

Kyaing Tong in Transition (c. 1850-1950)

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Kyaing Tong is the largest and oldest state of Trans-Than Lwin Region. It is known in history with such variety of names as Gon (Khun) (Than Tun, 2004), Kom, Kyaing Tong (Hman-nan, 2008), Khema Vara and Khema Rahta Jayajotitongkarapur (Scott and Hardiman, 1901). The first people who migrated into Kyaing Tong were Wa or La-wa. They also settled in the other areas of eastern Shan States and Lan Na in northern Thailand (Conway, 2006). They were followed by Gon (Khun) and Lu people. The date of the migration of these people is attributed to the early first millennium AD even though local chronicles mentions the date of early settlements to twelfth century AD (Mangrai, 1981). Later the ethnic group from the neighbouring states of Thailand and Laos comprising Tai Hkun; Tai Lu, Tai Lem, Tai Neu, Tai Yuan, Tai Lao and Tai Htai came to settle in the Trans-Thanlwin Region including Kyaing Tong area (Sai Aung Tun, 2009). They established communities which later developed chiefs known as *saophas* or *sawbwas* (in Myanmar) which means lord of the sky. A legend says that Kyaing Tong was firstly founded by a hermit named Tong. The state therefore was named after its founder Keng Tong or Kyaing Tong. However Kyaing Tong chronicle mentions that the first two *sawbwas* of Kyaing Tong; Mang Kom and Mang Yè belonged to Wa Tribe. They were replaced by Khun *sawbwas* who ruled the region from the mid-thirteenth century A.D to 1959 when *sawbwas* relinquished their autonomous rule (Than Tun, 2004).

Like the Myanmar chronicles and other Shan chronicles, Kyaing Tong chronicles began since the life time of Buddha who visited to Kyaing Tong area and made a prophecy on the future of Kyaing Tong and left eight sacred hair relics (Mangrai, 1981). Some local people of present day Kyaing Tong still believe the origins of their state had connected to the legends. The people of Kyaing Tong still propitiate the guardian spirits primarily female dragon at their home or at the ceremonies (Sai Lon Gyi, 2014). Like Myanmar kings, successive Kyaing Tong *Sawbwas* consulted with the soothsayers for the establishment of *Haw*-palace and city as well as held the propitiation ceremony to female dragon who was believed to be the guardian spirit of Kyaing Tong.

The relations between Kyaing Tong and Myanmar kings began only in the mid-sixteenth century even though Myanmar chronicles describe that Kyaing Tong had been one of the tributary states of Myanmar since the Bagan period. The epigraphic evidence of Myanmar reveals that the hegemony of Myanmar had never been extended beyond Thanlwin River during Bagan period was dominated by Wa tribes between AD 1134 and 1229. In 1253 they were driven out by Gons or Khuns (Than Tun, 2004) and their chiefs become the independent rulers till AD 1557 when Taungoo Empire extended its influence under King Bayinnaung. It is interesting to note that the first ruler of Kyaing Tong was instilled by Mangrai of

Chiang Mai since 1292. Thai chronicles also mention that Kyaing Tong belonged to the Chiang Mai's circle of mong which stretched as far as the Mekong river and even down to Bago area (Abhakorn, 2005). As regard to the hegemony of Phraya Mangrai, Chiang Mai Chronicle mentions that he once visited to Inwa to make subordinate alliance with the king of Inwa. He was well-treated by the King of Inwa who submitted him the families of skilled gold, silver, copper, iron smiths. After receiving craftsmen, king Mangrai sent the goldsmith to Kyaing Tong (Chiang Mai, 1998). Another sources mention that the eastern Shan States and Lan Na kingdom of north Thailand (Chiang Mai) had strong political relations which dated from the establishment of *sawbwa* rule and of a strong polity in Kyaing Tong in thirteenth century A.D. Chiang Mai regarded Kyaing Tong as a "younger brother" state or subordinate state. The marital alliance existed between the two states even though the power struggles and skirmishes interrupted the alliance (Conway, 2006). Any way, Kyaing Tong-Chiang Mai relations were based on the blood ties between the rulers. However, the rule of *sawbwas* who on belong to the blood ties between the rulers. However, the rule of *sawbwas* who on belonged to the blood of Chiang Mai was interrupted by the succession of Chao Chet Phantu as *sawbwa* of Kyaing Tong in 1456. Although his ancestral line was obscure, it is known that he was installed by King Trilok of Chiang Mai. When Chao Sai Phrom (Than Tun, 204) became *sawbwa* of Kyaing Tong, the relations with Chiangmai broke down due to the Chiang Mai's support to Chao Sam Khong, a rival claimant of Chao Sai Phram (Chiang Mai, 1998). From that time on to the rise of Taungoo hegemony, Kyaing Tong *sawbwas* established its own circle of power and with alliances with its own Mong Lam and Chiang Yai.

