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SCHOLARLY CURIOSITY

The Myowun's Nap: An Incident in 1852 and the Fall of the Burmese Empire

Hugh C. MacDougall

1. The Myowun's Nap

On the afternoon of January 6, 1852, a party of horsemen clattered into the courtyard of the Myowun or Royal Governor of Rangoon, bearing letters from Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of the Honorable East India Company in Calcutta. The delegation was informed that the Myowun was asleep and could not be disturbed. After waiting for about a quarter of an hour, it departed and returned to a British naval squadron in the harbor.

On receiving the news, British Commodore George Lambert formally declared a blockade of the Burmese coast and evacuated British subjects from Rangoon. That night he seized a Burmese warship in the harbor. Three days later Commodore Lambert ostentatiously towed the captured vessel past Burmese fortifications, and when the British ships were fired on they returned the fire with deadly effect. Though several months of ultimatums and dispatches would follow before the Second Anglo-Burmese war broke out in earnest on April 2, the die had been cast. Britain conquered, occupied, and unilaterally annexed Lower Burma and all the Burmese ports, leaving only an isolated, land-locked remnant of the Burmese Empire in the hinterland.

Thirty-three years later, in 1885, despite the efforts of King Mindon to accommodate Burma to the realities of an imperial world, this rump state also fell to a combination of British commercial interests—now firmly established in the Irrawaddy delta—and Anglo-French imperial rivalry. For sixty years, Burma would suffer the most unenviable servitude of being, in effect, a colony of a colony: it was governed by England but ruled by Indians. The cultural and political scars continue to affect the Burmese polity of today.

What happened on January 6 has been the subject of many interpretations, but few question that it marked the turning point in the onset of the Second Anglo-Burmese War. Once shooting started, the British Raj could not afford to back down. Most Burmese accounts, written after Independence in 1948, assert that the events of January 6, 1852 were part of a premeditated British conspiracy to provoke war.¹ British colonial historians saw them as just another example of efforts to humiliate the British Raj.²

In this paper, I shall examine in some detail the incident at the Myowun's compound, its background and immediate consequences, and the individuals most closely involved. I shall then ask three questions:

- (1) Was the Myowun really asleep?
- (2) If so, why did his staff not awaken him immediately?
- (3) Finally, if the Myowun had received the British delegation, might the course of Anglo-Burmese relations have been different?

1 E.g., Maung Maung Pye (1948) 20: "Lord Dalhousie's imperious and haughty attitude towards the Burmese Government soon precipitated a crisis;" Htin Aung (1967) 224: "The deltaic coastline of Burma was an eyesore on the British maps because it was not colored red;" Htin Aung (1977) 91: "The war was an act of naked aggression." Maung Maung (1956) 42: attributes fault to both sides and concludes that "in the absence of diplomatic relations {war} was inevitable."

2 E.g., Laurie (1885) 81–82: "The Burmese Provoke a Second War. . . . It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of all the insults heaped upon us by the Burmese;" Harvey (1947) 172: "[British envoys] were treated like dirt and shot at;" Hall (1945) 140 and (1981) 650: "The deputation . . . was refused admittance in a grossly insulting manner."

2. Background to Conflict

The First Anglo-Burmese War, launched in 1824 by King Bagyidaw, led to a humiliating defeat and the 1826 Treaty of Yandabo. Burma ceded the Provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British East India Company and paid a large war indemnity. But she only partially learned the lesson (successfully mastered by the new dynasty in Siam) that survival in nineteenth century Asia required a frank recognition of European technological superiority, and an adroit ability to play one European power against another.

In 1852 the Burmese throne in Ava was occupied by King Pagan. He had seized power from his father King Tharrawaddy in 1846, just as Tharrawaddy had seized it from his brother Bagyidaw nine years earlier. While King Pagan showed himself rather more hospitable to foreigners than his father, he devoted little attention to governance,³ leaving his provincial governors free to pursue their own interests. In Rangoon, the King was represented by a Myowun, or Governor, named Maung Ok, whom foreigners regarded as particularly rapacious and corrupt.

Rangoon remained the principal port for the Burmese Empire, politically and culturally isolated from the royal capital of Ava in the dry zone to the north. It now consisted of two towns: the old port town along the river, dilapidated and occupied mainly by foreigners, and a new walled town built by King Tharrawaddy near the Shwedagon Pagoda.⁴ At the end of 1850, the port area was swept by a great fire, destroying some 1,800 buildings and 8 ships.⁵ It left old Rangoon "little more than one wide ruin."⁶

In surviving houses along the docks lived a few British traders, selling textiles and other consumer goods, and exporting

3 E.g., Patton (1858) 219; Maung Maung (1956) 42; Htin Aung (1967) 224; Hall (1974) 110 and (1981) 648.

4 From Pearn (1939) Map V.

5 Pollak, 56.

6 Patton, 220.

Burmese raw materials—primarily the highly valued teak timber used for building ships in tropical seas. In 1838 a survey of Rangoon counted ten Englishmen and a larger number of Indians and Armenians with British nationality.⁷ These traders were often frustrated by traditional Burmese mercantilist practices, including a prohibition on the export of silver and the periodic establishment of royal monopolies in other commodities. Burmese regulations even forbade the departure of females of any nationality—including the traders' Burmese wives and mistresses.⁸ As these foreigners saw it, Burmese local officials were devoted to extorting money from them—and the local populace—by arbitrary rules and requisitions, and all too often by arresting them on patently fraudulent charges, only to drop the accusations upon payment of suitable bribes. Nevertheless, they were eager to do business with these officials, and even to advise them on relations with foreign countries.

