

**Travels and Investigations in the Yunnan-Burma
Borderlands, 1837–1911**

Dissertation

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the people of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng.

ຂໍຊື້ບຸກຄົນທີ່ເປັນພັນທະສາດສະໜາທີ່ເປັນພັນທະສາດສະໜາ ພື້ນທີ່ທີ່ຊື່ວ່າ ສິບສອງພັນນາ ແລະ ຊື່ວ່າ ສິບສອງພັນນາ
(Tham script version¹)

ຂໍອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ບຸກຄົນທີ່ເປັນພັນທະສາດສະໜາທີ່ເປັນພັນທະສາດສະໜາ ພື້ນທີ່ທີ່ຊື່ວ່າ ສິບສອງພັນນາ ແລະ ຊື່ວ່າ ສິບສອງພັນນາ
(Fak Kham script version²)

¹ The Tham (Pali: *dhamma*) script is a script used in Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, Southern Yunnan, Northern Thailand, Northeastern Thailand, and Laos. This script has various endonyms like *tua khün* (Khün script), *tua lü* (Lü script), *tua müang* (local script or script of the country [of Lanna]), etc. However, *tua tham* (Tham script) is the most widely used term by the people in Yunnan, Myanmar, Thailand, and Laos.

² The Fak Kham (tamarind sheath) script was a script used in Müang Yang (Mohnyin), Müang Lò (Minle), Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, Chiang Khaeng, Northern Thailand, and Northern Laos between the early fifteenth century and the early nineteenth century. The text is written according to the early-nineteenth-century orthography. For the copies of Fak Kham script letters used by Ming and Qing government schools for teaching language, see Izui Hisanosuke, “Happyaku kan zatsuji narabi ni raibun no kaidoku [Decipherment of the Pa-po Vocabulary and Epistles]”, *Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Kiyo* 2 (1953): 1–109; Foon Ming Liew-Herres, Volker Grabowsky, and Renoo Wichasin, eds., *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna: History and Society of a Tai Lü Kingdom, Twelfth to Twentieth Century* (Chiang Mai: Mekong Press, 2012), 353.

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Abstract

Before the nineteenth century, the borderlands between Yunnan and Burma remained a *terra incognita* to Westerners. Since 1837, diplomats, explorers, officers, spies, missionaries, and agents from Britain, France, the United States, and Germany ventured into this region with various aims. While many studies have been undertaken on the colonial process and imperial rivalry, the abundant records on the contacts with the natives are often neglected, and, to date, there is a dearth of academic research on the history of Chiang Tung (Kengtung), Sipsòng Panna (Xishuangbanna), and Chiang Khaeng. Scrutinizing the archival sources (memoirs, diaries, travelogues, official and private correspondence, reports, orders, notes, testimonies, maps, and photographs) kept in Aix-en-Provence, Atlanta, Beijing, Cambridge, Chiang Mai, London, Paris, Philadelphia, Sydney, and Taipei, together with publications, this dissertation studies the contact between foreigners and natives in the Yunnan-Burma borderlands from 1837 to 1911. This study draws interpretive frameworks from postcolonial studies and textual analysis to approach the history of this region in new ways. It focuses on how travellers dealt with the native population, how they narrate their experiences and present native people, and what roles native people played in Westerners' travels.

Chapter I studies the British diplomat McLeod's venture to establish diplomatic relations with and to restore communication between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna. Chapter II analyses the French Mekong Exploration Mission's encounter with and overcoming of natural and human obstacles in their exploration. Chapter III investigates the British and French boundary commissions' arrival as new overlords, protectors, and mediators, and the redefinition of the territorial boundaries of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng. Chapter IV discusses the American Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries' exploration of ethnic and linguistic boundaries. Chapter V explores the imperial travellers' and frontier agents' gaze and item-collecting. This dissertation ends with a comparative study of some common tropes shared by these travellers and investigators.

By combining local sources and the writings of foreign visitors, this dissertation offers a new approach to the understudied history of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng. Initially not a destination for the travellers, over the course of time, this region transformed from a backdoor to China to a political, geographical, ethnic, and linguistic space to be clearly defined and delimited. The natives of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng participated in these expeditions in various roles, either as objects to be gazed at, subjects to be governed, facilitators (interpreters, escorts, guides, messengers, cooks, coolies, assistants, etc.), or opponents.

Zusammenfassung

Vor dem 19. Jahrhundert blieben die Grenzgebiete zwischen Yunnan und Burma für Europäer und Nordamerikaner eine Terra incognita. Seit 1837 wagten sich Diplomaten, Entdecker, Offiziere, Spione, Missionare und Agenten aus Großbritannien, Frankreich, den Vereinigten Staaten und Deutschland mit unterschiedlichen Zielen in diese Region. Während viele Studien über den Kolonialprozess und die imperiale Rivalität durchgeführt wurden, wurden die zahlreichen Aufzeichnungen über die Kontakte mit den Eingeborenen oft vernachlässigt, und bis heute gibt es einen Mangel an akademischer Forschung zur Geschichte von Chiang Tung (Kengtung), Sipsòng Panna (Xishuangbanna) und Chiang Khaeng. Die in Aix-en-Provence, Atlanta, Cambridge, Chiang Mai, London, Paris, Peking, Philadelphia, Sydney und Taipei aufbewahrten Archivquellen (Erinnerungen, Tagebücher, Reiseberichte, offizielle und private Korrespondenz, Berichte, Befehle, Notizen, Zeugnisse, Karten und Fotografien) prüfend, zusammen mit Publikationen, untersucht diese Dissertation den Kontakt zwischen Ausländern und Einheimischen in den Grenzgebieten zwischen Yunnan und Burma im Zeitraum von 1837 bis 1911. Diese Studie bedient sich eines Interpretationsrahmens aus postkolonialen Studien und Textanalysen, um sich der Geschichte dieser Region auf neue Weise zu nähern. Es konzentriert sich darauf, wie Reisende mit der einheimischen Bevölkerung umgegangen sind, wie sie über ihre Erfahrungen berichten und die einheimische Bevölkerung darstellen und welche Rolle die Einheimischen bei den Reisen der Westler spielten.

Kapitel I untersucht das Unterfangen des britischen Diplomaten McLeod, diplomatische Beziehungen zu Chiang Mai, Chiang Tung und Sipsòng Panna aufzunehmen und die Kommunikation zwischen Chiang Mai und Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna wiederherzustellen. Kapitel II analysiert die Begegnung und Überwindung natürlicher und menschlicher Hindernisse bei der Erkundung der französischen Mekong-Erkundungsmission. Kapitel III untersucht die Ankunft der britischen und französischen Grenzkommissionen als neue Oberherren, Beschützer und Vermittler sowie die Neudefinition der territorialen Grenzen von Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna und Chiang Khaeng. Kapitel IV behandelt die Erforschung ethnischer und sprachlicher Grenzen durch die Missionare der amerikanischen Baptisten und Presbyterianer. Kapitel V untersucht den Blick und das Sammeln von Gegenständen der imperialen Reisenden und Grenzagenten. Diese Dissertation endet mit einer vergleichenden Studie einiger gemeinsamer Themen, die von diesen Reisenden und Forschern geteilt werden.

Durch die Kombination lokaler Quellen und der Schriften ausländischer Besucher bietet diese Dissertation einen neuen Zugang zur wenig erforschten Geschichte von Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna und Chiang Khaeng. Anfangs kein Ziel der Reisenden, wandelte sich diese Region im Laufe der Zeit von einer Hintertür nach China zu einem politisch, geografisch, ethnisch und sprachlich klar abzugrenzenden Raum. Die Einheimischen aus Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna und Chiang Khaeng nahmen an diesen Expeditionen in verschiedenen Rollen teil, entweder als zu betrachtende Objekte, zu regierende Untertanen, Vermittler (Dolmetscher, Begleiter, Führer, Boten, Köche, Kulis, Assistenten usw.) oder Gegner.

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Notes on Romanisation

In this study, the transliteration of Chinese follows the Hanyu Pinyin system, and the romanisation of Burmese refers to the Myanmar Language Commission Transcription System without tone marks. The Tai toponyms will be transcribed directly from the Tai language and will be followed by the official renderings in brackets for the first appearance. The transcription of Tai (Shan, Siamese, Tai Khün, Tai Lü, and Tai Yuan) is based on Standard Thai orthography and employs the Royal Thai General System of Transcription with modification to distinguish some vowels and to save space. The rules of transliteration are as follows:

Table 1 Transcription Standard for Consonants

ဂ ၵ	ဖ ခ	ဖ ၵ	က ဝ	က ၵ	ခ ဃ	င ဂ	
k	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	ng	
ຈ ວ	ຊ ພ	ຊ ຈ	ຊ ၵ	ຊ ຍ	ຊ ງ	ຊ ງ ງ	
c	ch	ch	s	ch	y	yy	
ຊ ຊ	ຊ ບ	ຊ ງ ງ	ຊ ຊ	ຊ ບ	ຊ ີ		
d	t	th	th	th	n		
ຊ ຊ	ຊ ີ	ຊ ີ	ຊ ີ	ຊ ີ	ຊ ີ		
d	t	th	th	th	n		
ပ ບ	ပ ປ	ຝ ຜ	ຝ ຜ	ຟ ຜ	ຟ ၵ	ຟ ງ	ມ ບ
b	p	ph	f	ph	f	ph	m
ຍ ພ	ຍ ປ	ຣ ີ / ၵ	ຣ ີ	ຣ ၵ			
y	y	r	l	l			
ຊ ີ	ຊ ີ	ຊ ີ	ຊ ີ				
s	s	s	ss				
ອ ຊ	ຮ ີ	ຮ ၵ	ຮ ၵ	ຮ ၵ			
?	h	h	lö	ri			

Table 2 Transcription Standard for Vowels

ກະ ທະ	ກາ ທວ / ວ	ກີ ທີ / ທື	ກີ ທີ / ທື	ກີ ທີ	ກີ ທີ
ka	ka/kha	ki / i	ki / i	kü	kü
ກຸ ທູ / ງ	ກູ ທູ / ງ	ເກະ ທະ	ເກ ທ / ງ	ແກະ ທະ	ແກ ທ
ku / u	ku / u	ke	ke / e	kae	kae
ໂກະ ໄທະ	ໂກ ໄທ	ເກະ ໄທະ	ກອ ທູ / ທື	ໂກ ໄທ	ໂກ ໄທ
ko	ko	kò	kò	kai	kai
ກຳ ທວ	ເກາ ທວ				
kam	kao				
ກນ ທຽ	ກັນ ທຽ	ການ ທຽ	ກິນ ທຽ	ກິນ ທຽ	ກິນ ທຽ
kon	kan	kan	kin	kin	kün
ກິນ ທຽ	ກຸນ ທຽ	ກຸນ ທຽ	ເກນ ທຽ	ແກນ ທຽ	ໂກນ ໄທຽ
kün	kun	kun	ken	kaen	kon
ກອນ ທຽ	ກວນ ທຽ	ເກື່ອນ ທຽ	ເກື່ອນ ທຽ	ເກື່ອນ ທຽ	ເກອນ ທຽ
kòn	kuan	kian	küan	kön	kön
ເກຍ ທຽ	ເກອຍ ທຽ	ກາຍ ທຽ	ກາ ທຽ	ກີ ທຽ	ກີ ທຽ
köi	köi	kai	kao	kiu	kiu
ກຸຍ ທຽ	ກູຍ ທຽ	ເກວ ທຽ	ແກວ ທຽ	ໂກຍ ໄທຽ	ກອຍ ທຽ
kui	kui	keo	kaeo	koi	kòi
ກວຍ ທຽ	ເກື່ອຍ ທຽ	ເກື່ອຍ ທຽ	ເກື່ອ ທຽ	ເກື່ອ ທຽ	ເກື່ອ ທຽ
kuai	kiao	küai	kia	kia	küa
ເກື່ອຍ ທຽ	ເກອ ທຽ	ເກອຍ ທຽ	ກີ ທຽ	ກີ ທຽ	
küa	kö	kö	kua	kua	

Abbreviation

ABHS	American Baptist Historical Society, Atlanta
AIMH	Archives of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei
ANOM	Centre des archives d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence
ASIE	Fonds Asie Orientale
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BYZFWJB	<i>Beiyang zhengfu waijiaobu</i>
CADLC	Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve, Paris
CCC	Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale
CMU	Chiang Mai University
CRCP	Charles Royal Callender Papers
CS	Chula Sakarat
CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
ETCBFM	Evangelism in Thailand: Correspondence of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1840–1910
FHAC	First Historical Archives of China, Beijing
FMEM	French Mekong Exploration Mission
FO	Foreign Office Records
GEMC	George Ernest Morrison Collectio
GGI	Gouvernement général de l'Indochine
GZDZZ	<i>Gongzhongdang zouzhe</i>
IM-MC	International Ministries-Missionary Correspondence
IOR	India Office Records
JGSC	James George Scott Collection
JJCLFZZ	<i>Junjichu lufu zouzhe</i>
MD	Mémoires et Documents: Série Asie
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangkok
MQB	Musée du quai Branly, Paris
NA	National Archives, Kew
NAM	National Archives of Myanmar, Yangon
NAT	National Archives, Bangkok
NPM	National Palace Museum, Taipei
PA-AP	Papiers d'agents-Archives privées
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia
PSGS	Papers of Sir (James) George Scott
RGS	Royal Geographical Society, London
RSL	Résident Supérieur du Laos

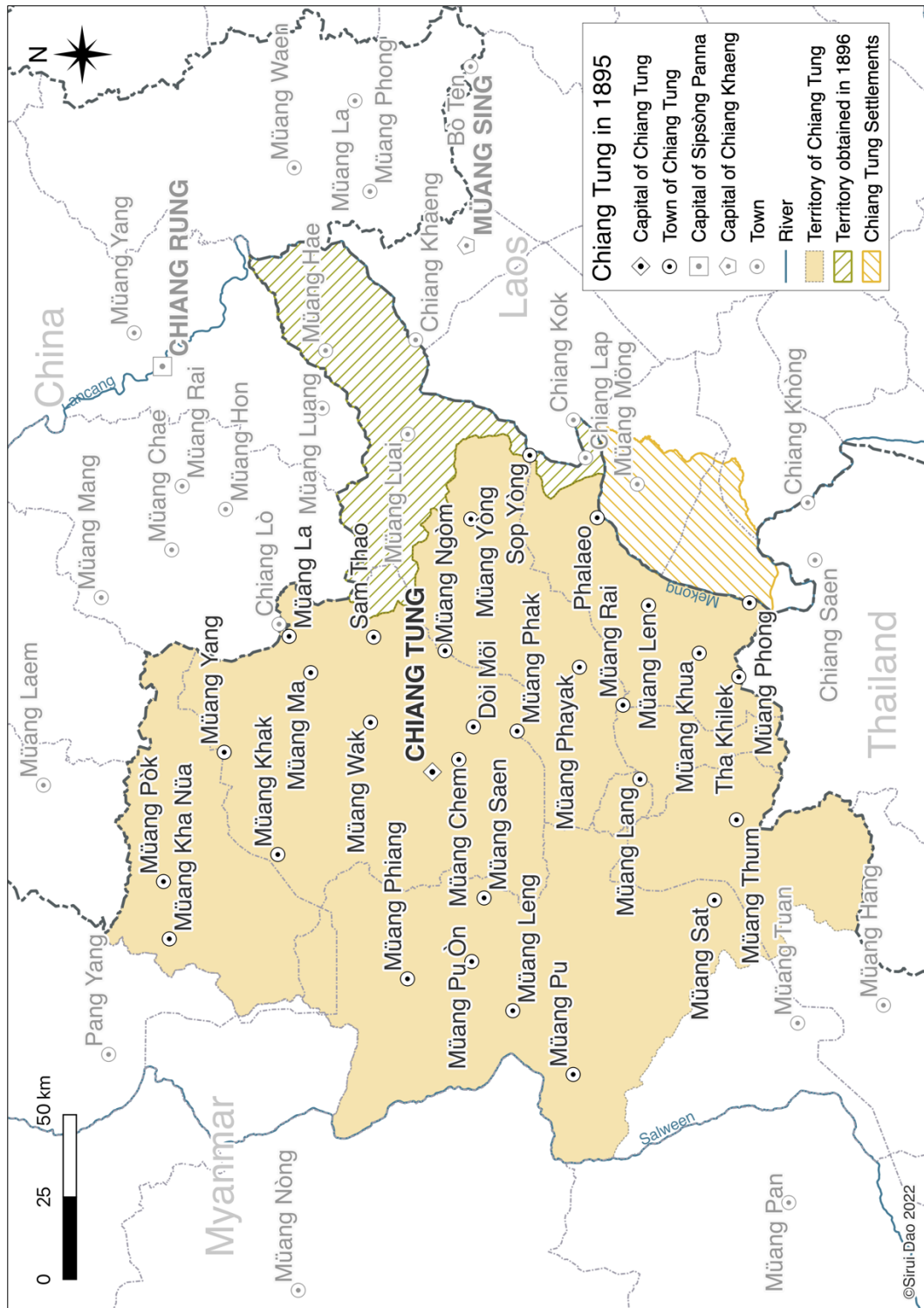
SFTM	United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations Secretaries' Files: Thailand Mission
SG	Société de Géographie
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
WWP	William Warry Papers
YMSR	Yunnan Mission Station Reports
ZLGGSWYM	<i>Zongli geguo shiwu yamen</i>

Map

Map 1: The Upper Mekong Basin

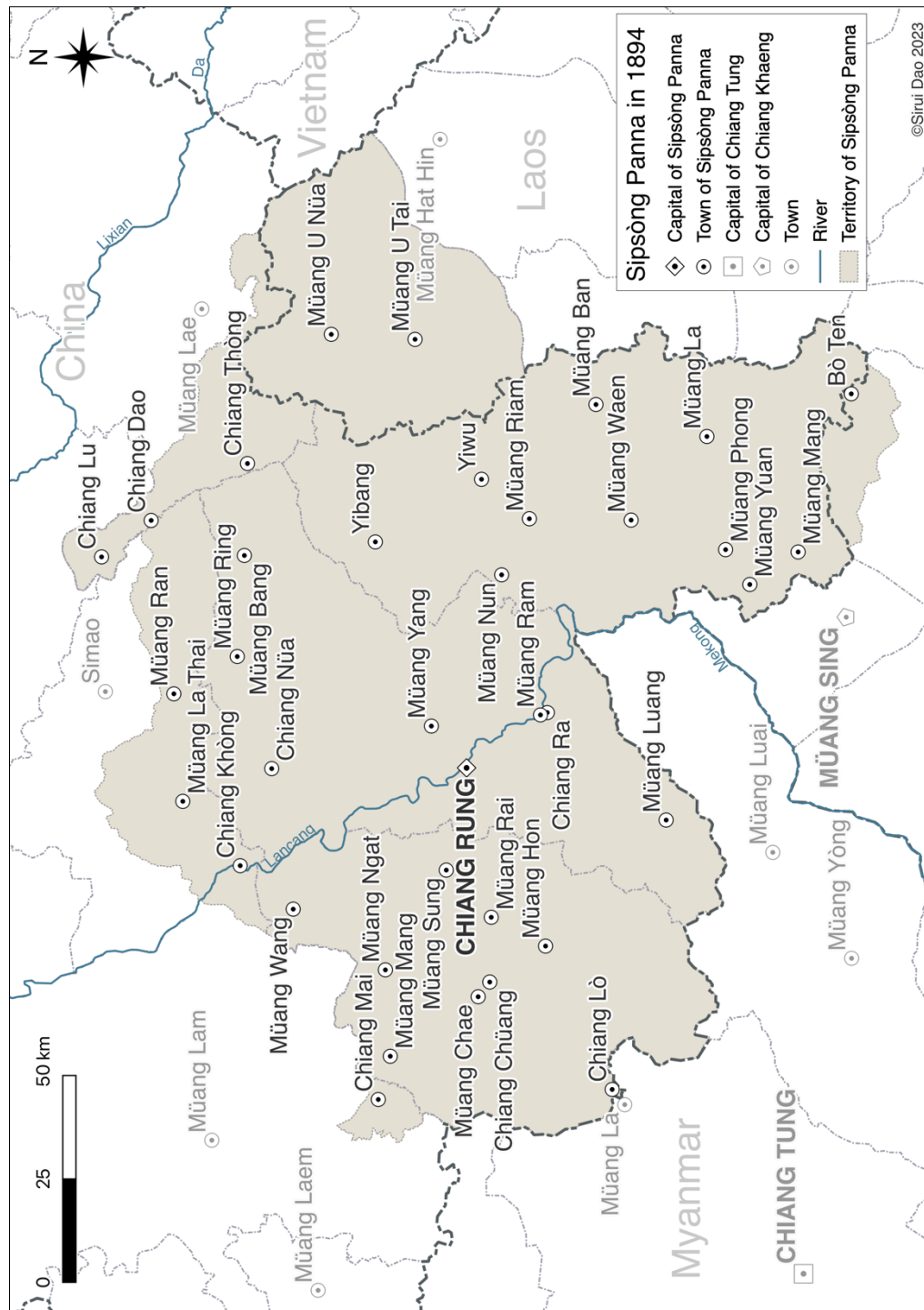


Map 2: Chiang Tung³



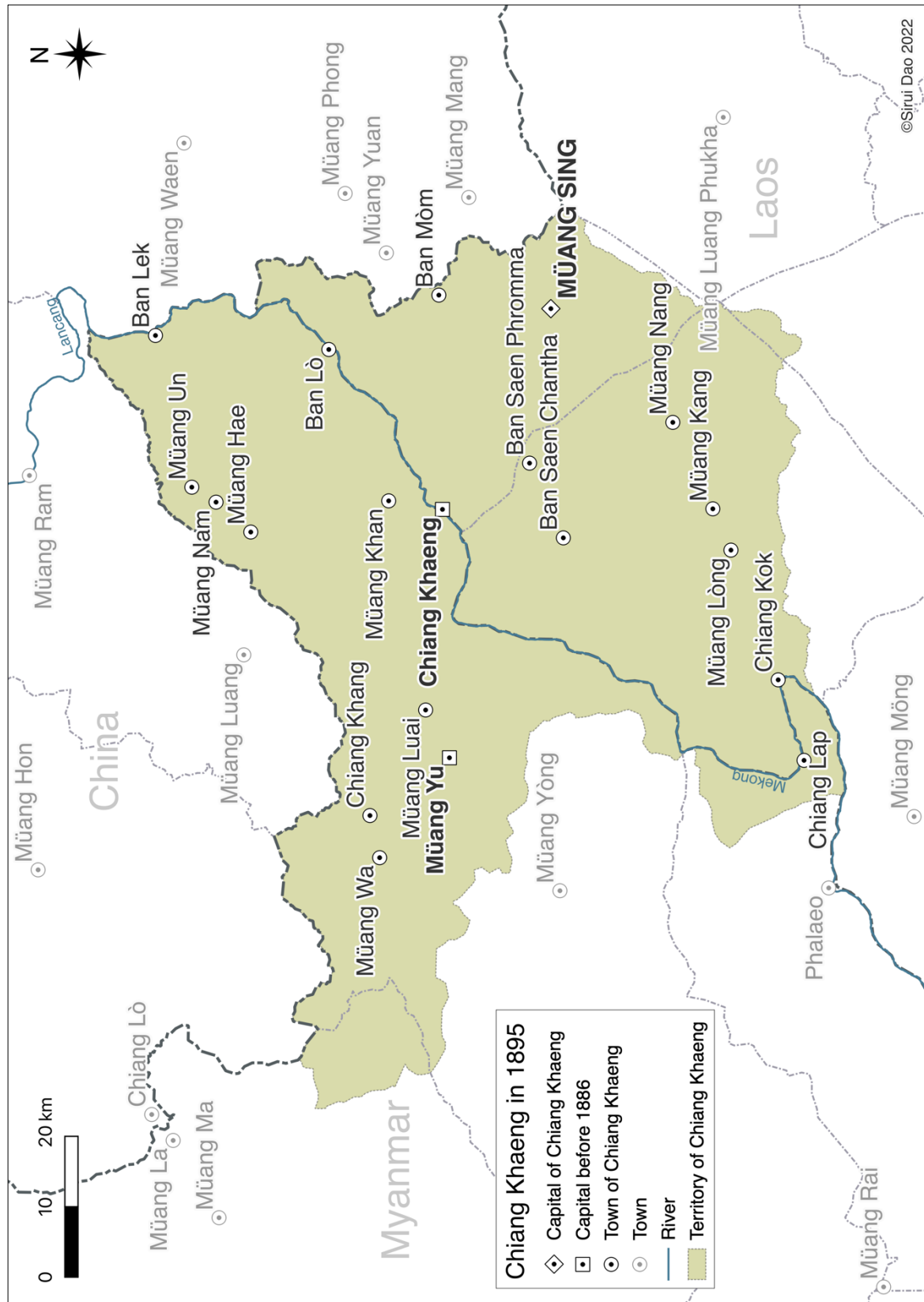
³ Source: Map of the Country Examined by the Mekong Commission, 1894–95, FO 422/43, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA; Assistant Quarter Master General, Intelligence Branch, Burma, Officer, Keng Tung Mission, 1893–94, 1894, map, MS Scott LL8.11, JGSC, CUL; The Nua Sanam of Chiang Tung, List of monasteries in the territory of Chiang Tung, n.d., RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Volker Grabowsky and Andrew Turton, eds., *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship: The McLeod and Richardson Diplomatic Missions to Tai States in 1837* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003), 209.

Map 3: Sipsòng Panna⁴



⁴ Source: Itinéraire de Pou Fang à Xieng Houng et Muong Yang et de Muong Yang à Kan Hao (Fleuve Rouge), levé par Auguste Pavie, 1891, SG D-170, SG, BnF; Map of Country East of the Mekong (Accompanying Mr. W. J. Archer's Report, 1891), MS Scott LR13.5, JGSC, CUL; The Chinese Shan States, map, in Further Notes on the Trade of Szemao, &c., and Memorandum of a Trip to the Chinese Shan States by Mr. F. W. Carey, an Employé in the Service of the Imperial Chinese Customs at Szemao (in Continuation of Previous Reports), 1899, IOR/L/PS/7/114, No. 593, *Political and Secret Letters and enclosures received from India*, vol. 114, BL; G. V. Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States* (Rangoon: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1891); Map of Keing Hung, n.d., MS Scott LR13.36, JGSC, CUL.

Map 4: Chiang Khaeng⁵



⁵ Source: Map of the Country Examined by the Mekong Commission, 1894–95, FO 422/43, NA; Carte de la région explorée par la Commission Franco-Anglaise, 1895, GGI 15699, ANOM.

Introduction

1 Yunnan-Burma Borderlands

In the nineteenth century, Chiang Tung (Kengtung),⁶ Sipsòng Panna (Xishuangbanna), and Chiang Khaeng were three states in the Upper Mekong region ruled by hereditary Tai rulers. The recorded histories of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng are quite recent. Chiang Tung traces its origin to the mythic creation of the Lua people in 1134/1135.⁷ The historical records of Sipsòng Panna believe Phraya Chüang to be the founder of Sipsòng Panna in the twelfth century.⁸ The history of Chiang Khaeng is traced back to the fifteenth century, when a legendary prince of Sipsòng Panna, named Chaofa Lek Nòi, founded it.⁹ These three Tai states were typical galactic or mandala polities, structured by the multi-layered patron-client connections between the ruling centres and the subordinates.¹⁰ The hereditary ruling princes of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng were referred to as *somdet phra pen chao* (the great majesty), *chao yòt kramòm* (lord above the head), *chao núa hua* (lord above the head), *chao phaendin* (lord of earth), etc., in various circumstances.¹¹ A vice monarch (*uparat* or *kaem müang*) was appointed to assist governance. In the respective ruling centres of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng, a council named Núa Sanam was in charge of the administration of affairs. The subordinate district (*müang*) was governed by a district ruler (*chao müang*), and the district council in Sipsòng Panna was named Núa Kwan. Geographically, this region is dominated by a hilly plateau cut by the Mekong and its tributaries, with the Salween and the Black River as its west and east limits, respectively. While the valley plains were occupied by the Tai people, the highlands were inhabited by Lahu, Akha, Plang/Lua, Wa, Khmu, Yao, etc., all of whom were generally termed by the Tai as *kha*. The *kha* were not directly ruled by *müang* but indirectly through their respective headmen, who adopted Tai titles. The hill peoples of Sipsòng Panna were divided into twelve circles (*hua*

⁶ In this study, “Chiang Tung” refers to the principality of Chiang Tung, and “Chiang Tung town” refers to the city of Chiang Tung.

⁷ Sao Sāimöng Mangrāi, *The Pādæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated* (Michigan: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 234.

⁸ The narratives of Phraya Chüang in the records of Sipsòng Panna have high resemblance with the legendary ruler Phraya Chüang (or Khun Chüang) of Müang Ngön Yang. It is highly possible that the sources of Sipsòng Panna adopted these descriptions from Lanna (Li Fuyi, *Leshi* (Kunming: Wenjian shuju, 1947), 1–2; Arunrat Wichiankhieo and Dewit Khe Wai’at, eds., *Tamnān phün müang chiang mai* [Chiang Mai chronicle] (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2543 [2000]), 10–11; Phraya Pracha Kitkarachak (Chaem Bunnak), ed., *Phongsawadan yonok* [Yonok chronicle], in *Prachum phongsawadan chabap kanchanaphisek* [Golden jubilee collection of historical archives], ed. Kōng Wannakam Lae Prawattisat Krom Sinlapakōn (Krung Thep: Kōng Wannakam Lae Prawattisat Krom Sinlapakōn, 2545 [2002]), 7:536).

⁹ Volker Grabowsky and Renoo Wichasin, eds., *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng: A Tai Lü Principality of the Upper Mekong* (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawaii, 2008), 21.

¹⁰ Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

¹¹ Mangrāi, *The Pādæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 6.

khwaen).¹² Similar to what Edmund Ronald Leach discusses on the interrelationships between Shan and Kachin,¹³ the Tai and *kha* in this region also have symbiotic connections.¹⁴ Tai nobles of Sipsòng Panna, Müang Laem, and Chiang Khaeng accumulated their political capital through marriage with families of *kha* leaders. Tai-*kha* military alliances were not rare in history.¹⁵ Moreover, ethnic boundaries were not immutable. For example, some Tai people nowadays originally were Tai-ised *kha*.¹⁶ Generally speaking, before the arrival of Christian missionaries, the Tai and Plang/Lua followed Theravada Buddhism, the Lahu and some groups of Wa were influenced by Mahayana Buddhism, and the Akha, the majority of Wa, Khmu, Yao, etc., believed Animism and various folk religions. The Tai people of this region consisted of Tai Lü,¹⁷ Tai Khün,¹⁸ Shan, Tai Nüa,¹⁹ and the Tai from the Red River basin.²⁰ However, some part of the population in Sipsòng Panna traced their origins to Tai Yuan and Lao.²¹ The written and spoken languages of Tai Lü and Tai Khün were mutually intelligible. Tai Khün were populous in Chiang Tung, while Tai Lü were the dominant Tai people in Sipsòng Panna, Chiang Khaeng, and the eastern part of Chiang Tung.

Nowadays, Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng are marginal in their respective nation-states (Myanmar, China, and Laos). Contrary to other studies, which are

¹² Li, *Leshi*, 59–60; Zhu Depu, ed., “Guanyu ‘banna’ he ‘huaquan’ de yixie ziliao [Some materials on ‘Panna’ and ‘Hua Khwaen’]”, in “Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzu Shehui Lishi Diaocha Ziliao Congkan” Xiuding Bianji Weiyuan Hui, ed. *Daizu shehui lishi diaocha* [Survey of the society and history of the Tai people (Sipsòng Panna)] (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2009), 2:107–108.

¹³ Edmund R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), 1–3, 213–226.

¹⁴ Andrew Turton, “Introduction to Civility and Savagery”, in *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States*, ed. Andrew Turton (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000), 11–28; Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 11; Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 15–18.

¹⁵ Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 18.

¹⁶ In 1935, during his fieldwork in Sipsòng Panna, the Chinese scholar Chen Bisheng found that a village of Tai-speaking *kha* people in Müang Ram regarded themselves as Tai (Chen Bisheng, “Lancan jiang tanliu ji [Exploration in the Mekong River]”, *Zeshan Banyuekan* 1, no. 4 (1940): 18).

¹⁷ Tai Lü (*thai lü*) originally refers to the subjects (*thai*) of the Lü country (*müang lü*) under the ruling of Chiang Rung (i.e. Sipsòng Panna, Müang Yòng, and Chiang Khaeng), and later generally refers to the Tai people of Sipsòng Panna lineage (Michael Moerman, “Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who Are the Lue?” *American Anthropologist* 67, no. 5 (1965): 1219). Though Müang Yòng and Chiang Khaeng had transferred their loyalty from Chiang Rung to Burma since 1568/1569 (Li, *Leshi*, 47–48), their subjects were still identified as Tai Lü.

¹⁸ Tai Khün (*thai khün*) originally refers to the subjects (*thai*) of the Khün country (*müang khün*) under the ruling of Chiang Tung, and later generally refers to the Tai people of Chiang Tung lineage.

¹⁹ Tai Nüa (*thai nüa*) literally means people (*thai*) in the north (*nüa*). It refers to the Tai people living in western Yunnan and the Shweli River basin, including Müang Laem, Müang Bò, Müang Mao, etc. All the Tai Nüa trace their origins to Müang Mao.

²⁰ The Tai people from the Red River basin were named by contemporary Chinese as *huayao baiyi* (patterned-waist Tai). They have no shared endonym and are referred by their native lands. For example, Tai Ya (*thai ya*) literally means the subjects (*thai*) of Müang Ya (Mosha), and Tai Sai (*thai sai*) literally means the subjects (*thai*) of Müang Sai (Jiasa) (Boonchuey Srisavasdi, *Sam sip chat nai chiang rai* [Thirty tribes in Chiengrai] (Phra Nakhòn: Rongphim Rap Phim, 2498 [1955]), 234).

²¹ Ban Mông, a village in suburb Chiang Rung, traces its root to Chiang Saen and worships Phraya Mangrai as its village guardian. Moreover, it is believed that Müang Ram was firstly settled by three or seven brothers from Chiang Saen and Chiang Rai (Zhu Depu, ed., “Menghan daizu shehui qingkuang diaocha [Investigation on the Tai society of Müang Ram]” in *Daizu shehui lishi diaocha (xishuangbanna)* [Investigation on the society and history of the Dai people (Sipsòng Panna)], ed. Yunnan Sheng Bianji Zu (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1985), 8:2).

confined to the modern nation-state, this project focuses on the borderlands between Yunnan and Burma, aiming to challenge the grand narrative of national history and nationalist discourse. It is also in response to Thongchai Winichakul's advice to write the history of the margins or to write "at the interstices". He stresses "history of the margins and history of the localization of transnational elements as two ways of writing history at the interstices".²² In this study, the "Yunnan-Burma borderlands" refers to Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng. Not only because the travels and investigations discussed in this research were not confined to certain national boundaries but also because this region encompasses some closely related pre-modern polities. The intimate relationship between the states in this region is revealed by the idiom "three golden palaces and four princes" (*sam hò kham, si chaofa*)²³ from the Chaofa Lek Nòi tale of Chiang Khaeng. "Three golden palaces" refers to Chiang Rung (Jinghong), Chiang Tung, and Müang Laem (Menglian), and "four princes" refers to Müang Yòng (Mongyawng),²⁴ Müang Sing, Chiang Saen, and Müang Luai (Monglwe). Müang Yòng was a part of Chiang Tung, while Müang Sing and Müang Luai were districts of Chiang Khaeng. Müang Laem was visited only briefly by the British boundary commissions in 1891 and the American missionary William A. Briggs in 1897. Chiang Saen will not be discussed in this study. Moreover, the courts of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng were closely connected through marriages. The use of "Yunnan-Burma borderlands" not only implies that Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng were situated between the Chinese province of Yunnan and the Burmese empire but also indicates that, for certain periods, these three states were considered tributary states by both the Chinese and Burmese courts. In the Chinese records of Ming and Qing, Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng were mentioned within the frame of Yunnan.²⁵ Shortly before its fall in 1886, Mandalay still regarded Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng as its vassal states.²⁶

Up to the mid-eighteenth century, this region amounted to a *terra incognita* for outsiders. The first mention of Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna appeared in the Chinese sources of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368).²⁷ Few records concerning this region were written down before

²² Thongchai Winichakul, "Writing at the Interstices: Southeast Asian Historians and Postnational Histories in Southeast Asia", in *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History*, ed. Abu Talib Ahmad and Tan Liok Ee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), 6.

²³ Yanyong Chiranakhon and Ratanaporn Setthakul, *Prawatsat sangkhom lae watthanatham sipsòngpanna* [Social history and culture of Sipsòng Panna] (Krung Thep: Khlongkan Süksa Prawatsat Sangkhom Lae Watthanatham Chonchat Thai, 2541 [1998]), 20.

²⁴ Chiang Rung is also named as "Chiang Yung" in local sources. However, It does not mean "city of peacocks", as some scholars and people think (Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, xix, 31). Considering its appearance is related to its tributary relationship with Ava (MLC-LV2 24.4 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 268), it is highly possible a reborrowed word, rendering from the Burmese word *kyuing rum* (Chiang Rung) (pronunciation: [kyóũ jóũ]).

²⁵ See Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi* [History of Ming] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 313: 8081–8082, 315: 8156–8158; Zhao Erxun et al., *Qing shi gao* [Draft History of Qing] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 117: 3413.

²⁶ *Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Birmanie à François Deloncle*, 27 mai 1884, trans., f. 264, Inde 5, MD 80, CADLC.

²⁷ See Anonymous, *Zhaobu zonglu* [General records of surrenders and arrests] (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe 1988), 10, 31–34; Song Lian, ed., *Yuan shi* [History of Yuan] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 61: 1463–1464, 1466.

the mid-eighteenth century, with the exception of several Chinese officers' memoirs of diplomatic or martial expeditions during the Ming and Qing dynasties. In the mid-eighteenth century, the expansion of the Qing and the Sino-Burmese War (1765–1769) increased the interaction between the Qing and this region, and many extant Chinese documents on this region were produced in this period. After the death of the Qianlong Emperor, the Qing's interest in expansion waned. Distracted by the Panthay Rebellion (1856–1873) and military issues in other parts of China, such as the First Opium War (1839–1842), the Qing loosened its control on this region, and thus the accumulation of documents on this region stopped. Due to this lack of nineteenth-century Chinese records, Charles Patterson Giersch's inquiry into the history of the southwestern Chinese frontier ends in the middle of the eighteenth century.²⁸

This region can be studied under the frames of the Chinese frontier, British frontier, or French frontier, which has been undertaken by some works.²⁹ However, departing from scholarship on frontiers, which carry the connotation of a hierarchical viewpoint from an imperial centre, this study regards this region as a “contact zone”, though most of these contacts are not colonial encounters in the strict sense. Mary Louise Pratt defines “contact zone” as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today”.³⁰ From the early nineteenth century onwards, Western travellers became the principal source of information on this region, which became a field of competition between travellers and investigators from Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Australia, China, and Siam, involving diplomats, colonial officers, geographers, explorers, missionaries, globetrotters, intelligence agents, etc. Some undertook mere fleeting visits, while others were stationed in this region for many years. Their ventures and writings reflect not only on the state of the society they were dealing with, but also had a direct impact on these societies. This region then was a “contact zone” between the natives and these travellers of different backgrounds and between the travellers themselves.

Before McLeod, this region had been crossed for centuries by Mongol armies, Ming officers, Qing military forces, Burman Cackais (second-in-command of a military unit) and troops, Yunnanese Muslim merchants, and, of course, the native populations, but with the exception of some concise reports, none of them left any detailed travel writings. Indeed, the first detailed Tai travel writing on this region was written by Thao Sithimongkhon, a Chiang Mai diplomat to Chiang Tung, in 1846.³¹

²⁸ C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

²⁹ Ibid.; Marie de Rugy, *Aux confins des empires: Cartes et constructions territoriales dans le nord de la péninsule Indochinoise (1885–1914)* (Paris: Editions de la Sorbonne, 2018); Frances O'Morchoe, “Mobility, Space and Power in the Making of Burma's Borders, c. 1881–1960” (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2019).

³⁰ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4.

³¹ See Constance M. Wilson and Lucien Mason Hanks, eds. *The Burma-Thailand Frontier over Sixteen Decades: Three Descriptive Documents* (Athens: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1985).

This region is also marginal in the academic field. Compared with nearby regions, such as North Thailand, Sipsòng Panna³² has received little scholarly attention within the history discipline, and Chiang Tung³³ and Chiang Khaeng³⁴ have received less. Even academic research into Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung from Thailand, which has a special interest in the Tai societies outside its territory, focuses mainly on literature, linguistics, anthropology, and architecture.

The limitation of pre-modern local historical records is always a challenge for historians in Southeast Asian studies.³⁵ Traditional historical records of the Yunnan-Burma borderlands are usually fragmentary, nobility-centred, and sometimes contradictory between versions. A discrepancy in rulers' years of birth and death and years of reign is found in different chronicles of Sipsòng Panna, caused by political struggles, scribal errors, etc. For example, Chao Mòm Kham Lü's year of death is recorded as 1924 and 1922 in two versions, respectively.³⁶ However, in their yearly report, the American Presbyterian missionaries stationed in Chiang Rung reveal that Chao Mòm Kham Lü passed away in June 1927.³⁷ Moreover, a wide gap exists in the historical studies of the nineteenth century due to this limit. The most intensive study is on the Siamese wars against Chiang Tung.³⁸ Yanyong Chiranakhon and Ratanaporn Setthakul's monograph on the history of Sipsòng Panna reviews the political, social, and cultural conditions of Sipsòng Panna in the pre-modern period and under the Kuomintang government, while the nineteenth century remains untouched.³⁹

Travel records have long been sources to reconstruct the history of Southeast Asia.⁴⁰ One of the most comprehensive efforts is Anthony Reid's recovery of the physical, material,

³² For previous historical research on Sipsòng Panna, see Yanyong and Ratanaporn, *Prawatsat sangkhom lae wathanatham sipsòngpanna*; Natcha Laohasirinadh, *Sipsòngphanna: rat charit* [Sipsongpanna: A traditional state] (Bangkok: Foundation for the Promotion of Social Sciences, 1998); Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*; Christian Daniels, "Upland Peoples and the 1729 Qing Annexation of the Tai Polity of Sipsong Panna, Yunnan: Disintegration from the Periphery", in *China and Southeast Asia: Historical Interactions*, eds. Geoff Wade and James K. Chin (London: Routledge, 2018), 188–218.

³³ For previous historical research on Chiang Tung, see Thippaporn Inkum, "*Songkhram chiang tung nai prawatsat thai, phò sò 2392–2488* [The Kengtung Wars in Thai history, 1849–1945]" (master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2551 [2008]); John Sterling Forssen Smith, "War and Politics in mid-19th Century Siam and Burma: The Historical Context of the Chiang Tung Wars" (master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2555 [2011]); Suphin Ritphen, *Chaonang* [The princesses of Mangrai-Kengtung], trans. Phra Maha Kaeo Wachirayano, Phra Maha Duangthip Pariyattidhari and Somporn Varnado (Chiang Mai: Sun Sinlapawathanatham Klum Chattiphon Thai, 2556 [2013]); O'Morchoe, "Mobility, Space and Power in the Making of Burma's Borders".

³⁴ For previous historical research on Chiang Khaeng, see Pierre-Bernard Lafont, "L'affaire de Muong Sing (1893–1896) vue par la chronique royale de Xieng Kheng", *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 72, no. 267 (1985): 215–222; Nakorn Punnarong, *Panha chaidaeen thai-phama* [Problems on Thai-Burmese border] (Khrueng Thep: Munnithi Khrongkan Tamra Sangkhomsat Lae Manutsayasat, 2540 [1997]).

³⁵ J. D. Legge, "The Writing of Southeast Asian History", in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1:1–50.

³⁶ Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 352.

³⁷ Report of Kiulungkiang Station, Year Ending June 30, 1927, p. 2, YMSR, PHS.

³⁸ Thippaporn, "*Songkhram chiang tung nai prawatsat thai*"; Smith, "War and Politics in mid-19th Century Siam and Burma".

³⁹ Yanyong and Ratanaporn, *Prawatsat sangkhom lae wathanatham sipsòngpanna*.

⁴⁰ Legge, "The Writing of Southeast Asian History", 1:10.

cultural, and social structures of ancient Southeast Asian countries.⁴¹ As for the Yunnan-Burma borderlands, Kato Kumiko reconstructs the political situation of Sipsong Panna and the relationship between Sipsong Panna and other principalities in 1837 by referring to McLeod's report.⁴²

This study starts from the concern of reconstructing the history of this region based on the writings of travellers and investigators. From the outset, this region and its people were not the explorers' primary aim, but their ventures left some valuable "incidental ethnographies", to adapt Jean Michaud's words,⁴³ regarding the cultural Other. Initial Western efforts to penetrate the region involved reconnoitering for trade routes to the promising markets of southern China. Pioneers such as McLeod and David Richardson, and the French Mekong Exploration Commission, were all adventurers attempting to open the back door to China, including the long-proposed railway construction from Burma to Yunnan. This zeal dissipated at the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ Having shifted its focus from the Mekong River to the Red River, a more feasible route to China, for decades, the French reappeared in the Upper Mekong region in the 1890s and 1900s, including in the form of the Pavie Mission, frontier officers, agents, and diplomats. In 1869, the American Baptist missionary Josiah Nelson Cushing entered this region. At the turn of the twentieth century, the American Presbyterian Laos Mission, based in Chiang Mai, expanded missionary work to this region. The reports and notes of the American missionaries, such as Cushing, William Marcus Young, Daniel McGilvary, and William Clifton Dodd, and native missionary workers, like Ai Pòm and Nòi Kan, give us a chance to view the region through evangelists' eyes. After the British annexation of Upper Burma, the boundaries between British Burma with Siam, China, and French Indochina became a problem. From the late 1880s onwards, Britain dispatched several secret agents, for instance, George John Younghusband, and boundary commissions led by James George Scott and Hugh Daly, to visit and investigate this region. The Chinese agent Zhang Chengyu, following Daly's boundary expedition to the borderland between British Burma and Yunnan, also wrote down travel notes. Another group encompasses imperial travellers, such as Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers and Alfred Raquez, intelligence agents, such as Gerard Christopher Rigby, John Harvey, George Grillières, George Ernest Morrison, and Isabelle Massieu, and frontier officials in Simao and Müang Sing, such as Frederic William Carey, Pierre Bons d'Anty, and Fernand Ganesco.

The time frame of this research is limited to the period between 1837 and 1911. It starts in 1837, when this region was first visited by a Westerner, William Couperus McLeod, and

⁴¹ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680, The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1:1–235.

⁴² Kato Kumiko, "Chinese and Burmese Involvements in the Politics of Sipsongpanna in 1837: Descriptions in Captain McLeod's Journal", *Journal of the School of Letters* 12 (2016): 1–13; Kato Kumiko, "Sipsongpanna's Perception of Other Tai Principalities in 1837: The Tai Principalities in Present-day Northern Thailand and Other Principalities in Sipsongpanna's Surrounding Area", *Tai Kenkyū* 16 (2016): 1–17.

⁴³ Jean Michaud, *'Incidental' Ethnographers: French Catholic Missions on the Tonkin-Yunnan Frontier, 1880–1930* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007).

⁴⁴ Warren B. Walsh, "The Yunnan Myth", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1943): 284–285.

ends in 1911, when the Qing fell, along with its tributary connections with Southeast Asia, and when direct rule was introduced in Sipsòng Panna.

This study will not discuss the hydrographic investigations conducted by the French gunboat *La Grandière* in the Upper Mekong.⁴⁵ Though the activities of this gunboat occurred within the territorial scope of this study, its work was mainly confined to geography and elicited limited accounts with respect to contact with the native population.

The native people of this region enjoyed high overland mobility, which assisted, stimulated, and also hindered foreign travellers. Research has been carried out on the travels of the indigenous peoples.⁴⁶ But the travels of the natives in this region still lack academic attention.⁴⁷ Key reasons for travel include trade, pilgrimage, diplomacy, and taking refuge. For instance, in 1894 and 1903, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng made two pilgrimages to the Phra That Dòi Tung, and he visited Presbyterian missionaries in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai on his return journey in 1903.⁴⁸ People from India were also present in this region. McLeod reports that one Pathan from Delhi and one dismissed Lascar arrived in Müang Hon (Menghun) and planned to proceed to Cochinchina.⁴⁹ While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide a comprehensive review of these travels, mention is made of those related to contacts with foreigners.

2 Literature, Theory, and Main Argument

Though travel writings are a valuable source for reconstructing history, these sources are subjected to critical scrutiny. Adapting the theories of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Hans Robert Jauss to travel activities is helpful in interpreting the writings of these travellers and investigators.⁵⁰ Each traveller started their journey with a “horizon of expectation”. Travel writings are a textual representation of the contact experience, formed in the encounter between the traveller and the world under the function of “fusion of horizons”. This interoperation of the encounter is usually influenced by the traveller’s own “expectation”, “prejudice”, and “historical situation”.

⁴⁵ For the work of this gunboat, see Kennon Breazeale, “The *La Grandière*, 1894–1910: A French Naval Presence on the Upper Mekong”, in *Engaging Asia: Essays on Laos and Beyond in Honour of Martin Stuart-Fox*, ed. Desley Goldston (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2019), 72–90; Luc Lacroze, *Les grands pionniers du Mékong: une cinquantaine d’années d’aventures, 1884–1935* (Paris: Editions L’Harmattan, 1996).

⁴⁶ Michael Bravo, “Indigenous Voyaging, Authorship, and Discovery”, in *Curious Encounters: Voyaging, Collecting, and Making Knowledge in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Adriana Craciun and Mary Terrall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 71–112.

⁴⁷ For research on native peoples’ travels, see Wilson and Hanks, *The Burma-Thailand Frontier over Sixteen Decades*.

⁴⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 June 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Translation of letter from Phra Raksena, Acting Siamese Chief Commissioner, Chiangmai, to Her Britannic Majesty’s Vice-Consul at Chiangmai, 26 April 1894, MS Scott UL1.150, JGSC, CUL.

⁴⁹ William Couperus McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 12 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship: The McLeod and Richardson Diplomatic Missions to Tai States in 1837*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Andrew Turton (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003), 379.

⁵⁰ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. and rev. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 289–302, 307, 406; Wlad Godzich, Introduction to *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), xii.

In writings, the “fusion of horizons” is reflected in discourse. Discourse originally meant “any kind of speaking, talk or conversation”.⁵¹ Michel Foucault first connects the production of discourse with a series of social procedures.⁵² The application of Foucauldian discourse in post-colonial studies explores the relation between knowledge and power and yields many influential works. Edward Said’s seminal work *Orientalism* (1978) established the theoretical foundation for postcolonial studies by analysing “cultural imperialism” in the Eurocentric discourse on the oriental societies.⁵³ Peter Hulme explores the colonial discourse in the records of the Euro-American encounters in the Caribbean region.⁵⁴ David Spurr’s *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (1993) categorises twelve modes of colonial discourse: surveillance, appropriation, aestheticisation, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealisation, insubstantialisation, naturalisation, eroticisation, and resistance. Though some modes overlap with each other, they cover most discourses found in colonial writings.⁵⁵ These modes are methods of “Othering” discussed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Spivak coined the term “Othering” to describe the process of colonial subjects consolidating their self-images by constructing their colonial Others.⁵⁶ Of course, discourse studies are not confined to colonial discourse. In *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900* (2012), Esme Cleall analyses the colonial encounter between the employees of the London Missionary Society and the populations in southern Africa and India. Treating missionary discourse as part of colonial discourse, she discusses the construction of missionary identities through discourses on “families and households”, “sickness”, and “violence”, whereby the African and Indians’ otherness is constantly confirmed.⁵⁷

Andrew Turton defines the British diplomats’ travel writings as an “ethnography of embassy”, which include two aspects, an ethnography recorded by a diplomat on cultural others and an ethnography of the diplomat. The second aspect means the British diplomats’ intercourses were carefully recorded, forming an ethnographic description of diplomatic activities.⁵⁸ These writings were impacted by the “expectation” that they would establish diplomatic relations with the Tai states.

⁵¹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2013), 83.

⁵² Michel Foucault, *L’ordre du discours: Leçon inaugurale au Collège de France prononcée le 2 décembre 1970* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1971), 10–11.

⁵³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

⁵⁴ Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986).

⁵⁵ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

⁵⁶ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives”, *History and Theory* 24, no. 3 (1985): 247–272.

⁵⁷ Cleall, Esme. *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁵⁸ Andrew Turton, “Ethnography of Embassy: Anthropological Readings of Records of Diplomatic Encounters between Britain and Tai States in the Early Nineteenth Century”, *South East Asia Research* 5, no. 2 (1997): 175–205.

The travellers and investigators to be discussed in this study were without exception. The writings of these travellers and investigators were not necessarily an objective reflection of the encounter but a fusion of the prejudice or prejudgement (such as expectation, bias, political unconscious, etc.) and the world. It is why McLeod emphasised the diplomatic themes and interaction, the French Mekong Exploration Mission highlighted the misery and courage, the British and French boundary commissions underlined the native population's willingness to be under their protection and to delimitate boundaries, and why the American missionaries focused on the way that the native people welcomed Christianity. An obvious example is the French/Cambodian translators' mistranslation of Tai correspondence, which will be discussed in Chapters III and Conclusion. When encountering unknown words, they normally sealed the gap by resorting to pre-existing ideas, such as the natives' rejection of other powers except France and the British schemes to undermine French advantages. However, the writings of the five groups of travellers to be discussed cannot be simply put under the umbrella term "colonial discourse" because not all these travellers had colonial agendas. According to their different focuses, they can be generally classified as diplomatic discourse, exploratory discourse, territorial discourse, missionary discourse, and colonial discourse, corresponding to diplomatic contact, explorer's contact, boundary investigator's contact, missionary contact, and colonial contact, respectively. However, this division is expedient because territorial discourse is definitely part of colonial discourse.

Intercultural contact has been a hot topic in frontier research and post-colonial studies since the publications of Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991) and of Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992).⁵⁹ White coins the concept of "middle ground" to refer to a space where different cultures and peoples encounter. It is a space where conquest and assimilation are impossible, and constant negotiation, mutual understanding, and accommodation during intercultural interaction happen.⁶⁰ Giersch borrows White's concept and treats the Tai polities along the Yunnan borderlands as a middle ground for the Qing-Tai interaction in the eighteenth century.⁶¹ Pratt's seminal work *Imperial Eyes* highlights the role of travel writing in constructing the relationship between colonisers and colonised in the

⁵⁹ For recent research on the intercultural contact, see Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Renae Watchman Dearhouse, "Fictionalizing the Indigenous in German Travel Literature (1772–1834): The Expeditions of Chamisso, Forster, Humboldt, and Maximilian" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2007); Richard Price, *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Eric Mueggler, *The Paper Road: Archive and Experience in the Botanical Exploration of West China and Tibet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Adriana Craciun and Mary Terrall, eds., *Curious Encounters: Voyaging, Collecting, and Making Knowledge in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019); David Malkiel, *Strangers in Yemen: Travel and Cultural Encounter among Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Colonial Era* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021); Andrea Nero, "Beggars and Kings: Marginalized People in the Discourses of Early American Scientific Societies" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2022).

⁶⁰ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁶¹ Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*.

“contact zone”.⁶² The coinage of “anti-conquest” is another contribution of hers. “Anti-conquest” refers to “the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony”.⁶³ Recent travel writing studies turn to probe counter-travelogue, other alternatives, native voice, and periphery participators rather than focusing on Western travellers. Shannon Marie Butler analyses Peruvian travelogues that protest the misrepresentation of Peru by contemporary foreign imperial travellers.⁶⁴ Wendy Bracewell discusses the reception of foreign travel writing by the people of travel destinations, i.e. “travellee”.⁶⁵ “Travellee”, another term coined by Pratt, means “persons traveled to (or on) by a traveler, receptors of travel”.⁶⁶ Ángel Tuninetti stresses the importance of intermediaries in travel activity. By reviewing Leila Gómez’s and Florencia Roulet’s research on guide and pathfinder, Tuninetti states that intermediaries can challenge imperial travellers’ authority and subvert the power relation between travellers and intermediaries.⁶⁷ Erik Mueggler analyses the role of native collaborators, as collectors, in George Forrest’s scientific survey in Yunnan.⁶⁸

However, previous research covering this region focuses primarily on the political history of great powers, for instance, colonial rivalry⁶⁹ and imperial expansion.⁷⁰ While an

⁶² Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁴ Shannon Marie Butler, *Travel Narratives in Dialogue: Contesting Representations of Nineteenth-Century Peru* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008).

⁶⁵ Wendy Bracewell, “The Travellee’s Eye: Reading European Travel Writing”, in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), 215–227.

⁶⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 242.

⁶⁷ Ángel Tuninetti, “Intermediaries”, in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), 130–132. For the research of Leila Gómez and Florencia Roulet, see Leila Gómez, “Pathfinders in Travel Narratives”, in *Travel, Agency, and the Circulation of Knowledge*, ed. Gesa Mackenthun, Andrea Nicolas, and Stephanie Wodianka (Münster: Waxmann, 2017), 121–137; Florencia Roulet, “Mujeres, rehenes y secretarios: Mediadores indígenas en la frontera sur del Río de la Plata durante el período hispánico”, *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 3 (2009): 303–337.

⁶⁸ Erik Mueggler, “The Eyes of Others: Race, ‘Gaping,’ and Companionship in the Scientific Exploration of Southwest China”, in *Explorers and Scientists in China’s Borderlands, 1880–1950*, ed. Denise M. Glover et al. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 26–56.

⁶⁹ To name only a few: Warren B. Walsh, “European Rivalries in Southwestern China, 1885–1898” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1935); Claire Hirshfield, “The Struggle for the Mekong Banks 1892–1896”, *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9, no. 1 (1968): 25–52; Minton F. Goldman, “Franco-British Rivalry over Siam, 1896–1904”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (1972): 210–228; Chandran Jeshurun, *The Contest for Siam 1889–1902: A Study in Diplomatic Rivalry* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1977); Eric Vanden Bussche, “Contested Realms: Colonial Rivalry, Border Demarcation, and State-Building in Southwest China, 1885–1960” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2014).

⁷⁰ To name only a few: Clarence Hendershot, “The Conquest, Pacification, and Administration of the Shan States by the British, 1886–1897” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1936); Herold Jacob Wiens, *China’s March toward the Tropics: A Discussion of the Southward Penetration of China’s Culture, Peoples, and Political Control in Relation to the Non-Han-Chinese Peoples of South China and in the Perspective of Historical and Cultural Geography* (New York: Shoe String Press, 1954); Dorothy Woodman, *The Making of Burma* (London: Cresset Press, 1962); Sao Saimong Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University, 1965); Damodar Ramaji SarDesai, *British Trade and Expansion in Southeast Asia, 1830–1914* (Columbia: South Asia Books, 1977); Charan Chakandang, “Siam’s Loss of Trans-Salween Territory to Great Britain in 1892” (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1987); Kent Clarke Smith, “Ch’ing Policy and the Development of Southwest China: Aspects of Ortai’s Governor-Generalship, 1726–1731” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1971); Sun Laichen, “Ming-Southeast Asian Overland Interactions, 1368–1644”

extensive body of literature has analysed European explorations in the Yunnan-Burma borderlands,⁷¹ most of them give priority to either the explorers or the great powers, and this region and the natives remain merely periphery. However, some studies are still relevant to this study. Sao Saimong Mangrai's *The Shan States and the British Annexation* (1965) is the first thorough study in English of the history of Chiang Tung in the colonial period. But his analysis of the British colonial expeditions to Chiang Tung is weakened by his detail-burdened paraphrases of English reports.⁷² In her monograph discussing boundary making and cartography, Marie de Rugy reveals the significance of collaboration with local populations and consulting Asian maps.⁷³ Frances O'Morchoe explains the roles of American Baptist missionaries and local converts in state-making through their trans-border mobility and the Presbyterian missionaries' participation in assisting the Siamese nation-building project.⁷⁴

Some studies directly address intercultural contact in this region. Turton's anthropological approach to European-Asian diplomatic interaction inducts some inspiring tropes in analysing European-Tai contact, including the impossibility of direct communication,

(PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2000); David A. Bello, "To Go Where No Han Could Go for Long Malaria and the Qing Construction of Ethnic Administrative Space in Frontier Yunnan", *Modern China* 31, no. 3 (2005): 283–317; Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*; David A. Bello, *Across Forest, Steppe, and Mountain: Environment, Identity, and Empire in Qing China's Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Zhidan Duan, "At the Edge of Mandalas: The Transformation of the China's Yunnan Borderlands in the 19th and 20th Century" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2015); Zhang Mengting, "*Cong tusi lingdi dao zizhizhou: guojia yu bianjiang hudong beijing xia xishuangbanna de shehui bianqian* [From domains of Tusi to an autonomous prefecture: The state-frontier interactions and the social transformation of Xishuangbanna]" (PhD diss., Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2021); Ren Zhaozheng, "*Cheli baiyi tusi yu guojia guanxi yanjiu* [Research on the relationship between the Baiyi Tusi of Cheli and the country [of China]]" (master's thesis, Yunnan University, 2021).

⁷¹ For detailed study of McLeod, see Grabowsky and Turton, *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*. For studies of the French Mekong Exploration Mission, see Jean-Pierre Gomane, *L'exploration du Mékong: La mission Ernest Doudart de Lagrée-Francis Garnier (1866–1868)* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1994); Lacroze, *Les grands pionniers du Mékong*. For studies of the British explorations and annexations of Burma, see Woodman, *The Making of Burma*; Marie de Rugy, "Looting and Commissioning Indigenous Maps: James G. Scott in Burma", *Journal of Historical Geography* 69 (2020): 5–17. For studies of the French explorations as a whole, see Martin Stuart-Fox, "The French in Laos, 1887–1945", *Modern Asian Studies* 29, no. 1 (1995): 111–139; Olivier Schouteden, "Impossible Indochina: Obstacles, Problems, and Failures of French Colonial Exploration in Southeast Asia, 1862–1914" (PhD diss., Northeastern University, 2018). For studies of the American missionaries, see George Bradley McFarland, ed., *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam, 1828–1928* (Bangkok: Bangkok Times Press, 1928); Maung Shwe Wa, Genevieve Sowards, and Erville Sowards, eds., *Burma Baptist Chronicle* (Rangoon: Board of Publications, Burma Baptist Convention, 1963); Kenneth E. Wells, *History of Protestant Work in Thailand: 1828–1958* (Bangkok: Church of Christ in Thailand, 1958); Alexander G. Smith, *Siamese Gold, A History of Church Growth in Thailand: An Interpretive Analysis 1816–1982* (Bangkok: Kanok Bannasan, 1982). For studies of the imperial travellers, see Peter Thompson and Robert Macklin, *The Man who Died Twice: The Life and Adventures of Morrison of Peking* (Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2004); William L. Gibson, *Alfred Raquez and the French Experience of the Far East, 1898–1906* (London: Routledge, 2021). For studies of the Yunnan borderlands as a whole, see Walsh, "The Yunnan Myth"; Yang Mei, "*Jindai xifang ren zai yunnan de tancha huodong ji qi zhushu* [The Westerners' explorations in Yunnan in modern times]" (PhD diss., Yunnan University, 2011).

⁷² Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*.

⁷³ de Rugy, *Aux confins des empires*.

⁷⁴ O'Morchoe, "Mobility, Space and Power in the Making of Burma's Borders".

time for manoeuvre, disappointing gift, and ethnography of embassy.⁷⁵ He uses “the impossibility of direct communication” to describe correspondence communication rather than face-to-face intercourse. However, it may include contact through intermediary languages and interpreters.⁷⁶ By analysing “time for manoeuvre”, Turton points out that the “delay” factor is only Western diplomats’ perception caused by their incapability to understand the necessity of accommodation and supplies arrangement for diplomatic reception, the “importance of astrological forecasts”, and “political consultation” in local society.⁷⁷ Turton uses “disappointing gift” to reflect on the unilateral or mutual perceptions of gifts by participants in the diplomatic gift exchange and the results caused by these perceptions.⁷⁸ Turton also summarises five themes of European perception of Siamese diplomatic practice during the early encounters: ceremony, delay, invasion, spying, and friendship. “Ceremony” and “delay” are European envoys’ perceptions of Siamese ceremonious receptions and unnecessary delays, “invasion” and “spying” refer to the Siamese suspicion of European diplomats, and “friendship” is a mutual interpretation of diplomatic contact.⁷⁹ Volker Grabowsky enriches the study of the British-Tai diplomatic intercourse through his analysis of Tai people’s perception of foreign embassies like McLeod and Richardson, especially in Tai language records.⁸⁰ Anthony R. Walker and Magnus Fiskesjö, respectively, reveal the Lahu and Wa peoples’ perception of the Baptist missionary work.⁸¹ Walker emphasises that the Lahu millennialism and spiritual leaders are core reasons for the Lahu movement, a massive conversion of the Lahu people into Christians. He also reveals the mutual misreading between the Lahu people and the American missionary William Marcus Young, in which the Lahu interpreted Baptism as a method to eternal life, and Young perceived Lahu traditions in a Christian frame.⁸² Herbert R. Swanson discusses the Presbyterian-Baptist rivalry over Chiang Tung and briefly reviews the Presbyterian missionary work in Chiang Tung and Sipssòng Panna, as well as the roles of Tai converts in missionary work, in the frame of church history.⁸³ Austin Lee House systematically discusses the missionary work by the native Tai Christians in North Siam, Burma, French

⁷⁵ Turton, “Ethnography of Embassy”, 175–205; Andrew Turton, “Diplomatic Missions to Tai States by David Richardson and W. C. McLeod 1830–1839: Anthropological Perspectives”, *Journal of the Siam Society* 86, no. 1–2 (1998): 9–25; Andrew Turton, “Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters of the Early Nineteenth Century”, in *An Anthropology of Indirect Communication*, ed. Joy Hendry and C. W. Watson (London: Routledge, 2001), 271–289; Andrew Turton, “Disappointing Gifts: Dialectics of Gift Exchange in Early Modern European–East Asian Diplomatic Practice”, *Journal of the Siam Society* 104 (2016): 111–127.

⁷⁶ Turton, “Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters”, 275–280.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 283–284.

⁷⁸ Turton, “Disappointing Gifts”, 112.

⁷⁹ Turton, “Ethnography of Embassy”, 175–205.

⁸⁰ Volker Grabowsky, “British Diplomatic Missions to Tai States in the Early Modern Period: A Reappraisal”, in *Tracks and Traces: Thailand and the Work of Andrew Turton*, ed. Philip Hirsch and Nicholas Tapp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 119–124.

⁸¹ Anthony R. Walker, *Merit and the Millennium: Routine and Crisis in the Ritual Lives of the Lahu People* (New Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 2003); Magnus Fiskesjö, *Stories from an Ancient Land: Perspectives on Wa History and Culture* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2021).

⁸² Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 576–588.

⁸³ Herbert Swanson, “The Kengtung Question: Presbyterian Mission and Comity in Eastern Burma”, *Journal of Presbyterian History* 60, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 59–79; Herbert R. Swanson, *Khrischak Muang Nua: A Study in Northern Thai Church History* (Chiang Mai: Chuan Printing Press, 1984).

Indochina, and China, which is hardly touched by previous historical research on the church in Siam/Thailand.⁸⁴ Andrew Hillier reviews Frederic William Carey's expeditions to Sipsòng Panna and Müang Laem as an amateur ethnographer and an exhibits collector.⁸⁵

This study departs from the arbitrary viewpoint of the imperial centre and moves to the down-to-earth contacts in the marginal region, rather than a systematic analysis of European travel and investigation activities. This brings me to my main arguments. The aim of this study is to establish a new understanding of the intercultural contacts in this region and the under-researched history of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng. These travel writings are not necessarily precise and objective representations of the encounters but are a textual discourse influenced by their respective backgrounds, priorities, and misinterpretation. The native population was neither invisible in the encounters nor passive in its responses to the foreign visitors. The locals of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng played multiple roles, cooperative or resistant, in these travels and investigations: as assistants to the activities, as intelligence agents spying on or misguiding the foreigners, as evidence to support the claims made by foreigners, as objects to be gazed at and studied, as obstacles to be overcome, and as heathens to be saved.

Much research has discussed the tributary relationships in this region regarding political interaction and gift exchange.⁸⁶ However, the roles of Burmese and Chinese agents in this region are often neglected. The records of travellers and investigators reveal how these imperial agents, such as Burman Cackais and Chinese delegates, dealt with the native authorities and with Western visitors.

While Chiang Tung's historical territory is rarely controversial, the historical territories of Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng need more research. Usually, historical maps concerning Sipsòng Panna ignore the tracts of Bò Ten and other parts or exaggerate the size.⁸⁷ The map of

⁸⁴ Austin Lee House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians and Their Participation in Cross-Cultural Missions from 1870–1940" (PhD diss., Western Seminary, 2017).

⁸⁵ Andrew Hillier, "'With a Camera in Yunnan': The Ethnographic Expeditions of Frederic W. Carey, RGS #1", Visualising China, 29 March 2018, <https://hpchina.blogs.bristol.ac.uk/2018/03/29/with-a-camera-in-yunnan-the-ethnographic-expeditions-of-frederic-w-carey-rgs/>; Andrew Hillier, "'With a Camera in Yunnan': The Ethnographic Expeditions of Frederic W. Carey, RGS #2", Visualising China, 27 April 2018, <https://hpchina.blogs.bristol.ac.uk/2018/04/27/with-a-camera-in-yunnan-the-ethnographic-expeditions-of-fred-w-carey-rgs/>.

⁸⁶ To name just a few: Yanyong and Ratanaporn, *Prawatsat sangkhom lae watthanatham sipsòngpanna*, 60–75; Sun, "Ming-Southeast Asian Overland Interactions, 1368–1644", 77–96; Volker Grabowsky, "The Tai Polities in the Upper Mekong and Their Tributary Relationships with China and Burma", *Aséanie, Sciences humaines en Asie du Sud-Est* 21, no. 1 (2008): 11–63; Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 35–49; Ren, "Cheli baiyi tusi yu guojia guanxi yanjiu".

⁸⁷ For the ignorance of Bò Ten, Chiang Mai (Jingmai), Chiang Lu (Zhenglu), Chiang Dao (Zhenglao), and other parts, see Charles Patterson Giersch, Jr., "Qing China's Reluctant Subjects: Indigenous Communities and Empire along the Yunnan Frontier" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1998), 2. For the exaggeration of Sipsòng Panna's territory, see Li Fuyi, *Shi'er banna zhi* [Gazetteer of Sipsòng Panna] (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1955), 9. Moreover, Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo misread the boundary of Sipsòng Panna in 1953 as the boundary in the late eighteenth century (Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, xii; Zhang Hanguang, Guan Liang and Wu Yongxun, "Xishuangbanna daizu fenbu lüetu [Sketch map of the distribution of the Tai people of Sipsòng Panna]", in *Daizu shehui lishi diaocha (xishuangbanna zhi er)* [Investigation on the society and history of the Dai people (Sipsòng Panna)], ed. "Minzu Wenti Wuzhong Congshu" Yunnan Sheng Bianji Weiyuan Hui (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1983), 2:n.p.).

Chiang Khaeng in Grabowsky and Renoo (2008) is quite rough.⁸⁸ Though territory boundary is not the research object of this project, this study attempts to redraw the maps of Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng based on archival materials obtained (see Map 3 and Map 4).

This study seeks answers to several questions: How the relation between discourse and power is reflected in the writings? How have these travel and exploration activities impacted local societies? What are the images of the native people, the cultural Other, in travel writings and investigation reports, and how far the construction of these images are impacted by prejudice? What are the attitudes of native populations towards the travellers, and are they depicted realistically or twisted to serve political, cultural, or religious purposes? What is the function and impact of the natives in transcultural contact, and to what extent do they facilitate or hinder such interactions? Finally, how was the knowledge of this region built up?

3 Sources

The methodological approach focuses on textual analysis, by conducting an in-depth investigation into archival materials and publications, to reveal the ever-changing relations between travellers and the native population and, through synchronic and diachronic comparisons, to discuss the historical changes of exploration activities and discourses and the similarities and differences of the themes and narratives of exploration activities.

This study's primary sources include memoirs, diaries, travelogues, official and private correspondence, reports, orders, notes, testimonies, maps, and photographs, in six languages: Burmese, Chinese, English, French, German, and Tai (Shan, Siamese, Tai Khün, Tai Lü, and Tai Yuan). The focus of the investigation is on the published writings and archival documents of travellers and investigators.

a) Local Sources

In most cases, the local records on the contact with the Westerners are brief and lack details. The *Jengtung State Chronicle*, for example, features only one sentence, “[i]n the year 1252 the Galā Ingalik [English foreigners] entered the state”,⁸⁹ to describe the arrival of foreigners and briefly mentions Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng's participation in the boundary delimitation in 1898 and 1899.⁹⁰ The chronicles of Sipsòng Panna hardly mention Westerners, and the records on the cession of territories are an unreliable mixture of history and imagination.⁹¹

By contrast, Chiang Khaeng has comparatively more detailed records of the history of the 1890s. Iijima hints at the relationship between the compilation of the Chiang Khaeng

⁸⁸ Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, vii.

⁸⁹ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 276.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁹¹ MLC-LV2 41.3, 42.15, in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 300, 305. See the description on the cession of Bò Ten, which will be discussed in Chapter III.

chronicles and the arrival of the Pavie Mission.⁹² Chiang Khaeng's need to compile detailed historical records was probably inspired by the British and the French, who requested comprehensive accounts of the present and past situations in Chiang Khaeng. Abundant records in the *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, such as the Wat Tha Phrao version, have identical content to the manuscripts collected by the British and the French.

The creation, circulation, and preservation of secular documents in Tai societies await further research. The Nüa Sanam was probably in charge of keeping local correspondence and documents.⁹³ Chao Sri Nò Kham required Pavie to return the letters he forwarded so that they may be collected properly.⁹⁴ Correspondence would later be compiled in or become sources of historical writings, as the Chiang Khaeng chronicles reveal. Besides, a letter from the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung is present in a chronicle.⁹⁵

Many studies on boundary negotiation and demarcation in this region have been conducted, but few refer to native records. Discussions of the native attitude usually cite Western reports.⁹⁶ There are sporadic references to Tai sources in certain studies, but only the translations thereof.⁹⁷ As will be discussed in the following chapters, these translations were flawed by either a lack of language capability or bias.

Fortunately, some Tai manuscripts were collected by the British and French Boundary Commissions and are now kept at French and British archives and libraries. The Centre des archives d'outre-mer (ANOM) owns some manuscripts collected by the Pavie Mission, all of which are in the Gouvernement général de l'Indochine (GGI) collection. GGI 15699 contains two letters from the nobles of Chiang Khaeng to Chao Sri Nò Kham and an edict issued by the British, both written in 1895. GGI 20680 contains one letter from Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie and one Chinese letter to Chao Sri Nò Kham, both written in 1895. GGI 20751 holds a letter from Chao Phraya Luang Phrommawong and the Nüa Kwan of Müang Ban (Mengban) to the ruler of Müang Ai in 1902. GGI 22397 contains 18 letters and two notes written by Phraya Luang Ratchawong in late 1902. Originally, the French intercepted Phraya Luang Ratchawong's 35 letters, and only 20 were submitted to the Résident Supérieur du Laos.⁹⁸ Different from other Tai letters, which were ordinarily written on mulberry paper, the 18 letters and one note of them were written on Western notebook paper. Moreover, it is

⁹² Iijima Akiko, "The Chiang Khaeng Chronicles of 1895: An Introduction to the Chiang Khaeng Manuscripts in the Mission Pavie Papers", the 14th International Conference of Thai Studies, 29 April–1 May 2022, Kyoto.

⁹³ Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 5 June 1895, p. 166, FO 422/43, Inclosure 13 in No. 40, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

⁹⁴ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya and Cha Ratchasan, the 3rd waxing day of the 7th month, 1257 [26 April 1895], f. 125, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

⁹⁵ The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung, in *Cheli xuanwei shi shixi jijie* [Annotated compilation of the lineage of the rulers of Sipsòng Panna], ed. Yunnansheng Shaoshu Minzu Guji Zhengli Chuban Guihua Bangongshi (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1989), 616–630.

⁹⁶ Hirshfield, "The Struggle for the Mekong Banks 1892–1896".

⁹⁷ Woodman, *The Making of Burma*; Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*; House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians".

⁹⁸ L'Administrateur Commissaire du Gouvernement à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur du Laos, 9 février 1903, RSL F1, ANOM.

unknown whether there are Tai manuscripts in GGI 15698 on the British occupation of Müang Sing in 1895 because it is under restoration and inaccessible.

The Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve (CADLC) is another French archive that keeps the Tai manuscripts collected by the Pavie Mission. One of the collections is the Papiers Auguste Pavie collection. Volume 43 contains four Tai letters, one Burmese letter, and one Chinese letter, all of which were written in 1891. Volume 55 contains 13 letters written between July and December 1894 concerning the British claims on Chiang Khaeng. Volume 56 contains nine letters written in late 1894 and early 1895 during the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission's visit to Müang Sing. Volume 57 holds eight letters written in March 1895. The latter three folders were only briefly discussed by Iijima Akiko.⁹⁹ Another collection is the Mémoires et Documents collection. Série Asie 95 (Indochine 57) contains five letters from Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng on the issue of the Qing's involvement in the Chiang Khaeng problem and one Shan letter with Tham transcription sent by Stirling. Apart from the original correspondence, there are transcriptions of three letters from Chiang Khaeng. Série Asie 92 (Indochine 54) contains two letters written by Chao Sri Nò Kham in June 1895.

The Cambridge University Library's (CUL) James George Scott Collection owns an abundant of manuscripts, most of which are Shan and Burmese correspondence from Müang Nai (Mongnai), Müang Pòn (Mongpaw), Saen Wi (Theinni), Chiang Tung, etc. Scott collected these manuscripts during his service in the Shan States from 1887 to 1902.¹⁰⁰ Chiang Tung's correspondence in this collection is mainly written in Burmese between 1887 and 1890. Unfortunately, some manuscripts (LL9.221, LL9.525, LL9.526, LL9.530) are missing, and their approximate contents are only knowable through the *Oriental Catalogue* at the CUL. However, there are six manuscripts from Chiang Khaeng: four were sent by Müang Sing, and two (one in Tham script and one in Tua Muan script) were sent by Chiang Lap (Kenglat). The English translation of LL9.107, LL9.108, LL9.109, LL9.110, and LL9.111 are printed as Enclosure VI, Enclosure VII, Enclosure X, Enclosure IX, and Enclosure VIII to Scott's report on the expedition in 1891, which is available at the British Library.¹⁰¹ In addition to

⁹⁹ Iijima Akiko, “*Tamu moji bunsho no shozō jōkyō, furansu gaimushō bunshokan shozō pavi chōsadan bunsho wo chūshin ni* [Tham Script Manuscripts Preserved in French Archival Collections: The Mission Pavie Papers in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France]”, in *Mekongawa ryūiki chiiki zaichi bunsho no shin kaitaku to chiiki shizō no sai kentō, pavi chōsadan bunsho wo chūshin ni* [Reappraising the History of the Upper Mekong River Region through Documents in Indigenous Scripts: New Avenues for Research Opened Up by Manuscripts Found on French and British Archives], ed. Iijima Akiko (2012), 7–10.

¹⁰⁰ Kurisuchan Danierusu [Christian Daniels], “*Ēkoku kenburijji daigaku toshokan shozō tai (Tay) moji genchi bunsho ni kansuru gaisetsu hōkoku* [Tay (Shan) Script Manuscripts in the Scott Collection at Cambridge University, England]”, in *Mekongawa ryūiki chiiki zaichi bunsho no shin kaitaku to chiiki shizō no sai kentō, pavi chōsadan bunsho wo chūshin ni* [Reappraising the History of the Upper Mekong River Region through Documents in Indigenous Scripts: New Avenues for Research Opened Up by Manuscripts Found on French and British Archives], ed. Iijima Akiko (2012), 11–12.

¹⁰¹ See Memorandum sent by Scott to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma on a visit to the Kyaington-Chiangmai Boundary (whilst Scott was Officiating Superintendent of the Shan States), 1891, Mss Eur F278/73, PSGS, BL.

correspondence, the James George Scott Collection contains some local maps from Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna.¹⁰²

It is worth noting that the correspondence of Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng at the CUL has no seal stamps, contrary to most of those at the ANOM and the CADLC. It does not reduce the reliability of sources at the CUL, however. Some copies of the same letter are found at both the CADLC and the CUL.¹⁰³ For example, two copies of the same letter, from Chao Sri Nò Kham to James George Scott, are kept at both the CADLC and the CUL.¹⁰⁴ Except for some slight lexical differences and the lack of seal stamp and written date and place, the copy at the CUL is identical to the copy at the CADLC.

One explanation for the difference in the seal is the French emphasis on sealing. Lefèvre-Pontalis had questioned the value of a manuscript provided by Chao Khanan Pitchawong, which was written in pencil and had no seal stamp.¹⁰⁵ For him, stamped correspondence was “a precious document for establishing our rights on the left bank of the Chiang Khaeng principality” (*un précieux dossier pour établir nos droits sur la rive gauche de la principauté de Xieng Kheng*).¹⁰⁶

It is worth noting that some Tai statements written by commoners (see Figure 9) are found at the Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS) in Philadelphia. Though not all of them are original versions, they provide a different perspective on history, contrary to the manuscripts from other archives written by either nobles or court scribes. A Shan letter from the Chiang Tung court to the Baptist missionary Robert Harper is also found in the latter’s correspondence collection at the American Baptist Historical Society (ABHS) in Atlanta.¹⁰⁷

Recently, some valuable manuscripts have been made public. Thin Rattikanok owns three letters from Müang Hon, Sipsòng Panna, written in the 1830s.¹⁰⁸ One of them was written in 1837 by Chao Maha Yuwarat Chantha Hangsa, Chao Akkha Racha Thewi Thao Kham, Chao Maha Chaiya Racha, Chao Rattana Anuchata, and Chao In Phaeng from Müang Hon, to their relatives in Lamphun, namely, Chao Kham Da, Chao Kham Da’s wife, and their son Chao Nai Nan Kawila. These three letters are a valuable source for both historical research and linguistics.

¹⁰² For discussion on these maps and the collecting activities, see de Ruyg, “Looting and Commissioning Indigenous Maps”.

¹⁰³ Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng to James George Scott, the 8th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [3 January 1895], MS Scott LL4.320, JGSC, CUL; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 14th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [9 January 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁰⁴ Chao Sri Nò Kham to James George Scott, the 2nd waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [28 December 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to James George Scott, n.d., MS Scott LL4.314, JGSC, CUL.

¹⁰⁵ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis et de Mr. Macey* (23 juillet–9 août 1894), 28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁰⁶ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du séjour à M. Sing, des membres de la Commission franco-anglaise* (15–21 janvier 1895), 15 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 58, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁰⁷ The Court of Chaofa Luang Müang Chiang Tung to Robert Harper, the 1st waning day of the 10th month, 1270 [13 August 1908], FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Nuttapong Punjaburi on 24 April 2022.

More local sources remain to be discovered. Some of them are probably kept in national and local libraries. The Xishuangbanna Library owns an undated six-page manuscript of correspondence from the Chiang Rung prince to the Müang Laem prince (GJ00327). However, the content is unknown because this letter is inaccessible to the public.

Manuscripts were also found in other forms of materials. A manuscript of notice is present in a photograph kept at the Musée du quai Branly in Paris.¹⁰⁹ This photograph (see Figure 7), showing Chao Sri Nò Kham's family, was taken on 16 January 1895, when the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission met in Müang Sing. This notice, which can be seen pinned in the background of the photograph, announces the arrival of the British and French commissioners and calls on the nobles of Chiang Khaeng to convene so that photographs can be taken. It reveals how Chiang Khaeng responded to photography, a new technology.

Apart from the original manuscripts, another source of local voice is translated documents. These documents are flawed due to their translators' varying language capacities and prejudices. Some roughly translated letters are found in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* (Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan), edited by Huang Chengyuan. These contemporary Chinese translations were written in 1893 and 1894. These translations may not be faithful to the original Tai letters, and the rendering of dates and phrases is questionable. However, it is hard to testify the extent that Chinese translations deviate from the original versions. Other correspondence is still available in the form of both the original manuscripts and English and French translations, but for the above reasons, the latter should also be cited with reservation.

b) Western Sources

Historical studies focusing on the local societies of this region have been carried out. However, most of them are based on local chronicles. Because of the limitation of local sources, these studies mainly focus on ancient times and seldom discuss foreign expeditions or make extensive use of foreign records.¹¹⁰ Lacking a thorough survey of foreign archival materials, Natcha Laohasirinadh's discussion of Sipsòng Panna's political and social transformation in the nineteenth century is ambiguous and lacks depth.¹¹¹ Some studies on the nineteenth century only confine to sources from their own countries. Referring to only Chinese materials and the translated foreign sources in Qing's records, Gu Yongji and Li He's analysis of the cession of Müang U (Mengwu) lacks both local and foreign perspectives and is incomplete.¹¹² Nakorn Punnarong's discussion on Chiang Khaeng's boundary demarcation is simplified, failing to

¹⁰⁹ Anonymous, *Le roi et sa famille*, n.d. [1895], photograph, PP0023605.1, MQB.

¹¹⁰ For studies and compilations of ancient chronicles, see Savèng Phinith, "Bñsāvātār Mōecañ Jieyñ Ruñ (Un texte siamois relatif à l'histoire du sud des Sipsongpanna de 1836 à 1858 E.C.)", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 64 (1977): 115–150; Foon Ming Liew-Herres, "Intra-dynastic and Inter-Tai Conflicts in the Old Kingdom of Moeng Lü in Southern Yunnan", *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research* 5 (2007): 51–112.

¹¹¹ Natcha, *Sipsòngphanna: rat charit*.

¹¹² Gu Yongji and Li He, "Qing mo dian nan mengwu, wude ge gui fa shu yuenan shijian tanxi [An analysis of the cession of Müang U and U Tai in South Yunnan to French Vietnam during the late Qing dynasty]", *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 25, no. 1 (2015): 124–140.

consult British and French sources.¹¹³ There are a few exceptions.¹¹⁴ Consequently, foreign sources and the period from the nineteenth century onwards beg further investigation. The reports from frontline travellers not only provided audiences with detailed intercourse with local societies but also had a significant influence on policymaking. A large body of documents on the British and French boundary commissions remain untouched.

The discussion of McLeod, the French Mekong Exploration Mission, and the travellers in Chapter V relies heavily on published articles and books. Only a few archival documents were consulted, including the French Mekong Exploration Mission's documents at the ANOM, the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) and the CADLC, Ehlers's correspondence with Henry Mitchell Jones at the CUL, the French Consulate at Simao's documents at the CADLC, the documents of Younghusband and of Rigby at the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), Georges Grillières's correspondence at the BnF and Morrison's diaries at the State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW) in Sydney.

While only a few previous studies have consulted the archival documents of the boundary commissions in Cambridge, London, Aix-en-Provence, and Paris,¹¹⁵ this study makes extensive use of them in Chapter III. The James George Scott Collection in the CUL contains correspondence, reports, maps, and other documents collected during Scott's service in the Shan State. The National Archives (NA) and the BL own some reports and correspondence concerning boundary issues with China and Siam. Scott's diaries and photographs at the BL provide more details not mentioned in official reports. Some of the documents at these three sites overlap. The printed correspondence on Burma and Siam are found in both the NA and the BL, and Scott's handwriting reports in early 1895 are found in both the NA and the CUL.

The ANOM's Gouvernement général de l'Indochine collection and Résident Supérieur du Laos collection, and the CADLC's Mémoires et Documents collection and Papiers Auguste Pavie collection are an indispensable source for discussing the French expeditions in Chiang Khaeng and Sipsòng Panna in the 1890s and the 1900s. Copies of some of the same documents relating to the Pavie Mission, such as Lefèvre-Pontalis's journals of the journey to Sipsòng Panna in 1891, are found at both the ANOM and the CADLC.

The missionary documents from the ABHS, the Payap University Archives, and the PHS have been widely used in previous studies.¹¹⁶ However, the Baptist missionary correspondence and publications used in earlier research are confined mainly to those of William Marcus Young.¹¹⁷ The records of other Baptist missionaries are routinely ignored, such as those of

¹¹³ Nakorn, *Panha chaidæn thai-phama*, 231–236, 283–290.

¹¹⁴ Woodman, *The Making of Burma*; Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*.

¹¹⁵ Grégoire Schlemmer, "Une population méconnue du Viêt-Nam: Les Tai Lu: à propos de Vũ Khánh (chief ed.), 2012, *Người Lự/The Lự in Vietnam*, Hanoi, VNA Publishing House, 168 p.", *Aséanie, Sciences humaines en Asie du Sud-Est*, 33 (2014): 117–133.

¹¹⁶ Swanson, "The Kengtung Question"; Nils Magnus Geir Fiskesjö, "The Fate of Sacrifice and the Making of Wa History" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2000); Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*; House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians"; O'Morchoe, "Mobility, Space and Power in the Making of Burma's Borders".

¹¹⁷ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*; House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians"; O'Morchoe, "Mobility, Space and Power in the Making of Burma's Borders".

Albert Hailey Henderson, who visited Chiang Tung as a member of a visiting committee and a joint committee, respectively, and of Howard C. Gibbens, who was stationed at Chiang Tung between 1904 and 1907, which can be cross-examined with Young's writings. The Presbyterian Historical Society's collection of documents on Chiang Tung still needs thorough analysis. Copies of its collection on the Laos Mission are also available at the Payap University Archives.

Due to the travel restriction imposed during the COVID-19 pandemic, the published sources and archival sources at the National Archives of Myanmar and the university libraries in Myanmar have not been consulted. For the same reason that the Siamese records on travels and investigations in Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng at the National Library of Thailand, National Archives of Thailand, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand) are not referred to. Nor has the Gouverneur général de l'Indochine collection at the Vietnamese National Archives Number One (Trung Tâm Lưu Trữ Quốc Gia I).

4 Terminology

The travellers who feature in this thesis employed various ethnonyms. This included Shan/Chan, Lao/Laotien, Thai/Thäi, Pa-I/Payi, Tai, etc., for the Tai people, and Muhso/Muhsoer/Muhsö/Musö, Khui, Lahu, etc., for the Lahu people. Generally, the choice of ethnonym was influenced by the areas where the travellers began their journeys. Travellers from Burma, such as McLeod and the Baptist missionaries used "Shan". Travellers from Laos and Siam, such as the French Mekong Exploration Mission and missionaries of the Laos Mission tended to use "Lao". French and British officials based in Simao, though, apparently preferred "Thai" and "Shan", respectively. However, Pierre Bons d'Anty and Frederic William Carey were also influenced by the Chinese classification in their choice of ethnonyms, using "Payi" or "Pa I" (*baiyi*), "Hanpayi" or "Han Pa I" (*han baiyi*), "Hoayaopayi" or "Hua Yao Pa I" (*huayao baiyi*).

In this study, the "Tai people" refers to the people who use the endonym "Tai", largely overlapping with the speakers of the Southwestern Tai languages, including Tai Dam, Tai Khao, Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Tai Yuan, Shan, Siamese, Lao, etc.¹¹⁸ "Siam", as an exonym, is not limited to the present Central and Southern Thailand. The Tai people outside Siam were and are still called "Siam" by many Tibeto-Burman and Mon-Khmer peoples.¹¹⁹ For instance, the Tai in Sipsòng Panna are called "Sam" by the Miao people, "Siam" by the Wa people, and "Syam" by the Khmu people.¹²⁰ However, following academic conventions, this dissertation

¹¹⁸ Charles F. Keyes, "Who Are the Tai? Reflections on the Invention of Identities", in *Ethnic Identity: Creation Conflict, and Accommodation*, ed. Lola Romanucci-Ross and George De Vos (Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press, 1995), 136.

¹¹⁹ Chit Phumisak, *Khvam pen ma khòng kham sayam thai lao lae khòm lae laksana thang sangkhom khòng chū chonchat* [The etymology of the terms Siam, Thai, Lao, Khòm and the social characteristics of ethnonyms] (Krung Thep: Munnithi Khrongkan Tamra Sangkhomsat Lae Manutsayasat, 2524 [1981]), 7–15.

¹²⁰ Li, *Shi'er banna zhi*, 156.

uses Siam and Siamese when referring to the territory ruled by Bangkok and its subjects, respectively.

Moreover, “Shan” is considered to be a variant of “Siam”.¹²¹ “Shan” was an exonym used by the Burmans and other Burmese peoples, generally referring to the Tai people.¹²² However, this study employs “Shan” to refer to the group of people who have historically been named “Yiao”¹²³ or “Ngiao”¹²⁴ by Tai Lü, Tai Yuan, Tai Khün, and Siamese, as “Tai Phòng” by Tai Lü, and as “Tai Yai” by Thai, even though the endonyms are “Tai” and “Tai Luang”. The latter, coined in the 1950s, is probably a translation of “Tai Yai”.¹²⁵

Because “Musö” and “Khui” are exonyms used by the Tai and Burmans to refer to the Black Lahu and Yellow Lahu, respectively, this study employs the endonym “Lahu”, which is rendered into contemporary Chinese records as Luohei.

Some toponyms need to be explained. This study uses “North(ern) Siam” rather than “Lanna”¹²⁶ to refer to the region of present North Thailand. Because “North(ern) Siam” is widely used in contemporary English records from the 1880s to the 1910s. Though “Sipsòng Phanna” is more orthographically correct than “Sipsòng Panna”, this study prefers “Sipsòng Panna” for the consideration of academic convention.

5 Date Conversion

The non-Western sources referred to in this study use different calendrical systems from the Gregorian calendar. In this study, all the dates in local sources are converted to the Gregorian calendar. The non-Gregorian calendars used in the sources include the Chinese calendar, the Burmese calendar, and the Tai calendars (Chula Sakarat and Rattanakosin Era).

The conversion of the Chinese calendar is based on the website *Liangqiannian zhong-xi li zhuanhuan*.¹²⁷ The conversion of Shan and Burmese calendars is based on the website Myanmar Calendar 1500 years.¹²⁸ The conversion of Chula Sakarat sources from Chiang Tung,

¹²¹ Chit, *Khwam pen ma khòng kham sayam*, 7.

¹²² Francis Hamilton, “An Account of a Map of the Countries Subject to the King of Ava, Drawn by a Slave of the King’s Eldest Son”, *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* 2 (1820): 89–95, 262–271.

¹²³ For the contemporary Tai Khün source mentioning the “Yiao”, see Statement of the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung, the 7th waxing day of the 6th month, 1268 [21 March 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

¹²⁴ For the contemporary Tai Yuan source mentioning the “Ngiao”, see Statement of Nòi Uppara and Nòi Uppanan, n.d., RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

¹²⁵ Takatani Michio, “Who Are the Shan? An Ethnological Perspective”, in *Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Burma*, ed. Mikael Gravers (Copenhagen: NIAS press, 2007), 191.

¹²⁶ “Lanna” is found in local source, for instance, see Wichiankhico and Wai’at, *Tamnan phün müang chiang mai*, 187. Moreover, it is also referred to as “*müang yuan*” ([Tai] Yuan country) in contemporary source (Statement of Nan Thi, Kham, Tha, Nòi Kham, Ai Pan, Ai Wan, Ai Tha, Nòi Mün, Nòi Wan, Ai Müang, Ai Tem, Nòi Kaeo, Ai Mong, Ai Kaeo, Ai Mi, Ai Ki, Ai Phaeng, and Ai Ma, the 10th waxing day of the 8th month, 1269 [22 April 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS).

¹²⁷ The Academia Sinica Center for Digital Cultures, “*Liangqiannian zhong-xi li zhuanhuan* [A Sino-Western calendar conversion for two thousand years]”, Academia Sinica, <http://sinocal.sinica.edu.tw>.

¹²⁸ Yan Naing Aye, “Myanmar Calendar 1500 years”, GitHub, <https://yan9a.github.io/mmcal/>.

Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna is based on the book *Xishuangbanna daili nianli huibian*, which is compiled from ten calendars used in Sipsòng Panna, recording the data from CS 1166 (1804/1805) to CS 1400 (2038/2039).¹²⁹ However, this study does not refer to John Christopher Eade’s computer programme “SEAC”,¹³⁰ because theoretical scientific accuracy is one thing, and practical calendrical calculation is another. Some dates converted by this program have a discrepancy of one or two days from the actual dates in local documents. This study prefers calendar books actually in use by the natives, and these converted dates are verified by contemporary English and French records.

It is a consensus view that the calendars of Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna are the same in terms of year calculation, month numbering, and date numeration.¹³¹ However, the four Tai letters of Sipsòng Panna and Müang Bò (Jinggu) in Volume 43 of *Papiers Auguste Pavie (CADLC)* question this common knowledge. These four independent letters, addressed to Auguste Pavie, were written on, respectively, the 12th waning day of the 6th month, 1252 [3 April 1891], the 13th waning day of the 6th month, 1252 [4 April 1891], the 14th waning day of the 6th month, 1252 [5 April 1891], and the 5th waxing day of the 7th month, 1253 [13 April 1891]. If converting the date according to the current Sipsòng Panna calendrical system and taking Caitra as the 6th month, these days should be 5, 6, 7, and 12 May 1891, which conflicts with the dates (8 and 15 April 1891) when they reached Pavie.¹³² By contrast, when Phalguna is the 6th month, the dates (3, 4, 5, 13 April 1891) are in accord with the French records. It is obvious that the numbering of months here is the same as Chiang Mai, i.e., one month ahead of the current Sipsòng Panna calendar. It is unclear whether or not Sipsòng Panna employed the Chiang Mai calendrical system.

Meanwhile, the Chiang Khaeng calendrical system of 1891, which can be testified by crosschecking the dates in a statement from Chiang Khaeng and the dates in Archer’s reports and letters, also in 1891, is the same as the system used today.¹³³

Name of Month	Siam, Lan Chang	Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, Sipsòng Panna (in 1895 and today), Chiang Khòng (in 1894)	Chiang Mai, Sipsòng Panna (in 1891)
Caitra	5	6	7

¹²⁹ Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan Tianwen Lifa Xiaozu, ed., *Xishuangbanna daili nianli huibian* [Compilation of the Tai year calendar of Sipsòng Panna] ([Beijing]: [Zhongyang minzu xueyuan tianwen lifa xiaozu], 1976).

¹³⁰ J. C. Eade, “Irregular Dating in Lan Na: An Anomaly Resolved”, *Journal of the Siam Society* 95 (2007): 114.

¹³¹ Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 74.

¹³² Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung et Muong Hai de MM. Pavie et Lefèvre-Pontalis (1–15 avril 1891)*, 8, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹³³ Statement of Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 13th waxing day of the 4th month, 1252 [21 February 1891], MS Scott LL9.108, JGSC, CUL.

Vaisakha	6	7	8
Jyestha	7	8	9
Ashadha	8	9	10
Sravana	9	10	11
Bhadrapada	10	11	12
Asvina	11	12	1
Kartika	12	1	2
Margasirsha	1	2	3
Pausha	2	3	4
Magha	3	4	5
Phalguna	4	5	6

Table 1 Numeration of Months by Different Traditions (Adapted from J. C. Eade, *The Calendrical Systems of Mainland South-East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 29.)

However, the dates in the manuscripts written in 1895 conform to the regular month numbering of Sipsòng Panna. A meeting between two Chinese commissioners and the British and French Boundary Commissions in southern Sipsòng Panna in mid-February 1895 sparked a series of letter exchanges. The earliest letter from the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to Chao Wiang was written on the 2nd waning day of the 5th month, 1256 [12 March 1895].¹³⁴ If we calculate the date using the 1891 month numbering, the date should be 14 February 1895, when the Chinese Commissioners and the Sipsòng Panna authorities who accompanied them were still in southern Sipsòng Panna. In the 1890s, travelling from Müang Mang (Mengman), in southern Sipsòng Panna, to Chiang Rung took at least six stages.¹³⁵ Further evidence comes in the form of Chao Wiang's letters to Chao Sri Nò Kham, written on 19 and 20 March 1895.¹³⁶ These two letters were written after receiving the letter from the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung; the calendrical system employed by Chao Wiang is the Shan system. If Chiang Rung's letter

¹³⁴ The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to Chao Wiang, the 2nd waning day of the 5th month, 1256 [12 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³⁵ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, pp. vii–x, Mss Eur F278/73, BL. Daly records that it took six days from Müang Phong to Chiang Rung and eight days from Müang La to Chiang Rung (Hugh Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 495, IOR/L/PS/7/64, *Political and Secret Letters and enclosures received from India*, vol. 64, BL).

¹³⁶ Chao Wiang to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 10th waning day of the 4th month, 1256 [19 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Wiang to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 11th waning day of the 4th month, 1256 [20 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

was written on 14 February 1895, why did Chao Wiang remain silent for one month before starting to write letters to Chao Sri Nò Kham?

The dates in contemporary Western translations are inaccurate for the most part, with only a few exceptions,¹³⁷ such as the Presbyterian missionaries' translation of the Tai statements.¹³⁸ In an English translation, the date of a letter from Chao Sri Nò Kham to his ministers (the 4th waxing day of the 1st month, 1257) was wrongly converted as 6 November 1895 rather than 22 October 1895.¹³⁹

Any mistakes in the French translations were usually caused by either mixing up the waxing and the waning days or referring to the Siamese or Lao calendar rather than the local calendar. For example, in one particular French translation, the date of the 13th waning day of the 2nd month, 1256 (25 December 1894) was wrongly converted as 8 January 1895.¹⁴⁰ The mis-conversion in these French sources was caused by using the Siamese or Lao calendrical system, which calculated the date as being one month behind that of Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng. Moreover, the translator Tchoum wrongly writes the waning day as the waxing day. Thus, the date of the 13th waxing day of the 2nd month (*Le 13 de la lune croissante du 2e mois*) in the French translation, which equates to 8 January 1895 in the Siamese or Lao calendrical system,¹⁴¹ becomes 14 days later than the accurate date (25 December 1894).

The calendrical system used by Chiang Khòng in 1894 was probably the same as that used in Chiang Khaeng and Sipsòng Panna. The passports issued by the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khòng were written on the 9th waning day of the 9th month, 1256 [26 July 1894] and the 10th waning day of the 9th month, 1256 [27 July 1894],¹⁴² which corresponded to the Chiang Khaeng emissary Chao Khanan Phitchawong's sojourn in Chiang Khòng and his meetings with Lefèvre-Pontalis on 27–28 July 1894.¹⁴³

The dates in Tai manuscripts can be cross-checked with the dates in Western sources. For instance, a letter from the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to the French agent in Chiang

¹³⁷ The Commissioner in charge of the Shan States sends a proclamation to the Siamese princes and people who are in the territories of Chieng Kheng and Muang Hsing for general information, the 4th waxing day of the 7th month, 1256 [8 May 1894], trans., ff. 273–274, FO 17/1225, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 34*, NA.

¹³⁸ Compare the Tai manuscripts with their English translation in the folder RG 84-8-30, PHS.

¹³⁹ The Myosa of Keng Cheng to the State Ministers, the 4th waxing day of the 1st month, 1257 [22 October 1895], trans., p. 19, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 26, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence*. Part VIII, NA.

¹⁴⁰ Rapport du Roi de Mg. Sing à Mr. Pavie, sur ses relations avec Mr. Stirling, 8 janvier 1895, trans., PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 13th waning day of the 2nd month, 1256 [25 December 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁴¹ See the 13th waxing day of the 2nd month, 1256 in Krom Wichakan Krasuang Thammakan, ed., *Patithin samrap khon wan düan thang chanthara khati kap suriya khati, tae pi khan chattawa sok, ròsò 1, phò sò 2325, chòsò 1144, thõng pi wok chattawa sok rosò 151, phò sò 2475, chòsò 1294* [Reference calendar for the day and month in the lunar calendar system and solar calendar system, from Rattanakosin Era 1, Buddhist Era 2325, Chula Era 1144 to RE 151, BE 2475, CE 1294] (Phra Nakhòn: Rongphim Aksòn Niti, 2474 [1931]), 29.

¹⁴² Order from the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khòng, the 10th waning day of the 9th month, 1256 [27 July 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khòng to Nai Sang, the 9th waning day of the 9th month, 1256 [26 July 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁴³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong, 27–28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

Khòng, Paul Macey, mentions a group of British arriving in Müang Sing on the 12th waning day of the 2nd month, 1256, which corresponds to 24 December 1894 in Scott's report.¹⁴⁴

There are also issues with local manuscripts. According to the date on Chao Wiang's Burmese letter, it was written on the 14th waning day of the Tabaung month, 1252, which is equal to 7 March 1891. However, the letter aims to invite the *arepuing* (probably a reference to Pavie) to Müang Chae (Mengzhe) and mentions the Yòng Huai (Yawngghwe) ruler's dispatch to Chiang Rung for this invitation, while the French only arrived in Sipsòng Panna in late March.¹⁴⁵

6 Summary of Chapters

This study is divided into three parts: introduction, main body, and conclusion. The main body, consisting of five chapters, is structured chronologically and thematically. Though the American missionaries reached this region earlier than the British and French colonial authorities, the discussion on the former is in Chapter IV, since a major part of their activities was undertaken after the formation of modern national boundaries.

Immediately after the introduction, the main body begins with a discussion of William Couperus McLeod's diplomatic journey to Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna in 1837. He was the first European to visit Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna at a time when there was a diplomatic deadlock between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna, following Chiang Mai's seizure of a number of Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna's population. Moreover, this was a moment of hostility between Burma and Siam. McLeod was commissioned to establish diplomatic and commercial connections with these two states, and he attempted to win their support by claiming to restore communications between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna (Chapter I).

Chapter II studies the French Mekong Exploration Mission's venture into Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna in 1867. This expedition is depicted as a heroic adventure that involved overcoming both natural and human obstacles. These obstacles were primarily caused by the rainy season. The Commission employed a member of the Tai Lü diaspora in Cambodia named Alévy, who was the only interpreter during their journey in this region.

Given the voluminous extant documents written by members of boundary commissions and American missionaries, Chapters III and IV form a large part of this dissertation. Chapter III explores the British and French travels and investigations, related to suzerainty and boundaries, in Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng, from 1887 to 1896. These travels and investigations directly impacted the formation of modern national boundaries. Two such cases, Müang U and Chiang Khaeng/Müang Sing, will be discussed in detail. The seldom

¹⁴⁴ The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to Paul Macey, the 14th waning day of the 2nd month, 1256 [26 December 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; James George Scott to Foreign Office, 26 December 1894, f. 306, FO 17/1226, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 35*, NA.

¹⁴⁵ Chao Wiang to Auguste Pavie, the 14th waning day of the Tabaung month, 1252 [7 March 1891], PA-AP 136, Volume 43, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

discussed Tai manuscripts, together with English and French reports, from archives in Aix-en-Provence, Paris, and Cambridge, reveal the reactions of the local populations to the boundary delimitations.

Chapter IV discusses the American Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries' activities in Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng, from 1869 to 1911. Chiang Tung became an arena of denominational rivalry between the Baptists and the Presbyterians, in which ethnic and linguistic boundaries became a central issue. In this period, both the Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries aimed to break the newly formed national borders, to claim their respective rights on the cross-border fields defined by ethnolinguistic criteria. The coincidence of the Baptist presence in Chiang Tung and the Lahu Buddhist tradition yielded Young's missionary success among the Lahu and Wa people.

Chapter V analyses the frontier officials and the self-defined individual travellers. These travellers were more or less connected to the colonial expansions, either as advocates of imperial projects or as colonial agents. With the exception of Ehlers, all of their travels aimed at collecting information to serve colonial agendas and were the exercise of the "imperial gaze". Confined within the boundary limits, their itineraries repeatedly confirmed the newly formed territorial sovereignty. Moreover, through the exhibit-collecting expeditions of Carey and of Raques, items from Sipsòng Panna and Müang Sing were displayed at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle and the 1906 Marseille Colonial Exposition. Sipsòng Panna and Müang Sing were interpreted as "world-as-exhibition" and became involved in world and colonial displays for the first time.

The Conclusion is a comparative study of these travellers and investigators, on the aspects of escort, lodging, intermediary, gift, and technology. Through the reference to and consideration of both preceding and contemporary travellers, the accounts of the native peoples, and the impacts of previous travellers, these travels and investigations formed a net of intertextuality. The Conclusion ends with a summary answering the research questions raised in the Introduction and four implications for further research.

Chapter I

Diplomatic Contact: William Couperus McLeod's Venture into Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna, 1837

For a long time, Western ventures in mainland Southeast Asia were related to their interests in China. The American missionary work in Siam in the early nineteenth century was considered as a springboard into China.¹⁴⁶ For both William Couperus McLeod (1805–1880) and the French Mekong Exploration Mission, Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna were not their final destinations, but the door into China. Their travels in this region were only a small part of their ambitious long-distance exploration projects. However, their accounts of these regions are an indispensable source for interpreting the history of this region.

Prior to the nineteenth century, this region had not been touched by any notable expeditions. The Western knowledge of this region was limited and sketchy, for instance, Francis Hamilton's 1795 maps of Burma and its vassal states.¹⁴⁷ The British were the first power to venture into this region. The failures of George Macartney's mission to Peking in 1792 and William Amherst's mission to Tianjin in 1816, resulted in the British seeking another route to the Chinese market. After seizing Arakan, Assam, and Tenasserim from Burma with the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826, the British launched a series of explorations of trade routes to China through Assam and Tenasserim: Bedford to Assam in 1826; Wilcox to the Iwaradi River in 1826; Wilcox and Richard Bedingfield to Assam and Montgomery to the Chindwin River in 1828; Grant and Pemberton to Manipur in 1830; Simon Fraser Hannay to Upper Burma near Bahmo and Mogoung in 1835; and Bayfield to Assam in 1836 where he met Griffith.¹⁴⁸ The first scheme for the route connecting the Salween River with China via Chiang Rung was proposed by Captain Sprye in 1831. He "continued persistently to advocate it for nearly a half century".¹⁴⁹

The first contact between Westerners and local populations in this region did not happen in the territory itself, but rather in North Siam. Between 1829 and 1835, David Richardson undertook two expeditions to North Siam and one to Ava.¹⁵⁰ During his journeys between 1830 and 1836, Richardson encountered several times the war captives from Müang Yòng and Chiang Tung in Lamphun. In 1836, the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces deputed Richardson and McLeod to explore the Tai states to the north of Tenasserim. McLeod was probably the first person to record travel experiences in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna.

¹⁴⁶ McFarland, *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam, 1828–1928*, 28.

¹⁴⁷ Jaques P. Leider, "Mapping Burma and Northern Thailand in 1795: Francis Hamilton's Critical Accounts of Native Maps", in *Imagination and Narrative: Lexical and Cultural Translation in Buddhist Asia*, ed. Peter Skilling and Justin Thomas Mcdaniel (Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books, 2017), 149.

¹⁴⁸ Henry Yule, "On the Geography of Burma and its Tributary States, in Illustration of a New Map of Those Regions", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 27 (1857): 55–56; Madhumita Sengupta, *Becoming Assamese: Colonialism and New Subjectivities in Northeast India* (London: Routledge, 2016), 68.

¹⁴⁹ John L. Christian, "Trans-Burma Trade Routes to China", *Pacific Affairs* 13, no. 2 (1940): 177.

¹⁵⁰ Yule, "On the Geography of Burma and its Tributary States", 56.

McLeod's tour in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna took him two months, from 12 February to 8 April 1837.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the relationship between Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Mai deteriorated. Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng lost a great number of populations caused by the series of raids from Chiang Mai and Nan. In 1775, assisted by Siam, Chiang Mai successfully rid itself of Burmese domination. To compensate for the loss of population caused by the revolts, from 1782 onwards, Chiang Mai launched several raids on the Tai states between the Salween River and the Mekong River, aimed at moving people to Chiang Mai and Lamphun.¹⁵¹ In 1812, Nan also launched raids on the trans-Mekong states, moving people into its territory from Müang La (Mengla), Müang Phong (Mengpeng), Chiang Khaeng, and Müang Luang Phukha.¹⁵² Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna had still not recovered from this population loss by 1837. During his journey, McLeod witnessed many deserted villages in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna, and he also encountered migrants who were repopulating the wasteland in Müang Phayak (Monghpyak) and Müang Len (Monglin).¹⁵³ As he headed north, McLeod heard many times news of local ruling families (Chiang Lò (Daluo), Müang Hon, etc.) who were resettled to Chiang Mai.¹⁵⁴ In 1837, the prince of Chiang Tung, Chao Maha Khanan (1781–1857) was still haunted by the nightmare of population loss, and he pleaded with McLeod not to traffic his people.¹⁵⁵ However, one year after McLeod's journey, Chiang Mai attacked Müang Tuan, Müang Pu, and Müang Sat, which were states under Chiang Tung's rule, and forcibly resettled around 2,000 persons to Chiang Mai.¹⁵⁶

In 1808, the Burmans attacked Chao Maha Khanan, with the latter demanding aid from Chiang Mai. These protracted wars endured until 1812, when the prince and his followers were resettled to Chiang Saen, to escape the rebellion of Saen Lam of Müang Yang (Mongyang) assisted by the Burmans. In 1813/1814, Chao Maha Khanan secretly re-entered Chiang Tung, albeit he was considered to be returning as a "subordinate of Burma" (*kha man*).¹⁵⁷ The tension between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung made McLeod doubt the feasibility of his journey to Chiang Tung before his departure from Chiang Mai.¹⁵⁸

Chiang Mai's intervention in the power struggles at the court of Chiang Rung also destroyed the relationship between these two states. Especially those supported by Chiang Mai

¹⁵¹ Volker Grabowsky, "Forced Resettlement Campaigns in Northern Thailand during the Early Bangkok Period", *Journal of the Siam Society* 87, no. 1–2 (1999): 52–58; Sarassawadee Ongsakul, *History of Lan Na* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 133–134; Wichiankhieo and Wai'at, *Tamnan phün müang chiang mai*, 188–192.

¹⁵² David K. Wyatt, ed. and trans., *The Nan Chronicle* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1994), 104–105.

¹⁵³ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 14 February, 17 February, 26 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 337, 340, 398.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 March, 27 March 1837, 364, 399.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 February 1837, 360.

¹⁵⁶ Grabowsky, "Forced Resettlement Campaigns in Northern Thailand", 58.

¹⁵⁷ Wichiankhieo and Wai'at, *Tamnan phün müang chiang mai*, 191–192.

¹⁵⁸ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 30 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 324.

were fighting against the side in power. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the court of Chiang Rung split into two factions along the Mekong, supported by the Qing and Burma, respectively. Following the assassination of his cousin Chao Maha Phrom, the incumbent ruler Chao Chan, who was enthroned in 1802, confronted the rebels in the trans-Mekong part of Sipsòng Panna. After being defeated by the faction supported by the Qing, Chao Chan sought assistance from Burma, but was rejected. He then turned to Chiang Mai in the hope of reoccupying Chiang Rung.¹⁵⁹ Decades later, Sipsòng Panna was ruled simultaneously by Chao Maha Wang and Chao Maha Nòi. Dissatisfied with the Chinese authorities in Simao, Chao Maha Nòi secretly invited the troops from Nan to attack Chao Maha Wang.¹⁶⁰

The relationship between Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna was comparatively harmonious. In 1817/1818 or 1818/1819, Chiang Rung and Chao Maha Khanan of Chiang Tung swore an oath of friendship at Wat Yang Phan, a border monastery in Chiang Lò, Sipsòng Panna.¹⁶¹ In 1839, Chiang Rung, Müang Laem, and Chiang Tung, in the presence of delegates from Burma and the Qing, agreed on a peace treaty at Wat Yang Phan in Chiang Lò.¹⁶²

One year before McLeod's arrival, in 1836, Chao Maha Wang, the previous prince of Sipsòng Panna, died.¹⁶³ In the same year, Chao Maha Khanan married a woman from Chiang Khaeng,¹⁶⁴ who would give birth to Chao Kòng Thai, the future Müang Yu (Mongyu) ruler who received the French Mekong Exploration Mission in 1867.

McLeod visited Sipsòng Panna at a time when the state was in disorder and a number of key Muslim merchants had left Chiang Rung.¹⁶⁵ In addition, McLeod met very few women in Chiang Rung, "and never those of the chiefs when visiting at their houses". Probably because of the disorder, "[m]any have been sent to different towns to be out of the way at present."¹⁶⁶

McLeod was aware of the intense situation in Sipsòng Panna. During his sojourn in Chiang Tung, both the Qing and Chiang Tung dispatched around 2,000 armed forces each to Chiang Rung. The Chinese troops only left Chiang Rung three or four days before McLeod's arrival there.¹⁶⁷ Officers from Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Müang Kheng (undefined) were present in Chiang Rung, attending the deliberations on the current situation and preparing to fight with Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna if necessary.¹⁶⁸ Rumours defaming the Chiang Lò ruler

¹⁵⁹ MLC-LV2 31.2–31.4 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 187–188.

¹⁶⁰ MLC-LV1 31.9, MLC-LV2 38.4 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 190, 287.

¹⁶¹ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 261, 267.

¹⁶² MLC-LV1 32.11, MLC-LV2 39.11 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 197, 292.

¹⁶³ MLC-LV1 32.2, MLC-SV1 35 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 192–193, 327; McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 13 February 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 336.

¹⁶⁴ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 261.

¹⁶⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 18 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 382.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 24 March 1837, 393.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 February, 11 March 1837, 350, 375.

¹⁶⁸ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 12 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 379.

Phraya Saen¹⁶⁹ were circulated, insinuating that he was ambitious for the throne, that he had concealed the execution of Chao Maha Khanan and Chao Phrom from Ava and China, that he had sent presents to conciliate the Chinese authorities, and that he intended to marry Chao Maha Wang's widow,¹⁷⁰ Chao Nang Suriya Phomma, who was the regent at that time.¹⁷¹ In addition, McLeod notes that Müang La did not send a representative to Chiang Rung, probably because Müang La was on the side of Chao Nò Kham or Chao Maha Nòi.¹⁷²

The power vacuum in Chiang Rung meant that there was no reception ceremony for McLeod of the kind held on his arrival in Chiang Tung. McLeod was told that if he visited Chiang Rung during the reign of Chao Maha Wang, he would be warmly received as “a stranger of rank”.¹⁷³ In the chronicles of Sipsòng Panna, Chao Maha Wang's reign was remembered as existing during “neither war nor calamity. The land was powerful, and the people could live in peace and were happy”.¹⁷⁴ McLeod's diplomatic interaction with Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna conforms to the pattern Turton exemplifies using Richardson's tour to Lamphun.¹⁷⁵

McLeod witnessed the presence of great powers. The Tai states tributary to Mandalay were supervised by the Bo Wan Mangsa seated in Müang Nai. While he generally resided in Ava, his duties were carried out by a deputy called Cackai Tau Kri (Great Royal Sheriff).¹⁷⁶ Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung had one resident Cackai, respectively. The resident Cackai stimulated the circulation of information between the Burmese court and the residential areas. News about the fight between two princes in Ava, and the arrival of British officers at Sagaing, were also forwarded to Chiang Tung.¹⁷⁷ Chiang Tung informed the Cackai in Müang Nai of the arrival and the object of McLeod's mission.¹⁷⁸

McLeod did not meet the Cackai at Chiang Tung, who had withdrawn to Müang Nai.¹⁷⁹ McLeod had more contact with the Burman Cackai in Chiang Rung. The Burman Cackai lived at Ban Chiang Lan in Chiang Rung, with the families of Chao Phrom and Chao Nò Kham, another son of Chao Maha Khanan, and his 35-strong Burmese contingent.¹⁸⁰ The provisions for the Burman Cackai and his followers were provided by the prince of Chiang Rung. Moreover, the fee for the ferry to cross the Mekong River in Chiang Rung, one-quarter tical

¹⁶⁹ He was also the chief minister at the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung, titled Chao Chiang Ra. McLeod does not mention his name, and his name is mentioned in *Phongsawadan müang chiang rung*, see Boran Khadi Samoson, ed., *Phongsawadan müang chiang rung*, in *Prachum phongsawadan, phak thi kao* [Collection of historical archives] ([Krung Thep]: Rongphim Sophon Phiphat Thanakon, 2461 [1920]), 9:5.

¹⁷⁰ Her name was found in Boran Khadi Samoson, *Phongsawadan müang chiang rung*, 4.

¹⁷¹ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 12 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 378.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 12 March 1837, 379.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11 March 1837, 376.

¹⁷⁴ MLC-LV2 38.7 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 288.

¹⁷⁵ Turton, “Diplomatic Missions to Tai States”, 17.

¹⁷⁶ Yule, “On the Geography of Burma and its Tributary States”, 102; McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 23 February 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 347; Grabowsky and Turton, *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 447.

¹⁷⁷ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 1 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 401–402.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 23 February 1837, 347.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 12 March 1837, 378.

for the merchants' mules and ponies on their return journey, was rendered to the Burman Cackai, which was "the only regular and acknowledged perquisite" he obtained.¹⁸¹ The Burman Cackai's daughter married Chao Maha Khanan's¹⁸² son Chao Phrom.¹⁸³ The crisis of Chao Nò Kham's usurpation almost endangered the Cackai's life. Chao Maha Khanan and Chao Phrom were put to death and the Cackai only survived because of the chief monk's intervention.¹⁸⁴ Being pro the two sons of Chao Mòm Maha Wang's side, Phraya Saen and many rulers present at the Chiang Rung court were at odds with the Cackai.

1 Communication

There are two dimensions to McLeod's diplomatic mission to open the trade route with Moulmein: one is the establishment of communications with the British, and the other is the restoration of communications between the Tai states, Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Mai. Turton categorises McLeod's report as an "ethnography of embassy",¹⁸⁵ not only because McLeod's report is compiled with an abundance of ethnographic information, but also because of his descriptions of his diplomatic activities.

a) Establishing of the Communication with the British

In McLeod's narrative, the people whom McLeod encountered seem to have a positive attitude towards the establishment of communication with the British. Grabowsky and Turton call this the trope of "the readiness of the Tai states to enter into friendly relations with the English".¹⁸⁶

McLeod claims that both the Yunnanese Muslim merchants who followed him from Chiang Mai and the Yunnanese Muslim merchants in Chiang Rung seemed to be interested in trading with the British and were "anxious as all the others to visit Moulmein".¹⁸⁷ The caravan merchants also demonstrated readiness for trade with the British. The Yunnanese Muslim merchants in Chiang Tung town were interested in trading with Moulmein as well. Many people sought out McLeod, believing that he was the head merchant of his team and "wishing to inspect" his "goods and to know their prices". The merchants inquired about the Moulmein trade and took "notes of the prices of different articles". Seeing they were eager to trade with

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 19–22 March 1837, 386–387.

¹⁸² Not to be confused with the Chiang Tung ruler Chao Maha Khanan. Chao Maha Khanan here is the second son of Dao Zhaoding, the son of Chao Mòm Thao.

¹⁸³ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 12 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 378.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. McLeod's records conflict with the local chronicles, in which the scramble for power at the court of Chiang Rung extended into the 1840s and Chao Nò Kham was still alive in 1848 (MLC-LV1 32.30 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 206; Boran Khadi Samoson, *Phongsawadan müang chiang rung*, 15).

¹⁸⁵ Turton, "Ethnography of Embassy", 175–205; Turton, "Diplomatic Missions to Tai States", 9–25.

¹⁸⁶ Grabowsky and Turton, *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 64.

¹⁸⁷ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 18 March, 1 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 382–383, 402.

the British, McLeod recommended the merchants visit the Moulmein first to estimate the feasibility of trade before bringing down large-scale caravans.¹⁸⁸

McLeod is at pains to depict Chao Maha Khanan as a supporter of communication with the British. At Ban Rai Tai, a frontier village of Chiang Tung, the village headman told McLeod that Chao Maha Khanan was pleased to receive them, for he had heard of their visit to Chiang Mai and had “long wished to meet a British officer”, and he volunteered to help them to send a letter to inform Chao Maha Khanan of their arrival.¹⁸⁹

McLeod reports that Chao Maha Khanan had “made an attempt to communicate with” the British, but he failed because of obstruction from Chiang Mai. Considering this situation, McLeod claims that he should take the initiative to build the connection.¹⁹⁰ McLeod mentions that Chao Maha Khanan respected the British and sincerely desired “to be on the most friendly terms with [them]”.¹⁹¹ The chief minister of Chiang Tung, Phraya Wang, told McLeod that Chao Maha Khanan “had long been most anxious to establish a friendly connection with the English, and had endeavoured to open a communication with them”.¹⁹²

Upon arrival in Chiang Tung town, McLeod mentions that the large numbers of people present confirmed that Chao Maha Khanan was delighted with the coming of McLeod’s mission. One officer who “had fallen into disgrace”, attempted to resume his former position by delivering the letter that McLeod sent from Ban Rai Tai, and by being the first to inform Chao Maha Khanan of the arrival of a British officer. McLeod claims that the officer gained favour from Chao Maha Khanan, “who had not spoken or noticed him for many days”, appointing him to receive McLeod and to present a report.¹⁹³

When describing the scene of Chao Maha Khanan’s reception, McLeod firmly restates Chao Maha Khanan’s desire to communicate with the British:

*He addressed me immediately I was seated, saying that he was truly glad to find the English were willing to establish a friendly intercourse with him; that he had long wished it, and had been disappointed that no officer had ever before visited him, as we had been in the habit of going to Zimmé [Chiang Mai] for a long time; that he had attempted to communicate with us, as I might have heard, but the jealousy of the Zimmé people would not permit it; that they did not wish us at all to have any communication with them; that fear alone had induced them to permit me to pass through their country at present.*¹⁹⁴

McLeod asserts that Chao Maha Khanan agreed with the Tenassarim Commissioner’s letter that “he was an advocate for a free communication with all the surrounding countries and

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 23 February 1837, 346–347.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 13 February 1837, 336.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 28 January 1837, 321.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 28 February 1837, 359.

¹⁹² Ibid., 20 February 1837, 342.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 21 February 1837, 343.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 22 February 1837, 345.

would joyfully render every assistance in his power to bring about so desirable an object.” McLeod claims that Chao Maha Khanan had made a previous effort to open the route by obtaining permission from Ava, since commerce and war were different issues, and merchants were harmless. To relieve Chao Maha Khanan’s worry, McLeod said that Chao Hò Na of Chiang Mai might approve of the free communication when he returned from Bangkok.¹⁹⁵ Chao Maha Khanan also encouraged McLeod to submit a request to open the trade route to Chiang Mai or to Bangkok instead.¹⁹⁶ Chao Maha Khanan promised to facilitate McLeod’s merchants, including duty free, freedom to travel, and gathering owners to bring goods to them if they did not wish to go around the villages.¹⁹⁷

McLeod claims that Sipsòng Panna shares a similar attitude. Indeed, when he was received at the palace of Chiang Rung, he mentions that Phraya Saen told him that they “had long heard of the English” and that they “were glad to hear from Kiang Tung [Chiang Tung] the object of my visit”. Chiang Rung “had long wished to open a communication with us, but that the state of Zimmé [Chiang Mai] prevented it”.¹⁹⁸ Chao Nang Suriya Phromma and Chao Maha Wang’s sister were delighted to hear from McLeod that there was an opening of communications with the British. Chao Nang Suriya Phromma told McLeod that if Chao Maha Wang was still alive, he would allow McLeod to “proceed onwards, at least to the boundary of [Sipsòng Panna]”.¹⁹⁹

The trope of willingness to establish communication with European countries is also found in French diplomatic records. Louis Vossion was a French diplomat to Burma in the 1870s, and he probably met Chao Mò̄m Saeng, the prince of Sipsòng Panna, at the court of Ava.²⁰⁰ According to Vossion, Chao Mò̄m Saeng expressed his wish to accompany a European mission to travel from Chiang Tung to the Black River, and the *chaofa* of Chiang Saen was willing to establish communication with foreigners, especially with the French via the Red River.²⁰¹

b) Restoration of Communications between Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Mai

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 28 February 1837, 359.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 359–360.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 10 March 1837, 372.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 19–22 March 1837, 385.

²⁰⁰ “The *chaofa* of Chiang Rung” (*Le Tsauboua de Kyang-Hung*) mentioned in Vossion’s article refers to Chao Mò̄m Saeng. On 19 October 1878, King Thibaw issued a royal order to enthrone Chao Mò̄m Saeng as the *chaofa* of Sipsòng Panna. In 1879, Chao Mò̄m Saeng proceeded to Mandalay to accept the title (Mangrāi, *The Pā̄dæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 271; Anonymous, Order, 19 October 1878, in *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598–1885*, ed. Than Tun (Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1989), 9:241).

²⁰¹ Louis-Pierre Vossion, “Birmanie et Tong-kin”, *La Nouvelle revue* 2, no. 2 (1880): 312–313.

Though McLeod was only dispatched to establish communications with China and “the intermediate States”,²⁰² the restoration of communications between Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Mai is not only a trope of McLeod’s journal, but also a premise for the success of his mission. While it is difficult to establish the reliability of McLeod’s records on Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna’s readiness to communicate with the British, his accounts of Chiang Tung’s and Sipsòng Panna’s eagerness to be in communication with Chiang Mai are more credible.

In his journal, McLeod repeatedly recounts the split between Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Mai. His depiction adequately reflects the historical reality. Local sources reveal that Sipsòng Panna had a better relationship with Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, Müang Yòng, and Chiang Saen than with Chiang Mai.²⁰³ The former four states dispatched delegates to Chiang Rung to attend the funeral of Chao Maha Wang.²⁰⁴ In McLeod’s day, Chiang Mai still regarded Ava as an enemy. McLeod records that the prince of Chiang Mai, Chao Ratchawong (Chao Maha Phrom Kham Khong), was “very inveterate against the Burmans, and expressed himself in the strongest language against them”.²⁰⁵ Chao Maha Khanan was a “bold” and “intrepid” man. Because of his blindness, McLeod considers Chao Maha Khanan “a troublesome neighbour” of Chiang Mai.²⁰⁶ The deterioration of relationships between Chiang Tung and Chiang Mai was also reflected in the wasted route to Chiang Tung.²⁰⁷ In Chiang Tung town, McLeod re-encountered the aforementioned Yunnanese Muslim merchants, this time on their return from Chiang Mai. They complained that they had purchased betel nut in Chiang Mai, but that Chao Ratchawong had refused them permission to transport it to Chiang Tung. It is said that “the subjects of Ava should never have their wants supplied from that place, and that they were determined to prevent all communication between” Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung. They hoped that the British could make the route open up, as Chiang Mai was afraid of them.²⁰⁸

The heightened tensions between Chiang Tung and Chiang Mai hampered McLeod’s journey as well. In Chiang Mai, McLeod heard that the road to Chiang Tung had been closed, due to the excessive jealousy of the Siamese towards the Burmans.²⁰⁹ During his conversation with Chao Ratchawong, McLeod carefully avoided mentioning the route through Chiang Tung.²¹⁰ Under Chao Ratchawong’s command, chockeys were established to prevent

²⁰² Edmund Augustus Blundell to William Couperus McLeod, 25 November 1836, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship: The McLeod and Richardson Diplomatic Missions to Tai States in 1837*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Andrew Turton (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003), 253.

²⁰³ Kato, “Sipsongpanna’s Perception of Other Tai Principalities in 1837”, 1–17.

²⁰⁴ Yunnansheng Shaoshu Minzu Guji Zhengli Chuban Guihua Bangongshi, ed., *Cheli xuanwei shi shixi jijie* [Annotated compilation of the lineage of the rulers of Sipsòng Panna] (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1989), 579–580.

²⁰⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 16 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 295.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1837, 345.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 February 1837, 338.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1837, 402.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 January 1837, 290.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 January 1837, 321.

communication with Chiang Tung.²¹¹ On his way to Chiang Tung, McLeod encountered a chockey set up at Ban Pak Bong.²¹² Despite Chiang Mai having established many chokeys, McLeod met a number of Chao Hò Na's people from Lamphun transporting betel nuts to Chiang Tung.²¹³

Chao Maha Khanan asked McLeod to pass by Chiang Tung on his return from Sipsòng Panna, so that he could send him presents and dispatch officers and merchants to accompany him. However, McLeod was worried that the problems between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung had not been resolved and that being escorted by Chiang Tung officers and merchants would cause "umbrage" from Chiang Mai. Moreover, McLeod was anxious that Chiang Tung "would not dare to send an officer without obtaining permission from Ava".²¹⁴ Similarly, nobles in Chiang Rung urged McLeod to send merchants up to Chiang Rung, but McLeod thought that the mountains were an obstacle to travel, especially for their elephants. McLeod wanted the route used by the Chinese caravans over the east bank of the Mekong River to be opened, but the Siamese refused to restore communications with Chiang Tung in the short term.²¹⁵

McLeod also heard negative views towards Chiang Mai in Chiang Tung. On their way to Chiang Tung, McLeod met a messenger from Ban Rai Tai, who was on his way back from delivering a letter to Chiang Tung town. McLeod was informed that they should suspend their travel until an order was issued from the court of Chiang Tung. Chiang Tung "produced an order, written on a green bamboo, not to admit any person from the Zimmé [Chiang Mai] territories without first reporting".²¹⁶ In Chiang Tung town, Chao Maha Khanan asked McLeod not to consider the Chiang Tung people the same as those in Chiang Mai, for the Chiang Mai people were only superficially sincere.²¹⁷ Phraya Wang was generally "very bitter against the Zimmé [Chiang Mai] people".²¹⁸ The threat of the Siamese still haunted Chao Maha Khanan, and McLeod believes that Chao Maha Khanan "evidently saw the Zimmé [Chiang Mai] people were seeking a quarrel".²¹⁹

However, McLeod notes that Chiang Tung was still hoping to restore communications with Chiang Mai. With permission from Ava, an officer from Chiang Tung went down to Chiang Mai, Lampang, and Lamphun, with 40 to 50 merchants, in an attempt to open communications with Chiang Mai and with the British.²²⁰ To confront this issue, the ex-ruler of Chiang Tung and officers from Chiang Mai went to receive the order from Bangkok.²²¹ McLeod had heard the news that Chao Hò Na and Chao Ratchwong opposed the request to reinstate communications, and Chao Hò Na even refused to sanction the return journey of the

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1837, 402.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 6 February 1837, 330.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 6 April 1837, 407.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 February 1837, 359.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14–17 March 1837, 382.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 February 1837, 340.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 February 1837, 360.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1837, 402.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 April 1837, 403–404.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 16 January, 21 January 1837, 295, 302–303.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 15 January 1837, 294–295.

aforementioned Chiang Tung officer from Chiang Mai and the journey of the merchants down to Moulmein.²²² Both Phraya Wang and Chao Maha Khanan told McLeod that the Chiang Tung officer had been badly received in Chiang Mai and that they were annoyed by Chiang Mai's response. Chao Maha Khanan blamed Chao Hò Na. Chiang Mai declined to communicate with Chiang Tung in order to prevent Chao Maha Khanan's relatives from escaping or conspiring with him. Though the Chiang Mai officer who had accompanied McLeod to Chiang Tung was present, Chao Maha Khanan did not conceal his feelings towards Chiang Mai. Chao Maha Khanan told McLeod that "such was not his aim; he [Chao Maha Khanan] did not wish to cause a war, but he was strong, and, had he desire to make the attempt to release his relatives he would be backed by troops from Ava; he, however, preferred peace and quietness, and to improve his country by trade".²²³ There was an echo of the failed negotiation in 1837 when, in 1845, Thao Sitthimongkhon of Chiang Mai visited Chao Maha Khanan in the hope of improving their relationship with Chiang Tung but was imprisoned by Ava.²²⁴

McLeod encountered a Phraya, whom he knew at Ava in 1833, when McLeod accompanied the Burmese Commissioners to the Manipur frontier. McLeod claims that the Phraya told him that "the Tsobua [Chao Maha Khanan] and all his subjects were rejoiced at my arrival and hoped it would be the means of establishing permanent peace and quiet through all the Burmese and Siamese Shan countries."²²⁵

Indeed, McLeod's desire to restore communications was attractive to the local population. One of the groups of people McLeod met was the displaced Tai people. Both Richardson and McLeod report that the diaspora communities in Lamphun hoped for the restoration of communication between Chiang Mai and their native lands. Between 1834 and 1836, Richardson met the nobles of Müang Yòng and Chiang Tung during his journeys to North Siam. After 29 years of living in Lamphun, the son²²⁶ of the late ruler of Müang Yòng still yearned for his homeland, and "his heart was in Mein Neaung [Müang Yòng]".²²⁷ The war captives, such as the son of the late ruler of Müang Yòng and Chao Mòm Lek of Chiang Tung, were a source of information on their native places.²²⁸ The son of the late ruler of Müang Yòng provided Richardson with a map of the region beyond the territory of Chiang Mai to the

²²² Ibid., 21 January 1837, 303.

²²³ Ibid., 20 February, 28 February 1837, 342, 359.

²²⁴ See Wilson and Hanks, *The Burma-Thailand Frontier over Sixteen Decades*.

²²⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 19 February, 28 February 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 340.

²²⁶ He was probably Chao Chòm Müang (Phra Saphawuthi Aphisit, ed., "Tannan müang yòng [Müang Yòng chronicle]", in *Tannan müang lü: prawat sat phün thin daen din chiang rung, müang yòng, müang sing* [Chronicles of Lü principalities: local history of Chiang Rung, Müang Yòng, and Müang Sing], ed. Sommai Premchit and Wasan Panyakao (Chiang Mai: Klongkan Wanna Khadi Süksa, Mahawitthayalai Chiang Mai, 2558 [2015]), 122).

²²⁷ David Richardson, "Narrative of a Second Mission to the Chiefs of Labong and Zimmay or Changmai (Denominated by Themselves, by Us Northern Laos, and by the Burmese Yeun Shan) From Edward Augustus Blundell, Esquire, Officiating Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, 6 March–21 May 1834", 1 April 1834, in *Dr. Richardson's Missions to Siam, 1829–1839*, ed. Anthony Farrington (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004), 64.

²²⁸ Ibid., 29 March, 9 April, 26 April 1834, 62, 70, 87.

Chinese frontier.²²⁹ At Ma-wan-tchay, a Müang Yòng captive village, Richardson met an old man, who “had [n]ever heard of a person travelling through a country merely to make friends” and who hoped that Richardson would succeed in establishing the connection to Müang Yòng.²³⁰ Likewise, McLeod claims that, in Lamphun, the captives from Chiang Saen and Müang Yòng were happy for McLeod’s endeavour to open “a communication with China, and with all their northern neighbours”.²³¹ As he had previously told Richardson, the son of the late ruler of Müang Yòng expressed his wish for the road to Müang Yòng to be opened, and he said that he was willing to provide information to McLeod.²³²

Though a large number of people were forcibly resettled to Chiang Mai and Lamphun, their connection with their homeland was not completely severed. In 1837, some displaced Müang Hon people in Lamphun ventured to restore contact with their relatives in Sipsòng Panna. In 1808/1809, Chao Kham Da and his family members, probably together with other Müang Hon subjects, were forced to resettle in Lamphun. After 28 years of separation, Chao Kham Da entrusted Thao Thep with a letter to his relatives in Müang Hon. In response to this letter, his relatives express their grief and hope that the communication between the two places will be restored and that they will be able to visit Lamphun.²³³ On his way back to Chiang Mai, McLeod encountered a team of Lamphun people, originally from Müang Hon. They followed Phraya Prap, the headman of a Chiang Mai frontier village, to Müang Hon to transport items for the Müang Hon ruler’s sisters in Lamphun.²³⁴ It is unknown whether this group of people were related to the correspondence mentioned above.

Making contact with displaced relatives in Chiang Mai was a prime motive for native people to rebuild communications. McLeod claims that the people of Sipsòng Panna were equally eager to “secure a free communication with” Chiang Mai. One of the reasons was that Chao Chan, the former ruler of Sipsòng Panna, had fled to Chiang Mai as a consequence of a court power struggle. It was said that he²³⁵ resided with several subjects and relatives of the rulers of Sipsòng Panna.²³⁶ Chao Maha Khanan told McLeod the reason why he was “so urgent

²²⁹ Ibid., 11 April 1834, 73.

²³⁰ David Richardson, “Dr Richardson’s Third Mission to the Laos Shans, 29 December 1835–10 May 1836”, 24 February 1836, in *Dr. Richardson’s Missions to Siam, 1829–1839*, ed. Anthony Farrington (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004), 111–112.

²³¹ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 9 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 285.

²³² Ibid., 7 January 1837, 282.

²³³ Chao Maha Yuwarat Chantha Hangsa, Chao Akkha Racha Thewi Thao Kham, Chao Maha Chaiya Racha, Chao Rattana Anuchata, and Chao In Phaeng to Chao Kham Da, his wife, and Chao Nai Nan Kawila, the 11th waning day of the 5th month, 1198 [3 March 1837], Thin Rattikanok Collection, Akhan Rüan Döm, CMU.

²³⁴ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 27 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 398–399.

²³⁵ The chronicles of Sipsòng Panna record that Chao Chan fled to Nan and died there in 1779 or 1806 without leaving any children (MLC-LV1 31.3, MLC-LV2 37.4 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 188, 286). According to the *Chiang Mai Chronicle*, in CS 1169 (1807/1808), Chao Chan fled to Chiang Mai and offered his daughter Nang In Kham to the king of Chiang Mai. The latter brought Chao Chan and other captives to Ayutthaya where they were forced into service in Chiang Mai (Wichiankhieo and Wai’at, *Tamnan phün müang chiang mai*, 188–189).

²³⁶ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 12 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 377.

about the Zimmé road” was for “the good of his country”, and he wished to hear from his relatives from Chiang Mai “in his old age”.²³⁷ A nephew of Chao Maha Khanan, who had been forcibly resettled to Chiang Mai, secretly returned to Chiang Tung to visit his uncle. Chao Maha Khanan hoped that McLeod would be able to gain a pardon for the nephew’s violation, and then he would send his nephew back to Chiang Mai. McLeod replied that it was not the time for such matters, which would arouse the suspicions of Chiang Mai and, in turn, give them an excuse to refuse to open the route. Moreover, he was afraid that any intervention in this issue on his part would “be productive of mischief to [the nephew]”. Instead, McLeod persuaded Phraya Wang to let the nephew return immediately to Chiang Mai before his illicit visit to Chiang Tung became known. After a second conversation, McLeod agreed not to mention his encounter with the nephew in Chiang Tung until Chao Hò Na returned from Bangkok. Then, he would consult with Chao Maha Khanan’s brothers in Chiang Mai. McLeod strenuously advised the nephew to return.²³⁸ During McLeod’s sojourn in Chiang Mai, several of Chao Maha Khanan’s relatives resettled there had visited him, expressing the same wish to reopen communications.²³⁹ A British document records that, in 1903, during his visit to Bangkok, the Chiang Tung prince Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng requested to return via Chiang Mai and to bring back his relatives and former Chiang Tung subjects. However, the British Chargé d’Affaires to Siam discouraged Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng from carrying out his plan.²⁴⁰ It is unclear whether these people were descendants of war captives or were Chiang Tung people living in the Siamese territory after the boundary delimitation.

However, the British plan probably failed to win support from Chiang Mai. Richardson claims that the Tai Yuan people were jealous of the establishment of communications between Britain and the region in the north, and that they feared the return of the war captives, which was a pretext for establishing communications.²⁴¹ Similarly, the son of the late Müang Yòng ruler told McLeod that the rulers of Chiang Mai were unwilling to restore the “free communication with the countries to the northward [sic]”, fearing the escape of resettled captives back to their homelands.²⁴² Chiang Mai’s concerns were well-founded, for such escapes were commonplace. For example, the Müang Mõng ruler escaped from Chiang Mai after being forcibly resettled there.²⁴³ One year after McLeod’s mission, a Chinese caravan, intending to reach Moulmein via the territory of Chiang Mai, was stopped by Chiang Mai. The

²³⁷ Ibid., 2 April 1837, 403–404.

²³⁸ Ibid., 1 April 1837, 402, 2 April 1837, 404.

²³⁹ Ibid., 17 January 1837, 296–297.

²⁴⁰ Ralph Paget, Esq., His Britannic Majesty’s Chargé d’Affaires, Bangkok to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, 6 March 1903, IOR/L/PS/7/153, No. 655, *Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures received from India*, vol. 153, BL.

²⁴¹ David Richardson, “Journal of a Mission from the Supreme Government of India to the Court of Siam, 18 December 1838–23 August 1839”, in *Dr. Richardson’s Missions to Siam, 1829–1839*, ed. Anthony Farrington (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004), 224, 228.

²⁴² McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 8 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 283.

²⁴³ Ibid., 3 March 1837, 363.

problem was only solved by resorting to Bangkok one year later.²⁴⁴ Two years after McLeod's venture, Müang Pu's attempt to establish intercourse with Chiang Mai was refused by Chao Hò Na, who said that he did not trust them since they were subjects of Ava.²⁴⁵ In the early 1840s, tensions between Chiang Tung and Chiang Mai had still not eased. In 1845, Thao Sitthimongkhon, a diplomat sent from Chiang Mai to Chiang Tung, was imprisoned by the Burmans, in Müang Nai, for one year.²⁴⁶

2 Diplomatic Rhetoric

a) Friendship

McLeod's report gives the reader an impression of successful diplomatic intercourse. McLeod was ceremoniously received on his arrival in Chiang Tung. When McLeod was half a mile away from Chiang Tung town, a deputation of four to five officers and a large group of followers came to welcome him and escort him into the town. People who had never seen a European flocked to witness the arrival of McLeod, and Chiang Tung officials had to protect him from the rowdy crowd.²⁴⁷ We learn from Macleod's journal that Phraya Wang²⁴⁸ paid him a visit; indeed, he remarks that Phraya Wang "had never before called on any other officer, however his rank".²⁴⁹

McLeod depicts the Tai people as friendly and curious people, leaving a good impression on him. Several times when McLeod passed a place, the rulers or the families of the rulers visited him to "pay [...] their respects".²⁵⁰ The Müang Ma ruler was glad to visit McLeod and brought abundant supplies, like rice, etc., for his team.²⁵¹ Chao Maha Khanan's two sons paid him a visit and stayed with him for five hours. The elder one hoped to learn English and picked up some words from McLeod. He also wished to go to Moulmein and Calcutta.²⁵² In Chiang Lò, the ruler's son called on McLeod and "said he was certain that his father would be glad to see" McLeod.²⁵³ In Müang Rai (Menghai), the wife and family of the ruler called on McLeod.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁴ E. A. Blundell, Commr. in the Tenasserim Provinces, to the Secretary to Government, Fort William, 19 June 1838, in *The Burney Papers* (Bangkok: Vajirañāṇa National Library, 1913), 4.1:6; Dr. Richardson to H. T. Prinsep, 9 February–9 March 1839, in *The Burney Papers* (Bangkok: Vajirañāṇa National Library, 1913), 5.1:23.

²⁴⁵ Richardson, "Journal of a Mission", 229.

²⁴⁶ Wilson and Hanks, *The Burma-Thailand Frontier over Sixteen Decades*, 18–24.

²⁴⁷ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 20 February 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 342.

²⁴⁸ Phraya Wang's influence was enhanced by marriage ties with the Chao Maha Khanan's family members. His wife was a sister of Chao Maha Khanan's late wife and his daughter married Chao Maha Phrom, Chao Maha Khanan's eldest son (Ibid.). Phraya Wang was confident of his status. He confirmed McLeod that there was no need to visit other officers, as Phraya Wang himself was able to arrange everything McLeod required (Ibid., 22 February 1837, 346).

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 20 February 1837, 342.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 28 March 1837, 399.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 3 March 1837, 363.

²⁵² Ibid., 25 February 1837, 350.

²⁵³ Ibid., 4 March 1837, 364.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 7 March 1837, 368.