The advent of the Myanmar's hegemony under King Bayinnaung after mid-sixteenth century AD terminated the conflicts as well as the political independence of eastern Shan States and neighbouring kingdoms of Chiang Mai and Laos. By 1574, Lin Zin (Laos) invaded peripheral areas of Chiang Mai and Ayutthaya. When the news of Lin Zin invasion was submitted by the La Wa chiefs to Bago, King Bayinnaung discussed with his son and ministers to despatch military expedition to eastern Shan States, Lao and Chiang Mai. On 22 September 1574, the king himself led the army to the capital of Lin Zin (U Thawaw, 206). Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* Sao Mong Kha (1560-68) assisted King Bayinnaung to accomplish military expedition. Indeed, Sao Mong Kha followed suit of his father Phra Kyaukyon Phraya Reinda (1524-60) who became subordinate alliance of King Bayinnaung since his conquest on Trans-Than Lwin states. Phraya Reinda gave military assistance to King Bayinnaung in Ayutthaya campaign. For his collaboration, Kyaukyon Phraya Reinda received cordial treatment from the king when he visited to the court of Hanthawadi in 1559. The king gave a set of tipitaka scriptures to Phara Reinda. The subordinate alliance between Kyaing Tong and Hanthawadi was maintained in the time of Sao Mong Kha who received ten elephants and tipitaka scriptures from the king (Than Tun, 2004). After the conquest of Chiangmai in 1574, King Bayinnaung secured Myanmar rule in Laos, Gon (Kyaing Tong), La Weik region and eastern Shan States by stationing outposts and garrisons.

Soon after the withdrawal of Myanmar forces from Trans-Than Lwin region, subordinate chief of Lin Zin, who was installed by King Bayinnaung through the oath of allegiance, relinquished his throne and took refuge into Kyaing Tong. The king sent troops of his subordinate chiefs to arrest Lin Zin chief. As he saw the strength of Myanmar armies, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* submitted himself to Thado Minsaw son of King Bayinnaung, with tributes. He told that the chief of Lin Zin did not take refuge in his state. After hearing

the report of Kyaing Tong *sawbwa*, the king despatched Thayeri Letya and Yaza Pyinnya to Kyaing Tong where they had to accompany with an official of Chiang Mai to watch the situation. In 1575, the king additionally despatched Banya Dala with 30 elephants, 300 horses and 10000 men to Kyaing Tong. *Sawbwa* Sao Mong Kha welcomed Banya Dala with musical troupe and gifts. He submitted his daughter and gifts to King Bayinnaung. Owing to the conquest of Kyaing Tong, neighbouring states of Ayudhaya and Lin Zin sent tributes to the king Bayinnaung (Gamani Thingyan, 2003).

In addition to the maintenance of allegiance, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* played an important role in the power struggle of Chiang Mai and he gave assistance to Nawrahta Saw to win the throne of Chiang Mai in 1578 and gave additional help to King Bayinnaung to attack Chiang Mai in 1582 (Chiang Mai, 1998). For his loyalty and assistance, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* Sao Mong Kha received ten elephants and gifts from the king. After the death of Sao Mong Kha in 1598, his son Sao Kham Tao (1598-1620) ascended the throne of Kyaing Tong (Scott and Hardiman, 1901). During that time, former hegemony of Myanmar was gradually on the wane due to the demise of King Bayinnaung and the rise of Nanda Bayin. The inconclusive warfares during 30 years of King Bayinnaung's reign greatly exhausted the economic and human resources of the kingdom even though the king alleviated with the war captives and booties from the campaigns against Shan States and neighbouring kingdoms. During Nanda Bayin's reign, Thais invaded into Lower Myanmar. Although Nanda Bayin waged five wars against Ayuddha, his attempts were ended with military disasters (U Kala, 2006c). In this situation Thai levies under Na Reik overran Kyaing Tong in 1600. Although Nanda Bayin could not help Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* to wipe out the Thai forces, the death of Na Reik and the spread of an epidemic disease to the elephants led the Thais to withdraw from Kyaing Tong. After the end of skirmish with Thais, Sao Kham Tao enabled to develop the region (Hman-nan, 2008c).

