4. Lisu Language Group

In Jinghpaw Language Group, there are Jinghpaw , Gauri, Tsasen, Duleng, Hkahku and Htingnai In Maru Language Group, there are Maru, Lashi, Azi, Mainghta and Hpon. There are some different words in Nung Rawang Language Group. In Lisu Language Group, there are differences and discrepancies according to the regions.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, their political concepts also differ according to their languages' differences.

In a mixed community of Lisu, Azi, Maru and Jinghpaw speakers, the Jinghpaw speakers group will have solidarity among themselves as against the rest. Politically speaking, the Azi are quite indistinguishable as a group from *Gumsa* Jinghpaw. The empirical fact that in some parts of the Kachin Hills encounter extreme examples of this language factionalism, where as in other areas the Kachin sub-groups adopted Jinghpaw speech must be seen as an symptom of some contrast in political ideology. This bring us to the topic of *Gumsa* and *Gumlau*.<sup>13</sup> Kachin themselves have names for various districts. Thus-

- (1) "Sinpraw Ga", the eastern land, roughly the Bhamo and Sadon Districts;
- (2) "Sinli Ga", north Hsenwi State;

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<sup>11</sup>(a) Leach, 1964, 230

(b) Hanson, 1913, 13

<sup>12</sup>Leach, 1964, 44-45

<sup>13</sup>Leach, 1964, 50

- (3) "Htingnai Ga", the low lands, the region between Mogaung and Katha;  
 (4) "Hka Hku Ga", up river country, the region to the north of the N'mai-Mali Hka confluence and so on.<sup>14</sup>

In those places mentioned above, Jinghpaw language is the most common among Kachin. Intonation and Usage differ according to the region they live. Jinghpaws call themselves Jinghpaw, meaning "human". Jinghpaws are called B'ouk by Maru, P'ok by Lashi, Shatung by Azi, An Hpu by Rawang and Ah Hpu Hpa by Lisu.<sup>15</sup> Marus also call themselves Lawngwaw, which means "the tribe which descends from the north". Marus are called Lang by Chinese, Langwaw by Lashi, Langwa by Azi, Maru by Jinghpaw, Maru or Lalau by Rawang and Chaupha or Cho Hpa by Lisu. From these expressions, it is found out that Maru, Lashi and Azi call Marus like Chinese. Therefore, it is assumed that they have lived more closely with Chinese than other tribes. Besides Jinghpaw's and Rawang's usages are found out to be the same. So, the descending routes of Jinghpaw and Rawang are estimated to be the same. Jinghpaw Group is said to have followed with Thet of northwest Myanmar, Kadu Kanan, Chin, Naga and Shan and reached Assam. Maru, Lashi and Azi lived to the east and southeast of Myanmar and they entered into Myanmar from the east and southeast, from Yunnan, China.<sup>16</sup>

Some Kachin Historians stated that Kachin people first lived in the region called Hkawng Wang Ga which is among the rivers of Yanzi of west Xichuam, Mekhong and Thanlwin and the place of Tibet Plateau. Rawang, Maru, Lashi and

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<sup>14</sup>Leach, 1964, 55

<sup>15</sup>Branghpa, Kachin: Their Tradition and Customs, M.A (Thesis), History Department , University of Mandalay, 1998, p.1 (Henceforth: Branghpa, 1998)

<sup>16</sup> Lhovo Literature and Cultural Committee, "*Lhovo Tha-maing A-kyin-choke*" (A Brief History of Lhovo), Waingmaw, Typescript, 1967, p.37 ( Henceforth, Lhovo, 1967)

Azi left there and Jinghpaws, after crossing the N'mai Hka River, settled down at Putao Plain where Mali Hka River started which was also called Mali Hku Majoi.<sup>17</sup> Some records stated that Jinghpaws entered Myanmar from the north, avoiding from the difficult, hard and steep ice mountains. Some Jinghpaws migrated to Assam. Therefore Jinghpaws lived in Putao Plain or Hpaung Nawn Yang<sup>18</sup> in A.D 1st century that is the earliest time in their history.<sup>19</sup>

From the Putao plain, the Jinghpaw moved and settled in the basin where Chyai Hka River flowed into Mali Hka River on the south eastern side. In that region they met with Maru, Lashi, Azi Rawang and Lisu tribes who had come down from N'mai Hka River. They combined together and grew in strength.<sup>20</sup> While they were staying in these regions, they sometimes attacked and robbed the Chinese merchants who had crossed over and entered into their region. Because of the interference of the Kachin, the Chinese had to stay with Kachin in good term.<sup>21</sup> It was shown in the Chinese record between A.D 350 and 1000 there existed connection with the b'uok tribes as: "the wild and troublesome" "b'uok tribes' living apparently in the mountain to the west of Yung Chan'g who had produced rhinoceros, elephant, tortoiseshell, Jade, Amber, cowries, gold, silver, salt-well, cinnamon and cotton trees, hill paddy and panicked millet."<sup>22</sup>

According to Jinghpaw tradition, by the time Jinghpaw arrived at the present Putao plain the pre-Kachin inhabitant tribes were using pots made of sand

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<sup>17</sup>Lawang Li, *Jinghpaw Wunpawng Shani-nga-yu-hkrat-wa-ai A-htick Labau*, in Kachin (Migration of Jinghpaw tribes), Myitkyina, Hanson Memorial Press, p.6 (Henceforth: Lawang Li, 1980)

<sup>18</sup>Hpung Nawn Plain

<sup>19</sup>Sum Du Sinwa, *Dureng Labau*, (History of Dureng Clan), Myitkyina, Jinghpaw Kasa Press, 1996, p. 36 (Henceforth: Sinwa: 1996)

<sup>20</sup>Lawang Li, 1980, 23

<sup>21</sup>Lawang Li, 1980, 23,24

<sup>22</sup>Leach, 1964, 239

stone. From them Kachin had learned the method of making and using stone pots. That was the Jinghpaw called the regions as "Ga-gam Di galaw ai shara" means: stone pot making region, and it was later called "Gam Di Ga",<sup>23</sup> The Jinghpaw, Rawang and Lisu tribes in that region still called the Putao Region as "Gam Di". Betty Morse had pointed out that bits of ancient pots had been dug out from the region of mountain range west of Putao. The following is the account given by Betty:

West of Putao in the high mountain, old pots were discovered when we dug the pot holes for our house. We also found outline drawings of men and animals such as deer chiseled in great slabs of stone. It is not known who these people were, but carbon 14 dating gives them a very early age. In any case, we must assume that these were the earliest settlers and that the Tibeto-Burman groups came in historical time.<sup>24</sup>

Therefore Jinghpaw Kachins seemed to be among the earliest who reached Putao Plain. The people who lived there before Kachins were Hkamti Shans, Kha-maung Kha-man, Khalam, Kha San, Mawlit, Moto, Kha P'ok and Naga. The Shans seemed to have established the Hkamti Long since 750 A.D.

There were blue-collar workers or slaves called Kha-P'ok in Hkamti Long. "Kha" is the term for the slaves by Hkamti Shans and P'ok is the name for Jinghpaw-kachins by Maru and Hkamti Shans. Therefore, Kha P'ok means slaves Jinghpaws.<sup>25</sup> That point suggested that, in Putao Plain, the Jinghpaw Kachins started their living as the slaves and workers of the Shans. Some were said to have changed as Shans. Some Jinghpaws, to get the hands of the Shan Ladies, made

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<sup>23</sup>Sand Stone Pot Region

<sup>24</sup>Robert and Betty Meriwether Morse, *Rawang Migration Routes and Oral Tradition*, M.A ( Thesis), Ascona, Switzeland, 1965, p.14 (Henceforth: Robert and Betty, 1965)

<sup>25</sup>Leach, 1964, 239

themselves slaves, lived at Shan villages, followed and practiced Shan traditions and accepted themselves as Shans.<sup>26</sup> They are "Sam tai"<sup>27</sup> in Jinghpaw language. Kachins call Shan as Sam.

Jinghpaw-kachins continued descending southward and migrated at Hkrang Hku Majoi<sup>28</sup>, near the rise of Hkrang Hka River. At that place, the Kachins started holding religions Manau Festivals. The first festival was held in Hpu Um Ga, the triangle between N'mai Hka and Mali Hka. The second festival was guided by Sut Madu and held at Naura Yang Ga, Dancing Floor.

Here, the Kachins referred to the place where they started to live or where they lived as "Ga". "Ga" means "the ground" or the region, area or place. So Hpu Um Ga means the place of Hpu Um, Naura Yang place. While they were living at Hkrang Hka, the rise of Hkrang Hka River, the Kachins held Manau Festivals for four times, as the commemoration of their unity and success and at the same time, planned to enlarge the territory. Therefore, guided by Marip Wa Kumja, his sub-family held another Manau Festival as the commemoration of farewell. Soon after that, the fourth Manau Festival was held by Matsaw N'Hkum Wa.<sup>29</sup> After those four Manau Festivals, it seemed that the sub-families divide and enlarge territories among themselves.

At that time, the powerful Shan Feudal were still governing the Kachin's territories. The famous towns during Myanmar King's reign in the henceforth Kachin State were Mohnyin, Mogaung, Waingmaw, Sinbo, Shwegu and Kaung Ton. Mohnyin and Mogaung were the towns which started the Kachin Shan

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<sup>26</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 41

<sup>27</sup>Kachin became as Shan tribes

<sup>28</sup>Upper Hkrang River

<sup>29</sup> Sumlut Gam, *Wunpawng Htunghking Labau Laika*, (History of Kachin Culture), Myitkyina, Jinghpaw Kasa Press, 1982, p. 45,46 (Henceforth: Sumlut Gam, 1982)

Myanmar relation. Mohnyin was said to have been established by Thaung Khan Kyaw in 556.<sup>30</sup>

In the eight and nine century, the Upper Myanmar was under the Nan Chao Empire. Starting from the seventh century the Nan Chao Empire had its power spread over the people in the neighbouring countries such as Assam, Myanmar, Thailand, Lao and Vietnam.<sup>31</sup> It is clear that, during 8<sup>th</sup> century and 9<sup>th</sup> century, Kachin hilly region especially Putao or Hkamti Long was under the political power of the Nan Chaos.

In about 750, the Nan Chao leader Ko-lo-fang made camps and appointed soldiers along the trade road to India and Pyu. Hkamti Long seems to have become stronger, more prominent and endured since that time. Shans also entered into the place between Mogaung and Assam through Hukawng Valley.<sup>32</sup> In 762 the Nan Chao Empire had marched toward the west of upper part of Thanlwin River and launched a successful attack on Myanmar group called A-chang, the descendant's of Tibeto-Burma, and one tribes of Kachin, Ngaw Chang of Lashi tribes. Since the Kachin had been taken part in the attack launched by the Nan Chao on Hanoi in 863, Jinghpaw, Maru and Lashi must have already been in Bhamo, Myitkyina District and Yunnan province before that time.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the naming of Maru, Lashi and Nan Chao are the same, as Nan Chao influential symbol. The naming is after the father's last name.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>*Kachin De-tha Yet-swe Tha-maing (AD 556-1885)* (Chronology of Kachin Region), Collection Research of Kachin Historical Records, Myitkyina University, History Department, 2002 (Henceforth: *Yet-swe*, 2002)

<sup>31</sup>Than Tun, 2002, 23

<sup>32</sup>Leach, 1964, 239

<sup>33</sup>G.E, Harvey, *History of Burma from the earliest time to 10 March 1824*, London, Frank Cass and Co.Ltd., 1967, p.15 (Henceforth: Harvey, 1967)

<sup>34</sup>Lhovo , 1967, 35

Besides, in the Man Chu of Fan Cho, Nan Chao called Mang Zaw to the tribes who lived at the southwest of Yung Chang, which is at him west of Mehkong River, in 863. P'ok and Mang Zaw were recorded as the first class fighters when Nan Chaos attacked Hanoi.<sup>35</sup> Maru, Lashi and Azi called their elder people as Mang Zaw. Jinghpaw and Azi had the tradition of naming "Zaw" to the chiefs or *Du-wa* tribe men. Therefore, according to Fan Cho's record, P'ok is assumed to be Jinghpaw and Mang Zaw to be Maru, Lashi and Azi. So it is clear that, till the reign of Nan Chao Ko-lo-fang, Putao Plain, the triangle between N'maikha and Malikha, nearly all today's Kachin State was under the power of Nan Chao.

At the end of nine century, the influence of the power of Nan Chao began to decline. At that time, it was a good time for people of all races including Myanmar to move south to central Myanmar. Some scholars stated that, about eight century and nine century, the Kachins reached at Bhamo, Sadon and Sema, soldiering during Nan Chaos' invasion. Therefore, Kachins seemed to have reached at Myitkyina, Bhamo and Yunnan since nine century. In 1215, at the decline of Nan Chaos' power and at the predomination of Mongols, Sao Lon-pha established the "Nora" Shan Kingdom at Mogaung or Mong Kaung.<sup>36</sup> He seemed trying to reestablish the Nan Chao Shan Kingdom. The Mogaung founder *Sao Lon-pha* (1215-1315) conquered from Hkamti Long (Putao) to Shwebo border, from north to south.<sup>37</sup> In 1253, the Nan Chao had surrendered themselves to the

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<sup>35</sup>Fan Cho, *The Man Chu: the Book of Southern Barbarians*, translated by Gordan H.Luce, edited by G.P. Obey, New York, Department of Far Eastern Studies, 1961, p. 26 (Henceforth: Fan Cho, 1961)

<sup>36</sup>W.A, Hertz, *Burma Gazetteer, Myitkyina District*, Vol.A, Rangoon, Government Printing and Stationary, 1960, p.20 (Henceforth: Hertz, 1960)

<sup>37</sup>(a)*Yet-swe*, 2002, 3

(b)Sai Aung Tun, *History of The Shan State from its Origins to 1962*, Bangkok, O.S Printing House, 2009, p. 22 (Henceforth: Sai Aung Tun, 2009)

Mongol, and in 1287 the Mongol attacked the Bagan causing the dissolution of Myanmar Kingdom.<sup>38</sup> At that time, the Mongol was attacking the Bagan, the Kachin who were going to stay in Kachin State had taken part in the event. The races in Upper Myanmar were under the influence of Nan Chao's power. And not under the influence of Bagan, King Anawrahta. During his reign because of his good organization, it was true that he did the expansion of territory but the strength of his army was not strong enough to beat the Chinese forces. And he had not reached the region where Irrawaddy and Shweli River meet.<sup>39</sup> So since the Bagan had no influence of power over the Kachin, it was considered that they had taken part in the battle of Mongol against Bagan. Because of the attack of Mongol on Bagan, Kachins had reached as far as Kaungton, Kaungsin, Nga Yon, Nga Yin, Shwegu, Yinhke, Mota, Katha, Htigyaing, Tagaung, Hinta Maw, Ngasin Gu regions.<sup>40</sup> The Myanmar people had considered those who came from northern Myanmar were all Chinese, therefore the Kachins were considered to be part of Chinese. The Chinese exercised effective control and an official Chinese Administrator seems to have been posted to Mohnyin in 1296 and various later dates.<sup>41</sup>

The three Shan brothers established Inwa Kingdom after the fall of Bagan. In 1370, when the Mayors of Kalay and Mohnyin attacked, Mingyi Swasawke took over both towns and changed the mayors. A Border Signpost was laid between the territory of Mohnyin and that of Myanmar King in 1370 during the reign of King Mingyi Swasawke (1360-1400), when the Mohnyin Mayor rebelled. Mohnyin, Mogaung and Innwa contended and launched ten attacks on each other once in a decade. That lasted from 1371 to 1526 when Inwa fell under the attack

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<sup>38</sup>Than Tun, 2002, 46

<sup>39</sup>Than Tun, 2002, 25

<sup>40</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 18

<sup>41</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 17



of Monyin Salon. Those wars were not racial disputes but the rebellions from the chiefs of Mohnyin and Mogaung appointed by Myanmar Kings to the Innwa authority.<sup>42</sup> Until 1531 most of Myanmar had become a loose federation of Shan Mong under a various more or less independent *Saw-bwa*. The Mong make up the Kachin Hills area owed fealty to the Chinese emperor as successor to the throne of Nan Chao.<sup>43</sup>

Then Chinese and Maw Shans were at war during 1438 to 1465. Maw Shans took refuge in Mohnyin and present Shan State at their loss of war. Again in 1449, Chinese invaded Mohnyin and Maw Shans had to migrate to Kalay, Hkamti, Upper Chindwin and Assam.<sup>44</sup> Because of war took place between Chinese and Shan, the Kachins had moved to Mogaung and Mohnyin which were in Shan Region. It could also be that the Kachin had taken part in the Chinese aggression. Because without the Chinese help, Kachins could not defeat the Shan who were stronger than themselves, Hukawng as a place of cremation of Shan, in detail as follows:

A highly successful fighting race descended upon Myanmar and occupied the northern hill forced the Chins, Palaungs and Shans farther south and the last remaining descendents of once powerful Ahoms were almost exterminated. The Hukawng Valley gets its name from the innumerable mounds in it where the corpses of the Shans slain by the Kachin were cremated, Ju-kaung in the Jinghpaw dialect means cremation mounds.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Yet-swe, 2002, 5

<sup>43</sup>Leach, 1964, 241

<sup>44</sup>Than Tun, 2002, 45,46

<sup>45</sup>(a) H.N.C, Stevenson, *The Hill People of Burma*, London, Longman and Green, 1954, p.9 (Henceforth: Stevenson, 1954)

(b) Kawlu Ma Nawng, *The History of Kachin of the Hukawng Valley*, translated and noted by J.L, Bombay, Time of India Press, 1944, p.v (Henceforth: Ma Nawng, 1944)

Ahom Shan had last been forced out from Hukawng Valley by the attack of the Kachins and they moved to Assam in India at about 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The Kachin using the Namyun, Pangsau road, moved from Hukawng Valley to Assam about 1600.<sup>46</sup> When Ahom Shans entered into Assam, the Kachins moved to south of Shweli.<sup>47</sup> They were related to those Kachin in Hukawng Valley and Triangle area. Especially they arrested the slaves in Assam and sold them in Triangle Region.<sup>48</sup> The Ahom Kings continued to recognize their relationship with the princes of other Shan States, the Kingdom of Nora, Mogaung and, the routes from Hkamti Long to Assam and from Mogaung to Assam via Hukawng Valley were regularly used.<sup>49</sup> Since the reign of Myanmar King Nyaungyan, systematic administration was established in Mohnyin, Mogaung and Bhamo districts. Since 1602, the village chiefs of Mohnyin, Mogaung and Hkamti were formed as grouped servants and put under Bhamo *Saw-bwa* King Nyaungyan's son, was appointed as Bhamo *Saw-bwa*. In this way, since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the conflict between Myanmar Kings and Shan Feudals started to an end. Then, there were fewer battles during the kings that succeeded King Nyaungyan.<sup>50</sup> After that, from the reign of King Pintale, 1648 to the early Konbaung Period of 1752, there were no open attacks between the chiefs of Mohnyin, Mogaung, Bhamo and Myanmar Kings. The reason for that is assumed to be the invasions of Assam, Manipur, Cassey from the northwest of Myanmar. In the early Konbaung Period, the Myanmar Shan Kachin Feudal's Wars were

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<sup>46</sup>Thing Bai, Naw Awn, Ginru Ginsa (The origin of Kachin), Maymyo, Typescript, 1956, p.23 (Henceforth: Naw Awn, 1956)

<sup>47</sup>Than Tun, 2002, 25

<sup>48</sup>Branghpa, 1998, 18

<sup>49</sup>Leach, 1964, 241

<sup>50</sup>*Yet-swe*, 2002, 8

lessened except King Alaungmintayar's march and organization up to Bhamo, Sinbo in 1754.<sup>51</sup>

The Jade mines, west of Kamaing which have been of major importance in Kachin politics were first extensively developed during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This development greatly increased the importance of the area from the Chinese point of view and led to an increase in the trade in other commodities as well. From the time that Myanmar became integrated as a single kingdom about 1560, the Mong of the Kachin Hills area became objects of bitter contention between the Myanmar and the Chinese. At that time the Myanmar appear to have gained effective control of Hsenwi, Mong Mit, Bhamo and Mohnyin from about 1600 onwards,<sup>52</sup> but the status of Mogaung and Hkamti Long was in dispute until 1796.<sup>53</sup> The Chinese have never admitted Myanmar rights over the country east of the Irrawaddy and north of Myitkyina. Tribute taxes to Chinese authorities have been paid by Maru Kachin of Htawgaw area, Nung of the Nam Tami and Shans of Hkamti Long.<sup>54</sup> When Myanmar armies attacked and conquered Mogaung in 1751, Shans moved to Assam and other Upper Hkamti.<sup>55</sup> But the Kachins had already took place in Hukawng Valley, between Assam and Mogaung. Therefore, they attacked the migrated Shans and made them slaves. In early Konbaung Period, Kachins through Chyaukan pass and Daru pass, entered into Assam and Hukawng Valley, from between N'mai-kha and Mali-kha rivers. The cause for Kachins' migration was based on the inter rebellion among themselves because of the difference in administrative policy of *Gumsa*, feudal and *Gumlau*, anti-feudal. Because of that *Gumsa* and *Gumlau* attack, the Kachin *Gumsa* from the triangle region moved

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<sup>51</sup>Yet-swe, 2002, 9

<sup>52</sup>Leach, 1964, 241

<sup>53</sup>Hertz, 1960, 20

<sup>54</sup>Leach, 1964, 241

<sup>55</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 46

again to Assam and Hukawng, avoiding the *Gumlau's* attack. Those migrated *Gumsa* are (1) Daihpa (2) Pyisa (3) Hkamti Shan Namsun Wa tribes.<sup>56</sup>

There was a war between Ahom Shan and Kachin in 1779.<sup>57</sup> Those attacks were guessed about the time when Ahom Shan or Assams invaded Myanmar. The invasion of Assam and Manipur were settled by Myanmar Kings only in 1749 and the northwest of Myanmar was under their power for a very long time. Sometimes, there were attacks with Kachins. Therefore, there were no direct relation and administration between Myanmar Kings and Kachins who lived in the hilly regions near Mohnyin, Mogaung, Bhamo until the early nineteenth century. There were no confrontations between northern quasi-feudal chiefs and Myanmar Kings in Konbaung Period. Because there were the invasions of Assam-Manipur-Cassey, Chinese' invasions near Bhamo, paying more attention to the Myanmar Chinese relationship, and favoring the target of attacking and occupying the Lower Myanmar and Thailand during the reign of King Alaungmintaya and his descendants. National tribes seemed to rely on each other because of the invasions of Assam, Manipur and Chinese. To defend the outer alliances' invasion, the feudals of Shan, Myanmar and Kachin were united without attacking each other.

In 1817, Bhamo Major Naymyothura Kyaw Khaung marched to Assam with the purpose of suppressing them. After giving the throne to Waithali King Sandara Kantashein, he returned back to Bhamo together with the daughter of *Waithali* King, Assam, given as a present.<sup>58</sup> The Myanmar came to fight in Assam in 1817 and again in 1820 from Innwa through Hukawng Valley. The Myanmar army marched through Mogaung and had passed the Hukawng valley to enter to Assam. During this time the Kachin *Du-was* of Hukawng valley and Assam were

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<sup>56</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 17

<sup>57</sup>Bunghku, Jinghpaw-hte Ginra (Jinghpaw and place), Myitkyina, Computer Script, 2009, p.196 (Henceforth: Bunghku, 2009)

<sup>58</sup>*Yet-swe*, 2002, 22

in very strong position to fight. They captured many Assamese and took them away to Hukawng valley to make their slaves, more than thousand in number. The prominent Kachin *Du-was* of Assam were known as the Pyisa, the Daihpa, the Lattorra, the Lattao and Ningru.<sup>59</sup> In April 1819, about 20,000 strong Myanmar army captured Rangpur<sup>60</sup> and when they left, the Kachin Singhpos kept the kingdom under their domination, the Kachin Pyisa chieftain named it as Pyisa country.<sup>61</sup> The Myanmar could not supply ration from Inwa, because it was too far from them. And they did not have any proper method of transport they could only utilize animals for carrying their rations and goods. Therefore they had lot of difficulty in transporting food items. Even from Mogaung, it was not possible for them to carry these item.

During the reign of King Bodawpaya in 1782-1819, the British did not enter to Myanmar. On February 17, 1822 the Myanmar army led by Marshal Mahabandula marched to Assam. There included 1000 Kachin in that army. The prime minister of the Ahom King or Assam King, Raja, Purnananda Burhagohain had given as a gift the sister of Baran Duara Barua, "Rangili" to Kachin Pyisa chief. The Kachin Pyisa chief, Pyisa Naw again gave her as a gift to King Bodawpaya.<sup>62</sup> Mahabandula arrived back Bhamo from Assam on 1st January 1823.<sup>63</sup> Though the Myanmar army returned to Inwa, the British force replaced the Myanmar army, but the Kachins did not have sufficient army with arms to the British. So to obtain military aids from the Myanmar King, the Kachin chief had to offer the Ahom princess who he had received as a gift as mentioned above. The

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<sup>59</sup>(a) Ma Nawng, 1944, 26,42

(b) Brang Di, 1996, 52

<sup>60</sup>*Yet-swe*, 2002, 20-21

<sup>61</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 52

<sup>62</sup>*Yet-swe*, 2002, 20-21

<sup>63</sup>*Yet-swe*, 2002, 22

Myanmar had already expected that the Kachins should have joined with them to fight against the British.<sup>64</sup> And again the Kachin had amassed about 6,000 army to fight with the British. The Kachin army who came to the Khamti area had dethroned the Sadiya Khawwa Gohain and replaced another Gohain of their select. Kachin armies followed the Myanmar armies and they became helpful fighting for Myanmar. And the Kachins could take away more Assamese as captives. In 1824-25, the British after defeating the Myanmar started fighting again with the Kachins.<sup>65</sup>

They went to Lakhipur, Lattora and Tengapani, and again started to fight with the British. They had only 3,000 soldiers in their passion. Captain Neufville came to know the war arrangement of the Kachins and when he went to face the attack of Kachin, the former Kachin had retreated to the mountains. The Myanmar after the death of Bandula and signing the Yandabo treaty, Kachins did not come up to fight with the British in the Hukawng Valley and Assam.<sup>66</sup> After the Myanmar and British signed the Yandabo Treaty on 24 February 1926, the Kachin Singhpos also signed a treaty with the British on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1826.<sup>67</sup> So, the British first came into political contact with Jinghpaw and other Kachin languages in Assam around 1824, the people concerned were referred to as Singphos and Hkahku.<sup>68</sup> In 1824 the Myanmar clashed with the British in Assam. By this time the Shans had ceased to have military important. The Myanmar had destroyed many of their main centre and deposed their rulers.<sup>69</sup> Around 1830 the Shan element were still the masters in Hkamti Long and in the Hkamti colony at Sadiya

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<sup>64</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 52

<sup>65</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 53

<sup>66</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 53

<sup>67</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 53,56

<sup>68</sup>Leach, 1954, 41

<sup>69</sup>Leach, 1954, 242

in Assam, but in the Hukawng Valley Kachins were already the overlords and Mogaung had become a governorship under the Myanmar. Myanmar made no attempt to control the Kachin directly. On the contrary, the Kachin *Du-was* were awarded Myanmar honorific titles and treated with the respects due to minor royalty.<sup>70</sup>

In 1835, there was an outbreak between the Daihpa Gam who lived in Hukawng, Myanmar and Pyisa Gam who lived in British Assam. In that war, Pyisa Gam asked help from the British and as a result, British Government of Assam and Daihpa Gam of Hukawng confronted Daihpa Gam retreated to Hukawng because of the unmatched weapons as the British used the cannons.<sup>71</sup> In January 1835, Mogaung Mayor and Captain Hanney arrived at Hukawng from Innwa City via Mogaung. They tended to observe the region between Mogaung and Assam. The British had sent embassy to Myanmar King to negotiate for controlling the Kachins of Hukawng and Assam from indulging in warfare against them. On return, they took the Daihpa Gam to Innwa City. Therefore, along with the Governor of Mogaung, Daihpa Gam and Hanney reached to Inwa on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1836. The Myanmar King had considered the complaint lodged by the British against Daihpa Gam. But on the contrary, the Myanmar King released Daihpa Gam because Myanmar felt it necessary to use this opportunity to fight with the British.<sup>72</sup> Daihpa Gam had won the case over the British Captain. Daihpa Gam was given permission to fight his enemies and was also given the saddle, clothes, hat and *dahs* of one of the king's fighting men together with a high office under the king. He had also Appointment Orders from each of the Myanmar kings. The title conferred upon Daihpa Gam by the Myanmar kings were:

(1) Taunglon Thiha Kyawzawa

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<sup>70</sup>Leach, 1954, 242

<sup>71</sup>Yet-swe, 2002, 23

<sup>72</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 52

- (2) Saton Mani Nawyahta
- (3) Tanebung Naung Nawyahta
- (4) Ganda Thikdi
- (5) Taunglon Thiha Kyawhtin
- (6) Sawbi Thura Nawyahta
- (7) Thiri Paphahta Tabayaza
- (8) Thinba Thura Yaza
- (9) Maha Thiri zeya Tabayaza<sup>73</sup>

By 1837 British military intelligence had amassed a substantial information not merely concerning the Singphos of Assam but also concerning their tribal kinsmen of Hukawng Valley and north-east of Mogaung. In these reports, Singpho is used for the Jingphaw speaker resident in the Hukawng Valley and while Kakoo includes the Jingphaw of the Triangle and Sumprabum areas, and also the Marus, Lashi, Lisu, Nung and Duleng.<sup>74</sup> But while the early 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the closure of the Hukawng Valley, the trade between Myanmar and Yunnan flourished. Most of it was canalized through either Bhamo or Hsenwi.<sup>75</sup>

In this way, the Kachin *Gumsa Du-wa* Daihpa Gam became the most powerful rulers in Hukawng Region and he organized and administered the Shans and Kachins all over Hukawng Region. But he was attacked by his relatives, the *Gumlau*. Many armed Kachin soldiers were found in Tharyarwati Prince's army when British ambassador Burney arrived at Shwebo on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1837 to negotiate the rebellion of Tharyarwadi, Kachins were found as soldiers from Nan Chao to Konbaung Kings.<sup>76</sup> Moreover 1850-70 was a period of civil war in Yunnan between the Mohammedan rebels and supporters of the central Chinese

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<sup>73</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 50,52

<sup>74</sup>Leach, 1964, 41,42

<sup>75</sup>Leach, 1954, 242

<sup>76</sup>*Yet-swe*, 2002, 24



government, Taiping rebellion of 1850 and Panthay rebellion in 1857. Trans-border trade shrank to a trickle and led to a crisis in relations between the Myanmar authorities and the Kachins.<sup>77</sup> Further south of *Saohpa* succession of Möng Mit-Möng Leng was continuously in dispute from 1840-92. Rival claimants all used Kachin levies as mercenaries.<sup>78</sup> Unlike in other regions, Myanmar Kings did not fix the charge and taxation from Kachins except some forest resources such as ivory, wild ox's horns, wax, latex and resin as commemoration. The exact number of faithful Kachin chiefs or *Taungsa Saw-bwa* was not known. There were some examples of the relationship with Kachins during King Mindon's reign such as the visit and giving offer such as amber earplug, ivory, wild ox hoof and spears by Lasang *Taungsa* Sawpi of Mogaung, Naungkya *Taungsa*, Htonthanaung *Taungsa*, Labaw *Taungsa*, Lawahtoo *Taungsa*. When Ngashinpun *Taungsa* took the presented daughter of Marip *Taungsa*, together with Pubbadewa Kyawthu, Sakkli Chief Pubbatadewa Kyawswa and 24 members, King Mindon gave them presents and titles and returned them back to their region with guards.<sup>79</sup> In 1872 the Kachins attacked Mogaung, killed the Myanmar official and took the Amber Mines.<sup>80</sup>

Besides, in Hkamti, during King Thibaw's Reign, there were attacks by some Kachins. In 1878, Kachins invaded Hkamti and so the Hkamti Chief Sawli fled to Minsin Village, to the south border of Hkamti. Jinghpaw Kachin Laisai La of Marip tribe was to administer upper Hkamti villages. In 1881, Sawli let his son Mg Bo Hlaing to go and observe upper Hkamti. Mg Bo Hlaing killed the Watet Kachin Chief in a quarrel. As a consequence, Hkamti Region was put on fire by the revenge of Watet Kachins. Hkamti Shans, without re-establishing Hkamti,

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<sup>77</sup>Leach, 1964, 242

<sup>78</sup>Leach, 1964, 43

<sup>79</sup>Kyan, 1978, 171

<sup>80</sup>C.M, Enriquez, *The Races of Burma*, Calcutta, Government of India Publication, 1933, p.32 (Henceforth: Enriquez, 1933)

migrated and settled at Manpin village which is 80 miles away from Minsin village. As the administration of Myanmar Kings did not have a bring to Kachin region, there were many severe attacks and robberies of Kachins to nearby Myanmar villages and Shan villages.<sup>81</sup>

Kachins who lived in the hilly regions of north and northeast Mogaung, Bhamo, Katha seemed to have disturbed and attacked frequently those regions during King Thibaw's reign. In 1882, Mogaung Mayer Minhla Min Htin Kyaw reported to the *Hlut-taw* that his territory far and near was in a peaceful state, according to Kachin Chief's report.<sup>82</sup> In 1883, the Kachins rebelled in Mogaung region and Wuntho *Saw-bwa* U Shwe Thar was ordered to suppress them. U Shwe Thar governed Mogaung as a Mayor from 1883 to 1885.<sup>83</sup>

To the east, the story of Hsenwi is very similar. Hsenwi 49 mine was divided into 5 lets as the East, the West, the South, the North and the Middle and were governed by Myanmar officials and army officers. But the problem was not settled and the North of Hsenwi was under the power of Kachin. So, including the South of Hsenwi, Möng Naung, Kyaythee, Mansan, Möng Shu, Möng San were divided from Hsenwi and ruled by *Heins* who were the faithful mayors of King Thibaw. In the same way, the Middle of Hsenwi was ruled by Pa-oak-choke Sanwe in 1883 but he also could not defend Khun San Tonhon and made Möng - yal his headquarter. Really, the power of the king or the *Heins* did not exceed Lashio.<sup>84</sup>

During King Thibaw's Reign, the Kachins who lived between Bhamo and Chinese border attacked and robbed the merchants who travelled to China by land

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<sup>81</sup>Kyan, 1978, 173

<sup>82</sup>Kyan, 1978, 172

<sup>83</sup>Kyan, 1978, 173

<sup>84</sup>Kyan, 1978, 152

route. The merchants were taxed in Kachin regions where they went across.<sup>85</sup> In 1884, Chinese and Kachin united and invaded robbed, put on fire and destroyed Bhamo. Only the building and property of European Missionaries were spared.<sup>86</sup> The Mahtang *Taung-sa* who was very powerful with mass weapons and followers were involved in those robbery. After robbing Bhamo, Mahtang *Taung-sa* blocked the merchants who went to China without giving permission to go through his territory.<sup>87</sup>

In 1883, there was an attempt to re-establish an independent Northern Area under Mogaung. The Leader of this revolt, a Myanmar Shan named Maung Shwe Le claimed to be a descendant of the former Mogaung Saohpa Haw Hseng and took the same title for himself. And so the Hawhsaing rebellion broke out in 1884. The suppression of this revolt resulted in the destruction of most of the Shan villages in the Mogaung -Myitkyina area, and upper Myanmar in 1885 was in chaos.<sup>88</sup> Thibaw surrendered and was deported on the 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1885, and Bhamo was occupied by British troops on the 28<sup>th</sup> December 1885.<sup>89</sup> In the pre-British period, rival claimants to the *Saohpa's* throne used Kachin mercenaries, and was an attempt to organize a patriotic revolution both against Thibaw's tyranny and against the British. In this case the leader was the Myinsaing Prince, a son of Mindon and half- brother of Thibaw.<sup>90</sup>

The British authority made inquiries about Kachin Hilly Region through Myanmar Ministers in 1886, first after the fall of Upper Myanmar and learnt that

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<sup>85</sup>Kyan, 1978, 173

<sup>86</sup>(a) Enriquez, 1933, 32

(b) G.W, Dawson, *Burma Gazetteer, Bhamo District*, Rangoon, Government Printing and Stationary, 1960, p.21 (Henceforth: Dawson, 1960)

<sup>87</sup>Kyan, 1978, 173

<sup>88</sup>Leach, 1954, 243

<sup>89</sup>Dawson, 1960, 21

<sup>90</sup>Leach, 1954, 243

there were altogether 54 Kachin *Taung-sa Saw-bwa* 35 out of 54 *Taung-sas* were from Mogaung, Mohnyin near Irrawaddy river and Inndaw Region. There were six *Taung-sas* of Jade Mines and eleven of Amber Mines.<sup>91</sup> In 1888 the Magwe *Wundauk* wrote to British Government as follows:

I was appointed Prefect of the districts on the Upper Irrawaddy, and during my administration I gathered as much information as I could about the Kachin Chiefs of Bhamo and Mogaung. There were three Chiefs and twenty-eight lesser Chiefs in the district round Mogaung. Under each of the Chiefs are from forty to fifty houses, and under each of the lesser Chiefs from ten to twenty houses. In each house there are between twenty and thirty families. As at Bhamo, the Chiefs are also Magistrates. There is a duty of ten percent, levied on jadestones. When a newly appointed *Wun* arrived at Mogaung three guns were fired, and the Kachin Chiefs would come to him or send their representatives with presents for him, such as ivory, beeswax, gongs, spears adorned with long hair of the Tibetan bull, and rice and other eatables. The *Wun*, in turn, presented each of the Chiefs with a satin *paso*, flannel blanket, and a Shan turban and each of the *Pawmaings* (lesser Chiefs) with a cotton *paso*, flannel blanket and Shan turban and a jacket. Of these Chiefs only those of Sainggaungkan and Lakyin Naung of Kamaingywa paid taxes.<sup>92</sup>

Though the Kachins who lived in plains were the servants of Myanmar Kings, those who were in hilly regions were out of Myanmar Kings' direct administration. Traditional songs and stories of Kachins were mostly about the relationship with Chinese and Shans, especially about economical and social relationships. Sayings and proverbs about Myanmar Kings were very rare.