McLeod's intercourse with native authorities was conducted in a harmonious atmosphere. During McLeod's sojourn in Chiang Rung, Phraya Saen, the Müang U ruler, and his neighbours frequently went to drink tea with him. They also had a preference for cherry brandy provided by McLeod. Even Phraya Saen, who did not "drink common spirits", "is far from averse to this cordial".²⁵⁵ The Müang Chae ruler and the Müang Luang (Menglong) ruler visited McLeod to satisfy their curiosity about his property.²⁵⁶ McLeod built an intimate friendship with Phraya Saen. Phraya Saen "received [McLeod] in a very friendly manner".²⁵⁷ Concerning McLeod's request to return to Müang Hon by a shorter route without passing Müang Rai, which "was not the high road for officers to travel by", indeed, even officers from Müang Yòng and Chiang Tung were not permitted to travel via this route, Phraya Saen consented and informed towns along the way to provide assistance.²⁵⁸ Before McLeod's departure, Chao Maha Khanan gave him a sword with a golden scabbard, saying that "it was a Shan [Tai] custom, when a friendship, such as had been formed between us existed, to exchange arms in testimony of the sincerity of each party."²⁵⁹

McLeod was equipped with diplomatic strategies to maintain friendly communications. McLeod applauded the tranquillity restored in Sipsòng Panna and "the overthrow of the enemies of the rightful heir to the throne" to compliment the authorities in Chiang Rung. He said that the death of Chao Maha Wang would be a matter of regret for the authorities in Moulmein. He hoped that the new prince "would be as friendly disposed towards the English as they declared that his father would have been". McLeod appreciated the generous hospitality he had received in Sipsòng Panna.²⁶⁰

Diplomatic amicability was also expressed as mutual respect. McLeod was ready to respect local customs. Before McLeod entered the gate of the Chiang Tung palace, he was asked to dismount his horse. On learning that "no person ever entered it on horseback", he "immediately complied with his [i.e. the officer's] request".²⁶¹ This was despite the Tai of Chiang Tung's willingness to make an exception for McLeod to express hospitality. At a feast on 23 February, noticing McLeod was sitting uncomfortably, Chao Maha Khanan's son reminded Chao Maha Khanan to provide him with pillows. McLeod reports that "[n]one of the officers are permitted to use these in the Tsobua's presence."²⁶²

McLeod claims his sincerity dispelled the authorities' suspicions and cultivated a warm friendship between them. The Chiang Rung authorities told McLeod that his visit gave them "infinite pleasure" and that they wished to keep the ties of friendship with him.²⁶³ When McLeod left the palace, all the people followed him to the door and wished that McLeod would

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 14–17 March 1837, 380.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12 March 1837, 376.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 March 1837, 397.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 April 1837, 404.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 19–22 March 1837, 385–386.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1837, 344.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 24 February 1837, 347.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 25 March 1837, 395.

prolong his sojourn in Chiang Rung. The attitude of the Tai people towards McLeod contrasted sharply with that of the Burmans. McLeod recorded that:

the aim of the latter is to treat strangers, whether equals, or even superiors, if they will permit it, with marked indifference and slight; whereas with my new friends the reverse is the case, their politeness being extreme. When visiting the Tsobuas [Chaofa] they invariably meet me at the bottom of the steps, and insist upon following me up into their houses, and when leaving, often accompany me to the gate of their enclosures, in spite of my remonstrances.²⁶⁴

The encounter usually ended with the wish for a reunion in the future. When McLeod left Chiang Tung town to proceed to Sipsòng Panna, Chao Maha Khanan hoped to meet McLeod again and told him that “any officer visiting him should be at liberty to go where he pleased through his territories.”²⁶⁵ Likewise, at the farewell party in Chiang Rung, the Chiang Rung authorities hoped that McLeod would return the following year, together with his merchants. They promised to provide protection to his merchants for their tour to China and exempt them from any duty.²⁶⁶

b) Gifts

Gift-giving served various functions in diplomatic intercourse, such as “opening gifts, sweeteners, bribes, customs/customary dues, extortion or whatever”.²⁶⁷ McLeod was conscious of the importance of presents for the success of diplomacy. He recorded gift exchange in detail, especially the gifts he sent and received.

McLeod attempted to follow the Tai tradition and inquired about the preparation of presents before the first reception.²⁶⁸ However, at the first meeting, the authorities at the Chiang Rung court declined McLeod’s gifts, as they could not grant McLeod’s request to proceed. McLeod explained that the presents were the expression of the friendship between the United Kingdom and Sipsòng Panna rather than a bribe. He added that:

we considered it a custom of their own, intended for the purpose of cementing that good understanding which they had expressed themselves so desirous should exist between our countries; that whatever might be the result of the reference to China, as they assured me it was not in their power to permit me to proceed without permission being first obtained, though much disappointed, I could not be angry with them, and I should rejoice to think

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 396.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 28 February 1837, 360.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 395.

²⁶⁷ Turton, “Disappointing Gifts”, 114.

²⁶⁸ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 21 February 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 344.

*that my journey had not been fruitless if it were the means of establishing an intercourse between us, and gaining their friendship.*²⁶⁹

Having heard McLeod's proper explanation, they delightedly accepted the presents for the young prince.²⁷⁰

It was necessary to enclose a list of the presents and, most importantly, a correct one. Failing to do so resulted in an order from Müang Nai to resend the correct one. Interestingly, a list of Richardson's presents to Müang Nai, together with a copy of the Commissioner's letter, was sent to Chiang Tung.²⁷¹

Presents were usually carefully selected to meet the need of the receivers. Considering Chao Maha Khanan's blindness, McLeod gave Chao Maha Khanan a musical box, in reciprocation for "the great attention and kindness" he had received. Chao Maha Khanan felt it with his fingers and was clearly delighted with it.²⁷² For the same reason, McLeod decided not to give the double-barrel pistol, which Chao Maha Khanan "was anxious to obtain", to Chao Maha Khanan, but to Phraya Wang.²⁷³

Weaponry was the most desired gift for the Tai and the most common gift received by McLeod – in traditional Tai society, the sword was an essential accessory for a male, a symbol of decoration or status rather than belligerence. As Turton observes that weapons "are [...] items of rank, of beauty, endlessly added value, capable of bearing most other valuable materials (on scabbards and the like), signs of superior technology, and naturally a good advertisement for the commercial trade of arms".²⁷⁴ Chao Maha Khanan requested a four-barrel gun, twelve English sword blades, and other items from McLeod. Chao Maha Khanan's eldest son, Chao Maha Phrom (1814–1876) "wanted a double-barrel gun" and "a pair of pistols for his brother".²⁷⁵ The limited amount of weapons (fusils) McLeod brought were simply unable to meet the needs of the Tai rulers. When he left Chiang Rung, McLeod found that he had only one fusil to spare, which he gave to the Müang Luang ruler.²⁷⁶ In return, McLeod also obtained weaponry from the Tai nobles. In Chiang Tung, McLeod received "a sword in a silver scabbard" from Chao Maha Khanan and a sword from Chao Maha Phrom, and his writer also received a sword.²⁷⁷

The present could be an alternative to trade duty. After McLeod's arrival in Chiang Tung town, a group of officers came to request a list of his people and a detailed list of goods they had brought with them in order to calculate the levy, which was ten percent of the total value. Considering it inconvenient for the merchants to unpack their goods, McLeod persuaded the officers to allow them to provide a general list, "without opening their packages". After

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 10 March 1837, 373.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 374.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 1 April 1837, 401.

²⁷² Ibid., 28 February 1837, 360.

²⁷³ Ibid., 2 April 1837, 405.

²⁷⁴ Turton, "Disappointing Gifts", 114.

²⁷⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 3 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 405.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 396.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 3 April 1837, 405.

negotiation and having dispatched his writer and interpreter to the court, his merchants were exempted from duty, but they were required to “make some trifling presents” to the prince, his eldest son, and the court officers, according to the custom. In Chiang Mai, the Chinese merchants were treated in the same way.²⁷⁸

Sometimes, McLeod provided presents as a bribe. McLeod encountered a situation where, even though Phraya Wang had permitted his merchants to sell, “no person would purchase from them”, much to his annoyance. They needed “an official order” to urge the Chiang Tung people to trade with them, and an appraiser of silver as well. McLeod demanded that the merchants send additional presents to the Chiang Tung authorities. After sending suitable presents to Chao Maha Khanan and Phraya Wang, “an order was issued for the merchants of the place to consider the British merchants as their own countrymen at all times, and to trade with them.”²⁷⁹

Occasionally, presents were not directly required. Phraya Wang hinted to McLeod that offering a gift would ensure that he remembered him in the future. McLeod would subsequently give him a fusil.²⁸⁰ On another occasion, the nobles took the initiative and asked for their favourite presents. Chao Nang Suriya Phomma requested a knife, fork, spoon, and wine glass to satisfy her curiosity, as she had never seen such things before.²⁸¹ Phraya Wang’s most-desired gift was an elephant, which he repeatedly requested from McLeod.²⁸²

McLeod had a broad interpretation of what constituted a gift. He regarded dishes, refreshments, rice, and fruits as presents, and, indeed, they were frequently provided by the hosts as such,²⁸³ even though, as Turton discusses, they were merely an expression of hospitality.²⁸⁴

Usually, these travel episodes ended with the offering of return gifts.²⁸⁵ It was the case before McLeod’s departure from Chiang Rung. As the officers of Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and even Müang Luang, a town of Sipsòng Panna, were about to leave, they also joined in a ceremony to receive their own presents. The scene was quite official and ceremonial, since all the rulers were “in their full dress” and presents were exhibited on two tables covered with a red cloth.²⁸⁶

The nobles in Chiang Rung encouraged McLeod to return to Chiang Rung the succeeding year.²⁸⁷ Believing they would re-encounter McLeod, the nobility in Chiang Rung sent three commissions to McLeod before he set off from Chiang Rung. Chao Nang Suriya Phomma and Chao Maha Wang’s sister Chao Kuai Fòng entrusted him to bring “spectacles with the strongest

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 21 February 1837, 343–344.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 24 February 1837, 347–348.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 23 February 1837, 346.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 396.

²⁸² Ibid., 3 April 1837, 405.

²⁸³ Ibid., 20 February, 23 February 1837, 342, 346.

²⁸⁴ Turton, “Disappointing Gifts”, 114–115.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 114.

²⁸⁶ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 25 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 395.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

magnifying glasses” and Phraya Saen sought the same spectacles, a compass, and flower seeds.²⁸⁸

Return gifts were expected to have a more or less equivalent value to the given gifts.²⁸⁹ For this reason, Chao Maha Khanan expressed regret for “the paltriness of the presents” he gave to McLeod, which were “under the value of those he had received that he was ashamed to offer them”.²⁹⁰ According to Turton, money was the least treasured gift;²⁹¹ McLeod did not need gold and silver “of which he [Chao Maha Khanan] had [an] abundance”.²⁹² McLeod “assured him that the costliness of a present itself weighed little in our estimation; that the friendship and regard he has professed for us, as well as the attention I have received, and the encouragement promised to our traders, exceeded in value any presents offer us”.²⁹³ Before leaving Chiang Rung, McLeod regretted that he did not have enough gifts to satisfy the authorities’ curiosity, especially Phraya Saen. “[T]hey show a greater desire to gain information than any people” McLeod had met, and he was glad to contribute to the increase of “their desire for knowledge”.²⁹⁴

3 Obstacles

a) Delay

Delay is one of the tropes in McLeod’s report. Eager to avoid any delay,²⁹⁵ McLeod attempted to follow shorter routes. When returning from Chiang Rung, McLeod pleaded with Phraya Saen to allow him to proceed along the shorter route to Müang Hon without passing Müang Rai, which could save him at least a day. Though it was not a regular route for officers to travel, indeed, even officers from Chiang Tung and Müang Yòng were not allowed to use it, the Chiang Rung authorities compromised.²⁹⁶

However, McLeod was not always fortunate in negotiations, and delays were unavoidable during his travels in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. As Turton has analysed, delay was sometimes caused by preparations for the reception.²⁹⁷ In such cases, McLeod was

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 397.

²⁸⁹ A Tai officer was accused of sending a more expensive return gift, a pony, to McLeod, who gave him a gun, which the Chiang Mai authorities “did not consider sufficient” (Ibid., 26–27 April 1837, 418).

²⁹⁰ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 3 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 405.

²⁹¹ Turton, “Disappointing Gifts”, 115.

²⁹² McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 3 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 405.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 397.

²⁹⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 20 February, 9 March, 10 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 342, 370–372.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 397.

²⁹⁷ Turton, “Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters”, 283.

generally informed of the reasons for the delay. For example, the preparation of lodgings and assembling escorts for McLeod in Chiang Rung.²⁹⁸

The most considerable delay was caused by the process of consultation. For McLeod's passage through Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung, confirmation from Müang Nai and Simao, respectively, was required. The Chiang Tung authorities wanted McLeod to remain in Chiang Tung until they got an order from Müang Nai, but because McLeod was anxious to continue his journey, Chiang Tung had to let him go.²⁹⁹ McLeod asked for the length of time needed to obtain the reply from China, and the authorities in Chiang Rung told him that "the officer at Esmok [Simao] had no power to permit my advance, and the reference would be made from one officer to the next officer, and therefore they could not say."³⁰⁰ McLeod's journal suggests that he believed that the authorities in Chiang Rung had delayed communications with Simao so as to forward more accurate information on McLeod's mission.³⁰¹

Waiting for the reply from the Chinese authorities and the negotiation process significantly extended McLeod's sojourn in Chiang Rung to more than eighteen days. When the news of McLeod's arrival in Chiang Tung reached Chiang Rung, a report on his arrival and the intended journey was sent to China. On 13 March, four days after McLeod's arrival in Chiang Rung, a Chinese secretary brought a letter to Simao, together with a copy of the letter of Commissioner to the prince of Chiang Rung. It cost three days (for the caravan five days) to travel from Chiang Rung to Simao. The letter clearly explained the object of McLeod's mission, the mutual benefits of opening the trade, and McLeod's desire to proceed northwards.³⁰²

Turton fails to mention that delay was also a diplomatic strategy adopted by McLeod.³⁰³ During the first meeting at the court of Chiang Rung, McLeod may already have known that the Chiang Rung authorities wanted him to return; indeed, the Burman Cackai had interpreted their intentions to him. However, McLeod was unwilling to abandon the journey and "pretended not to comprehend" the Cackai. After seeing the hesitance of the rulers at the Chiang Rung court, McLeod decided to stay in Chiang Rung for a few days in order to dispel any suspicions they may have had regarding the aim of his mission.³⁰⁴ However, McLeod was unable to improve the situation. Considering himself to have "made a favourable impression on the chiefs" of Chiang Rung, McLeod attempted to ask them for permission to proceed to Simao to shorten his waiting time, arguing that he could receive the "expected reply on the

²⁹⁸ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 9 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 370.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 25 February 1837, 355.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 10 March 1837, 373.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1837, 380.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Turton, "Ethnography of Embassy", 184–187; Turton, "Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters", 280–282.

³⁰⁴ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 10 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 373–374.

road". Undoubtedly, the authorities of Chiang Rung declined his proposal, saying that "the letter could not be opened by the chiefs at Kiang Hung".³⁰⁵

The delay was also caused by the native populations' desire to ask the traveller for favours. For example, Chao Nang Suriya Phomma asked McLeod to postpone his departure. Thus, McLeod put it off one day to please them and "pleaded [for] the approach of the rains as" his "excuse for not remaining".³⁰⁶ The delay was clearly for personal rather than political reasons; specifically, Chao Nang Suriya Phomma, her sister-in-law, and Phraya Saen had asked McLeod to bring spectacles, a compass, and some flower and garden seeds.³⁰⁷

b) Suspicion

Suspicion is another theme in McLeod's writing. McLeod was aware of the Burmans' and Tai's suspicion against him.³⁰⁸ When he was in Chiang Mai, McLeod had already experienced mistrust from the Chiang Mai authorities towards his and Richardson's missions. He attributes this suspicion to a recent visit by Chiang Tung officers, whose aim was to negotiate the opening of communications between Chiang Mai and Britain. These discussions took place in the context of unfriendly relations between Chiang Tung and Chiang Mai at that time.³⁰⁹ Rumours about the detainment of his colleague Richardson also disturbed McLeod. Word of Richardson's imprisonment even reached Chiang Rung, the story being that Richardson had ignored an order to return from Müang Nai, and that he had insisted on continuing his journey to Ava, resulting in his arrest.³¹⁰ Rumours about McLeod were circulated in Simao, and some caravan traders were interrogated by the Chinese authorities there.³¹¹ McLeod claims that the news of his arrival even reached as far as Jingdong and Dali via the Yunnanese Muslim caravan from Chiang Mai.³¹²

McLeod failed to anticipate China's frontier regulations. In Chiang Tung, Chao Maha Khanan told McLeod that China "never interfered with their traders" but "would never believe, that an officer had come up solely for the purpose of obtaining permission for a commercial intercourse between merchants".³¹³ Even the news of McLeod's arrival in Chiang Tung had been forwarded to China by Chiang Rung.³¹⁴

Phraya Wang doubted whether it was wise to send people to escort McLeod into Sipsòng Panna. He hinted to McLeod that the Burmans were also a threat to McLeod's tour. Given that the Burmans were "very jealous", "avaricious", and "greedy", Chiang Tung had to handle McLeod's venture into Chiang Rung carefully and appease Mandalay. Chao Maha Khanan had

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1837, 379–380.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 March 1837, 395.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 397.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 14–17 March 1837, 382.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 16 January 1837, 295.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14–17 March, 31 March, 1 April 1837, 382, 401.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18 March 1837, 384.

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1837, 345.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1837, 380.

to pretend to be unwilling to allow McLeod into Chiang Rung in order not to offend Mandalay.³¹⁵

Probably because of the suspicion from Ava, Chao Maha Khanan requested McLeod to return to Chiang Tung after his travel to Chiang Rung, “as he was certain” McLeod “should not be able to get any further”. McLeod attempted to convince him otherwise and replied that his aim was to “open a communication with as many of the surrounding States as” he could and that he wished to explore the other routes, such as the route of the east bank of the Mekong River, which he had heard that the Chinese merchants passed by frequently.³¹⁶ To support his claim, McLeod let the Chiang Mai officer repeat what he had heard in Chiang Mai to confirm the British willingness to trade with Chiang Tung and travel through this country.³¹⁷ Chao Maha Khanan originally planned to order all the officers to escort McLeod out of the town, expressing his respect for McLeod. Considering that it might cause the displeasure of the Burmans as well as McLeod’s decline, Chao Maha Khanan finally sent only four to five officers to accompany McLeod.³¹⁸

Though McLeod left Chiang Tung unhindered, the hostile order from Burma caught up with him in Sipsòng Panna. During McLeod’s sojourn in Chiang Rung, a Burman brought an order from Chiang Tung to inform McLeod of the prohibition of crossing the Mekong River, or he would be beheaded. McLeod considers that he was regarded as a spy.³¹⁹ On another occasion, Phraya Saen disapproved of McLeod’s plan to proceed via the Müang Laem route or to return via the east bank of the Mekong River, by informing McLeod of Ava’s orders in a letter from Chiang Tung to send McLeod back to Chiang Tung. Phraya Saen was indebted to Chao Maha Khanan for protecting him from his enemies, and so he could not reject Chiang Tung’s request. This letter had been forwarded to China, and Phraya Saen was ordered to have McLeod escorted back. McLeod had to accept this advice in order not to bother Phraya Saen to “apply again for instructions to China”.³²⁰ Later, when McLeod was on the way back to Chiang Mai, Phraya Wang showed McLeod the letter from Müang Nai, which demanded that Chiang Tung detain McLeod to prevent him from furthering his journey. And if McLeod insisted on proceeding, then his team members should be listed and “no assistance whatever given” to him.³²¹

McLeod’s field gathering often caused suspicion. Historical records were sensitive and would be used by other polities. However, the reactions from Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung to McLeod’s request for local historical records differed. Chao Maha Khanan told McLeod that there was only one copy, but he could have an extract from it. Chao Maha Khanan promised to send the extract to McLeod’s writer, who he summoned from Chiang Rung. As he returned from Sipsòng Panna, McLeod sent a reminder to Chao Maha Khanan, who then sent an extract

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25 February, 28 February 1837, 350, 359.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 February 1837, 355.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 February 1837, 359.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4 April 1837, 406.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1837, 382.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 March 1837, 389–390.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 2 April 1837, 403.

copy.³²² The Chiang Rung authorities' response was more dramatic. Phraya Saen "looked serious, and after considering a short time, he asked [McLeod] whether I wished he should lose his head". Mirroring the response from Chiang Tung, he was informed that there was only one copy in Chiang Rung. Later, Phraya Saen promised to give him an extract from it, but it never materialised. McLeod convinced himself that Phraya Saen was fully occupied and "did not intentionally disappoint" him.³²³ Maps are both of service to military affairs and a source of potential danger. When McLeod obtained a rough map of Sipsòng Panna from the Müang Luang ruler, he was requested not to "show it to any person".³²⁴ When McLeod decided to survey the Mekong River in Chiang Rung, he found it hard to obtain a canoe and that the Tai people were afraid of pulling the boat for him.³²⁵ It is likely that they were suspicious of his attempts to cross the Mekong.

McLeod hoped that the deepening of his contacts with the natives would dispel any suspicions. Before his departure from Chiang Rung, McLeod confessed to the Chiang Rung authorities that he "feared that some persons had been taking advantage of their ignorance of the British character, to work upon their fears". McLeod tried to assure them by explaining that their objective was purely commercial and was without any ambition for territory. He persuaded them that they "will never have cause to regret the kind reception they had given [him]". McLeod was content with the response from the Chiang Rung authorities that they thought the British could occupy Ava with no difficulty, but they "did not even retain what" they "had taken by force of arms".³²⁶

c) Failed Venture into China

The prospect of McLeod's mission to China was uncertain even before his departure from Chiang Mai. While some Yunnanese merchants in Chiang Mai did not think that there would be any issue with him entering China,³²⁷ others did not believe that McLeod would be permitted to enter unless he was a merchant.³²⁸ After arriving in Sipsòng Panna, McLeod experienced lengthy negotiations regarding his entrance into China.

McLeod did not encounter the Chinese authorities in Sipsòng Panna. He had just missed a force of 2,000 people from Yunnan, who had left three or four days before his arrival.³²⁹ His indirect contact with China was, as what Louis de Carné describes the French Mekong Exploration Mission's situation, through its son, i.e. Sipsòng Panna.³³⁰

At the first reception in Chiang Rung, McLeod expressed the objective of his mission and urged the native authorities to facilitate the process, avoiding any delay. Aware that the

³²² Ibid., 28 February, 3 April 1837, 359–360, 405.

³²³ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 397.

³²⁴ Ibid., 23 March 1837, 389.

³²⁵ Ibid., 24 March 1837, 391.

³²⁶ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 396.

³²⁷ Ibid., 27 January 1837, 320.

³²⁸ Ibid., 23 February 1837, 347.

³²⁹ Ibid., 11 March 1837, 375.

³³⁰ Louis-Marie de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", *Revue des deux mondes* 84 (1869): 918.

Tai authorities were demonstrating a willingness to open communications with the British and in the absence of Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna, McLeod sought permission to proceed to Simao, where Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna sojourned, to directly deliver the Commissioner's letter to him and to the chiefs in Kunming. The Chiang Rung authorities refused his request by simply explaining that Chao Nang Suriya Phomma was the regent at that moment and "she possessed full power and authority in his name". Moreover, they could not allow McLeod to proceed to Simao without an order from there. McLeod believes that though the Chiang Rung authorities "had expressed themselves glad to see [him]", their hesitation would make it seem that they were "not friendly inclined towards" the British. The Chiang Rung authorities were unmoved, despite McLeod's attempts to persuade them on the grounds of: his extensive journey, the non-political nature of his mission, the amicability between the English and the Chinese and the Burmese, the permission from Ava, and that there was no need to wait for the king's decision, which would cause delay.³³¹ Phraya Saen also dissuaded McLeod from his plan to dispatch his Chinese interpreter to Simao.³³²

Realising that he was unable to proceed to Simao at that moment, McLeod decided to remain in Chiang Rung for some days, believing that the deepened communication with the native authorities might dispel their suspicions and that he would finally be permitted to proceed to Simao. McLeod explained that he had brought letters and presents to the authorities in Simao and in Dali, which he wanted to deliver.³³³ He failed to anticipate that the whole province of Yunnan was governed by the Governor General based in Kunming, and he had only prepared a letter to Dali, which had no power in Sipsòng Panna. He, therefore, considered changing the address to Simao if he was permitted to proceed there.³³⁴

McLeod attempted to persuade Phraya Saen, the chief minister. McLeod noticed that Phraya Saen had a deep reverence towards China. Phraya Saen told McLeod that though Sipsòng Panna "was tributary both to China and Ava, [...] it was nearer the former and looked upon it as its father".³³⁵ As mentioned before, during the struggle for power, the pro-Burma faction was defeated, and the Chiang Rung authorities in power during McLeod's visit were the pro-China faction. Naturally, Phraya Saen praised the Chinese for being "upright and just as a nation, though very particular in insisting upon every fraction due to them being paid; yet they never exacted more than they had a right to claim, and never retained any sum, however small, to which they were not entitled". To prove this, he added that Chiang Khaeng once requested to place itself under China, but "was unhesitatingly rejected".³³⁶

Following his request to further his journey into China, McLeod was informed that the authorities of Sipsòng Panna had no power to authorise the passage of strangers into China without consulting Yunnan. Phraya Saen had been reproached "for allowing a Burmese officer

³³¹ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 10 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 372.

³³² *Ibid.*, 18 March 1837, 383.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 10 March 1837, 374.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 373.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 March 1837, 375.

to proceed to that place with a letter from” Müang Nai.³³⁷ To convince McLeod, the nobles in Chiang Rung told him that the people from Sipsòng Panna were not permitted to “advance far into China”.³³⁸ Though the Chinese secretary had departed to Simao with a translation of the Commissioner’s letter, these nobles persuaded McLeod not to have too high expectations, and they hoped he would “be more successful at some future time”.³³⁹ Additionally, Phraya Saen informed McLeod that the English permitted anybody to travel through any part of their country, but the Chinese were too jealous to allow “any strangers within their territories”. He added that even officers from Chiang Tung had “never been permitted to go beyond Pu’er, except on one or two occasions, on most urgent business, and then only as far as [Kunming]”.³⁴⁰

McLeod’s plan to dispatch his Chinese interpreter, a Yunnanese trader, to Simao was discouraged by Phraya Saen. McLeod previously thought that the interpreter could obtain information about the feelings of the authorities from the merchants there, avoiding direct contact with the authorities themselves and thus “any personal risk”. But Phraya Saen told McLeod that the Simao authorities would not fail to notice his arrival, and the interpreter would be suspected and then detained and subjected to a detailed interrogation. Phraya Saen warned McLeod that it was hard to predict what the Chinese authorities would think of his interpreter, given that he was a Chinese accompanying a British mission.³⁴¹

McLeod reports that his diplomatic role hindered his venture into China. The Burman Cackai’s people informed McLeod that though China was contemptuous of traders, they were permitted “to go wherever they please”. Burman traders had been permitted to proceed as far as Müang Bò. By contrast, foreign officers’ requests to enter China usually faced strong objections. China viewed foreign officers with great suspicion, regardless of rank. Even officers from Sipsòng Panna had no “the privilege of going there, except on duty”.³⁴²

Furthermore, Phraya Saen told McLeod that “it would not be polite to tell us to go back, but they could not permit me to go on.” Phraya Saen hinted that McLeod should leave as soon as possible, by saying that the rainy season was coming, and it would “be unpleasant and inconvenient for me [McLeod] to wait for a reply from China”. To clarify his burden, Phraya Saen compared himself to a stone and McLeod to water, saying that “he was there fixed like a rock to bear all the blame, and I wished to glide over him and pass along without any fear.” McLeod’s misunderstood him, thinking that Phraya Saen meant that “he ought to allow me to proceed, for it was well known that water ultimately overcame stone.”³⁴³ Though Phraya Saen “highly complimented” the English, he was confused that “[such] strange an officer should be deputed on commercial affairs, and that no merchants should accompany him.” McLeod did not convince him by explaining why his merchants did not follow him to Chiang Rung.³⁴⁴

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 376.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1837, 380.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 11 March 1837, 375.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 18 March 1837, 383.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 19–22 March 1837, 386.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 10 March 1837, 373.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Phraya Saen repeatedly told McLeod that if he was a merchant, they would not only permit him to proceed, but also dispatch people to escort him to Simao.³⁴⁵ In addition, McLeod brought no merchants with him to Sipsòng Panna, which excluded the possibility of his advance to Simao. McLeod was requested to send his merchants, and the Chinese authorities would allow their own merchants down to Moulmein for trade. The authorities in Simao demanded that Chiang Rung “pay me every attention and settle all my business”. McLeod would be sanctioned if he insisted on proceeding to Simao.³⁴⁶ Eventually, McLeod abandoned his plan to go to Simao and requested the authorities to provide him with a copy of the letter from Pu’er and with explanations for why the merchants had not come with him.³⁴⁷

It is unwise to say that McLeod would have been allowed, by the Chiang Rung authorities, to proceed to Simao if his merchants had accompanied him. Phraya Saen’s speech should rather be interpreted as comforting words, since he had transmitted the reply from the Chinese authorities in Simao to McLeod. The authorities in Simao “had consulted all their historical works, and could not find a precedent for an officer entering China by the Muang Lá [Simao] road” and hinted that McLeod should enter China from Canton, which had a long history of foreign trade since the mid-eighteenth century.³⁴⁸

4 The Native Population

The native people who temporarily joined McLeod’s mission were, in most cases, escorts and coolies. McLeod’s tour after Chiang Mai was accompanied by local officials. They performed several functions: acting as guides; contacting local authorities to arrange coolies and lodgings; acting as intermediaries for McLeod to explain issues. An official from Chiang Mai accompanied McLeod to Chiang Tung.³⁴⁹ When leaving Chiang Tung on 1 March 1837, a minor official and ten men escorted McLeod to Chiang Rung.³⁵⁰ McLeod’s return journey from Chiang Rung was escorted by three officers, who accompanied him for two or three miles, and by another team of one officer and 22 men who followed him till Müang Hon.³⁵¹ From Chiang Tung to Ban Rai Tai, McLeod was accompanied by an escort of one officer and ten men, who originally planned to follow him into the territory of Chiang Mai.³⁵²

These escorts not only guarded McLeod’s security, but also assisted in arranging supplies and lodgings, served as eyewitnesses to prove McLeod’s statements, and were a source of supplementary information. The Chiang Tung officer, for instance, helped to write a note to the headman of Ban Kap, Müang Ma, to arrange coolies in advance.³⁵³ At the court of Chiang Tung, the Chiang Mai officer explained the route from Nan to Chiang Tung via Tha Khòng to

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10 March, 11 March 1837, 373, 376.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 24 March 1837, 389–390.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 390.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 389.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 January 1837, 322.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 February 1837, 360.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 26 March 1837, 397.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 5 April 1837, 406.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30 March 1837, 399.

Chao Maha Khanan.³⁵⁴ At McLeod's request, the Chiang Mai official also confirmed the objective of McLeod's mission, which he had heard in Chiang Mai.³⁵⁵ During this intensive period, the Chiang Mai officer's presence in Chiang Tung would incur considerable personal risk. The Chiang Mai officer was aware of "being punished on his return to [Chiang Mai]" for having come to Chiang Tung.³⁵⁶ Before leaving Chiang Tung, McLeod gave the Chiang Mai officer a note, taking "the blame of his visiting Kiang Tung on myself".³⁵⁷ At the Chiang Rung court, facing questions from Phraya Saen, the Chiang Tung officer was asked to confirm that McLeod had brought merchants with him, but that they had stopped approaching Chiang Rung and had remained in Chiang Tung, having heard of the unstable conditions in Sipsòng Panna.³⁵⁸

Coolies were employed on the spot. Sometimes, women were recruited, which McLeod was quite opposed to. In Chiang Lò, McLeod was surprised that the people of Chiang Lò brought a group of women to porter his things. These women told him that "they were generally employed carrying loads and baggage for the officers of Government passing through." Because the distance was not too far to Müang La, three miles, and because the male coolies were far away and temporarily unavailable, McLeod reluctantly accepted them.³⁵⁹

In his report, McLeod lists a number of hill peoples – Kadam, Kama, Khamet, Tsen, Thin, Nga, Ka, and La – whom he seldom encountered anywhere.³⁶⁰ During his journey, McLeod met only some Kha Dam men among the vast numbers of hill people in Sipsòng Panna.³⁶¹ The almost total absence of hill people in his writings probably reflects his travel route and his diplomatic motive. McLeod was accompanied by Tai officials and Yunnanese merchants and proceeded along the trade routes of caravans. Moreover, the officials with him intentionally avoided encountering hill people. The Lahu people were regarded as "a source of much annoyance, waylaying and plundering travellers". They were the reason why a Tai officer refused to set up camp overnight.³⁶²

5 Imperial Presence

McLeod was the first Westerner to visit Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. At that time, though having heard of Britain, the nobles in Chiang Rung had no geographical knowledge of Britain.³⁶³ McLeod claims his mission was apolitical and that he was instructed not to discuss any "political subjects".³⁶⁴ McLeod asserts that the late Müang Yòng ruler's son compared the

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 22 February 1837, 345.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 28 February 1837, 359.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 25 February 1837, 350.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 28 February 1837, 360.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 10 March 1837, 373.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 29 March 1837, 399.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 18 March 1837, 385.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 384.

³⁶² Ibid., 25 March 1837, 396.

³⁶³ Ibid., 9 March 1837, 371.

³⁶⁴ Edmund Augustus Blundell, Additional Instructions to Lieutenant W. C. Mcleod, Relative to the Shan States of Zimmay and Laboung, 25 November 1836, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship: The McLeod and Richardson Diplomatic Missions to Tai States in 1837*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Andrew Turton (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003), 257.

oppression from Chiang Tung and the “benevolence and humanity of the English” and pleaded with the British to intervene to release Müang Yòng subjects or to put them under the protection of the British Tenasserim Provinces. McLeod reports that he rejected these pleas as they were not British subjects.³⁶⁵ However, either unconsciously or intentionally, he leaves some traces of political ambition, in the form of justification for the British annexation of Burma and demonstration of the innocence of Britain, typically an “anti-conquest” discourse. His encounter foreshadows the later intervention of the Western powers in the regional political conflict.

Before McLeod’s visit, the news of the First Anglo-Burmese War had spread to Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. At the Chiang Tung court, the authorities asked McLeod about the causes of the Anglo-Burmese War. From “some expressions made use of by [the Chiang Tung people]”, McLeod concludes that they seemed “have no esteem or regard for the Burmans”. Consequently, McLeod thinks that “it would not be a difficult matter to persuade them to throw off their allegiance to that nation.”³⁶⁶ In Chiang Rung, the rulers there also asked about the cause of the Anglo-Burmese War. McLeod uses the natives’ statement to justify the First Anglo-Burmese War; specifically, that “they had heard it was in consequence of our protecting rebels, and taking territory that did not belong to us, but they themselves do not consider us to be an ambitious nation, or that acquisition of territory is our aim, though we had become master of such an extensive empire, as there was nothing to have prevented us from keeping Ava, yet we gave it up.”³⁶⁷

It is clear from McLeod’s report that Chao Maha Khanan held a pro-British attitude. Chao Maha Khanan hoped that a British intervention would bring long-lasting peace between Chiang Tung and Siam.³⁶⁸ McLeod claims that at a secret meeting, Chao Maha Khanan expressed his desire to form an offensive/defensive alliance with the British, hoping that the British “should assist him when called upon”, consider his country as theirs, “and he would bind himself faithfully to obey” the British “in all matters”. McLeod was very cautious about Chao Maha Khanan’s plan to place himself under the protection of the British and was determined not to give any confirmation in this regard. Indeed, he considers it unreasonable for Chiang Tung to shake off the yoke of Ava.³⁶⁹ McLeod wonders whether Chao Maha Khanan’s decision might be a consequence of the reports concerning the death of the Burmese king,³⁷⁰ the rivalry between the Prince of Tharrawaddy and the Prince of Mengthagyì, and the arrival of the British army in Sagaing.³⁷¹ McLeod records that Chao Maha Khanan had a close emotional attachment to the Burmese king but “a strong dislike to the Mengthagyì and others

³⁶⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 8 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 283.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1837, 346.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 14–17 March 1837, 382.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1837, 345.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 April 1837, 404.

³⁷⁰ The report delivered incorrect information about the Burmese king. Actually, the Burmese king Bagyidaw only abdicated on 15 April 1837, few days after this secret interview. He died on 15 October 1846.

³⁷¹ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 1 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 401–402.

at Ava". Furthermore, currently, the Burmese king's interest in the Tai states was waning, effectively making the Burman Cackai lord over them.³⁷² McLeod mentions that Phraya Wang "did not fail to show that the Shans had no great attachment for their rulers, the Burmans" and "spoke of the Burmans in no very respect terms".³⁷³ Without a doubt, McLeod's report was referred to by the India Government as evidence of Chiang Tung's preference for British rule.³⁷⁴

McLeod claims that the authorities in Chiang Rung believed that the characteristics of the British were contrary to the rumours spread by the Burman Cackai. At the farewell feast in Chiang Rung, McLeod mentioned his worries that some persons may have taken advantage of their ignorance of Britain to "work upon their fears" of the British.³⁷⁵ The Burman Cackai was regarded as one of those spreading negative rumours about the British. Phraya Saen openly expressed his dislike for the Cackai. Additionally, he contributed "the stiff reception" for McLeod to the Cackai:

*the Tseitke [Cackai] is a bad man, he had adroitness enough to work on our credulity, propagating many absurd and untrue reports, and describing the character of the English different from what we had heard and have seen; you were represented to be like needles, trying to push in everywhere.*³⁷⁶

However, McLeod claims that the Burman Cackai was keen on McLeod's visit. The Burman Cackai was "in constant dread of losing his life; that there is a party against him in particular, who wish for his removal". He considered that the Tai people were not "over partial to the Burmans". The arrival of McLeod had alleviated the intense situation in Chiang Rung, and he hoped McLeod may influence his fate.³⁷⁷

Conclusion

As the first Westerner to visit Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna, William Couperus McLeod's report is a valuable source that reveals the rarely known history of this region in the early nineteenth century. However, as a diplomat, his narratives are closely related to his diplomatic schedule, which means they are probably deliberately or unconsciously selective in terms of meeting his and others' expectations. Friendly communication and gift exchange are depicted in detail. Though there is a general tone of friendship in McLeod's report, he does not conceal the obstacles (delay, suspicion, and rejection of his wish to enter China) that he encountered.

³⁷² Ibid., 2 April 1837, 404–405.

³⁷³ Ibid., 20 February, 1 April 1837, 343, 402.

³⁷⁴ Thomas Herbert Maddock to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 3 August 1838, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship: The McLeod and Richardson Diplomatic Missions to Tai States in 1837*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Andrew Turton (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003), 251.

³⁷⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 25 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 396.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 25 March 1837, 396.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 14–17 March 1837, 381.

During McLeod's journey in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna, gifts served as opening gifts, trade duties, bribes, souvenirs, etc. Receptions customarily began with gift-giving ceremonies, and a list of presents was prepared beforehand. Visits usually ended with an offering of return gifts, which should have an equivalent value to the given presents. Weapons were the most popular gifts given to the Tai and the most frequent gifts that McLeod received. The Tai nobles were not hesitated to ask for their favorite items from McLeod and even requested McLeod to bring some products from Britain. McLeod had a broader definition of a gift. For example, he considered dishes and fruits provided by a host as gifts.

According to McLeod, the Tai people were generally friendly to his arrival, and most of their meetings ended in hoping for a reunion in the future. By contrast, the Burman Cackai and Chinese authorities were suspicious of his presence. Consulting superior officials required a prolonged process of report and answer, which was the principal cause of delay. McLeod was required to remain in Chiang Tung before receiving an order from Müang Nai. McLeod attempted to prolong his stay in Chiang Rung to dispel suspicion from the local authorities, who, McLeod believed, would finally allow him to proceed to Simao. However, Chiang Rung insisted on dissuading McLeod from proceeding to Simao, as he was a diplomat rather than a merchant. McLeod did not anticipate the Qing's border control and failed to enter China proper through Sipsòng Panna.

The establishment of relationships with Britain and the restoration of communication between Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Mai are two tropes in McLeod's writing. McLeod depicted Chao Maha Khanan as a proponent of intercourse with Britain. McLeod's venture to open up trade with Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna coincided with a pressing need from Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna to restore communications with Chiang Mai after decades of their relationship deteriorating caused by the forced resettlement campaigns launched by Chiang Mai and Nan in the early nineteenth century. The positive local response that McLeod records is more likely caused by an eagerness to communicate with Chiang Mai rather than any intention to establish a relationship with the Tenasserim Provinces, which were testified by Chiang Tung's diplomatic missions to Chiang Mai and three newly found letters written from Sipsòng Panna to Chiang Mai/Lamphun in the 1830s. However, McLeod's mission did not introduce any actual changes to the *status quo*.

McLeod's journey in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna was accompanied by local officials. They not only guarded McLeod's security, but also assisted in arranging supplies and accommodations, served as eyewitnesses to prove McLeod's statements, and were a source of supplementary information. For this reason, he seldom encountered looting and other attacks. As a diplomat mainly travelling along trade routes, McLeod rarely touched mountainous areas and encountered stateless hill peoples.

Though claiming to have no political interests, McLeod, explicitly or implicitly, justifies British rule and the British war against Burma, as demonstrated in his depiction of the British innocence in the British war against Burma and the following annexation of Burmese territory, a typical "anti-conquest" discourse.

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Chapter II

Explorer's Contact: The French Mekong Exploration Mission in Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna, 1867

From the 1860s onwards, Britain turned its attention to this region again. It launched a series of investigations in the northern borderlands into the trade route from Burma to China via Bhamo, a significant frontier town in the trade between Yunnan and Burma. Clement Williams and Edward Bosc Sladen conducted their surveys in 1863 and 1868, respectively. Meanwhile, in the south, Sir Arthur Phayre in 1861, the Duke of Argyll in 1869, and Lord Salisbury in 1874 proposed conducting a survey into Chiang Rung, respectively. These plans were never fulfilled.³⁷⁸ After McLeod's expedition in 1837, the British did not step into this region again until the 1880s. Rather, it was the French Mekong Exploration Mission (FMEM) who would next follow in McLeod's footsteps and explore this region.

Thirty years had passed since McLeod's journey, and the political situation had changed considerably. After the Opium Wars, the Qing Empire signed a series of treaties with Western countries, which, among other things, softened the limitations of foreigners travelling within the Qing Empire. The Treaty of Tianjin (1858) allowed both the British and the French to travel and preach in inner China, and it also made the FMEM's return journey by the Yangtze River possible.

The Panthay Rebellion (1856–1873) in the Yunnan Province radically changed the geopolitical landscape. Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna, the prince of Sipsòng Panna, who was absent in Simao during McLeod's visit to Chiang Rung, was killed in a battle against the Panthay in 1864.³⁷⁹ The Panthay occupied Chiang Rung in 1860 and were only driven out two years later by the union of Tai and Qing imperial troops.³⁸⁰ The FMEM visited Yunnan during this period, and Francis Garnier expressed concerns that the Panthay Rebellion would prohibit them from proceeding with their journey.³⁸¹ Garnier records that, during the Panthay Rebellion, many of the Shan people stood on the Panthay side to fight against the Qing empire.³⁸²

The Panthay Rebellion drove many refugees to the south. In Chiang Rung, the FMEM met the Tai Nüa people, and in Müang Yang (Mengyang),³⁸³ they met the Tai people originally

³⁷⁸ Archibald R. Colquhoun and Holt S. Hallett, *Report on the Railway Connexion of Burmah and China* (London: Allen, Scott & Co., 1888), 9–10.

³⁷⁹ MLC-LV1 32.37 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 209; Ke Shuxun, *Pu si yanbian zhilüe* [Concise chronicle of the Pu'er-Simao borderland], in *Xi 'nan minsu wenxian* [Compilation of documents on the customs in Southwest China], ed. Luo Xiaosuo (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2003), 7:79.

³⁸⁰ Francis Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine", *Le tour du monde* 24 (1872): 303.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² Francis Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine", *Le tour du monde* 23 (1872): 396.

³⁸³ Not to be confused with the Müang Yang (Mongyang) in Myanmar.

from Müang Chung (Yuanjiang) and Müang Ya. Under an order from Chiang Rung, the latter served the FMEM as porters.³⁸⁴

The Panthay Rebellion also caused the trade route between Yunnan and Burma to be cut off. Britain was eager to re-establish the trade route via Bhamo. This also influenced the south route, for example via Müang Yòng.³⁸⁵ And in Chiang Tung, the price of gold leaf used to gild Buddhist architecture increased as a result of the Panthay Rebellion cutting off the trade route.³⁸⁶

The Chiang Tung ruler Chao Maha Khanan's daughter, Chao Sunantha, married Chao Maha Wang's son in Chiang Rung in 1846.³⁸⁷ Chao Maha Khanan died in 1857.³⁸⁸ Chao Maha Phrom and Chao Saeng (mentioned as Chau Patta Wun by McLeod) were the sons of Chao Maha Khanan, who received McLeod in 1837. The former was enthroned at the age of forty-five in 1858/1859, and the latter died in 1862.³⁸⁹

Chiang Khaeng was first mentioned in Western sources by McLeod in 1837.³⁹⁰ But it took the FMEM until 1867 to reach it. In the 1860s, Chiang Khaeng was ruled by the Chiang Tung family. Chao Maha Khanan married a Chiang Khaeng princess, who gave birth to Chao Theppha Mani Kham and Chao Kòng Thai.³⁹¹ The latter two princes successively ruled Chiang Khaeng between 1831 and 1880. Around 1855, the capital of Chiang Khaeng was transferred from Chiang Khaeng to Müang Yu.³⁹² In 1865/1866, Chao Kòng Thai ordered the construction of a palace in Müang Yu.³⁹³ Garnier writes that Chao Kòng Thai was a “young man with tender and white skin, a little too fat and very timid, who did not know what to make of himself” (*jeune homme à peau fine et blanche, un peu gras et fort timide, qui ne savait que faire de sa personne*).³⁹⁴ The FMEM found a saw-mill in Müang Yu, which was used for the extension of the palace and the construction of a new monastery.³⁹⁵

At the time, the ruler of Sipsòng Panna was Chao Mòm Khong Kham or Chao Mòm Sò. Born in Ava in 1847/1848, he was the son of Chao Ramma Awuttha Kumman, and his mother was the daughter of the ruler of Müang Luang.³⁹⁶ He had been in Ava for nearly two years,

³⁸⁴ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 306.

³⁸⁵ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 407.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 415.

³⁸⁷ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 261.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 263.

³⁸⁹ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 294; Mangrāi, *The Pāḍæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 269.

³⁹⁰ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 24 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 392.

³⁹¹ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 268.

³⁹² Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 35.

³⁹³ Chiang Khaeng Chronicle-Wat Tha Phrao Version (CKC-WTP) 27.10–27.12 in Volker Grabowsky and Renoo Wichasin, eds., *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng: A Tai Lü Principality of the Upper Mekong* (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawaii, 2008), 258.

³⁹⁴ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 292.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.

³⁹⁶ Ba Long Yanaweng, “*Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi* [Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna of the recent hundred years, sequel to *Leshi*]”, in *Yunnan sheng daizu shehui lishi diaocha cailiao: xishuangbanna shiliao yicong* [Survey documents of the society and history of the Tai people of Yunnan Province: collection of translations of the Tai historical records of Sipsòng Panna], ed. Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Minzu Yanjiu Suo Yunnan Minzu Diaocha Zu, Yunnan Sheng Minzu Yanjiu Suo, (Kunming: Yunnan sheng minzu yanjiu suo, 1963), 6:40.

from 1863 to 1865/1866, until he turned twenty.³⁹⁷ He was enthroned in 1867, after the FMEM left Sipsòng Panna.³⁹⁸ Chao Mòm Khong Kham seemed to have little real power. He was “stiff as a mannequin” (*raide comme un mannequin*) and spoke only “some monosyllables” (*quelques monosyllabes*). He conversed with the French through the interpretation by Phraya Luang Mangkhala, who translated the monosyllables into long questions. Francis Garnier writes that the prince “seems to suffer the tutelage of the great mandarins without resistance” (*Il paraît subir sans résistance la tutelle des grands mandarins*).³⁹⁹

In the mid-nineteenth century, Sipsòng Panna was still stuck in turmoil. The struggle for power over Chiang Rung, between Chao Maha Khanan, together with his two sons (one of whom was Chao Nò Kham), and Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna, continued into the 1840s. Between 1849 and 1854, in response to the request of Chao Nò Kham, Bangkok launched several wars against Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. During these wars, Chao Maha Chai, the ruler of Müang Phong, fled to Bangkok and Chao Ramma Awuttha, the younger brother of Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna, was taken to Bangkok in 1851.⁴⁰⁰ In Chiang Lap and Sop Yòng, the FMEM met some Tai Lü settlers from Müang Ram (Menghan/Ganlanba), who had been displaced by Chao Maha Chai’s⁴⁰¹ rebellion against Chiang Rung in 1856.⁴⁰² Ernest Doudart de Lagrée also noticed that large numbers of the people in Müang Kai were settlers from Müang Ram as well. Doudart de Lagrée reported that the subjects of Müang Ram decreased from 4,000 to 300 after Chao Maha Chai launched his war with troops from Siam/Chiang Tung.⁴⁰³ The conflict ended with the retreat of the Siamese troops. The *Jengtung State Chronicle* proudly records the victories against Siamese troops in 1852 and 1854.⁴⁰⁴ Garnier mentions that the booty gained in the war invoked by Chao Maha Chai was still exhibited to Doudart de Lagrée in 1867.⁴⁰⁵ When the French colonial official Garanger visited Chiang Tung in 1893, he was shown the Siamese canons from the war in 1854.⁴⁰⁶

Before the arrival of the FMEM, Ava tightened its control over this region, probably in response to the rebels. In 1842/1843, Müang Kai and Müang Yòng rebelled against the Burman residing at Yāngfārō.⁴⁰⁷ The FMEM would experience the enhanced presence of Burman power in Müang Yòng. Garnier records that a large number of Tai people, mainly in Müang

³⁹⁷ MLC-SV1 36 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 328; Ba Long Yanaweng, “*Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi*”, 6:41–42.

³⁹⁸ Ba Long Yanaweng, “*Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi*”, 6:42.

³⁹⁹ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 303. See also de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 921.

⁴⁰⁰ MLC-LV1 32.33–32.34 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 207.

⁴⁰¹ According to *Phongsawadan Müang Chiang Rung*, in 1848, Chao Maha Chai rebelled against Chiang Rung and in 1856/1857, Chiang Rung sent tributes to Bangkok (Boran Khadi Samoson, *Phongsawadan müang chiang rung*, 15, 20).

⁴⁰² Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 398. See also MLC-LV2 39.30 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 298.

⁴⁰³ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 414.

⁴⁰⁴ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 262.

⁴⁰⁵ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 408.

⁴⁰⁶ Georges Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong: notes de voyage aux Sip Song Chu Tai, aux Sip Song Pana, aux États Shans chez les ventres noirs, au Laos* (Paris: Au siège de la Société, 1894), 39. It is unclear whether he witnessed these exhibits or that he only writes about this episode because he had read FMEM travelogues.

⁴⁰⁷ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 261.

Yòng, seemed to regret the passing of Siamese suzerainty, which made the Burmans think that the people of Müang Yòng were dishonest and must be strictly controlled.⁴⁰⁸

The French idea of exploring the Mekong River emerged as early as the 15th century.⁴⁰⁹ Georges Contesse writes in his book that, in 1790, one of the French officers at the court of the Emperor Gia Long of Vietnam suggested to Louis XVI that he arrange the exploration of the Mekong River by B. d'Entrecasteaux. But Taboulet claims that it was unconvincing.⁴¹⁰ In the early 1860s, the topic of exploring the Mekong River was discussed in Paris.⁴¹¹ The French focus on the exploration of the Mekong River was a logical consequence of the occupation of Cochinchina and was also in response to the British expansion in Burma, which was considered a backdoor to China.⁴¹² In addition, the Mekong exploration was also a need for rival competition against the British.⁴¹³ In 1862, Doudart de Lagrée had planned to explore the Mekong River.⁴¹⁴ But it took until 1865 for Amiral La Grandière (1807–1876), Governor General of Cochinchina, to approve the Mekong River exploration project.⁴¹⁵

The FMEM originally consisted of 23 members, including Ernest Doudart de Lagrée (1823–1868) (the expedition leader), Francis Garnier (1839–1873) (Inspector of Indigenous Affairs), Louis Marie Joseph Delaporte (1842–1925) (artist, art historian), Louis de Carné (1844–1870) (from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Eugène Joubert (1832–1893) (geologist), Clovis Thorel (1833–1911) (botanist), four French soldiers and sailors, three interpreters (one French interpreter, one Cambodian interpreter, and one Laotian interpreter (Chan/Alévy)), two Tagalog cooks, and eight Annamite sergeant and soldiers.⁴¹⁶

The FMEM had applied in advance for a Chinese passport in Cambodia in order to avoid the same fate as McLeod, who had been refused entry to China. On 5 June 1866, the FMEM departed from Saigon. After nearly one year's travel, they entered the Burmese Tai states on 16 June 1867. On 15 August, Doudart de Lagrée and four other members left Müang Yòng, taking a lengthy detour to Chiang Tung town to obtain permission for passage to Müang Yu. On 8 September, Garnier and other team members left Müang Yòng, after one month's sojourn, which Louis de Carné described as like being in prison. These two groups assembled again in Müang Yu on 13 September. On 19 September, they entered Sipsòng Panna. One month later, on 18 October, they arrived in Simao. As a Mekong exploration commission, it did not accomplish its task because in Chiang Lap they abandoned the navigation and chose the land

⁴⁰⁸ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 407.

⁴⁰⁹ Georges Taboulet, "Le voyage d'exploration du Mékong (1866-1868), Doudart de Lagrée et Francis Garnier", *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire* 57, no. 206 (1970): 13.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 15; Nicholas Tarling, *Imperialism in Southeast Asia: A fleeting, Passing Phase* (London: Routledge, 2001), 116.

⁴¹³ Tarling, *Imperialism in Southeast Asia*, 116.

⁴¹⁴ Taboulet, "Le voyage d'exploration du Mékong", 33.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁴¹⁶ Félix Julien, *Doudart de Lagrée au Cambodge et en Indo-chine* (Paris: Challamel, 1886), 219–220; Gomane, *L'exploration du Mékong*, 261–262.

route. After that, during a stopover in Chiang Rung, Garnier navigated along the Mekong River only for a short distance.⁴¹⁷

The British were aware of the French mission's presence in Chiang Tung, and Albert Fytche (1820–1892), the British resident in Burma, had sent a letter about the matter to India. However, the letter wrongly recorded that the French had proceeded to Bhamo and would then attempt to visit Mandalay. Garnier thought that this letter was probably a consequence of Doudart de Lagrée's letter from Müang Len to Chiang Tung town.⁴¹⁸ The FMEM also found that France lagged behind Britain in terms of penetrating this region. Garnier noticed British products in Müang Len and at Ban Thap, Müang Yòng, and he complained that the French lacked the foresight to expand into foreign markets.⁴¹⁹

The writings of Carné and Garnier were both initially published in journals and later printed as a whole book, respectively. Carné's travelogue was released in *Revue des deux mondes* in 1869, titled "Exploration du Mékong". Garnier's travelogue⁴²⁰ was published as a series of articles in *Le tour du monde* between 1871 and 1873, titled "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine". The travel writings of the FMEM must be analysed cautiously. These writings were narratives of the FMEM's heroic exploration. Garnier is criticised for having "a tendency to judge too fast and sometimes to exaggerate what he sees" (*une tendance à juger trop vite et quelquefois à exagérer ce qu'il voit*).⁴²¹ Carné's travelogue was often written in an ironic tone, influenced by prejudice. He had a negative impression of the other four French members of the team.⁴²² His accounts of Alévy also reveal a great deal of dissatisfaction. Moreover, some sections are clearly not eyewitness accounts. Garnier did not attend the reception ceremony from Chao Mòm Sò, but to take the last chance to explore the Mekong River in Chiang Rung.⁴²³

1 Misery

a) Nature

The theme of misery penetrates the FMEM's narrative. The misery was caused by weather, road conditions, helplessness, poverty, and negotiations with the natives. The main and most obvious obstacle to their venture was nature, in particular the rainy season. The rain made the roads impassable and continuous downpours caused floods and landslides. Doudart de Lagrée complains about the misery caused by the hardship of barefoot trekking during the

⁴¹⁷ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 303.

⁴¹⁸ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 416.

⁴¹⁹ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 895; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 289; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 383.

⁴²⁰ An extract on Cambodia was published in *Revue maritime et coloniale* 28 (1869): 805–824.

⁴²¹ Taboulet, "Le voyage d'exploration du Mékong", 42.

⁴²² Schouteden, "Impossible Indochina", 209–210.

⁴²³ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 303.

rainy season.⁴²⁴ The rainy season was also the direct cause of their difficulties in dealing with the natives, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

b) Human

Most of the native people the FMEM encountered are described as a hindrance to their journey. Carné recalls the sojourn in Chiang Tung as fraught with difficulties.⁴²⁵ He claims that the obstacles they encountered were more from humans than from nature.⁴²⁶ Garnier complains that:

The harshness of the inhabitants, who every day showed more of their intention to exploit our situation and to charge exorbitant prices for the slightest movement, the unwillingness or the indifference of the local authorities, the fear of seeing the Burmese chiefs of the region revert to a consent which had been granted only after long discussions, all these reasons for doubting our success, combined with long isolation and serious physical sufferings, darkened our minds and undermined our morale.

(L'âpreté des habitants, qui accusaient tous les jours davantage leur intention d'exploiter notre situation et de faire payer des prix exorbitants pour le moindre déplacement, la mauvaise volonté ou l'indifférence des autorités locales, la crainte de voir les chefs birmanes de la contrée revenir sur un consentement qui n'avait été accordé qu'après de longues discussions, toutes ces raisons de douter de notre réussite, jointes à un long isolement et à de vives souffrances physiques, assombrissaient nos esprits et ébranlaient notre moral.)⁴²⁷

Carné finds that the people in Müang Len were in sharp contrast to the timid Tai people in the south, whom the French could command at will. The Tai people here “would do nothing but what they pleased, our prestige has vanished, and our threats cannot frighten them” (*Les indigènes n'en font plus qu'à leur tête, notre prestige s'est évanoui, et nos menaces ne les effraient pas*). Their “sense of human dignity” (*Ce sentiment de la dignité humaine*) embarrassed the French, and Carné mentions that a porter, “wishing to rest himself, throws his load on the ground at the risk of breaking it and receives our reprimands with an insolent laugh” (*cédant à l'envie de se reposer, jeter son fardeau à terre au risque de le briser et accueillir nos remontrances par un rire insolent*).⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, Lettre du commandant de Lagrée au Vice-Amiral Gouverneur et commandant en chef en Cochinchine, 30 octobre 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée: extraits de ses manuscrits*, ed. Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur, 1883), 561–562.

⁴²⁵ Louis-Marie de Carné, *Exploration du Mé-Kong, partie politique et géographique*, 20 janvier 1869, f. 224, Indochine 4, MD 29 bis, CADLC.

⁴²⁶ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 910.

⁴²⁷ Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 392.

⁴²⁸ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 898.

In Chiang Lap, the monastery where they stayed planned to hold a Buddhist Lent ceremony on 16 July, and on 14 July, the French were asked to move to other accommodations in order to make room for the ceremony. They were informed that the ruler was worried that the crowd would bother the French.⁴²⁹ However, Carné is suspicious of the Chiang Lap ruler's intention to move them to new lodgings near the Mekong River, in a deserted location where they "would find no means of living" (*nous n'aurions pas trouvé de quoi vivre*). It would be "disastrous" (*désastreuse*) if Doudart de Lagrée accepted the invitation.⁴³⁰

One obstacle to the French advance was the coolie. Garnier complains that on the way to Phalaeo, the French patience was tested by the porters, each of whom insisted on using their own weighing scales to measure their salaries.⁴³¹ He also mocks the porters from Chiang Lap to Sop Yòng, who were paid more than 300 francs and were delighted at "their excellent speculation" (*leur excellente spéculation*).⁴³² The French were angry that the porters had to stop and rest frequently. These breaks meant that their journey from Müang Len to Chiang Lap took seven hours.⁴³³ Carné also distrusts the porters: "We suffer from onerous conditions, we make real rental contracts, in which it is necessary to be cautious about the bad faith of the natives, [who are] always ready to falsify the weights or to deceive on their value" (*nous subissons des conditions onéreuses, nous faisons de véritables contrats de louage dans lesquels il faut se tenir en garde contre la mauvaise foi des indigènes, toujours prêts à falsifier les poids ou à tromper sur leur valeur*).⁴³⁴

Arranging carriers and transportation was a recurrent problem. Usually, the FMEM had to take a break to wait for gathering porters.⁴³⁵ Carné complains that the Chiang Lap authorities showed "little benevolence" (*peu bienveillantes*) to them and told them that the village could not provide enough transportation for them, which forced the French to sell their loads, including medallions and pictures of Christian saints.⁴³⁶ In Chiang Lap, Garnier found only one big boat belonging to the ruler. The chief proposed to ferry them after the aforementioned monastery ceremony, but the fee he demanded was unacceptably high. Consequently, the French postponed their departure.⁴³⁷ In Sop Yòng, despite having navigated northwards along the Mekong River to a village in search assistance, the number of porters they found, even added to those in Sop Yòng, still did not meet their needs.⁴³⁸ In Phalaeo, the Akha people refused to serve as porters for the French, fearing it would cause misfortune. The French instead had to resort to the Tai authorities in Phalaeo, with the help of gifts, to recruit some Tai Lü as porters to Chiang Lap.⁴³⁹ To make up for the lack of labourers, particularly in small villages,

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 901; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 392, 394.

⁴³⁰ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 901.

⁴³¹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 390.

⁴³² Ibid., 396.

⁴³³ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 899.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 901. Contrary to Schouteden, it is not the local people who requested a contract, but the French (Schouteden, "Impossible Indochina", 213).

⁴³⁵ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 310.

⁴³⁶ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 899–900.

⁴³⁷ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 392, 394.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 398.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 391.

the French often had to resort to employing women and even children as porters.⁴⁴⁰ Carné reveals his prejudice in this regard, when he writes that women who became porters were motivated by a desire for money.⁴⁴¹ A scene is described in Müang Yang, where the men were fully occupied with farming work, and the French had to recruit women and children. Much to Garnier's surprise, they did not slow down the progress of the French.⁴⁴² Sometimes, though, the French had to employ weak and sickly migrants, who had fled from the Panthay Rebellion, as porters.⁴⁴³ At one point, Carné criticises the men porters, who only "took hold of the lightest packages" (*s'emparaient des colis les moins lourds*), leaving the women to carry the heaviest ones and walk like "oxen in charge of the overwhelming yoke" (*des bœufs chargés d'un joug accablant*).⁴⁴⁴

Interestingly, Garnier's views of coolies are not always negative. Garnier's and Carné's different reactions to the same scene are telling. On the route from Müang Luang to Chiang Rung, their porters "were exhausted" (*étaient exténués*) after three days's travel. Garnier writes that the porters' "swollen feet" (*pieds gonflés*) and "bruised shoulders" (*épaules meurtries*) aroused a feeling of sympathy among the French. The latter agreed to let the porters rest and depart one hour earlier the next day.⁴⁴⁵ By contrast, Carné complains that when these men were employed as porters, they always refused to travel more than 30 kilometres a day, but when they acted as couriers, they could easily travel 40 leagues, trekking through mountains and forests, which was as easy as delivering an invitation to dinner of a distance of twenty minutes.⁴⁴⁶

The beliefs of local people, both the coolies and the villagers, troubled the French. Garnier records that the porters' "repugnance" (*répugnances*) and "superstitions" (*superstitions*) often caused "quarrels" (*querelles*) and "refusals" (*refus*). He was confused when a light package was left aside because it contained a pair of shoes, even though the shoes were "reserved for important days" (*réservait pour les grands jours*).⁴⁴⁷ However, for the Tai people, raising feet or foot-related objects, in this instance, the shoes of the cook Pedro, above the head was a cultural taboo. Another issue was the dread of sickness, caused by the undeveloped medical system and the high mortality rate. When they continued their journey from Müang Len, the porters refused to carry Delaporte, who was too ill to walk or ride a horse. The Tai porters believed that carrying an ill person would expose them to disease. Though Doudart de Lagrée threatened them by saying that he would complain to Ava, the Müang Len ruler did not yield. The French had to let their underlings, the Tagals and the Annamites, carry

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 398–399; de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 922.

⁴⁴¹ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 906.

⁴⁴² Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 307.

⁴⁴³ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 921–922.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 922.

⁴⁴⁵ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 300.

⁴⁴⁶ "*Ces hommes ne consentent guère à par courir plus de 30 kilomètres par jour, quand ils sont employés comme portefaix. Lorsqu'on les charge d'un message, ce sont au contraire des courriers aussi rapides qu'infatigables; aucune distance ne les effraie, et l'on fait porter une lettre à quarante lieues à travers montagnes et forêts aussi facilement qu'en Europe une invitation à dîner à vingt minutes de son hôtel*" (de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 918).

⁴⁴⁷ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 395.

Delaporte.⁴⁴⁸ Near Phalaeo, as the team transporting Delaporte attempted to cross a village, some locals warned them to change the itinerary to avoid the patient passing the village, which was considered a bad omen (*un présage fâcheux*). Partly because of the French insistence and partly because of their rifles and revolvers, they passed the village without any further incident.⁴⁴⁹

Moreover, Doudart de Lagrée complains about the overpriced service provided by the natives.⁴⁵⁰ Carné complains that, compared with previous experience in Siamese Tai states, the price demanded by the Müang Len oxen porters seemed high. He writes that the price of transportation was adjusted according to the authorities' "interests" (*intérêts*) or "whims" (*caprices*).⁴⁵¹ Carné accuses the Chiang Lap porters of exactions, even though he already knew the increased cost of transportation was caused by the difficulties of travelling during the rainy season.⁴⁵² Garnier worries that the limited budget of the mission could not sustain such high costs because "the absence of all government protection left us at the mercy of all this greediness" (*L'absence de toute protection gouvernementale nous laissait à la merci de toutes les avidités*).⁴⁵³

Prior to entering Müang Len, their journey had been during the hot season, which was dry and thus a better time for long-distance travel. The French wrongly attributed the high transportation costs to the ill will of the Tai people in the region, rather than their ignorance regarding the rainy season and local customs. The rainy season was a time for paddy cultivation and religious activities, which made assembling coolies much harder. At Ban Sop Yòng, the FMEM met two or three itinerant Shan merchants from Saen Wi and Si Pò (Hsipaw), who were surprised that the FMEM were travelling during the rainy season and who told the French that they would find neither roads nor porters.⁴⁵⁴ Nearly thirty years later, Morrison would encounter the same difficulty in arranging carriers when he visited Sipsòng Panna in the same season, which Chao Mòm Kham Lü regarded as "the worst season" for travel.⁴⁵⁵

c) Delay

For various reasons, the FMEM's journey through Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna cost twice as much time as McLeod's travel (including his return journey). One of the reasons was the French party's underestimating the necessary transportation arrangements. In Müang Len, even though Doudart de Lagrée had sent a messenger to Müang Len to request the preparation of transportation in advance, the oxen sent by the Müang Len ruler still did not meet their

⁴⁴⁸ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 898; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 390.

⁴⁴⁹ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 898; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 390.

⁴⁵⁰ Lettre du commandant de Lagrée au Vice-Amiral Gouverneur, 30 octobre 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. Villemereuil, 561–562.

⁴⁵¹ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 894.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 901.

⁴⁵³ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 383.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 396, 398.

⁴⁵⁵ George Ernest Morrison, Additional notes to diary of a journey from Bangkok to Yunnan Province, July-December 1896, p. 109, MLMSS 312/8, GEMC, vol. 8, SLNSW.

needs. Garnier remained at the *sala* (wayside pavilion) with two Annamites to wait for another eight oxen to arrive. Although the distance from the *sala* where they were staying to Müang Len was only 14 kilometres, which equated to five hours' travel, they waited 48 hours till 20 porters arrived.⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, even though the French obtained the authorisation of Chao Maha Phrom from Chiang Tung, the local authorities gave little assistance in recruiting porters. Garnier complains that they “had to comply with all the requirements of the locals” (*il fallut passer par toutes les exigences des indigènes*).⁴⁵⁷

Reflecting Turton's analyses on “the style of political consultation”, this consultation with superiors and the transmission of orders were time-consuming.⁴⁵⁸ For example, the consultation with the court of Mandalay would cost at least two months,⁴⁵⁹ and while they were waiting for a response, the Burman Cackai at Chiang Tung town tried to keep the French in Chiang Tung.⁴⁶⁰ In Müang Len, a frontier district, the French had to prolong their sojourn to wait for the order from the court of Chiang Tung.⁴⁶¹ Since their last meeting, the chief of Müang Len had not visited Doudart de Lagrée. Carné believes that because Müang Len “feared taking on the responsibility, he waited the king of Chiang Tung to indicate what he should do” (*Craignant d'engager sa responsabilité, il attendait que le roi de Sien-Tong lui indiquât la conduite à tenir*).⁴⁶² Chiang Tung's reply only arrived four days later. Carné complains that “the Chiang Tung council took four days to deliberate on this simple demand for the authorisation to pass” (*Cette simple demande en autorisation de passer avait donné lieu à une délibération qui avait occupé pendant quatre jours le conseil de Sien-Tong*).⁴⁶³ The prince of Chiang Tung, Chao Maha Phrom, authorised the party to arrange men and boats on his territory and to navigate in the valley. If the French wanted to proceed to Chiang Tung town, however, they would need to request a new authorisation. This letter also reminded the French that Chiang Tung paid tribute to Ava. The messenger passed on the details of the deliberations that had taken place at court. Because the French failed to anticipate the presence of a Burman representative at the court of Chiang Tung and had not prepared any presents for him, the Burman Cackai felt offended and strongly objected to authorising the passage of the French. Eventually, however, the Cackai was persuaded by Chao Maha Phrom.⁴⁶⁴

A few days later, a letter from Chiang Tung town arrived in Müang Len, inviting the French to Chiang Tung town, the reason being that Müang Len was a poor village in which “foreigners of rank cannot enjoy a decent reception” (*dans lequel des étrangers de distinction ne peuvent recevoir un accueil convenable*).⁴⁶⁵ Garnier writes that this invitation seemed to be a matter of curiosity and self-esteem, and Carné considers it to be about politeness and

⁴⁵⁶ Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 379, 383.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁴⁵⁸ Turton, “Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters”, 284.

⁴⁵⁹ de Carné, *Exploration du Mé-Kong*, 20 Janvier 1869, f. 226, Indochine 4, MD 29 bis, CADLC.

⁴⁶⁰ Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 415.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 384.

⁴⁶² de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 897

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, 898.

⁴⁶⁴ Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 386–388.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 394.

curiosity.⁴⁶⁶ In view of the Burman Cackai's previous attitude, Garnier suspects that the dignitary will be intent on securing the gifts he missed last time. Given that the detour would extend the journey and the letter was mere "a courtesy invitation, which could be declined without showing any lack of deference due to the writers of the letter" (*une offre de pure courtoisie, qui se pouvait décliner sans manquer à la déférence due aux auteurs de la lettre*), Doudart de Lagrée politely declined it.⁴⁶⁷

In Chiang Lap, the FMEM had to issue a letter to the capital Müang Yu requesting passage. Doudart de Lagrée asked the authorities in Chiang Lap to grant the French permission to proceed without waiting for a reply from Müang Yu, but this request was refused.⁴⁶⁸ Carné believes that the Chiang Lap ruler was too timid to permit the French to proceed without a reply from Müang Yu, and it took him a long time to visit the French.⁴⁶⁹ They were only allowed to depart upon receiving the reply from Müang Yu eight days later.⁴⁷⁰ However, as a result of the Chiang Lap ruler's procrastination, the FMEM did not set off immediately. The French noted that the Chiang Lap ruler dedicated more time to opium than to his work and that he was "very ill-disposed" (*fort mal disposé*) towards the French; indeed, he had treated Alévy, Doudart de Lagrée's delegate, harshly during the transportation arrangements. He listed several reasons to discourage Doudart de Lagrée from continuing their journey: the rainy season was not favourable for travel; porters were unavailable because local labourers would be occupied by the upcoming rice-planting season; the only boat belonging to Chiang Lap was used to ferry travellers across the Mekong River and could not be lent to the French. He then advised the French to wait in Chiang Lap for four months until the coming of the dry season. Finally, Doudart de Lagrée promised to pay a good price for the transportation of luggage, and he was granted permission to leave the next day. But the day before the French prepared to set off, they were confronted with "the usual story" (*l'histoire habituelle*), a torrent of issues, and were asked to postpone their travel. Garnier records that, that evening they sensed that the only reason for the delay was that there was an inauspicious omen.⁴⁷¹

Indeed, "[t]he 'delay' factor is largely a political perception on the part of the Farang diplomats."⁴⁷² For the native population, most delays were unavoidable because the circulation of instructions and the preparation of the reception ceremony needed time. In 1840/1841, the Burman *ahmukri* of Müang Nai remained in Chiang Rung for two months because of requesting for instruction from Ava.⁴⁷³

Like what Turton mentions on the Siamese–British diplomatic encounters,⁴⁷⁴ the French were also delayed by preparations for their reception at their destination. At the Chiang Rung

⁴⁶⁶ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 900; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 394.

⁴⁶⁷ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 394.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 391.

⁴⁶⁹ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 901.

⁴⁷⁰ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 394.

⁴⁷¹ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 903; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 395.

⁴⁷² Turton, "Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters", 284.

⁴⁷³ Dao Guangqiang and Yan Han, eds., *Chüa khriüa chao swaenwi sipsòng phanna* [Genealogy of the rulers of Sipsòng Panna] (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1990), 141–143.

⁴⁷⁴ Turton, "Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters", 283.

court, the French were forced to wait a long time before seeing Chao Mòm Khong Kham.⁴⁷⁵ Carné witnessed the palace being cleaned before the reception ceremony. Ceremonial guards were also temporarily convened to stand in the background. He noticed that their porters had joined the procession, and they were “enrolled momentarily in the royal guard, having exchanged the bamboo of the porter for a warrior’s lance. This sight greatly diminished the impression of respectful terror which this military display was intended to produce on us” (*momentanément enrôlés dans la garde royale, avaient échangé le bambou du portefaix contre la lance du guerrier. Cela diminue beaucoup l’impression de respectueuse terreur que cet étalage militaire était destiné à produire sur nous*).⁴⁷⁶

However, not all the delays were caused by the natives, indeed, some were the Frenchmen’s own decisions. Certainly, attending the sick members of their party delayed their advance. Doudart de Lagrée remained in Sop Yòng to nurse Joubert and Delaporte.⁴⁷⁷ Waiting for confirmation from Doudart de Lagrée, who had made an expedition to Chiang Tung town, cost them nearly a month. From 7 August to 8 September, Garnier and other members sojourned in Müang Yòng. On 26 August, the French were informed that a letter from Chiang Tung town had arrived in Müang Yòng, saying that they were permitted to proceed. However, the French still wanted a confirmation letter from Doudart de Lagrée. The letter arrived on 6 September, seven days later than the expected arrival date. The French knew nothing happened in Chiang Tung town and each day of waiting for them was a misery.⁴⁷⁸

Lack of preparation also contributed to delaying the French. They wrongly considered Chiang Khaeng to be independent; in fact, it belonged to Chiang Tung.⁴⁷⁹ They had to embark on an expedition to Chiang Tung town to seek permission.

In addition, the French were simply not as fortunate as McLeod, who had been accompanied by Tai officials throughout his tour in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. Along the way, McLeod obtained assistance from local authorities. The French had no Tai officials travelling with them and lacked the privilege to receive assistance from the local population. In Müang Luang, the first town they travelled through in Sipsòng Panna, Garnier records that their “first relations with the authorities of the country were excellent” (*Nos premières relations avec les autorités du pays furent excellentes*), and they met no difficulty when asking a village chief to gather porters for them.⁴⁸⁰ However, situations like this were rare.

d) Gifts

Compared with McLeod, the writings of Garnier and Carné feature fewer scenes of gift exchange. Though the FMEM originally brought fifteen crates of presents (guns, revolvers,

⁴⁷⁵ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 303.

⁴⁷⁶ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 920.

⁴⁷⁷ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 399.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 414, 416.

⁴⁷⁹ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 900.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 916; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 296.

watches, fabrics, toys, engravings, telescopes, cutlery, brass, and lead) with them,⁴⁸¹ consumption and sale on the road left them with few articles to send to others. Garnier repeatedly describes his party's poverty, which forced them to barter their property for foodstuffs.⁴⁸² Though Garnier complains about their lack of finance and repeatedly depicts scenes of his group selling their luggage for money and food, he does not consider it reasonable to beg or borrow from the local authorities because "it would be compromising our dignity and the success of our dealings with them to allow them a glimpse of our shortage" (*c'eût été compromettre et notre dignité et le succès de nos démarches auprès d'elles que de leur laisser entrevoir notre pénurie*).⁴⁸³

The gifts prepared for Chao Maha Phrom merely consisted of "a carpet of one foot long, a fan, a piece of Algerian cloth and some small objects, pipes, soap, handkerchief, etc." (*se composaient d'un tapis de pied, d'un éventail, d'une pièce d'étoffe algérienne et de quelques menus objets, pipes, savon, mouchoir, etc.*) Garnier was clearly embarrassed to send these worthless items, which "give a very poor idea of our resources" (*qui ne devaient donner qu'une bien pauvre idée de nos ressources*), especially once they were confronted with English products everywhere and realised that they had been ignorant of the frequent trade between the British colonies and Burmese Tai states. However, Garnier consoles himself with the thought that even their "smallest European goods" (*les moindres marchandises européennes*) were treasured by the Laos in the south, which made their objects more valuable than they actually were. He makes clear that sending their presents to Chao Maha Phrom was about paying respects rather than humbling him.⁴⁸⁴

The presents the French offered Chiang Rung were also of little monetary value. Before meeting Chao Môm Khong Kham, the FMEM was required to provide a list of presents. Doudart de Lagrée refused, replying that he would choose which gifts were appropriate after meeting Chao Môm Khong Kham once he had got to know him. Doudart de Lagrée's refusal appears to be the result of cultural differences; however, financial issues were almost certainly a factor as well. Doudart de Lagrée explained that he did not intend to ignore the customs, but that the overland journey had consumed many of their possessions, and he would select a novel gift for Chao Môm Khong Kham.⁴⁸⁵ Chao Môm Khong Kham was eventually given a stereoscope, a piece of Algerian cloth, images, gunpowder, and the mandarins received some small objects, all worth only a hundred francs. The French feigned being in a bad mood following the negative first contact with the Chiang Rung authorities in order to conceal their poverty.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸¹ "[F]usils, révolvers, montres, étoffes, joujoux, gravures, longue-vues, coutellerie, laiton, plomb" (Journal de la commission d'exploration du Mekong, 13 juillet 1866–26 novembre 1867, p. 2, SG COLIS 203 (5257), SG, BnF).

⁴⁸² Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 390, 392.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 384.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 374.

⁴⁸⁵ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 920; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 302–303.

⁴⁸⁶ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 303.

e) Permission to Enter China

The French were constantly anxious about their forthcoming entrance into China. In Luang Prabang, the French were warned that the Qing had requested Luang Prabang to stop Europeans from attempting to enter China via the Mekong Valley.⁴⁸⁷ Before arriving in Müang Len, Carné worried that they would be prohibited from entering China.⁴⁸⁸ They were pessimistic about the trip northwards upon hearing a rumour about opium traders from Chiang Tung being killed in Müang Phong.⁴⁸⁹

Though the FMEM obtained a passport from Peking, their venture into China was not as successful as they had expected it to be. To their surprise, upon reaching Müang Luang, a frontier town of Sipsông Panna, and preparing to proceed to Chiang Rung, a letter arrived from Chiang Rung demanding that the Müang Luang ruler prevent the French from approaching Chiang Rung, unless they were merchants:

The Kula—this is the name given to foreigners in northern Indo-China—come, they say, from Müang Yòng; if they arrive in Müang Luang and they are not merchants, you will not let them continue their journey to Chiang Rung, instead you will let them take the route by which they came. Chiang Rung depends not only on Burma, but also on China.

(Des koula — c'est le nom que l'on donne aux étrangers dans le nord de l'Indo-Chine — viennent, dit-on, de Muong Yong; s'ils arrivent à Muong Long et que ce ne soient pas des marchands, vous ne leur laisserez pas continuer leur voyage vers Xieng Hong, mais vous leur ferez reprendre la route par laquelle ils sont venus. Xieng Hong ne dépend pas seulement de la Birmanie, mais aussi de la Chine.)⁴⁹⁰

A second letter from Chiang Rung explained that, in the past year, Yunnan⁴⁹¹ had issued an order to Chiang Rung, letting it directly forbid foreigners from passing without informing the Yunnanese authorities.⁴⁹² Garnier describes a predicament that is similar to the one McLeod had found himself in 1837, but the international situation had changed considerably, and the Qing empire was “less exclusive” (*moins exclusif*) than before the Opium Wars. Garnier suspects that it might be the perfidy of the Burman Cackai at Chiang Tung, who secretly informed his colleague in Chiang Rung to bar their passage. Doudart de Lagrée considered the letter an “indirect refusal” (*refus indirect*), and he dispatched Alévy with a letter to Chiang Rung to clear up the problem, hoping that at least the authorities would allow them to go to

⁴⁸⁷ Louis-Marie de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong IV”, *Revue des deux mondes* 84 (1869): 486; de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 917.

⁴⁸⁸ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 893.

⁴⁸⁹ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 414.

⁴⁹⁰ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 296.

⁴⁹¹ The original word is “Muong Ho”, which Garnier identifies as Yunnan (Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 298). However, the term *müang hò* referred to the Chinese territory or China proper. This term is still used today by the Tai Lü in Myanmar and Laos to refer to China.

⁴⁹² de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 917; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 298.

Chiang Rung. Doudart de Lagrée's letter explained their mission's purpose and stressed that their journey had been authorised by both the Tai and Burman authorities in Chiang Tung and that a passport had been issued by Peking and signed by Prince Gong.⁴⁹³

A few days later, Alévy sent a message to the FMEM informing them to proceed to Chiang Rung.⁴⁹⁴ When the FMEM arrived in Chiang Rung, Alévy complained that he had no opportunity to see Chao Môm Khong Kham, the Burman Cackai, or the Chinese official at the court. He was badly received by local officials and was asked to return. Garnier recounts that Alévy did not compromise and tried to persuade the authorities in Chiang Rung using a combination of flattery and intimidation:

Do what you will with me, he replied, kill me if it pleases you, but I will never dare to return without a favourable answer to the chief who sent me. I fear his anger more than yours, and if you knew better the people with whom you are dealing with, you would not be so glad to push them to their limits. I dare not answer what they might do in Müang Luang, if you persist in refusing to let them come, and it would be wiser to admit them into your presence: the sight of the most important figures in the country would without doubt force them to restrain themselves and you would easily make them see reason.

(Faites de moi ce crue vous voudrez, avait-il répondu, tuez-moi si cela vous fait plaisir, mais jamais je n'oserai retourner sans une réponse favorable, auprès du chef qui m'a envoyé. Je crains plus sa colère que la vôtre, et si vous connaissiez mieux les gens à qui vous avez affaire, vous ne vous exposeriez pas de gaieté de cœur à les pousser à bout. Je n'ose répondre de ce qu'ils pourront faire à Muong Long, si vous persistez dans votre refus de les laisser venir, et il serait plus sage de les admettre en votre présence: la vue des plus grands personnages du pays les forcerait sans doute à se contenir et vous leur feriez entendre facilement raison.)⁴⁹⁵

Eventually, the day before they arrived in Chiang Rung, the officials had a long discussion, and the next day the Chinese official set off to Simao with a letter. Given this, Garnier was convinced that they would be able to surmount the difficulties at the Chiang Rung court easier than they had done in Chiang Tung, as the Burman officials in Chiang Tung were ill-willed.⁴⁹⁶ The French emphasised their importance by mentioning that they had received authorisation directly from Prince Gong in Peking. The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung was led by a minister referred to as Momtha by Garnier, or Chao Chiang Ra. He was an elderly man with white hair, a plump body, and a placid face. Garnier believes that Momtha was clever enough to understand the consequence if Chiang Rung refused the French passage that had been authorised by Prince Gong. Doudart de Lagrée complained about the sudden stop in

⁴⁹³ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 296.

⁴⁹⁴ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 916; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 298.

⁴⁹⁵ Francis Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine", *Le tour du monde* 22 (1871): 300.

⁴⁹⁶ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 918; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (22)", 300.

Müang Luang and pressed the officers to either put their refusal in writing, with clearly defined reasons, which Doudart de Lagrée would make use of later when necessary or to grant them permission to proceed to Simao in 48 hours. Garnier noted that the authorities were “confounded” (*déconcertés*) by their decisive attitude and that their facial expressions had amused the French, but that ultimately, they agreed to arrange an official reception.⁴⁹⁷

With respect to the formal reception by the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung, Doudart de Lagrée first showed the letters of Chao Maha Phrom and the Burman Cackai at Chiang Tung, which were then questioned by both the Burman Cackai at Chiang Rung⁴⁹⁸ and a Tai noble. The former challenged that these letters only mentioned authorisation to proceed to Chiang Rung, and the latter claimed that because Chiang Rung depended on China, Chiang Tung had not the right to authorise a destination further away without the consent of Chiang Rung. Then, Doudart de Lagrée showed the letter of Prince Gong, but no Tai officers at the court could decipher it, including Chao Luang Mangkala, who was familiar with letters from Maha Sena.⁴⁹⁹ Only a Chinese secretary was able to confirm that the letter was from Peking and that “the French mandarins were honest people and very high ranking and that it would be appropriate to receive [them] as hospitably as possible” (*cela venait bien de Pékin, que les mandarins français étaient des gens honnêtes et d’un rang très-élevé, et qu’il convenait de nous recevoir le plus amicalement possible*). Garnier mentions that the attitude towards the French changed suddenly, and Chao Chiang Ra “addressed only obliging questions and gracious compliments to Doudart de Lagrée” (*le Momtha n’adressa plus au commandant de Lagrée que des questions obligeantes et de gracieux compliments*).⁵⁰⁰

An incident in Simao exacerbated French dissatisfaction with the Chiang Rung authorities. The Simao governor mentioned that he had learned of the French more than six months ago and had sent a messenger for them. Garnier thinks that he meant the letter to Chiang Rung, issued by the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou Lao Chongguang (1802–1867), which had been accompanied by a letter from a European named Kosuto. The French did not know of the existence of Kosuto’s letter because the Chiang Rung authorities had never mentioned it. Probably because Kosuto’s letter was written in French, and nobody in Chiang Rung could decipher it. There were rumours about Kosuto that he was good at producing gunpowder and preparing mines. Garnier believes that the presence of a European, perhaps a Frenchman, in Yunnan would have made the situation more favourable for them. He blames the Chiang Rung authorities for not showing Kosuto’s letter to them, complaining of a lost opportunity to learn what the attitude of the Chinese authorities was and to figure out their

⁴⁹⁷ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 919; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 302.

⁴⁹⁸ It is uncertain whether he was Min Hla Min Htin, who was appointed to Chiang Rung on 17 July 1850 (Attention, 17 July 1850, in *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598–1885*, ed. Than Tun (Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1987), 8:284).

⁴⁹⁹ *Maha* means “big”, and *sen* means “military officer”. Maha Sena probably referred to a senior Chinese military officer.

⁵⁰⁰ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 302.

situation.⁵⁰¹ Later, in Pu'er, the French heard the news of Kosuto again.⁵⁰² Finally, in Kunming, they met Father Protteau, a French Catholic missionary,⁵⁰³ and Bishop Jean-Joseph Fenouil (1821–1907), Pro-Vicar Apostolic of Yunnan, and they figured out that Kosuto was the latter. Garnier and Carné claim that the order prohibiting them from proceeding to Chiang Rung had been caused by the misinterpretation of the Chinese letter and ignorance of the French letter. The Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou and the Pro-Vicar Apostolic of Yunnan had both written letters to the FMEM, with “a very sincere feeling of sympathetic interest” (*par un sentiment très sincère de sympathique intérêt*), only aiming to warn them of the dangerous state of Yunnan at that moment and to persuade them to postpone their journey into China until escorts were sent for them. Garnier claims that the difficulties they encountered in Müang Luang and Chiang Rung were caused by the “ignorance” (*ignorance*) of the local authorities rather than “Burmese trickery” (*les ruses birmanes*) and “Chinese bad faith” (*la mauvaise foi chinoise*).⁵⁰⁴

2 Hostility and Friendship

a) Burman Resentment

Since the First Anglo-Burmese War, English-speaking foreigners were considered suspect by Ava, as evidenced by the arrest of two British missionaries.⁵⁰⁵ In 1837, McLeod witnessed the Burman Cackai at Chiang Rung rebuking the British.⁵⁰⁶ One formidable obstacle came in the form of the Burman authorities. The news of the Anglo-Burmese Wars had spread to this region and troops from this region had joined the resistance against the British armies. For instance, in 1852, Sipsòng Panna sent 5000 troops to assist Mandalay in defending against the British invasion.⁵⁰⁷ However, unlike the Burman authorities, the Tai people seemed not to be so resentful of the Westerners during the FMEM's visit.

The source the French referred to was McLeod's report, which did not mention the Burman Cackai at Chiang Tung.⁵⁰⁸ After entering this region, the French found that, in addition

⁵⁰¹ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 919; Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 314–316.

⁵⁰² Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 326.

⁵⁰³ Jean Michaud has discussed the assistance of the French Catholic missionaries during expeditions by the visiting French colonial parties (Michaud, *'Incidental' Ethnographers*, 77).

⁵⁰⁴ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 919; Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, Rapport du commandant E. D. de Lagrée au vice-amiral Gouverneur et commandant en chef en Cochinchine, 6 janvier 1868, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée: extraits de ses manuscrits*, ed. Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur, 1883), 566; Francis Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine”, *Le tour du monde* 25 (1873): 286.

⁵⁰⁵ C. Duh Kam, “Christian Mission to Buddhists in Myanmar: A Study of Past, Present, and Future Approaches by Baptists” (PhD diss., United Theological Seminary, 1997), 62.

⁵⁰⁶ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 25 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 396.

⁵⁰⁷ Philippe Preschez, “Les relations entre la France et la Birmanie au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles”, *France-Asie* 21, no. 3 (1967): 383.

⁵⁰⁸ At that time, the Burman Cackai at Chiang Tung had withdrawn to Müang Nai (McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 23 February 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 347).

to the native population, they had to deal with the overlord powers, especially the Burmese. Following a riot at the court of Burma, Paul Ambroise Bigandet (1813–1894), a French Catholic bishop, who had an influence with Burma, could not guarantee a Burmese passport for them. They then tried to contact Mandalay via Chiang Tung, a tributary state to Burma, however, they only did so when they were in Chiang Khòng, approaching the Burmese frontier.⁵⁰⁹ Having failed to anticipate the presence of the Burman Cackai at the Chiang Tung court, Doudart de Lagrée had not prepared presents for him, much to the former's annoyance.⁵¹⁰

The first encounter between the French and the Burmans was at Ban Pasang, Müang Yòng, during Doudart de Lagrée and Alévy's absence. The contact, which happened without an interpreter, was destined to fail. A few hours after Doudart de Lagrée's departure to the stupa Phra That Chòm Yòng, two Burman soldiers arrived at the monastery where the FMEM were camped. They had come on behalf of the Burman official in Müang Yòng to invite the French to proceed to Müang Yòng. Garnier's indirect decline evoked a tough response. He subsequently realised that the invitation was actually an order. At the same time, Garnier thinks that it was the Burman Cackai at Chiang Tung, who had failed to obtain presents from the French and did not want to lose a second opportunity, who ordered his subordinates in Müang Yòng to intercept them.⁵¹¹ Carné writes that it was their failure to follow the custom to present themselves to the Burman authorities immediately upon their arrival at the *sala*, where introduction and document verification were conducted, which had angered the Burman authorities.⁵¹²

In Müang Yòng, the French encountered enormous obstacles from the Burman official, whose power overshadowed the Tai ruler.⁵¹³ As soon as the French arrived in Müang Yòng, a minor official came to invite the French to the communal house. Garnier tried to tell him that he was only the second in command and the chief of the mission was away, with the interpreter, to the Phra That Chòm Yòng. Garnier sensed that this answer did not satisfy him, not least because he later returned with two Burman soldiers. The official brutally ordered Garnier to follow him. Garnier refused, and the Burman soldiers seemed to menace him by putting their hands on their sabres. Garnier turned his back on them and ordered the Annamite sergeant to ask them to leave. The Annamite sergeant's harsh performance heightened the tension. The Burman official and soldiers left, uttering threats and claiming that they would force the French to submit.⁵¹⁴

The Burmese hostility probably arose from a misunderstanding about the nationality of the French. Initially, the Burman official in Müang Yòng insisted on calling them “English” (*Anglais*). After he realised that they were not English, his attitude towards the French changed

⁵⁰⁹ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 374.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 387.

⁵¹¹ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 906; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 400.

⁵¹² de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 907.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 908–909.

⁵¹⁴ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 402.

and they were “completely reconciled” (*Complètement réconciliés*).⁵¹⁵ The Burman official told the French that they had reason to suspect the French because the French came from Laos and Siam, who were at odds with the Burmans. Additionally, the French had no letter from Mandalay with them. Fortunately, they were not English, otherwise, they would not have been allowed to continue the journey.⁵¹⁶ Carné writes that when talking about the English, the Burman official’s “eyes flashed against the dark skin of his face” (*ses yeux jetaient des éclairs sur la peau foncée de son visage*).⁵¹⁷

On the next day, 8 August, Doudart de Lagrée was invited by the Burman official to attend a meeting. To avoid “compromising his dignity” (*compromettre sa dignité*), Doudart de Lagrée delegated Alévy to inquire about information. But Alévy returned after a short while and claimed that the Burman official was “a very bad man” (*un bien méchant homme*).⁵¹⁸ The Burman official refused to give him any explanation and threatened to send the French immediately back to where they came from. At last, the French compromised and went to the meeting place with some armed men. The reception of the Burman official was more polite than they expected. The Burman official inquired about the objective of their mission and the passports that Doudart de Lagrée had obtained. Doudart de Lagrée showed him the second letter from Chiang Tung. Noticing the French had no Burmese passport, the Burman official told Doudart de Lagrée that Müang Yòng did not absolutely depend on Chiang Tung and that they should request permission from him as well. The Burman official asked the French to wait for ten days so that instructions could be received from Chiang Tung. After a long discussion, Doudart de Lagrée insinuated that he would send presents to the Burman officials in Chiang Tung town and Müang Yòng, and the waiting time was reduced to three or four days.⁵¹⁹ After that, the FMEM paid a private visit to the Burman official, and the private reception by the Burman official was “very cordial” (*très-cordial*), the conversation was “very lively” (*très-animée*), and the Burmese appeared sincere and amicable, even though Garnier considers this to be a façade.⁵²⁰

Despite this, the Burman official did not allow the FMEM to continue their journey, and a reply from Müang Yu was required. Garnier considered it “an obvious trap” (*un piège évident*) because he believed that Müang Yu would reject their request and so the French had to accept the invitation to proceed to Chiang Tung town. Garnier claims that the Müang Yòng ruler also complained about the behaviour of the Burmans and that the Tai were always at odds with the Burmans.⁵²¹

Later, the Burman official found that the French had prepared porters for departure and felt great indignation. He denied any authorisation for the French to depart and reproached

⁵¹⁵ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 909; de Carné, *Exploration du Mé-Kong*, 20 janvier 1869, f. 225, Indochine 4, MD 29 bis, CADLC.

⁵¹⁶ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 403.

⁵¹⁷ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 910.

⁵¹⁸ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 402.

⁵¹⁹ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 907; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 402.

⁵²⁰ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 402–403.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 403–404.

local officials for trying to obtain gifts from them. The local officials had to defer the French, using the insufficient number of porters as an excuse. Garnier believes that the Burman official was just trying to gain time. Eventually, the French obtained a letter from Müang Yu, informing them that they would only be received in Müang Yu after their visit to Chiang Tung town.⁵²² The episode in Müang Yòng culminated in Doudart de Lagrée's reluctantly departing for Chiang Tung town, together with Doctor Thorel, Alévy, and two other persons.⁵²³ Doudart de Lagrée complains about the "ill will" (*mauvaise volonté*) and "aversion" (*aversion*) from the Burmese authorities, "this character of the worst kind" (*ce personnage de la pire espèce*), and he was forced to visit Chiang Tung town following "the threat of a formal refusal" (*la menace d'un refus formel*) of their travel if he did not.⁵²⁴ Garnier claims that before Doudart de Lagrée's departure, the Burman official was intent on offering Doudart de Lagrée an unsatisfactory one-eyed horse for an exorbitant price and was shocked by his refusal.⁵²⁵ The Burman official in Müang Yu is described as being equally unfriendly.⁵²⁶

The Burman Cackai at Chiang Tung is called Pou Souc⁵²⁷ in Garnier's travelogue.⁵²⁸ Garnier reports that the reception they received from the Burman Cackai was less friendly than that of Chao Maha Phrom. Following Doudart de Lagrée's explanation of cultural differences, the Tai people did not force the French to take off their shoes before entering the palace of Chao Maha Phrom. The Tai people were apparently not strict about adhering to customs, such as taking off shoes indoors. By contrast, the Burman Cackai was not so "accommodating" (*accommodants*) and threatened Doudart de Lagrée and Thorel if they did not remove their shoes. After seeing the French refuse to obey and state that they would not meet the Cackai, the Burman Cackai then made the French wait for some time.⁵²⁹ Interestingly, British officers at the court of Ava had repeatedly witnessed the Burmans' strong attitude towards taking off shoes.⁵³⁰ Garnier records that the Burman Cackai's brusque manner changed when he saw the gifts offered to him. The Burman Cackai entertained the French with Burmese dance and martial arts.⁵³¹

Doudart de Lagrée easily obtained permission from Chao Maha Phrom for their proceeding to Müang Yu, at that time the capital of Chiang Khaeng, while he encountered a series of obstacles due to the Burman Cackai's "bad faith" (*la mauvaise foi birmane*), which Garnier describes as "objections after objections" (*objections sur objections*).⁵³² Garnier claims that the Burman Cackai was not willing to "release [the French] so quickly" (*n'entendait point*

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 404.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁴ Lettre du commandant de Lagrée au Vice-Amiral Gouverneur, 30 octobre 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. de Villemereuil, 561.

⁵²⁵ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 404.

⁵²⁶ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 292.

⁵²⁷ *Qing shilu* refers him as "Zhao Busu, a chief from Chiang Tung" (*menggen toumu zhao busu*) (Anonymous, *Renzong rui huangdi shilu* [Veritable records of the Jiaqing Emperor] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 572).

⁵²⁸ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 415.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 415.

⁵³⁰ Yule, "On the Geography of Burma and its Tributary States", 79.

⁵³¹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 415.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 415–416.

lâcher aussi vite), who “he had managed to get in his grasp” (*il avait réussi à attirer dans ses griffes*).⁵³³ Chao Maha Phrom sent officials to inform the Burman Cackai that he had permitted the French to continue their journey. The Burman seemed to accede and issued a written permit for the French. But later, Doudart de Lagrée found that the letter was only a passport for Müang Yòng, and Müang Yu was not even mentioned. Doudart de Lagrée had to go back to request thorough permission and finally left Chiang Tung town on 3 September 1867.⁵³⁴

One month later, when the French prepared to leave Chiang Rung, they heard the news from Chiang Tung that Chao Maha Phrom had quarrelled with the Burman Cackai about the French. The Burman Cackai was unhappy with Chao Maha Phrom’s “over-benevolent attitude” (*la trop bienveillante attitude*) towards the French and recruited some Tai Phòng soldiers to add to his Burmese guard. Chao Maha Phrom besieged the residence of Cackai; at the same time, he sent people to Ava to complain about the Burman Cackai. Chao Maha Phrom demanded that a death sentence be imposed on the Burman Cackai to be carried out either in Chiang Tung or in Ava. One of the charges against the Burman Cackai was stealing Chiang Rung’s tributes to Mandalay. When Chiang Rung passed through Chiang Tung en route to Mandalay with the collected taxes, the Burman Cackai sent a group of armed men to seize the tributes.⁵³⁵

b) Friendship

Though their journey in this region is often described as full of misery, amicability is not absent. The French were warmly welcomed in Müang Len, the first Burmese frontier town that they arrived in. The Müang Len ruler was a seventy-year-old man. Though the reception was reserved, Garnier believes that the Müang Len ruler regarded Doudart de Lagrée as an envoy from a great power. Consequently, the French were given a guard, their residence “was made as comfortable as possible” (*fut rendu aussi confortable que possible*), and chorus musicians were also sent to entertain them.⁵³⁶

The headman of Sop Yòng accompanied Garnier as he went looking for porters to cross the Mekong River. Garnier was quite satisfied with this companion, who showed no “curiosity” (*curiosité*) or “servility” (*servilité*). He was also pleased by the Chinese tea, fruits, and cakes served by the chief’s wife. The chief had travelled widely in this region and had even been to Tonkin. He had a thorough geographic knowledge of this region and helped Garnier identify the Tai names of the principal rivers in Burma and Tonkin. Garnier’s interest in this region was aroused by the chief’s tales.⁵³⁷

Moreover, Garnier claims that they had gotten along well with the authorities of Müang Yòng.⁵³⁸ In Müang Yòng, the wives of the Müang Yòng ruler frequently visited the French in

⁵³³ Ibid., 416.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 304.

⁵³⁶ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 384.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., 398.

⁵³⁸ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 289.

order to look at their European objects and photographs of Paris, and to ask questions about Europe and especially France. They also requested a performance of the Annamites' marionette theatre, which was very popular during their previous journey.⁵³⁹ The wife of the Burmese agent in Müang Yòng was the French group's most frequent visitor. Garnier writes that this Burmese lady had extraordinary intelligence and curiosity.⁵⁴⁰

Chao Maha Phrom was one of the personalities praised by the FMEM. Garnier claims that Chao Maha Phrom's pleasant experience with McLeod was one of the most important reasons that he showed goodwill to the French visitors. McLeod's visit to Chiang Tung in 1837 left a strong impression on Chao Maha Phrom, and he often spoke of McLeod, about his costume and his instruments.⁵⁴¹ Garnier claims that relations between the French and Chao Maha Phrom were becoming increasingly close. Chao Maha Phrom invited them almost every day to spend the evening with him and asked them questions about French customs, Saigon, Cochinchina, Europe, the French language, and science. Before their departure, the French received many gifts from Chao Maha Phrom, including a beautiful horse.⁵⁴² Doudart de Lagrée describes the reception from Chao Maha Phrom as "frank and amicable hospitality" (*hospitalité franche et amicale*).⁵⁴³

Chao Kòng Thai, the younger brother of Chao Maha Phrom, equally left the French a favourable impression.⁵⁴⁴ Garnier depicts Chao Kòng Thai as "a young man of 26 years with a distinguished and infinitely graceful face" (*un jeune homme de vingt-six ans, à la figure distinguée et infiniment gracieuse*).⁵⁴⁵ He was careful to speak only friendly words to the French. He regretted asking Doudart de Lagrée to go to Chiang Tung town and attributed the fault to the Burman official at Müang Yòng.⁵⁴⁶ Even Carné, who was generally picky, writes that Chao Kòng Thai was "intelligent" (*une figure intelligente*) and curious about the world. Carné regards him as the incarnation of the oriental prince of his imagination.⁵⁴⁷

Garnier records that the reception from the people of Müang Bang (Mengwang), Sipsòng Panna, where the French spent a whole day, was "the most pleasant and the most cordial" (*le plus avenant et le plus cordial*). In the evening, they attended a local concert, performed by one musician with several instruments placed before him. It was a strength-consuming performance, and the musician was quickly replaced by another one.⁵⁴⁸

3 Alévy (Chan)

⁵³⁹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 405–406.

⁵⁴⁰ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 910; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 406.

⁵⁴¹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 414–415.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 415–416.

⁵⁴³ Journal de la commission d'exploration du Mekong, 13 juillet 1866–26 novembre 1867, p. 169, SG COLIS 203 (5257), SG, BnF.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁵ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 292.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 913.

⁵⁴⁸ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 308.

Alévy (see Figure 2) was one of the interpreters accompanying the FMEM. He is seldom discussed in academic works on the FMEM, and his presence and contribution are usually ignored.⁵⁴⁹

The personnel list of the FMEM *Journal* records his name as either Chanh, the identical spelling as an Annamite militiaman in the FMEM,⁵⁵⁰ or Chân.⁵⁵¹ Meanwhile, in Garnier's writings and the main text of the FMEM *Journal*, Alévy is referred to as "Alévy" or "Alévi".⁵⁵² Garnier was also clearly aware that Ālavī⁵⁵³ was one of the Pali names for Chiang Rung.⁵⁵⁴ For instance, Garnier calls Chao Mòm Khong Kham as "the king of Alévy" (*Le roi d'Alévy*).⁵⁵⁵ However, "Alévy" was not the interpreter's real name because it did not conform to the Tai naming convention. Neither Doudart de Lagrée nor Carné mentions the name "Alévy" in their writings. Carné refers to him only as "our (Laotian) interpreter" (*notre interprète (laotien)*) or "his [Garnier] Cambodian interpreter" (*son interprète cambodgien*) instead. The name "Alévy" is apparently a pseudonym adopted by either Garnier or the interpreter himself, based on its connection with the FMEM's destination or to his homeland, though Garnier claims that Alévy named himself "Alévy".⁵⁵⁶

The Commission originally employed three interpreters, Séguin, a French interpreter of Siamese and Vietnamese, Alexis Om, a Cambodian interpreter of Cambodian and Vietnamese, and Chan, a Tai interpreter. Because Alexis Om feigned sickness in order to leave the team in Bassak in December 1866, and Séguin was dismissed in Nòng Khai for misconduct in April 1867,⁵⁵⁷ Alévy was the only formal interpreter during the journey from Nòng Khai to Simao.

Alévy joined the FMEM in Kampong Luong on 1 July 1866, partly because of a desire to revisit his homeland and the places where he had spent his childhood.⁵⁵⁸ The story of Alévy is quite legendary; indeed, he was entirely in keeping with a typical hero of romantic literature. Garnier describes Chan's life story as "a true novel (*un véritable roman*)".⁵⁵⁹ According to

⁵⁴⁹ For instance, Villemereuil mentions that Thorel was the "only member of the Commission accompanying de Lagrée to Chiang Tung" (*Dr Thorel qui, seul de la Commission, accompagnait de Lagrée à Chieng-Tung*) (Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil, ed., *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée: extraits de ses manuscrits* (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur, 1883), 561).

⁵⁵⁰ Journal de la commission d'exploration du Mekong, 13 juillet 1866–26 novembre 1867, p. 2, SG COLIS 203 (5257), SG, BnF.

⁵⁵¹ Copie du journal de la commission d'exploration du Mékong, 13 juillet 1866, GGI 11874, ANOM.

⁵⁵² Journal de la Commission d'Exploration du Mékong, du 9 décembre au 6 février 1867, GGI 11874, ANOM.

⁵⁵³ Ālavī was an ancient kingdom in South Asia. Theravada Buddhism-influenced Southeast Asian often used the names of ancient Indian states for their countries, such as Ayodhya (Ayutthaya and Yogyakarta) and Kambuja (Cambodia and Lòk Chòk).

⁵⁵⁴ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 388.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 412.

⁵⁵⁶ "[U]n Laotien qui se faisait appeler Alévy, du nom de la province du Laos dont il venait" (Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (22)", 6).

⁵⁵⁷ Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, Rapport du commandant E. D. de Lagrée au vice-amiral Gouverneur et commandant en chef en Cochinchine, 27 octobre 1866, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée: extraits de ses manuscrits*, ed. Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur, 1883), 503.

⁵⁵⁸ Louis-Marie de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong I", *Revue des deux mondes* 80 (1869): 182; Journal de la commission d'exploration du Mekong, 13 juillet 1866–26 novembre 1867, p. 2, SG COLIS 203 (5257), SG, BnF.

⁵⁵⁹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (22)", 358.

Carné, Alévy travelled with his father, an itinerant merchant, for trade. After his father's death, he travelled to Bangkok, and then Cambodia. His long-distance travel afforded him a good knowledge of plants and other people's respect. As a monk, he won honour and the confidence of a king's mother. But he sacrificed his status when he disrobed in order to marry; he subsequently became malnourished and later a cuckold.⁵⁶⁰

The details of Garnier's account of Alévy's life story differ from Carné's on some matters. According to Garnier, Alévy's father was a pilgrim rather than an itinerant merchant. After having lost his wife and all his other children,⁵⁶¹ Alévy's father began a life of a vagabond travelling along the Mekong River with Alévy. They visited villages they encountered and slept at temples. Sometimes, they joined caravans, and at other times they journeyed alone. One day, his father died, and Alévy was left in a village. But soon, he felt bored and continued his tour till Phanom. Garnier makes no mention of Alévy having been in Bangkok. Garnier does record his trip along the Mekong River to Kampong Luong, near where the Cambodian king's⁵⁶² palace was located. Because of his youth, appearance, and exotic origin, he gained the Queen Mother's favour; indeed, she nominated him to be a monk at a pagoda she had built. Later, he was seduced by a young girl and disrobed to marry her. Doudart de Lagrée met him at court and frequently asked about his travel experiences. Finally, Doudart de Lagrée invited Alévy to join the expedition. Alévy's "travelling nature" (*son humeur voyageuse*) was resuscitated, and he accepted the invitation with pleasure. When Alévy travelled with the French, he often had affairs with the local females, to the detriment of his health. Alévy felt guilty. To purify himself, he visited the Phra That Phanom three days before the arrival of the team. When the team met Alévy again, they found that he had rejoined the monkhood and had lost the tip of one of the fingers on his left hand. He had cut it standing before an old Buddha statue. Doudart de Lagrée reproached Alévy for his impertinence. Garnier recounts that Alévy feigned to accept the reproach but that he was probably still proud of his "heroic way" (*moyen héroïque*).⁵⁶³

Carné's version of this episode is more grotesque. He ascribes the cause to "the pious seduction" (*la séduction pieuse*) of this pagoda rather than Alévy's repentance for past philandering. He claims that Alévy chopped off half of his forefinger in order to offer it to the Buddha. At the pagoda, the people in charge of this operation (*desservans*) used a chopper and a ruler to perform the mutilation, "they measure the zeal of pilgrims by the importance of sacrifice" (*ils mesurent le zèle des pèlerins sur l'importance du sacrifice*). Carné attributes this "aberration" (*aberration*) of practice to Buddhism. He expresses relief that Alévy did not follow Origen of Alexandria and castrate himself. However, Carné's depiction was generated from prejudice and imagination rather than objectivity and reality.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶⁰ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong I", 182.

⁵⁶¹ Alévy was probably the third child or was born on Tuesday, according to the naming convention of the Tai Lü people.

⁵⁶² The king probably was King Norodom (1834–1904).

⁵⁶³ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (22)", 358–359.

⁵⁶⁴ Louis-Marie de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong III", *Revue des deux mondes* 82 (1869): 481.

Alévy spoke Cambodian but no French, thus Doudart de Lagrée was the only member of the FMEM who could communicate with him.⁵⁶⁵ However, Doudart de Lagrée's competence in Cambodian was limited, which might be one of the reasons for the ineffective communication.⁵⁶⁶ When they travelled northwards, Doudart de Lagrée demanded that Alévy learn new dialects. It did “not embarrass our interpreter, who continues with ease the long conversations in a new dialect that, since our departure, M. de Lagrée forces him to carry on with the natives in order to obtain useful information from them” (*elles n'embarassent guère notre interprète. Celui-ci continue avec aisance dans un dialecte nouveau la longue conversation que M. de Lagrée le contraint, depuis notre départ, d'entretenir avec les indigènes pour leur arracher des renseignements utiles*).⁵⁶⁷

Alévy probably had a good command of the Tham script, as he interpreted Lao manuscripts from Vientiane, which were related to architecture and historical tradition, for Doudart de Lagrée's notes.⁵⁶⁸ It is highly possible that Alévy translated other documents as well, for instance, the letter from Chao Maha Phrom, written in a script that Garnier describes as having “Lü characters” (*caractères lus*).⁵⁶⁹ With the help of Alévy, Doudart de Lagrée translated two Tai stories, one of which was probably the *Chronicle of Phra That Chòm Yòng*.⁵⁷⁰ However, Carné claims that Alévy had difficulty reading and comprehending the letter from Chao Maha Phrom.⁵⁷¹

In addition to linguistic skills, Alévy probably also had hunting knowledge. On the way from Phalaeo to Chiang Lap, Alévy and two Annamites seized a deer from the mouth of a tiger.⁵⁷² Carné, however, makes no mention of Alévy joining in the hunting.⁵⁷³

The writings of Garnier and Carné seldom mention Alévy during the journey before Chiang Khòng. In the Commission's journals, Alévy's name usually appears in the column listing personnel's health status.⁵⁷⁴ However, after entering the region of Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna, he served a crucial function, and his presence is increasingly detected in the writings.

⁵⁶⁵ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 896; Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (22)”, 386; Rapport du commandant E. D. de Lagrée, 27 octobre 1866, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. de Villemereuil, 503; Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, Lettre du commandant de Lagrée au vice-amiral Gouverneur et commandant en chef en Cochichine, 1 avril 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée: extraits de ses manuscrits*, ed. Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur, 1883), 547.

⁵⁶⁶ Rapport du commandant E. D. de Lagrée, 27 octobre 1866, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. de Villemereuil, 503.

⁵⁶⁷ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 895–896.

⁵⁶⁸ Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (22)”, 394.

⁵⁶⁹ Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 387.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 411–412; Francis Garnier, “Linguistique de l'Indo-chine: documents recueillis par E. Doudart de Lagrée”, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée: extraits de ses manuscrits*, ed. Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur, 1883), 580.

⁵⁷¹ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 900.

⁵⁷² Garnier, “Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 391.

⁵⁷³ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 900.

⁵⁷⁴ Journal de la Commission d'Exploration du Mékong, du 9 décembre au 6 février 1867, GGI 11874, ANOM.

Alévy's function in the FMEM was threefold. First and foremost, he was an intermediary through which the French mission negotiated with the natives. Alévy accompanied Doudart de Lagrée on his detour to Chiang Tung town, together with Dr. Thorel and two escorts, to deal with the Chiang Tung authorities.⁵⁷⁵

His second role was a messenger. In Phalao, Doudart de Lagrée sent Alévy and two Annamese with a letter to Chiang Lap to inform them of their arrival, and to ask Chiang Lap to forward a letter to Chiang Khaeng.⁵⁷⁶ After his resignation in Simao, Alévy was entrusted by Doudart de Lagrée with two letters to the latter's sister-in-law and Pierre-Paul de La Grandière, respectively.⁵⁷⁷

Thirdly, Alévy served as a representative of the French mission. In this regard, Alévy was allowed to contact and negotiate with the natives without the presence of other members of the FMEM. For example, Alévy served as Doudart de Lagrée's delegate to negotiate with a Burman officer in Müang Yòng.⁵⁷⁸ On another occasion, on 21 September, Doudart de Lagrée let Alévy deliver a letter to Chiang Rung from Müang Luang. He was asked to explain their situation to the officers of Chiang Rung.⁵⁷⁹ Usually, Alévy was dispatched as a representative by Doudart de Lagrée to deal with low-ranking local authorities, whom he felt were too lowly to communicate with himself.⁵⁸⁰

After having entered Simao, where the majority of people spoke Chinese, Alévy refused to accompany the team further because he did not know that language. Garnier adds that Alévy did not want to proceed to a country where the dangers were about to multiply, and he notes that Doudart de Lagrée "had resigned himself to sending away a servant whose unwillingness and fear rendered him more harmful than useful" (*s'était résigné à renvoyer un serviteur que sa mauvaise volonté et ses frayeurs rendaient plus nuisible qu'utile*).⁵⁸¹ On 27 October 1867, Alévy departed from Simao for his return to Phnom Penh, carrying with him a quantity of silk to sell on the road and Doudart de Lagrée's two letters for delivery.⁵⁸² A young Tai man from the frontier, who spoke imperfect Yunnanese, replaced Alévy.⁵⁸³

Though Doudart de Lagrée's untimely death prevented him from publishing his own travel report, traces of his attitude towards Alévy remain in his correspondence. Doudart de Lagrée did not think Alévy was smart.⁵⁸⁴ In a letter to his sister-in-law, he accused Alévy of playing "nasty tricks" (*un gaillard qui m'a joué de fort mauvais tours*) against him and

⁵⁷⁵ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 404.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 391.

⁵⁷⁷ Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, Lettre de E. D. de Lagrée à sa belle-sœur, 30 octobre 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée: extraits de ses manuscrits*, ed. Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Madame Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur, 1883), 558–559; Lettre du commandant de Lagrée au Vice-Amiral Gouverneur, 30 octobre 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. Villemereuil, 559–562.

⁵⁷⁸ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 402–403.

⁵⁷⁹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 296.

⁵⁸⁰ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 903.

⁵⁸¹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 314, 316.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 316, 318.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 314.

⁵⁸⁴ Rapport du commandant E. D. de Lagrée, 27 octobre 1866, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. de Villemereuil, 503.

mentioned Alévy as “a quite unfaithful interpreter” (*un interprète passablement infidèle*). He worried about whether the letter would arrive at his sister’s or not, not because of problems with the postal service, but because he did not trust Alévy and felt like he had “just thrown the letter out there on the off chance” (*je le lance à tout hasard*).⁵⁸⁵ In another letter to the governor of Cochinchina, Doudart de Lagrée expresses the same worry and claims that Alévy would not arrive in Saigon before the French themselves.⁵⁸⁶ However, these accusations are less likely fair-minded evaluations of Alévy than they are simply temporary expressions of anger since these two letters were hastily written following Alévy’s unexpected resignation in Simao. In a letter written three months later in Kunming, Doudart de Lagrée’s tone changes, and he fully expects the letter entrusted to Alévy to reach La Grandière.⁵⁸⁷

4 Buddhism

McLeod seldom records his contact with Buddhism or the Buddhist monks he inevitably encountered in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. Usually, his remarks are limited to the number of monasteries, the architecture, and his impressions of monastic rituals. In Chiang Tung town, he witnessed monks, headed by Chao Maha Khanan’s youngest son,⁵⁸⁸ intervene to stop the execution of a criminal, who subsequently entered the monkhood.⁵⁸⁹ The lack of remarks on Buddhism is probably because McLeod and his team usually camped in the open air.⁵⁹⁰ By contrast, the French stayed in monasteries and thus had more extensive contact with Buddhists. They usually stayed in the monastery’s hall, but in Sop Yòng, they slept in a room belonging to a monk, which had been vacant for a long time.⁵⁹¹

Overall, Garnier speaks highly of the Buddhist monk. In contrast to lay people, whom Garnier considers “intolerant and greedy” (*intolérants et avides*), the Buddhist priests provided foreign travellers with lavish hospitality.⁵⁹² Garnier claims that the monks had no reason to regret their hospitality, as the French made every effort to adapt to the requirements of the religion and to refrain from joining the ceremonies since they were Christians. They tried not to hurt the natives and adhered to the formalities so as not to offend the sacred places. Garnier

⁵⁸⁵ de Lagrée, Lettre de E. D. de Lagrée à sa belle-sœur, 30 octobre 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. de Villemereuil, 558–559.

⁵⁸⁶ Lettre du commandant de Lagrée au Vice-Amiral Gouverneur, 30 octobre 1867, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. de Villemereuil, 560.

⁵⁸⁷ Rapport du commandant E. D. de Lagrée, 6 janvier 1868, in *Exploration et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, ed. de Villemereuil, 562.

⁵⁸⁸ He was probably Chao Kham Saen, who was the youngest son of Chao Maha Khanan. Records conflict over the biography of Chao Kham Saen. The version by Phao Müang records him as the ruler of Chiang Tung, enthroned in the year CS 1239 (1877/1878). He was born in 1824 and died in 1880/81 (Phao Müang, *Phün müang chiang tung* [Chiang Tung chronicle], 1:32). The version by Sāimöng does not recognise him as the prince of Chiang Tung. In this version, it was Chao Saeng, his elder brother, succeeded the eldest brother, Chao Maha Phrom, to the throne. He was born in 1824 and died in 1876 (Mangrāi, *The Pāḍæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 269).

⁵⁸⁹ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 31 March 1837, in Grabowsky and Turton, *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 401.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 31 January, 15 February, 10 April 1837, 324, 337, 408.

⁵⁹¹ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 396.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 390.

specifically points out that the only thing the priests insisted on was never killing an animal within the monastery walls. Therefore, their cook, Pedro, took the chickens and ducks far away to kill them. The French rewarded the priests with gifts appropriate to monastic needs, so as not to be in their debt.⁵⁹³

Before leaving Chiang Lap, the French left four sick members of their team with the old abbot, whom Garnier says, “had really shown to be kind and hospitable to us, and we warmly recommended the four patients whom we left to him” (*s’était réellement montré pour nous bienveillant et hospitalier, et nous lui recommandâmes chaudement les quatre malades que nous laissons encore sous sa garde*). Among the four were Thorel, who was suffering from an illness of the digestive tract, and Delaporte, whose feet had ulcers caused by leech bites. These two had found it difficult to walk since they had arrived in Müang Len.⁵⁹⁴ But it is not long before Garnier’s description of the Chiang Lap abbot changes, and several days later, the four patients rejoined the party. Garnier writes that the patients questioned the abbot’s kindness. Apparently, the abbot’s covetousness had been aroused by Doudart de Lagrée’s generosity, and he “had insisted on the least worthy objects to justify his greed” (*avait demandé avec insistance les objets les moins dignes de justifier sa cupidité*). Consequently, they left the monastery “in disgust” (*avec dégoût*). Garnier claims that the abbot should confess his “lack of generosity towards unlucky travellers” (*son manque de générosité envers de malheureux voyageurs*).⁵⁹⁵ Carné makes no mention of this incident, and Garnier’s words are the only source and are hard to verify.

During the whole month’s sojourn in Müang Yòng, one of their diversions was discussing the situation in the world. By chance, they turned to the topic of religion. Garnier writes that the French did not compare Buddhism with Christianity because they thought that it would be impossible to avoid partiality.⁵⁹⁶

While Garnier attempted to refrain from making comparisons, Carné was quite frank in expressing his opinions. The interpreter Alévy was a devoted Buddhist believer and chanted Buddhist spells every day. An episode recorded by Carné reveals the cultural conflict between him and Alévy. Alévy feared that his golden-silver statuette, probably a Buddha image, would be stolen, so he entrusted it to Carné. But the latter, a pious Christian, threw it into his money bag.⁵⁹⁷ For Alévy, the statuette was an amulet, but for Carné it was no more than a symbol of pagan idolatry.

For Carné, the Tai monastery was reminiscent of European cloisters in remote places, which also provided lodgings for travellers. Immediately after this thought, Carné adds that he did not intend to make “an inappropriate comparison” (*une comparaison déplacée*) between Buddhism and Christianity. Christianity, he says, gave the French “moral greatness” (*grandeur morale*), while Buddhism resulted in “the debasement of the Asian races” (*l’abaissement des*

⁵⁹³ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 905; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 390.

⁵⁹⁴ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 383, 395.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 398.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 407.

⁵⁹⁷ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong I”, 183.

racés asiatiques). Carné further explains that the “monastic hospitality” (*hospitalité monacale*) was merely “one of the first effects of the law of charity that Buddhism taught more than six hundred years before the Christian era” (*l’un des premiers effets de la loi de charité que le bouddhisme enseigna plus de six cents ans avant l’ère chrétienne*), which was an “imperfect law” (*loi imparfaite*). It meant that the temples in Indochina provided lodgings for weary travellers, just like they did at Mount St Bernard Abbey.⁵⁹⁸

Carné also records his inability to understand Buddhist traditions. Carné wonders whether the Buddhist monks still ate meat despite their belief in metempsychosis.⁵⁹⁹ The French travel writings also record the Buddhist architecture they visited. In Müang Luang, they visited the two most significant stupas, Phra That Pu Lan and Phra That Nò. Carné expresses his confusion over the existence of the pagoda: “I cannot understand the meaning of these tedious pyramids, which, being neither tombs nor temples, can shelter neither the remains of the dead nor the prayers of the living” (*Je ne puis comprendre d’ailleurs le sens de ces fastidieuses pyramides, qui, n’étant le plus souvent ni des tombeaux ni des temples, ne sauraient abriter ni les dépouilles des morts ni les prières des vivants*).⁶⁰⁰

When staying at a monastery with no monks in Sop Yòng, Carné believed that the monks abandoned the monastery. He criticises that the monks were “no longer inspired by the master’s mind” (*n’inspire plus l’esprit du maître*) and “are not established among the poor” (*ne s’établissent guère chez les pauvres*). He adds, “If they still hold life to be the supreme evil, they no longer despise its pleasures” (*S’ils tiennent encore la vie pour le mal suprême, ils n’en méprisent plus les jouissances*).⁶⁰¹

Though Carné exudes cultural superiority regarding the native population, he still demonstrates respect for them. He mentions that one of their Annamites put his bed rightly at the foot of the Buddha image, and every morning the Annamite’s arranging of his bed interfered with the monks’ meditation, but it was tolerated by the Buddhists.⁶⁰²

5 Imperial Presence

At the time of the FMEM expedition, France had only annexed Cochinchina, and Britain had just colonised Lower Burma, both of which were far beyond this region. Garnier’s writings, however, hinted at greater colonial ambitions and foreshadowed the fate of this region in the decades to come.

In his writings, Garnier mentions the native population’s intolerance of Burmese rule and hints at the following liberation by Europeans. Garnier claims that war trauma and dissatisfaction with the current overlord would lead the native people to submit to the Westerners. Reflecting on the Chiang Tung wars, Garnier considers that having suffered from successive domination by Siam and then Ava, the native population was desirous for peace,

⁵⁹⁸ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 902–903.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 905.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 917.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 905.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

which “will particularly favour the European power’s attempts which will want to interfere in the internal affairs of the country” (*favorisera singulièrement les tentatives de la puissance européenne qui voudra s’immiscer dans les affaires intérieures de la contrée*).⁶⁰³ Garnier claims that Chao Kòng Thai expressed his dissatisfaction about the Burman authorities, who were eager to levy a tax on mines found in his territory.⁶⁰⁴ Moreover, Chao Kòng Thai told Doudart de Lagrée that the presence of the Europeans brought an end to war and troubles and brought prosperity to commerce and, in turn, the population. Garnier claims that it was not the “first symptom that we had observed of a future insurrection among these peoples” (*Ce n’était pas là le premier symptôme que nous eussions saisi d’une prochaine insurrection de ces peuples*), while the Burmese were “too presumptuous to anticipate it, and too clumsy to prevent it” (*trop présomptueux pour la prévoir, trop maladroits pour la prévenir*).⁶⁰⁵ Garnier writes that the presence of the European aroused in Chao Kòng Thai, “this intelligent young man” (*cet intelligent jeune homme*), the desire to be free from the unjust Burmese rule. In Mūang Yu, Chao Kòng Thai “had been able to relegate the Burmese agent to the background and he affected, on all occasions, to take no notice of his presence” (*le roi avait su reléguer l’agent birman à l’arrière-plan, et il affectait, en toute occasion, de ne tenir aucun cas de sa présence*).⁶⁰⁶

Garnier mentions the power struggle between the Mūang Yòng ruler and the Burman official. The Burman told Doudart de Lagrée that he should visit him first, but local people confirmed that it was the Mūang Yòng ruler’s right to receive Doudart de Lagrée’s first visit. But “the exaggerated claim” (*la prétention exagérée*) of the Burman official forced the Mūang Yòng ruler to make a concession. Garnier writes that the Mūang Yòng ruler was a good man but lacked either influence or power. Garnier claims that if the Westerners (*falangs*) were close by, the Mūang Yòng ruler would rather put submit to their rule.⁶⁰⁷

Conclusion

Arriving nearly thirty years after McLeod’s visit, the French Mekong Exploration Mission was the second group of Westerners to visit this region. Their travelogues provide us with much contemporary information about the area, notably regarding the interpreter Alévy (Chan), a member of the Sipsòng Panna diaspora. Though Alévy’s contribution was comparatively small in Cambodia, Vientiane, and Luang Prabang, he acted as an intermediary, messenger, and representative for the French Mission during its journey in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna.

Doudart de Lagrée, Francis Garnier, and Louis de Carné depicted the natural conditions and human factors as obstacles to their heroic exploration in this region. Compared with McLeod, it cost the FMEM twice the time to travel through Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna.

⁶⁰³ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 408–409.

⁶⁰⁴ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 914; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 294.

⁶⁰⁵ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 292, 294.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 292.

⁶⁰⁷ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 403–404.

The FMEM's visit to Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna happened during the rainy season, an unfavourable time for travel. The rainy season made roads and rivers impassable and caused a labour shortage as many villagers were occupied with farming in this period. For this reason, the FMEM encountered difficulty in arranging transportation and porters. The native population's cultural taboos and fear of disease also hindered the FMEM's movements.

The FMEM arrived shortly after the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852–1853), which resulted in them experiencing general antagonism from the Burman authorities, who were hostile to Westerners, especially the British, which hindered their negotiations and mobility in Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng. By contrast, they received a comparatively friendly reception from Tai nobles in Müang Len, Sop Yòng, Müang Yòng, Müang Bang, Chiang Tung town, and Müang Yu.

Having learned from McLeod's failure and the FMEM obtaining a Chinese passport in advance, their entrance into China proper was not as smooth as they had anticipated. In Müang Luang, a frontier town of Sipsòng Panna, the FMEM was ordered to return. Garnier and Carné believed it was caused by Sipsòng Panna's inability to interpret the Chinese Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou's orders and French missionaries' letters.

The FMEM failed to anticipate the relationship between Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng, which, at that moment, was ruled by a Chiang Tung prince, Chao Kòng Thai. They were obliged to obtain permission from Chiang Tung for their passage through Chiang Khaeng. Like McLeod, they experienced the same extended process of consulting and replying. At the request of the Burman Cackai, Doudart de Lagrée had to make a detour to Chiang Tung, which prolonged their sojourn for one month.

Many of the obstacles the FMEM encountered were caused by ineffective communication. None of the French team members had any knowledge of a native language, so they had to rely on Alévy to negotiate with the local population via Doudart de Lagrée's limited Cambodian. Alévy's absence was a direct cause of the embarrassment the French suffered in Müang Yòng and of the hostility from the Burmans, which they took a great deal of effort to defuse.

The FMEM was the first group of Western travellers to depict their contact with Buddhism in this region in detail. The FMEM often got accommodation at monasteries and had close contact with the Buddhists. Though they were grateful for the hospitality provided by monks, they did not conceal their criticism of Buddhism. Carné recorded some comparisons between Buddhism and Christianity.

Garnier's writings hinted at the colonial ambitions through his depiction of the native willingness to transfer loyalty to the Westerners and foreshadowed the fate of this region in the following decades to come.

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Chapter III

Boundary Investigator's Contact: British and French Boundary Commissions in the Upper Mekong Basin, 1887–1896

1 Background

Following a gap of two decades since the FMEM expedition, the late 1880s and the 1890s witnessed unprecedented waves of travel in the Upper Mekong Basin. In this period, Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng became a true “contact zone”, where local populations, Tais from all directions (the cis-Salween Shan states, Sipsòng Chao Thai, Müang Laem, Chiang Mai, Nan), French and British colonial officials, Chinese spies and officials, and American missionaries converged.

In response to the French expansion, Siam began to consolidate its eastern frontier.⁶⁰⁸ Siamese commissioners were sent to Luang Prabang in 1875 and Champasak and Ubon Ratchathani in 1882.⁶⁰⁹ Through two expeditions to suppress the Chinese flag armies or the Hò in contemporary Siamese sources,⁶¹⁰ Siam extended its influence to Sipsòng Chao Thai.⁶¹¹ From the 1870s, Siam carried out a series of mapping expeditions in Lan Chang and Sipsòng Chao Thai, which coincided with its efforts to retain its frontiers and thus contributed to the forming of the Siamese boundary.⁶¹² James McCarthy began his work on drawing a Siam map in 1881. He visited Müang Sing in 1892 and asked Chao Sri Nò Kham, the ruler of Chiang Khaeng, eleven questions on the history of Chiang Khaeng's relocation of its capitals.⁶¹³

Chiang Tung's hostility to the British, which the FMEM had witnessed, still existed in the 1880s. After the British occupation of Upper Burma, in 1885, Prince Limbin, son of King Mindon and pretender to the throne, came to Chiang Tung where he formed the resistance league, the Limbin Confederacy.⁶¹⁴ With the support of Chao Khun Kyi of Müang Nai, Chao Wiang of Lòk Chòk (Lawksawk), and Chao Khun Thi of Müang Pòn, the Limbin Confederacy crossed the Salween River to reclaim the lost land.⁶¹⁵

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, the ruler of Chiang Tung and his deputy (*upparat*) were Chao Mòm Súa and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng, respectively. In the records of James

⁶⁰⁸ Patrick Tuck, *The French Wolf and the Siamese Lamb: The French Threat to Siamese Independence, 1858–1907* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1995), 82.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁶¹⁰ In the Tai language, *hò* was a general term referring to the Chinese. However, in modern Thai, *hò* only referred to the Yunnanese, specifically the Yunnanese Muslims.

⁶¹¹ Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 104.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 121–122.

⁶¹³ CKC-WTP 43.15–46.12 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 270–272.

⁶¹⁴ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 275; James George Scott and John Percy Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon: The Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1901), 2.1:410.

⁶¹⁵ Sao Sanda Simms, *Great Lords of the Sky: Burma's Shan Aristocracy (Asian Highlands Perspectives 48, 2017)*, 34.

George Scott (1851–1935), the images of Chao Mòm Sũa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng are very different. While Chao Mòm Sũa is described as having “no intelligence”, and remaining “as passive as a log”, saying nothing except for yes and no, Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng is portrayed as “a bright little boy” who asked many questions of the British.⁶¹⁶ Walker, meanwhile, writes that Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng was a “slight hollow-chested, unintellectual looking lad, with a pale dissipated face and heavy hanging underlip, always disgustingly stained with betel-nut juice”.⁶¹⁷ Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng married the Chiang Khaeng prince Chao Sri Nò Kham’s daughter, Chao Nang Pathuma. Chao Mòm Sũa died in 1897, and on 11 June 1897, Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng succeeded to the throne of Chiang Tung.⁶¹⁸ He witnessed the arrival of the American missionaries and their rivalry regarding the field of Chiang Tung.

From the early nineteenth century, Sipsòng Panna had been in a state of constant political turmoil. The conflict between Müang Chae and Chiang Rung lasted nearly two decades. In the 1900s, riots in Müang Chae even forced the American missionaries to abandon their plans to visit Sipsòng Panna.⁶¹⁹ The British (Daly-Warry Commission and Chiang Tung-Chiang Mai Mission) and the French (the Third Pavie Mission) witnessed the conflict during their journeys to Sipsòng Panna in 1891, and their accounts allow us to understand different aspects of the conflict. This state of turmoil did not end until 1911 when the Chinese commander Ke Shuxun pacified the rebels of Müang Chae.

Chao Mòm Khong Kham, who received the FMEM in 1867, died circa 1878/79.⁶²⁰ After the brief reign of Chao Mòm Saeng, Chao Mòm Kham Lü succeeded to the Sipsòng Panna throne. Chao Mòm Kham Lü is described as “a very weak young man”, “probably owing to his excessive opium-smoking”.⁶²¹ Auguste Pavie also attributes his “soft, effeminate appearance” (*une apparence molle, efféminée*) to opium use.⁶²² Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that Chao Mòm Kham Lü was a “stunted little young man, with drooping shoulders, and dull eyes” (*petit jeune homme chétif, aux épaules tombantes, à l’œil éteint*).⁶²³ During their first meeting,

⁶¹⁶ From J. G. Scott, Esq., Officiating Superintendent Shan States, and Assistant Commissioner, Anglo-Siamese Commission, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, p. 8, 19 May 1890, MS Scott LL9.45, JGSC, CUL.

⁶¹⁷ Harold Bridgwood Walker, “Diary”, in *Report on the Keng Tung Keng Cheng Mission for 1893–94*, ed. Harold Bridgwood Walker (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1895), 19.

⁶¹⁸ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 276.

⁶¹⁹ In 1906, the Presbyterian missionary Charles Royal Callender abandoned the plan to visit Chiang Rung because of the political disturbances in Sipsòng Panna (Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS). In 1910, John Hamilton Wilson Houstoun, the Acting Commissioner of Customs at Simao, reported that the Presbyterian missionary John Haskell Freeman was dissuaded from proceeding to Sipsòng Panna when he was in Mengzi on his journey to investigate South China (Extract from the Diary of D. M. Gordon, Esq., Assistant Superintendent, Kengtung Subdivision, dated the 23rd January 1910, No. 1055, IOR/L/PS/10/72/3, File 453/1905, Pt 3, China: Yunan Situation, BL). The Baptist missionary William Marcus Young’s several correspondences mentioned the riot in Müang Chae and his postpone of journey into China.

⁶²⁰ Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 351.

⁶²¹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 33, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁶²² Auguste Pavie, *Mission Pavie: Indo-Chine, 1879-1895. Géographie et voyages, Exposé des travaux de la Mission (troisième et quatrième périodes—1889 à 1895)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur, 1906), 2:138.

⁶²³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung, 11 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

Chao Mò̄m Kham Lü seldom opened his mouth and let Chao Maha Wang speak for him. Lefèvre-Pontalis considers him as “the plaything of certain mandarins, or else he is a capricious child, to whom everything must bend, but who has neither confidence nor strength” (*le jouet de certains mandarins, ou bien c’est un enfant capricieux, auquel tout doit plier, mais qui n’a ni confiance ni vigueur*).⁶²⁴ British records claim that Chao Mò̄m Kham Lü was “very weak minded” and “a mere puppet in the hand of his wife and ministers”.⁶²⁵ Similarly, the French records describe Chao Mò̄m Kham Lü as less intelligent than his wife, Chao Nang Waen Thip.⁶²⁶

Chao Nang Waen Thip (see Figure 6) was a princess from Chiang Tung. She married Chao Mò̄m Kham Lü and became the Mahathewi⁶²⁷ of Sipsò̄ng Panna. In 1891, she was 28 years old.⁶²⁸ She was graceful and intelligent and is described by Lefèvre-Pontalis as a princess from *One Thousand and One Nights*.⁶²⁹ Scott describes Chao Nang Waen Thip as “a singularly handsome and graceful woman [for a Shan] with a dignified manner and not a single trace of *gaucherie*”.⁶³⁰ After divorcing Chao Mò̄m Kham Lü, Chao Nang Waen Thip returned to Chiang Tung and began to conduct trade between North Siam and Chiang Tung, creating a settlement in Müang Phong,⁶³¹ which was on the Mekong.⁶³² Later, she was involved in the Shan Rebellion in 1902.⁶³³

In the 1890s, Müang Yu, where Chao Kò̄ng Thai received the FMEM in 1867, was no longer the capital of Chiang Khaeng. On 9 April 1886, its capital was moved to Müang Sing in the trans-Mekong part. However, the settlement process was carried out as early as 1878, when Chao Kò̄ng Thai arranged for the Tai Nüa in Chiang Tung to settle in Müang Sing.⁶³⁴ Lord Lamington claims to be the first European to visit Müang Sing.⁶³⁵ But Daniel McGilvary could have been the first Westerner if he had accepted the invitation from the second governor of Nan to accompany his expedition to Müang Sing in 1890.⁶³⁶

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, p. 491, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL; Thomas Francis Bruce Renny-Tailyour, “Report on the Survey Operations in the Northern Shan States”, in *General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India Department Administered under the Government of India during 1890-91*, ed. Henry Edward Landor Thuillier (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1892), xlviii.

⁶²⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung, 4 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

⁶²⁷ From Pali *mahā* (big) + *devī* (goddess), referring to the queen of a Tai prince in the Shan states.

⁶²⁸ Ngın et Kiouaup, Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas, 30 mars 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

⁶²⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM; Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères—Résumé des travaux de la mission (13 Février 1890–4 juillet 1891), p. 130, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 135.

⁶³⁰ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 30, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁶³¹ Not to be confused with the Müang Phong in Sipsò̄ng Panna.

⁶³² Report on the Administration of the Shan States for the Year 1901–02, p. 2, Mss Eur F278/98, PSGS, BL.

⁶³³ Andrew Walker, “The Myingoon Plot: Seditious State-making and the 1902 Shan Rebellion in Northern Siam”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 52, no. 3 (2021): 407–408.

⁶³⁴ Statement of Chao Sri Nò̄ Kham, 21 February 1891, MS Scott LL9.108, JGSC, CUL; Mangrāi, *The Pā̄d̄ang Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 270.

⁶³⁵ Lord Lamington, “Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King”, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 13 no. 12 (1891): 707.

⁶³⁶ Daniel McGilvary, “Eighty Days Among the North Laos”, *The Church at Home and Abroad* 8, no. 46 (1890): 321.

Chao Kòng Thai, whom Scott describes as “a distinctly murderous old ruffian”,⁶³⁷ died two years before Younghusband’s journey to Chiang Tung in 1887. Chao Sri Nò Kham succeeded to the throne of Chiang Khaeng, following his cousin Chao Kòng Thai. Chao Sri Nò Kham was around 44 years old in 1891 and was an opium eater.⁶³⁸ George Claudius Beresford Stirling (1861–1929) considers Chao Sri Nò Kham to be “a man of weak and timorous disposition, not at all the individual to inspire terror”.⁶³⁹ But he was “intelligent, well-mannered, and [...] honest”.⁶⁴⁰ In the 1890s, Chao Sri Nò Kham was the central figure in the Anglo-French rivalry on the Upper Mekong.

a) Tributary Relations

After the Third Anglo-Burmese War, which ended in 1885, Britain began to prepare documents concerning the Burmese tributary states and to expand its territory by claiming the inheritance of Burmese territory.⁶⁴¹ Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng were listed in these documents. France joined this battle for tributary states as well. In 1884, when François Deloncle visited Burma, the Burmese Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a letter to him, promising to set the Mekong River as the boundary and to cede the trans-Mekong territory of Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng to France.⁶⁴² In 1885, the French consul in Rangoon expressed the claim that the Tai states between the Salween River and the Mekong River were French protectorates.⁶⁴³ In 1886, the French Chargé d’Affaires at Bangkok expressed France’s claim to Sipsòng Panna.⁶⁴⁴ Captain Luce’s survey of Vietnamese archives in 1887 was aimed at claiming the Vietnamese tributary states.⁶⁴⁵ From 1889 onwards, Chiang Khaeng became a Siamese tributary state, but France also claimed it through its treaty with Siam in 1893. The consul-general in Calcutta, Jules Harmand, tasked the vice-consulate in Luang Prabang with taking Chiang Tung from Siam.⁶⁴⁶

⁶³⁷ James George Scott, *Burma and Beyond* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1932), 249.

⁶³⁸ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 25, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁶³⁹ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 28 November 1895, p. 122, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 115, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence*, Part VIII, NA.

⁶⁴⁰ G. C. B. Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1893–94, and on a Visit to Mong Hsing, 1 June 1894, f. 355, FO 17/1225, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc.* Volume 34, NA.

⁶⁴¹ E. S. Symes, Officiating Secretary to the Commissioner of Burma, to the Secretary to the Government of India, 9 December 1885, Mss Eur E254/23a, No. 33, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part II, BL; The Secretary for Upper Burma to the Chief Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 24 December 1886, Mss Eur E254/23b, No. 7, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part III, BL.

⁶⁴² Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Birmanie à François Deloncle, 27 mai 1884, trans., f. 264, Inde 5, MD 80, CADLC.

⁶⁴³ Preschez, “Les relations entre la France et la Birmanie”, 385.

⁶⁴⁴ J. Wolfe Murray and G. A. K. Wisely, Memorandum respecting the Franco-Siamese Frontier, 13 January 1888, Mss Eur E254/23a, No. 63, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part II, BL.

⁶⁴⁵ Tuck, *The French Wolf and the Siamese Lamb*, 85, 89.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

In order to survive wedged between two great powers, some Tai states lying between Burma and China chose the strategy of recognising more than one overlord, resulting in them becoming *müang sòng fai fa* (a polity with two overlords) or *müang sam fai fa* (a polity with three overlords). For example, Cambodia, which had been simultaneously tributary to Siam and Vietnam in certain periods, viewed Siam as its father and Vietnam as its mother,⁶⁴⁷ Müang Laem, and Sipsòng Panna had a similar saying: “China is the father, and Burma is the mother” (*hò pen phò, man pen mae*).⁶⁴⁸ Sipsòng Panna maintained two kinds of tributary system, tax tribute to Peking and gold and silver flowers to Ava.⁶⁴⁹ The Müang Laem prince Chao Mani Kham had two forms of court dress, one was Burmese, and one was Chinese.⁶⁵⁰

During the mid-sixteenth century, the rising Toungoo dynasty under the reign of Bayinnaung conquered Chiang Mai, Ayutthaya, and Lan Chang, and also forced Müang Laem and Chiang Rung to surrender to Burma in 1564.⁶⁵¹ An inscription dated 1650, found at the pagoda of Kaunghmudaw near Ava, records that Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung were “a part of the empire of Ava”.⁶⁵² In a letter, the prince of Chiang Rung states both his Tai-Burmese (Pali) and his Chinese titles, i.e. “Chao Saenwifa Chotinakhara Khatiya Maha Wongsa Pawara Suthamma Racha”⁶⁵³ (*chao Sen Vi Fa chao Tik Nakarach Katajac Moha Vong Sac Povorack Southamaracha*), and “Shixi Cheli Junmin Xuanwei Shisi Xuanwei Luyang Si Dao Cheng’en”⁶⁵⁴ (*Tu si Ché li ki vieng Mean su yi su seu sien yi Lu Yeng si thao Chien Yn*).⁶⁵⁵ The former was bestowed by the Burmese king.⁶⁵⁶ Even in the mid-twentieth century, letters and orders issued by the prince of Chiang Rung are still stamped with both the Burmese seal of the Mount Meru design and the Chinese seal.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁴⁷ Thongchai, *Siam Mapped*, 85.

⁶⁴⁸ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 486, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

⁶⁴⁹ Preschez, “Les relations entre la France et la Birmanie”, 390.

⁶⁵⁰ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 16.

⁶⁵¹ Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 47.

⁶⁵² Yule, “On the Geography of Burma and its Tributary States”, 108.

⁶⁵³ Composition: *chao* (lord) + *saenwifa* (Burmese: *senywiwhwa*, etymology: Chinese *xuanwei* (pacification commissioner) + *Tai fa* (sky, lord of the sky)) + *choti* (light, Pali: *joti*) + *nakhara* (city, Pali: *nagara*, together with *joti* forms *jotinagara* referring to Chiang Rung, city of dawn) + *khatiya* (king, Pali: *khattiya*) + *maha* (big, Pali: *mahā*) + *wongsa* (lineage, Pali: *vaṃsa*,) + *pawara* (excellent, Pali: *pavara*) + *suthamma* (good law, Pali: *sudhamma*) + *racha* (king, Pali: *rājā*).

⁶⁵⁴ Composition: *shixi* (hereditary) + *cheli* (Chinese rendering of Chiang Rung) + *junmin* (Tribal Command) + *xuanwei shisi* (Pacification Office) + *xuanwei* (Pacification Commissioner) + *luyang si* (the original Chinese word is unrecognized) + *Dao Cheng’en* (Chao Mòm Kham Lü’s Chinese name).

⁶⁵⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 12 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

⁶⁵⁶ Compare with the Burmese titles of the previous kings: Chao Maha Wang’s title “Jotinagara Mahā Vaṃsa Rājā” (Attention, 29 May 1850, in *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598–1885*, ed. Than Tun (Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1987), 8:280; MLC-LV2 38.3 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 287), Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna’s title “Jotinagara Mahā Siha Pavara Sudhammarājā” in 1850 (Anonymous, Order, 31 May 1850, in *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598–1885*, ed. Than Tun (Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1987), 8:281), Chao Mòm Saeng’s title “Jotinagara Mahā Vaṃsa Siri Pavara Sudhamma Rājā” in 1878 (Anonymous, Order, 19 October 1878, in *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598–1885*, 9:241). For Chao Mòm Saeng’s journey in 1879 to Mandalay to receive the title, see Mangrāi, *The Pādæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 271.

⁶⁵⁷ Order from Chao Mòm Suwanna Prakhang, the 15th waxing day of the 12th month, 1290 [30 October 1928], manuscript, Yunnan Nationalities Museum, Kunming.

Sipsòng Panna remained a tributary state to Burma until the late-nineteenth century. During the reign of Mindon, Burmese police posts were stationed in Chiang Lò, Müang Luang, Müang Mang, and Müang Rai to collect tolls from traders. Chiang Lò and Müang Luang had a Myook and 30 men, respectively, while Müang Mang, and Müang Rai both counted ten or fifteen men.⁶⁵⁸ A Burmese royal order issued on 19 October 1878 confirms the petition from Sipsòng Panna to appoint Chao Mòm Sò (or Chao Mòm Khong Kham) as the ruler of Sipsòng Panna, and the Burmese king Thibaw considered that “it is a state close to China, it should not be left without a chief.”⁶⁵⁹ A chronicle of Sipsòng Panna records that in CS 1245 (1883/1884), after the British occupation of Ava (the chronicles of Sipsòng Panna use “Ava” (*angwa*) for the capitals of Burma, but here it actually means Mandalay), Burman Cackais never came to Sipsòng Panna.⁶⁶⁰ However, in 1883, in a letter to Paris, King Thibaw still considered Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna as his territory, which meant that after the occupation of Tonkin, France and Burma “have a common boundary, that is to say, that they are in contact on the eastern frontier of Burma, where lie the provinces of Kienton [Chiang Tung] and Kieu-Youn-Ghie [Chiang Rung]”.⁶⁶¹ Memories of the supervision by the previous Burman Cackai supervision were still vivid in the twentieth century. Phraya Luang Yanawong, the author of a Sipsòng Panna historical record compiled in the mid-twentieth century, compares the division of Sipsòng Panna into six administrative districts under the command of Ke Shuxun to the similar division of areas ruled by Cackais.⁶⁶²

With the exception of the ordination of a prince, the appointment of rulers of subordinate *müang* required confirmation from both China and Burma. After Chaofa Mòk Kham died in 1835/36, both powers, together with Chiang Rung, approved the appointment of Chao Maha Chai as the ruler of Müang Phong.⁶⁶³

Chiang Khaeng had been a tributary state of Burma before the British annexation, and Chao Sri Nò Kham writes in a letter that “my Chiang Khaeng had long been Burmese territory since the ancient time” (*müang chiang khaeng khaphachao ni, khò hak pen namdin man süp ma tae dai*).⁶⁶⁴ However, in 1889, Chiang Khaeng became a tributary to Siam.⁶⁶⁵ Chiang Khaeng’s tributary relations with Burma and Siam became excuses for Britain and France to claim Chiang Khaeng.