When Sao Mong Khat (1620-37) become *sawbwa* of Kyaing Tong, the political instability broke out with the outbreak of the uprisings of subordinate chief and attacks of Mong Nai and Man-hong in 1621. In this time King Anaukpetlun (1605-28) of Nyaung-yan Dynasty an army comprised of 150 elephants, 15,000 horses and 40,000 under Baya Gamani to restore law and order. Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* responded the assistance of Anaukpetlun by submitting his daughter Hnin Kham Pao to the king. Anaukpetlun also subdued Mong Sè and Sipsongbanna with the help of Kyaing Tong (Hman-nan, 2008c). During King Tha Lun's reign (1629-48), the first *Sittan* (land roll or land and revenue inquest) was compiled. Kyaing Tong was mentioned for the first time in this *sittan* as the easternmost outpost of Myanmar (Jambudipa, 1960).

With the exception of the Chinese demand of tribute in the reign of *sawbwa* Sao Ohn (1637-52) in 1648, Kyaing Tong stood as the autonomous region in restored-Taungoo period. The king of Myanmar also recognized the autonomous status of *sawbwa*. In some cases they had chosen the righteous claimant to succeed *sawbwa*ship. Sao Ein Kham (1652-78) was selected by Myanmar king to succeed Sao Ohn. The stable friendship and subordinate alliance between Kyaing Tong and Myanmar was broken in the reign of King Sa-ne (1698-1714) who demanded the bride from Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* Sao Sam Phi (1702-8). As *sawbwa* failed to send his daughter, Myanmar forces invaded Kyaing Tong and killed Sao Sin Phi (Hman-nan, 2008). They stationed at Kyaing Tong for three years from 1708 to 1771. After twenty years of

interregnum, Myanmar chosen Maung Myo, a.k.a Sao Mong Khan, who belonged to the Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* gentry from his father and Nyaung Shwe *sawbwa* line from his mother, to ascend the throne of Kyaing Tong. Ten years after his rule of misconduct, he was deposed and fled to Chiang Mai. He was succeeded by his brother Sao Mong Sam (1740-86) who enabled to develop Kyaing Tong.

Kyaing Tong's relation with Myanmar in Konbaung period (1752-1885) began with the conflict between Chinese merchants and local people in 1765. When the Chinese merchants asked the debt from local people, the quarrel broke out and a Chinese merchant was killed in the brawl. During that time, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* Sao Mong San visited to the court of Inwa to pay homage to king Hsinbyushin (1763-76) who had already sent a troops under *sitke*-regimental officer Shwe Taung Tet. After the massacre of a Chinese merchant, Shwe Taung Tet tried to negotiate with Chinese to give compensation and to arrest and to punish the murderer. However the Chinese viceroy of Yunnan Province did not satisfy with the Myanmar's offer and sent the troops under the commander of western front Mong-hsi Son-tu. When Kyaing Tong was besieged by the Chinese troops with those from Keng Rung, King Hsinbyushin sent 200 elephants, 2000 horses and 20,000 men on 27 December 1765. After the fierce battle, the Chinese commander was killed in action. The Chinese troops withdrew from Kyaing Tong after leaving casualties. The king ordered his troops to fortify Kyaing Tong to prevent from future invasion of Chinese (Than Tun, 2004). The successors of King Hsinbyushin realized the importance of Kyaing Tong and put the state under their protection.

When Sao Mong Sam passed away, his son Sao Khon Tai had to face with the invasion of Chiang Mai due to the faithful alliance with Myanmar king. In 1802, Kyaing Tong and its ruler were captured by Chiang Mai troops. Sao Khon Tai inevitably collaborated with the Chiang Mai for the expansion of the latter's power to Sipsongbanna. However his successor Sao Maha Khannan decided to cease the collaboration with Chiang Mai and owed his allegiance to King Badon in 1814. For his loyalty to Myanmar, his successors ruled Kyaing Tong in a continuous line until 1962 when the *sawbwas* of Kyaing Tong was forced to relinquish their power (Abhakorn, 2005).