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<sup>91</sup>Kyan, 1978, 172,230,231

<sup>92</sup>(a) Hertz, 1960, 21

(b) From the *Wun-dauk* of Magwe to Commissioner of the Northern Division, Upper Burma, Series No.1/1 (A), Acc: No. 2727, National Archives Department

In the Cima stone inscriptions of 11 century, the term "*sharm*" was used as the earliest one. In Bagan inscriptions that word "*sharm*" was repeated used. According to those inscriptions, *Sharm Thanbyin*, *Sharm Pantra*, *Sharm Yanthe* and *Sharm Panput* words are found. Moreover, the village name of "Hkamti" was found numerously– Myanmar inscriptions. There were villages in Upper Chindwin and Putao Region with the name "Hkamti". Shans were referred to as Paiyi in Yun History written in 1278. Chinese recorded that Paiyis attacked east of Thanlwin and Yunlon, west of Ta-li-fu in 1325 and that in 1285 Paiyis who lived in Mine-ne near Tagaung disturbed Myanmar peace mission. Shans who lived in the southern Shan State were not referred to as Paiyi. Since 1253, Paiyis were under the power of Mongols.<sup>93</sup> The explanatory theory most commonly advanced seems to be that the Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples and the Tai-speaking peoples represent two distinct ethnic stocks. The Tibeto-Burman peoples are credited with a generation tendency to migrate from north to south.<sup>94</sup> So Leach explained as follow:

The Shans are territorially scattered, but fairly uniform in culture. Dialect variations between different localities are considerable, but even so, apart from a few special exceptions, it can be said that all the Shans of North Burma and Western Yunnan speak one language, namely Tai. The exceptions are the Shans of Mong Hsa (the Maingtha or A'chang), who speak what seems to be a dialect of Maru, the Shans of the Kabaw Valley, who now speak a corrupted form of Burmese, and miscellaneous small pockets of Shans in the Upper Chindwin and Hukawng Valley areas.<sup>95</sup>

According to these theory, the southward migration was temporarily interrupted between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century by a westward infiltration of Tai speaking Shans. These was a remark that the Hkamti Long was formerly the

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<sup>93</sup>Than Tun, 2002, 210

<sup>94</sup>Leach, 1954, 36

<sup>95</sup>Leach, 1954, 29

underling of Tibet and so their houses had to face northward. But when they were freed from Tibet's occupation, the houses of Hkamti Long turned south.<sup>96</sup> From this time the power of Tibet in Hkamti ceased and it came under the sway of the Shans in Mogaung. The Burmese punitive expedition left the country with seven *saw-bwas*, viz (1) Lokhkun, (2) Longkyein, (3) Mannu, (4) Mause, (5) Mause Kum, (6) Langdao and (7) Langnu and these were the principalities found in Hkamti when the first Expedition from Burma of the British in Putao. The Mungyak *Saw-bwa*-ship has since been added to the list, so there were in all eight.<sup>97</sup> According the Hkamti Shans, Putao plain was called Hkamti, meaning golden region or golden plain. Besides, Putao was formerly known also as Putaung, the Shan term and Putaung changed as Putao in the colonial period.<sup>98</sup>

These included Shan settlements in Hkamti Long, the Hukawng Valley, Singkaling Hkamti , upper Chindwin.<sup>99</sup> There are also some Hkamti Shan settlements near Sadiya in Assam. Historically, these Shan Mongs are associated with the one influential Shan states of upper Myanmar, the most important of which were Bhamo, Mogaung, Mohnyin and Waingmaw. These is still a large Shan population in these areas, and the traditions of the former power of Mogaung Prince still played in Northern Myanmar politics.

Hkamti States were worth enumerating in detail.

- (a) Hkmti Long , a confederation of 7 small Shan principles, situated near the headwater of the Irrawady , Mali Hka. Though probably colonized in the

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<sup>96</sup>Enriquez, 1933, 10

<sup>97</sup>J.T.O, Barnard, *History of Putao, Journal of Burma Research Society*, Vol. XV, 1925, p. 139 (Henceforth: Barnard, 1925)

<sup>98</sup>Tangshing Tang, *History of Putao Township*, M.A Thesis, History Department, University of Mandalay, 1998, p.1 (Henceforth: Tangshing Tang, 1998)

<sup>99</sup>Leach, 1964, 34

first place direct from China, Hkamti Long seems to have been a dependency of Mogaung in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Hkamti Long appear as Putao.<sup>100</sup>

- (b) Hukawng Valley Shan, notably those of Möng Kwan, Ningbyen, Taro. These Shans are politically dependent of the neighbouring Kachins. The first Shans in the Hukawng Valley were the Hkawseng Hkamawng Hkaman groups. There were many Shan Chiefs. The Shan Chiefs were (1) Hkansawng *Saw-bwa*, who live in Chyingla Village, (2) Pangsang *Saw-bwa*, who live N'Bawn Village, (3) Hpaknaw *Saw-bwa*, who lived in the Ninghku Laphai Village, (4) Munghkawn *Saw-bwa*, who lived in Möng Kwan, (5) Hkawseng *Saw-bwa*, who lived above the Tanai and Mogaung river junction, (6) Kangdau *Saw-bwa*, who lived at Kangdau.<sup>101</sup>
- (c) Singkaling Hkamti, a small Shan States on the upper Chindwin. The local population are Kachins and Nagas. The Shans in the Singkaling Hkamti were the descendants of the Mogaung Shans. The Shans element, including the ruling family, seem to have come from Ningbyen in the Hukawng Valley.
- (d) The Hkamti of Assam, Ahom Shans, located to the east of Sadiya and also on the Dishing near Ledo. The former drive from colonists from Hkamti Long who entered Assam about 1795. Shan colonists who entered Assam from the Hukawng Valley during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They have been much mixed up with Assamese, Mishmis, Nagas and Kachins -Singhpo.<sup>102</sup>
- (e) The Jade mines which were major factor in the original downfall of the Mogaung princes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, have been under the control of a line

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<sup>100</sup>Leach, 1954, 34

<sup>101</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 53, 55

<sup>102</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 54

of Kachin chiefs. These chiefs aped the manners of the Shans and married into Shan families. They also assumed the title *Kansi Du-was* as heirs.

Hkamti appears to have been originally a little associated with the royal family of Mogaung. These Hkamti States have played an important role in Kachin affairs.<sup>103</sup>

Hkamti Shans are looked upon as a sub-type of Myanmar Shan. They may be defined as Shans who might be regarded as having had some political allegiance to the former Shan State of Mogaung. Until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Shan States of northern Myanmar retained a considerable degree of independence and tended to owe fealty to China rather than Myanmar. In the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the various Shan principalities of upper Irrawaddy area Mogaung, Mohnyin, Waingwaw and Bhamo appear to have sided with the Chinese and suffered destruction at the hands of Myanmar armies. From the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were no regular Shan *Saw-bwa* in these states. They were treated as direct feudal dependencies of Myanmar Crown. The perquisites of the office of *Myo-za* were in the gift of the king and the state *Myo-wun* was appointed direct from Ava.<sup>104</sup>

Living with the Shan in Hkamti were three other tribes whom the Shans called Nogmung, N-Tit and Pangsau. Nogmung called themselves is Hsamhpyang. Nogmung which is a Shan word meaning "without the city".<sup>105</sup> Barnard mentions that two lower-class groups in Hkamti society are named 'Hsampyen' and 'Share'. In Jinghpaw terms would mean 'Shan mercenary soldier' and 'hired soldier' respective, the implication is that these low-class Shans are Jinghpaw Kachin origin.<sup>106</sup> There were various other kinds of evidence which support the view that large sections of the people as Shans are descendants of hill tribesmen who have

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<sup>103</sup>Leach, 1954, 34, 35

<sup>104</sup>Leach, 1954, 34

<sup>105</sup>Barnard, 1925, 139

<sup>106</sup>Leach, 1954, 40



been assimilated into the Buddhist Shan culture. For example, Wilcox, the first Englishman, to visit Hkamti Long mentioned that the mass of the labouring population is the Kha-phok tribe whose dialect is closely allied to the Singpho.<sup>107</sup> The complete political separation of Kachin and Shan territory which prevailed during the later part of the British regime in Myanmar.

Later, with the decline of Shan political power, the Tibeto-Burman southward movement was supposed to have been resumed. On this theory the Jinghpaw-Kachins are the last of the Tibeto-Burmans to arrive from the north, during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries they are supposed to have overrun the Shans, so that the north Myanmar Shans are merely scattered survivors from this heathen invasion.<sup>108</sup> All Shan settlement is associated with wet rice cultivation.<sup>109</sup> The political capital of a Shan State was located in the irrigated rice lands, but the feudal dependencies of such a state may include not only other communities of wet-rice growing Shans, but also a variety of hill villages with a non-Shan population and a *Taung-ya* economy.

Living mostly in hilly regions, Kachin basic livelihood was *Taungya* agriculture. Forests of hills, mountains, and hillsides were cleared, burnt and grown paddy as staple crops. In other words, Kachins used shifting *Taungya* systems only.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, the villages also followed the shift *Taungyas* and moved. Because of the growing population and family members, the *Taungya* agricultural sites and paddy and other crops became insufficient. Then, plain regions and valleys were found out. Their knowledge and economy status were

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<sup>107</sup>Leach, 1954, 39

<sup>108</sup>Leach, 1954, 36

<sup>109</sup>Leach, 1954, 30

<sup>110</sup>(a) Hanson, 1913, 72

(b) Tegenfeldt, 1974, 33

(c) J.H, Green, *The Tribes of Upper Burma north of 24 latitude and their classification*, Typescript Dissertation, Haddan Library, Cambridge, 1935, p.19,20 (Henceforth: Green, 1935)

found and to be very different. In riverside regions, paddy was grown in rainy season and they met land growing system enabled them to live at the same place and to carry on growing. Irrigated system was used in regions with less rainfall. Therefore, the people who were in plains and river sides were found out to have used animals for transport and growing. Rice was found out to be plentiful other than necessity. In this way, Kachins realized the economical differences and gaps between hilly regions and plain region. When Kachin lived in hilly regions, Shans settled in plain regions and riversides and worked in the fields without necessary to more. Therefore Leach stated that:

In the Kachin Hills Area with very few exceptions, where ever there is a stretch of country suitable for wet-rice cultivation, we either find Shans or we find no one at all. Only as an exception do we find any of the Kachin peoples domiciled in the plains and valleys. And vice in localities suitable only for *Taung-ya* Cultivation we find either Kachins or no one at all.<sup>111</sup>

In Kachin traditional administrative system, there were altogether three basic types which were *Gumrawng Gumtsa*,<sup>112</sup> *Gumchying Gumsa* or Feudal System and *Gumlau* or anti-Feudal System. By these three system together with the chiefs of *Du*, *Magam*, *Agyi* and *Salang's* supervision, Kachins lived. Those traditional administrative systems were practiced from 1500 to 1900.<sup>113</sup> The establishment of those traditional administrative systems related to the structure of Kachin society. In Kachin society, *Thing-gaw* or family is the smallest and a village was also the narrowest in social affairs. In the south of Kachin State and

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<sup>111</sup>Leach, 1964, 37

<sup>112</sup>*Gumrawng* means liberty and *Gumtsa* means one hundred people, *Gumrawng Gumtsa* means people who have liberty

<sup>113</sup>Bunghku, 2004, 195

plain regions, village was called as *Ka-htawng* and *Ga*, or *Yang* in northern regions. A town was called '*Mare*,' the State '*Mung daw*' the country, '*Mung*'. Such *Mung* term was directly borrowed from the Shan *Mong*.<sup>114</sup>

The number of houses in a village called *Kahtawng* was not limited, some had only three houses and some had two to fifty houses. Villages are built at the top of the hills or mountains. The borders between villages were marked by streams, hill tops and big trees. The structures of villages were not the same from one place to another. Some villages were near enough to hear a call but some were far for two or three mountains apart. Mostly in one village dwelled one tribe, for example, *Marip Ga*, *Lahtaw Ga*, *N'hkum Ga*, *Maran Ga*. As there were villages that followed the name of the tribes, there also were governing chiefs of each tribe such as *Marip Du*, *Lahtaw Du*, *N'hkum Du* and *Maran Du*.<sup>115</sup> After combing small villages, there became villages or towns and they were called *Mare*. Each village of village groups was owned by each tribe, sometimes there were other tribes included there. Those village groups were combined to be an estate called *Mung*. Those such villages, according to the administrative power possession system of Kachins, had three different administrative systems and there also became the chiefs. They were *Du-was* of *Gumchying Gumsa* system, *Magam* in *Gumrawng Gumtsa* , and chiefs of *Gumlau* was *Agyi, Salang*.

Among the three administrative system, the most ancient was *Gumrawng Gumtsa* system in which *Magam* chief was elected by the public. That system was practised upper Putao Region of Hpatkha stream, Machanbaw, Nogmon, Khawbode of northern Myanmar by Rawang tribes, Lisu villages and Duleng Jinghpaw villages between Htingnan and Hpatkha stream.<sup>116</sup> There were chiefs in every village that system, the ruling power was not in the hand of a certain person

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<sup>114</sup>Leach, 1964, 121

<sup>115</sup>Hanson, 1913, 61

<sup>116</sup>Naw Awn, 1985, 95

or tribe but in the hands of the public or the villagers. In such villages, a person who could lead in social, peaceful and legal affairs became automatically the chief or *Magam* and he would survive as a *Magam* as long as he got the villagers' trust and respect or else he would be left out. Therefore, when there was a vacancy for a *Magam*, in the case of being left out or death, the villagers found another person with the abilities mentioned above.<sup>117</sup>

The rank of *Magam* was not for the descendents. Sometimes, there were no *Magams* in a village for three or four years. In such times, villagers of knowledge together carried out the village affairs. In such villages, the growing sites were in the hands of first settlers' tribe leaders and they were called Lamu *Ga Madu ni* or landowners. Those lands were inherited by the eldest sons. If a village was established by Marip tribe, the village was named Marip *Ga* and all the area was possessed by Marip tribe. Other tribes who lived in that village had to ask the land to grow from the land owner, the eldest son of the Marip tribe.<sup>118</sup> In asking, presents such as gongs, necklaces and unstitched *Taung-she Pa-so* were offered to the landowner. And in return, the landowner gave the person back a match or a *dah* or an axe as mark of permission. Since then, the person who asked the land could grow eternally and ancestral. But the landowner could not get the tax from the villagers. But permission of the landowner was necessary if a villager wanted to change the land to another. So there was no landowner and tenant system.

According to *Gumrawng Gumtsa* System, though it was said that the landowner was not concerned with the administration, sometimes in some villages, the landowner is *Magam*. Therefore, the notable facts about this system were:

1. The administrative power was in the hands of the villages.
2. There were no class difference administration and land possession.
3. No ruling upon villages according to land possession and unfairness.

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<sup>117</sup>Leach, 1964, 206

<sup>118</sup>Branghpa Collections

In later *Gumchying Gumtsa* or Feudal System, the powerful men are *Du-wa* Chiefs. They made *Mare Agyi* or *Mare Salang* or the village headman and *Ramma-ning-baw* or the youth leader as their attendants and administer the peace and restoration of the village. This system was assumed to have derived from *Gumrawng Gumtsa* system. In other words *Magams* became *Duwas*. This change was assumed to have changed and adopted the administrative system of the nearby tribes especially the Chinese and Shans. It was because the *Gumsa* chiefs were named the Chinese word '*Zau*', and Shan word '*Hkun*' from Shan *Saw-bwas* as imitations.<sup>119</sup>

Unlike Myanmar kings, the feudal system of Kachin hills had many *Du-wa* or rulers. Each of them administered his own fixed estate according to his own law. The areas differed the terms of the areas also differed.<sup>120</sup> *Gumsa* chiefs classified their estate according to the area and power. They are :

1. *N'kawn Sha Du-wa* - who got the tax from his people.
2. *N'kawn N'sha ai Du-wa* - who did not get tax from his people.<sup>121</sup>

The *Gumsa Du-was* accepted themselves as the most powerful masters in their estate and their possessions were inherited by their descendents. In this acceptance, they changed taxation upon their fellow villagers. In this way, the honoured *Du-wa* stood as an except class in their estate. It was the system of inheritance with the power given by God and Good luck. They chanced to get a leg of any four-legged animal of other tribe villagers, except from the same tribes, killed for propitiating or from hunting. Moreover, the villagers had to volunteer in growing the *Du-wa*'s fields or *Taungya*.<sup>122</sup> That charge was not necessary to be paid by *Du-wa* but he had the chance to get the paddy and crops from every

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<sup>119</sup>Naw Awn, 1985, 99

<sup>120</sup>Leach, 1964, 114

<sup>121</sup>Branghpa Collections

<sup>122</sup>Leach, 1964, 206

household as an annual present. Such *Du-was* were called taxed *Du-was* or a thigh eating *Du-was*. Their possessions, which came from the villages, became plentiful and his house became one like the rice barn.

The Kachin chiefs political authority is based on his ability to preserve the prosperity of his domain by making sacrifices to the sky spirit, *Madai Nat* and to the earth spirit, *Shadip Nat*. He has this ability by virtue of his descent from a remote clan ancestor. This ritual power is inherited automatically only by the youngest son of a thigh-eating chief. It can pass to another line-only if the eldest son makes a ritual purchase from the youngest son. Chiefs are concerned to establish their legitimacy as members of a 'youngest son lineage' and also to establish their seniority relative to other chiefs over a wide area. In the hearth of the Kachin area, the Traingle, the political associations of an important chief can be very numerous, consequently chiefly genealogies in this region are very long, in fringe areas such as North Hsenwi and Hukawng Valley, a chief's Jinghpaw political associates are fewer in number and his genealogy correspondingly less extensive.<sup>123</sup>

Every Kachin chief is prepared to trace his descent back to Ninggawn Wa, the Creator. To do this some groups are prepared to put forward genealogies of forty or more generation. Kachin genealogies are maintained almost exclusively for structure reason and have no value at all as evidence of historical fact.<sup>124</sup> A Kachin will usually talk about a local group of Kinfolk from its lineage rather than from its family aspect. People of the same lineage, may be described as 'brother' , kahpu-kanau ni, or as the same 'sort' , amy, or of the same 'branch' , *lakung*, or of the same 'health' , *dap*.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Leach, 1964, 127

<sup>124</sup> Leach, 1964, 122

<sup>125</sup> Tegenfeldt, 1974, 26

In most matters, *Du-wa's* political obligation are towards his domain chief, *Mung Du-wa* who is usually of quite different clan to himself. His obligations towards this domain chief are essentially the due of a feudal tenant towards his Lord of the Manor. Where lineage matters are concerned, the village headman owes deference not to his own territorial chief but the '*Uma du*' who is head of the youngest son branch of his own lineage, and through him to one or more further '*Uma du*', geographically even more remote. The retention of lineage affiliation serves as a check upon the powers of the local territorial chief.<sup>126</sup> Such a thigh eating *Du-was* were the inheritances in *Gumsa* system. So, in *Gumsa* system, the *Du-wa* and his tribe were governing class. For example, Lahpai tribes were the governors in the estates where Lahpai *Du-wa* ruled and the other tribes were ruled by them.

The members of a village are likely to belong to a number of different patrilineages, but one of these lineages own the village. The headman of the village is always a member of the lineage owning it. Usually the name of the village indicates the lineage the owners, e.g. Pasi *Ga* is owned by the Pasi lineage; '*Laga Kahtawng*' is owned by the '*Laga*' lineage, etc.<sup>127</sup> *Kahtawng* strictly speaking denotes the buildings of a village '*Ga*' the land which it controls, but the concepts seem almost identical. '*Kahtawng*' is normal usage in the south, '*Ga*' in the north. The political relationship between the component villages of a village cluster is virtually homologous to the relations that exist between the lineage groups of a single village.

In other words, *Gumsa* system could be called a clan administration system. In some small villages even the *Agyi* was got the *Du-wa* title with the background of their tribe. Some senior a thigh eating *Du-was* gave the strangers the free land of their estate the chance to live and set up the village and made them junior *Du-*

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<sup>126</sup>Leach, 1964, 130

<sup>127</sup>Leach, 1964, 116

*wa* or the village headmen. But they did not have the chance to a thing eating. Though they were acknowledged as junior *Du-was*, they did not have the chance to get annual present of crops and free volunteership. They were called *Du-was* who did not get tax or *N'kawn N'sha ai Du-wa*.

The *Gumsa Du-was* did not build their houses and live separately from his people, like the Myanmar kings and their palaces and the Shan *Saw-bwas* and their *Hawnans*. But *Kansi* or *Ginsi Du-wa* of *Pharkant* region and *Sinli Du-wa* of *South Bhamo*, like Myanmar Shans, built strong palaces and lived.<sup>128</sup> The houses of *Kachin Du-was* were not separated apart from the villagers but they were built to differ from the ordinary people's houses. Presents must be given to a concerning *Du-wa* when one went across his estate. Chinese merchants who used to travel with located mules and they such especially got *Du-wa's* guard by giving presents within his estate. In these cases, silver or paddy or something which was economically valuable was used as presents. The incidents of travelling without giving presents, were found in *Gauri* of *Sinlum* during 1850 and 1870 and in north *Hsenwi* and other regions in 1890s.<sup>129</sup>

In *Gumsa* administrative system, the *Du-wa's* getting authority was concerned with *Kachin's* traditional beliefs. For the *Kachins* who grew the shifting *Taungya*, *Taungya* agriculture was the most important for their living. According to their belief, for the purpose of good fertilization and well production of their *Taungya*, it is necessary to propitiate the *Madai Nat* who ruled rain and the *Shadip* who ruled the earth. But the villagers had neither the chance to propitiate by themselves nor the fees to use. These propitiate were only for *Du-was*, only they had the chance. Even in *Du-was*, A thigh eating *Du-was* only could propitiate these gods and could pay the cost. According to such belief, the villagers had to rely on *Du-was* for the proper production of their *Taungyas*, the administrative

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<sup>128</sup>Leach, 1964, 122

<sup>129</sup>Leach, 1964, 188



power of *Du-was* was strong and survived.<sup>130</sup> In *Gumsa* system, though there was no blood relationship between *Du-was* and ordinary people, sometimes, they gave their daughter's hand to a person who was found out to be brave and popular enough to revolt against him, with the purpose of persuasion. Moreover, to strengthen their power, the ones who were clever at war were married with their daughters and made leaders of war.<sup>131</sup> *Gumsa Du-was* married within Kachin *Du-was* themselves. They also were in alliance with Shan *Saw-bwas* by giving their daughters. In round about 1800, Mong Maw *Saw-bwa* Hkam Yu Yung gave his widowed mother to Kachin Hkawng Hsung *Du-wa* together with a paddy field as a wedding present to alliance with Kachins.<sup>132</sup> As a result, the Kachin chief's wore the great oath that he would come to help of her and her children's children for all generations.<sup>133</sup>

So the relationship of Kachin and Shan *Saw-bwa* relied on each other. Kachins lived on hills and Shans lived on plains. Therefore their economy, naturally, are reciprocal. Kachins guarded Shans who did irrigated agriculture in riversides from their external enemies and got paddy as present in return.<sup>134</sup> So, whoever came to attack the lowland villages must be faced with Kachin *Du-wa*.<sup>135</sup> Moreover, Kachin gave Shans an estate to live and made them pay annual paddy present. Paddy present, in Kachin's view, was the same as a thigh eating present. *Gumsa* ideology represents society as a large-scale feudal state. It is a system which implied a ranked hierarchy of the social world, it also implies large-scale political integration.

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<sup>130</sup> C, Gildhodes, *The Kachin: Religion and Mythology*, Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press, 1922, p. 79, 81 ( Henceforth, Gildhodes, 1922)

<sup>131</sup> Naw Awn, 1985, 70

<sup>132</sup> Leach, 1964, 220

<sup>133</sup> Leach, 1964, 220

<sup>134</sup> Tegenfeldt, 1974, 41

<sup>135</sup> Leach, 1964, 187

It seems that reached one explanation of why the attempts by *Gumsa* Kachin chiefs to turn themselves into Shan princes have always ended in disaster. There are plenty of quite well documented instances, the Pyisa chief in Assam around 1825, the Daihpa *Du-wa* in the Hukawng in 1835, the Gauri *Du-was* of Mahtang in the period 1855-70, the Mong Si chief around 1885, the Kansi *Du-wa* for the years of 1870 or so. Daihpa Gam, the Kachin chief who made himself overlord of the Hukawng Valley in the 1830s and who was the only Jinghpaw to aspire to build a palace and be a king of his people, needed in 1837 to give taken of his submission to the Myanmar throne. He therefore married the widow of Myanmar Governor of Mogaung. The Kansi *Du-wa* who are Kachin overlords of the Jade mines area west of Kamaing have married Shan as well as Kachin wives. The Shan women are members of the family of the former *Saw-bwa* of Mōng Hkawn , Maingkwan, Hukawng Valley. Therefore these women are Haw Hseng Shan, their ancestors were rulers of Mogaung and overlords of all the Hkamti Shan States of the north-west. In these case of the Shan marriages seem to be maintained as a taken of loyalty to the former Mogaung throne from which the Kansi chiefs derived land title. The title Kansi is the Jinghpaw version of Hkamti.<sup>136</sup>

When the British took over eastern Assam in 1824, they found that the most influential Kachin chief was Pyisa Gam. He held a title from the Myanmar king and during the Myanmar regime in Assam had acquire, along with his fellow chiefs, a numbers of the Tangai lineage of the Tsasen clan but belonged to different sublineages namely Wahkyet, Sharaw, Hpung-in, Ning-krawp, Latao, Num-brawng, N'gaw, Ning-ru, Hkaw-tsu, Ga-sheng, Daipha, etc. As soon as the Myanmar withdrew from Assam, feuding broke out among these allied Tangai chiefs. Bitterness was intensified when the British deprived them of their slaves and later purloined all their best land for tea growing. Pyisa Gam was treated as

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<sup>136</sup>Leach, 1964, 220

paramount chief by the British and thereby forfeited the allegiance of all his fellow Kachins. But by 1840 the British had come to the conclusion that it was unnecessary to patronize the Kachins any longer and withdrew their support of the Pyisa chief as paramount. Soon after the imprisonment, he died in an Assam jail, having been imprisoned for life for attempted insurrection.<sup>137</sup>

Daihpā Gam was a distant lineage brother of Pyisa Gam. These two were feudal chiefs became arch-enemies. When the British supported Pyisa Gam as paramount in Assam, the rest of the Tangai lineage transferred their support to Daihpā. He was extremely successful. By 1837 he had visited Inwa, been loaded with presents and titles from the Myanmar king and negotiated on frontier problems with British emissaries. But at home in the Hukawng Valley, he had to fight his own relatives in a *Gumlau* revolt. He maintained his power for a while with aid of Myanmar troops that as soon as there withdrawn, sometime around 1842, ceased to be of any significance.<sup>138</sup>

In the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century much of trade between Myanmar and China went by boat to Bhamo and thence to Mōng Myen. The chiefs through whose territory this traffic passed profited greatly by toll charges. The route which from time immemorial constituted the grand highway between China and Myanmar passed through the Kachin centre of Loilung which was in the domain of Gauri Lahpai chiefs of the Aura lineage. These chiefs flourished exceedingly and gave their domain the Shan title of Mong Hka, assuming the household lineage name of Mung-ga. In 1868 the senior chief was living at Mahtang about 4 miles to the east. Loilung was ruled by the Mahtang chief's elder brother. Mahtang and Loilung are described by Anderson as the two most thriving Kachin villages he had seen. At Mahtang, the chief's house although built after the plan prevalent

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<sup>137</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 41-42

<sup>138</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 43,52

in these hills in enclosed by a substantial stone and brick wall with a very Chinese looking gateway.<sup>139</sup>

In the struggle for the control of the large Shan State of Hsenwi which were a prominent feature of the Myanmar history between 1846 and 1887, the rival Shan factions all had their Kachin supporters. The Kachin *Du-wa* of Mong Si were consistent supporters of the legitimate *Saw-bwa*, Hseng Naw Hpa. When the British took over a population of some 12,000 persons including 100 Kachin, 20 Shan, 15 Palaung and 12 Chinese Villages. The domain was divided into several sub-territories each of which was ruled by a Kachin *Du-wa*, a relative of the *Myo-sa*. Under the British dispensation it was an enemy of Naw Hpa that came to the throne of North Hsenwi and the British refused to countenance the idea of Kachin chiefs ruling over Shans.<sup>140</sup> The Kansai *Du-wa*'s lineage clearly came to power through the fact that they held a recognized title over the land from which jade is obtained westward of Kamaing. Through all the Myanmar history during the past century and a half nothing seems to have seriously damaged the jade trade and the Kansai *Du-wa* still draws his royalties.<sup>141</sup>

*Gumsa Du-was* made the governing system as a clan administrative system and made unfair taxation upon their villagers and dealt with the villagers as their slaves, the ordinary villagers became against them and revolted. *Gumlau* or anti-feudal system was the system which was the result of the revolt to traditionally ruled *Du-was* and landowners. The revolt spread from north triangle regions to west Malikka during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some *Gumsa Du-was* fled to Hukawng Valley. Some *Du-was* gave in capitulated with the confession that they would never tax again and ask volunteer and set themselves as the same with ordinary class.<sup>142</sup> *Gumlau* is one of anarchic republicanism. Each man is as good

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<sup>139</sup>Leach, 1964, 224,22

<sup>140</sup>Leach, 1964, 225-226

<sup>141</sup>Hertz, 1960, 136-137

<sup>142</sup>Ma Nawng, 1977, 26

as his neighbours, there are no class differences, no chiefs, a protestant theory. Among the *Gumlau*, factionalism is rife, each little local unit is a political entity on its own.<sup>143</sup>

According to Kachins, their administrative system started from Hkin Du Yang of Triangle area. Ting Mai Sha *Du-wa* who ruled the Hkin Du Yang village asked much crops and the villagers in tolerated and planned to assassinate him. But the *Du-wa* dodged to Putao plain, to the rise of Malikha River, on the report of a child. His descendents were known as Dureng tribes. This Hkin Du Yang Village is still in triangle area and survived as a monument of revolting the administrative systems.<sup>144</sup>

More than half a century ago, a spirit of republicanism manifested in the unadministrated territory known as the Triangle and the west of the Malikha. Certain tribesmen who found the yoke of the *Du-wa* irksome and were impatient of control, declared themselves *Gumlau* or rebels, threw of their hereditary connection with the *Du-wa*, and settled themselves in solitary villagers of their own. *Gumlau* should have come into spontaneous existence as late as 1870 and as already noted the word *Gumlau* is mentioned even in an English source as early as 1828. Kawlu Ma Nawng recorded specifically relates to the *Gumlau* of the Hukawng Valley. The *Gumlau* of the Hukawng Valley area originated in a revolt by the N'Dup-Dumsa or blacksmith-priest lineage controls a large are in the northeast of the Hukawng Valley, they consider themselves *Gumlau* but their leaders have the power and status of chiefs, they do not eat thigh, they do not erect chief's house posts, they do not dig ditches round their graves, but they were treated as chiefs by the Myanmar authorities as early as 1820 and were consistently referred to as chief by the British travels of the 1830s and by the British Administrators who finally took control of the area a century later.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 41

<sup>144</sup>Sumlut Gam, 1982, 220,222

<sup>145</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 26,39

The *Gumlau* area which was regarded as the *Gumlau* movement by the English writers of the 1890s was that of the Triangle which includes the domains of Sagri Bum and N'Gum La. This area supposed to have become *Gumlau* for the first time around 1870, though another authority gives the specific date of 1858. The story, as recorded in the 1890s, was that Maran Khawle, apparently a minor lineage head of N'Gum La, killed Naw Pe, chief of N'Gum La. The clan and lineage of the latter are not stated. Simultaneously La-bu Shawn, another commoner, killed the chief of Sumhpawng Bum, a Lahpai. Sumhka Sinwa of Sagri Bum and another neighbouring chiefs there upon agreed to abandon all their chiefly privileges and to assume the title of *A-gyi* in place of *Du-wa*.<sup>146</sup>

In all three administrative systems of Kachin, the rulers and rich people bought and owned slaves. Especially, *Du, Magam* of Gumchying *Gumsa* used slaves in administration, politics, warfare, economy and agricultural works.<sup>147</sup> They did slave trade and attacking wars with the force of slaves. Slave system started in Kachin society in about 1500 and the main factors are found out to be as follows:

1. Capturing the losers of the battle as slaves
2. Becoming slave from the debt to pay
3. Capturing the strangers for slaves
4. Making the persons who bewitched
5. Capturing the person who assaulted the wife or children of *Du-wa*
6. Slaving the orphans<sup>148</sup>

There were attacks between Kachin *Du-was* themselves for the reasons of extension their territory, invading or the affairs of their children. At such times, the winners made the losers as slaves. In the battles with other tribes for invasion, the

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<sup>146</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 26,39

<sup>147</sup>(a) Tegenfeldt, 1974, 37

(b) Brang Di, 1996, 41

<sup>148</sup>Naw Awn, 1985, 68

losers also were captured as slaves. In making other tribes as slaves, there included Shan, Chin, Naga, Wa, Palaung and Assamese and Assamese were mostly made victing of slave trade. This was found mostly during the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Hukawng Kachins participated in the First. Anglo-Myanmar War of 1824 and they captured Assamese from Assam as slaves.<sup>149</sup> Those Assamese slaves became the main supports in Hukawng Kachin's agricultural works. Some were sold again to triangle regions and from their long service under *Du-was*, they came to use Kachin tradition and language and changed as Kachins.<sup>150</sup> Therefore Assam, Singpho-Kachin of Hukawng Valley and British firstly communicated during 1824 and 1837. At that time Singpho enslaved many Assamese and sold them in Myanmar via Hukawng and some were sold to Shans and Myanmar.<sup>151</sup> Therefore, English records of 1868 had the seeing of some Assamese slaves in Bhamo Region.