Most colorful of the Rangoon traders was Captain May Flower Crisp. Born in England in 1788, he was as a young man drafted into the British navy⁹ and went into the merchant service. During the First Anglo-Burmese War, as a ship captain familiar with Rangoon, he piloted British warships into the harbor. After the war he settled there, trading in cotton piece-goods and timber, and building and operating his own ships. In about 1840 he entered into partnership with his son Charles Malcolm Crisp.¹⁰ Captain Crisp was in frequent trouble with both Burmese authorities and the East India Company. He was several times imprisoned for refusing to bow to the Myowun in the street.¹¹ In 1828 he complained to the Myowun about port charges, then stalked out of the meeting and threatened to appeal to London over the heads of the East India Company; he was warned by Company authorities to

7 Pearn, 136; Desai (1939) 480–481.

8 Pollak, 51–56; Pearn, 78, 105–106–134.

9 Pearn, 305; Langham-Carter (1947) 52.

10 Pearn, 305.

11 *Ibid.*, 136–137, 147.

stop playing diplomat.¹² In 1839 Crisp was again chastised by the Company for publicly stating that the British planned to dethrone King Tharrawaddy and reinstate King Bagyidaw.¹³ In 1843 he sent a letter to the *Calcutta Star* denouncing King Tharrawaddy. This time the Burmese formally expelled him from the country, and Captain Crisp retreated to British-held Moulmein in Tenasserim. His son Charles was temporarily arrested,¹⁴ but stayed on in Rangoon to manage the family business.¹⁵ In 1847, after King Pagan came to power, Captain Crisp returned to Rangoon in order to get the expulsion order cancelled. He suggested to both the Myowun and the Company that the British Residency in Burma, abandoned in 1840, be re-established. Modestly, he proposed his son Charles, or himself, for the job. The gambit failed; Crisp was jailed for three days and again expelled—for the time being—to Moulmein.¹⁶

May Flower's son, Charles Malcolm Crisp, was born in England in 1814. He came to Rangoon in about 1840, as captain of one of his father's ships¹⁷ and stayed on as his partner. By 1851 Charles was in the good graces of Myowun Maung Ok, who began to consult him as an adviser.

Like their fellow traders in both Rangoon and Moulmein, the Crisps lived by their wits and were quick to take any opportunities that offered. Their view of the world was profoundly ethnocentric, seeing the Burmese culture in which they lived as irrational, unfriendly, and to be exploited. Both father and son were to play important roles in the events of 1852.

Also living in Rangoon was a handful of foreign missionaries. From 1813 until his death in 1850, the Protestant missionary scene in Burma had been dominated by the American Baptist, Rev. Adoniram Judson. He and his American

12 Desai (1939) 55; Pearn, 137.

13 Desai, 439–440; Pearn, 147.

14 Patton, 222.

15 Pearn, 158.

16 Ibid., 158–159.

17 Ibid., 305.

colleagues persisted in their evangelism despite prolonged isolation and hardship, periodic personal danger, and frequent rebuffs and insults from Burmese authorities. When Buddhist ethnic Burmans proved resistant to conversion, they turned their attentions to more receptive ethnic groups, notably the animist Karens.

To Buddhists, the zeal of American missionaries was often irritating, and their views seemed sacrilegious. The impulse simply to expel them was moderated both by Buddhist traditions of religious tolerance and because missionaries, if too roughly treated, had the potential to attract unwelcome European attention and possible intervention. At the same time, however, the American missionaries could speak Burmese, had some understanding of both British and Burmese culture, were not the direct agents of European governments, and often had valuable technical and medical skills. They were sometimes asked by Burmese officials to serve as advisers and intermediaries with foreign governments, as did Judson himself in the negotiation of the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826.

When King Tharrawaddy came to power in 1837, foreign missionary activity in Burma was for the time banned, and Judson and his followers had to confine their activities to British-ruled Arakan and Tenasserim. When King Pagan replaced Tharrawaddy in 1846, American Baptists rejoiced, reporting that "Burmah Proper is again open to our missionaries. The tyrant has fallen, a milder government has ensued, and we shall probably be left to the free exercise of our religion. . . ." ¹⁸

In 1852 the principal American missionary in Rangoon was the Rev. Eugenio Kincaid. Born in Connecticut, Kincaid had joined the Baptist mission and arrived in Moulmein at the end of 1830.¹⁹ When his wife and infant son both died shortly thereafter, he married the daughter of a British officer in the Indian Army.²⁰ In 1833, Kincaid was assigned to the Burmese capital of Ava, where he at first endured hostility and personal

18 Church (1846) 175.

19 Patton, 12, 41.

20 Patton, 53.

threats. Ultimately he developed reasonably good relations with King Bagyidaw, though his congregation in Ava never exceeded 21 members.²¹ In 1837, when King Tharrawaddy closed all foreign missions in Burma, Kincaid worked for a time in British Tenasserim and Arakan before returning to America on sick leave in 1842.²² In March 1851, with King Pagan on the throne, Kincaid returned to Burma and settled in Rangoon. There again he at first encountered abuse and threats from Myowun Maung Ok, but his situation improved markedly when orders not to molest him were received from Ava. Indeed, when Captain Lewis was accused of murder in August of 1851, the Myowun used Kincaid as translator and adviser in preparing the case against him.²³

For Rev. Kincaid, though he came to admire many individual Burmese, Burmese officialdom represented both personal danger and an almost insuperable bar to the spread of the Christianity to which he had dedicated his life. He shared what one scholar has called the missionaries' "predominantly stereotyped and antagonistic picture of the people, among whom [they] lived."²⁴ But he too would play a crucial role in the incident of the Myowun's nap.

3. The British Lion Stirs

After 1826 there grew up in Moulmein, the capital of British Tenasserim, a small colony of traders as contentious and intrigue-minded as those of Rangoon, and like them devoted largely to the export of teak. Across the Salween River, which divided the British in Moulmein from the Burmese in Martaban, ongoing disputes developed over drifting teak logs and bandit raids.²⁵

21 Maung Shwe Wa (1963) 104–105.

22 Patton, 131, 145; Maung Shwe Wa, 108–109.

23 Patton, 220–244; Pollak, 59.

24 Trager (1966) 204 and *passim*.

25 Pollak, 46, 50.

In 1851 three conflicts disturbed Anglo-Burmese relations. In March a Mohammedan merchant in Moulmein was audaciously robbed by dacoits, or bandits, from the Martaban side of the Salween River. Captain May Flower Crisp, still exiled from Rangoon, headed a local committee demanding punitive retaliation. Tenasserim Commissioner Colonel Archibald Bogle reported the incident to Calcutta, noting that "it is as clear as [the] sun at noon day that the dacoity . . . [in Moulmein is] concocted and set afoot on the Burmese side and that the perpetrators are harboured and protected by the authorities there." He followed up the report with long lists of similar incidents that had occurred over the previous five years.²⁶