The king recognized *sawbwa* as the subordinate king and allowed to use the royal regalia including white umbrella, throne etc. Myanmar king appointed *sitke*-regimental officer at Kyaing Tong. Since mid-Konbaung period, Kyaing Tong was put under the jurisdiction of Mong Nai garrison where *bohmu-mintha* the prince who was sent by the king to serve the duty of the commandant of garrison. Later Kyaing Tong became the important headquarters along with Hsenwi, Moby, and Bhamo. Myanmar *sitke* in Kyaing Tong was assisted by two *na-gans*-liaison officers, clerks and 50 armed men. He was allowed to attend the meeting of Kyaing Tong *sawbwa*. However he did not have privilege to interfere the decision of *sawbwa*. Whenever a commandant was appointed and dispatched by the King, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* and his headmen had to welcome him from a place three miles away from the town (Scott and Headman, 1901). The main duty of commandant was to watch the situations of Trans-Than Lwin region and submit reports through Mong Nai Headquarters to the royal capital. They were allowed to enjoy the market tax and tax imposed on the gambling; booth. *Myowuns* (fief holders of town) were also appointed to administer the subordinate towns like Mong Yin, Mong Yong, Mong Lin, Mong Pyin, etc. With the exception of paying annual tributes and gifts to the king, the martial alliance was also

established between the king and *sawbwas*. In some cases, the nephew and son of *sawbwa* were sent to royal capital where they studied traditional administration treatises and court etiquettes. When reigning *sawbwa* passed away, he was sent to Kyaing Tong to succeed *sawbwas*hip (Scott and Hardiman, 1901).

Kyaing Tong- Myanmar relations had some distinctive aspects. Firstly Kyaing Tong *sawbwas* were exempted from paying taxes by the king. They had to pay only annual tributes to the king and crown prince which was not later than 5th waning of Thadingyut (Uzana, 1960). The king gave reciprocal gifts to Kyaing Tong *sawbwa*. The gifts of king were usually more valuable than that of *sawbwa* (Hlut-mat, 1901). The special regard given by Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* by Myanmar king was the allowance to use four white umbrellas which was not allowed even to the crown prince (Uzana, 1960).

Although successive *sawbwas* of Kyaing Tong owed their allegiance to Myanmar king, they could not be neglected, the hostilities from their immediate neighbours; Chiang Mai and Thailand. In 1807, Chaing Mai troops led by uparat-second prince of the king invaded Kyaing Tong (Chiang Mai, 1993). The ruling Prince Maha Khanan fled to Mong Yang but hundreds of families moved to Chaing Mai and transferred their allegiance to Prince Kawliwa of Lan Na. Over time members of royal family of Kyaing Tong and many commoners were taken to Chaing Mai. They were allowed to settle on the outskirts of the city (Conway, 2006). The fugitive *sawbwa* Maha Khanam organized the followers in Mong Yong and Mong Lwe to restore his rule. He despatched two deputies Hsen lampariyan and Tao Khamwan to King Badon to ask help. At first king Badon did not recognize Maha Khanum and even sent a troop to arrest him. In 1813, Maha Khanam went to Amarapura and submitted twelve elephants to the king. After winning the support of king Badon, Maha Khanam went back to Mong Yang and moved to Kyaing Tong in 1817 (Than Tun, 2004).

After the outbreak of the First Anglo-Myanmar war, King Rama III (1824-51) and IV (1851 -1868) invaded Kyaing Tong and Keng Hung. According to Conway, the Siamese Commissioner to Lan Na, Krom Pichit Prichakon wrote that" ... regarding Keng Tung it is most unfortunate that it lies nearer to its than Burma, that it is well-watered and rich in rice... The younger brother of the ruler of Chiang Mai could be sent to look after the country. This encouragement strengthened the ambition of Bangkok to put Kyaing Tong under its suzerainty. In 1852 and 1854 Thais invaded Kyaing Tong. Mong Nai *Sitke* Maha Nawratha defended the town. After fierce fighting, Thai troop withdrew from Kyaing Tong (Maung Maung Tin, 2004c). After the demise of Maha Khanam in 1857, Maha Pong (1857-76) ascended the throne of Kyaing Tong. He was succeeded by Sao Seng (1876-81) who was raised in the Myanmar palace since 1843 King Mindon let his sister Yadana Dewi to marry with Sao Seng. Sao Seng was the last *sawbwa* of Kyaing Tong who maintained his loyalty and friendship to King Mindon. He visited to Mandalay to pay last homage to King Mindon (Hlut-mat, 1901). The king also returned gifts to Kyaing Tong *sawbwa*, his Maha Devi and four minister (Than Tun, 2004). The homage of Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* became the last sign of friendship to Myanmar.