Six thousand Kachin soldiers were included when Myanmar marched to Assam Manipu in 1818. Moreover, in 1824-25, after Myanmar's retreat from Assam, those who continued attack were the Kachins. Those Kachins possessed many slaves and used them in fighting. British seemed to find ways to demolish the strength of *Du-was* and at that time, according to the act of abolishing slaves,<sup>152</sup> they planned to free the Kachin's slaves. And in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Captain Neufville freed 3000 slaves of Kachin *Du-was*. And 6000 slaves were freed again according to the British-Singpho Agreement of 1826 after the first Anglo-Myanmar War.<sup>153</sup> The fees for the freedom of these slaves were paid by British to Kachin *Du-was* and Kachin *Du, Magam* were greatly hurt by this act.

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<sup>149</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 41,45

<sup>150</sup>Leach, 1964, 294

<sup>151</sup>Leach, 1964, 294

<sup>152</sup>Slavery Abolition Act, 1833

<sup>153</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 43

Military force lessened and their power declined. The freed slaves of triangle regions did not return to their natives and continued living there. Such people are called Poi Law and their villages were called Poi Law Kahtawng. Moreover, the slaves of Hukawng valley did not ask for permission to return their natives from British.<sup>154</sup>

Standing the slave system of Kachin, the class of people was found and to have been divided basing in the administrative system. They were:

1. *Du, Magam* or the ruling class
2. *Darat Daroi* or ordinary class
3. *Su Rawng* or the class born from ordinary class father and slave mother
4. *Mayam*<sup>155</sup> or slave class

There were two kinds of slaves Kachin society,<sup>156</sup> *Ngawng Mayam* and *Timung Mayam*. *Ngawng Mayam* was the slave who did not live together with *Du-was* but had to serve outside works. They possessed their own houses and properties and had to give heavy tax to *Du-was*. Half of whatever produced from their production and half of their children's dowry were given as tax to *Du-was*. Dowry was the brutal present given from the bridegroom's side to the bride's side. *Timung Mayam* lived in the same house with *Du-was* and did necessary household works. They did not need to pay tax like *Ngawng Mayam*.

Their owner *Du-was* had the responsibility for their food, clothing, dwelling etc.<sup>157</sup> Therefore, Leach commented about Kachin's slave system as follows:

Kachin *Gumsa* theory is almost inconsistent with Kachin practice. The Kachin theory is the inconsistencies in actual behaviour effect the total

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<sup>154</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 44

<sup>155</sup>Kachins call slaves

<sup>156</sup>Naw Awn, 1985, 68

<sup>157</sup>Brang Di, 1996, 19



social structure. In theory, rank depends strictly upon birth status, all legal rules are framed as if the hierarchy of aristocrats, commoners and slaves had a caste. In Kachin theory rank is an attribute of lineage and every individual acquires which he happens to be born. Kachin slaves would appear that in the pre-British days, were classed as Mayam (slaves). All slaves were owned by the chief or village headmen. In most cases the status of slave amounted to that of permanent debtor. The slave might be in debt bondage to his master, but he also had claims on his master. His overall position resembled that of an adopted son or bastard of the chief, or a poor son-in-law working to earn his bride. The slave though reckoned to be the lowest social stratum stood nearer to the chief than the members of any over named class. The chief disposed of the marriages of his slaves just as he did those of his real children. Where slave married slave, the children were slaves to the father's master.<sup>158</sup>

In conclusion, Kachins, before colonial period, lived in the hilly regions of north, northeast and northwest of Myanmar in small tribal villages. They made their living by shifting *Taung-ya* cultivation. Kachins were guessed to have entered Myanmar about 1<sup>st</sup> century and lived in Putao plains. From there, they also lived in triangle areas between N'maikha and Malikha rivers, to the south. Nearly all Kachin estates were under the rule of Nan Chao during 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century. Under Nan Chao's power, Kachins served in the army, fighting. They settled town at their present estates, Mohnyin, Mogaung, Bhamo, Myitkyina, Sinbo, north Hsenwi, Katha and Yunan of China. Kachins who lived in plains, at that time, made their living as professional soldiers of Shan *Saw-bwas*. Since they had lived in the hilly triangle areas, Kachins lived and ruled according to their own rules within their tribes. According to their tradition, they had practiced three kinds of administrative systems. Since the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century there appeared the system of *Gumlau*, the revolt of ordinary people to the traditionally ruled *Gumsa Du-wa*. But only *Gumsa* system was practiced for many years. Because of the *Gumlau* revolt,

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<sup>158</sup>Leach, 1964, 160,161

political concepts and administrative systems within Kachins differed. Some *Gumsa Du-wa* of triangle area were found to have reached Hukawng and Assam. However, *Gumsa* system only was practised as the most practical Kachin traditional administrative system till 1960. All of Kachins political and administrative policies were based on the *Gumsa's* political concepts and ideas was found out that only *Gumsa Du-was* took the lead in Kachin's political, martial economical and social progress.

## CHAPTER TWO

### KACHIN UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

**T**he British were not interested in states between Yunnan Province of China and India border where the Kachin people lived until they have conquered Upper Myanmar. Only Chinese merchants go there through the valley every year to make business about Jade. So the Chinese made Upper Myanmar as their merchandise state. Later the British understood it too and got interested in conquering Upper Myanmar became their main objective. At that time the Kachin people mainly lived in Northern State, North East and North West hills of Upper Myanmar.<sup>1</sup>

1885, November 28 is the day the British conqueror Mandalay and take King Thibaw as their prisoner to Yangon.<sup>2</sup> After the Mandalay fell in British hands, Upper Myanmar situation was change. The British General Prendergast quickly marched to Bhamo about to after conquering Mandalay. Due to the defence of Saw Yan Naing and Kachin forces at Sinkan and Sawaddi, the General Prendergast and its troops could not come to Bhamo at 28 December.<sup>3</sup> During that time the General Norman and Major Cooke already conquered Bhamo at 28 December.<sup>4</sup> The General Norman sent his men to clear around the Bhamo and

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<sup>1</sup>Sir Charles Crosthwaite, *The Pacification of Burma*, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968, p.7 (Henceforth: Crosthwaite, 1968)

<sup>2</sup>(a)Woodman, 1962, 335

(b)Kyan, 1971, 23

<sup>3</sup>Woodman, 1962, 335

<sup>4</sup> Dawson, 1960, 21

make defense camp. At 1 January 1886 year, the British declared that Myanmar is now under British India Emperor.<sup>5</sup> At that day, General Norman ordered his army to conquer more places around Bhamo from Loanja to Laudan villages.<sup>6</sup> At administration roles, Major Cooke became the first Bhamo Deputy and began their governing duties.<sup>7</sup> During that time Kachin *Du-was* were in charge of the east state of Bhamo. Among them, Mahtang *Du-wa* was the most powerful. He ever closed the between his state and China from Myanmar merchants caused he's afraid of marching of British army.

In February 1886, Major Main Warring of Captain Wax who camped in Bhamo of Sawaddi marched together with Major Cooke for first time by water and land passing through Sinbo Hukat road to Mogaung. In marching, Hpunggan *Du-wa* defended them from Shawngtawk and Captain Wax and other sergeant was injured pulled back to Bhamo by water way. The British wants to conquer Bhamo then Mogaung after conquering Upper Myanmar. They thought that would be easy to win. But they experience more and more defense after trying to conquer more state. Except Bhamo, other states were not easy to conquer for one time and they use more forces get.<sup>8</sup>

In March 1886, Major Cooke marched again to Mogaung and reached. He gave *Myo-ôk* Maung Kala who had been *Myo-ôk* during Myanmar King. Also Maung Shwe Kyar and Mg Sein as usual the position of *Narkhan*. Then they went west back to Bhamo. After Major Cooke return, Maung Kala was assassinated in May.<sup>9</sup> The Mogaung citizens did not account to live under British command.

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<sup>5</sup>Crosthwaite, 1968, 7

<sup>6</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 332

<sup>7</sup>Dawson, 1960, 21

<sup>8</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 332

<sup>9</sup> Hertz, 1960, 25

Assassination of Maung Kala by anti-colonialist indicates did not want to live under British command and the people who become British slaves.

The Kachin took advantage of Major Cooke marching to Mogaung and attacked Sawaddi camp at south of Bhamo due to weak city patrol in Bhamo. The leader was Hpunggan *Du-wa* was in that attack.<sup>10</sup> The Bhamo Deputy ordered to Hpunggan *Du-wa* about the attack of Sawaddi but he did not come. So in 19 April 1886, Major Cooke and his forces marched to destroy Hpunggan Kachin. The troops led by Major Cooke conquered Shawngtawk at base of the road to Hpunggan Village and then marched to Katran Village in 12 April.<sup>11</sup> During marching due to the defense of Hpunggan Kachin, the British officer Captain Wax, Captain Lyle, and other five soldiers were injured and fell back to Mansi.<sup>12</sup> During camping in Mansi, the Kachin people frequently came to attack. The British camps also put the Shawng-tawk and other two Kachin villages on fire.<sup>13</sup> The British began to force to conquer as they had not succeeded diplomatically.

On 22 May 1886, the British troops in Mansi marched again to Katran.<sup>14</sup> At that time; Hpunggan *Du-wa* Bulung gathered 1000 soldiers and defended the British troops at place four miles far from Mansi Village. The two sides lost forces equally and the Kachin people fell back to Hpunggan Village.<sup>15</sup> The British forces fell back to Panyawng. During 1886, the British troops around Bhamo were

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<sup>10</sup>(a) Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 333

(b) Kyan, 1971, 175

<sup>11</sup>Dawson, 1960, 22

<sup>12</sup>Kyan, 1971, 176

<sup>13</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 332

<sup>14</sup>Kyan, 1971, 176

<sup>15</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 333

attacked frequently.<sup>16</sup> The British only faced with Kachin forces during 1886. The administration plans that the British have planned were made difficult by Kachin people. The power of Chinese was how and the border situation was unknown. At that situation, firstly faced only Kachin forces. The Shan villagers were protected by hill people, the Kachin.

The British were not enter Myothit and Sinkan which were near Bhamo. At that time the Sinkan was full of Kara Kachin people. The Lahtawng Kachin from Palok Village frequently attacked that state.<sup>17</sup> By looking at the rest, except inside Bhamo, other places were in chaos. On 14 November 1886, the Shan, Kachin and Chinese people attacked the British forces in Bhamo. But they were to retreat because of outnumbered weapons. In that battle, three Sepoys soldiers from British forces and five soldiers from defenders were lost.<sup>18</sup> So during 1887, in return to the attack of Kachin around the plains of Bhamo, so many sacrifices were done. But could not reach to mountain states. Moreover, the British were afraid of Hpunggan *Du-wa* and make camping in villages where they thought there would be defenders. There was force with 200 soldiers camping on Mansi near the base of the road to Hpunggan *Du-wa* Village. In Shwegu, a Myanmar *Myo-ôk* was given *Myo-ôk* and filled more fourty soldiers as city guard. The punishment system was first started. After defeating state around Bhamo, the *Du-wa* who went to British was Mahtang *Du-wa*.<sup>19</sup> Mahtang *Du-wa* was also powerful on the road to China Embassy.

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<sup>16</sup> Dakkasu Htoisan, *Kachin Toe-ei English Nè-che San-kyin-ye Taik-pwe* (Kachin Nationalist's Anti-imperialist Campaigns), May Offset, Yangon, 2002, p.11 (Henceforth: Htoisan, 2002)

<sup>17</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 334

<sup>18</sup> Dawson, 1960, 22

<sup>19</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 334

Later after Maung Kala was assassinated in Mogaung, the British sent Maung Tun Kywe from Bhamo as Mogaung *Myo-ôk*. And the son of Maung Kala, Maung Po Saw as *Nar-khan* which was Maung Sein place. The people of Mogaung didn't like the ones placed by British, so Maung Tun Kywe run from Mogaung to Sinbo. Mogaung people elected Maung Po Saw as *Myo-ôk*, then in September 1886, the British also selected Maung Po Saw as *Myo-ôk* and ordered Maung Tun Kywe to Bhamo.<sup>20</sup> After that Mogaung was ruled by Maung Po Saw as *Myo-ôk*, *Nar-khan* as Mg Shwe Kyar and Maung Kyae, and the clerk as Maung Kyu. Later Maung Shwe Kyar the *Nar-khan* quit and ruled with only one *Myo-ôk* and *Nar-khan*.<sup>21</sup> *Myo-ôk* Maung Po Saw was said to be ruled under British command but he was not fully under British command and became opposite. Mogaung was not to be under British. It seems that the British only use the former officers in their position and first then their people.

In Mongmit, Hkam Leng<sup>22</sup> asked the British the place of Mongmit *Saw-bwa*, the British denied Hkam Leng's offer and made him as revolution on October 1887. Hkam Leng was able to stand by the help of Kachin. So the British attacked the village of Lwe-saing and Dung Hkung<sup>23</sup> which were Kachin villages and helped Hkam Leng and were defeated. In November 1887, the deputy reached Si-u and Sikaw was made as center and a new state was made. So at that month, the British forces who camped in Si-in were attacked by Kachin forces from Sare Village. They also recaptured the villages which were under British. A battle occurred in Chyetaw Jipa because the British returned with 100 soldiers and two cannons. The British burnt and destroyed four Kachin Villages.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Dawson, 1960, 22

<sup>21</sup>Hertz, 1960, 28

<sup>22</sup>Kan Hlaing

<sup>23</sup>Tonhan

<sup>24</sup> Dawson, 1960, 23

On 27 December 1887 a force led by Captain Triscott and the Major Adamson as political officer left from Bhamo to capture Mogaung.<sup>25</sup> When they reached Sinbo, Major Adamson, the Bhamo Deputy talked with Maung Po Saw at Sinbo and ordered to Kachin *Du-wa* to come to Mogaung along with the rations.<sup>26</sup> The British forces captured Hukat and reached Mogaung on 14 January 1888. All the officers came to meet Major Adamson except Maung Po Saw and run away.<sup>27</sup> Then he joined with the Kachin *Du-was*. The Kachin called Maung Po Saw as Mogaung Zau Gam.<sup>28</sup> The British searched and attacked Maung Po Saw ever since 1888.<sup>29</sup> During that mission, a battle occurred in Moknaung Village. At that battle, although the Kachin attacked from side of Maung Po Saw, his trusted person Bo Ti along with Kachin. They were captured to Bhamo and were prisoned. As for the place of *Myo-ôk* position in Mogaung, Maung Po Mya the cousin brother of Maung Po Saw.<sup>30</sup> The British had already started the ruling plans of Mogaung when they left the Bhamo.

After capturing Mogaung, in 1888, early February the political officer and Bhamo Deputy Major Adamson and Captain Triscott led the forces and marched into the jade mines area. On 10 February 1888, they met with *Du-wa* Kansi Naung, the chief in jade mines area and had a deal.<sup>31</sup> At that meeting, not only *Du-wa*

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<sup>25</sup>Hertz, 1960, 27

<sup>26</sup>Crosthwaite, 1968, 239

<sup>27</sup>Hertz, 1960, 27

<sup>28</sup>Maran Bawk Lar, *Sama Du-wa Sin War Nawng A-thu Pa-ti (Biography of Sama Du-wa Sin War Nawng)*, Yangon, Nay Yi Yi Press, December 1980, p.23 (Henceforth: Bawk Lar, 1980)

<sup>29</sup>U Tin Maung Yin, "A-htet Myanmar Naing-ngan ko British-to Thein-yu-pyi-nauk Taung-tan-day-tha-mye ko Thein-thwin Khae-pon " (After annexation of Upper Myanmar by the British, how hilly regions were occupied), *Literature and Social-science Journal*, Vol.II, No.3, September 1969, p.49 (Henceforth: Tin Maung Yin, 1969)

<sup>30</sup>Hertz, 1960, 28

<sup>31</sup> Hertz, 1960, 135



Kansi Nawng, Kansi La, and other twelve *Du-was* also came.<sup>32</sup> From that day on the Kansi<sup>33</sup> State was under British's hand. On capturing the Upper Myanmar, the capturing of the state that had gems was one of their main objectives. So after capturing of Mandalay, later Bhamo, and then Mogaung and then the place that had business about gems were quickly captured.

There was no attack during marching into jade mines area, but on the return from Kamaing to Mogaung, the British were attacked by the force of Maung Po Saw and other Kachin *Du-wa*. That *Du-was* were Sama *Du-wa* and Pungkaw *Du-wa*. The Pungkaw *Du-wa* was most helpful during this combined attack. So in order to defeat the Pungkaw *Du-wa*, the British army marched to Pungkaw Village on 17 February 1888. The force was about 140 soldiers and they were led by Lieut. O'Donnel along with Mogaung inspector Mr. Twoney and Dr Paul. On marching on their way to Pungkaw Village, they were attacked by Pungkaw *Du-wa* when they were camping near Nam Padaung Creek.<sup>34</sup> On 19 February, the British left forty soldiers as guards near Nam Padaung Creek and marched to nearest villages Taungsi, Ponga and Maru and attacked but the Kachin bravely defended so that the British were retreated. Then Col. Adamson ordered Maung Po Saw as wanted along with the reward Rs.1000. Mogaung was make sub-division and another Inspector was assigned to rule. A fort larger than Bhamo was built in Mogaung. The guards involved 350 soldiers and they were Military Police Battalion transferred from Bhamo. The Mogaung Military Police Battlion was ruled by Captain O'Donnel.<sup>35</sup> And so the British made their defense and administration at Bhamo and Mogaung, the business centres for Upper Myanmar. They used many forces in weapons, army and ruled. From that time on it seems that the revolution was done in any man or weapon and defended as best as they could. On 23 April

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<sup>32</sup>Crosthwaite, 1968, 255

<sup>33</sup>Ginsi or U-ru Tract

<sup>34</sup>Hoisan, 2002, 37

<sup>35</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 335

1888, a force led by Lt. O'Donnel and Captain Elioth marched to Taungbaw Village as they had information about Bo Ti living in South Azi Kachin Village and collecting forces, there is a furious battle occurred between British and Bo Ti with Kachin. At that battle, the revolutionist force was 200 in eighteen were lost and many were captured.<sup>36</sup> On that years, April Sana Lahtawng Kachin who lived in north east of Mogaung attacked the British camp which was now Myitkyina. On the south, at Sinbo, battles occurred between Magam *Du-wa* and the British. On 6 May, the Lama Marip tribe who lived on Lawngkan mountains around Sinbo came to Nampapa Village which was four miles from Sinbo. For Manau festival and those two villages fought against each other.<sup>37</sup> Because that fighting, the British marched into Nampapa and set camp. The Magam *Du-wa* attacked and destroyed that camp. Moreover, the British boats and ships which sailed in the river from Lachyumaw to Mogaung were frequently disturbed and destroyed.<sup>38</sup> After capturing Mogaung, the British were defended by *Du-wa* leading the Kachin who lived around Mogaung.

In the night of 20 May 1888, the British forces in Mogaung were attacked by guerrillas around the Mogaung.<sup>39</sup> Mogaung battle was the battle which the two sides fought furiously until 21 May. Lives of many anti-colonist were lost in that battle. During battle forty-nine anti-colonists were lost and the nine sepoy soldiers from British were lost and fifteen were injured.<sup>40</sup> 400 anti-colonists were involved in Mogaung battle and many of them were Uru Seywa, Kamaing and Shan people from Mogaung. Their leader was Bo Ti. Also Kachin and Myanmar

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<sup>36</sup>(a) Hertz, 1960, 32

(b) Crosthwaith, 1968, 261

<sup>37</sup>Hertz, 1960, 32-3

<sup>38</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 22

<sup>39</sup>Hertz, 1960, 33, 36

<sup>40</sup>Crosthwaith, 1968, 261

were involved.<sup>41</sup> Later death due to the injured wound, Mogaung battle lost 100 of anti-colonists. The Kachin *Du-wa* involved in Mogaung battle were Sama Gum Sengli, Kadung Seng, *Du-wa* Hpaukan Seng, Walaw Bum Tu, Hpunggan Zau Ba, Lcgyenhku Hka Du, Lahpai Hpau Gam, Hpunggan Ura Naw, Hpunggan Zau, Hkachyang Tu, Ure Gam, Numraw Zaw Htoi and so on who lived around the Mogaung.<sup>42</sup> After the Mogaung battle was over, the British dismissed all Myanmar Officers that they had assigned.

Ever since the battle of Mogaung was over, the roads to jade mines area were closed by Maung Po Saw and Lahpai Kachin *Du-wa*. Moreover Azi Kachin attacked and blocked between Moehnyin and Mogaung. So in the south of Mogaung, the Azi Kachin and in the north, the Lahpai Kachin were attacking, the British planned to punish the Kachin. But the British discovered that Mogaung forces was outnumbered compared with the revolutionists. There were only 500 soldiers when Mogaung battle occurred. So they planned to reinforce and planned to destroy the Kachin. At first, they had to penetrate the blockage around Mogaung. Moreover, the Chief Commissioner allowed them to reinforce and to build ten camps around Mogaung since October 1888.

The British planned to build and defense camps on the road to jade mines area on west *Irrawaddy*, around Mogaung and reinforced. Building camps in Kamaing and Mogaung was also penetrating the way to jade mines area. Camping in Nyaung Binda twenty-four miles from south of Mogaung was to defeat the Azi Kachin who supported Bo Ti and Po Saw. Camping in Indawgyi was to capture the states of Sama *Du-wa*. They planned to make them stronger by capturing Hukat, Patit and Sinbo.

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<sup>41</sup>Hertz, 1960, 32

<sup>42</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 32

After reinforcing and camping, they built strategies to give lesson the Kachin around Mogaung. In winter, 1888-89, the campaign began. The strategies plans are:

- (1) To suppress the Laphai tribe on the north of Mogaung
- (2) To suppress Azi tribe on south of Mogaung
- (3) To suppress Lahtawng tribe on north east of Mogaung
- (4) To suppress the Maran tribe on the west of Sinbo.

And they also declared this order.

The most important of the primitive expedition is that against the Lahpai tribe, a very powerful and influential one, the submission of which would probably lead to that of others and made the remaining expeditions unnecessary.<sup>43</sup>

All those strategies were directed by Sir George White and he directed the Military Police battalions in Mogaung.<sup>44</sup> Before marching and attacking they ordered the Sama *Du-wa*, Pungga *Du-wa* and other Kachin *Du-wa* to give up under Mogaung Deputy, to give the valuables lost by merchants because of Kachin people, and to give then Maung Po Saw and Bo Ti who were involved in case of Maung Shwe Kyar assassination.<sup>45</sup> And ordered Magam *Du-wa* to give debt for the in Nampapa and La-chyu-maw. They warned that there would be attack.<sup>46</sup> And so on the British used easy way and hard ways for the Kachin to become their subjects.

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<sup>43</sup>Hertz, 1960, 39

<sup>44</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 336

<sup>45</sup>Crosthwaite, 1968, 263, 264

<sup>46</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 336

On 8 January 1889, army led by Capt O'Donnel marched from Mogaung to attack the Sama where Laphai tribe lived on the North of Mogaung.<sup>47</sup> The force was fifty soldiers, 240 Military police and two cannons from No.2 Bengal Mountain Battery.<sup>48</sup> Kamaing was captured on 11 January and a battle occurred in Hudung on 30 January. The ten British soldiers were lost on that battle and the Hudung Villages was burned and destroyed along with 18,000 tins of crops. And a battle occurred between Hudung and Kamaing, and two Kachin were lost and injured.

And then they reached Tanai Stream on 18 February and reached Sama on 19 February. Battle occurred in that village. At this battle, each Captain O'Donnel and Mac Donald had small injury but Lieut. Haurker was died from injury. The Sama-laphai campaign ended on 9 March and then they returned to Mogaung.<sup>49</sup> During Sama-laphai camping, twenty-four villagers including all houses in each village in Sama *Du-wa* were destroyed along with 194,000 lbs of crops. Twenty-one man were lost from British.<sup>50</sup>

After defeating the Sama-laphai tribe, on 11 March 1889, an army led by Captain O'Donnel left from Mogaung and marched to North of Mogaung in order to attack the Azi Kachin. This marching was due to the attack of their troops on their way to jade mines area on May 1888, and because of connecting with Bo Ti. They first captured Nyaungbintha Village with no defenders which was the villages of Shan and Kachin. They built a foot in Nyaungbintha. On March 28,

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<sup>47</sup>Crosthwaite, 1968, 263, 264

<sup>48</sup>Hertz, 1960, 40

<sup>49</sup>(a) Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 337

(b) Hertz, 1960, 42, 46

<sup>50</sup>Hertz, 1960, 46

they destroyed the ten villages in surrounding places except Waranawng Village.<sup>51</sup> They didn't destroy Waranawng Village because they went under the British. On 1 April 1889, Captain O'Donnel marched again to north east of Mogaung in order to lesson Sama Lahtawng tribe. Their cause of attack was due to pirating around in Mogaung surroundings. That forces left on 1 April 1889, and they destroyed Sana Village on 4 April.<sup>52</sup> They build camps in state on the north and sixteen miles far from Sana Village, Maw Khan Village and on the west Auhkye Village.<sup>53</sup>

And on 15 April 1889, marched to attack the Magau *Du-wa* who were Maran tribes who lived in west of Sinbo. They said that the cause was due to attacking of Nampapa and La-chyu-maw on May 1888. There was defending on 20 April and there occurred battles and Magau, Lasha, Pinzon and Lwepun villages were destroyed and burnt. All those villages are gone after 26 April. The villages also involved in attacking La-chyu-maw, Kawaw, Assin and Kaching were destroyed,<sup>54</sup> too. On 1888-89, summer, the British army had already destroyed forty-six villages and burned 639 houses 509,000 lbs of crops were also destroyed. Seventeen soldiers were lost from the side of revolutions and four soldiers including one officer from British were lost and thirty-nine men were injured to death. Due to the campaigns, the British made a lot of profit.

Kamaing was captured and Military Police camp was opened. So the road to jade mines area was opened. In May 1889, not less than ninety-eight villages

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<sup>51</sup>(a) Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 337

(b) Hertz, 1960, 46, 47

(c) Crosthwaite, 1968, 266

<sup>52</sup>Hertz, 1960, 47

<sup>53</sup>Lawang Li, *Myit-kyi-na-myo Tha-maing* (History of Myitkyina), Hanson and Jinghpaw Kasa Press, Myitkyina, 1995, p.3 (Henceforth: Lawang Li, 1995)

<sup>54</sup>(a) Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 337

(b) Hertz, 1960, 47

under British. Except two villages from Sama, two small villages from Sinbo surroundings, all villages from Azi Laphai, total fourteen villages and *Du-wa* from Mogaung went under the British. Moreover Marip tribe from jade mines area were under the governing of *Du-wa* Kasi Nawng but Tsassen Kachin from Hukaung and villages with amber mines went under British.<sup>55</sup> For the war debt, they have to pay fine along with their armed weapons. There was twenty-two battles occurred in last campaigns and the British captured forty-three fortress of Kachin.

At that time in Bhamo, Hkam Leng was always patrolling from above Sinkan to Siu. He was supported by Lwesaing and Dunghkung Kachin. So the British army marched to attack them and battle occurred in Malang, twenty miles far from Si-u on 3 February 1889, and in that battle two mans from British and ten man were injured. All of their ration were also lost and they requested help to remaining troops in Bhamo and so on 6 February, sixty mans from Hampshire Army and 150 man from No.17 Bengal force and cannon troops were led by Captain Smith marching to Malang Village and battle occurred and one officers from British, four mans were lost and seventeen were injured.<sup>56</sup> At that month, Hpunggan *Du-wa* and Saw Yan Naing attacked the British camps in Si-kaw, Kyaw-gaung and Sawaddi.<sup>57</sup>

So, in order to defeat the Hpunggan *Du-wa*, on 15 April 1889, General Weasley along with Bhamo Deputy Mr.Shaw led the ways to attack. They marched with two forces and met a little defense capturing Hpunggan Village. They asked a lot of fine and weapons for war.<sup>58</sup> In May 1889, the Kachins attacked in Bhamo but they were weaken arms and twenty mans were lost so they retreat. In June, Kachin from Lwesaing Village and Dunghkung Village attacked and

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<sup>55</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 337, 338

<sup>56</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 338

<sup>57</sup>Dawson, 1960, 24

<sup>58</sup>Dawson, 1960, 24-5

captured British fort in Si-u. The British try to recapture Si-u but in doing so they lost twenty-one men and retreat.<sup>59</sup> In July, the British offered Dungkung and Lwesaing to give up but Kachins fell by attacking Si-kaw. The attacks also occurred with wood manufactures in Kaukwe. So the British Government ordered to attack Lwesaing and Dungkung and the marching began on December 1889, Hkam Leng and Lwesaing joined forces with Kachins from Dungkung and a battle occurred in Mole Village in Bhamo and in that battle the British lost fifty soldiers. The revolutionists had to retreat because their weapons were lacked. The British captured Lwesaing on 23 December 1889, and Dungkung on 24 December. The two villages were burned and destroyed and a fine of Rs.10 were ordered to give from each house. All villages which were connected with Hkam Leng were also destroyed. Lwesaing *Du-wa* and his followers were kept as political prisoners in Bhamo prison.<sup>60</sup> The British tortured the Kachins who help Saw-Yan Naing and Hkam Leng. In doing so they thought that Saw Yan Naing and Hkam Leng would leave from Kachin and the Kachin were not able to join with them and their forces would be broken. Between 1889-90, the British put more forces in Bhamo guard and kept patrolling in the east mountains and north east of Bhamo as much as they could<sup>61</sup>.

In May 1890, the British fort in Dungkung was attacked by Kachin and also in that year, the British army marched from Bhamo and Jelau was attacked in between Nam-un Village and Manghang Village leading by Manghang *Du-wa* and Laphai Naw Seng.<sup>62</sup> And then the army force led by Lt. Elliott along with Major Hobday, survey of India, Captain Blewitt, King's Royal Rifles attacked west of

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<sup>59</sup>Woodman, 1962, 352

<sup>60</sup>Dawson, 1960, 25

<sup>61</sup> From Colonel G.A. Stover, Commissioner of the North Division, to the chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, No.260-2, dated on 11 March 1890, Series No.1, Acc, No.2924, National Archives Department

<sup>62</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 34-5



Ayeyarwady. On 23 December 1890, they marched from Sinbo to Tingsa Punlum mountains where Lahpai tribes lived. There was no argument with the Kachin in that villages but small battle occurred with the Sana Lahtawng people in Kachaing Village. In the process of defeating, marching and capturing along the river *Irrawaddy*, they met with chief in Maingna, Kwitu and Shadan tribes. There was no battle occur although the tribes did not like them. And then they marched to eastern mountains and Maran tribes were captured. Their marching reached to Waingmaw and then went back to Talawgyi in March 1891. The British wanted to discover the east of *Irrawaddy* and their main purpose was to discover Sadon. But they were unable because of the attack by Shadan tribe. Their marching and discovering was to draw and make a map for their empire. So they draw a map for the places, where they have marched.<sup>63</sup> But the Kachins owned the important places about river, stream, lake and roads.

On 16 February 1891, the British marched to Sama Village. The marching was that they had information of attacking. In Mogaung because Po Saw and Sama *Du-wa* were also collecting forces. But where they reached to Sama Village, there were only followers and Po Saw and Sama *Du-wa* have run away.<sup>64</sup> During marching to Sama Village with O'Donnel, there was rebel occurred in Wuntho. So General Wesley ordered Captain O'Donnel to march to Taung-thone-lone. In April 1891, on first week, the marching was done by two formations. One was led by Captain O'Donnel to defeat Sama Village on their way to Taung-thone-lone. Another was led by Lt. Wilding to march from Indawgyi, the way the march was get passed near the camp where Po Saw was hiding. They captured everyone who

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<sup>63</sup>Hertz, 1960, 51-2

<sup>64</sup>Hertz, 1960, 50

have connected with Po Saw. But Po Saw was escaped and they burnt and destroyed Lana, Namkan, Namsai and Nawpwi villages.<sup>65</sup>

On early March 1891, the Kachins attacked the British military camp in Hudung. Hudung *Du-wa* was shot and killed and all villages who were in connection with revolutionary were burnt and destroyed. The Kachins who lived beside Bhamo the Kaukkwe River were defeated and persuaded on April 1891.<sup>66</sup> In 1891 the British was not able to govern safely for the Kachin Hill. The attacks they have performed in practical was only punishing in theory. Later that the British Government built rules. The rules were given local chiefs and tribes the certificate, and guns to give duties.<sup>67</sup> So they built rules about to have certificate for each of the leaders of the villages, and they have the right to do with their power and the British government appreciates it and to live good with all the wealth they get.

Between 1891-92, the British did campaigns on East and West of *Irrawaddy*. In the Kachin Hills east of *Irrawaddy*, there was getting of taxes, examining of guns and licensing and destroying guns done. In this campaign, all states have not defended except Sadon.<sup>68</sup> But a little local tribes went under British. They lived on the mountains near China borders. They frequently attacked the states where the British had captured.<sup>69</sup> So the British claimed a rule about punishing the Kachin State and also organized the Kachins to pay fees and to build their basic governing system which would be repaid for them.