Two further incidents took place in Rangoon.²⁷ In July Captain Robert Sheppard of the British bark *Monarch*, arriving from Moulmein, was accused of throwing overboard and drowning his pilot. His account, backed by a local committee of assessors, was that the pilot had run the ship aground, jumped overboard to escape punishment, and swum safely to shore. Nevertheless, the Myowun arrested Sheppard, placed him in the stocks, and fined him some 1,000 rupees. On his return to Moulmein, Sheppard complained to Commissioner Bogle.²⁸ In August, Captain Harold Lewis of the British ship *Champion* from Mauritius was accused by stowaways of murdering a native sailor shortly before his arrival in Rangoon. Lewis too was arrested and, despite his assertion that the man had died from natural causes, fined 700 rupees. He filed a complaint in Calcutta.²⁹

26 Bogle to India Home Secretary Frederick Halladay, May 21, 1851, quoted in Pollack, 51.

27 Several modern writers have implied that Captains Sheppard and Lewis were fined for nothing more than violation of rules or non-payment of customs duties. See, e.g., Cady (1958) 86 and Htin Aung (1967) 225. Contemporary sources, however, all appear to accept that more serious charges—whatever their validity—were made against them.

28 Laurie, 82; Pearn, 163; Pollak, 57.

29 Pearn, 163; Pollak, 57.

These three cases reached India at a moment when Governor General Lord Dalhousie was away from Calcutta attending a Durbar with Sikh chieftains. The President in Council, in Lord Dalhousie's absence, decided to take action, and found an unexpected agent conveniently at hand in the person of Commodore Lambert of the Royal Navy.

George Robert Lambert was born in 1795, and entered the Royal Navy at the age of 14. In 1850 he was assigned as Commodore in charge of the Queen's navy in Eastern Seas. A professional sailor who steered clear of politics and had a reputation for being cool headed, Lambert was nevertheless out to gain a name for himself. He had spent most of 1851 off the coast of Sumatra, and was now on his way home via Penang, Calcutta, and Bombay. He arrived in the Indian capital of Calcutta on October 4, 1851, and in a letter to Lord Dalhousie said he had heard in Penang that British subjects were being abused in Rangoon. Lambert also met—and became a partisan of—Captain Lewis of the *Champion*. He volunteered to visit Rangoon to demand redress from the Myowun, and the Council accepted the offer.³⁰ Commodore Lambert, we may imagine, looked forward to an interesting interlude on his way home, and he seems to have developed a genuine indignation at what he saw as mistreatment of fellow Englishmen by an alien regime. It was he who would make the crucial decisions concerning the Myowun's nap.

Lord Dalhousie, on returning to Calcutta, ratified the Council's decision to employ Lambert, though his authority over the Queen's Navy (as opposed to the warships of the East India Company) was somewhat doubtful. Nevertheless, Dalhousie's instructions were both strict and clear. The Moulmein case was dropped, and the claims of Captains Sheppard and Lewis were cut in half to 920 British pounds. Lambert was told to satisfy himself that the two claims were justified, and warned that, even if the Myowun rejected them, "it is to be distinctly understood that no act of hostility is to be committed at present," without new and definite orders

30 Pollak, 69–70.

from Calcutta. Instead, should the Myowun reject the Shepard-Lewis claims, Lambert was instructed to transmit a letter from the Indian Government to King Pagan, calling on the King to disown the Myowun's actions and provide suitable reparation.³¹ On November 18, 1851 a small squadron left Calcutta for Rangoon, consisting of Lambert's flagship, Her Majesty's Frigate *Fox*, and two East India Company ships.

Since Commodore Lambert and his officers spoke no Burmese, the Company assigned two interpreters to assist them. The British officers had no Burmese experience, and were thus dependent on these interpreters for substantive advice as well as for translations.

Captain Thomas Latter was born in India in 1816, son of a British Army Officer, and was commissioned in 1837 in the 67th Bengal Native Infantry, then stationed in Arakan. In 1845, as a Lieutenant, he had published his *Grammar of the Language of Burmah*, called "the first scholarly treatise on the subject."³² In his preface, Latter said Burmese-speaking British subjects faced the intolerable prospect of being judged in courts where nobody spoke their tongue, dependent on alien Hindu and Muslim court interpreters. The Burmese peasant, returning home after a trial, must find British justice "a confused and dizzy jargon utterly unintelligible, and carefully to be avoided. . . ." Latter concluded that he had written his Burmese Grammar, ". . . to obviate . . . the mischief of such a system . . . and to mitigate the estrangement caused by the thralldom of a foreign language."³³ Now, in 1851, it was the British who were in thralldom to a foreign language, and Latter held the key. Despite his apparent sympathy for Burmese peasants, Latter's contemporaries saw him as ". . . alarmist, prone to exaggerate, act rashly, and to believe the worst of the Burmese."³⁴ By 1847 he was apparently in Tenasserim, for

31 Woodman, 123–124; Pollak, 70.

32 *Dictionary of National Biography* (1921–22) XI:625–626.

33 Latter (1991), vii–viii.

34 Pollak, 71.

his wife was buried that year in Moulmein.³⁵ Neither writing grammars nor interpreting has ever been a high road to promotion in the British Army, and Captain Latter yearned for opportunities to further his career by a demonstration of military prowess.

The second interpreter, Robert Samuel Edwards, was a Madrassi born in India about 1801.³⁶ Rumor said that he was black, and had been born a slave.³⁷ Though this seems unsupported, it suggests the scorn with which Edwards was viewed by white British colonials. Edwards served as clerk in Madras, Penang, and Moulmein before arriving in Ava in June 1830 as clerk/translator to the new British Resident Henry Burney.³⁸ There he did so well that by 1837 the ailing Burney sent him regularly to confer with King Tharrawaddy. In Calcutta the East India Company expressed doubts about Edwards' reports, which quoted Tharrawaddy as heaping scorn on the person and powers of the British Viceroy, and it suggested that Burney not delegate so much authority to a subordinate.³⁹ Burney replied that Edwards was very intelligent and a great favorite of the King, and he rejected the suggestion, purportedly made by jealous English traders, that "because Mr. Edward's colour was dark, my deputing him to the King was 'of itself sufficient to cause much irritation.'"⁴⁰ When Burney was replaced as Resident in 1838, Edwards continued to serve his successors at the substantial salary of 300 rupees per month,⁴¹ until the Residency was finally ended in 1840. He was then transferred to Calcutta. With a dark face and an English name, Edwards stood between two worlds, and no doubt his principal goal was to get along with employers who used his evident talents at the same time that they despised