When new *sawbwa* Sao Kon Tai (1881-86) ruled Kyaing Tong in 1881, Mong Nai *Sawbwa* and Mong Nong *Sawbwa* revolted against King; Thibaw and dispose with Kyaing Tong. Sao Kon Tai collaborated with fugitive *sawbwa* to throw off Myanmar yoke due to his personal grudge against King Mindon on the

appointment of Kyaing Yong *Sawbwa*. He slew Myanmar Commandant and thirty followers. Mean while, the attempts of Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* and his allies to depose King Thibaw was strengthened by the arrival of Lin Bin Prince to Kyaing Tong in 1885. The Prince, son of late Prince Kanaung, had taken refuge to British Myanmar after Myingun rebellion in 1866. He was appointed *Myo-ok* in Mawlamyine where he met with the agents of Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* and allies. After discussion, Prince Limbin went to Kyaing Tong and arrived on 10 December 1885 (Scott and Hardiman, 1901). However it was too late for Lin Bin Prince and *sawbwas* because the British had already annexed Mandalay.

After the occupation of Upper Myanmar, the former subordinate states of Myanmar king in Shan States were left unoccupied for a couple of years. The British government had no definite plan on the future of Shan States including Kyaing Tong. In addition the rebellion of Limbin Confederacy, Kayinni (Kayah State), anti-British campaign of Saw Yan Naing, chaotic situations of Hsipaw and North Hsenwi (Sai Aung Tun, 2009) forced the British to take an immediate action for the pacification of Shan States. The British officers convinced that the situations needed to provide autonomous rights of the Shan chiefs and to introduce proper management of the state affairs with fairness and justice. In August 1888, Shan States were divided into two administrative divisions; Northern Shan States and Southern Shan States. As regard to the eastern Shan States, the British handled on the matter of these states with caution because the frontier of Trans-Tham Lwin area was touched those of China, Siam and French Indochina. The boundary between the Trans-Tham Lwin region and her immediate neighbours had never been properly demarcated (Handershot, 1952).

After the pacification of northern and southern Shan States, it is impossible for British government for Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* to stand aloof and be independent. Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* Sao Khun Pu wrote to J.G Scott, Assistant Superintendent of Southern Shan States, that he would like to enjoy independent status by merging Kyaingyongyi and Monglingyi into his jurisdiction (Crosthwaite, 1912). Thus the Government decided to despatch an expedition to Kyaing Tong. J.G Scott, Political Officer and Assistant Superintendent of Southern Shan States, was entrusted to lead the expedition. Finally, the British troop left Mong Nai to Kyaing Tong in February 1890 and arrived at Kyaing Tong on 14 March 1890. Before he left Mong Nai Scott attempted to win the allegiance of Mong Nai *sawbwa* Hkun Kyi. He urged the chiefs of Kyaing Tong, Kyaing Cheng, Kyaing Hun and Mong Lin to submit themselves to the British as they did to Myanmar King in the past (Hardershot, 1952). When Scott arrived Kyaing Tong, *Sawbwas* Sao Khun Pu came to Scott and discussed the matter of the acceptance of *sanad* Sao Khun Pu finally agreed to accept the *sanad*. He also agreed to attend the Durbars along with other *Sawbwas*. On 29 March 1890, Durbar was held in honour of Khun Pu who became legitimate ruler of Kyaing Tong (Crosthwaite, 1912). The acceptance of British suzerainty by Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* paved the way for the establishment of colonial rule in Trans - Tham Lwin states because many of *myo-zas* (fief holders of town) were kinsmen of Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa*. At the Kyaing Tong Durbar, Scott exposed the British policy of the pacification and promotion of trade in Eastern Shan States (Mangrai, 1965). In order to establish colonial administration, the British established the headquarters to Taungyi under Commissioner and six superintendents to deal with *sawbwas* and chiefs. The policy of the British towards the rule of *sawbwa* reads thus:

Let the hereditary Shan Chiefs be maintained. Let us come under your protection. Attempts have been made and are making by ambitious chiefs to set up Burmese Princes and in their names to dominate the rest of the States. We have put down one such attempt and are resisting another. Assure us of your protection to our clergy and religion and tell us what you want us to do (White, 1886).

The British recognized Kyaing Tong as a "subordinate alliance" and not taken under the direct rule of British Crown. The *sanad* granted to Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* was unique. Unlike the other states, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* needed to pay annual gifts, instead of paying taxes, to the British government as they did to Myanmar kings. In addition, the British government did not reserve a proprietary right in minerals and forests. The *sawbwa* was needed of *sanad*, the *sawbwa* could at any time nominate a person to be his successor (Symes, 1893). He could change his nomination and the British government did not interfere in the succession.