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<sup>65</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 348-49

<sup>66</sup>Dawson, 1960, 25

<sup>67</sup>(a) Dawson, 1960, 26

(b) Hertz, 1960, 54

<sup>68</sup>Dawson, 1960, 26

<sup>69</sup>Hertz, 1960, 53

So in order to accomplish these rules, they marched with four columns and organized the places from Namhkam to Simkan which was North East of the Bhamo along the border in between 1891-92. Those columns were (1) *Irrawaddy* Column (2) North-Eastern Column (3) Eastern Column and (4) Sinkan Column.<sup>70</sup>

*Irrawaddy* column was to defeat the rebels in Sadon. On 23 December 1891, that column marched from Myitkyina. On 25 December, the column led by Major Yule marched from Waingmaw to Sadon. Those columns included more than 400 soldiers. On their marching, they were attacked at Tingri stream by Sadon Kachin with more than 100 soldiers in forces. So the British reached with difficulty to Sadon on 30 January 1892. Two columns were involved in attacking of Sadon, one by Captain Goodwyn, and the other by Lieut Denne. Sadon was occupied on 30 January immediately after capturing Sadon, they built a fort. Then the *Irrawaddy* column marched to North and North East of Sadon. First they marched to Kambaiti which was the Chinese border and then to North where Kumpi-bum existed. The marching is to persuade the *Du-wa* lived in North of Sadon and also Wawchan to live under British command. After Sadon was captured, Shadan Kawng *Du-wa* collected forces at North of N'mai Kha, to defense and attacked the British, so the British army marched to Shadan Kawng, and captured the Shadan Kawng Village. The Kachins lived in Sadon did not have their weapons to attack to British and instead they run to villages in the east of Sadon, such as Saga Pa, Zawkrung, Bumwa, Muntarin Hpyu and Yinmaw and hide. The Kachins reinforced in Bumwa which was four miles far from Sadon but the British army defeated them and they had to live under British. The British order to Kachins to build fort, so, the other Kachins did not like and one day when *Irrawaddy* column was in patrol and there was a little guards in Sadon, the Kachin took that chance and strike at Sadon for seven days in February 1892.<sup>71</sup> In Sadon

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<sup>70</sup>Hertz, 1960, 54

<sup>71</sup>Woodman, 1962, 364

battle on the British seventy soldiers and Lieut Harrison were killed. Only two men were lost from Kachin's side. Sadon fort was named in honor for Lieut Harrison and named as Fort Harrison.<sup>72</sup>

The North-eastern Column with Captain Davies and Mr. Hertz as political officer recaptured Sadon on 20 February but even though they recaptured with difficulties, they were attacked frequently.<sup>73</sup> Because the places around Sadon were places where many revolutionaries hide especially Po Saw, Bo Ti, Sama *Du-wa* Gumsengli and Wuntho *Saw-bwa*. Sadon was on the main road to China and it existed centrally. So the British wanted their fort to be as strong as they could. The revolutionaries lived in the State of Kaching *Du-wa* such as Sansi, Sadon, Shadan Kawng, Tinggaw and Sama and together they shook hands with the Kachins in their anti-colonist campaign.

The North-eastern Column with Captain Davis and Mr. Hertz, political officer left from Bhamo Myothit on 17 December 1891, and patrolled around the states along the Chinese border and from Myothit they travelled from Taping River to Namtabet Stream. Then they knew about Samapa. In 1 April 1892, the North-eastern column made to Talawgyi and they captured 700 guns and also Rs 4000 as fees.<sup>74</sup> The Eastern column also travelled to the Taku and Mahtang State which were not under British. They got fifty-five guns and fee for the first states they had travelled. They gave jobs of village head and *Du-wa*. After travelling to another state of ninety villages, they got 258 guns and gave license for 104 of them. They also fine Rs 1,638. Sinkan column travelled from Namhkam to the border of China. They also travelled around Kachin Hills which were along Sinkan River and assigned jobs, collecting taxes and cancelling or issuing guns, while 19 *Du-wa*

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<sup>72</sup>Hertz, 1960, 56

<sup>73</sup>Hertz, 1960, 54-7

<sup>74</sup>Bawk Lar, 1980, 23

were appointed and issued license for 64 guns, 44 were captured and taxes were collected.<sup>75</sup>

In that year, the British sent a study group to Hukaung Valley. It was called Maing kwan Column. It left on 21 December 1891, and entered Main kwan via Ladan. Möng kwan Village was a centre of Hukaung Valley. On 9 January, 1892, they reached Möng Kwan. On that day, they met a British column from Assam at Möng Kwan. They studied amber mines, and rubber plantations at N' Dup-Dumsa. Then, after studying Daru Valley, via the waster jade mine, they got back to Mogaung on 7 March, 1892. Moreover, Mogaung Column and Indawgyi Columns were also sent, to organize the Kachin in the environs of Mogaung and Indawgyi, especially to search for Wuntho *Saw-bwa* in Thaung-thone-lone. The Wuntho Shan lord collaborated with Indawgyi chief Kalimgwa and attacked the British, so there broke out small battle in the environs of Na-mun Creek.<sup>76</sup>

In 1892-93, in winter, the British were to build Sama and Namkhan Fortress in the border land areas,<sup>77</sup> so as to continue the campaigns. The British were begun to follow policies more carefully in organizing the Kachins, because the Kachins, after making an attack, often fled to the China border. So it was planned to remove the Kachin from the support of China, and any forces related to Kachin. First, the Kachin races were divided, those who lived within the boundary of the British fortress and camps and those who did not. Thus, the British dealt with the first type of Kachin as their subject while the second type was treated only politically plans were made not to make any interference as long as their administration was not affected; to accept only so-called tax; and not to impose the case of cancellation of guns by force. The boundary extended to the borderland areas on the east bank of the *Irrawaddy*, and up to N' mai Hka of Upper *Irrawaddy*.

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<sup>75</sup>Woodman, 1962, 365

<sup>76</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 355

<sup>77</sup>Hertz, 1960, 58-9

The fortresses had civil officers appointed for supervision.<sup>78</sup> In 1892-93, in the open season, through the civil officers, contacts were made with the local chiefs individually, and policies were laid down; defining the provincial boundary of each chief; the defining the rate of revenues according to the number of guns kept in the village, and family members on every 1 November; a site was announced for collecting the revenues. For example, a site close to the Assistant Deputy Commissioner, etc.<sup>79</sup> So the British Government marched to Kachin mountain ranges in seven columns in winter, 1892-93, to implement the above, mentioned policies and strategies: (1) North- Eastern Column (2) Sinkan Column (3) Eastern Column (4) Mogaung Column (5) Kyauk-kwe Column (6) Nambkan Column (7) Sama Column.<sup>80</sup>

The North Eastern Column led by Capt. Boyne Mortan and the politics officer Mr. Hertz organized at Talawgyi to occupy Sama, and on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1892, left,<sup>81</sup> with the objectives of building fortress at Sama and collecting taxes on the Kachins in their occupied areas. That column was attacked by the Kachins at N'Kran Village. The Kachins from N'kran Village and Sama Village led by N'Kran *Du-wa* Dumphyia Tu Ba, and Sama *Du-wa* Zau Lung and Hpalap Shaw Gawn. The sepoy soldiers fell, and Lt. Dent got injured.<sup>82</sup> But the N'Kran *Du-wa* joined the British, and with his guide, the British troop reached Sama on 14 December, 1892. They were surrounded and attacked by 1500 forces from the neighbouring villages of Sama.<sup>83</sup> That Sama Battle lasted from 14 December 1892 to 15 January, 1893. During the conflict, the Sama Fortress was built by the

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<sup>78</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 359

<sup>79</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 359

<sup>80</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 360

<sup>81</sup>Hertz, 1960, 59

<sup>82</sup>(a) Hertz, 1960, 60

(b) Woodman, 1962, 367

<sup>83</sup>Hertz, 1960, 60

British. In the battle Capt. Mortan got wounded and died. The British troops had to retreat. He was succeeded by Lieut. Master, who was enclosed by the revolutionists. So reinforcements were sent: 100 auxiliary forces headed by Lieut Drever to join the forces of Lieut New bold in N'Kran. Deploying 1200 forces (100 soldiers heads by Capt. Atkinsan of Eastern Column, Namhkam Column, and Kaukkwe Column headed by Capt, and Kaukkwe Column headed by Capt. Alban), the British attacked Sama. In that battle, Mr. Brooke-Meares fell, and Lieut Master got severely wounded and died. So there were many losses on the side of the British in Sama Battle: the total number of 108 soldiers died while Capt. Boyce-Mortan, Lieut. Master and Mr. Brooke Mears died and Capt. Atkinson, Lieut Dent and Lieut Cooke-Hurle got wounded.<sup>84</sup> So Sama Fortress was named Fort Mortan in honour of Capt. Boyce Mortan. The Kachin *Du-was* who took the lead in Sama battle were *Du-wa Sama Zau Ba*, *Du-wa Sama Zaw Lung*, *Lagyi La Hpri*, *Du-was Maitaung Zau Taung* and *Du-wa* from other villages.

Taking a stronghold at Sama,<sup>85</sup> the Kachins continued to attack the British, while the British destroyed all the villages on the environs of Sama. The British troops marching to Hpalap Bum were attacked by the Kachins led by N'hkum and Lahpai *Du-wa*. In the Hpalap Battle, that broke out on 4 February, 1893, Capt. Alban, Atkinson and Drever combined their forces and occupied Hpalap. From the side of the Kachins, the Chinese soldiers joined the attack.<sup>86</sup>

On 14<sup>th</sup> December, when Sama Column reached Sama, Sama Hill on the side of Myitkyina was attacked by Sana *Du-was*. Shing-reng-wa took the lead, who was Lathawng *Du-wa* who lived in the north west of Myitkyina.<sup>87</sup> 30 soldiers,

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<sup>84</sup>Woodman, 1962, 368

<sup>85</sup>Sima Hill

<sup>86</sup>(a) Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 362-63

(b) Bawk Lar, 1980, 25

<sup>87</sup>Hertz, 1960, 60

including the lieutenant at the British camp, were killed. The British head quarters offices were also destroyed. At that time, the Eastern Column was touring on the other Kachin mountain range while Lt. Gordon's Eastern Column was on tour over the Kachin range to the east of Bhamo, they had to march to Sama in order to give reinforcement to Sama.

Mogaung Column lead by Lt. Drever was on tour in the environs of Mogaung when Myitkyina was attacked by Sama-Kachin. But the British could not take prompt action against Sama, but considered how Sana and Sama were related. So they marched to Sama villages,<sup>88</sup> Mogaung Province, on 13 January, 1893. In Sama Region, there was only nephew of Sama *Du-wa*, so there was no issue, and taxes were collected, and they returned to Kamaing, while Mogaung Column was in Sama, Mr. George made agreement related to Lama after meeting Kansu *Du-wa*. The agreement was that Lama Village had to pay the fine of Rs. 2000, because Kachins of Lama attacked the sepoy soldiers, on patrol, and two sepoy soldiers were killed.<sup>89</sup> Then, Mogaung Column returned to give reinforcement to Sama Column of Kamaing.

The Namhkan Fortress was built in early December, 1892. Namhkam Column suppressed the Kachins between Namhkam and the border. The Kachin Villages in Man Hang, Sèlan in the environs of Namhkam were also suppressed.<sup>90</sup> When Kachin re-occupied Sama Bum, the city guard troop of Namhkam had to march many times.

Though Sinkan were under Kachin, there were no fierce battles against the British. Sinkan Column left Shwegu in September. In Sinkan, Kara-Lahtawng

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<sup>88</sup>East Sama on the east of the *Irrawaddy*; West Sama on the west of the *Irrawaddy*: the race was of the Sama

<sup>89</sup>Hertz, 1960, 63

<sup>90</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 364



quarrel solved. In February, 1893, there broke out quarrels between Kachin and Hkam Leng. But no action was taken against. Similarly, Kaukkwe Column toured along Kaukkwe Valley.<sup>91</sup> Kaukkwe was only under Kachin. There was attacked from Laika Village. The revolutionist Kachins had taken refuge in China. That Kaukkwe Region was placed under the control of Pumkin *Du-was*. Thus, Kaukkwe Column did capturing the weapons and collecting taxes on their return.

The Mahtang *Du-wa* claimed the right to collect taxes on the south of the Taping River, which was the Sino-Myanmar diplomatic route.<sup>92</sup> Thus, the British toured in Seven Columns, but it cannot be said that they had totally governed the Kachin. The Kachins to give up because of having weaker armed. Both sides lost lives in battles, so the British wished to solve the conflict politically. The *Du-was* of each race were assigned duties of tax collection, judicial affairs and administration. No *Du-wa* who was anti-British was appointed such duties. So the Kachins did not stop their anti-colonism, but continued to plunder and attack the British in various regions.

In November, 1893, the British Governor of Myanmar came to Bhamo. The *Du-was* also attended the Durbar.<sup>93</sup> The Governor wanted to introduce the kind of administration to Kachin, as in Rakhine. The boundary was defined from Laban near the confluence of the N'mai Hka and the Mali Hka, to the northern most region of jade mines. Every year, in winter, only the Deputy Commissioner toured with a few escorts.

In 1894-95, the British administration could take a strong hold in Kachin Hills in Bhamo. In December 1894, a meeting was held on opening Namkham-Bhamo. On the meeting were present Santa *Du-wa* and Kangai *Du-wa*, who

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<sup>91</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 364

<sup>92</sup>Dawson, 1960, 27-8

<sup>93</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 365

negotiated over border matters.<sup>94</sup> In 1894-95, the Sino-Myanmar boundary line was roughly decided.<sup>95</sup>

The British troops, who were marching to Triangle Area, were attacked in January, 1895, in Myitkyina, by Sabaw Myihtoiwa at Satap, so the British troops had to retreat in 15 January. Then in Stak, Munji and Sana Villages in Myitkyina's environs, the police stations were attacked.<sup>96</sup> In 1894-95, the land Surveyor Commission led by Mr. E.C George, Capt. Henry and Mr. Hertz took measurement of the lands which Sana Lahtawng had destroyed, and made systematic organization, and named the site as Myitkyina, since it was located by a big river.<sup>97</sup>

The Sana Campaign was launched in 1895-96: 450 troops, in two column, 250 on Myitkyina side, and 200 on Mogaung side, under the command of Major Atkinson. The Sana Column was to suppress the Sana-Lahtawng race who often plundered and attacked. The Sana Column started in December 1895, and ended in March, 1896.<sup>98</sup> Sabaw Village resisted, and 24 villagers in Sana, 4 villages including Sabaw, Sana *Du-wa* Singrengwa's Village, were destroyed. Four villages, including Sabaw, were fined Rs.3000. One Sana village was given one gun per 5 families at Rs. 15 per one family,<sup>99</sup> quite heavy fine, then, Kachin villages such as Wahtu, Alam, Sakrap, and Lahpye were destroyed, while the cattle were killed. Then Sana Lahtawng *Du-was* fled to Phon-in-don Hill.<sup>100</sup> The British troops

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<sup>94</sup>Dawson, 1960, 29

<sup>95</sup>Hertz, 1960, 64

<sup>96</sup>Woodman, 1962, 373

<sup>97</sup>(a) Hertz, 1960, 158

(b) La Wang Li, 1995, 7

<sup>98</sup>Hertz, 1960, 65

<sup>99</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 367-8

<sup>100</sup>La Wang Li, 1995, 6

marched to Mahtang in Bhamo in March 1895. On 16 February 1895, according to Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895, Mahtang Kachin Hills were governed.

Five districts were divided for administration: these northern district included. Mandalay, Bhamo, Katha, Ruby mines and Shwebo District. In 1895, Bhamo District was divided into Bhamo and Myitkyina. Shwebo District was moved to Central District. So in 1897, there were five districts in Northern Division: Mandalay, Bhamo, Myintkyina, Katha and Ruby Mines. Their head quarter was in Mandalay.<sup>101</sup> Bhamo, Myitkyina and Katha District were governed by Bhamo Deputy Commissioner. Bhamo District included Bhamo, Sinkan, Kaungton and Shwegu Township. In 1896, Sinkan was merged into Bhamo Township, and in 1897, Kaungton, into Shwegu Township. So Bhamo District included only Bhamo and Shwegu Township.<sup>102</sup> Myitkyina District was excluded from Bhamo District starting from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1895. It was divided into Myitkyina, Mogaung and Kamaing Township.

Myitkyina, Bhamo and Katha District are mostly covered with Kachin native villages and hilly regions, which were governed by Kachin Hill Tribes Regulations of 1895, separate from the mainland Myanmar, and which was enacted on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1895.<sup>103</sup> The regions were governed by District Commissioner,<sup>104</sup> 3 Deputy Commissioners, regional inspectors, *Myo-ôks*, and *Taung-ôk*, *Du-wa*<sup>105</sup> or *Thu-gyi*. According to the Regulation, regional inspectors

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<sup>101</sup> (a) Ma Kyan, "*Ma-ha Wun-shin-taw Min-gyi-ôk-chôk-ye (1886-87)*" (The Administration of Chief Commissioner), Rangoon, Sa-pe Loka Press, June 2003, p.73 (Henceforth: Kyan, 2003)

(b) *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1895-96*, p.3 (Henceforth: RAB, 1895-96)

<sup>102</sup>Dawson, 1960, 1

<sup>103</sup>India Government Political Department Notification, No.5, dated 20 June 1895, Burma Gazetteer, 22 June 1895

<sup>104</sup>Kachin Tribal Chiefs

<sup>105</sup>Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895

had full authority. Under him served *Taung-ôk*, *Du-wa* and *Thu-gyi* (Villages headman). *Taung-ôk* and *Du-wa* were the local chiefs of Kachin races to do tax collection, jurisdictions and administration.

The positions of *Taung-ôk* and *Du-wa* were appointed to *Du-was* whom the Deputy Commissioners liked. The position of *Du-wa* was equal to that of *Thu-gyi*.<sup>106</sup> The *Du-wa* governed according to Kachin customs and traditions. So Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation was amended for Myitkyina, Bhamo, Katha District, Northern Hsenwi, and Mongmit.<sup>107</sup>

In 1897-98, in Bhamo District, the regional inspector made his seat at Sinlumkaba to supervise the eastern regions of the *Irrawaddy*. One *Taung-ôk* was appointed under him, to supervise the affairs in hilly regions in the environs of Sinlumkaba. In Myitkyina District also, a regional inspector was appointed for governing the east bank of the *Irrawaddy*, making his seat at Sadon. Moreover, also in Kamaing, one European *Myo-ôk* was appointed.<sup>108</sup>

Though such administration began, in Myitkyina District, there arose uprisings. In 1897-98, there took place the Tinggaw attack. It originated from a quarrel between two family races of *Du-wa*: Tinggaw *Du-wa* race and Shadan *Du-wa* race. The conflict was successfully negotiated by Mr.Hertz in 1909.<sup>109</sup> Then Shadan *Du-wa* subjected himself under the British. He made a complaint, and the Tinggaw race was to fined.

Then, in 1898, in Katha District, the Kachins led by Kara *Du-wa* attacked the British, four policemen and the *Thu-gyi* were killed.<sup>110</sup> So an agent was sent to

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<sup>106</sup>Handbook for C.A.S. Officers in the Chin, Naga and Kachin Areas, p.11

<sup>107</sup>*Report on the North-Eastern Frontier for the year 1897-98*, Yangon, Government Printing, 1898, p.12 (Henceforth: *RNEF*, 1898)

<sup>108</sup>Hertz, 1960, 66-9

<sup>109</sup>*RNEF*, 1898, 2

<sup>110</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 21

make peace with Kara *Du-wa*, but he was assassinated. The British troops, then, marched to Kara, and the *Du-wa*, weak in arms, had to flee.<sup>111</sup> All the Kara villages were destroyed. Again, Kara *Du-wa* attacked the British camp at Shwegu, but he fell in the attack.<sup>112</sup> In 1898, in Katha District, no European or British official had been appointed.

Since 1897, Kachin nationals were organized to be conscripted to the British army. First, the Kachins on the hilly regions on Bhamo District were called. The British policy was to organize all Kachin Hill Regions and organize police forces with Kachin races.<sup>113</sup> On 23 March 1898, Lt. Col. H.Langtry and Mr. H.E Hertz, and Bhamo Civil Police organized twenty-five Kachin, and organized 150 policemen. They left Bhamo to organize Azi region. Because the roads were rough, they reached Sadon on 28 March. They were attacked by 60 Chinese soldiers from Mungwan on the other side of N' Shawn. They were also attacked by the Kachin guerillas. So Lt. Col Langtry and two Kachin soldiers of Bhamo were wounded. They marched on from Sadon to Sengmai, and again, were attacked by Kachins and the Chinese. They marched on to Maibat Village, and were attacked by sixty Kachins. But they managed to reach the Chinese border at Mungwan Villages. There lived only Kachins, and the British troops took position at Lweje Bum. There, they combined with 30 soldiers of Lt. French, Mullen.<sup>114</sup> The Kachins were organized by being paid money, as well as certificates of appointment. Kachin *Du-was* of Kachin Hill Region to the east of Bhamo were paid money and presented certificates Lt. Col. S.C.E Peile, Government of India, Government of Burma, I.G.P Burma presented official certificates to the *Du-was* who took refuge and who did general services. These *Du-was* were:

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<sup>111</sup>Woodman, 1968, 375

<sup>112</sup> Enriquez, 1933, 4

<sup>113</sup>RNEF, 1898, 3

<sup>114</sup>RNEF, 1898, 5

- (1) Hudung *Du-wa* Zau Doi (2 Sanad and Certificate, Hudung)
- (2) Maru *Du-wa* Zau Ba (2 Bayingyi Sanad and Certificate, Maru-yinlung)
- (3) Sinlumkaba *Du-wa* Gauri Naw (one gong and Certificate)
- (4) Hpalang Kumje *Du-wa* Lagat Naw (Bayingyi Sanad and Certificate)
- (5) Mungloi *Du-wa* Lazing La Doi (one woolen jacket and Certificate)
- (6) Maikung *Du-wa* Zau Li (one Sanad and Certificate)<sup>115</sup>

In 1897-98, five appointment orders for Bhamo District were announced. In Myitkyina District, except a few, many *Du-was* were given appointment orders. The *Du-wa* in jade mines area were also presented certificates. Mr. Scott issued sixteen certificates in Southern Nantabet, but only one in Northern Nantabet, for the position of Tinggaw *Du-wa*. In Northern Nantabet, with an excuse that there were still rebellions there, certificate were not issued but suspended.<sup>116</sup> Later Kachin policeman were paid advance salary for two or three months, and organized to serve in Kachin hill regions.

The British built strong Fortresses and resisted the attacks of the Kachins. In order to watch the movement of N'mai Hka, at Loingu, a British fortress was built. Later, it was moved to Seniku. On 10<sup>th</sup> December 1899, a study tour was made on hilly regions along upper N'mai Hka by Capt. Taylor, Battalion Commandant, with escort of 75 Gurkha Military Police, Capt. Hare, Surveyor of India, Capt R. Holloway, Intelligence Officer, according to the order of H.F. Hertz, Political Officer. They also studied along Ngaw-chang Valley, and reached Lashi Village, called Hpare. Then, they got back to Myitkyina on 15 March, 1900.<sup>117</sup> Starting from early 1899, the Sino-Myanmar Border had been defined. Then police stations were built and roads were constructed all along: in 1902, Panghkat

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<sup>115</sup> *The Kachin Military History, the Army Military Pensioners Ex-servicemen's Association*, Bhamo, 1954, pp.5-6 (Henceforth: *Kachin Military History, 1954*)

<sup>116</sup>Hertz, 1960, 70

<sup>117</sup>Dawson, 1960, 29-30

and Lweje, and Alawbum; in 1903, Wara Bun; in 1906, Bumpribum respectively. In 1907, Nanpawng Camp was cancelled, and a police station was opened in Dunghkung. Since 1897, the tax collection of Kachin *Du-was* on Nanpaung Road was cancelled.<sup>118</sup> But Mahtang *Du-wa* raised objection to that cancellation.

In 1900-01, in Myitkyina District, there arose a quarrel between the Walawbun Gam races of Hukawng Valley and family of *Du-wa* Kansi La, Chief of the Jade Mine. Mr. Scott negotiated the case.<sup>119</sup> In 1902-03, 1903-04, and 1904-05, no important matters were done in Myitkyina District. In 1905-06, Po Saw and Sama *Du-wa* Gum Sengli were given amnesty from wanted order. In March 1907, the Kachins of Sama attacked Auché Police station. It was an action of taking revenge on Shing Rai La, who was killed by the police. From 1901 to 1907 issues were discussed with Chinese officers every winter. In 1907, in March, and April, Mr. Hertz and Major White head toured Hukawng Valley with a few escorts.<sup>120</sup> In 1907, the British Column to march and occupy the Triangle were attacked at Machyang, led by Hkauna Naw, N'htung Hka Naw, N'yung La, Maran Naw and Htingbai La, and one anti-colonist fell.

On 10<sup>th</sup> November 1910, Mr. Hertz, Deputy Commissioner left Myitkyina, leading the Hpimaw Column, which consisted of T.F.G. Wilson, Assistant Civil Officer, 10 British Officers, in Native Officers, 482 rifles of Myitkyina Military Police Battalion, and 25 Burma Sappers and Miners headed by Major French-Mallen. The tour was made on Ngawchyang, Chipwi and Tamu Valley, and the regions were organized, and on 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1911, they returned to Myitkyina. In that year, a police station was opened at Lawk-hkawng. One hilly region inspector was appointed to solve judicial cases.<sup>121</sup> In 1912, a column was sent to Hpimaw

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<sup>118</sup>Hertz, 1960, 75

<sup>119</sup>Hertz, 1960, 75

<sup>120</sup>Hertz, 1960, 76

<sup>121</sup>Tin Maung Yin, 1969, 54

for the second time. Hpimaw was occupied, and a police station was opened there.<sup>122</sup> It marched from Hkamti Long , Putao up to the top of the Mali Hka in 1912.

In 1912, the British troop led by Mr. Leonard and Mr. Porter occupied Lahaza Village on Sumprabum Road. Then they marched to Pinlun Bum, Wawang Kawng Villages. Then the Kachins led by *Du-wa* Hpaw Lam Grawng Li, Sabaw Ningmawk, Hka Shang Uma Naw, Wawang Aung Naw, and Labang La attacked them at Wawang Kawng Villages. Four British soldiers were killed and four were wounded. Two *Du-wa* leaders fell. In that year, the British troops, with new reinforcement, marched again, and destroyed Wawang Kawng Village. Later, the British troop led by the political officer A.C Kinnist, took the revolutionists deceptively, arrested and imprisoned them at Sumprabum prison. Two revolutionists did hunger strike, and were taken to Myitkyina, taken action against, and were put in prison till they died.<sup>123</sup>

In 1914, the northern regions of Myitkyina were identified as administrative units. Putao District was organized as an administrative region. Tax collection and appointing *Du-was* with certificates were done. The appointments of *Thu-gyi* by the Chinese were cancelled. So the Putao incharge issued twenty-four certificates, and Kaunglu incharge issued 231 certificates. Mr. Barmard and Mr. Leonard cancelled the former certificates. So it was in 1914 that the northern part of Upper Myanmar had already been organized.<sup>124</sup> Putao Region was completely occupied, and Fort Hertz was strongly built, and the revolutionists were suppressed.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 68-70

<sup>123</sup>Tin Maung Yin, 1969, 54-5

<sup>124</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 72

<sup>125</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 43



In 1914, the boundary was made with the Bamars and without Kachin *Du-was*, and this had caused a complaint and the *Du-was* of Hukawng and Kamaing started the revolution once again.<sup>126</sup> That revolution spread over Myitkyina, Putao and up to the Triangle Area. So the British decided to suppress the Hukawng *Du-wa* and extend the administrative domain.<sup>127</sup> The British troops were attacked from Lamai Hill. But the Kachins were weaker in arms, and Shadan Gam, son of Sama *Du-wa*, fell and Shadan Tawng was captured and imprisoned to life. Sama *Du-wa* Gum Seng Li died on refuge on the other bank of the Tawngie.<sup>128</sup>

In December 1914, Lahtawng Ningru Dawa attacked the British, who were Kachin *Du-was* of Hukawng Region. So the troops of Mr. Barnard and Major Scott were attacked at Wuloi Bai Kadawng, two miles from the region of Maru Warawng *Du-wa*. The Kachins were assisted by Auhkye Yaw, *Du-wa* Shabaw Zau Htaw, *Du-wa* Hpaga Tu and Maru Warawng *Du-wa*'s wife Sama Htu Raw. The British had losses and had to retreat. Then N'zang Wa was sent by the district incharge of Myitkyina to the region of Ningru, but he was killed. So the British sent Gurhka troops to occupy the region of Ningru. They were attacked at Kalat N'da, weak in arms, *Du-wa* Ningru Sinwa Gam fell, and Shabaw Zaw Htaw got wounded. The Kachins had to retreat. Then, Mahpaw Bum, Danai Bum and Mahkye Kawng Villages were destroyed and spoiled the provisions. Then, some *Du-was* fled to Assam. Ningru *Du-wa* leaders were arrested, but the Prison incharge Lawa Sharoi apologized the British officers, who let the Ningru *Du-was* free.<sup>129</sup> Because of the attacks of Sama *Du-wa* and Ningru *Du-wa*, the local people got into trouble.

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<sup>126</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 43

<sup>127</sup>Tin Maung Yin, 1969, 55

<sup>128</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 43

<sup>129</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 46-8

In 1915, the column led by a British general marched to Walaw Bum Village, arrested the *Du-wa* and destroyed the village 122 villages taken as captives were set free, but taken to Kamaing along with the column.<sup>130</sup> In 1916-18, rebellions arose all over Kachin places, so Hukawng Region was left as it was, since the rebellions were being suppressed.

In 1914, the World War I broke out, 1589 policemen of Bhamo Police Station comprising 349 Kachin policemen, were sent to India. They fought at North-west frontiers on the British side. Kachin police consisted of 60 in 1/10<sup>th</sup> Gurkha Rifles; and 289 in 85<sup>th</sup> Burma Rifles Corp. In 1917, one Kachin troop was sent to Mesopotamia, and in 1918, 1/70<sup>th</sup> Burma Rifles, to the Europe battle field.<sup>131</sup> So efforts were made for conscription. The Kachin troop in Mesopotamia was the main force for organize 3/20 Kachin Rifles Battalion;<sup>132</sup> one Kachin troop in 1909; one in 1914; and one in 1918 total, in Bhamo.<sup>133</sup> From 1914 to 1918, with Sinlumkaba as the focal point, the British did great success in conscription in Bhamo.

In 1920, 3/20 Kachin Rifles Battalion was organized. In 1921, it served in Moplah Operation.<sup>134</sup> Then, in Pyin Oo Lwin, 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>. Burma Rifles headed by Major M.C. Enrique were re-organized. The Kachin soldiers of Bhamo Military Police were sent to Myitkyina and Lashio. At the same time, the revolutionists were suppressed, especially in Hukawng and the Triangle Region. In 1914, the forces of Kamaing patrolled Hukawng, and it was in 1920 that the whole

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<sup>130</sup>Tin Maung Yin, 1969, 55

<sup>131</sup>*Kachin Military History, 1954, 19-4*

<sup>132</sup>Enriquez, 1933, 33

<sup>133</sup>*Kachin Military History, 1954, 24*

<sup>134</sup>*Kachin Military History, 1954, 24*

Hukawng was occupied. Even before that, the British officers had already defined the administrative boundaries, which were as follows in the next page.

**Table-I**  
**The Kachin and related races served the British military service**  
**up to July 1930**

Name of District	Name of Subdivision	Name of Headquarters
Myitkyina	1. Kamaing	Kamaing
	2. Mogaung	Mogaung
	3. Myitkyina	Myitkyina
	4. Sama	Fort Morton
	5. Sadon	Fort Herison
	6. Htawgaw	Htawgaw

Sources: Series No. 1/1, B, Acc. No. 7495, NAD

Provincial branches were also defined as the hilly regions. Hilly Region Inspectors and officers were also appointed to govern the hilly regions.<sup>135</sup>

Since 1921, the British did more conscription of soldiers, in Myitkyina as a base in Myitkyina provinces, with branches in Htawgaw, Sadon, Sama, Watan Gyi, Mara, Sinbo, and Mogaung; in Bhamo Province, Alaw Bum, Sinlumkaba, Namhkam, Shwegu and Kyautha-lon. The region of Kachin, Maru and Palaung between Namhkam and Kut-hkai in northern Shan State was called Sinli Region. Recruitment of soldiers was a success due to the aid of Nam Hkyek *Du-wa*.<sup>136</sup> So in 1925, half of Burma Rifles Corp had Kachins and races.<sup>137</sup> Later, conscription was done in the Triangle Area and Putao: Lisu, Nung, Tangsar national races. In 1930, over 200 soldiers were conscripted, but not in Hka Hku Kachins.<sup>138</sup> So the

<sup>135</sup> Political Department Notes, Re-arrangement of the subdivisions in the Myitkyina District, Letter No.412-6, p.31, dated the 18th September 1918, Series No.1/1B, Acc.No.74-94, Nation Achives Department

<sup>136</sup> Euriquez, 1933, 10, 14

<sup>137</sup> Euriquez, 1933, 33

<sup>138</sup> Euriquez, 1933, 11

conscription in the Triangle and Hukawng Area was not a success, because the national races did not want to serve the British and because the British administration was not a success.

The Kachin and related races served the British military service as follows (up to July 1930).<sup>139</sup>

**Table-II**  
**Serving in July, 1930**

<b>Kachins</b>	<b>Jinghpaw and Gauri</b>	<b>Hka Hku</b>	<b>Dulaug</b>	<b>Rawang</b>	<b>Lisu</b>	<b>Laungwaw</b>	<b>Lashi</b>	<b>Atsi</b>	<b>Raw</b>	<b>Total</b>
Putao Area	-	2	5	179	38	-	-	-	3	227
Traingle and Sumprabum	-	26	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	31
Htawgaw-Hpimaw	-	-	-	-	15	28	41	-	-	84
Sadon	3	-	-	-	3	1	2	15	-	24
Sama	24	-	-	-	10	-	-	2	-	36
Myitkyina, Sana	8	8	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	26
Mogaung	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
Gauri Hills	96	-	-	-	22	2	-	-	-	100
Sinlumkaba	212	-	-	-	2	4	14	28	-	280
Bhamo	25	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	33
Moegmit, Moegok	25	-	-	-	7	3	1	-	-	29
Kuthtai	217	-	-	-	-	40	14	36	-	314
Hsipaw, Lashio	20	-	-	-	-	8	8	11	-	47
Kamaing, Hukawng	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sinbo	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shwegu, Katha	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>634</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1239</b>

Sources: Enriquez, 1933, 93

<sup>139</sup>Enriquez, 1933, 93

Since 1922, every year, columns were sent to Hukawng in order to do emancipation of slavery. The Slavery System Investigation Committee meetings were held by British Officials who came to Hukawng Region. There were still many slaves there. So in September 1924, Kawlu Ma Naung, *Taung-ôk* of Kamaing Township, was sent with an envoy with the excuse of making preparations for the Manau Celebration to Maingkwan, the central village of Hukawng Region. Then, in March 1925, Mr. Barnard and the *Taung-ôk* Kawlu Ma Nawng made lists of slaves along Hukawng Valley.<sup>140</sup> Sir Hercourt Butlar came on a tour and abolished the slavery system.<sup>141</sup> This had destroyed the strength of Kachin *Du-was*. It was from Hukawng Region that the revolution was mostly led by the *Du-was* of the Region. So at the cost of much money, the slaves were set free at Hukawng.