35 Langham-Carter (1947) XXVI.

36 Desai, 320; Pearn, 312; Pollak, 71.

37 Pearn, 188. Mukherjee (1988) appears to accept Edwards as a Negro ex-slave 115, n. 78.

38 Desai, 87.

39 Ibid., 280, 298, 314.

40 Ibid., 320.

41 Ibid., 454, 478, and *passim*.

his person. Perhaps that is why Tenasserim Commissioner Col. Bogle reported in 1852 that Edwards “would give any opinion he thinks will be most acceptable and is a dangerous adviser.”⁴²

4. Countdown to War

Commodore Lambert’s squadron arrived in Rangoon harbor on November 26, 1851. When rumors of its approach reached the British in Rangoon three days earlier, wrote the Rev. Kincaid: “The emotions of joy & gratitude diffused can only be understood by those who have seen & felt the deeds of insane & brutal tyranny.”⁴³ The Crisps, father and son, had both been busy. Now back in Rangoon, Captain May Flower Crisp, when he saw trouble coming, had sold the Myowun a schooner-load of condemned flint-lock muskets.⁴⁴ The Myowun failed to pay for them, and the Captain was angry. His son Charles had become the Myowun’s adviser, and he was now dispatched downriver to meet the approaching squadron and find out what it wanted.⁴⁵

When the squadron finally reached Rangoon on Tuesday, November 26, Captain May Flower Crisp and Rev. Eugenio Kincaid led a delegation of traders on board the flagship. They met with Commodore Lambert for two hours, reciting a litany of British complaints against Myowun Maung Ok.⁴⁶ Crisp had the effrontery to demand that the Commodore make the Myowun pay for his muskets. Following the meeting, Kincaid was delighted, writing,

Our several statements turned the whole current of affairs. The Commodore came to demand redress for outrages committed on Captains Lewis and Sheppard;

42 Dispatch from Col. Bogle, Mar. 23, 1852, quoted in Pollak (1979) 71.

43 Kincaid’s Report to Mission headquarters, Nov. 28, 1851, quoted in Pollak (1979) 71.

44 Woodman (1962) 125.

45 Pollak (1979) 71.

46 Pollak (1979) 72.

but he now found that hundreds of British subjects had suffered as great, and many of them greater injuries, and that several had died under torture.⁴⁷

Commodore Lambert asked for a written bill of particulars. When it arrived several days later, signed by Kincaid and 27 others, it alleged numerous wrongs committed by Rangoon officials over the previous decade, including extortion, religious persecution, and interference with trade, but made no mention of murder or torture.⁴⁸

The next day, Wednesday, November 27, nobody visited the squadron. According to Captain Latter, the Myowun had threatened to cut off the legs of any foreigner approaching the ships. Charles Crisp delivered a request from the Myowun to move the ships downriver to the merchant ship anchorage. When Edwards advised that this was just the Burmese "usual way in trying to commence a quantity of petty annoyances," the Commodore refused to comply.⁴⁹ Without waiting for the traders' bill of particulars, Commodore Lambert decided without further ado that the Myowun was "a person whose conduct renders him totally unworthy of any respect."⁵⁰ Instead of following his instructions to present only the Shepard-Lewis claims, he wrote the Myowun that,

Since my arrival so many complaints have been made by persons residing at Rangoon, who have a right to claim British protection that I have deemed it my duty to withhold my original demand until I have again made known their complaints. . . .to the Government of India.

Rather, without presenting the Myowun with any specific claims, Lambert forwarded the Indian Government's letter to King Pagan demanding the Myowun's recall, enclosed

47 Kincaid's Report to Mission headquarters, Nov. 28, 1851, quoted in Pollak (1979) 72.

48 Pollak (1979) 73.

49 Pollak (1979) 72.

50 Ibid.

in a letter to the King of his own calling for a reply within 35 days.⁵¹

On Thursday, November 28, Captain Latter delivered the Commodore's messages to the Myowun at his residence. He took as an insult the informal dress in which the Myowun received him.⁵² The Myowun then asked Rev. Kincaid to interpret the Commodore's letter, complaining that he had been "accused of being a bad man, committing outrages on her Britannic Majesty's subjects, and yet the letter does not specify in what way I have done this." Kincaid diplomatically suggested that he seek clarification from the Commodore, but assured him that if war were intended the British squadron would have numbered 25 or 30.⁵³ Fearing the worst, however, the Myowun began to collect arms and men, and to fortify the town and the Shwedagon Pagoda, as well as two stockades down river from the port.⁵⁴

With matters at an impasse, Captain Latter returned to Calcutta with Commodore Lambert's reports.⁵⁵ In Rangoon, tension remained high.⁵⁶ On December 5 Rev. Kincaid heard that Myowun Maung Ok had issued orders "to attack the foreigners, plunder them, cut their throats, and burn the city." He put his family on board a British merchant ship. A few days later Kincaid was seized and threatened by a gang of men, from whom he escaped with difficulty. They were evidently bent on dragging him to the Myowun's house. The Myowun, he later heard, thought he was responsible for the coming of the British squadron.⁵⁷

On his arrival in Calcutta, Captain Latter explained that Commodore Lambert had disregarded his instructions and sent immediately to King Pagan because "fresh complaints

51 Woodman (1962) 125; Pollak (1979) 73.

52 Pollak (1979) 73.

53 Patton (1858) 247–248.

54 Patton (1858) 248.

55 Pearn (1939) 164; Pollak (1979) 74.

56 Pearn (1939) 165.

57 Patton (1858) 249–251.

he had received of the Governor of Rangoon's misconduct to British subjects," had convinced him that the "present Governor was unfit to be entrusted with the lives and property of British subjects," and he had therefore "made his removal a preliminary to entering into any negotiations."⁵⁸ Lord Dalhousie was not impressed. In a secret Minute he noted that

(t)he long list of injuries given unto Commodore Lambert . . . ought not to be entertained. Many of them are of old date, none are accompanied with proof, none were preferred at the time, nor, until the appearance of the squadron off Rangoon suggested an opportunity for deriving some profit from the occasion.⁵⁹

Dalhousie did however ratify Lambert's refusal to deal directly with the Myowun, and the letter Lambert had sent to King Pagan.⁶⁰ Several members of Lord Dalhousie's Council disagreed, and were even more critical than the Viceroy of Lambert's behavior.⁶¹