⁶⁵⁸ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 494, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

⁶⁵⁹ Anonymous, Order, 19 October 1878, in *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598–1885*, 9:241. The Government of India took this issue as the “last interference” of Burma with Sipsòng Panna, see Memorandum communicated by India Office, 26 November 1891, FO 422/32, No. 62, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence*. Part VIII, NA.

⁶⁶⁰ Ba Long Yanaweng, “*Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi*”, 6:44.

⁶⁶¹ Grattan Geary, *Burma, After the Conquest: Viewed in Its Political, Social, and Commercial Aspects, from Mandalay* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886), 155–156.

⁶⁶² Ba Long Yanaweng, “*Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi*”, 6:45.

⁶⁶³ Boran Khadi Samoson, *Phongsawadan müang chiang rung*, 2.

⁶⁶⁴ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 13th waning day of the 2nd month, 1256 [25 December 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, Papiers d’agents-Archives privées, CADLC.

⁶⁶⁵ Volker Grabowsky, “Chiang Khaeng 1893–1896: A Lue Principality in the Upper Mekong Valley at the Centre of Franco-British Rivalry”, in *Contesting Visions of the Laos Past: Laos Historiography at the Crossroads*, eds. Christopher E. Goscha and Søren Ivarsson (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2003), 47.

Unlike Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng, Chiang Tung had only a solitary tributary relation, that is, with Burma. The British annexation of Chiang Tung met no challenge from other powers. Even though Chinese records from the Yuan to the Qing dynasties claim Chiang Tung as a Chinese tributary state, no such relation was recognised in Chiang Tung's chronicles. However, Chinese elites in the early twentieth century still considered Chiang Tung as a lost territory of China.⁶⁶⁶

b) Boundary Investigation Commissions

In 1890, Britain still lacked sufficient information about the trans-Salween Shan states.⁶⁶⁷ Several boundary commissions were formed to investigate and demarcate the boundaries of Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna.

Arthur Hedding Hildebrand (1843–1918) had planned to visit Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna, but the plan was abandoned due to the expedition to the Eastern Karenni, and a Durbar was held in Müang Nai in 1889 instead.⁶⁶⁸ However, Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung failed to send representatives to the Durbar. In December 1889, Britain dispatched a commission to investigate the boundary with Siam and crossed the Salween River for the first time.⁶⁶⁹ The subsequent year, the Anglo-Siamese Boundary Commission for 1890–1891 was formed. This Commission aimed to determine the position of Chiang Khaeng, the limits of Sipsòng Panna's territory, and to collect information on the advance of France.⁶⁷⁰ The Commission surveyed along the Burma-Siamese borderlands until Chiang Saen, then they proceeded to Müang Sing. Having finished the work in Müang Sing, the Siamese officers took their leave of the British and returned to Chiang Saen and Chiang Mai. The British proceeded to Müang Phong in Sipsòng Panna, where the Commission separated into two teams. The first team, including William John Archer (1861–1934) and Captain Fulton, went eastward to the Nam U Valley and then proceeded southwards to Bangkok. The second team, including Scott and Gray, advanced to Chiang Rung and then back to Mandalay via Chiang Tung.⁶⁷¹ Scott brought fifty soldiers, more than one hundred camels, and dozens of cows.⁶⁷²

At the same time, at the end of 1890, two expeditions were dispatched from Lahsio to investigate the Tai states and, in particular, their relations with China. One, led by Saunders,

⁶⁶⁶ Li Fuyi, “*Dianbian shidi menggen tusi zhi kaocha* [Investigation at the Yunan's lost territory Chiang Tung]”, *Xin Yaxiya* 3, no. 5 (1932): 101–105.

⁶⁶⁷ Jeshurun, *The Contest for Siam 1889–1902*, 7.

⁶⁶⁸ The Under-Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Burma, 9 January 1889, p. 1, Mss Eur E254/23c, No. 2, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part V, BL.

⁶⁶⁹ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 226.

⁶⁷⁰ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 54, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

⁶⁷¹ Report on a Journey in the Mě-kong Valley by Mr. W. J. Archer, First Assistant in Her Majesty's Consular Service in Siam, 1892, p. 5, MS Scott UL1.9, JGSC, CUL; Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 24, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁶⁷² Zhang Chengyu, “*Micha yingren kuitan lujiang xiayou yidong zhi jiulongjiang yidai biandi qingxing*”, the 28th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [8 March 1891], in *Zhentan ji*, ed. Yao Wendong. Reprint in *Yunnan kanjie choubian ji*, ed. Yao Wendong (Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1968), 293.

was to investigate the Kachin mountains, and the other, under Hugh Daly (1860–1939) was sent to investigate Mang Lön, Müang Laem, and Sipsòng Panna.⁶⁷³ This latter expedition aimed to investigate the sovereignties over these Tai states and estimate the advantages and disadvantages of possessing them. It set off from Lashio on 21 December 1890, entered Müang Laem via Mang Lön, and then proceeded to Sipsòng Panna. After the visit to Chiang Rung, it turned westward and returned to Lashio on 7 May 1891. The commission consisted of Daly (Superintendent of the Northern Shan States), William Warry (1854–1936) (from the Chinese Consular Service), Thomas Francis Bruce Renny-Tailyour (1863–1937) (surveyor), Ali Nawaz (sub-surveyor), G. V. Burrows (from the Intelligence Branch), fifty military police, six mounted infantry Gurkhas, fifty followers (including medical and survey personnel, clerks, private servants), and around thirty Panthay muleteers (among whom was a Yunnanese spy named Zhang Chengyu) with 122 mules.⁶⁷⁴

Between 1892 and 1893, another Anglo-Siamese Commission was formed. After the delimitation had been finished in Chiang Saen, Hildebrand invited Sarasidhi to proceed to Müang Sing to hand over Chiang Khaeng to Siam. However, without instruction from higher authorities, Sarasidhi declined.⁶⁷⁵ The British went to Müang Sing and returned to Chiang Tung on 20 March 1893.⁶⁷⁶

As far as France is concerned, the investigations were mostly conducted by the Pavie Mission. The Pavie Mission comprised four separate missions conducted between 1879 and 1895. The scope of this study only covers the third (1889–1891) and fourth (1894–1895) missions. After the FMEM proved the unnavigability of the Mekong River, France turned its attention towards the Red River and the Lower Mekong Basin. In the north, Francis Garnier and Jean Dupuis explored the Red River, while in the south, Pavie undertook the First Pavie Mission in Cambodia and the region around Bangkok. The Upper Mekong Basin did not come within the purview of the French explorers until the annexation of Tonkin and Sipsòng Chao Thai. After the signing of the Treaty of Hué in 1884 and the Treaty of Tientsin in 1885, France took hold of Tonkin and the whole of Vietnam.⁶⁷⁷ Hanoi then became the base for a series of investigations. Through the Second Pavie Mission (1886–1889), France broadened its understanding of the regions of Chiang Mai, Upper Laos, Annam, and Tonkin.

The Third Pavie Mission was a response to the British investigation in the Trans-Salween Shan states.⁶⁷⁸ The Mission's main motive was to “collect evidence needed for eventual

⁶⁷³ Renny-Tailyour, “Report on the Survey Operations in the Northern Shan States”, xlvii.

⁶⁷⁴ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 1, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, WWP, BL; Memorandum communicated by India Office, 26 November 1891, p. 71, FO 422/32, No. 62, NA; Renny-Tailyour, “Report on the Survey Operations in the Northern Shan States”, xlvii; Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 16th day of the 10th month, Guangxu 16 [27 November 1890], 271.

⁶⁷⁵ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 234.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 236.

⁶⁷⁷ Christopher Goscha, *Vietnam: A New History* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 83.

⁶⁷⁸ Tuck, *The French Wolf and the Siamese Lamb*, 92.

negotiations with London and Bangkok”.⁶⁷⁹ Between January 1890 and August 1891, the Third Mission travelled 40,000 kilometres through the Red River and Upper Mekong River basins.⁶⁸⁰

In 1889, a lecture given by the former French consul at Mandalay aroused commercial interest in the Upper Mekong region. To counter the British commercial expansion in Upper Laos, the Syndicat du Haut Laos was formed in 1889.⁶⁸¹ In 1891, Victor Alphonse Massie (1854–1892) and Paul Macey (1852–19??) departed from Luang Prabang and travelled to Sipsòng Panna to establish relations and trade connections with Sipsòng Panna. The expedition also aimed to prepare for delimitation. The two men not only explored the boundary between states, but also probed the boundaries between districts.⁶⁸² In 1893, Georges Garanger visited Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung with the task of establishing trade posts there.

To collect commercial information and to make preparations for future boundary demarcation, France dispatched a series of missions to Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung. In 1889, Garanger made a failed attempt to travel from Luang Prabang to Mandalay. In 1890, Joseph Vacle (1857–1907) made a journey to Sipsòng Panna, but he was not allowed to proceed beyond Müang U Nüa. Shortly after Vacle’s return to Müang Lai (Mường Lay), a new mission to Sipsòng Panna set off from Hanoi in January 1891. This mission consisted of Auguste Pavie (1847–1925), Vacle, Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis (1864–1938), the Cambodian secretary Ngin, Đèo Văn Trị (1849–1908), Đèo Văn Trị’s nephew Kam Kouï, and thirty Tai and Chinese security guards. The team also included two Tai Lü⁶⁸³ and two Burmans. The Tai Lü were Chi and Nôi from Müang Bum (Mường Bum). The two Burmans were Se Aian, a servant of Prince Myngoon, and his companion Mong Pho, who was recruited in Bangkok. Both men spoke Tai well.⁶⁸⁴ Almost at the same time, Massie and Macey departed from Luang Prabang for a journey to Sipsòng Panna. They rented mules from a Yunnanese caravan from Dali to transport the stock.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 93–94.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 95.

⁶⁸¹ Patrick J. N. Tuck, “Auguste Pavie and the Exploration of the Mekong Valley, 1886–95”, *Terrae Incognitae* 14, no. 1 (1982): 52; Tarling, *Imperialism in Southeast Asia*, 126.

⁶⁸² Victor Alphonse Massie, *Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang à Xieng Hong par Muong Saï et retour par Xieng Sen* (23 février–27 avril 1891), PA-AP 136, Volume 42, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

⁶⁸³ The Tai Lü migrated to Vietnam probably during the mid-nineteenth century. During the reign of Chao Mòm Sò, the failure of three rebellions supported by Müang U against the Chinese caused people fled to Vietnam, Laos and Siam (MLC-LV2 40.4 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 299). Siamese records write that the Tai Lü in Vietnam were the remnants of troops of Chao Aya Nôi, who fled from Sipsòng Panna in 1869/1870 because of power struggle and then attacked Sipsòng Chao Thai (Boran Khadi Samoson, ed., *Phongsawadan müang thaeng* [Müang Thaeng chronicle], in *Prachum phongsawadan, phak thi kao* [Collection of historical archives] ([Krung Thep]: Rongphim Sophon Phiphat Thanakon, 2461 [1920]), 9:87–94). The reports of French officials, such as Leporte, Pennequin, Cogniard, Rispaud, and Lefèvre-Pontalis, note that the Tai Lü in Vietnam were descendants of soldiers from Müang Ram or Müang U, who invaded Sipsòng Chao Thai (Schlemmer, “Une population méconnue du Viêt-Nam”, 121–122). However, the Tai Lü in Vietnam was called by the Tai of Sipsòng Chao Thai as “Tháy U”, “Tháy Hùng” and “Tháy Sín” (Schlemmer, “Une population méconnue du Viêt-Nam”, 122), which hints that the Tai Lü came from Müang U, Chiang Rung (Chiang Hung) and Müang Sing.

⁶⁸⁴ Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 116–117; Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai à Muong Hou de MM. Pavie, Lefèvre-Pontalis et Vacle* (28 février–17 mars 1891), 28 février 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

⁶⁸⁵ *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 73, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 127.

In late December 1893, Britain dispatched a commission to investigate the boundaries of Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng. This mission, the Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Mission for 1893–1894, consisted of Robert Gosset Woodthorpe (1844–1898) (Survey of India), Stirling (Political Officer), Captain W. H. Dobbie (IVth Burma Regiment, Commanding the Troops), Ethelbert William Carrick (1864–1901) (IVth Burma Regiment), two native officers and 109 fighting men (including 27 mounted infantry). It set off on 27 December. It was later joined by Walker, who was accompanied by seven European officers and 210 soldiers (including twenty mounted infantry) of the 5th Burma Regiment.⁶⁸⁶ On 17 March 1894, Stirling, Carrick, and twenty mounted infantry of the 4th Burma Battalion detached from the Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Mission for 1893–1894 and went to Müang Sing, where they arrived on 29 March 1894.⁶⁸⁷

The British and French unwillingness to be territorially contiguous with each other required the establishment of a neutral zone in the Upper Mekong. In a protocol of 25 November 1893, Britain and France agreed to form a buffer state in the Upper Mekong River basin⁶⁸⁸ comprising Chiang Khaeng on the British side and Chiang Khòng on the French side.⁶⁸⁹ It was agreed that Müang Sing would be the meeting place for the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, whose work started in January 1895. The members of each mission consisted of two civil agents, two topographic officers, and an escort of thirty Asian soldiers led by a European officer and a medicine doctor.⁶⁹⁰ The British Commission consisted of Scott, Stirling (Political Officer in charge of the Eastern Division of the Southern Shan States), Warry (Chinese Political Adviser), Woodthorpe (Survey Officer), Ryder (Survey Officer), Harold Bridgwood Walker (1862–1934) (Intelligence Officer), Lloyd (Medical Officer in charge), two Indian Sub-Surveyors, and Jemadar Ranjit Gorung (escort commander).⁶⁹¹ The French Commission included Pavie, Lefèvre-Pontalis (Assistant Commissioner), Rivière (Royal Artillery, 22nd Regiment), Seauve (Marine Artillery), Thomassin (Foreign Legion), Léon Caillat (secretary), Eugène Lefèvre (doctor in the Marines), and various Cambodian secretaries, such as Oum.⁶⁹²

The Qing also dispatched some investigation parties to the frontier. Stirling heard that three groups of Chinese teams had passed Dòi Latip Gateway before them.⁶⁹³

2 Failed Early Ventures into Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna

⁶⁸⁶ Walker, “Diary”, 12.

⁶⁸⁷ Ethelbert William Carrick, “Report on the Mong Hsing Trip 1894”, in *Report on the Keng Tung Keng Cheng Mission for 1893-94*, ed. Harold Bridgwood Walker (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1895), 91, 94.

⁶⁸⁸ Jeshurun, *The Contest for Siam 1889–1902*, 91–92.

⁶⁸⁹ H. B. Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895* (Rangoon: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1895), 37.

⁶⁹⁰ Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 334.

⁶⁹¹ James George Scott, Further Report respecting the Mekong Commission, 1894–95, n.d., p. 103, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 39, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

⁶⁹² Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 10.

⁶⁹³ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 354, FO 17/1225, NA.

a) George John Younghusband's Journey to Chiang Tung in 1887

Despite the end of the Third Anglo-Burmese War, the British pacification of Burma was incomplete, and resistance movements sprang up all over Burma. One of them was the aforementioned Limbin Confederacy, based in the Shan states, where Britain had limited intelligence, especially regarding Chiang Tung. In 1886, Colonel Mark Sever Bell (1843–1906), the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Intelligence Branch of the British Indian Army, dispatched George John Younghusband (1859–1944) to investigate the situation in Siam and Chiang Tung.⁶⁹⁴

Younghusband arrived in Moulmein on 16 January 1887, and the whole journey to Chiang Tung traversed 1800 miles and lasted three and a half months (24 January to 9 May).⁶⁹⁵ His priority was to survey military information for the British preparation to attack Chiang Tung and probably Chiang Rung.⁶⁹⁶ In his report, he records details of the routes of military advance to Chiang Tung and he attached a military geographic map.⁶⁹⁷ Several years later, he would compare this attack from the south with the British invasion of Mandalay from the west.⁶⁹⁸ His intelligence report was submitted to the Indian Army in 1887, and printed in two volumes. One volume covers the journey from Moulmein to Chiang Mai, and the second is from Chiang Mai to Chiang Tung.⁶⁹⁹ An excerpt of the report was published in 1888 as *Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat*. His record of the journey to Chiang Tung is also found in his memoirs *Forty Years a Soldier* (1923).

The team that set out from Moulmein included at least Younghusband, a Gurkha named Judh Bir, a Madrassi cook (probably named Ananias), an interpreter (who left the team in Chiang Mai), and a pony. The weaponry they held included a Martini-Henry carbine, a shotgun, and two revolvers. From Chiang Mai onwards, a Tai servant from Chiang Mai joined the team, and Marion Cheek (1853–1895), an American missionary doctor in Chiang Mai, helped to organise a Yunnanese caravan to accompany Younghusband. Younghusband hired three ponies from the caravan to transport his luggage and merchandise.⁷⁰⁰

As a spy, Younghusband did not expose his real mission but disguised himself as an American missionary.⁷⁰¹ From his writings, it is clear that Younghusband often felt nervous and sometimes oversensitive during his journey to Chiang Tung. It was probably true, as David K. Wyatt mentions that “the dangers and hardships he faced” were usually exaggerated.⁷⁰² According to Younghusband's description, the espionage in Chiang Tung was a precarious

⁶⁹⁴ George John Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier* (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1923), 90; David K. Wyatt, Introduction to *The Trans-Salwin Shan State of Kiang Tung*, by George John Younghusband, ed. David K. Wyatt (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), vii; George John Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State of Kiang Tung* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 3.

⁶⁹⁵ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 3, 6.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35–39.

⁶⁹⁸ Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier*, 100.

⁶⁹⁹ Wyatt, Introduction to *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, ix.

⁷⁰⁰ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 4, 6, 53; Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier*, 92–93, 98.

⁷⁰¹ George John Younghusband, Notes on a journey in Burma, 1887, GFY/2/1, RGS.

⁷⁰² Wyatt, Introduction to *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, x.

undertaking, and Chiang Tung was “a new and hostile country”.⁷⁰³ The danger arose long before they entered Chiang Tung. Younghusband claims that when they were in Chiang Mai, someone threatened his interpreter to get him to stop working for him. Younghusband himself received a death threat letter. Both his cook and Gurkha were frightened by these incidents.⁷⁰⁴

He describes his helplessness as “one man against a thousand”.⁷⁰⁵ His carbine “was stolen in broad day-light”.⁷⁰⁶ The former Hindu servant of Augustus Raymond Margary (1846–1875),⁷⁰⁷ whom they met in Chiang Tung, coveted their property.⁷⁰⁸ Younghusband suspects that he was spied on in Chiang Tung town, and an illustration of the suspect, entitled “A gentleman who followed me like a shadow at Kiang Tung”, was printed in the book *Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat*.⁷⁰⁹ However, it is an exaggeration, and in his notebook, he only comments on the man being “fond of gazing at” him.⁷¹⁰ Younghusband claims that Mounkin, a Burman they met in Chiang Tung town, was a spy dispatched by the Nüa Sanam, whom he had turned into a double agent to assist him in obtaining information from the court.⁷¹¹ Younghusband also notes his suspicion that they were followed on their return journey from Chiang Tung.⁷¹²

Younghusband writes that Chao Müang Khak,⁷¹³ the chief minister of Chiang Tung, considered the English to be “very bad people” and called him a “ruffian”, paraphrasing from Mounkin.⁷¹⁴ It seems that being exposed as British nationality was more dangerous than being exposed as a spy. The people in Chiang Tung could not distinguish between the Western nationalities. Younghusband writes that his safety was due to this ignorance. As a European, other than “coldness”, he met no “active or passive hostility” in Chiang Tung.⁷¹⁵ Younghusband felt fortunate that Marion Cheek had arranged a Yunnanese caravan for him. Thus, the chief of the caravan considered Younghusband an American missionary and did not

⁷⁰³ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 5.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁰⁷ Augustus Raymond Margary was a British diplomat who was killed near Bhamo in 1875. This incident probably deepened Younghusband’s anxiety.

⁷⁰⁸ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 51.

⁷⁰⁹ George John Younghusband, *Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat: Through Burmah, Siam, and the Eastern Shan States* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1888), 57.

⁷¹⁰ Younghusband, Notes on a journey in Burma, 1887, GFY/2/1, RGS.

⁷¹¹ Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier*, 101.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 104.

⁷¹³ Younghusband does not record his title and writes that the chief minister was Chao Mòm Súa’s uncle and the Lord Chief Justice (Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 49). Archer writes that “the Chief Officer of State” was Chao Müang Klang, whose name was Chao Maha Phrom (Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer’s Journal of a Visit to Chiengtung in May and June 1888, p. 4, FO 881/5713, Foreign Office: Confidential Print, NA; Chao Mòm Súa and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng to James George Scott, the 14th waning day of the Pyatho month, 1251 [18 January 1890], MS Scott LL9.357, JGSC, CUL). However, Scott records that Chao Müang Klang was Chao Mòm Súa’s cousin (Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 40, Mss Eur F278/73, BL). A local report tests that the chief minister of Chiang Tung was Chao Müang Khak (Chao Müang Khak, Chao Müang Klang, and the officials of Chiang Tung to James George Scott, the 15th waning day of the Nayon month, 1250 [7 June 1888], MS Scott LL9.507, JGSC, CUL).

⁷¹⁴ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 49.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

reveal his real nationality.⁷¹⁶ In addition, during a conversation with Chao Müang Khak, the Burman interpreter, Mounkin, said that Younghusband came from London and travelled around the world. Thus, the Chiang Tung people did not connect him to the British from Mandalay and Müang Nai.⁷¹⁷

Having heard the news brought by fugitives about the British army's arrival in Müang Nai, Younghusband was worried about his safety and left Chiang Tung town the following evening.⁷¹⁸ On their return journey, Younghusband wore Chinese clothes to avoid possible danger and travelled with the Yunnanese caravan as it was "the only safe way of getting out of" Chiang Tung.⁷¹⁹

In addition to exaggeration, the credibility of Younghusband's writings is also questionable. Wyatt, for example, mentions that Younghusband relied on secondary sources.⁷²⁰ Moreover, his interpreter had abandoned the team in Chiang Mai. As none of the team members spoke a local language, Younghusband had to rely on the Yunnanese merchants for communication.⁷²¹ In Chiang Tung town, he obtained another interpreter, the aforementioned Burman, Mounkin. Sao Sāimöng also questions the veracity of Younghusband's report, for example, the year when Chao Kòng Thai died, and the massacre of Chiang Tung Prince's sister by King Thibaw in 1879.⁷²² Younghusband's misinformation, such as that the majority of the population of Sipsòng Panna was Han Chinese, is cited and recited in later writings.⁷²³

b) William John Archer's Journey to Chiang Tung in 1888

After the conquest of the Limbin Confederacy in 1887, at Scott's request, the Müang Nai ruler Chao Khun Kyi wrote a letter to Chiang Tung to ask for its submission and he appeared to be satisfied with the reply.⁷²⁴ However, the situation was more complicated than this. The Superintendent of the Shan States had no time to visit Chiang Tung in 1887, and Chiang Tung did not attend the Müang Yai (Mongyai) conference and the Müang Nai Durbar in 1888, nor did it send people to meet the British authorities.⁷²⁵ In 1888, Archer, the British vice-consul at Chiang Mai, was dispatched by the Chief Commissioner of Burma to Chiang Tung to enforce

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., 4; Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier*, 98, 101.

⁷¹⁷ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 47, 50.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., 5, 51–52.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., 51.

⁷²⁰ Wyatt, Introduction to *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, x.

⁷²¹ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 4–5; Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier*, 92.

⁷²² Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 198.

⁷²³ See, for example, Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 11; Woodman, *The Making of Burma*, 298.

⁷²⁴ Woodman, *The Making of Burma*, 299–300. Letters were also dispatched to Sipsòng Panna, Müang Laem, and Chiang Khaeng to require their submission to Britain (Chao Môm Súa to Chao Khun Kyi and the Chaofa of Chiang Thòng, the 3rd waning day of the Waso month, 1249 [7 July 1887], MS Scott LL9.523, JGSC, CUL).

⁷²⁵ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 203–204. In a letter of 15 June 1889 letter to Chiang Tung, Scott says that if Chiang Tung had attended the Durbar in Müang Nai and had seen the advantages the western Shan states had obtained under British protection, then Chiang Tung would also have been willing to submit to Britain (James George Scott, From J. G. Scott, Esq., Officiating Superintendent, Shan States, to the Kyaingtôn Sawbwa, 15 June 1889, in *Report on the Administration of the Shan States, 1888–89* (Rangoon: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1889), iii).

Chiang Tung's submission to Britain.⁷²⁶ Archer set off from Chiang Mai on 2 May 1888, accompanied by a clerk, followers, and elephants. In Tha Khilek (Tachileik), Archer hired some Tai Yai as guides, who travelled with him throughout his trip in Chiang Tung.⁷²⁷

Archer encountered a cold reception in Chiang Tung. In Chiang Saen, Archer received a reply from Chiang Tung, urging him not to proceed to Chiang Tung as Chiang Tung would only submit to the Superintendent of the Shan States or the Chief Commissioner.⁷²⁸ However, Archer decided to continue on to Chiang Tung. Archer felt that Chiang Tung was “reluctant to deal with” a British officer, especially one coming from Chiang Mai without an escort. When he arrived, no preparation had been made for his arrival, and his clerk, who was dispatched in advance to Chiang Tung town, “was received rather gruffly”.⁷²⁹ The process of requesting a meeting with Chao Müang Klang, the chief minister of Chiang Tung, was difficult, and Archer had to repeat his plea.⁷³⁰ Archer claims that the court forbade people from “hold[ing] any communication with” him, and no Chiang Tung authorities visited him, except for the people of the Müang Laem Upparat, Chao Maha Wang.⁷³¹ The day Archer set off to return to Chiang Mai, “[n]o official came to see me [Archer] off”.⁷³² Archer stayed in Chiang Tung town for four days and ended his trip without meeting Chao Mòm Súa. His requests to meet with Chao Mòm Súa, whom he calls “the Chief”, were rejected twice due to the latter being sick.⁷³³ In view of the indifferent reception in Chiang Tung, the Chiang Tung guides asked Archer to return via another route to avoid any risks.⁷³⁴ The cold reception Archer obtained in Chiang Tung was probably caused by a misunderstanding. Shortly after Archer's visit, the authorities of Chiang Tung wrote a letter to Müang Nai, explaining that Archer demanded Chiang Tung submit to Chiang Mai, and Chiang Tung refused.⁷³⁵ However, it is unclear whether this explanation was the truth or merely an excuse to avoid punishment from the British.

Archer's mission to command Chiang Tung's submission failed. Archer informed the Chiang Tung authorities that the people of Chiang Tung “could never feel secure unless they had a powerful Suzerain”.⁷³⁶ Unlike Siam, where Archer did not need a guard at night and had

⁷²⁶ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, pp. 2, 4, FO 881/5713, NA.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1, 9.

⁷²⁸ The Sawbwa and Amats of Chiengtung to the British Vice-Consul at Chiengmai, 23 April 1888, trans., Mss Eur E254/23a, Enclosure No. 1 in No. 66, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part II, BL.

⁷²⁹ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, pp. 1, 4, FO 881/5713, NA; W. J. Archer to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 18 July 1888, Mss Eur E254/23a, No. 66, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part II, BL.

⁷³⁰ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, p. 4, FO 881/5713, NA.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

⁷³² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷³³ The Amats of the Chiengtung Sawbwa to the British Vice-Consul at Chiengmai, n.d., trans., Mss Eur E254/23a, Enclosure No. 3 in No. 66, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part II, BL; W. J. Archer to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 18 July 1888, p. 1, Mss Eur E254/23a, No. 66, BL.

⁷³⁴ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, p. 8, FO 881/5713, NA.

⁷³⁵ Chao Müang Khak, Chao Müang Klang, and the officials of Chiang Tung to James George Scott, 7 June 1888, MS Scott LL9.507, JGSC, CUL.

⁷³⁶ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, p. 5, FO 881/5713, NA.

never seen women armed, Chiang Tung was “notoriously unsafe”.⁷³⁷ News of disturbances in the cis-Salween Shan states arrived just as Archer was arriving in Chiang Tung. This undermined Archer’s demands as Chiang Tung had enjoyed “peace and quiet” prior to British occupation.⁷³⁸ Similar to Chiang Tung’s response to the invitation to attend the Müang Yai conference in 1888, in response to Archer’s demand for submission, Chiang Tung replied that it should discuss the matter with Chiang Rung and Müang Laem because “they are not alone but must act in concert with” the two states.⁷³⁹

Archer is convinced that the submission of Chiang Tung was out of the question and his failure had been due to his “ill-timed” visit.⁷⁴⁰ Chao Müang Klang told him that his encounters in Chiang Tung had not been caused by Chiang Tung’s “ill-will” but rather were the result of “the force of circumstances”.⁷⁴¹ Moreover, the Müang Laem people told him that they “looked forward to the protection of the British”.⁷⁴²

c) Joseph Vacle’s Journey to Müang U in 1890

Vacle’s journey was aimed at collecting commercial information in the Upper Mekong River basin. He planned to travel to Chiang Rung and then navigate along the Mekong River to Luang Prabang. However, he had not anticipated that he would encounter a similar fate to McLeod, and his journey ended without reaching the town of Müang U. Though Vacle entered the territory of Sipsòng Panna on 21 October 1890, he did not penetrate the interior and was persuaded to return on 28 October 1890.

Vacle set off from Lai Châu on 2 September 1890 with one guide, three servants, eight coolies, and two horses.⁷⁴³ The caravan’s members varied from stop to stop, with coolies, in particular, being frequently replaced. The caravan that reached the territory of Müang U had around twenty members, including Vacle, the chief of Pou Phang, the chief of Müang Yae (Mường Nhé), a Cambodian interpreter named Vong, four men from Müang Lai, two men from Müang Yae, six boys, a guide, and probably some coolies. Vacle was the only European.⁷⁴⁴

Vacle’s encounter with a caravan of Müang U foreshadowed the difficulties of entering Müang U. At Pou Phang, a frontier village of Tonkin, Vacle met a caravan consisting of twelve cattle led by the chief of Bò Klüa in Müang U. The caravan was on its way to Müang U,

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 2–3.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 5; Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 203.

⁷⁴⁰ W. J. Archer to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 18 July 1888, p. 2, Mss Eur E254/23a, No. 66, BL.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer’s Journal, p. 6, FO 881/5713, NA.

⁷⁴³ Joseph Vacle, Journal de voyage de M. Vacle de Lai-Chau vers Muong-Hou, 2 septembre 1890, GGI 14370, ANOM.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., 18 octobre 1890; Liu Chunlin, “*Hu nan dao liu zi guangxu ershi yi nian san yue* [Report from Liu Chunlin, Acting Assistant Commissioner of Yi’nan Circuit, the 3rd month of Guangxu 21 [26 March–24 April 1895]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:67.

transporting cotton from Müang Yae to purchase salt.⁷⁴⁵ After their meeting at Pou Phang, Vacle did not see the chief again, but he heard the news of the Tai Lü chief of the caravan at different places.⁷⁴⁶ The Bò Klüa chief's actions aroused Vacle's suspicion. On 20 October 1890, during Vacle's sojourn at a village, he heard that the Müang U caravan, who reached this village later than Vacle's team, had already departed for the next village. Vacle wondered whether his presence had sparked the Bò Klüa chief's hasty departure.⁷⁴⁷ Another day, Vacle, intending to detour to a nearby village, was stopped by the headman of the village of Ton-Tchian-Pang-Tiaï. Vacle later learned that the destination was the Bò Klüa chief's village, and the Bò Klüa chief forewarned the headman to prevent Vacle from proceeding to his own village and hoped that Vacle returned.⁷⁴⁸ The next day, at a Hani village, the headman informed Vacle that the Bò Klüa chief had advanced to Müang U in order to enquire whether the French mission was permitted to enter Sipsòng Panna. It was at this moment that Vacle decided to suspend his journey. Meanwhile, the head of the village had told him that the Bò Klüa chief had gone ahead in search of soldiers to guide them to Müang U. On 24 October 1890, Vacle reached the Bò Sao village, accompanied by the headman of Bò Sao and two men, who probably came at the behest of the Bò Klüa chief.⁷⁴⁹

On the first day of their arrival at Bò Sao, Vacle was dissuaded from continuing his journey. After hearing Vacle's plan to travel to the town of Müang U, the headman of Bò Sao advised Vacle to wait for five or six days. Considering what happened in the following days, this was clearly a delaying tactic by the locals, who were awaiting the arrival of the Chinese authorities. The mother of the Müang U ruler also advised Vacle not to go onwards to Müang U. She explained that the town had only three houses left, which meant that Vacle could not obtain any food and that the road was difficult to travel. Despite this, she could not convince Vacle to abandon the journey. Vacle explained the commercial nature of his project and said that he should go to Müang U to pay homage to the Müang U ruler. The mother of the Müang U ruler replied that he had been in China to attend feasts for one month and that there were no chiefs in the town at this moment.⁷⁵⁰ The next day, Vacle once again expressed his willingness to visit the ruler in Müang U. He was given the same explanation as the day before, but he now considered it contrary to what he had been previously told and was dissuaded from travelling.⁷⁵¹

On 26 October, Vacle decided that he could no longer delay and set off to the town of Müang U. However, Vacle's team was stopped midway by the headman of Bò Sao, who told Vacle that a Chinese commandant from Müang Lae (Menglie), named Tchín Tchín,⁷⁵² had arrived in Bò Sao to warn Vacle not to proceed beyond this village. Vacle was astonished that it was a Chinese authority forbidding him from travelling in the territory of Sipsòng Panna. To

⁷⁴⁵ Vacle, *Journal de voyage de M. Vacle*, 17 octobre 1890, GGI 14370, ANOM.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 19, 20, 22 octobre 1890.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 20 octobre 1890.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 octobre 1890.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 23–24 octobre 1890.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 octobre 1890.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 25 octobre 1890.

⁷⁵² A Chinese officer, named Deng Guilin, is mentioned in a contemporary Chinese source (Liu, “*Hu nan dao liu zi guangxu ershi yi nian san yue*”, 10:67).

frighten Vacle, the headman of Bò Sao told him that the Chinese knew of his plan to travel to Müang U and had sent 900 soldiers down. Moreover, the headman added that fearing the arrival of the Chinese, the chiefs of Müang U had fled and would arrive at Bò Sao soon or tomorrow. Tchin Tchin needed to confirm that Vacle had brought soldiers, and the Tai Lü chiefs were unwilling to let Vacle proceed farther in order to protect them from the Chinese. At first, Vacle resisted the demands of the Chinese authorities, after all, Sipsòng Panna was Tai Lü territory. However, Vacle eventually compromised, out of respect for the native authorities and the Tai Lü chief's request that he not travel to Müang U.⁷⁵³ Later, Vacle was tricked into believing that Ban Yao, a village on the route of their return journey, was occupied by the Chinese and that even if they avoided it, they would meet the Chinese coming from the other direction. Under the impression that both the Chinese authorities of Simao and Müang Lae had dispatched people, Vacle abandoned his plan to go to Chiang Rung and decided to return.⁷⁵⁴

Vacle's plan to establish commercial relations with Müang U and Müang Lae failed. Vacle intended to lubricate relations with the native population by purchasing articles from them. For example, he offered much more money than necessary to buy textiles from the mother of the Müang U ruler.⁷⁵⁵ However, he was rebuffed when attempting to establish a trade connection between Pou Phang, Müang Lae, and Müang U; he was told that "neither the [Tai] Lü nor the Chinese want a Frenchman to come and trade in their territory, and what's more, I [Vacle] have no documents" (*ni les Lus, ni les Chinois ne veulent qu'un français vienne commercer sur leur territoire, que'ailleurs, je n'ai pas de papiers*).⁷⁵⁶

Vacle failed to anticipate that the Chinese also had interests in Müang U. Vacle only met one self-proclaimed Chinese officer, the above-mentioned Tchin Tchin, who came to Bò Sao to prevent Vacle from travelling further southwards. Vacle did not understand why this Chinese authority was exceeding his duties and taking the Tai Lü's place. He suppressed his dissatisfaction, as Tchin Tchin was sent by the Tai Lü chiefs.⁷⁵⁷ No contemporary native records concerning this encounter survive to reveal the local viewpoint. A contemporary Chinese report states that Vacle was not allowed to enter the town of Müang U because he had no passport, a detail that is not found in Vacle's account.⁷⁵⁸ This encounter was reported to the Zongli Yamen, who then forwarded it in protest to the French Ambassador in Peking.

This unpleasant encounter left Vacle with some negative impressions. Tchin Tchin was extremely fascinated by Vacle's music box and two muskets and was eager to obtain the latter.⁷⁵⁹ The mother of the Müang U ruler and Tchin Tchin, respectively, hinted that Vacle should give more French money as a bribe. During his preparations for the return journey, Vacle refused the Tai Lü's and Tchin Tchin's proposals to pay for overpriced services and

⁷⁵³ Vacle, *Journal de voyage de M. Vacle*, 26 octobre 1890, GGI 14370, ANOM.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 27 octobre 1890.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 24, 25 octobre 1890.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 octobre 1890.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁸ Liu, "Hu nan dao liu zi guangxu ershi yi nian san yue", 10:67.

⁷⁵⁹ *Journal de voyage de M. Vacle*, 26, 27, 28 octobre 1890, GGI 14370, ANOM.

documents.⁷⁶⁰ These impressions, which accumulated with later French experiences in the Upper Mekong River basin, contributed to the stereotype of the Tai Lü as greedy people.

d) Georges Garanger's Mission in 1893

Georges Garanger's mission to Sipsòng Panna in 1893 was a part of the second exploration mission of the Société du Haut Laos (formerly the Syndicat du Laos), and an attempt to install a station in Chiang Rung and to engage in trade with the Tai states.⁷⁶¹ It was meant to "fix" (*reparer*) the failure of his venture into Chiang Tung in 1889.⁷⁶² In 1891, Paul Macey ventured to establish a trading post in Chiang Rung where he had stored three cases of merchandise at a house provided by the Chiang Rung authorities.⁷⁶³ Garanger's mission was composed of 21 people (including a Cambodian interpreter Cahom, some Chinese muleteers, and at least two Tai from Sipsòng Chao Thai) and 31 pack animals.⁷⁶⁴ The mission set off from Lai Châu on 21 January 1893, crossed Chiang Rung, Chiang Tung, Chiang Saen, and finally ended in Luang Prabang on 18 July 1893.

Garanger's mission to establish a station in Chiang Rung and Chiang Tung failed. In Chiang Rung, he met with refusal by the local and Chinese authorities, and in Chiang Tung, the absence of Chao Mòm Súa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng meant it impossible for any decisions to be taken. By 1893, only the stations at Chiang Khòng, Pak Lai, Nòng Khai, Uthen, Phanom, and Khemmarat were scheduled.⁷⁶⁵

The situation of Chiang Rung after the war between Chiang Rung and Müang Chae caused Garanger "a great disillusionment" (*Une grande désillusion*).⁷⁶⁶ The Chiang Rung city was ruined, and only eighty inhabitants, most of whom were officers, remained.⁷⁶⁷ The paucity of locals could hardly afford the French merchandise.⁷⁶⁸

Rumours of British military movements were circulating in Sipsòng Panna. Garanger reports that Hildebrand led seven soldiers intending to seize Müang Ram. He was quite disturbed by these rumours, while Chao Mòm Kham Lü seemed to be indifferent, saying that he commanded 5000 soldiers, 3000 of whom were Chinese.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 27 octobre 1890.

⁷⁶¹ Dieter Brötel, *Frankreich im Fernen Osten: Imperialistische Expansion in Siam und Malaya, Laos und China, 1880-1904* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), 180.

⁷⁶² Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 31, 47. For Garanger's failed journey of 1889, see Notes de voyage adressés à Monsieur Pavie consul de France à Luang Prabang sur une tentative de voyage de Luang Prabang à Mandalay, n.d., PA-AP 136, Volume 23, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

⁷⁶³ Harry Alis, "Une mission commerciale française au Laos", *Supplément du Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 26 octobre 1890; Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, pp. 79, 82, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 129. A report writes the merchandise was "under the custody of the first mandarin" (*sous la garde du 1er mandarin*), which probably was Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa (Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 82, GGI 14334, ANOM).

⁷⁶⁴ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 1, 16; Cahom à Auguste Pavie, 10 août 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM.

⁷⁶⁵ Organisation des territoires du Laos et du Haut-Mekong, n.d., ASIE 61, ANOM.

⁷⁶⁶ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 18.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 18. In a letter written in Chiang Rung, Garanger writes that Chiang Rung remained around 80 households of 300 persons (Georges Garanger à Auguste Pavie, 23 février 1893, Indochine 48, MD 85, CADLC).

⁷⁶⁸ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 20–21; Cahom à Auguste Pavie, 10 août 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM.

⁷⁶⁹ Georges Garanger à Auguste Pavie, 23 février 1893, 12 mars 1893, Indochine 48, MD 85, CADLC.

More unfortunately, Garanger was asked to leave Sipsòng Panna by a Chinese officer on a temporary visit to Chiang Rung to collect the tax. Though Garanger made efforts to negotiate with the officer, the latter remained steadfast. The Chinese officer's response to Garanger was similar to that of Dao Piwen in 1891 to the Pavie Mission. The Chinese officer said that he would leave Sipsòng Panna and could not guarantee Garanger's safety. However, Garanger believes that the Chinese officer did not trust him and was unwilling to leave him in Sipsòng Panna.⁷⁷⁰ Moreover, a noble of the Nūa Sanam of Chiang Rung informed Garanger that Chiang Rung was dependent on the Chinese authorities in Simao and, therefore, Garanger would not be allowed to install a station without Simao's permission. A letter was dispatched to Simao, but after waiting fifteen days, Garanger received an unfavourable response.⁷⁷¹

Garanger also encountered the local population's vigilance and hostility. He suspected that the authorities in Müang U were paying close attention to the foreign mission. Three soldiers from Müang U were sent to Quan-Chu-Line long before his arrival to conduct interrogations.⁷⁷² In Müang Ram, all the men were away purchasing salt, and the women who were alone at home refused to offer hospitality to the mission.⁷⁷³ The team experienced the same problem at Bò Sao, where they were also refused to be received.⁷⁷⁴ Furthermore, Garanger claims that the nobles of Chiang Rung intercepted his letters written in Müang U.⁷⁷⁵

An incident occurred in Chiang Rung, which was the direct cause of Garanger's departure. Garanger found that his merchandise was being unpacked and stolen. He claims that two of his servants stole his goods and then sought protection from Phraya Luang Na Khwa. Phraya Luang Na Khwa accused him of lacking generosity and of spying on the country in preparation for its annexation. Phraya Luang Na Khwa swore that Garanger and his men would not leave Sipsòng Panna alive.⁷⁷⁶ During the night, Garanger made a daring escape to Müang Rai. However, the two thieves gathered two acolytes and followed the French to Müang Rai, seeking opportunities to attack Garanger. But several days later, this menace had apparently disappeared.⁷⁷⁷ Garanger was warned that a band sent by Phraya Luang Na Khwa from Chiang Rung was waiting for him along the route to Müang Yòng, so he had to change their itinerary.⁷⁷⁸

Though Garanger describes this journey in largely negative tones, he still acknowledged the hospitality he received in Müang Rai and Chiang Tung.⁷⁷⁹ Garanger does not say that Chiang Rung made a favourable impression on him. However, the Cambodian interpreter Cahom writes that they had a good relationship with Chao Mòm Kham Lü, and he noted that the latter wore the cap sent by Pavie in 1891 when they went hunting.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁰ Cahom à Auguste Pavie, 10 août 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM; Georges Garanger à Auguste Pavie, 2 avril 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM.

⁷⁷¹ Georges Garanger à Auguste Pavie, 23 février 1893, Indochine 48, MD 85, CADLC.

⁷⁷² Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 7.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 26–27.

⁷⁷⁸ Cahom à Auguste Pavie, 10 août 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM; Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 28.

⁷⁷⁹ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 38; Cahom à Auguste Pavie, 10 août 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM.

⁷⁸⁰ Cahom à Auguste Pavie, 10 août 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM.

3 Boundary

a) Willingness to delimit the boundary

One trope in the British discourse is the native population welcoming the boundary demarcation. In 1891, Scott reports that Siam was eager to demarcate the boundary lines and had urged Chiang Tung to get started two years ago.⁷⁸¹ Before the Anglo-Siamese Boundary Commission was formed, officials from Chiang Tung and Chiang Saeng had discussed demarcation matters, but no “definite declaration of frontier” was made in 1884 and 1889, as neither Burma nor Britain had authorised Chiang Tung.⁷⁸² Archer reports that the survey “was welcomed everywhere as an earnest that the boundary would be settled before long”, and that he obtained “every assistance” in his enquiries, especially from Chiang Rung officials.⁷⁸³ Daly claims that Müang Laem was “not only exceedingly friendly and well-disposed towards us, but [was] ready and even eager to supply information”.⁷⁸⁴

Scott is convinced that the boundary delimitation was a means to restore peace. He reports that the prosperity of the three ravaged trans-Salween Shan states (Müang Hang, Müang Chuat, Müang Tha) could only be restored by “the erection of boundary pillars”, which would convince “the inhabitants that all danger of interference on the part of Siam has passed away”.⁷⁸⁵ Additionally, Scott reports that Müang Sat was under threat of invasion from the Lahu people, instigated by the Siamese Müang Fang.⁷⁸⁶ The Lahu people under Müang Sat’s rule were equally afraid of Siamese attacks, and they knew the “ambitious and unscrupulous character” of the Müang Fang ruler.⁷⁸⁷

Scott believes that his arrival in Chiang Tung in 1889 made the people aware of “the complete restoration of peace beyond the Salween”, and many households in Müang Sat had moved back to their homelands. He expected waves of migration back to Müang Pan (Mongpan) and Müang Nai once the news spread that Müang Sat was under Chiang Tung’s rule.⁷⁸⁸

Walker claims that in Müang Khan, a part of Chiang Khaeng, a boundary mark on a tree cut by Stirling was carefully protected with bamboo fences, thus implying recognition of the

⁷⁸¹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 11, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁷⁸² Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 6 February 1891, p. 44, FO 422/32, Inclosure 3 in No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA; Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 11, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁷⁸³ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 56, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, NA.

⁷⁸⁴ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 485, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

⁷⁸⁵ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 2, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

British claim.⁷⁸⁹ However, Walker's claim was questionable because in early 1895, Müang Khan still submitted to France.⁷⁹⁰

Several reports contain traces of resistance to the arrival of the boundary investigation commissions. Mang Lön and Müang Laem were cautious of the British and had planned to resist, but this idea was eventually abandoned not long before the arrival of the Daly-Warry Commission.⁷⁹¹

Similar to Thongchai's discussion of the early reactions of Siam and Chiang Mai to boundary delimitation,⁷⁹² other records reveal that the natives did not have a particularly active response to the boundary investigation. Younghusband found it difficult to obtain information from the natives concerning Chiang Tung's northern boundaries. The only comment he received was from the chief minister, Chao Mòm Sūa's uncle, that Chiang Tung's boundaries had hardly changed since ancient times. However, Younghusband reports that the chief minister did not explain what these ancient boundaries were, and Younghusband did not know whether it was because he simply had no knowledge or was not willing to share it.⁷⁹³

Stirling wrote twice to ask Müang Sing to meet him in Chiang Lap and Phalaeo, respectively, to investigate the boundary of the cis-Mekong part of Chiang Khaeng; no reply was received. The Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Mission for 1893–94 only obtained an answer from Müang Sing when they met Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng, accompanied by a retinue and two Müang Sing officials, on 25 February 1894 in Müang Yòng. Müang Sing was satisfied with the settlement of 1893 established by Hildebrand and refused to visit the boundary again.⁷⁹⁴ Moreover, Chiang Khaeng could not send people without the presence of Siamese officials.⁷⁹⁵ Stirling reports that Chao Sri Nò Kham feared making any decisions without Siamese consent.⁷⁹⁶

The British Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Mission for 1893–94 encountered troubles in Sipsòng Panna as well. Chao Mòm Kham Lü declined Stirling's invitation to send people to meet him, arguing that because he was "a vassal of the Emperor of China" and Sipsòng Panna was "territory of the Emperor of China", he could not "act on my own authority" and that a commission had been appointed by Kunming to investigate the frontier.⁷⁹⁷ It was more likely

⁷⁸⁹ Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 14.

⁷⁹⁰ Chao Sri Nò Kham and the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to Auguste Pavie, the 15th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [10 January 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

⁷⁹¹ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 488, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

⁷⁹² Thongchai, *Siam Mapped*, 63–68.

⁷⁹³ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 11–12.

⁷⁹⁴ Walker, "Diary", 19; Stirling, *Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission*, 1 June 1894, f. 350, FO 17/1225, NA.

⁷⁹⁵ From the Sawbwa of Kēng Cheng State to the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Monè, the 10th waxing of 4th month [14th February 1894], trans., Appendix A in Stirling, *Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission*, 1 June 1894, f. 362, FO 17/1225, NA; From the Sawbwa of Kēng Cheng State to the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Monè, the 12th waxing of 4th month [16th February 1894], trans., Appendix B in Stirling, *Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission*, 1 June 1894, f. 362, FO 17/1225, NA.

⁷⁹⁶ Stirling, *Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission*, 1 June 1894, f. 351, FO 17/1225, NA.

⁷⁹⁷ Purport of a Lü letter from the Sawbwa of Kēng Hung to the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Monè, the 3rd waxing of 5th month [8th March 1894], trans., Appendix F in Stirling, *Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission*, 1 June 1894, f. 362, FO 17/1225, NA.

an excuse for his indifference to the boundary investigation because Müang Laem, which was in a similar situation to Sipsòng Panna, sent its representatives. In addition to Chao Mòm Kham Lü, the British had invited the native authorities of Chiang Lò, a frontier town of Sipsòng Panna. Walker reports that the Chiang Lò official “was tired of pointing out the frontier and was not coming”. However, Walker questions the Chiang Lò official’s reply since just before the British had arrived, the official “had the pleasure” of pointing out the boundary to four successive Chinese missions.⁷⁹⁸ Similarly, in 1895, Chao Mòm Kham Lü replied to a joint invitation from Scott and Pavie, saying that he had not received any orders and begged them to wait for the arrival of Dao Piwen, a Chinese delegate.⁷⁹⁹

The British met no representatives of Müang Laem either, even though Müang Laem dispatched two officials, Hpa Lam Pak Tau and Hpa Hsu Ta Hkam Lü, to meet them. The problem was the time it took to deliver a letter and the constant changing of meeting places. Initially, the two Müang Laem officials waited at Dòi Nam Pòk, on the border between Müang Laem and Müang Yang. After more than twenty days’ waiting (from the 10th waxing of the 4th month to the 2nd waxing of the 5th month), they left Dòi Nam Pòk without seeing the British, who arrived almost ten days later. On the 9th waxing of the 5th month, Maung Nyo’s letter arrived, informing them to wait in Müang Nòi. The next day, another letter arrived from Maung Nyo asking them to wait in Müang Phaen, as the British would reach Müang Phaen on the 9th waxing of the 5th month. As they were too far away to proceed to Müang Phaen, they returned to Müang Laem.⁸⁰⁰

b) Conflict about Border Ideas

It is misleading to claim that boundaries did not exist in the Upper Mekong basin. In the pre-modern nation-state in mainland Southeast Asia, boundaries existed in a form different from the colonial boundary concept.⁸⁰¹ Detailed information about boundaries is found in local records. In contrast to the clearly defined continuous lines, the borders of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng were discontinuous geographical bodies, such as a cliff, a river, a

⁷⁹⁸ Walker, “Diary”, 26.

⁷⁹⁹ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 11 February 1895, f. 365, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA.

⁸⁰⁰ The Sawbwa of Mông Lem to the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Monè, the 8th waxing of the 4th month, 1255 [13 February 1894], trans., Appendix G in Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 362, FO 17/1225, NA; The Sawbwa of Mông Lem to the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Monè, the 10th waxing of 5th month, 1255 [16 March 1894], trans., Appendix H in Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 362, FO 17/1225, NA; Walker, “Diary”, 28.

⁸⁰¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 2006), 172; Thongchai, *Siam Mapped*, 79.

hill ridge, and a lake.⁸⁰² Moreover, boundaries were also marked by a tree,⁸⁰³ a pagoda,⁸⁰⁴ a pass,⁸⁰⁵ a slate,⁸⁰⁶ a sign made of bamboo,⁸⁰⁷ or “a mud wall with a bamboo palisade on the top”,⁸⁰⁸ rather than consistent and uniform boundary markers.

The investigation work also relied on local knowledge of existing boundaries and, in particular, on the natives indicating boundaries. For instance, in 1895, Phraya Nantha Sian accompanied the British, and Chao Khanan Phitchawong accompanied the French to investigate the borders of Chiang Khaeng.⁸⁰⁹

Chiang Tung was satisfied with its existing boundary with Sipsòng Panna and Müang Laem, and so was Müang Laem. In a letter to the British boundary commission, Chao Mani Kham writes that “[t]he boundary between Mong Lem and Keng Tung is just as it always has been since the States were first established. At the same time, I shall be much obliged if you will be good enough to arrange matters on a permanent basis between the two States.”⁸¹⁰ The chief minister of Chiang Tung claimed that Chiang Tung’s boundaries had hardly changed since ancient times.⁸¹¹ Chiang Khaeng was also satisfied with its existing boundaries.⁸¹²

By contrast, the British and French officers considered the existing boundaries unreasonable. Scott considers the Nam Lam⁸¹³ as “a general line forming the boundary between Kyaington [Chiang Tung] and Chieng Hung [Chiang Rung]”, but Chiang Rung’s territory extended to the south of the river.⁸¹⁴ Archer considers “the water-parting of the Nam La and Nam U” as “the actual frontier”, forming “as well-defined a boundary as could be desired”. And “the water-parting of the Nam U and Nam Tha is the best natural boundary, but, strange to say, the territory of Kyaing Hung [Chiang Rung] extends a short distance within the Nam Tha basin, while the watershed between it and the Nam La is low and ill-defined.”⁸¹⁵ Archer suggests “giv[ing] up the small outlying districts of Kyaing Hung in the Nam Tha Basin for the sake of a well-defined natural boundary”.⁸¹⁶ Moreover, Archer reports that “[g]eographically”,

⁸⁰² Li Fuyi, trans., *Leshi* (Kunming: Wenjian shuju, 1947), 60; Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng to James George Scott, the 8th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [3 January 1895], MS Scott LL4.320, JGSC, CUL.

⁸⁰³ When McCarthy investigated a border mountain of Sipsòng Panna, Chao Bun Luang, the son of the late Uparat of Nan, called a tree as “a boundary-tree” (James McCarthy, *Surveying and Exploring in Siam* (London: John Murray, 1900), 160).

⁸⁰⁴ A pagoda on a hill near the Nam Ma was the boundary marker between Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna (McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 4 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 364).

⁸⁰⁵ A pass along the ridge of a mount, Pubokat, formed the boundary line between Sipsòng Panna, Nan and Müang Sing (McCarthy, *Surveying and Exploring in Siam*, 160).

⁸⁰⁶ Massie, *Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang*, 6 avril 1891, p.224, PA-AP 136, Volume 42, CADLC.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 avril 1891, p.230.

⁸⁰⁸ Lord Lamington, “Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King”, 709.

⁸⁰⁹ Eugène Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1898), 91.

⁸¹⁰ The Sawbwa of Mông Lem to the Extra Assistant Commissioner, 16 March 1894, trans., f. 362, FO 17/1225, NA.

⁸¹¹ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 11–12.

⁸¹² Walker, “Diary”, 19.

⁸¹³ The document prints as “Nam Law”. However, it should be “Nam Lam”.

⁸¹⁴ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 38, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁸¹⁵ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 56, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, NA.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Chiang Khaeng “belongs to the country north of it, that is to say, to Kyaing Hung”. Müang Sing was only separated from Sipsòng Panna by low hills, while its south was parted from the territory of Nan by a high range. The occupation of the Trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng would depend on whether the Government of India intended to take control of the Trans-Mekong Sipsòng Panna.⁸¹⁷

The complexity of the ethnic mix in the region also nullified ethnicity as a criterion for delimiting the boundary.⁸¹⁸ The geographic tension that arose between the Westerners and the natives was the result of conflict about the concept of “scientific boundary” and the extant/historical boundary. The “scientific boundary”⁸¹⁹ pursued by the British and the French commissions was the boundary formed by a combination of the strategic boundary and the geographic boundary. The criterion for “a good natural frontier” was “not bounded by a river [...] but marked by a distinct watershed”.⁸²⁰ The water parting principle was the most-used principle to define the new boundary in the mountainous Upper Mekong basin. It was rooted in the geographical principles of Alexander von Humboldt and became prevalent in the boundary-making of the colonial expansion from the 1840s onwards.⁸²¹

Both the British and French Commissions used river basins to interpret boundaries.⁸²² The existing boundaries, by contrast, did not specify a river watercourse or river basin.⁸²³ However, it is more likely to be a watercourse. Watercourses are easy to change. Consequently, Scott considers the Mekong to be the “weakest possible frontier”.⁸²⁴

It was widely believed that the native population was in urgent need of a fixed boundary, which would also be a means to tackle border problems. The Viceroy of India believes that the ministers of Chiang Khaeng “would [...] wish their frontier fixed”.⁸²⁵ Archer believes that a “fixed boundary” could prevent the encroachment of migration from Chiang Tung.⁸²⁶ Archer claims that a “permanent good natural boundary” will not be influenced by nomadic peoples, who often shifted their allegiance.⁸²⁷ For Younghusband, Chiang Tung was indifferent to the Chinese and Siamese encroachments and the loss of territory. He is convinced that it was Britain’s duty to demarcate and urged the boundary limitation to be carried out as soon as

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁸¹⁸ From Lieutenant H. Daly, Superintendent Northern Shan States, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 12 June 1891, p. 5, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, WWP, BL.

⁸¹⁹ The Earl of Lytton to the Marquis of Salisbury, 27 October 1891, p. 32, FO 422/32, No. 52, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

⁸²⁰ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 6 February 1891, p. 44, FO 422/32, Inclosure 3 in No. 57, NA.

⁸²¹ Kyle James Gardner, “Border Making, Geography, and the Limits of Empire in the Northwestern Himalaya, 1846–1962” (PhD diss., the University of Chicago, 2018), 95–96.

⁸²² Map of the Country Examined by the Mekong Commission, 1894–95, FO 422/43, NA; Carte de la région explorée par la Commission Franco-Anglaise, 1895, GGI 15699, ANOM.

⁸²³ Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng to James George Scott, the 8th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [3 January 1895], MS Scott LL4.320, JGSC, CUL.

⁸²⁴ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 15, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁸²⁵ The Viceroy of India to Lord G. Hamilton, 19 July 1895, p. 38, FO 422/43, Inclosure in No. 10, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

⁸²⁶ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer’s Journal, p. 9, FO 881/5713, NA.

⁸²⁷ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 6 February 1891, p. 42, FO 422/32, Inclosure 3 in No. 57, NA.

possible.⁸²⁸ It was true that the locals expected a fixed frontier, but this was not the same as the British conceived. Chao Sri Nò Kham insisted that the boundary of Chiang Khaeng had been formed as far back as the time of Chaofa Lek Nòi and that Müang Yòng, Müang Yu, Müang Wa, and Chiang Lap had been dependences (*thap phòng*) of Chiang Khaeng.⁸²⁹ This was a strong hint that new delimitation was unnecessary.

The British government was not interested in conducting any complicated boundary delimitation work concerning Chiang Tung, Chiang Rung, and Müang Laem and believed that “all that was required was that the locally recognised line should be as far as possible ascertained.”⁸³⁰ It was despite the fact that there was neutral ground between Chiang Lò and Müang La that was “ill-defined”.⁸³¹

By contrast, France took advantage of a scientific natural boundary to annex Sipsòng Panna’s territory. The natural boundary created by the water parting was used by France to claim both Müang U⁸³² and Bò Ten. Archer also suggests that if Britain wanted to take the trans-Mekong Sipsòng Panna, it would be better not to transcend the water parting of the Mekong and the Nam U, that is, to give up Müang U.⁸³³ For the sake of “a good natural boundary”, Archer recommends that the Government of India should abandon Müang U.⁸³⁴

There are also reports of contradictions between policymaking on boundary information and scientific boundaries. Bafazhai was a region rich in salt mines and home to eight of Sipsòng Panna’s important salt wells. Though the eight salt wells were known as the Nam La basin (actually, it overrode the Nam La basin and the Nam Tha basin), Pavie proposes annexing them in order to occupy a vital point on a trade route.⁸³⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis stresses that the Chinese people had known the existence of the wells for quite a long time, but because of their limited geographical knowledge, they could not locate them. France would exercise control over a large part of the salt wells in Bafazhai through “a geographical and rational delimitation” (*une délimitation géographique et rationnelle*).⁸³⁶ Specifically, Bafazhai was ceded to France with

⁸²⁸ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 11–12. Younghusband also proposed to abandon Chiang Tung because its border with China and Siam made it vulnerable to foreign invasions (Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 14).

⁸²⁹ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 14th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [9 January 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, n.d., f. 141, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

⁸³⁰ Walker, “Diary”, 27. See also H. Thirkell White, Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 31 August 1894, ff. 364–365, FO 17/1225, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 34*, NA.

⁸³¹ Walker, “Diary”, 26.

⁸³² Shi’alan, “*Zongshu shou faguo gongshi shi’alan han, zhongfa weiyuan kanding heijiang zhi meijiang duan bianjie mengwu wude liying gui yue* [Letter from Gérard to the Zongli Yamen, Chinese and French commissioners investigated the boundaries between the Black River and the Mekong and Müang U and U Tai should belong to Vietnam]”, 4 April 1895, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4073.

⁸³³ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 55, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, NA.

⁸³⁴ *Ibid.*, 63–64.

⁸³⁵ Auguste Pavie à Auguste Gérard, 28 mai 1895, f. 103, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

⁸³⁶ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos et sur les frontières de Chine et de Birmanie* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902), 243.

the signing of a convention on 20 June 1895.⁸³⁷ However, there was a conflict between the convention drafted by metropolitan officials and the on-spot information investigated by frontline officials. France intended to annex all the eight salt wells of Bafazhai recorded in the convention. However, the appended map only marked three salt wells in the Nam Tha basin as being in French territory. Previously, France had instructed the Zongli Yamen to place the boundary marker to the north of Bò Hae, the northern limit of Bafazhai, but it had refused to do so.⁸³⁸ After a protracted negotiation and having weighed up the economic and political importance of Bafazhai versus the inconvenience caused by the protracted negotiation, the Quai d'Orsay abandoned its proposal to revise the convention and its claim for the whole of Bafazhai.⁸³⁹ Finally, the boundary markers were placed according to Pavie's map.⁸⁴⁰ Thence, five salt wells (Bò Han, Bò Hae, Bò Luang, Bò Sang Yòng, Bò Sang Klang) remained in Sipsòng Panna and three salt wells (Bò Ten, Bò Hin, Bò La) were ceded to France. Moreover, the historical boundary of Müang U did not correspond with the geographic conditions. Sandré, the commissioner in charge of the demarcation of Müang U, also complains that the water parting principle would result in France losing some territory in Müang U (see Figure 8), especially some villages where the French had obtained coolies on several occasions since the historical boundary of Müang U extended into the Nam Ye basin and the Nam Riam basin, both of which were delimited as Chinese territory.⁸⁴¹

The Chinese authorities worried that the cession of Chiang Fa, Bò Ten, and other places in southern Sipsòng Panna to France would provoke a strong reaction from Sipsòng Panna that would be hard to pacify.⁸⁴² However, no extant records reveal how Sipsòng Panna reacted towards the cession of Bafazhai. As shown in one of the native chronicles, the native historical memory ascribed the loss of Bò Ten to the Chinese authorities. One record claims that during the reign of Chao Mòm Sò, Magistrate Dao from Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi) sold Bò Ten and Bo Pet to the French. Another narrative attributes it to Magistrate Fei, who sold Bò Ten to France at a price of 3000 piastres.⁸⁴³ In fact, the first narrative is a mixture of three historical memories: fear of the Chinese from Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi), who had

⁸³⁷ Convention complémentaire de la Convention de délimitation de la frontière entre le Tonkin et la Chine du 26 juin 1887, signé 20 juin 1895, GGI 31728, ANOM.

⁸³⁸ Shi'alan, "Zongshu shou faguo gongshi shi'alan han, bafazhai zhi ba yanquan yi yue dang gui yuenan [Letter from Gérard to the Zongli Yamen, according to the convention, the eight salt wells of Bafazhai should belong to Vietnam]", 11 May 1896, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4313; Zongli Geguo Shiwu Yamen, "Zongshu gei faguo gongshi shi'alan zhaohui, ba yanquan zhuan zhi bafazhai yi di qing chi fa yuan yiju yue tu hui li jiebei [Letter from the Zongli Yamen to Gérard, the eight salt wells refer to particularly the place Bafazhai and please order the French commissioner to establish the boundary markers according to the map in the convention]", 5 June 1896, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4317–4319.

⁸³⁹ Le Ministre des Colonies à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine, 19 novembre 1896, GGI 31732, ANOM.

⁸⁴⁰ Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos à Gouverneur Général, 9 février 1897, GGI 31732, ANOM.

⁸⁴¹ Sandré à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en Mission au Laos, 9 janvier 1896, GGI 31732, ANOM; Sandré, Annexe à la lettre No. 71, 9 janvier 1896, map, GGI 31732, ANOM.

⁸⁴² Song Fan, "Han shu fa yuan jieguan liang wu qingxing you [Report on the French Takeover of Two Müang U]", the 3rd day of the 10th month, Guangxu 21 [19 November 1895], 01-24-028-03-002, ZLGGSWYM, AIMH.

⁸⁴³ MLC-LV2 40.3, 42.15, in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 299, 305.

suppressed Sipsòng Panna in the 1910s and subsequently occupied the region for a long period, contact with Dao Piwen, and cession of territory.

Whether based on the natural boundary or the strategic boundary, ultimately, decisions about where borders were drawn were influenced by political interests.⁸⁴⁴ Scott's statement on the possession of Chiang Khaeng reveals that "[t]he question is therefore not whether Kyaingchaing [Chiang Khaeng] is not a part of the Burmese empire which we have annexed, but whether it is to our advantage to extend our frontier beyond the Mekhong river" and "[i]f we resign Kyaingchaing we, in addition to this, give a footing to a possible enemy on the western side of the river."⁸⁴⁵ For the French, obtaining the source of the Nam Tha guaranteed Bò Ten to the French, as it was a caravan transportation hub.⁸⁴⁶ The annexation of Müang Sing was also significant for commercial reasons,⁸⁴⁷ not least that it guaranteed a route to Sipsòng Panna.⁸⁴⁸

When the scientific natural boundary conflicted with colonial interests, the criterion of water parting was ignored. The description used in the aforementioned convention, for example, conflicted with the French claims to Müang Sing, which was located in the basin formed by the Nam Yuan, a tributary of the Nam La, and thus a natural part of Sipsòng Panna. In the end, this problem was settled by a revision of the convention and map.⁸⁴⁹

However, the scientific boundary was not unchangeable. France had proposed exchanging Bafazhai, which extended either side of the Nam La and Nam Tha water parting, for Müang U.⁸⁵⁰ Boundaries could apparently be re-delimited as long as they conformed with colonial interests. In 1896, it was proposed to re-demarcate the border and annex Müang Laem, Chiang Rung, and Zhenbian into British Burma.⁸⁵¹ In 1905, a French administrator, Sérizier, in Saigon, proposed to re-demarcate the boundary lines to incorporate the part of Sipsòng Panna that was on the left bank of the Mekong, and the remainder of Sipsòng Panna on the right bank would be assigned to Britain. The proposal was approved by Georges Mahé, the Résidents supérieurs du Laos, and was forwarded to the Gouvernement Général in Hanoi.⁸⁵²

c) Boundary Stone Events

⁸⁴⁴ The Governor-General of India in Council to Viscount Cross, 14 October 1891, p. 38, FO 422/32, Inclosure 2 in No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

⁸⁴⁵ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 22, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁸⁴⁶ Auguste Pavie à Auguste Gérard, 28 mai 1895, f. 104, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

⁸⁴⁷ A statement of a Yunnanese merchant in 1841 reveals that Müang Sing was an important point on the trade route (Gabriel Devéria à Philippe Berthelot, 6 décembre 1895, f. 314, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC).

⁸⁴⁸ M. Boullouche, Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo Chine Français, 1896, f. 51, GGI 15699, ANOM.

⁸⁴⁹ Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine au Ministre des Colonies, 25 avril 1896, GGI 31732, ANOM.

⁸⁵⁰ Shi'alan, "Zongshu shou faguo gongshi shi'alan zhaohui, mengwu wude rang gui faguo yu Zhong ying tiaoyue wu she [Letter from Gérard to the Zongli Yamen, the cession of Müang U and U Tai to France has no violation against the Sino-British Treaty]", 25 May 1895, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4094.

⁸⁵¹ Supplementary Report of the Intelligence Officer on Tour with the Superintendent, Northern Shan States, 1895–96: A Few Notes about the Chinese Frontier and the Provinces of Mong Lem, Keng Hung, Chien Pien, 1896, Mss Eur F278/90, BL.

⁸⁵² Sérizier, Note sur les pays "Shan": le royaume de Muong Sing-les états Shans britanniques-les Sip-song-pan-na, 1 décembre 1905, pp. 20–21, GGI 22299, ANOM.

Sometimes, the native reactions to the boundary demarcation were violent. Shortly after the departure of the Anglo-Siamese Boundary Commission of 1893, Chiang Tung sent 150 people to tear down the boundary stone on the left bank of the Mae Sai and throw it into the river. Siam had to replace it with a flag, which it installed on the right bank.⁸⁵³

In the French discourse, the people of Sipsòng Panna are depicted as a group of people who ignore the boundary demarcation and wantonly move boundary markers to expand their territory. Similarly, Archer believes that Sipsòng Panna's occupation of the source area of the Nam Tha was the result of it being expanded, and he notes that the Tai Lü had constantly "endeavoured to thrust forward their frontier a few miles beyond what the Kyaing Hung people consider to be their rightful boundary".⁸⁵⁴

One piece of evidence mentioned by Lefèvre-Pontalis is the boundary stone event in Bò Luang in 1893. Chao Sitthisan, the Tai Yuan ruler of Müang Luang Phukha, complained to Lefèvre-Pontalis that their territory was threatened by the Tai Lü from Sipsòng Panna, who had removed a boundary marker several times. The original boundary stone, which 270 years previously had been placed near a tree in Ton Müang Khai, was moved to the territory of Müang Luang Phukha, but it was soon relocated by the Nan authorities in 1887/1888. In 1893/1894, a Sipsòng Panna noble named Racha Nammawong demanded the people of Bò Luang to move the boundary marker to Khao Mòk Lòk, but this provoked protests from Müang Luang Phukha. Consequently, the people of Bò Luang did not restore the marker but moved it to another location seven kilometres away from Ton Müang Khai.⁸⁵⁵ However, Lefèvre-Pontalis's accusation is unfounded. A Siamese record testifies that Khao Mòk Lòk was the boundary between Sipsòng Panna and Nan, of which Müang Luang Phukha used to be part.⁸⁵⁶ Moreover, this event happened in 1893/1894, when the locally recognised border between China and French Indochina had not been redefined.

Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that Müang Luang Phukha requested French assistance. Lefèvre-Pontalis took this issue seriously and proceeded to Bò Ten to investigate.⁸⁵⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis compared it with the Burmese encroachment on Chiang Saen and Chiang Khòng.⁸⁵⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis found the boundary marker near Khao Mòk Lòk, upon which was written "Müang Luang-Bò Luang" in both Tham (which Lefèvre-Pontalis calls "Lu") and Chinese scripts. He ordered the local authorities to move the marker to the ruler's house for future

⁸⁵³ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 47; Georges Garanger à Monsieur le Ministre de France à Bangkok, 23 juillet 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM.

⁸⁵⁴ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 56, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, NA.

⁸⁵⁵ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis, à travers les territoires de M. Luong-pou-kha, de Ta-Kiè à Bo-Tène* (26 septembre–1 octobre 1894), 28 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC.

⁸⁵⁶ *Nangsü luang sòrasitthayanukan krap rian phraya kraikosa* [Report from Luang Sòrasitthayanukan to Phraya Kraikosa], 25 February 2432 [1890], Folder 8.3, No. 8, Archives Division, MFA, quoted in Nakorn, *Panha chaidæen thai-phama*, 386.

⁸⁵⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 28 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁸⁵⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 163.

boundary delimitation.⁸⁵⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis writes that the boundary should be modified according to the natural feature of the Nam Tha water parting and notes that any boundary violation would become difficult.⁸⁶⁰

Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the Tai Lü people had said that next time they would place it further southwards, on the plain of Müang Luang Phukha, where the Nam Tha River and the Nam Thalung River converged.⁸⁶¹ However, according to the local tradition, Sipsòng Panna's southern boundary was further south, beyond the Nam Thalung, as attested by Massie's journey in 1891.⁸⁶²

A similar incident happened in Dòi Lak Kham. During McCarthy's 1892 survey, he heard that the boundary pillars at Dòi Lak Kham had been removed by the people of Sipsòng Panna, whom he considered "might with greater boldness cross the watershed".⁸⁶³

In 1894, Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that the villagers of Ban Sang Yòng, Sipsòng Panna, blamed the Müang Ai people for being greedy and claiming to have a vast territory.⁸⁶⁴ Contrary to the people of Müang Luang Phukha, those of Müang Ai were "more bellicose" (*Plus belliqueux*). They restored the boundary marker and were set to declare war against Sipsòng Panna.⁸⁶⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that even the Tai Lü of Müang Ai, as subjects of Luang Prabang, resisted the violations of Sipsòng Panna more actively than the Lao.⁸⁶⁶ The incident in Dòi Lak Kham was exaggerated by the press in metropolitan France, who reported it as a Chinese army invading French territory.⁸⁶⁷

Lefèvre-Pontalis's presence in Müang Ai symbolised the restoration of order. Boundary conflicts had been "suspended" (*en suspens*) for some years, but he worried that a "new incident" (*nouvel incident*) would arouse problems again.⁸⁶⁸ The old marker was destroyed by the people of Sipsòng Panna, and Lefèvre-Pontalis ordered people to gather up the debris as "evidence of the Tai Lü's attack" (*les preuves de l'attentat des Lus*).⁸⁶⁹

In 1911, an incident related to a boundary stone occurred in Müang Sing, and France protested to Peking. The officials in Müang Mang were accused of illicitly placing a boundary stone in French territory in order to "extend authority over the villages, which were from Sipsòng Panna and newly installed in our lands" (*étendre autorité sur villages nouvellement*

⁸⁵⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 30 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1 octobre 1894.

⁸⁶² Massie, *Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang*, 8 mars, 13 mars 1891, pp. 187, 190, PA-AP 136, Volume 42, CADLC.

⁸⁶³ McCarthy, *Surveying and Exploring in Siam*, 166.

⁸⁶⁴ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis, de Bo-Tène (Sipsong-pannas) à Muong-Koua (Luang-prabang)*, par M. Hay, M. Ngin, M. La, sur le Nam Pak (2–10 octobre 1894), 2 octobre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 octobre 1894.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2 octobre 1894.

⁸⁶⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 172.

⁸⁶⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 3 octobre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

installés chez nous et venus de Sipsongpanna).⁸⁷⁰ Bougier, the Commissaire du Gouvernement du Haut-Mékong, was dispatched to investigate the incident. The ruler of Müang Luang Phukha claimed that the officials from Müang Mang had come to collect tax among the twenty Yao families who had recently settled in French Laos. However, the situation was more complicated. It had its origins in 1908, when a former Yao official, Phraya En Kham, fled to Sipsòng Panna. Bougier attributed the flight to his misappropriation of tax. Bougier consoled the Yao villagers that they were under French protection and were free from the threats of Phraya En Kham. Later, on 14 May 1910, Chao Luang Wòrawong, Chao Phraya Chai Wong, and another official from Müang Mang installed a boundary pillar at Sam Sop Nam Dung. Bougier ordered the ruler of Müang Luang Phukha to destroy the pillar.⁸⁷¹

The French records attribute this incident to collaboration between the Yao headman Phraya En Kham and Müang Mang, while the Chinese side blamed it solely on the Yao headman. A Chinese police officer (*xunjian*) named Chen Yue was dispatched from Simao to investigate the incident. The ruler of Müang Phong apparently knew nothing about what had happened, the ruler of Müang Mang was absent during Chen Yue's visit, and the people nearby said that the marker had been removed by a Yao headman from a French Yao village. Chen Yue interviewed a Yao headman named Ba Long Kanmeweng, who reported that previously two headmen of Müang Luang Nam Tha had come to investigate the boundary and had found ancient records saying that the boundary line was at Sam Sop and so, finally, a pillar was stuck there. The police officer then made a tour of some key spots. The démarche concluded that the pillar was established by a French Yao headman in the French territory and was unrelated to Müang Phong and Müang Mang. Moreover, the pillar was destroyed, and the boundary stones installed by the Sino-French boundary commissions remained on their original spots.⁸⁷²

The real problem, however, was the collision of local records on the boundary. Documents from Müang Luang Phukha recorded that the boundary limit started in Hin Lak Kham, passed through Kiou Hène-Kiou Lône, and continued on to Sam Sop Nam Kong. The records from Müang Mang, by contrast, marked "Sam Luong Sam Soum" as the summit of the boundary, which then descended to Nam Na until the mouth of the river at Sam Sop.⁸⁷³

Though the general French discourse accused Sipsòng Panna of violating boundary demarcation, according to Chinese oral sources of the mid-twentieth century, the French secretly moved the boundary stones forward to the Chinese side, and the natives moved them back to their original places. It is said that after the installation of boundary markers, France conspired with an officer of Yiwu to move the boundary stone of Ban Chòm about 25

⁸⁷⁰ Résident Supérieur du Laos au Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, 2 février 1911, GGI 40628, ANOM.

⁸⁷¹ M. Bougier, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur au Lao, 27 février 1911, GGI 40628, ANOM; Le Tiao Luong Boutsalot à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement, 24 février 1911, GGI 40628, ANOM; Traduction du placard apposé sur la borne, the 6th day of the 7th month, 1272 [14 May 1910], GGI 40628, ANOM.

⁸⁷² *Zhaohui* [Diplomatic correspondence], the 11th day of the 5th month, Xuantogn 3 [7 June 1911], GGI 40628, ANOM.

⁸⁷³ Le Tiao Luong Boutsalot à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement, 24 février 1911, GGI 40628, ANOM; Traduction du placard apposé sur la borne, 14 May 1910, GGI 40628, ANOM.

kilometres into Chinese territory.⁸⁷⁴ One informant reported that in the 1930s, the French moved boundary markers 15 kilometres further into Müang Yuan's territory.⁸⁷⁵

d) Trans-Mekong Chiang Tung villages

For the Tai people, control of manpower was more significant than territory, and the two were not necessarily connected. For this reason, in the early nineteenth century, Chiang Mai and Nan only seized the populations of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng, not the territory. It was also the reason why the Siamese authorities did not forbid the settlement of Chiang Tung subjects in Chiang Saen, something which puzzled the British.⁸⁷⁶

For the Tai states, “a subject was bound first and foremost to his lord rather than to a state.”⁸⁷⁷ Subjects living in the other's territory were still considered their own people and were required to pay taxes. In 1894, Phraya Luang Kham Daeng was dispatched to Müang U to negotiate permission from the French authorities for Sipsòng Panna to collect tax among the Akha refugees in Luang Prabang's territory.⁸⁷⁸

There was a similar situation for the so-called trans-Mekong territory of Chiang Tung, which included 76 villages of Chiang Tung migrants.⁸⁷⁹ The majority of these villages, roughly 64 villages, were tributary to Müang Len.⁸⁸⁰ Six villages belonged to Phalaeo.⁸⁸¹ This colony was established between the 1860s and the 1870s by different migration trends.⁸⁸² Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that these settlers covered at least three groups: migrants from Müang Len and Phalaeo;⁸⁸³ those who escaped from the authority of Britain or Chiang Tung and were probably helpful for the French; and dacoits, whom Lefèvre-Pontalis considered to be the most

⁸⁷⁴ Anonymous, “*Diguo zhuyi de qinlue yu daizu renmin de fan di douzheng* [The imperialist invasion and the resistance from the Tai people]”, in *Yunnan sheng daizu shehui lishi diaocha cailiao: xishuangbanna diqu* [Survey documents of the society and history of the Tai people of Yunnan Province: Sipsòng Panna], ed. Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Minzu Yanjiu Suo Yunnan Minzu Diaocha Zu, Yunnan Sheng Minzu Yanjiu Suo (Kunming: Yunnan Sheng Minzu Yanjiu Suo, 1964), 9:116.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁶ Thongchai, *Siam Mapped*, 77.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., 164. See also Nicholas Tarling, “The Establishment of the Colonial Régimes”, in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 2:6.

⁸⁷⁸ Phya Luong Kham Deng à Monsieur le Grand Commissaire Français, chargé des affaires du pays, 9 novembre 1894, trans., *Indochine* 53, MD 91, CADLC.

⁸⁷⁹ Mr. Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 15 March 1895, p. 104, IOR/L/PS/20/FO78/3, No. 78, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Siam, Part VI*, BL.

⁸⁸⁰ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 23 March 1895, f. 146, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA; Statement of Hsen Katiya of Mōng Lin, 13 March 1895, f. 162, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

⁸⁸¹ Statement of Hpaya Sili Wong of Paliu, n.d., f. 163, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

⁸⁸² Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 23 March 1895, f. 144, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁸⁸³ Chiang Lap and Phalaeo (refugees during the period of Maha Chai) were exclusively inhabited by Tai Lü. Müang Len was inhabited by Tai Lü and a large number of refugees from Müang Nai, Müang Nòng, Müang Sit and other states (Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 14, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.).

dangerous.⁸⁸⁴ Moreover, there was a Presbyterian Christian community near Chiang Saen that was “afraid to avow themselves as subjects of any Power”.⁸⁸⁵

This Chiang Tung colony had no recognised boundary,⁸⁸⁶ but there was a clear division between these villages and the villages tributary to Siam.⁸⁸⁷ The settlers understood that this territory belonged to Siam, but their settlement met no objection from the Siamese, nor were they commanded to send tribute to the latter.⁸⁸⁸ The Chiang Saen authorities also considered the territory up to Ban Thang Ò as belonging to Chiang Saen.⁸⁸⁹ Müang Kang was built by Chiang Tung settlers. Phra Bat Müang Kang was a holy site for the Chiang Khòng and Nan people and received frequent pilgrims from these places. Thus, the Chiang Saen authorities considered it Chiang Khòng’s territory.⁸⁹⁰ Only Phraya Sin regarded these territories to be Chiang Tung’s.⁸⁹¹

The British claimed the territory where these settlers lived based on occupation,⁸⁹² while the French attempted to impose their authority on these settlers because they lived in the trans-Mekong territory ceded to France by Siam. The Chiang Khòng authorities complained about the disobedience of these recent migrants at Ban Thang Ò, who relied on Chiang Tung.⁸⁹³ Lefèvre-Pontalis apparently regards Müang Len as “the centre of all the intrigues” (*le centre de toutes les intrigues*), sending subjects to take possession of the trans-Mekong territory and forbidding them from migrating back.⁸⁹⁴ The people of Ban Huai Haen were from Müang Len. They were sent by the ruler of Müang Len “to facilitate the passage of travellers” (*pour faciliter le passage des voyageurs*). After ten years of settlement, many of these migrants wanted to move back to Müang Len. However, Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the ruler of Müang Len refused them permission to return.⁸⁹⁵ He also worries that if Chiang Tung succeeded in

⁸⁸⁴ Le Secrétaire d’ambassade, Commissaire Adjoint de la République Française au Laos, à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre et Commissaire Général, 16 mars 1895, f. 165, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

⁸⁸⁵ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 23 March 1895, ff. 147–148, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 144; Statement of Baya Sin, 7 March 1895, f. 155, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA; Statement of the Chao Luang, Chao Raja Wong, and Chao Raja But of Chieng Hsen, 19 March 1895, f. 157, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA; Statement of Hsen Katiya of Mông Lin, 13 March 1895, f. 162, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁸⁸⁷ Statement of Hsen Katiya of Mông Lin, 13 March 1895, f. 162, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁸⁸⁸ Statement of Baya Sin, 7 March 1895, f. 155, FO 17/1266, NA; Enquiry held at Tang Aw, 16 March 1895, f. 156, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA. In 1879, Chiang Tung and Siam reached an agreement that the Chiang Tung subjects were allowed to settle down in the territory of Chiang Rai and Chiang Saen, and the Siamese subjects were allowed to settle down in the territory of Müang Len and Müang Phayak (Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 270–271).

⁸⁸⁹ Statement of the Chao Luang, 19 March 1895, f. 157, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 158.

⁸⁹¹ Statement of Baya Sin, 7 March 1895, f. 155, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁸⁹² Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 6 February 1891, p. 45, FO 422/32, Inclosure 3 in No. 57, NA.

⁸⁹³ Le Secrétaire d’ambassade, Commissaire Adjoint de la République Française au Laos, à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident et Commissaire Général, 11 mars 1895, f. 159, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 163.

⁸⁹⁵ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis à Xieng Sen et à Tang Ho, sur le Mékhong (27 août–5 septembre 1894), 2 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

claiming the trans-Mekong Lahu territory, that it would also claim all of the trans-Mekong areas inhabited by migrants, including the Yao people.⁸⁹⁶

During his journey to Chiang Khòng in 1894, Lefèvre-Pontalis attempted to impose French authority on these settlers. The chief of Ban Huai Nam Ngi, who had previously lived in Müang Len, told Lefèvre-Pontalis that he did not obey the orders from the British but from Chao Mòm Súa. This willingness to follow orders from Chiang Tung was a natural continuance of what he had done when he was in Müang Len.⁸⁹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis warned him of the danger of the British indirect orders via Chiang Tung authorities and commanded him to consult the French agent in Chiang Saen and Chiang Khòng after receiving any orders from Chiang Tung and to pay no tax nor corvée without French permission.⁸⁹⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the chief asked for a letter of protection, or they would seek to return to the cis-Mekong territory, as Chiang Tung had ordered them not to obey the Chiang Saen authorities.⁸⁹⁹

Some of the settlers were Shan refugees from the cis-Salween territories, who were not the same as the subjects of Müang Len and had no ties to the cis-Mekong territory. Lefèvre-Pontalis blames the British for naming them the “people of Chiang Tung” (*gens de Xieng Tong*) and Chiang Tung for imposing taxes on them. Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that the chief of Müang Hi received Lefèvre-Pontalis’s letter, which granted them permission not to pay, “with pleasure” (*avec plaisir*).⁹⁰⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis also claims that it was “good news” (*bonne nouvelle*) for these people.⁹⁰¹

Scott found that some villages, Müang Hi, Müang Pong, Hsup Nam, and Hsup Hok, submitted to the French and disobeyed the orders from Chiang Tung.⁹⁰² He complains that the French forbade these villages from obeying anyone but the French.⁹⁰³

Both Pavie and Lefèvre-Pontalis claimed that these villages were forced to pay tribute to Chiang Tung.⁹⁰⁴ Phraya Sin complained about pressure from the Chiang Tung side.⁹⁰⁵ Consequently, Lefèvre-Pontalis believes that the abolishment of imposition from Chiang Tung would be beneficial to these settlers. The people of Ban Thang Pung, driven by misery, migrated from Müang Sat to the trans-Mekong territory. The abolition of tax to Chiang Tung

⁸⁹⁶ Le Secrétaire d’ambassade, Commissaire Adjoint de la République Française au Laos, à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident et Commissaire Général, 11 mars 1895, ff. 162–163, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

⁸⁹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 31 août 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 septembre 1894.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰² Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 23 March 1895, f. 152, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁹⁰³ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 10 April 1895, f. 355, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

⁹⁰⁴ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 4 April 1895, f. 283, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA; Le Secrétaire d’ambassade, Commissaire Adjoint de la République Française au Laos, à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident et Commissaire Général, 23 mars 1895, ff. 197–198, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

⁹⁰⁵ Le Secrétaire d’ambassade, Commissaire Adjoint de la République Française au Laos, à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident et Commissaire Général, 23 mars 1895, ff. 197–198, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

meant happiness to them.⁹⁰⁶ However, Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that there were still some people who refused to obey his orders, citing an example of his attempt to get some Lahu people to maintain the roads, but they refused.⁹⁰⁷

Phraya Sing, Saen Luang Phan, and Saen Phromma Khili led the Lahu people to plead with Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya and Racha Ratchasan, both were officials of Chiang Khaeng, to ask Pavie's permission to let them remain with Müang Sing. The truth was, however, that they did not really care too much about to whom they submitted. They could not return to the cis-Mekong territory as they had no fields to work there. They had been sending taxes to Chiang Tung and now wanted the French to send orders exempting them from paying taxes. Without the order, Chiang Tung would continue to come for its money.⁹⁰⁸ Two Chiang Tung officials, Phraya Khattiya and the Phraya of Phalaeo, considered Müang Mõng to be the territory of Chiang Tung. They also blamed Phraya Chai and Phraya Kaeo for forcing subjects to prepare roads for the French. Without these two headmen, people would be happy.⁹⁰⁹

In 1895, the British and the French confronted each other at Ban Thang Ò, which both countries claimed as their territory. Dupuy protested that the British Commission did not pay for the supplies they obtained from Ban Thang Ò and handed over a list of unpaid goods.⁹¹⁰ Scott rejected Dupuy's interference, as Ban Thang Ò was British territory, and the villagers were British subjects.⁹¹¹ After an investigation, Stirling concluded that the Commission had paid for the supplies and that the unpaid goods on the list had been given to Saen Müang Nam, a Chiang Tung clerk accompanying the Commission. It was not clear whether these supplies were for his personal use or were provided to the members of the Commission.⁹¹²

Considering Scott's final report, which refers to this trans-Mekong tract as being of "little value", Chao Mòm Súa's "indifference", and the India Government's "abstinence from any active assertion", the India Government was considering abandoning the trans-Mekong land.⁹¹³ The trans-Mekong tract dispute was eventually settled by a declaration of 15 January 1896, which set the Mekong River as the limit of territory or sphere of influence.⁹¹⁴

⁹⁰⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 1 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁹⁰⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 27 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁹⁰⁸ Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya and Racha Ratchasan to Auguste Pavie, the 3rd waning day of the 5th month, 1256 [13 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC.

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁰ Note des fournitures faites par Sène Pou Kouï à la caravane de Monsieur Scott, n.d., f. 367, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

⁹¹¹ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 10 April 1895, f. 356, FO 17/1266, NA; Copy of letter from Mr. J. George Scott to Monsieur C. Dupuy, Agent of the French Republic at Chieng Khong, 7 April 1895, f. 368, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

⁹¹² G. C. B. Stirling, Remark, 8 April 1895, f. 375, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

⁹¹³ Scott, Further Report, n.d., p. 117, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 39, NA; The Viceroy of India to Lord G. Hamilton, 16 November 1895, p. 250, FO 422/43, Inclosure in No. 123, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

⁹¹⁴ Declaration between Great Britain and France with regard to Siam and the Upper Mekong, 15 January 1896, p. 8, FO 422/45, Inclosure in No. 10, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

4 Overlords, Protectors, and Mediators

In contrast to McLeod in 1837 and the FMEM in 1867, who arrived as a diplomat and explorers, respectively, in the 1890s, the British and the French arrived as new overlords, protectors, and mediators.

a) Overlords of Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Chiang Rung

The Burma Government was worried that Chiang Tung would turn to Prince Myingoon and, through him, to France.⁹¹⁵ In 1890, when Scott led a team to join the Anglo-Siamese Commission on the Burma-Siamese border, Chiang Tung had not officially surrendered to Britain. It was for this reason that Scott made a detour to Chiang Tung.⁹¹⁶ Scott's team included Francis John Pink (1857–1934) (escort commander), R. T. Darwin (civil surgeon), Naw Kham Mōng Tein (the brother-in-law of the Mūang Nai *chaofa*), eighteen Sikhs of the Shan Levy, Burmese clerks, servants, camp followers, and Yunnanese muleteers and their mules.⁹¹⁷ The British were presented with gold and silver flowers when they arrived in Chiang Tung town.⁹¹⁸

Scott's first impressions of Chao Mòm Sūa were unfavourable. During the conversation, Chao Mòm Sūa “remained as passive as a log” and “hardly said a word beyond yes and no, and when any of my questions required something more of an answer, he pointed to one of his Ministers with his chin as an order to supply the information”.⁹¹⁹ The Burmese clerk considered him “an uneducated, loutish, barbarian person”.⁹²⁰

An incident on 16 March put Chao Mòm Sūa at a disadvantage.⁹²¹ Eight Yunnanese muleteers hired by the British were attacked by the Tai at the weekend bazaar in front of the palace because they appeared near the palace with swords. Chao Mòm Sūa had issued an order forbidding members of the British Commission from wearing weapons in the town.⁹²² One of the muleteers, named Lao Yong, was seriously injured by a gunshot. According to a headman, Lao Yong said he was “shot by the direct order of the Amat [official] presiding at the *pwè* [feast]”.⁹²³ By contrast, Darwin claims that “the wounded man now stated positively that the man who shot him was the Sawbwa [Chao Mòm Sūa] himself” and the other Yunnanese muleteers corroborated this version. Scott summoned the chief minister but refused to meet

⁹¹⁵ From H. Thirkell White, C.S., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government of India, 2 February 1889, Mss Eur E254/23c, No. 3, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part V, BL.

⁹¹⁶ From J. G. Scott, p. 1, 19 May 1890, MS Scott LL9.45, JGSC, CUL.

⁹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Geraldine Edith Mitton, ed., *Scott of the Shan Hills: Orders and Impressions* (London: John Murray, 1936), 137.

⁹¹⁸ From J. G. Scott, p. 7, 19 May 1890, MS Scott LL9.45, JGSC, CUL.

⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹²⁰ Scott, *Burma and Beyond*, 251–252.

⁹²¹ In his memoir, Scott changed it to the night of their arrival (Scott, *Burma and Beyond*, 253). In Mitton's book, it happened on a Monday, three days after their arrival (Mitton, ed., *Scott of the Shan Hills*, 143).

⁹²² From J. G. Scott, p. 9, 19 May 1890, MS Scott LL9.45, JGSC, CUL.

⁹²³ *Ibid.*

him, for it was after sunset. Scott had the letter sent by Chao Mòm Sūa returned. Later, Scott demanded compensation for the muleteers from the native authorities.⁹²⁴

It is hard to testify whether Chao Mòm Sūa attacked Lao Yong, or whether it was a fabrication. According to Stirling's report, Chao Mòm Sūa was of a touchy disposition. He was "honest and straightforward, and by no means deficient in intelligence. Want of self-control and violent temper are his worst faults—in his position, unfortunately, most dangerous ones".⁹²⁵ His personality might lead him to such behaviour.

Clearly, Lao Yong's claim was advantageous for Scott, who reports that this incident would "have permanent effect on the Sawbwa's relations with us [the British]".⁹²⁶ Scott believes that Chao Mòm Sūa was "humiliated" that native forces had been summoned to the palace enclosure and ordered a raid to be launched against the British. However, it was not carried out. Years later, in his memoir, Scott regards the compensation paid to the Yunnanese muleteers as a symbol of Chiang Tung's submission to Britain.⁹²⁷ He also claims that Chao Mòm Sūa had been dissuaded from attacking the British by his wives, whom, Scott said, got on well with Scott and Pink.⁹²⁸ It seems that after this expedition, Chiang Tung recognised British suzerainty over itself. In a letter to Scott regarding the frontier disturbance caused by Chiang Mai, Chao Mòm Sūa and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng confess that "we are not Siamese king's province, [but we] are a domain owned by the British queen" (*kyanut tui mha yuidaya bhurangmang cirangcu naimre mahut anggalip bhurangma bhura puinghcuingsai naimre hprac sai*).⁹²⁹

According to British reports, the Tai people were uniquely willing to be under the British government. In Chiang Tung, Scott was given gold and silver flowers and tributes from Saen Yòt, Saen Mòng, and Müang Pu.⁹³⁰ Even Chao Wiang, who had resisted the British for years, was willing to submit.⁹³¹ Daly reports that the Mang Lön ruler warmly received the British mission.⁹³² Zhang Chengyu, in fact, believes that the ruler of Mang Lön often disobeyed Chinese and Tai orders, and so he also doubted whether his surrender to the British was sincere.⁹³³ Daly claims that "[t]here can be little doubt that the Chinese rule is unpopular in Meunglem [Müang Laem] and that both Chief and people would much prefer to come under British protection", even though it did not "make any definite statement to this effect".⁹³⁴ Burrows claims that the Müang Laem prince, Chao Mani Kham, hoped that the arrival of the

⁹²⁴ From J. G. Scott, pp. 9–10, 19 May 1890, MS Scott LL9.45, JGSC, CUL.

⁹²⁵ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 359, FO 17/1225, NA.

⁹²⁶ From J. G. Scott, p. 10, 19 May 1890, MS Scott LL9.45, JGSC, CUL.

⁹²⁷ Scott, *Burma and Beyond*, 257–258.

⁹²⁸ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 214.

⁹²⁹ Chao Mòm Sūa and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng to James George Scott, the 6th waning day of the Tagu month, 1251 [9 April 1890], MS Scott LL9.508, JGSC, CUL.

⁹³⁰ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 39, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹³¹ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, p. 492, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

⁹³² *Ibid.*, 480–484.

⁹³³ Zhang, "Micha yingren", the 24th day of the 12th month, Guangxu 16 [2 February 1891], the 4th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [12 February 1891], 282, 284.

⁹³⁴ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, p. 487, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

British would not sever Müang Laem's tributary relations with both Burma and China.⁹³⁵ Before the arrival of the British, Müang Laem wrote letters to the Chinese authorities in Zhenbian, asking for assistance as it would no longer be able to resist the British and thus would have no choice but to submit to the British when they arrived.⁹³⁶ Scott claims that Chao Mani Kham later was punished by the Chinese authority for his "allegiance" to the British commission in 1891 and "his alleged determination to maintain his past allegiance to the British Government as the successor of the Kings of Burma".⁹³⁷

British records in 1891 claim that Sipsòng Panna was eager to come under British protection. Scott reports that when Chao Mòm Kham Lü was in Chiang Tung, he met the Müang Nai rulers, Waingnaung and Waingseik, and forged "a special friendship with the first". In many letters, the Müang Nai *chaofa* advised him "to submit to the British Government". Moreover, Chao Mòm Kham Lü "had also heard very favourable accounts of our rule and of the way in which we promoted trade by doing away with all passage dues from the Chinese caravans which passed through his State". Scott claims that Chao Mòm Kham Lü "was [...] anxious to make his submission there and then on the old Burmese terms, and he offered to bring me a list of the tributary offerings and to get these made and sent after me if I would receive him as a subject of the British Government".⁹³⁸ However, Scott replied that this issue should be decided by the British government and the Zongli Yamen.⁹³⁹

Scott claims that Chao Nang Waen Thip "took it as a matter of course that from the date of our arrival Chieng Hung became a province of the British Empire". She complained that when Chao Wiang attacked Chiang Rung five or six years previously,⁹⁴⁰ Chiang Rung had not received any support from the Chinese side, not even from the Chinese Secretary at the court of Chiang Rung, "who had been in permanent residence, made the best of his way back to his own country". Chao Wiang "burnt and plundered the town" and "march[ed] back unmolested to Kyaington". Chao Nang Waen Thip pleaded with Scott to seize and deport Chao Wiang. Though Scott was willing to do so, he had to balance the "complications" and the "advantages".⁹⁴¹ Later, Scott abandoned his plan to capture Chao Wiang because he did not want to interfere with the Chinese official who had arrived from Simao to settle matters.⁹⁴² Meanwhile, Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that Chao Nang Waen Thip complained about the words of the British being offensive.⁹⁴³

⁹³⁵ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 15.

⁹³⁶ Zhang, "Micha yingren", the 23th day of the 12th month, Guangxu 16 [1 February 1891], 281.

⁹³⁷ From J. G. Scott, Esq., Officiating Superintendent and Political Officer, Northern Shan States, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 11 March 1892, MS Scott UL1.102, JGSC, CUL.

⁹³⁸ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 33, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁰ No such records are found in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna chronicles, but there were records found in Ngin and Kiouaup's journal (Ba Long Yanaweng, "Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi"; Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*; Ngin et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, 19 avril 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC). It probably refers to Chao Wiang's support to Chao Mòm Kham Lü for his enthronement (Dao and Yan, *Chüa khrua chao swaenwi sipsòng phanna*, 209).

⁹⁴¹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 31, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁴² *Ibid.*, 34.

⁹⁴³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 5 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

Moreover, Scott reports that what he heard from Chao Mòm Kham Lü supports the British claim. Chao Mòm Kham Lü told him that “he [was] by no means over fond of Chinese suzerainty and that he would very willingly accept the old dual control, with the Chinese for his father and the Burmese for his mother.”⁹⁴⁴ Chao Mòm Kham Lü also told Scott that, contrary to what Scott had heard in Chiang Tung, he had neither been to Kunming to “make his submission to the Chinese Government” last year nor had he “written to the Yunnan Governor-General on the subject”. To emphasise the British right to inherit Burma’s tributary state relationship, Scott mentions that the Chinese seal had been lost for around twenty years, during which time Chiang Rung had only been able to use the Burmese seal. Chiang Rung had only been granted a new Chinese seal two years previously.⁹⁴⁵ Chao Mòm Kham Lü told Scott that the Chinese Commissary said “nothing [...] or implied about his being subject to the Chinese alone”, and the ceremony was held like those in the previous times when the Burman Cackais were in Chiang Rung. Thus, Scott claims that the “settlement as to the suzerainty of the State [Sipsòng Panna] may be settled between the British and Chinese Governments without further reference to the Sao Kamon [Chao Mòm Kham Lü] himself”.⁹⁴⁶

However, no local sources are left to verify these British reports on Sipsòng Panna. Pavie claims that the nobles in Chiang Rung did not care about the visit of the British.⁹⁴⁷ A French report records the failure, in June 1893, of a delegation from Sipsòng Panna who went to Müang Lai seeking assistance from the French. Consequently, Sipsòng Panna resorted to help from the Chinese authorities in Pu’er.⁹⁴⁸

As for Chiang Khaeng, Scott rejects Siamese claims and says that Lieutenant Sarasit Chao Maha Chai of Chiang Mai came to Müang Sing “against his [Sarasit Chao Maha Chai] will” and “the Siamese had no right there”.⁹⁴⁹ Scott reports that Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobles in Müang Sing resented the “Nan dominion and Siamese supremacy”.⁹⁵⁰ As early as 1886/1887 (the third month of CS 1248),⁹⁵¹ Luang Theppha Wong and thirty followers came to ask Müang Sing to send tribute to Bangkok. Müang Sing refused. Then, Nan provided Chiang Khaeng with three alternatives: to leave Chiang Khaeng (including Müang Kang, Müang Sing, and Müang Lòng); to “offer armed resistance”; or to remain in Chiang Khaeng to pay the tribute. Chiang Khaeng reported that it was Burmese territory and said that they only sent tribute “out of fear”.⁹⁵² In the winter of 1887, Chao Suriya and the rulers of Chiang Khòng and Müang Phukha went to Müang Lòng and sent the rulers of Müang Thòng and Müang Phuka

⁹⁴⁴ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 32, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁷ *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 134, GGI 14334, ANOM.

⁹⁴⁸ Le Colonel Servière, Commandant le 4e Territoire Militaire, Résident de la commission d'abonnement du frontière Sino-Annamite, à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-China, 19 juillet 1894, GGI 31728, ANOM.

⁹⁴⁹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 20, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁹⁵¹ The version found in FO 422/32 mistranslates it as March 1887.

⁹⁵² Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 19, Mss Eur F278/73, BL; Statement of the Chief and Officials of Kyaing Chaing, n.d., p. 53, FO 422/32, Inclosure 9 in No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

to inform Chiang Khaeng to send gold and silver trees if they wanted to remain in Müang Sing. Such a small state could not resist Siam; thus, Chiang Khaeng had no choice but to send tribute. Flags (probably Siamese flags) were raised, and the boundary was marked. Chiang Khaeng was informed that the people of Chiang Khaeng were now Nan's subjects, and "had nothing to fear, and if the English came, they would settle everything with them".⁹⁵³

Chiang Khaeng sent tribute to Burma twice every three years, and the last time was during the final year of King Thibaw's reign. Scott claims that Chao Sri Nò Kham was "willing [...] to accept British suzerainty on the same terms, and he was instructed to await, and promised to abide by the orders of Government on the subject".⁹⁵⁴ Scott writes that the letters that he and the ruler of Müang Nai had sent in May 1887 following the surrender of the Limbin Prince, and the letter of 1888 inviting Chiang Khaeng to attend the durbar in Müang Nai, never reached Müang Sing. Otherwise, Scott confirms, Chiang Khaeng would certainly have sought protection from Britain. In March 1890, Chiang Tung had invited Chao Sri Nò Kham to meet Scott, and Chao Sri Nò Kham "was very anxious to go", but he was stopped by the Siamese commissioner.⁹⁵⁵ During Scott's sojourn in Müang Sing in 1891, Chao Sri Nò Kham expressed his wish to "become a British subject" and proposed sending gold and silver flowers to Fort Stedman, but Scott said Chiang Khaeng should wait for the decision of the British Government and meanwhile refuse to pay any further tribute to Nan.⁹⁵⁶ Archer also claims that Chiang Khaeng was willing to maintain tributary relations with Burma, providing that the British could prevent the threats from Sipsòng Panna and Nan. Archer reports that Chiang Khaeng maintained its tributary relations with Burma till the British annexation.⁹⁵⁷ However, local records do not mention Chiang Khaeng's willingness to submit to Britain. A chronicle writes that the state of neutrality of Chiang Khaeng was acknowledged by British and Siamese commissioners in 1891.⁹⁵⁸ Chiang Khaeng at least seemed to welcome the visit from Scott and Archer, in view that they travelled with Siamese commissioners. In a letter written in 1891, Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobles express their happiness, and regard the arrival of Scott and Archer as an opportunity to restore the population of Chiang Khaeng, who had been forced to resettle in Nan. Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobles plead with the British to repopulate Chiang Khaeng, and to allow it to be a state (*pen ban pen müang*).⁹⁵⁹

b) Protectors

⁹⁵³ Statement of the Chief and Officials of Kyaing Chaing, n.d., pp. 53–54, FO 422/32, Inclosure 9 in No. 57, NA.

⁹⁵⁴ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 20, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 20, 22.

⁹⁵⁶ James George Scott, Summary of the Shan States for the week ending the 21st February 1891, MS Scott UL1.49, JGSC, CUL; Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 23, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁵⁷ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 24 February 1891, p. 52, FO 422/32, Inclosure 8 in No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

⁹⁵⁸ CKC-WTP 40.2–40.3 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 268.

⁹⁵⁹ Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng to James George Scott, n.d., MS Scott LL9.110, JGSC, CUL. For the English translation of this letter, see From the Kyaingchaing Myaza to the Superintendent, Shan States, and the Political Officer in charge of the Kyaingtôn-Chiangmai Mission, n.d., trans., Enclosure IX to Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, pp. v–vi, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

The role of protector includes three aspects. The first aspect is to protect subjects. Both the British and the French emphasised their rights as a protector and denigrated the other side. Scott claims that “traders and local officials” of Sipsòng Panna trusted Britain’s “ability to protect them from internal disorder and outside intrigues”.⁹⁶⁰ Moreover, a statement forwarded by Stirling reports that Chiang Dao paid tax to Chiang Tung but stopped in 1895 because of the prohibition from the French authority.⁹⁶¹ The people of Chiang Dao were ordered to build four houses for a group of French authorities, but they fled after building two of them but receiving no wages.⁹⁶² Later, the people of Chiang Dao, Müang Möng, Phu Lao, Nam Kha, and Müang Khon were ordered to move to the mining village of Chiang Khòng or to pay an exemption fee. The people chose to flee instead.⁹⁶³ On discovering their escape, everything that they had left behind was burnt by the French.⁹⁶⁴ It is reported that even some of the Lao, who, until then, had willingly followed the orders of a French officer, fled.⁹⁶⁵ Apparently, they preferred to be subject to Chiang Tung.⁹⁶⁶ By contrast, Lefèvre-Pontalis accused British subjects of disturbing peace. Done Tha told Lefèvre-Pontalis that five or six years ago when he transported opium from Chiang Tung to Luang Prabang, he had been attacked by the chief of Ban Huai Thang. An officer of Luang Prabang was also attacked in this region.⁹⁶⁷ Thus, Lefèvre-Pontalis considers getting the French to insist on the surveillance of the isles.⁹⁶⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis accuses the people of Müang Len and Phalaeo of causing problems along the frontier. Chao Suriyawong, who went to Chiang Mai for the horse trade, had his horses stolen and his life threatened. The Lao people, who went to Müang Len to purchase opium, were attacked by the habitants, and many people died.⁹⁶⁹ Consequently, Lefèvre-Pontalis blames his British neighbours for causing disturbances and claims that it is France’s responsibility to restore order in the Mekong River basin.⁹⁷⁰

Protecting Chiang Tung and cis-Salween Shan refugees is one of the excuses Lefèvre-Pontalis gave for governing the Upper Mekong. Many Chiang Tung and cis-Salween Shan refugees lived in the trans-Mekong territory. Phraya Chai was the Khlao Peng Kom⁹⁷¹ from Müang Phayak. He was a subordinate of Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng and had spread rumours

⁹⁶⁰ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 34, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁶¹ Statement of Tan Pa Sing, 15 January 1896, trans., p. 68, FO 422/45, Inclosure 9 in No. 74, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

⁹⁶² *Ibid.*

⁹⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 68–69.

⁹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 1 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁹⁶⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 134.

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 301.

⁹⁷⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 1 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁹⁷¹ An unclear official position. It is a Tai-Burmese compound word: *khlao* means “leader”, *peng* (Burmese loanword) means “to possess” and *kom* means “to cover” (Phraya Chai to Auguste Pavie, the 3rd waning day of the 5th month, 1256 [13 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC).

about Chao Mòm Sūa. For this reason, he could no longer remain safe in Chiang Tung's territory.⁹⁷² In 1892, he sought refuge in Müang Sing to avoid an attack from Phraya Khai Saen Somphamet. Then Chao Sri Nò Kham and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng let him settle in Müang Mông. After Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng moved to Müang Len, Phraya Chai moved eighty households to Müang Len and Phalaeo. Only nine to ten households remained in Müang Mông. When Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng left Müang Len, Phraya Chai's proposal to move the households out from Phalaeo was rejected by the Phalaeo authority. Thus, the members of some families were separately living in Phalaeo and Müang Mông.⁹⁷³

Phraya Chai's plea to be under French protection can be found in local and French records. In a letter to Pavie, Phraya Chai pleads for French protection, saying that if it is not granted, then they will move to the cis-Mekong territory.⁹⁷⁴ In a letter to Macey, Phraya Chai expresses a wish to submit to France.⁹⁷⁵ In another letter, Phraya Chai again pleads for French protection.⁹⁷⁶ Phraya Chai requested French protection during the visit of Lefèvre-Pontalis, who replied that he would be protected if he submits.⁹⁷⁷ Phraya Chai was closely connected with Phraya Kaeo. Since Phraya Kaeo was ordered to Chiang Tung, Phraya Chai worries about the fate of Phraya Kaeo but has received no news of him.⁹⁷⁸ However, Scott reports that being occupied by the preparation for a list of his villages, Phraya Kaeo rejected the invitation by Phraya Chai from Müang Sing to drink the water of allegiance to the French.⁹⁷⁹

Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that Phraya Chai and his dependants still did not feel safe at Ban Phu Mün, a village close to the main road, so he planned to move to a more secluded village.⁹⁸⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis says that the wife of Phraya Kaeo told him of their misfortune with tears in her eyes and that he had promised the wife of Phraya Chai that the left bank territory would be "a safe asylum" (*un asile sûr*) for them.⁹⁸¹

Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that French protection of the refugees on the left bank was "a very serious argument" (*un argument très sérieux*). In return for protection, Phraya Chai would provide officers to assist the French. Lefèvre-Pontalis mentions that Phraya Chai had guided the French official Captain Rivière's tour to Chiang Khòng.⁹⁸²

A decade later, the French administrator Sérizier claims that the achievements of French rule in Müang Sing attracted some people who had been living along the frontier to move to French Laos. The conflicts in Müang Phong caused a faction of around 300–400 people to flee

⁹⁷² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 26 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁹⁷³ Phraya Chai to Auguste Pavie, 13 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC.

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁵ Phraya Chaiya Wutthi to Paul Macey, the 4th waxing day of the 1st month, 1256 [1 November 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC.

⁹⁷⁶ Phraya Chai to Auguste Pavie, the 5th waxing day of the 6th month, 1256 [30 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC.

⁹⁷⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 26 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

⁹⁷⁸ Phraya Chai to Auguste Pavie, 30 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC.

⁹⁷⁹ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 23 March 1895, f. 152, FO 17/1266, NA.

⁹⁸⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 299–300.

⁹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 303–304.

⁹⁸² *Ibid.*, 301–302.

to Müang Sing, and, in the end, they chose to remain in Müang Sing under French protection, even though Chao Mòm Kham Lü sent officials to mediate and to persuade the faction to return to Müang Phong.⁹⁸³ By contrast, Sérizier Othered Sipsòng Panna by accusing it of offering shelter to bandits.⁹⁸⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the Khamu chief Phraya Luang Pattawi accused the Müang Sing and Sipsòng Panna of exploiting travellers, while the French did not.⁹⁸⁵

The resistance to foreign invasion is the second aspect. Foreign “encroachment” is an often-used word in British writings.⁹⁸⁶ Generally, local powers were regarded as unqualified protectors. Lefèvre-Pontalis criticises the Siamese ineptitude with respect to protecting the people in the Nam U and the Nam Tha basins against the Hò bandits and the people in Chiang Saen and Chiang Khòng against the Shan looters.⁹⁸⁷ He writes that the authorities of Chiang Saen welcomed French surveillance as it would help Chiang Saen resist the Tai Khün if the latter allied with the British. Chiang Saen’s interests were more closely connected with Chiang Khòng and Luang Prabang than with the Khün or Shan.⁹⁸⁸

Scott justifies the British annexation of Burma on the grounds that Britain curbed Siamese encroachment into the north. He doubts whether, before the annexation, “no steps were taken to expel the Siamese” and “the seizure of territory was actually condoned and indirectly acquiesced in”. If it was not for Britain, Müang Len, Müang Phayak, Chiang Lap, and other places that belonged to Chiang Tung at that time would be under Siamese rule.⁹⁸⁹ He also claims that Chiang Tung worried about the invasion from China and Siam, which would be prevented as long as Chiang Tung was under British protection.⁹⁹⁰ Release from foreign invasion was used as an argument by the Müang Nai ruler in his letter demanding Chiang Tung’s submission to Britain in 1888: “British authority will release the Chiefs from all fear of Siamese or Chinese aggression and will also restrain the raids of the savage mountaineers on the border.”⁹⁹¹

Chiang Khaeng was in conflict with Müang Phong. Scott reports that facing an attack from Müang Phong, Müang Sing could either obtain assistance from Nan or ask for aid from Chiang Tung. The involvement of Siam, China, and Chiang Tung (which had pledged allegiance to Britain) in conflicts near the British borderlands was not favourable. Scott claims that as long as Müang Sing “was very anxious for orders”, the threat of foreign encroachments into Chiang Khaeng could be avoided as long as Britain accepted the submission of Chiang Khaeng.⁹⁹²

⁹⁸³ Sérizier, Note sur les pays “Shan”, 1 décembre 1905, pp. 18–19, GGI 22299, ANOM.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁸⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 147.

⁹⁸⁶ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*; Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁸⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 121.

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid., 128, 130.

⁹⁸⁹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 13, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁹⁰ Scott, From J. G. Scott, Esq., Officiating Superintendent, Shan States, to the Kyaingtôn Sawbwa, 15 June 1889, in *Report on the Administration of the Shan States, 1888–89*, iii.

⁹⁹¹ Summary of the Eastern Shan States by J. G. Scott, Esq., Assistant Superintendent, Shan States, for the week ending the 7th November 1888, MS Scott UL1.49, JGSC, CUL.

⁹⁹² Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, pp. 25–26, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

Chiang Khaeng's actions in Chiang Lap are depicted as encroachment. Chiang Lap used to be a part of Chiang Khaeng but was transferred to Chiang Tung when the ex-vice-roy (*upparat* or *kaem müang*) of Chiang Khaeng succeeded to the throne of Chiang Tung and brought Chiang Lap with him.⁹⁹³ However, Chiang Khaeng continued to require tribute from Chiang Lap, but the latter sent it to Chiang Tung.⁹⁹⁴ Meanwhile, Scott claims that the villagers of Chiang Lap wanted to be under Chiang Tung's rule.⁹⁹⁵ He reports that since Chiang Lap was geographically close to Müang Sing, Chao Sri Nò Kham took advantage of the fall of Burma, seizing Müang Kang, Müang Nang, Müang Lòng, and Chiang Lap – all of which, Scott claims, belonged to Chiang Lap – and displaced the Tai Khün people there with Tai Lü people.⁹⁹⁶ Scott claims that Siam was also involved in Chiang Khaeng's occupation of Chiang Lap and that Chao Mòm Súa opposed the Siamese capture of trans-Mekong Chiang Lap, i.e. Müang Kang, Müang Nang, and Müang Lòng.⁹⁹⁷ He writes that Siamese representatives had reported that people from Müang Kang, Müang Lòng, and Müang Kok (Chiang Kok), and the remaining area of Chiang Lap wanted to be under Chiang Tung's rule.⁹⁹⁸

Lefèvre-Pontalis's journey is depicted as a tour to raise awareness about resisting foreign encroachments. In Chiang Saen, Lefèvre-Pontalis obtained a chronicle from Chao Kam Tane, which provided a firm foundation for his claim against the “invasions” (*envahissements*) from Chiang Tung.⁹⁹⁹ When investigating the borders of Chiang Khòng and Chiang Saen, Lefèvre-Pontalis was informed by Chao Kam Tane that Chiang Tung had tried to impose authority on the Khamu and the Lamet on the left bank of the Mekong River, whose people were forced to take refuge in the right bank area. Lefèvre-Pontalis blamed Chao Kam Tane for his inability to oppose such “exorbitant claims” (*prétention exorbitante*). Chao Kam Tane explained that he had tried to take a population census and collect tax among the fourteen villages on the left bank and two villages on the right bank side, but he had failed due to the power of Chiang Tung. Lefèvre-Pontalis considered it ridiculous because Chiang Tung had no rights beyond the demarcated border. Lefèvre-Pontalis did not consider the Shan settlers on the left bank to be a problem: they were asked either to return to the right bank or to submit to French rule. Lefèvre-Pontalis adds that, so far, nobody had refused French rule, and what they wanted was to settle down as quickly as possible.¹⁰⁰⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that the local chief of Müang Phukha, Phraya Luang Phromma, fully understood his duty, without being ordered by Lefèvre-Pontalis's order, to defend Müang Phukha against encroachments from the Tai Lü, the Shan, and the Burmans.¹⁰⁰¹ When proceeding to Bò Ten, Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the Tai Yuan and the Lao sought French support to resist the Tai Lü's “encroachments” (*empiétements*).¹⁰⁰²

⁹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁹⁴ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 350, FO 17/1225, NA.

⁹⁹⁵ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 17, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

⁹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 17, 21.

⁹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 138.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 138–139.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 151.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*, 166.

Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the hill people of Chiang Khòng and Müang Phukha told him that French protection prevented assaults from Shan marauders and Hò looters.¹⁰⁰³ Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that Phraya Luang Phomma informed him that from Müang Sing to Chiang Khòng, and from Nan to the Lahu people, everyone was waiting for the French. By contrast, when the British arrived, people fled into the forest with their livestock.¹⁰⁰⁴

This cliché is repeated in later French records. In a report sent to the Gouverneur Général in Hanoi, Sérizier claims that the anarchy of Sipsòng Panna at the turn of the twentieth century made it a haven for the “brigands” (*malandrins*) from British Burma, French Laos, and Siam.¹⁰⁰⁵ He lists six examples in support of this accusation. In 1899, a French superintendent was murdered in Müang Sai by Tai Lü people from Sipsòng Panna, who then fled to Müang Phong. In 1900 and 1901, plunderers from Müang Phong and Müang La entered French Laos and raided cattle. In 1903, a group of thirty “pirates”, who claimed to have been dispatched by Chao Mòm Kham Lü, were arrested in Müang Sing. The Tai Lü of Sipsòng Panna removed the boundary stones several times. In 1904, the headman of Bò Luang came to Bò Ten to rescue an imprisoned family. In early 1905, a British was murdered near Chiang Rung.¹⁰⁰⁶

Similar to Libouhet’s analysis of the French discourse on Laos,¹⁰⁰⁷ the Pavie Mission to Sipsòng Panna is also depicted as a liberator, which brings us to the third aspect of the protector role. Pavie writes that Đèo Văn Trị appreciated the French liberation of his family and his country.¹⁰⁰⁸ Additionally, because of the French, the devastated country on the way to Sipsòng Panna began to prosper.¹⁰⁰⁹

Nguyễn Cao is a name that crops up frequently in Lefèvre-Pontalis’s and Pavie’s journals from their journey to Sipsòng Panna in 1891. It probably refers to Huyên-Khao (Nguyễn Danh Cao/Nguy Danh Cao) or Wei Minggao, who was associated with the Black Flag. Wei Minggao led armed forces that harassed the Yunnan-Vietnamese frontier, and once occupied Müang La.¹⁰¹⁰ In 1890, he surrendered to the French and was transferred to China, where he died in prison on 22 January 1891.¹⁰¹¹ A notice sent by Kunming to arrest Nguyễn Cao’s band was found in the village of Ta-Ko-Lègne. Đèo Văn Trị considered it unnecessary because the band

¹⁰⁰³ Ibid., 246.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid., 252.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Sérizier, Note sur les pays “Shan”, p. 16, GGI 22299, ANOM. A similar accusation is found in M. Ernest Outrey, Résident Supérieur au Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l’Indochine, 11 janvier 1911, GGI 19674, ANOM.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Sérizier, Note sur les pays “Shan”, 1 décembre 1905, p. 17, GGI 22299, ANOM.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Marion Fromentin Libouhet, *L’image du Laos au temps de la colonisation française, 1861–1914* (Paris: Editions L’Harmattan, 2012), 74–81.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Pavie released the nobles of Lai Châu in Luang Prabang (Hugh Toye, *Laos: Buffer State or Battleground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 36).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 9, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 116.

¹⁰¹⁰ Nowadays Müang La is in Jinping County, Yunnan Province, China.

¹⁰¹¹ Bradley Camp Davis, *Imperial Bandits: Outlaws and Rebels in the China-Vietnam Borderlands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 137–142; Wang Wenshao et al., “Zongshu shou yun gui zongdu wang wenshao deng wen, ni fan zhaobi ji wei minggao binggu [Report from the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou, Wang Wenshao, etc. to the Zongli Yamen, the criminals Zhao Bi and Wei Minggao died of illness]”, 1 September 1891, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 3878.

had already been suppressed by the French, who were the protector of both Đèo Văn Trị's country and Sipsòng Panna. Lefèvre-Pontalis records that Đèo Văn Trị appreciated the French because it meant he did not need to deal with his Chinese, Annamite, and Lao neighbours, and Sipsòng Chao Thai was tranquil and free from pillage and looting.¹⁰¹²

In Müang Ring (Puwen), the French found four Tai Lü families camping in a paddy field. Lefèvre-Pontalis records that they had fled from Chiang Thòng (Zhengdong),¹⁰¹³ as the Nguyễn Cao approached. He claims that “these people are not sufficiently aware of how much they owe their security to being in the vicinity of the French, who are gradually purging the whole of northern Indochina of the Chinese bands who were contaminating it. Without the submission of Nguyễn Cao last July, Sipsòng Panna would be destroyed today. It is thanks to France that they were spared. China and Britain could not deny it from now on” (*Ces gens ne savent pas suffisamment combien ils sont redevable de leur sécurité, au voisinage des Français qui purgent peu à peu tout le nord de l'Indo Chine, de bandes chinoises qui l'infectaient. Sans la soumission de Nguyen Cao, au mois de Juillet dernier, les Sipsòng Pannas seraient aujourd'hui à feu et à sang. C'est à la France qu'ils doivent d'avoir été épargnés. La Chine et l'Angleterre ne sauraient désormais le nier*).¹⁰¹⁴

In Chiang Rung, Đèo Văn Trị introduced the French and Pavie as the creators of peace, who had harmony in the area from Lai Châu to Luang Prabang, and who visited Sipsòng Panna with peaceful intentions.¹⁰¹⁵

By contrast, the Tai Lü and the Chinese are Othered as exploiters and incompetent protectors. Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the Hani of Tali-Sine, the Yao, and the Chinese of Kouang-tiou-line complained about extortion by the Tai Lü of Bò Sao and Müang U. The authorities of Müang Lae did not protect them during Nguyễn Cao's intrusion.¹⁰¹⁶ “The [Tai] Lü were terrible dominators” (*Les Lus sont de terrible dominateurs*).¹⁰¹⁷ The migration of the Tai people also forced the indigenous peoples to retreat to the mountain area.¹⁰¹⁸ Đèo Văn Trị told the French that Sipsòng Panna sent 5000 piastres to China annually as tribute. “The Chinese exploited the [Tai] Lü country as much as they can and do not provide it with any protection” (*Les chinois exploitent tant qu'ils peuvent le pays Lu et ne lui assurent aucune protection*).¹⁰¹⁹ The Tai Lü complained to Đèo Văn Trị that of the tribute of 5000 piastres, only two or three hundred was sent to the empire, and the rest remained in the pockets of mandarins.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹² Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Hou à Xieng Hung de MM. Pavie, Lefèvre-Pontalis et Vaclé (18–31 mars 1891), 20 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁰¹³ Not to be confused with the Chiang Thòng (Luang Prabang) in Laos and the Chiang Thòng (Kengtawng) in Myanmar.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid., 26 mars 1891.

¹⁰¹⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰¹⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Lai, 14 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., 15 mars 1891.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid., 16 mars 1891.

¹⁰¹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung, 4 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid.

c) Mediators

The discord between Chao Mòm Sũa and his younger half-brother Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng was witnessed by Scott as early as 1890.¹⁰²¹ Scott found that both of them had faults. Chao Mòm Sũa was “unduly stingy” and allocated lesser allowances to his relatives than they were entitled to.¹⁰²² For instance, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng obtained 50 rupees per year, while the chief minister Phraya Lò was only given eight rupees in 1893.¹⁰²³ Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng’s mother, Chao Nang Suwanna (see Figure 6), confessed that she had to trade salt because Chao Mòm Sũa only distributed a small amount of allowance to her and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng.¹⁰²⁴ Chao Mòm Sũa was jealous of his brother’s popularity, while he was “very cordially” disliked by his subjects.¹⁰²⁵ He treated his younger brother “with scant consideration and no politeness”.¹⁰²⁶ Meanwhile, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng was ambitious and demanded that his name be added alongside that of his brother on all official documents.¹⁰²⁷ Walker reports that Chao Nang Suwanna hated Chao Mòm Sũa and caused intrigue and stoked up this conflict.¹⁰²⁸ Because of this discord, Chiang Tung was “very nearly divided into two opposing camps”.¹⁰²⁹

In 1891, Scott was asked by both sides to settle the relations. At first, Scott declined to get involved in “domestic politics”; however, Chao Mòm Sũa’s people told Scott that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng would leave tomorrow to bring with him a force from Chiang Khaeng in order to claim his rights. If Scott did not intervene, this conflict would end with the death of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng. Scott’s only attempt to prevent the murder or civil war was to tell Chao Mòm Sũa that he would give Müang Sat to Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng in order to appease the latter.¹⁰³⁰

Scott’s intervention apparently did not resolve the discord. In 1894, the Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Mission for 1893–1894 met Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng in Müang Yòng, following his marriage in Chiang Khaeng to Chao Nang Pathuma. Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng told the British that he would not return to Chiang Tung town unless his brother gave him and Chao Nang Pathuma a proper public reception.¹⁰³¹

Stirling worries that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng had “apparently uttered foolish threats and might possibly engage in active intrigues against” Chao Mòm Sũa.¹⁰³² The British required

¹⁰²¹ From J. G. Scott, p. 7, 19 May 1890, MS Scott LL9.45, JGSC, CUL.

¹⁰²² Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 358, FO 17/1225, NA; Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 39, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁰²³ Walker, “Diary”, 25.

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁵ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 39, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁰²⁶ Walker, “Diary”, 19.

¹⁰²⁷ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 39, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁰²⁸ Walker, “Diary”, 24.

¹⁰²⁹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 39, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰³¹ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 358, FO 17/1225, NA; Walker, “Diary”, 19.

¹⁰³² Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 358, FO 17/1225, NA.

Chao Mòm Sūa to issue an order for his brother's return and to send a suitable escort. Chao Mòm Sūa expressed that "his desire was to live in all brotherly love with the Kyemmong [Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng], and that it would not be his fault if a rupture took place."¹⁰³³ Later, Chao Nang Suwana was warned by the British to persuade his son to return, as his refusal to come back to Chiang Tung "would inevitably lead to trouble".¹⁰³⁴ In 1895, contrary to his attitude in 1891, Scott considered this discord "a permanent danger" to the peace of Chiang Tung.¹⁰³⁵

In 1891 when visiting Mang Lön and Müang Laem, the Warry-Daly Commission intervened in the conflict between these two states. The ruler of Mang Lön asked the British to mediate between it and Müang Laem. The British wrote a letter threatening Müang Laem, saying that if they did not reconcile, then the British would assist Mang Lön.¹⁰³⁶ The Müang Laem prince Chao Mani Kham also sent a letter to the British asking for their help to reconcile Müang Laem and Mang Lön.¹⁰³⁷ The British were received in Müang Laem "in a most friendly manner",¹⁰³⁸ and Müang Laem was grateful for the British mediation.¹⁰³⁹

In Sipsòng Panna, the British and the French became the mediators between Chiang Rung and Müang Chae. In 1891, the prince in power of Sipsòng Panna was the 23-year-old Chao Mòm Kham Lü.¹⁰⁴⁰ Chao Mòm Kham Lü's father, Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna, married a princess of Müang Chae and had one son and one daughter. After an attack from Müang Phong and Müang Luang, Chao Mòm Kham Lü's elder brother, Chao Mòm Saeng, succeeded the throne. Chao Mòm Kham Lü went to Chiang Tung. With the help of the rulers of Müang Chae, Müang La (Mongla),¹⁰⁴¹ Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Lòk Chòk, Chao Mòm Saeng was toppled, and Chao Mòm Kham Lü became the prince. His sister married the Müang Chae ruler Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa.¹⁰⁴² Chao Mòm Kham Lü's opponent, Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa, was 29 years old.¹⁰⁴³ Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa is reported to be haughty¹⁰⁴⁴ and ambitious.¹⁰⁴⁵ He had 2000 soldiers and had 4000 potentially at his disposal. By contrast, Chao Mòm Kham Lü only had a force of 700.¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰³³ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁵ Scott, Further Report, n.d., p. 121, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 39, NA.

¹⁰³⁶ Zhang, "Micha yingren", the 20th day of the 12th month, Guangxu 16 [29 January 1891], 280.

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid., the 19th day of the 2nd month, Guangxu 17 [28 March 1891], 299.

¹⁰³⁸ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 15.

¹⁰³⁹ Zhang, "Micha yingren", the 3rd day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [11 February 1891], 284.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM. In Daly's report, he was 29 years old (Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 491, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL). In Burrows's report, he was 28 years old (Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 23).

¹⁰⁴¹ Here refers to the Müang La in nowadays Myanmar, not to be confused with the Müang La in Sipsòng Panna.

¹⁰⁴² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁴³ Ibid., 13 avril 1891. In Daly's report, he was 31 years old (Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 491, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Zhang, "Micha yingren", the 21st day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [1 March 1891], 289.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 491, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that many people in Chiang Rung complained about the war because it meant they had to enrol in the army. As the war continued, people suffered. Đèo Văn Trị told the French that the local population understood France's intention to put an end to the war. Apparently, some people even asked Đèo Văn Trị about the route to Pou Fang in case they had to flee.¹⁰⁴⁷

Other parts of Sipsòng Panna joined the war as well, either by allegiance or having been enlisted for assistance.¹⁰⁴⁸ Eager not to offend anyone, some districts would send people to support both sides. Chiang Lò sent fifteen people respectively to Chiang Rung and Müang Chae.¹⁰⁴⁹ Müang Ngat (Meng'a) also sent people to fight on both sides.¹⁰⁵⁰ Chao Wiang's people also joined the war, probably supporting Müang Chae.¹⁰⁵¹

As for the cause of the war, the two factions had different explanations. Chao Mòm Kham Lü accused Müang Chae of unjustly holding on to a property that belonged to the prince and asked the ruler to send it back. Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa refused.¹⁰⁵² According to a letter from Chao Mòm Kham Lü and Chao Maha Wang, Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa became the ruler of Müang Chae with the help from Chao Mòm Kham Lü and Chao Maha Wang. However, he became arrogant, refused to listen to them, and was always causing trouble. He recruited an army and enrolled people from the prince's territory.¹⁰⁵³ He collected tax in this area and forbade the people in these places from being anywhere near the prince. Furthermore, he seized the population that depended on Chiang Chüang (Jingzhen) and people from the villages of Ban Fai, Ban Kham, Ban Nòng Kham, Ban Chiang, Müang Siao, and Ban Ang Nòi. In 1890, he mobilised an army to proceed to Müang Hon, intending to kill the prince. He sent letters to the other Müangs of Sipsòng Panna disrespecting the prince and a letter to Chiang Rung to stir up a revolt against the prince. The prince of Chiang Rung organised an army to approach Chiang Chüang, but Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa refused to listen to him.¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁴⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 4 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 avril 1891.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 492, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie et Lefèvre-Pontalis de Muong Yane (rive droite du Mékong) à Lao Peu Kiai (16–29 avril 1891)*, 20 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁰⁵¹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 32, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁰⁵² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁵³ In French records, they were Ban Boc Rin, Ban Xieng Lon, Ban Dena, Ban Dai, Ban Sao Nòi, Ban Sao Luang, Ban Kème Deng, Ban Kavane Sang, Müang Ang, Ban Line, Ban Maon, and Ban Nom Loung (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 12 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM). In British records, they were Sao Nòi, Sao Luang, Kyem Lung, Kwan Hsawng, Meung Ang, Pòk Hin, Kaing Lu, Li Teau, Man Leung, Man Mwan, and Nam Leung (Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 531, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 12 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM. A similar version of report was sent to Daly (Purport of a Shan Letter from the Kaing Hung Sawbwa to the Superintendent, Northern Shan States, dated 19th [sic] waning, fourth month, 1252 (2nd March 1891), pp. 531–532, Appendix No. 10 to Hugh Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, IOR/L/PS/7/64, *Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures Received from India*, vol. 64, BL).

According to Müang Chae (see Figure 5),¹⁰⁵⁵ Chao Mòm Kham Lü was not a *thammaracha* (righteous king) and caused trouble. In 1891, Chao Mòm Kham Lü had Chao Maha Chai of Müang Hon killed,¹⁰⁵⁶ causing the subjects of Müang Hon to flee to neighbouring towns, such as Chiang Khaeng, Müang Yòng, Müang Luai, and Müang Yang. Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa sympathised with the people of Müang Hon and gathered soldiers to guard Müang Hon. Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa was bitterly disappointed that Chao Mòm Kham Lü had demanded compensation for his father's generation, while Müang Chae refused to ask for remuneration for assisting Chao Mòm Kham Lü to return from Chiang Tung. On 25 December 1890, Chao Mòm Kham Lü reached Chiang Chüang where he attacked Müang Chae and seized the population from Müang Chae.¹⁰⁵⁷ Chao Wiang preferred Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa to Chao Mòm Kham Lü. He considered the latter unintelligent and not worthy of his throne.¹⁰⁵⁸

There were other explanations for the conflict. Scott considers the reason to be Chao Mòm Kham Lü's negation of Müang Chae's right to the tea area of Ban Sao Luang and Ban Sao Nòi, to the west of Müang Chae.¹⁰⁵⁹ Ngın and Kiouaup record that the cause was the vying for two elephants.¹⁰⁶⁰

When in Müang Laem, the Müang Laem prince Chao Mani Kham encouraged the British to visit Chiang Rung.¹⁰⁶¹ Daly claims that the people in Müang Laem believed the British would settle the conflict without any difficulty.¹⁰⁶² Daly reports that Sipsòng Panna also expressed a willingness to restore peace. In early 1891, Chiang Rung dispatched an official to Müang Laem, seeking help with the Chiang Rung-Müang Chae conflict.¹⁰⁶³ Daly claims that both Müang Chae and Chiang Rung, respectively, dispatched letters pleading for British intervention.¹⁰⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the Chinese spy Zhang Chengyu reports that when the British sent an interpreter to ask about the situation in Müang Chae, the gate guard disrespected the British commissioner, insinuating that he was a monkey.¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁵⁵ The report to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères* only states Müang Chae's version (*Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, pp. 69–70, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 124).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Chao Maha Chai of Müang Hon was Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa's brother-in-law (Ba Long Yanaweng, "*Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi*", 6:44; Dao and Yan, *Chiä khriä chao swaenwi sipsòng phanna*, 210).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa and the counsellors of Müang Chae to Auguste Pavie, the 5th waxing day of the 7th month, 1253 [13 April 1891], PA-AP 136, Volume 43, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM; Zhang, "*Micha yingren*", the 18th day, the 21st day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [26 February, 1 March 1891], 288–289.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 32, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ngın et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, 19 avril 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

¹⁰⁶¹ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 489, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶³ Hugh Daly, *Diary of the Superintendent, Northern Shan States, for the period ending the 20th February 1891*, MS Scott UL1.52, JGSC, CUL; Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 489, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, pp. 490–491, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Zhang, "*Micha yingren*", the 21st day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [1 March 1891], 289.

The British expressed their willingness to facilitate the reconciliation. However, the Müang Chae ruler Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa refused to accept unless Chao Mòm Kham Lü acknowledged his faults.¹⁰⁶⁶ Warry does not believe the conflict between Müang Chae and Chiang Rung will be settled quickly. A negotiation was to be conducted, and both Müang Chae and Chiang Rung should “have given very substantial proofs of their gratitude for his intervention”.¹⁰⁶⁷ By contrast, Daly claims that the Müang Laem people believed that the problem would be solved without any difficulty as long as the British reached Müang Chae.¹⁰⁶⁸

When the Daly-Warry Commission passed through Chiang Chüang, Daly ordered “a general dispersal”.¹⁰⁶⁹ They set fire to both camps to prevent them from continuing to fight and warned the natives to stop their fratricidal warring.¹⁰⁷⁰ On 18 February 1891, the British stopped the battle. Chao Mòm Kham Lü retreated to Müang Rai, and Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa withdrew to Müang Chae.¹⁰⁷¹ Daly sent a letter to Müang Chae inviting the latter to a negotiation in Müang Rai.¹⁰⁷² Daly claims that Chao Mòm Kham Lü “appeared unfeignedly glad to see us and to hear that the fighting had ceased”.¹⁰⁷³

Two Chinese delegates were present in Sipsòng Panna when the Daly-Warry Commission arrived. These two delegates were Dao Piwen from Pu’er and Zhang Wenxian from Simao.¹⁰⁷⁴ However, the British and French records provide more details on Dao Piwen, who was the hereditary *chaofa* of Müang Bò.¹⁰⁷⁵ He was a tall, thin man of 45.¹⁰⁷⁶ It is unclear what official position he held in 1891,¹⁰⁷⁷ but in early 1895 he was the Expectant Appointee of Mobile Corps Commander (*buyong youji*) and later promoted to Expectant Appointee of the Assistant Regional Commander to the Puding Right Firearms Brigade of Yunnan (*yunnan*

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁷ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 14, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 489, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., 491.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 32, Mss Eur F278/73, BL; Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 25th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [5 March 1891], 290. In Burrows’s records, it was the natives who burnt the stockades (Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 22).

¹⁰⁷¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 12 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁷² Hugh Daly, “The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border”, 30 May 1891, p. 491, IOR/L/PS/7/64, *Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures Received from India*, vol. 64, BL.

¹⁰⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁴ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 13, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL; Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 26th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [6 March 1891], 290–291. Zhang Chengyu writes that Dao Piwen was dispatched from Simao and Zhang Wenxian from Pu’er (Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 26th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [6 March 1891], 291).

¹⁰⁷⁵ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 15 February 1895, f. 359, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA; Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 4th waxing day of the 6th month, 1256 [29 March 1895], f. 136, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Warry recorded that he was an “expectant Major” in 1891 (From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 13, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL).

puding you ying lianyong buyong canjiang).¹⁰⁷⁸ Dao Piwen had joined the war against the French in Tonkin.¹⁰⁷⁹ He is also reported as a delegate to Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna.¹⁰⁸⁰

Dao Piwen came to Sipsòng Panna for two reasons: firstly, he was following Pu'er's instructions to inform the local authorities of the possible passage of the Europeans. Secondly, he was responding to a request for assistance from Chiang Rung and Müang Chae. He arrived with 25 soldiers.¹⁰⁸¹ As the British approached Müang Laem, Dao Piwen arrived from Müang Ngat.¹⁰⁸² Since Dao Piwen reached one day before the British, Warry believes that he had been "specially dispatched" because of the British's arrival in Müang Laem.¹⁰⁸³

The British attitude changed upon learning of the presence of two Chinese delegates in Müang Rai. Daly visited Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa, sent him many presents, and told Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa, as an outsider, what he could do was to mediate. If they had things to negotiate, Daly would not intervene.¹⁰⁸⁴ Daly cautiously informed Dao Piwen that he had no intention of intervening further in the issue or to "interfere with the execution of his orders", and he left the matter in Dao Piwen's hands.¹⁰⁸⁵ Scott writes that Dao Piwen wanted Daly to settle the quarrel, but Warry advised Daly to leave the issue to Dao Piwen.¹⁰⁸⁶ However, Daly reports that he obtained a favourable reply from Müang Chae concerning his advice on reconciliation.¹⁰⁸⁷ He apparently believes that both sides were "genuinely anxious that a permanent *modus vivendi* should be established" and that, if he had been allowed to handle the dispute, he would make an arrangement that both sides were willing to agree to.¹⁰⁸⁸

When Scott was in Müang Sing, he had planned to mediate the conflict between Müang Chae and Chiang Rung. He considers that "it was at any rate desirable to be on friendly terms with him [Chao Mòm Kham Lü], and this opportunity of helping him in his difficulties appeared to be too good to be lost", regardless of what kind of future relations Chiang Rung would have with Britain.¹⁰⁸⁹ After his arrival in Sipsòng Panna, Scott claims that Chao Mòm Kham Lü requested him to "settle the dispute" between Chiang Rung and Müang Chae, but Scott replied that Daly "had decided to leave it for settlement by the Chinese official and that

¹⁰⁷⁸ Dao Piwen, "*Kanjie weiyuan buyong youji dao piwen bing guangxu ershi yi nian zheng yue* [Report from Dao Piwen, Boundary Demarcation Commissioner and Expectant Mobile Corps Commander, the 1st month, Guangxu 21 [26 January–24 February 1895]]", in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:64; *Pièce justificative noms, titres, grades du fonctionnaire Chinois chargé de la remise du Muong Hou*, n.d., GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 150, GGI 14334, ANOM.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Scott, Further Report, n.d., p. 120, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 39, NA.

¹⁰⁸¹ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 148, GGI 14334, ANOM.; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 139.

¹⁰⁸² Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁰⁸³ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 13, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Zhang, "*Micha yingren*", the 27th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [7 March 1891], 292.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, p. 491, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 32, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, pp. 491–492, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 492.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 24, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

he must therefore accept his decision”. Chao Mòm Kham Lü “then launched out into a tirade against the Chinese who, he said, took no interest in the State, except to prevent disturbances which might interfere with the cultivation of tea”.¹⁰⁹⁰ Chao Mòm Kham Lü told Scott that, previously, the Burmans had been in charge of mediation, “though they always took money from both sides, they were satisfied with less money than Chinese Majors”.¹⁰⁹¹

The French records give a more complex picture. The French were eager to be mediators and addressed the issue at the first meeting with the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung.¹⁰⁹² Moreover, the natives also requested their intervention. On the return journey from Chiang Rung to Luang Prabang, Massie encountered a group of over 500 refugees. Massie claims that these refugees hoped the French would intervene in the war.¹⁰⁹³ According to Pavie, Chao Nang Waen Thip, too, wanted the French to intervene in the civil war and restore peace.¹⁰⁹⁴

Though still depicting themselves as crucial to achieving peace, the French emphasised their “discreet and reserved attitude” (*attitude discrète et réservée*).¹⁰⁹⁵ The French carefully collected authentic information, usually with seals, probably as evidence that the locals had requested their intervention, as well as documents for later reference. The French asked Chao Nang Waen Thip and the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to write a letter.¹⁰⁹⁶ Moreover, Pavie wrote a letter asking Müang Chae to let him be the mediator.¹⁰⁹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that Ngın and a Phraya of Lòk Chòk went to visit Chao Mòm Kham Lü to ask for a report with a seal stamp, but failed. The French wondered whether Chao Mòm Kham Lü feared Dao Piwen or whether he felt the French would be impartial and would not stand by him.¹⁰⁹⁸

Lefèvre-Pontalis wonders whether the Tai Lü still relied on the Chinese in face of the European menace.¹⁰⁹⁹ The French thought that the situation in Sipsòng Panna had hardly changed since the French Mekong Expedition Commission. Sipsòng Panna was continuously involved in rivalries and spying until China intervened to support either part.¹¹⁰⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis thought that the Tai of the Shan states were frightened by the presence of the British, that they knew the difference between the British and the French, and that they had to choose and were waiting for the French.¹¹⁰¹ However, given the instructions from the Department,¹¹⁰² the mission should be taken on with caution, not least because of the capricious natives and the precarious situation, and any compromise should be beneficial in the future.¹¹⁰³

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid., 32.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid., 32–33.

¹⁰⁹² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁹³ Massie, *Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang*, 3 avril 1891, p. 219, PA-AP 136, Volume 42, CADLC.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 71, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 125.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 6 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid., 8 avril 1891.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, pp. 138–139, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 138.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰² Probably the *département des affaires étrangères*.

¹¹⁰³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

The prudence of the French is revealed in their contact with Chao Maha Wang, the Upparat of Müang Laem. He was the brother of the Mueag Laem prince and was either 28 or 30 years old.¹¹⁰⁴ He paid frequent visits to Chiang Tung, where he met Younghusband and Archer.¹¹⁰⁵ Chao Maha Wang was Chao Mòm Kham Lü's father-in-law due to his marriage to the widow of the late Chiang Tung prince Chao Kòng Thai.¹¹⁰⁶ Chao Maha Wang was there to look after the security of Chao Nang Waen Thip.¹¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, Daly writes that he came to Chiang Rung partly to mediate between Chao Nang Waen Thip and Chao Mòm Kham Lü.¹¹⁰⁸ He and the Chiang Rung official, whom the British met in Müang Laem, caught up with the British in Müang Mang and then accompanied the Daly-Warry Commission to Sipsòng Panna.¹¹⁰⁹ Chao Maha Wang assisted the British in the mediation.¹¹¹⁰ The French found that Chao Maha Wang's attitude was "cold, phlegmatic and undisguised" (*froide, flegmatique et non dissimulée*).¹¹¹¹ Apparently, his opium use made his appearance "indifferent and fatalistic" (*indifférentes et fatalistes*).¹¹¹² By contrast, Daly writes that "[h]e stands six feet in height, and his energy and enterprise no less than his personal appearance mark him as one of the most striking characters we met."¹¹¹³

Firstly, the French suspected Chao Maha Wang because he came to Sipsòng Panna with the British. Pavie expressed their peaceful motive and showed the prince the Chinese passport they had been granted by the Zongli Yamen and their topographic surveys. Furthermore, Pavie expressed his willingness to assist in the reconciliation, and this was accepted by the nobles. Whether they succeeded or not, the French would leave Sipsòng Panna. The French sent many presents to Chao Maha Wang, and he seemed pleased.¹¹¹⁴

The French were prudent to avoid making any unwise travels to Müang Rai and Müang Chae. Though the French were willing to act as mediators, they were discreet enough not to proceed to Müang Rai and chose to remain in Chiang Rung, waiting for the return of Chao Mòm Kham Lü. The nobles promised to write a letter to Chao Mòm Kham Lü, informing him of the arrival of the French and inviting him to Chiang Rung, which Pavie considered a proper measure to deal with the Tai of Sipsòng Panna. Pavie thought that it not only preserved the view of the French as being travellers who did not want to impose themselves on the natives,

¹¹⁰⁴ In Lefèvre-Pontalis's journal, he was 28 years old (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM), while in Daly's record, he was 30 (Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 490, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL).

¹¹⁰⁵ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, p. 6, FO 881/5713, NA; Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 490, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹¹⁰⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 138; Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 490, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹¹⁰⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 5 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹⁰⁸ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 490, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 490.

¹¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 491.