In 1926, the British officers Mr. Barnard, Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Porter and Mr. T.P Dewar and one *Taung-ôk* launched a campaign to Hukawng, and did emancipation of the slaves. Over Rs. four lakhs were paid to the slave owners. Then, Battalion five and one *Taung-ôk* watched the departure of slaves from Maingkwan,<sup>142</sup> who left and settled mostly in Poilaw and Sanka Zup regions.<sup>143</sup> Those villages were called Poi Low Kahtawng. Poi Law Villages had already existed before the British occupation. So there were many who had already been emancipated before the British occupation.

In 1928, Mr. Robert and troops marched to Putao-Triangle Area in Uma Column, while the column led by Mr. Laymet marched to Mali and the Jahti Valley, and the column led by Mr. Bottom marched to Htara and N'mai Hka Valley, in order to organize the Triangle Area. 70 Kachins of Mathum-Mairawng

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<sup>140</sup> Ma Nawng, 1944, p.54

<sup>141</sup> Enriquez, 1933, 13

<sup>142</sup> Ma Nawng, 1944, 56-7

<sup>143</sup> Enriquez, 1933, 13

attacked, and 3 British, including one officer, were killed, and 3 got wounded. On child from the side of the revolutionists was killed while the revolutionists were captured. They were taken to Myitkyina, and imprisoned: 6 to 10 years imprisonment; some, to life sentence.<sup>144</sup> So Kachin revolutionist leaders died in prison. The Mahtum Battle of the Triangle Area was the last battle that fought against the British. Since 1931, in Hukawng and Triangle Area, the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation came into effect, thus completing the British extension of administration in Kachin Hill Region.

From 1928 to 1934, under the supervision of Mr. A.W. Porter, columns were sent to Hukawng every year on patrol. In 1937, the Manau Festival was held in Maingkwang in order to pacify the rancor. Also since 1934, taxes were collected in Hukawng Region: Rs.2 per one Kachin family; Rs.4 per one Shan family. No objection was raised on taxation.<sup>145</sup> Measures were taken to do administration on the Triangle Area, more in 1934-35.<sup>146</sup> Thus, the British administration got stronger in Kachin Region. It was only in 1935 that the administration was completed as a success.

In 1935-36, Mr. JW Leadhan collected taxes in Hukawng. Again, in 1936, the Deputy Commissioner of Myitkyina came to Maingkwang, and held the Lamu Ga Jahkut Manau Festival.<sup>147</sup> In May 1936, one Kachin school was opened at Maingkwang by the British government, and was supported by Kachin and Shan chiefs.<sup>148</sup> Thus, the British administrative power over the whole Kachin Hill

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<sup>144</sup>Htoisan, 2002, 73, 76

<sup>145</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 57

<sup>146</sup>Proposals for the Administration of the Hukawng Valley and Triangle, Series No.1/1B, Acc.No.7803, National Achives Department

<sup>147</sup>Celebration of the Settlement of the Valley

<sup>148</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 57

regions had been established. Since 1936, the whole Kachin regions fell under the British.

To sum up, no sooner had the British annexed Upper Myanmar then they occupied Bhamo, the strategic centre of Uppermost Myanmar. They tried to occupy Mogaung via Bhamo. They were eager to do so as quickly as possible because they wanted to draw out those regions which had been under the influence of China. It was when they tried to occupy Bhamo and Mogaung that they were confronted with the resistance of the Kachins for the first time. Though the British wanted to solve the conflict politically, the local national patriots took to arms and fought them back. Such resistance spread since early 1886. The British tried to suppress by force columns were sent every winter. But they usually met the resistance of the Kachins. Since early 1886 till 1888, there took place the most fierce battles. So Mogaung was successfully occupied only in 1888. The jade mines were organized since 1888 into the British occupation via the *Du-was* of the mines. Moreover, the battles against the Shan, the Kachin and the Bamar in 1888 were the most fierce and in maximum numbers. A fortress was built in Bhamo, a stronghold was made in Mogaung, and the environs were occupied. The locals, because they were weaker in arms fell in their resistance. In 1888-89, the Kachin races in the environs of Mogaung, namely Lahpai, Azi, Lahtawng and Maran, were suppressed. The relatives were arrested and the villages were destroyed. Losses on both sides took place. So the British sought for political means. But till 1890-91, the administration over Kachin hill had not been effective. Suppressing the revolutionists meant a kind of punishment. So the British government issued certificates and guns to the *Du-was* and assigned them the duties of tax collection, jurisdiction and administration. In order to implement such policies, since 1891-92, columns were sent. In winter of 1891-92, four columns were sent. Fortresses were built in China borderline. In 1892, there broke out a fierce battle in Sadon. Fortresses were built in Sadon and Sama. Again, in 1892-93, the British force

columns were sent. In 1894-95, the Kachin Hill regions in Bhamo were placed under the British administration. Similarly, in Mogaung regions, the British administration began to settle down. In 1895, new Myitkyina District was founded. The Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted, thus establishing the British administration over the Kachin Hill Regions. So in 1897, the suppressions of the Kachins had almost been completed.

In that year, the Sinlunkaba was firstly opened as the Kachin Hill Region Administration Headquarter, where one *Taung-ôk* was appointed. Since 1897, Kachins were organized to serve the British Military Police. But Hukawng and the Triangle Area between the N'maikha and the Malikha were not yet occupied. In 1914, Putao was occupied, and a fortress, Fort Hertz was strongly built. It was in 1920 that Hukawng was placed under the British administration. Since 1922, 9 Kachin Hill Tracts Administration boundaries were defined, and the British administration over the Kachins began. It was only in 1930, that the triangle area was occupied. So the administration system and boundary over Hukawng and the Triangle region were defined, and the administration began in 1934-35.



## CHAPTER THREE

### JURISDICTION AND TAXATION

With the growth of a national race, there also appeared the rules to abide by in accordance with the culture of that race. When those shared rules had been exercised for ages, the rules became established as the laws of that race. Similarly, there existed many customs and traditions followed by the Kachins. But these customs and traditions had not been recorded like the *Dhamma-that* treatises, but were passed on orally from one generation to another. As those customs and traditions have been preserved and put into practice, they came to exist as the laws, customs and traditions related to the Kachins.

According to the tradition of the Kachins, there had existed no judge in jurisdiction, nor a lawyer as a special duty or position. The disputes were settled, not by the power, but through arbitration. Among the civil lawsuits was included the debt or loan and the dispute was decided upon through the representatives of the disputants on both sides. So, according to the tradition of the Kachins, the jurisdiction group of a village group or township was just one of arbitration, and it did not comprise judges.<sup>1</sup> Such group comprised of *Du, Salang, Myitsu ni*.<sup>2</sup> This group gathered and solved the issues or cases. It was also called *Salang Hpawng*.<sup>3</sup>

The Kachins assumed that an act committed in relation to personal affairs or a civil lawsuit was called Hka.<sup>4</sup> For the Hka, due *Hpagas*<sup>5</sup> must be paid back.

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<sup>1</sup> Leach, 1964, 184

<sup>2</sup> Chief, Wise Men

<sup>3</sup> Salang Council

<sup>4</sup> Debt

<sup>5</sup> Wealth objects

Depending on the light or severe case, the *Hpaga* would be vary. That *Hpaga* must be paid either in trading or as fine in the court by the Kachins.<sup>6</sup> In trading, though any property or goods can be defined as fine, in deciding the disputes, the fine must be paid according to the tradition. The kinds of goods for *Hpaga*, defined according to the Kachin tradition since in the ancient times, are: buffalo, gong, silver rods, servant, three-stand over, nether garment, blanket, shawl, iron cauldron, sword, lance, woolen jacket, silver pipe, opium, China silk, and necklace.<sup>7</sup> Later, the goods included gun, silk wares and silver coins. In Kachin society the sword and lance are common objects, and the sword and lance submitted over a dispute according to the law are not genuine weapons, sometimes. In some cases, the list of fine to be paid is very long. Especially, if a *Du-wa* has been hurt and died, the kind of *Hpaga* had a list of fines numbering over 100. In paying the fine of *Hpaga*, the fine was paid as follows: 33 *Hpaga* for burial cost; 39 *Hpaga* as compensation for the hurt parts of the body; and 28 *Hpagas* of fined for loss of life.<sup>8</sup>

According to the Kachin tradition, when a case took place, a complainant made a complaint orally to the *Agyi-wa*, the local chief, in the region where the *Gumlau* administration system had been prospering. In the region where the *Gumsa* administration system is practiced, a complaint is made via the Hkringmang Chief, the consultant of the governing chief. When a case is submitted, some traditional liquor or a present or some cash was paid, depending on the serious or light case, for opening a case file. The chiefs made an enquiry concerning the case, and made a date for the interrogation of the case. The defendant has a right to invite the *Kasas*.<sup>9</sup> Who would involve himself or herself in the case to the site of jurisdiction. It is observed that the case was not settled by

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<sup>6</sup>Leach, 1964, 154

<sup>7</sup>Ma Naung, 1944, 12

<sup>8</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 72, 74

<sup>9</sup>Agent

the village chief who accepted the case or *Du-wa*, or *Salang-wa* alone.<sup>10</sup> A consultation was made with the *Myitsu*, who are well versed in customs and traditions, and a judgment was made as a group decision. The *Kasas* whom the defendant and the complainant invited also had a chance to join the judicial board.

Before the decree is made, the judicial board made interrogations and enquiries about the cause of the case, and had the disputants, pledge whether they would accept the decision of the board. That pledge is called *Mungga Madi*, and depending on the light or serious cases or a *Hpaga*, the disputants had to issue some cash to the judicial board.<sup>11</sup> When the decree is made, and if one of the disputants refused to accept it, he or she is returned the *Hpaga* or cash when he or she had paid in the process of *Mungga Madi*.

In dealing with the case, when either the board which accepted the case or the authority who knew the customs and traditions and is requested to act as the judge shoots questions over the case, and clears the things up. Then, giving or citing examples and traditional tales, a comparison is made between the present case and the example.<sup>12</sup> Then, studying the responses of the disputants, the board or the Judge made a decree on the charge of the case and got an agreement.

Moreover, when a minor lawsuit broke out arbitrations are made and the case is settled by having the disputants came to agreement. Sometimes, a case is made clear by having the disputants swear words. Sometimes, the tradition has it that the guilty one is confined in fetters, or handcuffs. So Leach comments, on the jurisdiction according to the Kachin customs thus:

Kachin have no native concept of a judge. The native Kachin idea is that disputes are settled by arbitration rather than arbitrary judgment. A Law

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<sup>10</sup>*Kachin Dha-le Phyat-htone* (Kachin Customary Law), Kachin State culture series (1) Kachin State Cultural Section, Department of Culture, Yangon, Printing and Stationery Cooperation, 1973, p.1 (Henceforth: *Kachin Dha-le Phyat-htone*, 1973)

<sup>11</sup>*Kachin, Dha-le Phyat-htone*, 1973, 2

<sup>12</sup>*Kachin Dha-le Phyat-htone*, 1973, 2

suit involves a debt (hka) and the settlement of the debt is a matter for the agents (kasa) of the disputing parties. The judicial body of a village cluster or domain is thus a body of arbitrators rather than a bench of magistrates; its function is to give a ruling as to what would be a fit and proper settlement of the issue in dispute<sup>13</sup>

It is observed that since in the olden times in jurisdiction of Kachin, a case is judged by personal procedures and criminal procedures. The judges followed these procedures as faithfully as possible, and mostly, the arbitration is put into practice for settling the cases. The cases related to the personal procedures are matrimonial cases, engagement, divorce, adoption of child, case of fatherless child, and inheritance. The criminal cases are murder, pregnancy, hurt or assault, dacoit, rape, slander, abusive language, breaching of promise, lie, saying words of curse, damaging other person's property or welfare, abuse of weight and measurement, health, blasphemy, cases related to hunting.<sup>14</sup>

The cases which had to be solved step by step are case of fatherless child, and murder, and high amount of *Hpaga* has to be paid in fine. In the former case, the fine must first go to the family of the victimized woman. Four types of fine or compensation are as follows:

- (1) 50 kinds of *Hpaga* for the victimized woman belonging to the ancestry of the chief.
- (2) 10 kinds of *Hpaga* for the victimized woman belonging to the ordinary class.
- (3) 5 kinds of *Hpaga* for the victimized woman belonging to the class of servant
- (4) 3 kind of *Hpaga* among the servants

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<sup>13</sup>Leach, 1964, 184

<sup>14</sup>*Kachin Dha-lePhyat-htone*, 1973, 22, 28

This act of compensation is called *Mayu Sumrai Hka*; the kind of compensation, *Sumrai Hka Hpaga*.<sup>15</sup> The details of the compensation are as follows:

- (a) Among the members of the same ordinary class:
  - (1) A viss of silver
  - (2) One gun
  - (3) Ten-span gong
  - (4) One *Pa-so*
  - (5) One silk Chinese coat
  - (6) On string of 100 beads
  - (7) Two buffaloes
  - (8) One *dah* to cut of the feud
- (b) For a free born man to a slave woman (5) *Hpaga*
  - (1) One viss of silver
  - (2) One eight-span gong
  - (3) One *Pa-so*
  - (4) One cow or buffalo
  - (5) One *dah* to cut off the feud
- (c) For a slave man to a slave woman, 3 *Hpaga* with an additional 2 *Hpaga* for the woman
  - (1) Fifty rupees in money or silver
  - (2) One *Pa-so*
  - (3) One eight - span gong
  - (4) One *Pa-so* for cleaning the woman's face
  - (5) One *dah* to cut off the feud.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 66

<sup>16</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 67, 68

The list shows the customs followed in Hukawng Valley Region, Bhamo Region and Myitkyina Region by all Kachins. Only one or two kinds of *Hpaga* vary.

Similarly, the murder is classified, and the fine is to be paid after being judged: (1) death in a fight or quarrel (2) accidental death (3) death in child labour. It is observed that such a fine depends on different classes. When a member of *Du-wa* suffers from death, 100 kinds of *Hpaga* are to be paid:

- (a) For the burial Ceremonies - 33 *Hpagas*
- (b) For the body of the deceased - 39 *Hpagas*
- (c) For Compensation for the loss of life - 28 *Hpagas*<sup>17</sup>

The death of an ordinary man must be paid in 50 kinds of *Hpaga*; that of a servant, in 25 kinds<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the chief headed by the relatives of the *Du-wa* or members of the relatives of that chief ruling in a Kachin Region is a board of judges which judged the disputes or cases. *Du-wa* acted as a participant or member in judicial affairs, and did not have the role authority for decision. The cases of ordinary people were decided by *Salang*, the group of leaders in the line of ancestry. A dispute between *Salangs* was decided by another *Salang* and the chief. A dispute between *Du-wa* was decided only after the course of many years. Then, the case was settled by the *Du-wa* of superior ancestry. So, in summing up, the *Du-wa*, were not the judges in judicial affairs, but they had the authority for law and order in the local region. They played only a minor role in judging cases.

After the British had occupied Upper Myanmar, the Chief Commissioner ruled the whole Myanmar from January, 1886 to 30 April, 1897.<sup>19</sup> He had no authority of law-making, but he had to undertake duties of peace and law, jurisdiction and revenue collection all by himself. So the Chief Commissioner had

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<sup>17</sup>(a)Ma Nawng, 1944, 72

(b)*Kachin Dha-le Phyat-Htone*, 1973, 10, 13

<sup>18</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 70

<sup>19</sup>Kyan, 2003, 1

full authority of administration as the Government of Myanmar. Moreover, Kyai-tong, Karen Region, which were under the British Government, and Shan State, Chin and Kachin Hill Region, which were left out under the direct administration, the authority of politics was also exercised.<sup>20</sup> The British government considered that the security, criminal jurisdiction and revenue collection were the only duties of the government, and followed the policy of efficiency and reduction of expenses. Thus, it was observed that the authority of administration and that of criminal jurisdiction were not separated.

After Bhamo had been occupied, the British made a confrontation with the Kachins, and encountered the counter attacks of the Kachin. So the British tried to subject all the Kachin Hill tribes by crushing them by force and punishment. So from 1886 to 1893, when the Kachin hills were under the attack and occupied, only the military administration was made. Though the positions of the town Governor, Deputy Commissioner, Sub-divisional Commissioner, Regional Assistant officer and the *Sit-kès* were appointed, the army was assigned the full authority to suppress the resistance. In the positions of the defying *Du-wa* who did not agree to serve the British, other *Du-wa* or the *Du-wa* who subjected themselves to the British were appointed. Then, the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted for the Kachin Hill region, and according to the Regulation, the Kachins of the Kachin Hill were placed under the administration.<sup>21</sup> The whole Kachin Hill region had not yet been occupied. The British had to face many resistances of the local Kachin *Du-wa*. So the Rural Area Regulation had focused more on the subjecting of the area under the British rule than the rural administration. But in the Kachin Hill regions, in jurisdiction, especially in judging the civil law cases, the *Du-wa* appointed by the British were assigned the authority of jurisdiction with reference to the Kachin customs and tradition. So the judicial administration of Kachin Hill region during the British rule was different from that of the plains land.

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<sup>20</sup>Kyan, 2003, 79

<sup>21</sup>Dawson, 1960, 29

Based on the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895, the civil lawsuits and the criminal lawsuits were tried. In Kachin Hill Region, the judicial duties and authorities of the administrative officers were referred to in section 8 to 28 of the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895, Regulation chapter 4.<sup>22</sup> With reference to the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895, Section 3, Item 2, on 30 June, 1898, the Vice Governor of Myanmar enacted some sections of the Code and Criminal Procedure of 1898 to come into effect in Kachin Hill region.<sup>23</sup> In Myanmar, the Indian Legislation and Criminal Procedure<sup>24</sup> enacted on 5 March, 1898 was put into practice with reference to that Act and the Regulation, three offices of hierarchical order were established: the Township Judges Court, Subdivisional Judges Court, and the District Judges court. The administrative officers who carried out their duties in Kachin Hill Tracts had the authority of jurisdiction over the region in accordance with the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation.

In Kachin Hill Region, under the British officers, the subdivisional officer, *Taung-ôk*, the Kachin *Du-was* and *Agyi-was* had the authority of jurisdiction. But the *Du-was*, *Taung-ôk*, and the subdivisional officers had the authority to judge cases that took place among the Kachins, and not the cases among the non-Kachins. The *Du-wa* and *Agyiwa* had the authority of jurisdiction over the cases, except the cases of crime or crime attempt under section 302-308 of the Indian Criminal Law, section 341-348, 363-377, 390-402, 438-440.<sup>25</sup> The cases under those sections were criminal cases. If any criminal case occurred, a report must be made either to the government officer or the police station.<sup>26</sup> Though the *Du-was*

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<sup>22</sup>The Kachin Hills Tribes Regulation of 1895, Articles 4

<sup>23</sup>Burma Gazette, Government Political Department Notification, No.14, dated 30<sup>th</sup> June, 9<sup>th</sup> July, 1898, Part.I, p. 322

<sup>24</sup>Burma Gazettee, Indian Government Legislative Department Act IV, of 1895, 9<sup>th</sup> March 1898, Part.III, p.11, 12

<sup>25</sup>*The Kachin Hills Manual, as corrected up to 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1948*, Rangoon, Government Printing, Burma, 1959, p.120(Henceforth: Kachin Hill Manual, 1959)

<sup>26</sup>*Kachin Hills Manual, 1959*, 128



had the authority to fine the guilty person in cash or in property, they had no authority to sentence to imprisonment. If the guilty one was from beyond the local territory, the local *Du-wa* did not made a decree himself, but had to submitted the case to the subdivisional officer or district officer.

The position of district officer similar to the position of government appointed headman was appointed in Myitkyina, Moegaung, Kamaing, Lonhton, Waing-maw and Sinbo region. They had the authority to exercise in accordance with the Rural Area Act, Section 6,<sup>27</sup> and fine could be made up to ks.20.<sup>28</sup> The township courts had the authority to judge a case and fine up to ks.5. The subdivisional court had the authority to fine up to ks.3000.<sup>29</sup> The subdivisional court judges the criminal cases in accordance with the Indian Criminal Law, the Criminal Act of 1898, and the customs of the Kachins. The criminal cases transferred from the Session Court of the subdivissional Officer were also judged. But if the defendant or the complainant was from beyond the local administrative region, the subdivisional court had no authority, but had to submit the case to the subdivisional officer court.

The civil officers ruling in Kachin Hill Region had some of the authority of the Deputy Commissioner as mentioned in the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation.<sup>30</sup> They had the authority to make sentencing of imprisonment. If the defendant was a Kachin Hill tribesman and committed a crime in the Hill tribesman and committed a crime in the hill region, such a case was judged according to the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation, and if the defendant was not a Kachin Hill tribesman, the cases was judged according to the mainland courts.

While the administrative officer tour, he had to judge the crimes of the non-hill tribes people. If he had no authority, the case was interrogated, and reported to

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<sup>27</sup>Villages Act, Section 6

<sup>28</sup> Hertz, 1960, 150

<sup>29</sup>Hertz, 1960, 151

<sup>30</sup>*Kachin Hill Manual*, 1959, 128

the office of the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>31</sup> In Kachin Hill Region, the deputy commissioners were not only the Session Judge as well as the Criminal Judge. He judged any case that could not be judged by the subordinate courts, making a seat at the office of the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>32</sup> So the Deputy Commissioner had the full authority of the criminal jurisdiction: fining any guilty person at any national race living in any village group, claiming for the value of the damage or lost property, imprisonment or sending into exile. In such matters as group fights to that could threaten the peace of the locality or an act that would cause damage or grievance to person or property, a suitable order or an order fit to the custom of the Kachins could be issued.

In 1895, the Chief Commissioner enacted the Regulation, for the assistant Deputy Commissioners and the Deputy Commissioners,<sup>33</sup> for the jurisdiction of Kachin Hill Region. Those regulations dictated that generally, if it was assumed that a crime had broken out, the Deputy Commissioner or Assistant Deputy Commissioner had to make a visit on the crime spot for investigation. If it was assumed that the person who had committed a crime be fined, the estimate value of the villager's property was defined. The assistant Deputy Commissioner had to report to the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>34</sup> The Deputy Commissioner judged whether fine be made or not and issued an order. The Deputy Commissioner described the causes, action of crime, arrest of any suspicious member of the family or relatives concerned, and confinement, and the report was submitted to the Chief Commissioner. According to Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895, when the Deputy Commissioner issued an order to move a village, he had to put on record

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<sup>31</sup>*Kachin Hill Maul, 1959*, 129

<sup>32</sup> Hertz, *1960*, 151

<sup>33</sup>Handbook for C.A.S. Officers in the Chin, Naga and Kachin areas, Simla, Government of India Press, 1945, 11( Henceforth: Handbook for C.A.S. Officers, *1945*)

<sup>34</sup>Hertz, *1960*, 150

the causes for issuing such an order and the contents of the order, and the amount of fine, if the fine was included. It was observed that the case files were submitted to the Divisional Commissioner.

The Deputy Commissioner, Subdivisional Commissioner, town governor, headman, *Du-wa*, and *Taung-ôk* acted not only as the civil law judges but also the criminal judge. There existed no civil law concerning the Kachin Hill region, but the civil law suits were reported according to the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation. Like in the criminal jurisdiction, in the civil law jurisdictions, below the office of the Deputy Commissioner, depending on the cases, light or server, the office of the town governor, headman, *Taung-ôk*, and the *Du-was*. The Subdivisional Commissioner, and assistant Deputy Commissioner had the authority of civil jurisdiction with the exercise of the authority of the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>35</sup> They had the authority of the judging the case of any race in the hilly region, and only the cases of the ethnic group beyond their administrative region were submitted to the deputy commissioner. So those officers toured in the administrative region, and settled any case of debt unsettled in villages.

The government appointed headman, and the Kachin chief, who were *Du-was* and *Taung-ôk*, had the same authority. But in civil law jurisdiction, the *Du-wa* and the *Taung-ôk*, being the chief of the village or race, had the authority of judging according to customs.<sup>36</sup> Regarding the *Taung-ôk* system and the collection of tribute the Deputy Commissioner, Bhamo, wrote as follows:

The *Taung-ôk* system is of course only on a trial at present. It will be have to be moulded, revised and altered a circumstances indicate. Next open season it is hoped that Mr.Rae will be able to go round with the *Taung-ôk*, count the houses in each villages, and make a complete list of both houses and guns, tract by tract, and it will then, I hope, be possible

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<sup>35</sup>*The Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation*, Article 11

<sup>36</sup>*The Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation*, Article 12

to fix an assessment based on the Rs.2-8-0 a house system which might perhaps be fix for five years for each village, and the *Du-was* will then be able to come and pay their amounts in, or the *Taung-ôk* to go and collect them without trouble or dispute. It may also be possible to give the *Taung-ôks* power to try small feud cases as time goes on and as their influence increases and the Kachins -----

The expense of this arrangement will be but small and will be save much in Military Police: the *Du-wa* and Selangs can then assess it after the manner of *tha-tha-me-da*. At present from I am certain there is a large loss of revenue as many large villages are not paying upon more than of their houses<sup>37</sup>

On 1 August, 1895, concerning the civil law jurisdiction, the Chief Commissioner, referring to Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation, Section 11, Item 1 of 1895, enacted the Procedural Regulation for making an accusable and submitting a civil law suit for the court for interrogation.<sup>38</sup> In this enactment, the Procedural Regulation for the disputants of the Kachin Hill Tribes and the Procedural Regulation for the non-Kachin Hill Tribe disputants were distinguished.

The civil lawsuits that usually occurred in Kachin Hill region were cases of debt and inheritance, so the number of civil law cases was very few. The cases were related to the criminal crimes. In such civil lawsuits as debt, inheritance and hurt or bloodshed, the kind of punishment could be made as in a crime: the guilty person was to make a pledge that he or she would behave himself or herself well during the next three years. If he or she broke the pledge, the Deputy Commissioner court could sentence him to three years' imprisonment, and if necessary, six years' imprisonment.<sup>39</sup> Some cases that occurred in Kachin Hill

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<sup>37</sup> *RNEF*, 1898, 24, 25

<sup>38</sup> Burma Gazettee, Political Department notification, No.14, Rangoon, dated 1<sup>st</sup> August 1895

<sup>39</sup> Naw Angeline, "Kachin-taung-tan-detha-ôk-chôk-ye (1885-1923)" (Administration of Kachin Hill Tract (1885-1923), M.A, Thesis, History Department, University of Yangon, 1978, p.80 (Henceforth: Naw Angeline, 1978)

region were difficult to be distinguished as civil case or criminal case according to Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation.

In Bhamo District, the only violent crimes reported during the year were two murders, the result of hasty blows given during quarrels. The accused have not have arrested in either case. In Myitkyina District, the following offences classed as violent crimes under the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation, were reported between 1<sup>st</sup> June 1897 and 31<sup>st</sup> May 1898:

**Table- III**  
**Reported Crimes between 1<sup>st</sup> June 1897 and 31<sup>st</sup> May 1898**

No.	Date of a current	Place	Nature of Crime
1.	29 <sup>th</sup> May 1897	Akye	Murder of eight Kachins
2.	May 1897	Laban	Murder and abduction
3.	August 1897	Lakra	Homicide
4.	5 <sup>th</sup> August 1897	Lajara	Murder
5.	10 <sup>th</sup> December 1897	Kaoshao	Murderd, dacoity and incendiaries
6.	3 <sup>rd</sup> February 1898	Mamon	Murder
7.	9 <sup>th</sup> February 1898	Tingaw	Murderd, dacoity and incendiaries
8.	29 <sup>th</sup> March 1898	Tingrin	Dacoity
9.	1 <sup>st</sup> April 1898	Seikthama-aik	Dacoity
10.	2 <sup>nd</sup> April 1898	Hweka	Murder
11.	14 <sup>th</sup> April 1898	Manwe	Murder
12.	12 <sup>th</sup> April 1898	Poktaw	Murder and abduction
13.	30 <sup>th</sup> April 1898	Tingaw	Incendiaries, abduction and murder
14.	22 <sup>nd</sup> May 1898	N'bukawng	Homicide
15.	29 <sup>th</sup> May 1898	Loingu	Abductions

sources: *RNEF, 1898*, 13

So in 1902, the Myitkyina Deputy Commissioner requested the Mandalay Divisional Commissioner to categorize the cases included in that regulation as either civil case or criminal case. Mandalay Divisional Commissioner continued to report to the British Government.<sup>40</sup> Mostly the Deputy Commissioner court

<sup>40</sup> Kachin Hill Manual, Rangoon, Superintendent Government Printing, 1906, 34 (Henceforth: *Kachin Hill Manual, 1906*)

defined the value of civil lawsuits of Kachin Hill Region. The value of the lawsuits to be judged by the Deputy Commissioner Court was not specified.

**Table- IV**

**1901-21 Year Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts of Criminal Cases**

No.	Years	District		Subdivisional Judge		Towns Judge	
		Criminals	Value Rs.	Criminals	Value Rs.	Criminals	Value Rs.
1.	1901	5	1758	26	426	279	70
2.	1902	-	-	106	138	167	74
3.	1903	1	250	162	85	109	84
4.	1904	-	-	211	301	68	38
5.	1905	4	9487	4	1023	318	76
6.	1906	1	165	8	867	289	62
7.	1907	2	3984	13	1081	272	81
8.	1908	5	6535	17	813	292	74
9.	1909	3	3339	15	846	242	84
10.	1910	3	2197	18	1040	260	97
11.	1911	6	17440	46	1717	5400	168
12.	1912	6	8670	32	2022	809	194
13.	1913	6	8940	33	1991	640	192
14.	1914	5	13304	48	1956	650	184
15.	1915	2	3697	27	2030	405	182
16.	1916	4	-	37	1883	625	189
17.	1917	6	9091	36	1826	523	165
18.	1918	5	6680	20	1830	423	187
19.	1919	3	7309	36	2111	440	224
20.	1920	-	-	39	1110	530	197
21.	1921	4	7500	63	1599	519	181

Sources: *Bhamo Gazetteer, 1913, 25, 27, 28, 29*

*Myitkyina Gazetteer, 1925, 29, 31*

Before the British annexation, in Kachin Hill region, the revenues were collected mostly by the headman and the Kachin chiefs. The Kachin *Du-was* collected the revenues in their region or village. Basically, only the crops, the agricultural products, were collected as revenue. In the Myanmar Kings' reign, especially in Mohnyin, Mogaung and Indawgyi surrounding areas, the Kachin *Du-was* used to supply the regional products or forestry products to the Myanmar officers as revenues, or presents. On recognition of their kindness, the Myanmar officers also returned silk wares and another garments. As described in the report of Magwe *Wun-dauk* on Upper Myanmar in the surrounding areas of Bhamo and Mogaung, there lived the Kachin chiefs: in the surrounding area of Mogaung, 3 senior Kachin *Du-was*, and 28 junior *Du-was*. Below them, there were 40 to 50 dwelling houses, and below the junior *Du-was*, 10 to 20 dwelling houses. The Kachin *Du-was* were from Mogaung, Kamaing, Amber mine region, and jade mine region, and the surrounding areas of Indawgyi Lake. Of them, only Lakyin Nawng and Saingawn Gan, the *Du-was* of Kamaing Region, had to pay the revenues.<sup>41</sup>

During Myanmar Kings, in Maingkwan Village, Hukawng Valley Region, a *Myo-ôk* was appointed. He collected 2 Kyat-tha of gold per one family as revenue. This had led to the assassination of the Myanmar officer of *Sit-ke* rank in N'ding Ga with a route to Hukawng Valley. From that time till the British administration, there had existed no revenue collection in Hukawng Region.<sup>42</sup> Since in the olden times, the *Du-was* ruled the Kachin lands. The regions were *Mare*, *Kahtawng* and *Mung*, and they collected crops as revenues from the natives of the region under their rule. Especially, one basket of paddy per family or any due amount was collected. Moreover, the local people had to serve voluntary labour, as the cultivators of the hill side farmland. In clearing the hillside one day

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<sup>41</sup>Hertz, 1960, 21, 22

<sup>42</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 55

was spent; one day for dispersing the paddy seeds; one day for weeding; one day for harvesting; one day for winnowing; one day for storing the paddy, etc. Thus the villagers had to contribute voluntary service, as well as revenue.

In a region under the rule of a Kachin *Du-wa*, the local villagers presented one hind thigh of a hunted four-legged prey to the *Du-wa* as a revenue, or a prey for the sacrifice. Such a *Du-wa* was called a thigh eating *Du-wa*, *N'Kawn Sha Du-wa*. Moreover, when a wedding ceremony was held in a village, some kind of *Hpaga* was presented.<sup>43</sup> Thus, the *Du-wa* chiefs' houses looked like a granary.

But according to the Kachin customs, there were two kinds of administrative systems: *Gumsa* and *Gumlau*, the former being more widespread and collecting such revenues as above-mentioned on the villagers. In the regions where the latter *Gumlau* system was practiced, no revenues were collected. A Kachin *Gumsa Du-wa* had a right to receive a hind leg from all the other races from hunting or from the sacrifice. Moreover, other local villagers had to contribute their voluntary labour to do cultivation in his plot of land or terrace farming. The *Du-wa* did not need to return anything for that labour. A *Du-wa* had the right to receive as a present from every family one basket of paddy or two.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, Leach wrote the relationship between the Kachin Hill tribesmen and those dwelling in the Delta thus:

Tribute in the form of paddy (rice) is not on quite the same footing. I have already remark upon the intrinsic interdependence of Kachin (hill) and Shan (valley) economy. In pre-British days a very important function of leading Kachin Chiefs was to offer "protection" to valley-dwelling wet-rice cultivate in return for tribute in rice. The procedure was to include the valley villages within due domain of the hill chief. Thereafter anyone the domain of the hill chief. Thereafter anyone who attacked the

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<sup>43</sup>Lhovo, 1967, 8

<sup>44</sup>Leach, 1964, 121



valley villages would find himself at feud with the Kachin Chief. This rice tribute, in the Kachin view, was the equivalent of the “things” paid by Kachin<sup>45</sup>

When the Chinese loaded mules and other traders passed through the region under a *Du-wa*, they took protections by presenting gifts to him. Those gifts were meant for all the chiefs: cash or paddy or goods of high value. Such patterns of revenue in terms of presenting gifts and taking protection began to be adopted by the Singhpo in Assam in the 1830; by the Gauri in the surrounding area of Sinlumkaba in 1850-70; and by the Kachin in the north of Hsenwi in the 1890s.<sup>46</sup>

During the British rule, concerning the collection of revenues, the officers in Kachin Hill Tract collected revenues at the same rates and types of revenues as in the Myanmar Kings depending on the locality. During the reign of Myanmar kings, in Bhamo, focus was made on the *Tha-tha-me-dha*.<sup>47</sup> Outside Bhamo, the village headmen, and the chiefs did revenue collection. The revenues were submitted to the town headman, who took 10% of the revenue, and supplied it to the town governor of Bhamo, who then sent it to the royal capital. There was a position of *Nar-khan* between the town governor of Bhamo and the town headman, and he served as the Revenue Officer.