Lord Dalhousie's instructions back to Lambert called on him—should King Pagan reject the Government's demands—to station a British Agent in Rangoon and leave behind a war-steamer to back him up. But he was firmly instructed to avoid "recourse to the terrible extremity of war, except in the last resort and after every other method has been tried without success." At most, should the King prove obdurate, Lambert was authorized to declare a blockade and evacuate the British population.⁶²

On January 1, 1852, a day or so before the expiration of the 35-day ultimatum, King Pagan's response arrived from Ava. It read:

58 Latter's report of Dec. 6, 1851, quoted in Woodman (1962) 126.

59 Minute by Lord Dalhousie, Jan. 12, 1852, quoted in Woodman (1962) 127.

60 Woodman (1962) 127.

61 Woodman (1962) 127–128.

62 Woodman (1962) 128–129.

In accordance to the great friendship which now exists, and taking into consideration the subject of the letter from the President of the Council of India, we have to inform you that we have recalled the Governor of Rangoon to the Golden Foot (Ava). A suitable Governor shall be appointed to administer the affairs of Rangoon; and with regard to the merchants who have been unjustifiably insulted and ill-treated, proper and strict enquiries shall be instituted, and in accordance to custom it shall be decided.⁶³

Even Commodore Lambert had to admit, "I am of opinion that the King is sincere, and that his Government will fully act up to what he has promised." Lord Dalhousie was equally satisfied, noting "The reparation thus afforded by the Court of Ava for the acts of its officers, ought to be received by the Government of India as fully satisfactory." Moreover, he specified that the Burmese inquiries should be limited to the original cases of Captains Sheppard and Lewis, and should not include the dubious complaints delivered to Lambert by Kincaid and Crisp.⁶⁴ In particular, Captain May Flower Crisp's claim for 41,490 rupees in payment for the muskets sold to the Myowun was summarily rejected.⁶⁵ The crisis seemed to be over.

5. The Myowun's Nap—What Happened at the Governor's Residence

Myowun Maung Hmon,⁶⁶ the new Burmese Governor of Rangoon, arrived on January 4, 1852. Seemingly, he knew little of European ways. Nevertheless, when interpreter Edwards called on him the next day, he readily agreed to an interview

63 Quoted in Woodman (1962) 129.

64 Woodman (1962) 129–130.

65 Woodman (1962) 125.

66 Barretto (1935) 325. Most accounts never give the new Myowun a name; one official British document calls him Mahamenghla Meng Khanny Gyan. Woodman (1962) 543. I shall stick with Maung Hmon.

with the Commodore, and lifted the prohibition on local residents communicating with the British ships.⁶⁷

Our knowledge of the events which followed is enhanced by an observer whose account has not hitherto been consulted by historians. On January 7 there would arrive in Rangoon another vessel, the East India Company's steam-sloop *Phlegethon*. On board was an American adventurer, John Williamson Palmer, who, finding himself idle in Hong Kong with nothing to do and not much to do it with, succeeded in joining the *Phlegethon* as ship's surgeon, despite his nationality and lack of professional documentation. His account of his adventures in Burma, including what he learned of the incident of the Myowun's nap, was published anonymously in New York in 1856,⁶⁸ and casts new light on some of the events of January. Palmer was born in Baltimore in 1825, and received a medical degree from the University of Maryland in 1846. He joined the California Gold Rush, and after serving as San Francisco's first city physician, drifted west to Hawaii, China, and India.⁶⁹

Early on the morning of Tuesday, January 6, interpreter Robert Edwards went to the Myowun's residence in the new town near the Shwedagon Pagoda to tell him that a delegation of British officers was on its way with a message from Commodore Lambert. On his arrival, Edwards later claimed, he was threatened by a guard. When he reached the presence of the Myowun, however, and reported the incident, the offending party was beaten and thrown downstairs. The Myowun told Edwards that he would be happy to hear from the Commodore, or to see him,⁷⁰ and he suggested that Edwards

67 Woodman (1962) 130.

68 [Palmer] "An American," *The Golden Dagon; or, Up and Down the Irrawadi*. New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1856.

69 For information on John Williamson Palmer, see *Dictionary of American Biography* (1934) XIV, 188–189; *Who Was Who in America* (1943) 932; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1900) VIII, 222–223 (with picture). Palmer wrote an article, "Petroleum in Burmah," which was published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 404–413 (October 1868).

70 Laurie (1885) 85.

deliver the Commodore's message himself. Edwards replied it was too late because the delegation was already on its way.⁷¹ Edwards apparently then left the residence to join the delegation.

The Commodore's delegation consisted of Captain Fishbourne of Her Majesty's steam-sloop *Hermes*, which had recently arrived in Rangoon, accompanied by Captain F.W. Tarleton of the *Fox*, and the Commodore's Secretary, Mr. James Lewther Southey. There may have been another officer or two. With them was Captain Thomas Latter as interpreter, and the American Baptist Missionary Rev. Eugenio Kincaid.

On arrival at the Myowun's residence the delegation was requested to dismount, since Burmese protocol required visitors to the Myowun—who ranked as a Viceroy and Minister of the King—to approach on foot. Captain Latter advised Captain Fishbourne that this was just another Burmese insult, and the delegation clattered into the courtyard on horseback.⁷² The delegation was then informed by the Deputy Governor that the Myowun was sleeping, and was invited to wait until he woke up.⁷³ The Myowun's aides insisted that it was as much as their heads were worth to disturb him in his sleep. The British officers, noted Surgeon John Palmer of the *Phlegethon*, "were, most of them, uninstructed in the language and habits of the Burmese, and were therefore almost at a loss how to act."⁷⁴

The Myowun's Deputy suggested that Captain Fishbourne give him the Commodore's letters, but Fishbourne insisted on seeing the Myowun personally.⁷⁵ Fishbourne proposed waiting for the Myowun on the veranda, but Captain Latter insisted that the Governor was only feigning sleep and that to wait outside his door would be to accept an insult. After further consultation with the Myowun's Deputy, Captain

71 Woodman (1962) 131.

72 Pearn (1939) 166.

73 Woodman (1962) 131; Pollak (1979) 76.

74 [Palmer] (1856) 82.