Like the nomination of successor under Myanmar king, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* had to inform the British authority the name of successor. He submitted his nomination to be Political Officer and Superintendent of Shan States to get recommendation. Then the application was further submitted to the chief secretary. The final approval application was further submitted to the Chief Secretary. The final approval of nomination was made by the Lt-Governor. When a durbar was held in Yangon Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* attended the ceremony. Lieutenant Governor bestowed to accept nine gun salutes to *Sawbwa* at the ceremonies of state (Grant, 1923). In addition, according to the Shan State Act of 1888, *sawbwa* was empowered to appoint officers to undertaken or to taken part in the administration of the local government to participate in the administration of the state (Manual, 1932). Under new Act, the Lt. Governor appointed an assistant superintendent at Kyaing Tong. The headquarters of sub-treasury officer and magistrate was also kept at Kyaing Tong.

Actually, the Shan State Act of 1888 limited the power of *Sawbwas* including those of Kyaing Tong even though they were allowed to enjoyed the autonomous status. At the beginning, *sawbwas* hoped that conditions would favour them to enjoy the status as they enjoyed during the pre-colonial days. However their right of taxation was limited (Gordon, 1898). Even their family matters were regulated by the British political officers. The British government also controlled the extraction of forests and mineral resources.

At the beginning of 1920s a preliminary proposal for the Federation of Shan States came out through the discussion between *Sawbwas* and British authorities. On 22 March 1920, Lieutenant Governor Sir Reginald Craddock Laid down a scheme for the Federation of Shan States and it was publicized before *Sawbwas* at Taunggyi Durbar (Minute, 1920). According to the scheme, Federated Shan States became a sub-entity of Myanmar with its own administration and revenue. The Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents acted as justices of peace in Shan States. Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa*, along with those of Hsipaw, Mong Nai, Tong Peng, Nortu Hseinwi, Mong Mit and Yawngphwe were gazetted as Additional Session Judges in their jurisdictions.

The government headquarters was stationed at Loi Mwe. In 1894, frontier demarcation commission, headed by Sir George Scott, arrived at Kyaing Tong. They met with the French boundary commission. Two years later, the discussion concluded with the declaration of defining Mekong River as the boundary between the two countries (Scott and Hardiman, 1900b). In 1891 a preliminary survey was made to demarcate southern boundary of Kyaing Tong with Siam. The Mai Sai River was demarcated as the boundary line between Kyaing Tong and Siam. Under new demarcation of boundaries, the area of Kyaing Tong district, comprising 32 *Hkun* towns, was much larger than when it was under Myanmar king (Scott and Hardiman, 1900b). As Myanmar kings put Kyaing Tong under Mong Nai garrison, the British Government established fort Stedman at Nyaung Shwe which dealt with the affairs of Southern Shan States and Trans-Than Lwin region (Conway, 2006).

When Sao Kham Hpu passed away, his younger brother Sao Kawn Kiao Intaleng (1897-1935) succeeded the *Sawbwaship*. Like his predecessor, Intaleng was recognized as the subordinate alliance of the British and conferred the salute of nine guns and a seat at any Durbar. However at the Delhi Durbar of 1906, he was alleged to be involved in the opium smuggling and was deprived of the salute of nine guns. At the same time he was reduced from the position of premier chief to that of fourth on the list of precedence (Scott, 1908).

As Intaleng was borne that punishment with dignity and his efforts on the regional development plans such as the construction of roads, the British decided to honour him by restoring the salute of nine guns at any durbar. Another achievement of Intaleng was the abolition of toll station at Thai-Myanmar border. A subordinate chief of Intaleng, named Hpaya Hawngluk, opened a toll station at Tachileik and shared the toll receipts. His conduct has been reported to the *Sawbwa* for punishment. Consequently, *Sawbwa* ordered to abolish the toll station, Hawngluk was punished and the money taken from the travellers and merchants was to be paid back (Gordon, 198). Later J.G., Scott visited all the external frontier of Kyaing Tong State and found that visited all the external frontier of Kyaing Tong State and found that *Sawbwa* had 'abolished the tolls which formerly levied on all goods entering or leaving the state.

Intaleng was responsible for the reconstruction of town after the devastation of fire in 1906. Owing to the achievement of *Sawbwa*, there was no diminution in the prosperity of the town. *Sawbwa* has taken advantage of the fire to throw back the frontage of the houses so that the streets in the business part of the town are immensely improved. The merchant shops were all being rebuilt and there was no loss of population. The native of India and Chinamen in large number began to settle in Kyaing Tong (Scott, 1908). Lieutenant Governor was much pleased with the actions of *Sawbwa* (Rice, 1908) and decided to restore the salute of nine guns on 26 June 1908, His Majesty's Birthday (Scott, 1908). Intaleng was well known for his benevolent rule. In his reign old *haw* was demolished and built the new *haw* in colonial style. He built Maha Myatmuni Pagoda in 1923 and in 1929 arranged a great feast and it was still remembered by the local people (Hong Kham, 2014).