The *Tha-tha-me-dha* collected in downtown Bhamo was ks.10 per family: not in cash, but in goods of the same value. Before the British annexation, as the *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue to the royal granary from Bhamo and Shweku, 5,000 to 14,000 baskets of paddy were supplied.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, tax was collected on trading over passing through Bhamo. They were collected 5% on their imports and ks.12 per one load over the shoulders on the exports. Depending on the value of goods

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<sup>45</sup>Leach, 1964, 187

<sup>46</sup>Leach, 1964, 188

<sup>47</sup>Dawson, 1960, 77

<sup>48</sup>Dawson, 1960, 77

loaded boats were also collected taxes. So in the reign of Myanmar kings, in Bhamo, the annual income up to ks.13000 was obtained in revenue.<sup>49</sup> As the forestry revenue, till the early British annexation, the lease for the Kauk-kwe Forest was granted, and the revenue obtained in 1885 was approximately ks.80,000.<sup>50</sup>

In the hilly regions to the north east of Bhamo, till the early British occupation, only the *Du-was* collected the revenues. It is not yet known whether the *Du-was* had to supply the revenues to the Bhamo District Governor. The Sinkan Region was also ruled by the Kara Kachin *Du-wa*; and according to their tradition, they collected revenues in the form of gifts.<sup>51</sup> When the British came, since 1885-86, the system of revenue collection was not changed: the town headmen were to collect and supply the revenue. But fearing any leakage, the *Myo-ôk* or town governor collected the revenues, carrying out the general administrative duties. Most of the village headmen were illiterate, so the Assistant Deputy Commissioners were assigned the revenue collection apart from the general administration and management duties. The revenue rates were checked by the town governor and the Deputy Commissioner, and issued orders for the village headmen.<sup>52</sup> In 1895, Myitkyina District was separated, and in Mogaung, Kamaing and Myitkyina regions, the *Tha-tha-me-dha* was collected as in Bhamo District. Though the rate was ks.10 per one family, the rate was lenient, ranging ks.8 to ks.5 depending on the economic conditions.<sup>53</sup> In 1895, the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted, and according to this Regulation, along

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<sup>49</sup>Dawson, 1960, 77

<sup>50</sup>Dawson, 1960, 78

<sup>51</sup>Dawson, 1960, 22

<sup>52</sup>Dawson, 1960, 78

<sup>53</sup>Hertz, 1960, 153

the Nampaung routes, the Kachin *Du-was*, especially the Mahtang *Du-was*, collected revenues or taxes was abolished.<sup>54</sup> But, though, normally, the *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue was ks.10 per family, only *kyats* 5 per family could be paid in Kachin Hill regions. Moreover, the Kachin who had moved to the mainland could pay only *kyats* 2 and 8 *pès* per family. The revenues were collected by the village chief, who got 10% commission of the collected revenue.<sup>55</sup> The *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue collected in plains was a kind of family revenue while it was collected in terms of the tribute in the hilly regions. This kind of revenue was collected at *kyats* 2 and 8 *pès* per family in Bhamo District by the Assistant Deputy Commissioner with the aid of the *Taung-ôk*.<sup>56</sup> When Myitkyina District had been organized, in the other Kachin Hill regions such as Sadon, Sama and Myitkyina, except Kamaing, the tribute revenue was collected at *kyats* 2 and 8 *pès* per family. In Kamaing, such a revenue rate was ks.5 per family,<sup>57</sup> but in far-flung hilly regions, only k.1 and 8 *pè* to k.1 per family was collected.

The rates defined for the *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue and the tributes revenue were not fixed, but flexible according to the circumstances. If the number of revenue suppliers was low, the rate was raised. In Mogaung, Myitkyina District, the rate was *kyats* 5 per family, but in 1902-03, as the revenue income was low, the rate was raised to *kyats* 7 and 8 *pès* per family as a punishment.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, in 1922, the tribute revenue was raised from *kyats* 2 and 8 *pès* per family to *kyats* 3.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Hertz, 1960, 29

<sup>55</sup>Dawson, 1960, 79

<sup>56</sup>Dawson, 1960, 80

<sup>57</sup>Hertz, 1960, 154

<sup>58</sup>Kachin Hill Manual, 1906, 45

<sup>59</sup>*Report on the North-Eastern Frontier for the year 1922-23*, Yangon, Government Printing, Burma, 1923 p.8 (Henceforth: *RNEF*, 1922-23)

Similarly, in Bhamo District, like Myitkyina District, the rate was raised to *kyats* 3 per family.<sup>60</sup> Such a higher rate was done with the excuse that the revenue for paddy from the lowland peasants had been included.<sup>61</sup>

In Bhamo District, in collecting the land revenue, the area of the land was measured, and the rate was collected at acreage. In lands not yet measured, one tenth of the produce was paid in cash. Though attempts were made to depend on the former rate of the Myanmar Kings, the land revenue rate was amended at *kyat* 1 and 8 *pès* per acre because of the change of circumstances. On the non-government land, the rate lower than that of the government land was collected. On the measured plots of land, *kyat* 1 and 2 *pès* per acre; and on the measured plots, 7.5 percent of the yield.<sup>62</sup> Also in Myitkyina District, the license for the land revenue was issued at *kyat* 1 and 8 *pès* per acre, for the right to do cultivation. On the unmeasured plots of land, one tenth of the yield was defined as the revenue. All the lands in the district were defined as the government land.<sup>63</sup>

There were fisheries based on the *Irrawaddy*, and the business license was issued and the revenues were collected. After Myitkyina District had been organized, the revenue on the fisheries per year was *kyats*.17127. Besides the river, also in Indawgyi Lake, revenues were collected on the fisheries.<sup>64</sup> The income from fisheries varied from year to year, but the income had been increasing.

During the British rule, besides the *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue, land revenue, and revenue on fisheries, revenues on opium and excise were also collected. Before the British rule, in Kachin Hill region, there existed no revenue like excise

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<sup>60</sup>*RNEF, 1923, 9*

<sup>61</sup>*RNEF, 1923, 9*

<sup>62</sup>*Dawson, 1960, 79*

<sup>63</sup>*Hartz, 1960, 154*

<sup>64</sup>*Dawson, 1960, 81*

revenue. No opium trading was allowed in Kachin Hill region. But there took place black marketing, trafficking or illegal storage of opium. Not only the Kachins, but also the Chinese did opium black marketing. Opium trafficking was mostly done through the Kachin Hills to the south of the N' mai Hka. So, the British government began to consider the occupation of that region. Detailed instructions on the rules related to opium dealing were issued. By the end of 1892-93, the administration of the Kachin Hills were reconsidered, and the disciplinary draft law were prepared.<sup>65</sup> In 1895, Myitkyina District was separated from Bhamo District, and the opium dealing in Bhamo declined. In Myitkyina District, 1600 seer of opium weight arrested was the most. Despite those preventive measure, in 1896-97, opium of 47413 seer were arrested in Myitkyina District, 15744 seer in Bhamo District. There was an increase of 328815 seer of opium weight in 1898-99. The 251123 seer of opium were arrested in Upper Myanmar. One single seizure of opium in the largest amount was 29600 seer of opium, which only one Kachin headman of Bhamo District had arrested.<sup>66</sup>

So when opium products were seized, the income was obtained by putting the seized objects in auction or fining. In putting the opium in auction, the system used in 1902 in lower Myanmar, was first introduced from 1904 in Upper Myanmar.<sup>67</sup> According to this system, the auctioneers were issued the licenses at the fixed rate in advance, and the excise officer supervised the auction. The revenue income collected by the British did not decline, but had been increasing

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<sup>65</sup>*Report on the Administration of Burma, 1892-93*, Yangon, Government Printing, Burma, 1893 pp. 5, 33 (Henceforth: *RAB, 1893*)

<sup>66</sup>Aye Aye Hlaing, "Opium in Myanmar (1885-1948)", Ph.D Dissertation, History Department, University of Mandalay, 2008, p. 43 (Henceforth: Aye Aye Hlaing, 2008)

<sup>67</sup>Dawson, 1960, 82

from year to year. This shows that the regular collection of the revenue had been under the close supervision of the British.

**Table- V**  
**1901-21 Year Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts of Total Revenue**

No.	Years	Total Revenue of Bhamo District	Total Revenue of Myitkyina District	Total
1	1901-02	171573	-	171573
2.	1902-03	171667	187507	359164
3	1903-04	183559	197376	380935
4.	1904-05	192541	214856	407397
5.	1905-06	184531	235899	420430
6.	1906-07	197924	253784	451708
7.	1907-08	209233	27345	236278
8.	1908-09	212558	295586	508144
9.	1909-10	226047	299445	525492
10.	1910-11	243013	-	243013
11.	1911-12	246754	274977	521731
12.	1912-13	261573	267671	529244
13.	1913-14	243360	260176	503536
14.	1914-15	247515	244714	492229
15.	1915-16	297649	247519	545164
16.	1916-17	303264	365487	668781
17.	1917-18	307792	411733	715027
18.	1918-19	327992	439851	768843
19.	1919-20	333688	496705	830383
20.	1920-21	336501	496850	833351

Sources: Hartz, 1960, 154

*Bhamo Gazetteer, 1913, 18, 22, 27, 28*

*Myitkyina Gazetteer, 1925, 25, 29*

Besides those revenues, the revenue income business under the British supervision was the revenue on jade and jade mines. The region of the jade mines was under the Kansi *Du-wa*, and the revenues were collected long before the British rule. The jade mine areas were ruled via the *Maw-ôk* and the *Maw-htein*, who collected the revenues and supplied them to the Kansi *Du-wa*. The revenues of farmland, dwelling house and ferry were also collected regularly. It was said that there was no revenue to pay in the act of digging the mine. The plot of mine land was measured and defined by the *Maw-ôk* with the permission of the *Du-was*, and one tenth of the value of the precious stones was to be paid as revenue. Such a revenue was called Man-hu-man-tar. The value of a precious stone was assessed by naked eye.<sup>68</sup> In the Kansi regions over jade mine areas, no revenue must be collected on the ancestry of the *Paw-maing*. If a *Maw-ôk* or a *Maw-htein* was of *Paw-maing* ancestry, he was entitled to the forestry revenue, gate pass revenue, and ferry revenue. The revenues on farmland, dwelling house and jade went to the Kansi *Du-wa*.

After the British occupation, on 10 February, 1888, Kansi Nawng and Kansi La who were Kansi *Du-was* over the jade mine area, and Captain Adamson met, and made negotiations.<sup>69</sup> Since then on, the jade mine areas fell under the British. But the *Du-was* were allowed to continue their administration. Revenues were supplied to the British once a year. Till 1898, revenues were supplied by the *Maw-ôk* and the *Maw-htein* to Kansi *Du-wa*, but concerning Hweka mine, a request was made to collect revenues from Sainglaing *Du-wa*. The type of revenue collected at that time was Mam-hu-man-ta, revenues on forestry, water supply, gate pass, ferry and card games were being collected.<sup>70</sup> Any form of revenues might be collected, but as it was agreed, ks.100 per year must be supplied to the

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<sup>68</sup>Hertz, 1960, 139

<sup>69</sup>Hertz, 1960, 135

<sup>70</sup>Hertz, 1960, 135

British government.<sup>71</sup> From then on, the *Maw-ôk* and *Maw-htein* had to supply the revenue directly to the British only. One tenth of the revenue was returned to the *Maw-ôk* and village headmen by the British. So the British government paid no salary to any one in Kansai Region, but only the Khaing-sar.

The peasants in such villages as Lone-khin in Kachin had to pay the revenues on dwelling house and farmland. The revenue on the dwelling house was *kyats* 5, and the revenue on paddy land was *kyats* 2 per 100 baskets. In some places, *kyats* 9, *kyats* 10 and *kyats* 12, etc, were paid for the dwelling house. Some had to pay *kyats* 15, *kyats* 20, and *kyats* 25. So, the *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue of Kansai Region, not including other revenues, was *kyats* 7000, *kyats* 8000 per year.<sup>72</sup> Just after the British came in, the famous jade mines were:

- (1) Tawmaw
- (2) Ngokin
- (3) Moman
- (4) Sakyi
- (5) Papyen
- (6) Sakwi
- (7) Pakhan, etc.<sup>73</sup>

In the region of jade mines, as revenue, the Man-hu-man-ta revenue and gambling were mainly collected, and much income was obtained. The *Maw-ôk* got only the *Khaing-sa*. Moreover, the *Maw-ôk* presented gifts of *kyats* 100 per year to the British government. The revenue for gift and *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue were collected by the Moegaung Hill assistant commissioner.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Hertz, 1960, 137

<sup>72</sup>Hertz, 1960, 174

<sup>73</sup>Hertz, 1960, 138

<sup>74</sup>Hertz, 1960, 147



The British did not exert influence on the whole Kachin Hill Region. In the regions where their influence did not reach, no revenues were collected. Only the local chiefs collected the revenues. Especially, till 1930, the Hukawng Valley region and the triangle regions between N'mai Hka and Mali Hka were defined as the regions beyond the British government's administration. The British officers made a visit to Hukawng Region almost every year, and the slaves in that region were set free in 1925-26. It was in 1934, that, for the first time, a group headed by J.L. Leyder first collected the revenue as the British government in Hukawng Region: *kyats* 2 per a Kachin family, and *kyats* 4 per a Shan family. In 1935-36, a group headed by Mr. J.W. Leedham toured the Hukawng region, and collected the revenues.<sup>75</sup> So the British government collected the revenues on the Kachin Hill regions in various ways. Among them, a revenue office was opened in Mogaung for the jade revenue.

### Table- VI

#### Jade and Amber

**Regarding Jade and amber had been paid to the British between 1895 to 1898 as follows:**

Years	Jade	Amber	Total Value
1895-96	130,543	-	130543 Rs.
1896-97	150,341	2,330	152670 Rs.
1897-98	83,436	4,990	88426 Rs.

Source: *RNEF*, 1898, 22, 23

To summarize the jurisdiction and revenue collection related to the Kachins, the Kachin *Du-wa*, the chief of the Kachin ancestry, had no authority to directly judge cases like a judge. In jurisdiction, the *Salang* council, whom the *Du-was* consulted with made judgments. But there were not have records like the *Da-mma-thats*. The customs of jurisdiction were handed down and followed, and

<sup>75</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 57

came to exist as the law and procedure of the Kachins. Mostly in jurisdiction, arbitration was common over the quarrel or dispute among individuals or groups, groups were organized, and they worked together to settle the case. As fine, property of high value called *Hpaga* was to be paid for settlement of the case. The value of *Hpaga* as well as its number, varied according to the cases, light or severe. The guilty ones were not sentenced to imprisonment. But they were confined either in the duty of Hka or being made a social outcast or in a kind of houses imprisonment. In Kachin jurisdiction, the personal procedure and criminal procedure were referred to. In the former, the cases of illegitimate child was the most important. Such cases were judged according to classes. *Hpaga* to be paid according to ancestry of chiefs, ordinary class and class of servant as a compensation also varied. In criminal cases, murder was the highest crime, and such a case was judged according to classes. When a member of *Du-wa* ancestry happened to get killed, 100 kinds of *Hpaga* were to be paid. Though the ruler was a *Du-wa*, he had no authority for jurisdiction, and his *Salang* Council alone judged cases in the form of arbitration. Though a *Du-wa* was powerful in law and order in the region, they played only a few roles in jurisdiction. In order to subject the Kachins, the British organized the opponents. In every region under their influence, regional security, jurisdiction and revenue collection were mainly done. Jurisdiction and administration were not separated, but policies for the affiance and reduction of expenses were laid down. Resistances were suppressed and punished in the form of fine. Thus, the Kachin Hill regions were ruled by the military administration from 1886 to 1893. The *Du-wa* who did not serve the British were replaced by those who would be loyal to them in the form of letter of appointment. They had to do regional security, jurisdiction and revenue collection.

In 1895, the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation was enacted, and the cases of Kachin Hill region were judged in accordance with the Regulation. Especially, concerning the civil cases, the British appointed *Du-was* were assigned authority

according to the Kachin customs. So under the British rule, the Jurisdiction of the Kachin Hill region was different from the plains land. The officers serving duties in Kachin Hill regions had the authority to judge according to the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation. The Kachin *Du-was*, *Taung-ôk* and the district officers had no authority to judge the cases of the non-Kachins, but only minor cases of the Kachins according to the Kachin customs. If the defendant was a Kachin, and committed a crime on the Kachin hill, his case was judged according to the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation, if he was not a Kachin, his case was judged as in the mainland courts. The civil law cause that occurred in Kachin Hills during the British rule were related to the crimes, only the punishment given on criminal cases was made. A guilty criminal was to make a pledge to stay well within 3 years, and if he broke the pledge, the deputy commissioner's office sentenced him to imprisonment.

In Kachin Hill regions before the British rule, revenues were collected by the *Du-was* in the regions where they exerted their influence. Basically, agriculture was the main livelihood, the revenue was only in the form of crops, especially the paddy, and was to be paid once a year. During the reign of Myanmar kings, the Kachin *Du-was* in Mogaung, Mohnyin and the surrounding areas of the Indawgyi Lake presented local products to the Myanmar officers who made a visit, while the Myanmar officers returned silk *longyis* and silkwares. As the chief of the race, the *Du-was* defined *Mare*, *Kahtawng*, and *Mung* for their rule. The local people paid crops revenue: one family supplied paddy a year, while one or two groups of terrace farmers supplied paddy in baskets to the *Du-was*. Moreover, they had to contribute voluntary labour in building the house of a *Du-wa* or in his farmland for cultivation. There were two types of *Du-wa*: a thing eating *Du-wa*, revenue collecting *Du-wa* and the *Du-wa* not collecting any revenue. This defined the status of *Du-wa*. Moreover, there were two kinds of administration system, namely *Gumsa* and *Gumlau*, the former being in the line of

inheritance according to ancestry, to whom other races had to supply revenues. In *Gumlau* system, none was to pay revenue. But there were very few regions where that system took place. However, in the regions with a *Gumlau* system, there took place the *Gumsa* system through time and changes. Nevertheless, paying revenues to the *Du-was* reflected the mutual relationship. While the *Du-was* collected the revenue, they were responsible for giving protection to those who paid revenues. Moreover, there existed mutual reliance between those living in hilly regions and those living in the Delta region. Some Chinese traders often passed the region under a *Du-wa's* rule. Then they gave gifts to the *Du-wa*, and sought for his protection. Such pattern had been adopted by Singhpos in Assam in 1830; by the Gauri in the surrounding area of Sinlum-kaba in 1850-70; and by the Kachins of northern Hsenwi in 1890.

When the Kachin regions fell under the British rule, the officers concerned issued orders suitable for the region at in the farmer revenue rate and form as in Myanmar Kings, and collected revenues. In Bhamo, the *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue was collected, while in villages outside Bhamo, the village headmen took 10% commission, and supplied the revenue to the town governor of Bhamo. During the Myanmar Kings, *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue was collected in Bhamo and Shweku in the form of baskets of paddy. In Kachin Hill region to the north east of Bhamo, the *Du-was* collected the revenues in the form of tributes. Just as the British came in, the same form of revenues continued. The *Tha-tha-me-dha* was collected at *kyats* 10 per family, while the people of Kachin Hill regions could afford to pay *kyats* 5, and the people of some regions could pay only *kyats* 2 and 8 *pès*. The village headmen took 10% commission. So under the British rule, the *Tha-tha-me-dha* collected in plains land areas was a kind of revenue on dwelling house while the revenue collected in Kachin Hill regions was a kind of tributes. Such tributes were collected with the aid of *Taung-ôk* by the assistant deputy commissioner. The *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue and the revenue on the tributes were not fixed. During

the British rule, revenues existed in the following: *Tha-tha-me-dha*, tributes, land, fishery, opium and excise. Moreover, income revenues were obtained concerning jade. Formerly, the jade mine areas were under the rule of the Kansi *Du-wa*. So all the revenues concerning the jade mine areas went to the Kansi *Du-wa*, who collected revenues on the jade mines via the *Maw-ôk* and the *Maw-htein*. Below the *Du-wa* were junior *Du-was* called *Paw-maing*, who did not need to pay revenues to the *Du-was*. In jade trading, the Ma-hu-man-ta revenue was to be paid to the *Du-wa*. Since 1898, the *Maw-ôk* and *Maw-htein* did not supply the revenues to the Kansi *Du-was*, but to the British government. The British returned 10% commission to the *Maw-ôk* and the *Maw-htein*. Thus, the British paid only in terms of Khaing-sar, and not in the form of salary. Till 1930, as the British's influence did not reach the Hukawng Valley Region and the Triangle area between the N'mai Hka and the Mali Hka, which belonged to the Kachin Hill region, no revenues were collected from those regions. Only the *Du-was*, the chief of the ethnic group concerned, collected the revenues. In Hukawng Valley region, it was only since 1934, that the tributes revenue was first collected. The British government collected revenues in Kachin Hill region in various forms. This was done via the *Du-was* and the *Taung-ôks*. So in Kachin region before the British government and under the British rule, the Kachin *Du-was* undertook administration, jurisdiction and revenue collection. The Kachin *Du-was* played an important role for the Kachin people.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CHANGES IN THE RULING CLASS

**D**uring Konbaung Period, there lived the Kachins called Thein- phaw in the northern part of Myanmar, north east- mountain ranges and West Kamti region, east Chindwin, Uru-se-ywa, Mogaung Region, Bhamo- Katha Region, Moemeik, Moe Hlaing, Mansi, and Hsenwi Shan Region.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, there lived the Kachins in Assam Region, East Assam, northern most Myanmar, northeast mountain ranges, and Yunnan Province along the border of China under the British rule.<sup>2</sup> The name "Kachin" comprises Jinghpaw, Gauri, Maru, Azi, Lashi and Lisu ethnic groups, etc. The ethnic groups included in Kachin ethnic group have different dialects, and different customs.<sup>3</sup> So, according to the estimates of the Western scholars, the Kachins had probably descended from the Mongolia Plateau between the eastern plateau and West Szechwan.<sup>4</sup> There are four dialects spoken by the Kachins, upon which the political ideology depend. Concerning the political ideology of the Kachins, Leach says:

From this point of view, due empirical fact that in same parts of the Kachin Hills we encounter extreme examples of this sort of language factionalism, whereas in other areas the 'miscellaneous" Kachin sub-groups readily adopt Jinghpaw speech, must be seen as an index or

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<sup>1</sup> Kyan, *1971*, 171

<sup>2</sup> Scott and Hardiman, *1900*, 331

<sup>3</sup> Leach, *1964*, p.41

<sup>4</sup>(a)Hanson, *1913*, 183

(b)Leach, *1964*, 230

symptom of some contrast in political ideology. This brings us the topic of *gumsa* versus *gumlau*.<sup>5</sup>

The Kachins began to make settlements from the northernmost regions of Myanmar, starting from about 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., and then they began to occupy the regions to the south, southeast and west; to the north, the Sumprabum surroundings, the triangle area between N'mai and Mali Hka; to the west, the Hukawng Valley and Assam, to the north east, Maru and Lashi settled themselves along the Saw-law, Htaw-gaw and Ngo - Chang Creek; to the south east, they live in scattered regions in the surrounding areas of Sinlunkaba, Sadon, Sima and Bhamo, to the south, and the surrounding areas of the Indawgyi, respectively.

Before the British came, in Hukawng Regions, where the *Du-was* ruled, there lived Daihpa *Du-wa*, Walaw Bum *Du-wa* and other Shan *Saw-bwa* or Lords.<sup>6</sup> The Hukawng Valley is a region where the Shans and the Kachins lived together, but in the Triangle Area, there lived only the Kachins. However, there had been contacts between the Kachins of Hukawng Region and the Triangle Area.

Among the Kachins were five main ethnic groups. Lahpai, Lahtawng, Marip, Maran and N'hkum. Generally, those who lived in Hukawng were called Tsasen; the Kachins living in the Triangle Area were Hka Hku, those living in Putao Plains, Duleng; those living in the north east of Bhamo, Gauri; those living between Mogaung and Mohnyin, Htingnai; and those living in northern Shan State, the Sinli respectively. The regions were named according to the names of the races. Their dialects were also different in tone and accent, as their political concepts varied. Among those living in the surrounding area of Hukawng Valley, the Marips were the ruling *Du-was*; in Gauri and Sinli; the ruling races were the

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<sup>5</sup>Leach, 1964, 50

<sup>6</sup>Ma Nawng 1944, 42

Lahpai and the Maran; in Triangle Area, the Lahtawng and in other regions, the Marip, the Lahpai, and the Lathawng respectively.

Among the races of the Marips, they had different names. They lived in hilly regions to the west of the Intawgyi Lake, in the surrounding area of the amber mines, jade mines, the Triangle Area, the Hukawng Valley and along the west bank of the *Irrawaddy*. In the regions along the west bank of the *Irrawaddy* there lived the ruling ethnic groups who were stronger in power.<sup>7</sup> The Marips in that region were the first Kachins who made the first contact against the invasion of the British, and were the first to take refuge under the British.

Lahtawng descendants had their own family names. The Triangle Area between N' mai Hka and Mali Hka was the original place of the Lahtawng. So this Triangle Areas were under the control of the Lahtawngs.<sup>8</sup> They also lived widely near the confluence of N'mai hka and Mali hka near Myitkyina, northern and Hsenwi, Moe- Meik. When the British came, the Lahtawngs, except Sana Lahtawng, did not revolt against the British imperialists.

The Lahpais, according to the British, were the strongest ethnic group.<sup>9</sup> They live in all hill regions where the Kachins live: on the east and west banks of the *Irrawaddy*; north east of Bhamo, along the Phon-Kan Hill; northeast and north of Mogaung; southern Hsenwi, and Moe- meik. Sima Lahpai and Szi Lahpai were the most well known ethnic groups among the Lahpais. Moreover, Gauri Lahpais were powerful Lahpais to the north east of Bhamo.<sup>10</sup>

The Myanmar went and attacked Assam from 1817 to 1820.<sup>11</sup> They, then, met the Jinphaws, who were then regarded as the uncivilized ethnic groups from

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<sup>7</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 375

<sup>8</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 375, 376

<sup>9</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 376

<sup>10</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 377

<sup>11</sup>Woodman, 1962, 63



Mogaung and Hukawng Valleys. On their march to Assam, the Myanmar troops had to pass Mogaung and Hukawng. In Assam and Hukawng Valley regions, the Kachin *Du-was* were then very powerful in battles. The *Du-was* who were then very well known was the Pyisa and the Daihpa *Du-was*.<sup>12</sup> The Myanmar troops marching to wards Assam organized one thousand Kachin Jinhaws, and came to Assam.<sup>13</sup> So, since 1830, the regions Hkamti Long and Sediya in Assam were under the power of the Shan *Saw-bwas* or lords. Again, the regions along Hukawng Valley were under the Kachins while Mogaung was placed under the administration of Myanmar *Myo-ôks*.

In 1835, the Kachin *Du-wa* Phisa Gam who fell under the British and *Du-wa* Daipha Gam who was ruling the Hukawng Valley were fighting. The British fought on the side of Pyisa Gam, so Daipha Gam made a confrontation against the British at Assam. So the British sent an envoy to the Myanmar King in order to keep under control the Kachins at Hukawng Valley and Assam. In January, 1835, the Mogaung Town Officer and Captain Hannay arrived at Hukawng Valley,<sup>14</sup> in order to study the situation between Mogaung and Assam. On their return, they took Daipha Gam to the royal capital. On 19th May, 1836, he arrived at Inwa Royal Capital together with Captain Hannay and the Town officer of Mogaung. Then he was awarded titles.<sup>15</sup> From then on, the Jingpaw Kachins came to be more well known. The word Kachin First appeared in English in the 1837s. Moreover, the Christian missionaries wrote the name of Kachin as Ka- Khyan in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and it was only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, that they began to adopt the

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<sup>12</sup>(a) Brang Di, 1996, 52

(b) Ma Nawng, 1944, 26, 42

<sup>13</sup> Yet-swe, 2002, 20, 21

<sup>14</sup> Yet-swe, 2002, 23

<sup>15</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 50, 52

term Kachin. In 1837, the American missionary Rev. Kincaid came to Mogaung and met Ka-Khyen.<sup>16</sup>

In the years after 1837, Kincaid came to Bhamo and Mogaung and from then on one Christian missionary after another came to the Kachins. The American Baptist missionary, Taylor Rose came to Bhamo in 1862. But he was more eager to go to Bhamo via Inwa and to China via Bhamo on missionary.<sup>17</sup> Then, in 1868, Taylor Rose and Josiah N. Cushing once again came to Bhamo. Taylor Rose got the aid of Cushing who was doing missionary for the Shans, and got back to Bhamo, and studied the north and east of Bhamo. On the route he met the Kachins, as mentioned in the record.<sup>18</sup> When Rose and Cushing returned, an American missionary Francis Mason came to Bhamo in 1873. Mason spoke Myanmar, and preached 30 to 40 men at a public rest house. Among them were included about 8 Kachins. But Mason got sick, and had to return to Mandalay in 1874. Mason was the missionary for the Karens. He finally got sick and died. Then, Captain H.Carpenter organized the Karens, and started to do missionary to the Kachins once again. In 1876, Cushing came to Bhamo. He made his centre in Taungoo, doing missionary to the Shans. In Bhamo, he did missionary to the Shans, giving aid to Rose, and studying the Shan texts.

Since 1877, the American Baptist missionary started the Kachin Baptist missionary. They first founded Kachin Baptistism for the Karens. Though their work lasted from 1837 to 1876, for 40 years, they were not a success. In 1877, the first Kachins who became Christians were 7 Kachins, including Bumwa *Du-wa* family of Bumwa village to the east of Bhamo. Then, the missionary went on to the hilly regions where the Gauri Kachins live to the east of Bhamo. It reached the Mahtang *Du-was*, the most powerful among Gauri Kachin *Du-was*. Thus, in 1897,

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<sup>16</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 82

<sup>17</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 85

<sup>18</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 85

with Cushing, Mr. Willian H- Roberts joined, and continued the missionary among the Kachins, with the aid of 4 Karens of Pathein. The Bumwa *Du-was* gave up the tradition of the Deities and were converted to Christian. Then, Mr. and Mrs- Roberts got sick, and to go back to Yangon. Then, Mrs. Roberts died. So Mr. Roberts went back to America in 1880. Since 1881, Bawmung La and 7 people of Bumwa became Christians. In 1882, 8 people from Bum in Bum Village also became Christians, so the Kachin Christians came to exist. Their children stayed at the missionaries' house and first studies Myanmar language, personal grooming, the Bible, singing choirs, and there came into existence a school. What made the missionary difficult was the illness. In 1883-84, a boarding school began in Bhamo. Thus, before the British occupation, since the rule of the Myanmar Kings, permission was granted for Christian missionary, and the missionaries came to the Kachins since 1837. But it was only in 1881, that the Gauri Kachins to the east of Bhamo were the first Christians. The missionary had come through the aid of the Karens. So before the British rule, only a few Kachins were Christians. From them on the Kachin Christians studied the Bible, and stayed at boarding schools. That was the beginning of schools.

After the British had occupied Upper Myanmar, a list of Kachin *Du-was* living in Bhamo, Mogaung and Indawgyi Lake was submitted from Magwe *Wun-dauk* to Assistant Deputy Commissioner and British officers. According to the list of *Taung-sa Du-was* dated 30th March; 1888; there are 53 hills to the east of Bhamo. These hills have chiefs of their own. Of the 53 chiefs 43 are influential. A Kachin chief has control over 50 to 60 houses. In each house there are from 20 to 25 families. The chiefs are Magistrates. Their orders are final. Every year they assess a tax in the form of a basket of paddy from each family. The office of a chief is hereditary. No taxes were levied on the chiefs; but there was an octopi duty on the fruits and other country produce brought into Bhamo.

List of hills from Tapin chaung, Bhamo, to the Kin at Lwelaing in the south--

	Number of <i>Taung-sa</i>					
Pakunm Hills	...	...	...	...	...	5
Kadaw Hills	...	...	...	...	...	7
Ponzaw Hills	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lweyein Hills	...	...	...	...	...	1
Gyapaik Hills	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lwelon Hills	...	...	...	...	...	1
Hoton Hills	...	...	...	...	...	1
Matin Hills	...	...	...	...	...	1
(The chief of this hill was presented with a golden umbrella by King Mindon.)						
Möng-hka	...	...	...	...	...	1
				<b>Total</b>	...	<b>19</b>

From Tapin chaung to Wanbaung chaung in the south by Kindawngalat road---

Ladaungainyu	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ladaungmskyaing	...	...	...	...	...	1
Laya	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ponlein	...	...	...	...	...	1
Peshindo	...	...	...	...	...	1
Wunkaw	...	...	...	...	...	1
Panma	...	...	...	...	...	1
Nawku	...	...	...	...	...	1
				<b>Total</b>	...	<b>8</b>

From the western bank of Nandabet chaung to the southern bank of Nanzi chaung.

Momauk	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lawtaw	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lawmun	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lonza	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ponbya	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kyetyin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ngazin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Gonbi	...	...	...	...	...	1
Peto	...	...	...	...	...	1
Paya	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kayi	...	...	...	...	...	1
				<b>Total</b>	...	<b>11</b>

Hills along the Kokyin-Manpa road from the southern bank of Nanzi chaung.

Wabaung	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sayi	...	...	...	...	...	1
Palin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Waingson	...	...	...	...	...	1
Wabawkat	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lana	...	...	...	...	...	1
Wazigon	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kalya	...	...	...	...	...	1
Pita	...	...	...	...	...	1
				<b>Total</b>	...	<b>9</b>

Along the Theinlin chaung---

Kawabon	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lwegun	...	...	...	...	...	1
Habon	...	...	...	...	...	1
Homa	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lataung	...	...	...	...	...	1
Leka	...	...	...	...	...	1
				<b>Total</b>	...	<u>6</u>
				<b>Grand</b>	...	<u>53</u>
				<b>Total</b>		<u>          </u>

There are three chiefs and 28 lesser chiefs in the districts round Mogaung. Under each of the chiefs are from 40 to 50 houses, and under each of the lesser chiefs from 10 to 20 houses. In each house there are between 20 and 30 families. As at Bhamo, the chiefs are also Magistrates. There was a duty of 10 percent, levied on jade-stones.