75 Woodman (1962) 541, 547.

Fishbourne decided to wait under a nearby shed, but Captain Latter said this was another insult, because the shed was used for commoners.⁷⁶ For some fifteen minutes the officers stood in the sun, undecided what to do. According to the American surgeon,

At this crisis our Yankee parson appeared. . . . His knowledge of the people and their language . . . was almost perfect. Besides, he was not of the peace party. He was the apostle of a wholesome chastisement. . . . On this occasion long-suffering and forbearances and the formal presentation of the unsmitten cheek were no part of his gospel. He advised the deputation of the insolence of the Governor . . . recommending them at the same time to report his conduct instantly to the Commodore.⁷⁷

The delegation then slowly returned to the ships and reported to Commodore Lambert. Rev. Kincaid was furious, telling Lambert that "he burned with indignation at seeing British officers so grossly insulted."⁷⁸ Captain Latter remarked that "what occurred was a gross an insult as could have been devised."⁷⁹ When a Burmese delegation followed them to the ships, suggesting that the Commodore himself call on the Myowun, it was turned away; Lambert reported that "In consequence of the deep insult thus offered by the representative of the Burmese Government to an officer of rank in the British Navy, I have considered it my duty to suspend all further communications with that functionary."⁸⁰

What actually occurred at the Myowun's residence may never be known with certainty. One loose end is the ambiguous statement that the Myowun, while supposedly asleep, "telegraphed" for Edwards to call on him.⁸¹ More to the point,

76 Pollak, 77.

77 [Palmer] (1856) 83.

78 Letter from Lambert, quoted in Woodman (1962) 546; Pollak 77.

79 Pollak, 77.

80 Ibid., 77.

81 Laurie (1885) 85.

the Burmese asserted, and Lord Dalhousie concurred, that under Burmese protocol an official of Commodore Lambert's rank should have called personally on the Myowun, rather than sending a delegation of inferior officers.⁸² Never, however, did the Myowun specifically assert that he had refused to see the delegation on this account.

6. The Second Anglo-Burmese War Begins

Events followed rapidly. That evening Commodore Lambert drafted a formal order blockading the ports of Rangoon, Bassein, and Martaban.⁸³ At his invitation some 400 British subjects were evacuated from Rangoon by steamer, under British guns, abandoning all the property they could not carry because no Burmese would assist them. Rev. Kincaid, who with some French missionaries joined the exodus, lost almost all of his library of over 1,000 books.⁸⁴ The next day, British and foreign merchant ships were towed downriver from Rangoon, out of range of the two fortified Burmese stockades erected below the town.

During the night of January 6, British sailors seized and towed away a Burmese warship, the *Yathunah-gee-mhon*,⁸⁵ known familiarly to the British as the "Yellow Boat." She was a small European-style Frigate, built in Rangoon along European lines, and still awaiting her guns and final rigging. According to *Phlegethon* Surgeon John Palmer (no doubt with tongue in cheek), she was "one of the strongest and

82 Lord Dalhousie, quoted in Woodman (1962) 543.

83 Laurie (1885) 88.

84 [Palmer] (1856) 84–85; Laurie, 86–87, Pollak, 77–78.

85 From an old lithograph, printed by Martin & Hood, London, captioned "[Burmese script] pronounced Yathunah-gee-mhon. The Burmese name given to the Vessel signifies literally, 'Precious, Sleek, Excellent sailing Ship.'" Two facsimile copies of this lithograph were found, attached to panoramic views of Rangoon in the 1850s (one of them also shows the Burmese warship), anachronistically bound in a pirated, facsimile edition of Major Snodgrass, *Narrative of the Burmese War* (London: John Murray, 1827) acquired by the author in Rangoon.

most durable, as she was one of the largest, ships of her class afloat."⁸⁶

The Myowun and his staff were apparently appalled by this turn of events. On the following day several Burmese officials approached the ship to offer apologies. Commodore Lambert would have none of it—the Myowun must “himself apologize for the insult offered to the British flag.”⁸⁷ A deadline for this apology was given, and later extended to the sunset of January 8. The Governor of Dalla, a Burmese town across the river from Rangoon, who was a venerable and devout Buddhist and pacifist,⁸⁸ boarded the *Fox* several times to seek a peaceful solution and the recovery of the Burmese warship.⁸⁹ He begged Commodore Lambert “to give him time to meet with the Viceroy, and persuade him to apologize.”⁹⁰

As Lambert's deadline expired on January 8, a letter was received from the Myowun, addressed to Lord Dalhousie in Calcutta, explaining that he had been expecting a visit from the Commodore himself rather than from inferior officers, and accusing the January 6 delegation of violating the rules of etiquette. Various versions of this letter, in English translation, have been recorded. According to Captain Latter the Myowun wrote,

Edwards was intoxicated and I was truly asleep. When you stole the ship, I did not attack. . . . [I] acted worthily to these unworthy men, and I now represent this conduct of Commodore Lambert to the English rulers who came from one country to another and behave in a manner unbecoming an Ambassador.⁹¹

86 [Palmer] (1856) 80–81. Some historians have assumed that this ship was a traditional Burmese-style royal barge (see e.g. Pollak, 77). However contemporary illustrations (see Pearn, Plate 15) seem to confirm that she was constructed along European lines.

87 Laurie, 87.

88 Pollak, 78; cf. Laurie, 87.

89 Pollak, 78.

90 Laurie, 87.

91 Latter's dispatch quoted in Pollak, 78.

Another version cites the presence of “an American clergyman named Kincaid,” asserts that the British party were all intoxicated and used “violent and abusive language,” and that the Deputy-Governor was in the process of awakening him when the delegation departed. It goes on to state that Commodore Lambert, after “listening to their improper and unbecoming representations,” and with the deliberate intention of starting a war, had secretly and at night seized the King of Ava’s warship.⁹² In yet another version, the Myowun accuses the Commodore of sending “a deputation of drunken officers and a low American missionary to make a noise at his gate.”⁹³

A further message was received from the Myowun to the Commodore, “to the effect that if he attempted to take the King of Ava’s ship out of the river, he would fire on him.”⁹⁴ Commodore Lambert responded that if so much as a pistol were fired against him, he would level the stockades to the ground.⁹⁵

The Commodore then ordered several ships, including the *Phlegethon*, to ply back and forth in front of the stockades, at “provoking intervals,” which they did without “drawing a shot.”⁹⁶ This event was recorded only by the American surgeon, and does not seem to have been mentioned in Commodore Lambert’s reports.