Intaleng was succeeded by his son Sao Kawng Tai on April 17, 1937. Sao Kawn(g) Tai was a young man of 23 years of age, and was recently married to the daughter of Hsipaw *Sawbwa*. He learned at the School

for sons of Shan Chiefs in Taunggyi and then went to England to study at Sheffield University for one year. Although he being the eldest son of Intaleng, his mother was not the Mahadevi or chief wife. However the British authorities accepted his succession to the *Sawbwaship* in accordance with Khun custom (Head, 1922). His reign was short-lived. He was assassinated in October 1937. After the assassination, the British government did not appoint new *sawbwa* and Captain V.G Robert, deputy commissioner of frontier area, ruled Kyaing Tong. The assassination of Sao Kwang Tai was still a unsolved mystery in Kyaing Tong. He was shot to death before the very eyes of fifty body guards. When he was assassinated, his Mahadevi was on her way back home from London and arrived Kyaing Tong on 1 November 1937 (Than Tun, 2004).

During colonial period, commercial and political relations of Kyaing Tong and the neighbouring provinces of Chiengsen and Chiengri in Thailand developed. The discussion between the British Minister Resident in Bangkok and Consul General of Chiang Mai resulted the development of commercial relations between Kyaing Tong and said northern states of Thailand (Beckett, 1898a). Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* Intaleng also showed his interest to enhance commercial relations by writing to the Thai High Commissioner. The letter mentions that the Chowfa (*Sawbwa*) of Kyaing Tong and chiefs of Chiengsen and Chiengrai belongings they do to the same family and accustomed as they have been from the earliest times to the exchange of visits the one with other intercourse, but at the same time should be warned to avoid the discussion that the wished to buy elephants from Chiengrai (Phya SongSuradet, 1898). The major trade items were supposed to be rice and other agricultural products areas of Thailand (Bird, 1941). Another important trade item might to opium. Although the British prohibited Kyaing Tong *Sawbwa* and local chiefs from smuggling opium, they entered an agreement with Thai authorities for opium trade. In September 1920, Thai government have completed a contract with Ah Mong, a local trader. In September 1920, Thai government have completed a contract with Ah Mong, a Cantonese of Kyaing Tong but usually resident at Mongpre in Thailand for supply of 5000 viss of opium at Rs. 45 perviss delivered at Bangkok by November 5, 1920. Although then *Sawbwa* of Kyaing Tong requested permission to levy a export tax for the benefit of the state at Re 1 per viss (Chief Secretary, 1920). Anyway, owing to the development of the probabilities of commercial privileges, some Thai subjects from Chiengrai and Chiang Mai settled in Kyaing Tong State. *Sawbwa* Intaleng and his successors allotted land for Thai settlers (Fowler, 1941). Over time, Kyaing Tong became the trading town of eastern Shan States where Thai, Chinese, Indian and local traders settled for commercial purposes.

During World War II, Kyaing Tong was ruled by Thailand. Under a pact of August 20, 1943, that Japan accepted the territories occupied by Thai troops in the Shan States as part of Thailand (Abhakorn, 2005). According to the Thai-Japanese agreement of December 21, 1941, Thai forces had to carry out five important tasks including advancing to Mandalay via Kyaing Tong. Although Thais could not accomplish these tasks, Thai forces occupied Kyaing Tong. According to a Thai scholar, "Phibun's regime had the aspirations to create a new order based on a combination of ethnic conscious, universal culture, and military autocracy (Abhakorn, 2005). On 1st January 1947, the British Government and Thai Government signed and Armistice Treaty. Thai government agreed to pay sums of money as compensation for damages and taking war booties from Kyaing Tong and Mong Pang by Thai forces. However, the case continued up to the post-independence era when AFPFL Government renewed the claim to Thai