¹¹¹¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 5 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹¹³ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 490, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹¹¹⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

but it also avoided any suspicions about excessive intervention.¹¹¹⁵ Moreover, the French were uncertain about how to re-establish order and wondered how Chao Mòm Kham Lü would view future interventions by the French.¹¹¹⁶

The French received a letter from Chao Mòm Kham Lü asking them to proceed to Müang Rai to meet him and Dao Piwen. Pavie told the ministers of Chiang Rung that they would remain in Chiang Rung for seven days and that if Chao Mòm Kham Lü did not return within this time, they would continue their journey.¹¹¹⁷ In a report to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, Pavie expresses his disapproval of the letter from Chao Mòm Kham Lü, which he believes was a discouraging response and signified three things: indifference to the restoration of order; worry about the French mission's presence in Chiang Rung; and the principal role of the Chinese agent. He considered that their journey to Sipsòng Panna was over and immediately went to inform Chao Nang Waen Thip that they would be taking their leave.¹¹¹⁸ In fact, they would stay for three more days. Later, Chao Wiang sent a letter to Chao Nang Waen Thip asking the French to remain in Chiang Rung for another six days. Pavie did not want to compromise but agreed to stay another three days. If Chao Mòm Kham Lü did not come to Chiang Rung, then the French would depart. *Đèo Văn Trị* thought that since all the nobles were keen to rely on the French, it should be the patient (i.e. Chao Mòm Kham Lü) to visit the doctor (i.e. the French), not the other way around.¹¹¹⁹

On 6 April 1891, Pavie sent Ngin to inform Chao Nang Waen Thip of their departure in two days. Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that she cried upon learning that the French, who had promised to be both father and mother to her and the nobles, were leaving.¹¹²⁰ Ngin replied that the French had no choice but to continue their journey and asked her not to forget the French, their neighbours, and friends if the queen and her people ever needed help.¹¹²¹ In his report to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, Pavie adds that Chao Nang Waen Thip was confused that the good-hearted French, who were the FMEM's compatriots, wanted to abandon them in such critical circumstance. By contrast, the FMEM would not leave before settling the problem.¹¹²²

On 7 April 1891, another letter from Chao Mòm Kham Lü arrived, refusing to go to Chiang Rung.¹¹²³ Chao Mòm Kham Lü informed that because Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa refused to reconcile, he could not go to Chiang Rung.¹¹²⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the next day, the members of the Sanam came to request the French to "save the homeland" (*sauver la patrie*).¹¹²⁵ Both Chao Mòm Kham Lü and Dao Piwen sent letters to Chiang Rung and asked

¹¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁶ Ibid., 11 avril 1891.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid., 3 avril 1891.

¹¹¹⁸ Rapport généraux de Pavie au *Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 132, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 135.

¹¹¹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 5 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid., 6 avril 1891.

¹¹²¹ Ibid.

¹¹²² Rapport généraux de Pavie au *Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 132, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 135.

¹¹²³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 7 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid., 8 avril 1891.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid.

the French to go to Müang Rai. The nobles insisted that if the French did not go to Müang Rai, then the French could not set out for their return journey.¹¹²⁶

After considering the distance and the costs of postponing, Pavie finally decided to proceed to Müang Rai. He thought that they could obtain more information about the situation in Sipsòng Panna by going to Müang Rai. Pavie's hesitation to advance to the town was partly to avoid a loss of status. When Dao Piwen first invited Pavie to have a conversation, he refused to be present himself, as this would damage his prestige, instead he sent a Chinese lieutenant of Đèo Văn Trị.¹¹²⁷ Initially, the Yòng Huai ruler returned to Müang Chae as an intermediary because he knew the situation and had known the French.¹¹²⁸

In Müang Rai, Chao Mòm Kham Lü twice attempted to offer money to the French, saying that if they restored the peace and Dao Piwen received twelve kilograms of money from Müang Chae, then why would Pavie and Đèo Văn Trị not accept money from him. The French declined, saying that they were not in the habit of receiving money for services to their friends. Moreover, Pavie considered it to be a bribe.¹¹²⁹

Dao Piwen attempted to dissuade the French from proceeding to Müang Chae in order to avoid any danger.¹¹³⁰ The Margary Affair¹¹³¹ of 1875 probably still haunted the Chinese authorities.¹¹³² Dao Piwen explained that he worried that if the French departed from Chiang Rung then Müang Chae would suspect that they had collaborated with Chao Mòm Kham Lü and would kill them. He would, however, allow the French to proceed to Müang Chae if they had people from Müang Chae accompanying them.¹¹³³ Chao Maha Wang also dissuaded the French from going to Chiang Chüang as he knew that they could not have a definite impact and that as soon as the French left the war would start again. Pavie responded that he was sure the Chinese, the British, and the French nearby would never allow that to happen.¹¹³⁴

The French were hesitant to travel to Müang Chae until they received a letter from the ruler of Müang Chae, who invited them to Müang Chae for mediation.¹¹³⁵ The Pavie Mission probably received a friendly reception in Müang Chae. When the French arrived in Chiang Chüang, the people of Müang Chae came to pay homage to Pavie and gave him two wax candles.¹¹³⁶ The reception ceremony was impressive. The French stayed at a monastery at the foot of Ban Müang Yang. They were received as the guests of Chao Wiang, and a cow was killed for the feast.¹¹³⁷ Pavie noted that they were well received in Müang Chae and that they

¹¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹¹²⁷ Ibid., 12 avril 1891.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid., 11 avril 1891.

¹¹²⁹ Ibid., 12, 14 avril 1891.

¹¹³⁰ Ibid., 13 avril 1891.

¹¹³¹ In 1895, after a long journey to visit Bhamo, the British diplomat and explorer Augustus Raymond Margary and his staff were murdered in Tengyue, on their way back to Shanghai.

¹¹³² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 14 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹³³ Ibid., 15 avril 1891; *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 149, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 139.

¹¹³⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid., 15 avril 1891.

¹¹³⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹¹³⁷ Ibid.

stayed at a big temple. When the British visited Müang Chae, they camped under a tree outside the city walls.¹¹³⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that when they left Müang Chae, the mandarins of Müang Chae asked them to stay for a few more days.¹¹³⁹

Eventually, the nobles of Chiang Rung did not appear in Müang Chae to mediate, but the French did not mind. The French did not openly stand by the prince, and they met no resistance from Chiang Rung for their proceeding to Müang Chae. More importantly, the French had no interest in taking sides, and what they expected was to collect information on the situation and leave a good impression on the nobles of Chiang Rung.¹¹⁴⁰ Since the day they had arrived in Müang Chae, the French had known that the situation could not be resolved. Lefèvre-Pontalis writes that since they had obtained information from both sides, the rest was not important to them.¹¹⁴¹

When Dao Piwen arrived in Müang Chae on 18 April 1891, the French decided to continue their journey. Pavie told the people of Müang Chae that the French had been happy to help them and that the settlement was near completion. They explained that they were travellers, and the rainy season was approaching, which meant that they could not extend their sojourn in Sipsòng Panna. Pavie allowed Chao Wiang and Dao Piwen to mediate on his behalf and settle the problem.¹¹⁴² Pavie claims that his proposal met with no objections,¹¹⁴³ though Chao Wiang was not confident that peace could be restored between Müang Chae and Chiang Rung.¹¹⁴⁴

No progress was achieved, and the impact of the French presence was exaggerated in French records. Pavie claims that the presence of the French prevented Chiang Rung from being attacked by Müang Chae.¹¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the French presence at the camp of Chao Mòm Kham Lü removed any worries about the natives' "belligerent ideas" (*idées belliqueuses*) and replaced them with a willingness to understand.¹¹⁴⁶ Pavie reports that even the Chinese delegate Dao Piwen thanked Pavie for being a peacemaker, who came from a country that provided shelter for Prince Myngoon.¹¹⁴⁷ Pavie claims that peace was reached, and the mission spread the good news along their journey.¹¹⁴⁸

d) Chinese Rights

The British annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 troubled China, which considered Burma as a tributary state.¹¹⁴⁹ Consequently, in 1891, when the British and the French ventured to visit

¹¹³⁸ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 156, GGI 14334, ANOM.

¹¹³⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie, 19 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 17 avril 1891.

¹¹⁴¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹⁴² Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie, 18 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹¹⁴³ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 155, GGI 14334, ANOM.

¹¹⁴⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie, 18 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹¹⁴⁵ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 143, GGI 14334, ANOM.

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 151; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 139.

¹¹⁴⁷ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 155, GGI 14334, ANOM.

¹¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 157; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 143.

¹¹⁴⁹ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 219.

Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna, which were the subject of negotiation between China and Britain, China dispatched two spies to follow the British.¹¹⁵⁰ One of the spies, Zhang Chengyu, claims that Müang Laem belonged to China (*neidi*), and no matter what the issues were, Müang Laem would almost certainly inform China about them.¹¹⁵¹ The nobles of Chiang Rung thought the British had come to seize Sipsòng Panna and reported this much to a Chinese officer. The Chinese officer interrogated the British about what they planned to do in Sipsòng Panna with these soldiers. The British replied that they were on their way to Chiang Rung and Chiang Tung.¹¹⁵²

During their journeys in Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna in 1891, both the British and the French were cautious when dealing with the authorities in Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna. The instruction from Charles Crosthwaite (1835–1915), Chief Commissioner of Burma, was not to offend China.¹¹⁵³ The French were instructed by the Department to deal with the people with caution and not to reach any decision or compromise without clear future benefits.¹¹⁵⁴ Their prudence was not unfounded. The Chinese Ambassador Xue Fucheng complained to London about Daly-Warry's travel in Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna.¹¹⁵⁵

In Müang Laem, the British assured Chao Mani Kham that Britain and China maintained a good relationship and that the British also served in Peking and were favoured by the empire.¹¹⁵⁶ Chao Mani Kham had one Chinese secretary¹¹⁵⁷ who acted as his adviser and conducted “his correspondence with Shunning”. At first, the Chinese secretary was suspicious of William Warry and was cautious of the conversations between Chao Mani Kham and the British. But Warry claims that through some Chinese in Müang Laem, who had heard of William Warry in Bhamo, he had won the trust of the secretary, who provided him with information on the correspondence between Müang Laem and Shunning.¹¹⁵⁸ Zhang Chengyu claims that the British were prudent enough not to confront the Chinese troops directly. After hearing that Chi Dongxiao, an officer from Zhenbian, would arrive in Müang Laem with massive forces, the British did not want to prolong their stay in the town.¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵⁰ The Under-Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Burma, 9 January 1889, p. 2, Mss Eur E254/23c, No. 2, BL; Yao Wendong, Preface to *Zhentan ji*, ed. Yao Wendong, in *Yunnan kanjie choubian ji*, ed. Yao Wendong (Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1968), 229.

¹¹⁵¹ Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 8th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [16 February 1891], 285.

¹¹⁵² Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 143, GGI 14334, ANOM.

¹¹⁵³ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 1, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL.

¹¹⁵⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹¹⁵⁵ India Office to Foreign Office, 9 October 1891, p. 30, FO 422/32, No. 48, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA; The Governor-General of India in Council to Viscount Cross, 8 September 1891, p. 30, FO 422/32, Inclosure in No. 48, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA; The Marquis of Salisbury to Sieh Ta-jen, 17 October 1891, FO 422/32, No. 49, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹¹⁵⁶ Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 10th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [18 February 1891], 286.

¹¹⁵⁷ In 1891, Scott also met a Yunnanese secretary at the court of Chiang Khaeng (Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 19, Mss Eur F278/73, BL).

¹¹⁵⁸ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, pp. 9–10, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL; Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 16.

¹¹⁵⁹ Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 8th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [16 February 1891], 285.

Dao Piwen received an order from Pu'er that, on seeing foreign visitors, he should figure out their motives and then decide whether or not to let them pass.¹¹⁶⁰ The order was limited to the European *ayebian* (Burmese: *arepuing*) coming to Chiang Khòng.¹¹⁶¹ If they came only for travel and then returned to Mandalay, they must be welcomed according to custom. But if they attempted to proceed to the Mekong River or Yibang, Dao Piwen should let them know that the tea mountains were tributary to the Qing, and they could travel only with permission from the Zongli Yamen. If there was no way to stop them, he should report to Simao and Yibang.¹¹⁶² It should be noted that Chao Wiang told Pavie that the British tried to cross the Mekong from Chiang Rung but that the Chinese had opposed them.¹¹⁶³

The two aforementioned Chinese special delegates held different opinions about the British visit. Zhang Wenxian expressed several times his suspicions regarding the British motive for visiting Sipsòng Panna. He worried that they intended to seize Sipsòng Panna and border guards would not tolerate such an action.¹¹⁶⁴ Dao Piwen did not want to get involved in this issue, saying that it was decided by the senior officials. In addition, the Chinese authority had known of the British plan to visit the Tai states in 1890 but had not conveyed any specific instructions in this regard to the subordinate authorities. For this reason, the British did not meet any obstacles when arriving in Sipsòng Panna. Dao Piwen told Zhang Wenxian to mind only their own business.¹¹⁶⁵

In Sipsòng Panna, Warry explained that “the Mission was one of exploration, and that it had no instructions to interfere in the domestic politics of Kainghung [Chiang Rung].”¹¹⁶⁶ Dao Piwen received the British Mission “courteously” and “did not protest against the presence of the Mission in Kaing Hung territory”.¹¹⁶⁷ Warry reports that Dao Piwen was dispatched to Müang Chae to mediate the conflict between Müang Chae and Chiang Rung. Dao Piwen was glad to hear that the British had stopped the fighting. Warry was eager to express their non-political motives, explaining that “the terms of settlement would be arranged between the parties themselves” and that the British had no intention to “interfere in the domestic politics of Kainghung”. It is noteworthy that Warry did not openly express the idea that Britain had a right to do so. Dao Piwen replied that “we [the British] had rendered a great service not only to the Shans but also to the Government of Yunnan who had the quiet of these districts greatly at heart.”¹¹⁶⁸

¹¹⁶⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹⁶¹ In north Sipsòng Panna, also named Müang Khòng.

¹¹⁶² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM; Dao Piwen, Order from the superiors, the 11th day of the 2nd month, Guangxu 17 [20 March 1891], PA-AP 136, Volume 43, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC.

¹¹⁶³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹¹⁶⁴ Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 27th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [7 March 1891], 292.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 292–293.

¹¹⁶⁶ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 13, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL.

¹¹⁶⁷ Memorandum communicated by India Office, 26 November 1891, p. 72, FO 422/32, No. 62, NA. See also Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 27th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [7 March 1891], 291–292.

¹¹⁶⁸ From W. Warry, Esq., Political Officer, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 15 June 1891, p. 13, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, BL.

The meeting between the British and Dao Piwen was “cordial”, according to Warry’s reports. Warry suspects that Dao Piwen might be cautious of their arrival in Chiang Rung territory; however, he hopes that “this meeting will help to dispel the belief, still prevalent here and there along the frontier, that the Chinese are our inveterate enemies, determined to decline all intercourse with us, and biding their time to attack us.”¹¹⁶⁹

The reports of Daly and Warry impacted the decision-making of the Government of India. The information Warry obtained was mostly from Chinese sources. Chao Mòk Kham Lù had no Chinese secretary like that in Müang Laem.¹¹⁷⁰ Warry complains that it was difficult to “obtain any information on Chinese matters” in Chiang Rung. He ascribes this to the presence of Chinese officers and troops in Müang Rai as well as to the absence of a Chinese secretary. The British were told that the Chinese secretary of Chao Mòk Kham Lù had resigned some months ago and “had carried away all the Sawbwa’s [Chao Mòk Kham Lù] Chinese correspondence with him”.¹¹⁷¹ Warry concludes his report by arguing that the Burmese suzerainty over the “Chinese Shan States” was comparatively more recent than that of China.¹¹⁷² The Chinese influence in Müang Laem superseded that of the Burmese, and “there was scarcely a trace of Burmese influence in the State.”¹¹⁷³ Meanwhile, Daly concludes that Britain should take possession of Mang Lön, most parts of the Wa country, cis-Mekong Sipsòng Panna, and probably Müang Laem.¹¹⁷⁴

However, Daly’s proposal was rejected. Alexander Mackenzie, the Chief Commissioner of Burma, proposed maintaining both the British and Chinese suzerainties over Chiang Rung, handing over the administration of Chiang Rung to China, and he suggested that China should not cede any part of Chiang Rung to any country other than Britain.¹¹⁷⁵ The India Government was unwilling to offend China by extending its territory and would “readily acknowledge the Chinese ownership of Meunglem [Müang Laem] and Kaing Hung [Chiang Rung]”.¹¹⁷⁶ Knowing that “the hold of China over Kaing Hung is reported to be extremely loose, and that French emissaries are taking much interest in the State [Sipsòng Panna]”, the India Government decided to offer Chiang Rung and Müang Laem to China, on the condition that China did not cede any part of these territories to other countries. Like the handover of trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng and the trans-Salween part of the Karenni state to Siam, the renunciation of Chiang Rung and Müang Laem was also considered a friendly gesture to China for “a general

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 14.

¹¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 16.

¹¹⁷¹ Ibid., 16.

¹¹⁷² Ibid., 26.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁷⁴ From Lieutenant H. Daly, Superintendent Northern Shan States, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 12 June 1891, p. 5, Mss Eur Photo Eur 384, WWP, BL.

¹¹⁷⁵ E. S. Symes, Chief Secretary to the Commissioner of Burma, to the Secretary to the Government of India, 24 July 1891, pp. 471–472, IOR/L/PS/7/64, *Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures Received from India*, vol. 64, BL.

¹¹⁷⁶ Memorandum communicated by India Office, 26 November 1891, p. 73, FO 422/32, No. 62, NA.

settlement of the whole frontier question”.¹¹⁷⁷ In order not to offend China, and also in a bid to resist French interests in Sipsòng Panna, the India Government decided to abandon its claims on Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna, on condition that “no portion of the State of Kaing Hung shall be ceded to a European Power.”¹¹⁷⁸ This decision would be confirmed and ratified by the convention between Great Britain and China of 1894.¹¹⁷⁹

Similarly, the French were keen to avoid any troubles on their journey. When questioned about their motives, Đèo Văn Trì emphasised their non-political character. They came not for conquering but for topographic mapping.¹¹⁸⁰ According to French sources, Dao Piwen had a good relationship with the French and wanted to provide assistance for their journey to Simao.¹¹⁸¹

Five months after Vacle’s failure in Müang U, the French were still worried about the journey because they had heard rumours that the Chinese were installed at Bò Sao to prevent the French from proceeding any further.¹¹⁸² This time, the French were keen to deal with the Chinese authorities and recognised China’s authority over Sipsòng Panna.¹¹⁸³ The French reiterated that they were good friends with China and they held a passport from the Zongli Yamen.¹¹⁸⁴ After entering Sipsòng Panna, in many places (Müang U, Chiang Thòng, Müang Ring, Chiang Rung, Müang Rai, Chiang Khòng (Mengkuang)¹¹⁸⁵), the French actively showed their passport from the Zongli Yamen to the Chinese officers and the natives, though the latter did not care much. In most cases, they did not fail to emphasise their good relations with Chinese authorities.¹¹⁸⁶ By contrast, the British did not hold a passport.¹¹⁸⁷ Before Lefèvre-Pontalis’ journey to Yibang, Pavie gave him a copy of the passport from the Zongli Yamen to avoid any Chinese obstacles.¹¹⁸⁸ However, the French found that the passport they held was only valid in China proper and Laos and not in Sipsòng Panna.¹¹⁸⁹ Dao Piwen informed the

¹¹⁷⁷ The Governor-General of India in Council to Viscount Cross, 14 October 1891, pp. 76–77, FO 422/32, Inclosure in No. 64, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA. See also Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 64, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA; Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 13, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹¹⁷⁸ India Office to Foreign Office, 2 December 1891, p. 72, FO 422/32, No. 64, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA. See also E. S. Symes, Chief Secretary to the Commissioner of Burma, to the Secretary to the Government of India, 24 July 1891, p. 472, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹¹⁷⁹ Anonymous, *Convention between Great Britain and China, Giving Effect to Article III of the Convention of July 24, 1886, relative to Burmah and Thibet. Signed at London, March 1, 1894* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1894), 4–5.

¹¹⁸⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 21 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹¹⁸¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 15 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹⁸² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 14 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹¹⁸³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 17.

¹¹⁸⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 11 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹⁸⁵ Not to be confused with the Chiang Khòng in Siam.

¹¹⁸⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 17 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 22, 26, 31 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 24 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 17.

¹¹⁸⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹¹⁸⁸ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de M. Lefèvre-Pontalis de Lao Peu Kiai à Lai Chau par le lays du thé* (30 avril–19 mai 1891), 30 April 1891, GGI 14390, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 20.

¹¹⁸⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

French that he had no need to see the passport and he only want to know whether they had arrived or not.¹¹⁹⁰

There appears to be no evidence of local reactions to the passport in the native sources. Scott reports that Pavie told him that when the passport was shown everywhere, the natives regarded it “rather with amiable curiosity than with official vigilance”.¹¹⁹¹ Contemporary Chinese sources record that the French frequently visited the frontier and brought with them a document covered with dragon-patterned yellow satin (*huangduan xiulong baofu wenshu*), saying that it was the Qing Empire’s certificate for them to acquire territory. Li Zhaoyuan reports that the natives did not understand the Chinese language and could not verify the document, which turned out to be merely a travel passport.¹¹⁹²

5 The Müang U Question

a) Müang U in 1891

Only five months had passed since Vacle’s failure in Müang U by the time the Pavie Mission reached the town in 1891. However, the tone of the contact had fundamentally changed, and the French had become liberators and protectors rather than misfortunate travellers. Like Vacle in 1890, when the Pavie Mission arrived in Müang U, the ruler of Müang U Nüa was absent, and they were received by his mother. The mother told the French that Müang U had been devastated by the Chinese band of Nguyễn Cao, turning many Müang U subjects into refugees.¹¹⁹³ Those who fled to nearby areas soon returned, but those who fled to the territory of Nan had not yet returned.¹¹⁹⁴ Having seen the devastation caused by Nguyễn Cao, Đèo Văn Trị introduced the French as the liberators of Müang Lai and Sipsòng Panna, which had been ravaged by the same brigade. The band of Nguyễn Cao was annihilated, and “the French were the benefactors of the Thai [of Sipsòng Chao Thai] and the [Tai] Lü” (*Les Français sont les bienfaiteurs des Thaïs et des Lus*).¹¹⁹⁵ Đèo Văn Trị added that, previously, he had been a sworn enemy of the French, but now he followed them devotedly. He mentioned Pavie’s generosity, the protection that the French army had given to Sipsòng Chao Thai, and the tranquillity and prosperity they achieved following their arrival.¹¹⁹⁶

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 12 avril 1891.

¹¹⁹¹ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 12 January 1895, f. 75, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA.

¹¹⁹² Li Zhaoyuan, “*Li zhaoyuan bing guangxu ershi yi nian si yue* [Report from Li Zhaoyuan, the 4th month of Guangxu 21 [25 April–23 May 1895]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:72.

¹¹⁹³ Chinese records confirm that Nguyễn Cao invaded Müang U around 1888 (Chen Zonghai, “*Pu’er fu chen zonghai bing guangxu ershi yi nian si yue* [Report from Chen Zonghai, Pu’er Prefecture, the 4th month of Guangxu 21 [25 April–23 May 1895]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:75).

¹¹⁹⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 16 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

The next day, the invasion of Nguyễn Cao was mentioned again. It had caused 360 families¹¹⁹⁷ to flee to the territory of Nan.¹¹⁹⁸ The king of Nan refused to allow the refugees to return to their homes unless Müang U paid compensation.¹¹⁹⁹ The report to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères* explains that the chiefs of Müang U asked for Pavie's help in returning the Tai Lü refugees currently in Nan.¹²⁰⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the mother and the nobles asked Pavie to negotiate with Nan. The French felt great satisfaction that Müang U had asked for French support and protection. That night, Pavie wrote a letter to the king of Nan, requesting the return of the Tai Lü refugees of Müang U without any compensation.¹²⁰¹ In this letter, Pavie regards Müang U as a French protectorate.¹²⁰² Lefèvre-Pontalis viewed it as an opportunity to prove France's goodwill towards the Tai Lü, and he thought that they might fall under French influence.¹²⁰³ Lefèvre-Pontalis also believes that French protection would guarantee the return of the 360 families of Lue refugees to Müang U from Nan.¹²⁰⁴ Additionally, Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the Tai Lü requested French assistance voluntarily, not the French imposed.¹²⁰⁵ This "anti-conquest" narrative was probably used in diplomatic negotiations with Chinese authorities. A Chinese record writes that around 1890/1891, "the indigenous chief of Müang U resented [the Chinese frontier officers] and secretly submitted to the French envoy to Siam" (*mengwu tubian yuanfen, mi tou zhu xianluo fa shi*).¹²⁰⁶

However, Pavie's letter was subsequently seized by the Chinese authorities in Müang Lae, who then declared that they would restore the population themselves. The Chinese

¹¹⁹⁷ The report to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères* records 300 families (*Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 65, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 122). When visiting Chiang Khòng in 1893, Garanger heard that there were 3000 Tai Lü migrants from Müang U Nüa living in the north of Chiang Khòng (Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 53–54).

¹¹⁹⁸ In early 1889, the Hò invaded and occupied Müang U Tai, Müang U Nüa, Som Thai and Pan La (CKC-WTP 34.13–14 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 263). Archer also recorded during his visit to Müang La that the Hò's invasion caused the migrations of people of Müang U Nüa to Müang Sai, of Müang Ngai and Müang Sum to Nan, and of Müang U Tai and other villages of Müang U to Müang La (Report on a Journey in the Mě-kong Valley, 1892, p. 7, MS Scott UL1.9, JGSC, CUL; Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 55, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, NA.). See also Scott's interview with the refugees of Chiang Fa in Müang Khòn (near Müang Nun) (Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 28, Mss Eur F278/73, BL).

¹¹⁹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 17 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM; Ngin et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, 17 mars 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

¹²⁰⁰ *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 65, GGI 14334, ANOM.

¹²⁰¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 17 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹²⁰² "*Le thao de Muong Hou qui est placé sous le protectorat français*" (Ibid.).

¹²⁰³ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 32. It was probably not fulfilled, since in 1893 the ruler of Müang U was still asking Garanger to help Müang U return refugees to seven villages (Georges Garanger à Monsieur le Ministre Résident de France à Bangkok, 7 février 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM). The project of the return of the subjects of Müang U from Nan was carried out (M. Vacle, *Commissaire du Gouvernement à Luang-Prabang*, *Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut Laos à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement*, 2 janvier 1895, GGI 31729, ANOM).

¹²⁰⁵ "[Q]uel qu'un doivent être les résultats, quelle belle occasion de donner à ces Lus une preuve de notre bon vouloir sans nous imposer à eux en aucune façon, quel excellent moyen d'apprendre ce que l'on peut faire pour eux, jusqu'à quel point nous pourrions leur faire subir notre influence! C'est une de ces entrées en matière qui ne s'inventent pas, mais dont on profite" (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 17 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM).

¹²⁰⁶ Wang Wenshao, ed., *Xu yunnan tongzhi gao* [Draft of the continued comprehensive gazetteer of Yunnan] (n.p., 1901), 99:27.

authorities decided to send 25 soldiers to Nan to reclaim the Tai Lü refugees. However, Pavie claims that the Chinese authorities failed to do so and that, ultimately, it was the French who took responsibility for the matter,¹²⁰⁷ specifically after France had occupied the trans-Mekong territory.¹²⁰⁸

During the journey of 1891, the French attempted to build a good relationship with Müang U. Pavie told the mother of the Müang U ruler that from then on, business and commercial relations would be established between the French and the Tai Lü. She and Đèo Văn Trị would act as intermediaries between the Tai Lü and the French.¹²⁰⁹ The ancient friendship between Müang Lai and Müang U, which included a peace treaty and an oath of friendship in Pang Pouey, was also mentioned.¹²¹⁰ Later, Müang U Nüa dispatched officials to guide the Pavie Mission to Chiang Thòng.¹²¹¹ When a Phraya from Müang U had finished his duties as a guide for the French and prepared to return to Müang U to convey good tidings from the French and the Tai of Sipsòng Chao Thai, Pavie awarded him with a certificate as a token of amity and stated that whenever Müang U had any difficulties or was confronted by invaders, such as the Siamese, then the French would be willing to provide aid.¹²¹²

However, the French ambition to seize Müang U is revealed in Lefèvre-Pontalis's writings. Lefèvre-Pontalis emphasises the significance of the Nam U basin in terms of transportation, as a junction for Yunnan, Sipsòng Panna, Sipsòng Chao Thai, and Laos, and its geographical proximity to Müang Lae, which was an important location for China's spies to collect information.¹²¹³ He was impressed by the richness of the Nam U basin, which could not be matched by the Mekong basin above Luang Prabang and the Tonkin Delta.¹²¹⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis praises the valley of Nam U again when he passes through Müang U on his return journey. He writes that it controlled the routes extending in all directions, to Laos via Ahmé, to Yibang via the Nam Pine, to Simao and Chiang Rung via Chiang Thòng and Müang Bang, to China via Müang Lae, and to Lai Châu via Pou Fang. Finally, he claims that "those who will be the masters of Müang U or Chiang Siao, will forever rule the northeast of Indochina" (*Ceux qui seront les maîtres à M. Han [sic] ou à Xieng Séo, commanderont à tout jamais le nord-est de l'Indo Chine*).¹²¹⁵ In his published journal, Lefèvre-Pontalis points out directly that it will be the French who are the masters.¹²¹⁶ His motives are all too clear, especially when he expresses the hope that the Chinese do not appear to expel the French and that people would

¹²⁰⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de M. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 7 mai 1891, GGI 14390, ANOM; Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 23 février 1895, f. 119, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹²⁰⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 126

¹²⁰⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 18 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹²¹⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 10, 16 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹²¹¹ Ngın et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, 18, 30 mars 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

¹²¹² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 20 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹²¹³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 28 février 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 17 mars 1891.

¹²¹⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de M. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 7 mai 1891, GGI 14390, ANOM.

¹²¹⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 31.

defend any attempts by the British to extend their territory into the Shan states and the right bank of the Mekong.¹²¹⁷

Lefèvre-Pontalis is frank about French ambitions to seize the Nam U basin in his published journal, printed seven years after the accomplished annexation of Müang U. He believes that the entire Nam U basin was “the most enviable territory of this plateau” (*territoire le plus enviable de ce haut pays*),¹²¹⁸ which was the conclusion of the Pavie Mission’s exploration of Sipsòng Panna.¹²¹⁹ In addition, Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that France enjoyed the support of the native population. The mother of the Müang U ruler received them well, and she, like other mandarins in Müang U, “appreciated our friendship” (*appréciait notre amitié*). Lefèvre-Pontalis believes that she would like to “convert [this friendship] into more direct protection” (*se transformer en une protection plus directe*).¹²²⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that France had quelled the Nguyễn Cao rebellion, expelled the pirate bandits, and restored social peace, all of which were appreciated by the native. The French “superiority was so well recognised at this time” (*notre supériorité était à cette heure si bien reconnue*). By contrast, he blames China for doing nothing to defend them.¹²²¹

The Pavie Mission’s exploration of Sipsòng Panna in 1891 directly influenced the policymaking of Paris in 1893. The tea mountains in Sipsòng Panna, especially Yiwu and Yibang, attracted France’s attention as centres of tea production and trade. Some years later, a customs sub-station was opened in Yiwu in 1897. An appendix to a letter from Jules Develle, the Ministre des Affaires étrangères, to Théophile Delcassé, Sous-Secrétaire d’État des Colonies, has a conclusion drawn from the Pavie Mission report, recognising China’s inclusive rights to Sipsòng Panna. Despite this, France refused to abandon its interest in Müang U, which was a thoroughfare of great commercial and military significance. The appendix suggests a negotiation with China on Müang U.¹²²² In another letter, Develle proposes to annex Müang U and set the limit of the Nam U basin as the boundary between China and Indochina.¹²²³ After signing the Anglo-China Treaty of 1894, Deloncle reclaimed the French right to the eastern Pannas of Sipsòng Panna, according to a secret letter from Kenwoon Mengui in 1884.¹²²⁴

The French made use of Müang U’s historical relationship to negotiate with the Chinese authorities, claim their rights to the town, and defend it from the British.¹²²⁵ In late 1894, Garanger, the newly arrived commissaire to Müang Hat Hin, contacted Müang U and learned

¹²¹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de M. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 7 mai 1891, GGI 14390, ANOM.

¹²¹⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 30–31.

¹²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹²²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²²¹ *Ibid.*, 31–32.

¹²²² Au sujet de la délimitation franco-chinoise, entre le bassin de la Rivière Noire et le Mékong, 9 août 1893, Annexe no. 6 à la lettre du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères au Sous-Secrétaire d’État des Colonies du 27 novembre 1893 dont copie ci-jointe à la lettre à Bangkok no.1 du 6 janvier 1894, GGI 14470, ANOM.

¹²²³ Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à Monsieur le Sous-Secrétaire d’Etat des Colonies, 1 juin 1893, GGI 14470, ANOM.

¹²²⁴ Preschez, “Les relations entre la France et la Birmanie”, 390.

¹²²⁵ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 10 décembre 1894, GGI 31729, ANOM; Shi’alan [Auguste Gérard], “*Qing pai yuan jiaodai mengwu wude you* [Request to dispatch delegates to explain the issue of Müang U and U Tai]”, the 6th day of the intercalary 5th month, Guangxu 21 [28 June 1895], 01-24-027-04-011, ZLGGSWYM, AIMH.

from the ruler of Müang U Nüa, Chao Mòm Ton Phra Phomma Wongsa, the phrase “*hua phan thang ha*”,¹²²⁶ which referred to the five *müang* in the source region of the Nam U, that is, Müang U Nüa, Müang U Tai (Wude), Müang Hat Hin, Müang Wa, and Müang Ngai.¹²²⁷ The French justified their annexation of Müang U by mentioning that Müang U Nüa and Müang U Tai previously had close connections with the latter three places. Because Müang Hat Hin, Müang Wa, and Müang Ngai were placed under French protection, the French annexation of Müang U was a natural consequence.¹²²⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis further interprets that these *hua phan thang ha* were dependent on Luang Prabang, which was not mentioned in the letters from Müang U.¹²²⁹

It is questionable whether these five *müang* formed “a confederation” (*une confédération*) as the French claimed.¹²³⁰ The wording of the original letter is lost. It is highly possible that the ruler of Müang U Nüa only used the word *hua müang thang ha* (these five *Müang*) to show the good relations between Müang U and these nearby places out of diplomatic courtesy. The letter mentions a defensive alliance between these five *müang*, which was common in the Upper Mekong River basin (Müang Laem, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Tung had a similar oath) and could not justify the French claim.

b) The Cession of Müang U

The natives’ responses to the boundary-making of Müang U are depicted differently in Chinese and French records. The investigation work of the Sino-Franco Boundary Commission started from Müang Lae in December 1894. The Chinese source claims that when the two delegates, Li Zhaoyuan and Dao Piwen, departed from Müang U, the ruler and his subjects wailed and expressed their willingness to depend on China.¹²³¹ The Chinese delegates obtained a letter at Chiang Siao, a village in Müang U, in which the people of Chiang Siao expressed

¹²²⁶ The French authority sometimes confused the *hua phan thang ha* with the *hua phan ha thang hok*, which refers to Müang Sop Aet, Chiang Khò, Müang Sam Nüa, Müang Soi, Müang Sam Tai, Müang Hua Müang. For instance, the Complementary Convention of 20 June 1895, through which France annexed Müang U, used the phrase “la confédération des Hua-panh ha-tang hoc” (Convention complémentaire de la Convention de délimitation, signé 20 juin 1895, GGI 31728, ANOM).

¹²²⁷ Chao Mòm Ton Phra Phomma Wongsa à Georges Garanger, the 7th waxing day of the 1st month, 1256 [4 November 1894], trans., f. 450, Indochine 53, MD 91, CADLC.

¹²²⁸ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hahin à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l’Indo-Chine, 28 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM; Shi’alan, “*Qing pai yuan jiaodai mengwu wude you*”, 28 June 1895, 01-24-027-04-011, ZLGGSWYM, AIMH.

¹²²⁹ Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du voyage de M.M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Thomassin et Docteur Lefèvre, de Lai Chau à Muong Hahine (1–17 décembre 1894), 9 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹²³⁰ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 10 décembre 1894, GGI 31729, ANOM.

¹²³¹ Chen Shoushu and Xu Taishen, “*Simao ting chen shoushu xu taishen hui cha guangxu ershi yi nian er yue* [Report from Chen Shoushu and Xu Taishen, Simao sub-Prefecture, the 2nd month of Guangxu 21 [25 February–25 March 1895]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:66.

their sorrow and pleaded with them not to cede the territory and to maintain the *status quo*.¹²³² A report by the French investigator Mailluchet, who accompanied Li Zhaoyuan from Müang Lae to Müang U and Bò Hae, mentions only the ceremonial reception in Müang U Nüa and Müang U Tai and the respect and fear regarding orders from China.¹²³³

During the investigation in late 1894, the Chinese delegates found a French map that included Müang U Nüa and Müang U Tai, together with the salt wells in the south of Sipsòng Panna, as part of the French territory. Li Zhaoyuan mentioned that around 1888, the people of Müang U mauled a Chinese merchant who asked for a delivery of rice without paying in advance. The merchant complained to Simao, which then sent troops to punish Müang U and killed more than one hundred people. The event was regarded as the de facto submission of Müang U.¹²³⁴ Throughout the whole journey, Li Zhaoyuan refused to discuss the boundary of Müang U with the French surveyor Mailluchet, telling him that they were not authorised to set the boundary.¹²³⁵ The French made no concessions and refused to revise the map. However, Li Zhaoyuan compromised and signed the map, concerned that repeated insistence would cause conflict.¹²³⁶ Later, in 1895, Li Zhaoyuan was punished for this decision and removed from office.¹²³⁷

With the signing of a complementary convention on 20 June 1895, France obtained Müang U from China as compensation for its intervention in preventing the cession of the Liaodong Peninsula to Japan.¹²³⁸ The handover of Müang U did not go as smoothly as that of Müang Sing.

On 30 June 1895, having obtained the order from the Governor General of Indochina, Garanger, the French commissioner in Müang Hat Hin, wrote a letter to Müang U regarding the French installation. However, in response to the information about the French installation

¹²³² Zhengxiu Cun, “*Zhao yi zhengxiu cun mian bing* [Translation of the Burmese [sic] report from Ban Chiang Siao”, the 29th day of the 11th month, Guangxu 20 [25 December 1894]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:73–74.

¹²³³ Lieutenant Mailluchet à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident à Bangkok, Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, 27 janvier 1895, f. 124, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹²³⁴ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 23 février 1895, f. 118, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹²³⁵ Lieutenant Mailluchet à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident à Bangkok, Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, 27 janvier 1895, f. 125, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹²³⁶ Cen Yubao, “*Du dian zongshu guangxu ershi yi nian san yue* [Telegram from the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou to the Zongli Yamen, the 3rd month of Guangxu 21 [26 March–24 April 1895]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:65; Liu, “*Hu nan dao liu zi guangxu ershi yi nian san yue*”, 10:66.

¹²³⁷ Song Fan, “*Zongshu shou junjichu jiao chu songfan chaozhe, zun zhi hua jiao mengwu wude bing ju shi jiucan weiyuan banshi yiwu* [The Zongli Yamen received Song Fan’s memorial via the Grand Council, to follow the order to cede Müang U and U Tai and to punish the commissioners for dereliction of duty]”, 13 August 1895, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4180.

¹²³⁸ Song Fan, “*Zongshu shou yun gui zongdu songfan han, mengwu wude jiaoge gui fa gai chu dijie waiwu xi chaming jietu yimian zhengzhi* [The Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou to the Zongli Yamen, ceding Müang U and U Tai to France and the territory of this area should be examined to avoid any conflict]”, 2 November 1895, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4203; Convention complémentaire de la Convention de délimitation, signé 20 juin 1895, GGI 31728, ANOM.

in Müang U, the Müang U authorities routinely employed delaying tactics. The replies from Müang U were usually written two to three months after receiving the letters from Müang Hat Hin.¹²³⁹

In response to Garanger's letter demanding submission, the ruler of Müang U Nüa (and also the ruler of the whole Müang U), Chao Mòm Ton Phra Phromma Wongsā, travelled to Müang Hat Hin. He objected to the French installation in Müang U, arguing that he had not received any orders from Chao Mòm Kham Lü.¹²⁴⁰

The succeeding month, Garanger sent another demand. This time, the two rulers of Müang U Nüa and Müang U Tai replied that Müang U would hold a sacrifice worship ceremony for the guardian spirits of Müang U, starting from the 8th lunar month (from 24 May 1895 onwards), during which foreigners were prohibited from entering the territory of Müang U and the people of Müang U were not allowed to leave the territory.¹²⁴¹ This meant that the French had to postpone the installation till around the 11th month (20 August–19 September 1895).¹²⁴²

However, Müang U's delaying tactics failed. Müang U failed to anticipate that the French would not respect the Tai cultural taboo. Garanger responded that the French installation during this period would not offend the guardian spirits since Müang U was part of the French territory and the French were no longer foreigners.¹²⁴³ Moreover, Garanger interprets Müang U's hesitation as concern about being blamed by the Chinese authorities since Müang U had not received a notification from the Chinese side.¹²⁴⁴ In addition, to avoid extensive negotiations and the risk of British intervention,¹²⁴⁵ the French decided to occupy Müang U immediately.¹²⁴⁶

The Ministre des colonies ordered the revival of the "old confederation under the name of Hua Phan Thang Hok [sic]" (*ancienne confédération comme sous le nom de Hua panh Tang*

¹²³⁹ Chao Mòm Ton Phra Phuttha Phromma Wongsā à Georges Garanger, the 6th waning day of the 8th month, 1257 [15 June 1895], trans., GGI 15908, ANOM; Chao Mòm Ton Phra Phromma Wongsā à Georges Garanger, the 1st waning day of the 10th month, 1257 [7 August 1895], trans., GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁴⁰ Monsieur Garanger, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Ha Hin à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine, 1 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁴¹ When the Dodds travelled in Chiang Tung, they were not allowed to enter a town, where a scarification feast for the guardian spirits was held. However, B. E. Dodd does not mention whether or not the Dodds insisted on entering (Belle Eakin Dodd, "A Tour of Buddhist Temples in British Territory", *Woman's Work for Woman* 14, no. 5 (1899): 125).

¹²⁴² Chao Mòm Ton Phra Phuttha Phromma Wongsā à Georges Garanger, 15 June 1895, trans., GGI 15908, ANOM; Tiao Mom Tonphak Sagnacvithagna Mangkhalak Soulak Lasa à Muong Hou Teu a l'honneur de faire connaître aux Tasseings Luongs, the 8th day of the 8th month, 1257 [sic], trans., GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁴³ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Ha Hin, à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en Mission au Laos, 18 août 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁴⁴ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hahin à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine, 28 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁴⁵ The French authorities knew in May 1895 that the British were increasing forces in Müang Sing and Chiang Tung (M. C. Dupuy, Agent Commercial à Xieng Khong–Xieng Sen à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine, 4 juin 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM).

¹²⁴⁶ Monsieur Garanger, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Ha Hin à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine, 1 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM; Commandant Supérieur p.i. à Résident Supérieur en Mission, 27 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

hoc).¹²⁴⁷ Garanger hopes that Müang U will be happy to be reunited under one authority.¹²⁴⁸ He expresses his optimism about Müang U's attitude to the French occupation. The French agents also report that the news that the town would be released from paying double taxes to Chiang Rung and China was welcomed by all the social classes of Müang U.¹²⁴⁹ Garanger does not worry about Chao Mòm Kham Lü, recalling his ineptitude in dealing with the Müang Chae revolt.¹²⁵⁰

Following negotiations with the Zongli Yamen, a handover ceremony was scheduled. In August 1895, the ruler of Müang U received an order from the Chinese authorities and accepted the French installation.¹²⁵¹ Initially, Sandré was appointed as the commissioner in Müang U. Đèo Văn Trị, Oum, twelve skirmishers, and one European from the Lai Châu post were dispatched together with thirty Laotian militiamen from Müang Hat Hin to assist in the ceremony.¹²⁵² However, because of travel delays, Garanger was sent in advance in order to take charge of the handover ceremony, together with twelve skirmishers from Tonkin.¹²⁵³ Four Chinese commissioners were appointed to attend the ceremony: Wei Hongtao, Magistrate of Ning'er; Xu Taishen, Second Executive of the Simao Sub-Prefect; Dao Piwen; and Li Zhaoyuan.¹²⁵⁴ Dao Piwen arrived in Müang U on 28 August 1895. While Wei Hongtao and Xu Taishen did not reach Müang U to attend the ceremony due to illness. Wei Hongtao dispatched a secretary to deliver a map to the French.¹²⁵⁵ Garanger arrived on 6 September, and the ceremony was held on 7 September.¹²⁵⁶

The French sources claim that the natives' reaction to the French occupation was favourable. Garanger claims that Dao Piwen allowed the people of Müang U to be loyal to their new masters, the Tai Lü chiefs were satisfied, and no protest was sparked.¹²⁵⁷ However, traces of conflict still remained. Sandré threatened two influential nobles with detention. In a report

¹²⁴⁷ Gouverneur Général à Commandant Supérieur Haut Laos, 12 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁴⁸ “[T]ous les frères des Hua Panh Tang Ha réunis comme autrefois sous un seule & même autorité et partageant les même destinées” (Monsieur Garanger, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Ha-Hin, au Tiao Mom Tonphack Phommaksa à Muong Hou Neua, 30 juin 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM).

¹²⁴⁹ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hahin à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l’Indo-Chine, 28 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵⁰ Ibid.; Georges Garanger, D’accord avec Monsieur le Commissaire Sandré, l’abornement sur le terrain a été fixé au mois de janvier, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵¹ Chao Mòm Ton Phra Phomma Wongsà à Georges Garanger, 7 août 1895, trans., GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵² Résident supérieur en Mission Laos à Capitaine Sandré, 5 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵³ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Ha Hin, à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en Mission au Laos, 18 août 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵⁴ Song Fan, “*Duxian fu dian guangxu ershi yi nian run wu yue* [Telegraph from the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou to the Zongli Yamen, the intercalary 5th month, Guangxu 21 [23 June–21 July 1895]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:76; Consul France à Gouverneur Général à Hanoi, 20 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵⁵ Monsieur Garanger, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut-Laos, 8 septembre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid.

to Vacle, *Sandré* expresses his worries about potential protests in Müang U and Sipsòng Panna.¹²⁵⁸

The Chinese sources record that, on the same day that Garanger arrived, the ruler of Müang U was forced to move out of his office, an incident that nearly caused conflict.¹²⁵⁹ The Chinese sources claim that the people of Müang U were grateful for the mercy of the Qing court, that they pleaded not to be ceded to France, and were willing “to be Chinese subjects forever” (*yong wei zhongguo chenmin*).¹²⁶⁰ The Chinese authorities report that the people of Sipsòng Panna raged against the French, believing that they had secretly seized Müang U, imprisoned rulers, and raped women.¹²⁶¹ It is reported that the French *corvée* was intolerable to the Müang U people, who were commanded to build eight houses in five days and five bamboo raft houses in four days.¹²⁶² Frederic William Carey, a British staff member of the Chinese Maritime Customs, also confirms that the people of Müang U were “treated like coolies”.¹²⁶³ The Tai sources seldom mention the cession of Müang U. In one of the chronicles of Sipsòng Panna, Müang U Nüa and Müang U Tai were sold by Dao Piwen to the French.¹²⁶⁴

Shortly after the handover, rumours about Chao Mòm Kham Lü’s fury about the cession reached Müang U. Apparently, Chao Mòm Kham Lü would bring one hundred men to Müang U to question the French in the 12th month (21 September–19 October 1895).¹²⁶⁵ Garanger considers that the rumour was aimed at protecting the status of Chao Mòm Kham Lü, who was powerless and would be of no threat to the French.¹²⁶⁶ However, Chao Mòm Kham Lü did dispatch orders to convene troops to retake Müang U but was stopped by Dao Piwen.¹²⁶⁷ The

¹²⁵⁸ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut Laos, 21 septembre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁵⁹ Song, “*Zongshu shou yun gui zongdu songfan han*”, 2 November 1895, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, 4203.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁶¹ Zongli Geguo Shiwu Yamen, “*Zongshu xing yun gui zongdu songfan wen, fa shi zhao yun shan fu mengwu wude tumin kanli jieshi dang yi tu yue banli* [The Zongli Yamen to the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou, the French ambassador promised to well treat the indigenous people of Müang U and U Tai and boundary markers should be established according to the map and convention]”, 11 January 1896, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4256; Song Fan, “*Wu min yuan xi deng qingyou* [Report on the issues of the Müang U people’s willingness to migrate, etc.]”, the 4th day of the 11th month, Guangxu 21 [19 December 1895], 01-24-028-04-002, ZLGGSWYM, AIMH.

¹²⁶² Song Fan, “*Han shu fa yuan jieguan liang wu qingxing you*”, 19 November 1895, 01-24-028-03-002, ZLGGSWYM, AIMH.

¹²⁶³ Further Notes on the Trade of Szemao, 1899, p. 2, IOR/L/PS/7/114, No. 593, BL.

¹²⁶⁴ MLC-LV2 41.3 in Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Renoo, *Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna*, 300.

¹²⁶⁵ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut Laos, 21 septembre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁶⁶ Georges Garanger, D’accord avec Monsieur le Commissaire *Sandré*, l’abornement sur le terrain a été fixé au mois de janvier, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁶⁷ Zongli Geguo Shiwu Yamen, “*Zongshu gei faguo gongshi shi’alan zhaohui, mengwu wude fa yuan yi youxu tumin ting qi churu zibian bing wu zhan jiewai zhi di* [From the Zongli Yamen to Gérard, the French authorities in Müang U and U Tai should well treat the indigenous people and allow them to migrate, and should not occupy the territory beyond the border]”, 26 December 1895, in *Zhong fa yuenan jiaoshe dang*, ed. Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan Jindai Shi Yanjiu Suo (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan jindai suo, 1962), 4241; Song Fan, “*Dian du songfan zhi zongshu fa ju liang wu bing jiang moding ji huangzhuban hua ru bi xian qing liuyi dian* [Telegram from the the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou Song Fan to the Zongli Yamen: France occupied the two Müang U and delimited Bò Ten and Huangzhuban into its territory]”, the 9th day of the 9th month, Guangxi 21 [26

Müang La Thai (Liushun) ruler Dao Linxi reported to Dao Piwen that Chao Mòm Kham Lü and the Nüa Sanam had ordered Müang La Thai to send hundreds of soldiers to Chiang Rung, where the army would be convened in order to reclaim Müang U Nüa and Müang U Tai.¹²⁶⁸

On 18 October 1895, a group of forty Tai people from Chiang Rung arrived in Müang U Tai, and the ruler of Müang U Tai reported the news to the French.¹²⁶⁹ On the same day, Sandré dispatched Sergent Castoul with a team of seven skirmishers and seventeen militiamen to Müang U Tai “to teach the people from Chiang Rung a good lesson” (*pour infliger un bonne leçon aux gens de Xieng Hong*).¹²⁷⁰ The Tai soon surrendered without any resistance and their rifles were confiscated. The French arrested three chiefs, Chao Phomma Wong, Phraya Phrom Lü, and Phraya Ratcha Wang. The former was a nephew of the ruler of Müang U Tai, and the latter two were nobles from Chiang Rung. They told the French that they were an official mission, dispatched by Chao Mòm Kham Lü, tasked with expressing his satisfaction about the French occupation of Müang U. The nobles of Müang U confirmed their peaceful intentions. However, Sandré did not believe this explanation. He considered the mission either an intrigue to provoke partisans in Müang U or simply as a posture to save Chao Mòm Kham Lü’s face. After three days of detention, all three nobles were released. Sandré warned them that the French had “an excellent intention” (*une excellente intention*) towards the Tai Lü, who he said should acknowledge the French authority over Müang U.¹²⁷¹ Later, Gerard protested this Tai “assault” to the Zongli Yamen and the latter ordered the Pu’er authorities to induce the natives not to cross the border.¹²⁷²

The tributary connection between Müang U and Chiang Rung was not broken after the cession. In December 1898, Carey found that Müang U still secretly sent tributes to Chiang Rung.¹²⁷³

Sipsòng Panna’s venture to move its subjects from the British territory went more smoothly and did not cause an armed confrontation as in Müang U, partly because no British soldiers were stationed there. In 1900, Godfrey Drage (1868–1953), the Political Officer at Chiang Tung, protested against Sipsòng Panna’s encroachment into British territory. It is

October 1895], in *Qing ji waijiao shiliao* [Diplomatic documents of the Late Qing Dynasty], ed. Wang Yanwei and Wang Liang (Changsha: Hunnan shifan daxue chubanshe, 2015), 2339.

¹²⁶⁸ Song Fan, “*Han shu fa yuan jieguan liang wu qingxing you*”, 19 November 1895, 01-24-028-03-002, ZLGGSWYM, AIMH.

¹²⁶⁹ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 21 octobre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁷⁰ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 18 octobre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁷¹ Le Sergent Castoul de la 6ième Comtagnie du 2e Régiment de Tirailleurs Tonkinois, commandant le détachement de Tirailleurs Tonkinois à la disposition de Monsieur le Capitaine Sandré, à Monsieur le Capitaine Sandré, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou Nuea, 21 octobre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM; Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 21 octobre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM; Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur en Mission au Laos, 5 novembre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹²⁷² Zongli Geguo Shiwu Yamen, “*Han fu yi dian chi pu’er simao deng chu guanyuan kaidao turen wu guojie zirao you* [Mail Reply: Having Sent Telegraph to the Officers in Pu’er and Simao to Command the Indigenous not to Cross the Borders to Cause Trouble]”, the 4th day of the 10th month, Guangxu 21 [20 November 1895], 01-12-184-03-036, ZLGGSWYM, AIMH.

¹²⁷³ Further Notes on the Trade of Szemao, 1899, p. 2, IOR/L/PS/7/114, No. 593, BL.

reported that three officials were dispatched from Sipsòng Panna with twenty armed men, and they crossed the border to drive eight households of Müang Than back to Sipsòng Panna. Five days later, Sipsòng Panna again forayed into Müang Than and burnt three Akha villages, probably aiming to drive them to Sipsòng Panna.¹²⁷⁴ Müang Than previously belonged to Chiang Ra (Jingha), a part of Sipsòng Panna. Through the work of the Boundary Commission of 1898–1899, some portions of Sipsòng Panna became British territory, including the part of Müang Than on the right bank of the Nam Nga. A joint record, signed on 2 May 1899, permitted the inhabitants on both sides to move freely back to the territory of their old ruler within eight months. The British authorities, including Daly, considered Sipsòng Panna's foray as an unauthorised action, and they protested to the Chinese authorities in Simao, but their demand for compensation and punishment was declined because the protest had been lodged long after the incident happened when the Chinese authorities could no longer obtain any reliable information about the events.¹²⁷⁵

6 The Chiang Khaeng Question

Chiang Khaeng, a principality with territory on both sides of the Mekong, was completely transformed by the boundary investigation. The problem of Chiang Khaeng was an issue of direct contact between officers on the front line, unlike the problems of Sipsòng Panna and Müang Laem, which were remotely tackled in political centres as a result of diplomatic rivalry between the two great powers, Britain and China.

Chiang Khaeng had long been a vassal state of Burma, and it only became a Siamese vassal state shortly before the arrival of the British and French colonial powers. Siam was eager to guarantee its control over the tributary states and sent an expedition to Chiang Khaeng in early 1889.¹²⁷⁶ On 18 November 1889, Chao Sri Nò Kham swore allegiance to Siam.¹²⁷⁷ In 1891, the India Government did not want to extend its territory to the east side of the Mekong, even though Chiang Khaeng was considered “formerly under the sovereignty of the Kings of Ava”.¹²⁷⁸ Chiang Khaeng was then transferred to Siam in order to “induce the Siamese to agree

¹²⁷⁴ Diary of the Assistant Political Officer, Keng Tung, for the period ending 31st March 1900, IOR/L/PS/7/133, No. 697, *Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures Received from India*, vol. 133, BL; Translation of the letter from Keng Tung Sawbwa to the Assistant Political Officer, Keng Tung, dated 28th April 1900, IOR/L/PS/7/133, No. 697, *Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures Received from India*, vol. 133, BL.

¹²⁷⁵ The Deputy Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, 28 May 1901, the Sub-Prefect, Ssumao to the Superintendent, Southern Shan States, 30 December 1900, IOR/L/PS/7/133, No. 697, *Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures Received from India*, vol. 133, BL; Simao Ting, “*Ju simao ting bing cheli bianwu xian chi chaban ge qingxing dian bing* [Telegram report on the administration of border issues in Cheli (Sipsòng Panna), reported by Simao Sub-Prefecture]”, in *Huan dian cun gao* [Documents preserved during the service in Yunnan], reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:639.

¹²⁷⁶ Grabowsky, “Chiang Khaeng 1893–1896”, 46.

¹²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹²⁷⁸ India Office to Foreign Office, 17 November 1891, p. 33, FO 422/32, No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

to a settlement of the entire boundary”.¹²⁷⁹ It is these two tributary relationships that impacted Chiang Khaeng’s fate in the 1890s.

a) Survival Strategy

The local populations employed a strategy of temporisation in order to postpone direct confrontation with the colonial powers. In 1887, Chao Mòm Sũa declined to go to Fort Stedman or to send representatives, arguing that Chiang Tung was a remote place and it was during the rainy season.¹²⁸⁰ Mirroring its response to the invitation to attend the Müang Yai conference in 1888, Chiang Tung temporised in response to Archer’s demand for submission, saying that it needed to discuss the matter with Chiang Rung and Müang Laem because “they are not alone but must act in concert with” the two states.¹²⁸¹ As Rivière encountered in 1893, it was a kind of opportunism, a Laotian strategy to survive between greater powers and not to offend either side.¹²⁸² Lefèvre-Pontalis also considers that Chiang Khaeng played a “game of seesaw”: when facing the British, it resorted to the Siamese claims, and when facing the French, it resorted to Burmese traditions.¹²⁸³

Chiang Tung also employed Sipsòng Panna’s and Müang Laem’s dual overlordship to prevent the British from proceeding to Chiang Tung. In response to the Superintendent’s invitation for Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, Müang Laem, and Sipsòng Panna to attend the Müang Yai conference, Chao Mòm Sũa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng state that Chiang Tung had to wait for Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna, who “place[d] reliance on the Chinese authorities, and that Chinese military were coming down”. They write that they had to inform Chiang Rung to stop the Chinese officers’ advance. They then refuse to send representatives to meet the British or to prepare for Scott’s visit to Chiang Tung, saying that “[the] time is not yet ripe”.¹²⁸⁴

Though in June 1888 and May 1889, Chiang Tung had sent representatives to Müang Nai,¹²⁸⁵ it kept dispatching letters to dissuade the British from visiting Chiang Tung, explaining that Chiang Tung would be destroyed by Chinese troops on hearing the arrival of the British,

¹²⁷⁹ India Office to Foreign Office, 17 November 1891, pp. 33–35, FO 422/32, No. 57, NA; The Governor-General of India in Council to Viscount Cross, 14 October 1891, p. 39, FO 422/32, Inclosure 2 in No. 57, NA.

¹²⁸⁰ The Kyaingtôn Sawbwayi to the Assistant Superintendent, Shan States, 7 July 1887, trans., Mss Eur E254/23a, No. 50a, Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween, Part II, BL.

¹²⁸¹ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 203; Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer’s Journal, p. 5, FO 881/5713, NA.

¹²⁸² Libouhet, *L’image du Laos au temps de la colonisation française, 1861–1914*, 77.

¹²⁸³ “*Cela est bien conforme au jeu de bascule, le seul que cette principauté puisse jouer en ce moment; il consiste à dire aux Anglais qu’elle est siamoise; aux Français, qu’elle est birmane*” (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong*, 28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC).

¹²⁸⁴ From the Sawbwayi of Kyaingtôn and his younger brother the Kyaingtôn Kyamaing (heir apparent) to the Superintendent, Shan States, December 1888, trans., in James George Scott, Summary of the Eastern Shan States, 16 January 1889, MS LL9.47, JGSC, CUL.

¹²⁸⁵ Chao Müang Khak, Chao Müang Klang, and the officials of Chiang Tung to James George Scott, 7 June 1888, MS Scott LL9.507, JGSC, CUL; Chao Mòm Sũa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng to the Chaofa of Müang Nai, the 8th waxing day of the Tazaungmon month, 1251 [30 October 1889], MS Scott LL9.339, JGSC, CUL.

the boundary demarcation can be solved solely by Chiang Tung, or the ignorant people of Chiang Tung will be frightened by the Westerners' visit.¹²⁸⁶

As for Chiang Khaeng, Scott reveals Chao Sri Nò Kham's strategy, claiming that he was "shrewd and with perhaps more cunning than intelligence, thought that his only safe policy was to temporize and accordingly he wrote a letter, very confused, probably intentionally so, in its terms, which might be interpreted as a recognition of French authority, but at any rate, was sure most that he intended to trim his sail to whatever seemed the safest wind".¹²⁸⁷ Carrick also complains that Chao Sri Nò Kham was "uncertain and vacillating".¹²⁸⁸

Chiang Khaeng knew how to survive stuck between great powers without offending any side. In a letter to Scott, Chao Sri Nò Kham expresses his reluctance to submit to Siam in 1889. If Chiang Khaeng did not send gold and silver flowers to Bangkok, Chiang Khaeng would either have to fight or flee.¹²⁸⁹ Facing Nan's request for submission, Chiang Khaeng resorted to its tributary relationship with Burma but was told that if the British came, "they would settle everything with them."¹²⁹⁰ Hildebrand reports that in 1893, Chiang Khaeng was unwilling to be transferred to Siam and asked Hildebrand for British protection.¹²⁹¹ By contrast, the Siamese records report that the attitude of Chiang Khaeng was quite different. Chiang Khaeng sent gold and silver flowers to Bangkok to confirm its status as a tributary state of Siam in 1891. Chao Suriya of Nan reports that Chao Sri Nò Kham told him that Sipsòng Panna was disorderly, but Burma and China were not mindful, while the states under Siamese protection had no chance to quarrel with each other.¹²⁹²

Archer notices the discrepancy between the statements of Chiang Khaeng and Siam. He was informed that the Siamese were threatening Chiang Khaeng to submit, but the Siamese denied this statement and claimed that their acceptance of Chiang Khaeng's submission was well intended. He considers that Siam was probably attempting to take advantage of the conflict between Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng. Chiang Khaeng, by contrast, facing conflict with Chiang Tung, could not resort to Sipsòng Panna, with whom it had disputes, so it had no alternative but to submit to Siam.¹²⁹³

¹²⁸⁶ Chao Mòu Sĩa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng to the Chaofa of Müang Nai, the 5th waning day of the Tazaungmone month, 1250 [22 November 1888], MS Scott LL9.478, JGSC, CUL; Chao Mòu Sĩa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng to the Chaofa of Müang Nai, the 5th waning day of the Nadaw month, 1250 [22 December 1888], MS Scott LL9.479, JGSC, CUL; Chao Mòu Sĩa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng to the Chaofa of Müang Nai, the 15th waning day of the Pyatho month, 1250 [30 January 1889], MS Scott LL9.505, JGSC, CUL; Chao Mòu Sĩa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng to the Chaofa of Müang Nai, 30 October 1889, MS Scott LL9.339, JGSC, CUL; Chao Mòu Sĩa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng to James George Scott, the 6th waning day of the Tabodwe month, 1251 [9 February 1890], MS Scott LL9.330, JGSC, CUL.

¹²⁸⁷ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, f. 13, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA.

¹²⁸⁸ Carrick, "Report on the Mong Hsing Trip 1894", 95.

¹²⁸⁹ Statement of Chao Sri Nò Kham, 21 February 1891, MS Scott LL9.108, JGSC, CUL.

¹²⁹⁰ Statement of the Chief and Officials of Kyaing Chaing, n.d., p. 54, FO 422/32, Inclosure 9 in No. 57, NA.

¹²⁹¹ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 234–235.

¹²⁹² *Suppha aksòu chao ananta wòraritthidet chao nakhòu nan krap bangkhom thun* [Letter from Chao Ananta Wòraritthidet, the ruler of Nan], 23 April, Rattanakosin Sok 110 [1891], R. 5, M. 58, Monthon Lao Chiang, No. 194, NAT, quoted in Nakorn, *Panha chaidæen thai-phama*, 60–61.

¹²⁹³ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 24 February 1891, p. 52, FO 422/32, Inclosure 8 in No. 57, NA; Statement of the Chief and Officials of Kyaing Chaing, n.d., pp. 53–54, FO 422/32, Inclosure 9 in No. 57, NA.

At the end of 1891, Britain handed over Chiang Khaeng to Siam as compensation for the latter's consent to the settlement of the Burma-Siamese boundary. However, Britain did not renounce the right to retake Chiang Khaeng, and no convention or formal document was signed between the British and Siamese governments, which became the root of Chiang Khaeng's dilemma in 1893.¹²⁹⁴ Facing the French claim on trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng as a result of the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1893, Britain resumed its authority over Chiang Khaeng. The Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929) mentions that Siam had promised not to cede Chiang Khaeng to “any foreign Power without previous consultation with Her Majesty's Government”.¹²⁹⁵ However, the French claimed Chiang Khaeng based on the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1893 and King Chulalongkorn's letter of 27 October 1892, in which trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng was stated to be Nan's territory.¹²⁹⁶

In 1894, news of the establishment of a French station in Chiang Khòng reached Chiang Khaeng. Chao Sri Nò Kham sent people to enquire whether Chiang Khòng and Nan had been seized by the French, and Bangkok was lost. This letter was entrusted to Chao Khanan Sriwong, who departed later than Chao Khanan Phitchawong. It was a token of Chiang Khaeng's allegiance to Siam because the letter uses the Rattanakosin Era, thus implying that Chiang Khaeng was a Siamese tributary. However, the letter wrongly renders the year as 112, which equates to 1893.¹²⁹⁷

On 29 March 1894, Stirling and Carrick separated from the Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Boundary Mission and reached Müang Sing, declaring that Chiang Khaeng had once belonged to Burma and thus relations should be restored; they also commanded Chiang Khaeng to send gold and silver flowers to Burma.¹²⁹⁸ The British sent 39 copies of a proclamation resuming British authority over Chiang Khaeng, thirteen in each language (Burmese, English, and Tai), and commanded Chiang Khaeng to distribute them. But Chao Sri Nò Kham did not obey.¹²⁹⁹

However, Chiang Khaeng refused to surrender to Britain and informed Stirling that Chiang Khaeng was a tributary state of Siam, a status mutually confirmed by Bangkok and

¹²⁹⁴ India Office to Foreign Office, 17 November 1891, p. 34, FO 422/32, No. 57, NA; Memorandum, p. 36, FO 422/32, Inclosure 1 in No. 57, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA; Foreign Office to the Marquis of Dufferin, 6 December 1894, FO 628/16/225, *Foreign Office: Embassy and Consulate, Thailand (formerly Siam): General Correspondence and Various Registers. Correspondence and registers*, NA. *From the Governor of the Straits Settlements*, NA. In 1893, the French movements in the Mekong River prompted worried in London and the Siamese government was required to promise not to cede Chiang Khaeng to any power without the consent from Britain (Foreign Office to India Office, 7 February 1893, p. 15, FO 422/35, No. 9, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part II*, NA). See also Prince Devawongse to Captain Jones, 11 April 1893, p. 68, FO 422/35, Inclosure in No. 81, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part II*, NA.

¹²⁹⁵ The Earl of Rosebery to the Marquis of Dufferin, 25 October 1893, p. 302, FO 422/36, No. 473, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence Part III*, NA.

¹²⁹⁶ “*Müang sing müang nang nai khet khwaengkhuang müang nan*” (Phrabat Somdet Phra Chula Chomklao Chaoyuhua to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 27 October 1892, PA-AP 136, Volume 54, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC). See also Léon Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing des membres de la Commission française, du 2 au 14 janvier 1895”, 12 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹²⁹⁷ The Nua Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to the Nua Sanam of Chiang Khòng, the 7th waxing day of the 9th month, Rattanakosin 112 [113] [9 July 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹²⁹⁸ CKC-WTP 47.16–48.6 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 272–273; Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 355, FO 17/1225, NA.

¹²⁹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong, 28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

Britain, while Müang Sing had not received any confirmation from Burma. Chao Sri Nò Kham added that sending gold and silver flowers to Burma would increase the burden upon its population.¹³⁰⁰ Stirling later reissued his request. On 31 March 1894, Chao Sri Nò Kham and his nobles sent a letter to Stirling, addressing the previous British decisions, Chiang Khaeng's tributary mission to Bangkok, and questioning why Britain had changed its mind and claimed Chiang Khaeng as its territory again.¹³⁰¹ On 4 April 1894, Chao Sri Nò Kham requested that the issue be suspended, saying that he needed to wait for orders from Burma and Siam and to prepare gold and silver flowers.¹³⁰² Moreover, Chao Sri Nò Kham required a Siamese official to accompany the tributary mission to Britain¹³⁰³ as Siam was geographically closer than the British power, and any offence to Siam would be disastrous for Chiang Khaeng.¹³⁰⁴ Later, Chao Sri Nò Kham questions Stirling's command by drawing two analogies. The multiple overlords are revealed in one of them, which compares Chiang Khaeng to a woman who marries a man having gained her parents' permission. Chiang Khaeng asks Stirling to consider whether the woman had been right or wrong if, two or three years later, she met a man who was wealthier and more handsome than her husband and married the new suitor without telling her parents.¹³⁰⁵

Though he threatened Chiang Khaeng with force,¹³⁰⁶ Stirling left Müang Sing without persuading Chao Sri Nò Kham, whom he considered "a most unsatisfactory man to deal with—weak and undecided to a degree". During Stirling's nine days' sojourn in Müang Sing, Chao Sri Nò Kham twice requested that the *status quo* be maintained until next year. On 6 April 1894, Stirling attempted to see Chao Sri Nò Kham at the palace but failed again. He was told that the Chao Sri Nò Kham was asleep or was ill. Stirling was aware that Chao Sri Nò Kham was unwilling to send tribute to Britain, but he was "like a true Shan, he would not at first say so definitely".¹³⁰⁷

Stirling hoped that the officials of Chiang Khaeng would urge Chao Sri Nò Kham to submit to Britain if Siam renounced its suzerainty over Chiang Khaeng.¹³⁰⁸ According to British records, Phaya Luang Sitthi Wang Rat was dispatched to Chiang Tung to inquire with Maung Nyo, the Assistant Political Officer, about the issue. Maung Nyo reports that Chiang

¹³⁰⁰ CKC-WTP 48.6–48.13 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 273.

¹³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 49.1–50.10, 273–274; From the Extra Assistant, Mone, to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 7 April 1894, MS Scott UL1.151, JGSC, CUL.

¹³⁰² From the Extra Assistant, Mone, to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 7 April 1894, MS Scott UL1.151, JGSC, CUL; CKC-WTP 51.3–52.4 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 275–276.

¹³⁰³ From the Extra Assistant, Mone, to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 7 April 1894, MS Scott UL1.151, JGSC, CUL.

¹³⁰⁴ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 356, FO 17/1225, NA.

¹³⁰⁵ Chao Sri Nò Kham to James George Scott, n.d., MS Scott LL4.314, JGSC, CUL; Chao Sri Nò Kham to James George Scott, the 2nd waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [28 December 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC. These analogies are transcribed in Chiang Khaeng Chronicle as well, see CKC-WTP 52.7–53.3 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 276.

¹³⁰⁶ CKC-WTP 51.13–52.4 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 275–276.

¹³⁰⁷ From the Extra Assistant, Mone, to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 7 April 1894, MS Scott UL1.151, JGSC, CUL.

¹³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Khaeng was “prepared to come under the British flag”, and Phaya Luang Sitthi Wang Rat even queried where to send the gold and silver flowers.¹³⁰⁹

Later, Chao Sri Nò Kham seemed to accept the change of suzerainty after receiving a letter from the Superintendent and Political Officer of the Southern Shan States.¹³¹⁰ According to a British report, Chao Sri Nò Kham accepted British authority after receiving the proclamation and was anxious to pay the tribute.¹³¹¹ However, in a letter to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, Chao Sri Nò Kham promised to distribute the proclamation resuming British authority over Chiang Khaeng. Scott found that “these Proclamations were neither distributed nor posted up in markets and public places as was desired.”¹³¹² At the same time, he dispatched Chao Khanan Phitchawong to Nan to conduct inquiries. In August 1894, Chiang Khaeng still considered itself a tributary state of Siam. The news of the marriage between Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng and Chao Nang Pathuma was reported to Bangkok.¹³¹³

In July 1894, Chao Khanan Phitchawong, the nephew of Chao Sri Nò Kham, and three servants were dispatched to Chiang Khòng, with three copies of a royal letter regarding the British resuming suzerainty and two British proclamations of 8 May 1894, to enquire about the British claim. These three copies were for Phra Phrom Surin, the king of Nan, and Nan officials, respectively. However, Chao Khanan Phitchawong was stopped by Lefèvre-Pontalis, who happened to be in Chiang Khòng. Lefèvre-Pontalis had two conversations with Chao Khanan Phitchawong to discourage the latter from making the journey to Nan. Lefèvre-Pontalis informed Chao Khanan Phitchawong of the Siamese relinquishing their connection with Chiang Khaeng and the French takeover, telling him that he should return to Müang Sing immediately rather than proceeding to Nan as Chiang Khaeng no longer needed to contact the Siamese authority.¹³¹⁴ Furthermore, Lefèvre-Pontalis told Chao Khanan Phitchawong that the question of Chiang Khaeng had been suspended before the French visited Müang Sing.¹³¹⁵ Chao Khanan Phitchawong was apparently persuaded by Lefèvre-Pontalis and wrote a letter to

¹³⁰⁹ Extract from the Diary of Maung Nyo, Assistant Political Officer, Kengtung, 25 August 1894, MS Scott UL1.53, JGSC, CUL.

¹³¹⁰ The Myosa of Keng Cheng to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, trans., 9 July 1894, p. 70, FO 422/43, Inclosure 3 in No. 18, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

¹³¹¹ A. H. Hildebrand, Weekly Summary for Southern Shan States, 26 June 1894, 6 August 1894, 17 September 1894, MS Scott UL1.49, JGSC, CUL.

¹³¹² The Myosa of Keng Cheng to the Superintendent, 9 July 1894, p. 70, FO 422/43, NA; Mr. J. G. Scott to the Marquess of Salisbury, 25 July 1895, p. 52, FO 422/43, No. 18, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA. See also Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong, 28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

¹³¹³ M. Paul Macey, Agent du Gouvernement p.i., à M. Pavie, Ministre Résident, et Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, 1 octobre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³¹⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong, 27–28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC. See also the British records on this meeting: Statement of Tankè Yé, 13 September 1894, f. 193, FO 17/1225, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 34*, NA; Phra Phrom Surin to Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 8 September 1894, trans., ff. 269–270, FO 17/1225, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 34*, NA; Statement of Sang Soonah, a British Subject, Lao Clerk at Her Britannic Majesty’s Vice-Consulate at Chiangmai, 12 November 1894, f. 262, FO 17/1226, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 35*, NA.

¹³¹⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong, 28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

Chao Sri Nò Kham informing the latter of Chiang Khaeng's temporary neutrality. France would protect Chiang Khaeng from oppression (*khom heng*) by Britain, Burma, Chiang Tung, and Sipsòng Panna. He set off to Müang Sing the next day after his last interview with Lefèvre-Pontalis.¹³¹⁶ The intermediary, Ròi Kiang, reported to Lefèvre-Pontalis that the people of Müang Sing and Chiang Tung were willing to be governed by the French.¹³¹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis accused the Chiang Khòng authorities of issuing a passport to Chao Khanan Phitchawong, which violated the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1893.¹³¹⁸

The neutrality of Chiang Khaeng was an issue that needed to be discussed. In 1894, a British document was still claiming that Chiang Khaeng considered itself “not dependents of any state”.¹³¹⁹ The *Chiang Khaeng Chronicle* also states that in 1891 the British and Siamese authorities jointly announced Chiang Khaeng's state of neutrality and the suspension of the sovereignty discussion.¹³²⁰

On 3 October 1894, a Siamese proclamation, written by Prince Damrong, arrived in Müang Sing, together with a letter from Archer.¹³²¹ Sang Suna, who was the messenger and a clerk at the British consulate in Chiang Mai, reports that Chao Sri Nò Kham was satisfied with the arrival of the proclamation, as his official (Chao Khanan Phitchawong), who was dispatched to inquire about the British claim, was stopped by French authorities.¹³²²

However, the wording of Prince Damrong's letter was ambiguous. On one hand, it claims that Chiang Khaeng had been handed over to Britain (*khün müang chiang khaeng kae krung angklit sia kòn*). On the other hand, three lines later, it announces Chiang Khaeng's autonomy, stating that it would be governed by Chao Sri Nò Kham, the nobles, and the subjects of Chiang Khaeng (*lae müang chiang khaeng cha dai wa klao kan ban müang tae doi lamphang ton'eng lae doi phraracha haröthai metta prani tae chao mòm mahasri sapphe changkun lae chao nai but lan phraya thao saen phrai ban phonla müang chiang khaeng*).¹³²³ This letter probably enhanced Chao Sri Nò Kham's illusion about Chiang Khaeng's neutrality.

Clearly, after Lefèvre-Pontalis's interception, Chiang Khaeng feared offending either side: if Chiang Khaeng prepared the gold and silver flowers for the British, it feared it would

¹³¹⁶ Chao Khanan Phitchawong to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 11th waning day of the 9th month, 1256 [28 July 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³¹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong, 27 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

¹³¹⁸ Ibid., 28 juillet 1894. The passports issued by the Chiang Khòng authorities, see Order from the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khòng, 27 July 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC; The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khòng to Nai Sang, 26 July 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

¹³¹⁹ The Commissioner in charge of the Shan States sends a proclamation, 8 May 1894, trans., f. 273, FO 17/1225, NA.

¹³²⁰ CKC-WTP 40.2–40.3 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 268.

¹³²¹ Vice-Consul Archer to Mr. Scott, 13 September 1894, f. 192, FO 17/1225, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 34*, NA; The Myosa of Keng Cheng to Vice-Consul Archer, the 5th waxing day of the 12th month, 1256 [5 October 1894], trans., f. 262, FO 17/1226, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 35*, NA; Somdet Phra Chao Borommawong Thö Krom Phraya Damrong Rachanuphap to Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng, 21 July 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³²² Statement of Sang Soonah, 12 November 1894, f. 262, FO 17/1226, NA.

¹³²³ Somdet Phra Chao Borommawong Thö Krom Phraya Damrong Rachanuphap to Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng, 21 July 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

offend the French. If Chiang Khaeng did not prepare the flowers, it might offend the British.¹³²⁴ Chao Sri Nò Kham writes that the future of Chiang Khaeng as a state was at the mercy of the British and the French.¹³²⁵

Confronted with British demands to submit, Chiang Khaeng sent Phraya Chai to Müang Luang Phukha to plead for assistance from France.¹³²⁶ When Lefèvre-Pontalis¹³²⁷ arrived in Müang Luang Phukha, Phraya Chai handed a letter to him, urging the French to reach Müang Sing before the British and expressing their preference to be governed by the French.¹³²⁸

Chiang Khaeng also contacted the French agent in Chiang Khòng. Chao Sri Nò Kham asked Macey if France would retain Chiang Khaeng, so please arrive earlier than Britain, and if France agreed to let Britain take Chiang Khaeng, could he please send a letter to Chiang Khaeng?¹³²⁹ In reply to Chao Sri Nò Kham's letter, Macey informed Chao Sri Nò Kham that since Müang Sing was under the jurisdiction of the Commissaire générale au Laos, he must send a list of people and districts in Chiang Khaeng.¹³³⁰

On 5 November 1894, a British notice reached Müang Sing, commanding Chiang Khaeng to maintain the road and to prepare supplies and guides for the British Commission.¹³³¹ However, Chao Sri Nò Kham interpreted this notice as a threat and became scared. After receiving the notice, Chao Sri Nò Kham immediately sent a series of letters to the French authorities in Chiang Khòng and Luang Prabang, informing them of the impending arrival of the British Commission and urging the French to send people or a letter to Müang Sing if France intended to take Chiang Khaeng, otherwise, he would submit to the British if they arrived earlier than the French.¹³³² It seems, however, that not all the letters were dispatched. The letter to Pavie of 25 December 1894 was handed over to Pavie on 8 January 1895 at the

¹³²⁴ Chao Sri Nò Kham to French commissioner, the 8th waxing day of the 2nd month, 1256 [5 December 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, the 10th waxing day of the 1st month, 1256 [7 November 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 4th waning day of the 3rd month, 1256 [14 January 1895a], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³²⁵ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 7 November 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

¹³²⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 26 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

¹³²⁷ Statement of Sang Soonah, 12 November 1894, f. 262, FO 17/1226, NA. Archer guessed it was Caillard, however it was Lefèvre-Pontalis as the French records reveals (Vice-Consul Archer to Mr. de Bunsen, 14 November 1894, f. 261, FO 17/1226, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 35*, NA; Caillard, "IV, *Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing*", 5 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC).

¹³²⁸ Phraya Chai to French Military Commissioner, the 10th waning day of the 12th month, 1256 [24 October 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³²⁹ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, the 9th waxing day of the 1st month, 1256 [6 November 1894a], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³³⁰ Paul Macey to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 5th waning of the 1st month, 1256 [17 November 1894], trans., f. 120, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 7 November 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC. See also the original French letter: Paul Macey au Tiao Fa de Muong Xieng Kheng, 15 novembre 1894, f. 44, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹³³¹ Tai translation of a Khala document, n.d., PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC).

¹³³² Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 6 November 1894a, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, the 9th waxing day of the 1st month, 1256 [6 November 1894b], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC. These two letters were written on the same day and had similar contents.

latter's request.¹³³³ In a letter, Chao Sri Nò Kham expresses his aversion to Britain, probably as a result of the pressing demands imposed by the notice.¹³³⁴

b) The Problem of Chiang Khaeng Territory

Chao Sri Nò Kham interpreted the boundary delimitation as an opportunity to restore the territory of Chiang Khaeng. Chiang Lap was a tract of territory that Chao Sri Nò Kham constantly requested restitution for.

When Hildebrand visited Chiang Khaeng in 1893, Chiang Khaeng asked for Chiang Lap to be restored.¹³³⁵ In 1894, Chao Sri Nò Kham sent letters to Stirling for the restoration of Chiang Lap to Chiang Khaeng.¹³³⁶ In 1895, Chao Sri Nò Kham actively wrote letters to both Scott and Pavie asking for Chiang Lap to be restored. According to Chao Sri Nò Kham's statement, Chiang Lap had been part of Chiang Khaeng since the time of Chaofa Lek Nòi, the founding ruler of Chiang Khaeng according to legend.¹³³⁷ Chao Sri Nò Kham's aunt Chao Nang Khan Kham married the Chiang Tung prince Chao Maha Khanan and had two sons, Chao Theppha Mani Kham and Chao Kòng Thai. Chao Sri Nò Kham's father Chao Na Sai gave Chiang Lap to Chao Kòng Thai. Since Chao Sri Nò Kham was too young to rule Chiang Khaeng, Chao Na Sai married his daughter to his nephew Chao Theppha Mani Kham and let the latter rule Chiang Khaeng. After Chao Theppha Mani Kham's untimely death some months later, Chao Sri Nò Kham urged Chao Kòng Thai to rule Chiang Khaeng in order to remain Chiang Lap part of Chiang Khaeng. However, a few years later, when Chao Kòng Thai succeeded to the Chiang Tung throne, he brought Chiang Lap to Chiang Tung.¹³³⁸ After Chao Kòng Thai's death, Chiang Lap remained a part of Chiang Tung. Chao Sri Nò Kham claims that Chao Mòm Sĩa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng intended to restore Chiang Lap to Chiang Khaeng, but that they were discouraged by the nobles (*thao phraya*) because the cession of Chiang Lap had been authorised by the superintendent of the Shan States. The nobles of Chiang Tung encouraged Chiang Khaeng to plead directly with the superintendent.¹³³⁹

The statement of the Chiang Lap people denies Chao Sri Nò Kham's claim, stressing that Chiang Lap formerly was Chiang Saen's territory and the occupation by Chiang Khaeng had only happened recently. The statement claims that in 1861/1862, the father of Chao Sri Nò Kham, Chao Na Sai, expanded the territory of Chiang Khaeng to Chiang Kok, Müang Kang, Müang Lòng, Müang Sing, and Müang Nang. After the death of Chao Kòng Thai, Chao Sri Nò

¹³³³ Caillat, "IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing", 8 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹³³⁴ Le Roi de Mg. Sing à M. Macey, agent à Xieng Khong, 3 novembre 1894, trans., PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³³⁵ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 234.

¹³³⁶ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 356, FO 17/1225, NA.

¹³³⁷ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 14th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [9 January 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, n.d., f. 141, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹³³⁸ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 2nd waning day of the 3rd month, 1256 [12 January 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³³⁹ Statement on Chiang Lap, n.d., MS Scott LL9.109, JGSC, CUL.

Kham forced the people of Chiang Lap to submit to Chiang Khaeng.¹³⁴⁰ By contrast, a Chinese memorial testifies that in the mid-eighteenth century, Chiang Khaeng already owned Chiang Kok, Chiang Lap, Müang Sing, and Müang Nang.¹³⁴¹

Later, Chao Sri Nò Kham realised that the boundary delimitation was not the same as he had previously interpreted it. Chao Sri Nò Kham heard a rumour from Chiang Tung that Chiang Lap would be restored to Chiang Khaeng in exchange for Müang Wa. Chao Sri Nò Kham claims that both Chiang Lap and Müang Wa had been Chiang Khaeng's territory since ancient times, and he pleaded with Pavie to keep Chiang Khaeng intact and not to cede even a palm-sized piece of territory.¹³⁴² According to Scott's report, the issue was ceding Chiang Khang in exchange for Chiang Lap.¹³⁴³

The division of Chiang Khaeng along the Mekong River was another issue that worried Chao Sri Nò Kham. While the capital of Chiang Khaeng was in the trans-Mekong part, the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng had more agricultural and commercial significance and was the main source of income.¹³⁴⁴

In 1891, Chiang Khaeng mentioned that Nan had attacked Chiang Khaeng in the early nineteenth century and subsequently had claimed Müang Sing, Müang Nang, Müang Kang, and Müang Lòng as its territory. Chiang Khaeng was confused that Nan only took the trans-Mekong part, rather than the whole principality of Chiang Khaeng. Then, in 1891, Chiang Khaeng pleaded to be solely under Siamese protection in order not to be divided.¹³⁴⁵ In 1892, the whole of Chiang Khaeng became a tributary state of Bangkok.¹³⁴⁶

In 1894, Chao Sri Nò Kham sent several letters to the French, asking France to take the Chiang Khaeng territory on both sides of the Mekong and mentioning that when Chiang Khaeng was handed over to Siam, it included the territory on both banks.¹³⁴⁷ He even prodded

¹³⁴⁰ Statement of the Chiang Lap people, n.d., MS Scott LL9.107, JGSC, CUL. See also the English translation, Enclosure VI in Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. iii, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹³⁴¹ In a memorial on the tax collecting in Chiang Khaeng and Chiang Tung, the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou Yang Yingju mentioned ten big districts (*müang*) and seven small districts of Chiang Khaeng. The former included Müang Sing, Müang Hae, Müang Luai, Mengkongnai, Kongde, Müang Nang, Chiang Lap, Ban Yu, Müang Wa, and Maozhang, and the latter included Müang Khan, Müang Fan, Müang Sa, Müang Lòng, Müang Ngan, Chiang Kok, and Müang Kha (Yang Yingju, Qianlong 31 [9 February 1766–29 January 1767], 03-0543-028, JJCLFZZ, FHAC).

¹³⁴² Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 3rd waning day of the 5th month, 1256 [13 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³⁴³ Mr. J. G. Scott to the Marquess of Salisbury, 25 July 1895, p. 69, FO 422/43, No. 18, NA.

¹³⁴⁴ M. Sévénier, chancelier st. de résidence, ff. de commissaire du gouvernement à M. L. Pou Kha à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos, 27 février 1896, f. 55, GGI 15699, ANOM; Commandant Supérieur p.i. Haut Laos à Gouverneur Général, 11 mai 1896, f. 22, GGI 15699, ANOM. See also Stirling's report on the avenue collected in 1895, that 2,016 rupees were from the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng, while only 638 rupees were from trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng (The Governor-General of India in Council to Lord G. Hamilton, 11 August 1896, p. 119, FO 422/45, Inclosure 1 in No. 115, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA).

¹³⁴⁵ CKC-WTP 41.3–41.5, 41.18–42.8, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 268–269.

¹³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.15–42.17, 269.

¹³⁴⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 26 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 6 November 1894a, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, the 1st waxing day of the 2nd month, 1256 [28 November 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

the French by saying that if the British arrived earlier, Chiang Khaeng would submit to the British.¹³⁴⁸

On 5 November 1894, Chiang Khaeng was instructed to send gold and silver flowers to Chiang Tung.¹³⁴⁹ Chao Sri Nò Kham then entrusted Chao Khanan Phitchawong with a letter to Macey in Chiang Khòng. To his disappointment, he received a reply stating that Chiang Khaeng would be divided into two parts.¹³⁵⁰ On 28 November 1894, Chao Sri Nò Kham wrote a letter again pleading with Macey to keep the territory of Chiang Khaeng on both sides of the river.¹³⁵¹ Chao Sri Nò Kham encouraged Pavie to take Chiang Khaeng on both banks.¹³⁵²

China became involved in the crisis of Chiang Khaeng as well. Chao Sri Nò Kham had long been in contact with the Lòk Chòk ruler Chao Wiang, however, only a few letters survived. In a letter to Chao Wiang, Chao Sri Nò Kham told him that the tributary commission that returned to Chiang Khaeng had brought back a piece of news from Nan that the French emperor had established a relationship with the Celestial Empire by marriage and the Chinese emperor agreed to hand over Sipsòng Panna to France.¹³⁵³ Chao Mòm Kham Lü was frightened by this rumour and sent a letter to Simao requesting protection.¹³⁵⁴ The Chinese officer in Simao, Chen Shoushu, thought that Chao Mòm Kham Lü frequently requested Simao's assistance on the pretence of needing to defend the Westerners. But, following his investigations, Chen Shoushu reports that Chao Mòm Kham Lü's real intention was to control his subjects.¹³⁵⁵ The other two officers consider it to be Siam's strategy to get Sipsòng Panna involved in order to pin down the French force against Siam.¹³⁵⁶ Chao Mòm Kham Lü was ordered not to believe the rumour

¹³⁴⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 26 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

¹³⁴⁹ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 28 November 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

¹³⁵⁰ Paul Macey au Tiao Fa de Muong Xieng Kheng, 15 novembre 1894, f. 34, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹³⁵¹ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 28 November 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

¹³⁵² “*Khan wa ma thung thi dai, khò chôn ma duai riao laeo, khò om ao müang chiang khaeng khaphachao khao kap falangset süng hua müang khün wan tok wan òk khòng, an khao kap müang chiang khaeng khò khò falangset chao ao hū dai sam thang muan, khò hū müang chiang khaeng khaphachao dai pen ban pen müang müa phai na chim*” (Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 25 December 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC). Similar contents are found in other letters, see Chao Sri Nò Kham à Auguste Pavie, the 13th waxing day of the 2nd month, 1256 [10 December 1894], trans., PA-AP 136, Volume 56, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC.

¹³⁵³ Zhengqian Si, “*Fan lu xianluo shu zhengqian si zhi luozhuo guan mian wen xinhan* [Translation of the Burmese [sic] letter from the Siamese Chiang Khaeng Commissioner [sic] to the Lòk Chòk Official [sic]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:34.

¹³⁵⁴ Cheli Xuanwei Si, “*Zhao yi cheli xuanwei si mian wen bing* [Veritable translation of the Burmese [sic] report from Cheli Pacification Office]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:33–34.

¹³⁵⁵ Chen Shoushu, “*Simao ting chen shoushu bing guangxu shijiu nian ba yue* [Report from Chen Shoushu, Simao Sub-Prefecture, the 8th month of Guangxu 19 [10 September–9 October 1893]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:36.

¹³⁵⁶ Yang Guofa and Liu Chunlin, “*Shu pu'er zhen yang guofa hu yinan dao kaihua fu liu chunlin hui zi guangxu shijiu nian ba yue* [Report from Yang Guofa, Acting Regional Commander of Pu'er Garrison, and Liu Chunlin, Acting Assistant Commissioner of Yi'nan Circuit, Kaihua Prefecture, the 8th month of Guangxu 19 [10 September–9 October 1893]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:35.

and to treat the travelling Westerners hospitably.¹³⁵⁷ Seeing that no action was being taken, on 5 November 1893 a group of people sent by Chao Wiang, which included the Chinese interpreter Fang Shangrong and eight Tai Khün, reached Simao with a request for military aid to resist the French invasion.¹³⁵⁸ In early 1894, a Chinese officer was dispatched to Müang Sing.¹³⁵⁹ However, there is no mention of what the aim of this dispatch was, and none of the sources support the hypothesis that this officer was sent to investigate the rumour of a French invasion.

Confronted with the division of Chiang Khaeng by the British and the French, Chao Sri Nò Kham consulted Chao Wiang.¹³⁶⁰ However, it is unclear what Chao Sri Nò Kham had written, and only Chao Wiang's response is extant.

In early 1895, when meeting the Chinese commissioners in Müang Phong, Warry told the prime commissioner, Li Zhaoyuan, that the British Mission aimed to reach an agreement with the French to hand over Müang Sing and Müang Luang Phukha to China.¹³⁶¹ Pavie complains that, in fact, the aim of the British commissioners was to confuse the Chinese delegates.¹³⁶² The British government had indeed planned to place the buffer state, which had the Nam U River or its water parting as the east boundary and Chiang Khaeng's west boundary as its western limit, under the jurisdiction of China.¹³⁶³ This statement excited the Chinese authorities' interest. For the Chinese authorities in Pu'er, Chiang Khaeng and Müang Luang Phukha were "lost territory of China" (*zhongguo shidi*)¹³⁶⁴ that should be restored.¹³⁶⁵

Chiang Rung dispatched at least two officials, Phraya Luang Suriyawong and Phraya Luang Chan, to accompany the Chinese delegates. The returned Chiang Rung authorities

¹³⁵⁷ Pu'er Fu Simao Ting, "Pu'er fu simao ting hui yu cheli xuanwei si zha [Pu'er Prefecture and Simao Sub-Prefecture to Cheli Pacification Office]", in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:34–35.

¹³⁵⁸ Chen Shoushu, "Simao ting chen shoushu bing guangxu shijiu nian shi yue [Report from Chen Shoushu, Simao sub-Prefecture, the 10th month of Guangxu 19 [8 November–7 December 1893]]", in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:37.

¹³⁵⁹ Léon Caillat, *Journal du voyage de la Mission de Muong Lé à Muong Sing du 20 décembre 1894 au 1er janvier 1895, 23 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.*

¹³⁶⁰ Chao Wiang to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 19 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC.

¹³⁶¹ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 10 avril 1895, GGI 31729, ANOM. Scott's correspondence and diaries does not mention this event (Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 15 February 1895, FO 17/1265, NA; George Scott's Diary (bound) (24 Sep 1894–28 Jun 1895), 9–13 February 1895, Mss Eur F278/13, PSGS, BL).

¹³⁶² Auguste Pavie à Auguste Gérard, 28 mai 1895, f. 102, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹³⁶³ The Earl of Rosebery to the Marquess of Dufferin, 28 July 1893, in *British and Foreign State Papers, 1894–1895*, ed. Augustus H. Oakes (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Harrison and Sons, 1900), 87:283.

¹³⁶⁴ During the Sino-Burmese War (1765–1769), Chao Phrom and Phraya Saen Phrom of Chiang Khaeng and Ba Humeng of Müang Luang Phukha submitted to the Qing empire. Chao Phrom had been ordained by the Qing as the ruler of Chiang Khaeng, but was not recognised by either the Chiang Khaeng people or the Chiang Khaeng Chronicles (Sirui Dao, "The Forced Resettlement of Tai People during the Reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1735–1796)", Social Science Research Network, 24 March 2022, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4065180).

¹³⁶⁵ Liu Chunlin, "Hu nan dao liu zi guangxu ershi nian jiu yue [Report of Liu Chunlin, Acting Assistant Commissioner of Yi'nan Circuit, the 9th month of Guangxu 20 [29 September–28 October 1894]]", in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:58–59.

brought back initial and vague news that Chiang Khaeng would be divided into two parts. The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung was shocked and sympathised deeply with Chiang Khaeng. Later, the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung requested Chao Wiang to write a letter to Chiang Khaeng to inquire about Chao Sri Nò Kham's opinion on whether he was willing to request help from the Chinese emperor or not.¹³⁶⁶ However, Chao Wiang's letters merely express his confusion about the boundary division and ask Chao Sri Nò Kham to provide more information.¹³⁶⁷ After receiving these letters from Chiang Rung and Müang Chae, Chao Sri Nò Kham reported to Pavie and consulted the latter about what he should do.¹³⁶⁸

On 15 March 1895, a Chinese letter arrived in Chiang Rung. It is addressed to Chao Sri Nò Kham and says that the division of Chiang Khaeng had caused dissatisfaction among the “Han and barbarian soldiers and civilians” (*han yi jun min rendeng zhu xin bufu, naiyou yi shu zhichu fenwei liang shu*). It mentions that the Chinese emperor would have mercy on Chiang Khaeng and maintain its integrity, and it inquires about Chao Sri Nò Kham's opinion.¹³⁶⁹ On receiving this letter, Chao Mòm Kham Lü, the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung, and Chao Wiang each wrote a letter to Chiang Khaeng.¹³⁷⁰ Two emissaries of Lòk Chòk (Phraya Luang Khòn Müang and U Yi), Phraya Luang Kham Daeng, and a servant were dispatched to send these letters to Müang Sing.¹³⁷¹

The contents of these three Tai letters are approximately the same, mentioning that the Chinese delegates had informed Chiang Rung that Britain and France had handed over Müang Sing and Müang Luang Phukha to China, while Britain maintained the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng, i.e. Müang Hae, Müang Khan, Müang Luai, Müang Yu, and Müang Wa. The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung asks Chao Sri Nò Kham to trust that the Chinese emperor (*chaofa wòng luang ton bun yai*) will maintain Chiang Khaeng's old territory and that not even a palm-sized piece of territory will be ceded (*khet nam daen din müang chiang khaeng klaò lang tòng thi nai khò cha hù dai thòng thi han phaen din müang chiang khaeng praman fa mü sam niu bò hù se lae*). If Müang Sing does not trust the Chinese emperor, China will only obtain the territory that the foreigners give them, that is, Müang Sing and Müang Luang Phukha. To

¹³⁶⁶ The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to Chao Wiang, 12 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC; Chao Wiang to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 19 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC.

¹³⁶⁷ Chao Wiang to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 19 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC; Chao Wiang to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 20 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC.

¹³⁶⁸ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 5th waxing day of the 6th month, 1256 [30 March 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 57, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹³⁶⁹ Chinese commissioners to Chao Sri Nò Kham, Guangxu 21 [26 January 1895–12 February 1896], GGI 20680, ANOM. This letter was the one mentioned in Chao Mòm Kham Lü's letter, which arrived Chiang Rung on 15 March 1895 (Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 29 March 1895, f. 136, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.). It was probably written in the second month of Guangxu 21 [25 February–25 March 1895] because it mentions that the boundary investigation happened in “the previous month” (*qian yue*) (the first month of Guangxu 21 [26 January–24 February 1895]), corresponding to the middle of February, when the Chinese Commissioners met the British and the French in southern Sipsòng Panna.

¹³⁷⁰ The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 4th waxing day of the 6th month, 1256 [29 March 1895], f. 134, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC; Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 29 March 1895, f. 136, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC; Chao Wiang à Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 16th waning day of the 5th month, 1256 [sic], trans., GGI 20680, ANOM.

¹³⁷¹ Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 29 March 1895, f. 136, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

enhance credibility, the author claims that Li Zhaoyuan and Dao Piwen had demanded that Chiang Rung write this letter.¹³⁷²

However, Chao Sri Nò Kham did not give a definite answer and instead resorted to the usual delaying tactics. He replied that when the French Mission left Müang Sing, they had not allowed Chao Sri Nò Kham to surrender any power because France would later take over. But now China was asking Chiang Khaeng to rely on it. Chao Sri Nò Kham expressed his confusion and said that he could not make a choice. As a small country, Chiang Khaeng could not resist China. The solution would be left to negotiations between China, France, and Britain, and Chiang Khaeng would accept the outcome. Moreover, the subordinate districts nearby had not heard the proposal, and Chao Sri Nò Kham asked for time to consult them.¹³⁷³

Ultimately, the Chinese authorities did not insist on their claim to Chiang Khaeng and Müang Luang Phukha, deciding that the area was difficult to govern and based on a recent reply from a certain British diplomat, which stated that Britain did not intend to hand over this area to China.¹³⁷⁴

Chao Sri Nò Kham's preference for French protection is revealed in his order to submit the letters from Sipsòng Panna and his responses to Pavie. He ordered two mandarins to take copies of his reply to Sipsòng Panna and Lòk Chòk to Pavie and to ask him for mercy.¹³⁷⁵

Chao Sri Nò Kham remained haunted by the fate of the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng throughout his refuge in Müang Luang Phukha. He frequently mentioned to Sevenier the importance of this area, which was the real part of the kingdom, while the significance of the trans-Mekong region was only the residence of the *chaofa* and senior mandarins.¹³⁷⁶ Indeed, Chao Sri Nò Kham was still concerned about the cis-Mekong territory when the trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng was officially handed over in 1896.¹³⁷⁷ During the handover of Müang Sing, at the request of Chao Sri Nò Kham, Vacle attempted to negotiate Chao Sri Nò Kham's claim on the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng but failed.¹³⁷⁸ The Anglo-French Declaration of 15 January 1896 decided the division of Chiang Khaeng.¹³⁷⁹

Ultimately, Chao Sri Nò Kham did not restore Chiang Lap, nor remain the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng. He failed to understand the difference between the traditional mandala system

¹³⁷² The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 29 March 1895, f. 134, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹³⁷³ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Chao Wiang, the 3rd waxing day of the 7th month, 1257 [26 April 1895], ff. 127–128, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC. Chao Sri Nò Kham to Chao Mòk Kham Lü, the 15th waning day of the 6th month, 1257 [23 April 1895], f. 130, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹³⁷⁴ Cen, “*Du dian zongshu*”, 65.

¹³⁷⁵ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya and Cha Ratchasan, 26 April 1895, f. 125, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹³⁷⁶ M. Sévénier, chancelier st. de résidence, ff. de commissaire du gouvernement à M. L. Pou Kha à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos, 27 février 1896, f. 55, GGI 15699, ANOM; Commandant Supérieur p.i à Gouverneur Général et à Résident Supérieur en mission Laos, 5 mai 1896, f. 27, GGI 15699, ANOM; Commandant Supérieur p.i. Haut Laos à Gouverneur Général, 11 mai 1896, f. 22, GGI 15699.

¹³⁷⁷ M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, 1 juillet 1896, f. 10, GGI 15699, ANOM; Commandant Supérieur p.i à Gouverneur Général et à Résident Supérieur en mission Laos, 5 mai 1896, f. 27, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹³⁷⁸ Commandant Supérieur p.i. Haut Laos à Gouverneur Général, 11 mai 1896, f. 22, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹³⁷⁹ Gouverneur Général à Commandant Supérieur p.i. Haut Laos, 27 mai 1896, f. 6, GGI 15699, ANOM.

of Southeast Asia and the modern colonial empire, moreover, their different attitudes towards boundaries. If it was reasonable for the Chiang Khaeng people to call Britain's Queen Victoria a "great king" (*phra maha khrasat chao*),¹³⁸⁰ then referring to the supreme leader of France as the "French king" (*khrasat chao phalangsiet*) was inappropriate,¹³⁸¹ as France had become a republic with no monarchs.

c) The Failure of Buffer State

The Anglo-French Buffer State Commission did not lead to an agreement about the buffer state. In May 1895, the French government abandoned the idea of a buffer state and proposed to set the Mekong River as the boundary.¹³⁸² Scott also reports that the French commissioners were not inclined to support the establishment of a buffer state, and preferred to set the Mekong River as the boundary.¹³⁸³ The failure of the negotiation was caused by the irreconcilable contradiction of the claim of trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng, which was a premise for the formation of a buffer state. The abandonment of the buffer state plan was a direct result of the contact in the field in early 1895.

On 18 December 1894, a British letter arrived in Müang Sing. The next day, Chao Sri Nò Kham fled with his son to the forest.¹³⁸⁴ On his arrival in Müang Sing on 24 December 1894, Scott found a French flag flying above the palace. Scott did not recognise Chiang Khaeng as French territory and ordered the flag to be lowered.¹³⁸⁵ Moreover, he found that Chao Sri Nò Kham had fled and had not told anyone where he was.¹³⁸⁶ Scott worried that Chiang Khaeng would consult the French.¹³⁸⁷ Shortly after the British Commission's arrival in Müang Sing, the ministers of Chiang Khaeng secretly sent a letter to Macey to inform him of the state of affairs.¹³⁸⁸

Scott believes the real reason for Chao Sri Nò Kham's flight was his correspondence with Macey, the French agent in Chiang Khòng, and the hoisting of a French flag in the palace.¹³⁸⁹ Moreover, it was rumoured that Chiang Khaeng had sent a whole list of its villages to Macey.¹³⁹⁰ Scott's hypothesis was based on the premise that Chiang Khaeng was British territory and that Chao Sri Nò Kham understood that, in modern sovereignty, maintaining direct

¹³⁸⁰ Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng to James George Scott, n.d., MS Scott LL9.110, JGSC, CUL.

¹³⁸¹ Phraya Chai to French Military Commissioner, 24 October 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC; Phraya Chaiya Wutthi to Paul Macey, 1 November 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

¹³⁸² The Earl of Kimberley to the Marquis of Dufferin, 25 May 1895, p. 150, IOR/L/PS/20/FO78/3, No. 129, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Siam, Part VI*, BL.

¹³⁸³ Mr. J. G. Scott to the Marquess of Salisbury, 25 July 1895, pp. 66, 68, FO 422/43, No. 18, NA.

¹³⁸⁴ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 14 January 1895a, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹³⁸⁵ James George Scott to Foreign Office, 26 December 1894, f. 306, FO 17/1226, NA.

¹³⁸⁶ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, f. 10, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 16.

¹³⁸⁸ The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to Paul Macey, 26 December 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

¹³⁸⁹ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, f. 11, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹³⁹⁰ Statement of Chao Noi Mahawong, 6 December 1894, p. 37, IOR/L/PS/20/FO78/3, Inclosure 5 in No. 4, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Siam, Part VI*, BL.

contact with a foreign country was a “very serious offence”,¹³⁹¹ to use Scott’s words. Walker also believes that Chao Sri Nò Kham’s fled because of his correspondence with the French.¹³⁹² Later, when Chao Sri Nò Kham told Scott that he had not replied to Macey’s letter,¹³⁹³ Scott did not believe him.¹³⁹⁴ Apparently, his suspicions were correct as Chao Sri Nò Kham did send a letter to Macey.¹³⁹⁵

On 28 December 1894, Chao Sri Nò Kham wrote a letter to Scott while in hiding, mentioning Stirling’s command of April 1894 and asking for forgiveness for his failure to send gold and silver flowers.¹³⁹⁶ In his letter to Pavie, Chao Sri Nò Kham mentions that his flight was caused by fear of Scott’s arrival and remembering Stirling’s threat of future punishment for his refusal to send gold and silver flowers.¹³⁹⁷ The *Ministre des Affaires étrangères* Gabriel Hanotaux questioned the British claim on Chiang Khaeng.¹³⁹⁸ He interpreted Chao Sri Nò Kham’s flight in late 1894 as an expression of his rejection of British suzerainty.¹³⁹⁹

The French flag that Scott encountered on his arrival was given by Macey in November 1894.¹⁴⁰⁰ It caused a series of negotiations between Scott and Pavie. Scott considers the incident of the French flag a trick by Macey to accumulate “political and selfish capital”.¹⁴⁰¹ Scott proposed returning the French flag to Pavie. However, Pavie declined and said that Prince Devawongse had informed him that Müang Sing was Siamese territory, and the territory which Britain had given to Siam was only the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng. Moreover, Macey had sent a French flag to Müang Sing following Chao Sri Nò Kham’s request for assistance. Thus, Pavie suggested handing over the flag to Chao Sri Nò Kham first and then it could be restored to Pavie as Chao Sri Nò Kham required.¹⁴⁰² However, on 14 January 1895, after Chao Sri Nò Kham returned the flag to Pavie, Pavie handed it back to Chao Sri Nò Kham again. Though Chao Sri Nò Kham did not take it, his eldest son, Chao Ong Kham, accepted the flag.¹⁴⁰³ It was unclear why Pavie had changed his mind. Scott says it was because of Lefèvre-Pontalis, who

¹³⁹¹ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, ff. 11, 18, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹³⁹² Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 10.

¹³⁹³ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, f. 19, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 21.

¹³⁹⁵ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 28 November 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

¹³⁹⁶ Chao Sri Nò Kham to James George Scott, the 2nd waxing day of the 3rd month, 1256 [28 December 1894], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC; Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, ff. 15–16, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹³⁹⁷ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 14 January 1895a, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹³⁹⁸ The Marquis of Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberley, 13 February 1895, p. 24*, IOR/L/PS/20/FO78/3, No. 14, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Siam, Part VI*, BL.

¹³⁹⁹ The Earl of Kimberley to the Marquis of Dufferin, 1 June 1895, p. 184, IOR/L/PS/20/FO78/3, No. 146, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Siam, Part VI*, BL.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 14 January 1895a, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴⁰¹ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 13 January 1895, f. 85, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA.

¹⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, ff. 84–86; Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing”, 12 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC; Paul Macey au Tiao Fa de Muong Xieng Kheng, 15 novembre 1894, f. 44, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹⁴⁰³ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 20 January 1895, f. 189, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA.

was much more ambitious than Pavie.¹⁴⁰⁴ Walker believes that it was Lefèvre-Pontalis's influence that caused Pavie to change his mind and refuse to accept the French flag.¹⁴⁰⁵

Both Scott and Pavie insisted that Müang Sing was a part of their territory, respectively, and they both intended to receive the other as visitors to Müang Sing.¹⁴⁰⁶ Scott claims that the French commissioners proposed to visit Chao Sri Nò Kham first, rather than wait for the latter to visit them. He reports that this did not conform with the “Indo-Chinese etiquette” and was “an admission that he [France] had no authority over [Müang Sing]”.¹⁴⁰⁷ On the day of the Frenchmen's arrival, Chao Sri Nò Kham had planned to welcome the French, but Scott had forbidden it.¹⁴⁰⁸ Scott was not about to provide the French with this opportunity. Moreover, to ensure British suzerainty over Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò Kham was forbidden from talking about political issues with the French.¹⁴⁰⁹

Pavie insisted that the question of Chiang Khaeng was still undecided, and he proposed that Scott should give Chao Sri Nò Kham a British flag to show him that the territory of Chiang Khaeng was still disputed by the British and French. Moreover, Pavie recommended that, before the two governments settled the dispute, Chao Sri Nò Kham “was to remain in sole and uncontrolled charge of the disputed territory east of the Mekong”.¹⁴¹⁰

Scott was instructed not to discuss any issues that placed doubt on the British claim to Chiang Khaeng.¹⁴¹¹ Scott reports that Pavie previously recognised Chiang Khaeng and Chiang Rung as a part of the Burmese Empire, but Müang Sing was not a part of Chiang Khaeng proper.¹⁴¹² Pavie and Lefèvre-Pontalis almost certainly questioned the British claim to Chiang Khaeng.¹⁴¹³

Scott realises that “the French are working rather with the preconceived idea that the formation of a buffer State is improbable, and that the Mekong is to form the boundary between British and French territory.”¹⁴¹⁴ He complains about Chao Sri Nò Kham's indecision due to his fear and writes that “some of his officials have almost certainly been brought over by the

¹⁴⁰⁴ Scott, *Further Report*, n.d., p. 116, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 39, NA; Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 13.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 13.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 20 January 1895, f. 190, FO 17/1265, NA; Procès-verbal of the First Meeting, 15 January 1895, f. 191, FO 17/1265, NA; Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing”, 7 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 12 January 1895, f. 75, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the full moon day of the 3rd month, 1256 [10 January 1895], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹⁰ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 20 January 1895, f. 190, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁴¹¹ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 13 January 1895, f. 88, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁴¹² *Ibid.*, f. 90.

¹⁴¹³ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 20 January 1895, f. 190, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 191.

French.”¹⁴¹⁵ At least two of the Chiang Khaeng ministers favoured the French.¹⁴¹⁶ Some of the Chiang Khaeng ministers believed that France would take the whole of Chiang Khaeng.¹⁴¹⁷

Chao Sri Nò Kham was worried about who would take control of Chiang Khaeng in the future.¹⁴¹⁸ Pavie attempted to reassure him by saying that Anglo-French commissions were merely undertaking geographic tasks and that the decision about Chiang Khaeng would be decided by the British and French governments. Until a final decision was reached, he would remain the ruler of Chiang Khaeng.¹⁴¹⁹ Pavie also told Scott not to put pressure on Chiang Khaeng, and the Frenchman attempted to reach a joint declaration with him.¹⁴²⁰ However, Scott refused to negotiate, saying that he had no mandate to do so.¹⁴²¹

Caillat believes that Chao Sri Nò Kham trusted the French entirely.¹⁴²² A local official told the French that the people were waiting for their arrival “with the greatest impatience” (*avec la plus vive impatience*), and Chao Sri Nò Kham was pleased that the French had visited him while the British had only sent him an order.¹⁴²³ Moreover, the British commission had not paid for the supplies they had demanded.¹⁴²⁴ The British had forbidden the locals from passing their tents, while the French had allowed them to walk freely through their camp. Native officials frequently visited the French and inquired about their needs. Chao Sri Nò Kham forbade his officials from visiting the British. Alcohol selling was forbidden due to incidents the previous year of drunken British soldiers causing trouble in villages.¹⁴²⁵

During the sojourn in Müang Sing, Scott and Stirling continued to urge Chao Sri Nò Kham to send gold and silver flowers to Britain.¹⁴²⁶ Chao Sri Nò Kham mentions that negotiations between the British and the French had not reached a conclusion, and Chiang Khaeng could not send gold and silver flowers to Scott.¹⁴²⁷ Caillat praises Chao Sri Nò Kham’s perseverance in refusing to pay tribute to the British.¹⁴²⁸ Pavie reports that Chao Sri Nò Kham refused to be a British subject.¹⁴²⁹

¹⁴¹⁵ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 30 January 1895, f. 225, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁴¹⁶ James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 21 March 1895, f. 98, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

¹⁴¹⁷ James George Scott to Foreign Office, 24 February 1895, f. 425, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA.

¹⁴¹⁸ Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing”, 2 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2, 14 janvier 1895. See also Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 20 janvier 1895, f. 40, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹⁴²⁰ Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing”, 7 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 13 janvier 1895.

¹⁴²² “[O]n sent qu’il a entièrement confiance en nous” (*Ibid.*, 5 janvier 1895).

¹⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 5 janvier 1895.

¹⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 janvier 1895.

¹⁴²⁶ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 4th waning day of the 3rd month, 1256 [14 January 1895b], PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 10 January 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC; Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing”, 7 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴²⁷ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 10 January 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 14 January 1895a, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴²⁸ Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing”, 5 janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴²⁹ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 21 janvier 1895, ff. 80–81, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

Additionally, Scott repeatedly told Chao Sri Nò Kham and the ministers that Chiang Khaeng was British territory and that they were forbidden from having any direct communication with the French.¹⁴³⁰ Chao Sri Nò Kham¹⁴³¹ complains about the British constantly pressing for a list of households and taxpayers and compensation for the lost horses and ox if the Chiang Khaeng officials failed to find them. Moreover, the British let the Chiang Khaeng authorities provide them with supplies and eleven escorts to accompany them to Müang Luang Phukha, but in the end, they never set off.¹⁴³²

According to French sources, Chiang Khaeng favoured France. On 10 January 1895, Chao Sri Nò Kham sent a letter to Pavie and led all the nobles in Chiang Khaeng to submit to the French.¹⁴³³ Later, when Pavie passed through Müang Sing on his way to Chiang Khòng, Chao Sri Nò Kham expressed his willingness to remain under French protection, and he resolved to leave the country if Chiang Khaeng fell into British hands.¹⁴³⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis reassured Chao Sri Nò Kham in this regard.¹⁴³⁵ During the joint investigation in early 1895, Walker suspects that Chao Kham, an official of Chiang Khaeng, held a letter from Chao Sri Nò Kham commanding the people to “recognise the French authority and to disregard the orders of the British”.¹⁴³⁶ However, Walker believes that Chiang Khaeng could still be convinced to switch allegiance from the French to the British.¹⁴³⁷

d) Stirling’s Occupation of Chiang Khaeng

Before the meeting of the Buffer State Commission, the British government had decided that if the buffer state plan failed, Chiang Khaeng would remain a British territory.¹⁴³⁸ Based on his experience at the frontline, Scott did not believe a buffer state would be formed. His reports on the French flag incident and the French influence in Müang Sing led to an immediate British occupation of Müang Sing.¹⁴³⁹

On 29 April 1895, Stirling’s letter arrived in Müang Sing, ordering Chao Sri Nò Kham to welcome the British in Chiang Lap. On receiving the letter, however, Chao Sri Nò Kham immediately wrote a letter to Pavie requesting assistance. On the second day, Chao Sri Nò

¹⁴³⁰ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, ff. 18, 20, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁴³¹ It is clear that this manuscript is a report rather than a letter because it is not written in the first-person perspective. However, it is stamped with Chao Sri Nò Kham’s Mount Sattabhandha seal.

¹⁴³² Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 14 January 1895b, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴³³ Chao Sri Nò Kham and the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to Auguste Pavie, 10 January 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

¹⁴³⁴ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 19 mars 1895, f. 153, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹⁴³⁵ Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 108.

¹⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁴³⁷ Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 9.

¹⁴³⁸ Mr. Fowler to the Governor-General of India in Council, 14 December 1894, p. 3, IOR/L/PS/20/FO78/3, Inclosure 1 in No. 6, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Siam, Part VI*, BL.

¹⁴³⁹ James George Scott to Foreign Office, 24 February 1895, f. 425, FO 17/1265, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36*, NA; Foreign Office to India Office, 19 March 1895, ff. 83–84, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA; From Secretary of State to Viceroy of India, 20 March 1895, f. 104, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

Kham fled with some officials and commoners from Müang Sing to Müang Hae in order to avoid meeting Stirling and being exposed to danger.¹⁴⁴⁰

On 5 May 1895, Stirling, together with 300 soldiers of the First Burma Regiment under the command of Captain Caulfield, was present in Müang Sing.¹⁴⁴¹ The mandarins were bewildered when Stirling announced British suzerainty over Chiang Khaeng in the name of the British government but without showing any official order. They immediately wrote a letter to Dupuy, the French agent in Chiang Khòng, expressing their confusion about which power Chiang Khaeng actually belonged to. In the letter, they ask for a definitive answer and request French protection if Chiang Khaeng becomes French territory.¹⁴⁴²

In a letter, Dupuy, Macey's successor, assures the members of the Sanam that Chiang Khaeng's neutrality was guaranteed by an agreement between Scott and Pavie, and that Stirling's occupation of Müang Sing was a violation.¹⁴⁴³ Dupuy feels the British occupation of Müang Sing was a humiliation for France because there were not enough officers and soldiers in Chiang Khòng to respond.¹⁴⁴⁴ He protests Stirling's occupation and says that the question of Müang Sing would be decided by the two governments, and adds that until a final decision is made Müang Sing "would remain free" (*resterait libre*), as agreed in the last negotiations of the Anglo-French Commission on 2 April 1895.¹⁴⁴⁵ Stirling was apparently unmoved by Dupuy's letter, but nevertheless, he threatened the Chiang Khaeng ministers, by announcing that he would send troops to occupy cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng.¹⁴⁴⁶ Chao Sri Nò Kham also blames Stirling for betraying the agreement of early 1895, signed by Scott and Pavie, that keeps Chiang Khaeng neutral until a final decision is made by Britain and France.¹⁴⁴⁷ Interestingly, Stirling makes clear that it was Scott's *modus vivendi*.¹⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, the British government considered Chiang Khaeng to be a part of the Indian Empire, whose "administration can only

¹⁴⁴⁰ CKC-WTP 55.6–55.12 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 154; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 6th waxing day of the 7th month, 1257 [29 April 1895], f. 137, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹⁴⁴¹ Roi de Muong Xieng Khong [sic] à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement Français à Luang Prabang, the 1st waxing day of the 8th month, 1257 [24 May 1895], trans., Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM; Extrait du Journal Rapport de Agence de Xieng Khong et de Xieng Sen (Mai 1895), 10 mai 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

¹⁴⁴² Le Chiao Chom Pana Khoua et les membres du Sénam de Muong Xieng Kheng à Monsieur l'agent du Gouvernement Xieng Khong, 5 mai 1895, trans., PA-AP 136, Volume 57, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁴⁴³ Monsieur C. Dupuy, délégué de Monsieur le Commissaire au Laos aux membres du Sénam de Muong Sing, 10 mai 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Extrait du Journal Rapport de Agence de Xieng Khong et de Xieng Sen (mai 1895), 10 mai 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

¹⁴⁴⁵ M. C. Dupuy, Agent commercial à Xieng Khong et Xieng Sen, Délégué de M. le Commissaire du Gouv't. à Luang Prabang à Monsieur Sterling, Agent Gouvernement Anglais, dirigeant l'occupation anglaise de Muong Sing, 2 juin 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 3rd waxing day of the 9th month, 1257 [24 June 1895], f. 281, Indochine 54, MD 92, CADLC.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Lettre du Tiao Fa à Monsieur Sterling, 15 novembre 1895, trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 31 May 1895, p. 164, FO 422/43, Inclosure 10 in No. 40, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA. See also Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 21 March 1895, f. 98, FO 17/1266, NA.

be conducted under the control of Great Britain” and “[t]he communication made by the Commissioners to the Myoza [Chao Sri Nò Kham] was therefore ultra vires.”¹⁴⁴⁹

There is another explanation for Chao Sri Nò Kham’s decision to flee. In May 1895, a rumour of a revolt by Si Pò, Saen Wi, Müang Nai, and Chiang Tung reached Chiang Khòng.¹⁴⁵⁰ Chao Sri Nò Kham was frightened by the rumour that Chao Mòm Súa and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng had been arrested, together with the Si Pò ruler, and fled from Müang Sing.¹⁴⁵¹ During his escape, Chao Sri Nò Kham dispatched Phraya Lücha to Chiang Tung. Phraya Lücha was told that the British force planned to arrest Chao Sri Nò Kham because he favoured the French.¹⁴⁵² Stirling hopes the return of Chao Mòm Súa and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng will induce Chao Sri Nò Kham to return to Müang Sing.¹⁴⁵³ Though Chao Sri Nò Kham was aware of the safe return of the two brothers, the information Phraya Lücha brought back affirmed Chao Sri Nò Kham’s decision to keep hiding,¹⁴⁵⁴ regardless of Stirling’s promise to guarantee his safety.¹⁴⁵⁵

In 1895, Chao Sri Nò Kham was still under the illusion that Chiang Khaeng was neutral. In a letter written in January 1895, Chao Sri Nò Kham asks Pavie for written confirmation of the outcome of the negotiations between Pavie and Scott, probably in order to guarantee Chiang Khaeng’s “neutral state”.¹⁴⁵⁶ Facing Stirling’s request to collect tax, Chao Sri Nò Kham refused and mentioned this confirmation, claiming that Britain and France had not yet reached an agreement, and therefore Chiang Khaeng remained a neutral state.¹⁴⁵⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis assured Chao Sri Nò Kham “his territory could not be annexed to Burma, without our [French] consent” (*son territoire ne pouvait être annexé à la Birmanie, sans notre consentement*).¹⁴⁵⁸

While in hiding, Chao Sri Nò Kham repeatedly wrote letters pleading with the French not to abandon the people of Chiang Khaeng¹⁴⁵⁹ and urging them to send troops if Chiang Khaeng was not given to the British.¹⁴⁶⁰ He prods the French into taking action by mentioning

¹⁴⁴⁹ The Earl of Rosebery to the Marquess of Dufferin, 5 April 1895, f. 308, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Extrait du Journal Rapport de Agence de Xieng Khong et de Xieng Sen (mai 1895), 20–21 mai 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

¹⁴⁵¹ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 6 May 1895, p. 50, FO 422/43, Inclosure 3 in No. 16, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA; Diary of Mr. Stirling, 17–22 May 1895, p.160, FO 422/43, Inclosure 4 in No. 40, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA; Le Chiao Chom Pana Khoua et les membres du Sénam de Muong Xieng Kheng à Monsieur l’agent du Gouvernement Xieng Khong, 5 mai 1895, trans., PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC.

¹⁴⁵² Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 5th waning day of the 9th month, 1257 [11 July 1895], GGI 20680, ANOM.

¹⁴⁵³ Diary of Mr. Stirling, 17–22 May 1895, p.160, FO 422/43, Inclosure 4 in No. 40, NA.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 11 July 1895, GGI 20680, ANOM.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Diary of Mr. Stirling, 17–22 May 1895, p.160, FO 422/43, Inclosure 4 in No. 40, NA.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Pavie to the Keng Cheng Myoza, 18 janvier 1895, p. 165, FO 422/43, Inclosure 11 in No. 40, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

¹⁴⁵⁷ The Myosa of Keng Cheng to Mr. Stirling, 17 September 1895, p. 269, FO 422/43, Inclosure 4 in No. 147, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 255.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 24 June 1895, f. 281, Indochine 54, MD 92, CADLC.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, the 13th waxing day of the 8th month, 1257 [5 June 1895], f. 283, Indochine 54, MD 92, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 11 July 1895, GGI 20680, ANOM; Roi de Muong Xieng Khong [sic] à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement Français à Luang Prabang, 24 May 1895, trans., Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

that the British will send troops to suppress Chiang Khaeng and to fight with the Chinese and the French if they came.¹⁴⁶¹

Stirling threatened Chao Sri Nò Kham that if Chao Sri Nò Kham did not return to Müang Sing, then he would arrest Chao Sri Nò Kham or replace him with another ruler.¹⁴⁶² It is reported that local ministers and the chief monk urged Chao Sri Nò Kham to visit Stirling when learning that Chao Sri Nò Kham had returned to Müang Sing in July 1895.¹⁴⁶³ Indeed, the ministers also promised to urge Chao Sri Nò Kham to return to the town,¹⁴⁶⁴ however, Chao Sri Nò Kham said that he would only return to Müang Sing if he had permission from the French authorities. Moreover, if the French relinquished their claim to Chiang Khaeng, he would remain in asylum and refuse to accept the British claim.¹⁴⁶⁵

Contrary to what Grabowsky and Renoo have discussed, Chao Sri Nò Kham did not move to French territory immediately after the British occupation of Müang Sing in May 1895.¹⁴⁶⁶ Instead, Chao Sri Nò Kham fled northwards to the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng and hid at Hua Thui, a frontier village not far from the Sipsòng Panna border, and in the forest near Ban Lek, for almost half a year, until 6 November.¹⁴⁶⁷ Stirling did not know where Chao Sri Nò Kham was seeking refuge, and he only conjectured that he was near Chiang Khòng.¹⁴⁶⁸ There were rumours that he was in Sipsòng Panna.¹⁴⁶⁹ It was only when Chao Sri Nò Kham fled to Müang Luang Phukha and sent a letter to Stirling that the latter knew his exact whereabouts.¹⁴⁷⁰ Not long after the occupation, Dupuy invited Chao Sri Nò Kham to take

¹⁴⁶¹ Roi de Muong Xieng Khong [sic] à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement Français à Luang Prabang, 24 May 1895, trans., Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 5 June 1895, f. 283, Indochine 54, MD 92, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 11 July 1895 GGI 20680, ANOM.

¹⁴⁶² Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 6 May 1895, p. 50, FO 422/43, NA; Roi de Muong Xieng Khong [sic] à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement Français à Luang Prabang, 24 May 1895, trans., Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 24 June 1895, f. 281, Indochine 54, MD 92, CADLC.

¹⁴⁶³ The Governor-General of India in Council to Lord G. Hamilton, 20 August 1895, p. 177, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 55, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA. No other sources confirm that Chao Sri Nò Kham returned to Müang Sing in July 1895.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 22 September 1895, p. 267, FO 422/43, Inclosure 2 in No. 147, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 48.

¹⁴⁶⁷ In CKC-WTP, Chao Sri Nò Kham passed Müang Sing during the night of 5 November; however, contemporary sources say that it was 7 November (CKC-WTP, 58.15–58.16, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 280; Lettre du Tiao Fa de Muong Sing au Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Luong Pou Kha, the 7th waning day of the 1st month, 1257 [15 December 1895], trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM.). Stirling reported that Chao Sri Nò Kham had temporarily returned Müang Sing in July (The Governor-General of India in Council to Lord G. Hamilton, 20 August 1895, p. 177, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 55, NA).

¹⁴⁶⁸ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 16 May 1895, p. 161, FO 422/43, Inclosure 5 in No. 40, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

¹⁴⁶⁹ The Governor-General of India in Council to Lord G. Hamilton, 20 August 1895, p. 177, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 55, NA.

¹⁴⁷⁰ The Assistant Political Officer, Möng Hsing, to the Political Officer and Superintendent, Southern Shan States, 12 November 1895, p. 18, FO 422/45, Inclosure 3 in No. 26, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

refuge in French territory.¹⁴⁷¹ It took him until September to accept the invitation,¹⁴⁷² but he remained in hiding and took no action. What were the reasons why Chao Sri Nò Kham remained in Ban Lek for half a year?

In April 1895, Chao Sri Nò Kham had planned to take refuge in Müang Chae via Müang Luang, which was not far from Ban Lek. Chao Sri Nò Kham tells Pavie that if he is exposed and in danger of being caught by the British, he will proceed to Müang Chae to meet Chao Wiang.¹⁴⁷³ It is unclear whether he was planning to seek asylum in Müang Chae or whether he was merely aiming to prod the French into action. Later, Chao Sri Nò Kham confessed that he was unwilling to leave his principality. He replied to Dupuy that he would only leave if the British discovered his hiding place, forcing him to seek refuge in French territory.¹⁴⁷⁴ He refused all invitations to leave his country, including Chao Wiang's invitation to urge him to live in Müang Chae.¹⁴⁷⁵ In late 1895, some ministers from Chiang Khaeng were still worried that Chao Sri Nò Kham would leave Chiang Khaeng, in the same way that Chao Wiang abandoned Lòk Chòk.¹⁴⁷⁶

The British were not ignorant about Müang Sing's contact with the French. The British Commission encountered a messenger from Müang Sing and realised that Pavie "was in regular correspondence with" Chiang Khaeng.¹⁴⁷⁷ Moreover, Stirling learned of the correspondence between Müang Sing and the French agent in Chiang Khòng.¹⁴⁷⁸ Initially, he attempted to obtain information on messengers in order to intercept the letters, but the locals remained silent.¹⁴⁷⁹ Eventually, local ministers provided him with some letters.¹⁴⁸⁰ Stirling claims that the native ministers did not protest against the British occupation of Chiang Khaeng as Dupuy instructed but rather were following the British order to hand over French correspondence to him.¹⁴⁸¹

Stirling accuses the native ministers of corresponding with the French agent in Chiang Khòng immediately after his declaration that British suzerainty had resumed.¹⁴⁸² Stirling claims that Dupuy's letter of 10 May 1895 influenced the locals' attitude and that this resulted

¹⁴⁷¹ Commissaire du Gouvernement à Monsieur Gouverneur Général à Hanoi et Résident Supérieur mission Laos, 26 juin 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM; M. Vacle, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Luang Prabang, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine Française, 26 juillet 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

¹⁴⁷² Le Gouverneur général de l'Indo-Chine à Monsieur le Ministre des Colonies, 14 septembre 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

¹⁴⁷³ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 29 April 1895, f. 137, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

¹⁴⁷⁴ M. Vacle, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Luang Prabang, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine Française, 26 juillet 1895, Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 22 September 1895, p. 267, FO 422/43, Inclosure 2 in No. 147, NA.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Phraya Luang Singha, Phraya Nantha Sian, and Racha Ratchasan to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 4th waxing of 3rd month, 1257 [20 December 1895], GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 10 April 1895, ff. 361–362, FO 17/1266, NA.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Diary of Mr. Stirling, 17–22 May 1895, p.160, FO 422/43, Inclosure 4 in No. 40, NA.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 31 May 1895, p. 164, FO 422/43, Inclosure 10 in No. 40, NA.

¹⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸² Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 5 June 1895, p. 166, FO 422/43, NA.

in the construction of the buildings for the British being stopped, and one of the ministers ceased to pass on reports to him.¹⁴⁸³ Stirling claims that the French authorities in Müang Luang Phukha and Chiang Khòng were supporting Chao Sri Nò Kham's resistance against Britain.¹⁴⁸⁴

The tension between Stirling and the Tai of Chiang Khaeng was heightened by a tax-collecting incident; Stirling demanded tax payments several times.¹⁴⁸⁵

Given that Chao Sri Nò Kham was refusing to return, Stirling was mainly dealing with Chiang Khaeng's ministers.¹⁴⁸⁶ At first, Stirling claims that they "professed to be glad that a Government post was to be left here, and the question of possession of Keng Cheng [Chiang Khaeng] definitely settled".¹⁴⁸⁷ However, the reality was exactly the opposite. Stirling complains about the obstacles posed by the ministers. There were eight senior ministers in the Nüa Sanam: Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa; Phraya Sitthi Wang Rat; Phraya Phomma Panya; Phraya Phawang; Phraya Phommawong; Phraya Phawadi; Phraya Chaiyawong; and Phraya Ramma Chak.¹⁴⁸⁸ The chief minister, Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa, was a strong opponent of Stirling. Despite several orders from the British officer, Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa refused to meet Stirling after the latter's arrival in Müang Sing. He also thwarted Stirling's authority by dissuading people from supplying information and by forbidding people from selling supplies to the British authorities.¹⁴⁸⁹ Phraya Sitthi Wang Rat was "habitually truculent in his demeanour towards [Stirling]".¹⁴⁹⁰ Phaya Sithi Wong Rat was hostile to Britain and "used all his influence to prevent the Myoza tendering his allegiance".¹⁴⁹¹ Stirling regards him as "the Chief of the French faction" in Müang Sing.¹⁴⁹² Phraya Phawang was the "Chinese Hpaya" mentioned in the British documents.¹⁴⁹³ In fact, he was a Tai Nüa. Stirling probably wrongly translates the Shan word *thai khae* (Chinese Tai) or Burmese word *hram tarut* (Chinese Shan) into English as "Shan-Chinese". He was one of the eight major Phraya and was the representative of the Tai Nüa people in Müang Sing.¹⁴⁹⁴

This lack of cooperation resulted in the senior ministers being imprisoned by Stirling.¹⁴⁹⁵ However, after learning that Chao Sri Nò Kham had fled to Müang Luang Phukha, the Nüa

¹⁴⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 22 September 1895, p. 268, FO 422/43, Inclosure 2 in No. 147, NA.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Lettre des Mandarins de Muong Sing au Tiao Fa, the 2nd waning day of the 1st month, 1257 [4 November 1895], trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM; Lettre du Tiao Fa aux fonctionnaires de Muong Sinh, 15 novembre 1895, trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Carrick records his impressions of three of the ministers. One "has a good-looking open face, but the other has a particularly offensive, ill-bred manner, shifty eyes, large flat mouth which is constantly twitching, and a small pointed moustache". Phraya Phawang "is most disreputable to look at" (Carrick, "Report on the Mong Hsing Trip 1894", 95–96).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 6 May 1895, p. 50, FO 422/43, NA.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 28 November 1895, p. 121, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 122.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹¹ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 16 May 1895, p.161, FO 422/43, Inclosure 5 in No. 40, NA.

¹⁴⁹² Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 31 May 1895, p. 164, FO 422/43, Inclosure 10 in No. 40, NA.

¹⁴⁹³ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, pp. 19, 24, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 28 November 1895, p. 122, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁴⁹⁵ CKC-WTP 58.1–58.2, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 280.

Sanam of Chiang Khaeng submitted to Stirling.¹⁴⁹⁶ Subsequently, the ministers were told to submit their taxes. At first, the ministers proposed to pay 1095 rupees. However, Stirling rejected this amount and indicated that the axes should be paid according to a statement of revenue for the previous December.¹⁴⁹⁷ The ministers hesitated to cooperate. Phraya Phromma Panya replied that last year's records had been burnt.¹⁴⁹⁸ Later, the ministers added to 1704 rupees, but Stirling was insistent that he should collect 3,768 rupees, the same amount in the documents that Scott had obtained.¹⁴⁹⁹ Stirling is confident that the villagers near Müang Sing "recognized that we were stronger than the Myosa, and would not fail to advise submission".¹⁵⁰⁰ Stirling threatened to deport the ministers.¹⁵⁰¹ Under threat of arrest, those Chiang Khaeng people who were still resisting now compromised and paid the tax.¹⁵⁰² The *Chiang Khaeng Chronicle* mentions that later the ministers were at ease that the tax was not for Stirling's personal benefit but was used for public facilities construction.¹⁵⁰³

Following the ministers being taken into custody, Chao Sri Nò Kham, together with his wife, two sons, two daughters, five mandarins, and many attendants, fled to Müang Luang Phukha to seek French protection.¹⁵⁰⁴ In a letter to his ministers, Chao Sri Nò Kham expresses that "the French mandarin does not hate me. On contrary, he likes me" (*Le mandarin français ne me déteste pas. Au contraire, il m'aime bien*).¹⁵⁰⁵ Chao Sri Nò Kham's dislike for Britain was also revealed by his unwillingness to let his daughter Chao Nang Pathuma stay in Chiang Tung, a British territory.¹⁵⁰⁶ Chao Sri Nò Kham tells his ministers that they should be under protection from France.¹⁵⁰⁷ After his escape to Müang Luang Phukha, Chao Sri Nò Kham continues to plead with the French to take Müang Sing.¹⁵⁰⁸

¹⁴⁹⁶ The Ministers of Keng Cheng State in Council to the Political Officer, Keng Cheng, the 8th waxing day of the 1st month, 1257 [26 October 1895], p. 19, FO 422/45, Inclosure 5 in No. 26, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 28 November 1895, p. 123, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 122.

¹⁵⁰¹ Ibid.; CKC-WTP 59.1–59.3, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 280.

¹⁵⁰² CKC-WTP 60.3–60.5, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 281.

¹⁵⁰³ Ibid., 60.7–60.8, 281–282.

¹⁵⁰⁴ The Assistant Political Officer, Möng Hsing, to the Political Officer and Superintendent, Southern Shan States, 12 November 1895, p. 18, FO 422/45, Inclosure 3 in No. 26, NA; M. Boullouche, Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo Chine Française, 1896, f. 51, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Lettre du Tiao Fa aux fonctionnaires de Muong Sinh, 15 novembre 1895, trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM.

¹⁵⁰⁶ At first, Chao Nang Pathuma went to Müang Sing in January 1895 to wait for parturition. When she crossed the Mekong on 24 January 1895, Chao Nang Pathuma encountered the French Boundary Commission and was photographed by the latter (Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 94). For this photograph, see Anonymous, *La reine de Xieu-Tung en radeau*, n.d. [1895], photograph, PV0061404, MQB. She only returned to Chiang Tung in March 1897 (Report on the Administration of the Southern Shan States for the Year 1896–97, p.17, IOR/V/10/531, Shan and Karenni States Administration Report, 1888/89–1898/99, BL).

¹⁵⁰⁷ Lettre du Tiao Fa aux fonctionnaires de Muong Sinh, 15 novembre 1895, trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Lettre du Tiao Fa de Muong Sing au Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Luong Pou Kha, 15 December 1895, trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM.

In his letters, Chao Sri Nò Kham rejects Stirling's demands¹⁵⁰⁹ and forbids his ministers from collecting taxes for Britain, threatening them with punishment.¹⁵¹⁰ Chao Sri Nò Kham blames Stirling's conduct in Müang Sing for preventing him from returning to Chiang Khaeng. He informs the ministers that he will return once negotiations between Britain and France are settled.¹⁵¹¹ Moreover, he promises to release them from custody if Stirling has not.¹⁵¹² Stirling reports that Chao Sri Nò Kham refused to submit to Britain and instead summoned his subjects to follow him to Müang Luang Phukha.¹⁵¹³ However, Stirling claims that the villagers refused to do so because their families were in Chiang Khaeng and it was harvest time; he is sure that very few of them would actually follow Chao Sri Nò Kham.¹⁵¹⁴ When most of the officials were assembled, Stirling reports that "[e]ach was afraid of being shown up to the Myosa [Chao Sri Nò Kham] by his neighbour as the man who was first to obey the orders of Government."¹⁵¹⁵

On 26 November 1895, an order from Chao Sri Nò Kham arrived in Müang Sing and warned that he would punish anyone who paid any taxes.¹⁵¹⁶ This letter had such an impact that some officials and headmen fled that same night, and nobody attended the assembly the next day.¹⁵¹⁷ Stirling then threatened to deport them all.¹⁵¹⁸ The ministers responded that they were powerless since Chao Sri Nò Kham had issued his command.¹⁵¹⁹ Stirling then issued an order in the name of the Chief Commissioner of Burma saying that no one would be harmed, if they paid the tax but that anyone who ignored the tax collection demand would be punished.¹⁵²⁰ It did not take long for the tax to be collected, and even the officials and headmen who had absconded returned to pay the tax as well.¹⁵²¹ After the tax collection, a rumour reached Müang Sing that Chao Ong Kham would attack the British post.¹⁵²² It was not clear who spread this rumour.

On 4 December 1895, a swearing of allegiance ceremony was held in Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, a Tai Nüa village outside Müang Sing's city walls.¹⁵²³ This ceremony aimed to "make

¹⁵⁰⁹ Lettre du Tiao Fa à Monsieur Sterling, 15 novembre 1895, trans., Indochine 21, Dossier A30 (105), ANOM.

¹⁵¹⁰ The Myosa of Keng Cheng to the State Ministers, 22 October 1895, trans., p. 19, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 26, NA.

¹⁵¹¹ The Myosa of Keng Cheng to the State Ministers, 10th waning of the 2nd month, 1257 [12 December 1895], trans., p. 67, FO 422/45, Inclosure 6 in No. 74, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁵¹² The Myosa of Keng Cheng to the State Ministers, 22 October 1895, trans., p. 19, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 26, NA.

¹⁵¹³ The Assistant Political Officer, Möng Hsing, to the Political Officer and Superintendent, Southern Shan States, 12 November 1895, p. 18, FO 422/45, Inclosure 3 in No. 26, NA.

¹⁵¹⁴ Ibid; M. Boullouche, Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo Chine Français, 1896, f. 51, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵¹⁵ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 28 November 1895, p. 125, FO 422/45, Inclosure 4 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵¹⁹ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 4 December 1895, pp. 125–126, FO 422/45, Inclosure 5 in No. 115, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁵²⁰ Ibid., 126.

¹⁵²¹ Ibid., 126–127.

¹⁵²² Ibid., 127.

¹⁵²³ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 7 December 1895, p. 128, FO 422/45, Inclosure 6 in No. 115, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

all the officials of the State drink the water of allegiance to the Ministers, and agree to stand by them in their submission to the British Government".¹⁵²⁴ Stirling claims that the Chiang Khaeng was "unanimous in accepting the authority of the British Government".¹⁵²⁵

On receiving the ministers' letter, Chao Sri Nò Kham accuses the ministers of obeying Stirling's orders to collect tax and to declare themselves as British subjects, but he forgives them since they were deceived and coerced by Stirling.¹⁵²⁶

Though Stirling does not fail to interpret it as "time-serving rather than sincere", he regards the swearing of allegiance to Britain as "an irrevocable breach" between the Chiang Khaeng people and Chao Sri Nò Kham, who was "deserted by his Ministers and people".¹⁵²⁷ The letter from the people of Chiang Khaeng to Stirling expresses that "we become the subjects of the [British] Government" and ends with "[we pray] that we may be treated considerately, so that we may live, and the State prosper, and trade flourish. If we disobey the Government or the Political Officer, let him inflict any punishment he thinks fit, and we shall not resist."¹⁵²⁸

The ministers remained in contact with Chao Sri Nò Kham, albeit secretly, and reported to him the news of the British.¹⁵²⁹ Confronted with Chao Sri Nò Kham's order to provide service in Müang Luang Phukha, the ministers reply that Stirling has forbidden them from leaving.¹⁵³⁰ They felt as if they were stuck between two swords at their necks, it didn't matter which way they moved, it was dangerous.¹⁵³¹ The ministers continued to worry about the consequences of the Chiang Khaeng people splitting into two factions and the internal disorder that would inevitably follow.¹⁵³²

e) The Handover of Müang Sing

In mid-1895, the prevailing idea among French diplomats and officials in the front line was that the Mekong marked the boundary of their territory.¹⁵³³ At the same time, having considered Warry's report, the India Office reports the inconsequentiality of the buffer state.¹⁵³⁴

¹⁵²⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵²⁵ Ibid., 129.

¹⁵²⁶ The Myoza of Keng Cheng to the State Ministers, 12 December 1895, trans., p. 66–67, FO 422/45, Inclosure 6 in No. 74, NA.

¹⁵²⁷ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 7 December 1895, p. 129, FO 422/45, Inclosure 6 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁵²⁸ Ibid., 130.

¹⁵²⁹ Phraya Luang Singha, Phraya Nantha Sian, and Racha Ratchasan to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 20 December 1895, f. 47, GGI 15699, ANOM; The Ministers of the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to Chao Sri Nò Kham, the 14th waxing day of the 3rd month, 1257 [30 December 1895], f. 44, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵³⁰ The Ministers of the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 30 December 1895, f. 44, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵³¹ Phraya Luang Singha, Phraya Nantha Sian, and Racha Ratchasan to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 20 December 1895, f. 47, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵³² Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 7 December 1895, p. 128, FO 422/45, Inclosure 6 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁵³³ The Earl of Kimberley to the Marquis of Dufferin, 25 May 1895, f. 444, FO 17/1267, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 38*, NA.

¹⁵³⁴ India Office to Foreign Office, 3 July 1895, p. 12, FO 422/43, No. 3, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

Scott also mentions that Chiang Khaeng was “worth little more than nothing”.¹⁵³⁵ On 15 January 1896, a declaration was signed between Britain and France to transfer trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng to France.¹⁵³⁶

In early 1896, the French authorities still did not know which power Chao Sri Nò Kham would submit to, France or Britain.¹⁵³⁷ In January 1896, when Chao Sri Nò Kham learned that the Chiang Khaeng people were planning to invite him to return to Müang Sing. The French exploited Chao Sri Nò Kham’s fear of the British, warning him of the consequences of accepting the British “disloyal” (*déloyal*) domination.¹⁵³⁸ Sevenier, the Commissioner at Müang Luang Phukha, warned Chao Sri Nò Kham to retain his ministers’ affection towards him and not to disappoint them, as losing their trust would have serious consequences.¹⁵³⁹

On 19 March 1896, Stirling distributed a proclamation deposing Chao Sri Nò Kham as the ruler of Chiang Khaeng.¹⁵⁴⁰ This proclamation was probably the one mentioned in Hamilton’s telegraph. It was to be issued in the cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng in order to strip Chao Sri Nò Kham of his rights and authority in now British territory.¹⁵⁴¹ However, the French misinterpreted the message and believed that the proclamation was to be issued to the whole territory of Chiang Khaeng. This led to Vacle, the Commandant supérieur du Haut-Laos, lodging a protest against it.¹⁵⁴²

The French were troubled by an incident before the handover. It is reported that people from Chiang Khaeng were forced to move to the cis-Mekong tract, and resistance was met with damage to their property. Local officials were coerced into carrying out the order, being threatened with beheading if they did not.¹⁵⁴³

This incident turned out to be a mixture of fact and rumour. French records report that Stirling frightened the native officials by telling them that they would be required by the French to pay for the expense of the French hospitality towards Chao Sri Nò Kham. The fear of having to pay compensation to the French apparently drove some people to Chiang Tung. A Tai Nüa chief from Chiang Tung reached Müang Sing, where he persuaded his Tai Nüa fellows to change their allegiance and, indeed, some Tai Nüa had already moved out of the area. Sevenier and Villard worry that the British plan to evacuate the trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng, and if the French do not take action, they will find themselves taking over a territory without subjects

¹⁵³⁵ Mr. J. G. Scott to the Marquess of Salisbury, 25 July 1895, p. 60, FO 422/43, No. 18, NA.