On the morning of January 10, 1852, three ships from the British squadron, with the King of Ava’s ship in tow, steamed past the Burmese fortified stockades. They were the *Fox*, the *Hermes*, towing the Burmese warship, and the *Phlegethon*.⁹⁷ Eleven guns from a Burmese battery opened fire on the *Hermes*.⁹⁸ What happened next was perhaps best described by

92 Pearn (1939) 167; Woodman (1962) 132.

93 [Palmer] (1856) 86.

94 [Palmer] (1856) 86; Woodman (1962) 133; Pollak (1979) 78.

95 Laurie (1885) 88.

96 [Palmer] (1856) 86.

97 [Palmer] (1856) 87; Laurie (1885) 89; Pearn (1939) 167; Pollak (1979) 78; Woodman (1962) 133.

98 Pearn (1939), Plate No. 15 (“The Attack of the Dunnoo Stockade; Baker: Recent Operations of the British Forces at Rangoon”).

the American surgeon of the *Phlegethon*, John Palmer, who watched it.

Then up went the Commodore's signal to 'engage the enemy,' and the work began. The frigate, of course, opened first—broadside after broadside, a rapid and annihilating fire slap through the works. . . . An uninterrupted bombardment was maintained for two hours and a quarter (from ten to a quarter past twelve); the enemy, who had comparatively few serviceable guns, expending their resources in a most desultory and ill-directed fire. . . . Many times their fire was silenced, to be resumed in a few minutes by some brave fellow who would have his last crack at us. So long as a red rag of breech-cloth was to be seen, or one poor spear glittered in the sun, we pounded away with round shot and shells, with an occasional divertissement of 'carcasses' and rockets. At twelve o'clock not a man was to be seen; . . . and one poor cock—the royal . . . emblem . . . done in white on a red field, and left fluttering in a corner, was all that remained. . . .⁹⁹

When the bombardment ended, sailors from the *Phlegethon* went ashore to pick up any weapons left behind; among them, the surgeon noted, "were some venerable United States muskets from the Harper's Ferry Armory."¹⁰⁰ Thus did the *Phlegethon* live up to its name: readers of Dante's *Inferno* will recall that "Phlegethon" in Dante's classic poem is the river of blood in Hell to which those who have committed violence are consigned for eternity.

In Calcutta, Lord Dalhousie was horrified by Commodore Lambert's disobedience to specific orders, regarding him as "wholly responsible for the acts of hostility which have been unfortunately committed on both sides," and noting that "by seizing the ship belonging to the Governor [*sic*] of Ava, he took a step which naturally—almost necessarily—led to an

⁹⁹ Palmer, 87–89.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 89.

act of hostility by the Burmese."¹⁰¹ Lambert defended himself by asserting that his right to declare a blockade covered the lesser action of seizing a Burmese warship.¹⁰²

One contemporary British military account sought to justify Lambert's actions by quoting an unnamed "reliable authority" to the effect that, "The Governor did not state that the Commodore would not be permitted to pass the stockades with the King's ship; but that he would be fired upon if he attempted to remove any British property. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that if the royal vessel had not been touched, the stockades would equally have opened a fire upon our vessels as they passed down the river."¹⁰³ In fact the Burmese stockades did not fire on any British ships, despite what the American surgeon on the *Phlegethon* considered a deliberate attempt to provoke them, until the British towed away the captured Burmese warship on January 10.¹⁰⁴

Further efforts at peaceful resolution foundered on the hard fact that shooting had begun, though the Myowun, according to a *Petition to the Commodore* from Rangoon's foreign community, promised to apologize in writing for any insult to Captain Fishbourne and to pay the Sheppard-Lewis claims in full.¹⁰⁵ Despite *démarches* from both the Myowun and King Pagan seeking a peaceful settlement, Lord Dalhousie was now unwilling "to exhibit even a temporary appearance of inferiority." He decided on military operations, and on February 13 notified Commodore Lambert that "the Government of India has determined to proceed at once to exact by force of arms the reparation which it has failed to obtain by other means."¹⁰⁶ If there were to be a war, he hoped to win it before

101 Lord Dalhousie's Minute of Jan. 22, 1852, quoted in Woodman, 540, 542. Similar remarks in a private letter of Jan. 23, 1852, are cited in Mukherjee (1988) 102.

102 Commodore Lambert's reply to Lord Dalhousie, quoted in Woodman (1962) 546.

103 Quoted in Laurie, 90.

104 See also Pearn, 167.

105 Quoted in Woodman, 134, 543–544.

106 *Ibid.*, 136–139.

the monsoon rains began. A large British naval and military force, much better organized than that of 1824, was sent to Rangoon. Fighting began in earnest in early April and within a few months British forces had occupied all of lower Burma. As Burma showed no sign of coming to terms, the Government of India on December 20, 1852, issued a unilateral Proclamation annexing the Province of Pegu as a "portion of the British Territories in the East."¹⁰⁷

7. The Significance of the Myowun's Nap

Let us turn to the three questions posed at the beginning of this paper.

First, was the Myowun really asleep? His staff said that he was, and that they were afraid to awaken him. He said that he was, in his letter to Lord Dalhousie. British on the spot, and historians since, have assumed that the Myowun's nap was purely diplomatic: either he wanted to insult the naval delegation, or—more charitably—was unwilling to meet with officers of a lower rank than himself. But no proof has ever been offered that he was in fact awake. We shall probably never know for certain. But Myowuns, like the rest of us, do from time to time take naps, and given his recent arrival from Ava it seems likely that Maung Hmon indeed needed one.

Second, if the Myowun really was sleeping, why did his staff not immediately awaken him? Why did they insist that they were afraid to do so? The argument against the Myowun rests on the presumption that had he been asleep his staff would have awakened him, and that their purported refusal to do so was intended as an insult to the Commodore's delegation. What no historian of the Myowun's nap has considered, however, is that a refusal to suddenly wake a sleeping person is quite in accord with Burmese traditional culture. Only one contemporary Western writer even hints at this possibility: Surgeon Palmer of the *Phlegethon* wrote that "The Myowun's plea was plausible because consistent with the custom of all

107 Ibid., 147.

Indian people," but he does not appear to have believed it in this case.¹⁰⁸

According to Burmese folk culture, which flourishes side by side with Buddhist doctrine, every individual's personality is enshrined in a butterfly spirit, or *leik-bya*, which normally remains inside his body, but can fly elsewhere when he sleeps or even after he dies.¹⁰⁹ Should a sleeper's *leik-bya* be away when he is awakened, the result could be fatal. As the Burmese scholar U Ohn wrote, "It is advised that a person sleeping should not be awakened abruptly."¹¹⁰ Shwe Yoe, that great British chronicler of Burmese custom, spells out the problem in detail, and is worth quoting at length.