List of Chiefs in the Mogaung

	Number of Chiefs					
Malwebum	...	...	...	...	...	1
Jade Mines District						
Kansinaung	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lonkin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Malin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Neinza	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kadaw-wa	...	...	...	...	...	1
Nemzatan	...	...	...	...	...	1
In the Districts on both Banks of Nantein						
Nwe- kwela	...	...	...	...	...	1
Mapyin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kakan	...	...	...	...	...	1

## In the District of Indawgyi

	Number of Chiefs					
Mabu	...	...	...	...	...	1
Saingnaing	...	...	...	...	...	1
In the District of Kamaing						
Lakyin Naung	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sainggaung Gam	...	...	...	...	...	1
(These two chiefs paid taxes).						
Pontudaung	...	...	...	...	...	1
On the Banks of Nati Chaung						
Sawba	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kazi	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sama	...	...	...	...	...	1
On the Banks of Nanzin Chaung						
Situ	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lakyinbon	...	...	...	...	...	1
On the District of Tapo						
Taunglon	...	...	...	...	...	1
Wawin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ngakewa	...	...	...	...	...	1
Bhamo District						
Matuwa	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sinbo Districts						
Waka	...	...	...	...	...	1
Maiklon	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sawyama	...	...	...	...	...	1
On the Banks of Mogaung River						
Wawin	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sawdn	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kazi	...	...	...	...	...	1
Magayam	...	...	...	...	...	1
				<b>Total</b>	...	<u>31<sup>19</sup></u>

<sup>19</sup>From the *Wun-dauk* of Magwe to Commissioner of the Northern Division, Upper Burma, Series No. 11 (A), Acc:No.2727, National Archives Department

Before the British rule, the Kachin *Du-was* were mentioned as the *Taung-sa Saw-bwas*. It was only under the British rule that the *Du-was* and *A-gyi-was* were separately appointed and instead of *Taung-sas*, *Taung-ôks* were appointed. The number of *Taung-ôks* was not as many as the *Du-was*.

On 28 November, 1885, the British occupied Mandalay, and they occupied Bhamo in 28 December.<sup>20</sup> Then, General Norman cleared the forests around Bhamo, and built barracks. On 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1886, the British declared Upper Myanmar as the British Empire, and there started the administration in Bhamo. The first Bhamo deputy commissioner was Major Cook.<sup>21</sup> The eastern regions of Bhamo were then under the rule of the *Du-was*. Among them, the Mahtang *Du-wa* was the most powerful. To prevent the British army from their approach, they blocked the route to China.<sup>22</sup> Thus, despite the uprisings after occupying Bhamo, the British tried to organize the other regions gradually. Thus, the British tried to keep control of the Kachin hills.

After the occupation of Bhamo, in February 1886, the British troop led by Major Cooke marched to Mogaung along the Irrawaddy River. They met the local officers in Mogaung, and appointed only the former Mogaung *Myo-ôk* once again. While the British troop headed by Major Cooke marched to Mogaung, the Kachin *Du-was* in Bhamo first revolted against the British. The leader was Hpungkan *Du-wa*, who also refused to take refuge under the British rule.<sup>23</sup> He organized the Kachins, and made attacks on the British troops.

When Major Cooke's troop went back to Mogaung, the *Myo-ôk*, or town officer appointed by the British was assassinated. The assassins were the Kachins. The vacant position was appointed with Maung Tun Kyaw of Bhamo. But as he did not take up the position, the British appointed the son of the former,

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<sup>20</sup>(a) Crosthwaite, 1968, 7

(b) Woodman, 1962, 335

<sup>21</sup> Dawson, 1960, 21

<sup>22</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 332

<sup>23</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 332, 333



*Myo-ôk*, but he did not accept the order, but fled and hid himself. The Kachins supported him.<sup>24</sup> From that time on, there were more confrontations between the British and the Kachin. The Kachin revolutions were headed by the Kachin *Du-was*. While the British tried to win the support of the Kachins, they suppressed the uprisings as if rebels and thieves.

Reinforcements came, and were settled in the regions when the anti- British uprisings occurred. In order to suppress the revolting Hpung Kan *Du-was*, a troop was stationed at Mansi on the way to the village of Hpung Kan *Du-wa*.<sup>25</sup> But till the end of 1886, the British could not control the surrounding area of Bhamo, because on 14 November 1886, the Kachin, Shan and Chinese combined forces and attacked Bhamo. Till July and August, 1886, the peace path had to be followed while no taxes could be collected on northern areas.<sup>26</sup> So till 1886, the British could not organize the Kachin hill regions, but let than remain as usual.

However, since early 1887, the British military police from India came and reinforced the civil administration. A fortress was built in Sinbo, and a battalion of Indian soldiers were stationed there.<sup>27</sup> Then they marched to occupy Mogaung, with the intention of controlling the jade mines. The army officers were given instructions so as to prevent frights among the local people along the route, and a civil officer was ordered to accompany the troop, and negotiate with the Kachins.<sup>28</sup> On 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1888, the British came back to Mogaung, via Mogaung, they continued to march to Kamaing, and after negotiating with the chiefs over the jade mine area, named Kansi Nawng and Kansi La, had the jade mine area under their control.<sup>29</sup> So, as the British had the jade mine area under

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<sup>24</sup> Hertz, 1960, 28

<sup>25</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 333

<sup>26</sup> Crothwaite , 1968, 237

<sup>27</sup> Crothwaite , 1968, 237

<sup>28</sup> Hertz, 1960, 26

<sup>29</sup> Crothwaite, 1968, 255

their administration without causing any problem, it was assumed that the Mogaung and its surrounding area was in peace and security.

But the former *Myo-ôk* Po Saw organized the Kachin *Du-was*, and made attacks on the British troops. Among the *Du-was*, Sima *Du-wa* was the most active. He belonged to Lahpai race, and was a *Du-wa* ruling the Sima Village to the north of Mogaung.<sup>30</sup> Beside, Sama *Du-wa*, Punkaw *Du-wa* also organized the Kachins, and attacked the British camps, starting the anti- colonist revolutions in mass. Again, on 20 May, 1888, the Mogaung battle broke out, which was the anti-colonist battle engaging the Kachin, Shan and Myanmar in unity. From then on, as it is observed, there arose the national spirit and the political and military insights among the Kachins. Formerly, they had the motive of taking revenge among themselves. But when the British came to Kachin Hill Tracts, forcing them to take refuge under the rule of foreigners caused bitterness to them. So, though the arms strength was not equal, the Kachins took up any weapons they could lay their hands on and fought the colonists back.

The Kachins in the surrounding area of Mogaung strongly fought against the British, so the British made more reinforcements, and suppressed the rebels.<sup>31</sup> Again, on 16 October, 1888, the British India Government issued special operation plans: to suppress the Kachins in Kachin Village headed by the Lahpai, Lahtawng and Maran *Du-was*. But the British was badly defeated, and they suppressed the opponents more fiercely.<sup>32</sup> They set fire to the crops of the villages supposed to have anti- colonists. In suppressing Sima *Du-wa* of Lahpai race, they set fire all village under Sima *Du-wa* in surrounding area of Mogaung: they destroyed 9229 houses, 24 villages and 194,000 baskets of paddy.<sup>33</sup> This pattern of destructions was applied to villages involved in the uprising. In winter, in 1888- 89, operations

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<sup>30</sup>Hertz, 1960, 32

<sup>31</sup>Hertz, 1960, 38

<sup>32</sup>(a) Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 336

(b) Hertz, 1960, 39

<sup>33</sup>Hertz, 1960, 46

were launched systematically for the suppression. Centering around Mogaung, negotiations with the *Du-was* from Lahpi, Maran and Lahtawng were made and they were persuaded to take refuge under the British. Those opponents were suppressed and the villages were set on fire. Those under their rule were sent certificates of recognition as the British governments were made from one village after another and the suppressions continued. In 1889- 90, severe suppressions were made to the Lwesaing *Du-was* to the east of Bhamo, and other anti- British colonists named U Aung Myat, U Po Saw, Kam Hlaing and Saw Yan Naing. U Po Saw, Saw Yan Naing and Kan-hlai were given support by the Kachin *Du-was*, and the suppressions increased.

In the late 1891s, the Kachin *Du-was* being convinced that their powers could not match the British, many came to take refuge under the British. But there remained many other regions free from their rule. So plans were made for having all *Du-was* under their control. The Kachin *Du-was* accepting the British rule were appointed Sanad,<sup>34</sup> and went to collect house taxes. In winter, 1891- 92, four military troops were sent to all north east of Bhamo.<sup>35</sup> In order to occupy the west bank of the *Irrawaddy*, four troops were sent. In there operation, some *Du-was* got killed or arrested. In 1892, in Sadon, a fierce battle broke out between the strong anti- British patriots and the British. Many fell on both sides. Captain Harrison fell, so Sadon was later named Fort Harrison.<sup>36</sup>

In winter operation in 1891- 92, Kachin *Du-was* were defeated. The area from east bank of the *Irrawaddy* to Sadon was placed under their rule. In order to organized the remaining areas, other operations were launched in 1892- 93. In those years, seven operation troops were organized, which continued to do organizing and supervising in Kachin hill regions. In Sima Village a battle broke out. It was the fiercest battle between the Kachins and the British. Three British

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<sup>34</sup>Gun

<sup>35</sup>Hertz, 1960, 54

<sup>36</sup>Hertz, 1960, 56

officers fell, 3 wounded, and 102 soldiers were engaged to that battle. Captain Mortan fell, and Sama Fort was re-named as Fort Morton. Since 1893, suppressing the anti-British revolutionists in Kachin hill regions declined. From 1886 to 1893, the fierce suppressions had taken place. Under the leadership of the *Du-was*, the Kachins took up any weapons and fought against the British. But, finally, they fell under the British to take refuge. After Sama Battle, there were no more confrontations. Administration, jurisdiction and tax collection were done only through the British appointed *Du-was*. The *Du-was* were ordered to rule their own regions. So, wherever an issue arose, there was no confrontation with the British officer, but the *Du-was*. So, no big problems arose, and the issues were solved in easy means. So, in 1893, suppressions in Kachin hill regions came to an end.<sup>37</sup>

After the British organizing the Kachin hill regions, the regions were identified. Every year, in winter, only the regional inspector toured with only a few escorts. As the administration zone, Bhamo District and Myitkyian District were identified. In order to rule the Kachin hill region as in Rakhine hill region, Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted.<sup>38</sup> According, only the *Du-was* ruled the people according to respective races and villages and the traditional customs. The Christian missionaries started teaching for religion and education. Only the Roman Catholic and American Baptist mission could assume those duties, opening the missionary school.

The American missionary opened boarding schools together with the Karens. So the missionary schools were first opened in large villages around Bhamo. Since early 1890, in A.B.M school, there were about 30 students.<sup>39</sup> Most of them were the children of those Kachins who had converted into Christian. When the British first came, the missionary task was almost stopped. No students came to the

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<sup>37</sup>Hertz, 1960, 62

<sup>38</sup>Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 367

<sup>39</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 114

missionary school. The American missionaries were Mr. Willian Roberts and the Karen teachers. The Christian missionaries found it hard to start their work recently after the British occupation of Kachin hill regions. But the number of Christians gradually increased after 1890.<sup>40</sup> In 1890, as Mr. Robert got ill, he went back home with his family. At the end of 1890, as the American missionary, Ola Hanson came. He invented Kachin alphabet in the form of Roman letters. Thus, he translated the Bible into Kachin. So the propagation of the Christian religion became effective. Then, in 1892, Mr. George J. Geis came to Bhamo and via Bhamo, went to Myitkyina. In 1895, when he reached Myitkyina, he found a space by the Irrawaddy, and opened a school in 1896. Centering Myitkyina, he undertook the missionary step by step. In 1897, there were Christians in Myitkyina, and Manhkring Village was set up as a village of Kachin Christians in 1898. In 1904, there were 25 Christian families, and since 1902, the Lisu were first converted to Christian. In 1899, with the aid of the British government, a school was opened the first boys- girl schools. So from 1897 to 1911, the number of students students increased from 6 to 75.<sup>41</sup>

The Christian missionaries opened schools almost in the areas under their missionary through the aid of Kachin Christian. So the population of students attending in the school opened by the American Baptist Mission in Bhamo increased from 30 to 221 from 1885 to 1911, in Myitkyina, from 1897 to 1921, from 6 to 75.<sup>42</sup> In those schools, the Kachin *Du-was* sent their children to towns with school for their education. Only the *Du-was* who were educated at the specified level were awarded the positions of *Taung- ôk*. The A.B.M opened the five schools in Kachin hill regions.<sup>43</sup> From 1883 to 1911, the ABM school produced the following number of students.

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<sup>40</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 115

<sup>41</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 122

<sup>42</sup>Tegenfeldt, 1974, 126

<sup>43</sup>Hertz, 1960, 85

**Table- VII**  
**Kachin Baptist Church Annual Educational Statistics, By Districts, and Total**  
**(1883-1911)**  
**Schools, Native Teachers, and Pupils**

	Bhamo			Myitkyina			Totals		
	Sch	Tch	Pup	Sch	Tch	Pup	Sch	Tch	Pup
1883	4	1	24				4	1	24
1884	4	1	24				4	1	24
1885	4	1	24				4	1	24
1886	4	-	-				4	-	-
1887	4	-	-				4	-	-
1888	1	2	30				1	2	30
1889	1	1	35				1	1	35
1890	-	-2	-				-	1	-
1891	3	4	67				3	2	67
1892	2	3	110				2	4	110
1893	1	4	101				1	3	101
1894	1	4	73				1	4	73
1895	1	3	86				1	4	86
1896	1	4	50				1	3	50
1897	1	4	54	1	0	6	2	4	60
1898	-	-	-	1	0	15		Incomplete	
1899	3	6	91	1	0	13	4	6	104
1900	2	6	100	1	2	24	3	8	124
1901	6	10	130	1	2	24	7	12	154
1902	9	10	141	2	2	29	11	12	170
1903	11	14	128	2	2	29	13	16	157
1904	8	9	111	2	3	39	10	12	150
1905	10	16	154	2	2	42	12	18	196
1906	7	19	188	1	6	37	8	25	225
1907	10	16	183	1	1	46	11	17	229
1908	10	-	171	1	-	47	11	-	218
1909	9	-	188	1	-	43	10	-	231
1910	11	-	223	1	-	57	12	-	280
1911	8	-	221	2	-	75	10	-	296

Sources; Tegenfeldt, 1974, 127

**Table- VIII**  
**Educational Statistic, Bhamo District Between 1901 to 1911**

Years	High School		Middle School		Primary School		Private School	
	Sch.	Stu.	Sch.	Stu.	Sch.	Stu.	Sch.	Stu.
1901-02	-	-	3	185	18	847	87	1473
1902-03	-	-	4	298	66	1463	71	1299
1903-04	-	-	5	335	70	1316	73	1291
1904-05	-	-	3	204	67	1641	88	1411
1905-06	-	-	4	185	38	667	89	1748
1906-07	-	-	4	258	43	1060	108	1388
1907-08	-	-	3	222	38	830	140	2188
1908-09	-	-	6	347	29	555	154	1549
1909-10	-	-	7	408	26	575	142	1396
1910-11	-	-	5	254	34	640	148	1441

Sources: *Bhamo District, 1913, 28*

**Table- IX**  
**Educational Statistic, Myitkyina District Between 1911 to 1921**

Years	High School		Middle School		Primary School		Private School	
	Sch.	Stu.	Sch.	Stu.	Sch.	Stu.	Sch.	Stu.
1911-12	-	-	3	154	22	621	71	784
1912-13	-	-	4	282	22	467	75	808
1913-14	-	-	4	333	22	519	78	840
1914-15	-	-	5	432	22	576	83	894
1915-16	-	-	5	441	23	660	85	839
1916-17	-	-	5	451	22	172	78	654
1917-18	-	-	5	469	18	570	79	618
1918-19	-	-	5	431	17	663	82	658
1919-20	-	-	4	386	30	954	82	716
1920-21	-	-	5	367	23	725	80	729

Sources: *Myitkyina District, 1925, 33*

After occupying the Kachin hill regions, the British first appointed the Kachins in Bhamo Military Police Battalion since April, 1898. From 1898, every year in summer, new recruitments were organized among the Kachins. The *Du-was* appointed by the British, had to give help for this purpose. The appointed Kachin soldiers were ordered to suppress the opponents. Thus, there were no confrontations with the British, and at the time the Kachins were organized to serve the British government. Those valiant Kachin soldiers in the British army were awarded.<sup>44</sup> From 1898 onward, the Kachin soldiers were recruited as military police at Bhamo Military Police Battalion stationed in Bhamo. First, they served as ordinary soldiers, and in 1907, a Coy of Kachin soldiers were organized. That coy was applied to suppressing the Chinese and the Shans opposing the British in the Chinese border in Lweje, and Sadon.<sup>45</sup> Then, in 1909, another Coy. was organized; and another one in 1914: three Coy.s were organized under Bhamo Military Police Battalion till 1918. In 1911, the World War I broke out, the three Coy.s comprising Kachin soldiers were sent to the Western European front- lines: 349 Kachin military policemen in total, who were 60 in 1-10<sup>th</sup> Gaurkha Rifles Army, and 289 in 185th Burma Rifles Army, and were to fight in the frontlines of Mosopotamia and Turkey. *Du-wa* and *A-gyi* was from Marip, Lahtawng, Nhkum, Maran, Gauri, Maru, Azi, Lachik and Lisu were among the soldiers.

Among the *Du-was* were:

1	Jinghpaw <i>Du-was</i>	41
2	Gauri <i>Du-was</i>	8
3	Maru <i>Du-was</i>	8
4	Azi <i>Du-was</i>	2
5	Lachik <i>Du-was</i>	2
6	Gareng <i>Du-was</i>	1
7	Lisu <i>Du-was</i>	6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>68<sup>46</sup></b>

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<sup>44</sup>*Kachin Military History, 1954, 26*

<sup>45</sup>*Kachin Military History, 1954, 23*

<sup>46</sup>*Kachin Military History, 1954, 36*



The 1-10th Gurkha Rifles Army, there were only three Kachin captains: (1) Sub Jinghpaw Gam (2) Sub Wala Zaw Tawng, and (3) Sub H pau Lu La. Together with them, the following Kachin captains joined the wars in Germany in the frontline in West Europe:

- (1) Sub Jinghpaw Gam, Bhamo Military Police
- (2) Sub Hpaulu La, Myitkyina Military Police
- (3) Jein Prang Gun Zaw Tu, Myitkyina Military Police
- (4) Jein Sumdu La, Bhamo Military Police
- (5) Hav-Labya La, Lashio Military Police
- (6) L/Naik Hkangda Naw, Lashio Military Police

They took the lead in Kachin forces. These Kachin military policemen came from Bhamo to Pyin Oo Lwin in 1916; in Pyin Oo Lwin, they received military training. In 1917, via Mandalay and Yangon, they left for Calcutta and Bombay of India, and joined the wars in Europe. The four Coys, Sikh Compang- 1, Gurkha Company- 1, Muslims Company- 1 and Tinghpaw Company- 1 were combined, and named 85th Burma Rifles Corps, and they joined the war against Germany.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the Kachin soldiers got war experience, and other knowledge.

On the other hand, in Kachin Hill Region, there appeared schools opened by the British government, and many educated Kachin youths were produced. The *Du-wa's* children who lived in regions with no schools were sent to boarding schools in Bhamo, Sinlum Kaba and Myitkyina, etc. Finally, they became government servants. So, among the Kachins, only the children of the Kachin *Du-was* were the first to be educated. Moreover, headquarters were established in Bhamo and Myitkyina, and the Kachins were organized and recruited in military police force, to become literate, educated, government servants, and officers, gaining new experiences and knowledge. On the other hand, in the late 1895s, Ola Hanson invented the Kachin Jinghpaw language literature, thus resulting in

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<sup>47</sup>*Kachin Military History, 1954, 86*

opportunities for the Kachin in gaining knowledge. After 1898, the Kachin literature was taught to the Kachins, including in the military police.

Thus, the Kachin literature had become a compulsory subject. The Kachin Newspaper was published from 1914 to 1927, which informed politics, social affairs, health and education.<sup>48</sup> The Kachins, reading the newspaper, gained knowledge about the outside world while they learned war experience and other experience by serving in British troops.

Though educated, the Kachins had no change of administration. Only the *Du-was* were allowed to rule the Kachins, according to races and traditions. But these *Du-was* were appointed only by the British government for ruling. The *Du-wa* and *A-gyis* were of the same position of *Thu-gyi* appointed in Lower Myanmar. Above the *Du-was* and the *A-gyis*, was appointed a *Taung- ôk* each for one Kachin hill area boundary. The first *Taung- ôk* under the regional assistant inspector was appointed in 1897 at Sinlumkaba to the east of Bhamo.<sup>49</sup> When the regional assistant inspector toured, he was accompanied by a *Taung- ôk* from village to village. The *Taung- ôk* duty was to collect the family population list, list of gun and number of houses, and collect taxes. Moreover, minor cases among the Kachin ethnic groups were decided upon according to Kachin Customary Law.<sup>50</sup> In that very year, Sima *Taung- ôk* was appointed, and the Marus in the surrounding area of Sima were to pay taxes to Sama *Taung- ôk*.<sup>51</sup> Again, in 1904-05, operation started along N'mai Hka- Mali Hka in Myitkyina District. But as the local Kachins fought against them, the administration could not start. But, since 1911, the British administration was settled in Htaw-lang, Lakein regions where the Lhavo- Lachiks lived. In 1911, in Law-hkawng, one hill region assistant

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<sup>48</sup>Jinghpaw Shilaika, 1914-27, Braughpa Collection

<sup>49</sup>Dawson, 1960, 29

<sup>50</sup>RNEF, 1898, 24, 25

<sup>51</sup>RNEF, 1898, 4

inspector was appointed and the administration began. In 1914, Sam Kha Lum was appointed *Taung- ôk* by the local people, and negotiations were made with the British. Again, for Law- hkawng region, U Chan Tu was appointed *Taung- ôk* by the British; in 1922, Gawlu Palaung La; in 1930, U Bok Yan Haung for Saw-law *Taung- ôk*.<sup>52</sup>

It is observed the *Taung- ôk* and the *Du-was* in local regions of Kachin hill regions did collections tax, administration and jurisdiction, as well as in local development tasks. Especially, in road transportation, supervision was made on road and bridge construction. During British rule, the most economic way of road and bridge construction was used. So, under the leadership of the *Du-was* in villages, the labour contribution of the villager was used for road transportation. Thus, though labour charges were paid by the British government, the actual costs were higher. In some villages, no costs were issued. For example, in 1909- 10, in Katha District, Hkunhpa *Du-wa* built a road to Sumprang Village, and no costs were paid by the British government, so only the villagers had to do road construction. The following account on that construction of road was records in the report of the British government:

In building or repairing the road, the system of awarding should be extended. More cash needs to be spent. Thus, the construction work can be dispatched at the most economical rate.<sup>53</sup>

This shows that, though no loans were granted by the British government, the *Du-was* took the lead to the villagers in building new roads for regional development.

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<sup>52</sup> Lhavo, 1967, 14

<sup>53</sup> *Report on the North-Eastern Frontier for the year of 1909-1910*, Yangoon, Government Printing , Burma, pp.24, 25 (Henceforth: *RNEF, 1910*)

Since 1911, roads were constructed as the British troop arrived at Htaw-gaw to the north east of Myitkyina. The task was done at the expense of the villagers' labour. Then schools were opened: In 1921, in Htaw-gaw; in 1922, in Chihpwe and in 1930, in Saw- Law.<sup>54</sup> The British centered Bhamo and Myitkyina to rule the Kachin hill region, and since 1897, the centre of administration was established, and the administration on the Kachins began. The Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted, and power was assigned to different levels. The original pattern of administration remained unchanged: the tribes chiefs were allowed to continue their rule. Then, the boundaries were identified. Certificates for appointment were awarded to the Kachin chiefs and *Du-was* for assigning duties. Till 1906, 40 Kachin Hill Tracts, including Hukawng, were identified.<sup>55</sup> The certificates of appointment specified the boundary for rule.

Though *Du-was* and *Taung- ôks* were appointed, everything had been under controlled. The British government appointed regional officers, regional assistant officers and hill region assistant officer, but in reality, they scarcely had direct contact with the local Kachins. So the fundamental administration of hill region administration was done effectively by the *Du-was* and the *Taung- ôk* appointed. So the British hold the Durbars in order to organize the Kachin leaders and exert stronger influence. Such meetings were held annually or on suitable occasions. This enabled the British to keep tighter control of the local chiefs, and the power of the British became more effectively. Concerning the Durbars, the 1909- 10 report read as follows:

In December, 1909, in the Durbar of Myitkyina the Vice Governor made his presence, and present were not only the Kachin chiefs but also border

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<sup>54</sup>Lhavo, 1967, 14

<sup>55</sup>*Kachin Hill Manual*, 1906, Rangoon, Government Printing, Burma, 1906, 56, 62  
(Henceforth: *Kachin Hill Manual*, 1906)

land chiefs. For the British power exertion, the Durbars were better than the local inspection of civil administrative officers and effective tax collection.<sup>56</sup>

The increase of power resulted from the British officer's tour in Kachin hill region and the settlement of the British officers in close contact with the locals. So the report stated that there were no other regions in Myanmar as powerful the British officers to the locals as in Kachin hill region.<sup>57</sup> According to 1923 report, in the Durbar at Fort Hertz in Putao were present the Hkamti *Saw-bwas*, the local Kachin *Du-was* in the district, and powerful Kachin *Du-was* outside the British administration.<sup>58</sup> So, till 1922- 23, in some Kachin hill regions, there remained many areas free from the power of the British. The *Du-was* under the British rule became educated so the operation of the administration became smooth. At least, the primary middle and high schools were opened. Similarly, the *Du-wa* races gave priority to education. The British made more systematic administration in Kachin hill regions. Since 1922, in Bhamo District, the boundaries were identified: Sinlum Kachin Hill Tract and Shwegu Kachin Hill Tract; in Katha District, Katha Kachin Hill Tract, in Myitkyina District, Htawgaw Kachin Hill Tracts, Kamaing Kachin Hill Tract, Mogaung Kachin Hill Tracts, Myitkyina Kachin Hill Tracts, Sadon Kachin Hill Tracts and Sima Kachin Hill Tracts.<sup>59</sup> Till 1911, five *Taung-ôks* were appointed under the Sub- division for Sinlumkaba and Shwegu Kachin

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<sup>56</sup>*RNEF, 1910, 1*

<sup>57</sup>*RNEF, 1910, 9*

<sup>58</sup>*Report on the North-Eastern Frontier for the year of 1922-23, 1* (Henceforth: *RNEF, 1923*)

<sup>59</sup>(a) *Burma Gazetteer, The Bhamo District, Vol.B, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1913, pp.37, 29* (Henceforth: *Bhamo District, 1913*)

(b) *Burma Gazetteer, The Myitkyina District, Vol.B, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1925, pp.42, 66* (Henceforth: *Myitkyina District, 1925*)

Hill Tracts in Bhamo District.<sup>60</sup> The *Taung- ôk* was responsible for collecting taxes and jurisdiction touring the areas under his administration.

The following table shows villages, dwelling houses, population and religion according to the boundaries of Kachin hill regions.

**Table- X**  
**Bhamo, Myitkyina and Katha District, Population of Religion Till 1911**

No.	Kachin Hill Tracts	Total Population	Buddhist	Ani-maists	Hindus	Mahomedans	Christians
1	Bhamo District Sinlum Hill Tracts	44035	5,366	17,739	258	225	447
2	Shwegu Hill Tracts Myitkyina District	6069	-	6069	-	-	-
3	Htawgaw Hill Tracts	17305	7	16832	324	15	11
4	Kamaing Hill Tracts	7067	193	6834	35	1	2
5	Mogaung Hill Tracts	10467	276	10,066	53	-	57
6	Myitkyina Hill Tracts	6411	55	6093	129	67	63
7	Sadon Hill Tracts	12355	722	10940	432	18	122
8	Sima Hill Tracts	10416	49	4637	404	8	46
9	Katha District Katha Hill Tracts						

Sources: (a) *Bhamo District, 1913*, 37, 49

(b) *Myitkyina District, 1925*, 42, 66

<sup>60</sup>*Bhamo District, 1913*, 2

According to 1911 Census, the maximum population of Kachin hill regions was animists. The Hindu, Muslim, Christian and devotees of other religions were military police and employed of other British government offices. According to 1911 Census, though the Christian missionaries had made a widespread propagation, the Kachins still did not give up their animism. It was observed that they were not easily converted into Christians.

The following is the list of Christians stated by American Baptist Mission.

**Table- XI**  
**List of Christians in (1882-1925)**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Bhamo</b>	<b>Myitkyina</b>	<b>Shan State</b>	<b>Total</b>
1882-89	58	-	-	58
1890-99	142	16	-	158
1900-09	300	156	-	456
1910-19	645	433	224	1302
1920-27	1339	666	1060	2965
1928-31	2484	2463	3100	7947

Sources; Tegenfeldt, 1974,137,138

The table shows that though Bhamo District was the first region for the Christian missionary, it was in 1931, that the number of Christians in northern Shan State was rapidly growing. If compared with the Kachin animist, the number of being converted into Christian was not as high as the number of animists in only one Hill Tract. So, though Ola Hanson he invented Kachin alphabet, not every Kachin who read Kachin literature was a Christian. Though many *Du-was* were acquainted with Christian, they could not give up the tradition of animism probably because the animism and the Kachin traditional administration system were related in many ways. In other words, the *Du-was* could not renounce the power they had formerly enjoyed. Another factor was that the British fiercely killed the Kachin, so the Kachins would not convert themselves into the religion of

the British. The *Du-was* who became Christians, especially of north east Bhamo and western Shan State, gave priority to education, and only those who passed the primary and middle school level were appointed to the high position of *Taung- ôk*. They were appointed to serve in other areas of Kachin Hill Tracts, which were not their birthplace. So the Kachins of Kachin Hill Tracts in Bhamo and its environs became educated persons.

Again, during World War I, many Kachins who served the British army got killed. In 1917, one corp of Kachin serving in Mesopotamia was a reliable force to the organized as 3/20<sup>th</sup> Kachin Rifles Battalion. The Kachin Rifles Battalian was organized in 1920. In 1921, they had to go in Moplah Operation in Marla bar Island. Then the Kachin Rifles Battalion was renamed 3/20<sup>th</sup> Burma Rifles. At that time, half of the soldiers in that Battalion were the Kachins.<sup>61</sup> Till 1929, in Taiping, they had to serve there under 1/20<sup>th</sup> Burma Rifles Battalion, and the Battalion had to come back to Myanmar. In 1930, when the Tharyarwaddy uprising arose, the 3/20<sup>th</sup> Burma Rifles Battalion had to join the operation. In 1932, the Saya San Revolution was ended.<sup>62</sup> So, the Kachin soldiers who were first organized from Sinlumkaba Kachin Hill Tracts gained war experience, became more civilized, educated and cultivated.

On the other side, in Bhamo District, though many Kachins joined the British army, in Myitkyima District till 1927, the Kachins still made attacks on the British camps.<sup>63</sup> In 1914, when the British drew the boundary map of Kachin state, the Kachins made an uprising because the boundary was made without having the Kachins involved. So, in 1927, led by the education officer Maran Robin of Bhamo District, about 80 *Du-was* from Bhamo and Myitkyima went to Yangon in order to make official boundaries of the Kachin State as the duty of the British

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<sup>61</sup> Enriquez, 1933, 33

<sup>62</sup> *Kachin Military History*, 1954, 29

<sup>63</sup> Enriquez, 1933, 33



government. Then the Governor was Sir Harcourt Butler. The boundary that the Kachin leaders claimed for included Katha District.<sup>64</sup> But no reply was given by the British government, so the claim did not come into effect. It can be said that claim was the first official non- violence, independence movement of the Kachins. Until then, the British had not completely occupied all Kachin Hill Tracts. Especially, no effective administration had reached to Hukawng Valley and the regions between N'mai Hka and Mali Hka, known as the Triangle Area. In 1925, Sir Harcourt Butler visited the Hukawng Valley and abolished the Slave System.<sup>65</sup> This was meant to undermine the power of the *Du-was*, because the Kachin *Du-was* in Hukawng possessed many slaves. In other words, this undermined the strength of the Kachin *Du-was* of Hukawng, who first made confrontation against the British. In 1824, a confrontation with the British government in Assam took place, and it was only in 1925, that the British could occupy it. Thus, the revolution took place for a hundred years. So, the British, investing time and money, freed the slaves in order to undermine the strength of the *Du-was*. But from 1928 to 1934, no tax collection was done in Hukawng, but only in 1934-35.<sup>66</sup> In other words, as Kachin *Du-was* of Hukawng could fight back the colonists by organizing the Kachins, it was in 1936, that Hukawng completely, fell under the British.

To sum up, in the sector of administration of the Kachins, the traditional administration of the chiefs were roughly similar: the ruling was done in the line of inheritance. But depending on the region, their political concepts were differed. The region with different political concepts were the Azis and Gauri, who lived in

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<sup>64</sup>Lashi Naw, Rev., *Jinghpaw Mung de Hkristan Sasana Shang wa ai lam* (The coming of Christianity to the Kachin's Land), Myitkyina, Hanson Memorial press, 1958, 33 (Henceforth: Lashi Naw, 1958)

<sup>65</sup>Enriquez, 1933, 13

<sup>66</sup>Ma Nawng, 1944, 57

Bhamo and Sadon called Sinpraw Ga, Hukawng Tsasen, who lived between Mogaung and Katha called Htingnai Ga and Northern Shan called Sinli Ga; the Triangle Area between N'mai Hka and Mali Hka, called Hka Hku Ga. The *Du-was* had ruled these regions from generation to generation in the line of ancestry in those regions. The Kachins are of five races: Marip, Maran, Lahtawng, Lahpai, and N'hkum. The influential boundary was that of the Marip races: they ruled Hukawng valley, jade mine and amber mine areas and the region along the west bank of the *Irrawaddy* as the powerful race. When the British invaded the boundary, they first fought against the colonists and were the first to take refuge under the British rule. The Lahtawng tribes ruled the Triangle Area. When the British invaded, the other Lahtawng, except the Sana Lahtawng, did not revolt against the colonists. The Lahpais were the most powerful tribes among the Kachins. They fought for nearly, throughout the British rule. The Gauri Lahpai, Sima Lahpai and Azi Lahpai were well known. The Lahpai tribes had influenced northern Shan State, northeast Bhamo and east west of the Irrawaddy.

During the Myanmar Kings' rule, the Kachin *Du-was* were called *Taung-sa*. The list of *Taung-sas* acquainted to the Myanmar Kings was submitted by the former Myanmar Officers recently after the British annexation of Myanmar. The lists of *Taung-sa* was concerned with these living in Bhamo and its environs, Mogaung and environs of the Indawgyi Lake, jade mines and amber mines region. No contact existed with the Kachins living in Hukawng and the Triangle Area and along the China border. During the rule of the Myanmar Kings, the Kachin chiefs were addressed as *Taung-sa*. They lived according to the tradition of their ancestry. After 1886, the British organized the regions under the Kachin *Taung-sas*, the Kachin *Taung-sas* from various regions came to take refuge under the British, who issued official certificates of appointment to those who subjected themselves, and assigned them to the duties of administration, jurisdiction and tax collection, as well as the local security duty. They were allowed to continue their administration as before.