¹⁵³⁶ The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin, 15 January 1896, p. 7, FO 422/45, No. 10, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁵³⁷ M. Boulloche, Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l’Indo Chine Français, 1896, f. 51, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵³⁸ M. Sévénier, chancelier stagiaire de Résidence ffs. de Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Luong Pou-Kha à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 28 janvier 1896, f. 35, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Edict to inform the subjects, the 9th waning day of the 5th month, 1257 [19 March 1896], f. 140, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁴¹ Lord G. Hamilton to the Viceroy of India, 31 January 1896, p. 21, FO 422/45, Inclosure 2 in No. 30, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁵⁴² Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 16 May 1896, p. 135, FO 422/45, Inclosure 15 in No. 115, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁵⁴³ Le garde pp. Villard Command par intérim le porte de Mg. Lg. PhouKha à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 4 avril 1896, GGI 20671, ANOM.

and thus lose valuable revenue. Two Tai Lü officials were dispatched from Müang Luang Phukha to quash the rumour and appease the people.¹⁵⁴⁴ Villard also reports that Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa warned Chao Sri Nò Kham that if Chao Sri Nò Kham did not return, he would move to the cis-Mekong tract.¹⁵⁴⁵ As he withdrew, Stirling warned the Chiang Khaeng people that tax must not be collected in British territory. Vacle claims that Stirling was trying to induce the Chiang Khaeng people to migrate into the cis-Mekong tract.¹⁵⁴⁶ However, Stirling denied the accusation and explained that the returned Tai Nüa were those who had fled from Chiang Tung after the British occupation.¹⁵⁴⁷ Similarly, Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng claimed that he only moved back the Tai Nüa people who had been dispatched by Chao Kòng Thai to colony Müang Sing.¹⁵⁴⁸ In a report to Vacle, Villard, the Acting Commander to Müang Luang Phukha, claims that the Tai Lü of Ban Kum feared to pay for the expense of the French hospitality and that they wanted to move to the cis-Mekong tract.¹⁵⁴⁹ However, Ban Kum, a village on the Nam Sing River, was actually inhabited by the Tai Nüa.¹⁵⁵⁰

The India Office indeed promised to allow the people of trans-Mekong to move to the cis-Mekong territory, providing that they were willing to become British subjects or feared punishment from Chao Sri Nò Kham.¹⁵⁵¹ The British government had communicated with France, asking them to exempt the officials and inhabitants of Müang Sing from punishment, “on account of anything they might have done during our occupation of the territory”.¹⁵⁵² According to Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa’s letter of 31 March 1896, Stirling questioned the ministers about whether they favoured the British or the French. They hesitated to answer.¹⁵⁵³

The French trepidation about population loss was probably deepened by a British proclamation of 19 March 1896. The translation of the proclamation included an expression that appears to encourage subjects to migrate to the cis-Mekong territory. Reportedly, this proclamation was distributed throughout Chiang Khaeng territory and was posted at pavilions and markets in trans-Mekong territory like Müang Nang, Müang Lòng, Müang Ma, and Müang Mòm. The original proclamation was forwarded to Vacle, together with a French

¹⁵⁴⁴ Extrait de la lettre No. 61 du 29 mars 1896 de M. Sévenier Commissaire du Gouvernement à Mg. Lg. N. Tha, ff. 33–34, GGI 15699, ANOM; Le garde pp. Villard Command par intérim le porte de Mg. Lg. PhouKha à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 4 avril 1896, GGI 20671, ANOM.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Le garde pp. Villard Command par intérim le porte de Mg. Lg. PhouKha à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 4 avril 1896, GGI 20671, ANOM.

¹⁵⁴⁶ M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l’Indochine, 1 juillet 1896, ff. 13–14, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., f. 13.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Le garde pp. Villard Command par intérim le porte de Mg. Lg. PhouKha à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 4 avril 1896, GGI 20671, ANOM.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, ix.

¹⁵⁵¹ India Office to Foreign Office, 21 January 1896, p. 13, FO 422/45, No. 17, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA; India Office to Foreign Office, 3 March 1896, p. 55, FO 422/45, No. 56, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA; The Viceroy of India to Lord G. Hamilton, 28 February 1896, p. 55, FO 422/45, Inclosure in No. 56, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁵⁵² Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 16 May 1896, p. 134, FO 422/45, Inclosure 15 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁵⁵³ Le garde pp. Villard Command par intérim le porte de Mg. Lg. PhouKha à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 4 avril 1896, GGI 20671, ANOM.

translation, which includes an expression that is absent in the original: The French translation claims that “if the habitants would like to go to the right bank of the Mekong, they are free [to go] and do not have to listen to the orders of the *chaofa*” (*Si les habitants veulent passer sur la rive droite du Mékong ils sont libres & n’ont pas à écouter les ordres du Tiao Fa*).¹⁵⁵⁴ The original meaning of this sentence, however, is “from now onwards, Chao Sri [Nò Kham] is still in the kingdom of the British queen, no matter what orders [he] issues, [they] will have no power” (*tang tae ni phai müa na, tua chao sri ni phò yang yu nai naeng ngan to chao nang hò kham ingkhlik pen chao ni, maen wa cha sangsòn sandai khò di, òcha ana man bò mi laeo*).¹⁵⁵⁵ Here, there is a clear mistranslation of two Burmese words, *nuing ngam tau* (kingdom) and *auja ana* (power), and there is no mention of the Mekong River. The English proclamation, issued on 4 March 1896, is more concise and easier to understand.¹⁵⁵⁶ The proclamation, though written in Tai, included many Burmese words and probably derived from a Burmese or Shan text rather than directly from the English text. The misinterpretation in the French translation could easily happen with a translator who was not familiar with the Tai language and probably had no knowledge of Burmese, especially if he had been influenced by the rumours.

During Chao Sri Nò Kham’s absence, the palace and the Sanam of Müang Sing were burned. Chao Sri Nò Kham demanded compensation for these two buildings, which he believed were burnt by the British or that the fire was at least instigated by them.¹⁵⁵⁷ At first, Vacle refuses to believe that a European nation would do such a thing without concrete evidence, even though Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa claimed that the administrative office was set on fire the day after he had received Chao Sri Nò Kham’s order to prepare the lodgings in it.¹⁵⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Stirling ascribes the fire to carelessness on the part of Chao Sri Nò Kham’s servants.¹⁵⁵⁹ The *Chiang Khaeng Chronicle* only mentions that the fire was set by “bandits” (*khon phu rai*).¹⁵⁶⁰ Eventually, Vacle demanded compensation for Chao Sri Nò Kham’s losses, but Stirling rejected this, saying that “in our eyes he had been a rebel, and was deserving of no consideration at our hands” and “the British Government had no intention of paying any indemnity to the Myosa [Chao Sri Nò Kham].”¹⁵⁶¹

¹⁵⁵⁴ Sévénier à M. le Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos, n.d., f. 143, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Edict to inform the subjects, 19 March 1896, f. 140, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁵⁶ A Proclamation, 4 March 1896, p. 131, FO 422/45, Inclosure 9 in No. 115, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁵⁵⁷ M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l’Indochine, 1 juillet 1896, f. 10, GGI 15699, ANOM; M. Sévénier, chancelier st. de résidence, ff. de commissaire du gouvernement à M. L. Pou Kha à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos, 27 février 1896, f. 55, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Le garde pp. Villard Command par intérim le porte de Mg. Lg. PhouKha à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur du Haut Laos, 4 avril 1896, GGI 20671, ANOM; M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l’Indochine, 1 juillet 1896, f. 10, 13, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 16 May 1896, p. 134, FO 422/45, Inclosure 15 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁵⁶⁰ CKC-WTP 60.10, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 282.

¹⁵⁶¹ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 16 May 1896, pp. 134–135, FO 422/45, Inclosure 15 in No. 115, NA.

Vacle was dispatched to attend the handover ceremony in Müang Sing. Sevenier hopes the arrival of Vacle will comfort the worried Chao Sri Nò Kham and his subjects.¹⁵⁶² Lefèvre claims that when Chao Sri Nò Kham was in Müang Luang Phukha, he expressed confidence about the future of his state.¹⁵⁶³ On 11 April 1896, Vacle departed from Luang Prabang to assume control of Müang Sing, where he arrived on 9 May. The procès-verbal of the restitution was signed on 10 May, and Stirling retreated from Müang Sing the following day.¹⁵⁶⁴

Vacle's journey to Müang Sing was devised as an expedition to claim authority. This journey happened to be in the new year, blurring the boundary of local festivity and colonial allegiance. In the territory of Luang Prabang, Vacle was welcomed at almost every stop. Even the smallest village sent delegates to wait for him one kilometre away from their boundary. Vacle believes that the warm reception he gets from the natives and the prosperity of the territory he has crossed demonstrate the advantages of the French administration.¹⁵⁶⁵ Vacle entered Müang Sing under the royal umbrellas, which were sent by Chao Sri Nò Kham.¹⁵⁶⁶

Vacle makes two comparisons to illustrate the honour of France. One makes clear that while he enjoyed a warm reception from the native people, the British withdrew from Müang Sing without any official send off. The second contrasts the size of the two powers' armed forces. The British had 500 soldiers, while only ten soldiers followed Vacle to Müang Sing. Vacle expresses his patriotic pride. He ponders that the native might be impressed by France's mighty, which sent only an escort of ten soldiers to displace the British who were commanding a force fifty times that of the French.¹⁵⁶⁷ However, Stirling reports that Vacle's escort consisted of ten European soldiers and twenty-two Annamese skirmishers.¹⁵⁶⁸ Moreover, Vacle brought 296 coolies with him.¹⁵⁶⁹

After Chao Sri Nò Kham's return to Müang Sing, he officially submitted to France.¹⁵⁷⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis believes that the Chiang Khaeng will become prosperous because the land is fertile. In addition, he says that Chao Sri Nò Kham told him that the difficult times had passed, and the settlers would contribute to development.¹⁵⁷¹ Cis-Mekong Chiang Khaeng was now placed then under Chiang Tung's rule. At first, the authorities of Chiang Tung "seemed to

¹⁵⁶² "[L]'arrivée ... de M. Vacle ... mettra un terme aux inquiétudes du Tiao Fa et au malaise qui semble régner dans toute la population du Xieng-Kjeng rive gauche" (M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Ht Laos à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos, 16 avril 1896, f. 105, GGI 15699, ANOM).

¹⁵⁶³ "[L]e roi a l'air plein de confiance en l'avenir qui lui rendra ses États" (Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 232).

¹⁵⁶⁴ Commandant Supérieur p.i. Haut Laos à Gouverneur Général, 11 mai 1896, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁶⁵ M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, 1 juillet 1896, ff. 8–10, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., f. 11.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., ff. 11–12; M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Ht Laos à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos, 16 avril 1896, f. 105, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 16 May 1896, p. 133, FO 422/45, Inclosure 15 in No. 115, NA.

¹⁵⁶⁹ M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, 1 juillet 1896, f. 8, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁷⁰ CKC-WTP 61.6–61.8, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 282; M. Vacle, Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, 1 juillet 1896, f. 10, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁵⁷¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 260–261.

rather fear the responsibility of taking over territory bordering with the French, though they were obviously anxious to have the districts”.¹⁵⁷²

7 Shan, Burman, and Vietnamese Tai

The British pacification of Burma caused many cis-Salween Shan to flee to Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that Müang Hae sheltered many refugees from Burma, who were “extremely ill-disposed towards the English” (*extrêmement mal disposés à l’égard des Anglais*).¹⁵⁷³ The majority of the inhabitants of Müang Yang¹⁵⁷⁴ were originally from Saen Wi.¹⁵⁷⁵ Müang Luai (near the Müang Yang of Chiang Tung) was largely inhabited by refugees from Müang Nai and other cis-Salween states.¹⁵⁷⁶ Đèo Văn Trị had met the convoys of a Shan prince in Kunming. The prince refused to submit to Britain, offered to provide the services of his spies, and asked for China’s protection.¹⁵⁷⁷ The prince in question may have been Chao Wiang because the journal then moves on to discuss him. In Müang Ring, Đèo Văn Trị heard the news of Chao Wiang and was surprised that he was still a fugitive. Apparently, Chao Wiang was recently accompanied by one thousand men and had asked for protection from Müang Chae.¹⁵⁷⁸ There were 700 refugees from the Shan states living in Sipsòng Panna.¹⁵⁷⁹ When the French consul Pierre Bons d’Anty visited Sipsòng Panna in 1897, a large number of Burmese Tai migrants were still present in Müang Rai and Müang Chae, for example, the Tai of Lòk Chòk at Ban Mai of Müang Sung (Mengsong). Anty writes that the Tai Lü nobles welcomed them and provided them with fields, buffaloes, agricultural implements, and rice.¹⁵⁸⁰ However, a statement from the Chiang Tung court in 1907 estimates that three-quarters of the Shan refugees in Chiang Tung returned to their homelands after the situation improved.¹⁵⁸¹

The Shan refugees in Sipsòng Panna became the scapegoat for Chao Mòm Kham Lü’s divorce. A historical record from Sipsòng Panna ascribes Chao Nang Waen Thip’s return to Chiang Tung to her affair with the ruler of Chiang Dñan,¹⁵⁸² who took refuge in Chiang Rung.¹⁵⁸³ Meanwhile, Scott reports that the reason for the discord was Chao Mòm Kham Lü’s

¹⁵⁷² G. C. B. Stirling, *Diary for Period to May 28, 1896*, p. 140, FO 422/45, Inclosure 20 in No. 115, Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VIII, NA.

¹⁵⁷³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 266.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Not to be confused with the Müang Yang in Sipsòng Panna.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Walker, “Diary”, 28.

¹⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁵⁷⁷ A rumour in 1887 said that Chao Wiang planned to seek the help from Yunnan (W. J. Archer to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 9 November 1887, Mss Eur E254/23b, No. 51, *Papers Concerning the Trans-Salween States, the Relations Between Siam and Burma, and the Claims of Siam to Certain Territory on the East of the Salween*, Part III, BL).

¹⁵⁷⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 26 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 8 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Pierre Bons d’Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois et dans les montagnes de thé* (Shanghai: Impr. de la Presse orientale, 1900), 22.

¹⁵⁸¹ Statement of the Nña Sanam of Chiang Tung, 21 March 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁵⁸² Chiang Dñan now is a small town in the Kyethi Township, Shan State, Myanmar.

¹⁵⁸³ Ba Long Yanaweng, “*Xishuangbanna daizu jin bainian dashi ji, xu leshi*”, 6:44; Dao and Yan, *Chüa khriia chao swaenwi sipsòng phanna*, 211.

marriage to a girl, saying that Chao Nang Waen Thip is a “much too proud a woman” and could not endure it.¹⁵⁸⁴

Chao Wiang was a grand nephew of the Yòng Huai ruler, and he succeeded to the Lòk Chòk throne in CS 1228 (1866/1867).¹⁵⁸⁵ In the early 1880s, he joined Saen Wi’s tenacious rebellion against King Thibaw. After pacification by the Burmese army, Lòk Chòk was placed under the rule of Yòng Huai.¹⁵⁸⁶ In CS 1243–1244 (1881/1882–1882/1883), Chao Wiang arrived in Chiang Tung, and the Müang Nai and Müang Nòng (Mongnawng) *chaofas* arrived on 8 March 1882. They joined forces to resist the Burmese army. Later, in 1885, one year before the British annexation of Upper Burma, the Limbin Confederacy was formed in Chiang Tung. Supported by the *chaofas* of Lòk Chòk, Müang Nai, and Müang Nòng, the Limbin Confederacy crossed the Salween River to resist the British pacification. However, in 1887, Chao Wiang fled back to Chiang Tung. Two years later, in February 1889, hearing the British authorities were planning to visit Chiang Tung, he retreated to Müang Chae in Sipsòng Panna.¹⁵⁸⁷ When the British and the French visited Sipsòng Panna in 1891, Chao Wiang had been living in Müang Chae for two years. Specifically, he was living at Ban Müang Yang, together with his adherents and his brother, the Yòng Huai ruler.¹⁵⁸⁸ Chao Wiang and the Yòng Huai ruler refused to submit to the British and would rather live in exile and renounce their domains.¹⁵⁸⁹ The Yòng Huai ruler told the French that when the British visited Sipsòng Panna and asked the Tai Lü about the whereabouts of Chao Wiang, nobody betrayed them.¹⁵⁹⁰ There were 400–500¹⁵⁹¹ refugees accompanying Chao Wiang, 3000 in Chiang Tung, and the others fled to China, some as far as Dali.¹⁵⁹² When the Chiang Tung princess Chao Nang Thip Thida visited Müang Chae in 1894, she found that Chao Wiang was “living in poverty”, without any

¹⁵⁸⁴ From J. G. Scott, Esq., Officiating Superintendent and Political Officer, Northern Shan States, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 11 March 1892, MS Scott UL1.102, JGSC, CUL.

¹⁵⁸⁵ James George Scott and John Percy Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon: The Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1901), 2.2:25.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Clarence Hendershot, *The Conquest, Pacification and Administration of the Shan States by the British: 1886–1897* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1938), 6.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM; Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 273; James George Scott and John Percy Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon: The Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1900), 1.1:296; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, 2.1:410; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, 2.2:25; Mangrāi, *The Pādæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 275; James George Scott, Summary of the Shan States for the week ending 17th July 1889, MS Scott UL1.49, JGSC, CUL; Summary of the Officiating Superintendent, Shan States, for the week ending the 17th April 1889, Mss Eur F278/68, PSGS, BL.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Scott reports that the Yòng Huai ruler was Sao Chit Su, while Maung Nyo records him as Saw Mawng, i.e. a different person from Sao Chit Su (Maung Nyo, *Diary of the Assistant Political Officer, Kengtung*, from the 29th August to the 10th September 1894, 3 September 1894, MS Scott UL1.49, JGSC, CUL; Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 10 April 1895, f. 361 FO 17/1266, NA).

¹⁵⁸⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 11 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11 avril 1891.

¹⁵⁹¹ According to contemporary Chinese sources he had around four to five hundred households with him (Chen, “*Simao ting chen shoushu bing*”, 10:38). The Hopong ruler Khun Luang, the Keng Teun (probably Chiang Dñan) ruler and the former Ngwehkwanhmu of Inleywa also took refuge near Müang Chae (Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, pp. 492–493, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL).

¹⁵⁹² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

financial support from Chiang Rung, except for two buffalos.¹⁵⁹³ In 1896, Chao Wiang died in Sipsòng Panna.¹⁵⁹⁴

Chao Wiang is portrayed differently in contemporary British, Chinese, and French sources. The British authorities observed Chao Wiang's moves closely.¹⁵⁹⁵ After he fled, the British sought conciliation many times, but Chao Wiang refused.¹⁵⁹⁶ He is accused of being "an avowed enemy of the British Government".¹⁵⁹⁷ His followers are described as "very lawless" and as "authors of the dacoities in different parts of the country [Chiang Tung]".¹⁵⁹⁸ Archer considers Chao Wiang an "enemy" who urged Chiang Tung "to stand aloof or to seek the protection of China". Archer was informed by Chao Müang Khak that an alliance with seven other Shan states several years ago had impeded Chiang Tung's readiness to submit to Britain.¹⁵⁹⁹ Scott considers Chao Wiang an "inveterate intriguer" who had previously disrupted Chiang Tung's submission to Britain¹⁶⁰⁰ and was now in Müang Chae to instigate a revolt against Chiang Rung.¹⁶⁰¹ One of Scott's goals for his expedition to Sipsòng Panna in 1891 was to seize Chao Wiang.¹⁶⁰² Daly has a different view and reports that Chao Wiang was not an intriguer in the Müang Chae conflict but rather a mediator seeking reconciliation between both sides, an idea confirmed by Khun Kham Sòi.¹⁶⁰³ The Chinese sources also view Chao Wiang as a troublemaker, spreading rumours and intervening in Qing frontier issues.¹⁶⁰⁴

By contrast, according to French sources, Chao Wiang is "a handsome man with an energetic face" (*un bel homme à la figure énergique*), which reminded the French of a cavalryman.¹⁶⁰⁵ He was educated and amiable.¹⁶⁰⁶ He read many Burman books printed by the British for the education of the native. He had seen a steamboat and had some geographic knowledge. He was delighted to have an opportunity to talk with the French about France, Saigon, Lai Châu, Burma, and Lòk Chòk.¹⁶⁰⁷ It was Chao Wiang who encouraged Chao Mòm

¹⁵⁹³ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 359, FO 17/1225, NA.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, 2.2:25.

¹⁵⁹⁵ From G. C. B. Stirling, Esq., Extra Assistant Commissioner, Monè, to the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, 10 March 1894, MS Scott UL1.150, JGSC, CUL.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁵⁹⁷ From H. Thirkell White, C.S., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government of India, 2 February 1889, Mss Eur E254/23c, No. 3, BL.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, pp. 5–6, FO 881/5713, NA.

¹⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5, 7.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Scott, From J. G. Scott, Esq., Officiating Superintendent, Shan States, to the Kyaingtôn Sawbwa, 15 June 1889, in *Report on the Administration of the Shan States, 1888–89*, iii.

¹⁶⁰¹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 24, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰³ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 492, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Yang and Liu, "Shu pu'er zhen yang guofa", 10:35–36; Chen, "Simao ting chen shoushu bing", 10:38; Chen Shoushu, "Simao ting chen shoushu gei cheli xuanwei si zha [Chen Shoushu, Simao sub-Prefecture, to the Cheli Pacification Office]", in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:73.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 avril 1891.

¹⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Kham Lü to write a letter to Pavie and who asked his brother, the Yòng Huai ruler, to invite the French to Müang Rai.¹⁶⁰⁸

Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that Chao Wiang still had a connection with his old subjects, who had not forgotten him when he was in exile and continued to send him letters, money, requests, and advice. He dreamed of returning to Lòk Chòk and of driving away the chiefs established by the British. He expressed the view that if the British found him, he would flee rather than submit.¹⁶⁰⁹ In a report to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, Pavie claims that if the British invaded Sipsòng Panna, Chao Wiang would take refuge in the French territory and serve France.¹⁶¹⁰

Chao Wiang's emissaries travelled around collecting news and information.¹⁶¹¹ At Tha Khòng, a place near Chiang Saen, Pavie encountered a group of Shan travelling from Sipsòng Panna. They tell him news of Stirling's visit to Müang Sing.¹⁶¹² Chao Mòm Kham Lü dispatched Phaya Luang Khòn Müang, an official of Lawsawk, together with Phaya Luang Kham Daeng, as commissioners to deliver letters from Chao Wiang and Chiang Rung to Müang Sing.¹⁶¹³ The French met an envoy of Chao Wiang in Chiang Rung. The two Burmans accompanying the Pavie Mission, Se Aian and Mong Pho, were acquainted with him and Chao Wiang.¹⁶¹⁴ The envoy told the Burmans that the British had seized their country and were hunting for Chao Wiang. The British visited Sipsòng Panna twice in 1891. They inquired about the whereabouts of the *chaofa* of Lòk Chòk but received no response.¹⁶¹⁵

Chao Wiang maintained communication with Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng. Both Chao Müang Khak and Chao Mòm Súa continued to exchange correspondence with Chao Wiang. Scott reports that Chao Müang Klang and Phraya Lò¹⁶¹⁶ had intrigued to topple Chao Mòm Súa and to enthrone Chao Wiang as the ruler of Chiang Tung.¹⁶¹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis was aware of the communication between Chao Wiang, the Müang Yai ruler, and the people of Müang Hae and Müang Sing.¹⁶¹⁸

¹⁶⁰⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 8 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 17 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁶¹⁰ *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 154, GGI 14334, ANOM; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 141.

¹⁶¹¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 8 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶¹² Report of the Siamese Major of Muang Nan to the Adjutant-General, Bangkok [Phra Ranron Arirat to Phraya Siharat Dechochai], 10 May 1894, trans., f. 314, FO 17/1222, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 31*, NA.

¹⁶¹³ Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 29 March 1895, f. 136, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC. Later, Stirling learned this news through the Chiang Khaeng ministers (Mr. Stirling to the Superintendent, 6 May 1895, p. 50, FO 422/43, NA).

¹⁶¹⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 31 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹⁶ Phraya Lò joined almost every British boundary investigation mission within the territory of Chiang Tung (Walker, "Diary", 13).

¹⁶¹⁷ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 40, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

¹⁶¹⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 266.

Prince Myngoon, addressed as *chao ming sa* (from Burmese *mangsa*, “prince”) in Chao Mòk Kham Lü’s letter,¹⁶¹⁹ was the son of King Mindon. He had familial relations with Chiang Tung, according to Chao Nang Waen Thip.¹⁶²⁰ After the revolt against his father in 1866, he fled to the British-occupied Lower Burma and was imprisoned by the British. He escaped in 1884 and eventually reached Saigon in 1889, where he lived under French surveillance.¹⁶²¹

Prince Myngoon still had a good reputation among the Tai, especially the Shan refugees. Chao Wiang only acknowledged one sovereign, Prince Myngoon.¹⁶²² By 1891, the Shan refugees had been looking for news of Prince Myngoon for three years.¹⁶²³ In his letter to Pavie, Chao Wiang expresses a desire to hear news of Prince Myngoon, who was in Saigon under French protection, and his orders (*amintau*).¹⁶²⁴ As Preschez notes, the resistance to the British leads some Burmans and Tai to side with Prince Myngoon.¹⁶²⁵ The chief of Ban Huai Nam Ngi confessed that they had no choice but to obey the British but made clear that if Prince Myngoon returned, then they would submit to him.¹⁶²⁶

Probably it is why Macey contacted Prince Myngoon in September 1890 and obtained a recommendation letter, written on the back of a photo, from Prince Myngoon, for the journey to Sipsòng Panna, together with five letters from Sipsòng Panna and the Shan states protesting the British occupation of Burma.¹⁶²⁷ In Chiang Rung, Massie showed Chao Nang Waen Thip, who knew the Burmese language, the recommendation letters from Prince Myngoon. Chao Nang Waen Thip wanted to forward them to Chao Mòk Kham Lü, and Macey allowed her to make a copy.¹⁶²⁸ Unfortunately, the contents of these letters are unknown.

Rumours of Prince Myngoon’s planned return to Burma via Chiang Tung, Chiang Rung, and Chiang Khaeng continued to spread.¹⁶²⁹ Chao Wiang told the French that if Prince Myngoon was to come to the Shan states, he would be welcomed and sheltered by the people.¹⁶³⁰ In January 1897, Prince Myngoon attempted to reach Chiang Rung and Chiang Tung but was stopped in Lai Châu.¹⁶³¹ Chao Wiang continued to communicate with Prince Myngoon and sent some of his subordinates to stay with Prince Myngoon.¹⁶³² In Müang Laem,

¹⁶¹⁹ Chao Mòk Kham Lü to Auguste Pavie, the 13th waning day of the 6th month, 1252 [4 April 1891], PA-AP 136, Volume 43, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

¹⁶²⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 8 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶²¹ Andrew Walker, “Seditious State-Making in the Mekong Borderlands: The Shan Rebellion of 1902–1904”, *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 29, no. 3 (2014): 573.

¹⁶²² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁶²³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 11 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶²⁴ Chao Wiang to Auguste Pavie, 7 March 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

¹⁶²⁵ Preschez, “Les relations entre la France et la Birmanie”, 388.

¹⁶²⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 31 août 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

¹⁶²⁷ Lucien de Reinach, *Le Laos* (Paris: A. Charles, 1901), 2:49.

¹⁶²⁸ Massie, *Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang*, 26 mars 1891, p. 210, PA-AP 136, Volume 42, CADLC.

¹⁶²⁹ James George Scott, Summary of the Shan States, for the week ending the 6th November 1889, MS Scott UL1.49, JGSC, CUL; Maung Nyo, *Diary of the Assistant Political Officer, Kengtung*, from the 11th to the 25th September 1894, 23 September 1894, MS Scott UL1.53, JGSC, CUL.

¹⁶³⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁶³¹ Pierre Khorat, “L’odyssée d’un prétendant birman”, *Revue des Deux Mondes* 48, no. 3 (1908): 705–708.

¹⁶³² Maung Nyo, *Diary of the Assistant Political Officer*, 23 September 1894, MS Scott UL1.53, JGSC, CUL.

Chao Maha Wang also entrusted a letter to Pavie for Prince Myngoon.¹⁶³³ The chief minister of Chiang Tung also regarded the passage of Garanger as an opportunity to contact Prince Myngoon and entrusted him with a letter to Prince Myngoon.¹⁶³⁴

The two Burmans who accompanied the Pavie Mission in 1891 were related to Prince Myngoon. Se Aian was Prince Myngoon's servant. He had travelled a lot, and he had been to Müang Lae and Sipsòng Panna, where he went to contact the rulers of the Shan states, and Müang Len, where he met Pavie.¹⁶³⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that the mandarins of Müang U still remembered Se Aian's visit three years ago.¹⁶³⁶

Sipsòng Chao Thai was adjacent to Sipsòng Panna; however, local chronicles and historical research seldom mention the ties between the two.¹⁶³⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that their guide in Müang Bang had fled to Müang Lai during the Burmese invasion.¹⁶³⁸ Chao Maha Wang had heard about Müang Lai.¹⁶³⁹

Đèo Văn Trị was the ruler of Müang Lai. At the time of the Third Pavie Mission, he was the paramount leader of Sipsòng Chao Thai, a federation of smaller Tai *müang* in north Vietnam. He submitted to France on 7 April 1889.¹⁶⁴⁰

Because of his social relations and his political role in the Sino-Franco War, Đèo Văn Trị was made a member of the mission by Pavie, whom he respected very highly of.¹⁶⁴¹ Moreover, Đèo Văn Trị's language skills and his prestige in the region facilitated the contact.¹⁶⁴² Đèo Văn Trị spoke many languages, including Vietnamese, Siamese, and Chinese.¹⁶⁴³ He communicated with Lefèvre-Pontalis in Annamese, mixed with some Tai and French words.¹⁶⁴⁴ Pavie claims that Đèo Văn Trị was surprised that he understood the Tai language of Sipsòng Panna.¹⁶⁴⁵

The mission encountered many acquaintances of Đèo Văn Trị during their journey through Sipsòng Panna. At the village of Ta-Ko-Lègne, the French met an old mandarin from Chiang Thòng. The mandarin knew the family of Đèo Văn Trị and owed much to Đèo Văn

¹⁶³³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 5 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶³⁴ Georges Garanger à Monsieur le Ministre de France à Bangkok, 23 juillet 1893, ASIE 61, ANOM.

¹⁶³⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 14 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹⁶³⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 18 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁶³⁷ For historical records on the interaction between Sipsòng Panna and Sipsòng Chao Thai, see Boran Khadi Samoson, ed., *Phongsawadan müang thaeng*, 9:86–104; Boran Khadi Samoson, ed., *Phongsawadan müang lai* [Müang Lai chronicle], in *Prachum phongsawadan, phak thi kao* [Collection of historical archives] ([Krung Thep]: Rongphim Sophon Phiphat Thanakon, 2461 [1920]), 9:27–28, 47–50.

¹⁶³⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 25 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁶³⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 5 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Jean Michaud, "The Montagnards and the State in Northern Vietnam from 1802 to 1975: A Historical Overview", *Ethnohistory* 47, no. 2 (2000): 342; Martin Stuart-Fox, *Historical Dictionary of Laos* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 151.

¹⁶⁴¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 14–15; Memorandum by Consul Parker on the Muong Confederacy, 13 July 1891, p. 27, FO 422/32, No. 40, *Affairs of Burmah. Further Correspondence. Part VIII*, NA.

¹⁶⁴² Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 120.

¹⁶⁴³ Memorandum by Consul Parker on the Muong Confederacy, 13 July 1891, pp. 26–27, FO 422/32, No. 40, NA.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 20.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 154, GGI 14334, ANOM.

Trị's father, Đèo Văn Sanh, who had given him shelter when he fled to Lai Châu to avoid the troubles in his country. He spent many years on the border of the Nam Ma with some of his compatriots.¹⁶⁴⁶ The old mandarin told the French that the Chinese of Pu'er had said that the French would come with 300 people and had ordered Chiang Thông not to receive the French. Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the good reputation of the French and the presence of Đèo Văn Trị in the mission made them reliable.¹⁶⁴⁷ The Chinese secretary of the Müang Ring ruler was an old acquaintance of Đèo Văn Trị. He had been a sergeant major in the Yunnan army, in which Đèo Văn Trị had been an auxiliary officer. The secretary had great respect for Đèo Văn Trị.¹⁶⁴⁸ Many of the members of the Nüa Sanam in Chiang Rung knew Đèo Văn Trị. One of them was a refugee from Lai Châu. Another one had met Đèo Văn Trị at the court of the Governor-general in Kunming.¹⁶⁴⁹ Even one of the Yòng Huai ruler's retainers knew Đèo Văn Trị, who had been to Kunming during the war with the British.¹⁶⁵⁰

Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the presence of the Tai from Sipsòng Chao Thai facilitated the intercourse with the Tai people. Lefèvre-Pontalis asserts that their mission felt no embarrassment at the first reception in Müang U because the Tai from Sipsòng Chao Thai and the Tai Lü "fraternised, remembering that they are the same race speaking the same language, and are immediate neighbours" (*Thaïs et Lus fraternient, se souvenant qu'ils sont de même race, parlant le même langage et voisins immédiats*).¹⁶⁵¹

8 Rumour, Intelligence, and Information Rivalry

Rumours abound in the writings of the period of boundary investigations. Lefèvre-Pontalis notes that the natives were accustomed to utilising "endless discussions" (*palabres*), "bombastic correspondence" (*correspondance ampoulée*) and "rumour" (*bruit*).¹⁶⁵² He complains that the Tai Lü were good at spreading rumours. He even heard a rumour in Müang U that the people of Müang Rai or Müang Chae had massacred the Pavie Mission.¹⁶⁵³

Tai society was heavily impacted by rumours. In 1894, before the arrival of the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, a rumour was spread in Chiang Tung and Müang Sing that rendered the commission as a series of large armies of 3000 to 5000 forces.¹⁶⁵⁴ In response, Chiang Tung built temporary barracks, while Chao Sri Nò Kham threw himself into panic and fled. The commissioners had to make significant efforts to relieve the Chiang Tung people's

¹⁶⁴⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 20 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 mars 1891.

¹⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 26 mars 1891.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 4 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8 avril 1891.

¹⁶⁵¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 16 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹⁶⁵² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 267.

¹⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁶⁵⁴ The description of a force of 3000 troops is found in a letter to Paul Macey, however, no trace is found in the British notification (Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 6 November 1894b, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC; Tai translation of a Khala document, n.d., PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC).

anxiety and to induce Chao Sri Nò Kham to return.¹⁶⁵⁵ In 1896, when Morrison visited Chiang Rung, he heard a rumour that the French would enthrone Prince Myngoon. Actually, this rumour was spread by Chao Sri Nò Kham, who believed that the French would support Prince Myngoon to ascend the throne in the same way as he had returned to Müang Sing with French help.¹⁶⁵⁶

Rumour could be employed as a strategy to gain an advantage. For instance, to induce Chao Wiang to join a union to resist the advance of the British, the Nalau chief warned him that Scott had located his place of residence and would arrest him soon.¹⁶⁵⁷ In 1891, the Chinese announced that the French arrival in Müang U would cause a disaster, and some Tai Lü fled and were hesitant to return to Müang U.¹⁶⁵⁸ In 1895, probably in a bid to distract the French, the ruler of Müang U Tai informed Sandré that the British had recently attacked Müang Phong.¹⁶⁵⁹

The British and French interpreters also engaged in spreading rumours. Scott reports that subordinates of the French Commission, especially the interpreters, frequently spread such as “Britain and France are on very bad terms and that a quarrel may arise at any time. France, they also add, is going to take all the country we are now travelling”, or that France would take the tea mountains of Yibang, Yiwu, and Bò Là of Sipsòng Panna.¹⁶⁶⁰ Scott does not think that this mischief had been authorised by Pavie or Lefèvre-Pontalis and notes that the locals do not suspect the authenticity of these reports. Scott worries that these rumours “unsettled the minds of the people a good deal and may cause troubles”.¹⁶⁶¹

Likewise, Lefèvre-Pontalis accused the interpreters and clerks of the British Commission of the same misconduct. They told the headmen of Chiang Khòng and others that Britain would take Müang Sing and the trans-Mekong territory up to Phra Bat Müang Klang. Lefèvre-Pontalis protested that these rumours “greatly disturbed the minds of the people”. Scott ordered his subordinates to only transmit what he commanded and forbade them from discussing political matters with anyone.¹⁶⁶²

A rumour would have different connotations in different circumstances. In 1893, Chao Sri Nò Kham sent letters to Müang Phong and Chao Wiang, respectively, saying that a marriage

¹⁶⁵⁵ Scott, Further Report, n.d., p. 115, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 39, NA; Memorandum of Journey of Officers deputed from Burmah for duty under Her Majesty’s Commissioner, Mekong Commission, by Mr. G. C. B. Stirling, Extra Assistant Commissioner, 20 April 1895, p. 123, FO 422/43, Inclosure 2 in No. 39, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA; FO 17/1265, Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 36, NA; Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, f. 9, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Morrison, Additional notes to diary of a journey, July-December 1896, pp. 113, 115, 117, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, p. 488, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Lai, 16 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Hou à Monsieur le Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut Laos, 21 septembre 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 15 February 1895, f. 363, FO 17/1265, NA.

¹⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶² James George Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 30 March 1895, ff. 212–217, FO 17/1266, *Affairs of Burmah, Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 37*, NA. See also Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 25 mars 1895, f. 189, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

had been arranged between the emperors of China and France. The emperor of China had consented to cede Sipsòng Panna to France, and France would soon arrive to take over Sipsòng Panna.¹⁶⁶³ The rumour in the letters from Chiang Khaeng to Sipsòng Panna spread widely.¹⁶⁶⁴ In 1893, the Chinese authorities considered it a groundless statement, viewing it as either a Siamese scheme to undermine the French or an excuse to induce assistance from the Chinese authorities.¹⁶⁶⁵ In the same year, Garanger heard this rumour in Müang U, where it was regarded as a testimony of the friendship between China and France.¹⁶⁶⁶ By contrast, in 1895, the same rumour was interpreted by the Chinese delegate Li Zhaoyuan as evidence of the French ambition to seize territory.¹⁶⁶⁷

The “information order” of this region was not as complicated as that of early modern India.¹⁶⁶⁸ Except for messenger (*na sū*),¹⁶⁶⁹ the native populations relied heavily on travellers for circulating information. When the Pavie Mission returned to Müang Ring, they were surrounded by people asking about the situation in Chiang Rung and Müang Chae. Lefèvre-Pontalis complains that they were treated as prophets and expected to know everything.¹⁶⁷⁰ The itinerant trade caravans were also responsible for news transmission and correspondence delivery. For example, in 1888, a letter from Müang Nai to Chiang Tung was transported by a Yunnanese Muslim headman named Lao Ma.¹⁶⁷¹

Espionage was a way to obtain reliable information. Chinese spies were engaged in boundary investigations. One of the spies was Zhang Chengyu, the brother of a Chinese intelligence officer in Burma. He was dispatched by his brother to spy on the Daly-Warry Commission. Zhang Chengyu disguised himself as a muleteer and wrote a diary in Burmese, which was later translated into Chinese and published after the exploration.¹⁶⁷²

Zhang Chengyu claims that he gained the trust of the British and was twice sent as a representative to converse with the Chinese special delegates.¹⁶⁷³ Zhang Chengyu lied to the British, telling them that though the Chinese delegates had only brought about twenty soldiers with them, they had three stations in Chiang Khòng¹⁶⁷⁴ under their command. Zhang Chengyu claims that, after hearing that, Warry decided to proceed as far as Chiang Rung and not cross

¹⁶⁶³ Cheli Xuanwei Si, “*Zhao yi cheli xuanwei si mian wen bing*”, 33; Zhengqian Si, “*Fan lu xianluo shu zhengqian si*”, 10:34.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Li, “*Li zhaoyuan bing*”, 10:72.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Chen Shoushu, “*Simao ting chen shoushu cha guangxu shijiu nian shi yue* [Report from Chen Shoushu, Simao Sub-Prefecture, the 8th month of Guangxu 19 [10 September–9 October 1893]]”, in *Dian nan jiewu chendu* [Documents on the boundary issues of South Yunnan], ed. Huang Chengyuan, reprinted in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 10:35; Yang and Liu, “*Shu pu'er zhen yang guofa*”, 10:35.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 11.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Li, “*Li zhaoyuan bing*”, 10:72.

¹⁶⁶⁸ For the discussion of information order, see Christopher Alan Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹⁶⁶⁹ Dao and Yan, *Chüa khriä chao swaenwi sipsòng phanna*, 229.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 28 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁶⁷¹ Chao Mòm Sūa and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng to the Chaofa of Mueang Nai, the 11th waxing day of the Kason month, 1250 [20 April 1888], MS Scott LL9.526, JGSC, CUL.

¹⁶⁷² Yao, Preface to *Zhentan ji*, 229.

¹⁶⁷³ Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 26th–27th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [6–7 March 1891], 290–292.

¹⁶⁷⁴ It is in the north of Sipsòng Panna, not to be confused with the Chiang Khòng in Siam.

the Mekong River in order to avoid conflict.¹⁶⁷⁵ However, the British records make no mention of this. Moreover, the British had no plan to cross the Mekong, and the instructions were “to proceed, if possible, as far as Kyeng Hung [Chiang Rung] on the Cambodia [Mekong] river”.¹⁶⁷⁶ Daly reports that he only decided to proceed to Sipsòng Panna, when he was in Müang Laem.¹⁶⁷⁷ A similar boast is reported by Lefèvre-Pontalis. The ruler of Müang Yang told the French that the Tai Lü had told the British that 200 Chinese were on their way to fight with them, and they left immediately.¹⁶⁷⁸

The Pavie Mission was highly alert to espionage. During the journey to Sipsòng Panna in 1891, Pavie told his team members to be cautious about the British, the Chinese, and the Tai Lü.¹⁶⁷⁹ Pavie suspected that the movement of their team was surveilled by the Chinese authorities. Rumours circulated that 800 French were approaching with plans to seize the country, and the frontier at Müang Lae seemed to be on full alert. Pavie urged Đèo Văn Trị to be prudent.¹⁶⁸⁰ At the village of Tali-Sine, a Chinese from Sichuan aroused the suspicions of the French, who considered him a spy. Confronting this man, the French only spoke highly of China, saying that China was their “neighbour”, “friend”, and “ally” (*nous n’avons fait que dire du bien de la Chine, notre voisine, notre amie et notre alliée*).¹⁶⁸¹ At Kouang Tiou Line, another Chinese was suspected of being a spy. Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that though this man was disguised as a merchant, Đèo Văn Trị had recognised his regular Chinese uniform underneath his overalls.¹⁶⁸²

In 1894, during the joint Sino-French Boundary Commission, Mailluchet warned the Chinese delegate Li Zhaoyuan to be cautious of the British and their espionage.¹⁶⁸³ However, Mailluchet was unaware that there were Chinese spies in their own team. In late 1894, Dao Piwen dispatched a group of secret agents to join the French as carriers. They followed the French Boundary Commission from Müang Lae to Müang Sing and then accompanied the British to investigate the neighbouring region.¹⁶⁸⁴

British reports seldom mention espionage. The British probably had their own spies. Stirling mentions that he let one of his informants induce the ministers of Chiang Khaeng to disclose information about the messengers who transported correspondence between Müang Sing and Chiang Khòng.¹⁶⁸⁵ The British also suspected that they were the target of espionage

¹⁶⁷⁵ Zhang, “*Micha yingren*”, the 26th day of the 1st month, Guangxu 17 [6 March 1891], 291.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 1.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 488, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 18 mars 1891.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 13 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

¹⁶⁸¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 14 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

¹⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, 14 mars 1891.

¹⁶⁸³ Lieutenant Mailluchet à Monsieur Pavie, Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, Ministre Résident à Bangkok, 9 février 1895, f. 128, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Dao, “*Kanjie weiyuan buyong youji dao piwen bing*”, 10:64.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Stirling, “*Diary*”, 17–22 May 1895, p.160, FO 422/43, Inclosure 4 in No. 40, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, NA.

activities. Walker reports that when they “visited Loi Latip [Dòi Latip] a party of 15 Chinese were located in Keng Law [Chiang Lò] to watch our movements”.¹⁶⁸⁶

Little is known about the Tai people’s espionage and intelligence activities. Lefèvre-Pontalis’s journal records one case. In 1891, Chao Wiang made one of his men the guide for the British in order to spy on them and divert them from the village where the refugees were stationed. Chao Wiang planned to fight if the British arrived with a lot of people, but in the end, they came with only sixty men, so he let them pass.¹⁶⁸⁷

The espionage of the Tai people was more focused on activities related to Prince Myngoon. In 1891, Phraya Chomphu and two companions were dispatched from Müang Chae to visit Prince Myngoon in Saigon. They travelled by land to Hải Phòng, from where onwards they travelled by boat. After remaining for two and a half years, they departed for the return journey. His companions died on the way, and Phraya Chomphu travelled along the Mekong River to Chiang Khòng, where he met Lefèvre-Pontalis, who had accompanied their journey since the Black River in 1891. Lefèvre-Pontalis recommended that Phraya Chomphu travel the route via Müang Luang to avoid capture by the British authorities.¹⁶⁸⁸ Later, Lefèvre-Pontalis discovered that he had not followed his advice but detoured to Müang Sing and then, accompanied by a Chiang Khaeng official Chao Suriyawong, proceeded to Müang Chae. During the journey, Phraya Chomphu disguised himself by using the pseudonym Chao Khanan Pan.¹⁶⁸⁹

In 1902, an official of Sipsòng Panna, named Phraya Luang Ratchawang, was present in the Tai Lü community of Chiang Kham. His motives are unclear, but contemporary French reports regard him as an envoy to Nan.¹⁶⁹⁰ He wrote a series of letters to Müang Phong, Müang La, and Chiang Rung, urging the authorities of Sipsòng Panna to send troops to move Tai Lü war captives (discussed in Chapter I) back to Sipsòng Panna, taking advantage of the disturbances caused by the Shan Rebellion. However, after entering French territory, Phraya Luang Ratchawang and his son-in-law were arrested by the French, and his 35 letters were intercepted in Müang Luang Phukha.¹⁶⁹¹

The rivalry between Britain and France regarding access to information is reflected in their quest to secure valuable information, on the one hand, and sowing dissension between the opponent and the natives, on the other hand.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Walker, “Diary”, 26.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 11 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 26 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 281.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Walker, “Seditious State-Making in the Mekong Borderlands”, 576.

¹⁶⁹¹ L’Administrateur Commissaire du Gouvernement à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur du Laos, 9 février 1903, RSL F1, ANOM.

In 1891, Scott attempted to sever connections between Chao Sri Nò Kham and the French. Scott discouraged the former from having “anything to do with Frenchmen” and told him that Pavie was “a dangerous character”.¹⁶⁹²

Similarly, in 1891, before Đèo Văn Trì went to talk with the Dao Piwen, Pavie warned him that if Dao Piwen mentioned the British, he should say that the French were on good terms with them but that their hearts were not like the British.¹⁶⁹³ Pavie warned the envoy of Dao Piwen that the British wanted to seize this country, even though the envoy had said that they were pretending to be travellers.¹⁶⁹⁴

When Chao Nang Waen Thip told the French that the British had declared that Sipsòng Panna was theirs and that they would return,¹⁶⁹⁵ Pavie asked Chao Nang Waen Thip not to respond to the British if they did indeed return, which would force their retreat.¹⁶⁹⁶

Pavie also warned the Yòng Huai ruler that their interests would be best served by using the French as intermediaries. If the French did not do it, it would be the British, which would mean “the end of the refugees and the country’s freedom” (*c’en est fait des réfugiés et de la liberté du pays*).¹⁶⁹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis writes that the Yòng Huai ruler understood the danger and strongly agreed with the French.¹⁶⁹⁸ Moreover, Pavie warned the Yòng Huai ruler to “beware of any untimely step that would result in attracting the British to the country” (*se garder toute démarche intempestive, qu’aurait pour résultat d’attirer les Anglais dans le pays*).¹⁶⁹⁹ The Yòng Huai ruler proposed to divide Chiang Rung definitely from the *pannas* that did not obey Chao Mòm Kham Lü. Pavie was entirely opposed to this proposal which was contrary to French interests. Pavie reminded the Yòng Huai ruler that such a move would definitely attract Britain and displease China. The French considered that if Chao Wang also supported such a proposal, they would have to inform the Chinese authorities out of responsibility. For the French, to inform China was to show their disinterest in the territory and their respect for China’s rights. Pavie repeatedly reminded the Yòng Huai ruler to take the good side of this situation. After hearing the Yòng Huai ruler’s explanation of his good relations with the Chinese, Pavie asked the Yòng Huai ruler to think about who the “natural enemies of China” (*les ennemis naturels de la Chine*) were.¹⁷⁰⁰ Pavie told him that the French respected the rights of all and came as travellers, not conquerors, while the British expected to conquer. Pavie hinted that if he did not want to be ruled by foreigners, then he should act with caution and avoid raising the suspicion of the British.¹⁷⁰¹

¹⁶⁹² Mr. Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 28 June 1894, f. 238, FO 17/1222, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 31*, NA.

¹⁶⁹³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 avril 1891.

¹⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8 avril 1891.

¹⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 11 avril 1891.

¹⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 17 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Likewise, Pavie asked Chao Wiang whether he was willing to see the British seize Sipsòng Panna. He warned him repeatedly of the danger of the continuing divisions in Sipsòng Panna, the carelessness of the refugees' actions, and how his interest also got involved in the re-establishment of order. Pavie let him know of the danger if the British took definite measures to ensure the possession of the countries in the Mekong basin.¹⁷⁰² Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that Chao Wiang exaggerated the Burmese sovereign right to Sipsòng Panna and that, unconsciously, he was serving British interests.¹⁷⁰³

Since Dao Piwen had come to Müang Chae to meet the French (the French suspected it might be to "surveil" (*pour nous surveiller*) them), Pavie decided to visit him with Ngın. Pavie warned Dao Piwen of the dangers posed by the British, who continued to seize territory up until the frontier with China. Dao Piwen told Pavie that the British could not seize Sipsòng Panna because China would prevent it from happening.¹⁷⁰⁴

Similarly, in 1895, the French attempted to sow discord between the Chinese delegates and the British. At the suggestion of Pavie, Mailluchet warned Li Zhaoyuan that they should treat the British with caution, or the Chinese interests would be undermined.¹⁷⁰⁵

In the same year, a reply from Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Pavie and Scott caused conflict between Lefèvre-Pontalis and Stirling. Lefèvre-Pontalis obtained the original letter and a rough translation from Stirling and requested Stirling to offer him a more detailed translation. Lefèvre-Pontalis reports to Pavie that, during their journey, neither Stirling nor Scott mentioned the full translation. Lefèvre-Pontalis had to get the Cambodian secretary Tchioum to translate the letter. Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that Stirling's rough translation dedicatedly does not mention Dao Piwen, the Chinese delegate, in order to mislead the French. He accuses the British of intentionally interfering with the French relationship with the Chinese commissioner, who was in charge of investigating the boundary with the French. However, Scott later hinted that the abridged translation was probably a misunderstanding caused by an indirect translation from Tai Lü to English via Shan.¹⁷⁰⁶

Later, on 8 February, hearing of the arrival of a Chinese delegate in Müang Phong, the French promptly departed in order to reach Müang Phong ahead of the British. Knowing that the British followed them to Müang Phong, Lefèvre-Pontalis warned Scott that if the British made contact with the Chinese commissioner Dao Piwen that they would be interfering with the matters of the Sino-Franco Commission.¹⁷⁰⁷ Scott also complains about Lefèvre-Pontalis's objection to his meeting with the Chinese delegates.¹⁷⁰⁸

Lefèvre-Pontalis's worries were not unfounded. Later, the French learned from the first Chinese delegate that Warry had told the Chinese commissioner that the British intended to

¹⁷⁰² Ibid., 16 avril 1891.

¹⁷⁰³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung, 12 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie, 18 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Lieutenant Mailluchet à Monsieur Pavie, Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, Ministre Résident à Bangkok, 9 février 1895, f. 128, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

¹⁷⁰⁶ M. Lefèvre-Pontalis à M. Pavie, 14 février 1895, GGI 31729, ANOM.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 15 February 1895, f. 362, FO 17/1265, NA.

reach an agreement with the French to hand over Müang Sing and Müang Luang Namtha to China, which was obviously aimed at influencing Chinese policymaking.¹⁷⁰⁹

Conclusion

The British annexation of Burma changed the balance of power between the multiple overlords of Sipsòng Panna. A resident Burman Cackai was required to mediate a number of local disputes, which gave him a more significant role than the occasional visiting Chinese delegates. This led, indirectly, to long-term disturbances in Sipsòng Panna and the eventual Chinese occupation of Sipsòng Panna in 1911.

Since 1887, Britain and France dispatched a series of boundary investigation commissions. However, four early commissions failed. George John Younghusband did not accomplish his espionage in Chiang Tung in 1887 because of his excessive anxiety. In 1888, William John Archer demanded Chiang Tung to submit without success because of Chiang Tung's indifference and rejection. Joseph Vacle failed to enter the interior of Sipsòng Panna in 1890 because of the prohibition from the natives and a Chinese officer. Georges Garanger's plan to open a trade station in Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung in 1893 failed because of the hatred from some Sipsòng Panna people and officials, who believed he aimed to seize the territory of Sipsòng Panna.

The British and the French arrived in the Upper Mekong basin as overlords, protectors, and mediators and reconstructed the power relations in the area. Britain attempted to inherit the Burmese claims on Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, Müang Laem, and Chiang Khaeng, and France legalised its occupation of trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng by signing a convention with Siam in 1893, which renounced Siamese rights to the trans-Mekong territory. Since 1888, Chiang Tung had hesitated to surrender to Britain and had attempted to delay the arrival of the British, but it failed and eventually submitted to Britain in 1890. The British and French justified their role of protector by claiming to protect the natives and defend against foreign encroachments. The French are depicted as guardians of Chiang Tung refugees in the trans-Mekong territory and liberators of Sipsòng Chao Thai and Sipsòng Panna, who pacified the Hò rebellion. The British became the mediator between the ruler of Chiang Tung and his brother and between Müang Laem and the Wa state of Mang Lön. Both the British and French mediated the inner conflict of Sipsòng Panna between Müang Chae and Chiang Rung. The French were discreet in getting involved in the discord and deliberately refrained from taking the initiative. However, the British and French were careful to tackle issues involving the Chinese right, especially during their dealings with Dao Piwen, a Chinese delegate of Tai Nüa origin, in order to gain China's consent to the boundary demarcations.

The British sources have a general discourse that the natives were willing to demarcate new boundaries. However, the natives were content with existing or historical boundaries. The British discourse exaggerated the functions of fixed boundaries to restore peace and defend

¹⁷⁰⁹ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 10 avril 1895, GGI 31729, ANOM.

foreign invasions. The British and French boundary commissions introduced a new “scientific boundary” paradigm, based on geographic water parting, into this region, according to which they redefined the boundaries of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng. While Britain did not modify its boundary between Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung too much, France took advantage of the “scientific boundary” criteria to annex territories in Sipsòng Panna, such as Müang U and Bò Ten, for the reasons that Müang U was located in the Nam U basin, and that the tract near Bò Ten was in the Nam Tha basin, both of which were geographic units and belonged to French Indochina. In French discourse, the Sipsòng Panna people are Othered as aggressive and encroaching on French territory, who moved boundary markers further southwards, which is contrary to reality. By contrast, in these events, the French are depicted as protectors of the native population against foreign invasions. The trans-Mekong Chiang Tung villages are another example of the conflict over boundary ideas. For the natives, a subject was bound to his lord rather than a state, and subject allegiance was not necessarily connected with the territory. Initially, this tract of trans-Mekong territory settled by Chiang Tung subjects belonged to Chiang Saen but became part of French Indochina after 1893. The British used this situation to claim this part territory, and the French worried the British would use the continuous settlements to encroach on French territory.

The cessions of Müang U and Chiang Khaeng had different situations. The Pavie Mission to Sipsòng Panna in 1891 aroused French interest in seizing Müang U. Except for the “scientific boundary” principle, France resorted to an alleged historical confederacy of “*hua phan thang ha*” (the confederation of five *müang*: Müang U Nüa, Müang U Tai, Müang Hat Hin, Müang Wa, and Müang Ngai) to legalise its annexation of Müang U. In 1895, France obtained Müang U from the Qing because of its intervention in preventing the cession of the Liaodong Peninsula to Japan. Though Müang U used delaying tactics to postpone French occupation and Chiang Rung attempted to retake Müang U, the fate of Müang U did not change. However, Müang U still secretly sent tributes to Chiang Rung. Though a tributary state of Burma for years, Chiang Khaeng recently changed its allegiance to Siam in the late 1880s, and Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis’s interception of a Chiang Khaeng mission to Nan in Chiang Khòng in July 1894 became the turning point of Chiang Khaeng’s relationships with Britain and France. Facing Anglo-French rivalry over Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò Kham feared to offend either side. Being oppressed by the British peremptory command to send tributes, Chiang Khaeng secretly sought help from the French. The French flag that Chiang Khaeng obtained from the French agent in Chiang Khòng provoked conflicts between the British and the French. Fearing the punishments from the British, Chao Sri Nò Kham took refuge in forests several times. George Claudius Beresford Stirling’s occupation of Müang Sing in mid-1895 caused Chao Sri Nò Kham to seek asylum on the frontier of Chiang Khaeng near Sipsòng Panna for half a year and finally led to Chao Sri Nò Kham’s flight into French territory. Before the handover of Müang Sing, rumors about the British attempting to move the people in the trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng into British territory and the mistranslation of a Tai proclamation caused political conflict between the British and the French.

Chiang Khaeng resorted to asking both Britain and France to restore the historical territory, such as Chiang Lap, of Chiang Khaeng and to maintain Chiang Khaeng's territory on both sides of the Mekong. It was not aware of the difference between a modern colonial empire and the traditional Southeast Asian mandala empire, which had different concerns with respect to territory and boundary. In early 1895, the Qing was involved in the buffer state dispute to keep the integrity of Chiang Khaeng. The Anglo-French Buffer State Commission was formed in 1894. However, the tightened tension between the British and the French, both refusing to renounce their claims on Müang Sing, led the negotiation to a deadlock. Ultimately, when the buffer state negotiation collapsed, Chiang Khaeng did not restore Chiang Lap or maintain the integrity of its territory, which was divided between Britain and France along the Mekong by a joint Anglo-French declaration on 15 January 1896.

Rebellions in Burma and the British annexation of Burma drove many Shan refugees to Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. The rulers of Lòk Chòk and of Yòng Huai, who settled in Müang Chae, acted as intermediaries between Müang Chae, a district of Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Rung, and between Chiang Khaeng and Sipsòng Panna. Prince Myngoon, a pretender to the throne of Burma, was an influential figure in this region during the early 1890s. He was in custody in Saigon by the French. The Tai people of Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung, together with the Shan refugees, were looking forward to his return to rule Burma. The French requested introduction letters from Prince Myngoon for their visits to Sipsòng Panna in order to facilitate communication. The people from Sipsòng Chao Thai in northern Vietnam were also present in the contacts, being companions of the French, including the Tai Lü in Vietnam and the Tai from Sipsòng Chao Thai led by Đèo Văn Trị. Dao Piwen, a Tai Nüa from Müang Bò, is the only Chinese officer depicted abundantly in foreign sources. He was a prominent figure in the contacts with British and French boundary commissions and was an intermediary between the Chinese authorities and the natives.

The Tai societies were still heavily influenced by rumours. The rumour of a marriage between the Qing emperor and a French woman was widely spread in this region, and its connotations changed over time. The subordinates of the French Commission and the interpreters and clerks of the British Commission spread rumours among the natives and caused conflict between these two commissions. By contrast, the British and French had more effective information circulation and probably had informants from the native populations. The British and French tried to use the information to impact the native population's considerations. Chinese spies were in disguise as muleteers and carriers to observe the British and French commissions.

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Chapter IV

Missionary Contact: American Christian Missionaries in Chiang Tung, 1869–1911

Though Christianity had penetrated China and mainland Southeast Asia since the second and the sixteenth century, respectively,¹⁷¹⁰ it only reached Chiang Tung and Sipsong Panna in the second half of the nineteenth century.

While the encounter between Christian missionaries and the Tai people in the Upper Mekong River basin primarily happened at the turn of the nineteenth century, which was a crucial period with respect to the formation and confirmation of the modern boundaries in the Upper Mekong Basin, the missionaries constantly ventured across the border and sought to construct a borderless ethnic space through both their narratives and evangelistic practice.

Through the American missionaries, ethnicity and language, for the first time, became a central issue in travel writings and reports on this region, especially during the debates on ethnic boundaries and the claim to Chiang Tung and the territory further north going on between the American Presbyterian missionaries and Baptist missionaries.

In fact, the American missionaries can be seen as amateur ethnographers, exploring the local cultures, from habits and characteristics to religious beliefs, and putting them to missionary use. The Presbyterian missionary William Clifton Dodd took advantage of every opportunity to have close contact with the local population in order to study the native people.¹⁷¹¹

1 Arrival of the American Missionaries

The Christian missionary work towards the Tai people can be traced back to the sixteenth century. The Protestants reached Burma in 1807 when the English Baptist missionary William Carey (1761–1834) opened a mission.¹⁷¹² In 1833, the Baptist missionary work was extended to Siam by the American Baptist missionary John Taylor Jones (1802–1851) and his wife.¹⁷¹³ The Baptist missionary work in Burma was started by Adoniram Judson (1788–1850) and Ann Hasseltine Judson (1789–1826) in 1813. In 1861, the Protestant work reached the Tai people. The American Baptist missionary Moses Homan Bixby (1827–1901), who was appointed by the Missionary Union to open a new mission for the Tai people in 1860, arrived in Rangoon on 23 March 1861. He travelled to Toungoo, Rangoon, and Moulmein, and, finding the Shan

¹⁷¹⁰ David Bundy, “Early Asian and East African Christianities”, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2:143; Robbie B. H. Goh, *Christianity in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), 2.

¹⁷¹¹ William Clifton Dodd, “Three Months among the Laos in South China”, *The Assembly Herald* 17 (1911): 240.

¹⁷¹² Alexander Garnett Smith, “A History of Baptist Missions in Thailand” (master’s thesis, Western Evangelical Seminary, 1980), 17.

¹⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, 29.

states inaccessible, he eventually returned to Toungoo to preach to the Sgah-origin Tai immigrant community there.¹⁷¹⁴

The Baptist missionaries' first expedition to Chiang Tung was made by Josiah Nelson Cushing (1840–1905) and his wife in 1869. In November 1869, the Cushings started their five-month journey to Müang Nai, Chiang Tung, and Chiang Mai. In Chiang Tung town, they were received “with unusual cordiality” by Chao Maha Phrom and the princess, who were eager to communicate and trade with foreigners more frequently. Every evening, except Sunday, Chao Maha Phrom offered them entertainment, including performances by representatives of the hill people, Khui, Akha, Musö, Lua, etc., who were summoned to introduce the Americans to their manners and customs. Cushing appreciates the friendliness of Chao Maha Phrom and his willingness to allow people to gather in the missionary's house to listen to “the doctrines of the foreign religion”.¹⁷¹⁵ Cushing reports that sixty persons gathered to read the Christian books that he had left for them. They met with no “molestation” from Chao Maha Phrom but were arrested and fined by the Burman authorities.¹⁷¹⁶ Cushing hopes that, after the pacification of Burma, the Baptist Mission will be able to occupy the areas including Si Pò, Lai Kha, Müang Nai, and Chiang Tung.¹⁷¹⁷ Many years later, Cushing still was willing to do missionary work in Chiang Tung.¹⁷¹⁸

After Cushing, only one exploration was carried out before the opening of the Baptist Chiang Tung Station in 1899. It was undertaken by Albert Hailey Henderson (1866–1937), who had suggested opening a station at Chiang Tung three times (1895, 1896, 1898).¹⁷¹⁹ In January and February 1899, Henderson and Wilbur Willis Cochrane (1859–1947) took an exploratory tour to Chiang Tung.¹⁷²⁰ Chiang Tung was important for the Baptists, not only the town itself, but also because it was a gateway to the expansive Shan area in the north.¹⁷²¹ On 8 October 1900, the Baptist Executive Committee decided to reassign William Marcus Young (1861–1936), who had formerly served in Si Pò and Müang Nai, to Chiang Tung.¹⁷²² Young and A. D. Mason (later married Young) sailed from Boston and arrived in Rangoon on 3 December 1900.¹⁷²³ Following Si Pò (1890), Müang Nai (1892), and Nam Kham (1893), a station at Chiang Tung was opened in 1901. In addition to Young, who was stationed long-term in Chiang Tung, there were other missionaries who had short-term postings in Chiang Tung, including Howard C. Gibbens (1871–1958, served as physician in Chiang Tung in 1904–

¹⁷¹⁴ J. N. Cushing, *The Shan Mission* (Boston: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1886), 11.

¹⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

¹⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁷¹⁸ Josiah Nelson Cushing, “Letter of 9 February 1892”, *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, 72, no. 5 (1892): 140.

¹⁷¹⁹ Albert Hailey Henderson to Samuel White Duncan, 24 May 1898, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁷²⁰ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1900), 86:86; Thomas Seymour Barbour to Albert Hailey Henderson, 17 November 1899, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁷²¹ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1901), 87: 40.

¹⁷²² Anonymous, “Abstract of Proceedings of the Executive Committee”, *The Baptist Missionary Magazine* 80, no. 11 (1900): 634.

¹⁷²³ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 87:91.

1907), Florence B. List (1871–1957, married Gibbens in 1906, served in Chiang Tung in 1906–1907), Clarence Baumes Antisdell (1863–1943, served in Chiang Tung in 1906–1912), Mary B. Antisdell, Henry H. Tilbe (1859–1935, served in Chiang Tung in 1906–1907), and Robert Harper (1866–1926, served as physician in Chiang Tung in 1908–1913).

In 1840, the American Presbyterian work started in Bangkok. In 1862, the Presbyterian missionary Daniel McGilvary (1828–1911) became interested in the “Lao” (Tai Yuan) people following an encounter with the “Lao” colony in Phetchaburi.¹⁷²⁴ In 1863, McGilvary and J. Wilson made a tour of Chiang Mai.¹⁷²⁵ The work expanded to the north in 1867 when McGilvary and his wife Sophia Royce Bradley McGilvary (1839–1923) moved from Phetchaburi to Chiang Mai and founded the Laos Mission in April. Subsequently, the Laos Mission set up other stations in Lampang (1885), Lamphun (1889), Phrae (1893), Nan (1894), and Chiang Rai (1897).¹⁷²⁶

Though the Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station opened three years later than its Baptist counterpart, the Presbyterian missionaries had a more extensive tour of this region. McGilvary and Stanley K. Phraner (1860–1895) were pioneers venturing into the territory north of Siam. Except the Presbyterian missionaries stationed in Chiang Tung – William Clifton Dodd (1857–1919), Belle Eakin Dodd (1861–1937), Howard L. Cornell (born in 1872, served as a physician in Chiang Tung in 1904–1905), and Charles Royal Callender (1869–1952, served in Chiang Tung in 1904–1907) – Robert Irwin (born in 1859), William A. Briggs (1867–1919),¹⁷²⁷ Samuel C. Peoples (1869–1937), Howard Campbell (1866–1957), and Lyle Jerome Beebe (1881–1972) also travelled through this region.

In addition to the Baptists and the Presbyterians, Catholic missionaries also had an interest in Chiang Tung. In 1896, some Catholic missionaries visited Chiang Tung via Müang Nai.¹⁷²⁸ In 1912, the Catholics started to work in Chiang Tung town.

2 Readiness for Christianity

Though the Presbyterians and the Baptists held contradictory views on various aspects, which will be discussed later, their discourses share many common tropes. One such trope is their optimistic attitude towards their missionary work, i.e. the natives’ readiness to receive Christianity. In Presbyterian writings, phrases such as “They are ready for the Gospel”¹⁷²⁹ are common. It was not just wishful thinking related to missionary optimism, but also a foundation for their debate with the Baptist missionaries and for their request for the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions’ support.

¹⁷²⁴ Smith, *Siamese Gold*, 64; Wells, *History of Protestant Work in Thailand: 1828–1958*, 51.

¹⁷²⁵ Smith, *Siamese Gold*, 64.

¹⁷²⁶ Smith, *Siamese Gold*; Wells, *History of Protestant Work in Thailand: 1828–1958*.

¹⁷²⁷ Irwin and Briggs were Canadians but worked for the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs through Cheung Tong Province to Muang Chaa and Muang Laam, n.d., p. 9, RG 84-8-22, Kentung [sic] Station: Miscellaneous Items Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Visit, n.d., SFTM, PHS).

¹⁷²⁸ Albert Hailey Henderson to Samuel White Duncan, 22 April 1896, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁷²⁹ Robert Irwin to the Board of Foreign Missions, 23 November 1896, vol. 13, file 57, ETCBFM, PHS.

The expansion of Presbyterian missionary work to the “Far North”¹⁷³⁰ encountered both dissension from the Laos Mission and hesitation on the part of the American Presbyterian Mission Board.¹⁷³¹ Chiang Tung as “the exact location of the station in the north” was challenged by some members of the Laos Mission.¹⁷³² Claire H. Denman (1867–1937), the secretary of the Laos Mission, wanted to limit the missionary work within the Siamese territory.¹⁷³³ He was worried that it was not a proper time to open a station in Chiang Tung, considering the Laos Mission lacked personnel.¹⁷³⁴ After the opening of the Chiang Tung Station, some Presbyterian missionaries in the Laos Mission raised the issue of closing the Chiang Tung Station and transferring their work to the eastern part of Chiang Tung. At the annual meeting, Dodd emphasised the necessity of running the Chiang Tung Station.¹⁷³⁵ Moreover, the Presbyterians who advocated for work in the area to the north of North Siam also faced competition from the Baptists in Chiang Tung since 1897, as will be discussed later in this chapter. In 1909, the Board warned Dodd that “aggressive work” would violate the spirit of comity.¹⁷³⁶ Furthermore, for the Presbyterians, the work in Chiang Tung was a new “outlet” after the obstacles encountered in the French territory.¹⁷³⁷

Given this background, it is easy to understand the persuasive nature of the Presbyterian writings. The Presbyterian advocators for the work to the north of North Siam needed the support of both the Board in the United States and members of the Laos Mission to guarantee the territorial expansion into the north¹⁷³⁸ and to defend their rights to the Chiang Tung field and beyond.

The positive local response to the arrival of missionaries can be attributed in part to curiosity and courtesy. Young himself confesses that a large gathering of natives was caused by curiosity, general oriental courteousness, or the fact that missionaries usually travelled with a passport and under escort.¹⁷³⁹ The previous Westerners who had come to this region, such as members of the French Mekong Expedition Commission, the French members of the Pavie

¹⁷³⁰ “Far North” was a term the Laos Mission used to refer to the region beyond Chiang Rai.

¹⁷³¹ For the objections to the establishment of a station in Chiang Rai, see Samuel C. Peoples to Robert Speer, 16 August 1894, vol. 11, file 31, ETCBFM, PHS. In 1906, four of the Laos Mission’s missionaries, McGilvary, Taylor and other two, nearly 1/3 of the whole missionaries present, were not in favour with the establishment of a station at Chiang Tung (John Haskell Freeman to Arthur Judson Brown, 26 April 1906, p. 1, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS). For the objection to the missionary work in Chiang Tung, see William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 March 1898, vol. 15, file 16, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to the Secretary in charge of correspondence for Laos, 21 February 1901, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS. For the Board’s rejection to reopen the Chiang Tung Station, see Abram Woodruff Halsey to William Clifton Dodd, 5 January 1910, RG 84-8-25, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1909–1910, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁷³² Charles Royal Callender to William Clifton Dodd, 16 August 1911, ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, CRCP, PHS.

¹⁷³³ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 149.

¹⁷³⁴ Claire H. Denman to Arthur Judson Brown, 1 October 1903, vol. 272, file 22, ETCBFM, PHS; Claire H. Denman to Arthur Judson Brown, 28 October 1903, vol. 272, file 23, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷³⁵ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 167.

¹⁷³⁶ Abraham W. Halsey to William Clifton Dodd, 20 August 1909, vol. 278, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷³⁷ Thomas Seymour Barbour to Albert Hailey Henderson, 17 November 1899, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁷³⁸ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 10 September 1900, vol. 16, file 30, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷³⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Mission, and most members of British boundary commissions, hardly spoke the Tai language. In only a few cases, such as McLeod and Scott, could anyone speak some Shan. Tai-speaking White people would certainly have attracted attention, and, as Dodd writes, “Mrs. Dodd’s presence and the fact that she could speak Laos drew large numbers of women to visit us. Our beds, our clothing, ourselves, were evidently curios to them.”¹⁷⁴⁰ B. E. Dodd reports that the natives in Chiang Tung were “delighted to find foreigners who can speak their language”, while the British could not.¹⁷⁴¹ In 1898, when he was in Chiang Tung town, Dodd visited British officials and encountered “Buddhist dignities”, some of whom he had met during previous tours. Dodd was delighted to find that “[s]lowly the people are learning to distinguish between us and the British officials. The latter seem like nice people, all of them, but they do not speak Laos, and the people are afraid and suspicious of them.”¹⁷⁴²

Even though the accounts are invariably optimistic, it is clear the missionaries’ intentions varied from period to period.

a) The Presbyterians: Establishing a Station in Chiang Tung

The optimism evident in the Presbyterian writings before 1904 was about encouraging the work and opening a station in Chiang Tung. Dodd claims that the Tai in Chiang Tung were “readier to receive Christian books than the Laos [Tai Yuan] of Siam”.¹⁷⁴³ The receptiveness to Christianity was somehow exaggerated, as McGilvary confesses that the gospel would not be spread more easily among the Tai Lü and Tai Khün in Chiang Tung than among the Tai Yuan in North Siam.¹⁷⁴⁴ The actual number of converts was comparatively lower than the positive reaction suggested by the reports, despite House’s analysis that the Presbyterians let new believers be catechumens before being baptised, while the Baptists baptised immediately after the confession of faith.¹⁷⁴⁵ By the end of 1911, the Presbyterians had only forty baptised members from Chiang Tung.¹⁷⁴⁶

The Laos Mission’s inclination to explore the wide Tai area emerged as early as 1872 when McGilvary made a tour of Luang Prabang with Charles Wesley Vrooman and Nan Tha/Nan Intha.¹⁷⁴⁷ Later, when McGilvary visited Chiang Khòng in 1890, he met the Upparat of Chiang Khòng, who was about to accompany one of the princes of Nan to Müang Sing, together with 300 men, probably for the boundary negotiation with the British. McGilvary writes that the Tai authorities were going to probe whether Müang Sing was willing to accept Nan’s suzerainty. The Upparat invited McGilvary to accompany them, an offer apparently

¹⁷⁴⁰ William Clifton Dodd, “From Cheung Hai to Kengtung Laos, 1898”, *The Assembly Herald* 1 (1899): 277.

¹⁷⁴¹ Belle Eakin Dodd, “Last Stages of a Long Journey and Arrival at the Goal”, *Woman’s Work for Woman* 13, no. 12 (1898): 327.

¹⁷⁴² William Clifton Dodd, Keng Tung. North Burmah, 4 May 1898, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁴³ William Clifton Dodd, “A Plea for Larger Laos”, *The Assembly Herald* 8, no. 5 (1903): 195.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Daniel McGilvary to Arthur Judson Brown, 5 April 1905, vol. 274, file 44, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁴⁵ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 170.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Anonymous, “Table of Statistics for Year Ending October 31st, 1911”, 31 October 1911, RG 84-2-2, Statistical Summaries, 1911, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁷⁴⁷ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 61.

tempting. McGilvary was probably aware of the opportunity this presented for evangelism. But because he was not alone, McGilvary declined the invitation.¹⁷⁴⁸ Müang Sing was attractive to the Presbyterians because it used to be a protectorate of Nan. McGilvary and Phraner had made an attempt to visit the town in 1891 but had failed. Interest in Müang Sing was only deepened by a story about a patient at the Chiang Mai church hospital who had travelled to Chiang Mai from Müang Sing for treatment.¹⁷⁴⁹ McGilvary reports that the Tai Lü of Müang Sing were “an extensive branch of the Siamese or Laos family, speaking a dialect intelligible to us”.¹⁷⁵⁰

According to Younghusband, the American missionaries had made several failed attempts to enter Chiang Tung during the reign of Chao Kòng Thai, who was “an implacable enemy to all foreigners”.¹⁷⁵¹ However, the American Presbyterian missionary work in Chiang Tung began in 1891 when McGilvary and Phraner travelled with Nòi Rin and Nan Suwan from Chiang Saen to Müang Len.¹⁷⁵² In Chiang Saen, they found that the Upparat had just returned from his journey to Müang Sing via Müang Len. McGilvary claims that the Upparat encouraged them to travel to Müang Len and open a mission in Müang Sing.¹⁷⁵³ Austin Lee House infers that by encouraging the Laos Mission to conduct missionary work in Müang Sing, the Upparat was attempting to demonstrate Siamrese authority over Müang Sing.¹⁷⁵⁴ Nan Suwan, a Tai Lü elder, accompanied them from Chiang Saen. McGilvary appraises Nan Suwan’s experience and capacity to deal with hill people.¹⁷⁵⁵ When they arrived in Müang Len, they found that “[n]o missionary any had ever visited that field before”.¹⁷⁵⁶ The headmen in Müang Len, including the Tai Khün officer Saen Rattana, showed interest in Christianity. The Presbyterians visited him, and he tried to read the shorter Catechism that they gave him and write a page of it in Tham script. The Presbyterians planned to extend their trip into Müang Sing, but an accident forced them to abandon their plan: When they returned from Saen Rattana’s house, a group of men inquired about their money and arms. Worried by these “suspicious questions”, the group was concerned for the safety of their onward journey; Phraner was particularly worried about the borrowed elephant.¹⁷⁵⁷

Reports of a second journey to Müang Yòng, Sipsòng Panna, and Müang Sing in 1893 reveal that “[e]verywhere they were kindly received. In many places they had eager listeners to the Gospel tracts”¹⁷⁵⁸, and “[t]hey pressed us to settle among them and failing this, to send

¹⁷⁴⁸ McGilvary, “Eighty Days Among the North Laos”, 321.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Daniel McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese and the Lāo: An Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912), 364–365.

¹⁷⁵⁰ McGilvary, “Eighty Days Among the North Laos”, 321.

¹⁷⁵¹ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 14.

¹⁷⁵² James W. McKean, Report of Chieng Mai Station of the North Laos Mission for the Year Dec. 1, 1890 to Dec. 1, 1891, 23 February 1891, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS; McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 327.

¹⁷⁵³ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 327.

¹⁷⁵⁴ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 92–93.

¹⁷⁵⁵ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 327–328.

¹⁷⁵⁶ James W. McKean, Report of Chieng Mai Station of the North Laos Mission for the Year Dec. 1, 1890 to Dec. 1, 1891, 23 February 1891, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS; McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 328.

¹⁷⁵⁷ James W. McKean, Report of Chieng Mai Station of the North Laos Mission for the Year Dec. 1, 1890 to Dec. 1, 1891, 23 February 1891, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS; McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 329.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Stanley K. Phraner, Annual Report of Cheung Mai Station, 1 December 1893, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

them teachers.”¹⁷⁵⁹ The Presbyterians held a positive view of the vast land to be converted: “This tour revealed to us this hitherto untouched territory for the redemption of which our church is alone responsible”¹⁷⁶⁰ and the natives had “the earnest desire to hear the Gospel”.¹⁷⁶¹ However, they also perceived potential risks. McGilvary and Nan Suwan left Müang Yòng before the arrival of the British Commissioner in order to avoid the complicated situation.¹⁷⁶² Some danger, however, was only revealed with hindsight. For example, later in 1893, McGilvary heard that, upon learning that some foreigners were en route to Chiang Rung, some Tai people in Sipsòng Panna had planned to kill them. McGilvary reports that the plan was abandoned because “the kindness of the missionaries so completely won their hearts, that all thought of murder and plunder was given up.”¹⁷⁶³

Since 1893, Irwin had been actively trying to persuade the Presbyterian Board to carry out missionary work in Chiang Tung. In 1896, Irwin wrote a letter to the Board, emphasising the urgent need to occupy Chiang Tung because “the people there were ‘Laos’ similar to the people in northern Siam”, and “the Presbyterian Church had a special responsibility in Kengtung”.¹⁷⁶⁴ Dodd and Briggs also underlined the necessity of opening a station at Chiang Tung. Indeed, Dodd emphasises the urgency of this matter and encourages the work in “the promised Kün and Lü land”.¹⁷⁶⁵ Dodd mentions the significance of Chiang Tung, both in the state and as a “key to the British and Chinese Laos States”.¹⁷⁶⁶ Briggs mentions the natives’ heightened expectations regarding the arrival of the Christian missionaries. The Lahu people “begged” for Lahu Christians to be sent to teach them.¹⁷⁶⁷ Briggs mentions an abbot who read the Bible, memorised hymns, and promised to travel down to Chiang Rai for study. He implicitly urged to conduct direct missionary work in Chiang Tung in order to spare both the natives and the missionaries from unnecessary long-distance travel.¹⁷⁶⁸

Several expeditions took place in 1897 and 1898 to investigate “the geographical limits, and the racial and linguistic peculiarities of the field open to the Laos Mission; and also to investigate the question of the best location for a mission station in this northern district”, which actually means “the suitability of Chiung Toong [Chiang Tung] as a mission station”.¹⁷⁶⁹

¹⁷⁵⁹ Robert Irwin to the Board of Foreign Missions, 23 November 1896, vol. 13, file 57, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁶⁰ James W. McKean to Robert Speer, 18 January 1894, vol. 11, file 2, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁶¹ Robert Irwin, “A Memorable Tour in Laos”, *Woman’s Work for Woman* 9, no. 5 (1894): 118.

¹⁷⁶² McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 355.

¹⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, 358–359.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Robert Irwin to the Board of Foreign Missions, 23 November 1896, vol. 13, file 57, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Dodd, “A Plea for Larger Laos”, 195; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 4 November 1898, vol. 15, file 54, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Dodd, “A Plea for Larger Laos”, 195.

¹⁷⁶⁷ William A. Briggs, The Laos Mission Letter for the Quarter Ending July 31st, 1900, vol. 16, file 23, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶⁹ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1899), 62:225, 237.

The Presbyterian writings report a universal welcome to the missionaries from common people, officials, and monks.¹⁷⁷⁰ McGilvary records that he hardly met with lukewarm reception among the Tai Lü and that Chao Sri Nò Kham even invited him to attend his daughter's wedding ceremony.¹⁷⁷¹ In 1897, Dodd, Briggs, and Irwin received encouraging responses from various districts of Chiang Tung, Müang Laem, and Sipsòng Panna.¹⁷⁷² In Müang Phalaeo, Dodd met five Buddhist monks who had visited Chiang Rai and gave them some tracts in the hope that they would distribute them to travelling monks who visited their monasteries.¹⁷⁷³ The Dodds were embraced in Müang Len, where they cured an abbot, repaired a clock, and made an effervescent drink, which prompted an invitation for them to stay longer.¹⁷⁷⁴ Dodd claims that in 1898, officials and carriers in Müang Yòng implored them to give a detailed explanation of Christianity.¹⁷⁷⁵

In Presbyterian records, opening a station in Chiang Tung and the area further north was not only appealing to the missionaries but also to the Tai people themselves. The Presbyterian writings mention invitations to establish a station in Müang Wa, Müang Chae, Chiang Rung, Müang Laem, and Müang Lam (Menglang).¹⁷⁷⁶

However, the Presbyterians were not always clouded by optimism and sometimes demonstrated a realistic interpretation of the situation. In a report, Dodd and Briggs summarise six causes for the enthusiasm for their visits:

When we consider that the tour embraced so many peoples, this is saving a good deal. Whether because partly of curiosity, to see Yone books; or whether because of, the absence of all pressure from civil authorities in matters religions; or whether because of their often expressed happiness in meeting foreigners who could speak Laos so as to be yell understood; or whether because of the absence of impudence and the prevailing rule of courtesy among the Buddhist priests and abbotts [sic]; or whether because the people recognize, in the Laam [Laem] and the Lü country especially, the

¹⁷⁷⁰ Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., pp. 5, 8–9, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS; Anonymous, "An Appeal from the Laos Mission", *The Assembly Herald* 1 (1899): 275; Mr. Dodd's Itinerary, n.d., RG 84-8-22, Kentung [sic] Station: Miscellaneous Items Regarding Dr. Dodd's Visit, n.d., SFTM, PHS.

¹⁷⁷¹ Daniel McGilvary, "Dr. McGilvary's Tour after leaving Dr. Peoples at Mung Sai", in *Reports of Tours of Missionary Exploration in Siamese, French, Chinese and British Laos Territory A.D. 1897*, Members of the Laos Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (Cheung Mai [Chiang Mai]: Presbyterian Missoin [sic] Press, 1898), 36, 46. It was the wedding of Chao Nang Sunantha (Chao Sri Nò Kham's second daughter) and Chao Mòm Chòm Müang (Chao Mòm Sò's third son and Chao Mòm Kham Lü's younger brother) (CKC-WTP 64.9–64.10 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 285).

¹⁷⁷² Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., pp. 8, 9, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS; Robert Irwin, Report of Tour through the Shan States, 25 January 1898, p. 13, RG 84-8-22, Kentung [sic] Station: Miscellaneous Items Regarding Dr. Dodd's Visit, n.d., SFTM, PHS; The Evangelistic Work Done on This Tour, n.d., RG 84-8-22, Kentung [sic] Station: Miscellaneous Items Regarding Dr. Dodd's Visit, n.d., SFTM, PHS.

¹⁷⁷³ Dodd, "From Cheung Hai to Kengtung Laos, 1898", 278.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Dodd, "A Tour of Buddhist Temples", 125.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Dodd, "From Cheung Hai to Kengtung Laos, 1898", 278.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Anonymous, "An Appeal from the Laos Mission", 275–276; Willian Clifton Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 24 October 1904, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1905), 68:353–354.

*deadness of Buddhism and the rottenness of the priesthood; or whether because of the general hope and expectation of the advent of a Saviour; whether because of one or of all of these things, the rulers, the priests and the people listened everywhere eagerly.*¹⁷⁷⁷

It seems that the first, third, and fourth explanations are most aligned with reality because, in the following years, the Presbyterian missionaries did not convert many natives of Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna.

b) The Presbyterians: Defending the Work in Chiang Tung

On 14 April 1904, the Dodds, the Cornells, Nòi Rin, Nòi Tepin, and Khan, together with seventy pack-horses, arrived in Chiang Tung town.¹⁷⁷⁸ After the establishment of the Chiang Tung Station, the Presbyterian advocates' writings are filled with expectations for a promising future.¹⁷⁷⁹ The establishment of Chiang Tung Station is called a "Forward Movement",¹⁷⁸⁰ and "[t]he outlook is certainly bright".¹⁷⁸¹ Dodd emphasises the prosperous future of missionary work and the Presbyterian Mission's responsibility to these untouched areas.¹⁷⁸²

Shortly after the Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station was established, the Presbyterians mentioned two stories to confirm that Chiang Tung was worthy of a station. In 1898, he and his wife had entrusted a "faith box" of Tham script books to the chief minister in Chiang Tung, believing that "God would bring us back to the box." In 1904, Dodd found "both friend and box all right".¹⁷⁸³ Dodd's wife, B. E. Dodd, writes that an eye patient and his wife expressed interest in Christianity, and the wife informed her that "her grandfather told the family before his death that if they ever found any religion better than buddhism [sic], not to afraid to accept it."¹⁷⁸⁴ In Cornell's version, it was the grandfather of a male cataract patient, who expressed such view.¹⁷⁸⁵

During the early days of the opening of the Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station, Young attempted to live in harmony with the Presbyterians,¹⁷⁸⁶ and Dodd praises the friendly atmosphere between the Presbyterian and Baptist brethren.¹⁷⁸⁷ However, the discord between Dodd and Young intensified at the end of 1904. In 1905, Young openly asked the Presbyterians

¹⁷⁷⁷ The Evangelistic Work Done on This Tour, n.d., RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁷⁷⁸ William Clifton Dodd, "A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission", *The Assembly Herald* 11 (1905): 237.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Charles Royal Callender, "Bazaar Work in Chieng Tung", *Laos News* 2, no. 3 (July 1905): 61.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Dodd, "A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission", 237–340.

¹⁷⁸¹ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 7 September 1904, vol. 273, file 27, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁸² William Clifton Dodd, "Some Notes on a Missionary Tour through South China, among the Tai Race", *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 41, no. 12 (1910): 789.

¹⁷⁸³ William Clifton Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 24 October 1904, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Belle Eakin Dodd, "Taking Root in Chieng Tung", *Laos News* 2, no. 3 (July 1904): 68.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Howard L. Cornell to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 March 1904, vol. 273, file 13, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁸⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 30 April 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁷⁸⁷ William Clifton Dodd to Daniel McGilvary, 5 June 1904, vol. 273, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 11 July 1904, vol. 273, file 26, ETCBFM, PHS.

to leave the Chiang Tung area.¹⁷⁸⁸ Young claims that even Gordon, the British Political Officer in Chiang Tung, also a Scottish Presbyterian, objected to a Presbyterian station in Chiang Tung.¹⁷⁸⁹ Later Presbyterian writings are tainted with connotations to prove the necessity of missionary work in Chiang Tung.¹⁷⁹⁰

Similar to the previous period, the Presbyterian writings report that the natives welcomed the arrival of Christianity with slight differences in aspects of emphasis. The Presbyterians discovered a new ethnic group, the Tai Nüa, to embrace Christianity. The Presbyterian work towards the Tai Nüa started after the establishment of the station. B. E. Dodd writes that the five Tai Nüa women that visited the church school “believed every word of it and even said that they wanted to accept Christianity”.¹⁷⁹¹ In another letter, Dodd depicts a similar scene.¹⁷⁹² The Presbyterians claim that the native authorities openly encouraged religious tolerance. Dodd claims that “[n]ever before has it been our privilege to live where all the local officials seemed so friendly.”¹⁷⁹³ Callender claims that the ruler of Müang Luai “granted permission” for anyone to accept Christianity.¹⁷⁹⁴ It is reported that the Presbyterians obtained a decree from Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng that guaranteed them the freedom of religious practice.¹⁷⁹⁵ Native people and officials who visited Chiang Tung town invited the missionaries to their own districts and returned home with an abundance of tracts.¹⁷⁹⁶ One official expressed the wish that the Presbyterians send a teacher to his district, and he promised to provide a school building.¹⁷⁹⁷ In Müang Yòng, people “flocked to hear” the preaching, and the ruler invited the Laos Mission to establish a station.¹⁷⁹⁸ The establishment of a station in Chiang Tung deepened previous connections and facilitated visits. In Müang Wa, Dodd was revisited by acquaintances, who knew him during previous tours, and the ruler of Müang Wa invited several times the Presbyterians to visit his district.¹⁷⁹⁹ Some Sam Thao¹⁸⁰⁰ monks, who remembered Dodd’s visit

¹⁷⁸⁸ William Clifton Dodd, C. R. Callender, and H. L. Cornell to William Marcus Young, 31 January 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁷⁸⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 May 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Howard L. Cornell to the North Laos Mission and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 21 January 1905, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd, Personal Report, 31 October 1905, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁹¹ Belle Eakin Dodd to Mrs. Perkins, 14 December 1906, vol. 275, file 48, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁹² William Clifton Dodd to Friends of the Kengtung Station, 31 August 1905, vol. 274, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁹³ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 239.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends and Supporters of Kengtung Station, 31 May 1907, vol. 276, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends and Supporters of Kengtung Station, 31 May 1907, vol. 276, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS; Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 239; William Clifton Dodd to Friends of the Kengtung Station, 16 October 1905, vol. 274, file 21, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 239.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Home, 20 July 1906, vol. 275, file 42, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁷⁹⁹ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 7 September 1904, vol. 273, file 27, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 24 October 1904, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Müang Sam Thao is a district under the ruling of Chiang Tung and is inhabited mostly by Tai Dòi, a Mon-Khmer people. Müang Sam Thao was famous for its production of local firearms.

in 1897, “voluntarily sought us out and visited us a few days ago”.¹⁸⁰¹ Elsewhere, it is reported that people requested a second visit so “that they might get a better understanding of the truth”.¹⁸⁰² Christianity was also welcomed among the conservative Buddhist community. In 1906, Dodd and his family visited Müang Sam Thao, where the monks refused to accept Christian literature. However, it is reported that “[h]eart-to-heart talks with Individuals revealed deep interest and a sincere desire to know the truth of the gospel message.” An Abbot even “expressed the belief that they will accept Christianity and there will be a big exodus in the not distant future”.¹⁸⁰³

By contrast, the Presbyterians claim that the Baptist missionaries were not favoured by the Tai people in Chiang Tung.¹⁸⁰⁴ A strong argument for the Presbyterians to justify their station at Chiang Tung was that the Baptists “baptised not a single convert among the races for whom we feel a special responsibility”.¹⁸⁰⁵ Dodd claims that, by 1905, the Baptists had not converted any Tai Khün, Tai Lü, or Tai Nüa for four years, while the Presbyterians had converted twenty Tai, including one of Müang Sam Thao, and some Tai Khün.¹⁸⁰⁶

Even foreigners had a friendly attitude towards missionary work. Dodd mentions that after the opening of the Chiang Tung Station, the British and Eurasian communities also attended the services at Dodd’s house every Sunday evening, and some of them attended the Tai services as well.¹⁸⁰⁷ Moreover, Indians comprised the majority of the missionary school pupils, with five pupils in attendance after the school opened. Three Hindus had “publicly professed Christ”. Even a Munshi Muslim asked for a Bible but returned it after a few days and dropped out of school because his Muslim fellows “were angry with him for reading our Bible”.¹⁸⁰⁸ In addition, the Presbyterians obtained financial support for the 1897 journey from a British man, who encouraged them to “reach the Leu [Tai Lü] tribes beyond the Cambodia [Mekong River] bordering on Tonquin [Tonkin]”.¹⁸⁰⁹

There are reports of conditional conversions. Usually, it is reported that the natives were willing to convert if a teacher or a missionary was sent.¹⁸¹⁰ At a village in Sam Thüan, people showed an “unusual interest”, “they had known of the religion of Jesus a long time”, and “they

¹⁸⁰¹ William Clifton Dodd to Daniel McGilvary, 5 June 1904, vol. 273, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁰² Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁰³ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Statement of Nan Thi, 1269 [1907], RG 84-8-30, Kengtung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Howard Campbell and Samuel C. Peoples, Diary of the Laos Delegation to the Joint Commission of the Baptists and Presbyterians to Consider the Mission Problems in the Kengtung Field, 1907, p. 26, RG 84-8-31, Kengtung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Claire H. Denman to the Members of the Shan Mission, A.B.M.U., 19 December 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁰⁶ William Clifton Dodd, Personal Report, 31 October 1905, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 239.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Belle Eakin Dodd, “School Work in Kengtung”, *Laos News* 4, no. 3 (July 1907): 88.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Daniel McGilvary, Annual Report of Cheung Mai Station for the Year 1896, 15 January 1897, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸¹⁰ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS; Charles Royal Callender to the Friends and Supporters of Kengtung Station, 31 May 1907, vol. 276, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

desired to accept it and were only waiting for a teacher to come for that purpose.”¹⁸¹¹ In Müang Yòng, Phò Racha,¹⁸¹² the former headman of Ban Thap, said that he would convert “with all his house” if the Presbyterians sent people to teach them.¹⁸¹³ Others said that they would accept Christianity if they could be cured of their chronic diseases.¹⁸¹⁴

However, it is more likely that conversion under conditions was a matter of courtesy. Callender reports that an official of Müang Sam Thao, who had nominal jurisdiction over ten villages, “would accept Christianity and encourage all within his jurisdiction to do so, provided there was no official barrier”. However, when the Presbyterians brought a copy of the proclamation of religious liberty to Müang Sam Thao, the headman did not appear.¹⁸¹⁵

Furthermore, the natives are depicted as being willing to evangelise. Dodd writes that a man from Müang Phayak, serving as a hostler in Chiang Tung town, vowed to spread Christian knowledge back to his friends.¹⁸¹⁶ In June 1905, a court scribe from Müang Yòng visited Dodd. Some years prior, he had been in Chiang Mai, where he had come into contact with Christianity. It is reported that on his return, he and his family rejected the worship of spirits. This time, he brought a copy of Matthew’s gospel and a stock of tracts back to Müang Yòng to distribute.¹⁸¹⁷

Another trope is the popularity of Christian books and tracts in Chiang Tung.¹⁸¹⁸ Callender reports that “[d]uring the past eight months I have distributed many-fold times greater number of tracts than I did during five years and a half service in Lampang. This is due not to greater effort, but to the receptivity and the preparedness of the people.”¹⁸¹⁹ An annual report claims that “[a]ll through the province and far across its northern border into China they are reading Swatsadee, Sasana Sawng Fai, Dr. Briggs’ and Mr. Irwin’s tracts, Mr. Campbell’s Bible Stories, the Laos Hymnal and other printed matter that tells of Jesus the Saviour of sinners”, and many people who received tracts visited the Presbyterians to ask for “something more advanced”.¹⁸²⁰ It is reported that the missionaries did not distribute the tracts randomly.

¹⁸¹¹ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸¹² It is unclear whether this Racha was the Racha mentioned in the writings of 1906 and 1907. Both were headmen of Ban Thap, but the Racha of 1906 and 1907 had been converted and was punished for his conversion. While the Racha in question was “an avowed believer” but had not made “an open profession of his faith” (Belle Eakin Dodd, “Demons Defeated in Muang Yawng”, *Laos News* 6, no. 4 (November 1909): 111).

¹⁸¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹⁴ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸¹⁵ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸¹⁶ William Clifton Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 24 October 1904, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 68:353.

¹⁸¹⁷ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 69:354.

¹⁸¹⁸ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 29 December 1898, RG 84-8-23, Kengtung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd, Report of the Com. to Carry Out Instructions Re Ch. Tung, n.d., p. 2, RG 84-8-23, Kengtung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 23 April 1904, vol. 273, file 24, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Daniel McGilvary, 5 June 1904, vol. 273, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸¹⁹ Charles Royal Callender, Personal Report, 31 October 1905, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸²⁰ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1906), 69:354, 363.

The recipients had to first prove their reading ability,¹⁸²¹ and printings were not given to novices and those who could not read.¹⁸²²

Optimistic reports were not always received uncritically. However, suspicion usually fell on the converts rather than the evangelists. Dodd doubts “the genuineness of all those professed conversions” during the native Christians’ tours in 1907 and later sent three native evangelists to “investigate conditions, and strengthen weak faith”.¹⁸²³ Moreover, an official of Müang Kai “manifested an apparently deep interest in” the Presbyterian message, but Dodd did not count on his profession too much as he was an old man and an opium user.¹⁸²⁴

c) The Presbyterians: Calls to Return

By the time the Chiang Tung Station was closed in 1908, the Presbyterians had five outstations: two in Müang Yòng and one each in Chiang Tung town, Müang Yu, and Chiang Khang. Members of the Chiang Tung Station either returned to Chiang Rai or remained in Chiang Tung.¹⁸²⁵ Because of the station’s closure, the discourse in the sources changed from a readiness to accept Christianity to the unwillingness to close and the restoration of the Chiang Tung Station.

The Presbyterian writings report that when withdrawing from Chiang Tung, even non-Christians of Chiang Tung had accompanied as they walked for half of a day. The non-Christian natives expressed their unhappiness about the withdrawal of the missionaries, and Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng expressed “deep regret”.¹⁸²⁶ Dodd claims that “[i]f they had been accustomed to petitions, it would have been easy to get hundreds of signatures to a petition asking for our retention.”¹⁸²⁷ However, in a later version of the report, Dodd modifies the wording to deepen the natives’ emotional connection with the Presbyterians, and says that both Christians and non-Christians wished to send a petition protesting the withdrawal to the Board, signed by Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng, members of the Chiang Tung court, “officials of all ranks, and hundreds of other friends”.¹⁸²⁸ Explaining their sorrow about the Laos Mission leaving, the report says that “the regret was not based so much on personal ties, but was rather felt on account of losing missionaries who understood and spoke their own language.”¹⁸²⁹

Young does not think the Baptist missionaries had any sympathy for the Presbyterians’ withdrawal and does not believe the natives wrote a petition in support of Christianity because the period in question was experiencing a strengthening of Buddhism rather than support for

¹⁸²¹ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 69:354.

¹⁸²² The Evangelistic Work Done on This Tour, n.d., RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁸²³ William Clifton Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸²⁴ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸²⁵ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1909), 72:420.

¹⁸²⁶ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 June 1908, vol. 277, file 39, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸²⁷ Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸²⁸ William Clifton Dodd, Kengtung Substation, 31 October 1908, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 72:420.

¹⁸²⁹ William Clifton Dodd, Kengtung Substation, 31 October 1908, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 72:420.

Christianity.¹⁸³⁰ Young's criticism seems reasonable. If the native authorities expressed any reluctance to see the Presbyterian station closed, it was caused by "personal ties", despite Dodd's denials. The Presbyterian missionaries had a good relationship with the Chiang Tung court and were invited to attend the ordination ceremony of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng's eldest son, the Songkran Festival, and the funeral of a prince-monk.¹⁸³¹ A letter from Young also attests to Dodd's amicable relationship with Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng.¹⁸³²

Not long after the closure of the Chiang Tung Station, Dodd reports that the people in Chiang Tung were calling for the missionaries to return to Chiang Tung and reopen the station.¹⁸³³ Dodd claims that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng ordered the ruler of Müang Yòng not to allow the Baptists to open a school and that any children who desired "to study anything not taught in the Buddhist monasteries" should be taught by Mae Nang Bua, a Müang Yòng convert. Besides, Dodd writes that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng also told three families who wished to convert to the Baptist faith to wait for the return of the Presbyterians.¹⁸³⁴

At the same time, Dodd ventured into China to expand the Presbyterian field further north. However, the restoration of Chiang Tung Station was a premise for this work, and Dodd reports that "[t]he first step in the occupation of our long unoccupied territory ought to be the remaining of Kengtung Station."¹⁸³⁵ After returning from the journey, Dodd and Callender actively urged the Board to reopen the Chiang Tung Station, and, in 1911, they wrote a motion to the Board about this matter.¹⁸³⁶

Dodd depicts his 1910 tour to China as a response to calls from both Christian and non-Christian natives. In 1909, a man from Müang Ku¹⁸³⁷ visited Chiang Rai "with a request for us Laos missionaries to visit his country".¹⁸³⁸ Additionally, some Tai Nüa Christians in Chiang Tung were "already planning how they can best at and soonest take the Gospel to their brethren still in China".¹⁸³⁹ Dodd's former laundress, I Pòm, was one of the Tai Nüa people in Chiang Tung who encouraged Dodd to visit Müang Bò, her old home in China.¹⁸⁴⁰ She was not a Christian.¹⁸⁴¹ She heard Dodd was planning the 1910 tour to South China and went to visit him.

¹⁸³⁰ William Marcus Young, *Side Lights on the Controversy Regarding Joint Occupation in Kengtung*, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸³¹ Belle Eakin Dodd, "Notes from Kengtung", *Laos News* 3, no. 4 (October 1906): 50–51, 53; Belle Eakin Dodd, "A Chiang Tung Cremation", *Woman's Work* 21, no. 5 (1906): 113–114.

¹⁸³² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸³³ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 February 1910, vol. 279, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸³⁴ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 24 June 1909, vol. 278, file 20, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸³⁵ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 February 1910, vol. 279, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸³⁶ William Clifton Dodd, "Three Glimpses of Our Kengtung Work", *The Assembly Herald* 16 (1910): 223–224; Charles Royal Callender to the Executive Committee of the North Laos Mission, 9 June 1911, Charles Royal Callender to the Members of Nan Station, 9 June 1911, Charles Royal Callender to D. G. Collins, 10 June 1911, Charles Royal Callender to the Friends, 16 August 1911, ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, CRCP, PHS; Charles Royal Callender to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 July 1911, 31 August 1911, RG 84-1-2c, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁸³⁷ There is no Müang Ku in the Jinggu County. It is probably Jinggu, i.e. Müang Kla.

¹⁸³⁸ Anonymous, Report of the Laos Mission, 31 October 1909, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴⁰ William Clifton Dodd, "Laos Women Met on Tour through South China", *Woman's Work* 26, no. 5 (1911): 105; Dodd, "Three Months among the Laos in South China", 241; William Clifton Dodd, *The Tai Race: Elder Brother of the Chinese* (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1923), 57.

¹⁸⁴¹ Dodd, "Laos Women Met on Tour through South China", 105.

She prayed that Dodd's words "might be gold and silver and precious stones".¹⁸⁴² Using I Pòm's speech, Dodd urges the Board to open stations there because "so many people might become Christians that our Board and Mission might be led to establish stations for work among them."¹⁸⁴³ I Pòm is another example of trying to persuade the Board to approve the expansion of the Laos Mission's work in China. Dodd adds that "[i]t is up to the Presbyterian Church to answer the rest of the heathen laundress' prayer."¹⁸⁴⁴ Dodd's journey in 1910 seemingly responded to his expectation. Dodd reports that, in Müang Bò, a devout woman whom he met at a monastery where his team was staying listened attentively to his preaching. She followed them when they left and was "reluctant" to bid farewell.¹⁸⁴⁵ Dodd concludes one of his articles with an appeal, "When shall stations be manned at Kengtung, Kenghung and Müang Baw, for these Lydias whose hearts the Lord has opened, as well as for the other twelve millions of the Lao Race?"¹⁸⁴⁶

d) The Baptists and Receptiveness

The discourse regarding the readiness of locals to accept Christianity appears much later in Young's writings than it does in the Presbyterian sources. Probably, it is because, in the early years, Young spent much of his time constructing the compound and experienced frustrations in his missionary work with the Tai people.

Young reports that the Tai Nüa people were more accessible than the Tai Lü and Tai Khün. Young mentions that Pu Saen, the headman of Ban Nòng Ngön, a village Young thought of strategic significance,¹⁸⁴⁷ had been a believer for three years but had not yet publicly testified his faith. He read tracts and gospels "eagerly" and then preached to others. The news from Ban Nòng Ngön worried the chief minister of Chiang Tung, who sent an order to prevent believers from being baptised, saying that whoever was baptised would die in three days. Despite this, Young claims, Pu Saen continued to do preaching work.¹⁸⁴⁸ Pu Saen was an influential man, and the Baptists hoped that he would bring the people of nearby villages into Christianity.¹⁸⁴⁹

We do not know how reliable Young's account is because today Ban Nòng Ngön is a Buddhist village. Young uses the readiness to accept Christianity as an argument against the Presbyterians, who conducted missionary work in the same village.¹⁸⁵⁰ Young accuses the

¹⁸⁴² Ibid.; Dodd, "Three Months among the Laos in South China", 241.

¹⁸⁴³ Dodd, "Three Months among the Laos in South China", 241.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Ibid., 241.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Dodd, "Laos Women Met on Tour through South China", 106.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 July 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁴⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 July 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; The Helpers Attached to the American Baptist Mission Work in Chiang Tung, Testimony, 11 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. In Presbyterian records, the Presbyterians reached this village and Pu Saen in 1898 before the arrival of Young (William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 29 July 1905, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS).

¹⁸⁴⁹ The Helpers Attached to the American Baptist Mission Work in Chiang Tung, Testimony, 11 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁵⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 July 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Presbyterians of stealing potential converts from the Baptists. One of the examples Young mentions happened in Ban Nòng Ngön. A witch family from Ban Nòng Ngön was willing to convert to Christianity to prevent themselves from being driven out of the village. Dodd visited this family ahead of the Baptists. However, Young claims that the Presbyterians failed, as this family “went back to their old customs at once and said they would not become Christians”. The family was eventually driven out of the village, and Dodd was told by the Pu Saen not to visit the village again as Ban Nòng Ngön “was all with” the Baptists.¹⁸⁵¹

After three years of failure to convert the Tai people, Young found hope among the hill people, especially Lahu and Wa, to whom he dedicated much of his time from 1904 onwards.¹⁸⁵² He became confident in the receptiveness of the hill people as reports of their readiness to accept Christianity arrived one after the other.¹⁸⁵³ Young reports the repeated invitations from the Lahu and Wa people in Burma and China requesting that he or other Christian workers visit them.¹⁸⁵⁴ The hill people from China also regularly visited Chiang Tung, and many of them were baptised.¹⁸⁵⁵

Witnessing the massive conversion of the Lahu people, Young believes that any related ethnic groups, no matter how loosely they were connected, could also be converted. Young claims that the Akha people spoke Lahu and would, therefore, also be open to receiving Christianity.¹⁸⁵⁶ He writes that the Akha in China were also ready to “accept Christianity as the Lahu”.¹⁸⁵⁷ Though only little Akha people were actually converted, Young believes they would accept Christianity like the Lahu people.¹⁸⁵⁸ Young also mentions that the Wa in Müang Nim (Mengyun), allegedly influenced by the Lahu, would also be ready to accept Christianity.¹⁸⁵⁹ He claims that the Wa people were “ready to receive” Ai Nan, a Tai Dòi convert, as their leader.¹⁸⁶⁰ The Chinese and Tai people nearby would follow the hill people and accept

¹⁸⁵¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. For Pu Saen’s rejection to the Presbyterians, see also William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, Mrs. C. R. Callender and Belle E. Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 September 1905, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁸⁵² Cushing anticipates the receptiveness of the Lahu people. He mentions that the Musö’s “timid and trustful nature would make them ready believers of the truth taught by teachers whom they considered to be their true friends” (Cushing, *The Shan Mission*, 23).

¹⁸⁵³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 30 October 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁵⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, 26 December 1904, 27 December 1904, 30 October 1905, 15 January 1906, 7 May 1907, 16 January 1908, 3 May 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁵⁵ In December 1904, a delegation from the Wa state visited Chiang Tung (American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1906), 92:120). Young claims that after receiving a tract or gospel, some people travelled 15 or 20 days to Chiang Tung (William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 April 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS). A group of Wa of Müang Nim visited Chiang Tung in 1910 and 40 were baptised (William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 5 January 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS). Wa people from China voluntarily crossed border to Chiang Tung to ask for baptism (William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 6 July 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young, *Annual Report*, 5 February 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS).

¹⁸⁵⁶ William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee, 21 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁵⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁵⁸ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1905), 91:118.

¹⁸⁵⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁶⁰ William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee, 21 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Christianity.¹⁸⁶¹ Other Baptists shared this viewpoint that “[i]f the Lahu of Burma accept the gospel, it is sure to be accepted by those of the same race in China.”¹⁸⁶²

Consequently, Young repeatedly urged the American Baptist Mission Union to expand missionary work into the promising field of China.¹⁸⁶³ In a joint letter of 1906, Young and Antisdell write urging permission to work in Wa country and Southwest Yunnan, not only to meet the need of thousands of people who were “anxiously awaiting” the missionaries’ arrival, but also to prevent people from being misled by vicious teachings. One Lahu leader on the Chinese side was claiming to be the new god and set fire to his village. Persuaded by Baptist preachers, the Lahu leader and the people of the village were set back on the right way and were willing to be baptised.¹⁸⁶⁴ After the tour to China and the Wa country in early 1907, Young claims that the natives in Müang Nim Tai, Müang Möng,¹⁸⁶⁵ and Köng Ma (Gengma) were ready to accept Christianity, and 10,000 would be baptised within three months.¹⁸⁶⁶

Young claims that their efficient work changed the attitude of both the Chinese and Tai officials, especially in Müang Laem, who had previously been strongly against Christianity but now were “friendly” towards the Baptists and even urged the hill people to convert, saying that “most of the stealing along the border between China and Kengtung has been stopped as a result of our work.”¹⁸⁶⁷ Antisdell holds a similar view.¹⁸⁶⁸

In 1911, Young reported that the pagan natives changed their attitude, “showing more friendliness and more readiness to listen”.¹⁸⁶⁹ The Tai Dòi people listened to preaching till midnight, and children and women came in large numbers.¹⁸⁷⁰ Probably, this shift is because Young had some Tai Khün/Tai Lü-speakers like Ai Nan working for him.

Many factors contributed to Young’s optimism. Much of Young’s correspondence is dedicated to requests for financial support. His over-optimistic reports on the wholesale conversion of Lahu and Wa people were challenged by the Baptist visiting committee to Chiang Tung in February 1906.¹⁸⁷¹ In fact, there were many reasons for the receptiveness of the Lahu and Wa people, and this issue will be discussed later in the section concerning religion.

3 Natives in Missionary Work

¹⁸⁶¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 3 May 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁶² David Gilmore, “The Importance of the Field”, *The Baptist Missionary Magazine* 86, no. 9 (1906): 356.

¹⁸⁶³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 April 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁶⁴ William Marcus Young and Clarence Baumes Antisdell to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 July 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Not to be confused with the Müang Möng in Chiang Khaeng. It is the present-day Shuangjiang.

¹⁸⁶⁶ William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee, 21 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 April 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁶⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. See also American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1908), 94:85.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Clarence Baumes Antisdell to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 December 1909, FM-176, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁶⁹ William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 5 January 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁷⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁷¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 May 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

The native people participated in missionary work in various ways, as long-term Christian assistants or temporary employees, such as carriers¹⁸⁷² and couriers.¹⁸⁷³ The two Missions had different personnel. The Presbyterian Mission entrusted much work to the Tai Yuan workers or descendants of Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna in North Siam. The Baptist Mission relied more on the cis-Salween Shan workers and Karen workers from Rangoon. After the Lahu and Wa Movements, Lahu and Wa workers became a significant part of the Baptist native workforce.

Their attitudes towards the natives varied. Dodd held an idealistic view of the Tai people, who he saw, to some extent, as the “noble savage”. The Tai people are considered “simple-hearted, peaceful, polite, comparatively pure, receptive and impressionable”, and only those in South Siam have been contaminated by the contact with “the worst elements of our occidental civilization”.¹⁸⁷⁴ Dodd confesses that he “loved and respected the great historic Tai Race”.¹⁸⁷⁵ By contrast, Young considers the Tai people morally depraved and accuses the women of Shan and Tai Khün women of having “loose characters”. The Gurkha soldiers in the British troops were “very popular” with the Tai women, and every one “had two Shan women”.¹⁸⁷⁶ According to Young, the Tai Nüa were “slaves to custom, but purer in morals, and more accessible to the gospel”.¹⁸⁷⁷ He complains that “[o]ne cannot rely on the statements of either the officials or the priests.”¹⁸⁷⁸ However, Young considers the hill people to be “very friendly” and he expected “a large ingathering”.¹⁸⁷⁹

a) Natives in the Laos Mission

Native workers played a significant role in the history of the Laos Mission, as discussed by House in his doctoral dissertation.¹⁸⁸⁰ In 1908, 92 of the 139 members of the Laos Mission were native workers.¹⁸⁸¹

Though native workers joined American missionaries on many tours, it was not unusual for the missionary work to be done entirely by native preachers. In 1896, a team of five Tai men, led by Loong Chaw and Ai Sow, toured Chiang Tung town, Sam Thao, Müang Yòng,

¹⁸⁷² Callender suggested to send two Tai Yuan men, who were to return to Siam, as a Mr. Hunneybun’s porters (Charles Royal Callender to Mr. Hunneybun, n.d., ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, CRCP, PHS).

¹⁸⁷³ Callender mentions that when Ai Fu returned from Siam in 1907, he was entrusted with some letters to Chiang Tung (Charles Royal Callender to Howard Campbell, 15 August 1907, ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, CRCP, PHS).

¹⁸⁷⁴ William Clifton Dodd, “Siam and the Laos”, *Missionary Review of the World* 18, no. 1 (1895): 8.

¹⁸⁷⁵ William Clifton Dodd, Report of a Tour of Exploration among the Laos People in Southern China, 1910, p. 4, RG 84-8-25, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1909–1910, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁸⁷⁶ William Marcus Young to Robert Harper, 7 February 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁷⁷ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1903)*, 89:108.

¹⁸⁷⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁷⁹ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 89:108.

¹⁸⁸⁰ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”.

¹⁸⁸¹ Anonymous, “The Open Door in Siam and Laos”, *The Assembly Herald* 14, no. 5 (1908): 221.

Phalaeo, Chiang Lap, Müang Len, Müang Khua, and Hua Pong.¹⁸⁸² In the same year, another team of Tai men was dispatched to Müang Sing and Müang Phong. In Müang Sing, they met a former patient of Doctor James W. McKean (1860–1949).¹⁸⁸³ These two teams of colporteurs “distributed and left on deposit about 1,000 copies of portions of Scriptures and tracts and hymnals among the Kern [Tai Khün] and Leu Lao [Tai Lü] dialects”.¹⁸⁸⁴ In 1899, a team of Tai people, probably led by Khan (according to House), went to Chiang Tung and stayed there for four months until May.¹⁸⁸⁵ In 1900, two teams of evangelists (one was three evangelists, and another was two Lahu¹⁸⁸⁶ and a dispensary assistant) were dispatched to Chiang Tung.¹⁸⁸⁷ The latter team aimed to preach among the Lahu because the former team reported that they could not make themselves fully understood by the Lahu people.¹⁸⁸⁸ After the opening of Chiang Tung Station, new converts began to work for the Presbyterians. In 1907, Chao Nòi Phrom (a Tai Lü convert from Müang Yòng), Nan Intha (a Sam Thüan convert from Ban Fai), Ai Pòm (a Tai Lü (Yòng) from Ban Sankhayòm, Lamphun),¹⁸⁸⁹ and Lung Ai (a Tai Yuan from North Siam) toured in Müang Yòng, Müang Luai, and Müang Khang in 1907.¹⁸⁹⁰ In the same year, Nòi Rin and Chao Nòi Phrom were dispatched to work in Müang Yòng and Sam Thüan.¹⁸⁹¹ After the closure of Chiang Tung Station in 1908, the Laos Mission still sent native workers to tour or work in Chiang Tung, including Nan Intha of Pa Pao, Nòi Kan, Nòi Wong, Nan Chailangka, and Ai Pòm.¹⁸⁹²

Nòi Rin, Nòi Tepin, and Khan were the native workers who accompanied the American missionaries to establish the Chiang Tung Station in 1904.¹⁸⁹³ Previously, Nòi Rin had accompanied McGilvary and Phraner on their missionary work among the Lahu people in 1891.¹⁸⁹⁴ He also assisted Dodd’s school work as a helper and translator in 1893. In the same year, he was licensed as a pastor and worked in Ban Wang Moon. In 1894, he was ordained

¹⁸⁸² William Clifton Dodd to Robert Speer, 5 March 1896, vol. 13, ETCBFM, PHS; Testimony of Elder Sow, Nang Fan, 28 June 1907, trans., RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Testimony of Loong Chaw, 2 July 1907, trans., RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁸⁸³ Daniel McGilvary, Annual Report of Cheung Mai Station for the Year 1896, 15 January 1897, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1897), 60:182.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Belle Eakin Dodd, Bimonthly Letters of North Laos Mission, February 1899, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS; House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 146.

¹⁸⁸⁶ House indicates that the two Lahu probably were Maw Ka and Chaw Maw of Mae Kawn village (House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 149).

¹⁸⁸⁷ Katharine Andrews Denman, The Laos Mission Letter for the Quarter Ending April 30, 1900, vol. 16, file 15, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Briggs, The Laos Mission Letter for the Quarter Ending July 31st, 1900, vol. 16, file 23, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Statement of Ai Pòm, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁹¹ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁹² William Clifton Dodd, Kengtung Substation, 31 October 1908, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁹³ William Clifton Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 24 October 1904, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁸⁹⁴ James W. McKean, Report of Chieng Mai Station of the North Laos Mission for the Year Dec. 1, 1890 to Dec. 1, 1891, 23 February 1891, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

as a reverend. In 1901, he moved to Chiang Rai to work in the Wiang Papao community.¹⁸⁹⁵ In Chiang Tung town, Nòi Rin conducted services on the Sabbath, and his home attracted many people, eventually becoming a centre of Christian influence.¹⁸⁹⁶ He was also a Tai language teacher for Cornell.¹⁸⁹⁷ Nòi Tepin was a Tai Yuan widower.¹⁸⁹⁸ He served as a dispensary assistant in Chiang Tung and got remarried to a native (half Tai Khün and half Shan) in Chiang Tung town.¹⁸⁹⁹ Nòi Tepin and Khan frequently visited Nòi Tepin's father-in-law's house for preaching.¹⁹⁰⁰ Young is scathing about Nòi Tepin's character and the fact that he had married three times in Chiang Tung and that each marriage was short-lived. In 1910, Nòi Tepin was apparently still with his third wife, a Shan woman, and was buying and selling opium.¹⁹⁰¹

The records on Khan and Nòi Kan offer comparatively more details. Khan was born in Chiang Mai to a Tai Khün father and a Shan mother.¹⁹⁰² However, Khan identifies himself as Tai Yuan.¹⁹⁰³ He lived in Chiang Rai until 1904, when he moved to Chiang Tung with Dodd.¹⁹⁰⁴ Young reports that Khan spoke both Tai Yuan and Shan fluently.¹⁹⁰⁵ As an evangelist in Chiang Tung, Khan toured many villages and built good relations with native officials and monks in principal monasteries.¹⁹⁰⁶ Young praises Khan's capability highly and considers him to be "a fine spirited man" and "[t]he best Evangelist" in the Laos Mission, even though he had "comparatively little training".¹⁹⁰⁷ Since 1904, Young had attempted to establish close relations with Khan. House suggests it is partly because Khan was a Tai Khün and Shan descendant.¹⁹⁰⁸ Khan was invited by the Baptists to use their chapel and participate in services.¹⁹⁰⁹ Young claims that Khan was "disgusted" with the Presbyterians' work, especially the work in Ban Nòng Ngön, and was "anxious" to join the Baptist side.¹⁹¹⁰ Khan confirms that the Baptist worker Pu La had convinced him to work for the Baptists for a salary of 30 rupees a month.¹⁹¹¹ It is probably a true account, as House analyses that the salaries provided by Young were much higher than those paid by the Presbyterians.¹⁹¹² Khan obtained 20 rupees per month

¹⁸⁹⁵ House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians", 155–158.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 68:352.

¹⁸⁹⁷ House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians", 163.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Young, *Side Lights on the Controversy*, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁸⁹⁹ William Clifton Dodd to Daniel McGilvary, 16 November 1904, vol. 273, file 29, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹⁰⁰ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 7 September 1904, vol. 273, file 27, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹⁰¹ Young, *Side Lights on the Controversy*, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 29 September 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁰² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁰³ Statement of Khan, n.d., RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd's Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 68:352.

¹⁹⁰⁷ William Marcus Young to Josiah Nelson Cushing, 26 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁰⁸ House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians", 162.

¹⁹⁰⁹ William Clifton Dodd to Daniel McGilvary, 5 June 1904, vol. 273, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹¹⁰ William Marcus Young to Josiah Nelson Cushing, 26 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹¹¹ Statement of Khan, n.d., RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS. According to the Presbyterians, apart from Khan, Ai Pòm and Ai Fu were also invited by Young to join the Baptists (William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, Mrs. C. R. Callender and Belle E. Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 September 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS).

¹⁹¹² The Presbyterians normally paid native workers 15 rupees per month, while Young paid a Karen worker 40 to 60 rupees per month (House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians", 162). See also William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 May 1910, FM-213.

from the Presbyterians for his work in Chiang Tung, five rupees more than the salary he received before his transfer.¹⁹¹³

Nòi Kan, born to a Shan father and a Tai Yuan mother,¹⁹¹⁴ was a Tai from Ban Mae Kòn, Chiang Rai.¹⁹¹⁵ He preached in Chiang Tung in 1894 and 1899.¹⁹¹⁶ The Presbyterians applauded Nòi Kan as “an energetic, sane, tactful worker”.¹⁹¹⁷ In 1910, Nòi Kan’s Shan blood caused a problem for the Presbyterians. Young challenged the Presbyterian’s work in Chiang Tung, mentioning Nòi Kan’s ethnicity and his marriage to a Shan woman.¹⁹¹⁸ It was only in 1910, after Young’s protest, that some Presbyterian missionaries became aware that Nòi Kan was “of Western Shan extraction”.¹⁹¹⁹ Dodd reports that Nòi Kan’s Shan father was actually a native from the southwestern part of Chiang Tung, who “spoke the Laos language well”, and was not a trans-Salween Western Shan. Moreover, Dodd claims that he had never once heard Nòi Kan using Shan during his preaching and private conversations in Chiang Tung, and Nòi Kan probably adjusted his speech when talking with the Baptist missionaries.¹⁹²⁰

It is easy to confuse Khan with Nòi Kan because the names of both two workers are rendered as “Kan” in contemporary records. Young’s records are also confusing, apparently forgetting what he had written about Khan in 1905,¹⁹²¹ claiming that Nòi Kan was the only helper in the Laos Mission that spoke Shan.¹⁹²² House notes that Nòi Kan and Khan were two different people¹⁹²³ and that the person mentioned as being from Chiang Mai was Khan (Elder Kan), and the individual from Ban Mae Kòn was Nòi Kan.

B. E. Dodd mentions an unnamed Tai Khün cook who probably was Ai Fu from Chiang Rai. B. E. Dodd describes him as a good Buddhist who “came only on condition that he did not have to kill chickens”. He did not attend any services, but his wife, Üay Kham from Lamphun, attended more often. She was “interested in Christianity before she married him” and had moved to Chiang Tung with him.¹⁹²⁴ Ai Fu became a Christian no earlier than 1906.¹⁹²⁵ He and his wife had two sons.¹⁹²⁶ In 1910, he volunteered to accompany Dodd’s tour of South China.¹⁹²⁷ Dodd describes him as “a most faithful, sweet, and thoroughly Christian Laos

¹⁹¹³ William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, Mrs. C. R. Callender and Belle E. Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 September 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁹¹⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young, Side Lights on the Controversy, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹¹⁵ Statement of Nòi Kan, the 9th waxing day of the 9th month, 1269 [21 May 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 17 November 1910, vol. 279, file 5, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹¹⁶ Statement of Nòi Kan, 21 May 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁹¹⁷ Anonymous, Report of the North Laos Mission, 31 October 1910, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹¹⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹¹⁹ William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 17 November 1910, vol. 279, file 5, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹²⁰ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 21 November 1910, RG 84-8-25, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1909–1910, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁹²¹ In 1905, Young claims Khan was the only helper in the Laos Mission that spoke Shan (William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS).

¹⁹²² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 July 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹²³ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 184.

¹⁹²⁴ Dodd, “Taking Root in Chieng Tung”, 69; Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 53.

¹⁹²⁵ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 53.

¹⁹²⁶ Dodd, “Three Months among the Laos in South China”, 239.

¹⁹²⁷ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 52.

man”.¹⁹²⁸ Ai Fu not only cooked food, but also conducted the Sunday morning service during the expedition, for instance, in Pak Ai.¹⁹²⁹ During their travels, Ai Fu accompanied Dodd “without a grouch or a grumble”. The contact with Ai Fu deepened Dodd’s appreciation for “the great historic Laos race”.¹⁹³⁰ After the journey, Dodd praises him highly, saying that “[i]f you want to know a man, travel to the Klondike, or Canton, with him.”¹⁹³¹ Young reports that, after his wife died, Ai Fu became a “hard drinker”.¹⁹³²

Chao Nòi Phrom was the first Presbyterian convert in Müang Yòng. He was baptised on 26 November 1906, and his family members followed on 27 October 1907.¹⁹³³ He was an opium addict and followed the missionaries to Chiang Tung town in order to cure his opium habit.¹⁹³⁴ Later, he participated in tours in Müang Yòng and nearby districts.¹⁹³⁵ Chao Nòi Phrom acted as a “living witness” during preaching activities for the rejection of opium.¹⁹³⁶ Dodd claims that many people from Müang Yòng followed Chao Nòi Phrom to ask for treatment for opium and were willing to become Christians.¹⁹³⁷ After the closure of the Chiang Tung Station, Chao Nòi Phrom relapsed, started using opium again, and abandoned Christianity.¹⁹³⁸ Native helpers also assisted in the missionaries’ medical work. Chao Nòi Phrom sold many prepared remedies in Müang Yòng.¹⁹³⁹ There were also other native workers, like Nòi Wong, but there are few extant records of them.¹⁹⁴⁰

The Tai Nüa were another group of Tai people that the American missionaries encountered. “Tai Nüa” basically means “people of the north”¹⁹⁴¹ but is often used as an ethnonym referring to Tai people to the north of Sipsòng Panna. Some Tai and Western sources reveal that the Tai Nüa area around Müang Bò had close ties with Chiang Tung. The *Padaeng Chronicle* records that Buddhism in Müang Ka (Yongping) had spread from Chiang Tung.¹⁹⁴² Nowadays, the Tai Nüa monasteries in Müang Bò, Müang Ka, and neighbouring areas still use the Tham script, the same script used in Chiang Tung and further to the south. A Sipsòng Panna chronicle writes that after the forced resettlement of the people of Sipsòng Panna (including Chao Nò Müang, Chao Si Mün Na of Müang Chae, the Chiang Lò ruler, and people from the

¹⁹²⁸ Dodd, “Laos Women Met on Tour through South China”, 104.

¹⁹²⁹ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 97.

¹⁹³⁰ Dodd, “Three Months among the Laos in South China”, 239.

¹⁹³¹ Dodd, “Laos Women Met on Tour through South China”, 104.

¹⁹³² William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 29 September 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹³³ William Clifton Dodd, “Christ and the Demons of Muang Yawng”, *Laos News* 5, no. 1 (January 1908): 27–28.

¹⁹³⁴ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 29 September 1906, vol. 275, file 44, ETCBFM, PHS; Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹³⁵ Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹³⁶ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹³⁷ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 29 September 1906, vol. 275, file 44, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹³⁸ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 181.

¹⁹³⁹ Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹⁴⁰ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 78.

¹⁹⁴¹ Not to be confused with the “Tai Nüa” in Sam Nüa (Xam Neua) Province of Laos, which means “people of Sam Nüa”.

¹⁹⁴² Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 122.

western bank of the Mekong) to Ava in 1627, Tai Nüa people from Müang Ka were persuaded to migrate into Sipsòng Panna.¹⁹⁴³ The Panthay Rebellion and the ensuing pacification caused a large migration of Tai Nüa people into Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung. In February 1878, Chao Kòng Thai, at that time the ruler of Müang Yu, arranged for Tai Nüa of Ban Kat Fa and Ban Nòng Nün to migrate to Müang Sing.¹⁹⁴⁴ In early 1896, Tai Nüa still formed the majority in the trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng. Out of a total of thirty villages, Tai Nüa occupied fifteen of them, ten more than the Tai Lü villages.¹⁹⁴⁵ However, as discussed in Chapter III, before the handover of Müang Sing to the French in May 1896, the British ordered the Tai Nüa people to migrate back to the cis-Mekong part of the state.

Circa 1910, fifteen Tai Nüa villages were present in the Chiang Tung plain.¹⁹⁴⁶ The Tai Nüa in Chiang Tung had a variety of occupations, like carpenter, opium dealer, masons, traders, and butcher.¹⁹⁴⁷ The Tai Nüa diaspora in Chiang Tung maintained connections with their homeland in China. Before Archer's visit to Chiang Tung in 1888, the chief of Müang Ka had been in Chiang Tung.¹⁹⁴⁸ The Tai Nüa people also participated in the overland caravan trade. In 1900, Chiang Rai Station's hospital received a group of Tai Nüa caravan traders travelling from Chiang Chüang.¹⁹⁴⁹

The Laos Mission's contact with the Tai Nüa people probably started in 1906. This year, the Laos Mission found renewed hope in the Tai Nüa community in Chiang Tung. In a village a few miles from Chiang Tung town, Ban Nòng Kung, the Presbyterians met a man named Hua Sam, who was suffering from chronic dysentery. After receiving treatment from Gibbens and Presbyterian missionaries, Hua Sam said he wanted to convert, but he died before becoming a Christian. It is reported that the devoted care for the dying person left a "profound impression on his relatives and friends".¹⁹⁵⁰

In the same year of 1906, the Dodds met three Tai Nüa noble females from Müang Bò who were on a merit-making trip to Chiang Tung. They travelled for one month to reach Chiang Tung, where they spent three months during the rainy season for the Buddhist Lent. They left a good impression on B. E. Dodd, who describes them as "women of strong character, dignified and self-possessed, with charming manners". She emphasises the similarity between their accent and that of the females in Chiang Mai. After listening to B. E. Dodd's explanation of the hymns and the life of Christ, the Tai Nüa princesses said, "[w]hy, that is just the language of our books". B. E. Dodd adds that "[t]hey said they had never before heard of Jesus! Twenty days travel without a ray of Gospel light. Surely that is field enough to satisfy a large number of

¹⁹⁴³ Li, *Leshi*, 28.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 270.

¹⁹⁴⁵ M. Sévénier, chancelier st. de résidence, ff. de commissaire du gouvernement à M. L. Pou Kha à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en mission au Laos, 27 février 1896, f. 55, GGI 15699, ANOM.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Dodd, "Three Glimpses of Our Kengtung Work", 224.

¹⁹⁴⁷ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of the Kengtung Station, 31 August 1905, vol. 274, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer's Journal, p. 6, FO 881/5713, NA.

¹⁹⁴⁹ William A. Briggs, Personal Report, 31 October 1900, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1907), 70:382.

eager evangelists.”¹⁹⁵¹ Dodd re-encounters two of the women four years later, in 1910, at the court of Müang Bò. One of them asked Dodd to send her regards to his wife and also requested photos of the Dodds.¹⁹⁵² Young visited the Tai Nüa people who accompanied Dodd on the journey to China in 1910 several times. He reports that one Tai Nüa man, who was said to be the headman of the group, probably Hua Khuat, spoke Chinese and had learned the Tai Yuan accent in Chiang Rai. Young writes that the Tai Nüa man denied that Dodd was understood by the Tai Nüa in Müang Bò, or that the Tai Nüa understand pure Tai Yuan.¹⁹⁵³

Some Presbyterians were Tai Nüa. Dodd reports that two Tai Nüa women of rank, mother and daughter, were enrolled as catechumens.¹⁹⁵⁴ One Tai Nüa convert and three Tai Nüa catechumens from Yunnan went to work at the hospital, probably in Chiang Rai. The baptised Tai Nüa, named Hua Khuat Sri, had been influenced by the missionaries for three years. He was “[a] man of ability and stability”. He was dispatched back to Chiang Tung, and the Laos Mission hoped that he would contribute evangelising in the Tai Nüa community.¹⁹⁵⁵ Probably because of their travel experience and acquaintance with the routes to Yunnan, of the two muleteers and three porters who accompanied Dodd’s 1910 journey to China, four were Tai Nüa from Müang Bò.¹⁹⁵⁶ Hua Khuat, the head muleteer, was a young Christian. He became Christian “through the work of Nan Inta [Nan Intha] and Nòi Kan in their work at Ban Sao Paet village outside of Keng Tung”.¹⁹⁵⁷

b) Natives in the Shan Mission

By 1907, the Baptist Chiang Tung Station had 38 unordained native preachers,¹⁹⁵⁸ considerably more than the Presbyterians, who had only seven.¹⁹⁵⁹

The Shan Mission’s work in Chiang Tung was a natural extension of its work among the Shan people in the Northern Shan states. At first, the Chiang Tung Station’s main target in Chiang Tung was also Shan, and its first convert was reportedly a Shan man. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the British pacification of Burma caused a large number of Shan people to flee to Chiang Tung. Many of the migrants were from Lòk Chòk, Müang Nai, Müang Nòng, Lai Kha, and South Saen Wi.¹⁹⁶⁰ The census of 1901 reports 57,058 Shan speakers living in Chiang Tung.¹⁹⁶¹

¹⁹⁵¹ Dodd, “Notes from Kengtung”, 53–54.

¹⁹⁵² Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 77–78.

¹⁹⁵³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour and the Committee of Reference Burma, 29 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁵⁴ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of the Kengtung Station, 31 August 1905, vol. 274, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹⁵⁵ Anonymous, “Personal and Otherwise”, *Laos News* 6, no. 4 (November 1909): 92–93.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 53.

¹⁹⁵⁷ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 186.

¹⁹⁵⁸ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1907), 93:57.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Anonymous, Table of Statistics for the Year Ending October 31st, 1907, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

¹⁹⁶⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁶¹ D. M. Gordon to William Marcus Young, 8 September 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Almost all the Tai workers in the Baptist Chiang Tung Station were Shan. The first Shan worker was a woman named Kham Ing, who was in charge of women's Bible work and school work. However, Young accused her heathen husband of hindering the missionary work and almost turning Kham Ing into a non-Christian, and he asked the pair to leave the area.¹⁹⁶² In 1903, a Shan preacher and his wife from Nam Kham arrived in Chiang Tung.¹⁹⁶³ There were some Shan workers from Si Pò, like Moug Me and Nang Nu.¹⁹⁶⁴ Other named Shan workers included Moug Pyu,¹⁹⁶⁵ Hpo La, and Mong Gyi.

Pha Ka Chai was the first Shan convert in Chiang Tung. He became a Christian on 22 June 1902. However, Young does not mention how and why Pha Ka Chai converted. Meanwhile, the Presbyterian delegation reveals that Pha Ka Chai was actually a Tai Yuan from Müang Phan in Chiang Rai and that his family had fled to Chiang Thòng¹⁹⁶⁶ in the cis-Salween territory because of war.¹⁹⁶⁷ Young writes that Pha Ka Chai was a "steadfast and earnest" middle-aged man. He was literate and had spent much time reading Christian books and tracts. Young was astonished by the opposition to Pha Ka Chai's conversion: "So much is said today about Buddhist toleration that a few grains of fact mixed in might be of value. The man that I baptized last Sunday met the bitterest opposition from almost everyone in his village [...] I have never seen such narrow, bigoted, superstitious opposition in Shanland before." Young considers the priest of the village monastery to be the leader of the opposition, judging from his attitude towards Young when the latter visited the temple. Young visited the temple one month after Pha Ka Chai's conversion, but the priest "would not speak, but got up and went into his sleeping apartments immediately".¹⁹⁶⁸ Lacking reinforcements from Lower Burma, in 1903, Young let Pha Ka Chai work in his own village and others nearby. Young says that "he will help in many ways and will only increase expenses slightly. It will be such a relief when we can train up workers on the field."¹⁹⁶⁹ Young praises Pha Ka Chai's good memory and thorough knowledge of this state.¹⁹⁷⁰ In 1909, Pha Ka Chai was the only man to preach at the Chiang Tung market.¹⁹⁷¹ He was later appointed as a medical assistant.¹⁹⁷² His daughter, Nang Saeng, was baptised in 1903.¹⁹⁷³ Nang Saeng is described as "the brightest" Shan girl and

¹⁹⁶² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 March 1903, 11 April 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁶³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 April 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁶⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 21 March 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁶⁵ William Marcus Young to Robert Harper, 7 February 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁶⁶ Not to be confused with the Chiang Thòng in Sipsòng Panna.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation, 1907*, pp. 60–61, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

¹⁹⁶⁸ William Marcus Young, "From our Mail Bag", *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 82, no. 10 (1902): 648; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 89:108.

¹⁹⁶⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 31 January 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. Also in William Marcus Young, "From our Mail Bag", *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 83, no.6 (1903): 232.

¹⁹⁷⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 July 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁷¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 21 March 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁷² William Marcus Young, Supplemental Letter Giving Comparison of Buildings, 16 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁷³ Ai Lun and Erville E. Sowards, "Baptist Work Among the Shans", In *Burma Baptist Chronicle*, ed. Shwe Wa, Maung, Genevieve Sowards, and Erville Sowards (Rangoon: Board of Publications, Burma Baptist Convention, 1963), 362.

“ambitious to learn”.¹⁹⁷⁴ They were the only two Tai people baptised by the Baptists in Chiang Tung by 1911.¹⁹⁷⁵

There were also some Tai Dòi people in the Shan Mission. Ai Nan¹⁹⁷⁶ was a Tai Dòi, a former opium victim and a robber, with a command of Shan, Lahu, and Tai Dòi languages.¹⁹⁷⁷ After the Presbyterians’ withdrawal from Chiang Tung, three of their Tai Dòi converts in Müang Yòng were re-baptised by the Baptists. Two Tai Dòi from Ban Fai were also baptised. Two of them were sent to study the Shan dialect and the New Testament in Chiang Tung, and they were later sent back to work in Ban Fai and Ban Nam Pòng, respectively.¹⁹⁷⁸

The Baptist work in Chiang Tung relied heavily on the Karen Christians. Initially, in 1901, when Young went to open the station, he brought two Karen Bible women and one preacher with him.¹⁹⁷⁹ In the following years, graduates from the Rangoon-based Karen Theological Seminary, founded in 1845,¹⁹⁸⁰ became a major source of Baptist workers in Chiang Tung.¹⁹⁸¹ The leader of non-American workers in Chiang Tung was a Karen named Ba Te.¹⁹⁸² After 1907, Karen workers were dispatched to different outstations and areas to work among the Lolo-Burmese-speaking peoples. In 1908, Po Tun and Moug Me were sent to Müang Yang to work among the Akha, and in 1909 they were transferred to Müang Yòng.¹⁹⁸³ Awtu and Chu Keh went to work among Phraya Khiri’s Lahu.¹⁹⁸⁴ Shwe Thu stayed in the villages of hill peoples, including the Akha and Lahu.¹⁹⁸⁵

Young emphasises that the Lahu and Karen had similar tales of migration, and some Karen “were anxious” to work among the Lahu.¹⁹⁸⁶ He made use of the similarity between some Lahu and Karen traditions, letting Karen preachers explain their customs and their conversion to Christianity to the Lahu people in order to convince them to join the religion.¹⁹⁸⁷

¹⁹⁷⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 9 May 1903, 11 July 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. Later, it was recorded that Nang Saeng married one Karen worker, Thra Boo Pa, who came to Chiang Tung with Young. “When she was left a widow with five young children, Nang Seng put her children through mission schools and took nurse’s training in Moulmein. The son, Marcus, became a doctor, William became a professor in the University of Rangoon, Paul became Headmaster of the State High School in Thandaung and a Member of Parliament. These are some of the valuable contributions which Kengtung has made to the Christian community of Burma” (Ai Lun and Sowards, “Baptist Work Among the Shans”, 365).

¹⁹⁷⁵ Charles Royal Callender to the Executive Committee of the North Laos Mission, 9 June 1911, ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, PHS.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Robbins wrongly considers him a Lahu (Joseph C. Robbins, *Following the Pioneers: A Story of American Baptist Mission Work in India and Burma* (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1922), 85).

¹⁹⁷⁷ William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee, 21 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁷⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁷⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 22 March 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁸⁰ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 94:67.

¹⁹⁸¹ Anonymous, “Monthly Survey”, *The Baptist Missionary Magazine* 82, no. 4 (1902): 123; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1904), 90:57; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:59, 117; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 92:58; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁸² Wilbur Willis Cochrane, “The Story of Saya Ba Teh”, *Missions* 3, no. 5 (1912): 368.

¹⁹⁸³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 21 March 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁸⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁸⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 21 March 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁸⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 April 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁸⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

However, it is difficult to confirm the extent to which the Karen workers impacted the massive conversion of the Lahu, in view of Walker's doubt about the ethnic affiliation between Karen and Lahu, which was the Baptist Karen workers' creation.¹⁹⁸⁸

Young owed much to the native workers. When he was unable to cross the border, Young had to rely on native helpers for (cross-border) tours or entrust tracts to native spiritual leaders.¹⁹⁸⁹ Gibbens confesses that by 1906, the Baptist missionaries hardly made any tours and that the source of information was native helpers and local visitors.¹⁹⁹⁰ In 1905, two Lahu and one Tai Dòi travelled to China and the Wa state.¹⁹⁹¹ During the 1907 tour to China, the Baptists were required to follow main roads, and Young had to dispatch Lahu and Wa Christians to work in communities off the main roads.¹⁹⁹² Young left someone from the Wa community there to continue the missionary work.¹⁹⁹³ In 1908, Ba Te, Po Tun, and Po Sain paid a visit to China with local Lahu and Wa workers.¹⁹⁹⁴ Lahu from China also worked for the station in Chiang Tung. In 1905, two worked at the school, and two were employed for carpenter work. Young claims that they were "intensely interested in doing what I want and working for the interest of the Mission".¹⁹⁹⁵

Karen and Shan native workers were dispatched to oversee local work. Moung Me was in Müang Yòng.¹⁹⁹⁶ Hpo La and Mong Gyi, two Tai, were stationed in Müang Len to work among the Akha and Lahu.¹⁹⁹⁷ Nang Nu, Myat E's wife, was stationed at Müang Yang for teaching.¹⁹⁹⁸ By 1909, thirteen locally trained men were in charge of village schools, and the teachers from Lower Burma were in charge of six outstation schools.¹⁹⁹⁹ Hpo La, the "strongest Shan preacher"²⁰⁰⁰ and "a very strong able man",²⁰⁰¹ was assigned to supervise the station work in Müang Yang, together with Ai Nan, Po Sein, and another man.²⁰⁰²

Young hoped to follow the same method in Korea, letting the native Christians evangelise to their own people.²⁰⁰³ He recruited the native people to the school to undertake missionary training. In 1907, ten Lahu were in the training class.²⁰⁰⁴ Trained Lahu teachers were appointed

¹⁹⁸⁸ Anthony R. Walker, "Karen and Lahu: Ethnic Affiliation or Baptists' Imagination?" *Journal of the Siam Society* 96 (2008): 217–228.

¹⁹⁸⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 December 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 30 October 1905, 6 November 1905, 26 December 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Howard C. Gibbens to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 13 February 1906, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 April 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 April 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 March 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 July 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 21 March 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 21 March 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 1 September 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

¹⁹⁹⁹ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:56.

²⁰⁰⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁰¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 December 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁰² William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee, 21 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁰³ William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 5 January 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁰⁴ William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee, 21 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

to schools in the hills.²⁰⁰⁵ Tai Dòi were also sent back to preach among their people.²⁰⁰⁶ In 1908, fifty men were dispatched for touring work with a duration of two to three months.²⁰⁰⁷

4 Trans-Border Connections

Though the American missionaries worked in this region mainly after the boundary demarcation had been completed, both the Presbyterians and the Baptists ventured to break through the national boundaries. As Dodd claims, “[t]he lines which demark our work are linguistic and racial, not geographical or civil.”²⁰⁰⁸ Both the Presbyterians and the Baptists consciously utilised the natives’ trans-border connections in their missionary work.

The natives of the Upper Mekong River basin had high mobility, although there are few extant travel writings confirming this. As has been mentioned in Chapter I, in the early nineteenth century, many Tai people (probably including some non-Tai people) from Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng were forced to resettle in Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Nan.²⁰⁰⁹ The converts in North Siam included descendants of these war captives and, as Dodd says, “[t]here is not better element in our churches than the Yawng [Yòng]²⁰¹⁰ people.”²⁰¹¹ Some even became important elders in the history of the Laos Mission. One of the “best teachers” in the Laos Mission was a descendant of Müang Yòng.²⁰¹² Nan Suwan, who

²⁰⁰⁵ William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 5 January 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 1 September 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁰⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 October 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁰⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁰⁸ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 13 July 1898, vol. 15, file 35, ETCBFM, PHS. See also William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 March 1898, vol. 15, file 16, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰⁰⁹ Dodd reports that a large part of the population in North Siam was Tai Khün and Tai Lü (Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, p. 5, RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS).

²⁰¹⁰ Yòng is a complex term. Tai Yòng (*thai yòng*) refers to the subjects (*thai*) of Müang Yòng (*yòng*), but a large number of the Tai Lü descendants in Lamphun and Chiang Rai today claim to be Yòng as well, even though their ancestors came from different places, including Müang Yòng, Müang Luai, and even Sipsòng Panna (See the 1837 letter from the nobles of Müang Hon to their relatives in Lamphun discussed in Chapter I). In 1837, when McLeod visited Chiang Mai and Lamphun, those forcibly resettled Tai Lü of Müang Yòng in North Siam were still called “Lü” (McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 23 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 315). The changes of ethnonym and community identity are complicated. In the 1900s, these Tai Lü descendants were already called “Yòng”. In his statement, Ai Pòm regards himself as “*chüa chat chao yòng*” (Yòng people) but refers to the people of Müang Yòng as “*chat lü*” (Lü people) (see Figure 9, Statement of Ai Pòm, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS). However, the Presbyterians in the 1900s identify Tai Lü and Yòng as the same ethnic group. A letter written by Irwin in 1900 concerning the resettled Tai Lü people in North Siam suggests that they still had the same customs and speech as the people in their homeland, “The same is true of the Yawng [Yòng] people settled in Lampoon” is quoted as “The same is true of the (Lu) [Lü] people settled in Lampoon” in an extract, even though, in this letter, Irwin himself lists “Lu [Lü]” and “Yawng [Yòng]” separately (Robert Irwin to Arthur Judson Brown, 18 January 1900, pp. 4, 11–12, RG 84-8-23, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS; Quotations from Mr. Irwin’s letter to Dr. Brown, dated Jan 18. 1900, p. 2, RG 84-8-23, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS). In 1907, Dodd does not consider the Yòng people in Chiang Saen and Chiang Rai as a separate ethnic group from the Tai Lü (Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, p. 5, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS), while today, some Yòng people in Lamphun and Chiang Rai, researchers, as well as Thai governmental organisations, do not consider the Yòng people to be Tai Lü.

²⁰¹¹ Dodd, “Christ and the Demons of Muang Yawng”, 27.

²⁰¹² McGilvary, “Eighty Days Among the North Laos”, 321.

accompanied McGilvary's journey to Sipsòng Panna in 1893, was a member of the Tai Lü diaspora.²⁰¹³ In defending their work in Chiang Tung, the Presbyterians mention that the descendants of the Tai Lü and Tai Khün war captives were already integrated with people in North Siam, and there were few apparent differences in terms of their customs and accents with the Tai Yuan and with those in their homelands.²⁰¹⁴ For this reason, Dodd was excited to visit Müang Luai, "the home of so many of the present inhabitants of Lamphoon [Lamphun] province".²⁰¹⁵

Though having been resettled in North Siam for nearly a century, the Tai Lü diaspora still maintained a certain level of contact with their homelands. An example is the Sipsòng Panna emissary Phaya Luang Ratchawong's involvement in the Shan Rebellion (1902) in Chiang Kham, where there was a large Tai Lü community.²⁰¹⁶ The Tai Yuan from North Siam were also present in Chiang Tung. They came to Chiang Tung for trade or work, some were employed by the Laos Mission, and some just visited their friends. In Chiang Tung town, the Presbyterians also met a Chiang Tung man who had been to Chiang Rai to work for Briggs and became a catechumen. It is reported that "[h]is heathen friends all ridicule him, but he seems to hold firmly to his new faith."²⁰¹⁷

The Presbyterian writings record some cases of the natives' trans-border mobility. In 1893, a "poor uneducated man" from Sipsòng Panna, who was educated at the training school in Lamphun, participated in the preaching at the newly founded Phrae Station.²⁰¹⁸ Nan Tha was a former monk in Chiang Mai and later became one of the earliest Christians converted by the Laos Mission. During the reign of Kawilorot Suriyawong, he fled to Chiang Tung and lived there for three years to escape the suppression of Christians.²⁰¹⁹ Another example is Chao Nòi Suriya, a friend of McGilvary and Briggs. B. E. Dodd writes that his ancestor was a prince of Chiang Tung, who was one of the five princes who fled to Chiang Mai.²⁰²⁰ Chao Nòi Suriya's maternal ancestors settled in Lamphun. His father was from Müang Wa, a district east of Chiang Tung, and he was born in Lamphun and later moved to Chiang Rai. In 1905, the Dodds found him living in Chiang Tung. He had once married the daughter of the former ruler of Chiang Rai, and his wife at that time was a noble of Müang Nim, a district in the north of

²⁰¹³ It is not clear whether he was a descendant of war captives in the early nineteenth century or not. There are many sources for the exodus of the Tai Lü people.