The *leip-bya* idea, like a good many other peculiarities of the Burmese, occasionally gets them into trouble with foreigners. It is the cause of the great unwillingness all Burmans have to wake a sleeping man. It is obvious from the above explanation of the character of the *leip-bya*, that it would be highly injurious to rouse a man suddenly from his slumbers. . . . Consequently, it is useless to tell a Burman servant to wake you at a certain hour. . . .

The same thing occurs out in the country villages. An English assistant commissioner rides unexpectedly into a small townlet in his subdivision and calls for the headman. That worthy is having his afternoon siesta, and the good wife announces this with a composure which almost surprises the young sub-janta wallah into swearing. He says, 'Well, then, wake him. . . .' Old Ma Gyi shudders at the very thought, and flatly refuses. The Englishman gallops off in a fury at the dreadful impertinence of the people, and Ma Gyi calls together all her gossips to hear of the brutality of the young *wundauk*, who actually wanted her to imperil her goodman's life. . . .¹¹¹

108 [Palmer] (1856) 82. Palmer read on both Asian and other subjects.

109 See Appleton (1943) 8; U Ohn (1963) 15; Shwe Yoe (1963) 390–395; U Ba Han (1964) 6–7.

110 U Ohn (1963) 15.

111 Shwe Yoe (1963) 394–395.

Finally, if the Myowun had met with Captain Fishbourne and his delegation, would the course of Anglo-Burmese relations have been different? This is of course not capable of proof, but I would argue that had the meeting between the Myowun and the British delegation taken place war might well have been averted. The Myowun was anxious for peace, and was prepared to accept the claims on behalf of Captains Sheppard and Lewis that Commodore Lambert was authorized to present. Commodore Lambert never met directly with the Myowun, and he accepted the incident of the Myowun's nap as it was explained by Kincaid, Latter, and Edwards. The disputes between Britain and Burma were in fact trivial, and relations between the two nations might well have rocked along to a different conclusion. Burma, like Siam next door, might have learned to negotiate its continued independence.

In 1824, Burma fought a war with Britain because it genuinely misunderstood the power relations between the two nations. After 1852, the combination of a growing British colony in Lower Burma, and a Burmese Empire reduced to a landlocked remnant, arguably made inevitable an eventual commercial conflict leading to British intervention. In this perspective, 1852 offered Burma its last best hope of retaining independence in an Imperial world.

Which leads us to a question, as tragic as it is comic: Did the Burmese Empire ultimately fall because Myowun Maung Hmon of Rangoon decided to take a nap on the afternoon of January 6, 1852? Was the course of history changed by fifteen minutes of cross-cultural misunderstanding?

8. Epilogue

I cannot refrain from briefly noting what happened to those chiefly involved in the drama of the Myowun's nap.

Captain May Flower Crisp saw his property in Rangoon destroyed by the war, and his claims for compensation were denied. Eventually he returned to Moulmein, where he died in 1866. Ever the complainer, however, he published a pamphlet shortly before his death denouncing the economic policies of

the Government of British Burma.¹¹² His son, Charles Malcolm Crisp, did rather better. When the war started he provided intelligence on Burmese defenses around the Shwedagon Pagoda. Later he became Postmaster and then Assessor of Income-Tax in Rangoon, where he died in 1862.

The Rev. Eugenio Kincaid continued his missionary work for many years. He returned to Ava, where he developed a close relationship with the new King Mindon, who came to power in the convulsions following the 1852 war. In 1856 he brought a message from King Mindon to American President Buchanan in Washington, and brought back his reply to Mandalay.¹¹³ Because of his wife's failing health, he returned permanently to the United States in 1865, and died in Kansas in 1883.¹¹⁴

His countryman, John Williamson Palmer, surgeon of the *Phlegethon*, returned to America and to a distinguished career as Confederate war correspondent, poet, journalist, translator, and editor. He died in Baltimore in 1906.¹¹⁵

Captain Thomas Latter threw himself with enthusiasm into the 1852 war, and as a volunteer led the British force that stormed the Shwedagon Pagoda on April 13.¹¹⁶ Later he participated in the capture of Pegu.¹¹⁷ He joined the staff of Arthur Phayre, and on Dec. 30, 1852 was appointed British Resident Deputy Commissioner at Prome.¹¹⁸ By 1853 Phayre was on the point of firing him for corruption, when an unknown assassin, possibly in the employ of the court of Ava, saved him the trouble.¹¹⁹ Captain Latter was murdered in his bed in Prome

112 Pearn (1939) 305.

113 Patton (1858) 278; Maung Shwe Wa (1963) 196.

114 Appleton's *Cyclo'dia* (1888) III-538.

115 *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (1900) VIII, 222–223; *Dictionary of American Biography* (1934) XIV, 188–189.

116 Laurie (1885) 128.

117 Laurie (1885) 158.

118 Pollak (1979) 108.

119 *Dictionary of National Biography* (1921–22) XI-625–626; Pollak (1979) 71, 154. Captain Latter was the only one of our cast to earn an entry in the DNB.

at 2:00 AM on the morning of Dec. 8, 1853.¹²⁰ He never did get a promotion.

Charles Samuel Edwards, the other interpreter, had a happier future. He rose to become Rangoon Collector of Customs, and died there in 1877.

Commodore George Lambert, his original orders changed, remained active in Burma during the 1852 war and went on to a continued naval career. As Vice Admiral Sir George Lambert he became in 1863 Commander-in-Chief at the Nore, a major naval base on the Southeastern English coast, but retired in 1864 and died in 1869.

Finally, the Myowun Maung Hmon fled Rangoon after the storming of the Shwedagon Pagoda in April, and continued resistance from the interior. A few days after the fall of the city, he sent a message under a flag of truce to British General Godwin. He admitted that he had lost one battle, but said he intended to win the next two, and he politely suggested that the General retire in time. The General was reportedly not amused.¹²¹ From this time on, the Myowun is also lost to view.

Thus concludes the story of the Myowun's nap.

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120 *Dictionary of National Biography* (1921–22) XI, 625–626.

121 [Palmer] (1856) 115–116.

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