So the British waged operation in Kachin hill tracts from 1886 to 1893 during the period of Pacification, and organized one region after another under their rule and issued certificates of appointment, and assigned duties to those loyal subjects. On the other hand, they fiercely suppressed the opponents. Then, in Bhamo District, the Christian missionaries opened missionary school. Especially, in 1881, the *Du-wa* and family of Bumwa Village were first converted to Christians. The American Baptist Mission and Roman Catholic were the first missionaries. The children of the newly converted Christians studied at the missionary schools, and got educated. Formerly, the *Du-was* followed the traditional administrative pattern, and ruled their own territory, and sometimes fought in British found the muscles a comfortable. In the administrative pattern, they has the authority to deal only with minor cases according to the traditional customs, because in 1895, Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted, which restricted the authority of the Kachins. The status of the *Du-was* was similar to the village headman in mainland Myanmar. What remarkable was that the Kachins had the Kachin Customary Law according to Kachin Hill Tribes Regulations in dealing with legal cases. In order to have special administration on Kachin Hill tribes, the Kachin Hill Central Headquarters was set up in Sinlumkaba. One assistant hill officer was appointed. Below him was a *Taung-ôk*, whose duty was to tour and collect taxes, make a list of dwelling houses in his boundary, and to make decree on certain cases. In 1911, Bhamo District was divided into Sinlumkaba and Shwegu Kachin Hill Tracts. Five *Taung-ôk* were appointed. Also in Myintkyina District, 6 Kachin Hill Tracts were defined, and *Taung-ôks* were appointed in suitable places. Only the literate *Du-was* were appointed to the position. So the Kachin *Du-was*, who were *Taung-ôk*, had a chance to deal with the British administrators closely in administration. Moreover, since 1897, the British organized the Kachins to join and serve the military police. Centering Sinlumkaba as the first strategic area, the British started organizing the Kachins in Sinlumkaba and its neighboring areas, and then in Bhamo and its neighboring

areas, Myitkyina neighboring areas, and Kachin Hill Tracts. In 1914, during the World War I, the Kachin military police had to go and to join wars in west Europe. In 1918, the army returned, with losses of live. The Kachin military police had a chance to witness the outside world and gained new experiences and knowledge about how the West Europeans lived and thought. One Kachin Coy. was organized in the British army. In 1923, though the Diarchy administration was granted to Lower Myanmar, Kachin Hill Tracts were left out with the excuse of being an undeveloped territory. The status of the *Du-was* had remained as before. In 1914, ignoring the will of the Kachin people, the British defined the territories. This caused resentment to the Kachins. Led by *Du-was* of Hukawng, an uprising took place. Again, in 1927, the *Du-was* joined hands, and marched to Yangon and claimed for the official identification of Kachin land. Thus, long before the British occupation, the Kachin *Du-was* inherited the positions according to their ancestry, and ruled their regions in accordance with the Kachin customs. Also under the British rule, the *Du-was* were appointed and granted authority for administration, jurisdiction and tax collection according to the customs. Though other Kachins might be educated, it was the *Du-was* only who took the lead in religion, education and social welfare tasks, and such tasks as led by the *Du-was* came to be a great success.

## CONCLUSION

Kachins before colonial period, lived in the hilly regions of north, northeast and northwest of Myanmar in small tribal villages. They made their living by shifting *Taungya* cultivation. Kachins were guessed to have entered Myanmar about 1<sup>st</sup> century and lived in Putao plains. From there, they also lived in triangle areas between N'maikha and Malikha rivers, to the south. Nearly all Kachin region were under the rule of Nan Chao during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Under Nan Chao's power, Kachins served in the armed forces, fighting. They settled down at their present regions, Mohnyin, Mogaung, Bhamo, Myitkyina, Sinbo, north Hsenwi, Katha and Yunan of China. Kachins who lived in plains, at that time, made their living as professional soldiers of Shan *Sawbwas*. Since they had lived in the hilly triangle areas, Kachins lived and ruled according to their tradition within their tribes. According to their tradition, they had practised three kinds of administrative systems. Since the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century there appeared the system of *Gumlau*, the revolt of ordinary people to the traditionally ruled *Gumsa Du-wa*. But only *Gumsa* system was practised for many years. Because of the *Gumlau* revolt, political concepts and administrative systems within Kachins differed. Some *Gumsa Du-wa* of triangle area were found to have reached Hukawng and Assam. However, *Gumsa* system only was practised as the most practical Kachin traditional administrative system till 1960. All of Kachins political and administrative policies were based on the *Gumsa's* political concepts and ideas were found out.

The British annexed Upper Myanmar then they occupied Bhamo. They tried to occupy Mogaung via Bhamo. The British tried to occupy Bhamo and Mogaung that they were confronted with the resistance of the Kachins for the first

time. Though the British wanted to solve the conflict politically, the local national patriots took to arms and fought them back. Such resistance spread since early 1886. The British tried to suppress by force columns were sent every winter. But they usually met the resistance of the Kachins. Since early 1886 till 1888, there took place the most fierce battles. So Mogaung was successfully occupied only in 1888. The jade mines were organized since 1888 into the British occupation via the *Du-was* of the mines. Moreover, the battles against the Shan, Kachin and Bamar in 1888 were the most fierce and in maximum numbers. A fortress was built in Bhamo, a stronghold was made in Mogaung, and the environs were occupied. In 1888-89, the Kachin races in the environs of Mogaung, namely Lahpai, Azi, Lahtawng and Maran, were suppressed. The relatives were arrested and the villages were destroyed. Losses on both sides took place. So the British sought for political means. But till 1890-91, the administration over Kachin hills had not been effective. Suppressing the revolutionists meant a kind of punishment. So the British government issued certificates and guns to the *Du-was* and assigned them the duties of tax collection, jurisdiction and administration. In order to implement such policies, since 1891-92, columns were sent. In winter of 1891-92, four columns were sent. Fortresses were built in China borderline. In 1894-95, the Kachin Hill regions in Bhamo were placed under the British administration. In 1895, new Myitkyina District was founded. The Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895 was enacted, thus establishing the British administration over the Kachin Hill Regions. So in 1897, the suppressions of the Kachins had almost been completed.

In that year, the Sinlumkaba was firstly opened as the Kachin Hill Region Administration Headquarter, where one *Taung-ôk* was appointed. Since 1897, Kachins were organized to serve the British army. But Hukaung and the Triangle Area were not yet occupied. In 1914, Putao region was occupied, and a fortress, Fort Hertz was strongly built. Since 1922, 9 Kachin Hill Region Administration boundaries were defined, and the British administration over the Kachins began. It

was only in 1930, that the triangle area was occupied. So the administration system and boundary over Hukaung and the Triangle region were defined, and the administration began in 1934-35.

The jurisdiction and revenue collection related to the Kachins, the Kachin *Du-wa* had no authority to directly judge cases like a judge. In jurisdiction, the Salang council, whom the *Du-was* consulted with made judgments. But there were no records like the *Da-mma-thats*. Mostly in jurisdiction, arbitration was common over the quarrel or dispute among individuals or groups, and they worked together to settle the case. As fine, property of high value called *Hpaga* was to be paid for settlement of the case. The value of *Hpaga* as well as its number, varied according to the cases, light or severe. The guilty ones were not sentenced to imprisonment. But they were confined either in the duty of *Hka* or being made a social outcast or in a kind of houses imprisonment. *Hpaga* to be paid according to ancestry of chiefs, ordinary class and class of servant as a compensation also varied. In criminal cases, murder was the highest crime, and such a case was judged according to classes. When a member of *Du-wa* ancestry happened to get killed, 100 kinds of *Hpaga* were to be paid. Though a *Du-wa* was powerful in law and order in the region, they played only a few roles in jurisdiction. In order to subject the Kachins, the British organized the opponents. In every region under their influence, regional security, jurisdiction and revenue collection were mainly done. Jurisdiction and administration were not separated, but policies for the efficiency and reduction of expenses were laid down. Resistances were suppressed and punished in the form of fine. Thus, the Kachin Hill regions were ruled by the military administration from 1886 to 1893. The *Du-wa* who did not serve the British was replaced by those who would be loyal to them in the form of letter of appointment. They had to do regional security, jurisdiction and revenue collection.

In 1895, the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation was enacted, and the cases of Kachin Hill region were judged in accordance with the Regulation. Especially,

concerning the civil law cases, the British appointed *Du-was* were assigned authority according to the Kachin customs. So under the British rule, the Jurisdiction of the Kachin Hill region was different from the plains land. The officers serving duties in Kachin Hill regions had the authority to judge according to the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation. The Kachin *Du-was*, *Taung-ôk* and the district officers had no authority to judge the cases of the non-Kachins, but only minor cases of the Kachins according to the Kachin customs. A guilty criminal was to make a pledge to stay well within 3 years, and if he broke the pledge, the deputy commissioner's office sentenced him to imprisonment.

Before the British rule, revenues were collected by the *Du-was* in the regions where they exerted their influence. Basically, agriculture was the main livelihood, the revenue was only in the form of crops, especially the paddy, and was to be paid once a year. During the reign of Myanmar kings, the Kachin *Du-was* in Mogaung, Mohnyin and the surrounding areas of the Indawgyi Lake presented local products to the Myanmar officers who made a visit, while the Myanmar officers returned silk *longyis* and silk wares. The local people paid crops revenue: one family supplied paddy a year, while one or two groups of terrace farmers supplied paddy in baskets to the *Du-was*. Moreover, they had to contribute voluntary labour in building the house of a *Du-wa* or in his farmland for cultivation. There were two types of *Du-wa*: a thing eating *Du-wa*, revenue collecting *Du-wa* and the *Du-wa*, not collecting any revenue. This defined the status of *Du-wa*. Moreover, there were two kinds of administration system, namely *Gumsa* and *Gumlau*, the former being in the line of inheritance according to ancestry, to whom other races had to supply revenues. In *Gumlau* system, none was to pay revenue. But there were very few regions where that system took place. However, in the regions with a *Gumlau* system, there took place the *Gumsa* system through time and changes. Nevertheless, paying revenues to the *Du-was* reflected the mutual relationship. While the *Du-was* collected the revenue, they



were responsible for giving protection to those who paid revenues. Moreover, there existed mutual reliance between those living in hilly regions and those living in the Delta region.

Under the British rule, the officers concerned issued orders suitable for the region at in the former revenue rate and form as in Myanmar Kings, and collected revenues. In Bhamo, the *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue was collected, while in villages outside Bhamo, the village headmen took 10% commission, and supplied the revenue to the town governor of Bhamo. During the Myanmar Kings, *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue was collected in Bhamo and Shweku in the form of baskets of paddy. In Kachin Hill region to the north east of Bhamo, the *Du-was* collected the revenues in the form of tributes. Just as the British came in, the same form of revenues continued. The *Tha-tha-me-dha* was collected at *kyats* 10 per family, while the people of Kachin Hill regions could afford to pay *kyats* 5, and the people of some regions could pay only *kyats* 2 and 8 *pès*. The village headmen took 10% commission. So under the British rule, the *Tha-tha-me-dha* collected in plains land areas was a kind of revenue on dwelling house while the revenue collected in Kachin Hill regions was a kind of tributes. Such tributes were collected with the aid of *Taung-ôk* by the assistant deputy commissioner. The *Tha-tha-me-dha* revenue and the revenue on the tributes were not fixed. During the British rule, revenues existed in the following: *Tha-tha-me-dha*, tributes, land, fishery, opium and excise. Moreover, income revenues were obtained concerning jade. Formerly, the jade mine areas were under the rule of the Kansai *Du-wa*. So all the revenues concerning the jade mine areas went to the Kansai *Du-wa*, who collected revenues on the jade mines via the *Maw-ôk* and the *Maw-htein*. Below the *Du-wa* were junior *Du-was* called *Paw-maing*, who did not need to pay revenues to the *Du-was*. In jade trading, the *Man-hu-man-tha* revenue was to be paid to the *Du-wa*. Since 1898, the *Maw-ôk* and *Maw-htein* did not supply the revenues to the Kansai *Du-was*, but to the British government. The British returned 10% commission to the *Maw-*

*ôk* and the *Maw-htein*. Thus, the British paid only in terms of *Khaing-sar*, and not in the form of salary. In Hukawng Valley region, it was only since 1934, that the tributes revenue was first collected.

In the sector of administration of the Kachins, the traditional of administration of the chiefs were roughly similar: the ruling was done in the line of inheritance. But depending on the region, their political concepts differed.

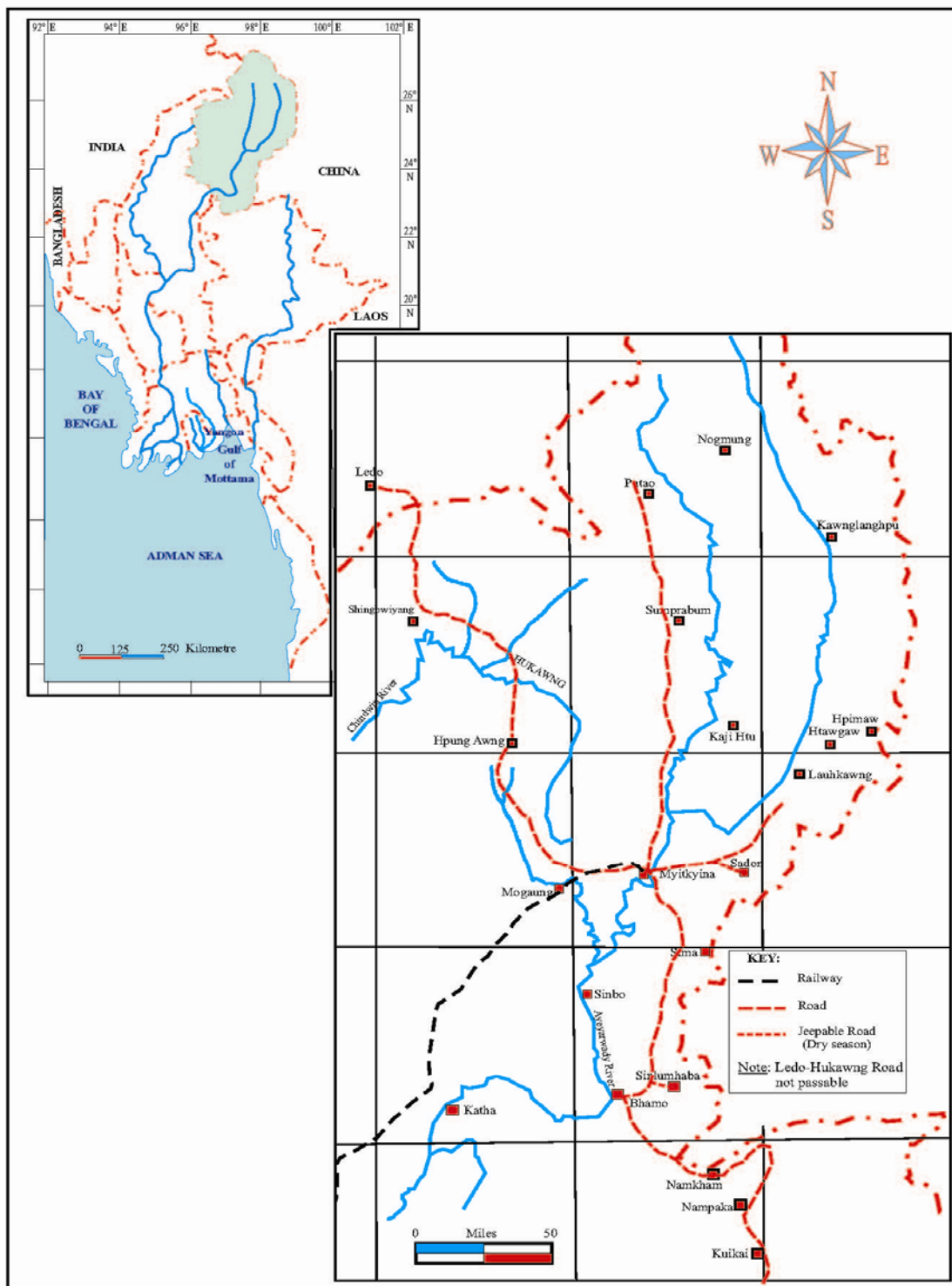
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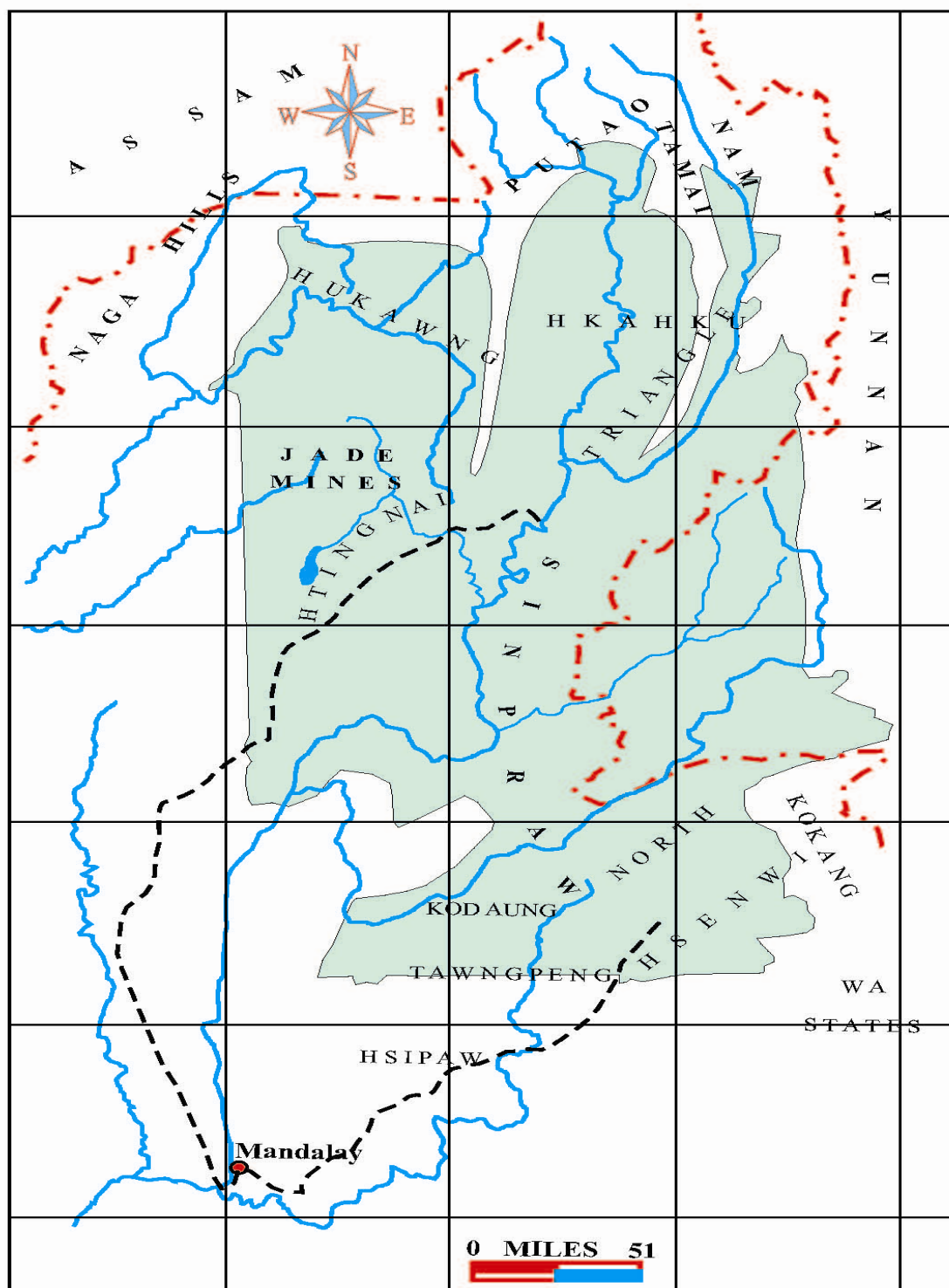
## **Maps**

**Map (1)**  
**Map of the Northern Myanmar**



Source: Tegenfeldt, 1974, 21

Map (2)  
 Map of the Kachin Hills Area



Source: Leach, 1964, 31

## **Photographs**

**Photo (1)**

**Kachin *Du-was* met with Governor Sir Hercourt Butler at Rangoon in 1924**



**Source: From Branghpa Collections**

**Photo (2)**

**Troops of Namhkek *Du-wa*'s personal body guard**



**Source: From Branghpa Collections**



**Appendix-I**

**APPOINTMENT ORDER OF KACHIN HEADMAN**

..... son of .....  
of the tribe .....sub-tribe .....  
..... and clan .....is hereby appointed

Duwa  
Akyl of the area ..... contained within boundaries noted on the  
reverse and abutting on---

the ..... jurisdiction on the .....  
the ..... jurisdiction on the .....  
the ..... jurisdiction on the .....  
the ..... jurisdiction on the .....

The following villages situated within the tract are under his jurisdiction:---

.....  
.....  
.....

The *Duwas* of the following village groups are also subordinate to him-----

.....  
.....

He is hereby directed to pay into the .....  
.....  
the tax due from his villages before the 1<sup>st</sup> of December in each year.

He must make all necessary roads in his jurisdiction and must keep them  
open and fit for traffic.

The number of arms to be held within his jurisdiction is as follows:-

Name of village.	Total number of guns.	Distinguishing marks of the guns.

Dated-----

*Deputy Commissioner*

**Appendix-II**  
**REGULATION No. I OF 1895**  
***The Kachin Hill-tribes Regulation***

[N.B.--- The Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation, as amended, applies to the Kachin Hill Tracts of the Myitkyina, Bhamo and Katha Districts, the Kachin area of North Hsenwi and the Kachin and Palaung areas of Mongmit.]

Whereas it is expedient to declare the law applicable to the hill-tribes in the Kachin Hill-Tracts of Upper Burma: it is hereby enacted as follows:-

CHAPTER I

*Preliminary.*

**1. Title, commencement and extent.**---(1) This Regulation may be called the Kachin Hill-Tribes Regulation, 1895.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Local Government, by notification in the *Burma Gazette*, may appoint.

(3) It shall extend to such hill-tracts and shall apply to such hill-tribes as the Local Government, subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council may from time to time by notification in the *Burma Gazette*, direct and section 11 shall also apply to all persons who may be parties to a suit or other proceeding of a civil nature in which any of the parties is a member of a hill tribe to which this Regulation applies, and sections 15, 18 A, 20A, 21 and 32 A shall apply to all persons within a hill-tract.

**2. Definition-** In this Regulation--

- (1) "hill-tract" means any hill -tract to which this Regulation has been extended:
- (2) "hill-tract" means any hill -tract to which this Regulation has been applicable:
- (3) "clan" means any subdivision or section of a hill-tribes:
- (4) "headman" means the chief or head of any hill-tribes or clean or village, or group of clans or villages, and includes a *Du-wa and an Akyi*;
- (5) "Assistant Commissioner" includes any officer whom the Local Government may invest with the powers of an Assistant Commissioner under this Regulation.

Source: Handbook for C.A.S Officer, 1945, 11

### Appendix-III

[Annexure C].

#### KACHIN TRACTS

Bhamo and Myitkyina, for the purpose of making a list of Kachin villages, may be divided into the following tracts;---

- I. ----Enclosed by the Paungnet and Setkala *chaungs* and the main Irrawaddy. This is the low-lying part of the Shwegu township and practically contains no Kachin villages.
- II. ----Enclosed as follows:---
  - North.* --- By the Irrawaddy,
  - East.*---- By the Sinkan *chaung*,
  - West.*--- By the Paungnet *chaung* and Möng Mit border,,
  - South.* --- By the Möng Mit border,
- III. ----Enclosed as follows:---
  - North.* --- A line drawn from the junction of the Nahu with the Sinkan *chaung* to the village of Mansi at the extremity of the Hopôn-Homa ridge.
  - East.*---- Thence along the west face of the ridge to the base of the Loichow peak.
  - South.* --- the Möng Mit boundary.
  - West.*--- By the Sinkan *chaung* from its source to the point where the Nahu flows into it.
- IV. ----Enclosed as follows:---
  - North.* --- The Irrawaddy.
  - East.*---- The Moyu *chaung* from its mouth up to the village of Mansi.

*South.* --- A line drawn from Mansi to the junction of the Nahu with the Sinkan *chaung*.

*West.*--- Thence Sinkan *chaung* from its mouth up to the village of Nanmapwè.

V. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Theinlin *chaung* from its mouth up to the village of Nanmapwè.

*East.*---- The road from Nanmapwè to Mansi.

*South.* --- The Moyu *chaung* from Mansi its mouth.

*West.*--- The Irrawaddy.

VI. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Tapin *chaung* from the village of Myothit to its mouth.

*East.*---- A line drawn from Myothit on the Tapin to Nanmapwè on the Theinlin *chaung* skirting the base of the hills.

*South.* --- The Theinlin *chaung* from Nanmapwè to its mouth.

*West.*--- The Irrawaddy.

VII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- From Nanmapwè up the Theinlin *chaung* to its source near the village of Lataw, east of Warabôn.

*East and South.*---- Thence on due south to the Namwan, the Chinese frontier up to the Loichow peak.

*West.*--- Along the Hopn-Homa ridge due north to the village of Mansi; thence the road from Mansi to Nanmapwè.

VIII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Namsiri *chaung* from the spot where the east boundary of Tract No.VI cuts it to its source; thence along the Mantein *kha* to its junction with the Namwan.

*East.*---- The Namwan .

*South.*---The north boundary of Tract No. VII.

*West.*--- The east boundary of Tract No. VI from the village of Nanmapwè to the place where it meets the Namsiri *chaung*.

IX. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Nantabet *chaung* from its source to its junction with the Tapin; thence along the Tapin to Myothit.

*East.*---- The frontier.

*South.*---The Mantein and Namsiri *chaungs*.

*West.*--- The eastern boundary of Tract No. VI.

X. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Tapin *chaung* from Myothit upwards.

*East.*---- The frontier.

*South and West.*---The Nantabet *chaung*.

XI. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Alawpum ridge.

*East.*---- The Nampaung.

*South* --- The Tapin from the spot where the Nampaung joins it down to Mannaung.

*West.*---The Namsan *chaung* from its source at the foot of the Alawpum peak to Mannaung.

XII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Tali *chaung* from its source at the base of Alawpum to its junction with the Molè.

*East.*---- The Alawpum peak and Namsan *chaung* down to Mannaung.

*South* --- The Tapin from Mannaung down to its mouth.

*West.*---The Irrawaddy and the Molè from its mouth up to the point where the Tali *chaung* flows into it.

XIII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Molè *chaung*.

*East.*---- The frontier.

*South* --- The Tali *chaung*.

*West.*---The Molè *chaung* .

XIV. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Namsan *chaung* from its source down to Kau.

*East.*---- The frontier.

*South* --- The Molè *chaung* as far down as Manmaü.

*West.*---The road from Kau to Manmaü.

XV. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The road from Manmaü to Kau; thence the Namsan to its mouth.

*East and South.*---- The Molè *chaung* from Manmaü to its mouth.

*West.*---The Irrawaddy.

XVI. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North and East.* --- The Nammali from its source near Pumlôn to its mouth.

*South* --- The Namsan *chaung* from its source near Pumlôn to its mouth.

*West.*---The Irrawaddy.

XVII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Nantabet from the point where the Paknoi flows into it down to its mouth.

*East.*---- The Paknoi *chaung* from its source at the foot of Loilyeppum to its junction with the Nantabet.

*South* --- The frontier from Loilyeppum as far as the source of the Nammali; thence along the Nammali to its mouth.

*West.*---The Irrawaddy.

XVIII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Nantabet from the point where the Paknoi meets it up one of its sources to the foot of Nlaopum; thence along the ridge to Sabupum.

*East.*---- The frontier from Sabupum down along the Long Chein *kha* to Loilyeppum.

*South and West.* --- The Paknoi *kha*.

XIX. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- Natmyin *chaung* from its mouth to Loisaw; thence a line drawn through Hpong to the elbow of the Namli where it takes its bend to the east.

*East.*---- A line drawn from the elbow of the Namli south to Aokye and thence down the Lima *kha* stream to the Nantabet.

*South* --- The Nantabet from this point to its mouth.

*West.*---The Irrawaddy.

XX. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Namli from its source at the foot of Sabupum to its elbow.

*East and South.*---- The north boundary of Tract No. XVIII.

*West.*---The east boundary of Tract No. XIX.

XXI. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The N'mai *kha* from the mouth of the Tumpang *kha* to the confluence.

*East.*---- The Tumpang *kha* to the point where the Namli joins it; thence up the Namli to its elbow where it turns east.

*South* --- The north boundary of Tract No. XIX.

*West.*---The Irrawaddy.

XXII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- A line drawn east and west through Kumpipum.

*East.*---- The frontier.

*South* --- The north boundary of Tract No. XX.

*West.*--- The east boundary of Tract No. XXI.

XXIII. ----The triangle included by ---

*North.* --- The road from Myitkyina to Mogaung *vid* Nati.

*East.*---- The Irrawaddy.

*West.*--- The Mogaung *chaung* from Mogaung to its mouth.



XXIV. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- A line drawn from Hpatin on the first defile due west to meet the Mosit *chaung*.

*East and South.*---- The Irrawaddy from Hpatin down to the mouth of the Mosit *chaung*.

*West.*--- The Mosit *chaung* from where the north boundary intersects it to its mouth.

XXV. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- The Namkhantet *chaung* from its source near Maikôn to its mouth.

*East.*---- The Irrawaddy from the mouth of the Namkhantet *chaung* to Hpatin.

*South* --- The north boundary of Tract No. XXIV.

*West.*--- A line drawn from the point where the south boundary intersects the Mosit up the watershed between the Kaukkwe and the Irrawaddy as far north as Maikôn.

XXVI. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North and East.* --- The Mogaung *chaung* from the point where the Namyin *chaung* enters it down to its mouth; thence along the Irrawaddy to the mouth of the Namkhantet *chaung*.

*South* --- The Namkhantet *chaung* from its mouth to its source near Tapang; thence along the watershed between the Kaukkwe and the Irrawaddy, following its windings as far west as the source of the Namhtan *chaung*, which forms the boundary with Katha; thence along the boundary to the junction of the Namkhwan with the Namyin..

*West.*--- The Namyin *chaung* from this point to its mouth.

XXVII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North and East.* --- The Mogaung *chaung* from the point where the Namyin *chaung* enters it down to its mouth; thence along the Irrawaddy to the mouth of the Namkhantet *chaung*.

*South* --- The Namkhantet *chaung* from its mouth to its source near Tapang; thence along the watershed between the Kaukkwe and the Irrawaddy, following its windings as far west as the source of the Namhtan *chaung*, which forms the boundary with Katha; thence along the boundary to the junction of the Namkhwan with the Namyin..

*West.*--- The Namyin *chaung* from this point to its mouth.

XXVIII. ----The triangle enclosed between ---

*West.* --- The Kaukkwe from its source to Migè.

*South.* --- The North boundary of Tract No. XXVII from Migè to the point where the Kaya range intersects the watershed between the Kaukkwe and the Irrawaddy.

*East.*---The watershed between the Kaukkwe and Irrawaddy from the point where the Kaya range intersects it to the source of the Kaukkwe.

XXIX. ----Enclosed as follows:---

This tract is now included in the Katha District.

XXX. ----The triangle included between ---

*East.* --- The Kaukkwe *chaung* from its source to the mouth of the Namhtan *chaung*.

*South.* --- The Namhtan *chaung* from its mouth to its source in the watershed between the Kaukkwe and Namyin.

*West.*--- The watershed from this point north-east to the source of the Kaukkwe.

XXXI. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North* --- A line drawn from Shwedwin to the south extremity of Lake Indawgyi and continued thence to Nyaungbintha on the Namyin.

*East*--- *The Namyin chaung.*

*South and West.* --- The Katha and Upper Chindwin boundaries.

XXXII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North* --- The Mogaung *chaung* from Kamaing to the mouth of the Namyin.

*East*--- The Namyin from its mouth to Nyaungbintha to the south extremity of Lake Indawgyi.

*West.* --- The eastern shore of Lake Indawgyi; thence along the Indawgyi *chaung* to Kamaing.

XXXIII. ----Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- A line drawn from Haungpa to the north extremity of Lake Indawgyi.

*East*--- The western shores of Lake Indawgyi.

*South.* --- A line drawn from the south extremity of Lake Indawgyi to Shwedwin.

*West.* --- The Upper Chindwin boundary.

XXXIV---- The Jade Mines tracts bounded on the --

*North.* ---

*East*--- The Namkhaung or Mogaung *chaung* as far as Kamaing.

*South.* --- The north boundary of Tract No. XXXIII.

*West.* --- The Upper Chindwin boundary.

XXXV---- The Thama tract bounded on the --

*West and South.* --- By the Mogaung *chaung*.

*East.*--- By the Nweni *chaung* from its mouth to its source at the foot of Shwedaunggyi; thence along the Kumôn range which forms the watershed between Tanaiku and the Upper Irrawaddy (*Mali kha*).

*North.* --- By a line drawn from Laban due east to the Kumôn range.

XXXVI. ---Enclosed as follows:---

*West.* --- By the Kumôn range.

*South.*--- By the Nweni *chaung*.

*East.*--- By the Nanti *chaung*.

*North.* --- By a line from the Hupôn range in continuation of the North boundary of Tract No. XXXV to the source of the Nanti *chaung*.

XXXVII. ---- Enclosed as follows:---

*North.* --- A line drawn from the source of the Nanti *chaung* to the confluence.

*East*--- The Irrawaddy from the confluence to Myitkyina.

*South.* --- The road from Myitkyina to the Nati *chaung*.

*West.* --- The Nati *chaung* from the point where the road crosses it to its source.

XXXVIII--- The tract enclosed between the *Mali kha* and the *N'mai kha*.

XXXIX. --- Enclosed as follows:---

*West.* --- By the Kumôn range.

*South.* --- By the north boundaries of Tracts No. XXXVI and XXXVII.

*East*--- By the *Mali kha*.

XL. ---- The Hukong Valley.

Source: *Kachin Hill Manual*, 1906, 56, 62

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**List of Interviewees**

No.	Name	Age	Address	Date of Interview
1.	U La Hung Haung Lum (inventor of Lhovo Literature)	75	Waingmaw	10 August, 2009
2.	U Lamaung Hkaung Haung	75	Khyunpintha, Myitkyina	2 September , 2009
3.	Law Hkum Lu	70	Kachin-su, Myitkyina	20 April, 2010
4.	<i>Du-wa</i> Shadan Naw	75	Kchin-su, Myitkyina	10 May, 2010
5.	Nang Zing Htoi Wa	77	Du Kahtaung, Myitkyina	20 April, 2011
6.	Lazing Bu	95	Janmai Kawng, Myitkyina	5 May, 2011
7.	Galau Bawm Swa (Daughter of Htaw Gaw <i>Taung-ok</i> Galau Chang Bawm)	70	Sitapru, Myitkyina	20 June, 2013