²⁰¹⁴ Robert Irwin to Arthur Judson Brown, 18 January 1900, pp. 11–12, RG 84-8-23, SFTM, PHS; John Haskell Freeman to Arthur Judson Brown, 22 January 1900, RG 84-8-23, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰¹⁵ Mr. Dodd's Itinerary, n.d., RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰¹⁶ Phraya Luang Ratchawong to Mòm Nang Bua Kham and the nobilities of Müang Phong, the 5th waxing day of the 12th month, 1264 [7 October 1902], GGI 22397, ANOM; See also Walker, "Seditious State-Making in the Mekong Borderlands", 575–577.

²⁰¹⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Belle Eakin Dodd, "Prayer Answered in Chieng Tung", *Laos News* 2, no. 2 (April 1905): 11–12.

²⁰¹⁸ William A. Briggs, Muang Praa Report, 21 November 1893, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰¹⁹ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 226–227.

²⁰²⁰ According to the *Jengtung State Chronicle*, in 1802, Chiang Mai attacked Chiang Tung and took the people in Chiang Tung and the ruling family back to Chiang Mai. The people of Chiang Tung, led by Chao Sarabya Bhuminda, asked to be settled in Chiang Saen (Mangrāi, *The Pādæng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 258).

Müang Laem. She spoke Yunnanese Chinese quite often at home. Both Chao Nòi Suriya and his wife converted to Christianity. Considering Chao Nòi Suriya “has racial and family ties all over the country” and his good command of the Tai dialects of Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and other places in Yunnan, B. E. Dodd hopes that “he will be a valuable helper as mission scribe and language teacher.”²⁰²¹

Dodd mentions that, at a village in Müang La, during his 1910 tour, he met an acquaintance of one of the converts in Müang Yòng, who was originally from Müang Chae. This case is apparently used to justify the Laos Mission’s missionary work among the Tai people in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. Dodd declares that “it shows how completely our work in Siam, Burma, and China is one.” Moreover, Dodd adds that “his friend in this village seemed much impressed by the news that this M. Che [Müang Chae] man had got relief from the accusation of witchcraft through the religion of ‘The Coming One’ brought to M. Yawng from Chiengmai and Chiengrai, in north Siam. The people is one, the language is one, the Buddhist cult is the same, the superstitions regarding demons and witchcraft are the same.”²⁰²²

Dodd urged for work among the Tai people beyond the border of Siam, who were separated by the newly formed national boundaries.²⁰²³ He believes that the arrival of the Laos Mission in Chiang Tung will be the start of “a revival of interest in the common written language” and the trans-border connection, which were interrupted by “civil wars and resulting hatred and mutual distrust”.²⁰²⁴ Indeed, in a letter written in 1903, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng expresses his wish to purchase “some printing types of Hkün character [Tham script]” during his travel to Bangkok and Chiang Mai.²⁰²⁵ Young confirms that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng welcomed the arrival of the Presbyterian missionaries and the establishment of a press in the hope of reviving the Tai Khün dialect and curbing “the tide of Western Influences”.²⁰²⁶ Briggs claims that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng considered the Burmese and Shan languages as foreign and hoped that he and Dodd would live in Chiang Tung.²⁰²⁷

The expansion of the Presbyterian missionary work into Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna was partly related to the Tai diasporas. In 1891, when McGivalry, Phraner, and Nòi Rin returned to Chiang Saen after a tour of Müang Len, they found 1000 members of the Tai Lü diaspora.²⁰²⁸ The trip of 1893 aimed at visiting the homes of Tai Khün and Tai Lü, “from which

²⁰²¹ Dodd, “Prayer Answered in Chieng Tung”, 12–14; William Clifton Dodd to Friends of the Kengtung Station, 9 May 1905, vol. 274, file 16, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Daniel McGilvary, 16 November 1904, vol. 273, file 29, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰²² Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 68.

²⁰²³ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 237. For a similar view in 1898, see Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., p. 24, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰²⁴ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 11 July 1904, vol. 273, file 26, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰²⁵ Translation of letter from the Kengtung Sawbwa to the Superintendent and Political Officer Southern Shan States, Proposed visit of Keng Tung Sawbwa to Ceylon, Singapore and Bangkok, IOR/L/PS/7/151, No. 239, *Political and Secret Letters and enclosures received from India*, vol. 151, BL.

²⁰²⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 June 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 18 July 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰²⁷ William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 9 July 1903, vol. 272, file 2, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰²⁸ James W. McKean, Report of Chieng Mai Station of the North Laos Mission for the Year Dec. 1. 1890 to Dec. 1, 1891, 23 February 1891, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS. These 1000 Tai Lü diasporas were probably the same

very many of our parishioners in the southern provinces derived their origin”.²⁰²⁹ The Laos Mission was quite familiar with the Tai diaspora community. When McGilvary and Irwin were in Müang Yòng, McGilvary recalls the Tai Lü diaspora in Chiang Mai and Lamphun.²⁰³⁰ Like what McLeod encountered in 1837, at the turn of the twentieth century, members of this community still vividly remembered the forced resettlements in the early 1800s. The ruler of Müang Yòng told McGilvary about the depopulation of Müang Yòng in 1809.²⁰³¹

The Tai people in North Siam, including the descendants of Tai Lü and Tai Khün people, are recorded as being supporters of expanding missionary work into the north. B. E. Dodd mentions that the native volunteers from North Siam looked forward to the missionary work in Chiang Tung.²⁰³² In 1904, on one Sabbath day before leaving to open the Chiang Tung Station, “[a] Chieng Mai elder said that nine-tenths of the Christians present in the First Church of Chieng Mai that Sabbath morning were descended from people who came from Chieng Tung and the Lü country to the east and north of Chieng Tung, and, as the descendants had first received the Gospel, they were bound cheerfully to spare one of their older American missionary families to go up to preach to those still in the ancestral home.”²⁰³³ One of the supporters, Nòi Hüan, was a dispensary clerk in Lamphun. He expressed his regret about not being able to go to Chiang Tung and entrusted Dodd to distribute some copies of tracts to his “brethren in the North Country”.²⁰³⁴ The Christians in Chiang Rai even wrote a letter inviting the people in the north to accept Christianity:

*Happiness we write, we all, the company of disciples of the great Jehovah Lord; namely freemen who, assembling together did set up our homes in the country of Chieng Rai; we therefore beg to send a letter of good news which is beautiful to come unto all the brethren, both women and men, large and small, who have set up homes and temples, dwelling on the mother waters and the back of earth within the boundaries of Kengtung and Muang Lem, Muang Sip Song Punna and all the other free countries everywhere, to the north, to give you to know clearly in every respect ... And now all we in the south, therefore, beg and invite all our brothers in the north to receive this holy religion which is really true, speedily. Gladly telling of the road to happiness we come to give light.*²⁰³⁵

a) “Larger Laos” and “Larger Lahu”

group of 300 Tai Lü households in Chiang Khòng mentioned by Garanger (Le Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Ha Hin à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur en Mission au Laos, 22 août 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM).

²⁰²⁹ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 353.

²⁰³⁰ Ibid., 355.

²⁰³¹ Ibid.

²⁰³² Dodd, “A Tour of Buddhist Temples”, 126.

²⁰³³ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 238. See also Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, p. 4, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰³⁴ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 17 March 1899, vol. 15, file 80, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰³⁵ Anonymous, “Letter from Chieng Rai Christians to those in the North”, *Laos News* 3, no. 2 (April 1906): 25–26, quoted in House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 176–177.

“Lao” was both an exonym for the Tai Yuan and Lao used by the Siamese and an endonym used by the Lao themselves. The Presbyterians started their work from Bangkok and adopted this exonym from the Siamese.²⁰³⁶ Even though they used the term “Tai” from time to time, the Presbyterian missionaries did not use the endonym “Tai” to replace “Lao”. Dodd does not regard “Lao” as an exonym but as the “original name”.²⁰³⁷ Referring to *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam* (1901), Dodd claims that “Lao” was a time-honoured “racial name”, corrupted from “Ai Lao”, which was first found in Chinese records when Moses was seventeen years old. He mentions the ancient “Ai Lao kingdom” built by the Ai Lao people.²⁰³⁸

Initially, when Presbyterian missionaries visited Müang Len in 1891, they identified Tai Khün and Tai Lü people as “branches of the Laos family”.²⁰³⁹ McGilvary held the same view regarding his experience in Chiang Rung.²⁰⁴⁰ The Presbyterians report that “[t]he people of Chieng Mai, Lampon, Lakawn, Pre, Nan also Chieng Rai are of one blood with the Khun, Tia Nua and Lu of the north country.”²⁰⁴¹

“Larger Laos” was a term coined by Dodd to refer to the “Laos” beyond Siamese territory. In 1903, Dodd published an article, “A Plea for Larger Laos”, appealing for public support for their missionary work to “the larger Laos territory outside of these Siamese States”.²⁰⁴² Dodd had the ambition to reach the “untouched” people and break the “present isolation” of the Tai people in four countries.²⁰⁴³ Dodd had long emphasised the “work of evangelizing all the Laos people”.²⁰⁴⁴ The “responsibility for the evangelization of all Laos people” is a recurring phrase in his writings.²⁰⁴⁵ The opening of Chiang Tung Station was regarded as a response to the question posed in a report, “Does the Presbyterian Church contemplate anything less than the conquest of this whole Laos people for Christ?”²⁰⁴⁶ Writing about the newly opened station in Chiang Tung, Dodd says that he did not feel like he was in a foreign country. He describes their arrival in Chiang Tung as “A Glad Home Coming”, for they were “still among the Laos People”.²⁰⁴⁷

Dodd’s understanding of where the Tai people had settled was based on contemporary sources: the French orientalist Albert Terrien de Lacouperie’s (1844–1894) accounts of the

²⁰³⁶ Samuel C. Peoples, Statement of the Position of the Presbyterian Laos Mission on the Cheung Toong Question, 28 November 1899, p. 1, RG 84-8-23, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰³⁷ William Clifton Dodd, “Looks at the Laos”, *The Assembly Herald* 8, no. 5 (1903): 194.

²⁰³⁸ Ibid., 193; Dodd, “Laos Women Met on Tour through South China”, 105.

²⁰³⁹ James W. McKean, Report of Chieng Mai Station of the North Laos Mission for the Year Dec. 1, 1890 to Dec. 1, 1891, 23 February 1891, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰⁴⁰ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 357.

²⁰⁴¹ Anonymous, Annual Report of the Laos Mission, 31 October 1905, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 69:363.

²⁰⁴² Dodd, “A Plea for Larger Laos”, 195.

²⁰⁴³ Dodd, “Looks at the Laos”, 194.

²⁰⁴⁴ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 March 1898, vol. 15, file 16, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰⁴⁵ Dodd, “A Plea for Larger Laos”, 195; Dodd, “Three Glimpses of Our Kengtung Work”, 223.

²⁰⁴⁶ Anonymous, “Forward Movement Notes”, *The Assembly Herald* 10 (1904): 813.

²⁰⁴⁷ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 237. For similar claims by other Presbyterian missionaries, see Copy Letter from Rev. H. S. Vincent to Dr. Brown, 12 May 1911, RG 84-8-26, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1911–1912, SFTM, PHS.

origin and migration of the Tai people; the Presbyterian missionary William Josiah Leverett's (1870–1929) accounts of Hainan; a Bishop Usher's narration on the word “Lao” found in ancient Chinese annals.²⁰⁴⁸

In 1908, John Haskell Freeman (1865–1922) published an article in *The Assembly Herald* advocating for “a larger Laos”. He mentions that the name “North Laos Mission”,²⁰⁴⁹ the historical title of the Laos Mission to distinguish it from the “Laos” captives in Central Siam (i.e. South Laos), was a misunderstanding. He claims that the Laos in North Siam were “not the ‘North Laos,’ but only the southwestern portion of the great Laos people”, who stretched “[f]ar beyond the borders of China on the north, nearly to Canton and the Gulf of Tonquin on the east”. In this region, the “Laos language” was the “lingua Franca”. Freeman responds to the question raised in the annual report and urges implicitly for “the conquest of the whole Laos people for Christ”.²⁰⁵⁰

Both Dodd and Freeman participated in the 1910 exploration of Tai people in China. Following this trip, Dodd criticised the Laos Mission's ignorance of the vast “Laos” people in China.²⁰⁵¹ Dodd expected stations to be opened in Chiang Tung, Chiang Rung, and Müang Bò and hoped that missionary work would be carried out among the twelve million people of the “Lao Race”.²⁰⁵² For him, it was “the call of the blood”²⁰⁵³ to “the largest integral territory with a homogenous population and a common language”.²⁰⁵⁴ Equipped with the Mission Press, the only press in the world that printed Christian publications “in the Laos language”, and a knowledge of Tai animism and Buddhism, evangelisation for the Tai in China was the privilege of the Laos Mission.²⁰⁵⁵

Young claims that the reason why Dodd made efforts to explore new areas outside Siam was because he had a troubled relationship with other Presbyterian missionaries.²⁰⁵⁶ This is not verified by the Presbyterian sources, however, and, in fact, many missionaries of the Laos Mission supported Dodd's plan to evangelise among the people outside the Siamese territory.²⁰⁵⁷ Moreover, Young criticises Dodd's “Larger Laos” concept. Young mentions a Tai Nüa who had accompanied Dodd's 1910 journey to China and who had told him that “[f]rom Szemao [Simao], eastward for 18 days journey [...] they found no Tai that they could converse with, if any of the people belonged to the Tai race at all.”²⁰⁵⁸ Young's criticism is partly true with respect to Dodd's exaggeration of the homogeneity of the people and language.

²⁰⁴⁸ Dodd, “Looks at the Laos”, 193; Dodd, “Laos Women Met on Tour through South China”, 105.

²⁰⁴⁹ “North Laos Mission” was formerly used to call the Laos Mission in Chiang Mai (Daniel McGilvary, “Laos Mission, N. of Siam”, *The Foreign Missionary* 28, no. 4 (1869): 82).

²⁰⁵⁰ John Haskell Freeman, “A Larger Laos”, *The Assembly Herald* 14, no. 5 (1908): 228.

²⁰⁵¹ Dodd, “Three Months among the Laos in South China”, 238.

²⁰⁵² Dodd, “Laos Women Met on Tour through South China”, 106.

²⁰⁵³ William Clifton Dodd, Report of a Tour through Southern China, 1910, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰⁵⁴ Dodd, Report of a Tour of Exploration, 1910, p. 12, RG 84-8-25, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰⁵⁵ Dodd, “Three Months among the Laos in South China”, 240–241. See also Freeman, “A Larger Laos”, 229.

²⁰⁵⁶ Young, Side Lights on the Controversy, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁵⁷ Hawell S. Vincent to Arthur Judson Brown, 13 January 1911, RG 84-8-26, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1911–1912, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰⁵⁸ William Marcus Young, [Notes on a map of mission field], n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

It is unclear whether Young's proposal to regard "Lahu" as a catch-all term was inspired by the Presbyterians' notion of the "Larger Laos". Young protested several times about the arbitrariness of the Presbyterians categorising Tai Khün, Tai Lü, and Tai Nüa under the heading of "Laos".²⁰⁵⁹

Initially, Young did not use the term "Lahu" to cover all the related ethnic groups. Instead, he used Muhso (Musö), Kwe (Khui), Kaw (Kò), and Akü (Akhö) separately. He only describes Khui (Yellow Lahu) as a "[h]ill tribe closely allied to the Muhsos".²⁰⁶⁰ Later, for "practical purposes", Young proposed using the term Musö for Khui people and Khò for Akhö people.²⁰⁶¹ In late 1904, Young noticed the similarity in some oral traditions between Lahu and Karen. Inspired by Karen workers, he claims that Lahuna, Kwe, and Kaw, respectively, corresponded to Sgaw Karen, Pwo Karen, and Karenni, hinting that the former three were branches of a race.²⁰⁶² At the same time, he began to pay attention to the numerous Lahu living in China.²⁰⁶³

It is clear, however, that Young's ideas were still shaped by a Tai perspective because Musö, Khui, and Khò were exonyms used by the Tai for the Black Lahu, Yellow Lahu, and Akha, respectively. In 1904, for example, Young was still using the term "Musoe", as in Musoe Dam (Black Musö).²⁰⁶⁴

By mid-1905, Young began to use "Lahu" to replace "Muhso". He claims that Musö was the Shan name, while the Lahu called themselves "Lahu". He decides to use Lahushi (Yellow Lahu) instead of Khui and use Lahu Akha instead of Khò and Akha.²⁰⁶⁵ This change in terms reflects a shift in perspective, from the Tai to the Lahu, from exonym to endonym. It was the result of his increased direct contact with the Lahu people.

Young refutes a report of the Baptist visiting committee that "all the Hill people were practically independent races."²⁰⁶⁶ From the middle of 1905 onwards, Young classifies Musö, Khui, and Akha as branches of the Lahu people and their languages as dialects of the Lahu language. He believes that missionaries could work among all these branches with one language.²⁰⁶⁷ Actually, the speeches of Lahu and Akha are unintelligible to each other, which was confirmed by other Baptist missionaries,²⁰⁶⁸ despite both of them belonging linguistically to the Loloish languages, a family under the Lolo-Burmese language tree. Young's project to conduct missionary work in one language was unrealistic. The visiting committee also reported

²⁰⁵⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 22 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶² William Marcus Young, "Shan Mission: Kengtung", *The News* 18, no. 7 (1905): 31, quoted in Anthony R. Walker, "Karen and Lahu: Ethnic Affiliation or Baptists' Imagination?" *Journal of the Siam Society* 96 (2008): 223.

²⁰⁶³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 December 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 19 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 7 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 August 1905, 29 August 1905, 30 October 1905, 19 November 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁶⁸ Charles Henry Heptinstall and Albert Hailey Henderson, Report of the Kengtung Committee, March 1906, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

that Young suggested devising a “composite language” comprising Lahu and Akha elements.²⁰⁶⁹

From 1906 onwards, Young expanded the scope of the Lahu concept. He now regards Lisu, Lolo, Minjia, and Mosuo as branches of Lahu.²⁰⁷⁰ He claims that “some of the Lolo are pure Lahu.”²⁰⁷¹ He names the Minjia (nowadays officially known as Bai people) people in Dali as “Lahu Min Chia”.²⁰⁷² He classifies Mosuo people (nowadays officially classified as Naxi people) as a branch of Lahu purely because of the similarity of the name with Musö.²⁰⁷³

Consequently, Young proposes to expand the Shan Mission’s work to cover “the entire territory between Kengtung and the West China Mission”, extending to the Minjia people in Dali and the Lolo people in Daliang Mountains in Sichuan Province.²⁰⁷⁴ He underlines that the “Lahu” people in China outnumbered those in Burma several times.²⁰⁷⁵ Thus, Young repeatedly urges the Board to support the work in China, which he considers highly promising, and he emphasises that “[t]here is no work that is of more vital importance in the world for the A.B.F.M. Society today than this work in China.”²⁰⁷⁶ He strongly opposes the division of the missionary field, which would impede the missionary work among the Lahu people.²⁰⁷⁷ The role that Chiang Tung had played in the early years as “the key to the great Shan district to the North”²⁰⁷⁸ now became the key to the Lahu people to the north.

Moreover, Young classifies Tai Dòi and other Mon-Khmer groups in Chiang Tung as Wa. He claims Tai Dòi was a branch of Wa,²⁰⁷⁹ and the Wa from the Wa country were “readily understood” by Tai Dòi.²⁰⁸⁰ He writes of a Tai Dòi from Sam Thao, who was literate in Tai

²⁰⁶⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 May 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. However, Young denied the committee’s saying.

²⁰⁷⁰ William Marcus Young, Annual Report, 5 February 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Fred Porter Haggard, 20 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young, C. B. Antisdell, and R. Harper, Present Situation and Outlook for the Section to the North of Kengtung, 26 October 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁷¹ William Marcus Young, C. B. Antisdell, and R. Harper, Present Situation and Outlook for the Section to the North of Kengtung, 26 October 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁷² William Marcus Young to Fred Porter Haggard, 20 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee, 21 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young, C. B. Antisdell, and R. Harper, Present Situation and Outlook for the Section to the North of Kengtung, 26 October 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. Young’s interests in the Minjia people was probably aroused by Pu Cawn Lon, a Wa spiritual leader, whose two leading disciples were Minjia (Harold Mason Young, *To the Mountain Tops: A Sojourn among the Lahu of Asia* (n.d.), 127–128, quoted in Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 595).

²⁰⁷³ William Marcus Young, C. B. Antisdell, and R. Harper, Present Situation and Outlook for the Section to the North of Kengtung, 26 October 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁷⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁷⁵ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1909), 95:118.

²⁰⁷⁶ William Marcus Young, C. B. Antisdell, and R. Harper, Present Situation and Outlook for the Section to the North of Kengtung, 26 October 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1912), 98:63.

²⁰⁷⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁷⁸ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 87:40.

²⁰⁷⁹ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 92:121.

²⁰⁸⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 22 July 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Khün and Shan. Given only slight differences between Tai Dòi and Wa, Young hopes this man could do good work among the Wa.²⁰⁸¹

b) Challenge to the National Boundary

On the one hand, the American missionaries' cross-border activities challenged the newly formed national boundaries, which worried the imperial authorities.²⁰⁸² These missionaries were often refused entry into certain territories, and an inability to guarantee their safety was routinely used as an excuse. In 1897, McGilvary and Irwin attempted to cross the Salween River to the western part of the Shan states, but they were refused passage by the British governor at Fort Stedman, who told them that "the Shan tribes were discontented and turbulent, and his authority over them was so slight that he could not guarantee us protection."²⁰⁸³ Young's plan to tour the Wa state in 1905 was declined by the Chinese authorities in Simao, who said that they were unable to provide an escort to ensure his security.²⁰⁸⁴

Sometimes, trans-border missionary work was forbidden. The Presbyterian venture into French Indochina was prohibited by the French authorities. In the early years, the American missionaries and native workers were still able to work in Müang Sai and Luang Prabang. However, in 1902, McGilvary's proposal to establish a station was declined by the French authorities, and in 1904, Campbell and C. L. MacKay were not allowed to visit Khmu converts. Later, the Presbyterian missionaries were refused any access to French territory.²⁰⁸⁵ In 1913, the Baptist Chiang Tung Station attempted to establish stations in Müang Laem, Müang Mông, Chiang Rung, Müang Rai, and Müang Chae and sent dispatches to enquire with the Chinese authorities about purchasing lands in Sipsòng Panna. However, they were refused.²⁰⁸⁶

On the other hand, these missionaries either relied on or cooperated with the ruling authorities. Referring to the newly established political order, Young proposes to divide the field by political boundaries.²⁰⁸⁷ He hopes that Chiang Tung will be put under direct rule, like Lower Burma, which will make missionary work easier.²⁰⁸⁸ In 1905 and 1906, Young's applications to tour Wa state and Southwest Yunnan were rejected by both the British and the Chinese authorities. He hopes that Scott will support his tour since Scott is interested in the Wa

²⁰⁸¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 July 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁸² A fuller discussion of the Baptist challenge to national border, see O'Morchoe, "Mobility, Space and Power in the Making of Burma's Borders".

²⁰⁸³ Robert Irwin, "An Open Door in Siam—The Shan States", *Missionary Review of the World* 20, no. 5 (1897): 331.

²⁰⁸⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 30 October 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁸⁵ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 March 1911, RG 84-1-2c, Calendared Correspondence, 1911, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰⁸⁶ Zhang Yishu, "Cheng bao qianhou zhao bo mei jiaoshi qingqiu dao mengmeng deng chu chuanjiao shi qing chahe banli you [Report on the refusals to the American missionaries' requests to preach in Müang Mông and other areas and request for examination and administration]", September 1913, 03-07-001-03-001, BYZFWJB, AIMH.

²⁰⁸⁷ William Marcus Young and R. H. Harper to Arthur Judson Brown, 30 September 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁸⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 9 May 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

country.²⁰⁸⁹ During the dispute about the Chiang Tung field, Young resorted to the colonial agenda on the language policy, arguing that the Burmese and Shan languages would become more significant.²⁰⁹⁰ Even B. E. Dodd mentions that Bertram Sausmarez Carey (1864–1919), the superintendent of South Shan States, advised the Presbyterian church school to teach Burmese.²⁰⁹¹ Regarding this issue, Irwin refutes that the Laos Mission had “taught and preached the Siamese scriptures” for twenty years as Siamese was still not the dominant language in North Siam.²⁰⁹²

5 The Chiang Tung Question: The Issue of Ethnicity

The Presbyterian Laos Mission and the Baptist Shan Mission encountered each other in the field as early as 1870. In March 1870, McGilvary met Cushing and his wife in Chiang Mai, when they had finished their trip to Chiang Tung and were on their return journey to Burma via Chiang Saen and Chiang Rai.²⁰⁹³ In 1897, the occupancy of Chiang Tung really became a problem between the Presbyterians and the Baptists. This competition is called the “the Kengtung Question” and has been discussed by Herbert R. Swanson.²⁰⁹⁴ In 1897, Irwin returned from his furlough in the United States and made a detour to Burma. He travelled with Henderson, a Baptist missionary stationed at Müang Nai, on an exploratory trip. From this encounter, the Baptists and the Presbyterians learned each other’s plans to evangelise in Chiang Tung.²⁰⁹⁵ Subsequently, the Baptists and the Presbyterians engaged in a series of communications, both claiming their right to the Chiang Tung field.²⁰⁹⁶ For three decades, from the late 1890s to the 1910s, both sides contributed voluminous correspondence of lengthy and repetitive arguments to contradict each other’s claims.²⁰⁹⁷

²⁰⁸⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 30 October 1905, 6 July 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁹⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young and R. H. Harper, *Some Supplemental Statements to Our Joint Letter of Sept. 30th, 1910*, n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. For similar views of the Baptist missionaries, see Albert Hailey Henderson to Robert Speer, 25 April 1898, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁰⁹¹ Dodd, “Notes from Kengtung”, 49.

²⁰⁹² Robert Irwin to Arthur Judson Brown, 18 January 1900, p. 9, RG 84-8-23, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰⁹³ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 138–139.

²⁰⁹⁴ See Swanson, “The Kengtung Question”, 59–79.

²⁰⁹⁵ Albert Hailey Henderson to Samuel White Duncan, 2 April 1898, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS; Robert Irwin to Labaree, 22 November 1897, vol. 13, file 108, ETCBFM, PHS; William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 January 1898, vol. 15, file 1, ETCBFM, PHS; Robert Irwin, *Report of Tour through the Shan States*, 25 January 1898, p. 9, RG 84-8-22, Kentung [sic] Station: Miscellaneous Items Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Visit, n.d., SFTM, PHS.

²⁰⁹⁶ To name just a few: Albert Hailey Henderson to Robert Speer, 25 April 1898, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS; Albert Hailey Henderson to William A. Briggs, 1 June 1898, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS; Copy of Committee Letter Sent to Dr. Henderson, 12 January 1899, RG 84-8-23, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS; Albert Hailey Henderson to Charles Royal Callender, 9 February 1900, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS; John Haskell Freeman to Arthur Judson Brown, 22 January 1900, RG 84-8-23, SFTM, PHS.

²⁰⁹⁷ See Young’s correspondence at the ABHS and the ten folders of correspondence and reports between 1897 and 1919, concerning the Chiang Tung Question, in the PHS’s collection.

After the journeys of Dodd, Briggs, and Irwin to Chiang Tung, Müang Laem, and Sipsong Panna in 1897 and of Dodd and B. E. Dodd to Chiang Tung in 1898, Dodd and Briggs actively attempted to persuade the Board to open a station in Chiang Tung.²⁰⁹⁸ In an article published in 1899, the anonymous Presbyterian author appeals for undertaking missionary work in Chiang Tung and numerates five favourable conditions for the work in Chiang Tung: the natives asked for the establishment of a station; the missionaries from Chiang Mai could easily communicate with the people in Chiang Tung, using Lao, a language also used by the various hill peoples; the religious toleration under the British rule; both the officials and the common people were genuinely friendly towards them; the great number of Lao people in Chiang Tung and Yunnan; the Lao were “a religious people”, who were inclined to accept a religion via family, not via an individual.²⁰⁹⁹

Tensions heightened when the Baptists sent a statement to the Presbyterians at the end of 1899. Briggs describes this statement as a “bomb” and urges the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to arrange a negotiation with the American Baptist Missionary Union, hoping the issue would be settled by the two boards.²¹⁰⁰ In 1902, the two boards held a meeting in New York, but it did not lead to a definitive solution.²¹⁰¹ In April 1903, the Presbyterian Board decided to establish a station in Chiang Tung.²¹⁰²

Considering the missionary vision of comity, Young did not strongly oppose the Presbyterian presence in Chiang Tung,²¹⁰³ even though Young rejected the joint occupation in 1903.²¹⁰⁴ A division of the field was still possible in early 1904, even though it was not based on linguistic or racial criteria.²¹⁰⁵ Though Young wanted the Presbyterians to withdraw voluntarily from Chiang Tung, he tried to work harmoniously with them and allowed them to preach to Tai Khün, Tai Lü, and Tai Nüa.²¹⁰⁶ The Presbyterians praise the Baptists for their “neighborly kindness and a spirit of fraternity” at the bazaar service.²¹⁰⁷ However, this superficial peace did not endure. In late 1904, Young frankly expressed the end of harmonious relations, especially with Dodd.²¹⁰⁸ In 1905, both sides sought to occupy the whole of the Chiang Tung area. Young directly asked the Presbyterians to leave Chiang Tung.²¹⁰⁹ The frontline missionaries on both sides were unwilling to compromise. Young emphasises the

²⁰⁹⁸ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 13 July 1898, vol. 15, file 35, 4 November 1898, vol. 15, file 54, ETCBFM, PHS; William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 January 1898, vol. 15, file 1, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁰⁹⁹ Anonymous, “An Appeal from the Laos Mission”, 275–276.

²¹⁰⁰ William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 5 January 1900, vol. 16, file 2, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹⁰¹ Thomas Seymour Barbour to William Marcus Young, 15 November 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁰² Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1904), 67:306.

²¹⁰³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 March 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁰⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 18 July 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁰⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 3 January 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 30 April 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁰⁷ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 68:352.

²¹⁰⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 September 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 31 October 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁰⁹ William Clifton Dodd, C. R. Callender, and H. L. Cornell to William Marcus Young, 31 January 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

strategic position of Chiang Tung and regards it as an “open door” to missionary work in Southwest China,²¹¹⁰ especially having witnessed the Lahu movement, “[t]he door is now wide open.”²¹¹¹ Meanwhile, the Presbyterians emphasise the “strategic position” of Chiang Tung as a “strategic capital city” and “the key to the farther north” and “the millions of Tai in South China”.²¹¹² Young rejects the Presbyterians’ view that it is not necessary to occupy Chiang Tung to reach the Tai people in China.²¹¹³ However, Young himself insisted on occupying Chiang Tung in order to reach the Lahu and Tai in China. The issue remained deadlocked to the extent that writings on both sides feature personal attacks.²¹¹⁴ The question was transferred to the respective boards in the United States to solve. In 1907, the Presbyterian Mission and the Baptist Mission sent a joint commission to investigate the question, consisting of two Presbyterian delegates, Campbell and Peoples, and two Baptist delegates, Elias W. Kelley and Henderson.²¹¹⁵ The joint Commission in 1907 yielded no result.²¹¹⁶ However, the question did not end with the Presbyterians’ voluntary withdrawal from Chiang Tung and Young’s furlough in 1908.²¹¹⁷ The Chiang Tung question was raised again when the Presbyterians restarted work in Chiang Tung and became more acute following Dodd’s journey to China in 1910. The Chiang Tung Question was eventually resolved in the late 1910s by the establishment of a Presbyterian station at Chiang Rung instead.

The Presbyterians and the Baptists reached no agreement on the division of the field. In 1900, Henderson proposed dividing the field, leaving the Tai Lü in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna to the Presbyterians, and suggesting the Presbyterians open a station at Chiang Rung, Ròng Lök, or Chiang Lap, rather than Chiang Tung.²¹¹⁸ The Presbyterians proposed to divide the field on either geographic or racial grounds.²¹¹⁹ Initially, the Laos Mission recommended a solution that involved resorting to a geographic boundary. At the annual meeting of 1901, the Laos Mission decided to submit a proposal to the Board. It objected to the Baptist’s occupation

²¹¹⁰ William Marcus Young to Josiah Nelson Cushing, 26 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹¹¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 December 1904, 27 December 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹¹² William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 13 August 1909, vol. 278, file 21, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 January 1910, vol. 279, file 24, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 February 1910, vol. 279, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS; Anonymous, Report of the Laos Mission, 31 October 1909, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹¹³ William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹¹⁴ In letters to the Board, Young blames Dodd’s character (William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 January 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young, *Side Lights on the Controversy*, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS). In a private letter, Callender criticises Young’s disposition (Charles Royal Callender to M. F. Grove, 20 August 1907, ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, CRCP, PHS). Henderson complains that if let Young and Dodd remain in Chiang Tung together, they “never will do anything but quarrel (Albert Hailey Henderson to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 March 1907, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS).

²¹¹⁵ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 172.

²¹¹⁶ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 30, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Samuel C. Peoples and Howard Campbell, Review of the “Minutes of the Sessions of the Kengtung Commission”, n.d., RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

²¹¹⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 August 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹¹⁸ Albert Hailey Henderson to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 February 1900, FM-020, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹¹⁹ William Clifton Dodd, C. R. Callender, and H. L. Cornell to William Marcus Young, 31 January 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

of Chiang Tung and proposed to divide the field at the Salween River watershed, a natural geographic boundary that virtually overlapped with the “linguistic boundary” between the people using “the Laos written and spoken language” and the people using “the Western Shan written and spoken language”. The Laos Mission also provided an alternative. If the Baptist Union did not accept the solution, it should confine the Baptist missionary work to the Western Shan-writing and -speaking people in Chiang Tung city and the Chiang Tung plain.²¹²⁰ The Baptist Board had a similar proposal for a territorial division, but the line was from Chiang Tung town.²¹²¹ In 1905, the Presbyterian missionaries insisted on dividing the field and chose to work among Akha, Sam Thao, Tai Lü, Tai Khün, and Tai Nüa.²¹²² In 1906, both Dodd and the Committee of Reference, Burma, proposed dividing the field based on written languages.²¹²³ However, Young rejected the division of the field, as well as the division of the hill peoples.²¹²⁴ He also rejected the idea of joint occupation, worrying that it would put the Baptist Mission at a disadvantage, as Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng and major officials of Chiang Tung were Tai Khün, who would naturally curb the Shan influence and support Presbyterian work.²¹²⁵ After 1910, Young regarded Dodd’s plan to preach among the Tai in China as a threat to their work in Yunnan and protested several times to the Baptist Board.²¹²⁶ Young suggested taking Yunnan and leaving the Tai people in Tonkin and Southeast China to the Presbyterians.²¹²⁷ Young abandoned his standpoint in the early years subsequently agreeing to Cochrane’s proposal to let the Presbyterians open a station in Chiang Rung and give the field of Sipsòng Panna to the Presbyterians.²¹²⁸

Even though the Chiang Tung Question endured for a couple of decades, the main propositions of both sides hardly changed. Their arguments focused mainly on six aspects: missionary history; race; language; political situation; work achievement; and preparedness for work.²¹²⁹

²¹²⁰ Anonymous, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Laos Mission, 12 December 1901, vol. 280, ETCBFM, PHS. This natural boundary was reiterated in 1905 (William Clifton Dodd and Charles Royal Callender to the Members of the American Baptist Mission, 16 March 1905, vol. 274, file 12, ETCBFM, PHS).

²¹²¹ George B. Huntington to William Marcus Young, 2 February 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹²² William Clifton Dodd and Charles Royal Callender to the Members of the American Baptist Mission, 16 March 1905, vol. 274, file 12, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹²³ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 6 February 1906, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 7 February 1906, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS.

²¹²⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹²⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 March 1902, 17 May 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹²⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 13 February 1910, 20 May 1910, 17 October 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹²⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹²⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 July 1901, 17 May 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹²⁹ For a detailed list of arguments from both sides, see Anonymous, An Outline of the Arguments (with Supporting References) as Brought Forward in the Baptist-Laos Discussion Concerning the Kengtung Field, n.d. [1911], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. For a detailed analysis of the Chiang Tung question, see House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians” and Swanson, “The Kengtung Question”, 59–79.

The central claim of the Presbyterians was their “duty to plant stations and to cover all the territory where the written and spoken religious language, as taught in the monasteries, is the same as the Yuan”, which was decided in 1900.²¹³⁰ Similarly, they expressed a wish “to maintain work in Kengtung for all who use the Laos language and written character”,²¹³¹ and “the field of this Mission shall be considered to include all territory where the written and spoken language is Laos.”²¹³² In the face of Young’s challenges, the Presbyterians modified their wording, saying their responsibility was to “work for exceptional elements in the population in regions where the prevailing element uses the written or spoken Laos, or both”.²¹³³

a) Classification

As the Laos Mission began their work first among the Tai Yuan and the Shan Mission inaugurated working among the Shan, both sides claimed that the ethnic groups in Chiang Tung were closer to their central target population.

Though acknowledging the Tai people forming a “Tai race”,²¹³⁴ the Presbyterian missionaries preferred to group the Tai Khün, Tai Lü, Tai Nüa, and Tai Yuan as branches of the “Laos”²¹³⁵ or “Eastern Tai/Shan”,²¹³⁶ a term that appeared later.

From a local perspective, the Tai people generally referred to themselves as “Tai people” (*chati thai*), as demonstrated in the statement of four Tai Nüa men from Ban Sao Paet, Chiang Tung.²¹³⁷ However, the Tai people in this region preferred to group themselves in a narrower sense defined by region and dialect, such as Tai Khün (*khün/chat khün*), Tai Lü (*lū/chat lū*), and Tai Yuan (*yuan/thai yuan*).²¹³⁸ The Presbyterian missionaries probably influenced their Tai Christians’ consideration. Ai Pòm seems to exclude the Shan people and only mentions that the Tai Khün, Tai Lü, Tai Laem, Tai Nüa, and the people in North Siam are “brothers” (*rao*

²¹³⁰ William Clifton Dodd, C. R. Callender, and H. L. Cornell to William Marcus Young, 31 January 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. See also “to maintain work in Kengtung for all who use the Laos language and written character” (Claire H. Denman to the Members of the Shan Mission, A.B.M.U., 19 December 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.).

²¹³¹ Claire H. Denman to the Members of the Shan Mission, A.B.M.U., 19 December 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹³² William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹³³ William Clifton Dodd and Charles Royal Callender to the Members of the American Baptist Mission, 16 March 1905, vol. 274, file 12, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹³⁴ Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., p. 12, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²¹³⁵ Ibid., 12–15; William A. Briggs, “A New Place of Which We Shall Hear Again”, *Woman’s Work for Woman* 13, no. 11 (1898): 296.

²¹³⁶ William Clifton Dodd, “Among Laos Christians”, *Missionary Review of the World* 24, no. 5 (1901): 356; Howard L. Cornell to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 March 1904, vol. 273, file 13, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹³⁷ Statement of Hua Tham Praya, Hua Chan, Hua Inthawan, and Hua Namma Wan, the 12th waning day of the 8th month, 1269 [8 June 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kengtung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

²¹³⁸ Statement of Nan Intha, 6 June 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Khan, n.d., RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

lae than thanglai pen phi nòng diao kan) and “used to be one ethnicity” (*tae kòn khò pen chati an diao kan*).²¹³⁹

The Baptists considered the Western Shan, Khamti, Northern Shan (Tai Nüa), Tai Laem, Tai Khün, and Tai Lü to be “Shan” and thus the target of their work.²¹⁴⁰ Young claims that Tai Khün and Tai Lü should be grouped with Shan, mentioning that the government grouped Tai Khün and Tai Lü with Shan and classified Laos and Siamese in another group.²¹⁴¹ However, with regard to race, the Census of India (1901) refers to the classification by R. H. Pilcher, the former Assistant Resident in Mandalay, and classifies Tai Khün and Tai Lü with other Tai in the Southern Shan States as “Eastern Shan”, rather than with the Western Shan. Indeed, it mentions “the racial affinity is not sufficiently near to justify the classification of the Hkün and the Lü with the Southern Tai [Siamese and Laos].”²¹⁴²

Young challenges Dodd’s claim on the hill people and claims that hill peoples like Lahu and Akha are racially related to Karen.²¹⁴³ However, it seems that the loose ethnic relations between Lahu, Akha, and Karen contributed little to the missionary work, as the first Yellow Lahu Christians and the first Wa Christians were all Tai-influenced, as evidenced by their names, Ai Hkan Law and Ai Yone Hpa.²¹⁴⁴ Walker questions Young’s claim and concludes that the ethnic connection between Karen and Lahu was imagined by the Baptist Karen workers.²¹⁴⁵

b) Population

The controversy focused on which was the predominant ethnic group in the Chiang Tung. Mentioning the migrations of the Shan population from Lai Kha and Saen Wi into Chiang Tung since the early nineteenth century, Young claims that the majority of the people of Chiang Tung are Shan and that the Shan population is increasing while that of Tai Khün is decreasing.²¹⁴⁶ In addition, Young claims that the population is “rapidly becoming Western

²¹³⁹ Statement of Ai Pòm, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁴⁰ Minutes of the Sessions of the Keng Tung Commission, Session IV, 24 January 1907, p. 3, RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁴¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 July 1901, 13 June 1903, 28 January 1905, 14 February 1905, 29 August 1905, 20 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁴² Cecil Champain Lowis, *Census of India, 1901* (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1902), 12.1:119.

²¹⁴³ William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁴⁴ Saw Aung Din and E. E. Sowards, “Work Among Lahus, Was, Akhas”, In *Burma Baptist Chronicle*, ed. Shwe Wa, Maung, Genevieve Sowards, and Erville Sowards (Rangoon: Board of Publications, Burma Baptist Convention, 1963), 411.

²¹⁴⁵ Anthony R. Walker, “Karen and Lahu: Ethnic Affiliation or Baptists’ Imagination?” *Journal of the Siam Society* 96 (2008): 217–228.

²¹⁴⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Shanised [Shan-ised]”, and the number of the population of Tai Yuan and Tai Lü is insignificant.²¹⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the Presbyterians do not believe that the Shan population outnumbered the other Tai groups and speak of the Khünisation of the Shan rather than vice versa.²¹⁴⁸ Referring to the Chiang Tung Political Officer’s accounts, Dodd claims that there is only a limited number of Shan in the city of Chiang Tung and the valley.²¹⁴⁹

In the 1901 census, the speakers of Shan, Tai Khün, and Tai Lü are recorded as 57,058, 42,160, and 19,380, respectively.²¹⁵⁰ As the census outcome failed to support Young’s argument, Young questions the 1901 census suggesting that it has exaggerated the population of Tai Khün and Tai Lü and underestimated the population of Shan and hill peoples.²¹⁵¹ Young claims that the proportion of the Shan population in the rural area should be the same as the number of Shan in Chiang Tung town and suburb, i.e. over 61 percent.²¹⁵²

Moreover, Young insists on the impossibility of dividing the field along “racial lines” between Shan and Tai Khün.²¹⁵³ “No pure Hkuns [Tai Khün]” and “pure Hkuns [Tai Khün] are very scarce” are frequently used phrases.²¹⁵⁴ Young claims that Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng has “very little” Tai Khün blood, and he has three-quarters Tai Lü blood and that some of the Chiang Tung officials have either Shan or Burman blood for the most part, and the Somdet Atchaya Tham is a Shan.²¹⁵⁵ Young claims that people are keen to claim Tai Khün identity because they lived in Chiang Tung (also named *müang khün*, literally “Khün country”).²¹⁵⁶ Young even mentions that the first Baptist converts are “Shanized” Tai Yuan, probably referring to Pha Ka Chai.²¹⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the Presbyterians claim that “truly Western Shan” hardly existed in the territory of Chiang Tung.²¹⁵⁸

Young questions the Laos Mission’s right to Chiang Tung by negating the existence of the Tai Yuan population in Chiang Tung and cis-Salween territory. The Presbyterians emphasise that the Tai Yuan population is found not only in Chiang Tung but also in cis-

²¹⁴⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁴⁸ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, pp. 3, 23, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁴⁹ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 23 September 1904, vol. 273, file 28, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹⁵⁰ Cecil Champain Lowis, *Census of India, 1901* (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1905), 12.4:1203. Young considers these data to be racial rather than linguistic, which is criticised by Campbell and Peoples (Howard Campbell and Samuel C. Peoples, Section IX. *The Census*, n.d., pp. 1–2, RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS). It was not only Young, the Political Officer Gordon also equals the linguistic data with racial data (D. M. Gordon to William Marcus Young, 8 September 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS). It was until the 1911 Census that racial and linguistic data were separately calculated.

²¹⁵¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 13 September 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; D. M. Gordon to William Marcus Young, 8 September 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁵² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 13 September 1905, 20 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁵³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 January 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁵⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, 17 May 1902, 18 July 1903, 29 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young and Harper, *Some Supplemental Statements*, n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁵⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 June 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁵⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 18 July 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁵⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 1 February 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁵⁸ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

Salween territory, such as Chiang Thòng.²¹⁵⁹ According to oral tradition, the Tai Yuan people had been forced to resettle in Hanthawaddy in the sixteenth century.²¹⁶⁰ Campbell and Peoples's report on the Tai Yuan in Mòk Mai (Mawkmai) can be viewed as trustworthy.²¹⁶¹ Today, there are people in the cis-Salween Shan state who still claim their ancestors to be Tai Yuan.

The governmental census of 1901 was referenced during the dispute, despite this, both Young and the Presbyterians questioned the accuracy of the census.²¹⁶² Young claims that many Shan villages are classified as "Tai Khün".²¹⁶³ Campbell and Peoples emphasise the multilingual situation in Chiang Tung, i.e. that many people speak several languages, and criticise the census for wrongly classifying these people as "Shan".²¹⁶⁴ Specifically, Campbell and Peoples criticise the census for categorising thirteen Tai Nüa villages in Chiang Tung, whose inhabitants use both spoken Tai Khün and the Tham script, as "Shan".²¹⁶⁵ In another report, they point out that many Tai Khün villages are classified as "Shan", including six Tai Khün villages in Müang Lap.²¹⁶⁶

c) Language

Both sides claimed that their preaching could be better understood than the other side.²¹⁶⁷ In a report written in 1898, the Presbyterians say that Tai Yuan is the "Mandarin" language of all the Laos" and that they have an "accent which is recognized as the correct standard, and is understood everywhere".²¹⁶⁸ Referring to testimonies of Nòi Kan and Nang Nòi, Dodd reports that for the Tai Khün people, the Tai Yuan dialect is more understandable than the Shan dialect.²¹⁶⁹ The Presbyterian native workers all believe that the people of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng

²¹⁵⁹ Statement of Nan Thi, Kham, Tha, Nòi Kham, Ai Pan, Ai Wan, Ai Tha, Nòi Mùn, Nòi Wan, Ai Müang, Ai Tem, Nòi Kaeo, Ai Mong, Ai Kaeo, Ai Mi, Ai Ki, Ai Phaeng, Ai Ma, 22 April 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 65, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁶⁰ Ratchabandit Sathan, ed., *Photchananukrom sap wannakam thòngthin thai phak nüa, khlòng mangthra rop chiang mai, chabap ratchabandit sathan* [Dictionary of Thai folk literature, the northern region: *Verses of Mangthra's War against Chiang Mai*, Royal Institute version] (Krung Thep: Ratchabandit Sathan, 2552 [2009]).

²¹⁶¹ Campbell and Peoples, Section IX. The Census, n.d., p. 25, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁶² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 13 September 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 43, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Campbell and Peoples, Section IX. The Census, n.d., RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁶³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 13 September 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁶⁴ Campbell and Peoples, Section IX. The Census, n.d., pp. 3–4, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁶⁵ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 48, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS. For the classification in the 1901 Census, see, for instance, "Ban Sao Pyet [Ban Sao Paet]" (Lowis, *Census of India, 1901*, 12.4:1160).

²¹⁶⁶ Campbell and Peoples, Section IX. The Census, n.d., p. 19, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁶⁷ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 12, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Charles Royal Callender, 15 July 1907, RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd's Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁶⁸ Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., p. 23, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁶⁹ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 January 1910, vol. 279, file 24, ETCBFM, PHS.

Panna, and Chiang Khaeng speak the same language as the people of Chiang Mai, and they are therefore able to converse with them without difficulty.²¹⁷⁰

As previously mentioned in the second section, the Presbyterians regarded the language spoken in Chiang Tung to be the same as the “Lao” language in Chiang Mai. Dodd reports that the Tai Nüa settlers in Chiang Tung speak “the same language as at Chieng Mai, with a merely dialectic difference, and use the same alphabet in their religious writings”²¹⁷¹ and says that the differences between Tai Yuan, Lao, Tai Khün, Tai Lü, and Tai Nüa are less than those between various forms of English in the world.²¹⁷² Dodd criticises Young for being “very unpopular with all classes” as a result of his inability to speak Shan well and for imposing Burmese on the natives.²¹⁷³

Initially, Young thought that the Shan dialect might be as close to Tai Khün as Tai Yuan is close to Tai Khün.²¹⁷⁴ He later changed his opinion and insisted that Tai Laem, Tai Khün, Tai Lü, and Tai Nüa are actually closer to Shan than to Tai Yuan, and that even the Lao language in French Indochina is more similar to Shan than Tai Yuan.²¹⁷⁵ However, the 1901 Census of India, which Young cites to support his claim, takes a different view. With regard to language, the Census of India classifies Siamese, Lao, Tai Khün, and Tai Lü as a “Southern Tai subgroup” and Burmese Shan, Khamti, and Chinese Shan as a “Northern Tai subgroup”.²¹⁷⁶ The 1911 Census of India adopts this division but changes the names to Cis-Salween and Trans-Salween.²¹⁷⁷

²¹⁷⁰ Testimony of Elder Nòi Nya, 2 July 1907, trans., RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Testimony of Elder Sow, Nang Fan, 28 June 1907, trans., RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Testimony of Loong Chaw, 2 July 1907, trans., RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Testimony of Ai Saan, 2 July 1907, trans., RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Translation of Statement of Nòi Fu, 8 July 1907, RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Ai Pòm, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nòi Rin, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nan Thi, 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nan Thi, Kham, Tha, Nòi Kham, Ai Pan, Ai Wan, Ai Tha, Nòi Mün, Nòi Wan, Ai Müang, Ai Tem, Nòi Kaeo, Ai Mong, Ai Kaeo, Ai Mi, Ai Ki, Ai Phaeng, and Ai Ma, 22 April 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nòi La, the 5th waxing day of the 9th month, 1269 [17 May 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nan Chak, n.d., RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nòi Kan, 21 May 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nan Phintha, the 5th waxing day of the 9th month, 1269 [17 May 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nan Intha, the 10th waning day of the 8th month, 1269 [6 June 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Translation of Statement of Nòi Fu, 8 July 1907, RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁷¹ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 239.

²¹⁷² Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, p. 2, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS. For other Presbyterian assertions on this topic, see also Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation, 1907*, p. 4, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²¹⁷³ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 23 April 1904, vol. 273, file 24, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹⁷⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 March 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁷⁵ William Marcus Young to Josiah Nelson Cushing, 26 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 August 1905, 20 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young and Harper, *Some Supplemental Statements*, n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁷⁶ Lowis, *Census of India, 1901*, 12.1:94.

²¹⁷⁷ C. Morgan Webb, *Census of India, 1911* (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1912), 9.1:205.

On the one hand, Young ignored the phonetic and lexical differences between Shan and other Tai dialects like Tai Khün and Tai Lü. He claims that there is no “sufficient accent” difference between Shan and Tai Khün.²¹⁷⁸ On the other hand, Young exaggerated the difference between Tai Yuan and Tai Khün.²¹⁷⁹ He claims that the people in Chiang Tung, such as the speakers of Tai Nüa, cannot understand Tai Yuan.²¹⁸⁰ In 1903, Young was apparently still worried that “these languages are so closely allied it is possible that the people can understand the Chiengmai worker better than we count.”²¹⁸¹ Gibbens, who spoke poor Shan,²¹⁸² also denies the linguistic connection between Tai Khün and Tai Yuan.²¹⁸³

From the local point of view, the natives believed that the people of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Mai spoke the same dialect, “only differing slightly in accent” and the “character is precisely the same”.²¹⁸⁴ However, Young clearly does not trust the local perspective and writes that the Presbyterians have been misled by Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng’s “unreliable reports” of language and population.²¹⁸⁵ In another letter, Young accuses Dodd of establishing a close relationship with British and native officials in order to mislead them.²¹⁸⁶

Moreover, Young claims that Shan is the prevailing dialect in Chiang Tung.²¹⁸⁷ Other Baptist missionaries share this view, believing Shan to be the language spoken in Chiang Tung.²¹⁸⁸ Young claims that even the Presbyterians switched to the Shan dialect to preach in Chiang Tung.²¹⁸⁹ However, Briggs strongly denies this.²¹⁹⁰ Related to this, Young asserts that the Tai Khün dialect is “dying out”.²¹⁹¹ However, the governmental censuses negate this claim. According to the censuses of 1901 and 1911, though the Tai Khün population had only a tiny

²¹⁷⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁷⁹ William Marcus Young to Albert Hailey Henderson and Elias William Kelly, 18 June 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸⁰ The helpers attached to the American Baptist Mission work in Chiang Tung, Testimony, 11 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 18 July 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. Gibbens’s recounts on his scant time to learn Shan, see Howard C. Gibbens to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 8 May 1906, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸³ Howard C. Gibbens to the Executive Committee, 21 June 1910, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸⁴ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 11 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 375.

²¹⁸⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 June 1903, 13 June 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 June 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 October 1901, 15 March 1902, 17 March 1902, 10 June 1904, 29 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young and Harper, Some Supplemental Statements, n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸⁸ Robert Harper to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 September 1909, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁸⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁹⁰ William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 17 November 1910, vol. 279, file 5, ETCBFM, PHS.

²¹⁹¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 June 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

increase from 41,470 in 1901 to 42,366 in 1911, the Tai Khün speakers increased significantly from 42,160 in 1901 to 48,408 in 1911.²¹⁹²

Additionally, Young resorts to the colonial agenda to support his claims. He asserts that since Chiang Tung has become a part of British Burma, there is an increasing demand for learning Burmese.²¹⁹³ As trade between China and Siam declined, the connection between Chiang Tung and Inner Burma became closer, enhanced by the building of roads.²¹⁹⁴ The connection between Chiang Tung and other parts of Burma would grow increasingly close. The Tai Khün language would no longer be of practical value, and the use of this language would damage the Burma government's interest.²¹⁹⁵ Young blames the use of the Tai Khün language in reports for prolonging the census work in 1901 because no clerks in Rangoon could decipher it.²¹⁹⁶ In addition, he says that British rule would be advantageous to the Baptists, as the Burmese and Shan languages would be supported by the government and would be taught at school rather than the Tai Yuan language.²¹⁹⁷ On discovering that among the 42 monasteries in and near Chiang Tung town, 27 monasteries used Tai Khün, eleven used Shan or Burmese, and four used Tai Nüa,²¹⁹⁸ Young blames Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng and the monks for being "blind to the interest of the people" and insisted on using Tai Khün in monasteries.²¹⁹⁹

Young's statement is contradictory. On the one hand, he claims that "[a]ny one, with a good knowledge in one dialect can carry on ordinary conversation with the people of another dialect." On the other hand, he denies the mutual intelligibility between Tai Yuan and other dialects, such as Tai Khün and Tai Lü. He mentions that Tai Lü-reading-and-speaking Tai Dòi could not understand Tai Yuan, and one of Dodd's Tai Yuan assistants confessed that "the pure Yon as spoken in Siam would not be understood by the Hkün and Lü in Kengtung State."²²⁰⁰ Moreover, Young emphasises the boundaries between the dialects and claims that the sources of each dialect, either spoken or written, could not be used in the missionary work towards people who spoke another dialect.²²⁰¹ However, he claims that all the Tai people in West Yunnan could be reached using the Shan dialect.²²⁰² Moreover, in 1902, Young reports that Tai

²¹⁹² Webb, *Census of India, 1911*, 9.1:205. However, the reports of 1921 and of 1931 show a drop of the number of Tai Khün speakers. The data is 33,210 in 1921 and 31,234 in 1931 (Stanley George Grantham, *Census of India, 1921* (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1923), 10.2:137; J. J. Bennison, *Census of India, 1931* (Rangoon: Office of the Supdt., Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1933), 11.2:223).

²¹⁹³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁹⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁹⁵ William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 August 1905, 13 September 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁹⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 31 January 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁹⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁹⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²¹⁹⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 October 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. For a more comprehensive list of the monasteries in Chiang Tung, see The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung, List of monasteries in the territory of Chiang Tung, n.d., RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁰⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 May 1910, 20 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁰¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 June 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁰² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 13 February 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Khün people considered the Tai Yuan and Tai Khün languages to be “the same” with “only a little difference in tenses”.²²⁰³ Three years later, Young would claim that the natives viewed these dialects as separate and distinct languages.²²⁰⁴

Sometimes, Young’s prejudice influenced his accounts. He cites a scene that happened at a feast hosted by Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng for the Westerners in Chiang Tung to prove the similarity between Tai Khün and Shan dialects. Young claims that Dodd attempted to convince Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng and the Political Officer Andrew that “Chiang Tung” and “*chaofa*” were pronounced as “Chieng Tung” and “Chow Faw”, but Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng and Andrew repeatedly insisted that the pronunciations were “Keng Tung” and “Sou Hpa”.²²⁰⁵ In fact, Dodd’s version is closer to the actual Tai Khün accent, and Young’s spellings only approximate Shan pronunciations. Chao Sai Müang (Sao Sāimöng), a Chiang Tung native, denies that the pronunciation of “Kengtung” is found in Tai Khün and most Shan dialects.²²⁰⁶

In 1907, a joint commission was formed to investigate the situation. The report of the joint commission disproved Young’s many claims. There was a discrepancy between the natives’ testimonies provided by Young and those provided by Henderson and Campbell. Young claims that Phraya Wat and Phraya Khaek told him that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng had ordered all monasteries to teach the languages of Shan and Burmese, while Henderson and Campbell reported that only Wat Hua Khuang was allowed to teach Burmese.²²⁰⁷ Young claims that Phraya La Mün told him that Shan is the lingua franca and that children under fifteen years old do not speak Tai Khün, while in Henderson and Campbell’s joint report, Phraya La Mün testified that the language spoken is neither Shan nor Tai Khün, but a mixture.²²⁰⁸

The joint commission also organised language tests (see Figure 10).²²⁰⁹ However, these tests were unable to provide a conclusive answer regarding the relations between Shan, Tai Khün, and Tai Yuan due to the lack of consistent and scientific methods, a lack of cooperation on the part of informants, and the suspicions that the Baptists and the Presbyterians had of each other.²²¹⁰ Henderson criticised the incomparability of informants that the Khün informants were chosen from the literate class, while their Shan informants were only representatives of

²²⁰³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 May 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁰⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁰⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 31 October 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁰⁶ Mangrāi, *The Pāḍeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 200.

²²⁰⁷ William Marcus Young to Albert Hailey Henderson and Elias William Kelly, 18 June 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²²⁰⁹ For records of the language tests, see List of Three Hundred Words and Thirty Sentences, n.d., RG 84-8-31, Kentung [sic] Station: Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Paper 8: Lao Tract (Swatsedi) with Hkūn in 1. Yon 2. Hkun & English equivalent, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS; Paper 9: Shan & Hkūn & Yon of John 1 with English Equivalent, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS; Paper 10: Mark 6 Hkūn & Shan, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS; Paper 11: A list of Pali Terms from the Shan and Hkōn, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS; Paper 12: Religious Terms in Shan[,] Hkōn and Yon, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS; Paper 13: Sentences in W. Shan and Northern Shan, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS; Paper 14: Pali formulas, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²¹⁰ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation, 1907*, pp. 21–22, 24–25, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nan Thi, 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Minutes of the Sessions of the Keng Tung Commission, Session XX, 4 February 1907, pp. 13–23, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

the coolie class.²²¹¹ The Presbyterians also complained about the impracticability of the language tests.²²¹²

The multilingual situation at the court of Chiang Tung was one of the factors making the question complicated. A statement of the Nüa Sanam confesses that though decrees and official orders were written in Tai Khün, Burmese and Shan were also used in notifications stuck in markets.²²¹³ Chiang Tung's correspondence employs either one of these languages, Burmese, Shan, or Tai Khün, according to different recipients, respectively. Most of the letters to Scott are written in Burmese,²²¹⁴ the correspondence to the Baptists is written in Shan,²²¹⁵ while the documents received by the Presbyterians are written in Tai Khün.²²¹⁶ It probably enhanced the Baptists' and the Presbyterians' preconception that Shan and Tai Khün was the prevailing language, respectively.

d) Literature

The Presbyterians considered the use of the Tham script in printing to preach among the Tham script-using people to be a privilege. However, the glyph used in the Presbyterian printings differed slightly from the handwriting in North Siam and the territory north of Siam.²²¹⁷ This is also acknowledged by the Presbyterian missionaries.²²¹⁸ Initially, it would probably be difficult for people who were used to handling manuscripts to read the Presbyterian printings. The Presbyterians insisted that they had a responsibility to all the literate Tai and hill people.²²¹⁹ In 1909, they once again proposed dividing the field, saying that they would take over the literate people and leave the hill people to the Baptists.²²²⁰

²²¹¹ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 19, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS. However, the Presbyterians deny this argument that they were one tinker, two petty traders and a scribe (Peoples and Campbell, *Review of the "Minutes of the Sessions of the Kengtung Commission"*, n.d., p. 2, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS). For the occupations of these four informants, see *Minutes of the Sessions of the Keng Tung Commission*, Session XI, 28 January 1907, p. 9, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²¹² Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 16, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²²¹³ Statement of the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung, 21 March 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²¹⁴ See the James George Scott Collection at the CUL.

²²¹⁵ See *The Court of Chaofa Luang Müang Chiang Tung* to Robert Harper, 13 August 1908, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²¹⁶ See Statement of the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung, 21 March 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; *The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung*, List of monasteries in the territory of Chiang Tung, n.d., RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²¹⁷ For the glyphs used by the Presbyterian printings, see Anonymous, "A New Language to Be Printed", *Woman's Work for Woman and Our Mission Field* 5, no. 5 (1890): 115.

²²¹⁸ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 17, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; *Minutes of the Sessions of the Keng Tung Commission*, Session XI, 28 January 1907, p. 10, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²¹⁹ William Clifton Dodd and Charles Royal Callender to the Members of the American Baptist Mission, 16 March 1905, vol. 274, file 12, ETCBFM, PHS; Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Charles Royal Callender to Arthur Judson Brown, 2 April 1907, vol. 276, file 16, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 13 August 1909, vol. 278, file 21, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²²⁰ Ba Te to William Marcus Young, 4 June 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Young questions the effect of the Presbyterian printings in Chiang Tung.²²²¹ Firstly, he claims that because of the low literacy rate, Presbyterian books are useless.²²²² Young criticises the Presbyterians for overestimating the literacy rate.²²²³ He reports that if the calculation is accurate, the literacy rate in Chiang Tung is approximately 0.024 percent.²²²⁴ Because of the low literacy rate, Young emphasises colloquial language.²²²⁵ The Presbyterian delegation considers the literacy rate in the census to be an underestimation,²²²⁶ which only recognised those who could read and write as literate.²²²⁷ Dodd considers the census results to be misleading because the natives were asked about whether they knew “to lik [*tua lik*]” (Shan script) or not, rather than “to htam [*tua tham*]” (Tham script), and some people feared they would be compelled to work as scribes or that they would be fed to the mythical giant *yakkha* if they replied that they were literate.²²²⁸

Young claims that Shan printings are easier to understand than Tai Yuan printings.²²²⁹ He writes that people who had a command of the written language of Tai Lü, such as the Tai Dòi assistant Ai Nan, could read Shan in four days. In addition, people who could read Tai Nüa could learn Shan in two days, while it is more difficult to learn written Tai Yuan and Tai Khün for people who know Shan.²²³⁰ Young claims that a Tai Lü Christian alleged that he could only understand half of the content of the Tai Yuan Scriptures, while he could fully comprehend Young when he spoke Shan.²²³¹ He adds that the language used in the Presbyterian printings is Tai Yuan and is incomprehensible to the people in Chiang Tung, and only “[a] few who had spent considerable time in the Laos country [North Siam] could read.”²²³² Young questions the sameness between Tai Yuan and Tai Khün because the Presbyterians modified the type and published a new opening tract for Chiang Tung instead of printing the old tracts used in North Siam.²²³³ Young claims that the native workers of the Laos Mission confessed that the Tai Yuan books could not be put into use in Chiang Tung, even though they changed the font.²²³⁴

²²²¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 January 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²²² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 21 March 1905, 29 August 1905, 1 February 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young and Harper, Some Supplemental Statements, n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. Gibbens holds a similar opinion, but he did not make a distinction between different groups of Tai people, nor the dialects, see Howard C. Gibbens to the Executive Committee, 21 June 1910, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²²³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 June 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²²⁴ Lowis, *Census of India, 1901*, 12.4:1004.

²²²⁵ William Marcus Young to Josiah Nelson Cushing, n.d. [1905], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young and Harper, Some Supplemental Statements, n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²²⁶ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation, 1907*, p. 58, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Campbell and Peoples, Section IX. The Census, n.d., pp. 8–13, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²²⁷ Campbell and Peoples, Section IX. The Census, n.d., pp. 8–9, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²²⁸ Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, p. 3, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²²²⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 December 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 20 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³² William Marcus Young and Howard C. Gibbens to William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, and Howard Leslie Cornell, 13 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³³ William Marcus Young to Josiah Nelson Cushing, 26 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 May 1905, 11 July 1905, 29 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 June 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

And he mentions that no monks are able to read a Presbyterian Hymn Book.²²³⁵ However, Young exaggerated the difference in written languages used in Chiang Tung and Chiang Mai. The slight discrepancy in spelling and vocabulary poses no challenge to a literate local.

Young separates the printings from the language and claims that the Tham script manuscripts in Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and other northern places are purely Tai Yuan language manuscripts brought by Tai Yuan priests and have never been translated into local languages.²²³⁶ However, in 1902, he only rejected the idea that the Tham manuscripts in the Tai Nüa monasteries in Chiang Tung were written in Tai Nüa, saying that they were Tai Lü or Tai Khün manuscripts.²²³⁷

He claims that the only reason the Tai Nüa in Chiang Tung use manuscripts in Tham script (Young uses the term “Hkün”) is because the Chiang Tung prince has ordered it.²²³⁸ However, Young’s claim is based on information from the Nam Kham Station, where the Tai Nüa who lived nearby used only the Thua Ngok script (literarily, beansprout script).²²³⁹ In fact, the northern limit of the Tham script reached Tai Nüa in Köng Ma and Müang Bò in Inner Yunnan.

6 Christianity, Buddhism, and Local Beliefs

a) Buddhism

The missionaries’ encounter with Buddhism in this region was inevitable. Except for the FMEM, the American missionaries were the only group of travellers who had close contact with the Buddhists. Missionaries, such as Dodd, were equipped with a basic knowledge of Buddhism.²²⁴⁰ However, the Presbyterians and the Baptists took contrasting approaches to the religion.

The Tai workers in the Laos Mission were largely disrobed monks, as is evidenced by their names. In the Upper Mekong River basin, disrobed men usually have a title before their name that indicates their monastic experience. The title of disrobed novices or people who disrobed before twenty is “*nòi*” or “*mai*” for Tai Lü, Tai Khün, and Tai Yuan people (e.g. Nòi Kan, Nòi Rin, Nòi Tepin, Nòi Wong) and “*hua*” for Tai Nüa people (e.g. Hua Khuat, Hua Khuat Sri, Hua Inthawan). The title for disrobed Bhikkhu and people who disrobed after twenty is “*nan*” or “*khanan*” for Tai Lü, Tai Khün, and Tai Yuan (e.g. Nan Intha, Nan Suwan) and

²²³⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Howard Leslie Cornell, 22 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 June 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 June 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²³⁹ William Marcus Young to Josiah Nelson Cushing, 26 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. The Presbyterians knew that some of the Tai Nüa people used both the Thua Ngok script and the Tham script (Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 40, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS).

²²⁴⁰ William Clifton Dodd, “Preaching the Gospel to the Laos in Burma”, *Missionary Review of the World* 22, no. 5 (1899): 339.

“*khan*” for Tai Nüa. As will be discussed below, the Lahu and Wa people converted by the Baptists were, to some extent, influenced by Buddhism.

A monastery is a significant public space in Tai society. Monasteries served as barracks during times of war.²²⁴¹ In peacetime, they provided lodging for travellers. In ancient times, the Tai states had no inns like the West, and travellers usually stayed in temples, as the Western travellers discussed in previous chapters did. Christian missionaries were no exception. The Presbyterian writings frequently depict staying overnight in monasteries, while the Baptist writings seldom mention this.²²⁴² Sometimes, Presbyterians even spent one or two weeks at a monastery.²²⁴³ During Dodd’s journey to Sipsòng Panna in 1910, only three out of eleven nights, in Chiang Rung and Müang Ring, were not spent at a monastery.

Preaching was also held in monasteries, and monks were among the audiences, as was the case in Chiang Tung.²²⁴⁴ Campbell reports that when he preached at a monastery in Chiang Tung in 1907, the abbot of the monastery summoned people, by town crier and monastery drum, to attend the preaching, and the scrolls of the life story of Christ were erected before the Buddha image and the pulpit was set up not far from it.²²⁴⁵ By late 1907, the Presbyterians had visited 87 monasteries in Chiang Tung and more than thirty in neighbouring regions.²²⁴⁶ Sometimes, the Presbyterians would listen to one or two hours of Buddhist chanting and then start their own preaching once it had ended.²²⁴⁷ It was not only a gesture of respect but also an opportunity to gain Buddhist knowledge for later adaptation.

The missionaries adopted Buddhist-Christian apologetics as a preaching method. Christian teaching is always reported as superior to Buddhism.²²⁴⁸ McGilvary had a discussion on religion with Chao Sri Nò Kham, who “asked pointed questions to get at vital truths and tried to uphold Buddhism”.²²⁴⁹ Briggs reports that “there are many who have been reading our books and acknowledge that the teaching is superior to that of Buddhism.”²²⁵⁰ In 1907, Nòi Rin toured Sam Thüan with Chao Nòi Phrom. At a village, Nòi Rin used the irreplaceability of the 66 books of the Bible to justify the reliability and firmness of the Christian canon, explaining that “no one can add to it or take away from it.” The Buddhist canon, by contrast, contains 84,000 books and many texts, like the *Vessantara Jātaka*, have several versions.²²⁵¹ In another report, Nan Intha (Sam Thüan) criticised Buddhist scripture. At Ban Huai Sai Khao, Nan Intha

²²⁴¹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 37, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

²²⁴² Up to 1907, Dodd visited 86 monasteries in Chiang Tung’s territory, and stayed over half of them (Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, p. 1, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS).

²²⁴³ Dodd, “A Tour of Buddhist Temples”, 123.

²²⁴⁴ Dodd, “Preaching the Gospel to the Laos in Burma”, 338; Dodd, “A Tour of Buddhist Temples”, 125; William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8–9 April, 5, 7 May 1898, RG 84-8-23, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1897–1900, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁴⁵ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1908), 71:418.

²²⁴⁶ Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁴⁷ Dodd, “A Tour of Buddhist Temples”, 124.

²²⁴⁸ Briggs, The Laos Mission Letter for the Quarter Ending July 31st, 1900, vol. 16, file 23, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁴⁹ Irwin, “A Memorable Tour in Laos”, 118.

²²⁵⁰ Briggs, The Laos Mission Letter for the Quarter Ending July 31st, 1900, vol. 16, file 23, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁵¹ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS.

questioned the contradictions within the Buddhist canon and claimed that “nothing [is] positive or reliable”. He mentioned that the *Vessantara Jātaka* says that offering one lotus will “bring will bring billions of servants” and “deliver one from sin and give comfort”, while the Vinaya claims “everyone is an awful sinner (since impossible to keep them) and no relief from such a condition is offered.”²²⁵²

Making an analogy between Buddhism and Christianity is a preaching strategy. Many Presbyterian writings mention the analogy between Jesus Christ and Ariya Metteyya, the next Buddha. As early as 1893, the people’s mindset of longing for the future Buddha is considered an advantage for missionary work because Ariya Metteyya is identified with Jesus Christ.²²⁵³ Likewise, in 1898, beliefs about the next Buddha in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna, which were more entrenched than those held in North Siam, are considered “a preparation for the true [Christian] Messiah”.²²⁵⁴ Dodd mentions that when he preached in 1898, people in Chiang Tung interpreted Jesus as Ariya Metteyya, although he also says that he tried to persuade them that Jesus was superior to Ariya Metteyya.²²⁵⁵ A few years later, Callender mentioned a similar interpretation.²²⁵⁶ Moreover, B. E. Dodd writes that “[i]n many villages the people insist that Jesus is the one who is to come and bless the world”, and one man said, “If that is the Buddhist Messiah, I will believe on him.”²²⁵⁷

A detailed scene is found in Dodd’s account of his 1910 journey to China. When they preached at a village in Müang La Thai, two days north of Chiang Rung, Dodd explained Christ’s life using picture charts, and “many of them lifted their hands in adoration.” Apparently, Dodd’s explanation roused a Buddhist Millennial feeling in them. One man asked Dodd whether Jesus was Ariya Metteyya, the future Buddha, as both were considered the Coming One. Dodd confirmed that the characteristics of Jesus met the meanings of both *ariya* (high-born) and *metteyya* (merciful). Dodd considered it to be the “best news” for the man, but the man became depressed and said that he had missed the opportunity to see Ariya Metteyya. Soon after, Dodd understood why he felt this way, for only those who had escalated “a sufficient stock of merit” and were pure enough could see Maitreya, and this man had lost his chance. Dodd refers to a similar phrase in Matthew 5:8, “Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.” Later, the man’s reaction led Dodd to believe that the Holy Spirit had illuminated his heart because he became cheerful and said that “[w]e did not see Him with our eyes; but we see pictures of Him. We see His Book, we hear His message, we are here when His religion comes, and that is enough.”²²⁵⁸

²²⁵² Charles Royal Callender to the Friends and Supporters of Kengtung Station, 31 May 1907, vol. 276, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁵³ Statement of Nòi Uppara and Nòi Uppanan, n.d., RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁵⁴ Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., p. 22, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁵⁵ Dodd, “Preaching the Gospel to the Laos in Burma”, 339.

²²⁵⁶ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 15 April 1907, vol. 276, file 17, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁵⁷ Dodd, “Last Stages of a Long Journey”, 327.

²²⁵⁸ William Clifton Dodd, “Kengtung and the Far North Laos among the Lu in China”, *Laos News* 7, no. 3 (August 1910): 96; Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 67–68.

It is unclear whether the Presbyterian missionaries initiated this interpretation or not, even though, long before these encounters, Dodd has mentioned Ariya Metteya in an article published in 1895, in which he misinterprets Ariya Metteya as the elder brother of Buddha, the founder of Buddhism.²²⁵⁹ Later, Dodd consciously connected Christianity with the Buddhist Messiah and employed this analogy to justify Christianity. In a letter to the ruler of Müang Yòng, aimed at justifying their missionary activities in Müang Yòng, dispelling suspicions, and overcoming the native authorities' opposition to converts, Dodd and Callender name Jesus Christ as Ariya Metteyya and call Christianity “the religion of Ariya Metteya”. Other Presbyterians also took this belief about Ariya Metteya as an opportunity to convert the Buddhist people.²²⁶⁰ However, as Smith discusses,²²⁶¹ the Presbyterians did not consider Jesus Christ to be equivalent to Ariya Metteya. The missionary's interpretation of Jesus Christ-as-Ariya Metteyya was different from that of the natives. Contrary to the idea of a future Buddha in native belief, Dodd and Callender interpret Ariya literally as “noble birth”, Metteyya as “friend, lover, one who blesses”, and Ariya Metteyya as “the name of the next Enlightened One to come” and “the name of the coming Savior [...] used in this connection as applying to Jesus”. They compare the Christian work to the arrival of Phraya Tham in native civil and religious prophet writings, who came to rectify inaccurate and corrupted religious writings and conserve uncorrupted ones. In this meaning, Jesus Christ-as-Ariya Metteyya was a successor of Siddhartha Gautama, the present Buddha.²²⁶²

Moreover, Dodd mentions that Buddhist literature hints that it was not “the final nor the saving religion” and predicts the advent of a new religion, which would “bring salvation”.²²⁶³ Naturally, Christianity is regarded as the new religion to “succeed the religion of Gotoma [Buddhism]”, as reflected in Dodd's and Callender's descriptions of Buddhism as an “old religion” and Christianity as a new one.²²⁶⁴

Consequently, the colporteurs, actually boatmen and carriers who Dodd had brought with him to Chiang Tung, were regarded as “the messengers of the Buddhist Messiah” and were treated as “dignitaries”. People offered them food, flowers, and wax candles and hoped for their blessing. But to correct and also to utilise this misunderstanding, Dodd claims that they “explained that they themselves were sinners, deriving all merit and blessing from Jehovah God, and then reverently asked a blessing from Him”.²²⁶⁵

Another analogy is that the spread of Christianity follows the steps of Buddhism. In Müang Bò, Dodd found that Buddhism there had spread from Chiang Tung “between 270 and 280 years ago”.²²⁶⁶ Since Chiang Tung accepted Buddhism from Chiang Mai around 650 or

²²⁵⁹ Dodd, “Siam and the Laos”, 10.

²²⁶⁰ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 11, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁶¹ Smith, *Siamese Gold*, 114.

²²⁶² Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁶³ Dodd, “Siam and the Laos”, 10.

²²⁶⁴ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁶⁵ Dodd, “Preaching the Gospel to the Laos in Burma”, 339; Dodd, “Last Stages of a Long Journey”, 327.

²²⁶⁶ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 74.

660 years ago, he hopes that Christianity will “follow the path of Buddhism, from Chiengmai to Kengtung [Chiang Tung], and from Kengtung to [Tai Nua country]”.²²⁶⁷ Moreover, Dodd records a legendary explanation of the name Tai Ya in Yuanjiang. The Buddhist Tai called the illiterate Tai “Yai Ya”. Once, Buddha came to preach to them, but he found them hard to teach. He decided to refrain from teaching them by saying “*Yā kou tö (ya khao thö)*” (Dodd explains as “desist (from) them!”), and, consequently, “*ya*” (do not) became their name. Dodd believes that “[w]hat Buddha is said by his own followers to have given up as a bad job has fallen to the lot of Christ and His followers.”²²⁶⁸ In 1921, the Presbyterians started missionary work among the Tai Ya in Yuanjiang where they later opened a station.²²⁶⁹

The Presbyterians had a moderate attitude towards Buddhism, compared to the much more aggressive stance of Young. In their writings, they do not fiercely denounce Buddhism or Buddhist monks. Dodd took Buddhism to be one of the three causes (the other two being “demonolatry” and “the tropical climate”) that “stupified” the “Lao”.²²⁷⁰ He compares the character of Christians and Buddhists by mentioning a fire disaster in Müang Wa during his journey to China in 1910. Dodd’s team helped extinguish the fire, and Hua Khuat rescued an elderly woman, while the villagers were too busy rescuing their property to care about other people. Dodd claims that “[i]t was a signal triumph of the Christ-spirit over superstition and self-love.”²²⁷¹ Native rulers and monks are criticised for leading the people into decadence, as the Dodd family recounts when telling of their experiences in Müang Yòng and Phalaeo: “The rulers are leaders in cock-fighting and other forms of gambling and other vices, while liquor is distilled and sold in every village, with no need for leave or license to sell;”²²⁷² “[n]o wonder the people in the village where we were staying had little heart in religious matters, for the abbot, though a young man, is an opium user. Nine of his pupils follow him in this vice, and there were said to be only two men of the village addicted.”²²⁷³ Dodd criticises Buddhism as a religion of “puerile and fantastic stories”, “thousands of self-conflicting teachings”, “lifeless pantheism”, “agnosticism” and “meaningless ritual in an unknown tongue (the Pali)”, and said that it could satisfy neither head nor heart.²²⁷⁴ During their sojourn in Chiang Tung town in 1910, B. E. Dodd started a school with ten pupils and a young male teacher. The pupils were taught hymns, prayer, Commandments, the alphabet, tables, etc. The school was connected to a temple where there was one opium-smoking abbot, one priest, and around a dozen novices. B. E. Dodd found that, at first, the novices attended the class frequently, but later they stopped attending and spent double the time reading and chanting Buddhist texts. The novices

²²⁶⁷ William Clifton Dodd, “The Far North Laos among the Tai Nua in China”, *Laos News* 7, no. 3 (August 1910): 115; Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 77.

²²⁶⁸ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 88. A similar story of the origin of the name “Tai Ya” is found in an investigation report (Zhao Jiaqing, ed., “*Mengyang huayao dai de fengsu xiguan* [The customs of the patterned-waist Tai in Müang Yang]”, in *Daizu shehui lishi diaocha (xishuangbanna)*, 8:172).

²²⁶⁹ House, “An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians”, 240.

²²⁷⁰ Dodd, “Among Laos Christians”, 356.

²²⁷¹ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 59.

²²⁷² Dodd, “Demons Defeated in Muang Yawng”, 109.

²²⁷³ Dodd, “From Cheung Hai to Kengtung Laos, 1898”, 277–278.

²²⁷⁴ Dodd, “Siam and the Laos”, 9.

complained that “these little girls who are *khon* (human beings) and females too, can read already better than we can, who are *pra* [monks]! Why are we not taught that way? They already know numbers, while the only book we have on numbers the abbot has hidden.” B.E. Dodd uses this speech to praise Christian schooling and to denigrate the abbot. Soon, the school was asked to move to another place.²²⁷⁵

The Christian writings attest to cultural differences. The Presbyterians were invited to attend the funeral of a noble monk in Chiang Tung town. However, B. E. Dodd was confused by the area holding the five-day-long funeral alongside a variety of entertainments, such as an open-air market and gambling.²²⁷⁶ She sarcastically calls it a “gala occasion” that “the poor old priest furnished more amusement by his death than he had afforded in his whole life.”²²⁷⁷

Young held a more negative view of Buddhism than the Presbyterians. For Young, Chiang Tung was a place of “moral and spiritual degradation”,²²⁷⁸ and he directly attacked the “religious customs as evil and sinful”.²²⁷⁹ Young’s approach was, in Briggs’s words, “needless offence to the Buddhist people”.²²⁸⁰ Callender reports that Young directly attacked monks and Buddhism whenever he encountered monks on the street.²²⁸¹ The Tai Yuan assistant Nan Thi reports that the people of Chiang Tung considered the Baptist missionaries (*phò khru nòng pha*) to be “fierce” (*suak*).²²⁸² The Baptist sources reveal that the Tai “resemble the Burmans in their strong adherence to Buddhism and resistance to Christianity”,²²⁸³ and the Tai Khün were the “hardest of all to reach”.²²⁸⁴ In 1903, after nearly three years of work, the Baptist Chiang Tung Station had only two converts, Pha Ka Chai and his daughter Nang Saeng.²²⁸⁵ By 1907, the Baptists had only three Buddhist converts, and the third Buddhist, Sam Thao, was converted through Gibbens’ work.²²⁸⁶ It is also one of the shortcomings attacked by the Presbyterians, who claimed the Buddhists and the literate hill peoples for themselves.²²⁸⁷

Young believes that Buddhism had spread only recently to Chiang Tung. He holds that “the vast majority of the monasteries have been built in the last 25 years.” According to him, Buddhism was not deep-rooted but was only a “new religion”.²²⁸⁸ The natives’ piety to

²²⁷⁵ Belle Eakin Dodd, “Incidents of a Visit to Kengtung State”, *Woman’s Work* 25, no. 5 (1910): 107–108.

²²⁷⁶ Dodd, “A Chieng Tung Cremation”, 113.

²²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

²²⁷⁸ William Marcus Young to Henry C. Mabie, 18 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁷⁹ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation, 1907*, p. 26, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁸⁰ William A. Briggs to Arthur Judson Brown, 17 November 1910, vol. 279, file 5, ETCBFM, PHS.

²²⁸¹ Statement of Charles Royal Callender, 15 July 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁸² Statement of Nan Thi, 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁸³ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 95:54.

²²⁸⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 April 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁸⁵ In 1907, the Presbyterian delegation claims that Pha Ka Chai was actually a Tai Yuan from Müang Phan in Chiang Rai and after seven years work, the Baptist missionaries had not converted a single Shan (Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation, 1907*, pp. 60–61, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Nan Thi, 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS).

²²⁸⁶ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 21 August 1907, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁸⁷ Copy of Letter from J. H. Freeman, Chieng Mai, 25 August 1910, RG 84-8-25, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1909–1910, SFTM, PHS; William A. Briggs to Abram Woodruff Halsey, 14 December 1909, RG 84-8-25, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1909–1910, SFTM, PHS.

²²⁸⁸ William Marcus Young to Henry C. Mabie, 18 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Buddhism was only “enthusiasm over a new religion”.²²⁸⁹ Moreover, Young considers Buddhism in Chiang Tung “a very corrupt type”.²²⁹⁰ Monks were addicted to gambling, opium, and alcohol²²⁹¹ and were “conceited, lazy, licentious and ignorant”, and monasteries were “generally hotbeds of crime”.²²⁹² Monastery education was invalid and did not improve the literacy rate.²²⁹³ Buddhist knowledge was not widely known.²²⁹⁴ Moreover, Buddhism in Chiang Tung was a “mongrel religion”, a hybrid mix of Buddhism and spirit worship.²²⁹⁵ Both the native authorities and Buddhist monks were participants in spirit worship rituals, like the rite of praying for rain, which the Buddhist monks were not supposed to attend.²²⁹⁶

Young’s criticism of Buddhism was aimed at justifying his missionary work. “[T]he present moral degradation of the people, the rottenness and helplessness of Buddhism here, the virgin soil of the hill tribes” needed Christianity.²²⁹⁷ Young claims that “[t]he non-Christian religions utterly fail to supply food for the soul”,²²⁹⁸ and there was “no hope through their own religion” and “[t]he one thing they need is the Gospel of Jesus Christ.”²²⁹⁹ Buddhism’s failure to fully overcome superstition and Christianity’s responsibility to replace Buddhism is also found in the missionary discourse on Buddhism in Sri Lanka.²³⁰⁰

Young admits that Buddhism in Chiang Tung was received from the Tai Yuan and that there were more religious similarities (for instance, Buddhist terms) between the Tai Khün and the Tai Yuan than there were with the Shan. However, he considers that this connection is insignificant, as Buddhism in Chiang Tung was “so corrupt” to the extent that “[t]he priests and all are so ignorant of their own religion that the vast majority do not know where the Buddha was born, what people he belongs.”²³⁰¹ They spent much more time preparing fireworks for festivals than meditating.²³⁰²

b) Buddhist Resistance

²²⁸⁹ William Marcus Young to Fred Porter Haggard, 2 August 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁹⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 2 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁹¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Henry C. Mabie, 18 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁹² William Marcus Young, “A New Station in Shanland”, *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 82, no. 5 (1902): 181.

²²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 180

²²⁹⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 February 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Young and Harper, *Some Supplemental Statements*, n.d. [1910], FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²²⁹⁵ Young, “A New Station in Shanland”, 179.

²²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 179–180.

²²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 181.

²²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁰⁰ David Scott, “Conversion and Demonism: Colonial Christian Discourse and Religion in Sri Lanka”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 2 (1992): 355–356.

²³⁰¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 March 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁰² William Marcus Young to Henry C. Mabie, 18 July 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

Generally, Theravada Buddhism has a more moderate attitude towards Christianity than Islam and Hinduism do, which can be found in many cases in Sri Lanka.²³⁰³ In the missionary sources, Buddhism is presented as an obstacle to missionary work. Both the Baptists and the Presbyterians had worked in the territory of Chiang Tung for decades but had only managed to convert a small number of Buddhists. Young admits that “the [native] officials are very friendly to me personally but they are very narrow and bigoted on religious matters.”²³⁰⁴ The “Chief adviser” of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng was “a miserable rogue” who was strongly opposed to the missionary work and “made threats” to any officials who showed interest in Christianity. Young hopes that he will be removed.²³⁰⁵ Young considers Buddhism to be in competition with Christianity and urges the spreading of the Gospel among the hill peoples, “[i]f we do not give them the gospel they will accept Buddhism, which is spreading among some of the hill people, and it will be tenfold harder to reach them than it is now.”²³⁰⁶ The Baptists had to turn to the non-Buddhist people who did not follow Buddhism strictly. The Karen worker Shwe Thu reports that a weak Buddhist foundation in the Tai Dòi people of Ban Fai means that they will be easier to convert than the Tai.²³⁰⁷

The Tai ruling class was usually viewed as opponents of the missionary work; for example, the Saen Wi prince was “an aggressive Buddhist” and “strongly oppose[d] the introduction not only of Christianity but of education”.²³⁰⁸ Though not mentioned in contemporary documents, Presbyterian records in the 1920s report that Chao Mòm Kham Lü opposed missionary work in Sipsòng Panna.²³⁰⁹ Young notes that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng had spies to report on any Tai becoming believers.²³¹⁰ The native officials and the Somdet Atchaya Tham (Young uses the term “Archbishop”) sent orders forbidding people from listening to the preaching.²³¹¹ He estimates that more people would be baptised if it were not for the objections of Chiang Tung officials.²³¹² Young accuses an assistant of Gibbens of offending one of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng’s sons.²³¹³ A group of novitiates in a monastery mocked the Christians when the Baptists were preaching at the market. One assistant then ran into the monastery and grabbed one novitiate, who turned out to be the son of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng. It was said that the assistant struck the novitiate. Consequently, the assistant was

²³⁰³ David Scott, “Conversion and Demonism: Colonial Christian Discourse and Religion in Sri Lanka”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 2 (1992): 358.

²³⁰⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 8 November 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁰⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 9 May 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁰⁶ Young, “A New Station in Shanland”, 181.

²³⁰⁷ William Marcus Young to the Reference Committee for Burma, 1 September 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 17 October 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁰⁸ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 93:79.

²³⁰⁹ Anonymous, *The Prince who Has Been Opposed to the Missionaries*, photograph, in Report of Kiulungkiang Station, Year Ending June 30, 1926, opposite p. 4, YMSR, PHS; Report of Kiulungkiang Station, Year Ending June 30, 1927, p. 2, YMSR, PHS.

²³¹⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 August 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³¹¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³¹² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³¹³ In another letter, Young writes that this prince was the eldest son of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng, which means that he was Chao Kòn Thai (William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS).

faced with a lawsuit, and the Baptists were forbidden from preaching at the evening market at least for four months.²³¹⁴

Buddhist monks were regarded as the leaders of the resistance. They “at first seemed very friendly” but “became openly hostile as soon as active work was begun”.²³¹⁵ Young reports the existence of “a spirit of narrow bigotry and opposition to any one accepting Christianity” in Chiang Tung.²³¹⁶ Young mentions that his first convert in Chiang Tung, Pha Ka Chai, met “the bitterest opposition from almost every one in his village”. He believes that it was only out of fear of British law that they did not resort to violence. Young is convinced that the opposition was led by the monk in Pha Ka Chai’s village. He visited the monastery, and the monk “would not speak, but got up and went into his sleeping apartments immediately when we [Young and his helpers] went to the monastery”. To defame the monk, Young describes him as an alcoholic.²³¹⁷ The Baptists’ open attack on Buddhism evoked resentment from the Chiang Tung people, who broke into the Baptist chapel and smashed printings and pictures.²³¹⁸

The Presbyterians complain that the converts encounter various obstacles, including marriage. Nan Intha (Sam Thüan) reported that he was almost engaged to a girl but met with objections from her mother because people unfamiliar with Christianity were afraid. Nan Intha pleaded with the missionaries to explain that the local custom was in harmony with Christianity.²³¹⁹ There are also reports of punishment. For example, it is reported that Racha, the headman of Ban Thap, and some other converts were sentenced by a tribunal to “repair the dilapidated idol of Buddha and support the monastery, urging as a motive for this the prosperity and health of the people as a result”.²³²⁰ It is reported that the converts would end up being driven out of the village and losing their farmlands. This response was generally related to land ownership issues. The rice fields of people who converted to Christianity would be confiscated and given to a supporter of the monastery unless the whole village converted to Christianity and the monastery became a church.²³²¹

Sometimes, the resistance was more subtle. When the Presbyterians visited Müang Yòng in 1898, Dodd re-encounters an abbot he had met in 1897. Dodd writes that the abbot was glad to see him again and visited Dodd many times, telling him that he would soon disrobe. Dodd tries to persuade the abbot to bring his people into Christianity but to no avail.²³²²

²³¹⁴ William Marcus Young to Fred Porter Haggard, 22 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 26–27, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²³¹⁵ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 89:108.

²³¹⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 August 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³¹⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 July 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³¹⁸ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, pp. 26–27, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²³¹⁹ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends and Supporters of Kengtung Station, 31 May 1907, vol. 276, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³²⁰ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³²¹ Briggs, *The Laos Mission Letter for the Quarter Ending July 31st, 1900*, vol. 16, file 23, ETCBFM, PHS; Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³²² Dodd, “From Cheung Hai to Kengtung Laos, 1898”, 279.

One form of resistance was the rumour. Dodd reports that in Müang Yòng, the Presbyterians distributed nearly one hundred tracts but twenty of them were returned, saying that the printed vowels in these tracts were different from those used there and that they were not easily recognisable. But later, Dodd discovered that some Buddhists had told the people that owning the tracts would cause fever in the family.²³²³ One Tai Nüa female brought some pictures of Jesus Christ back to decorate the wall of her house. But later, these pictures were gone, for their friends and neighbours “thought they offended the spirits and brought fever”.²³²⁴

Another widespread rumour accused the missionaries of collecting converts and taking them down to the south to feed the legendary giant, *yakkha* (written as “Yaka” or “yaga” in original typescripts).²³²⁵ B. E. Dodd complains that nine little Tai Nüa girls from a village where there were “three catechumens and a number of inquirers”, stopped coming to the school because they were told that the missionaries “would take them sway and feed them to the Yuk [Yakkha]”. B. E. Dodd believes that she would be able to bring them back as long as their fathers were faithful.²³²⁶ However, she misunderstands the *yakkha* as “a fabulous dragon which exists only in the imagination of the gullibles”.²³²⁷ The Baptist worker Ba Te also mentions that the Tai people threatened those Lahu who intended to be baptised that they would be fed to the *phi pret* (ogres)²³²⁸ by the Christians.²³²⁹ The Baptist missionaries Charles Henry Heptonstall (1859–1936) and Henderson report a similar story.²³³⁰ The Presbyterian missionaries let Chao Nòi Phrom and Nan Intha accompany them to the annual meeting of 1906 as carriers in the hope that their presence would dispel the rumour.²³³¹ Dodd mentions an episode as proof of the faithfulness of converts. When Chao Nòi Phrom was in Chiang Tung town for a cure, one man returned from Chiang Tung town to Müang Yòng and told Chao Nòi Phrom’s family that Chao Nòi Phrom had already been taken down south and had been fed to the *yakkha*. Dodd claims that his wife was not moved and replied that “the religion was still true, and she was going to follow it”.²³³²

c) Local Beliefs

²³²³ Ibid.

²³²⁴ Belle Eakin Dodd to Mrs. Perkins, 14 December 1906, vol. 275, file 48, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³²⁵ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 29 September 1906, vol. 275, file 44, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 22 November 1906, vol. 275, file 46, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³²⁶ Dodd, “School Work in Kengtung”, 86–87.

²³²⁷ Ibid., 86.

²³²⁸ It was originally written as “Hpi-hpai”. *Phi phrai* is a spirit usually in the form of female, which is not a “ogre” as Cochrane connoted. The most common ogre in Buddhist-influenced Tai literary tradition is *phi pret*, a giant hungry ghost.

²³²⁹ Cochrane, “The Story of Saya Ba Teh”, 370.

²³³⁰ Heptonstall and Henderson, Report of the Kengtung Committee, March 1906, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³³¹ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³³² William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 29 September 1906, vol. 275, file 44, ETCBFM, PHS.

Many of the Laos Mission's converts in Chiang Tung were the people being accused of witchcraft and being driven out of their original villages.²³³³ The witch or wizard mentioned in the Presbyterian writings refers to *phi kla* or *phi pòp*, the name for both the spirit and the accused people. Generally, these people are accused of controlling the spectres somehow to cause an unexplained illness, event, or disaster in society. Consequently, the accused and the family are ostracised by the community to the extent that they are expelled from the village where they live.²³³⁴ Decades later, the Presbyterian converts in Chiang Rung primarily consisted of *phi pòp* and lepers.²³³⁵

Müang Yòng, famous for opium, gambling, and cockfighting,²³³⁶ was the centre of the Presbyterians' work with the accused people. Müang Yòng was "the refuge of a large number of so-called 'Spirit people,' those who are accused of witchcraft".²³³⁷ Callender writes that roughly two-thirds of the population were victims of the witchcraft accusation.²³³⁸ Dodd reports that half of the inhabitants in Müang Yòng were "demon-possessed". In Müang Yòng, 23 villages were wholly inhabited by the accused, and nine villages had at least some accused.²³³⁹ Ban Thap was a witchcraft village consisting of 80 houses, whose members came from nine districts nearby.²³⁴⁰ Thus, Müang Yòng is depicted as a land of the "demon-possessed" and a battlefield between Christ and demons.

As early as the accounts of the tour of 1893, Irwin mentions a young man in Müang Yòng pleading for an exorcism, but Irwin tells him that only God can free him from the spirit.²³⁴¹ The sources suggest, however, that the Presbyterian work with this group of accused people only started after the opening of the Chiang Tung Station.

Dodd claims that the accused were innocent people targeted by their jealous neighbours for their "thrift and prosperity". The demon-possessed would be "splendid Christians", "both on account of those very qualities which aroused envy among their lazier heathen neighbors, and also on account of the clean line of cleavage which separates them as Christians from their old life".²³⁴² B. E. Dodd mentions two families. One was a *saen* (a low-ranking officer), "one of the wealthiest men in the province". Because of the accusation, all of his property had been destroyed.²³⁴³ Another was a well-educated family in Müang Yòng. A *saen* and his sister were accused of witchcraft. They had seven brothers, including five *nan*, one *nan luang*, and one *nòi*, who allied with them. The *saen*, his five brothers, and four children were baptised. The *nòi*

²³³³ Dodd, "Siam and the Laos", 10.

²³³⁴ Edwin Roy Zehner, "Phi ka nai phak nua khòng thai tòn plai khrit satawat thi sip kao sùp chúasai tam trakun mae ching rü mai [Memories of Phii Ka accusations in Northern Thailand assimilation into matrilineal traditions]", *Asia Social Issues* 8, no. 1 (2015): 23.

²³³⁵ Li Fuyi, *Cheli* [Sipsòng Panna] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), 86.

²³³⁶ Dodd, "Incidents of a Visit to Kengtung State", 108; Dodd, "Demons Defeated in Muang Yawng", 109.

²³³⁷ Dodd, "Demons Defeated in Muang Yawng", 109.

²³³⁸ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³³⁹ Dodd, "Christ and the Demons of Muang Yawng", 28.

²³⁴⁰ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends and Supporters of Kengtung Station, 31 May 1907, vol. 276, file 19, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³⁴¹ Irwin, "A Memorable Tour in Laos", 116.

²³⁴² Dodd, "Christ and the Demons of Muang Yawng", 28.

²³⁴³ Dodd, "Demons Defeated in Muang Yawng", 110.

and his wife were received as catechumens.²³⁴⁴ By contrast, Young adopted a different approach to missionary work and did not rely on such accused people to become converts. Indeed, he considers them people of “shiftless bad characters” without any friends and influence.²³⁴⁵

The missionary writings report that conversion to Christianity was a method of cleansing the spirit. Spirit shrines were pulled down, and thus houses were “divested of all spirits and the occupants freed from all connection with them; and those accused are permitted to remain unmolested”.²³⁴⁶ The converts’ lives were restored, and they regained their neighbours’ approval.²³⁴⁷ The Presbyterian missionaries made efforts to obtain support from the Chiang Tung court, explaining that the spirits were cleansed in Christians and that this was “a blessing to the country”.²³⁴⁸ B. E. Dodd reports that, in 1908, an order was issued by Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng preventing the converts with cleansed spirits from being driven out from their villages.²³⁴⁹

According to the Presbyterian writings, the natives were eager to cleanse their spirits with the help of Christianity. Dodd claims that, in Müang Yòng, two headmen of a village took an abundance of literature from the Presbyterians, aiming to exorcise demons by books like Mark’s Gospel. Dodd considers it “their way of showing faith in Jesus”.²³⁵⁰ Moreover, Dodd expresses a “special interest” in Müang Yòng, where a whole village, except for one man, was “in favor of asking the Elder to held Christian services to drive out all spirits from the village”.²³⁵¹ Racha, a headman of a village in Müang Yòng, “urged his people to accept Christ” and asked the Presbyterians to write a prayer so that “God would drive out demons from any given places”, “to get the benefits of Christ’s power over demons, witches and sins”.²³⁵²

After his conversion, Chao Nòi Phrom actively persuaded the other accused people to convert to Christianity. Chao Nòi Phrom brought two women, who were accused of witchcraft and had been forced to move out of their village, to Chiang Tung town to obtain an order from the city court guaranteeing their right to remain in their native village. Callender reports that four families accused of witchcraft were willing to accept Christianity, as long as they were allowed to return to their original village in Müang Yòng.²³⁵³ According to Callender’s report,

²³⁴⁴ Ibid., 110–111.

²³⁴⁵ Young, *Side Lights on the Controversy*, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 29 September 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁴⁶ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³⁴⁷ Dodd, “Demons Defeated in Muang Yawng”, 110–112.

²³⁴⁸ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³⁴⁹ Dodd, “Demons Defeated in Muang Yawng”, 110.

²³⁵⁰ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Home, 20 July 1906, vol. 275, file 42, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³⁵¹ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 29 September 1906, vol. 275, file 44, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³⁵² Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 22 November 1906, vol. 275, file 46, ETCBFM, PHS.

²³⁵³ Charles Royal Callender to the Friends of Kengtung Station, 28 September 1907, vol. 276, file 25, ETCBFM, PHS.

one of the families in question was Nang Bua, her mother, and her three sisters.²³⁵⁴ Chao Nòi Phrom's relative Nang Kaeo and her daughter Nang Bua were accused of witchcraft. Both Nang Kaeo and Nang Bua were abandoned by their husbands. Chao Nòi Phrom persuaded them, together with Nang Bua's sister Nang Chan, to accept Christianity in order that they be immune to the demons. Dodd reports that fearing that she would be abused, Nang Kaeo entrusted her daughters to Chao Nòi Phrom so that they may flee to Chiang Tung town and find protection under the missionaries.²³⁵⁵ Dodd praises Nang Kaeo as "a brave Christian woman".²³⁵⁶

As previously mentioned, Young did not attach much importance to such accused people. His encounter with the native beliefs had a different dimension. Native beliefs hindered his construction of the Baptist compound. Young tried to find a location to build the station in Chiang Tung town, but he found that "[m]ost of the best sites" were either "occupied with monasteries",²³⁵⁷ or by shrines to "worship evil spirits".²³⁵⁸ Having chosen a piece of land nearby the city walls, he reencountered difficulties. The local beliefs prohibited the transportation of corpses towards the city centre or through the gate on the main road. There was a special path, the "evil spirit path [...] or path of the dead", along the city wall for this activity. The site on which Young chose to construct the compound extended from the city wall to the main road and included this path. As a result, Young was asked to leave a space between his compound and the wall for the path. Young was unwilling to compromise because it would mean doubling the fencing fee, as he had intended to use the city wall as a boundary. He opened a new road to the south of the compound, but Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng did not allow people to use this road because it would mean carrying the corpse towards the city centre to reach the new road, which was taboo.²³⁵⁹ Young does not mention how he finally settled this matter. Harper encountered a similar situation in Chiang Tung when he chose a site for the hospital. At first, he chose the location of the Presbyterian hospital. However, he abandoned this place after learning that the setting was not ideal because "none of the respectable people in the City would visit the hospital as they would have to pass through the criminal's gate."²³⁶⁰

Among the topics mentioned in the Baptist writings is cotton threads. Young claims that the cotton threads, which the Lahu people tied to their wrists, "were a pledge that they would keep the Muhso customs not to drink liquors or to worship idols, etc.", and they had "the longing of their hearts for the true God and they said the Foreigner will soon come and teach as the knowledge of the true God and then cut these cords for us". Additionally, Young mentions that the Lahu people asked him to cut the threads for them "in fulfillment of the traditions".²³⁶¹ Ba Te had a different interpretation. He says that the threads around the wrist

²³⁵⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵⁵ Dodd, "Christ and the Demons of Muang Yawng", 29.

²³⁵⁶ Ibid., 29–30.

²³⁵⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 2 March 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁵⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 22 March 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁵⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 8 November 1901, 14 August 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁶⁰ Robert Harper to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 February 1909, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁶¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 22 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

were “a mark of bondage to demons”. He mentions a female being possessed by a demon. After cutting the threads and a process of exorcism, the female regained consciousness.²³⁶² Actually, tying white cotton threads at the wrist was a widespread tradition among Southeast Asian people. It is related to a belief in soul blessing and is part of the indigenous Lahu culture.²³⁶³ Young’s claim that it was a “fulfillment of the traditions” was more likely wishful thinking.

d) Lahu Buddhist-Theist Heritage

At first, Young was not interested in the Lahu people because he believed that the Lahu people around Chiang Tung were “the worst representatives” and had an alcohol addiction,²³⁶⁴ even though, before the massive conversion movement, Young had already declared that converting the hill peoples, Kha, Tai Dòi, and Lahu, was less complicated than converting the Buddhists.²³⁶⁵ Meanwhile, the Laos Mission’s work in Lahu began in 1886.²³⁶⁶ Young began to pay attention to the Lahu people only when he started to achieve success among them. After over forty years of work in the Shan states, the Baptist Mission converted little Tai people, but having been opened for only three years, the Chiang Tung Station made a breakthrough among the Lahu people in 1904. The members of the Chiang Tung Station grew from seven in 1904 to 368 in 1905, 3,152 in 1906, 6,100 in 1907, and 8,300 in 1908.²³⁶⁷ By 1911, the Baptist Chiang Tung Station had converted 11,379 people, 4000 of whom were from China.²³⁶⁸

The Baptist missionary success among the Lahu and Wa people was a coincidence of many factors.²³⁶⁹ Firstly, these people had a millennial tradition and recent memory of the revolts in the late nineteenth century.²³⁷⁰ As Walker analyses, the Baptist breakthrough among the Lahu and Wa people had a social background, that is, the ingrained millennial tradition, and the Lahu and Wa people regarded Young’s evangelisation as a millennial movement

²³⁶² Cochrane, “The Story of Saya Ba Teh”, 371–372.

²³⁶³ Anthony R. Walker, “Water in Lahu Ritual and Symbolism: Synthesizing Indigenous and Indic (Mostly Buddhist) Ideas among a Tibeto-Burman Speaking Mountain People of the Yunnan-Northern Southeast Asia Borderlands”, *Anthropos* 106, no. 2 (2011): 365, 372.

²³⁶⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. It was confirmed by Kan’s testimony, the Lahu people were considered to be “worthless, lying opium eaters” (Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation, 1907*, p. 12, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS).

²³⁶⁵ Young, “A New Station in Shanland”, 181.

²³⁶⁶ Smith, *Siamese Gold*, 122.

²³⁶⁷ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 90:96; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:116; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 92:119; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 93:81; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 94:84. However, the number of new converts decreased after 1908. From 1909 onwards, the *Annual Report* calculated the membership for the whole Shan Mission, and so there is no separate data for the Chiang Tung Station. The total members of the Shan Mission was 9,479 in 1909, 9,691 in 1910, 10,187 in 1911, and 10,414 in 1912 (American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 95:54; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1910), 96:62; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report* (Boston: Missionary Rooms, Tremont Temple, 1911), 97:57; American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 98:63).

²³⁶⁸ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 98:35.

²³⁶⁹ Fiskesjö, “The Fate of Sacrifice and the Making of Wa History”.

²³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 123; Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 577; Ma Jianxiong, *Zaizao de xuxian: xi’nan bianjiang de zuqun dongyuan yu lahu zu de lishi jiangou* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2013), 105.

similar to those that had occurred repeatedly in their recent history.²³⁷¹ The Lahu messianic movement could be traced back to the late eighteenth century, when Mahayana Buddhism spread to the Lahu Mountains (*luohei shan*) and combined with the Lahu belief. The Lahu people usually identified Buddha with G'ui sha, the Lahu creator-divinity. The Lahu people placed statues of G'ui sha in the Buddhist temples, believing G'ui sha, together with Guanyin, would eliminate disasters and restore peace to the world.²³⁷² Since the early nineteenth century, several Lahu-Wa millennial resistance movements against the Qing empire and the Tai authorities were closely connected with Buddhism and were often led by spiritual leaders, who usually were Buddhist monks, self-declared Buddhas, or a reincarnation of G'ui sha, and they invariably promised a new world to the people.²³⁷³ The recent rebels at the turn of the twentieth century, and following pacification by the Qing empire, were the direct reason for the exodus of Lahu into Burma and their resort to the Westerners.²³⁷⁴ A Presbyterian report also records the cross-border travel of a Lahu family from China to Siam in search of Christianity.²³⁷⁵ Walker infers that the group of Lahu visiting Young in 1904 was probably related to the rebel monk Law Ca Bon, who was killed in the 1903 rebellion around Müang Mōng and Müang Nim against the Qing authorities.²³⁷⁶ The British governmental documents reveal that as early as 1892 and 1893, the Wa and Lahu people had attempted to invite the British government to protect them.²³⁷⁷ A Wa spiritual leader, Saokut Hpasao, had requested an introduction to Stirling before resorting to Young in Chiang Tung.²³⁷⁸ A British governmental report of 1905 also asserts the political motives of the Wa leader Saokut's invitation to Young to visit them. Dawson claims it to be a mutual misunderstanding between the hill people and Young, saying that the hill people regarded Young's enthusiasm as a favourable response to their request from an "Englishman" and Young interprets the hill people's request for British protection as the

²³⁷¹ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 586.

²³⁷² Anthony R. Walker, "The Lahu-speaking Peoples of the Yunnan-Indochina Borderlands: A Threefold Religious Heritage and its Consequent Syncretisms", *Journal of the Siam Society* 104 (2016): 248.

²³⁷³ Ma, *Zaizao de zuxian*, 71–79; Anthony R. Walker, "The First Lahu (Muhsur) Christians: A Community in Northern Thailand", *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia* 11, no. 2 (2010): 16; Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 505–514.

²³⁷⁴ As early as 1867 in Chiang Lap, the FMEM had met a group of Lahu migrants from Müang Laem (Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 394). Stirling reports that a number of Lahu refugees from territory north of Müang Laem arrived Chiang Tung in 1894 and he met nine Lahu families in Müang Hai, who were recent migrants from Müang Laem (Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, ff. 349, 357, FO 17/1225, NA). In 1895, Scott reports that a recent Chiang Tung colony in the east bank of the Mekong River was enforced by the Lahu from Müang Laem, who were "driven out by the encroachments of the Chinese" (Mr. J. G. Scott to the Marquess of Salisbury, 25 July 1895, p. 60, FO 422/43, No. 18, NA).

²³⁷⁵ Anonymous, "Cheer from North Laos Reports", *The Assembly Herald* 6, no. 5 (1902): 187.

²³⁷⁶ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 594; Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Minzu Yanjiu Suo Yunnan Minzu Diaocha Zu, Yunnan Sheng Minzu Yanjiu Suo, ed., *Yunnan Gengma, Menglian, Shuangjiang Wa zu shehui diaocha cailiao* (Kunming: Yunnan sheng minzu yanjiu suo, 1962), 57.

²³⁷⁷ Translation of Chinese letter from the Wa Chief of Ho Hka to Tōn Hsang, Sawbwa of Mānglūn, Mss Eur F278/77, PSGS, BL; Telegram from J. G. Scott, Esq., C. I. E., Superintendent, Northern Shan States, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 18 February 1893, Mss Eur F278/77, PSGS, BL.

²³⁷⁸ G. E. Harvey, *1932 Wa Précis: A Précis Made in the Burma Secretariat of all Traceable Records Relating to the Wa States* (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1933), 74.

pursuit of Christianity.²³⁷⁹ The Baptist visiting committee also questioned Young's claims regarding the hill people's movement. The committee reports that the visits of the Wa people were driven by political rather than religious motives, who hoped that the arrival of the missionaries would bring peace to their country.²³⁸⁰ Though Young denied any political motives, in a letter he hints at the connection between magic power and political aims and reveals that a Lahu chief claimed to have divine powers and would dispel the British.²³⁸¹ The Baptist visiting committee also mentions the political cause of the Lahu movement.²³⁸² Another record hints at the political aims of the Lahu leader. On 30 October 1904, the Baptists had the first Lahu convert, Ca Sheh Pu Tao, who came to Chiang Tung to prove his competence before the British officials but later turned to Young.²³⁸³ Moreover, Young was not interested in the Siamese Lahu because he thought they had "no traditions concerning God".²³⁸⁴ It is likely that the Lahu millennial movements were confined to the Sino-Burmese frontier and had no impact on the Lahu in the Tai Yuan territory.

Secondly, Lahu spiritual leaders also played a significant role in the massive gathering.²³⁸⁵ As Young writes that the Lahu spiritual leaders were like Ko San Ye in the Karen movement.²³⁸⁶ Young reports that almost all the spiritual leaders were from the north, while there were some Lahu spiritual leaders in the south, but they tended to be northern Lahu disciples.²³⁸⁷ These spiritual leaders had a profound influence and usually travelled with a crowd of followers. Young mentions that the first Lahu spiritual leader he met was "a man bright and intelligent". He brought 76 followers with him and "[a]ll professed to believe our [Christian] message thoroughly".²³⁸⁸ Another two Lahu spiritual leaders from China travelled with sixty Lahu.²³⁸⁹ The Baptists owed much to these spiritual leaders who accompanied them on their tours. This influence led to a large number of converts.²³⁹⁰

One influential Wa spiritual leader was Pu Cawn Lon, who Walker identifies as the unnamed "Wa leader" in Young's writings.²³⁹¹ Young counted on him a great deal because he was responsible for the Wa movement towards Christianity.²³⁹² After his death, in 1907 – killed

²³⁷⁹ G. W. Dawson, *Projected Tour by Certain American Baptist Missionaries at Keng Tung among the Was and Lahus in Chinese Territory*, 1905, 15 December 1905, Government of Burma Records, NAM, quoted in O'Morchoe, "Mobility, Space and Power in the Making of Burma's Borders", 121.

²³⁸⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 May 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁸¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 1 January 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁸² Heptonstall and Henderson, *Report of the Kengtung Committee*, March 1906, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁸³ Saw Aung Din and Sowards, "Work Among Lahus, Was, Akhas", 410.

²³⁸⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 22 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁸⁵ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 579–586.

²³⁸⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 15 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁸⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 December 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁸⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²³⁹¹ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 597.

²³⁹² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 January 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young, "Shan Mission: Kengtung", *The News* 20, no. 1 (1907): 2, quoted in Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 597.

by a Lahu – Young sent a Christian Wa to the community, hoping that he could be the new leader.²³⁹³

These leaders still adhered to Buddhist-Theist beliefs and were not Christian in the strict sense. One of the leaders, Cha Hpu Hpayaya In from Müang Maen, claimed to be the incarnation of Indra, a god in Hindu mythology and Buddhism, which was the origin of his title “Hpayaya In [Phraya In]” (Indra). After being sent by Young to Müang Sat to be the teacher of Phraya Khiri, he refused to sleep in the Lahu village but only “in a place of honor” above the village “because he is still Indra”.²³⁹⁴

Eh Yeh²³⁹⁵ was a Lahu spiritual leader, probably from Müang Mōng.²³⁹⁶ Later, Eh Yeh worked for the Baptists at Ban Wiang Bong. The Presbyterians consider him “the heart and soul of the whole Baptist Musü movement”.²³⁹⁷ He spread the news that “a prophet or god had been born [...] as a Musü” to encourage pilgrimage to the village. Actually, people found only him and Young there. Using the same method, he attracted many people to the Baptists.²³⁹⁸ However, when he became wealthy with the wages provided by the Baptists and married many wives, he became disaffected with the Christians and led a “counter movement against Christianity”. The Presbyterians report that he refused to allow the Baptists to teach him anymore now that he was “both prophet and God”.²³⁹⁹ He was also related to the millennial movement. Around 1906 and 1907, Eh Yeh revolted against the Chinese authorities and challenged the Tai and British authorities.²⁴⁰⁰ Some native spiritual leaders likely joined the missionary activities to gain personal influence or wealth, as the case of Eh Yeh reveals.²⁴⁰¹

Thirdly, it is probable that Young was regarded as a successor to the hill people’s spiritual leader, a living Buddha.²⁴⁰² Wa oral tradition regarded Young as a reincarnation of Phrachao Müang, a Wa spiritual leader decapitated by the Qing after a rebellion in 1903.²⁴⁰³ During Young’s furlough in 1908, baptism decreased, and some converts also said that if Young did not return, they would leave the school. Maung Gyi attributed the Wa people’s inclination to

²³⁹³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 January 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 23 April 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²³⁹⁴ Henry White, Charles H. Crooks, H. S. Vincent, and W. Clifton Dodd, Testimony of Maw Ka and Cha Maw, Two Musü Christian Helpers, 22 May 1907, pp. 2–3, RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station-reports, statements, commission findings regarding Dr. Dodd’s tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS.

²³⁹⁵ Walker considers Cha Hpu Hpayaya In and Eh Yeh to be the same person (Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 582–583).

²³⁹⁶ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 582.

²³⁹⁷ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 13, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12–13, 67; White, Crooks, Vincent, and Dodd, Testimony of Maw Ka and Cha Maw, Two Musü Christian Helpers, 22 May 1907, p. 4, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²³⁹⁹ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 13, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; White, Crooks, Vincent, and Dodd, Testimony of Maw Ka and Cha Maw, Two Musü Christian Helpers, 22 May 1907, p. 3, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁰⁰ James George Scott, “Report on the Administration of the Southern Shan States for the Year 1906–07”, in *Report on the Administration of the Shan States for the Year 1906–07* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1907), 6–7, quoted in Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 583.

²⁴⁰¹ Fiskesjö, “The Fate of Sacrifice and the Making of Wa History”, 133.

²⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 122.

²⁴⁰³ Wang Jingliu and Xiao Yufen, “‘Gengma’ diming kao [Study on the place name “Kōng Ma”]”, in *Wang jingliu xueshu wenxuan* [A collection of Wang Jingliu’s research papers], Wang Jingliu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2016), 51.

quit the school to Antisdell's treatment.²⁴⁰⁴ This account was partly accurate as Young distributed financial and physical support to the hill people. Young criticises Antisdell for not paying the natives "a living wage", which led one of them to join Dodd.²⁴⁰⁵ The salaries Young gave native workers were many times higher than what they received from the Presbyterians.

Fourthly, personal benefit was another factor.²⁴⁰⁶ Some Lahu people believed that if they converted, they could extricate themselves from tributary duty, corvée labour, and paying levies to the Tai court and the British government.²⁴⁰⁷ Peoples and Campbell report that the converted Lahu people "ceased to bring gifts to their [Tai] rulers as tokens of affectionate allegiance", or refused to "participate in government road-building work".²⁴⁰⁸ A governmental report confirms that the Christians in Chiang Tung "disregard all State orders".²⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, converts would receive some amount of money and a new set of clothes.²⁴¹⁰ This partly explains the financial deficit of the Chiang Tung Station. In 1908, the Board criticised Young's financial management and ordered him to submit a detailed application before each use of funds.²⁴¹¹ Gibbens also reports that the converts were unwilling to pay for medicine because they considered themselves "disciples and brothers".²⁴¹²

According to Walker, Young's interpretation of Lahu culture was quite Christian-centric,²⁴¹³ in particular concerning the translation of terms like "Ya Su", "God", "foreign messenger", "hell", and "chapel", especially given that Young did not know the Lahu language.²⁴¹⁴ Young identifies Lahu's god, named Ya Su, with Jesus.²⁴¹⁵ As Walker analyses, it was probably Young's misreading of "G'ui sha" or "ya' suh". The former was the divine creator in the Lahu myth, and the latter means "new person".²⁴¹⁶ Young's claim that the true God had once been known by different races but had been forsaken and that they needed to rediscover this tradition, was equally questionable.²⁴¹⁷ Again, he had probably translated G'ui sha as God. Shortly after the establishment of the Chiang Tung Station, the Wa in Müang Nim

²⁴⁰⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 19 April 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁰⁵ Young, *Side Lights on the Controversy*, 24 May 1910, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁰⁶ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 587–588.

²⁴⁰⁷ Samuel C. Peoples and Howard Campbell, *The Lahu*, n.d., p. 3, RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings Regarding Dr. Dodd's Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS; Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 581, 587; Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, pp. 11–12, 15, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; White, Crooks, Vincent, and Dodd, *Testimony of Maw Ka and Cha Maw, Two Musü Christian Helpers*, 22 May 1907, p. 4, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁰⁸ Peoples and Campbell, *The Lahu*, n.d., p. 3, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 15, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁰⁹ Anonymous, *Extract of the Administration of the Shan and Karenni States for the year 1907–08*, MS UL1.159, JGSC, CUL.

²⁴¹⁰ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 13, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS; White, Crooks, Vincent, and Dodd, *Testimony of Maw Ka and Cha Maw, Two Musü Christian Helpers*, 22 May 1907, p. 2, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Charles Royal Callender, 15 July 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴¹¹ Anonymous, *Questions Upon Points Raised by Mr. Young*, 19 November 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴¹² Howard C. Gibbens to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 March 1907, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴¹³ It is a natural inclination for the missionary to establish a connection between the native and the biblical tradition. Similar narration of connecting the native oral history to the Bible records was found in François Marie Savina's writing on the Miao people (Michaud, *'Incidental' Ethnographers*, 193, 198, 201–202).

²⁴¹⁴ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 576.

²⁴¹⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴¹⁶ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 576.

²⁴¹⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

followed the Lahu and arrived to pay a visit. Young claims that they believed that “the Foreigner was to bring them the Knowledge of the true God” and that they accepted at once.²⁴¹⁸ When talking about the Lahu, Young offers similar accounts of how “the knowledge of the true God” would be brought by foreigners.²⁴¹⁹ As to the “foreigner” who brought the truth back to the Lahu, Walker doubts that it was an interpretation of “ya^h hpu”, which literally means “white person”. Rather it can be explained as a “pure person”, referring to “any charismatic religious leader” regardless of racial or cultural background.²⁴²⁰ Young does not mention that the religious buildings in Lahu villages, which he refers to as a “chapel”, were actually of Buddhist heritage.²⁴²¹

Similar to the Baptist interpretation of the similarities between native Karen beliefs and Christian traditions as traces of previous Christian affiliations,²⁴²² the Lahu and Wa movements were interpreted by the Baptists within the Christian frame.²⁴²³ The Baptists interpreted it as a direct result of missionary work. The similarity between the Lahu beliefs and biblical content was regarded as the legacy of the visit by Cushing, who met the representatives of hill people in Chiang Tung in 1869 and left some Christian printings.²⁴²⁴

Young describes the Lahu movement as providence and mentions the widespread dream of the arrival of “the true God”, that “Christ was coming this month”, and “unless they quit their drinking, gambling and licentiousness and accepted Christ quickly, they would be cast into the fire when He came.”²⁴²⁵ Young claims that the itinerant Lahu spiritual leaders warned “the people especially against accepting idolatry or following the Buddhist priests”.²⁴²⁶ Tilbe also interprets the Lahu movement as being enthusiastic to join the new religion, Christianity.²⁴²⁷

Young reports that the Lahu people had a forceful “missionary spirit”. Those who had “heard and received the words of life” were eager to spread the news to other areas and even China.²⁴²⁸ Even the wild Wa was “pretty thoroughly under the influence and control of the Spirit of God”.²⁴²⁹

It is hard to prove the extent to which the similarity between the Lahu tradition and Christian literature contributed to mass conversion. The actuality seems to contradict Young’s writings. Young mentions the coincidental correspondences between the Lahu oral tradition and biblical content, indicating the Lahu’s readiness for Christianity: “the creation, the fall of

²⁴¹⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴¹⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴²⁰ Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 576.

²⁴²¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 22 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴²² Walker, “Karen and Lahu”, 220.

²⁴²³ Cochrane, “The Story of Saya Ba Teh”, 369.

²⁴²⁴ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:117.

²⁴²⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 April 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. See also William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 9 May 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴²⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴²⁷ Henry H. Tilbe, Present Conditions in Lahu Work, 14 September 1906, FM-210, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴²⁸ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:118.

²⁴²⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 3 May 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

man, the flood, the promise of a Saviour, the fact that God dwelt among men, that he ascended, that he is coming again”, and “the lost book which they say the foreigner will bring to them”.²⁴³⁰ Young claims that the Lahu teachings were Mosaic Law and were close to the Ten Commandments.²⁴³¹ The Lahu people were equated with “the proselytes to Judaism in the apostolic age” and were “pure monotheists”.²⁴³² Lahu’s story of heaven is similar to the Revelation.²⁴³³ Young found similarities between Lahu tales and Christ’s Ascension. One story relates that a holy man ascended to heaven with a book to be given to a foreigner, and the foreigner would one day return the book to them. Another tale recounts how a Lahu named “truth”, whose name is similar to Christ’s words “I am The Truth”, ascended to the heavens because of opposition from Tai and other tribes.²⁴³⁴ Thus, Young reports that the Lahu people interpreted the arrival of Christian missionaries as the fulfilment of the tradition. By contrast, he remains silent on the hill people’s Buddhist heritage.

Young mentions a group of Wa from Müang Nim, named “Kai Shin Wa”, in his writings.²⁴³⁵ Previous research does not question Young’s accounts of the Kai Shin Wa.²⁴³⁶ Young claims that the “Kai Shin Wa” were “the Wa who had accepted the Lahu traditions and were expecting the Foreigner to come with the knowledge of the True God”.²⁴³⁷ It is probably wishful thinking. It is more likely a Buddhisation movement than “a movement converting the Wa to the Lahu traditions and beliefs”, as Young describes.²⁴³⁸ *Li kai: sin*: (literally, Kaisin religion) is a Wa word referring to a Mahayana Buddhism sect.²⁴³⁹ This term is probably related to the Monk Gaixin (*gaixin heshang*), a legendary monk from Dali in the late 1700s. Monk Gaixin, originally named Yang Deyuan, spread Buddhism in the Lahu Mountains (*luohei shan*) and attracted many Lahu, Wa, and Chinese believers. Because of his influence, he was regarded as a Buddha and was known as Gaixin.²⁴⁴⁰ Because of Monk Gaixin’s influence, Gaixin became a historical toponym, roughly overlapping the area of the Lahu Mountains. The area north of the Xiaohei River was named Shang Gaixin (Upper Gaixin), and south of the river was termed Xia Gaixin (Lower Gaixin). The former name was first used as early as 1813.²⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, in a letter of 1892 to request British protection, a Wa leader still uses the term

²⁴³⁰ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:118.

²⁴³¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 15 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴³² American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:118

²⁴³³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴³⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 April 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴³⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴³⁶ Fiskesjö, “The Fate of Sacrifice and the Making of Wa History”, 125.

²⁴³⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 3 May 1909, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴³⁸ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS. See also American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:119.

²⁴³⁹ Justin Watkins, *Dictionary of Wa: With Translations into English, Burmese and Chinese* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 508.

²⁴⁴⁰ Ma Jianxiong, “The Five Buddha Districts on the Yunnan-Burma Frontier: A Political System Attached to the State”, *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 2, no. 2 (2013): 487–488. See also Šiolin, “Zou wei zun zhi chaming meng meng luohei qi xingxin yuanyou gongzhe juchen [At your Imperial Majesty’s command to investigate the cause of the Luohei rebels in Müang Mông and to submit the report]”, the 4th day of the 2nd month, Jiaqing 5 [27 February 1800], 404004958, GZDZZ, NPM.

²⁴⁴¹ Ma, *Zaizao de zuxian*, 76–77.

fofang [Buddhist House] and clearly asks the foreigner “to come and see the Buddhist people of Kai-sim [Gaixin]”.²⁴⁴²

7 Hospital, School and Market

Medical, educational, and market work have been significant components of missionary work for centuries. They were also part of the Baptist and Presbyterian missionary work in this region.

a) Hospital

The presence of missionary medicine in this region provided new sites for the aggregation of people from different directions. The Presbyterian records report that the origins of the patients in the church hospital in Chiang Rai included Yunnan, Chiang Tung, Burma, and Luang Prabang.²⁴⁴³ Briggs writes that, in 1900, they received a Tai Nüa caravan travelling from Chiang Chüang,²⁴⁴⁴ and in 1910, a leper from Yunnan travelled to Chiang Rai, hoping he could restore to health.²⁴⁴⁵ One of the patients in the Chiang Mai Hospital was Phraya Singhanat²⁴⁴⁶ from Müang Sing. He had suffered from vesical calculus for years. After hearing the news from a travelling merchant whose calculus had been cured in the Chiang Mai Hospital, he sold his personal property, saved 800 rupees, and set off to Chiang Mai. Some incidents prolonged his travel. His pain prevented him from travelling for several weeks, and his guns and part of his money were stolen by dacoits. He arrived in Chiang Mai after twelve months of travel and had an operation in the hospital. McKean reported that he “regularly attended service at the hospital and evinced great interest in Christianity”.²⁴⁴⁷ During the 1893 trip, McGilvary planned to visit Phraya Singhanat, but the latter was absent. However, McGilvary claims that they were warmly received at Phraya Singhanat’s house in Müang Sing.²⁴⁴⁸ McGilvary claims that Phraya Singhanat had praised the missionary hospital to the people in Müang Sing, which McGilvary considered “a good introduction” to the Laos Mission. Even Chao Sri Nò Kham sent people to welcome McGilvary on hearing of their arrival in Müang Sing.²⁴⁴⁹ In 1897, McGilvary finally met Phraya Singhanat, who was “very friendly” to his visit.²⁴⁵⁰

²⁴⁴² Translation of Chinese letter from the Wa Chief of Ho Hka to Tòn Hsang, Sawbwa of Mānglün, Mss Eur F278/77, PSGS, BL.

²⁴⁴³ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 62:235; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Presbyterian Building, 1911), 74:371–372; Lyle J. Beebe, Report of Chiengrai Station, 31 October 1910, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁴⁴⁴ William A. Briggs, Personal Report, 31 October 1900, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴⁶ It is uncertain whether he was the Phraya Luang Singha or Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya mentioned in Chapter III.

²⁴⁴⁷ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 364–365.

²⁴⁴⁸ Daniel McGilvary, Annual Report of Cheung Mai Station for the Year 1896, 15 January 1897, vol. 22, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁴⁴⁹ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 364–365.

²⁴⁵⁰ McGilvary, “Dr. McGilvary’s Tour after leaving Dr. Peoples at Mung Sai”, 46.

Medical work was not only considered a way of attracting large numbers of people, but also a tool to resist heathen influence. In 1899, the Laos Mission appealed for a physician to be sent to Chiang Tung²⁴⁵¹ because “[a]ccording to the Laos idea medical practice and religion are inseparable. No native doctor can treat the sick without bribing or charming the spirits.”²⁴⁵² People who lived in remote places and had no access to mission hospitals would resort to native doctors, who were considered “demon exorcists”.²⁴⁵³

Similar to the evangelical work, these missionaries were optimistic about the impact of their medical work. The Presbyterian physician missionary Cornell writes that “[m]edical work, for it certainly is a great medium between us and the people. Through it we come in touch with people who otherwise might never come near us.”²⁴⁵⁴ The Baptist physician missionary Gibbens hopes that his medical work will be “a most efficient aid here in breaking down the prejudice of the Buddhist population”.²⁴⁵⁵ He opened a dispensary in the bazaar, hoping to “draw many to our preaching services and ultimately to win them to Christ”.²⁴⁵⁶

The Presbyterian reports claim that its medical work won the favour of senior native officials and eminent monks. B. E. Dodd mentions the senior monks in Chiang Tung town, one of whom she calls “the head Abbot or Bishop of Buddhism in all this region”,²⁴⁵⁷ who probably was Somdet Atchaya Tham of Chiang Tung. Dodd had met him four years ago²⁴⁵⁸ and had given him a copy of the New Testament. B. E. Dodd claims that “[h]e has been very friendly since our return, coming to visit, talking freely and confidentially, expressing much dissatisfaction with his position.”²⁴⁵⁹ The Abbot had recently been bitten by a rat when trying to remove it from the rice bin of the monastery and had become infected. He was transported to the dispensary of the Laos Mission and recovered after Doctor Cornell’s treatment. He used his influence to arrange a “splendid site” for the Laos Mission, “on the hill overlooking the chief gateway to the city”, as a token of his gratitude.²⁴⁶⁰ Dodd reports that one of the four ministers of Chiang Tung became the doctor’s “chief advertisement”. The treatment of this minister “induced the Governor [Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng] and many of his inferior officials and their families to give us at least a part of their medical patronage”.²⁴⁶¹ Consequently, the Presbyterians were guaranteed good sites for the construction of chapels and schools.²⁴⁶²

Similarly, Gibbens reports that the hospital attracted a large crowd of people, two of whom came from a place seven days away from Chiang Tung town. He claims that after his

²⁴⁵¹ Anonymous, “An Appeal from the Laos Mission”, 275.

²⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 276.

²⁴⁵³ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 74:372.

²⁴⁵⁴ Howard L. Cornell to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 March 1904, vol. 273, file 13, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁴⁵⁵ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 91:119.

²⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵⁷ Dodd, “Taking Root in Chieng Tung”, 68.

²⁴⁵⁸ B. E. Dodd reports it to be six years ago (*Ibid.*, 69).

²⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 68–69; Anonymous, “Forward Movement Notes”, 813.

²⁴⁶¹ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 238.

²⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 239.

treatment of people working for the local authorities, his medical work was able to “disarm prejudice and interest all classes in our work”, and he became a “court physician”.²⁴⁶³

Some of these depictions are probably biased interpretations of the situations. Young questions the effect of evangelism in the hospital and denies that Gibbens gained the favour of the native authorities through his medical work. The British medical officer, Cornell, and even Young had given medicine to Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng’s family occasionally.²⁴⁶⁴ As previously mentioned, in 1906, Gibbens’ hospital assistant offended one of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng’s sons and was then faced with a lawsuit.²⁴⁶⁵ Young attributes the increasing number of patients to the visit of hill people.²⁴⁶⁶ Young’s argument was partly accurate because Gibbens reports that the number of patients decreased in 1907 as fewer hill people came for baptism.²⁴⁶⁷ As the Buddhist patients from the plain formed the majority, Gibbens complains that the medical work did not have much impact on the Buddhist patients, who “seem[ed] satisfied with the husks which Buddhism offers them, and not to care for Christianity at all”.²⁴⁶⁸ Young claims that curing opium addiction guaranteed some converts, noting that in Müang Yòng, two Tai and two Tai Dòi opium victims were healed and baptised by Mawng Me.²⁴⁶⁹ However, these converts seemed to have already been under Presbyterian influence, and the Presbyterians accused the Baptists of re-baptising their converts.²⁴⁷⁰

The Presbyterian medical work in Chiang Tung ran into problems in 1906, following Cornell’s dismissal in 1905 for apparently betraying the Presbyterians and endorsing Young’s claims.²⁴⁷¹ Likewise, the Baptist doctor Gibbens voluntarily transferred from Chiang Tung to Müang Nai in early 1907 due to his conflict with Young.²⁴⁷² During the absence of a missionary physician, the missionaries had to rely on the Civil Surgeon of the Cantonment hospital,²⁴⁷³ the medical assistant,²⁴⁷⁴ or to treat patients by themselves.²⁴⁷⁵ However, because the Cantonment hospital was located at Dòi Mõi (Loimwe), fourteen miles away from the town, and the surgeon was only available when he was “free from official duties”,²⁴⁷⁶ the missionaries and the medical

²⁴⁶³ American Baptist Missionary Union, *Annual Report*, 92:121–122.

²⁴⁶⁴ William Marcus Young to Fred Porter Haggard, 22 September 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 28 May 1906, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁶⁷ Howard C. Gibbens to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 March 1907, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁶⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 June 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁷⁰ Lyle J. Beebe to Arthur Judson Brown, 22 March 1911, RG 84-8-26, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1911–1912, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁷¹ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 69:356.

²⁴⁷² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 7 May 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁷³ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 20 March 1906, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS. A government hospital was opened in Chiang Tung in 1898, but the missionary records seldom mention it (Anonymous, *Report of the Administration Report of Burma for the Year 1898–99* (Rangoon: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1899), 4).

²⁴⁷⁴ For instance, an Indian hospital assistant, whom Callender considers to be “devoid of all honor and everything else, except the desire for money” (Charles Royal Callender to Arthur Judson Brown, 5 November 1907, vol. 276, file 26, ETCBFM, PHS).

²⁴⁷⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 16 January 1908, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁷⁶ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 20 March 1906, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS.

assistant were frequently the main operators of medical treatment. Callender reports that he had to treat Chao Nang Thip Thida by referring to the notes written by B. E. Dodd.²⁴⁷⁷ He expresses his embarrassment and shame at being unable to treat the constant stream of patients.²⁴⁷⁸

Negotiations with both local and British authorities were unavoidable during the medical work. The Baptists had to enter into a negotiation with Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng about either the size of the land or the location of the hospital.²⁴⁷⁹ The Baptists also expected to receive grants from Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng and the British government.²⁴⁸⁰ The Baptists had long hoped to replace the civil hospital with a missionary hospital.²⁴⁸¹ By doing this, the Baptists would not only monopolise the medical resources and have a greater impact on the patients but also obtain grants from both Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng and the British government. Young claims that both the Political Officer and the Army Surgeon preferred to replace the government hospital with a missionary one.²⁴⁸² Harper tries to persuade the British authorities, who worried that “religious scruples” would drive patients away from the hospital, promising that patients will not be pressed to listen to sermons.²⁴⁸³ However, Stirling, the Superintendents for Southern Shan States, favoured a government hospital.²⁴⁸⁴

b) School

The Presbyterian educational work initially took place at the Dodds’ home in November 1904, but in 1905, the Laos Mission purchased a building at the market to serve as a day school.²⁴⁸⁵ The Presbyterian school emphasised language education to induce non-Christians to attend. Callender reports that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng was “in favor of liberal education” and encouraged teaching English, “Laos”, and Burmese.²⁴⁸⁶ Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng expressed his wish to study English, and the Dodds taught him for one hour a day.²⁴⁸⁷ In 1906,

²⁴⁷⁷ Charles Royal Callender to William Clifton Dodd, 30 September 1907, p. 1, ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, CRCP, PHS.

²⁴⁷⁸ Charles Royal Callender to Robert Irwin, 16 August 1907, p. 1, ARCHIVES 02 1218b SPP 61 131C, CRCP, PHS.

²⁴⁷⁹ Robert Harper to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 February 1909, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS; Robert Harper to George B. Huntington, Burma, 9 November 1908, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁸⁰ Howard C. Gibbens to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 March 1907, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS; Robert Harper to the Board of Management, and the Property and Reference Committees, 26 August 1912, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁸¹ William Marcus Young to Robert Harper, 7 February 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS; Howard C. Gibbens to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 4 March 1907, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁸² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 March 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁸³ Robert Harper to the Inspector General of Civil Hospital, Burma, 15 August 1908, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁸⁴ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 10 June 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁴⁸⁵ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of the Kengtung Station, 9 May 1905, vol. 274, file 16, ETCBFM, PHS; Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 69:364.

²⁴⁸⁶ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS. For Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng’s encouragement of learning Burmese and English and of women’s education, see also Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 7, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁸⁷ William Clifton Dodd to Friends of Kengtung Station, 29 September 1906, vol. 275, file 44, ETCBFM, PHS.

“Laos” (probably Tai Yuan), English, music, and calisthenics were taught at the school, where pupils were from “three different nationalities”, i.e. American (children of the missionaries), Tai, and British (Indians from the army post).²⁴⁸⁸ The pupils also attended church services.²⁴⁸⁹

Initially, the Presbyterian school had eight pupils, but this had increased to sixteen by 1905.²⁴⁹⁰ This number hardly changed in 1907.²⁴⁹¹ It is likely that a large number of the attendants were Christians, such as Chao Nòi Suriya’s twelve-year-old daughter²⁴⁹² and a boy from Ban Thap, where they had found “promising work”.²⁴⁹³ After the closure of the Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station, the Presbyterian missionaries opened schools in villages in Chiang Tung.²⁴⁹⁴

Similar to the Baptist plan to occupy the medical field, Dodd hopes to dominate education and “hold it against secular schools in the future”.²⁴⁹⁵ Callender mentions that Carey, the Acting Superintendent for Southern Shan States, advised the school to teach English and Burmese so as to receive grants from the British government. Callender hopes to follow the government curriculum, which the Baptist missionary schools in Lower Burma had done, and thus obtain governmental financial support.²⁴⁹⁶ In 1905, the Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station engaged a Burmese teacher.²⁴⁹⁷ However, due to the little demand for Burmese learning, the Burmese department was later suspended.²⁴⁹⁸

The Baptist school aimed to train converts to be teachers and preachers.²⁴⁹⁹ Initially, this had been such a failure that, in 1903, a Tai worker named Kham Ing asked to leave.²⁵⁰⁰ Young complains that the natives did not know the value of education.²⁵⁰¹ Since the Lahu Movement, the situation of the Baptist school improved. Young asserts that the Lahu people were “anxious for schools”.²⁵⁰² Young reports that, by 1907, they had trained more than 300 local teachers and preachers.²⁵⁰³ In 1911, the Baptist Chiang Tung Station had three boarding schools at Chiang Tung town, Müang Yang, and Müang Yòng, with 204 pupils, and 33 villages schools

²⁴⁸⁸ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Dodd, “School Work in Kengtung”, 86–88.

²⁴⁸⁹ Dodd, “School Work in Kengtung”, 88.

²⁴⁹⁰ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 69:364–365.

²⁴⁹¹ Dodd, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1907, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁴⁹² Her mother was a noble from Müang Laem (Dodd, “Prayer Answered in Chieng Tung”, 13).

²⁴⁹³ Dodd, “School Work in Kengtung”, 86.

²⁴⁹⁴ Extract from Letter of Rev. W. C. Dodd to Rev. J. H. Freeman, 16 March 1909, RG 84-8-25, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1909–1910, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁹⁵ Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 240. See also Charles Royal Callender to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 September 1905, RG 84-8-24, Kentung [sic] Station: Correspondence Regarding Conflict with ABFMS, 1901–1903, 1905–1908, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁹⁶ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS; Charles Royal Callender to Arthur Judson Brown, 25 September 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁹⁷ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 29 July 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

²⁴⁹⁸ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁴⁹⁹ Clarence Baumes Antisdell to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 12 December 1909, FM-176, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵⁰⁰ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 April 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵⁰¹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 26 September 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵⁰² William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 November 1904, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵⁰³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 5 July 1907, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

with 246 pupils.²⁵⁰⁴ Almost all the teachers at the village schools were trained Lahu converts.²⁵⁰⁵ The comparatively large number of pupils at the Baptist schools was attributed to the Lahu movement, the gratuitous provision of food and clothing, and inaccurate data. Tilbe mentions that, in 1906, the regular school attendees were the children of evangelical workers and some orphans, both of whom were too young to evangelise. He adds that the number of enrolments was enlarged by adding the short-term trained helpers, who were employed to assist the trained workers, in order to make “a much larger showing than the school work is really entitled to”.²⁵⁰⁶

Both the Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries claimed that all classes of Chiang Tung people showed interest in educational work. B. E. Dodd reports that some Tai Nüa and Chinese visitors expressed interest in the school.²⁵⁰⁷ Dodd reports that Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng “urged” his clerks to study English and Burmese at the school.²⁵⁰⁸ Similarly, Young asserts that the native authorities of Chiang Tung looked forward to the opening of the Baptist school, and Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng’s sister showed interest in the school work and “promised” Young to send her son to the school once it opened.²⁵⁰⁹ But some of these people were only being courteous. Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng promised to send his two sons, Chao Phrom Lü and Chao Kòng Thai. However, Dodd noticed that he seemed reluctant to urge them to go to the school.²⁵¹⁰ Later, the Presbyterians were disappointed to find that his two sons studied English at the monastery school at Wat Hua Khuang.²⁵¹¹

Both the Presbyterian and the Baptist educational work encountered problems. Dodd reports that adult men were unwilling to study with or “be closely associated with a woman”.²⁵¹² Probably for this reason, the Presbyterians opened a class just for women, which had four attendees in 1906, a Tai Yuan, a Tai Khün, and two Tai Nüa.²⁵¹³ Dodd complains that Young attempted to poach their teacher Ai Pòm, a Tai Lü (Yòng) from Lamphun and a teacher at the school in 1905.²⁵¹⁴ Dodd discovered that he had been induced by Young to join the Baptist side and subsequently failed to show up to teach. Young promised to give Ai Pòm 30 rupees per month as a cook, but in the end, Ai Pòm resisted Young’s “blandishments”.²⁵¹⁵ Moreover, some attendees were threatened to stop going to the missionary school. Nine Tai

²⁵⁰⁴ William Marcus Young to Nathan R. Wood, 21 February 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵⁰⁵ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 1 September 1911, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵⁰⁶ Henry H. Tilbe to the Members of the Executive Committee, 5 November 1906, FM-210, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵⁰⁷ Belle Eakin Dodd to Mrs. Perkins, 14 December 1906, vol. 275, file 48, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁵⁰⁸ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 29 July 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

²⁵⁰⁹ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 29 October 1901, 15 March 1902, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵¹⁰ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 29 July 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

²⁵¹¹ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 7, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²⁵¹² William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 29 July 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

²⁵¹³ Charles Royal Callender, *Report of Kengtung Station*, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁵¹⁴ William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, Mrs. C. R. Callender and Belle E. Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 September 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS; Statement of Ai Pòm, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²⁵¹⁵ William Clifton Dodd, Charles Royal Callender, Mrs. C. R. Callender and Belle E. Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 8 September 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

Nüa girls stopped attending having been told that the missionaries would feed them to the *yakkha*.²⁵¹⁶

The Baptists encountered different problems with respect to their educational work. The Baptist school was located on the Chiang Tung plain, while the majority of the converts were hill people. Tilbe complains that the hill peoples were unwilling to send their children to school for fear of climate.²⁵¹⁷ The Presbyterians also report that “the Musü [Lahu] people are very subject to illness, particularly fever, when they come to live on the plain.”²⁵¹⁸ Later, schools were opened in different villages. Another drawback was the division of work between the Tai and the hill peoples.²⁵¹⁹ Gibbens reports that the Tai people were “socially, industrially and intellectually superior to the hill-peoples” and were unwilling to “receive instruction from a member of the despised hill races”. For this reason, it was impossible to instruct the Tai and the hill people in a classroom since most of the trained teachers were hill people.²⁵²⁰

c) Market

For the other travellers, the market (see Figure 1) was a site to collect commercial information and witness a public exhibition of various ethnic groups. But for the American missionaries, the market once every five days was a place for preaching because of its capacity to gather people from different directions. The market day not only drew people from the surrounding area but also attracted people who lived many days away. At the market in Chiang Tung town, the Presbyterian missionaries met people not only from Chiang Tung but also from Siam, French Indochina, Yunnan, and other parts of the Shan states.²⁵²¹ Instead of going far away for home visits, Dodd finds that the market day gathered people for the missionaries.²⁵²² The market also provided an opportunity to meet old acquaintances. Callender reports in 1905 that he met several people at the Chiang Tung bazaar whom Dodd and Briggs had encountered seven years ago.²⁵²³ Dodd finds that “[i]n no other place in the Laos country have we ever had such opportunities to preach to crowds, and to distribute Christian literature.” To take advantage of this unique opportunity for preaching in the bazaar, both the Presbyterian and Baptist stations erected a chapel at the market.²⁵²⁴

Henderson writes that the Baptists placed more emphasis on their market work, while the Presbyterians preferably focused on personal work with individuals, i.e. home visits.²⁵²⁵ It

²⁵¹⁶ Dodd, “School Work in Kengtung”, 86–87.

²⁵¹⁷ Henry H. Tilbe to the Members of the Executive Committee, 5 November 1906, FM-210, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵¹⁸ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 51, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²⁵¹⁹ The division of work had been on the agenda since 1906, partly because of the personality of Young, being “unable to work in association with peers”, and partly because of the failure of missionary work among the Tai people, amongst whom Young was “persona non grata” (Henry H. Tilbe to the Members of the Executive Committee, 5 November 1906, FM-210, IM-MC, ABHS).

²⁵²⁰ Howard C. Gibbens to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 6 November 1906, FM-190, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵²¹ Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Annual Report*, 69:354.

²⁵²² Dodd, “A Forward Movement in the Laos Mission”, 239.

²⁵²³ Callender, “Bazaar Work in Chieng Tung”, 61.

²⁵²⁴ William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 29 July 1905, RG 84-8-24, SFTM, PHS.