Government (Proceeding, 1955). The problem of the claimant of Compensation from Thai Government prolonged to 1950. Thai Government offered £ 5,245,000 for compensation. In this situation British Government interfered in the problem and negotiated with the Thai Government (Proceeding, 1950). After the War, the British merged Kyaing Tong into Union of Myanmar. On 1 April 1947, Sao Sai Long (1947-1959) was appointed *Sawbwa* of Kyaing Tong. During independent era Kyaing Tong and former Hkun cities were reorganized as eastern Shan States and put under the jurisdiction of a secretary of frontier area. On 1 October 1950, Premier U Nu Government appointed the Secretary of Frontier Areas to supervise the affairs of Eastern Shan States. The first Secretary was Khon Shili. He was succeeded by U Nyo and U Tun Lu (Than Tun, 2004). During independence era, Kyaing Tong was established as the Sub-division and it was sub-divided into Southern Kyaing Tong sub-division, comprising Tachileik and Mongpyin and Northern Kyaing Tong Sub-division, comprising Kyaing Tong and Monywa (Chairman, 1957). However *sawbwa's* rule continued to exist even after the relinquishment of their rule by other *sawbwas* on 24 April 1959 (Than Tun, 2004). During the post-independence era, the tranquility prevailed in Kyaing Tong and the Eastern Shan States was short-lived.

In 1949 Kuomintang, after their defeat against People's Liberation Army of Communist China, invaded into the northeastern Shan States (Sai Aung Tun, 2009). These Kuomintang soldiers were led by General Limi of the Eighth Army, Lt. General Liu Kuo Chuan of the Twenty-sixth Division and Major General Mah Chaw Yee and Major General Liu Chin Tsung of the Ninety-third Division (Burma Weekly Bulletin, 1953). By May 1951, the strength of Kuomintang forces increased up to two thousand and they established bases along the Myanmar-China border in Ko Kang and Mong Lun States. They also occupied the regions around Mong Yang and Kyaing Tong States. However they could not invade into the city of Kyaing Tong (Sai Long Gyi, 2014). Many of the local population of Kyaing Tong and Mong Yong were forced to join the Kuomintang forces. Many people deserted their homes and fields. Some people were victimized in the skirmishes between the Kuomintang and Myanmar Army. Local people had to provide food and porters and recruits. As the Nationalist government of Taiwan supported the Kuomintang, the new airfields were built by the Kuomintangs in Mong Sat area of Kyaing Tong State (The Nation, 1953). Owing to the military operations of Myanmar Army and the diplomatic efforts of the Government of Myanmar at the United Nations, the activities Kuomintang forces in eastern Shan State gradually eliminated in 1953 (Sai Aung Tun, 2009). After the withdrawal of Kuomintangs from northeastern Shan States, the environs of Kyaing Tong State were left under war-torn situations. *Sawbwa* Sao Sai Long and local people made efforts to revitalize the tranquility and economy of the state. After the *coup d'état* of 1962, Sao Sai Long was detained by the Revolutionary Council which eliminated the rule of *sawbwa*.

In conclusion, Kyaing Tong stood as an important ally of Myanmar throughout monarchical history. As Kyaing Tong state is located in the strategic place or on the cross road connecting Laos, China and northern Thailand, successive Myanmar kings considered Kyaing Tong as an important center of politics. Successive *sawbwas* of Kyaing Tong were recognized as the subordinate alliances of the kings and were allowed to use royal regalia including white umbrellas. During Konbaung period, Kyaing Tong became one of the important garrison towns in Shan States and put under the jurisdiction of Mong Nai Garrison. A commandant was appointed by the royal capital to assist *sawbwa* of Kyaing Tong. As an autonomous ruler, Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* had to deal with the judicial, financial and security matters. With the

exception of contributing levies in the Myanmar king's warfare against Ayutthaya, Kyaing Tong did not need to contribute levies for any war even in the outbreak of Anglo-Myanmar Wars. The special privilege of Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* was not need to pay taxes except annual tribute. During colonial period, the political and economic importance of Kyaing Tong was more prevalent. The British government recognized Kyaing Tong as the subordinate alliance and autonomous status was granted to successive *sawbwas*. With the exception of the rule of a British political agent in 1937, the rule of *sawbwas* were not interrupted up to the end of their hereditary right in 1962. During colonial period, Kyaing Tong became the political and commercial center of Eastern Shan States. The commercial relations with the neighbouring states of Chiang Mai and Chiangrai also developed. Nowadays, Kyaing Tong was thought to be overshadowed by the thriving cities of Tachileik and Taunggyi. The devastation of trade by the Kuomintang aggression and development of Tachileik and Taunggyi probably reduced Kyaing Tong from the status of commercial and political center. The former became a commercial center and the latter being an administrative headquarters of Shan States. Poor municipal management and shortages of electricity are still prevalent in the city. The situations of education and public healthcare are not satisfactory. The problems of narcotic and drug abuse are still rising among the local people. Any way, local ethnic people; Akha, Lahu, Khun, Shan, etc are still embracing their time-honored culture and tradition.

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