²⁵²⁵ Albert Hailey Henderson to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 15 August 1907, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

seems that the Lahu Movement started from in Chiang Tung market.²⁵²⁶ Young was apparently quite opposed to the establishment of a Presbyterian chapel at the market and feared that the Presbyterians were copying his missionary methods.²⁵²⁷

Conclusion

After the pioneering expedition of Josiah Nelson Cushing in 1869, the American Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries became the main travellers in this region in the late 1890s and the 1900s. Though their contact with the natives was religiously biased, their contribution to this region is invaluable, such as the introduction of printings in local languages and Western education, not to mention their social and humanistic concerns. These missionaries and native workers were also dedicated travellers and amateur ethnographers and linguists, who provided valuable historical, ethnic, and linguistic information on peripheral places and villages that had not been touched by other travellers and investigators.

The readiness for Christianity in the Presbyterian discourse partly aims to support their appeals to establish, defend, and restore the work in Chiang Tung, especially when facing the hesitation from the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, the disagreements in the Laos Mission, and the denominational rivalry with the Baptist Shan Mission. William Clifton Dodd, Robert Irwin, and William A. Briggs actively encouraged opening missionary work in Chiang Tung by mentioning the natives welcoming Christianity, being eager to read Christian printings, and inviting the Presbyterians to open stations in their hometowns. Confronting the rivalry with the Baptist missionary William Marcus Young, the Presbyterian evangelists began defending their work in Chiang Tung by referring to their gaining support from local populations, native authorities, and foreign residents and the Baptist failure in converting the Tai Buddhists. After the closure of the Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station in 1908, Presbyterian writings focused on appealing for the reopening of the Station at Chiang Tung by referring to the natives' regret for closing the station and wish for the Laos Mission's return. Dodd's venture into China in 1910 not only intended to explore a new field for the Laos Mission but also aimed to restore the Chiang Tung Station. The Baptist writings also give optimistic reports on the massive local populations to be converted to win support from the Board in the United States. Though the optimism of these missionary writings is influenced by various motives, expectations, and prejudices, they have value when interpreting the historical encounters in this region.

Though previous travellers had gathered some ethnographic information, the American Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries first put ethnic and linguistic issues at the centre of their work. The Chiang Tung Question, which lasted for three decades, was primarily a controversy over ethnic and linguistic issues, such as the classification of ethnic groups, population size, and spoken and written language. While the Presbyterians emphasised the ethnic and linguistic proximity between the people of Chiang Tung and Tai Yuan, the Baptists insisted on the ethnic

²⁵²⁶ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 11 April 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁵²⁷ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 15 March 1905, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

and linguistic closeness between Tai Khün and Shan. While the Presbyterians considered using the Tham script a privilege for their preaching in Chiang Tung and Yunnan, Young denied the validity of Presbyterian printings by mentioning the low literate rate. Most of their claims were biased and served their missionary work because Tai Yuan and Shan were their main target population, respectively.

The trans-border connections of the local populations were significant to the missionary work. The Presbyterians claimed the field of Chiang Tung by emphasising the relationships between the Tai people in Siam, Burma, and China. William Clifton Dodd and other Presbyterian missionaries employed the term “Larger Laos” to encourage trans-border missionary work. The Baptists urged the Baptist Board to conduct work in China because of the Lahu and Wa connections with Burma. William Marcus Young put several related and unrelated ethnic groups under the catch-all term “Lahu”.

The missionaries not only challenged the newly formed national boundaries, with their cross-border missionary work and emphasis on trans-border ethnic connections, but they also resorted to support from colonial governments and cooperated with the colonial authorities, for instance, by including national languages in the school curriculum.

The Presbyterian missionaries adapted local beliefs and Theravada Buddhism to missionary work, though very few, for example, the comparison between Jesus Christ and Ariya Metteyya and the claim that Christianity followed the spread route of Buddhism to expand the field from Chiang Mai to Yunnan. Both denominations made little progress among the Buddhist Tai people. Buddhist monks and nobles were usually against missionary work. The Baptist Chiang Tung Station achieved some success among the Lahu and Wa people, owing to multiple historical coincidences: Lahu and Wa Buddhist heritage and millennial tradition, the Qing pacification of the Lahu mountains in the 1890s, and the misunderstanding of Young as a British colonial officer and a spiritual leader in the Lahu sense. Contrary to Young, who was generally hostile to Buddhism, the Presbyterians regarded the Buddhists as friends and opponents. On the one hand, the Presbyterians relied on Buddhist monasteries for accommodation during tours, and it is not rare that they preached at Buddhist places; on the other hand, they regarded Buddhism as one of the causes of decadence. The earliest Presbyterian converts and helpers were mainly disrobed monks, as demonstrated by their titles like *nòi*, *hua*, and *nan*. The Baptist Lahu and Wa converts were also impacted by their Buddhist tradition.

The Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries had different situations in dealing with local beliefs. One of the Presbyterian missionaries’ target populations was the accused people of witchcraft, whom the missionaries considered innocent, but defamed by their jealous neighbours. By contrast, Young despised this group of people and did not undertake work among them. Young’s interpretation of the Lahu and Wa beliefs was Christian-centric, which exaggerated their similarities and connections with Christianity. Moreover, he ignored their millenniumism rooted in the Buddhist tradition. The construction of a Baptist compound and hospital encountered problems with local beliefs. The site Young chose to construct a Baptist compound would block the special-purpose path to transport dead bodies, and Young was

asked to leave a space. The Baptist hospital was built on an unideal site near the criminal's gate, which would discourage visits.

The natives had a significant role in the Presbyterian and Baptist missionary work. The Tai Yuan and descendants of Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna in North Siam formed a native labour force in the Presbyterian's work in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. The displaced Tai Khün and Tai Lü in North Siam were also the initial reason for the Presbyterian missionaries to conduct trans-border work to Chiang Tung. For the Baptist Chiang Tung Station, Karen, Shan, Lahu, and Wa converts were the major force for touring around villages. The Lahu and Wa spiritual leaders were central figures in the massive conversion. Young's attempts to poach Presbyterian local workers, such as Khan and Ai Pòm, provoked conflicts between these two stations.

The hospital, school, and market were important spaces for missionary work. Both denominations attempted to obtain governmental support for their medical and educational work. In the writings of both denominations, their medical work seemed promising, winning the favour of the natives. After the leaving of Howard L. Cornell and Howard C. Gibbens because of personal conflicts, the Presbyterian medical work ran into problems. While the Presbyterian school was somehow liberal education, the Baptist aimed to train workers for missionary work. Native resistance to education, gender discrimination, and ethnic estrangement posed problems to the educational work. Though both denominations conducted market work, the Baptists emphasised more on market work, and the Presbyterians paid more attention to home visits.

Chapter V

Colonial Contact: Imperial Travellers and Frontier Officials in the Borderlands, 1892–1905

Parallel to the boundary investigators and the American missionaries were the imperial travellers and frontier officials, who were more or less connected to the colonial expansion, either as advocates of the imperial project or as colonial agents. Their travels were “the exercise of the gaze” and “the prelude to possession in more material and institutional forms”.²⁵²⁸ All the travellers discussed in this chapter, with the exception of Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers and Lord Lamington, visited this region after the delimitation of boundary lines. For them, especially the frontier officials in Simao and Raquez, whose travel was usually confined within the boundary lines, their itineraries repeatedly confirmed the supposed or existent territorial limit.

Geographic societies were established for the purpose of collecting information, though they pretended to have a neutral scientific motive. Some travellers, like Frederic William Carey, Bons d’Anty, George Grillières, Isabelle Massieu, and Gerard Christopher Rigby, were associated with geographic societies in Paris and London. Through these organisations, knowledge collected in the Far East was spread to metropolitan centres.²⁵²⁹

A new motive for travel was collecting exhibits. The global political and economic transformation developed a culture of display in Europe. The world was “conceived and grasped as though it were an exhibition”, which resulted in Mitchell coining the term “world-as-exhibition”.²⁵³⁰ World exhibitions emerged to promote this transformation.²⁵³¹ Both Carey’s 1898 voyage and Alfred Raquez’s 1905 journey aimed at collecting objects for expositions. From 1873, onwards, the Imperial Maritime Customs organised exhibits for the China section of several international exhibitions.²⁵³² Sipsong Panna and Müang Sing were involved in international expositions in Paris, Hanoi, and Marseille, and objects from this region were exposed to the world public as representatives of China and French Indochina, respectively. McLeod was one of the travellers who had received the most treasured items. However, the gifts he obtained from Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung in 1837 were auctioned after his journey rather than being put on display.²⁵³³ Articles collected by Ehlers and Massieu were later kept in the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin and the Musée de l’Homme in Paris, respectively.

²⁵²⁸ David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800–1856* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 29.

²⁵²⁹ See Pierre Bons d’Anty, “Voyage au Yun-Nan et en Barmanie”, in *L’Année cartographique: Supplément annuel à toutes les publications de géographie et de cartographie*, ed. Franz Schrader (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Compagnie, 1898); Anonymous, “À travers le Yun-Nan, voyage du Lieutenant Grillières (1902–1903)”, in *L’Année cartographique: Supplément annuel à toutes les publications de géographie et de cartographie*, ed. Franz Schrader (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Compagnie, 1904).

²⁵³⁰ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 13.

²⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁵³² Catherine Ladds, *Empire Careers: Working for the Chinese Customs Service, 1854–1949* (Manchester: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 34.

²⁵³³ Grabowsky and Turton, *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 111.

However, no items from Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, or Chiang Khaeng are found in these collections today. The year 1900 is a turning point. A special exhibition of the Pavie Mission was on display at the Exposition Universelle of 1900. Thirteen life-size wax sculptures based on the Pavie Mission's photographs were exhibited in Paris, and some of them were portraits of natives in Müang Sing.²⁵³⁴ Objects from Sipsòng Panna were exhibited at the aforementioned exposition. The items collected by the Simao Customs Station were later displayed at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 and the Exposition universelle et internationale de Liège in 1905.²⁵³⁵ Articles from Müang Sing were exhibited in the Exposition of Hanoi in 1902–1903 and the Colonial Exposition of Marseille in 1906. After the exhibition in Marseille, items collected by Raquez were transferred to the Naturhistorisches Museum Wien.²⁵³⁶

Images of natives from this region also entered the mass market and global circulation. Photographs taken by Carey, Raquez, and Sesmaisons were later either collected by anthropological museums, kept in private collections, or printed as postcards or as illustrations to books.²⁵³⁷ An album of twelve photos of ethnic groups around Simao, taken by the Acting Commissioner of the Customs A. G. D. Granzella, was given to the Customs Inspector-General Robert Hart as a Christmas present.²⁵³⁸

Not all travellers left detailed accounts of their journeys in this region, such as the French colonial officials like Auguste Tournier and Philippe de Sesmaisons, who accompanied Raquez's journeys. George Grillières (1868–1905) was one example. He belonged to the 4th Zouaves. In 1899, he travelled to Persia. In 1903, he made a trip from Tonkin to Yunnan, Tibet, Burma, and India. In 1905, he departed from France for another long-distance journey, aiming to collect economic, political, and geographic information and to search for ways to communicate in the region between Burma and Tonkin. Grillières started from Vinh on 14 March 1905, passing through Luang Prabang, Huai Sai, Chiang Rai, Müang Sat, Müang Sing, Müang Phong, Müang La, and Müang U until finally reaching Simao. Unfortunately, he did not manage to reach Mongolia and Tibet due to his untimely death in Simao on 15 July 1905.²⁵³⁹ For this reason, he left only limited writings on this journey. In a letter to the Secrétaire Général of the Société de Géographie, he reports the difficulty of transportation and

²⁵³⁴ Pierre Nicolas, *Notices sur l'Indo-Chine, Cochinchine, Cambodge, Annam, Tonkin, Laos, Kouang-Tchéou-Quan: publiées à l'occasion de l'Exposition universelle de 1900* (Paris: 1900), 313–314.

²⁵³⁵ Imperial Chinese Commission, *China: Catalogue of the Collection of Chinese Exhibits at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904* (St. Louis: Shallcross Print, 1904), 368–372; Imperial Maritime Customs, *Catalogue of the Collection of Chinese Exhibits at the Liège Universal and International Exhibition, 1905* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1905), 253–254. The items exhibited at these two exhibitions were probably the same collection.

²⁵³⁶ William L. Gibson, "Mission Raquez: A Forgotten Ethnographic Expedition through Laos in 1905", *History and Anthropology* 29, no. 4 (2018): 446.

²⁵³⁷ J. Antonio's photographs at the Hanoi Exposition were also printed as postcards.

²⁵³⁸ A. G. D. Granzella, *Szemaos*, album of photographs, MS 15.6.11F, Special Collections & Archives, Queen's University Belfast.

²⁵³⁹ Gustave Regelsperger, "Le lieutenant Grillières", *Revue de géographie* 29, no. 55 (1905): 317; Georges Grillières, *Itinéraire suivi par le lieutenant Grillières de Vinh (Annam) à Szemaos (Yunnan), 14 Mars–6 Juillet 1905* (4 p.), et carte manuscrite en 5 feuilles au 1/100 000, SG CARTON GI-GR (524), SG, BnF.

the shortage of supplies during the rainy season.²⁵⁴⁰ He stayed five days in Müang Sing and Müang U, respectively, but no detailed records survive. His sojourns in Müang Sing and Müang U were probably caused by his illness.²⁵⁴¹ In Simao, he was welcomed by H. D. O’Kelly, a French inspector of the Imperial Maritime Customs, who looked after him until his death.²⁵⁴² In 1906, the French globe trotter Henri Mosse visited Chiang Tung town, where he met the American Presbyterian missionaries.²⁵⁴³ Except for some newspaper reviews, no details of Mosse’s travel in Chiang Tung have been found.²⁵⁴⁴ Jules Gervais-Courtellemont had travelled to Müang U and left some photographs.²⁵⁴⁵

By contrast, some travelers kept detailed records of their journeys, but these writings seldom mention their contacts with the natives. In the mid-1890s, the British Intelligence Branch dispatched several intelligence officers to this region. Gerard Christopher Rigby (1868–1958) was a British intelligence officer who joined the Wiltshire Regiment in 1888.²⁵⁴⁶ In 1894–1895, he was dispatched to the Northern Shan states to assist Lawrence Edward Eliott, the acting Superintendent, for intelligence work.²⁵⁴⁷ In late 1899, he obtained a year’s leave and arranged to travel from Moulmein to Hanoi via Chiang Mai and Simao, probably to assess the railway construction.²⁵⁴⁸ His travelogue and photographs of this journey are kept at the Royal Geographical Society in London. John Harvey, too, was a British intelligence officer. In late 1895, he was dispatched to collect intelligence on Müang Sing and adjacent areas.²⁵⁴⁹ On this expedition, he visited Chiang Tung, Müang Sing, and Sipsòng Panna. Practical information forms a large part of his report.

1 Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers

Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers (1855–1895) was an experienced German traveller. Born in Altona²⁵⁵⁰ to a well-heeled family, he lived a comfortable life without a particular job. He

²⁵⁴⁰ Georges Grillières à Alfred Grandidier, 9 juin 1905, SG CARTON GI-GR (521), SG, Bnf.

²⁵⁴¹ Louis Grillières à Alfred Grandidier, 6 septembre 1905, SG CARTON GI-GR (523), SG, Bnf.

²⁵⁴² Ibid.

²⁵⁴³ Charles Royal Callender, Report of Kengtung Station, 31 October 1906, vol. 281, ETCBFM, PHS.

²⁵⁴⁴ Anonymous, “Globe-Trotter”, *L’Avenir du Tonkin* 24, no. 3588 (25 février 1907): 3; Anonymous, “Le tour du monde a pied, M. Henri Mosse, roi des chemineaux”, *Istanboul* 47, no. 152 (1 juillet 1913): 1.

²⁵⁴⁵ Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, *Empire colonial de la France. L’Indo-Chine: Cochinchine, Cambodge, Laos, Annam, Tonkin* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1901), 93, 99; Anonymous, *Habitants vus [Lus] de Mong-Han [Muong Hou]*, n.d., photograph, PP0132225, MQB; Anonymous, *Jeunes filles*, n.d., photograph, PP0132227, MQB.

²⁵⁴⁶ J. F. Boshier, *Imperial Vancouver Island: Who Was Who, 1850–1950* (Woodstock, Oxfordshire: Writersworld, 2012), 531.

²⁵⁴⁷ G. C. Rigby, *Report on a Tour through the Northern Shan States* (Rangoon: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1895), 1.

²⁵⁴⁸ Gerard Christopher Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein to Hanoi, Tongking, via the S. Shan states, Siam and S. Yunnan by Capt. G. C. Rigby, Intelligence Branch, India in 1899, “From Moulmein to the Siam frontier”, f. 1, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁵⁴⁹ J. Harvey, *Report on a Reconnaissance in the Southern Shan States, 1894–95* (Rangoon: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1897), 1, 16.

²⁵⁵⁰ At present, it is a district of Hamburg.

started his life of travel from East Africa in 1887.²⁵⁵¹ His journey to Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna in 1892 was a part of his extensive long-distance itinerary, starting in 1890 from Kashmir. During this peregrination, he crossed Burma, Chiang Mai, Siam, Tonkin, Singapore, Hong Kong, and China and reached as far as Korea. His travel experiences were written in three books, *An Indischen Fürstenhöfen* (1894), *Im Sattel durch Indochina* (1894), and *Im Osten Asiens* (1896). This study only discusses *Im Sattel durch Indochina*.²⁵⁵²

The personnel of Ehlers's team varied from stage to stage. The team entering Chiang Tung consisted of one British official named Fritz, a Dravidian man called Vadiwal, two Yunnanese Muslim merchants named Bogiman and Maizalee, a black Yunnanese dog, and a Kashmir pony. Bogiman and Maizalee were hired in Chiang Mai.²⁵⁵³ Another Yunnanese muleteer, named Lali, was recruited in Chiang Tung.²⁵⁵⁴ In Chiang Tung, Ehlers hired a seventeen-year-old half-Burmese, half-Tai, a dancer at the court of Chiang Tung, named Hpo Win, to be a poultry carrier.²⁵⁵⁵ Near Müang Ram, Ehler met a Burmese dispatched from Müang Nun (Menglung), who became their guide to Müang Nun.²⁵⁵⁶ A Kodak camera was in Ehlers's luggage and produced some products that later became illustrations for the printed travelogue.²⁵⁵⁷

Ehler was unable to speak any Tai languages, and his contact with the natives was assisted by intermediaries, such as Fritz, who knew the Burmese language.²⁵⁵⁸ However, neither Bogiman nor Fritz could conduct clear conversations with the Tai.²⁵⁵⁹ In Chiang Rung, negotiations with the Chinese governor about crossing the Mekong River involved four languages. Chinese speech was first rendered into Tai, then from Tai to Burmese, and finally into English, reported by Fritz to Ehlers, and vice versa.²⁵⁶⁰

Though Ehlers was not a governmental agent, he had established connections with the British colonial authorities. His travel was observed by the British authorities.²⁵⁶¹ He also communicated with Henry Mitchell Jones, the Minister Resident at Bangkok.²⁵⁶² Ehlers' connection to colonial expansion is also revealed by his recognition of the British colonial claim. Ehlers visited Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna before the signing of the Anglo-China Treaty of 1894 when Britain did not abandon its claim on Sipsòng Panna. Thence, Ehlers

²⁵⁵¹ Friedrich Ratzel, "Ehlers, Otto", in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Commission bei der Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1904), 48:282–283.

²⁵⁵² For the reasons of language proficiency, I will refer to the English translation of *Im Sattel durch Indochina*. However, the original German corresponding phrases will be cited when it is necessary.

²⁵⁵³ Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina: Burma, North Thailand, Shan States and Yunnan*, trans. Walter E. J. Tips (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 100, 104–105.

²⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

²⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

²⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 201.

²⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 129, 139, 143.

²⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

²⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁵⁶¹ Telegram from J. G. Scott, Esq., Superintendent and Political Officer, Northern Shan States, to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, 6 May 1892, MS Scott UL1.110, JGSC, CUL.

²⁵⁶² Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers to Henry Mitchell Jones, 17 July 1892, 1 November 1892, 9 January 1893, LL9.198, JGSC, CUL.

obtained a passport and a letter of recommendation for his journey to Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung from Charles Edward Wolfe Stringer, the acting Vice-Consul in Chiang Mai.²⁵⁶³

However, Ehlers did not anticipate that the British suzerainty in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna would be challenged. A headman of Ròng Lök, on the Chiang Tung frontier, did not recognise the suzerainty of Britain in Chiang Tung.²⁵⁶⁴ In Chiang Tung town, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng denied the tributary relation with Britain and refused to accept the validity of the letter from Stringer for his travel to Chiang Tung. He did, however, admit to sending tribute to the British.²⁵⁶⁵

In Chiang Rung, Ehlers inquired about its relationship with Mandalay and Britain. Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa replied that tributary relations with Burma had recently ceased, and “one did not want to have anything to do with Europeans because they were bad people who, when they had come to the country, took everything they wanted to have from the people without ever paying them a compensation.”²⁵⁶⁶ Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa told Ehlers that he could safely arrive in Chiang Rung because he was travelling with only three mules and without soldiers. Otherwise, Ehlers would have been killed.²⁵⁶⁷

Ehlers expressed his plan to reach Dali but was persuaded to wait for a Chinese governor from Simao, who was on his way to Chiang Rung to deal with the issue of Chao Mòm Kham Lü.²⁵⁶⁸ Before the arrival of the Chinese governor, Ehlers endeavoured to take the ferry to the east side of the Mekong River but failed.²⁵⁶⁹ Another venture failed because the ferryboat people had received an order from the governor not to provide a service to Ehlers.²⁵⁷⁰ The third attempt to cross the Mekong River was stopped by the Chinese governor. As Ehlers had no passport issued by the Chinese emperor, to let him go would have resulted in the governor being punished.²⁵⁷¹ Ehlers protested against the prohibition of crossing the Mekong River and the regulation of his travel in the territory of Sipsòng Panna, which was tributary to Britain.²⁵⁷² Moreover, despite mentioning his seriously ill brother in Dali, and the passport from Simao,²⁵⁷³ Ehlers failed to persuade the Chinese governor.²⁵⁷⁴ The next day, Ehlers secretly set off from Chiang Rung before sunrise, detoured to a far-off ferry, and crossed the Mekong River.²⁵⁷⁵

²⁵⁶³ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 128.

²⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 176; “überhaupt wolle man mit den Europäern nichts zu thun haben, da sie schlechte Menschen seien, die, wenn sie ins Land kämen, den Leuten alles wegnähmen, was ihnen just begehrllich erscheine, ohne je für eine Entschädigung zu geben” (Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers, *Im Sattel durch Indo-China*, Bd.1 (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1894), 261).

²⁵⁶⁷ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 176.

²⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 181–182.

²⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 184.

²⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 187–189.

²⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 187–188. When he was in Chiang Mai, Ehlers anticipated a Chinese passport would be dispatched to Dali (Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 99).

²⁵⁷⁴ See the order mentioned in the reports of the Pavie Mission in 1891 (in Chapter IV), concerning the Chinese regulation on Westerners’ journeying to the trans-Mekong part of Sipsòng Panna.

²⁵⁷⁵ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 196–199.

Ehlers's first impression of this region is one of danger. He considers Chiang Tung to be a dangerous place, as did the contemporary British and French colonial officials, especially Younghusband, whose travelogue on the journey to Chiang Tung, *Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat*, was one of the books Ehlers read during his expedition to Chiang Tung.²⁵⁷⁶ In this "enemy territory",²⁵⁷⁷ Ehlers writes that "[d]ay and night I stayed armed to the teeth and always slept only with one eye."²⁵⁷⁸ Ehlers was as doubtful as Younghusband, and he did not camp near villages or cities but in the forest or in rice fields²⁵⁷⁹ in order to prevent him from being followed or attacked.²⁵⁸⁰ He only felt safe in the wild.²⁵⁸¹ Like Younghusband at the Chiang Tung court,²⁵⁸² Ehlers hid a revolver in his pocket when he had an audience with Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng.²⁵⁸³

Ehlers's worries were exacerbated by a warning from Yunnanese fellows that he would die if he continued his journey to China.²⁵⁸⁴ In Chiang Tung, Ehlers was told of the anarchy in Sipsòng Panna and was persuaded to abandon the trip.²⁵⁸⁵ At Ban Chiang Lai, a frontier village of Sipsòng Panna, Ehlers was told that Chao Mòm Kham Lü had been dethroned, and Sipsòng Panna was at war, which meant he could not proceed. However, Ehlers did not believe this as, as far as he was concerned, the Tai people were "habitual liars".²⁵⁸⁶ However, as his contact with the natives deepened, Ehlers became "less mistrustful against" the people of Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung.²⁵⁸⁷

Ehlers's writing reveals an apparent desire to control. He looked like a "monarch of all I survey".²⁵⁸⁸ This is reflected in his Westernisation of the natives' names and titles. The names in Ehlers's book are not necessarily real names. For instance, Logi Man is renamed as Bogiman;²⁵⁸⁹ Selona Qua, a minister of Chiang Rung, was corrupted from Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa; Prince Yamein, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng's name in Ehlers's book, probably comes from *kaemmüang* (vice-king), which was Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng's title at that time.²⁵⁹⁰

This need for control is also reflected in his dealings with the people he met, especially the Yunnanese Muslim fellows. Ehlers accuses Bogiman of dereliction of his interpreting duties, especially when they met non-Muslim Chinese caravans, whom he did not want to deal

²⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 136, 141.

²⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 131; "feindesland" (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 194).

²⁵⁷⁸ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 131; "Tag und Nacht bis an die Zähne bewaffnet blieb und stets nur mit einem Auge schlief" (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 195).

²⁵⁷⁹ Two exceptions were in Chiang Rung, where they slept at the Nüa Sanam, which Ehlers describes as "lodgings for 'distinguished foreigners'" and in Yiwu (Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 173).

²⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 131, 136, 160.

²⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 206.

²⁵⁸² Younghusband, *Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat*, 63.

²⁵⁸³ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 144.

²⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., 148.

²⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 147.

²⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 158; "gewöhnheitsmäßige Lügner" (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 233).

²⁵⁸⁷ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 133, 206.

²⁵⁸⁸ "Monarch of all I survey" is a term conceptualised by Pratt (1992), illustrating the relation between the explorer and the landscape. This study borrows only its literary meaning.

²⁵⁸⁹ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 100.

²⁵⁹⁰ Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, 247.

with because his brothers and sisters had been killed by Chinese troops during the Panthay Rebellion. Regarding the Yunnanese Muslim caravan, Ehlers writes that Bogiman only asked for information he was interested in and selectively answered Ehlers's questions.²⁵⁹¹ Later, Bogiman was dismissed for ignoring Ehlers's orders.²⁵⁹² After Bogiman's departure, Ehlers told his fellows that "only one is the master, me, in this caravan that I do not know any other will besides my own and that every person who does not follow my wishes, I consider my enemy."²⁵⁹³ However, Ehlers claims that, subsequently, the Yunnanese's discontent grew. They cursed Ehlers several times as a "Jimane pige" (German pig)²⁵⁹⁴ when they made an arduous trek or encountered sudden rain at night.²⁵⁹⁵ Ehlers's rage erupted after leaving the territory of Sipsòng Panna, and he had a fight with Maizalee and carved "suprema lex mea voluntas" (the supreme law is my will) on his back. According to Ehlers, Maizalee was beaten so heavily that he cried and fled.²⁵⁹⁶ However, this dramatic episode is probably exaggerated by Ehlers.

In his travelogue, Ehlers is brave and clever. His braveness and cleverness are defined by his "Othering" of his mental others. Ehlers claims that during the journey, he found his hidden talents as "an excellent culinary artist, a cunning quack doctor, a sly diplomat, and a born proprietor of a show booth, yes that I even had the stuff to be a peddler".²⁵⁹⁷ By contrast, his Yunnanese Muslim fellows are ridiculed,²⁵⁹⁸ Hpo Win is weak for his homesickness,²⁵⁹⁹ Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng is timid,²⁶⁰⁰ and the natives are generally infantilised. Hpo Win did not appear on the morning of the departure from Chiang Tung town. When Fritz found him at home, he begged for the work to be cancelled because his wife would die without him.²⁶⁰¹ In Chiang Rung, Hpo Win left the team because of homesickness.²⁶⁰² A burst balloon could cause a village chief "deep sorrow", like a child who lost a toy.²⁶⁰³ The confidence of the natives was easily won with cheap little things like needles, fishhooks, and coloured paper. In a poem, Ehlers frankly expresses his arrogance: "I easily found the way/Into the children's

²⁵⁹¹ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 160.

²⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 163.

²⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 163; "nur einer und zwar ich Herr sei in der Karawane, daß ich einen anderen Willen neben dem meinen nicht kenne und jeden Menschen, der sich mir nicht füge, als meinen Feind betrachte" (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 239).

²⁵⁹⁴ It was probably a common curse-word used by the muleteers rather than a curse aimed specifically at Ehlers. Rigby heard a similar word "Jeeman" from his Yunnanese muleteers (Rigby, *Record of a Journey from Moulmein, "Chengmai to the Mekong"*, ff. 14–15, LMS-R-11, RGS). It is highly possible that this curse was *yeman pigu* (rude buttock).

²⁵⁹⁵ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 204, 212, 218.

²⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 227.

²⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 220; "ein vorzüglicher Kochkünstler, ein geriebener Quacksalber, durchtriebener Diplomat und geborner Schaubudenbesitzer war, ja daß ich sogar das Zeug zu einem Hausierer besaß" (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 322).

²⁵⁹⁸ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 160.

²⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 144.

²⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 155.

²⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 166.

heart.”²⁶⁰⁴ The people of Müang Hon took him as a fortune teller and pleaded with him to find a silk cloth that had been stolen one month ago.²⁶⁰⁵

Medicine is an oft-mentioned element in Ehlers’s travelogue. To remove obstacles to his journey and ease the negotiation, Ehlers pretended to be “a famous medical doctor”²⁶⁰⁶ or “a great medical doctor”,²⁶⁰⁷ and medicines were promised for the natives in exchange for smooth travel arrangements.²⁶⁰⁸ When asked about the reason for his journey to Chiang Tung, he fabricated an excuse that he was going to help his seriously ill brother in Dali.²⁶⁰⁹ This pretension had the side effect of attracting dozens of patients requesting medicine.²⁶¹⁰ Ehlers found himself bothered by the crowds to the extent that Ehlers called them “pests”.²⁶¹¹ However, to show his goodwill, he did not refuse patients.²⁶¹² To avoid the disturbance from patients, he told them that the medicine would not work en plein air.²⁶¹³ Preparing medicine also served as an excuse to dispel the natives.²⁶¹⁴

In 1867, the FMEM treated travellers with Western medicine.²⁶¹⁵ However, the extent to which the contact between the natives and Western medicine developed during these years is unknown. Speculation about whether the natives were acquainted with the effects of modern medicine or were eager to get hold of Western medicine was, according to David Malkiel’s analysis, “merely an example of the universal assumption that the stranger has occult knowledge and power”.²⁶¹⁶

The medicines that Ehlers gave to the natives were not necessarily authentic or effective. For example, Ehlers used Vaseline to treat women with goitres and leper patients.²⁶¹⁷ He promised to obtain medicine for rejuvenation for a headman of Ròng Lök and finally gave him some “harmless pills”.²⁶¹⁸ In Chiang Tung, he used flour, salt, mustard, and Worcester sauce to make medicine for blind and lame people, lepers, and lunatics.²⁶¹⁹ In Chiang Rung, Ehlers used cocoa paste for the blind and the lame, Vaseline for a man with a chest illness, and ammonia solution for others.²⁶²⁰ Ehlers felt guilty that the medicines he made could not truly help the patients, and he only consoled himself by thinking that at least it would have a placebo effect.²⁶²¹

²⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 198; “*Mit Leichtigkeit den Weg ich/Zum Kinderherzen fand*” (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 291).

²⁶⁰⁵ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 161.

²⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 129, 144; “*berühmter Arzt*” (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 191, 214).

²⁶⁰⁷ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 140; “*ein großer Arzt*” (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 209).

²⁶⁰⁸ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 146.

²⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 144.

²⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 133, 146.

²⁶¹¹ Ibid., 165, “*Plagegeister*” (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 243); Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 183; “*Quälgeistern*” (Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 272).

²⁶¹² Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 179.

²⁶¹³ Ibid., 133–134.

²⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 183–184.

²⁶¹⁵ Garnier, “*Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)*”, 398.

²⁶¹⁶ Malkiel, *Strangers in Yemen*, 16.

²⁶¹⁷ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 133–134.

²⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 129, 143.

²⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 146.

²⁶²⁰ Ibid., 179.

²⁶²¹ Ibid., 146.

But Ehlers did not always provide fake medicines to the people he encountered. He met a Yunnanese merchant who suffered from a raging fever and provided him with antipyrine and quinine.²⁶²² On another night, Ehlers provided medicine for a Yunnanese from Ban Nòi to treat his child's fever.²⁶²³ Ehlers confesses that he did not use fake medicine on the Chinese patients and only did so with the Tai people because they seldom compensated him for the drugs or other things he provided and only gave him what they did not need. By contrast, the Chinese that Ehlers treated were willing to compensate him for his help, and the Yunnanese merchants thanked Ehlers by giving him a large piece of silver.²⁶²⁴

Ehlers's complacency was exacerbated by a meeting with some native doctors at the market of Chiang Tung. These native traditional doctors were selling their animals and herbal medicines. Ehlers declares that they were jealous of him because the patients "preferred to consult the white medicine man and to receive free of charge the most precious preparations from him".²⁶²⁵

Ehlers's fake medicine brought him friendship. In Chiang Tung town, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng requested Ehlers to prepare medicine for him. It is likely that Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng was pleased with Ehlers's aid and asked Ehlers for a testimonial of their friendship. However, this medicine was invalid. To avoid punishment from the prince, Ehlers told him to drink the medicine at midnight, after the new moon, when Ehlers would be far away from Chiang Tung town.²⁶²⁶ In Chiang Rung, Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa asked for a medicine to treat rheumatic pains in his shoulder, and Ehlers used bananas and mustard flour to make an ointment.²⁶²⁷ Ehlers was surprised that the ointment he made did soothe the pain.²⁶²⁸ During his sojourn in Chiang Rung, Ehlers obtained Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa's assistance in various aspects, including looking for a guide and providing a passport for him. Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa also attended the ceremony to see off Ehlers and took the opportunity to request medicine.²⁶²⁹

2 George Ernest Morrison

George Ernest Morrison (1862–1920) was a complicated figure. From 1895 to 1912, he worked for *The Times* and became a resident correspondent in Peking after 1897. After the Xinhai Revolution, he resigned his correspondent work and became a political advisor to Chinese presidents. Though having no knowledge of the Chinese language, he held a substantial collection of Chinese documents, which laid the foundations for the future Tōyō Bunko. During his lifetime, he made extensive journeys to New Guinea, the United States, the West Indies, Spain, Morocco, China, Burma, India, Britain, French Indochina, Siam, Korea,

²⁶²² Ibid., 207.

²⁶²³ Ibid., 215.

²⁶²⁴ Ibid., 207–208.

²⁶²⁵ Ibid., 151.

²⁶²⁶ Ibid., 153.

²⁶²⁷ Ibid., 178.

²⁶²⁸ Ibid., 178–179.

²⁶²⁹ Ibid., 195.

Japan, and Russian Turkestan.²⁶³⁰ As an experienced traveller, the main part of his travel notes remained unpublished, except for *An Australian in China: Being the Narrative of a Quiet Journey Across China to Burma* (1895), in which he recounts his overland journey in 1894 from Shanghai to Rangoon, via Yunnan.

In 1895, he was employed by *The Times* as a special agent to travel from Saigon to Kunming to collect information and then write reports.²⁶³¹ Morrison's notes formed approximately twenty reports for *The Times*, some of which were published.²⁶³² Parts of his unedited diaries and records of this journey are kept at the SLNSW. Morrison was not a governmental agent, but his reports were of "direct assistance to the British Government", which was appreciated by the Foreign Office.²⁶³³ His journey from Bangkok to Kunming aimed to collect information on the region, which was the focus of Anglo-Franco rivalry.²⁶³⁴

Similar to Ehlers, during his journey, Morrison disguised himself as a doctor.²⁶³⁵ A Chinese delegate in Chiang Rung claimed that he was a Prince Doctor sent by the British Queen at the request of the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou in order to relieve the sickness in Yunnan.²⁶³⁶

As a secret agent, Morrison's priority was to collect information, and he seldom recorded his contacts with the natives. In addition to commercial and ethnic information, Morrison was absolutely concerned about the political situation, especially the rivalry with France and the opening of a French consul in Simao.²⁶³⁷

What Morrison depicts at length is his dealings with the British, Tai, and Chinese authorities to obtain a passport to Kunming. It is highly possible that he had no preparation and had not read the writings of McLeod and the FMEM, who recount their difficulties in obtaining a passport into China. He was under the illusion that permission from the British government would guarantee his entrance into China. In Chiang Tung, he first applied to the India Government. However, he received the disappointing reply that the British authorities had no right to issue a passport for his travel into China, and he could only acquire the passport through an application to Peking or to the Chinese authorities at the frontier.²⁶³⁸ At his request, Stirling provided him with a letter in English, Shan, and Tai Lü (which is probably a reference to the Tai language written in Tham script), addressed to the Chinese frontier authorities, applying for a passport and referring to Article XIV of the Convention between Great Britain and China of 1 March 1894, which mentions that the Chinese Consul at Rangoon or the Chinese

²⁶³⁰ Percival Serle, "Morrison, George Ernest", in *Dictionary of Australian Biography* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1949), 2:162–165.

²⁶³¹ Thompson and Macklin, *The Man who Died Twice*, 107–113.

²⁶³² Lo Hui-Min, ed., *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 1:32.

²⁶³³ Anonymous, *The History of The Times* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 3:201; Thomas Henry Sanderson to Moberly Bell, 14 November 1896, Printing House Square Miscellaneous, Printing House Square, quoted in Anonymous, *The History of The Times*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 3:201.

²⁶³⁴ Anonymous, *The History of The Times* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 3:201.

²⁶³⁵ Morrison, Additional notes to diary of a journey, July-December 1896, p. 31, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

²⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, 43, 45.

²⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

authorities on the frontier should issue passports to British subjects travelling from Burma.²⁶³⁹ However, the contents of the Convention were not widely acknowledged in Sipsòng Panna and Simao. At Chiang Lò, a frontier village of Sipsòng Panna, Morrison made the request to the village headman, whom he considered to be a Chinese authority of the type mentioned in the Convention, and he expected him to grant him a passport to China. However, the headman had never heard of the Article and was sure that China would not permit travellers to proceed into China. But he agreed to give Morrison a passport to Chiang Rung.²⁶⁴⁰ He failed again at the court of Chiang Rung, where he was told that the Chiang Rung authorities were not authorised to issue a passport, and he was asked to communicate with a Chinese delegate who living in the town. He was only able to obtain a Tai Lü passport to facilitate his journey in Sipsòng Panna.²⁶⁴¹ The next day, he paid a visit to the Chinese delegate. The seal on his passport, which he had made using the top of a Van Houten's cocoa tin, and the exaggerated introduction made by Ah Heng bluffed the Chinese delegate, who considered Morrison to be an emissary of Queen Victoria.²⁶⁴² However, the delegate was ignorant of the Article as well and only gave Morrison an introduction letter to Simao, not a proper passport.²⁶⁴³ Morrison met no obstacles in Simao, but when he reached Pu'er, he was interrogated by the Chinese authorities about his passport, and he was almost forbidden from proceeding further if he did not protest by claiming to complain to the British Commissioner.²⁶⁴⁴

The difficulty of employing porters is another topic in Morrison's diaries and notes. Similar to the FMEM, Morrison travelled in the rainy season, which was not a suitable time to travel, not least because the natives were occupied by paddy cultivation. He complains that even though he obtained a passport from Chiang Rung, which ordered the subjects of Sipsòng Panna to provide assistance, it was still hard to arrange carriers.²⁶⁴⁵

3 Isabelle Massieu, Fernand Ganesco, and Lord Lamington

Isabelle Massieu (1844–1932) was an experienced French traveller. After the death of her husband in 1891, she started her life as a traveller. In 1892, she visited the Mesopotamia region, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. In 1895, she travelled to Malacca, Java, Ceylon, India, and Kashmir.²⁶⁴⁶ From 1896 to 1897, she made another long-distance journey crossing Cochinchina, Cambodia, Siam, Singapore, Burma, the Shan states, Laos, Annam, and Tonkin. In 1908, she made a journey to Nepal and the Himalayas.²⁶⁴⁷ Massieu's records of her voyage in Burma were published in *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1899, titled "Une colonie

²⁶³⁹ Ibid. For the Article XIV, see Anonymous, *Convention between Great Britain and China*, 8.

²⁶⁴⁰ Morrison, Additional notes to diary of a journey, July-December 1896, p. 87, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

²⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 113, 119.

²⁶⁴² Ibid., 121, 133.

²⁶⁴³ Ibid., 143, 145.

²⁶⁴⁴ Thompson and Macklin, *The Man who Died Twice*, 122–123.

²⁶⁴⁵ Morrison, Additional notes to diary of a journey, July-December 1896, p. 19, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

²⁶⁴⁶ Valérie Boulain, *Femmes en aventure: de la voyageuse à la sportive. 1850–1936* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 122–123.

²⁶⁴⁷ Boulain, *Femmes en aventure*, 136.

anglaise: Birmanie et États Shans”, which was later slightly revised and printed along with accounts on other regions in a book, *Comment j’ai parcouru l’Indo-Chine: Birmanie, États Shans, Siam, Tonkin, Laos* (1901).

Massieu’s travel in 1896 and 1897 was not a private issue but was connected to the production of colonial knowledge. Massieu had links with some governmental and scholarly organisations. She was a member of the Société de géographie commerciale and frequently published her writings in its bulletin.²⁶⁴⁸ Her journey to Indochina during 1896–1897 aimed to research the primary education in this region and was supported by the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Société de géographie.²⁶⁴⁹ On her return, she reported her findings on the British colonial operation in Burma to the public at Société de géographie conferences.²⁶⁵⁰ In 1906, she was awarded the Legion of Honour medal.²⁶⁵¹ As a consequence, her experience in Chiang Tung was only a marginal part of Massieu’s journey. As one of only a few females (Mrs. Scott, Isabella Eakin, etc.) to visit Chiang Tung, Isabelle Massieu did not provide much detailed information about her contact with the local population.

Contrary to what Massieu claims, she did not travel alone.²⁶⁵² According to Clifford, “[a] host of servants, helpers, companions, guides, and bearers have been excluded from the role of proper travelers because of their race and class”, and the “independence” of bourgeois travellers was a “myth”.²⁶⁵³ From Mandalay onwards, at least till Chiang Saen, Massieu was accompanied by five Punjab cavalrymen, arranged by Frederick Fryer (1845–1922), the Chief Commissioner of Burma.²⁶⁵⁴ In Taunggyi, Massieu hired seven horses and two Chinese muleteers for luggage transportation and obtained a letter of recommendation from the Superintendent for Southern Shan States, commanding the indigenous rulers to provide assistance and to treat her like the superintendent.²⁶⁵⁵ In Chiang Tung town, Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng provided her with a Burmese-speaking guide who would get her to the Mekong River.²⁶⁵⁶ Coolies were probably hired along the way.²⁶⁵⁷

Unlike other travellers (diplomats, colonial officials, missionaries, and even Ehlers, who was an independent traveller like Massieu), during her journey in Chiang Tung, Massieu’s writings seldom mention place and time. Chiang Tung and Chiang Saen, two important towns in the Upper Mekong River Basin, are only briefly mentioned. Ròng Lök, a frontier village of Chiang Tung, is the only place in the territory of Chiang Tung that Massieu mentions.²⁶⁵⁸

²⁶⁴⁸ Madame Hagen, “La femme explorateur”, *La Fronde* (7 February 1899): 2.

²⁶⁴⁹ Boulain, *Femmes en aventure*, 127–128.

²⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 130.

²⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

²⁶⁵² Mme Isabelle Massieu, “Mme Massieu”, *Femina* (15 February 1906): 82, quoted in Laura Godsoe, “Exploring their Boundaries: Gender and Citizenship in Women’s Travel Writing, 1880–1914”, *Proceedings for Western Society for French History* 37 (2009): 225.

²⁶⁵³ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 33.

²⁶⁵⁴ Isabelle Massieu, *Comment j’ai parcouru l’Indo-Chine: Birmanie, États Shans, Siam, Tonkin, Laos* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1901), 161, 190.

²⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 172.

²⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

²⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

²⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 190.

Additionally, she incorrectly considers Ròng Lök as Siamese territory.²⁶⁵⁹ The only time that she records a precise date and time is on 3 February 1897, when approaching Chiang Saen, where French officers were stationed,²⁶⁶⁰ as if she only entered real time and space once reaching this French-occupied space. Her patriotism is revealed in this newly occupied territory when she arrives at the newly occupied Mekong River, “the big French river” (*le grand fleuve français*), and sees the French flag hanging on a gunboat as an indication of her return to France.²⁶⁶¹

In Massieu’s writing, the natives are vague and infantilised, reflecting what Spurr characterises as “insubstantialization” and “debasement”.²⁶⁶² They are uniquely described as idle, natural, innocent, naive, and credulous. Massieu writes that the people in the Shan states often made inutile journeys. Massieu claims that the prince of Chiang Tung dispatched forty people with sixty cattle in search of fortune, and they had travelled twenty or thirty days and were accustomed to disappointment.²⁶⁶³ The Lahu people in Ròng Lök are “big children” (*grands enfants*) who can easily be seduced by little things.²⁶⁶⁴

In a large part of the travelogue, native society gives way to the aestheticisation of the landscape:

And always birds, songs that I do not know, everywhere life in the great peace of the forest: the tremendous, mild, and black buffaloes, which we hunt without fear of the path they obstruct; the legions of crickets and cicadas, poetic animals, sung by poets who certainly have not heard for long periods their deafening and shrill crackling sound. And this intensity of life, it feels much bigger at night. It is like the immense push of the hot vegetation; bamboos burst like a detonation; I hear shouts, unknown sounds, and that sound of muffled thunder, murmurings of elephants, which rise from the bottom of the valleys, with the cop! cop! [sound] of tigers, less aggressive than we think.

(Et toujours des oiseaux, des chants que je ne connais pas, la vie partout dans la grande paix de la forêt: les buffles noirs, formidables et doux, qu'on chasse sans crainte du sentier qu'ils encombrant; les légions de criquets et de cigales, poétiques animaux, chantés par des poètes qui n'ont certainement pas entendu durant de longues étapes leur bruit de crécelle assourdissant et strident. Et cette intensité de vie, on la sent encore bien plus grande la nuit. C'est comme l'immense poussée de la chaude végétation; les bambous éclatent comme une détonation; j'entends des cris, des sons inconnus, et ce bruit de tonnerre assourdi, murmure des éléphants, qui monte

²⁶⁵⁹ “A Hong-Luck je suis en territoire siamois” (Ibid., 190).

²⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 192.

²⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 193.

²⁶⁶² Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*.

²⁶⁶³ Massieu, *Comment j'ai parcouru l'Indo-Chine*, 184.

²⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 190.

*du fond des vallées, avec le cop ! cop ! des tigres, moins agressifs qu'on ne croit.)*²⁶⁶⁵

In 1898, the Shan states were still remembered as a country with an “inextricable maze of mountains and virgin forests” (*le dédale inextricable des montagnes et des forêts vierges de cette contrée*).²⁶⁶⁶ A similar aestheticisation of local society is found in the Commissioner at Wiang Phukha, Fernand Ganesco’s description of Müang Sing:

I certainly owe Müang Sing one of the rare poetic visions of my life in the Far East. Müang Sing in the enchantment that occupies us only lent its decoration for the feast of eyes. An infallible director was there watching, placing the men in good relief and assigning each thing to its place. The sun! It is to it that we must carry the brilliance of the fabrics, the shimmer of the silks, the warmth of the tones, the marvellous layout of these trousseaus of dolls covering the slenderness of women’s bodies. To it again belongs the glory of those happy faces which still sing in my memory of the joys of this spring morning!

*(Je dois certainement à Muong-sing une des rares visions poétiques de ma vie d’Extrême-Orient. Muong-sing dans la féerie qui nous occupe n’a pourtant prêté à cette fête des yeux que son décor. Un metteur en scène infallible était là qui veillait, posant les hommes bien en relief et assignant à chaque chose sa place. Le soleil! C’est à lui qu’il faut reporter l’éclat des étoffes, le chatoiement des soieries, la chaleur des tons, le merveilleux agencement de ces trousseaux de poupées recouvrant la sveltesse des corps de femmes. C’est à lui encore que revient la gloire de ces visages heureux qui chantent encore dans mon souvenir les joies de cette matinée de printemps!)*²⁶⁶⁷

Ganesco calls Müang Sing “a kingdom of operetta” (*un royaume d’opérette*),²⁶⁶⁸ where the people are merely characters and lack concrete existence. The local life is structured as a scene for travellers’ consumption and entertainment.

Such “debasement” is also found in the writing of Lamington. Lord Lamington (1860–1940) was British and visited Müang Sing and Sipsòng Panna in 1891. He accompanied the British boundary commission along the Siamese borders and departed to proceed to Tonkin to explore the geographic situation. He passed Müang Sing and Sipsòng Panna (Müang Phong and Müang La) en route to Lai Châu.²⁶⁶⁹ He depicts the native in a typically colonial tone. The hill people in Müang Sing, who were levied to build a new palace, are “a shouting and yelling

²⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 180.

²⁶⁶⁶ Isabelle Massieu, *Les Anglais en Birmanie, conférence par Mme Isabelle Massieu* (Rouen: Imprimerie E. Cagniard, 1899), 8.

²⁶⁶⁷ Fernand Ganesco, “Un royaume d’opérette: Muong-Sing”, *Revue Indo-Chinoise* 1 (15 janvier 1904): 7.

²⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 3.

²⁶⁶⁹ Lord Lamington, “Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King”, 706.

crowd of men”, being “most peaceful and delighted at examining any of my [Lord Lamington] possessions”. During his stay in Müang Sing, these people followed him “like a tribe of children filled with wondrous delight”.²⁶⁷⁰ The ruler of Müang Phong “showed a childish delight at the most commonplace objects”. It was said he was “bad tempered and proud”, which Lord Lamington did not experience during their contact, as apparently, he only “reserved these qualities for his own subjects”.²⁶⁷¹

4 Frontier Officials in Simao

In 1854, the Qing court lost its customs inspectorate to the United States, Britain, and France. The Imperial Maritime Customs was set up the same year. But around 11,000 foreign staff constituted nearly half of the Customs personnel, which existed for virtually a century.²⁶⁷² In 1895, the Complementary Convention between France and China signed on 20 June, designated Simao as a treaty port.²⁶⁷³ However, a customs station was only opened in Simao until 2 January 1897.²⁶⁷⁴ The French consulate was opened in Simao in August 1896, and three foreign staff of the Imperial Maritime Customs arrived on 12 November.²⁶⁷⁵ The agreement between Britain and China, signed on 2 February 1897, appointed a British consul to be stationed in Simao.²⁶⁷⁶ In late 1897, James William Jamieson (1867–1946) was appointed the British consul in Simao, and the British consulate was opened on 14 February 1898.²⁶⁷⁷ By then, a tiny Western community had formed in Simao. By 1898, there were six Westerners, a French consul (Pierre Bons d’Anty), a British consul (Jamieson), a French doctor (Laurent Joseph Guide), two British (Frederic William Carey and Augustine Henry), and an American (Francis Augustus Carl), at the Maritime Customs.²⁶⁷⁸

Two decades later, Gaide recalls that the “isolation in this lost corner of the Yunnan Province” (*notre isolement dans ce coin perdu de la province yunnanaise*) and the “monotony of daily life” (*la monotonie des jours*) forced them to find ways to amuse themselves. For this reason, they cultivated various hobbies, like botany, photography, the study of the Chinese

²⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., 707.

²⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 709.

²⁶⁷² Ladds, *Empire Careers*, 2.

²⁶⁷³ Robert Nield, *China’s Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840–1943* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), xvii.

²⁶⁷⁴ Francis Augustus Carl, “Szemao Trade Report, for the Year 1897”, *China. Imperial Maritime Customs I.–Statistical Series: Nos. 3 and 4* 39 (1898): 656.

²⁶⁷⁵ Carl, “Szemao Trade Report”, 660; Pierre Bons d’Anty, *Rapport de Pierre Bons d’Anty à Auguste Gérard, 20 novembre 1896*, ff. 21–23, tome 316, Ssemao (1896–1901), CCC, CADLC.

²⁶⁷⁶ Godfrey E. P. Hertslet, ed., *Hertslet’s China Treaties: Treaties, &c., between Great Britain and China in Force on the 1st January, 1908* (London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1908), 1:117.

²⁶⁷⁷ Patrick Devereux Coates, *The China Consuls: British Consular Officers, 1843–1943* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 316; Augustine Henry, “Szemao Trade Report, for the year 1898”, *China. Imperial Maritime Customs I.–Statistical Series: Nos. 3 and 4* 40 (1899): 681.

²⁶⁷⁸ Laurent Joseph Gaide, “Souvenirs d’un séjour à Ssemao (Yunnan) et de quelques excursions dans la région des Sip-song-panas de 1898 à 1900”, *Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué* 30, no. 3 (1943): 270.

language or the Lolo dialect, and the practice of musical instruments. He himself began to learn Chinese Mandarin, Lolo, and English.²⁶⁷⁹ Anty learned the Lolo language.²⁶⁸⁰

Later Western travellers obtained support from this Western community. When Dodd travelled to Simao in 1910, he met a French customs collector, René C. L. d'Anjou, and his Italian associate, Bartolini, whose hospitality was praised by Dodd.²⁶⁸¹

However, lacking commercial importance, the British consulate was closed in 1901, the French consulate followed in 1902, and only customs officials remained.²⁶⁸²

The establishment of a customs station in Simao provided the British and French officers with an alternative route to penetrate into Sipsòng Panna from the north rather than the south. Three of them, Frederic William Carey, Pierre Bons d'Anty, and Laurent Joseph Gaide, left their writings.

These officials usually had a command of the Chinese language and were equipped with ethnological knowledge gained from Chinese oral and written sources. Carey only had an “imperfect knowledge of Shan”.²⁶⁸³ The main source of information was Chinese people, such as Yunnanese Muslim merchants,²⁶⁸⁴ and the natives, such as the young Müang Bang ruler, who spoke the Chinese language.²⁶⁸⁵ Their communication with the natives was through interpreters who had a command of both the native languages and Chinese. In their writings, the toponyms in Sipsòng Panna are rendered in Chinese forms, such as Siaomangyang or Hsiao Meng-yang (Müang Yang), Pouten or Puteng (Müang Ring), and Meng Wang (Müang Bang). Chinese titles are used in their writings, such as *tapia*²⁶⁸⁶ and *T'u Ssü* or *Tussu*.²⁶⁸⁷ They also adopted Chinese ethnonyms, such as Payi or Pai I (Tai), Hanpayi (Dry Land Tai), Choueipayi (Water Tai), Hoayaopayi (Patterned-waist Tai), Lolo, Itsouomao (A Lock of Hair), to categorise the ethnic groups they encountered.²⁶⁸⁸ Other Chinese terms used included *miansi* (Burmese temple).²⁶⁸⁹ Consequently, misunderstandings caused by intermediaries were unavoidable. Anty misinterprets Kat Thung (Gadong), a market in the west of Chiang Rung, as the “market of the east” (*marché de l'est*).²⁶⁹⁰ He wrongly interprets *thung* (low-lying land) as the Chinese word *dong* (east) by way of the Chinese *ga dong*.

Their journeys to Sipsòng Panna and Müang Laem were by no means purely for travel but involved intelligence-collecting activities that contributed to the formation of colonial

²⁶⁷⁹ Gaide, “Souvenirs d'un séjour”, 270.

²⁶⁸⁰ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 62.

²⁶⁸¹ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 70–71.

²⁶⁸² Coates, *The China Consuls*, 318; Nield, *China's Foreign Places*, 224.

²⁶⁸³ Frederic William Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, *The Geographical Journal* 15, no. 5 (1900): 510.

²⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 505.

²⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 487.

²⁶⁸⁶ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*.

²⁶⁸⁷ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”.

²⁶⁸⁸ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*; Gaide, “Souvenirs d'un séjour”; Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”; Frederic William Carey, “Notes of a journey overland from Szemao to Rangoon”, *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 36 (1905).

²⁶⁸⁹ Frederic William Carey, “A Trip to the Chinese Shan States”, *The Geographical Journal* 14, no. 4 (1899): 380.

²⁶⁹⁰ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 19.

knowledge. Gaide submitted his investigation report to the Governor-General of Indochina, who published it in *Bulletin Economique de l'Indochine*.²⁶⁹¹ It contributed to the accumulation of French influence in these countries.²⁶⁹²

Laurent Joseph Gaide (1870–1960) was a French doctor. He had worked at the Hải Phòng hospital before being appointed as a resident doctor to the French Consulate in Simao, where he stayed between 15 September 1898 and 1 April 1900.²⁶⁹³ During his stay in Simao, he made three expeditions to collect ethnographic information.²⁶⁹⁴ The first expedition was from Simao to Müang U Nüa. The second expedition was from Simao to Dayakou. The third expedition was from Simao to Chiang Rung and returned to Simao via Yiwu. However, his reports focus on geographic, economic, and ethnographic information and do not provide details of his contact with the natives. His interest focused principally on ethnographic knowledge, and he writes that “in all the regions of Yunnan, that of Sipsông Panna is the most curious, from an ethnographic point of view” (*De toutes les régions du Yunnan, celle des Sip-song-panas est la plus curieuse au point de vue ethnographique*).²⁶⁹⁵ Gaide’s ethnographic notes were published in several journals, *Annales d’hygiène et de médecine coloniales*, *Revue indo-chinoise*, *Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué*, *Bulletin de la Société d’Ethnographie du Paris*, *Bulletin économique de l’Indochine*.

a) Pierre Bons d’Anty

Pierre Bons d’Anty (1859–1916) was another diplomat who travelled in this region. He studied Japanese at the École des Langues Orientales vivantes. After graduation, he worked at the Bibliothèque Nationale from 1881. In 1884, he entered the Ministère des Affaires étrangères, as an interpreter in Tianjin. Then, he worked as a vice-consul in Pakhoi (Beihai) and Loung Tcheou (Longzhou). Between 23 December 1895 to 1898, he was the French consul in Simao. After a stopover in Canton, he went back to work, for a short period, in Simao in 1899. Then, in 1899, he was appointed to the consulate in Chongqing and the consulate in Chengdu in 1906. During his residence in Simao, he made two trips to Sipsông Panna and Chiang Tung, each lasting two months. Anty published his 1897 expedition to Sipsông Panna in an article, “Relation d’un voyage dans la région située au sud de Semaou” (1899), and a book, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois et dans les montagnes de thé* (1900). The latter was printed from his travel report to the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in 1897, with minor modifications. His expedition to Chiang Tung via Dayakou and Müang Chae left no records.

²⁶⁹¹ Gaide, “Souvenirs d’un séjour”, 271.

²⁶⁹² Laurent Joseph Gaide, “Notice ethnographique sur les principales races indigènes du Yunnan et du Nord de l’Indo-Chine précédée de renseignements généraux sur la province du Yunnan et principalement sur la région des Sip Song Pan-Na”, *Revue indo-chinoise* (15 avril 1905): 471.

²⁶⁹³ Gaide, “Souvenirs d’un séjour”, 267.

²⁶⁹⁴ Laurent Joseph Gaide, “Notice ethnographique sur les principales races indigènes de la Chine méridionale (Yun-Nam en particulier) et du nord de l’Indo-Chine”, *Annales d’hygiène et de médecine coloniales* 5 (1902): 449.

²⁶⁹⁵ Gaide, “Souvenirs d’un séjour”, 279.

He also published travelogues on provinces in the Yangtse River Basin and Canton.²⁶⁹⁶ Anty was awarded a gold medal in the Louis Bourbonnaud prize by the Société de Géographie in 1901 for his exploration of Sipsòng Panna in 1897 and his accounts of this expedition.²⁶⁹⁷

Under the instruction of Auguste Gérard (1852–1922), legation of France in China, Anty's journey to Sipsòng Panna in 1897 was a mission combining diplomatic and intelligent motives in search of routes to penetrate into South and West China, the navigability of Luosuo Jiang (Nam Ban River), and the possibility of the extension of the railway to this part of China, which he concealed in the printed travelogue.²⁶⁹⁸ In the book, he only expresses that his motive was to explore “the little-known regions, although, being in our sphere of influence” (*des contrées encore fort mal connues, bien que, se trouvant dans notre sphère d'influence*).²⁶⁹⁹ Anty departed Simao on 20 February 1897 with some servants and soldiers.²⁷⁰⁰ He also attended the opening ceremony of the Yiwu customs sub-station on 1 March 1897.²⁷⁰¹ Anty met the Boundary Commission in Yiwu and travelled with them to Müang U, where he witnessed the placement of the boundary marker.²⁷⁰²

Since Anty's motivation was to collect geographical and commercial information and the French commercial interest was his priority, few details of his contact with the natives can be obtained from his travelogues. Only information concerning trade (the geographic features, the imported merchants in the markets of Chiang Rung and Müang Rai) is depicted in detail. Müang Rai attracted his attention not in and of itself but because of the threat of “the British penetration” (*la pénétration anglaise*).²⁷⁰³

Four episodes of contact can be extracted from his writings. The first was in Müang Ring, where Anty participated in a feast and watched a concert. Anty expresses that he was “very well received” (*Je fus très bien accueilli*) at the celebration meal.²⁷⁰⁴ It was also an impression that Anty formed throughout this journey. He reports to the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères that during his expedition in Sipsòng Panna, he forged a good relationship with the native authorities.²⁷⁰⁵ What Anty does not mention in his publications is Chao Mòm Kham Lü's “mistrust” (*les préventions*) towards the French.²⁷⁰⁶ In a report to Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, d'Anty reveals Chao Mòm Kham Lü's “anxiety and mistrust” (*l'inquiétude et la*

²⁶⁹⁶ Henri Cordier, “Pierre Bons d'Anty”, *T'oung Pao* 17, no. 3 (1916): 395–396; Pierre Bons d'Anty, “Relation d'un voyage dans la région située au sud de Semao”, *Annales de Géographie* 8, no. 37 (1899): 49; d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 59.

²⁶⁹⁷ Narcisse Quellien, “Société de Géographie de Paris”, *Journal officiel de la République française* 33, no. 342 (17 décembre 1901): 7801; Anonymous, “Notes”, *Nature* 66, no. 1701 (1902): 135.

²⁶⁹⁸ Pierre Bons d'Anty, Direction des Consuls et des Affaires Commerciales, 26 avril 1897, f. 51, tome 316, Ssemao (1896–1901), CCC, CADLC.

²⁶⁹⁹ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 59.

²⁷⁰⁰ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 3, 16.

²⁷⁰¹ Anonymous, “Affaires coloniales: Tonkin”, *Le Temps* (28 avril 1897).

²⁷⁰² d'Anty, “Relation d'un voyage”, 59; d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 38.

²⁷⁰³ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 3.

²⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷⁰⁵ d'Anty, Direction des Consuls et des Affaires Commerciales, 26 avril 1897, f. 59, tome 316, Ssemao (1896–1901), CCC, CADLC.

²⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

méfiance) towards d'Anty's journey to Sipsòng Panna, caused by the cession of Müang U and parts of the salt wells area of Bafazhai to France.²⁷⁰⁷

The second is his meeting with Chao Mòm Kham Lü in Chiang Rung, which made him embarrassed that, during the conversation, Chao Mòm Kham Lü was under the control of his ministers and replied to Anty's questions through the mouths of the latter.²⁷⁰⁸ Anty complains that he experienced how bored the French who had visited Chiang Rung felt.²⁷⁰⁹ Carey has a similar description of Chao Mòm Kham Lü being "a most incapable ruler entirely under the evil influence of two of his ministers".²⁷¹⁰ However, this is probably information obtained from others rather than Carey's experience since no trace of his meeting with Chao Mòm Kham Lü is found in his travel writings.

The third is Anty's encounter with the refugees from Lòk Chòk. One of them visited Anty in Müang Rai. He told Anty of his experience of travelling with Pavie and gave him news of Prince Myngoon's plan to return to Burma.²⁷¹¹ However, the Lòk Chòk people did not know Prince Myngoon's venture had failed because he had been stopped in Lai Châu.²⁷¹²

The fourth also happens in Müang Rai, where Anty had a conversation, through an interpreter, with the 78-year-old ruler of Müang Rai.²⁷¹³ Anty's records of this conversation are confined to political relations. Anty believes that his impression of the French has been influenced by the British, who had contacted leaders of the western part of Sipsòng Panna to encourage them to resume their relations with Burma. The ruler also denied his fidelity to the Peking court, which, he said, was a merely nominal relationship, and expressed his ignorance of the Chinese title bestowed upon him.²⁷¹⁴

b) Frederic William Carey

Frederic William Carey (1874–1931) joined the Chinese Maritime Customs in Mengzi in 1891. In 1896, he was reassigned to Simao.²⁷¹⁵ Between 1900 and 1901, he was the acting consul of the British consulate in Simao.²⁷¹⁶ At the end of 1901, he left the position in Simao, and in early 1902, he returned to Britain on furlough. After 1904, he continued work for the Chinese Maritime Customs in Santuao, Peking, Shanghai, Tengyue, Canton, Foochow,

²⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., f. 56.

²⁷⁰⁸ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 16–17.

²⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., 16–17.

²⁷¹⁰ Carey, "Notes of a journey", 9–10.

²⁷¹¹ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 22–23.

²⁷¹² Khorat, "L'odyssée d'un prétendant birman", 705–708.

²⁷¹³ He was probably the Chao Ya mentioned in a chronicle (Dao and Yan, *Chiia khriia chao swaenwi sipsòng phanna*, 212). Chao Ya is a general term referring to the *chao müang* (Peng Xunzi, ed., "*Xishuangbanna ershi liu ge meng daizu cunzhai suoshu fengjian dengji tongji* [Statistical data of the feudal hierarchy of the Tai villages in the 26 müang of Sipsòng Panna]", in *Daizu shehui lish diaocha*, 2:83).

²⁷¹⁴ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 23.

²⁷¹⁵ Hillier, "With a Camera in Yunnan '1".

²⁷¹⁶ Frederic William Carey, "Tonkin, Yunnan, and Burma", *The Journal of the Society of Arts* 51, no. 2623 (1903): 323.

Santua, and Ningpo.²⁷¹⁷ He spoke Chinese well.²⁷¹⁸ During his sojourn in Simao, he spent his spare time travelling around the areas near Simao and studying the different native peoples.²⁷¹⁹ Only three of his trips are found in his published travelogues. The first trip, between 4 and 23 December 1898, aimed to investigate the tea mountains in Yiwu and Yibang.²⁷²⁰ The second trip, departing from Simao on 7 March 1899, proceeded westward to Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna in search of collections for the 1900 Paris Exposition.²⁷²¹ The third trip was his return journey to Britain via Rangoon in 1902. In addition to being published in journals, his travel writings were also published by the Imperial Maritime Customs.²⁷²²

Carey always limited the size of his caravans. The team of 1898 included five pack animals guided by some muleteers, a servant, a boy, a cook, a coolie, and a soldier.²⁷²³ The team of 1899 consisted of two Yunnanese Muslim muleteers with seven pack animals, a servant, a coolie, and a soldier.²⁷²⁴ The seven pack animals were able to transport 460 kg of goods.²⁷²⁵ The team of 1902 comprised 27 pack animals guided by six muleteers, Carey's pony, a coolie, a cook, and five soldiers dispatched by Simao. To keep the team to a controllable size, to avoid the inconvenience of overloaded supplies, and because of the limited accommodation and food that small villages could provide, he dismissed three soldiers back to Simao the next day after departure.²⁷²⁶ In Chiang Tung, the last two soldiers were sent back to Simao, together with the cook, who was replaced by a young Tai.²⁷²⁷

One of the tropes in Carey's writings is the superiority of British rule. Carey complains of the "robbery with violence" in Chinese Tai states. In Burma, robbery was eradicated under the British administration, whose governance was "actual and lasting". Carey asserts that it was "testified by all traders coming from Kiang Tung to Sumao [Simao]". They had to be cautious "once they have crossed the frontier". He did not attach importance to the Tai thieves because, on his return journey to Simao in 1899, the six horses of theirs stolen by a group of Tai were later taken back.²⁷²⁸ Carey claims that "Chinese-recognized robbers" based in Simao and Pu'er were the "worst offenders".²⁷²⁹ He encountered the dead bodies of six horse thieves and two beheaded thieves at two places in Müang Rai, respectively. He blames bandits based in Simao and Pu'er, who looted the Tai states during the dry season. When these bandits were caught,

²⁷¹⁷ Carroll Prescott Lunt, *The China Who's Who: A Bibliographical Dictionary* (Shanghai: Kelley & Walsh, 1922), 60.

²⁷¹⁸ Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein, "From the Mekong to Ssumao", f. 7, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁷¹⁹ Frederic William Carey to John Scott Keltie, 5 January 1899, ar RGS/CB7/466, Correspondence Blocks, RGS.

²⁷²⁰ Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 486.

²⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, 496.

²⁷²² Two are found in the Office Series: no. 64, *Two Trips in the Chinese Shan States* (1899); no. 65, *Trip to Mênglien and other Shan States* (1899).

²⁷²³ Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 486.

²⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*, 496.

²⁷²⁵ In the return journey to Britain in 1902, each pack animal carried about 145 lbs (Carey, "Notes of a journey", 2).

²⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2–3.

²⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁷²⁸ Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 514.

²⁷²⁹ Carey, "A Trip to the Chinese Shan States", 393.

the Tai decapitated them without consulting officials.²⁷³⁰ Fearing cattle thieves in the Chinese Tai states, “small parties will never travel unless they can join some caravan”. Carey mentions that, during his journey in 1902, three Yunnanese Muslim merchants heard the news of Carey’s departure in Simao, caught up with the latter in Müang Ring, and requested to travel with his caravan.²⁷³¹ In 1899, Carey met a group of Yunnanese Muslim muleteers from Burma, whom he believes “must have been proud of the fact to” be British subjects.²⁷³²

Moreover, Carey claims that “apart from the fact that they are treated as officials, foreigners are credited throughout Yun-nan with superhuman fierceness and daring.”²⁷³³ For this reason, at Lao Xiongian, cattle thieves were scared by his presence and abandoned their attack. Carey writes that the attitude of the natives towards Europeans was absolutely amicable: “[t]o Europeans they have always proved themselves hospitable, but they do not extend the same regard to the Chinese. Neither does this seem remarkable when one remembers that the latter often deprive them of their lands, their property, and their liberty.”²⁷³⁴

By contrast, the natives are debased. While Carey praises the Tai women, saying they are “unconventional and fascinating”, he condemns the men, who “are lazy, good-for-nothing fellows, who never, unless absolutely obliged, do any work”.²⁷³⁵ He writes that the native of Müang La is too lazy to exploit salt wells.²⁷³⁶ Carey attributes this laziness to Buddhist education: “All the Shan boys spend a part of their lives in the village temple, where they learn to read and write, and become lazy.”²⁷³⁷

Another dominant trope is the imperial gaze, which Hillier has also discussed.²⁷³⁸ Through observation, the native visual world was transformed into systematic knowledge at the service of colonial agendas. Carey depicts his observation activity at length. The native is the object of his gaze. Carey regrets that he did not have the opportunity to view “a pretty kind of bodice”, which the Tai Lü women wore on “special occasions”.²⁷³⁹ Carey’s position as an observer was challenged when a group of tea-collecting Lü women met Carey and greeted his caravan with “jests”. This returned gaze made him the object of observation. He felt embarrassed and considered it to be “scarcely polite”.²⁷⁴⁰

Except for geographic, economic, and political information, ethnographic data are also the focus of Carey’s interests on his journeys. On 8 February 1922, twenty years after his departure from Simao, Carey gave a lecture in Ningpo on the aboriginal peoples around

²⁷³⁰ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 512. See also the Pavie Mission’s lost horse in Müang Chae in 1891 and the British’s lost horses and oxes in Müang Sing in 1895 (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 19, 20, 22 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Auguste Pavie, 14 January 1895b, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC).

²⁷³¹ Carey, “Notes of a journey”, 4.

²⁷³² Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 505.

²⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 502.

²⁷³⁴ Carey, “A Trip to the Chinese Shan States”, 384.

²⁷³⁵ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 494.

²⁷³⁶ Carey, “A Trip to the Chinese Shan States”, 381.

²⁷³⁷ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 494.

²⁷³⁸ Hillier, ““With a Camera in Yunnan’ 1”.

²⁷³⁹ Carey, “A Trip to the Chinese Shan States”, 389.

²⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Mengzi, Simao, and Tengyue. He showed photographs on lantern slides. It is reported that, for him, “the chief interest of the district lay in the extraordinary admixture of races to be found.”²⁷⁴¹

Carey’s ethnographic enthusiasm is reflected in his writings and photographs. Carey’s article “A Trip to the Chinese Shan States” (1899) is an ethnographic record rather than a travelogue. He read contemporaries’ ethnographic research and corrected the French missionary Paul Vial’s writings on Lolo.²⁷⁴² On his return journey to Britain, one of the few things Carey mentions about Chiang Tung is its bazaar which was a place gathering people “dressed in every conceivable colour” and from different backgrounds, “[l]ightly clad Siamese, natives of Laos, swarthy Indians, stolid Cantonese pedlars, Burmese, Shans, and numerous hill tribes”. He writes that the “Bazaar at Kengtung is one of the sights of British Burma.”²⁷⁴³

Carey is called an “amateur ethnographer” by Hillier,²⁷⁴⁴ not only because of his interest in aboriginal peoples but also because of his zeal for ethnic classification. Carey criticises the lack of scientific classification, the fact that different travellers employed dissimilar nomenclature, and that “[e]ach tribe calls the other by a different name.”²⁷⁴⁵ He also complains that the Chinese distinguished different sub-groups of Akha only by the hat they wore²⁷⁴⁶ and “pick[ed] out some little peculiarity of costume and appl[ied] fresh names in a reckless way”.²⁷⁴⁷ He criticises that “[t]hey know nothing of ethnology, and take no interest in any further classification of these inferior races”,²⁷⁴⁸ and even the cleverest Yunnanese regarded it meaningless to acquire knowledge of these peoples.²⁷⁴⁹ He hopes later travellers will contribute to this work in the future.²⁷⁵⁰

Carey attempted to establish the genealogy of different ethnic groups. His criteria focus on language, and he proposes “to classify the numerous aboriginal tribes of Yun-nan and Indo-China under, at the most, four generical headings”.²⁷⁵¹ He finds connections between groups under different names: Benren and Woni,²⁷⁵² Akha and Woni,²⁷⁵³ Nisu and Lolo,²⁷⁵⁴ Akha and

²⁷⁴¹ Anonymous, “The Hundred Tribes of S. W. China”, *The North-China Herald* (18 February 1922): 434.

²⁷⁴² Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 490.

²⁷⁴³ Carey, “Tonkin, Yunnan, and Burma”, 321–322. In another article, Carey describes the scene as that “[t]raders and sellers of such goods as silks, silverware, clothing, etc. occupy the sheds, and the bazaar is crowded until late in the afternoon with Akk’as, Pumeng, Was, Muhsos, Taloks or Chinese Shans, and other curiously apparelled tribes from the hills around, not to mention Burmese, Siamese and Indian traders, and the ubiquitous Cantonese pedlar” (Carey, “Notes of a journey”, 19).

²⁷⁴⁴ Hillier, ““With a Camera in Yunnan’ I””.

²⁷⁴⁵ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 488.

²⁷⁴⁶ Carey, “Notes of a journey”, 10.

²⁷⁴⁷ Fred. W. Carey, “With a Camera in Yunnan: A Lecture Delivered by Mr Fred W. Carey, F.R.G.S., on April 2nd, 1903”, *The Journal of the Camera Club* 17 (November 1903): 142.

²⁷⁴⁸ Carey, “Notes of a journey”, 10–11.

²⁷⁴⁹ Frederic William Carey to John Scott Keltie, 5 January 1899, ar RGS/CB7/466, Correspondence Blocks, RGS.

²⁷⁵⁰ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 487.

²⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁷⁵² Ibid.

²⁷⁵³ Ibid., 500.

²⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., 497.

Mahei.²⁷⁵⁵ Xiangtang (Hsiang Tan) “are allied to the Nisu”.²⁷⁵⁶ Akha was an “offshoot of the Lolo race”²⁷⁵⁷ and was “the Woni division of the Lolo race”.²⁷⁵⁸ He includes Lahu into Lolo²⁷⁵⁹ and claims the Wa are “a distinct race”.²⁷⁶⁰ He applied his racial classification at the 1900 Paris Exposition. For instance, a costume of Benren obtained in Müang Bang is illustrated as “Woni de Pu-yuan” rather than Benren.²⁷⁶¹ In addition, his racial theory was based on social Darwinism. He divides the Lolo into two branches: one is a Superior group, and the other an Inferior group.²⁷⁶²

However, the intermingled situation of various ethnic groups was a challenge for Carey’s clear and definite classification. He complains that the intermarriage between different ethnic groups was a problem for categorisation:

*The Chinese settlers, too poor to import their own women from Eastern centres, intermarry freely with the Lo Hei [Lahu] and Hsiang Tan tribes, who in their turn mix with other native peoples. The result is a confusion of language and customs most difficult to analyze, and the fleeting traveller can only endeavour, by careful comparison, to guess at the parent race of each tribe. It is improbable that there are more than five or six distinct races in Yun-nan, though there are nearly a hundred differently named tribes.*²⁷⁶³

The camera was seen as an instrument that provided a perfect gaze. Pursuing accuracy and certainty, the photograph precisely reflected the objective world that travellers explored.²⁷⁶⁴ The camera was thus an important item during Carey’s journeys, and he always had one servant in charge of holding his snap-shot camera.²⁷⁶⁵ His photographs were released in publications and displayed in exhibitions and lectures. After his return to Britain in 1903, he delivered a lecture about his photographic activity in Yunnan to the Camera Club.

At the Camera Club, Carey explained how he took photos of the natives. His lecture vividly illustrates the imperial gaze: the visibility of the object and the invisibility of the viewer. “The photos are in nearly every instance snapshots, taken without the knowledge of the victims. Indeed, had they guessed what I was doing at the time, or the use I intended to make of them this evening, I should never have been able to obtain a single picture.”²⁷⁶⁶ Participation in

²⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 500.

²⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 502.

²⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., 500.

²⁷⁵⁸ Carey, “Notes of a journey”, 10.

²⁷⁵⁹ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 503.

²⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 504.

²⁷⁶¹ Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 (PARIS). China, *Chine: Catalogue spécial des objets exposés dans la Section chinoise à L’Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1900* (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Charles Noblet et fils, 1900), 104; Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 488.

²⁷⁶² Carey, “A Trip to the Chinese Shan States”, 384.

²⁷⁶³ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 504.

²⁷⁶⁴ Mueggler, “The Eyes of Others”, 53.

²⁷⁶⁵ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 486, 496; Carey, “Notes of a journey”, 3.

²⁷⁶⁶ Carey, “With a Camera in Yunnan”, 141.

native activities was a strategy of camouflage. In order to take photographs of the Tai Lü, he participated in a game of throwing balls.²⁷⁶⁷

However, it was not easy to take photographs without attracting the natives' attention. In Yibang, he complains that:

*The Chinese regarded it with a good deal of suspicion, there being a widespread belief in Yun-nan that foreigners have an instrument (chao pao ching) by means of which they are able to discover hidden treasures, and carry away the luck of a place in the shape of precious stones.*²⁷⁶⁸

This suspicion was only dispelled when the natives saw that a Likin delegate was safe despite having had his photograph taken.²⁷⁶⁹

Carey reports one of his photographic failures during a lecture. On a market day, he followed some Wa girls for hours, attempting to take photographs. But his movements were jokingly exposed by some Chinese, who warned the girls that a foreigner was following them, and they escaped from Carey's sight.²⁷⁷⁰ Rigby mentions that when he and Carey watched the parade in Simao, people also watched them, turning them into "objects of interest".²⁷⁷¹

As previously mentioned, Carey's 1899 tour to Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna was aimed at collecting "interesting materials" for the 1900 Paris Exposition,²⁷⁷² which Hillier gives a thorough overview.²⁷⁷³ No records reveal how Carey was appointed to for this work. Carl, the customs commissioner in Simao, was in charge of the organisation of the exhibition about the west part of Yunnan. The preparation work was discussed by Carl and Anty. Apart from commercial items, like tea, photographs of various ethnic groups and ethnic costumes and adornments were chosen as exhibits.²⁷⁷⁴ Carey set off from Simao on 7 March 1899, with two muleteers, a servant, a coolie, and a soldier.²⁷⁷⁵

At the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris, 106 sets of exhibits were from the Simao customs station, the majority of which were collected from Sipsòng Panna.²⁷⁷⁶ Apart from seven or eight costumes, Carey did not mention how many objects he collected during this expedition.²⁷⁷⁷ His contribution probably included some sets of costumes and a Lolo manuscript.²⁷⁷⁸

²⁷⁶⁷ Carey, "Tonkin, Yunnan, and Burma", 321.

²⁷⁶⁸ Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 490.

²⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁷⁰ Carey, "With a Camera in Yunnan", 142–143.

²⁷⁷¹ Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein, "From the Mekong to Ssumao", f. 9, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁷⁷² Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 496.

²⁷⁷³ Hillier, "With a Camera in Yunnan' 2".

²⁷⁷⁴ Pierre Bons d'Anty, Rapport de Pierre Bons d'Anty à Auguste Gérard, 19 Juin 1897, ff. 140–141, Ssemao (1896–1901), tome 316, CCC, CADLC.

²⁷⁷⁵ Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 486.

²⁷⁷⁶ Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900, *Chine: Catalogue spécial*, 13, 14, 17–18, 20, 39, 47, 48, 49, 52, 62, 66, 84, 89, 91, 93, 94, 104, 117, 123, 125, 133, 145, 146, 147.

²⁷⁷⁷ Frederic William Carey to John Scott Keltie, 20 May 1899, ar RGS/CB7/466, Correspondence Blocks, RGS.

²⁷⁷⁸ Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 497.

Moreover, photography was considered a precise visual representation of race and space and was widely displayed at various exhibitions. A series of photographs taken around Simao and Sipsòng Panna were also exhibited in Paris.²⁷⁷⁹ They were probably Carey's works. His nineteen photographs were owned by the Musée de l'Homme, and later transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale de France's collection.²⁷⁸⁰ It is unclear whether or not these nineteen photographs were those exhibited at the Exposition Universelle of 1900. Except for one of a Tai house, the remaining eighteen works are all portrait photographs of twelve ethnic groups (Kucong, Budu, Yao, Woni, Akha, Lolo, Mahei, Wa, Lahu, Tai Ya, Tai Laem, Tai Lü) that Carey encountered during his journey. Carey's photographs also entered personal collections. Morrison's collection holds 34 photos taken in Müang Laem, Simao, and Sipsòng Panna.²⁷⁸¹

As an external representation of ethnic distinction, the costume was often the first item to attract travellers' attention. Concerning the Tai Lü costume in Müang U, Carey writes, "[I]t is this difference in costume which strikes the eye of the traveller coming from China."²⁷⁸² Naturally, the episodes of costume purchase are depicted in detail. The reactions to Carey's request to purchase costumes varied from one ethnic group to another. He mentions the difficulty Anty encountered when he attempted to obtain a female Akha dress:

*When the French first established a post at Meng Wu [Müang U], there were several tribes of these Akkas in that district, and at the request of the French Consul at Semaó the Meng Wu resident obtained a woman's dress and hat. But the transaction was distasteful to the Akkas, and resulted in their flight from that part of French territory.*²⁷⁸³

Similarly, Carey's request was suspected by the Akha people. Carey did not continue the topic until the mood of the Akha people had been ameliorated by some presents. However, Carey did not obtain a used costume, but rather a new one, with a hat woven by all the women of the village during the night of Carey's sojourn.²⁷⁸⁴

Conditions were not always favourable to Carey. Another attempt to purchase Akha costume failed, even though he hired a Lahu headman, who was familiar with the Akha of that village, as an agent. They suffered an embarrassing scene when the whole of the village came out to the roadside to witness their passing.²⁷⁸⁵ The Akha at Nam Nò also obstructed his purchase.²⁷⁸⁶

Carey's purchasing problems were probably caused by the native belief attached to used costumes. In 1898, Dodd encountered a problem purchasing a costume from a Tai Lü woman

²⁷⁷⁹ Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900, *Chine: Catalogue spécial*, 14.

²⁷⁸⁰ Frederic William Carey, Recueil. Photographies positives. Oeuvre de Frederic William Carey, EO-1752-BOITE FOL B, BnF.

²⁷⁸¹ George Ernest Morrison, *China-cities & towns (S-Z)*, postcards and photographs, n.d., PXA 207/vol. 2, GEMC, SLNSW.

²⁷⁸² Carey, "Journeys in the Chinese Shan States", 494.

²⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*, 501.

²⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 501–502.

²⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 505.

²⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 512.

near Chiang Lò. Dodd was required to return the costume because the woman had caught a fever after selling her clothes and dreamed of her headcloth every night. The brother of the female believed that his sister's souls (*khwan*) were attached to the costume, and this problem was settled only by cutting some threads from the pieces sold and tying them to his sister's wrist.²⁷⁸⁷ Carey notices that “[m]ost of their [Akha] superstitious beliefs seem centred in this remarkable head-dress.”²⁷⁸⁸ In Pu Yuan, Carey observes that the Benren women wore “coloured cloth gaiters” because “the women are obliged to wear, as without them it is believed they would be able to fly away, leaving their husbands and sweethearts sorrowful.”²⁷⁸⁹ By contrast, Carey effortlessly obtained a female costume from Tai Ya at Ban Hua Khua, Müang Yang.²⁷⁹⁰

5 Alfred Raquez

Alfred Raquez (1863–1907) was the pseudonym of Joseph Gervais, a bankrupt French lawyer who fled to Indochina in 1898 and started a new life as a travel writer. Between 1898 and 1899, Raquez travelled to Hong Kong, Macao, and China. On 1 December 1899, at the newly appointed Résident Supérieur Auguste Tournier's (1862–1919) invitation, Raquez departed from Yokohama for Hué to make a journey in Laos with Tournier and the Cambodian interpreter Sam. It was on this journey that Raquez visited Müang Sing for the first time. His travelogue for this trip was first published in the newspaper *L'Avenir du Tonkin* from 4 October 1901 to 1 July 1902²⁷⁹¹ and was later published as a book, *Pages laotiennes: le Haut-laos, le Moyen-laos, le Bas-laos*, in 1902.

Raquez had a close connection with the French colonial authorities, not to mention that he travelled with Tournier in Laos. Ganesco also accompanied Raquez and Tournier during their journey in the Upper Laos. Since 1899, Raquez frequently contributed articles for journals and newspapers like *L'Écho de Chine*, *L'Avenir du Tonkin*, *La Revue indochinoise*, *La Dépêche coloniale illustrée*, *L'Illustration, journal universel*, and *Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française*, which were publications more or less related to the Parti colonial, a network of journalists, writers, businessmen, and politicians to promote French colonial expansion.²⁷⁹²

After the handover in 1896, Müang Sing was incorporated into the geographical frame of Upper Laos. Raquez's *Pages laotiennes* aims to enhance this idea and to legalise French rule. To emphasise Chiang Khaeng's preference for France and hatred of Britain, Raquez attributes the reason for the move of the capital, from Müang Yu on the cis-Mekong side to Müang Sing on the trans-Mekong side, to the resistance against the British. He claims that after the British occupation of Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò Kham brought the court to Müang

²⁷⁸⁷ Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., p. 19, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²⁷⁸⁸ Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 501.

²⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 488.

²⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 513.

²⁷⁹¹ William L. Gibson, “Alfred Raquez's Roles as Author and Editor of *La Revue indochinoise*”, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 104 (2018): 345.

²⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, 345; Gibson, *Alfred Raquez and the French Experience*, 54.

Sing.²⁷⁹³ Later, when Stirling occupied Müang Sing, Chao Sri Nò Kham fled from Müang Sing as he had done in a bid to abandon Chiang Khaeng.²⁷⁹⁴ Actually, the move of capital happened in early 1887, three years before Chiang Tung's submission to Britain, when the British had not yet reached the Mekong River. The reason for Chao Sri Nò Kham's decision to move to Müang Sing was to avoid conflict with Chiang Tung.²⁷⁹⁵ Raquez believes that "attracted by the confidence in the French protection, the Tai people will come from the surrounding countries [and settle down in Müang Sing]" (*Attirées par la confiance en la protection française, des populations de race thaï viendront des pays d'alentour*).²⁷⁹⁶

The vignette of Chao Ong Kham is one of the episodes that Raquez depicts vividly. Chao Ong Kham was the eldest son of Chao Sri Nò Kham. He was imprisoned in Vientiane in 1900. Raquez briefly attributes Chao Ong Kham's sojourn in Vientiane to his rebelliousness against his father. In Raquez's accounts, Chao Ong Kham was a "spoiled child" (*enfant gâté*) and caused complaints from several sides.²⁷⁹⁷ He was sent by the Résident Supérieur to Vientiane "to study the principles of [François] Fénelon on the education of Princes" (*pour l'envoyer étudier à Vientiane les principes de Fénelon sur l'éducation des Princes*).²⁷⁹⁸ In addition, Raquez writes that Chao Sri Nò Kham "pleaded with the Résident Supérieur to bring this son [, who was] unamenable to his father's advice [,] back to the right path" (*Le vieux Roi lui-même [...] supplie le Résident supérieur de remettre dans le droit chemin ce fils rebelle aux conseils paternels*).²⁷⁹⁹

However, native writings narrate Chao Ong Kham's sojourn in Vientiane in a sorrowful tone. Even Phraya Luang Sorawong and his two sons, who accompanied Chao Ong Kham to stay in Vientiane, suffered greatly.²⁸⁰⁰ A chronicle of Chiang Khaeng mentions that Chao Ong Kham was placed in custody rather than going to study principles. He was held in detention in Vientiane and was guarded by soldiers regardless of day and night (*ao long pai thõng wiang chan, ao sai ruean khang wai, hũ thahan yu fao nae wan khün bao khat*).²⁸⁰¹ The place he stayed was a "place of detention" (*rüan khang*).²⁸⁰² Chao Sri Nò Kham and Chao Nang Pheng did not consider the confinement a good turn. They kept making merits and following the Buddhist precepts until the god Indra made the French release Chao Ong Kham.²⁸⁰³

Moreover, Chao Ong Kham was not punished for disobeying his father but for his misconduct against the French authorities. He attempted to cross the Mekong River to visit his stepmother in Müang Yõng without requesting permission from a French in charge of security.

²⁷⁹³ Alfred Raquez, *Pages laotiennes: le haut-Laos, le moyen-Laos, le bas-Laos* (Hanoi: F. H. Schneider, 1902), 279.

²⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 280.

²⁷⁹⁵ Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 37.

²⁷⁹⁶ Raquez, *Pages laotiennes*, 282.

²⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 281.

²⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰⁰ CKC-WTP 66.12–66.13, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 286.

²⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 64.17–65.1, 285.

²⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, 66.11, 286.

²⁸⁰³ *Ibid.*, 66.13–15, 286.

Then he was reported to Ganesco.²⁸⁰⁴ He was placed in custody because the French considered it wrong behaviour (*phu yai farang bao thü chop, ao pai sai wai rüan khang*)²⁸⁰⁵ and also because he was inclined to persecute his subjects (*chang khom heng thao khun kha phrai*).²⁸⁰⁶

However, Raquez does not conceal the native's resistance to colonial claims. He notes that the Miao people refused to meet the Résident Supérieur.²⁸⁰⁷

In 1905, Raquez visited Müang Sing again to collect exhibits for the Colonial Exposition held in Marseille between April and November 1906.²⁸⁰⁸ He was appointed as the delegate for the Laos Section. He departed Hanoi on 7 November 1904, but no exact date is known for his visit to Müang Sing. Having finished his tour in Laos, he arrived in Marseille on 5 February 1906.²⁸⁰⁹ His writings on the expedition in Upper Laos were serialised in *L'Avenir du Tonkin* from 1 January 1905 onwards.²⁸¹⁰ Parts of the articles were republished in *La Revue Indo-chinoise* between 30 April 1905 and 15 May 1906.²⁸¹¹

Contrary to Carey, Raquez's exhibit-collecting expedition met with no difficulties because members of the Sanam of Müang Sing, including Phraya Ton Phra Na Sai, accompanied him and all his visits to the hill people villages were arranged in advance. He obtained ethnographic information from the Lahu of Ban Hua Heng without any difficulty and brought back coats, skirts, necklaces, and musical instruments such as Khaen.²⁸¹² From Müang Sing, Raquez brought back soil products, fabrics, weapons, jewellery, costumes, photographs, manuscripts, and Chao Ong Kham's saddle and ceremonial harnesses, which Raquez claims Chao Ong Kham had "entrusted" to him (*Le Tiao Fa nous a confié sa selle et son harnachement de gala*).²⁸¹³ Lodging was provided too. For example, before entering the territory of Luang Namtha, they stayed at the house of the chief of a Lanten village.²⁸¹⁴

In addition to being exhibited, after assessment, some of the collected articles received awards. At the Colonial Exposition, Chao Ong Kham was awarded a gold medal for Classe 52 "Beau Arts", probably for his saddle. However, it is unknown whether it was praise or, in fact, the result of a bribe, as Raquez was one of the jurors.²⁸¹⁵ Collaborators with the Exposition were also awarded. Chao Ong Kham was awarded a gold medal for the Indochina Section. Ardouin (commissioner in Müang Sing), Phraya Peng Chang, Phraya Kham Lü, Phraya Bat (Akha chief), an unnamed Yao chief (these five were from Müang Sing), Phraya Phomma,

²⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 65.2–65.8, 285.

²⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., 66.11, 286.

²⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., 65.7, 285.

²⁸⁰⁷ Raquez, *Pages laotiennes*, 289.

²⁸⁰⁸ Gibson, "Mission Raquez", 448.

²⁸⁰⁹ Ibid.

²⁸¹⁰ Gibson, "Alfred Raquez's Roles", 365–369.

²⁸¹¹ Ibid.

²⁸¹² Alfred Raquez, "Au Laos", *Revue Indo-chinoise* 4, no. 29 (15 mars 1906): 363.

²⁸¹³ Ibid., 368.

²⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 372.

²⁸¹⁵ Exposition coloniale de Marseille 1906, *Exposition coloniale de Marseille 1906: palmarès officiel: exposants et collaborateurs* (Marseille: Édition du Journal des colonies, 1907), 192, 194.

Phraya Intha Wichai, and Phraya Saen Luang (Yao chief) (these three were from Wiang Phukha) were awarded silver medals.²⁸¹⁶

This expedition was not only a journey to collect exhibits but also a tour to visit the “world-as-exhibition”. The natives were taken as “specimens” for observation at leisure and for the study of the characteristics of a whole race.²⁸¹⁷ The inclination to view the native land as an exhibition is revealed in Raquez’s travelogue of 1902, in which he interpreted the market of Müang Sing as an ethnographic exhibition, which was “a real kaleidoscope, this market sees specimens of all the races passing by” (*Véritable kaleidoscope, ce marché qui voit défiler des spécimens de toutes les races!*).²⁸¹⁸

In 1905, companions to Raquez’s expedition to Müang Sing included both Europeans and Asians. The European members consisted of an interpreter named Joseph Fadovic,²⁸¹⁹ the commissioner in Huai Sai, Pierre-Charles Sérizier, who Raquez met at the coronation ceremony of King Sisavang Vong in Luang Prabang,²⁸²⁰ the commissioner in Müang Sing Ardouin, and probably the secrétaire général des Colonies Philippe de Sesmaisons (1876–1910), who took photographs of Müang Sing, which were later printed as postcards in the series “Cliché de Sesmaisons”, and Raquez. The Asian members included five Annamites (a cook, a boy, and three pack coolies), two Chinese muleteers in command of 22 horses or mules, a White Tai, a Black Tai, a Lao from Luang Prabang, an orphan, and a Gurkha.²⁸²¹

However, a clear division existed between the Europeans and the Asians, and the Asian members were objectified. Raquez mentions that the Asian personnel “do not lack interest for the observer” (*Ce personnel [...] ne manque pas d’intérêt pour l’observateur*).²⁸²² The actions and interactions of the Asian personnel formed a spectacle and became a miniature ethnographic exhibition. It reveals the power relations between the Europeans and the Asians and the binary opposition between the viewer and the object.

Indigenous people’s encounters with modern technology, cameras, phonographs, telescopes, etc., are a trope in Western travel writing.²⁸²³ During this journey, Raquez carried a Panthé No. 3 Le Français phonograph to record native music and language.²⁸²⁴ He found the natives’ responses to the phonograph endearing. When listening to the phonograph, the Lahu people of Ban Hua Heng were like “real children” (*Ils s’amuse comme de vrais enfants en*

²⁸¹⁶ Ibid., 257, 268.

²⁸¹⁷ “*Les coolies du Commissaire sont aujourd’hui des Lus, spécimens de cette tribu que nous aurons plus loin le loisir d’observer à souhait mais qui accuse dès maintenant sa répugnance profonde pour tout travail*” (Alfred Raquez, “Au Laos”, *Revue Indo-chinoise* 4, no. 25 (15 janvier 1906): 31).

²⁸¹⁸ Raquez, *Pages laotiennes*, 284.

²⁸¹⁹ Raquez, “Au Laos”, 367.

²⁸²⁰ Ibid., 25.

²⁸²¹ Ibid., 370.

²⁸²² Ibid.

²⁸²³ More examples of the encounter with phonograph or gramophone, see Mueggler, “The Eyes of Others”, 46.

²⁸²⁴ Gibson, “Mission Raquez”, 457; William L. Gibson and Paul Bruthiaux, Introduction to *Laotian Pages A Classic Account of Travel in Upper, Middle and Lower Laos*, by Alfred Raquez, eds. and trans. William L. Gibson and Paul Bruthiaux (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2018), xxiii.

entendant le phonographe).²⁸²⁵ He and Sesmaisons took many photographs of the encounter with the phonograph.²⁸²⁶

The phonograph table is set up; the onlookers surround it at a respectful distance and suddenly the March from Aida's trumpets rang out. The effect is literally mind-boggling. The good Khòs first open wide eyes, unable to comprehend such an orchestral uproar coming out of this tiny machine. Then, a mad burst of laughter escapes from all chests when a human voice, that of Maréchal, sings the Tonneau de Maître Pierre and the delightful artist of the opera, Mademoiselle Boyé, sings Werther's Air des Larmes. This time the female part of the population, reassured by the big man's placid looks, has come without constraint and quietly sit near the babbling instrument, we could let our glances wander over the circle that has formed.

(La table du phonographe est dressée; les curieux l'entourent à respectueuse distance et soudain retentissent les trompettes de la Marche d'Aïda. L'effet est littéralement ahurissant. Les bons Kos ouvrent d'abord de grands yeux, ne pouvant comprendre qu'un tel vacarme orchestral sorte de cette minuscule machine. Puis, un fol éclat de rire s'échappe de toutes les poitrines lorsqu'une voix humaine celle de Maréchal fait entendre le Tonneau de Maître Pierre et que la délicieuse artiste de l'opéra, Mhe Boyé, chante l'Air des Larmes de Werther. Cette fois la partie féminine de la population rassurée par les allures placides du gros homme est venue sans contrainte et tranquillement assis près de l'instrument babillard, nous pouvons [sic] laisser errer nos regards sur le cercle qui s'est formé.)²⁸²⁷

The natives are routinely mentally and physically debased, in colonial writings, depicted as waiting to be protected. It is a strategy to justify colonial rule. Raquez calls the Akha people “good children” (*gentilles enfants*).²⁸²⁸ By contrast, he depicts himself as a parent. Raquez writes that Phraya Ton Phra Na Sai called him “his father and mother” (*son Père et sa Mère*).²⁸²⁹ At another place, the Yao people grasped Raquez's hands and called him “their father and mother” (*m'appellent leur père et leur mère*).²⁸³⁰ The same situation happened at a Lanten village, where the village headman “called us ‘Po Mé’ (Father and Mother) with touching prodigality” (*qui nous distribue les « Po Mé » « Père et Mère » avec une prodigalité touchante*).²⁸³¹ Though a junior can call a male senior with respect “*phò*”²⁸³² and a female

²⁸²⁵ Raquez, “Au Laos”, 363.

²⁸²⁶ Gibson, “Mission Raquez”, 459.

²⁸²⁷ Raquez, “Au Laos”, 357.

²⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, 359.

²⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*, 364.

²⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, 372.

²⁸³² See the addresses of the Lahu people to Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya and Racha Ratchasan, in Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya and Racha Ratchasan to Auguste Pavie, 13 March 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 57, CADLC.

senior “*mae*”, it is rare to address him/her as *phò mae*. Moreover, *phò mae* is a general word referring to the interlocutors as a whole, such as *phò mae phi nòng* (used to address the general public) and *phò mae òk sattha* (used to address the general donors of a temple), and it cannot be translated as father and mother.

In addition, the natives were easily satisfied. He won the hearts of the Akha people by treating patients with some elementary medical supplies like quinine, boric water, eyewash, bichloride, compresses, and strips of cotton wool.²⁸³³ He claims that “among the Khò (Akha) as everywhere else that the conquest is easy” (*Chez les Kos comme partout la conquête est facile*), using only “a little tact, a lot of patience, some junk, some silver coins and the courage to overcome some repugnance; this is the recipe. Anyone can put it into practice” (*Un peu de doigté, beaucoup de patience, de la pacotille, des piécettes d’argent et le courage de vaincre certaines répugnances; voilà la recette. Tout le monde peut la mettre en pratique*).²⁸³⁴

Raquez does not conceal his cunningness. “The whole crowd of this simple people is happy; they enjoy themselves and let their joy explode. There is no need to tell these Khò of Müang Sing that the French are nasty people” (*Toute cette foule de simples est heureuse; elle s’amuse et laisse éclater sa joie. Il ne faudra pas venir leur dire à ces Kos du Muong Sing que les Français sont de méchantes gens!*).²⁸³⁵

Raquez condemns the Tai Lü’s slavery of the Kha, saying that “[a] plague of these regions is slavery” (*Une plaie de ces régions est l’esclavage*).²⁸³⁶ He accuses the Tai Lü of thinking themselves superior to other groups, imposing corvée on the Kha, and leaving them to do onerous work.²⁸³⁷ By contrast, the French “have made a good and wise administration here” (*Les Français font ici bonne et sage administration*),²⁸³⁸ restored the balance of burdens, and abolished slavery.²⁸³⁹

By contrast, he always depicts the French as liberators. At the Yao village of Phraya Kham Lü, Raquez claims that a girl named I Daeng asked him to take her away, as her parents forced her to work to support their consumption of opium. Raquez asserts that the whole village supported her decision. He attempted to take I Daeng, the lovely child, to Marseille, where her costume “would be worth of great success” (*vaudrait grand succès*). However, he writes that he could only abandon this idea and feels sorry for them.²⁸⁴⁰

Territorial security is another topic in Raquez’s writing. During his journey in Müang Sai, Raquez blames the Boundary Commission for its “unforgivable fault” (*une faute*

²⁸³³ Raquez, “Au Laos”, 360–361.

²⁸³⁴ Ibid., 361.

²⁸³⁵ Ibid., 359.

²⁸³⁶ Raquez, *Pages laotiennes*, 294.

²⁸³⁷ “*S’il est des gens s’estimant supérieurs aux autres ce sont à coup sûr les Lus*”, “*c’est dans le service des corvées que se manifeste pratiquement la supériorité sociale*”, “*Le citadin, le cultivateur de la plaine entend laisser au montagnard, à l’homme des raiis, toutes les besognes secondaires ou pénibles et il se complait, lorsqu’il détient le pouvoir, à lui faire sentir son joug*” (Alfred Raquez, “Au Laos”, *Revue Indo-chinoise* 4, no. 28 (28 février 1906): 278).

²⁸³⁸ Ibid., 279.

²⁸³⁹ “*Ce fut le rôle de notre administration française que de rétablir l’équilibre des charges et d’abolir le véritable esclavage qui pesait sur la plupart de ces tribus*” (Ibid., 278).

²⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 367.

impardonnable) in letting Bò Hae and Bò Luang, which he considers to be “the only truly rich” part of the whole Upper Laos, remain in China. He describes this part of the territory as a “spur” (*éperon*) penetrating the territory of France (see Map 3).²⁸⁴¹

The humiliation caused by the Chinese penetration into Bò Ten worried Raquez. He recalls four events that undermined French prestige. He felt ashamed on learning that Bò Pet and Bò Kachou, both salt wells in Bò Ten, were occupied by Yunnanese and “the wealth of French soil abandoned by our protectees” (*la richesse du sol français abandonnée par nos protégés*).²⁸⁴² He reports that the convicts who in 1899 killed Rousseau, a French telegraphic agent, were still at large in Müang La.²⁸⁴³ In 1904, a family from Bò Ten was kidnapped to Bò Luang to deal with a succession dispute and had not yet returned.²⁸⁴⁴ Most humiliating of all was the boundary marker issue. “The Lü of Sipsòng Panna do not conceal their contempt for us. They do not miss any occasion to show it” (*Les Lus des Sip-Song Pahn-Na ne cachent pas du reste leur mépris pour nous. Ils ne laissent passer aucune occasion de l’afficher*).²⁸⁴⁵ Raquez mentions that a boundary marker was smashed repeatedly by the Tai Lü from Sipsòng Panna, no matter how many times the French authorities restored it. He mentions that after 1900, Gérard, Commissioner in Müang U, Garanger, Commissioner in Wiang Phukha, and Marolle, Indigenous Militia Inspector, had reinstalled it. Raquez writes that they, too, found the pieces of the boundary marker and put them back on their base.²⁸⁴⁶ What Raquez failed to mention is that these incidents were the result of French expansion, and Bò Ten was formerly the territory of Sipsòng Panna and was only ceded to France in 1895, as discussed in Chapter III.

Conclusion

Though these travellers varied in terms of their backgrounds, encounters, and narrations, they had a shared priority, i.e. to serve colonial interests. As government personnel or secret agents, these frontline travellers became the source of geographical, political, commercial, botanical, linguistic, and ethnic information for metropolitan centres like London and Paris through their reports to various governmental organisations and geographical societies. George Ernest Morrison was a secret agent for *The Times*. Isabelle Massieu was dispatched by the Ministry of Public Instruction. George Grillières, Gerard Christopher Rigby, John Harvey, Fernand Ganesco, Lord Lamington, Pierre Bons d’Anty, Laurent Joseph Gaide, and Frederic William Carey were colonial officers and officials. Alfred Raquez was a colonial agent.

²⁸⁴¹ Alfred Raquez, “Au Laos”, *Revue Indo-chinoise* 4, no. 26 (30 janvier 1906): 123; Alfred Raquez, “Au Laos”, *Revue Indo-chinoise* 4, no. 31 (15 avril 1906): 536. Compare with the India Office’s intention to form the eastern part of Sipsòng Panna, “project[ing] as a wedge”, as an obstacle to the French encroachment (India Office to Foreign Office, 17 November 1891, p. 32, FO 422/34, No. 34, *Affairs of Siam. Selection of Papers*, Part I, NA).

²⁸⁴² Raquez, “Au Laos”, 539.

²⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, 539–540.

²⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 540.

²⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Their writings formed a part of the colonial literature, reinforcing stereotypes of the indigenous people and justifying colonial expansion. The newly formed modern national boundaries and colonial orders were repeatedly confirmed by their travel activities. Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers recognised the British claims to Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna and brought a passport and a letter of recommendation from the British acting Vice-Consul in Chiang Mai. He created a self-image of master by Othering the native populations through debasement. Morrison believed that permission from the British government would guarantee his entry into China. The writings of Isabelle Massieu, Fernand Ganesco, and Lord Lamington insubstantialise and debase the natives. Raquez wrote propagandist articles to justify French colonialism, especially in his defence of the French occupation of Müang Sing, complaint about Sipsòng Panna's encroachments, and construction of the French as protectors for the natives.

To facilitate their journeys, Ehlers and Morrison disguised themselves as medical doctors and proclaimed that they were on medical missions to Yunnan. Ehlers played tricks on the natives by giving them fake medicines made from nonmedical materials (Vaseline, flour, salt, mustard, Worcester sauce, cocoa paste, ammonia solution, and banana). He also gained friendships in Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung with his fake medicines.

The opening of Simao as a trade port and the subsequent establishment of British and French consulates in Simao provided a new route for the Europeans' expeditions into Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung. These Simao-based travellers usually interpreted Sipsòng Panna through the lens of the Chinese language and gazetteer information. They celebrated Simao for its ethnic diversity. Collecting ethnic information and classifying ethnic groups was one of the activities of these frontier officials. Though borrowing ethnonyms from Chinese sources, Carey criticised the Chinese ethnic classification and attempted to reconstruct a new racial genealogy of the ethnic groups around Simao.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the images and objects of this region were introduced into world circulation and were displayed at various world exhibitions. Journeys of Carey and Raquez aimed to collect items for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle and the 1906 Marseille Colonial Exposition, respectively. While Carey encountered difficulties in purchasing used clothes from the natives, Raquez seldom met problems as he was accompanied by local officials. In these exhibitions, Sipsòng Panna and Müang Sing became representatives for their respective states. This region was also regarded as a "world-as-exhibition", a space exposed to imperial gaze. Carey was an example of imperial gaze for his interest in photographing the natives, and his photography works entered archival, library, and private collections. Raquez viewed Asian members of this mission and the natives he encountered as displaying items.

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Conclusion

The preceding five chapters have discussed the respective travellers' priorities separately, and some peripheral aspects have not been addressed. These travellers and investigators often had different accounts of the same topics. The following sections will be devoted to a comparative study of the different encounters.

1 Influence and Intertextuality

Intertextuality is a term of literary criticism. It refers to the interrelationship of texts: a text is connected to other texts by citations, allusions, repetitions, transformations, and linguistic and literary conventions.²⁸⁴⁷ This study uses "intertextuality" to define the interrelationship between these travellers and between their writings as reflected in texts. With the exception of William Couperus McLeod and the members of the French Mekong Exploration Mission, the travellers and investigators discussed in this study generally knew of or had encountered each other in this contact zone, which is one aspect of intertextuality. As analysed in Chapter III, the British and French boundary commissions met each other in the field.

The British authorities visited, assisted, and endorsed the American missionaries in Chiang Tung.²⁸⁴⁸ In 1893, on the way to Müang Luang via Müang Luai, Daniel McGilvary met the British officer Captain Davis, who was resting by the road with a fever. The latter was on his way to Müang Sing to rejoin the commission. He was delighted to receive some quinine from McGilvary.²⁸⁴⁹ McGilvary was conscious of the British mediation in the battle between Müang Chae and Chiang Rung in the early 1890s. He believes that it is because "England cannot allow border warfare to go on along her frontier."²⁸⁵⁰ In 1906, Bertram Sausmarez Carey, the Acting Superintendents for Southern Shan States, visited the missionaries in Chiang Tung.²⁸⁵¹ The writings of George Claudius Beresford Stirling and Scott were used as evidence in the Chiang Tung Question. At the Session XXIX and XXX, a letter from Stirling and the Gazetteer of Upper Burma was read by Howard Campbell.²⁸⁵² William Marcus Young appreciated the assistance from the British authorities as well.²⁸⁵³ The French authorities are

²⁸⁴⁷ Meyer Howard Abrams and Geoffrey Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Stamford: Cengage Learning, 2015), 398.

²⁸⁴⁸ See Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., p. 4, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²⁸⁴⁹ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 356.

²⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 357.

²⁸⁵¹ Dodd, "Notes from Kengtung", 49; Heptonstall and Henderson, Report of the Kengtung Committee, March 1906, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁸⁵² Minutes of the Sessions of the Keng Tung Commission, Session XXIX, Session XXX, 9 February 1907, pp. 28–29, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS. For Stirling's letter, see George Claudius Beresford Stirling to Albert Hailey Henderson, 19 July 1898, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁸⁵³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 2 March 1901, 29 June 1901, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

seldom mentioned in missionary writings. However, McGilvary and Samuel C. Peoples had an interview with Joseph Vacle in Luang Prabang.²⁸⁵⁴

As mentioned in Chapter V, the customs station in Simao received visits from travellers of different backgrounds. In 1910, the Presbyterians met a French customs collector, René C. L. d'Anjou, and his Italian associate, Bartolini, both of whom spoke English. William Clifton Dodd discussed his further travel route in China with Anjou and obtained positive feedback. In Simao, Dodd used the telegraph office, which was under the charge of a Chinese with skills in English, to send a telegraph to his wife Belle Eakin Dodd.²⁸⁵⁵ Gerard Christopher Rigby and George Grillières all visited Simao, where Rigby met Frederic William Carey and Louis Gaide.²⁸⁵⁶

The missionaries were another host for these travellers. George John Younghusband was received by the Presbyterian missionaries, such as Marion Cheek in Chiang Mai.²⁸⁵⁷ Rigby was received by McGilvary in Chiang Mai and by Claire H. Denman and Dodd in Chiang Rai. He was grateful for the warm reception by the Presbyterians, and when he departed from Chiang Rai, Mrs. Denman provided them with books and supplies.²⁸⁵⁸

Intertextuality is reflected in the references to previous travellers and in the citation of their travel writings. Most of these travellers kept personal diaries or wrote journals or reports. Scott, Stirling, and Dodd had their diaries.²⁸⁵⁹ Lefèvre wrote notes during the journey, which were published in 1898, titled “Un voyage au Laos”.²⁸⁶⁰ Some travellers were assigned to write journals, such as Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis and Léon Caillat of the Pavie Mission. Some travellers were privileged to read the manuscripts of their contemporaries. In Simao, Rigby read Carey's diaries of his journeys.²⁸⁶¹

As pioneers in this region, McLeod and the FMEM were frequently referred to by later travellers. The FMEM found geographic, historical, and ethnographic information in McLeod's report. The travelogues of the FMEM were later used by the British authorities to support the British claim on Chiang Khaeng.²⁸⁶² Moreover, travellers also referred to their contemporaries. Caillat mentioned Georges Garanger's travel in 1893.²⁸⁶³

²⁸⁵⁴ Members of the Laos Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., *Reports of Tours of Missionary Exploration in Siamese, French, Chinese and British Laos Territory A.D. 1897* (Cheung Mai [Chiang Mai]: Presbyterian Missoin [sic] Press, 1898), 14.

²⁸⁵⁵ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 70–71

²⁸⁵⁶ Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein, “From the Mekong to Ssumao”, f. 8, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁸⁵⁷ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 4.

²⁸⁵⁸ Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein, “From Moulmein to the Siam frontier”, f. 11, “Chiangmai to the Mekong”, ff. 6–7, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁸⁵⁹ Some of these travellers' diaries are accessible, such as Scott's diaries at the BL. However, for others, only certain sections are available through printings. Stirling's diaries of 17–22 May 1895, being printed as the Inclosure 4 in No. 40, *Affairs of Siam. Further Correspondence. Part VII*, Dodd's diary excerpts are found in his Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907.

²⁸⁶⁰ Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 4.

²⁸⁶¹ Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein, “From the Mekong to Ssumao”, f. 9, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁸⁶² E. Neel, Keng Cheng (Kyaing Chaing). French Evidence of the Burmese Suzerainty over this State, 1 December 1894, ff. 196a–197, FO 17/1226, *Affairs of Burmah Siam; French Proceedings etc. Volume 35*, NA.

²⁸⁶³ Caillat, Journal du voyage de la Mission, 26 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

Previous writings influenced the views of those who came later. Apart from Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers, who inherited Younghusband's unnecessary suspicion, the antecedent French documents also exacerbated Pierre Bons d'Anty's negative view of Chao Mòk Kham Lü's alleged incapability.²⁸⁶⁴ Remembering the FMEM's depiction of the Kha peoples' inhospitality, the Pavie Mission did not spend much time in the villages of Kha.²⁸⁶⁵

Later travellers either followed the previous travellers' routes or deliberately chose different ones. The motives for following well-trodden paths could be convenience, espionage (Victor Alphonse Massie and Paul Macey's journey to Sipsòng Panna in 1891), and verification of national glory (Garanger followed the Pavie Mission's route in 1891). Those who chose a different route did so to explore new routes or to avoid confrontation.

Intertextuality is also reflected in the natives' accounts of previous travellers. The FMEM heard the stories of McLeod from Chao Maha Phrom.²⁸⁶⁶ In 1867, when the FMEM visited Chiang Tung town, Chao Maha Phrom still remembered McLeod, who visited Chiang Tung when Chao Maha Phrom was 22 years old.²⁸⁶⁷ Chao Maha Phrom often talked about McLeod's clothes and instruments.²⁸⁶⁸ It is reported that McLeod "passed his days in contemplating the sun, and absorbed thrice the food than a vigorous Lao [Tai] with the help of a bizarre instrument" (*un officier européen qui passait sa journée à contempler le soleil, et absorbait, en s'aidant d'un instrument bizarre, trois fois plus de nourriture qu'un Laotien vigoureux*).²⁸⁶⁹ However, no detailed native records on McLeod's visit are found, except one sentence in the *Müang Yòng Chronicle*, saying that "that year [a] Kula came to Chiang Tung to be our state guest" (*dang kula kò khün ma pen khaek müang rao chiang tung pi nan han lae*).²⁸⁷⁰

Ehlers heard of the news of the boundary commission's arrival in Chiang Tung in 1891.²⁸⁷¹ On 10 September 1894, an opium trade caravan from Chiang Tung arrived in Chiang Khòng, from where they would proceed to Luang Prabang, and Macey received two of the merchants. One of them, Teuk Tétia, was the carrier of Garanger's letter to the Phraya Luang of Chiang Tung in July 1893.²⁸⁷² When the Pavie Mission passed by Müang Waen (Mengyuan) in 1894, the ruler of Müang Waen mentioned the visit of McGilvary, who rode an elephant.²⁸⁷³

²⁸⁶⁴ d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 17.

²⁸⁶⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 22 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

²⁸⁶⁶ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 414; de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 910.

²⁸⁶⁷ Sāimōng's version of *Chiang Tung Chronicle* records that he "was born in the year Kāpsed Cula Sakkarāja 1176, Month Two new moon, Sunday", which means that he was born in the end of the year 1814 (Mangrāi, *The Pādāng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 269). McLeod noted that he was "about 25 years of age" in 1837 (McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 20 February 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 342).

²⁸⁶⁸ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 414.

²⁸⁶⁹ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 910.

²⁸⁷⁰ Thawi Sawangpanyangkun, ed., *Tamnan müang yòng* [Müang Yòng Chronicle] (Chiang Mai: Sathaban Wichai Sangkhom, Mahawitthayalai Chiang Mai, 2527 [1984]), 69–70.

²⁸⁷¹ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 139.

²⁸⁷² M. Paul Macey, Agent du Gouvernement p.i., à M. Pavie, Ministre Résident, et Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, 1 octobre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

²⁸⁷³ Caillat, *Journal du voyage de la Mission*, 29 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

In 1894, the Pavie Mission met an official of Chiang Rung in Yiwu, who told the French that Chao Mòk Kham Lü still kept the uniform that Auguste Pavie had given him in 1891.²⁸⁷⁴

This aspect was especially remarkable for the boundary commissions. The British and the French cautiously inquired about the movements of their counterparts from the natives, especially in 1891, when both sides made explorations into this region to gain the upper hand.²⁸⁷⁵ However, most of the time, they avoided encountering each other. Only Lord Lamington, who was not a member of the British commission, met Macey and Massie on the Nam U and heard that they were going to Sipsòng Panna to open up trade.²⁸⁷⁶

The competition between counterparts is apparent. While William John Archer heard from the Siamese Commissioner at Luang Prabang of Pavie's intention to seize Chiang Rung and Pavie's fear of British intervention,²⁸⁷⁷ Massie and Macey shortened their itinerary to follow the traces of Archer.²⁸⁷⁸ While Garanger found the camping waste of the British who visited Chiang Tung in February 1893,²⁸⁷⁹ the presence of Garanger and other French in Chiang Tung worried Stirling and Scott, whom he thought might attempt to buy off Chao Mòk Sūa.²⁸⁸⁰

However, not all memories were accurate. Hugh Daly was told by a Müang Laem official that a member of the FMEM had been to Müang Laem.²⁸⁸¹ This account was contrary to reality.

In most cases, the preceding travellers were merely a source of reference. But for the Pavie Mission, the FMEM was evidence of French glory. The time distance, 24 years between them and the FMEM, was repeatedly mentioned by the Pavie Mission in 1891.²⁸⁸² The French knew that Chao Mòk Kham Lü was the son of Chao Mòk Sò, who had received the FMEM in 1867.²⁸⁸³ In Müang Rai, the French exchanged a horse with a Phraya, who had been the guide for the Mekong Expedition Commission.²⁸⁸⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that the natives had a favourable memory of the FMEM.²⁸⁸⁵ The Müang Luai ruler, the Müang Yòng ruler, and the people of Chiang Nūa (Jingne) remembered the FMEM and its members.²⁸⁸⁶ At the first meeting with the nobles in Chiang Rung, when Pavie asked whether the Tai still remembered the Mekong Expedition Commission, who visited Sipsong Panna 24 years ago in 1867, they obtained a positive response. Lefèvre-Pontalis claims that some of the mandarins recognised

²⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., 26 décembre 1894.

²⁸⁷⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 266; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 31 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM; Report on a Journey in the Mě-kong Valley, 1892, p. 10, MS Scott UL1.9, JGSC, CUL; Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 59, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, NA; Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 129.

²⁸⁷⁶ Lord Lamington, "Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King", 714.

²⁸⁷⁷ Mr. Archer to the Government of India, 9 June 1891, p. 60, FO 422/32, Inclosure 10 in No. 57, NA.

²⁸⁷⁸ Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 128.

²⁸⁷⁹ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 34–36.

²⁸⁸⁰ Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 357, FO 17/1225, NA; Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 10 April 1895, f. 358, FO 17/1266, NA.

²⁸⁸¹ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, p. 493, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

²⁸⁸² Pavie, *Exposé des travaux de la Mission*, 134, 144.

²⁸⁸³ Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères, p. 129, GGI 14334, ANOM.

²⁸⁸⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

²⁸⁸⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 18.

²⁸⁸⁶ Massie, *Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang*, 6 avril 1891, p. 227, 231, PA-AP 136, Volume 42, CADLC; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 25 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

them as French people, the same as the Mekong Expedition Commission, and spoke out loud the names of Doudart de Lagrée, Francis Garnier, Delaporte, and Louis de Carné (*Farang-Sé Farang-Sé répètent quelques uns, vous êtes des Farang-Sé comme Ko-man-dan-dé La-gué-gané-é-Dé-la-potte-Ca-re-né*).²⁸⁸⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis expresses his great excitement that the names of their “heroes and scientists” (*les noms des héros et des savants*) were remembered by the natives of Sipsòng Panna “with surprising accuracy” (*avec une exactitude surprenante*).²⁸⁸⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis adds that the Tai Lü said the members of the commission were good people, and they did not forget.²⁸⁸⁹ Though it is questionable whether the natives had knowledge of the French nation and remembered the names of each member of the FMEM, Daly’s report testifies that some people in Chiang Rung remembered the French. Daly also found the monastery where they had sojourned.²⁸⁹⁰ Scott also reports that the monastery that the FMEM stayed at was still remembered by the natives.²⁸⁹¹ G. V. Burrows records that the village the French lodged was Ban Chiang Lan and that an elderly man not only knew the place they stayed but also remembered Francis Garnier well.²⁸⁹² Garanger also considers the Pavie Mission as an exemplar of French glory. He claims that when his team travelled in 1893, following the routes of the Pavie Mission in 1891, they enjoyed friendly receptions.²⁸⁹³

2 Escort and Lodging

The escorts of these travellers and investigators varied from one to another in terms of size and constitution. Sometimes, the size of escorts corresponded to different aims. The Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Mission of 1893–1894, equipped with more than 300 soldiers, was prepared to respond to any disturbance because there was a rumour that Prince Myngoon had left Saigon and was approaching the eastern frontier of British Burma via Chiang Rung.²⁸⁹⁴ Indeed, the news of Prince Myngoon’s contemplated travel circulated in the Upper Mekong River Basin.²⁸⁹⁵ In 1893, Chao Mòm Kham Lü sent two letters requesting French permission for Prince Myngoon’s visit to Sipsòng Panna.²⁸⁹⁶ However, a massive escort was also a drawback, and the Chiang Tung-Chiang Khaeng Mission of 1893–1894 had to reduce the escort to avoid delay in marching.²⁸⁹⁷

²⁸⁸⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 31 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM. It is highly possible because the chronicles of Sipsong Panna often correctly record the names of the Qing authorities, such as Agūi as *ō kui* (Dao and Yan, *Chüa khriüa chao swaenwi sipsòng phanna*, 107).

²⁸⁸⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 31 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 2 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

²⁸⁸⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 31 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

²⁸⁹⁰ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 493, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

²⁸⁹¹ Memorandum sent by Scott, 1891, p. 30, Mss Eur F278/73, BL.

²⁸⁹² Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 25.

²⁸⁹³ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 10.

²⁸⁹⁴ Walker, “Diary”, 1.

²⁸⁹⁵ Maung Nyo, *Diary of the Assistant Political Officer*, 23 September 1894, MS Scott UL1.53, JGSC, CUL.

²⁸⁹⁶ P. Pavie, *Ministre, Résident de France à Bangkok*, à S.F. M. Develle, *Ministre des Affaires Etrangères*, 28 avril 1893, GGI 14470, ANOM.

²⁸⁹⁷ Stirling, *Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission*, 1 June 1894, f. 349, FO 17/1225, NA.

The size and constitution of an escort may also have an impact on the natives' reaction. Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa told Ehlers that he escaped the fate of being murdered, owing to his limited size of escort of only three mules and no soldiers.²⁸⁹⁸ It is also recorded that Chao Maha Phrom attempted to remove the Burman Cackai's worry over the FMEM by comparing the number of Ernest Doudart de Lagrée's members, only sixteen, with the number of soldiers in Chiang Tung.²⁸⁹⁹

Some travellers had elephants in their escort, as pack animals. For example, McLeod hired six elephants for his journey to Chiang Tung.²⁹⁰⁰ Others used elephants as riding animals. Sometimes, the Presbyterian missionaries rode elephants to tour,²⁹⁰¹ which probably facilitated their missionary work. Usually, riding elephants and horses was the privilege of the nobles. In Tai Lü folk literature, "elephant-riding lord" (*chao nang chang*) is one of the conventional compound words referring to a prince.²⁹⁰² Riding elephants gave the natives an illusion of these missionaries' charisma and was probably one of the reasons they attracted attention. In 1897, McGilvary was still remembered by a man of Müang La because of his tour with an elephant in 1893.²⁹⁰³

Almost all these travellers travelled with Yunnanese Muslim caravans, who were informants for most of these travellers, too. For example, Massie and Macey's journey to Sipsong Panna in 1891 was accompanied by a caravan from Dali, which was on its way back at the time.²⁹⁰⁴ The FMEM was an exception, for they formerly travelled by ship before entering Chiang Tung and then did not follow the trade routes.

The Yunnanese Muslim caravans were highly mobile. Few records of their travel experience have been passed down to us. Four years after McLeod's visit, Ma Dexin, a Muslim scholar from Dali, visited Chiang Rung and Chiang Tung. He was on his pilgrimage to Mecca, travelling with a Yunnanese Muslim caravan. He passed Chiang Rung and Chiang Tung at the end of 1941. Unfortunately, except for two concise sentences, he mentioned nothing about his experience in this region.²⁹⁰⁵

The travellers' contacts with their caravan escorts are seldom mentioned, with only a few exceptions. Ehlers's travelogue vividly depicts his contact with his Yunnanese fellows. As discussed in Chapter V, the people Ehlers encountered were ridiculous for the most part, in

²⁸⁹⁸ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 177.

²⁸⁹⁹ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 387–388.

²⁹⁰⁰ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 29 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 322.

²⁹⁰¹ Caillat, Journal du voyage de la Mission, 29 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC; Report of a Tour Made by Rev. W. C. Dodd and Dr. Briggs, n.d., p. 1, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

²⁹⁰² See Dao Jinxiang, Dao Jinping, Dao Zhida, and Dao Wenxue, eds., *Kham khap langka sip ho* [Lyrics of Lanka Sip Hua] (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1981).

²⁹⁰³ Members of the Laos Mission, *Reports of Tours of Missionary Exploration*, 41.

²⁹⁰⁴ Massie, Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang, p.171, PA-AP 136, Volume 42, CADLC.

²⁹⁰⁵ "Shi nian shiyi yue shiliu ri chu zhongguo jie Jing yi ju cheng ming jiulongjiang zai da jiang bin shier yue chu er ri zhi yi ju cheng yue menqing shu awa" (The 16th day of the 11th month of this year [28 December 1841], [we] crossed the border of China. [Then we] passed by a big city named Jiulongjiang [Chiang Rung], on the side of a big river. The 2nd day of the 12th month [12 January 1842], [we] reached a big city named Menjing [Müang Khün], belonging to Ava) (Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tu ji* [Travelogue of a pilgrimage], trans., Ma Anli, in *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, ed. Fang Guoyu (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2001), 12:225).

contrast with his heroic image. The Yunnanese that Ehlers hired hesitated to enter Sipsong Panna and Tonkin for fear of danger.²⁹⁰⁶ Lali was an opium addict.²⁹⁰⁷ Bogiman was “such a comical appearance, such a funny personality” (*ein so komische Erscheinung, eine so drollige Persönlichkeit*).²⁹⁰⁸ Maizalee was disobedient. After leaving the territory of Sipsong Panna, Maizalee had a fight with Ehlers and was beaten until he fled.²⁹⁰⁹

For the most part, the Yunnanese were in the background and invisible. Even the number of muleteers was not consistently reported. For the muleteers employed by the Daly-Warry Commission in 1891, Daly records that they brought 25 to 35 Panthay muleteers.²⁹¹⁰ Burrows’s record is around 35.²⁹¹¹ Thomas Francis Bruce Renny-Tailyour writes it as approximately thirty.²⁹¹² Because of the invisibility of the muleteers and carriers, spies could easily disguise themselves. As discussed in Chapter III, in 1891, the Yunnanese spy Zhang Chengyu was disguised as a muleteer,²⁹¹³ and in 1894, a group of Chinese spies were disguised as carriers to join the Pavie Mission.²⁹¹⁴

Sometimes, these travellers and investigators took advantage of the incidents encountered by the Yunnanese. Scott used the accidental death of a Yunnanese as an excuse to put pressure on Chao Mòm Sūa. By contrast, McLeod only briefly mentions a similar event, where a relative of the Yunnanese that McLeod hired was beaten by the Tai and died in Chiang Tung. But McLeod did not intervene,²⁹¹⁵ partly because it happened in his absence and partly because McLeod’s mission was not like Scott’s.

The natives were involved in these explorations in various roles, e.g. interpreter, official, guide, coolie, etc. For some travellers, such as McLeod and Dodd, their guides and escorts were appointed by the Tai authorities, which was a privilege.²⁹¹⁶ For the Pavie Mission in 1891, a Phraya of Müang U guided them from Bò Sao to Chiang Thòng,²⁹¹⁷ and Müang Bang appointed another guide for their journey to Müang Ring.²⁹¹⁸

Monasteries were a popular place for lodging.²⁹¹⁹ Even the British boundary commissions, who usually had a large escort and preferred camping, and Ehlers, who suspected

²⁹⁰⁶ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 148, 193–194.

²⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 166, 172.

²⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 160; Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 236.

²⁹⁰⁹ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 227.

²⁹¹⁰ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 479, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

²⁹¹¹ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 1.

²⁹¹² Renny-Tailyour, “Report on the Survey Operations in the Northern Shan States”, xlvi.

²⁹¹³ Yao, Preface to *Zhentan ji*, 229.

²⁹¹⁴ Dao, “*Kanjie weiyuan buyong youji dao piwen bing*”, 10:64.

²⁹¹⁵ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 3 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 406.

²⁹¹⁶ Dodd, *The Tai Race*, 65.

²⁹¹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 18–20 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

²⁹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24 mars 1891.

²⁹¹⁹ Lord Lamington, “Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King”, 710; Carey, “Tonkin, Yunnan, and Burma”, 321; Carey, “With a Camera in Yunnan”, 143; Rigby, *Record of a Journey from Moulmein, “From the Mekong to Ssumao”*, f. 1, LMS-R-11, RGS.

the natives, occasionally stayed at monasteries.²⁹²⁰ For most of the time, the Pavie Mission stayed at monasteries.²⁹²¹ In only a few cases, they slept on open land.²⁹²²

Sometimes, monasteries were not their first choice, but travellers and investigators voluntarily moved into or were required by the natives to lodge at monasteries. In 1891, at Ban Müang Yang, Chao Wiang had prepared a *sala* for the Pavie Mission. But the space was not large enough to accommodate them. They chose to stay at a monastery.²⁹²³ In 1894, at a village named Müang Pha, the Pavie Mission was requested to move to a monastery because the place they had set their tents was close to a tree that was consecrated ground.²⁹²⁴

The *sala* was another traditional lodging place. However, it is only mentioned by a few travellers.²⁹²⁵

3 Intermediaries

Both human and non-human objects, such as maps and guidebooks, can serve as intermediaries. Ángel Tuninetti divides the functions of human intermediaries into two groups: one is “as travel aids, helping in one way or the other with the displacement of the traveller (guides, pathfinders, cooks, porters, servants)”, and another is “as cultural mediators (translators, interpreters, tour guides, informants, negotiators, lovers)”.²⁹²⁶ Given the limited records available, this section only discusses interpreters/translators.

Except for the Presbyterian missionaries, the contacts between these travellers and the natives took place through intermediaries, as Turton terms, “indirect communication”.²⁹²⁷ McLeod often let his interpreters deal with the natives.²⁹²⁸ The Tai Lü interpreter Alévy’s role in the FMEM has been discussed in Chapter II.

The Shan people were the dominant intermediary between the British and the Tai in this region. In 1891, Khun Kham Sòi, a native of Saen Wi, accompanied the Daly-Warry Commission to Müang Laem and Sipsong Panna. He had lived in Rangoon for twenty years and had knowledge of the English language.²⁹²⁹ He assisted in translating an extract of the history of Müang Laem.²⁹³⁰ Stirling brought at least one Shan interpreter named Kunna when

²⁹²⁰ Walker, “Diary”, 17; Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 136–137.

²⁹²¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 21, 24 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM; Ngin et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC; Caillat, *Journal du voyage de la Mission*, 23 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

²⁹²² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

²⁹²³ Ngin et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, 15 avril 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

²⁹²⁴ Caillat, *Journal du voyage de la Mission*, 30 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

²⁹²⁵ Rigby, *Record of a Journey from Moulmein, “Chiangmai to the Mekong”*, f. 13, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁹²⁶ Tuninetti, “Intermediaries”, 130.

²⁹²⁷ Turton, “Delay and Deception in Thai–British Diplomatic Encounters”, 271–289.

²⁹²⁸ McLeod, *Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal*, 21 February, 18 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 344, 383.

²⁹²⁹ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 3.

²⁹³⁰ Daly, *The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border*, 30 May 1891, p. 485, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

he went to Müang Sing in 1894.²⁹³¹ In 1895, Stirling's Tham script letter to Chao Sri Nò Kham to induce his return was written by Saen Müang Nam, a scribe at the Chiang Tung court.²⁹³² Moreover, in 1907, the court of Chiang Tung had at least three Shan scribes,²⁹³³ and some of its correspondence with the American Baptist missionaries was written in Shan.²⁹³⁴

Cambodian secretaries and interpreters were significant members of the Pavie Mission. The Cambodian secretaries of the Pavie Mission were educated at the École colonial in Paris.²⁹³⁵ They were not only participants in these journeys but also translators of Tai correspondences. Vong joined Vacle's 1890 journey to Müang U, Ngin and Kiaup joined the 1891 journey to Sipsong Panna, Cahom accompanied Garanger's 1893 journey to Sipsong Panna and Chiang Tung, Ngin travelled with the Pavie Commission in 1894 and 1895. Moreover, in 1891, Massie had an interpreter named Channe,²⁹³⁶ whose background is unclear.

Most of these Cambodians had knowledge of the Siamese language. Ngin had been stationed in Bangkok for a long time.²⁹³⁷ Oum was a military attaché to the French Legation in Bangkok.²⁹³⁸ Mailluchet praises Oum for his knowledge of the Tai language, which facilitated conversations and guaranteed his security.²⁹³⁹ Tchioum was able to read the Siamese version of the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 3 October 1893 to Chao Khanan Phitchawong.²⁹⁴⁰ Tchioum had been in Luang Prabang for a long time and had been in frequent contact with the Tai Lü. He was in charge of translating the reply from the prince of Chiang Rung to Pavie and Scott.²⁹⁴¹ Kiouaup spoke a little Tai.²⁹⁴² The correspondences of Chiang Khaeng in 1895 were translated into French by Cahom.²⁹⁴³ Some of them had privileged status. Ngin "entertain[ed] a great regard" and had the privilege of dining with the British and French commissioners.²⁹⁴⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis regards Kiouaup to be "a real Frenchman" (*un vrai Français*), being "polite, well-mannered, dedicated, truly educated" (*poli, bien élevé, dévoué, véritablement instruit*), after four years' education in Paris. Subsequently, he accompanied the French to Indochina.²⁹⁴⁵

²⁹³¹ CKC-WTP 51.4–51.5, 52.2–52.3 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 275–276.

²⁹³² Diary of Mr. Stirling, 17–22 May 1895, p.160, FO 422/43, Inclosure 4 in No. 40, NA.

²⁹³³ Campbell and Peoples, *Diary of the Laos Delegation*, 1907, p. 50, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

²⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 11; The Court of Chaofa Luang Müang Chiang Tung to Robert Harper, 13 August 1908, FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS.

²⁹³⁵ Around the end of 1889, thirteen Cambodians were sent to Paris for education (Timothy Collier, "L'École coloniale: la formation des cadres de la France d'outre-mer, 1889-1959" (PhD diss., Aix-Marseille Université, 2018), 61).

²⁹³⁶ Ngin et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, 30 mars 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

²⁹³⁷ Ngin à Auguste Pavie, 23 septembre 1889, pp. 28–40, PA-AP 136, Volume 35, *Papiers Auguste Pavie*, CADLC.

²⁹³⁸ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 15 February 1895, folio 360, FO 17/1265, NA.

²⁹³⁹ Lieutenant Mailluchet à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident à Bangkok, Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, 18 février 1895, f. 130, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

²⁹⁴⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du séjour à Xieng-Khong*, 28 juillet 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

²⁹⁴¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 270.

²⁹⁴² *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁹⁴³ For example, Roi de Muong Xieng Khong [sic] à Monsieur le Commissaire du Gouvernement Français à Luang Prabang, 24 May 1895, trans., Indochine 37, Dossier B20 (3), ANOM.

²⁹⁴⁴ Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 11.

²⁹⁴⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de M. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 30 avril 1891, GGI 14390, ANOM.

Chinese people were also employed as interpreters. McLeod had a Yunnanese caravan trader as his interpreter.²⁹⁴⁶ During the investigation in 1894, a Shanghainese Xu Rencai was employed by the French. Mailluchet owed much to him for ensuring that he had a good relationship with Li Zhaoyuan.²⁹⁴⁷ George Ernest Morrison hired a Siamese Chinese named Ah Heng as an interpreter, but he could not speak Chinese, only Siamese, Shan, Lao, and Tai Lü.²⁹⁴⁸ Morrison obtained a Tai clerk from Chiang Tung, but the latter had a low voice when speaking humbly to Chao Mòm Kham Lü in Chiang Rung. Morrison asked Ah Heng to converse with Chao Mòm Kham Lü instead. Ah Heng exaggerated Morrison's position to give the natives a false impression of the latter's significance.²⁹⁴⁹

The travellers discussed in the preceding chapter also had interpreters. Isabelle Massieu was assigned a Burmese-speaking interpreter by Chao Mòm Sūa.²⁹⁵⁰ Rigby had one Burmese interpreter, two Chinese interpreters, and a Burmese-speaking Tai Yuan interpreter.²⁹⁵¹ Anty's communication with the Müang Rai ruler was assisted by an interpreter because the ruler could not speak Chinese.²⁹⁵² Alfred Raquez's 1905 tour to Laos had a French interpreter, Joseph Fadovic.²⁹⁵³

The Tai had interpreters and translators as well. Müang Laem had a Chinese clerk who was a native of Müang Ting (Mengding).²⁹⁵⁴ The Chinese clerk in Müang Laem was the "only permanent Chinese resident" in Müang Laem. Similarly, Chiang Rung had one Chinese clerk. Daly records that the Chinese clerk in Chiang Rung was a native of Simao. When he returned to Simao on sick leave, he brought all the Chinese documents with him. After his death, there was no successor in Chiang Rung.²⁹⁵⁵

Generally, the translation process was quite complex. As mentioned in Chapter V, Ehlers's communication with a Chinese official was translated three times: from Chinese to Tai, from Tai to Burmese, and finally from Burmese to English.²⁹⁵⁶ The British and French boundary commissions had a similar process involving one or more translators. The joint letter of Scott and Pavie to Chao Mòm Kham Lü in 1895 was originally in English and then translated into Shan. The "Tai Lü" version was transcribed from the Shan draft. It was a Shan letter written in Tham script rather than a letter of Tai Lü dialect, and it retained the specific Shan

²⁹⁴⁶ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 29 January 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 322.

²⁹⁴⁷ Lieutenant Mailluchet à Monsieur Pavie, Ministre Résident à Bangkok, Commissaire Général de la République Française au Laos, 18 février 1895, f. 130, Indochine 56, MD 94, CADLC.

²⁹⁴⁸ Morrison, Additional notes to diary of a journey, July-December 1896, pp. 41, 83, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

²⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 107, 109.

²⁹⁵⁰ Massieu, *Comment j'ai parcouru l'Indo-Chine*, 181.

²⁹⁵¹ Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein, n.d., "From Moulmein to the Siam frontier", ff. 1-2, "Chengmai to the Mekong", f. 1, LMS-R-11, RGS.

²⁹⁵² d'Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 23.

²⁹⁵³ Raquez, "Au Laos", 367.

²⁹⁵⁴ Daly, The Northern Trans-Salween States and the Chinese Border, 30 May 1891, p. 485, IOR/L/PS/7/64, BL.

²⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 496.

²⁹⁵⁶ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 187.

vocabulary and syntax, which were not used by Tai Lü.²⁹⁵⁷ The reply from Chao Mòm Kham Lü was translated from Tai Lü to English via Shan.²⁹⁵⁸ As for the French, the correspondence from Müang U to Müang Hat Hin was first translated into Lao and then from Lao into French, and vice versa.²⁹⁵⁹ The Cambodian translators usually translated the Tai letters into Khmer drafts and then translated the drafts into French,²⁹⁶⁰ probably caused by the lack of translators commanding both the Tham script and French.²⁹⁶¹ These indirect translations sometimes added, omitted, or changed the information provided by the source language and led to troubles in communication, as revealed by the case of Lefèvre-Pontalis's complaint of the English translation of Chao Mòm Kham Lü's letter discussed in Chapter III.

Most of the Tai language documents sent to the Ministère des Affaires étrangères were translated on-site.²⁹⁶² For Scott, when he had no people with knowledge of the Tham script (he refers to them as “Hkôn Shan” characters and “Lao Shan” characters) in his camp, he let people read aloud, and someone with the knowledge of Shan wrote it down, then the content was translated into English.²⁹⁶³ Scott reports that a letter from Macey was difficult to decipher and was forwarded “away to be translated by a competent scholar”.²⁹⁶⁴

The language competence of these interpreters was a key factor in the communication. Some of the interpreters only had limited knowledge of the Tai language. In 1891, Kiouaup had only started to learn the Tai language.²⁹⁶⁵ However, not all their language competence can be examined. Fortunately, both the original Tai texts and the French translation of some documents have been preserved. The French mistranslation of the British proclamation of 19 March 1896 and its impact on the Franco-British negotiation is discussed in Chapter III.²⁹⁶⁶

The Cambodian interpreter Cahom's translation of Chao Sri Nò Kham's reply of 9 May 1895 had two mistakes. Chao Sri Nò Kham's declination to the invitations to Chiang Rung during the Songkran Festival was translated as Chao Sri Nò Kham's rejection of becoming a dependent state of Chiang Rung. “Let Chiang Khaeng proceed to Chiang Rung to have a meeting” (*hũ müang chiang khaeng dai khün ma phròm kan thi müang chiang rung*) was translated into “Chiang Khaeng is a tributary to Chiang Rung” (*M. Xieng Kheng est tributaire de M. Xieng Houng*) and “as for letting [Chiang Khaeng] proceed to Chiang Rung, at this moment, I would like to but cannot” (*dang kan an cha hũ khün müa müang chiang rung nan, chua khuan [sic] san phan ni, wa dai khò müa bò pen nòi nong thüa*) was translated into “but for being a tributary to Chiang Rung, no! Not even within a thousand generations” (*Mais pour*

²⁹⁵⁷ James George Scott and Auguste Pavie to Chao Mòm Kham Lü, 19 January 1895, MS Scott LL4.322, JGSC, CUL.

²⁹⁵⁸ M. Lefèvre-Pontalis à M. Pavie, 14 février 1895, GGI 31729, ANOM.

²⁹⁵⁹ Monsieur Garanger, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Muong Ha Hin à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine, 1 juillet 1895, GGI 15908, ANOM.

²⁹⁶⁰ See PA-AP 136, Volume 56, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.

²⁹⁶¹ Iijima, “*Tamu moji bunsho no shozō jōkyō*”, 8–9.

²⁹⁶² Caillat, “IV, Journal du Séjour à Muong Sing”, 7, 13 Janvier 1895, PA-AP 136, Volume 56, CADLC.

²⁹⁶³ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 1 January 1895, Folio 12, FO 17/1265, NA.

²⁹⁶⁴ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 13 January 1895, f. 89, FO 17/1265, NA.

²⁹⁶⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 20.

²⁹⁶⁶ Edict to inform the subjects, 19 March 1896, f. 140, GGI 15699, ANOM; Sévénier à M. le Commandant Supérieur p.i. du Haut-Laos, n.d., f. 143, GGI 15699, ANOM.

être tributaire de M. Xieng Houng, non! même d'ici mille générations).²⁹⁶⁷ This translation was forwarded to the Ministre des Affaires étrangères. Pavie cites one section, which ends with the second sentence mentioned above.²⁹⁶⁸ This translation is also mentioned by Vacle in the letter to the Governor-General of Indochina.²⁹⁶⁹ This letter was probably used for evidence to negotiate with the British and Chinese governments, and these mistranslations more or less influenced policymaking.

4 Response

During the period discussed, “*khala*” or “*khula*” were general terms used by Shan, Tai Khün, Tai Lü, and Tai Yuan to refer to foreigners.²⁹⁷⁰ It was generally divided into two groups, *khala dam/khula dam* (black foreigner, i.e. the Indian people) and *khala khao/khula khao* (white foreigner, i.e. the Westerners). In 1887, the people of Chiang Tung that Younghusband contacted only knew one kind of White people, i.e. the English.²⁹⁷¹ As discussed in Chapter II, in 1867, the Burman authorities in Chiang Tung were hostile to the FMEM because they had assumed they were the British. In fact, they were still remembered as British in 1887.²⁹⁷² But in the same year, the natives could not identify someone as British either, which was good luck for Younghusband as the British had just attacked Mandalay.²⁹⁷³

Ehlers was probably the first German to visit this region. Probably because of a letter from the British consulate in Chiang Mai, Ehlers was wrongly considered to be British. The people of the Chiang Tung court had no knowledge of Germany.²⁹⁷⁴

In 1891, the Pavie Mission made efforts to explain the differences between the British and the French. In Müang Yang, the Pavie Mission clarified their differences with the British to the ruler of Müang Yang.²⁹⁷⁵ In Müang Ring, the French heard that Müang Chae had been visited by a European. But the natives could not tell whether the Europeans were British or French because they did not know the difference.²⁹⁷⁶ In 1893, the natives still had difficulty in distinguishing between the British and the French.²⁹⁷⁷

²⁹⁶⁷ Chao Sri Nò Kham to Chao Wiang, 26 April 1895, ff. 127–128, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC; Lettre de T. M. Moha Siha Pala Siri Sothanas, Roi de Muong Xieng Kheng en réponse à celle de T. M. le Roi (aîné) à Muong Lóc Tioc Luong, the 3rd waxing day of the 7th month, 1257 [26 April 1895], trans., f. 129, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

²⁹⁶⁸ Auguste Pavie à Gabriel Hanotaux, 3 juin 1895, f. 115, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

²⁹⁶⁹ M. Vacle, Commissaire du Gouvernement à Luang Prabang à Monsieur le Commissaire Général de la République française au Laos, 12 mai 1895, ff. 116–117, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC.

²⁹⁷⁰ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 18 January, 26 and 27 April 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 298, 418. At present, Tai Yuan uses *farang* to refer to the foreigners, while *khala* is an obsolete word.

²⁹⁷¹ Younghusband, *The Trans-Salwin Shan State*, 23.

²⁹⁷² Ibid.

²⁹⁷³ Ibid., 47, 50.

²⁹⁷⁴ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 144.

²⁹⁷⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Hou, 30 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

²⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., 26 mars 1891.

²⁹⁷⁷ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 38.

As time passed, the knowledge of foreigners accumulated. In 1891, the British and French commissioners were referred to as *ayepeng* (in Tai) or *ayebai/ayebian* (in Chinese). It is a Burmese word *arepuing*, meaning envoy. Moreover, Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa addressed Pavie as “supervisor of the great king” (*amukhi maha khrasat chao*), which was a compound word with Burmese, Pali, and Tai roots.²⁹⁷⁸ The use of Burmese words hinted that the Tai probably regarded the Pavie Mission as British or people from Burma.

In 1891, Chao Mòm Kham Lü’s rendering of “France” as “*balingsit*” was slightly inaccurate.²⁹⁷⁹ In 1894 and 1895, records of Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng were able to correctly name the British and the French as *ingkhlik* (borrowed from Burmese)/*angkit* (borrowed from Siamese) and *falangset* (borrowed from Siamese).²⁹⁸⁰ In 1896, Morrison writes that “[n]ot long ago France was unknown[,] now its name is mentioned here [Sipsòng Panna] with the same respect or fear as that of England.”²⁹⁸¹ When Anty visited Sipsòng Panna in 1897, the Tai in Müang Nun were able to name the British and the French, respectively.²⁹⁸²

According to the sources obtained, it is unknown whether the native populations had knowledge of the United States. However, the Presbyterian Tai workers distinguished the Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries as “*phò khru nam khaek*” (Nam Khaek teacher) and “*phò khru nòng pha*” (Nòng Pha teacher), respectively.²⁹⁸³

For most natives who had never seen White people, the most common attitudes towards these foreign visitors are curiosity, fear, and suspicion. Often, the travellers and investigators found themselves surrounded by curious crowds.²⁹⁸⁴ An Akha man walked for five hours to see Ehlers after hearing the news of the arrival of a *khala*, which he had never seen.²⁹⁸⁵ The nobles showed interest in the outside world out of either intellectual curiosity or courtesy. Chao Nang Waen Thip asked the French for information on France, Saigon, Tonkin, Cambodia, Cochichina, and Prince Myngoon.²⁹⁸⁶ The Yòng Huai ruler was interested in the route from Hanoi to Chiang Rung and examined a French map carefully.²⁹⁸⁷ Rumours surrounding the foreigners were spread, such as that they had magic powers and could find lost things and

²⁹⁷⁸ Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa and the counsellors of Müang Chae to Auguste Pavie, 13 April 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

²⁹⁷⁹ Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Auguste Pavie, 4 April 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

²⁹⁸⁰ Chao Mòm Kham Lü to Chao Sri Nò Kham, 29 March 1895, f. 136, Indochine 57, MD 95, CADLC; Chao Sri Nò Kham to Paul Macey, 6 November 1894a, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

²⁹⁸¹ George Ernest Morrison, *Diary of a journey from Bangkok to Yunnan Province, July-December 1896*, p. 100, MLMSS 312/8, GEMC, vol. 7, SLNSW.

²⁹⁸² d’Anty, *Excursions dans le pays Chan chinois*, 32; d’Anty, “Relation d’un voyage”, 56.

²⁹⁸³ Statement of Nan Thi, 1269 [1907], RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²⁹⁸⁴ See Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 383; Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer’s Journal, p. 6, FO 881/5713, NA; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 23 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM; Harvey, *Report on a Reconnaissance in the Southern Shan States, 1894–95*, 10; Rigby, *Record of a Journey from Moulmein, “From the Mekong to Ssumao”*, f. 1, LMS-R-11, RGS; Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 183–184; Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 15; Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 490; Raquez, “Au Laos”, 280; Morrison, *Additional notes to diary of a journey, July-December 1896*, p. 35, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

²⁹⁸⁵ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 167.

²⁹⁸⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1–2, 8 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

²⁹⁸⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

thieves.²⁹⁸⁸ For this reason, the people of Müang Ring asked the French to assign a new location for the village.²⁹⁸⁹

As for Christian converts, spiritual connections with the American missionaries were more intimate. The Christian workers from North Siam regarded Presbyterian missionaries as “teachers” (*phò khru/mae khru*).²⁹⁹⁰ The native populations of Chiang Tung, at least the Christians and the Nüa Sanam, also used these two terms to refer to the American missionaries.²⁹⁹¹ Similarly, Lahu converts addressed Young as “*sala luang*” (senior teacher)²⁹⁹² and respected him as a spiritual leader with divinity.

For others, fear exceeded curiosity. On hearing the news of the arrival of the French, the Hani people of Tali-Sine village moved their women, children, and livestock away.²⁹⁹³ In Müang Kang, people were frightened by the arrival of the Pavie Mission. But Lefèvre-Pontalis writes that as soon as they saw the French paying for food and guides, their attitude changed.²⁹⁹⁴

The suspicion of foreign travellers is also reported,²⁹⁹⁵ as rumours of foreigners coming to seize territory were widely spread.²⁹⁹⁶ Garanger was interrogated about his passport, reason for travel, and personal background as soon as he arrived in Chiang Rung.²⁹⁹⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis felt mistrust and danger when he was at Ban Sang Yòng in southern Sipsong Panna.²⁹⁹⁸

Hostility was the most intense negative response to these foreigners. In November 1900, a group of people from Müang Phong secretly sneaked into Müang Sing. They were in response to a rumour that Müang Sing would revolt against the foreigners and invited Sipsong Panna to join. However, the authorities of Müang Sing denied this accusation. This event ended with the French arrest of this small team.²⁹⁹⁹

Though, in most cases, these travellers and investigators relied heavily on the natives to complete journeys or accomplish missions, the natives also viewed the arrival of these foreigners as opportunities to seek self-interest. The prince of Müang Laem, Chao Maha Wang, entrusted Pavie with a letter to Prince Myngoon.³⁰⁰⁰ Müang U and Chiang Khaeng sought the

²⁹⁸⁸ Report on a Journey in the Mě-kong Valley, 1892, p. 7, MS Scott UL1.9, JGSC, CUL; Carey, “Journeys in the Chinese Shan States”, 490.

²⁹⁸⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 19.

²⁹⁹⁰ Statement of Nòi Rin, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS. The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Tung also addressed the Presbyterian missionaries as *phò khru* (Statement of Nuea Sanam Chiang Tung, the 10th waning day of the 5th month, 1268 [9 March 1907], RG 84-8-30, Kentung [sic] Station: Reports, Statements, Commission Findings regarding Dr. Dodd’s Tour, 1907, SFTM, PHS).

²⁹⁹¹ Statement of Nan Intha, 6 June 1907, RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS.

²⁹⁹² Walker, *Merit and the Millennium*, 572.

²⁹⁹³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 28 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

²⁹⁹⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 21 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

²⁹⁹⁵ Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 267.

²⁹⁹⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 13 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM; *Rapport généraux de Pavie au Ministre des Affaires étrangères*, p. 143, GGI 14334, ANOM; Georges Garanger à Auguste Pavie, 12 mars 1893, Indochine 48, MD 85, CADLC; The Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khaeng to the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Khòng, 9 July 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

²⁹⁹⁷ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 19.

²⁹⁹⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis*, 2 octobre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

²⁹⁹⁹ CKC-WTP 67.3–70.4, in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 286–288.

³⁰⁰⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 5 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

aid of the Pavie Mission and the British, respectively, to restore their subjects from Nan.³⁰⁰¹ As previously mentioned, Mang Lön, Müang Laem, Müang Chae, Chiang Rung, and Chiang Tung asked for assistance from these travellers to intervene in military conflicts and political struggles.

For the foreigners, the natives were a source of exoticism. The son of Chao Sri Nò Kham was like a figure from *One Thousand and One Nights*.³⁰⁰² Similarly, Lefèvre-Pontalis describes Chao Nang Waen Thip as a princess from *One Thousand and One Nights*.³⁰⁰³

Except for some travellers, such as the Presbyterians, who regarded the Tai people as friendly, generous, and hospitable,³⁰⁰⁴ the impression of the Tai people was generally negative. The general view of the French on the Tai Lü was less than positive. They report that the Tai Lü were greedy for money.³⁰⁰⁵ It was probably caused by the assumption that “[f]oreigners are all rich”.³⁰⁰⁶ Caillat accuses the natives of Müang Riam (Mengxing) of providing overpriced supplies.³⁰⁰⁷ It was probably caused by the native’s belief that all foreigners were wealthy.³⁰⁰⁸ Eugène Lefèvre uses “unfriendly race” (*race peu sympathique*), “insolent pride” (*fierté insolente*), “laziness” (*paresse*), “dishonest act” (*indélicatesse*), “insolence” (*insolence*) to describe the Müang U people.³⁰⁰⁹

Among the stereotypes is the idea that this region was a dangerous territory of dacoity and theft.³⁰¹⁰ The presence of bandits in this region is verified by local records.³⁰¹¹ However, except for the boundary investigators and colonial officials, only a few other travellers mentioned dacoits.³⁰¹² In 1830, Richardson heard the rumour in Chiang Mai that the dacoity in Chiang Tung was scaring away Chinese caravans.³⁰¹³ McLeod and the FMEM ascribe looting primarily to the hill people.³⁰¹⁴

³⁰⁰¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Lai*, 17 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM; Chao Sri Nò Kham and the nobilities of Chiang Khaeng to James George Scott, n.d., MS Scott LL9.110, JGSC, CUL.

³⁰⁰² Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 84.

³⁰⁰³ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 1 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

³⁰⁰⁴ Dodd, “From Cheung Hai to Kengtung Laos, 1898”, 278; Belle Eakin Dodd to Mrs. Perkins, 14 December 1906, vol. 275, file 48, ETCBFM, PHS.

³⁰⁰⁵ Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 268; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 279. Dao Piwen confirms that the natives provided overpriced supplies for the British and French during the investigation in early 1895 (Dao, “*Kanjie weiyuan buyong youji dao piwen bing*”, 10:64)

³⁰⁰⁶ McGilvary, “Dr. McGilvary’s Tour after leaving Dr. Peoples at Mung Sai”, 39

³⁰⁰⁷ Caillat, *Journal du voyage de la Mission*, 28 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

³⁰⁰⁸ Members of the Laos Mission, *Reports of Tours of Missionary Exploration*, 9.

³⁰⁰⁹ Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 240–242.

³⁰¹⁰ Rigby, *Record of a Journey from Moulmein*, “From the Mekong to Ssumao”, f. 2, LMS-R-11, RGS.

³⁰¹¹ Around 1835/1836, a Yunnanese Muslim merchant was killed by bandits at Ban Klang Na, a village of Müang Yuan (Mengrun) (CKC-WTP 15.13–16.9 in Grabowsky and Renoo, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng*, 250–251).

³⁰¹² Cushing, *The Shan Mission*, 14.

³⁰¹³ David Richardson, “A Journal of a Mission From A. D. Maingy Esquire, Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to the Zemmai or Chong Mai Shans, Called by Us the Northern Laos and by the Siamese the Lao Thai”, 30 January 1830, in *Dr. Richardson’s Missions to Siam, 1829–1839*, ed. Anthony Farrington (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004), 33.

³⁰¹⁴ McLeod, *Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal*, 19th–22nd March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 386–387; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 304.

The *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* believes that the dacoits were the result of political “lawlessness”.³⁰¹⁵ The claims were relevant to the colonial agenda and aimed to justify colonial governance in this region. Lord Lamington states that the Shan refugees had become dacoits and troublemakers at the frontier ever since they escaped from British “custody”.³⁰¹⁶ Raquez, who had never been to Sipsòng Panna, exaggerated the situation there, saying it was a territory of bandits that menaced French territory.³⁰¹⁷

The idea of a dangerous frontier was a narrative used to justify colonial rule in this region. To some extent, dacoit or bandit are merely catch-all terms. The French claim that Nan Chaiya, the noble Phraya Luang Ratchawong’s son-in-law, was a bandit.³⁰¹⁸ Lord Lamington considers a group of “suspicious-looking people” near Bò Hae to be dacoits.³⁰¹⁹ Scott claims that the salt workers in the salt districts of Sipsòng Panna “have a bad reputation for turbulence and for dishonesty, and even violence”.³⁰²⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis was quite suspicious of the people along the Mekong. He reports that his assistant Done Tha was attacked by the chief of Ban Huai Thang five or six years ago when he transported opium from Chiang Tung to Luang Prabang. An officer of Luang Prabang was also attacked in this region.³⁰²¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis was on his guard with the chief of Ban Huai Nam Nghi, whom he believed was the head of the Shan bandit in this region and who had refused to provide the French with a guide.³⁰²²

However, there is some truth in the idea that pack animals and belongings were often stolen in this region. Young’s dismissed Tai assistants encountered theft and lost all their belongings.³⁰²³ Lord Lamington’s two mules were stolen but later returned.³⁰²⁴ The Chinese spies report that the Pavie Mission lost mules and belongings, too.³⁰²⁵ Chiang Tung also appointed people to guard Ehlers’s team to protect them from theft and attack.³⁰²⁶ However, not all losses were regarded as theft. Robert Irwin’s horse ran away only to return four days later.³⁰²⁷

In some cases, pilfering was a “weapon of the weak”. Two of Walker’s ponies were stolen in Müang Phong and were later found at the market in Müang Luang Phukha. Pavie claims that the Müang Phong ruler ordered the theft.³⁰²⁸ Moreover, Rigby’s surveyor’s tent was attacked by bricks during the night.³⁰²⁹ Two of Rigby’s ponies were stolen near Müang

³⁰¹⁵ Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, 1.1:91, 281–282.

³⁰¹⁶ Lord Lamington, “Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King”, 710.

³⁰¹⁷ Raquez, “Au Laos”, 281.

³⁰¹⁸ L’Administrateur Commissaire du Gouvernament à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur du Laos, 9 février 1903, RSL F1, ANOM.

³⁰¹⁹ Lord Lamington, “Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King”, 711.

³⁰²⁰ Scott, Further Report, n.d., p. 121, FO 422/43, Inclosure 1 in No. 39, NA.

³⁰²¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal du voyage de Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 1 septembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 49, CADLC.

³⁰²² Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 132.

³⁰²³ William Marcus Young to Thomas Seymour Barbour, 14 March 1903, FM-213, IM-MC, ABHS.

³⁰²⁴ Lord Lamington, “Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King”, 709.

³⁰²⁵ Dao, “*Kanjie weiyuan buyong youji dao piwen bing*”, 10:64.

³⁰²⁶ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 147.

³⁰²⁷ Irwin, Report of Tour through the Shan States, 25 January 1898, p. 11, RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

³⁰²⁸ Walker, *Report on the Anglo-French Buffer State Commission, 1894–1895*, 18, 26.

³⁰²⁹ Rigby, Record of a Journey from Moulmein, “From the Mekong to Ssumao”, f. 2, LMS-R-11, RGS.

Ram.³⁰³⁰ Another one was stolen near Müang Yang by two people who asked for a rest in their tents.³⁰³¹

5 Technology

The contact with technology is another topic in these writings. It is unclear when modern technology was introduced into this region. Some of the modern technology was certainly introduced via Burma since many Burmese loanwords remain in the Tai language of Sipsòng Panna.³⁰³² When McLeod visited this region, the Yunnanese and Shan caravans had introduced British manufactured goods from Müang Nai and Ava to Chiang Tung and thence to Sipsòng Panna.³⁰³³ Till the time of the FMEM, cotton and hardware products from Britain and China were present at the local markets of Müang Len and Müang Luang.³⁰³⁴

Usually, the natives viewed modern technology products as items to satisfy curiosity. Valueless items like the vacant bottles of pale ale were used to decorate the palace of Müang Yu.³⁰³⁵

Dynamite was often used by the Pavie Mission for fishing during trips.³⁰³⁶ For the natives, dynamite fishing was a new thing, and blast fishing often attracted large crowds. Caillat believes the dynamite fishing left a deep impression on the people of Müang Riam.³⁰³⁷ The Cambodian secretaries of the Pavie Mission claim that at a village near the Nam Wa, the locals followed them for two hours to watch the blast fishing, and, eventually, the French agreed to go fishing, especially for the villagers.³⁰³⁸ Sometimes, the locals attempted to fish by themselves and asked for a box of dynamite, such as at Chiang Saeo, a village of Müang U.³⁰³⁹ Moreover, the French sometimes gave the fish they obtained to local authorities as presents.³⁰⁴⁰

The gramophone was utilised by the Presbyterians and Raquez, but it had different functions. For the Presbyterian missionaries, the gramophone was an evangelical tool, attracting crowds for preaching.³⁰⁴¹ During his journey to China in 1910, Dodd brought a gramophone from the Chiang Rai Station,³⁰⁴² which attracted large crowds in Chiang Tung and

³⁰³⁰ Ibid.

³⁰³¹ Ibid., ff. 3–4.

³⁰³² Such as *ratha fai* (train, Burmese: *rahta mi*), *pung* (photograph, Burmese: *pum*).

³⁰³³ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 25 February, 19th–22nd March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 356, 387.

³⁰³⁴ Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (24)", 298; Garnier, "Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine (23)", 383.

³⁰³⁵ de Carné, "Exploration du Mékong V", 913–914.

³⁰³⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Lai, 17 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Hou, 22 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 4 mai 1891, GGI 14390, ANOM.

³⁰³⁷ Caillat, Journal du voyage de la Mission, 28 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

³⁰³⁸ Ngin et Kiouaup, Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas, 10 avril 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

³⁰³⁹ Caillat, Journal du voyage de la Mission, 22 décembre 1894, PA-AP 136, Volume 55, CADLC.

³⁰⁴⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Lai, 17 mars 1891, GGI 14386, ANOM.

³⁰⁴¹ Henry M. White, "Touring in Northern Siam: The Stereopticon in the Rain. Tigers and Snakes. A Christian Village", *The Assembly Herald* 17 (1911): 237.

³⁰⁴² William Clifton Dodd to Arthur Judson Brown, 24 June 1909, vol. 278, file 20, ETCBFM, PHS.

Müang Bò.³⁰⁴³ The gramophone also served as a tool to develop friendships. In Chiang Rung, Dodd's team was received by an official, probably Phraya Luang Khaek. Hosted by Phraya Luang Khaek's wife, Dodd held a gramophone concert, together with some preaching. Dodd claims that, after the concert, even the official's daughter, who formerly refused to sleep at home because of the presence of Dodd's team, changed her mind. Dodd claims that the wife invited Dodd's family to live in Chiang Rung and to preach.³⁰⁴⁴

The phonograph, which Raquez brought with him, also drew crowds, but his priority was recording and exhibition. The phonograph was initially utilised to record local dialogues and songs.³⁰⁴⁵ However, Raquez often used it as an exhibit to satisfy the curiosity of the natives, and at the same time, it turned these audiences into objects of observation for Raquez. Raquez took it as an opportunity to identify the anthropological characteristics of these attentive audiences and observe their reactions.³⁰⁴⁶

With the exception of McLeod and the FMEM,³⁰⁴⁷ most travellers and investigators brought cameras. In 1891, Scott brought a Kodak camera with him.³⁰⁴⁸ Ehlers, too, carried a Kodak camera.³⁰⁴⁹ Rigby had a London Sterioscopic Company "Twin Lens" Camera.³⁰⁵⁰

The natives' reaction to photography is worth mentioning. They held different attitudes towards photography. In 1891, Chao Mòk Kham Lü refused to have his photograph taken.³⁰⁵¹ He probably changed his mind in his old age, as the only extant photo of him was taken by the American Presbyterian missionaries in the 1920s.³⁰⁵²

By contrast, Chao Sri Nò Kham seemed quite interested in photography and took it as a matter of importance. In 1895, a notice was posted telling of the arrival of the British and French Commissioners, and Pavie took photos for Chao Sri Nò Kham's family and the authorities on 16 January 1895.³⁰⁵³

Though Scott seldom mentioned photography in his official reports, his diaries and photo collection reveal his interest in taking photographs. The British Library owns eighteen albums of his photography. In his diaries from Müang Sing, Scott records the local reactions to photography. When having his photo taken for the first time, Chao Sri Nò Kham "sat very well", while the ministers and Chao Ong Kham were "restless". Chao Sri Nò Kham was "very enthusiastic" when Scott "let him look through the camera". After seeing the photographs, a

³⁰⁴³ Dodd, "Three Glimpses of Our Kengtung Work", 222; Dodd, "Three Months among the Laos in South China", 241.

³⁰⁴⁴ Dodd, "Laos Women Met on Tour through South China", 105–106.

³⁰⁴⁵ Gibson, "Mission Raquez", 457.

³⁰⁴⁶ Raquez, "Au Laos", 357, 363.

³⁰⁴⁷ The FMEM only used the camera in Cambodia.

³⁰⁴⁸ George Scott's Diary (bound) (19 December 1890–1 August 1891), 10–11 March 1891, Mss Eur F278/7, PSGS, BL.

³⁰⁴⁹ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 6.

³⁰⁵⁰ Gerard Christopher Rigby to the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, 13 June 1934, in Rigby, *Record of a Journey from Moulmein*, LMS-R-11, RGS.

³⁰⁵¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de séjour à Xieng Hung*, 13 avril 1891, GGI 14388, ANOM.

³⁰⁵² Anonymous, *The Prince who Has Been Opposed to the Missionaries*, YMSR, PHS.

³⁰⁵³ Anonymous, *Le roi et sa famille*, n.d. [1895], photograph, PP0023605.1, MQB.

minister was “very delighted” and asked Scott to take these photos to the palace. But Scott let him invite Chao Sri Nò Kham to come and see.³⁰⁵⁴

Photographs were sometimes distributed as gifts. The chief minister of Chiang Tung required a portrait photo of Garanger as a witness of their friendship.³⁰⁵⁵ Garanger also gave Chao Nang Suwana a photo of himself. Later, she gave the photograph to one of her servants, who used it to decorate the walls of her room.³⁰⁵⁶

When without a camera, drawing was an alternative, as evidenced by Garnier’s travelogue and Burrows’ report. Garnier mentions a Lahu woman whom Louis Marie Joseph Delaporte had requested to draw. Only after receiving some objects and money as a gift did she agree to sit for him a few times. Witnessing her nervous facial expressions, Garnier believes that she was worried that she was exposed to a spell caster who would harm her.³⁰⁵⁷ Burrows’ report contains 25 sketches of the landscape and the natives. He dedicated many paragraphs to depicting his negotiations with the natives and gaining permission to draw their portraits. He made efforts to find opportunities to propose his requests. He asked Chao Mani Kham’s permission after giving him a lesson on using a gun when the atmosphere was quite convivial.³⁰⁵⁸ Burrows advised Chao Mani Kham to wear a court dress for a special occasion.³⁰⁵⁹ Chao Mani Kham “was very pleased” with the drawing “and at once ordered the Queen to be sketched”.³⁰⁶⁰ Sometimes, he had to bribe people to get them to agree to be sketched. He gave one rupee to one of the soldiers accompanying Dao Piwen to Sipsòng Panna, who had refused Burrows’s request the day before, fearing punishment from Pu’er.³⁰⁶¹ While in Chiang Rung, at first, Chao Nang Waen Thip declined Burrows’s request. However, when Chao Nang Waen Thip asked Burrows to send her photographs of British towns, Burrows found a chance to make another attempt. Chao Nang Waen Thip replied that her husband was absent in Müang Rai, and it was not proper to be portrayed in his absence. In the end, Burrows only got some rough lines, which were drawn during their conversation.³⁰⁶²

Though modern medicine was introduced into Burma and Siam as early as 1824 and 1828, respectively,³⁰⁶³ it is not known when modern medicine was introduced into this region. However, Chinese medicine has been used for a long time. During McLeod’s journey, he was

³⁰⁵⁴ George Scott’s Diary (bound) (19 December 1890–1 August 1891), 22, 23 February 1901, Mss Eur F278/7, BL.

³⁰⁵⁵ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 41.

³⁰⁵⁶ Walker, “Diary”, 24.

³⁰⁵⁷ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 386.

³⁰⁵⁸ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 16.

³⁰⁵⁹ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 16.

³⁰⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁰⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 23–24.

³⁰⁶² *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁰⁶³ Penny Edwards, “Bitter Pills: Colonialism, Medicine and Nationalism in Burma, 1870–1940”, *Journal of Burma Studies* 14 (2010): 36; Somrat Charuluxananan, and Vilai Chentanez, “History and Evolution of Western Medicine in Thailand”, *Asian Biomedicine* 1, no. 1 (2007): 98.

informed that Chao Maha Khanan hired Chinese doctors to cure his blindness,³⁰⁶⁴ and in Chiang Rung, he purchased tree waxes, which were used in Chinese medicine.³⁰⁶⁵

Doudart de Lagrée encountered a Shan itinerant doctor at Ban Kian, Müang Sam Thao, who had spent three years travelling from Ava. He sold his science and remedies along the route without a fixed abode, requiring no salary but lodgings and food. Doudart de Lagrée noted that this kind of person had a great reputation and was respectfully called *sala*,³⁰⁶⁶ “the man who knows a lot” (*homme qui sait beaucoup*).³⁰⁶⁷ Some travellers, such as Ehlers and Morrison, were disguised as doctors to facilitate their journeys.

While McLeod did not mention Western medicine in his journal, later travellers and investigators were either equipped with medicines or were doctors themselves. The FMEM had a doctor Clovis Thorel, who treated three Shan merchants at Ban Sop Yòng.³⁰⁶⁸ Medical work was an essential part of the American missionary work in this region. The Presbyterian missionary Howard L. Cornell and the Baptist missionaries Howard C. Gibbens and Robert Harper were physicians.

Abundant requests from local people for medicine are present in records from 1891 onwards.³⁰⁶⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis reports that the Müang Bang ruler asked for medicine to treat his kidney disease.³⁰⁷⁰ In Müang Wang (Mengwang), the Pavie Mission treated people and gave them quinine.³⁰⁷¹ They treated the ruler of Müang Ring, who was atrophied since childhood, but his symptoms deteriorated. Lefèvre-Pontalis writes that the French could only rely on a miracle to cure him. Not to undermine their prestige, the French prescribed a Chinese medicine and immediately left Müang Ring.³⁰⁷²

Contrary to what Ehlers says, the natives did not ask for medicine for free but requested medicine for items in exchange. Archer reports that in Müang Phong, he was surrounded by people requesting medicine with flowers and wax candles, which were offerings for petitions.³⁰⁷³ Morrison had a similar experience when the people of Ban Mak Kò brought wax candles to him with reverence.³⁰⁷⁴ Dodd records that the natives provided him with fruits and rice in exchange for medicine. In Müang Wa, their medicine was in high demand, to the extent that their pack animals were “overloaded with rice”.³⁰⁷⁵

³⁰⁶⁴ McLeod, Captain McLeod’s 1837 Journal, 22 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 389. Chao Maha Khanan became blind after the treatment of his eyes by Chinese doctors in 1824 in Ava (Ibid., 28 February 1837, 360).

³⁰⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶⁶ *Sala* is a loanword from Burmese *sara* (teacher, or a male practitioner of a particular art or trade).

³⁰⁶⁷ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 292.

³⁰⁶⁸ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (22)”, 398.

³⁰⁶⁹ See Report on a Journey in the Mě-kong Valley, 1892, p. 7, MS Scott UL1.9, JGSC, CUL; Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Hou, 21 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM; Ngin et Kiouaup, Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas, 21 mars 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC; Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 59.

³⁰⁷⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de Muong Hou, 25 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

³⁰⁷¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie, 22 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

³⁰⁷² Ibid., 28 avril 1891.

³⁰⁷³ *Report on a Journey in the Mě-kong Valley*, 1892, p. 7, MS Scott UL1.9, JGSC, CUL.

³⁰⁷⁴ Morrison, Additional notes to diary of a journey, July-December 1896, pp. 31, 33, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

³⁰⁷⁵ Mr. Dodd’s Itinerary, n.d., RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

There were also some rumours surrounding the medicine. After the British left Müang Chae, many people got sick after using water from the well the British used. Subsequently, a rumour was spread in Müang Chae that the British put poison in the well.³⁰⁷⁶ French records reveal that it was probably a filter to purify the water.³⁰⁷⁷

6 Gifts and Courtesy

With the exception of McLeod, these travellers say little about the gift exchange, and it was not regarded as a ceremony.³⁰⁷⁸

The Tai are often depicted as being greedy for presents³⁰⁷⁹ and providing service according to the gifts they obtained.³⁰⁸⁰ However, gift-giving was a “testimony of amity” (*témoignage d’amitié*), and they did not hesitate to offer presents to travellers. Chao Wiang voluntarily gave Pavie and Lefèvre-Pontalis a horse, respectively.³⁰⁸¹ Moreover, as previously mentioned, offerings were necessary when requesting aid or something else, such as medicine.

Tai tradition required village chiefs to give gifts to visitors passing through their area. The French usually did not accept, or if they did, they would offer gifts in return. Doudart de Lagrée explained to Chao Kòng Thai that the French did not want their presence to increase the burden on the poor. Chao Kòng Thai hoped that the French would “deign” to accept the presents from him. Chao Kòng Thai was quite generous. He gave chiselled silver boxes to all the officers, and each member of the mission’s escort received a piece of cloth.³⁰⁸²

As Turton summarises, offering presents happened at the initial phase of diplomatic contact.³⁰⁸³ These travellers and investigators were required to send presents for the first meeting with the nobles. Naturally, some travellers refused to follow the Tai tradition.

Before meeting Chao Mòm Khong Kham, the FMEM was required to provide a list of presents. Garnier was astonished by the request, which they had not met before. Doudart de Lagrée replied that he would choose the presents after meeting the prince since, at that time, he did not know him. He explained that he was not going to ignore the customs, but the overland journey had consumed many of their possessions, and he would select a present of novelty for him.³⁰⁸⁴

In 1888, Archer refused to prepare presents for Chao Mòm Sūa, saying that “it was not our custom to give presents except between friends after they had known and liked each other.” What Archer contemplated more genuinely was that he regarded the present offering as the acquiescence of Chiang Tung’s “independence” or its “superiority”.³⁰⁸⁵

³⁰⁷⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 19 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

³⁰⁷⁷ Ngin et Kiouaup, *Journal du voyage aux Sipsong-Pannas*, 18 avril 1891, PA-AP 136, Volume 43, CADLC.

³⁰⁷⁸ Massie, *Journal de Marche de Luang Prabang*, 21 mars 1891, p. 203, PA-AP 136, Volume 42, CADLC.

³⁰⁷⁹ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 17, 20.

³⁰⁸⁰ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 129.

³⁰⁸¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM.

³⁰⁸² Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 292, 294.

³⁰⁸³ Turton, “Diplomatic Missions to Tai States”, 17.

³⁰⁸⁴ de Carné, “Exploration du Mékong V”, 920; Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (24)”, 302–303.

³⁰⁸⁵ Extracts from Mr. W. J. Archer’s *Journal*, p. 4, FO 881/5713, NA.

In Chiang Tung, the chief minister asked Ehlers for presents for Chao Mò̄m Sū̄a before submitting the introduction letter.³⁰⁸⁶ Ehlers replied that he was “a man used to receiving gifts, not to distributing them” (*ein Mann, gewohnt, Geschenke zu empfangen, nicht aber solche auszuteilen*),³⁰⁸⁷ and he did not even know whether they were his friends or enemies.³⁰⁸⁸ Ultimately, Ehlers did not give any presents, saying he had not brought many things with him because of issues of weight.³⁰⁸⁹ However, Ehlers was not stingy when the natives showed goodwill to him. The secretary of Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng gave Ehlers, as well as Fritz and Bogiman, some textiles woven by his wife. In return, he gave the secretary and his wife a pair of spectacles and a necklace, respectively.³⁰⁹⁰

Failing to offer presents could have severe consequences. Garanger’s merchandise was unpacked and stolen by the Tai Lü, for Phraya Luang Na Khwa accused Garanger of lacking generosity.³⁰⁹¹

Morrison did not give presents, except a cake of Pears soap, to the Chinese delegate in Chiang Rung, to whom he applied for a passport into China. He considers giving presents to be “a pleading for favors not a demand for right”, and he was entitled to obtain a passport by the Article XIV of the Convention between Great Britain and China of 1 March 1894.³⁰⁹²

Gifts were also taken as bargaining chips in negotiations. Garanger requested the Chiang Rung authorities to arrange a place for him to stay as a precondition for his offering of gifts.³⁰⁹³

Sometimes, gifts were not regarded as reciprocal. Lefèvre-Pontalis complains that the Müang Bang ruler did not come to see them off, even though he had received presents from the French.³⁰⁹⁴ Similar to the “disappointing gifts” discussed by Turton,³⁰⁹⁵ some native presents were not recognised by these travellers and investigators. In 1867, the Müang Yò̄ng ruler sent the French a big umbrella used for stopovers in the open air as a return gift for the gong and other small objects the French sent to him. But Garnier considers the umbrella a burden because they needed one more porter to carry it.³⁰⁹⁶ Burrows writes that the presents given by Chao Mani Kham to Daly were “very comical”. Daly gave a gun to Chao Mani Kham as a present, and Burrows taught him how to use it, while Chao Mani Kham gave the British “[a] handful of rice and four candles”. Each pair were covered with silver leaves and gold leaves, respectively.³⁰⁹⁷ Burrows failed to realise that, for the Tai, rice, and wax candles, especially those covered with silver leaves and gold leaves, were offerings paying homage to

³⁰⁸⁶ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 140.

³⁰⁸⁷ *Ibid.*; Ehlers, *Im Sattel*, 209.

³⁰⁸⁸ Ehlers, *On Horseback Through Indochina*, 140.

³⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

³⁰⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁰⁹¹ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 22.

³⁰⁹² Morrison, *Diary of a journey from Bangkok to Yunnan Province*, 1 July–8 December 1896, p. 87, MLMSS 312/7, SLNSW; Morrison, *Additional notes to diary of a journey*, July-December 1896, p. 121, MLMSS 312/8, SLNSW.

³⁰⁹³ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 20.

³⁰⁹⁴ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de Muong Hou*, 25 mars 1891, GGI 14387, ANOM.

³⁰⁹⁵ Turton, “Disappointing Gifts”, 111–127.

³⁰⁹⁶ Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine (23)”, 403.

³⁰⁹⁷ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 15–16.

nobles, guard spirits, and Buddha.³⁰⁹⁸ By contrast, Lefèvre-Pontalis became familiar with the Tai tradition and was quite pleased with the offerings.³⁰⁹⁹

The misunderstandings of gift-giving sometimes had unexpected outcomes. The Presbyterian missionaries' distribution of Christian printings, especially to monks and nobles, was probably regarded as a gift offering, and they often received manuscripts from the natives in return.³¹⁰⁰ During his first visit to Müang Sing in 1891, Scott intended to take a sample of presents just in case Chao Sri Nò Kham would like some of them. But the clerk misunderstood Scott's order and gave specimens of each item, including a rifle, a revolver, glasses, bottles of scent, blankets, etc., to Chao Sri Nò Kham. Scott claims that he had never before given so many presents to the rulers of Shan and Chiang Tung. Chao Sri Nò Kham seemed to "be very awkward in a vanity of ways". Scott thought that the Siamese might consider this a bribe. He postulated that Chao Sri Nò Kham would immediately send gold and silver flowers to the British under the influence of such opulent presents.³¹⁰¹ No direct evidence proves it, but it is highly possible that this was the reason that Chao Sri Nò Kham had a good impression of Scott and why he still trusted him in 1894 when facing Stirling's demand for submission.

7 Beliefs and Customs

The contact with local beliefs was only briefly mentioned in some works. In most cases, local traditions and beliefs were merely information to be collected for colonial officials³¹⁰² or for adapting in evangelical work by missionaries.

As previously discussed, the members of the FMEM depicted the local beliefs as obstacles that they had to overcome. Carey encountered troubles when purchasing used women's clothes. Even Dodd confesses that his ventures to enter some monasteries ended in failure when he did not take off his shoes.³¹⁰³

Two often-mentioned beliefs are the shoe question and guardian spirits. Normally, people in this region remove their shoes when entering any room, including residential and religious buildings.³¹⁰⁴ However, the native adherence to beliefs was not strict, especially if the foreigners refused to compromise. David Richardson was not required to take off his shoes when he was received by the forcibly resettled nobles of Chiang Tung in Lamphun.³¹⁰⁵ McLeod was confused that the servants at the court of Chiang Rung kept their shoes and hats on when

³⁰⁹⁸ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 24 March 1837, in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 394; C. H. Denman, "Worship of Spirits in Laos", *The Assembly Herald* 1 (1899): 273.

³⁰⁹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Journal de voyage de MM. Pavie*, 16 avril 1891, GGI 14389, ANOM; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 277.

³¹⁰⁰ Mr. Dodd's Itinerary, n.d., RG 84-8-22, SFTM, PHS.

³¹⁰¹ George Scott's Diary (bound) (19 December 1890–1 August 1891), 20 February 1901, Mss Eur F278/7, BL.

³¹⁰² Stirling, Report on the Keng-Tung-Keng-Cheng Boundary Mission, 1 June 1894, f. 359, FO 17/1225, NA.

³¹⁰³ Personal Statement of W. Clifton Dodd, 16 July 1907, p. 1, RG 84-8-31, SFTM, PHS.

³¹⁰⁴ Burrows, *Report on the trans-Salween Shan States*, 17.

³¹⁰⁵ Richardson, "Narrative of a Second Mission", 5 April 1834, in *Dr. Richardson's Missions to Siam, 1829–1839*, 67.

serving refreshments, and people only avoided stepping on carpets with shoes.³¹⁰⁶ Garanger was quite bothered by the shoe question,³¹⁰⁷ and only after his protest was he allowed to enter the palace of Chiang Rung with shoes.³¹⁰⁸ In the same year, McGilvary had a similar experience at the palace of Chiang Rung.³¹⁰⁹

For the Tai people, the guardian spirits were to be respected and pleased through periodical sacrifice rituals, believing in their protection and fearing their punishments.

Lefèvre expresses his annoyance over the native belief in spirits. In Chiang Kok, Lefèvre was not allowed to pitch his tent at a place that was preserved for the spirits.³¹¹⁰ In Müang Luang Phukha, the French commission's horses were not allowed, by the spirits, to enter a Tai Yuan village or be touched by the villagers. Otherwise, the villagers would become ill.³¹¹¹

The spirits of mines are often mentioned since British and French officials were eager to investigate natural resources. Certain colours were taboo for the Tai Lü people, and red clothes were reserved for sacrifice ceremonies. Some travellers were forbidden from entering mines because of the colour of their clothes. Garanger was excluded from entering a salt mine at Bò Sao because of his red clothes.³¹¹² At Bò Luang, a salt mine of Sipsòng Panna near the border, Lefèvre was not allowed to visit the saline works because the protecting spirits feared the colours of red, blue, yellow, and only black colour was permitted, while Lefèvre wore khaki clothes.³¹¹³ For the same reason, Lefèvre was prohibited from fetching water from a spring.³¹¹⁴ McGilvary left more details of his negotiation. At first, he was refused a visit to the salt well in Bò Hae because of his white clothes. On another day, after obtaining permission from the chief and having changed his clothes, he made another attempt, but he was declined because of the white colour of his hair, beard, and hat, which would offend the spirits. Keen not to offend the people, McGilvary did not insist.³¹¹⁵ McGilvary's prudence is sensible, for his motive was to engage with the people for evangelisation, and the less conflict he caused, the better. But for colonial officials, the situation was quite the opposite. In Bò Hae, Archer was told not to enter the salt wells with white or red clothes, but he finally forcibly entered the well, ignoring the natives' scruples.³¹¹⁶ Similarly, Lord Lamington ignored the warnings of punishment by the spirits and forcibly entered Bò Hae.³¹¹⁷

At Tha Lek, a ferry near the border of Sipsòng Panna, the French were inconvenienced by the belief of the inhabitants responsible for ferrying. Lefèvre-Pontalis teased that the inhabitants presented offerings to the spirit of the Nam La every time they transferred

³¹⁰⁶ McLeod, Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal, 10, 24 March 1837, in Grabowsky and Turton, *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship*, 374, 392.

³¹⁰⁷ Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 16, 19, 37.

³¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

³¹⁰⁹ McGilvary, *A Half Century Among the Siamese*, 357.

³¹¹⁰ Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 110.

³¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

³¹¹² Garanger, *Sur le Haut-Mékong*, 10.

³¹¹³ Lefèvre, *Un voyage au Laos*, 269.

³¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 269.

³¹¹⁵ Members of the Laos Mission, *Reports of Tours of Missionary Exploration*, 38–39.

³¹¹⁶ Report on a Journey in the Mě-kong Valley, 1892, p. 7, MS Scott UL1.9, JGSC, CUL.

³¹¹⁷ Lord Lamington, "Journey through the Trans-Salwin Shan States to Tong-King", 710–711.

passengers. Moreover, the spirits feared the colour red, and the passengers were warned to hide any red objects.³¹¹⁸

Scott mocks the French authorities, who were eager to distribute the French flag in the trans-Mekong territory, but the red colour on the flag was a taboo in the native belief. Scott reports that “the French flag looms large in the native mind”. The miners in Chiang Khòng attributed the decrease in jam production to the red of the French flag, which irritated the mine spirits. Some boatmen would not go down the rapids with a French flag flying on their boats, and Lefèvre had to wrap up the flag to travel down to Chiang Lap.³¹¹⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis remembers that when in Thang Ò, the French had to hide the national flag. Lefèvre-Pontalis regrets that he could have demonstrated the flag of France as “a spirit of extreme power, which demands the respect and the submission from all” (*comme un Phye d’une extrême puissance, qui exigeait le respect et la soumission de tous*).³¹²⁰

Some travellers made efforts to adapt to local customs. In 1897, when McGilvary visited Sipsòng Panna, it was during the Songkran Festival. One day, when he was staying at a monastery in Bò Hae, he was disturbed by a sudden influx of a crowd who invited McGilvary to ride a sedan chair and who prayed for a sum of money. It was a custom during the New Year to honour the nobles, and the latter must give the crowd a sum of money. This custom is named *yòn su* (requesting reward).³¹²¹ At first, McGilvary refused, saying he “had no such custom”. However, the crowd did not leave, and McGilvary’s native Christian helper Nòi Saen persuaded McGilvary that it was only a custom and “had no religious significance”. Later, after negotiation, he compromised and agreed to give them one rupee.³¹²² However, not all travellers respected the local beliefs. Garanger ignores Müang U’s request to postpone his visit until after the sacrifice ceremony.

Summary and Implications for Further Research

In the long nineteenth century, the Yunnan-Burma borderlands became a contact zone between the natives and various travellers and investigators from Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Australia, China, and Siam, involving diplomats, colonial officers, geographers, explorers, missionaries, globetrotters, intelligence agents, etc. The records of these travellers and investigators were indispensable sources for the research into Tai history, especially in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, when there was a clear lack of concrete and detailed Tai, Chinese, and Burmese sources. However, their reliability and validity beg scrutiny. As shown in previous chapters, these travellers and investigators came to Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng with various motivations, dealt with the natives in various ways, and had different experiences and discourses (diplomatic, exploratory, territorial, missionary, and colonial discourses).

³¹¹⁸ Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Voyages dans le haut Laos*, 272.

³¹¹⁹ Scott to the Earl of Kimberley, 23 March 1895, ff. 148–149, FO 17/1266, NA.

³¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 273.

³¹²¹ *Yòn* means “ask for”, and *su* was a Burmese loanword and means “reward”.

³¹²² McGilvary, “Dr. McGilvary’s Tour after leaving Dr. Peoples at Mung Sai”, 38–39.

William Couperus McLeod, as a diplomat, focused on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the restoration of communication between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung/Sipsòng Panna, the ceremonial intercourse with the native authorities, and the collecting of political and commercial information that would impact his mission. Because his visit happened shortly after Chiang Mai's and Nan's forced resettlement campaigns in the early nineteenth century, his mission was more or less welcomed by Sipsòng Panna/Chiang Tung and the resettled Tai people in Chiang Mai and Lamphun. Though his journey was completed in a generally friendly atmosphere, McLeod experienced obstacles and suspicions along the way, especially the failure to enter China.

The exploratory discourse of the French Mekong Exploration Mission emphasises the obstacles they encountered and their overcoming of impediments in the exploration to eulogise their heroic adventures. The mission is depicted as a hapless victim of climate, roads, diseases, local beliefs, and native populations of local societies.

The British and French boundary commissions established their superior positions in power relations through territorial discourse on suzerainty, territory, and border security. British discourse justified their demarcation missions by asserting the native populations' willingness to delimit new boundaries. Similarly, the British suzerainty over Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng was confirmed by the discourse on the universal acknowledgement by the native populations. The introduction of "scientific boundary" justified French annexation of Sipsòng Panna's territory. The discourse of the perilous frontier inhabited by dacoits, oppressors, and boundary marker saboteurs reinforced the British and French role of protectors against insecurity, oppression, and foreign invasion.

The missionary discourse claims a universal receptiveness to Christianity, though resistance was also reported. William Marcus Young misunderstood the Lahu tradition of millennialism, which was influenced by Buddhism and local beliefs, and especially depicted that the Lahu people had a deep-rooted Christian tradition. Both the Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries emphasised cross-border ethnic connections to claim and expand their fields. Prejudices more or less misled their arguments on the linguistic and ethnic boundaries between Tai Khün, Tai Lü, Tai Nüa, Tai Yuan, and Shan.

Though from different backgrounds, the imperial travellers and frontier officials discussed in the preceding chapter were all more or less connected with the colonial powers. They served as colonial agents and ventured into this region with various tasks: contributing to the accumulation of colonial information and making preparations for exhibitions.

While the fleeting visits of McLeod and the FMEM hardly had any actual impacts on the local societies, their indirect influence was probably achieved by the latecomers' usage of their records. The British annexation of Burma caused the Shan exodus into Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and North Siam. The British and French boundary commissions had fundamental impacts on this region. Their reports were referred by London and Paris for policy-making and diplomatic negotiations. The British and French boundary commissions' undertakings changed the political relations of this region, destroyed the balance of two-fold overlords of Sipsòng Panna and Müang Laem, and redefined the geographic spaces of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna,

and Chiang Khaeng. The British and French colonial expansion also helped to preserve contemporary Tai manuscripts, although this was not their initial purpose, which was originally used as evidence to recognise or challenge the existing tributary relationships and native boundaries. Obviously, the arrival of American missionaries introduced a new religion into the region. The missionary work also stimulated population movement and enhanced cultural exchanges between Burma, Siam, and China. Ethnic items and commercial products of this region were introduced into world circulation at various exhibitions by Frederic William Carey's and Alfred Raquez's item-collecting activities.

Initially not a destination for Western travellers, over time, this region was transformed from a backdoor to China into a political, geographical, ethnic, and linguistic space to be clearly defined and delimited. The knowledge of this region was accumulated by the work of generations of travellers and investigators. McLeod and the FMEM conducted the initial geographic and ethnographic work. The British and French boundary commissions enriched the body of knowledge by systematic geographical and political surveys, especially by dispatching intelligence agents and collecting local manuscripts. The American Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries explored the ethnic boundaries and, through their village-to-village tours, broadened the ethnographic and linguistic knowledge of this region that was seldom explored by other travellers.

The transmission of knowledge is revealed in the intertextual relations between these travel writings. Previous writings were accepted by later travellers as guidebooks, reference books, testimonies of national glory, and evidence for political negotiations. Some of them impacted the attitudes of those who came later. For example, Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers's fear for his safety in Chiang Tung was impacted by his reading of George John Younghusband's travelogue. Some of the records were served against their original purpose. For example, Francis Garnier's and Louis de Carné's records were used by British politicians for negotiations, verifying Burmese suzerainty over Chiang Khaeng.

The native knowledge of the Westerners was also broadened. During the period of McLeod and the FMEM, the foreigners were generally referred as *khala/khula*, a Burmese loanword. While the Indians were named as *khala dam/khula dam* (black foreigner), the White was recognised as *khala khao/khula khao* (white foreigner). In the mid-1890s, with the deepening of communication, the term for the foreigners was further divided into *angkit* or *ingkhlik* (Britain/British) and *falangset* (France/French). Unfortunately, the existing documents do not indicate that the natives had knowledge of other Western countries. The statements written by Tai Christian workers only referred to the American missionaries by their names and the cities they were stationed. The Presbyterian Tai workers referred to the Presbyterian missionaries as "*phò khru nam khaek*" (Nam Khaek teacher) and the Baptist missionaries as "*phò khru nòng pha*" (Nòng Pha teacher).

The Burmese and Chinese agents either actively intervened or passively got involved in Western travels and investigations to confirm the suzerainties of their respective countries. McLeod and the FMEM directly experienced the suspicion and hostility from Burmese authorities caused by the Anglo-Burmese Wars. Both the British and French boundary

commissions were careful to tackle issues involving the Chinese right, especially during their encounters with Chinese authorities and delegates in Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna, in order to gain China's consent to the boundary demarcations. For the British and French frontier officials stationed in Simao, the Chinese authorities were their neighbours, if not friends, and one of their sources of information.

The natives were generally friendly to these foreign visitors, be it out of curiosity or hospitality. These travellers were often surrounded by curious crowds. McLeod built up a friendly relationship with the nobles of Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna. The FMEM enjoyed warm receptions in Müang Yòng, Chiang Tung, Müang Yu, and Müang Bang. Chao Sri Nò Kham, the ruler of Chiang Khaeng, feared punishment from the British and several times he escaped to hiding places, while he was grateful for the French support to ensure his return to Müang Sing. The Tai Christians regarded the American Presbyterian missionaries as “teachers” (*phò khru/mae khru*), and the Lahu and Wa converts held Young in high esteem. While the majority of Tai Buddhists remained indifferent, sometimes resistant, to missionary work. However, fear, suspicion, and hostility were also reported. Direct confrontation was rarely found. Georges Garanger was attacked in Chiang Rung by the order from Phraya Luang Na Khwa. Chiang Rung's military expedition to restore Müang U was stopped by Chinese authorities, and an armed team was arrested by French soldiers. By contrast, horse-stealing against British colonial officials and intelligence agents was more often reported. The movements of boundary markers reported in Chiang Tung, Müang Sing, and Müang Luang Phukha reveal the native resistance to the newly defined territorial boundaries. The natives also took advantage of the arrival of travellers and investigations to serve their interests, primarily as intermediaries (to convey correspondence) or mediators (to conciliate political conflicts or to restore subjects from another territory).

The attitudes of these travellers and investigators towards the natives are variegated. McLeod had good intentions towards the people he encountered and was willing to gain their friendship. To the FMEM, the natives somehow hindered its journey, and it was bothered by the arrangements of transportation and carriers. The British and French boundary commissions arrived in this region with the roles of overlords, protectors, and mediators. Though both the American Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries regarded the natives as people waiting to be saved, they held different views on the Tai people. The Presbyterian missionaries had a general positive view regarding the Tai. To some extent, William Clifton Dodd regarded the Tai as “noble savages”, who were only recently contaminated through contact with the worst elements of Western civilisation. By contrast, Young made a negative evaluation of the Tai people. In the writings of imperial travellers and frontier officials, the natives were marginalised, ridiculed, objectified, and became objects for gaze and even items for display. The attitudes of these travellers are also reflected in their attitudes towards native beliefs and customs. They either objected, compromised, became accustomed to, or adapted to the native beliefs. The most uncompromising attitudes were from the colonial officers, who forced the natives to follow their orders. The American missionaries adapted them into Christian discourse.

The natives of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng participated in these explorations in various roles: interpreters, escorts, guides, messengers, cooks, coolies, assistants, etc. In some travel writings, the natives' presence is obvious, while in others, the natives are voiceless. Native guides and coolies were indispensable and thus were present in all these travels and investigations. McLeod's safe and smooth journey in Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna benefited from the escorts from native officials. Alévy was the only interpreter of the FMEM during its journey in Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna. Though he was occasionally criticised by Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, his contribution to this mission, as intermediary, messenger, and representative, should not be ignored. The British and French boundary commissions relied on the natives to indicate historical and existing boundaries. The Tai, Lahu, and Wa Christian workers assisted the missionary work through their ethnic and social connections. Raquez's collecting work was collaborated by local authorities.

Except for the Presbyterian missionaries, few of these travellers knew any native languages. The indirect contact between the travellers and the natives was conducted with assistance from the Tai (Tai Lü and Shan), Cambodian, and Chinese intermediaries in most cases. The FMEM employed Alévy, a Khmer-speaking Tai Lü, as interpreter. The British boundary commissions travelled with Shan interpreters, while the French boundary commissions had Cambodian secretaries. The misunderstanding in the contact caused obstacles to the process of negotiation and sometimes led to diplomatic problems. Rumours spread by the British and French interpreters aroused fears in the native societies and caused a diplomatic conflict between the British and French.

Though the findings of this study are based on a thorough survey of archival sources and publications, many supplementary documents remain untouched. As mentioned in the Introduction, the British colonial documents and Burmese records in Myanmar are not referred to because of travel restrictions. For the same reason, Siamese reports on Chiang Khaeng and the boundary demarcations are not consulted. Moreover, this study would have been enriched if the monthly political reports of Müang U and Müang Sing at the Archives nationales d'outre-mer were consulted.

Through an in-depth study of archival documents found in Aix-en-Provence, Atlanta, Beijing, Cambridge, Chiang Mai, London, Paris, Philadelphia, Sydney, and Taipei, and published materials, this study not only sheds light on the understudied history of Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng in the long nineteenth century, but also contributes to a wider academic scholarship, such as discourse studies, travel writing studies, West-East cultural encounters, and borderlands studies.

The intercultural interactions in this region and the textual representation of this region in the twentieth century beg for further academic research. Chinese authors fell behind Western fellows in venturing into this region. It was only until the early twentieth century, especially during the Second World War when the National Government of the Republic of China retreated to Chongqing and several academic institutions moved to Kunming, that Sipsòng Panna became the destination of travels and systematic investigations. The British and French contacts with the natives of Chiang Tung and Müang Sing after 1911 are still unknown. After

the failure in Chiang Tung, the Presbyterian missionaries ventured into Yunnan and opened stations in Chiang Rung and Yuanjiang. The missionary contact in Yunnan is only discussed by House from the perspective of church history.³¹²³

While this study focuses on Western travels and investigations, the mobility of the natives, such as travel, migration, and pilgrimage, merits academic research too. Migration is a significant topic in the historical study of this region. The foundings of Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng are connected with migration legends. In history, this region experienced several waves of population exodus. Some studies have been conducted on Chiang Mai's and Nan's forced resettlement campaigns,³¹²⁴ the northward migration of Tai people into China proper during the reigns of the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors,³¹²⁵ or the migration to Taiwan after the mid-twentieth century.³¹²⁶ However, native travel and the pilgrimage in the pre-modern and early modern period still lack academic attention. For example, the book *Mat Langka*, a Chiang Tung travelogue on a pilgrimage to Sri Lanka, still lacks thorough research, even though it has been edited and translated into French and English for a decade.³¹²⁷

The circulation of information is also worthy of academic investigation. This study reveals that Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng had a long-term history of exchange of information with each other and within the polities themselves. Extensive information exchange also existed between Chiang Tung and Müang Nai, between Sipsòng Panna and Simao, between Chiang Khaeng and Nan, and between Müang Laem and Mang Lön.

As discussed in Chapter IV, the Presbyterian missionaries emphasised the mutual intelligibility between Tai Lü/Tai Khün and Tai Yuan and claimed that the Christian printing materials from Chiang Mai were ready to use in Chiang Tung and Yunnan. However, as we know, a complete Tai Lü version of the New Testament was translated by Lyle Jerome Beebe and printed in 1933. It was obviously adapted from the Chiang Mai version translated by Daniel McGilvary and Sophia Royce Bradley McGilvary. Beebe's version only replaces Pali and Sanskrit vocabulary used in the Chiang Mai version with Tai, while the syntax remains the same.³¹²⁸ This adaptation contradicts the Presbyterian claim of the uniformity of language in Chiang Mai and Sipsòng Panna. For what reason Beebe decided to adapt the McGilvarys' translation? Further literary research is needed to understand the Chiang Mai and Chiang Rung versions of the New Testament and their connection.

³¹²³ House, "An Ethnohistorical Study of Thai Christians".

³¹²⁴ Grabowsky, "Forced Resettlement Campaigns in Northern Thailand".

³¹²⁵ Dao, "The Forced Resettlement of Tai People".

³¹²⁶ Yeh Tze-Hsiang, "*Wenhua de rentong yu bianqian, yi juzhu Taiwan de Yunnan zuqun wei li* [Cultural identity and cultural change, the case of the Yunnan ethnic groups in Taiwan]" (master's thesis, Soochow University, 1997).

³¹²⁷ Anatole-Roger Peltier, ed., *Mat Langka* [Pilgrimage to Lanka] (Chiang Mai: Banditwitthayalai, Mahawitthayalai Ratchaphat Chiang Mai, 2555 [2012]).

³¹²⁸ Lyle Jerome Beebe, trans., *The New Testament in Tai Lu* (Bangkok: Stationers Hall Printing Press, 1933); Rev. and Mrs. D. McGilvary, trans., *The New Testament: Translated Out of the Original Greek Into the Laos Language* (Chiang Mai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, n.d.).

Appendix

Appendix I Timeline

1813		Chao Maha Khanan is enthroned to rule Chiang Tung
1818	April	Ann Hazeltine Judson, the first Protestant missionary, reaches Burma
1824	5 March–24 February 1826	First Anglo-Burmese War
1826	24 February	Treaty of Yandabo
1837	12 February–8 April	William Couperus McLeod visits Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna
1841	–1842	Ma Dexin passes through Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung during his pilgrimage to Mecca
1845	March–22 June 1846	Thao Sitthimongkhon visits Chiang Tung and is later imprisoned in Müang Nai
1852	5 April–20 January 1853	Second Anglo-Burmese War
1855		Müang Yu becomes contemporary capital of Chiang Khaeng
1856	–1873	The Panthay Rebellion
1858		Chao Maha Phrom is enthroned to rule Chiang Tung
1861		Beginning of the Baptist missionary work to the Shan
1862	5 June	Treaty of Saigon
1863	/1864	Chao Kòng Thai is enthroned to rule Chiang Khaeng
1864		Chao Mòm Sucha Wanna dies in Müang Ran (Maliping) during the Panthay Rebellion
1867		The Laos Mission is founded in Chiang Mai
1867		The French Mekong Exploration Mission visits Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna
1869		Josiah Nelson Cushing visits Chiang Tung
1875	17 January	Augustus Margary is murdered in Manwyne
1876		Chao Kham Saen is enthroned to rule Chiang Tung
1881		Chao Kòng Thai is enthroned to rule Chiang Tung

Appendix

1884		Chao Mòk Kham Lü is enthroned to rule Sipsòng Panna
1885	7–29 November	Third Anglo-Burmese War
1887	2–22 March	George John Younghusband visits Chiang Tung
1888	May–June	William John Archer visits Chiang Tung
1890	March–April	James George Scott visits Chiang Tung; Chiang Tung submits to Britain
1890	21–29 October	Joseph Vacle ventures into Sipsòng Panna, but is stopped in Müang U
1890		Lord Lamington visits Müang Sing and south Sipsòng Panna
1890	24 December– 6 March 1891	Anglo-Siamese Boundary Commission for 1890–1891 visits Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng and Sipsòng Panna
1890	December– March 1891	William John Archer visits Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng and Sipsòng Panna
1891		Daniel McGilvary and Stanley K. Phraner visit Chiang Saen and Müang Len
1891	11 February– 20 March	Hugh Daly, William Warry and Zhang Chengyu visit Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna
1891	25 February–4 April	James George Scott visits Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung
1891	9 March–18 April	Victor Alphonse Massie and Paul Marcey visit Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung
1891	13 March–10 May	The Pavie Mission visits Sipsòng Panna
1892	January– February	James McCarthy visits Müang Sing
1892		Otto Ehrenfried Ehlers visits Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna
1893	2 February–26 June	Georges Garanger and Cahom visit Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung
1893		Daniel McGilvary, Robert Irwin, and Nan Suwan visit Müang Len and Sipsòng Panna
1893		Arthur Hedding Hildebrand visits Müang Sing
1893	3 October	Franco-Siamese Treaty and Laos is incorporated into French Indochina

Appendix

1893	25 November	Anglo-French protocol to form a buffer state in the Upper Mekong
1893	23 December– 16 May 1894	George Claudius Beresford Stirling and E. W. Carrick visit Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng
1894	1 March	Britain renounces its right on Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna
1894	27–28 July	Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis intercepts Chao Khanan Phitchawong in Chiang Khòng
1894	21–31 December	The Sino-French Boundary Commission visits Sipsòng Panna
1895	1 January– April	The Anglo-French Joint Commission visits Chiang Khaeng, Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khòng
1895	20 June	France annexes Müang U and the Nam Tha source area of Sipsòng Panna
1895	28 December– 3 May 1896	John Harvey visits Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Sipsòng Panna
1896	15 January	Britain renounces its claim on the trans-Mekong Chiang Khaeng, and the Mekong becomes the border between British Burma and French Indochina
1896		A team of five Tai Christians, including Loong Chaw and Ai Sow, visits Chiang Tung
1896	10 May	Joseph Vacle attends the handover ceremony of Müang Sing
1896	May–28 November	George Ernest Morrison visits Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, Simao, Kunming, and Müang Sing
1896		A team of Tai Christians visits Müang Sing and Müang Phong
1897	January–3 February	Isabelle Massieu visits Chiang Tung
1897	2 January	A Chinese Maritime Customs station opens in Simao
1897	20 February–7 April	Pierre Bons d'Anty visits Sipsòng Panna and Müang U
1897	13 April–7 May	Daniel McGilvary visits Sipsòng Panna and Müang Sing
1897	1 November– late December	William Clifton Dodd, William Albert Briggs, Robert Irwin visit Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna; Briggs visits Müang Laem
1898	7 April–24 June	William Clifton Dodd visits Chiang Tung

Appendix

1898	–1900	Louis Gaide is stationed in Simao
1898	14 February	British Consulate at Simao opens
1898	4–23 December	Frederic William Carey visits Sipsòng Panna and Müang U
1899		Four Tai Christians, Loong Saan Kang Haw, Nan Intha Chak, Pan, and Nòi Kan, visit Chiang Tung
1899		Albert Hailey Henderson visits Chiang Tung
1899	7 March–	Frederic William Carey visits Müang Laem and Sipsòng Panna to collect items for the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900
1900	12 January–2 February	Gerard Christopher Rigby visits Chiang Tung and Sipsòng Panna
1900	March–May	A team of three Tai Christians visits Chiang Tung
1900	4 April–12 November	The Exposition Universelle is held in Paris
1900	18–27 April	Alfred Raquez visits Müang Sing
1901	26 February	William Marcus Young arrives in Chiang Tung and the Baptist Chiang Tung Station opens
1901	October	Chao Sri Nò Kham dies at the age of 56
1904	1 February	Chao Ong Kham is enthroned to rule Müang Sing
1904	15 April	William Clifton Dodd, Howard L. Cornell, Khan, Te Pin, Nòi Rin arrive in Chiang Tung and the Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station opens
1905		William Clifton Dodd visits Müang Yòng and Müang Sam Thao
1905		Alfred Raquez visits Müang Sing for the preparation of the Exposition coloniale in Marseille
1905	20 May–6 July	George Grillières visits Müang Sing, Sipsòng Panna and Müang U
1905	July	Henry White and Hawell S. Vincent visit Chiang Tung
1906		Charles Royal Callender visits Müang Sam Thao, Müang Yòng, and Müang Luai
1906		William Clifton Dodd visits Müang Yòng
1906		Henri Mosse visits Chiang Tung
1906	14 April–18 November	The Exposition coloniale is held in Marseille

Appendix

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|------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1907 | 18 January–20 February | The Baptist-Presbyterian Joint Commission meets in Chiang Tung |
| 1907 | 21 February | William Marcus Young and Clarence Baumes Antisdell departs to Müang Laem |
| 1907 | 23 February–23 April | Samuel C. Peoples, Howard Campbell, and William Clifton Dodd tour in Chiang Tung |
| 1908 | March | The Presbyterian Chiang Tung Station closes |
| 1908 | | Chao Wanna Phrom revolts against the French |
| 1910 | 8 January–23 June | William Clifton Dodd, Ai Fu, and a group of Tai Nüa muleteers visit Chiang Tung and China |
| 1910 | | Ke Shuxun occupies Müang Chae |
| 1912 | 1 January | The fall of the Qing and the establishment of the Republic of China |
| 1914 | December | Chao Ong Kham rebels against the French |
| 1927 | June | Chao Mòm Kham Lü dies |
| 1935 | 12 July | Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng dies at the age of 62 |

Appendix II Glossary³¹²⁹

<i>Ahmé</i>	an unidentified place in Laos
<i>ahmukri</i>	(Burmese အမှုကြီး) grand supervisor
<i>Ai Fu</i>	(Tai) a Tai Christian from Chiang Mai
<i>Ai Hkan Law</i>	(Tai อ้ายขันหล่อ) a Lahu Christian
<i>Ai Nan</i>	(Tai อ้ายหนาน) a Tai Dòì Christian from Chiang Tung
<i>Ai Pòm</i>	(Tai อ้ายป้อม) a Tai Christian from Lamphun
<i>Ai Sow</i>	(Tai) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Ai Yone Hpa</i>	(Tai ကံးယုင်းဗား) a Wa Christian
<i>amintau</i>	(Burmese အမိန့်တော်) royal order
<i>angkit</i>	(Tai อังกฤษ [อังกฤษ]) the English people
<i>angwa</i>	(Tai อังวา) Ava
<i>arepuing</i>	(Burmese အရေးပိုင်) envoy
<i>auja ana</i>	(Burmese ဥပဒေအာဏာ) power
<i>Awtu</i>	a Karen Christian
<i>Ba Long Kanmeweng</i>	(Tai, Chinese 叭竜坎么翁) a Yao chief
<i>Ba Te</i>	a Karen Christian
<i>Bafazhai</i>	(Chinese 壩發砦) An area of salt wells in Sipsòng Panna
<i>baiyi</i>	(Chinese 擺夷) the Tai people
<i>ban</i>	(Tai บ้าน) village
<i>Ban Ang Nòi</i>	(Tai บ้านอาน้อย) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Boc Rin/Pók Hin</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Chiang</i>	(Tai บ้านเชียง) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Chiang Lai</i>	(Tai บ้านเชียงไล, Chinese 曼景來 <i>Manjinglai</i>) a village of Chiang Lò
<i>Ban Chiang Lan</i>	(Tai บ้านเชียงล้าน, Chinese 曼景蘭 <i>Manjinglan</i>) a village of Chiang Rung
<i>Ban Chòm</i>	(Tai บ้านจอม, Chinese 曼莊 <i>Manzhuang</i>) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Dai</i>	(Tai บ้านด้าย) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Dena</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Fai</i>	(Tai บ้านฝาย, Chinese 曼派 <i>Manpai</i>) a village of Müang Hon
<i>Ban Fai</i>	(Tai บ้านฝาย) a village of Müang Yòng
<i>Ban Hua Heng</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Ban Hua Khua</i>	(Tai บ้านหัวข้าว, Chinese 曼賀科 <i>Manheke</i>) a village of Müang Yang
<i>Ban Huai Haen</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Saen, now located in Laos
<i>Ban Huai Nam Ngi</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Saen, now located in Laos
<i>Ban Huai Sai Khao</i>	(Tai บ้านห้วยทรายขาว) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Huai Thang</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Saen, now located in Laos

³¹²⁹ For convenience, Tai words and phrases are majorly transliterated into Thai script. However, some remain in Tua Muan (Shan) and Tai Dòn scripts.

Appendix

<i>Ban Kap</i>	(Tai บ้านกาบ) a village of Müang Ma
<i>Ban Kat Fa</i>	(Tai บ้านกาตฟ้า) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Kavane Sang/ Kwan Hsawng</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Kème Deng</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Kham</i>	(Tai บ้านคำ) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Kian</i>	(Tai บ้านเกียน) a village of Müang Sam Thao
<i>Ban Klang Na</i>	(Tai บ้านกลางนา, Chinese 曼岡納 <i>Mangangna</i>) a village of Müang Yuan
<i>Ban Kum</i>	(Tai บ้านกุ่ม) a village of Müang Sing
<i>Ban Lek</i>	(Tai บ้านเหล็ก) a village of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Ban Line</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Mae Kòn</i>	(Tai บ้านแม่กรณ์) a village of Chiang Rai
<i>Ban Mai</i>	(Tai บ้านใหม่, Chinese 曼邁 <i>Manmai</i>) a village of Müang Sung
<i>Ban Mak Kò</i>	(Tai) a village located between Müang Ring and Müang Ran
<i>Ban Maon/Man Mwan</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Mòng</i>	(Tai บ้านมอง, Chinese 曼勐 <i>Manmeng</i>) a village of Chiang Rung
<i>Ban Müang Yang</i>	(Tai บ้านเมืองยาง, Chinese 曼勐養 <i>Manmengyang</i>) a village of Müang Chae
<i>Ban Nam Kaeo Luang</i>	(Tai บ้านน้ำแก้วหลวง) a village of Müang Sing
<i>Ban Nam Pòng</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Nòi</i>	(Tai บ้านน้อย, Chinese 曼乃 <i>Mannai</i>) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Nom Loung</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Nòng Kham</i>	(Tai บ้านหนองคำ, Chinese 曼濃罕 <i>Mannonghan</i>) a village of Müang Hon
<i>Ban Nòng Kung</i>	(Tai บ้านหนองกุง) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Nòng Ngön</i>	(Tai บ้านหนองเงิน) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Nòng Nün</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Pak Bong</i>	(Tai บ้านปากบง) a village of Chiang Saen
<i>Ban Pasang</i>	(Tai บ้านป่าซาง) a village of Müang Yòng
<i>Ban Phu Mìn</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Saen, now located in Laos
<i>Ban Rai Tai</i>	(Tai บ้านไร่ไต้) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Sankhayòm</i>	(Tai บ้านสันคะยอม) a village of Lamphun
<i>Ban Sao Luang</i>	(Tai บ้านชาวหลวง) a village of Müang Hon
<i>Ban Sao Nòi</i>	(Tai บ้านชาวน้อย) a village of Müang Hon
<i>Ban Sao Paet</i>	(Tai บ้านชาวแปด) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>Ban Thang Ò</i>	(Tai บ้านทางอ้อ) a village of Chiang Saen, now located in Laos
<i>Ban Thang Pung</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Saen, now located in Laos
<i>Ban Thap</i>	(Tai บ้านทัพ) a village of Müang Yòng
<i>Ban Wang Moon</i>	(Tai) a village of Lamphun, probably บ้านวังมน Ban Wang Mon
<i>Ban Wiang Bong</i>	(Tai) a village of Chiang Tung

<i>Ban Xieng Lon</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Ban Yao</i>	(Tai บ้านเย้า) a village of Müang U
<i>Benren</i>	(Chinese 本人) a group of Hani people
<i>bò</i>	(Tai บ่อ) a pond, a well, a mine
<i>Bò Hae</i>	(Tai บ่อแฮ้, Chinese 磨歇 <i>Moxie</i>) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Bò Han</i>	(Tai บ่อหาน, Chinese 磨憨 <i>Mohan</i>) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Bò Hin</i>	(Tai บ่อหิน) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Bò Kachou</i>	(Tai) a salt well of Bò Ten
<i>Bò Klüa</i>	(Tai บ่อเกลือ) a village of Müang U
<i>Bò La</i>	(Tai บ่อลำ) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Bò Luang</i>	(Tai บ่อหลวง) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Bò Pet</i>	(Tai บ่อเป็ด) a salt well of Bò Ten
<i>Bò Sang Klang</i>	(Tai บ่อสำกลาง, Chinese 尚岡 <i>Shanggang</i>) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Bò Sang Yòng</i>	(Tai บ่อสำยอง, Chinese 尚勇 <i>Shangyong</i>) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Bò Sao</i>	(Tai บ่อซาว) a village of Müang U
<i>Bò Ten</i>	(Tai บ่อเต็น) a salt well of Sipsòng Panna, annexed by French Indochina in 1895
<i>Bo Wan Mangsa</i>	(Burmese) a Burmese senior officer
<i>Budu</i>	(Chinese 布都) a group of Hani people
<i>buyong youji</i>	(Chinese 補用游擊) Expectant Appointee of Mobile Corps Commander
<i>Ca Sheh Pu Tao</i>	(Lahu) a Lahu Christian
<i>cackai</i>	(Burmese စစ်ကဲ) second-in-command of a military unit (during the time of the Myanmar kings)
<i>Cackai Tau Kri</i>	(Burmese စစ်ကဲတော်ကြီး) great royal sheriff
<i>Cahom</i>	(Khmer) a Cambodian secretary of Pavie Mission
<i>Cha Hpu Hpayá In</i>	(Lahu and Tai) a Lahu spiritual leader
<i>Champasak</i>	(Tai จำปาศักดิ์) a district of Laos
<i>Chan</i>	(Tai จันท) Alévy, an interpreter of the French Mekong Exploration Mission
<i>chao</i>	(Tai เจ้า) nobility
<i>Chao Akkha Racha</i>	(Tai เจ้าอัคคะราชเทวีเถาคำ) a noble from Müang Hon, Sipsòng Panna
<i>Thewi Thao Kham</i>	
<i>Chao Aya Nòi</i>	(Tai เจ้าอาญาน้อย) a noble of Müang Ram
<i>Chao Bun Luang</i>	(Tai เจ้าบุญหลวง) a noble of Nan
<i>Chao Chan</i>	(Tai เจ้าจันท) prince of Sipsòng Panna
<i>chao chiang ra</i>	(Tai เจ้าเชียงรา) title of the chief minister of the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung

Appendix

<i>Chao Hò Na</i>	(Tai เจ้าหอหน้า) vice monarch of Chiang Mai
<i>Chao In Phaeng</i>	(Tai เจ้าอินแพง) a Tai from Müang Hon, Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Kam Tane</i>	(Tai) a noble of Chiang Saen, son of the ruler of Chiang Saen
<i>Chao Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้าคำ) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chao Kham Da</i>	(Tai เจ้าคำดา) a Tai from Müang Hon, Sipsòng Panna, being forcibly resettled in Lamphun
<i>Chao Kham Saen</i>	(Tai เจ้าคำแสน) prince of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Khanan Pan</i>	(Tai เจ้าขนานป็น) the pseudonym of Phraya Chompu
<i>Chao Khanan Phitchawong</i>	(Tai เจ้าขนานพิชชะวงส์) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chao Khanan Sriwong</i>	(Tai เจ้าขนานศรีวงส์) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chao Khun Kyi</i>	(Tai ຈົມເຈີວຊີ) ruler of Müang Nai
<i>Chao Khun Thi</i>	(Tai ຈົມເຈີວອີ) ruler of Müang Pòn
<i>Chao Kòn Kaeo In Thalaeng</i>	(Tai เจ้าก้อนแก้วอินแถลง) prince of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Kòng Thai</i>	(Tai เจ้ากองไทย) prince of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Kuai Fòng</i>	(Tai เจ้ากายฟอง) a noble of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Luang Mangkala</i>	(Tai เจ้าหลวงมังคละ) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Luang Wòrawong</i>	(Tai เจ้าหลวงวรวงส์) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Maha Chai</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาชัย) ruler of Müang Phong
<i>Chao Maha Chaiya Racha</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาไชยะราช) a Tai from Müang Hon, Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Maha Khanan</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาขนาน) prince of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Maha Nòi</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่น้อย) prince of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Maha Phrom</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาพรหม) prince of Chiang Tung, Chao Maha Khanan's son
<i>Chao Maha Phrom</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาพรหม) Chiang Tung's minister, Chao Müang Klang's real name
<i>Chao Maha Phrom</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาพรหม) a Tai from Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Maha Phrom Kham Khong</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาพรหมคำคง) prince of Chiang Mai, also known as Chao Ratchawong
<i>Chao Maha Wang</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหาวัง) prince of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Maha Yuwarat Chantha Hangsa</i>	(Tai เจ้ามหายุวราชจันทะหังสา) a Tai from Müang Hon, Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Mani Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้ามณีคำ) prince of Müang Laem
<i>chao ming sa</i>	(Tai เจ้ามิ่งสา, borrowed from Burmese <i>mangsa</i>) prince
<i>chao mòm</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อม) member of the royal family
<i>Chao Mòm Chòm Müang</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมจอมเมือง) prince of Sipsòng Panna, Chao Mòm Sò's third son
<i>Chao Mòm Kham Lü</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมคำลือ) prince of Sipsòng Panna

<i>Chao Mò̄m Khong Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมขงคำ) prince of Sipsò̄ng Panna, also named as Chao Mò̄m Sò̄
<i>Chao Mò̄m Lek</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมเหล็ก) a noble of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Mò̄m Saeng</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมแสง) prince of Sipsò̄ng Panna, Chao Mò̄m Kham Lü's elder brother
<i>Chao Mò̄m Sò̄</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมส้อ) prince of Sipsò̄ng Panna, also named as Chao Mò̄m Khong Kham
<i>Chao Mò̄m Sū̄a</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมเสื่อ) prince of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Mò̄m Sucha Wanna</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมสุชาวรรณ) prince of Sipsò̄ng Panna
<i>Chao Mò̄m Thao</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมท้าว) prince of Sipsò̄ng Panna
<i>Chao Mò̄m Ton Phra Phromma Wongsa</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมตนพระพรหมมะวงสา) ruler of Mǖang U Nū̄a
<i>Chao Mò̄m Ton Phra Phuttha Phromma Wongsa</i>	(Tai เจ้าหม่อมตนพระพุทธรหมมะวงสา) the ruler of Mǖang U
<i>chao mǖang</i>	(Tai เจ้าเมือง) ruler of a <i>mǖang</i>
<i>Chao Mǖang Khak</i>	(Tai เจ้าเมืองขาก) chief minister of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Mǖang Klang</i>	(Tai เจ้าเมืองกลาง) minister of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Na Sai</i>	(Tai เจ้านาซ้าย) prince of Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò̄ Kham's father
<i>Chao Nai Nan Kawila</i>	(Tai เจ้านายหนานกาวิละ) son of Chao Kham Da, being forcibly resettled in Lamphun
<i>chao nang</i>	(Tai เจ้านาง) princess
<i>chao nang chang</i>	(Tai เจ้านั่งช้าง) elephant-riding lord
<i>Chao Nang Khan Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้านางขันคำ) a noble of Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò̄ Kham's aunt
<i>Chao Nang Pathuma</i>	(Tai เจ้านางปทุมมา) a noble of Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò̄ Kham's daughter and Chao Kò̄n Kao In Thalaeng's chief consort
<i>Chao Nang Pheng</i>	(Tai เจ้านางเพ็ง) a noble of Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò̄ Kham's consort
<i>Chao Nang Sunantha</i>	(Tai เจ้านางสุนันทา) princess of Chiang Khaeng, Chao Sri Nò̄ Kham's second daughter
<i>Chao Nang Suriya Phromma</i>	(Tai เจ้านางสุริยพรหมา) a noble from Sipsò̄ng Panna, Chao Maha Wang's widow
<i>Chao Nang Suwanna</i>	(Tai เจ้านางสุวรรณ) a noble from Chiang Tung, Chao Kò̄n Kao In Thalaeng's mother
<i>Chao Nang Thip Thida</i>	(Tai เจ้านางทิพพิธิดา) princess of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Nang Waen Thip</i>	(Tai เจ้านางแว่นทิพ) a noble of Chiang Tung, Chao Mò̄m Kham Lü's chief consort

Appendix

<i>Chao Nò Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้าหน่อคำ) a noble of Sipsòng Panna, son of Chao Maha Nòi
<i>Chao Nò Müang</i>	(Tai เจ้าหน่อเมือง) a noble of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Nòi Phrom</i>	(Tai เจ้าน้อยพรหม) a Tai Christian from Müang Yòng
<i>Chao Nòi Suriya</i>	(Tai เจ้าน้อยสุริยะ) a Tai Christian from Lamphun
<i>chao nüa hua</i>	(Tai เจ้าเหนือหัว) lord above the head
<i>Chao Ong Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้าองค์คำ) prince of Müang Sing, son of Chao Sri Nò Kham
<i>chao pao ching</i>	(Chinese 照寶鏡 <i>zhaobaojing</i>) a mirror that can discover treasures
<i>chao phaendin</i>	(Tai เจ้าแผ่นดิน) lord of earth
<i>Chao Phraya Chai Wong</i>	(Tai เจ้าพระยาชัยวงส์) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Phraya Luang Na Khwa</i>	(Tai เจ้าพระยาหลวงนาขวา) the chief minister of the Nüa Sanam of Chiang Rung
<i>Chao Phraya Luang Phrommawong</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงพรหมมะวงส์) the ruler of Müang Ban, Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Phrom</i>	(Tai เจ้าพรหม) a noble of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Phrom Lü</i>	(Tai เจ้าพรหมลือ) prince of Chiang Tung, son of Chao Kòn Kao In Thalaeng
<i>Chao Phromma Wong</i>	(Tai เจ้าพรหมมะวงส์) a noble of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Ramma Awuttha</i>	(Tai เจ้ารัมมะอวุดฒ) a noble of Sipsòng Panna, son of Chao Mòm Maha Wang
<i>Chao Ratchawong</i>	(Tai เจ้าราชวงศ์) prince of Chiang Mai, also known as Chao Maha Phrom Kham Khong
<i>Chao Rattana Anuchata</i>	(Tai เจ้ารัตนอนุชาตา) a noble from Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chao Saeng</i>	(Tai เจ้าแสง) prince of Chiang Tung, son of Chao Maha Khanan
<i>Chao Sai Müang</i>	(Tai เจ้าสายเมือง) a noble of Chiang Tung
<i>Chao Sitthisan</i>	(Tai เจ้าสิทธิสาร) the ruler of Müang Luang Phukha
<i>Chao Sri Nò Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้าศรีหน่อคำ) prince of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chao Sunantha</i>	(Tai เจ้าสุนันทา) a noble of Chiang Tung, daughter of Chao Maha Khanan
<i>Chao Suriya</i>	(Tai เจ้าสุริยะ) a noble of Nan
<i>Chao Suriyawong</i>	(Tai เจ้าสุริยวงส์) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chao Theppha Mani Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้าเทพพะมณีคำ) prince of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chao Ton Phra Na Khwa</i>	(Tai เจ้าตนพระนาขวา) chief minister of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa</i>	(Tai เจ้าตนพระราชวงศา) the ruler of Müang Chae
<i>Chao Wanna Phrom</i>	(Tai เจ้าวรรณพรหม) the ruler of Müang U
<i>Chao Wiang</i>	(Tai ວົງວິງ) the ruler of Lòk Chòk
<i>chao yòt kramòm</i>	(Tai เจ้ายอดกระหม่อม) lord above the head

<i>chaofa</i>	(Tai เจ้าฟ้า, loaned in Burmese as ဇော်ဘွား <i>caubhwa</i> (Sawbwa)) prince
<i>Chaofa Lek Nòi</i>	(Tai เจ้าฟ้าเหล็กน้อย) legendary founder of the principality of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chaofa Mòk Kham</i>	(Tai เจ้าฟ้าหมอกคำ) ruler of Müang Phong
<i>chat khün</i>	(Tai ชาตขิ่น) Tai Khün
<i>chat lü</i>	(Tai ชาตลือ) Tai Lü
<i>chat thai</i>	(Tai ชาตไทย) the Tai people
<i>Chen Yue</i>	(Chinese 陳鉞) a Chinese police officer
<i>Chi</i>	(Tai) a Tai Lü from Sipsòng Chao Thai
<i>Chi Dongxiao</i>	(Chinese 遲東曉) a Chinese officer
<i>Chiang Chüang</i>	(Tai เชียงเจียง, Chinese 景真 <i>Jingzhen</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Dao</i>	(Tai เชียงดาว) a district of Chiang Khòng, now located in Laos
<i>Chiang Dao</i>	(Tai เชียงดาว, Chinese 整老 <i>Zhenglao</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Düan</i>	(Tai ဂိင်းငွီဝ်) a Shan state
<i>Chiang Fa</i>	(Tai เชียงฟ้า, Chinese 景法 <i>Jingfa</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Khaeng</i>	(Tai เชียงแขง) a Tai state
<i>Chiang Kham</i>	(Tai เชียงคำ) a district of Nan, now located in Phayao
<i>Chiang Khang</i>	(Tai เชียงขาง) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chiang Khò</i>	(Tai เชียงค้อ) a district of Hua Phan
<i>Chiang Khòng</i>	(Tai เชียงของ) a district of Nan, now located in Chiang Rai
<i>Chiang Khòng</i>	(Tai เชียงของ, Chinese 勐曠 <i>Mengkuang</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Kok</i>	(Tai เชียงกก) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chiang Lap</i>	(Tai เชียงลาบ) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Chiang Lò</i>	(Tai เชียงล่อ, Chinese 打洛 <i>Daluo</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Lu</i>	(Tai เชียงลู, Chinese 整魯 <i>Zhenglu</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Mai</i>	(Tai เชียงใหม่) a Tai state
<i>Chiang Mai</i>	(Tai เชียงใหม่, Chinese 景邁 <i>Jingmai</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Nüa</i>	(Tai เชียงเหนือ, Chinese 景訥 <i>Jingne</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Ra</i>	(Tai เชียงรา, Chinese 景哈 <i>Jingha</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Rai</i>	(Tai เชียงราย) a district of Siam
<i>Chiang Rung</i>	(Tai เชียงรุ่ง, Chinese 景洪 <i>Jinghong</i>) capital of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Saen</i>	(Tai เชียงแสน) a district of Siam
<i>Chiang Siao</i>	(Tai เชียงเสี้ยว) a village of Müang U
<i>Chiang Thòng</i>	(Tai เชียงทอง, Chinese 整董 <i>Zhengdong</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Chiang Thòng</i>	(Tai เชียงทอง, Burmese ကျိုင်းတောင်း Kengtawng) a Shan state
<i>Chiang Tung</i>	(Tai เชียงตุง, Burmese ကျိုင်းတုံ Kengtung) a Tai state
<i>Chiang Yung</i>	(Tai เชียงยุง, borrowed from Burmese <i>Kyuing Rum</i>) Chiang Rung
<i>Chu Keh</i>	a Karen Christian

<i>chüa chat chao yòng</i>	(Tai เชื้อชาติชาวยอง) Yòng people, a group of Tai Lü in Thailand
<i>Daliang Mountains</i>	(Chinese 大凉山 <i>Daliangshan</i>) mountains in Sichuan
<i>Dao Linxi</i>	(Chinese 刀林錫) ruler of Müang La Thai
<i>Dao Piwen</i>	(Chinese 刀丕文) a Chinese Tai Nüa official
<i>Dao Zhaoding</i>	(Chinese 刀詔丁) a noble of Sipsòng Panna, son of Chao Mòm Thao
<i>Dayakou</i>	(Chinese 大丫口) a district of Simao
<i>Deng Guilin</i>	(Chinese 鄧桂林) a Chinese officer
<i>Đèo Văn Sanh</i>	(Vietnamese) Đèo Văn Trì's father
<i>Đèo Văn Trì</i>	(Vietnamese, Hán tự 刁文持) ruler of Sipsòng Chao Thai
<i>Dòi Lak Kham</i>	(Tai ดอยหลักคำ) a border mountain between Sipsòng Panna and Lan Chang
<i>Dòi Latip</i>	(Tai ดอยลาตีบ, Chinese 拉地 <i>Ladi</i>) a mountain pass between Chiang Lò (Sipsòng Panna) and Müang La (Chiang Tung)
<i>Dòi Mõi</i>	(Tai ดอยเหมย, Burmese လိုဝ်းမေ့ Loimwe) a mountain in Chiang Tung
<i>Dòi Nam Pòk</i>	(Tai ดอยน้ำพือก) a border mountain between Müang Laem and Chiang Tung
<i>Done Tha</i>	(Tai) a guide of Lefèvre-Pontalis
<i>dong</i>	(Chinese 東) east
<i>Eh Yeh</i>	(Lahu) a Lahu spiritual leader
<i>fa</i>	(Tai ฟ้า) sky
<i>falangset</i>	(Tai ฟ้าหลังเสด/ผลั้งเสด [ฝรั่งเสส]) the French people
<i>Fang Shangrong</i>	(Chinese 方上容) a Chinese interpreter
<i>farang</i>	(Tai ฝรั่ง) the Westerner
<i>fofang</i>	(Chinese 佛房) Buddhist monastery, literally Buddhist house
<i>G'ui sha</i>	(Lahu) the Lahu creator-divinity
<i>Gaixin Heshang</i>	(Chinese 改心和尚) a monk of the Lahu mountains
<i>Hải Phòng</i>	(Vietnamese) a city in Tonkin
<i>han baiyi</i>	(Chinese 旱擺夷/漢擺夷) the dry-land Tai/the Chinese Tai
<i>Hin Lak Kham</i>	(Tai หินหลักคำ) a boundary marker
<i>hò pen phò, man pen mae</i>	(Tai ห้อเป็นพ่อ ม่านเป็นแม่) China is the father, and Burma is the mother
<i>Hopong</i>	(Burmese ဟိုပွဲ) a Shan state
<i>Hpa Hsu Ta Hkam Lü</i>	(Tai) an official of Müang Laem
<i>Hpa Lam Pak Tau</i>	(Tai) an official of Müang Laem
<i>Hpo La</i>	(Burmese ဟိုလှ) a Tai Christian
<i>Hpo Win</i>	(Burmese ဟိုဝင်း) a dancer at the court of Chiang Tung
<i>hram tarut</i>	(Burmese ရှမ်းတရုတ်) Chinese Shan
<i>Hsup Hok</i>	(Tai) probably the confluence of the Mae Ruak and the Mekong

<i>Hsup Nam</i>	(Tai สบน้ำ) a place in Laos
<i>hua</i>	(Tai หัว) Tai Nüa title for disrobed novices or people who disrobed before twenty
<i>Hua Inthawan</i>	(Tai หัวอินทวัน) a Tai Nüa from Ban Sao Paet, Chiang Tung
<i>Hua Khuat</i>	(Tai หัวควด) a Tai Nüa Christian
<i>Hua Khuat Sri</i>	(Tai หัวควดศรี) a Tai Nüa Christian
<i>hua khwaen</i>	(Tai หัวแคว้น) a district division unit of the hill people in Sipsòng Panna
<i>hua müang thang ha</i>	(Tai หัวเมืองทั้งห้า) a hypothetical alternative for <i>hua phan thang ha</i>
<i>hua phan thang ha</i>	(Tai หัวพันทั้งห้า) a term in French sources referring to Müang U Nüa, Müang U Tai, Müang Hat Hin, Müang Wa, and Müang Ngai
<i>Hua Pong</i>	(Tai หัวปง) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Hua Sam</i>	(Tai หัวสาม) a Tai Nüa from Ban Nòng Kung
<i>Huai Sai</i>	(Tai หัวยทราย) a district of Laos
<i>huangduan xiulong</i>	(Chinese 黃緞繡龍包袱文書) a document covered with dragon-patterned yellow satin
<i>baofu wenshu</i>	
<i>huayao baiyi</i>	(Chinese 花腰擺夷) patterned-waist Tai
<i>I Daeng</i>	(Tai อี้แดง) a Yao girl from Müang Sing
<i>I Pòm</i>	(Tai อี้ป้อม) a Tai Nüa from Chiang Tung
<i>ingkhlik</i>	(Tai อิงคลิก) the English people
<i>Inleywa</i>	(Burmese အင်းလေးရွာ) a district of Yòng Huai
<i>Jingdong</i>	(Chinese 景東) a district of Yunnan
<i>junmin</i>	(Chinese 軍民) Tribal Command
<i>Ka</i>	a group of hill people
<i>Kadam</i>	a group of hill people
<i>kaem müang</i>	(Tai แกมเมือง) vice monarch
<i>Kaing Lu</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Kam Kouï</i>	(Tai) Đèo Văn Trì's nephew
<i>Kama</i>	a group of hill people
<i>Kampong Luong</i>	(Khmer កំពង់ឆ្នាំង) a place in Kandal province
<i>Kat Thung</i>	(Tai กาดทุ่ง, Chinese 嘎棟 <i>Gadong</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Kaunghmudaw</i>	(Burmese ကောင်းမှုတော်) a pagoda near Ava
<i>Ke Shuxun</i>	(Chinese 柯樹勳) a Chinese officer of Guangxi
<i>Keng Teun</i>	(Tai) a Shan state mentioned by Daly, probably Chiang Düan
<i>Kenwoon Mengui</i>	(Burmese) a Burmese senior official
<i>kha</i>	(Tai ข่า) general term for the non-Tai people
<i>kha man</i>	(Tai ข่ามาน) subordinate of Burma
<i>khaen</i>	(Tai แคน) a musical instrument
<i>khala dam/khula dam</i>	(Tai คะลาดำ/คุลาดำ) the Indian people
<i>khala khao/khula khao</i>	(Tai คะลาขาว/คุลาขาว) the White

<i>khala/khula</i>	(Tai คชะลา/คฺลา, borrowed from Burmese ကုလား) foreigners
<i>Kham Ing</i>	(Tai ခမ်းဂိင်,) a Tai Christian
<i>Khamet</i>	a group of Austroasiatic people
<i>Khan</i>	(Tai ขัน) a Tai Christian from Chiang Mai
<i>khanan</i>	(Tai ขนาน) title for disrobed Bhikkhu and people who disrobed after twenty, also known as <i>nan</i>
<i>Khao Mòk Lòk</i>	(Tai เขามอกลอก) a boundary mountain between Sipsòng Panna and Müang Luang Phukha
<i>Khemmarat</i>	(Tai เขมราฐ) a district of Siam
<i>Khlaò Peng Kom</i>	(Tai เคล้าเปงโกม) title of a certain official
<i>Khò</i>	(Tai ค้อ) Akha people
<i>khom heng</i>	(Tai ข่มเหง) to bully
<i>Khòn Lõi</i>	(Tai ขอนเลย, Chinese 關累 <i>Guanlei</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>khon phu rai</i>	(Tai คนผู้ร้าย) bandit
<i>khrasat chao</i>	(Tai กระสัดเจ้าผาหลังเสียด) French king
<i>phalangsiet</i>	
<i>khuan</i>	(Tai ขวัญ) soul
<i>Khui</i>	(Tai คู้ย) Yellow Lahu people
<i>Khün</i>	(Tai ขีน) Tai Khün
<i>Khun Chüang</i>	(Tai ขุนเจือง) Phraya Chüang
<i>Khun Kham Sòi</i>	(Tai ขุณอฮะฮัง) a Tai from Sawngwi
<i>Khun Luang</i>	(Tai ขุนหลวง) the ruler of Hopong
<i>King Mindon</i>	(Burmese မင်းတုန်းမင်း <i>Mangtun mang</i>) king of Burma
<i>King Norodom</i>	(Khmer នរោត្តម) king of Cambodia
<i>Kiou Hène</i>	(Tai) a mountain
<i>Kiou Lône</i>	(Tai) a mountain
<i>Kiouaup</i>	(Khmer) a Cambodian secretary of Pavie Mission
<i>Ko San Ye</i>	a Karen spiritual leader
<i>Köng Ma</i>	(Tai กึ่งมา, Chinese 耿馬 <i>Gengma</i>) a district of Yunnan
<i>Kongde</i>	(Chinese 控得) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Kucong</i>	(Chinese 苦聰) an ethnic group in Yunnan
<i>Kunna</i>	a Shan interpreter
<i>Kyem Lung</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Kyuing Rum</i>	(Burmese ကျိုင်းရုံ, borrowed from Tai <i>Chiang Rung</i>) Chiang Rung
<i>La</i>	a group of hill people
<i>Lai Châu</i>	(Vietnamese) a city of Tonkin
<i>Lai Kha</i>	(Tai လါးခဲ) a Shan state
<i>Lali</i>	(Presumably from Chinese 老李) a muleteer hired by Ehlers
<i>Lao Chongguang</i>	(Chinese 勞崇光) Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou
<i>Lao Ma</i>	(Chinese 老馬) a Yunnanese muleteer

Appendix

<i>Lao Xiongtian</i>	(Chinese) a place in Simao
<i>Lao Yong</i>	(Chinese) a Yunnanese muleteer
<i>Law Ca Bon</i>	(Lahu) a Lahu monk
<i>Li Teau</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Li zhaoyuan</i>	(Chinese 黎肇元) a Chinese official
<i>Liangguang</i>	(Chinese 兩廣) two Guang, i.e. Guangdong and Guangxi
<i>Liaodong Peninsula</i>	(Chinese 遼東半島 <i>Liaodong bandao</i>) a peninsula in Northeast China
<i>Loong Chaw</i>	(Tai) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Lü</i>	(Tai ลื้อ) Tai Lü
<i>Luang Theppha Wong</i>	(Tai หลวงเทพวงศ์) an official of Nan
<i>Lung Ai</i>	(Tai ลุงอ้าย) a Tai Yuan Christian from North Siam
<i>Luohei Shan</i>	(Chinese 倮黑山) the Lahu Mountains, derogatorily written as 猓黑山 in Qing documents
<i>luyang si</i>	(Chinese) an unidentified title
<i>Ma-wan-tchay</i>	(Tai) a Müang Yòng village in Lamphun
<i>mae khru</i>	(Tai แม่ครู) female teacher
<i>Mae Nang Bua</i>	(Tai แม่นางบัว) a Tai Christian from Müang Yòng
<i>Maha Sena</i>	(Tai มหาเสนา) literally, big military officer
<i>Mahei</i>	(Chinese 麻黑) a group of Hani people
<i>mai</i>	(Tai ใหม่) the title of disrobed novices or people who disrobed before twenty
<i>Man Leung</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Mang Lön</i>	(Tai မင်းလှိုင်) a Wa state
<i>mangsa</i>	(Burmese မင်းသား) prince
<i>Maozhang</i>	(Chinese 茂章) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Maung Nyo</i>	(Burmese မောင်ညို) a British officer of Chiang Tung
<i>menggen toumu zhao busu</i>	(Chinese 孟艮頭目召布蘇) the Burman Cacckai at Chiang Tung
<i>Mengkongnai</i>	(Chinese 猛控奈) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Mengthagyi</i>	(Burmese မင်းသားကြီး <i>mangsakyi</i>) senior prince
<i>Min Hla Min Htin</i>	(Burmese မင်းလှမင်းထင်) Burman Cacckai at Sipsòng Panna
<i>Minjia</i>	(Chinese 民家) an exonym of the Bai people
<i>Mòk Mai</i>	(Tai หมอกใหม่, Burmese မောက်မယ် Mawkmai) a Shan state
<i>Mong Gyi</i>	(Burmese မောင်ကြီး) a Tai Christian
<i>Mong Pho</i>	(Burmese မောင်ဖို) a servant of Prince Myngoon
<i>Mosuo</i>	(Chinese 摩梭) an ethnic group in Sichuan and Yunnan
<i>Moung Me</i>	(Burmese မောင်မဲ) a Tai Baptist Christian
<i>Moung Pyu</i>	(Burmese မောင်ဖြူ) a Tai Baptist Christian

<i>Moungkin</i>	(Burmese မောင်ခင်) a Burman from Chiang Tung
<i>mruī ca</i>	(Burmese မြို့စား (Myosa)) ruler of a town
<i>müang</i>	(Tai เมือง) town; a confederation of villages
<i>Müang Ai</i>	(Tai เมืองอาย) a district of Laos
<i>Müang Ang</i>	(Tai เมืองอาง) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Ban</i>	(Tai เมืองบ้าน, Chinese 勐伴 <i>Mengban</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Bang</i>	(Tai เมืองบาง, Chinese 勐旺 <i>Mengwang</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Bò</i>	(Tai เมืองบ่อ, Chinese 景谷 <i>Jinggu</i>) a district of Yunnan
<i>Müang Bum</i>	(Tai မုံရွာ, Vietnamese Mùòng Bum) a district of Sipsòng Chao Thai
<i>Müang Chae</i>	(Tai เมืองแช่, Chinese 勐遮 <i>Mengzhe</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Chuat</i>	(Tai เมืองจวด) a Shan state
<i>Müang Chung</i>	(Tai, Chinese 元江 <i>Yuanjiang</i>) a district of Yuxi
<i>Müang Fan</i>	(Tai เมืองฝั้น) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Fang</i>	(Tai เมืองฝาง) a district of Chiang Rai
<i>Müang Hae</i>	(Tai เมืองแฮ่) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Hang</i>	(Tai เมืองหาง) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Hat Hin</i>	(Tai เมืองหาดหิน) a district of Lan Chang
<i>Müang Hi</i>	(Tai เมืองฮี) a district of Chiang Saen
<i>Müang Hon</i>	(Tai เมืองหน, Chinese 勐混 <i>Menghun</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Hua Müang</i>	(Tai เมืองหัวเมือง) a district of Hua Phan
<i>Müang Ka</i>	(Tai เมืองก้า, Chinese 永平 <i>Yongping</i>) a district of Yunnan
<i>Müang Kai</i>	(Tai เมืองกาย) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Kang</i>	(Tai เมืองกาง) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Kha</i>	(Tai) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Khan</i>	(Tai เมืองขัน) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Khang</i>	(Tai) a district of Chiang Tung, probably Chiang Khang
<i>Müang Kheng</i>	(Tai) an unidentified place
<i>Müang Khon</i>	(Tai) a place in Laos
<i>Müang Khòn</i>	(Tai เมืองขอนแก่น, Chinese 勐寬 <i>Mengkuan</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Khua</i>	(Tai เมืองควัว) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>müang khün</i>	(Tai เมืองขุ่น) Chiang Tung
<i>Müang La</i>	(Tai เมืองลำ, Chinese 勐臘 <i>Mengla</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang La</i>	(Tai เมืองลา, Burmese မိုင်းလား Mongla) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang La Thai</i>	(Tai เมืองลาไทย, Chinese 六順 <i>Liushun</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Lae</i>	(Tai, Chinese 勐烈 <i>Menglie</i>) a district of Yunnan
<i>Müang Laem</i>	(Tai เมืองแลม, Chinese 孟連 <i>Menglian</i>) a Tai state
<i>Müang Lai</i>	(Tai မုံရွာ, Vietnamese Mùòng Lay) a district of Sipsòng Chao Thai
<i>Müang Lam</i>	(Tai เมืองลำ, Chinese 勐朗 <i>Menglang</i>) a district of Yunnan

Appendix

<i>Müang Lap</i>	(Tai เมืองลาบ) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Len</i>	(Tai เมืองเลน) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Lò</i>	(Tai เมืองล่อ, Chinese 民樂 <i>Minle</i>) a Tai state near Müang Bò
<i>Müang Lòng</i>	(Tai เมืองลอง) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>müang lü</i>	(Tai เมืองลื้อ) Sipsòng Panna; place where the Tai Lü form the majority
<i>Müang Luai</i>	(Tai เมืองหลาย) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Luai</i>	(Tai เมืองหลาย) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Luang</i>	(Tai เมืองหลวง, Chinese 勐竜 <i>Menglong</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Luang Phukha</i>	(Tai เมืองหลวงพุกา) now known as Müang Luang Nam Tha
<i>Müang Ma</i>	(Tai เมืองม้า) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Maen</i>	(Tai เมืองแมน, Chinese 普洱 <i>Pu'er</i>) Pu'er, renamed as Ning'er in 2007
<i>Müang Mang</i>	(Tai เมืองมัง, Chinese 勐滿 <i>Mengman</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Mao</i>	(Tai เมืองมาว, Chinese 瑞麗 <i>Ruili</i>) a Tai state
<i>Müang Mòm</i>	(Tai เมืองมอม) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Mõng</i>	(Tai เมืองเม็ง) a district of Chiang Khòng
<i>Müang Mõng</i>	(Tai เมืองเม็ง, Chinese 雙江 <i>Shuangjiang</i>) a district of Yunnan
<i>Müang Nai</i>	(Tai เมืองนาย, Burmese မိုင်းနဲ <i>Mongnai</i>) a Shan state
<i>Müang Nang</i>	(Tai เมืองนัง) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Ngai</i>	(Tai เมืองงาย) a district of Laos
<i>Müang Ngan</i>	(Tai เมืองงาน) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Ngat</i>	(Tai เมืองงาด, Chinese 勐阿 <i>Meng'a</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Nim</i>	(Tai เมืองนึม, Chinese 勐允 <i>Mengyun</i>) a district of Müang Laem
<i>Müang Nòi</i>	(Tai เมืองน้อย) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Nòng</i>	(Tai เมืองหนอง, Burmese မိုင်းနောင် <i>Mongnawng</i>) a Shan state
<i>Müang Nun</i>	(Tai เมืองนูน, Chinese 勐倫 <i>Menglun</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Pan</i>	(Tai မိုင်းပင်, Burmese မိုင်းပန် <i>Mongpan</i>) a Shan state
<i>Müang Pha</i>	(Tai เมืองผา, Chinese 曼帕 <i>Manpa</i>) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Phaen</i>	(Tai เมืองแพน) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Phalaeo</i>	(Tai เมืองพะแลว) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Phan</i>	(Tai เมืองพาน) a district of Chiang Rai
<i>Müang Phayak</i>	(Tai เมืองภยาก, Burmese မိုင်းဖြတ် <i>Monghpyak</i>) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Phong</i>	(Tai เมืองพง, Chinese 勐捧 <i>Mengpeng</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Phukha</i>	(Tai เมืองพุกา) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Pòn</i>	(Tai မိုင်းပွင်, Burmese မိုင်းပွန် <i>Mongpawng</i>) a Shan state
<i>Müang Pong</i>	(Tai) probably the Müang Phong in Myanmar
<i>Müang Pu</i>	(Tai เมืองปู) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Rai</i>	(Tai เมืองราย, Chinese 勐海 <i>Menghai</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna

<i>Müang Ram</i>	(Tai เมืองรำ, Chinese 勐罕 <i>Menghan</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Ran</i>	(Tai เมืองราน, Chinese 麻栗坪 <i>Maliping</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Riam</i>	(Tai เมืองเรียม, Chinese 勐醒 <i>Mengxing</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Ring</i>	(Tai เมืองริง, Chinese 普文 <i>Puwen</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Sa</i>	(Tai) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Sai</i>	(Tai เมืองไซ) a district of Laos
<i>Müang Sai</i>	(Tai, Chinese 戛灑 <i>Jiasa</i>) a district of Yuxi
<i>müang sam fai fa</i>	(Tai เมืองสามฝ่ายฟ้า) a polity with three overlords
<i>Müang Sam Nüa</i>	(Tai เมืองซำเหนือ) a district of Hua Phan
<i>Müang Sam Tai</i>	(Tai เมืองซำใต้) a district of Hua Phan
<i>Müang Sam Thao</i>	(Tai เมืองสามท้าว) a region located between three lords (<i>sam thao</i>), i.e. Chiang Tung, Sipsòng Panna, and Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Sat</i>	(Tai เมืองสาด) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Siao</i>	(Tai) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Sing</i>	(Tai เมืองสิงห์) capital of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Soi</i>	(Tai เมืองโซย) a district of Hua Phan
<i>müang sòng fai fa</i>	(Tai เมืองสองฝ่ายฟ้า) a polity with two overlords
<i>Müang Sop Aet</i>	(Tai เมืองสบแอต) a district of Hua Phan
<i>Müang Sum</i>	(Tai) a district of Laos
<i>Müang Sung</i>	(Tai เมืองสูง, Chinese 勐宋 <i>Mengsong</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Tha</i>	(Tai เมืองทา) a Shan state
<i>Müang Than</i>	(Tai เมืองถ่าน) a district of Sipsòng Panna, annexed by British Burma in 1896
<i>Müang Thōng</i>	(Tai เมืองเทิง) a district of Nan, now located in Chiang Rai
<i>Müang Ting</i>	(Tai เมืองตึง, Chinese 孟定 <i>Mengding</i>) a Tai state
<i>Müang Tuan</i>	(Tai เมืองตวน) a Shan state
<i>Müang U Nüa</i>	(Tai เมืองอุเหนือ, Chinese 勐烏 <i>Mengwu</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang U Tai</i>	(Tai เมืองอุใต้, Chinese 烏得 <i>Wude</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Wa</i>	(Tai เมืองวะ) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Wa</i>	(Tai เมืองวา) a district of Laos
<i>Müang Waen</i>	(Tai เมืองแวน, Chinese 勐遠 <i>Mengyuan</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Wang</i>	(Tai เมืองวัง, Chinese 勐往 <i>Mengwang</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Ya</i>	(Tai, Chinese 漠沙 <i>Mosha</i>) a district of Yuxi
<i>Müang Yae</i>	(Tai မြောက်, Vietnamese Mườ̀ng Nhé) a district of Sipsòng Chao Thai
<i>Müang Yai</i>	(Tai မိုင်းယံ, Burmese မိုင်းယုင် Mongyai) a Shan state
<i>Müang Yang</i>	(Tai မိုင်းယောင်း, Burmese မိုင်းညှင်း Mohnyin) a Shan state
<i>Müang Yang</i>	(Tai เมืองยาง, Chinese 勐養 <i>Mengyang</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Müang Yang</i>	(Tai เมืองยาง, Burmese မိုင်းယန်း Mongyang) a district of Chiang Tung

<i>Müang Yòng</i>	(Tai เมืองยอง, Burmese မိုင်းယောင်း Mongyawng) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Müang Yu</i>	(Tai เมืองญู่, Burmese မိုင်းယု Mongyu) a district of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Müang Yuan</i>	(Tai เมืองหย่วน, Chinese 勐潤 <i>Mengrun</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>müang yuan</i>	(Tai เมืองยวน) Lanna
<i>Musö</i>	(Tai มูเซอ) Lahu people
<i>Myat E</i>	(Burmese မြတ်အေး) a Tai Christian
<i>myook</i>	(Burmese မြို့အုပ် <i>mruilup</i>) township officer
<i>Myosa/Myoza</i>	(Burmese မြို့စား <i>mruica</i>) city ruler
<i>na sü</i>	(Tai น้ำสือ) messenger
<i>Nam Ban</i>	(Tai น้ำปาน, Chinese 羅梭江 <i>Luosuojiang</i>) the Nam Ban River
<i>Nam Kha</i>	(Tai) a river in Laos
<i>Nam Kham</i>	(Tai ခမ်.ခမ်) a town in Shan State
<i>Nam La</i>	(Tai น้ำลำ, Chinese 南臘河 <i>Nanlahe</i>) a river in Sipsòng Panna
<i>Nam Lam</i>	(Tai น้ำลำ, Chinese 南覽河 <i>Nanlanhe</i>) a border river between Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung
<i>Nam Leung</i>	(Tai) a village of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Nam Ma</i>	(Tai) a river
<i>Nam Na</i>	(Tai) a river
<i>Nam Nga</i>	(Tai น้ำงะ, Chinese 南阿河 <i>Nan' ahe</i>) a river in Sipsòng Panna
<i>Nam Nò</i>	(Tai น้ำหน่อ, Chinese 南糯 <i>Nannuo</i>) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Nam Pine</i>	(Tai) a river
<i>Nam Riam</i>	(Tai น้ำเรียม, Chinese 南醒河 <i>Nanxinghe</i>) a river in Sipsòng Panna
<i>Nam Tha</i>	(Tai น้ำทา) a river in Laos
<i>Nam Thalung</i>	(Tai) a river in Laos
<i>Nam U</i>	(Tai น้ำอุ) a river in Laos
<i>Nam Wa</i>	(Tai น้ำวา) a river in Sipsòng Panna
<i>Nam Ye</i>	(Tai, Chinese 勐野江 <i>Mengyejiang</i>) a river in Jiangcheng
<i>Nam Yuan</i>	(Tai น้ำหย่วน, Chinese 南遠河 <i>Nanyuanhe</i>) a river in Sipsòng Panna
<i>nan</i>	(Tai หนาน) title for disrobed Bhikkhu and people who disrobed after twenty, also known as <i>khanan</i>
<i>Nan Chailangka</i>	(Tai หนานไชยลังกา) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Nan Intha</i>	(Tai หนานอินทะ) a Sam Thüan Christian from Ban Fai, Chiang Khang
<i>Nan Intha</i>	(Tai หนานอินทะ) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Nan Suwan</i>	(Tai หนานสุวรรณ) a Tai Lü Christian from Chiang Mai
<i>Nan Tha</i>	(Tai หนานทะ) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Nan Tha/Nan Intha</i>	(Tai หนานทะ/หนานอินทะ) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Nan Thi</i>	(Tai หนานธิ) a Tai Yuan Christian from North Siam

<i>Nang Bua</i>	(Tai นางบัว) a Tai Christian from Müang Yòng
<i>Nang Chan</i>	(Tai นางจันทร์) a Tai Christian from Müang Yòng
<i>Nang In Kham</i>	(Tai นางอินคำ) the daughter of Chao Chan
<i>Nang Kao</i>	(Tai นางแก้ว) a Tai Christian from Müang Yòng
<i>Nang Nòi</i>	(Tai นางน้อย) a Tai Khün Christian from Chiang Tung
<i>Nang Nu</i>	(Tai နာင်းနူး) a Tai Christian, Myat E's wife
<i>Nang Saeng</i>	(Tai นางแสง) Pha Ka Chai's daughter
<i>Naw Kham Mông Tein</i>	(Tai နေ၊ ခမ်းမိုင်းတိုင်) a Tai official
<i>neidi</i>	(Chinese 內地) inland
<i>Nga</i>	a group of hill people
<i>Ngiao/Yiao</i>	(Tai เงี้ยว/เยี้ยว) an obsolete term, used by the Tai Khün, Tai Lü, Tai Yuan, and Siamese, referring to the Shan proper
<i>Ngin</i>	(Khmer) a Cambodian secretary of Pavie Mission
<i>Nguyễn Cao</i>	(Vietnamese) a bandit
<i>Ngwehkwanhmu</i>	(Burmese ငွေခွန်မှူး) revenue officer
<i>Nisu</i>	(Chinese 尼蘇) a group of Yi people
<i>Nòi</i>	(Tai น้อย) a Tai Lü from Sipsòng Chao Thai
<i>nòi</i>	(Tai น้อย) the title of disrobed novices or people who disrobed before twenty
<i>Nòi Hüan</i>	(Tai) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Nòi Kan</i>	(Tai น้อยกัน) a Tai Christian from Chiang Rai
<i>Nòi Rin</i>	(Tai น้อยริน) a Tai Christian from Chiang Mai
<i>Nòi Saen</i>	(Tai น้อยแสน) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Nòi Tepin</i>	(Tai) a Tai Christian from Chiang Rai
<i>Nòi Wong</i>	(Tai) a Tai Christian from North Siam
<i>Nòng Khai</i>	(Tai ทนงคาย) a district of Siam
<i>nüa</i>	(Tai เหนือ) north; above
<i>nüa kwan</i>	(Tai เหนือกวาน) district council in ancient Tai societies
<i>nüa sanam</i>	(Tai เหนือสนาม) court council in ancient Tai societies
<i>nuing ngam tau</i>	(Burmese နိုင်ငံတော်) kingdom
<i>Ö Kui</i>	(Tai เอกุ้ย, Chinese 阿桂 Agüi) a Chinese general
<i>Oum</i>	(Khmer) a Cambodian secretary of Pavie Mission
<i>Pak Ai</i>	(Chinese) an unidentified place in Guangxi
<i>Pak Lai</i>	(Tai ปากลาย) a district of Nan, now in Laos
<i>Pang Pouey</i>	(Tai) a place in North Laos
<i>pen ban pen müang</i>	(Tai เป็นบ้านเป็นเมือง) to be in the condition of being a country
<i>Pha Ka Chai</i>	(Tai ๒๔๓๔) a Tai Christian from Chiang Tung
<i>Phanom</i>	(Tai พนม) a district of Siam
<i>Phetchaburi</i>	(Tai เพชรบุรี) a province of Siam
<i>phi kla</i>	(Tai ผีกละ) witchcraft

<i>phi pòp</i>	(Tai ฝึบ) witchcraft
<i>phò khru</i>	(Tai พ่อครู) male teacher
<i>phò khru nam khaek</i>	(Tai พ่อครูน้ำแซ็ก) the Presbyterian missionary
<i>phò khru nòng pha</i>	(Tai พ่อครูหนองผา) the Baptist missionary
<i>phò mae</i>	(Tai พ่อแม่) father and mother
<i>phò mae òk sattha</i>	(Tai พ่อแม่ออกศรัทธา) used to address the general donors of a temple
<i>phò mae phi nòng</i>	(Tai พ่อแม่พี่น้อง) used to address the general public
<i>Phò Racha</i>	(Tai พ่อราชา) the headman of Ban Thap, Müang Yòng
<i>Phra Bat Müang Kang</i>	(Tai พระบาทเมืองกาง) a Buddhist site in Müang Kang
<i>phra maha khrasat</i>	(Tai พระมหากษัตริย์) great king
<i>chao</i>	
<i>Phra Phrom Surin</i>	(Tai พระพรหมสุรินทร์) Siamese Commissioner at Nan
<i>Phra That Chòm Yòng</i>	(Tai พระธาตุจอมยอง) a stupa in Müang Yòng
<i>Phra That Dòi Tung</i>	(Tai พระธาตุดอยตุง) a stupa in Mae Sai
<i>Phra That Nò</i>	(Tai พระธาตุหน่อ) a stupa in Müang Luang
<i>Phra That Phanom</i>	(Tai พระธาตุพนม) a stupa in Nakhò Phanom
<i>Phra That Pu Lan</i>	(Tai พระธาตุปู่หลาน) a stupa in Müang Luang
<i>Phrachao Müang</i>	(Tai พระเจ้าเมือง) title of a Wa spiritual leader
<i>phraya</i>	(Tai พระยา) title of a senior nobility
<i>Phraya Bat</i>	(Tai พระยาบาท) an Akha chief of Müang Sing
<i>Phraya Chai</i>	(Tai พระยาชัย) a Lahu chief
<i>Phraya Chaiyawong</i>	(Tai พระยาไชยวงษ์) a minister of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Chomphu</i>	(Tai พระยาชมพู่) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Chüang</i>	(Tai พระยาเจือง) he is believed to be the founder of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya En Kham</i>	(Tai พระยาแอนคำ) a Yao headman
<i>Phraya In</i>	(Tai พระยาอินทร์) Indra
<i>Phraya Intha Wichai</i>	(Tai พระยาอินทวิชัย) an official of Wiang Phukha
<i>Phraya Kaeo</i>	(Tai พระยาแก้ว) a Lahu chief
<i>Phraya Khaek</i>	(Tai พระยาแขก) an official of Chiang Tung
<i>Phraya Khai Saen</i>	(Tai พระยาขายแสนสมณะเมต) an official of Chiang Tung
<i>Somphamet</i>	
<i>Phraya Kham Lü</i>	(Tai พระยาคำลือ) a Yao chief of Müang Sing
<i>Phraya Khattiya</i>	(Tai พระยาขัตติยะ) an official of Chiang Tung
<i>Phraya Khiri</i>	(Tai พระยาศิริ) a Lahu chief of Chiang Tung
<i>Phraya La Mün</i>	(Tai พระยาละมื่น) an official of Chiang Tung
<i>Phraya Lò</i>	(Tai) the chief minister of Chiang Tung
<i>Phraya Luang Chan</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงจัน) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Luang Kham</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงคำแดง) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Daeng</i>	
<i>Phraya Luang Khòn</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงคอนเมือง) an official of Lòk Chòk
<i>Müang</i>	

Appendix

<i>Phraya Luang Mangkhala</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงมังคละ) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Luang Na Khwa</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงนาขวา) chief minister of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Luang Phromma</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงพรหมมะ) an official from Müang Phukha
<i>Phraya Luang Ratchawong</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงราชวงศ์) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Luang Singhara Chaiya</i>	(Tai พระยาสิงหระไชยา) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Luang Sorawong</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงโสระวงศ์) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Luang Suriyawong</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงสุริยวงศ์) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Luang Yanawong</i>	(Tai พระยาหลวงญาณวงศ์) author of a Sipsòng Panna historical record
<i>Phraya Lücha</i>	(Tai พระยาลือชา) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Nantha Sian</i>	(Tai พระยานันทะเสียน) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Peng Chang</i>	(Tai) an official from Müang Sing
<i>Phraya Phawadi</i>	(Tai พระยาภาวดี) a minister of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Phawang</i>	(Tai พระยาผาวัง) a Tai Nüa minister of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Phrom Lü</i>	(Tai พระยาพรหมลือ) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Phromma</i>	(Tai พระยาพรหมมะ) an official from Wiang Phukha
<i>Phraya Phromma Panya</i>	(Tai พระยาพรหมมะปัญญา) a minister of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Phrommawong</i>	(Tai พระยาพรหมมะวงศ์) a minister of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Prap</i>	(Tai พระยาปราบ) an official from Chiang Mai
<i>Phraya Ramma Chak</i>	(Tai พระยารัมมจักร) a minister of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Ratcha Wang</i>	(Tai พระยาราชวัง) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Phraya Saen</i>	(Tai พระยาแสน) chief minister of Sipsòng Panna, ruler of Chiang Lò
<i>Phraya Saen Luang</i>	(Tai พระยาแสนหลวง) a Yao chief from Wiang Phukha
<i>Phraya Sin</i>	(Tai พระยาสิน) a Lahu chief
<i>Phraya Sing</i>	(Tai พระยาสิง) a Lahu chief
<i>Phraya Singhanat</i>	(Tai พระยาสิงหนาท) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Sitthi Wang Rat</i>	(Tai พระยาสีทิวังราช) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Tham</i>	(Tai พระยาธรรม) a figure in Buddhist belief to make the world peaceful and content in the future, i.e. พระยาธรรมิกราช
<i>Phraya Ton Phra Na Sai</i>	(Tai พระยาตนพระชัย) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>Phraya Wang</i>	(Tai พระยาวัง) chief minister of Chiang Tung

<i>Phraya Wat</i>	(Tai พระยาวัด) an official of Chiang Tung
<i>Phu Lao</i>	(Tai) a place in Laos
<i>Po Sain</i>	(Burmese ဘိုးဝိန်) a Baptist Christian
<i>Po Tun</i>	(Burmese ဘိုးထွန်း) a Baptist Christian
<i>Pou Phang</i>	(Vietnamese) a village of Tonkin
<i>Prince Damrong</i>	(Tai สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าดิศวรกุมาร กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ Somdet Phrachao Bòrommawongthö Phra-ongchao Ditsawarakuman Kromphraya Damrongrachanuphap) prince of Siam
<i>Prince Devawongse</i>	(Tai สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าเทวัญอุไทยวงศ์ กรมพระยาเทวะวงศ์วโรปการ Somdet Phrachao Bòrommawongthö Phra-ongchao Thewan-u-thaiwong Kromphraya Thewawongwaropakan) prince of Siam, the Minister of Foreign Affairs
<i>Prince Gong</i>	(Chinese 恭親王) the title of a princely peerage during the Qing dynasty, here refers to 奕訢 Yixin
<i>Prince Limbin</i>	(Burmese လင်းဝင်းမင်းသား <i>Langpang mangsa</i>) prince of Burma
<i>Pu Cawn Lon</i>	(Tai) a Wa spiritual leader
<i>Pu La</i>	a Baptist worker
<i>Pu Saen</i>	(Tai ปู่แสน) a Tai Nüa from Ban Nòng Ngön, Chiang Tung
<i>Pu'er</i>	(Chinese 普洱, Tai เมืองแมน <i>Müang Maen</i>) a district of Yunnan, renamed as Ning'er in 2007
<i>pum</i>	(Burmese ပုံ) picture
<i>pung</i>	(Tai ปุง, borrowed from Burmese <i>pum</i>) photograph, picture
<i>qian yue</i>	(Chinese 前月) the previous month
<i>Quan-Chu-Line</i>	(Chinese) a village in Müang U
<i>Racha</i>	(Tai ราชา) the headman of a village in Müang Yòng
<i>Racha Nammawong</i>	(Tai ราชานามวงศ์) an official of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Racha Ratchasan</i>	(Tai ราชาราชสาน) an official of Chiang Khaeng
<i>rahta mi</i>	(Burmese ရထားမီး) train
<i>ratha fai</i>	(Tai รถไฟ, borrowed from Burmese <i>rahta mi</i>) train
<i>Ròi Kiang</i>	(Tai) a Siamese official
<i>Ròng Lök</i>	(Tai ร่องลึก) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>rüan khang</i>	(Tai เรือนขัง) place of detention
<i>saen</i>	(Tai แสน) title of a low-ranking officer
<i>Saen Lam</i>	(Tai แสนล้าม) an official of Chiang Tung
<i>Saen Luang Phan</i>	(Tai แสนหลวงพ้าน) a Lahu chief
<i>Saen Mông</i>	(Tai แสนมอง) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Saen Müang Nam</i>	(Tai) an official of Chiang Tung
<i>Saen Phromma Khili</i>	(Tai แสนพรหมมะคิลี) a Lahu chief
<i>Saen Rattana</i>	(Tai แสนรัตนะ) an official of Chiang Tung

<i>Saen Wi</i>	(Tai แสนหวิ, Burmese သီၼ်း Theinni) a Shan state
<i>Saen Yòt</i>	(Tai แสนยอด) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>saenwifa</i>	(Tai แสนหวิฟ้า, borrowed from Burmese သေၼ်းဝိဘူး <i>senywibhwa</i> , etymology: Chinese 宣慰 <i>xuanwei</i>) pacification commissioner
<i>sala</i>	(Tai ศาลา) wayside pavilion
<i>sala luang</i>	(Tai สล่าหลวง) senior teacher
<i>sam hò kham, si chaofa</i>	(Tai สามทองคำ สี่เจ้าฟ้า) three golden palaces and four princes
<i>Sam Sop</i>	(Tai สามสบ) a river confluence
<i>Sam Sop Nam Dung</i>	(Tai) a river confluence of Nam Dung
<i>Sam Sop Nam Kong</i>	(Tai) a river confluence of Nam Kong
<i>Sam Thüan</i>	(Tai สามเดือน) an ethnic group of Chiang Tung
<i>Sang Suna</i>	(Tai) a Tai from Chiang Mai
<i>Saokut Hpasao</i>	(Tai) a Wa spiritual leader
<i>Sarasit Chao Maha</i>	(Tai สรสิทธิ์เจ้ามหาชัย) an official of Chiang Mai
<i>Chai</i>	
<i>Se Aian</i>	(Burmese) a servant of Prince Myngoon
<i>Shang Gaixin</i>	(Chinese 上改心) the Lahu Mountains north of the Xiaohei River
<i>Shiping</i>	(Chinese 石屏) a district of Yunnan
<i>shixi</i>	(Chinese 世襲) hereditary
<i>Shunning</i>	(Chinese 順寧) a prefecture of Yunnan
<i>Shwe Thu</i>	(Burmese) a Karen Christian
<i>Si Pò</i>	(Tai သီပေါ, Burmese သီပေါ Thibaw) a Shan state
<i>Simao</i>	(Chinese 思茅, Tai เมืองลา Müang La) a district of Yunnan, renamed as Pu'er 普洱 in 2007
<i>Sipsòng Chao Thai</i>	(Tai မင်းမုခ်, Vietnamese Mười hai xứ Thái) a federation of smaller Tai <i>müang</i> in north Vietnam
<i>Sipsòng Panna</i>	(Tai สิบสองพันนา, Chinese 西雙版納 <i>Xishuangbanna</i>) the territory ruled by Chiang Rung
<i>Somdet Atchaya Tham</i>	(Tai สมเด็จพระราชาธรรม) title of the chief monk in Chiang Tung
<i>somdet phra pen chao</i>	(Tai สมเด็จพระเป็นเจ้า) the great majesty
<i>Sop Yòng</i>	(Tai สบย่อง) a village of Chiang Tung
<i>suak</i>	(Tai สวก) fierce
<i>Ta-Ko-Lègne</i>	(Chinese) a village in Chiang Thòng
<i>Tai Dòi</i>	(Tai ไทดอย) a Tai term referring to various Austroasiatic peoples, also termed as Lua
<i>Tai Khün (thai khün)</i>	(Tai ไทขิ่น) literally, the subjects of <i>müang khün</i> (Chiang Tung); generally, the Tai people of Chiang Tung lineage
<i>Tai Lü (thai lü)</i>	(Tai ไทลื้อ) literally, the subjects of <i>müang lü</i> (Sipsòng Panna); generally, the Tai people of Sipsòng Panna lineage
<i>Tai Luang</i>	(Tai ไทหลวง) the Shan proper

<i>Tai Nüa (thai nüa)</i>	(Tai ไทเหนือ) the Tai people living in western Yunnan and the Shweli River basin, including Müang Laem, Müang Bò, Müang Mao, etc.
<i>Tai Phòng</i>	(Tai ไทฟ่อง) a Tai Lü term referring to the Shan
<i>Tai Sai (thai sai)</i>	(Tai) the Tai of Müang Sai (Jiasa)
<i>Tai Ya (thai ya)</i>	(Tai) the Tai of Müang Ya (Mosha)
<i>Tai Yai</i>	(Tai ไทใหญ่) a Siamese term referring to the Shan proper
<i>Tai Yòng (thai yòng)</i>	(Tai ไทยอง) the subjects of Müang Yòng; the Tai Lü descendants from Sipsòng Panna, Müang Yòng, Müang Luai, etc., in Lamphun and Chiang Rai
<i>Tai Yuan (thai yuan)</i>	(Tai ไทยวน) literally, the subjects of <i>müang yuan</i> (Lanna); generally, the Tai people of Lanna lineage
<i>Tali-Sine</i>	(Chinese) a village in Müang U
<i>Taunggyi</i>	(Burmese တောင်ကြီး) a place in Burma
<i>Tchin Tchin</i>	(Chinese) a Chinese commandant of Müang Lae
<i>Tchioum</i>	(Khmer) a Cambodian secretary of Pavie Mission
<i>Teuk Tétia</i>	a merchant
<i>Tha Khilek</i>	(Tai ท่าซี้เหล็ก, Burmese တာချီလိတ် Tachileik) a district of Chiang Tung
<i>Tha Khòng</i>	(Tai ท่าของ) a near Chiang Saen
<i>Tha Lek</i>	(Tai ท่าเหล็ก) a ferry
<i>thai</i>	(Tai ไท) subject; the Tai people
<i>thai khæ</i>	(Tai ไทแขก) Chinese Tai
<i>thammaracha</i>	(Tai ธรรมราชา) the king of righteousness
<i>thao phraya</i>	(Tai ท้าวพระยา) nobles
<i>Thao Sitthimongkhon</i>	(Tai ท้าวสิทธิมงคล) an official of Chiang Mai
<i>Thao Thep</i>	(Tai ท้าวเทพ) messenger of Chao Kham Da's letter to Müang Hon
<i>thap phòng</i>	(Tai ทัพฟ่อง) dependent müang
<i>Thin</i>	a group of hill people
<i>thung</i>	(Tai ทุ่ง) low-lying land
<i>Ton Müang Khai</i>	(Tai) a tree near Müang Luang Phukha
<i>Tsen</i>	a group of hill people
<i>tua khün</i>	(Tai ตัวธรรม) Khün script
<i>tua lik</i>	(Tai ตัวลิก) Tua Muan Script, i.e. Shan script
<i>tua lü</i>	(Tai ตัวธรรม) Lü script
<i>tua müang</i>	(Tai ตัวเมือง) local script or script of the country [of Lanna]
<i>tua tham</i>	(Tai ตัวธรรม) Tham script
<i>U Yi</i>	(Burmese ဦးဝီ) an official from Lòk Chòk
<i>Üay Kham</i>	(Tai เอื้อยคำ) Ai Fu's wife
<i>Ubon Ratchathani</i>	(Tai อุบลราชธานี) a district of Siam

<i>uparat</i>	(Tai อุปราชา) vice monarch
<i>Uthen</i>	(Tai อุเทน) a district of Siam
<i>Vinh</i>	(Vietnamese) a city in central Vietnam
<i>Vong</i>	(Khmer) a Cambodian secretary of Pavie Mission
<i>Waingnaung</i>	(Burmese) ruler of Müang Nai
<i>Waingseik</i>	(Burmese) ruler of Müang Nai
<i>wat</i>	(Tai วัด) Buddhist monastery
<i>Wat Hua Khuang</i>	(Tai วัดหัวช้าง) a monastery of Chiang Tung
<i>Wat Tha Phrao</i>	(Tai วัดท่าพร้าว) a monastery of Müang Sing
<i>Wat Yang Phan</i>	(Tai วัดยางพัน) a monastery of Chiang Lò
<i>Wei Hongtao</i>	(Chinese 魏鴻燾) a Chinese official
<i>Wei Minggao</i>	(Chinese 魏名高) a bandit
<i>Woni</i>	(Chinese 窩泥) a group of Hani people
<i>Xia Gaixin</i>	(Chinese 下改心) the Lahu Mountains south of the Xiaohei River
<i>Xiangtang</i>	(Chinese 香堂) a group of Yi people
<i>Xu Taishen</i>	(Chinese 許台身) a Chinese official
<i>xuanwei</i>	(Chinese 宣慰) Pacification Commissioner
<i>xuanwei shisi</i>	(Chinese 宣慰使司) Pacification Office
<i>Xue Fucheng</i>	(Chinese 薛福成) a Chinese diplomat
<i>xunjian</i>	(Chinese 巡檢) police officer
<i>ya khao thö</i>	(Tai อย่าเข้าเทอ) do not enter
<i>ya^ˆ hpu</i>	(Lahu) white person
<i>ya^ˆ suh⁻</i>	(Lahu) new person
<i>yakkha</i>	(Tai ยักษ์) giant
<i>Yāngfārō</i>	(Tai) a place in Chiang Tung
<i>yeman pigu</i>	(Chinese 野蠻屁股) rude buttock
<i>Yibang</i>	(Chinese 倚邦) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>Yiwu</i>	(Chinese 易武) a district of Sipsòng Panna
<i>yòn su</i>	(Tai ยอนซู) requesting reward
<i>yong wei zhongguo chenmin</i>	(Chinese 永為中國臣民) to be Chinese subjects forever
<i>Yuan</i>	(Tai ยวน) Tai Yuan
<i>yunnan puding you ying lianyong buyong canjiang</i>	(Chinese 雲南普定右營練勇補用參將) Expectant Appointee of the Assistant Regional Commander to the Puding Right Firearms Brigade of Yunnan
<i>Zhang Chengyu</i>	(Chinese 張成瑜) a Chinese spy
<i>Zhang Wenxian</i>	(Chinese 張文先) a Chinese official
<i>Zhenbian</i>	(Chinese 鎮邊) a Sub-Prefecture of Yunnan
<i>zhongguo shidi</i>	(Chinese 中國失地) lost territory of China
<i>Zongli Yamen</i>	(Chinese 總理衙門) Qing's Office for the General Management of Affairs Concerning the Various Countries

Appendix III Figures



Figure 1 Market of Müang Yông (Francis Garnier, ed., *Atlas du Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868 par une commission française présidée par M. le capitaine de frégate Doudart de Lagrée et publié par les ordres du Ministre de la marine sous la direction de M. le lieutenant de vaisseau Francis Garnier. Pt. 2* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1873), Planche 31.)

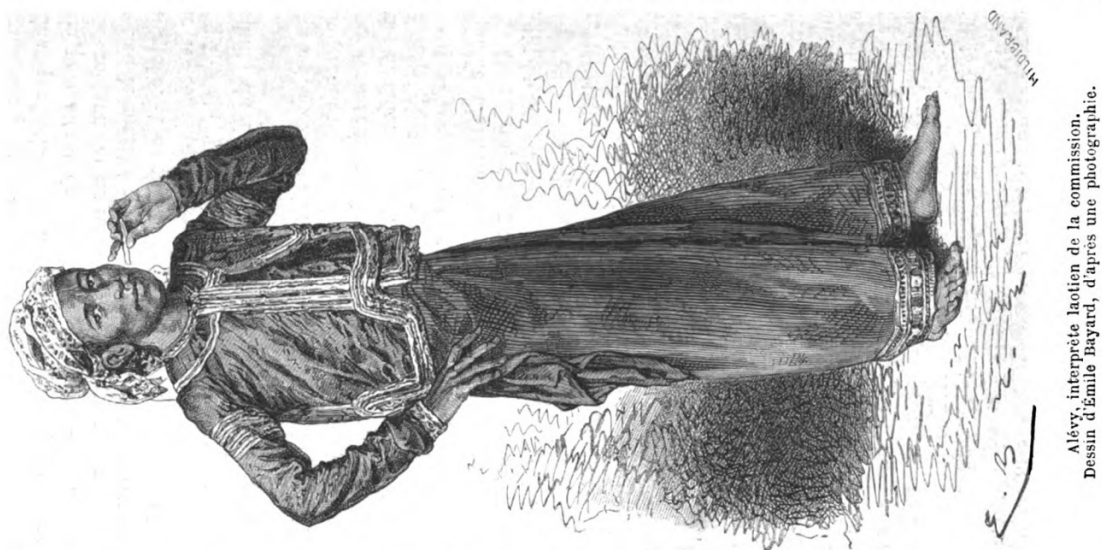


Figure 2 Alévy (Francis Garnier, “Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine”, *Le Tour du monde* 25 (1875): 292)



Figure 3 James George Scott at a sala on his first visit to Chiang Tung in 1890 (© British Library Board, Photo 92/3(13))



Figure 4 The palace of Chiang Tung (© British Library Board, Photo 92/3(25))

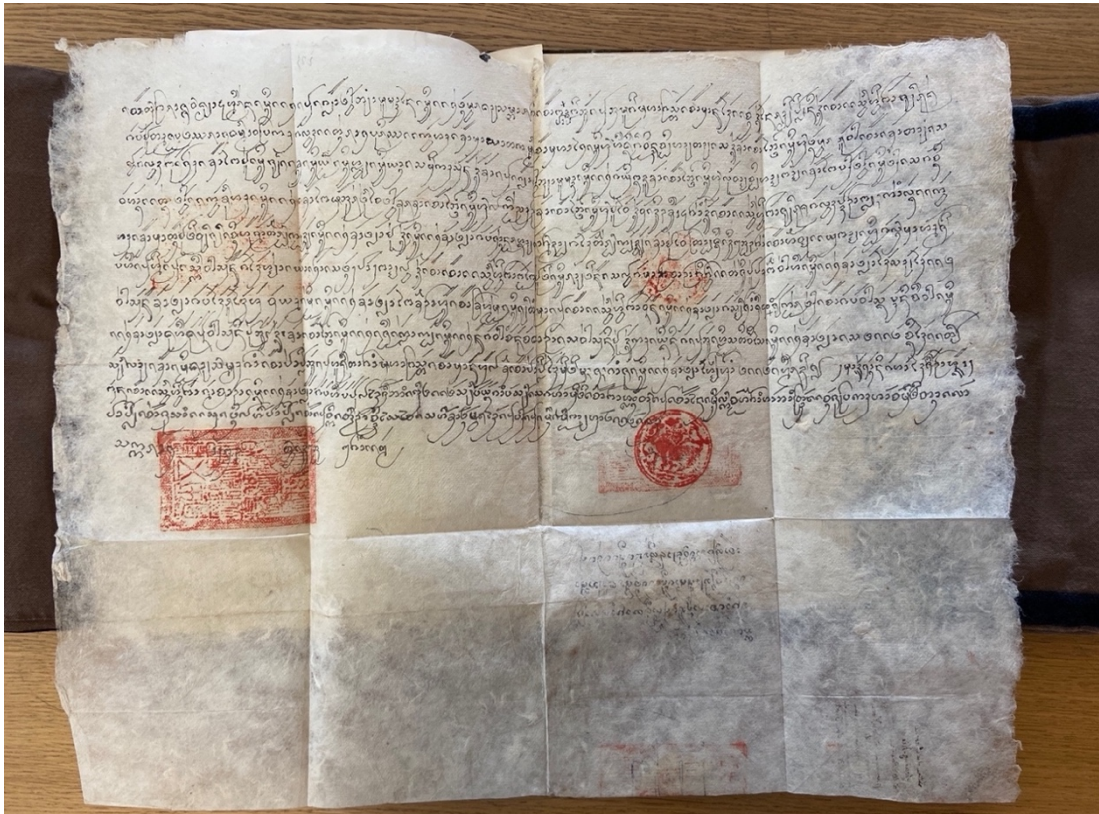


Figure 5 Chao Ton Phra Ratchawongsa and the counsellors of Müang Chae to Auguste Pavie, the 5th waxing day of the 7th month, 1253 [13 April 1891], PA-AP 136, Volume 43, Papiers Auguste Pavie, CADLC.



Figure 6 Chao Nang Suwanna, the youngest princess of Chiang Tung, and Chao Nang Waen Thip, 1900 (© British Library Board, Photo 430/86(3))



Figure 7 Chao Sri Nò Kham (standing on the left), his elder son Chao Ong Kham (standing on the right) and his other family members, with a notice on this shooting on the left (Anonymous, Le roi et sa famille, n.d. [1895], photograph, PP0023605.1, MQB)

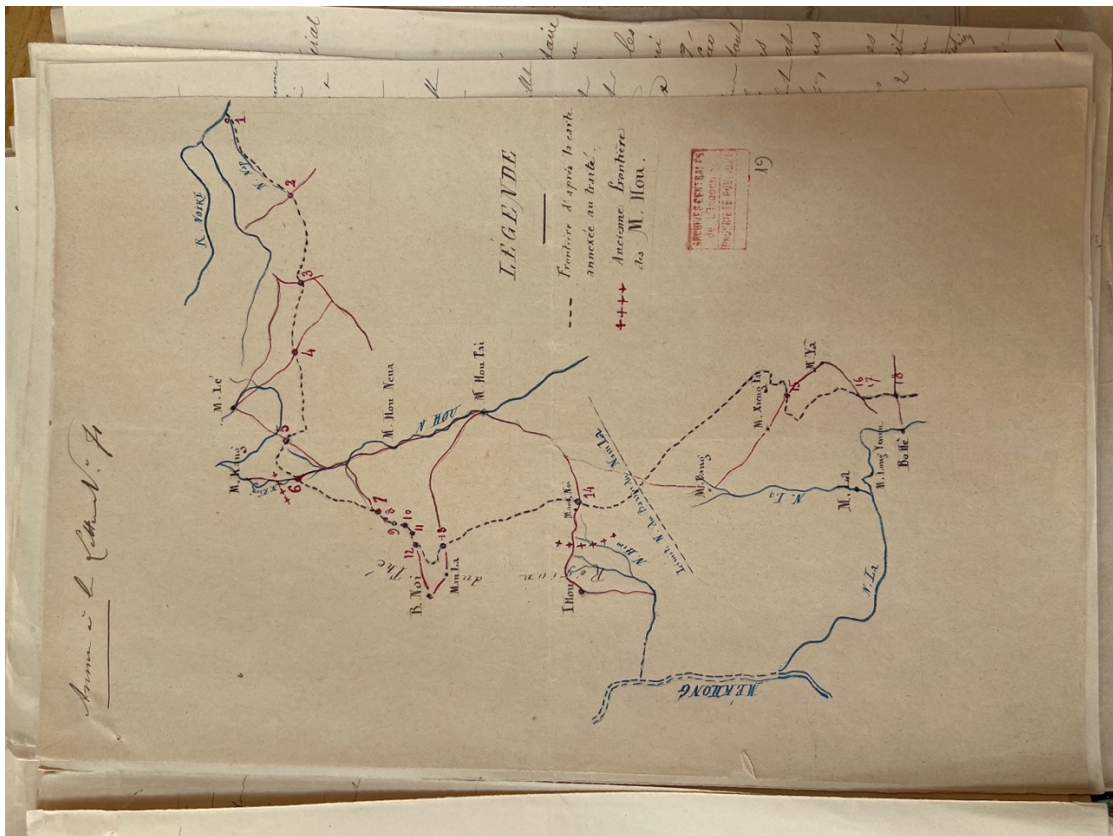


Figure 8 Boundaries of Müang U (Sandré, Annexe à la lettre No. 71, 9 janvier 1896, map, GGI 31732, ANOM)

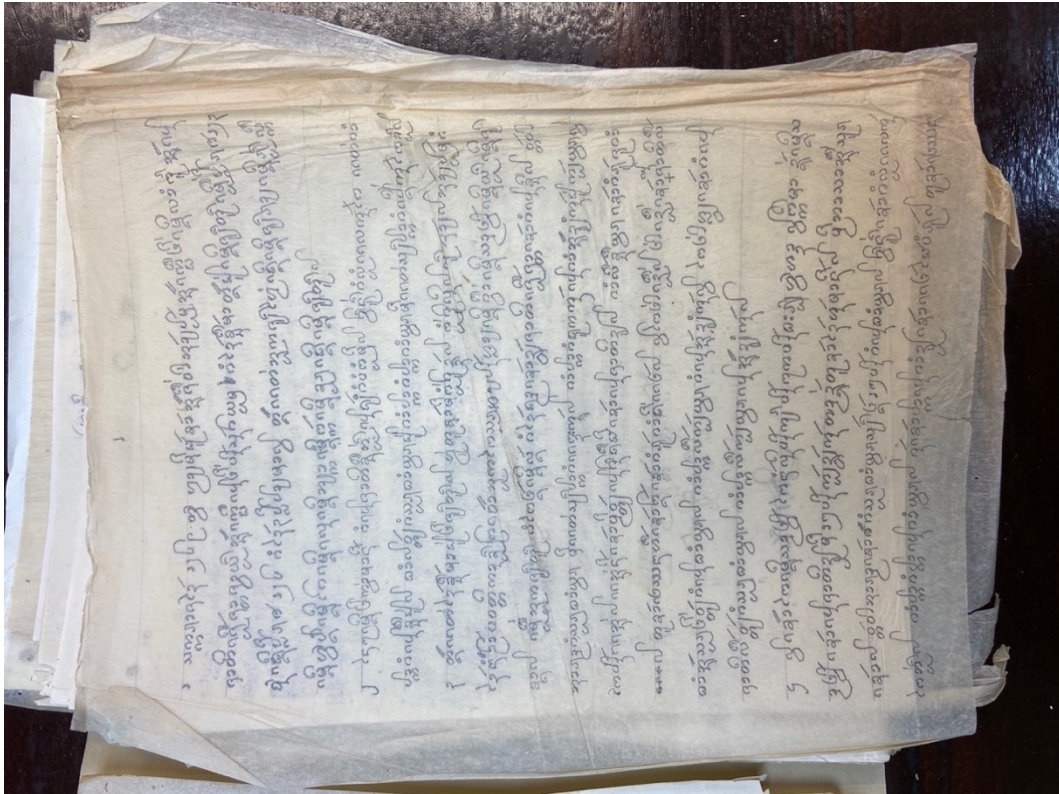


Figure 9 Statement of Ai Pòm (Statement of Ai Pòm, 1269 [1907/1908], RG 84-8-30, SFTM, PHS)

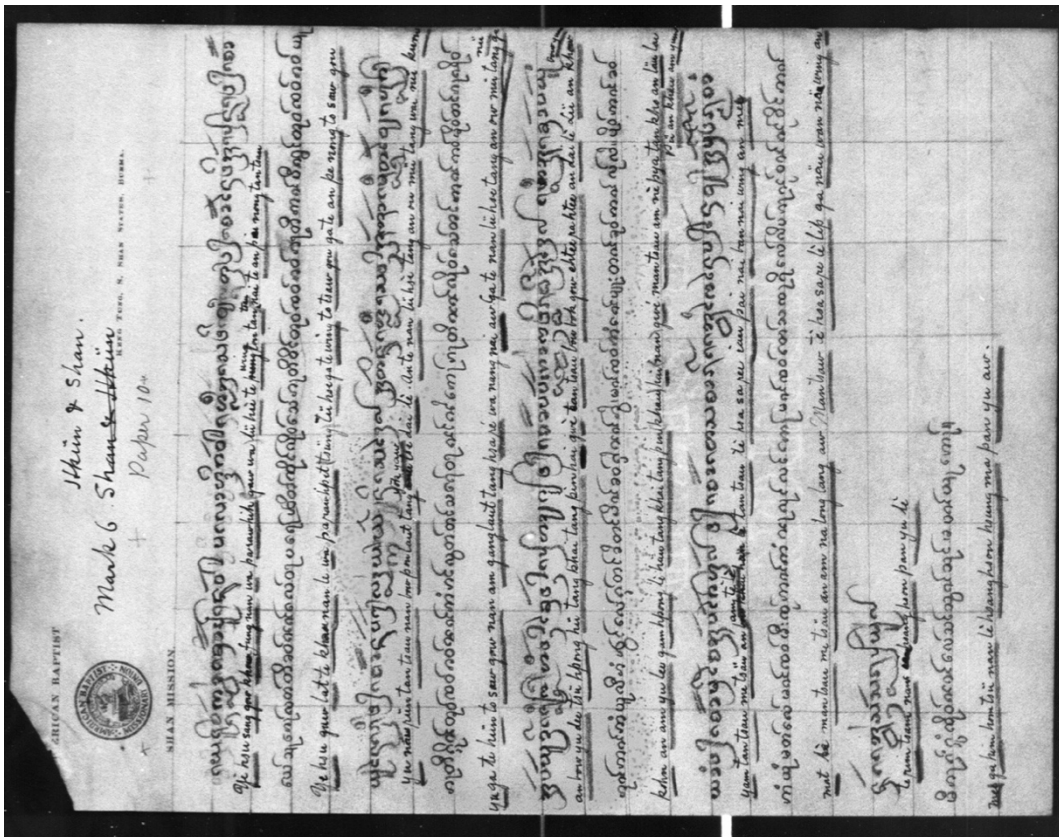


Figure 10 Comparison of Mark 6 in Tai Khün and Shan (Paper 10: Mark 6 Hkùn & Shan, n.d., FM-192, IM-MC, ABHS)

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- แผ่นดินยุคเจ้าฟ้ารัตนก้องแก้วอินแถลง เกียรติประวัติของเจ้าฟ้า เจ้านาง ผู้ร่วมสร้างราชวงศ์เม็งรายเชียงตุง [The princesses of Mangrai-Kengtung]. Translated by Phra Maha Kaeo Wachirayano, Phra Maha Duangthip Pariyattidhari and Somporn Varnado. Chiang Mai: Sun Sinlapawatthanatham Klum Chattiphan Thai, 2556 [2013].
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